

Goodwin, M. H. (2017). In C. Meyer, J. Streeck, & J. S. Jordan (Eds.), *Intercorporeality: Emerging Socialities in Interaction* (pp. 73-102). Oxford: Oxford University.

## 4

# *Haptic Sociality*

## THE EMBODIED INTERACTIVE CONSTITUTION OF INTIMACY THROUGH TOUCH

*Marjorie Harness Goodwin*

### *Introduction*

In this chapter I investigate how intimate, affiliative, cooperative haptic human sociality is accomplished through the intertwining of interacting bodies, frequently with language embedded within such frameworks. My focus is on forms of tactile intercorporeality that serve prosocial purposes. I am concerned with how participants in a basic social institution, the family, make use of culturally appropriate tactile communication (including the hug, the kiss, and other intertwining of the body) during moments of affectively rich supportive interchanges (Goffman 1971) or phatic communication (Malinowski 1923) in the building of their intimate social relationships.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) coined the term "*intercorporeité*" (corporeal intersubjectivity) to talk about forms of reciprocal sharing of bodily experience. As he (1962, 144-145) argues, "We touch the world with our voices, and the world is touched by us." Elaborating the reciprocal nature of the experience of touch, he states, "When I press my two hands together, it is not a matter of two sensations felt together as one perceives two objects placed side by side, but an ambiguous set-up in which both hands can alternate the role of 'touching' and being 'touched'" (1962, 93). As the individual is a body-subject, our lived experience involves the simultaneity of both mind and body.

Such a microethological perspective resonates with the way in which Stuart (2012, 169), in her discussion of enkinesthesia in humans, argues that it is through the "ongoing sensori-affective felt dynamics" of engagement (2012, 169), or the "entwined, blended and situated co-affective feeling of the presence of the

other," (2012,167) that a "being builds up non-conscious intentional expectations about how its world will continue to be for it" (2012, 169). Stuart (2012, 170) states, "We routinely spill over into the bodily experience of others, for it is this which establishes the community and reciprocity of our affective co-engagement." By inhabiting the other's activity we "develop our sensory and kinesthetic and enkinesthetic imagination." She argues that "agent, world, and action are necessarily intricately interwoven and the agent's body, experience, action and world together shape the way in which she deals with her everyday pragmatic concerns" (2012, 167). Such forms of "enactivism" emphasize nonrepresentationally based engagement in the agent's world.

Linguistic anthropologists offer ethnographic analysis of how basic forms of sociality are co-constructed through touch. Meyer (this volume) provides vivid exemplars of interkinesthetic intercorporeality in his analysis of millet pounding by Wolof women of Senegal, an activity that depends on the intertwining of auditory and kinetic perception. Meyer argues for the necessity of examining how culture shapes our sensory approach to experience, finding that among the Wolof touch and hearing rather than gaze provide the crucial modalities for organizing sociality and achieving intersubjectivity. Examining the "tactics of tactility" Hillewaert (2016) finds that in Coastal Kenya, the qualities of subtle push, pull, and touch in handshakes are important performative acts. These are implicated in the presentation of self, assessment of others, and the negotiation of interpersonal relations. Hillewaert's point is that gestures constitute intentionally used semiotic techniques rather than prereflective or habituated practices.

Investigating medical settings, ethnomethodologist Nishizaka (2007) describes the multisensorial convergence of speaking, viewing, and touching entailed in interactions between midwife and client in a Japanese midwife house. Describing therapeutic practice in Yap, Throop (2012) finds that the sensory modality of touch allows for diagnosis of pain. Among Yapese healers and patients, tactility is considered a modality for embodied intersubjectivity.

Regrettably, as Streeck (2009, 210) has argued, there is a serious neglect of studying corporeal intersubjectivity within fields of anthropology, "from 'embodied cognition' to cognitive linguistics to micro-ethnography: the paradigmatic importance of intercorporeality—of physical contact, care, love, and sexuality—for all human interaction systems has not even begun to be recognized." As argued by Hertenstein (2002, 74), "the dearth of literature' on the role of touch in communication is surprising considering that touch may be an extraordinarily powerful sensory system for communication of emotion."

In this chapter, through close investigation of the sequential and simultaneous engagement of bodies interacting with other bodies, I show how orders of co-engagement, or types of intimate haptic sociality, emerge in a particular context: parent-child interaction in the United States. By looking closely at embodied

forms of experience in the world and the emergence of talk-in-interaction within them, we can begin to articulate the practices through which affectively rich intimate social relationships are established, maintained, and negotiated.

### *Data and Methodology*

The particular data I am concerned with are intimate forms of interaction within Los Angeles families. As part of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELFL), I assisted in the ethnography of the project and videotaping. We collected approximately fifty-sixty hours of interaction for each of thirty-two dual earner middle-class families over a week's time. Videotaping took place during mornings and afternoons/evenings on three separate days (two weekdays and Sunday) and during the morning hours on Saturday. The families, located in the Los Angeles area, represented a variety of ethnic backgrounds (African American, European American, Asian American, Indian American, Filipino American, Cuban American, Japanese American, and Latino) and there were two families of two gay dads. Videoethnographic methodology made it possible to record mundane talk (Goodwin 1981), physical gestures (Streeck 2009), action (Goodwin 2000), and routine activities (Tulbert and Goodwin 2011)—all within the household settings where people actually carry out their daily lives (Ochs et al. 2006). This rendered possible fine-grained analysis of the sequentially unfolding action we observed. Children discussed in this chapter range in age between eighteen months and eleven years. Names of the participants have been changed to ensure anonymity.

Haptic alignments and entanglements vary across cultures (McKee et al. 1991; Meyer, this volume; Tahhan 2014), while constituting a central feature of being a social animal. Considerable interaction among primates is organized with respect to the close positioning of bodies, facilitating tactile communication for attachment, bonding, reconciliation, and play. According to Dunbar (2010, 263) grooming, a ubiquitous activity among primates, "creates a platform off which trust can be built by triggering a cascade of neuro-endocrines that create an internal psychological environment facilitating trust." Grooming creates the psychological environment that allows for the trading of support (Dunbar 2010, 261). Perry et al. (2003) find that among capuchin monkeys, tactile interactions through finger, tail, ear, and toe sucking, as well as hand-sniffing and the "game" of "finger-in the mouth," all provide reciprocal interactions which are important for testing social bonds, building alliances, and practicing for future cooperative behaviors (2003, 255).

Haptic alignments in humans build from our primate heritage, but profoundly transform it. They are foundational features of interaction, the embodied

matrix within which it emerges, rather than something added on to language. With respect to the ontogenetic primacy of the tactile sense, at birth touch is the most developed sensory modality, and it continues to be fundamental for communication throughout the first year of life (Field 2001). A caregiver's touch "is communicative and regulates the infant's perceptions, thoughts, feelings, or behaviors" (Hertenstein 2002, 72). Before children can talk they communicate via haptic and other nonvocal means; touch transmits valenced forms of emotion as well as specific information (Hertenstein 2002, 71).

In the first part of this chapter I discuss several ways that intimate bodily contact, including hugs, can serve prosocial purposes: forming social bonds by being with someone else, reconciliation, comforting, displaying sympathy, positive assessment, grooming, and play. I next examine requests for hugs as invitations for displaying intimacy and their reciprocal actions; such exchanges constitute the means through which participants can propose trading relations of intimacy, which can be ratified or denied. Finally, I look at hugs and kisses as features of affectively rich cooperative supportive bedtime rituals. During such nighttime engagements we often find a particular creaky voice quality (Podesva and Callier 2015), and simultaneous displays of heightened forms of intimacy during the hug, as tactile and sound modalities mutually elaborate each other. In this paper data are transcribed using the conventions of conversation analysis developed by Gail Jefferson and described in Sacks et al. (1974), although stress is indicated through bold italics rather than underlining.

### *Intimate Intertwining across Contexts for Prosocial Activities*

#### **"Being With" and Cuddling: Forming Social Bonds through Touch**

In the United States forms of intense co-engagement can occur as family members organize themselves in a close ecological huddle on a sofa or bed, with bodies entwined, often with a child sitting next to or lying atop a parent, during book reading or while watching television. "Being with" another while cuddling provides an activity in which participants experience intense tactile intercorporeality, or sensibility (Levinas 1987, 118) in prereflective orientations to situations of proximity and encounter. Without words children align themselves close to the bodies of their parents. Levinas finds on the level of sensibility a subjectivity that is more primordial than rational subjectivity. As explained by Cohen (1981, 201), sensibility means that "the subject is entirely self-satisfied, self-complacent, content, sufficient. Instead of [rational] synthesis, there are vibrations; instead of unifications, there are excitations . . . a sensational happiness." In Figure 4.1 family members are filled with the sensations of the others' bodies next to each other while watching television or reading.

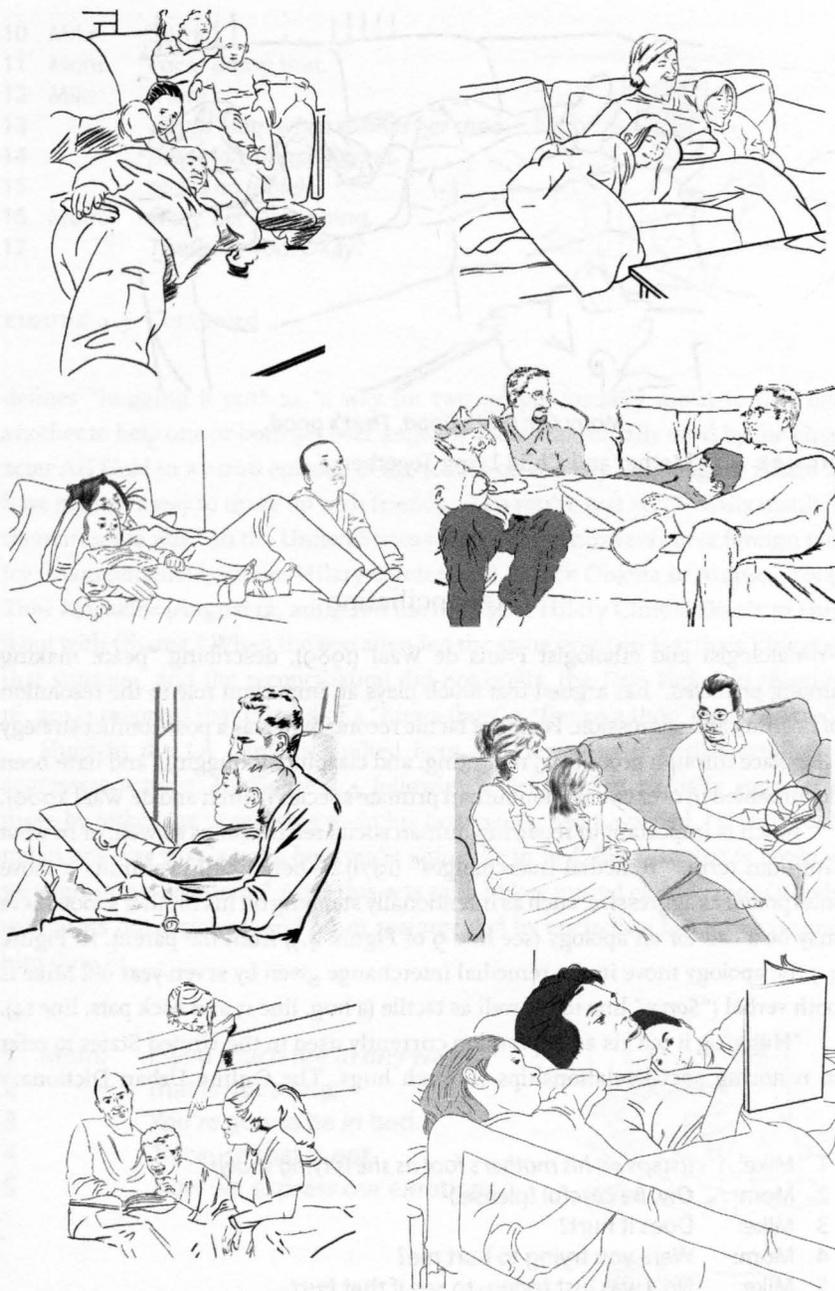


FIGURE 4.1 Bodies Together

Bodies linked to each other haptically constitute rich fields of co-presence. In some instances, the primary intent may be to co-experience each other's bodies. In Figure 4.2 when the child positions herself on top of her mother's chest, Mom sighs, "*Oh: that's good. That's good.*"



Mom: *Oh: that's good. That's good.*

FIGURE 4.2 Mother and Child Lying Together

### Reconciliation

Primatologist and ethologist Frans de Waal (1989), describing “peace making among primates,” has argued that touch plays an important role in the resolution of hostility and aggression. Forms of tactile reconciliation as a post-conflict strategy take place through grooming, mounting, and clasping or hugging, and have been documented in over twenty nonhuman primate species (Aureli and de Waal 2000).

Touch is important in repairing human social relationships as well, or in what Goffman terms “remedial interchanges” (1971). When a child commits a move interpreted as aggressive, such as intentionally stepping on his mother’s foot, there may be a call for an apology (see line 9 of Figure 4.3) from the parent. In Figure 4.3 the apology move in the remedial interchange given by seven-year old Mike is both verbal (“*Sorry*,” line 10) as well as tactile (a hug, line 13 and back pats, line 14).

“Hugging it out” is an expression currently used in the United States to refer to restoring social relationships through hugs. The Online Urban Dictionary

- 1 Mike: ((steps on his mother's foot as she is tying shoe))
- 2 Mom: **Ow**. Be **careful** (please.)
- 3 Mike: Does it hurt?
- 4 Mom: Were you trying to hurt me?
- 5 Mike: No. *I* was just **trying**- to see if that **hurt**.
- 6 Mom: **Why** would you need to **know** if that hurts
- 7 Unless you're **trying** to **hurt** me.
- 8 Mike: ( ) ((looks away briefly))
- 9 Mom: You **owe** me an **apology** for that.

FIGURE 4.3 Hug as Apology

- 10 Mike: **Sorry.**  
 11 Mom: For s- **doing** that.  
 12 Mike: °Here.  
 13 ((hugs Mom while she ties her shoe  
 14 pats Mom's back 7 times,  
 15 re-sits on table))  
 16 Mom: Okay. **Let's** get going,  
 17 **Tha(h)nk** you. Okay?



FIGURE 4.3 Continued

defines “hugging it out” as “a way for two people (usually male) to hug one another to help one or both get over anger or sadness.” Initially used by the character Ari Gold in a 2006 episode of the television comedy *Entourage*, it is said to have meant “a way to make up with friends when you’ve just accidentally insulted them in some way.” In the United States following a controversy over foreign policy disagreements between Hilary Clinton and Barack Obama in August, 2014, *Time Magazine* (August 12, 2014) ran the headline “Hilary Clinton Wants to Hug it out with Obama.” When the two attended the same event on Martha’s Vineyard that summer, and the reconciliation did not occur, the *New York Post* (August 16, 2014) reported that instead of a “hug-a-thon” a “freeze-a-thon” had occurred.

Hugs in the LA families studied here are viewed as remedial actions to aggressive actions. In Figure 4.4 following a defiant and partially aggressive move by Mike (age 7) refusing to do his homework, Mom warned, “If you touch me in *any* way that is **not** a **hug**, **you’re** gonna be in bed. Because that is **not** how we express our **emotions**.” After this was said, Mikey moved close to mom’s body with arms outstretched, and Mom reciprocated by encircling her arms around him (line 6).

- 1 Mom: If you touch me in *any* way  
 2 that is **not** a **hug**,  
 3 **You’re** gonna be *in* bed.  
 4 Because that is **not**  
 5 how we express our **emotions**.



- 6 Mike: ((moves close to Mom and hugs))  
 7 Mom: Okay? All right. **Now**.  
 8 **What’s** all this **crying** about.



FIGURE 4.4 Hugs as an Alternative to Aggression

In Figure 4.4 Mom comforted Mikey with a hug and in addition displayed her understanding of her son's discomfort and emotional position by inquiring about the reason for his crying. Hugs provide a way of dealing with troubled actions, and for transforming possible agonistic actions into acceptable social ones. They can also be used to comfort children (e.g., when they fall and hit their head, or cry because they do not want to be left off at school).

### Comforting

In Figure 4.5 an inadvertent mishap, rather than an antagonism, provokes the comforting. A special form of tactile interaction—holding, hugging, and kissing an injured part of the body—takes place.

- 1 ((Becky and Mom collide as Becky walks backwards))
- 2 Mom: You okay?
- 3 Becky: [((displays pained look on face))
- 4 Becky: °No.
- 5 Mom: No?
- 6 Becky ((shakes head))
- 7 Mom: You want Booboo Bunny?
- 8 Becky: Err ((softly moaning, lifts hands to Mom's arms))
- 9 Mom: You want **Booboo** Bunny? ((lifts Becky in arms))
- 10 Becky: Mm hmph! ((moaning))
- 11 Mom: Hm?
- 12 Becky: Emph!
- 13 Mom: ((kisses face)) Yes? ((kisses face)) Lemme see.
- 14 Mom: ((puts Becky on bed.))
- 15 Becky: ((moaning)) Mmmmm Mph! ((holds up foot))
- 16 Mom: Can you sho(hh)w me where? ((holds foot))
- 17 Becky: ((points to place on foot))
- 18 Mom: You want **Booboo** Bunny?
- 19 ((kisses foot))
- .....
- 20 Mom: ((goes to get Booboo Bunny))



FIGURE 4.5 Parent Embraces Child to Comfort Her

Here Mom provides comfort for her 6-year old daughter Becky, who has collided with her in the bedroom. Mom immediately asks if she is “okay,” and when Becky says “°No,” Mom proposes to get “Booboo Bunny” (line 9), a soft cloth (commercially available) toy, to provide comfort. Mom plants kisses on her daughter’s face (line 13); and when Becky shows her mom where she is hurt, also applies kisses to the hurt on her foot (line 19). Emotional as well as physical forms of hurts are attended to through extending embraces that show care. In the midst of moments of pain or suffering touch provides a unique sensory modality as it can

bring “what is felt into proximity with feeling” (Wyschogrod 1981, 25). Through expressions of “sympathy” (from the Greek word *sympatheia*, meaning “moving and feeling with”), matching mutually supportive emotions in response to others’ expressions or implicit requests for comfort provide cohesion to the social group (Trevarthen 2005, 59).

This engagement with the other can be achieved through an array of diverse sensory modalities, attunements, and practices. In Figure 4.6 we see how sympathy is achieved through tactile intercorporeality, the intertwining of bodies. The scenario is as follows. Mom expresses her feelings that it was unfair that her eight-year-old daughter Aurora had received stickers from the CELF team and she had not. Aurora initially gazed at her mom and laughed in response to her mom’s statement (line 2). Mom then complains that this does not constitute an appropriate form of response (“That’s not *funny*. I needed stickers *too*,” line 3). She continues gazing toward Aurora and offers moral justification for her unhappiness: “I don’t think that’s fair” (line 5). These added segments hold the action in place until Aurora approaches her mom and produces a comforting next action, an embrace (line 6).

- 1 Mom: How come they didn’t give *me* any stickers.
- 2 Aurora: *Heh* heh heh heh heh!
- 3 Mom: That’s not *funny*. I needed stickers *too*!
- 4 Aurora: *MMmmmm*!
- 5 Mom: I don’t think that’s fair.
- 6 Aurora: *((puts arms around Mom, sits on lap))*
- 7 Mom: Do you think that was discrimination?
- 8 Aurora: Discrimination?
- 9 Mom: Yeah. [That means like when you are
- 10 Aurora: [What-
- 11 Mom: Treated differently because of your age,
- 12 What you look like,
- 13 Aurora: *((nods))* [Yeah!
- 14 Mom: [If you’re a girl, if you’re a guy,
- 15 Aurora: Oh Yeah. Because of- Yeah. Because of
- 16 the *age*.
- 17 Mom: Because they thought about like-



FIGURE 4.6 Child Uses Hug to Comfort Parent

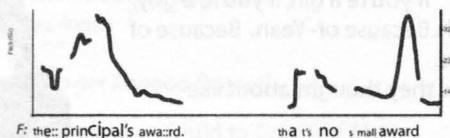
Here sympathy is not the product of a representational form of understanding; rather the hug Aurora gives her mom provides an embodied orientation of interaffectivity (Fuchs, this volume), or mutual bodily *resonance* towards another person’s lived experience. With these two last examples we find ways in which touch is consequential to the remedying of a physical or emotional hurt someone feels. The embrace (Figure 4.6) as well as kisses and soft touch (Figure 4.5) provide ways of displaying concern for how the other feels.

### Celebration and Positive Assessment

Hugs can also be used as celebratory actions, providing embodied positive assessments of a child's achievements. In Figure 4.7 when 9-year old Amy shows her dad Poppy the "Principal's Award" she received for her school achievements, Poppy exclaimed loudly and excitedly, "YOU GOT AN **AWARD!**" This was followed by an enthusiastic response cry, produced with an extended vowel: "YA **HOO**.....!" (line 4). Poppy responds to the child's announcement with an assessment that applauds the specialness of Amy's achievement: "The *Principal's Award*, **That's** no small **award!**" (line 7). As Poppy says "Congratulatio:**ns!**" (line 12) he initiates a strong embrace, which Amy quickly reciprocates (line 12).

Poppy's talk in lines 9 and 12 is produced with dynamic pitch excursions (visible in the pitch contours above line 9 and the vowel elongation over the last syllable of the word "Congratulatio:**ns!**" in line 12) that match the intensity of the tactile dimension of celebration: Amy and Poppy's sustained, full-bodied hug. Through her smiling, jumping, and clapping (line 2), Amy initially displays her sheer joy on being able to relay her accomplishment to her parent. Poppy reciprocates with excited requests for elaboration (lines 6–7), positive assessments (lines 9, 11), and a celebratory "Congratulatio:**ns.**" The homecoming announcement culminates in an extended, all-encompassing embrace.

- 1 ((doorbell rings and Amy runs in holding letter))  
 2 Amy: **READ! READ!** ((smiling, jumping)) ((claps hands))  
 3 Poppy: Wha(hh)t. [((reads letter))]  
 4 YOU GOT AN A **WARD!** YA **HOO**.....!  
 5 Amy: [((jumps up and down excitedly))]  
 6 Poppy: For **what!** For **what!**  
 7 For **what!** ((hugs Amy with left arm))  
 8 Amy: It's um, the **Principal's Award**.



- 9 Poppy: The **Principal's Award**. **That's** no small **award!**  
 10 Amy: Hm,  
 11 Dad: **Wo**.....**w**, That's **this**- Oh it's **next** Friday.  
 ....

- 12 Dad: Congratulatio:**ns!** ((Amy and Dad embrace))

FIGURE 4.7 Celebratory Hug upon Receiving an Award



## Grooming

In addition to practices of reconciliation, comforting, displaying sympathy, and celebration, grooming constitutes a basic form of cooperative haptic action. Grooming affords the opportunity for bodies to be in close configurations vis-a-vis one another. During hair care an alignment of bodies front-to-back can quickly shift so that two individuals are in close face-to-face proximity with one another, allowing for considerable parental control. In Figure 4.8 when eight-year old daughter Aurora turns toward mom (line 7), it is possible for the two to gaze into each other's eyes, kiss, and provide intimate touch.

Aurora responds to Mom's intimate bodily expression of love "*I love you*" (line 10) with an equally intimate utterance, "*Mommy*" (line 11), a term of endearment that is produced at a high pitch. Stross (2013, 147) has argued that voice pitch can be used to iconically signal size, age, and gender. Through her choice of address term as well as prosody, Aurora constitutes herself as a small girl, enthusiastic to receive her mom's affection. Here, in addition, with a panting noise and jumping up and down (line 13), Aurora expresses her excitement on hearing her mom's plans for taking a trip to the Central Library. Through their embodied actions Aurora and Mom match each other's affective alignment to the current activity.

- 1 Mom: ((puts rubber band on Aurora's pony tail))
- 2 **Honey** we're gonna have to put your **hair**
- 3 in **braids** tonight. (1.0) °Okay?
- 4 Aurora: **All** right.
- 5 Mom: Let me **see** you.
- 6 ((Mom pats Aurora's head))
  
- 7 Aurora: ((turns to face Mom, tilts head and smiles))
- 8 Mom: ((pulls Aurora's face towards her & kisses her))
- 9 Aurora: Mm!
  
- 10 Mom:: ((caresses Aurora's face)) **I love you.**
- 11 Aurora: ((high pitched)) **Mommy!**  
(3.0)
- 12 Mom: Ready to go to the **Central Library**?
- 13 Aurora: ((pants like a dog, jumping up and down))
- 14 Mom: It's gonna be **so: cool,**



FIGURE 4.8 From Grooming to Affection

### Play: The Musicality of Intimacy

Trevarthen (2010) proposes that alert infants demonstrate powers of innate intersubjective sympathy shortly after birth. He states, “We are born to generate shifting states of self-awareness, to show them to other persons, and to provoke interest and affectionate responses from them” (Trevarthen 2010, 119). Such types of interactions resonate with what Schutz (1951) in his work on “making music together” describes as a form of reciprocal sharing that occurs when people live through a “vivid present” together. Schutz (1951, 177–178) states, “Only within this experience does the Other’s conduct become meaningful to the partner tuned in on him—that is, the Other’s body and its movements can be and are interpreted as a field of expression of events within his inner life.”

In his work on “Rhythm in Discourse” Erickson (2013, 1) argues that speech is “experienced as a succession of ‘now’ moments, each ‘now’ preceded by an immediately past moment.” He argues that it is the rhythmic organization of timing that permits us to organize conjoint actions together. The prominence points of behavior (both verbal and nonverbal) allow the auditor to anticipate an upcoming “now” moment and to coordinate actions with another. Gratier and Apter-Danon (2009, 310) make explicit use of a musical metaphor, “spontaneous communicative musicality,” in their description of repetitive and varied coordinated cross-modal rhythmic patterns in interaction between mother and infant. An instance of such coexperienced musicality occurs in Figure 4.9,

- 1 Mike: Hey **Mom.**  
(0.4)
- 2 Mom: What.  
(0.8)
- 3 Mike: Beep! ((taps her in the nose))
- 4 **Bink!**  
(1.0)
- 5 Mom: Hey **Mike.**  
(1.4)
- 6 Mike: What.  
  
(2.2)
- 7 Mom: ((does reciprocal nose tap))  
**Bink!**
- 8 Mike: eh heh heh!



FIGURE 4.9 Face Play as Musicality

during a Saturday morning bedtime activity; Mother and son (age 7) display a rhythmic give and take in bouts of gently tapping one another on the nose while in bed.

Bodies working together produce coordinated action that allows for smooth transitions from one activity frame to a next, as is visible in Figure 4.10. Although getting a young child on board for a shift from a play activity to a more serious frame of reading (leading to bedtime) can be challenging, it can be accomplished through skillful embodied coordination. In Figure 4.10 we find bouts of face play coordinated through rhythmic give-and-take as 18-month-old Roxanne holds her mom's face while Mom speaks. After phrases of Mom's "Bus driver, bus driver, open the door." or "Mommy mommy my pigtails are too tight," Roxanne responds with response cries. Rather than proposing an abrupt shift from play to bedtime activity (reading) through a directive, Mom tells baby Roxanne that the bus driver character in the play frame is "off work" (line 3) and he's "*all* done" (lines 6, 8). Roxanne responds to Mom in lines 2 and 5 with utterances produced with rising intonation (hearable as requests for confirmation); in line 9 Roxanne explicitly requests confirmation of this scenario with "*All done?*" and gears into the new framework of orientation. In response to Mom's official agenda of the evening "Let's finish the book so we can go nigh- night." (lines 10, 13), Roxanne subsequently moves her body into a nestling position vis-a-vis Mom to allow a new activity to take form (the fourth frame of the transcript).

- Mother and Roxanne have played "bus driver"*
- 1 Mom: **All** done.  
 2 Rox: Ee:::?  
 3 Mom: The **bus** driver's off work.  
 4 Mom: He's **a:ll** gone.  
 5 Rox: Ah:r:?  
 6 Mom: **All** done. **All** do(hhh-hhhh)ne. hnh-hnh-hnh-hnh  
 7 Rox: <sup>o</sup>Kay ((R lets go of Mom's face))  
 8 Mom: **All** done:.  
 9 Rox: **All done?**  
 10 Mom: **All** done. Let's finish the book so we can go nigh-night.  
 11 Rox: K! Book.  
 12 Rox: **Okay.**  
 13 Mom: We gotta **finish** it so you can go **nigh-** night.  
 14 Rox: Mmmm.  
 15 Mom: Okay(hhh).



FIGURE 4.10 The Body as a Tactile Field

As Wyschogrod (1981, 26, 39) explains, “the body as a whole is the tactile field” sensitive to pressure, temperature, and surface qualities (Wyschogrod 1981, 39). The closeness of bodies in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 allows a rhythmic give-and-take, an interkinesthetic intercorporeality (Stuart 2012) throughout these sequences as one move is answered by a subsequent move with both verbal and embodied action. It is in just such forms of coordination and acting together, as in the face games that parents and children play, that meaningful types of embodied intersubjective experience (Malloch 1999; Malloch 2005; Trevarthen 1999) or sensual “moments of meeting” (Stern 2004) are co-constructed.

### *Haptic Supportive Interchanges*

In his essay “The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages,” Malinowski (1923, 314–316) outlined the social function of everyday conversational rituals as a means of establishing “bonds of personal union between people,” treating talk as a “mode of action” rather than as “an instrument of reflection.” Forms of greetings, rather than being significant for their propositional content, provide a way of “breaking the silence” deemed “alarming and dangerous” to establish “links of fellowship” (1923, 313). Senft (2009, 227) explicitly comments that the term “phatic” can be viewed in ethological terms, when he states, “Thus, Malinowski’s concept of ‘phatic’ (from Greek *phatos*, ‘spoken’) communion highlights—what ethologists would call—the ‘bonding function’ of language.” Laver (1981, 310) goes beyond the functionalist depiction Malinowski provides of “phatic” rituals when he states that “phatic communion [. . .] allows the participants to feel their way towards the working consensus of their interaction [. . .], partly revealing their perception and their relative social status.” Laver agrees with Malinowski that the types of information exchanged during encounters such as greetings are far from referential. But he adds importantly that phatic rituals allow participants to calibrate how they stand with regard to one another. The ways that interpersonal relationships are managed index the social identities of participants relative to one another.

While Malinowski was principally concerned with the verbal features of phatic communication, Goffman, in his discussion of “supportive interchanges” (1971, 62–94) discusses an array of visual, verbal, and embodied behaviors that are used as supportive acts, or positive rituals, through which someone can affirm the social relationship between doer and recipient, and pay a form of ritual homage through “offerings” which involve coming close in some way to the recipient (1971, 63). To improperly perform the ritual is a slight.

Performing a supportive interchange or communicative routine (Peters and Boggs 1986) should be viewed as an interactive achievement, developing “out of structured sets of alternative course or directions which the talk and interaction can take” (Schegloff 1986, 114).

### “I Need a Hug”

Hugs are forms of haptic exchange that occur in association with greetings and farewells. Both are important forms of affective displays that convey regard for another person at crucial junctures in the day, upon reunion (Campos et al. 2009; Goodwin 2015; Ochs and Campos 2013) or separation (Sirota 2006). While greetings in face-to-face encounters look forward to a period of increased access (waking up, coming home from school), rituals of farewell mark decreased access (saying goodbye in the morning as the child leaves for school or is dropped off at school, or goodnight at the end of the day).

A constellation of embodied displays of love occur in the family during such exchanges: special terms of address expressing endearment are used, pitch and voice are modulated to express heightened forms of affect, and various sorts of haptic actions— including hugs, kisses, body taps, and other displays of intimacy and affirmation—are employed. These interactions are initiated with verbal requests as well as with embodied actions that invite the other to participate in an act of intimacy.

In the twenty-first century in the United States it is not uncommon for a child or parent to comment “I need a hug” or “Gimme a hug” when they feel lonely or want bodily contact with a family member. In Figure 4.11 right before dinner Becky announces “I feel very *lonely*.” (line 1); Dad sympathizes with Becky, commenting “Do you feel lonely? In the middle of the family?” Becky approaches her dad, she snuggles next to him, and Dad embraces Becky. After Mom questions “You feel *lonely*?” (line 4) Dad begins to disembrace, saying, “All right.” Walking in the direction of her mother, Becky clarifies, “I just need as *hug*” (lines 6, 9). Becky does not demand a hug, but formulates her request as a statement of personal need. Mom responds immediately, asking if she also needed a hug from her (line 7) as well.

In Figure 4.11 we see that when Mom states, “You love the family. Yeah” in line 11, she speaks it with a particular voice quality, creaky voice, indicated by the tilde (~), and in a barely audible, whispered tone, as indicated by the degree sign. According to Gordon (2001, 163), “creaky voice is characterized by irregularly spaced glottal pulses and reduced acoustic intensity relative to modal voice.” The creakiness is visible on a spectrogram through the striations, or visible thick black vertical separated lines at the lowest formants, contrastive

- 1 Becky: I feel very **lonely**.  
 2 Dad: Do you feel lonely? In the middle of the family?  
 3 Becky: I feel very **lonely**::.  
 4 Mom: You feel **lonely**?  
 5 Dad: All right.  
 6 Becky: I just need a **hug**:.  
 7 Mom: You need a hug from me too?  
 8 Come here.  
 9 Becky: I need a hug from- **all** the **family**.  
 10 Mom: Oka(hh)y.  
 11 [~°You love the family. Yeah.~  
 12 ((kisses Becky's head))



Creaky voice = ~

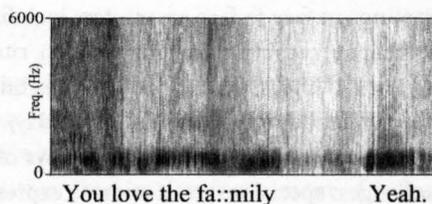


FIGURE 4.11 "I just need a hug."

to displays of modal voice, in which the formants would be more spread out. According to Catford (1964, 32) the laryngeal setting "creaky voice" gives the auditory impression of a "rapid series of taps, like a stick being run along a railing." Creaky voice occurs in the midst of Mom's hugging her daughter. Repetitively we find throughout sequences of intimacy that participants produce creaky voice, a type of voice quality that indicates that the interaction at hand is geared precisely to the immediate participant and the particular intimate moment of tactile interaction in which they are involved. Creaky voice, as well as low pitch and amplitude, mutually elaborate the form of intimacy that is occurring here.

Requests for a hug require for their performance movement of the body of the other into orientation with the party requesting the hug. In Figure 4.12 ten-year-old Leslie's invitation to hug, produced with outstretched arms and her utterance "Gimme a hug?" (frame A) is accepted by her 18-month-old baby Roxanne, who crawls on the bed to reach her sister (frame B). The hug is performed in stages until both bodies become tightly entangled. Leslie's outstretched arms are well coordinated with her vocalization of a request, with an elongated vowel on "**hu:::g**" produced as Roxanne moves toward Leslie. First the baby approaches and positions her body atop that of her sister (frame C). After the older sister Leslie puts her arms around Roxanne, the baby nestles closer, eventually putting her arms around Leslie's body (frame D). Congruent forms of bodily behavior and talk demonstrate highly affective orientations toward the hug.

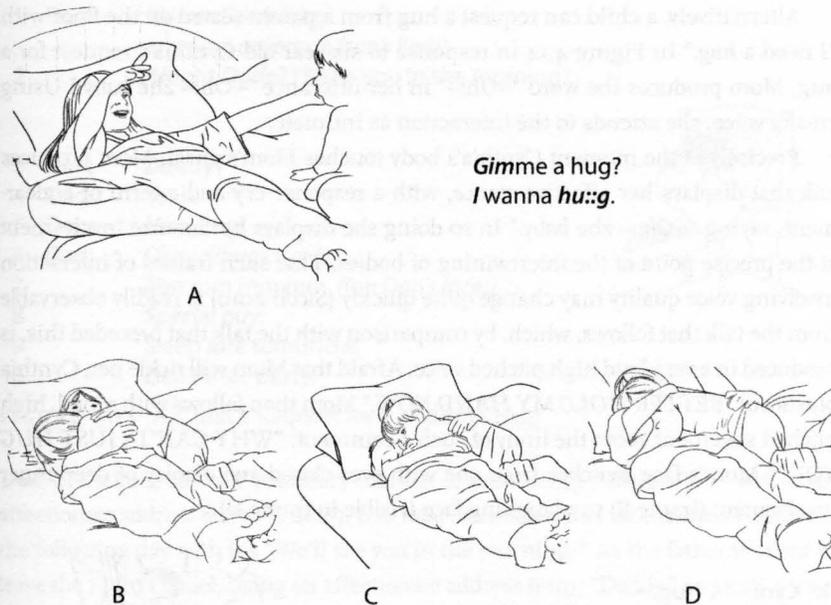


FIGURE 4.12 Embodied Response to “Gimme a hug”

While hugs can be requested at any time of the day when someone feels in need of compassion, requests for a hug often tend to cluster in association with bedtime routines, in the child’s bedroom. Most hugs in our sample were initiated by females, moms, or sister caretakers. Two examples show moms on the floor of a child’s bedroom in preparation for putting the child to bed when invitations to hug occur. In Figure 4.13 Mom summons her seven-year-old son with extended arms; in response Mike sits on top of his mom’s lap. Using creaky voice to produce her utterance “~I need a *hug*~” she requests a hug from him. A nasal sound then prefaces her kiss, followed by an explicit proclamation of love: “I love you.” Such statements are not uncommon among parents and children in the United States.



FIGURE 4.13 Mom’s Request for a Hug

Alternatively, a child can request a hug from a parent seated on the floor with “I need a *hug*.” In Figure 4.14 in response to six-year old Cynthia’s request for a hug, Mom produces the word “~Oh::~” in her utterance “~Oh::~ zhe *baby*.” Using creaky voice, she attends to the interaction as intimate.

Precisely at the moment Cynthia’s body touches Mom’s chest, Mom produces talk that displays her affective stance, with a response cry and a term of endearment, saying “~Oh::~ zhe *baby*.” In so doing she displays her intense involvement at the precise point of the intertwining of bodies. That such frames of interaction involving voice quality may change quite quickly (Sicoli 2010) is readily observable from the talk that follows, which, by comparison with the talk that preceded this, is produced in a very loud high pitched voice. Afraid that Mom will tickle her, Cynthia blurts out “BETTER *HOLD MY HAND NOW*.” Mom then follows with a loud, high pitched statement about the irony of such a comment: “WHY CAN’T I JUST *HUG YOU?*” Mom’s face switches from one with eyes closed and display of deep inner involvement (frame B) to a laughing face (visible in frame D).

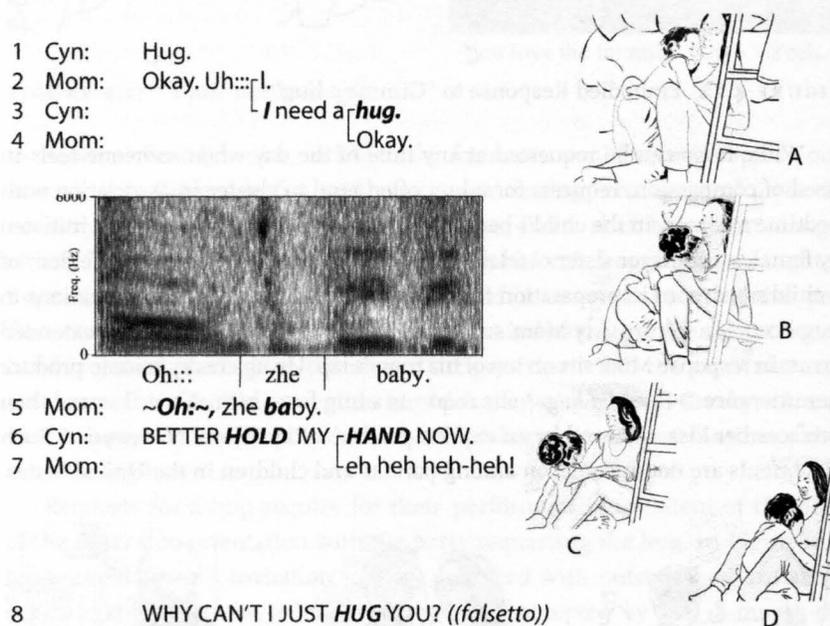


FIGURE 4.14 Child’s Request for a Hug

As bedtime routines typically include hugs and kisses, requests for hugs are common when a child is already situated in bed. These generally are near the closure of elaborated routines of settling the child down for the evening and provide moves that signal a bedtime routine closure. In Figure 4.15 after several minutes of talking playfully to his eight-year old son Daniel on his lap on a chair in the child’s bedroom, and cuddling with him, Dad tucks his son in his bed and kisses him goodnight. Dad opens up a potential closing of the routine by stating “Alright

- 1 Dad: ((kisses Dan's face,  
arranges covers on Dan's bed))  
2       **Alright Dude?** I'll see you in the morning?
- 3 Dan: **Daddy?**  
4 Dad: Yeah.  
5 Dan: **Hug, hug.**  
6 Dad: Okay. ((hugs Dan))  
7       **Mm mm mm mm.** ((on Dan's face))  
8       **Special guy.**  
9       Sleep **late** tomorrow.  
10      Like till six **thirty**.



FIGURE 4.15 A Child's Request for a Bedtime Hug

*Dude?*," making use of a boundary marker, or pre-closing ("*Alright*"), as well as an affectionate address term ("*Dude*"). Dad next orients towards an anticipated reunion the following day with his "We'll see you in the morning?" As the father is about to leave the room Daniel, using an affectionate address term, "*Daddy*," requests a hug, with "*Hug, hug.*" (line 5) Dad in turn shows his affection towards his child by lying down close to him and embracing him while planting kisses on his cheek, using the nasal sounds "*Mm mm mm mm.*" and an affectionate address term, "*special guy.*"

Requests for kisses and hugs can be reciprocal. Figure 4.16 provides an example of a mother asking her child for a kiss during a final bedtime routine. Using creaky voice over the utterance, through voice quality she displays a form of heightened affect as she embraces her child. Upon the completion of the kiss, her seven-year old daughter makes a request for a hug.

- ((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.**



Creaky voice = ~

FIGURE 4.16 Mom's Request for a Kiss at Bedtime

In addition to explicit requests for hugs and kisses, the extended arms of a child or parent may propose the entry into the bedtime closing routine; as an initiation of an *intention movement* (Andrén, this volume), open arms invite the other to join in the hug. As Father enters the room in Figure 4.17, six-year old Cynthia addresses him with “°Papa” in a low voice. Afterward both Cynthia and Dad extend their arms towards one another. Simultaneously Mom says good-night to her older daughter Michelle. The good night routines are articulated with embodied displays of tenderness that match the intimacy of the terms of endearment used to address kin.

- 1 Dad: ((enters bedroom))
- 2 Cynthia: °Papa.
- 3 ((extends arms to embrace Dad))
- 4 Mom: ((to Michelle)) Okay. I'll see
- 5 you in the mornin'?
- 6 Mom: ((kiss)) Good night?
- 7 Dad: [WHOA! Cynthia::!
- 8 ((As Cynthia leans over to hug Dad))
- 9 Dad: Get off my **back girl!**
- 10 Dad/Cyn: ((kiss))
- 11 Dad: °Now I lay me down to sleep
- 12 I pray the Lord my soul to keep.
- 13 Cyn: ((assumes prayer position with
- 14 folded hands))



FIGURE 4.17 Requesting a Kiss with Outstretched Arms

Simultaneously Mom embraces older daughter Michele (age ten), as she says “Okay. I’ll see you in the mornin’,” kisses her, and then says “Good night.” The tactile intensity of Cynthia’s hug is the topic of Dad’s talk. While Cynthia leans over the top of her bunk bed to tightly hug her dad, the hug is so intense that Dad cries out, “**WHOA! Cynthia::!** Get off my **back girl!**” (lines 7 and 9). After a good night kiss Cynthia and Dad recite the Lord’s Prayer together (line 11).

### Doing Intimacy in Nighttime Closing Salutations

Through the concurrent activities of touch, close alignment of bodies, prosody (pitch, amplitude, voice quality), and loving talk, parents and children close off their evening encounters with talk that speaks to affection for the other. An array of diverse elements are used in constituting the performance of rituals of “good night.” Generally, the closing is initiated with “Good night,” “Night night” (for younger children), or pre-closing boundary markers such as “Okay” or “Alright.” In addition to the hug, parents use special address terms such as “baby,” “little

boy," "Sweetie," "Sweet," "Sweetie Pie," "Buddely," and "Dude," while children generally use "Papa" and "Mama." Parents orient toward a future time of sleep with expressions of well wishes for sleeping, through instructions to their children to "sleep tight" or "sweet dreams." An explicit expression of love ("I love you") is often expressed and there is an orientation to reunion the next day with expressions such as "I'll see you in the morning."

The timbre of the interaction may shift in its course and have its own dramatic arc. In Figures 4.18 Mom moves towards a closing with "~Did you have a good day?~" (line 1) produced in creaky voice. This utterance is paired with the gentle caresses that Mom gives Becky on her forehead (line 4), as well as the softly spoken utterance "Sweet *dreams*" (line 5) produced also in creaky voice (as indicated by the tildes), and prefaced with a kiss. Both forms of touch (the caress and a delicate kiss) provide soothing actions that could well work towards closure of the evening's activity of putting the child to bed.

Although Mom attempted to close down the evening's activities, Becky subsequently opens up a reciprocal response to Mom's "Sweet dreams" (line 5) with "Sweet dreams you- Don't let the dreams- (o.4) bugs bite" (lines 6-7). Becky ties to her mom's utterance with a return "sweet dreams" as well as her own version of the first line of the bedtime poem "Don't let the bed bugs bite." Simultaneously Mom bends down towards Becky and proposes "*Hug?*" (line 8). Becky responds to the hug with vocalizations that gain increasing amplitude as Mom kisses Becky with loud smacks to the face sixteen times, with Becky's vocalizations changing in the course from "*Ah, EE, EE::: E*" to "*Ouf, ouf, ouf*" (line 11).

Becky next requests that a new round of haptic actions be performed on her body: "*Now, kiss tickle torture=okay?*" (line 15) Mom asks what variety of torture her child would like: "Just tickle torture?" Becky proposes "Just *kiss tickle torture*." Mom agrees to produce this ritual, asking where she'd like it performed. When it is decided that Becky's tummy will get the tickle torture, Mom kisses Becky's tummy eighteen times while Becky produces high pitched laughter (lines 12 and 14). Mom then ends the tickle torture, bounding it off, with "Okay" and "all right" and a meta-commentary on the energetic, laugh-filled tickle activity with, "*enough* riling up for the night." Riling up is viewed as contrastive to calmly guiding children into a culturally appropriate encounter with sleep.

It is only then, with the utterances from a prototypical set of intimate bedtime routine moves occurring in lines 36-39, that closure is approached. These include (1) "~I love you~" (with creaky voice), (2) "*Gimme a kiss.*," (3) "*Mwah!*" (the vocalized performance of a kiss) and (3) "Sweet *dreams* my *love*." The progression through calm, to chaos, to calm was interactively co-orchestrated by Mom and Becky.

1 Mom: ~Did you have a good day?~  
 2 Becky: Yes.  
 3 Mom: Mm hm.  
 4 Mom: ((caresses Becky's forehead))  
 5 Mom: ((kiss)) ~Sweet **dreams**.~  
 6 Becky: Sweet dreams you- .h  
 7 [Don't let the **dreams**- (0.4) bugs bite.  
 8 Mom: [**Hug?**  
 9 Mom: ((Mom and Becky hug))  
 10 Becky: .h Ah:  
 11 Becky: [**Ah, EE, EE:::, EE,**  
 12 Mom: [((kisses Becky loudly 7 times))  
 13 Becky: [**Ouf. Ouf. Ouf.**  
 14 Mom: [((kisses Becky loudly 9 times))  
 15 Becky: **Now, kiss** tickle torture.=okay?  
 16 Mom: Just tickle torture?  
 17 Becky: Just- No no. Just **kiss** tickle torture.  
 18 Mom: Kissy torture?  
 19 Becky: Yeah. hnh hnh!  
 20 Mom: On your **tummy**?  
 21 Becky: **Uh; anywhere.** hah hah  
 22 Mom: How about on your **tummy**.  
 23 Mom: **How's** that.  
 24 Becky: [heh-heh-heh-heh!  
 25 Mom: [Okay.  
 26 Becky: [eh heh!  
 27 Mom: Ready?  
 28 Becky: Eh heh-hah!  
 29 Mom: \*hh ((kisses Becky's tummy 18 times))  
 30 Becky: [hih-hih-hih-hih-hah Hah hah hah!  
 31 Becky: Heh heh  
 32 Mom: Okay.  
 33 Becky: hih-hih  
 34 Mom: \*h Alright. **Enough** riling up for the night.  
 35 Becky: eh heh heh!  
 36 Mom: ~I love you. ~  
 37 [**Gimme** a kiss.  
 38 Becky: [Good night.  
 39 Mom: **Mwah!** Sweet **dreams** my **love**.



FIGURE 4.18 Kiss Tickle Torture

### *A Plea for Embracing Touch in Studies of Human Interaction*

Touch plays a crucial role in intimacy, attachment, bonding, emotional communication, and compliance in humans (Hertenstein et al. 2006, 5). Touch has been argued to have both “phylogenetic and ontogenetic primacy” (Burgoon et al. 1996; Hertenstein et al. 2006, 6) with respect to other sensory modalities. If we accept that cooperation sits at the heart of human language (Dor et al. 2014; Goodwin 2013; Goodwin in press; Tomasello 2008), then when organizing one’s body in relation to another’s body (as infants and mothers do) patterns of cooperative action emerge which could have provided an environment that promoted the emergence of symbols. For infants, touch is the most developed sensory modality, and throughout the first year of life it is critical for communication (Field 2001); intersubjective relationships are formed through embodied intercorporeal ways of being and acting in the world throughout the lifespan.

Previous studies of the use of touch in family and school interaction have focused on (1) embodied ways of socializing the child during instruction (Burdelski 2010; Cekaite 2015, 2016; de León 2011; Moore 2013; Tulbert and Goodwin 2011) and (2) the embodied maneuvering of the child’s body in order to orchestrate their participation to get things done within directive trajectories (Cekaite 2010, 2015; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Cekaite 2014). Here my interest, complementary with these previous studies, concerns the intertwining of the bodies of family members during affectively rich engagements of intimacy.

I have described a range of *practices of tactile intercorporeality* through which intimate social relationships can be formed. By hanging out together, sitting or lying together in bed or on the couch (while viewing television or listening to a parent read a book) family members enjoy unplanned, non-instrumental, sensuously rich moments of being together and social bonding; in such moments talk is often incidental. Giving hugs (and other surrogate forms of touch, such as a soft Booboo bunny) constitute comforting moves that can be used to calm someone in distress. In the midst of an adversarial exchange in which someone is positioned as the offending party, hugs by the offender provide forms of remedial actions, as they indicate a form of affective state alternative to confrontation. Hugs can also be utilized to display forms of sympathy towards someone who feels wronged or slighted. Hugs of reconciliation, comfort, and sympathy can occur in the absence of words as the action itself is treated as performing caring. Hugs that celebrate the accomplishments of another frequently occur in conjunction with a positive assessment. Grooming, also a form of care, allows for close contact with the hair and face of another which can swiftly transition to caresses and expressions of love. Tactile play with hands and face affords rhythmic give

and take between participants that permits close synchronizing of reciprocal moves that communicate both close attunement and trust.

Hugs, intertwining of bodies with other bodies, are considered practices for demonstrating solidarity, and in the United States are requested explicitly by family members when they feel lonely, or in need of affection. In the United States hugs are treated as a medium of exchange, something "needed" by a seeker of a hug, which can be reciprocated by the recipient of a request for a hug. Family members have options for collaborating in a kula ring of supportive interchanges throughout the day at points of transition. Outstretched arms, as *intention movements* intrinsically coding (Ekman and Friesen 1969) a reciprocal move resulting in an embrace, as well as explicit verbal requests, invite the recipient of the request for a hug to enter into a state of mutual embrace which may vary in duration as well as intensity; cross-modal rhythmic patterns (Gratier and Apter-Danon 2009) permit the achievement of coordinating actions together. Though we cannot know the form of tactile sensations which the co-huggers experience, we can often hear from the voice quality of the adult (for the most part, a female in child-parent interactions, as in Figure 4.11, Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14, Figure 4.18) participating in the hug the intensity of the parent's feeling of bodies in contact with each other. We find in intense moments of intercorporeality when bodies intertwine that voice quality changes to creaky voice, pitch is lowered, and faces become more dreamlike; a universe is co-constructed that is for just these individuals. A creaky voice quality at low volume not only reverberates sound but also generates a catlike purring bodily sensation for those in close contact. This voice quality, unlike the modal voice preceding or following the intense tactile sensation, provides an audible display of the deeply moving altered state of the adult in the interaction. All of these sensory modalities involved in tactile intercorporeality mutually elaborate one another in the performance of action.

Hugs provide instances of haptic sociality that require the joint participation of two parties to the action. The hug is sequentially orchestrated, step by step; the performance of the hug requires simultaneous embodied engagement in reciprocal action. Although someone may propose entry into a hug through outstretched arms or verbal requests, participants may respond in a variety of ways: rejecting a kiss or displaying antagonism rather than enthusiasm through the face and body. Children may distance themselves from the action by refusing to perform the invited actions. Extended arms that receive no reciprocal action resemble greetings that receive no greeting return. The ways in which these affectively charged engagements occur provide windows into the affective life of a family, as children (or parents) choose to participate eagerly, with resistance, or refusal to engage in the proposed action.

Aristotle, in "De Anima," deemed touch to be the most universal of the senses. He countered Plato, who both extolled sight above all other senses and

felt that the universe was governed by “the soul’s eye.” According to philosopher Richard Kearney, Aristotle considered “flesh” more than a mere “material organ, but a complex mediating membrane that accounts for our primary sendings and evaluations” (Kearney 2014).

Although as Paterson (2007, 2) argues, “Touch is present within every single interaction with objects, and a considerable amount of interaction with people,” because we tend to foreground both sight and sound, interactions involving touch are underexamined. Accordingly, “Touch is everywhere, yet almost nowhere is it discussed” (2007, 2). Indeed as Ingold (2011, 145) argues “We perceive not with the eyes, the ears or the surface of the skin but with the whole body.”

Communications scholars have called for more studies of touch that go beyond self-reports in daily diaries or studies in experimental settings in which people are asked to respond to hypothetical examples of events (Jones and Yarbrough 1985). While we know much about touch in infancy in mother-child interaction, we know little about the role of touch among family members in intimate relationships throughout the life cycle. Making use of videotapes of naturally occurring interaction, I have argued that there is much to explore by examining the role of touch in the collaborative accomplishment of intimate relationships in the family. Forms of touch richly impact the emotional lives of family members, and are consequential for the co-construction of affective landscapes in the family.

### *Acknowledgements*

This study is part of an interdisciplinary, collaborative research endeavor conducted by members of the UCLA Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELFL) under the direction of Elinor Ochs. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation program on the Workplace, Workforce, and Working Families, headed by Kathleen Christensen, generously supported CELFL. I am indebted to the working families who participated in the study for opening their homes and sharing their lives. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at The Body Shop: An International Symposium about the Senses in Human Interaction, University of Texas at Austin, Eighth International Gender and Language Conference in Vancouver, Fourth International Conference on Conversation Analysis, Sixth Conference of the International Society for Gesture Studies, Uppsala University, Aalborg University, Carl von Ossietzky Universität, Oldenburg, Germany, Helsinki University, and at Centro de Estudios y Investigaciones Superiores en Antropología Social, Mexico City. Asta Cekaite, Lourdes de León, Ann-Carita Evaldsson, Charles Goodwin, Christian Meyer, Lorenza Mondada, Federica Raia, Pirkko Raudaskoski, and Jurgen Streeck provided invaluable comments throughout the development of this paper. Kathleen Keating provided crucial assistance through long, thoughtful, and insightful discussions of the data. Michael Sean

Smith provided his artistic talents in the renderings of framegrabs and discussed numerous aspects of intonation, gesture, and interaction with me every step of the way and I am incredibly grateful for his contribution to this project.

### Note

1. But see, however Nishizaka (2007), Nishizaka and Sunaga (2015), Cekaite (2010, 2015, 2016), Throop (2012) and Csordas (1990, 2008) and other work in sensorial anthropology.

### References

- Andrén, Mats. 2017. "Children's Expressive Handling of Objects in a Shared World." In *Intercorporeality: Emerging Socialities in Interaction*, edited by Christian Meyer, Jürgen Streeck, and J. Scott Jordan, 105–141. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aureli, F., and F. B. M. de Waal. 2000. *Natural Conflict Resolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burdelski, Matthew. 2010. "Socializing Politeness Routines: Action, Other-Orientation, and Embodiment in a Japanese Preschool." *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(6):1606–1621.
- Burgoon, J. K., D. B. Buller, and W. G. Woodall. 1996. *Nonverbal Communication: The Unspoken Dialogue*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Campos, Belinda, Anthony P. Graesch, Rena Repetti, Thomas Bradbury, and Elinor Ochs. 2009. "Opportunity for Interaction? A Naturalistic Observation Study of Dual-Earner Families After Work and School." *Journal of Family Psychology* 23(6):798–807.
- Catford, J. C. 1964. "Phonation Types." In *In Honour of Daniel Jones*, edited by D. B. Abercrombie, P. A. D. Fry, N. C. Scott MacCarthy, and J. L. M. Trim, 26–37. London: Longmans, Green.
- Cekaite, Asta. 2010. "Shepherding the Child: Embodied Directive Sequences in Parent-Child Interactions." *Text and Talk* 30(1):1–25.
- Cekaite, Asta. 2015. "The Coordination of Talk and Touch in Adults' Directives to Children: Touch and Social Control." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 48(2):152–175.
- Cekaite, Asta. 2016. "Touch as Social Control: Haptic Organization of Attention in Adult-Child Interactions." *Journal of Pragmatics* 92:30–42.
- Cohen, Richard. 1981. "Emmanuel Levinas: Happiness is a Sensational Time." *Philosophy Today* 25(3):196–203.
- Csordas, Thomas J. 1990. "Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology." *Ethos* 18(1):5–47.
- Csordas, Thomas J. 2008. "Intersubjectivity and Intercorporeality." *Subjectivity* 22(1):110–121.

- de León, Lourdes. 2011. "‘Calibrando’ la atención: Directivos, adiestramiento y responsabilidad en el trabajo doméstico de los niños mayas zinacantecos." In *Aprendizaje, cultura, y desarrollo*, edited by Virginia Zavala and Susana Frisancho, 81–108. Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- de Waal, Frans B. M. 1989. *Peacemaking Among Primates*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dor, Daniel, Chris Knight, and Jerome Lewis, eds. 2014. *The Social Origins of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dunbar, Robin I. M. 2010. "The Social Role of Touch in Humans and Primates: Behavioural Function and Neurobiological Mechanisms." *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 34(2):260–268.
- Ekman, Paul, and Wallace V. Friesen. 1969. "The Repertoire of Nonverbal Behavior: Categories, Origins, Usage, and Coding." *Semiotica* 1:49–49
- Erickson, Frederick. 2013. "Rhythm in Discourse." In *Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, edited by Carol A. Chapelle, 1–9. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Field, T. M. 2001. *Touch*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fuchs, Thomas. "Intercorporeality and Interaffectivity." In *Intercorporeality: Emerging Socialities in Interaction*, edited by Christian Meyer, Jurgen Streeck, and J. Scott Jordan, 3–23. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1971. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.
- Goodwin, Charles. 1981. *Conversational Organization: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2000. "Action and Embodiment Within Situated Human Interaction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 32(10):1489–1522.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2013. "The Co-Operative, Transformative Organization of Human Action and Knowledge." *Journal of Pragmatics* 46(1):8–23.
- Goodwin, Charles. Forthcoming. *Co-Operative Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, Marjorie H. 2006. "Participation, Affect, and Trajectory in Family Directive/Response Sequences." *Text and Talk* 26 (4–5):513–542.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness. 2015. "A Care-Full Look At Language, Gender, and Embodied Intimacy." In *Shifting Visions: Gender and Discourses*, edited by Allyson Julé, 27–48. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholarly Press.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, and Asta Cekaite. 2014. "Orchestrating Directive Trajectories in Communicative Projects in Family Interaction." In *Requesting in Social Interaction*, edited by Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, 181–210. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gordon, M. 2001. "Linguistic Aspects of Voice Quality With Special Reference to Athabaskan." In *Proceedings of the 2001 Athabaskan Languages Conference*, edited by S. Tuttle and G. Holton, 163–178. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

- Gratier, Maya, and Gisele Apter-Danon. 2009. "The Improvised Musicality of Belonging: Repetition and Variation in Mother-Infant Vocal Interaction." In *Communicative Musicality: Exploring the Basis of Human Companionship*, edited by Stephen Malloch and Colwyn Trevarthan, 301–327. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hertenstein, Matthew J. 2002. "Touch: Its Communicative Functions in Infancy." *Human Development* 45(2):70–94.
- Hertenstein, Matthew J., Julie M. Verkamp, Alyssa M. Kerestes, and Rachel M. Holmes. 2006. "The Communicative Functions of Touch in Humans, Nonhuman Primates, and Rats: A Review and Synthesis of the Empirical Research." *Genetic, Social and General Psychology Monographs* 132(1):5–94.
- Hillewaert, Sarah. 2016. "Tactics and Tactility: A Sensory Semiotics of Handshakes in Coastal Kenya." *American Anthropologist* 118(1):49–66.
- Ingold, Tim. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description*. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, Stanley, and A. Elaine Yarbrough. 1985. "A Naturalistic Study of the Meanings of Touch." *Communication Monographs* 52(1):19–56.
- Kearney, Richard. 2014. "Losing Our Touch." *New York Times*, August 31. Opinion Pages: Opinionator SR4.
- Laver, John. 1981. "Linguistic Routines and Politeness in Greeting and Parting." In *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*, edited by Florian Coulmas, 289–304. The Hague: Mouton.
- Lévinas, Emmanuel. 1987. *Collected Philosophical Papers*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Nijhoff.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1923. "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages." In *The Meaning of Meaning*, edited by Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards, 296–336. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Malloch, S. 1999. "Mother and Infants and Communicative Musicality." In *Special Issue: Rhythms, Musical Narrative, and Origins of Human Communication*. Edited by I. Deliège. *Musicae Scientiae* 3 (1) (1999–2000):29–57.
- Malloch, S. 2005. "Why Do We Like to Dance and Sing?" In *Thinking in Four Dimensions: Creativity and Cognition in Contemporary Dance*, edited by R. Grove, C. Stevens, and S. McKechnie, 14–28. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- McKee, Rachel Locker, Kristen Johnson, and Nathie Marbury. 1991. "Attention-Getting Strategies of Deaf Children At the Dinner Table." *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 2(2):239–268.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1962. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. Translated by Colin Smith. New York: Humanities Press.
- Meyer, Christian. 2017. "The Cultural Organization of Intercorporeality, Interaction, Emotion and the Senses Among the Wolof of Northwestern Senegal." In *Intercorporeality: Emerging Socialities in Interaction*. Christian

- Meyer, Jurgen Streeck, and J. Scott Jordan, eds., 143–171. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Ekaterina. 2013. “‘Children Are All Looking At You’: Child Socialization, Directive Trajectories, and Affective Stances in a Russian Preschool.” *Pragmatics and Society* 4(3):317–344.
- Nishizaka, Aug. 2007. “Hand Touching Hand: Referential Practice At a Japanese Midwife House.” *Human Studies* 30(3):199–217.
- Nishizaka, Aug, and Masafumi Sunaga. 2015. “Conversing While Massaging: Multidimensional Asymmetries of Multiple Activities in Interaction.” *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 48(2):200–229.
- Ochs, Elinor, and Belinda Campos. 2013. “Coming Home.” In *Fast Forward Family: Home, Work, and Relationships in Middle-Class America*, edited by Elinor Ochs, and Tamar Kremer-Sadlik, 13–26. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ochs, Elinor, Anthony P. Graesch, Angela Mittmann, and Thomas Bradbury. 2006. “Video Ethnography and Ethnoarchaeological Tracking.” In *Work and Family Handbook: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives and Approaches*, edited by Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes, Ellen Ernst Kossek, and Stephen Sweet, 387–410. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Paterson, Mark. 2007 *The Senses of Touch: Haptics, Affects and Technologies*. Oxford: Berg.
- Perry, Susan, Mary Baker, Linda Fedigan, Julie Gros-Louis, Katherine Jack, Katherine C Mackinnon, Joseph H Manson, Melissa Panger, Kendra Pyle, Lisa Rose. 2003. “Social Conventions in Wild White-Faced Capuchin Monkeys: Evidence for Traditions in a Neotropical Primate.” *Current Anthropology* 44(2):241–268.
- Peters, Ann M., and Stephen T. Boggs. 1986. “Interactional Routines as Cultural Influences Upon Language Acquisition.” In *Language Socialization Across Cultures*, edited by Bambi B. Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs, 80–96. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Podesva, Robert J., and Patrick Callier. 2015. “Voice Quality and Identity.” *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 35:173–194.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. “A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation.” *Language* 50(4):696–735.
- Schegloff, Emanuel. 1986. “The Routine as Achievement.” *Human Studies* 9(2–3):111–151.
- Schütz, Alfred. 1951. “Making Music Together: A Study in Social Relationship.” *Social Research* 18(1):76–97.
- Senft, G. 2009. “Phatic Communion.” In *Culture and Language Use*, edited by G. Senft, J.-O. Ostman, and J. Verschueren, 226–233. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sicoli, Mark. 2010. “Shifting Voices With Participant Roles: Voice Qualities and Speech Registers in Mesoamerica.” *Language in Society* 39(4):521–553.

- Sirota, Karen Gainer. 2006. "Habits of the Hearth: Children's Bedtime Routines as Relational Work." *Text and Talk* 26(4-5):493-514.
- Stern, Daniel N. 2004. *The Present Moment in Psychotherapy and Everyday Life*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Streeck, Jürgen. 2009. *Gesturecraft: The Manu-Facture of Meaning*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stross, Brian. 2013. "Falsetto Voice and Observational Logic: Motivated Meanings." *Language in Society* 42(2):139-162.
- Stuart, Susan A. J. 2012. "Enkinesthesia: The Essential Sensuous Background for Co-Agency." In *Knowing Without Thinking: Mind, Action, Cognition and the Phenomenon of the Background*, edited by Zdravko Radman, 167-186. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tahhan, Diana Adis. 2014. "The Japanese Touch." *The Senses and Society* 9(1):92-98.
- Throop, C. J. 2012. "On the Varieties of Empathic Experience: Tactility, Mental Opacity, and Pain in Yap". *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 26(3):408-430.
- Tomasello, Michael. 2008. *The Origins of Human Communication*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Trevarthen, C. B. 1999. "Musicality and the Intrinsic Motive Pulse: Evidence From Human Psychobiology and Infant Communication." In *Special Issue: Rhythms, Musical Narrative, and Origins of Human Communication*. Edited by I. Deliège. *Musicae Scientiae* 3(1) (1999-2000):155-215.
- Trevarthen, C. B. 2005. "Stepping Away From the Mirror: Pride and Shame in Adventures of Companionship": Reflections on the Nature and Emotional Needs of Infant Intersubjectivity. In *Attachment and Bonding: A New Synthesis*, edited by C. S. Carter, L. Ahnert, K. E. Grossman et al., 55-84. Dahlem Workshop Reports 92. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Trevarthen, C. B. 2010. "What is it Like to be a Person Who Knows Nothing? Defining the Active Intersubjective Mind of a Newborn Human Being." *Infant and Child Development* 20(1):119-135.
- Tulbert, Eve, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. 2011. "Choreographies of Attention: Multimodality in a Routine Family Activity." In *Embodied Interaction: Language and Body in the Material World*, edited by Jürgen Streeck, Charles Goodwin, and Curt D. LeBaron, 79-92. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wyschogrod, E. 1981. "Empathy and Sympathy as Tactile Encounter." *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 6(1):25-43.