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CHAPTER 2



Emotion as Stance

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In the midst of doing things together, participants display how they align themselves toward other participants with whom they are interacting (as well as to their actions). In Goffman's (1981) terms, they display their stance, footing, or their "projected selves." Ochs (1996, p. 410) defines affective stance as "a mood, attitude, feeling and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern."¹ In this chapter we develop the notion that the display of emotion is a situated practice entailed in a speaker's performance of affective stance through intonation, gesture, and body posture (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000).

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORKS FOR INVESTIGATING EMOTION

The expression of emotions as an evolutionary and psychological process situated within the individual

Our analysis of emotion as stance is markedly different from the way in which emotion is theorized and investigated in much other contemporary research (Russell & Fernández-Dols, 1997).² In a tradition extending back to Charles Darwin (1872/1998) and given powerful life in the work of Ekman (1993, 2006; Ekman & Friesen, 1969), emotions are conceptualized as a set of universal, unintentional psychological states.³ They are mediated by culturally variable display rules and made visible on the body of the actor expressing the emotion. The primary site where emotions are lodged is the interior psychological life of the individual actor, an interior that includes specific forms of muscle control (producing specific displays on the face) inherited from our primate ancestors. The environment around the actor is given no systematic analysis (except for variation in display rules among cultures). Indeed, it is argued that a defining characteristic of emotions, which differentiates them from

other forms of expression, is that facial expressions as such do not reveal a seeable referent in the environment: "The angry expression does not reveal who is the target, nor can one know from the expression itself what brought forth the anger" (Ekman, comment, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 84).⁴

Though it is recognized that both sound and the face can display emotion, in practice almost all research has focused on the face. In research flowing from Ekman the face has been examined in two complementary ways: (a) through rigorous description of the muscles used to produce the specific facial displays that express emotion (a perspective in Darwin's original work that had its predecessor in the extraordinary use of photos by Duchenne of faces with different muscles stimulated by electricity); and (b) by asking members of different cultures to judge what emotion is shown by specific configurations of muscles on the face.

Despite the genuine rigor of this research, and the substantive findings it has produced, the perspective on emotion it adopts has an enormous lacuna. The investigative focus of research never moves beyond the face and underlying muscles of a single actor. In practice, a single face is examined in isolation from (a) the bodies of other actors; (b) other co-occurring sign phenomena such as prosodically indexed talk; and (c) the unfolding flow of action in interaction. However, there is no doubt that the scope of an emotion is *not* restricted to the individual who displays it. By virtue of their systematic expression on the face (and elsewhere, such as in prosody) emotions constitute public forms of action. Indeed, this is explicitly recognized by Ekman (afterword, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 373). However, Ekman argues that study of how emotional displays function as signals shifts focus away from study of the emotion itself (Ekman, afterword, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 372). For Ekman, its special status as involuntary rather than intentional action constitutes it as something that can be trusted in a special way: "We don't make an emotional expression to send a deliberate message, although a message is received" (Ekman, afterword, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 373).

The way in which a phenomenon is delimited at the beginning of a research enterprise creates an analytic geography with some phenomena being constituted as focal (the face, its muscles, and the interior psychological states thus expressed), while others are rendered invisible and beyond the pale of what should be studied (the interactive context, the social organization of emotional displays, other parts of the body.) There are also methodological advantages to constituting the field of study in this way. High-resolution photographs can easily be obtained of posed facial expressions, without having to be concerned with how to record spontaneous behavior unobtrusively, how much to record, and so on (Ekman, 2006, p. 189). Such theoretical and methodological choices have enormous consequences.

Imposing such a geography on the study of emotion is a choice. When Ekman proposed this form of research to Gregory Bateson, Bateson told him that he was being misled. According to Bateson:

Use of the word expression directed attention away from the role of facial movements as communicative signals. It was a mistake to consider expression as tied to internal

sensations and physiological activity; they were tied to the back-and-forth flow of conversation. (Ekman, afterword, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 372, our emphasis added)

We agree with Bateson.

Emotion as Interactively Organized Stance

We will use the sequence in Figure 1 to investigate how emotion might be organized within the flow of ongoing interaction as a contextualized, multiparty, multimodal process. Four girls, who all attend the same “progressive” school, are eating lunch together at a table on the school grounds. Angela, sitting alone on the left is a scholarship student who has been excluded from the popular girls’ in-group, despite her repetitive efforts for acceptance.⁵ Indeed, her marginalization is to some extent visible in the way in which she is seated alone on one side of the table, while the other three girls form a tight inclusive group as they sit across from her. At the beginning of the sequence Angela, who is much poorer than the other girls, starts to eat her lunch without utensils. Lisa asks her to leave and go to another table (lines 1–3). Instead Angela turns away so that her face is not visible to the others. In line 10 Aretha describes what Angela is doing as “disgusting.” As this word comes to completion Angela moves her body back so that she is again facing the girls across from her, and starts to eat by dipping her

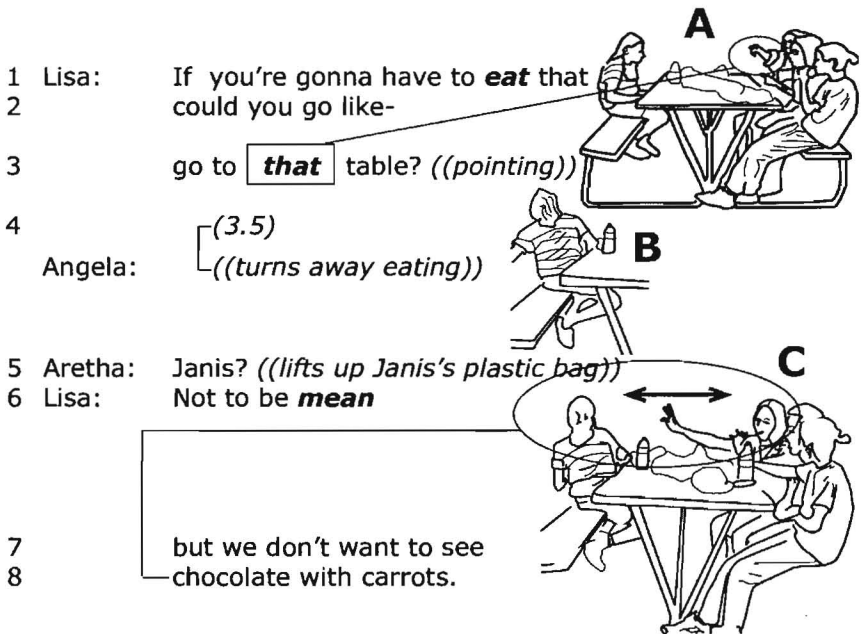


Figure 1

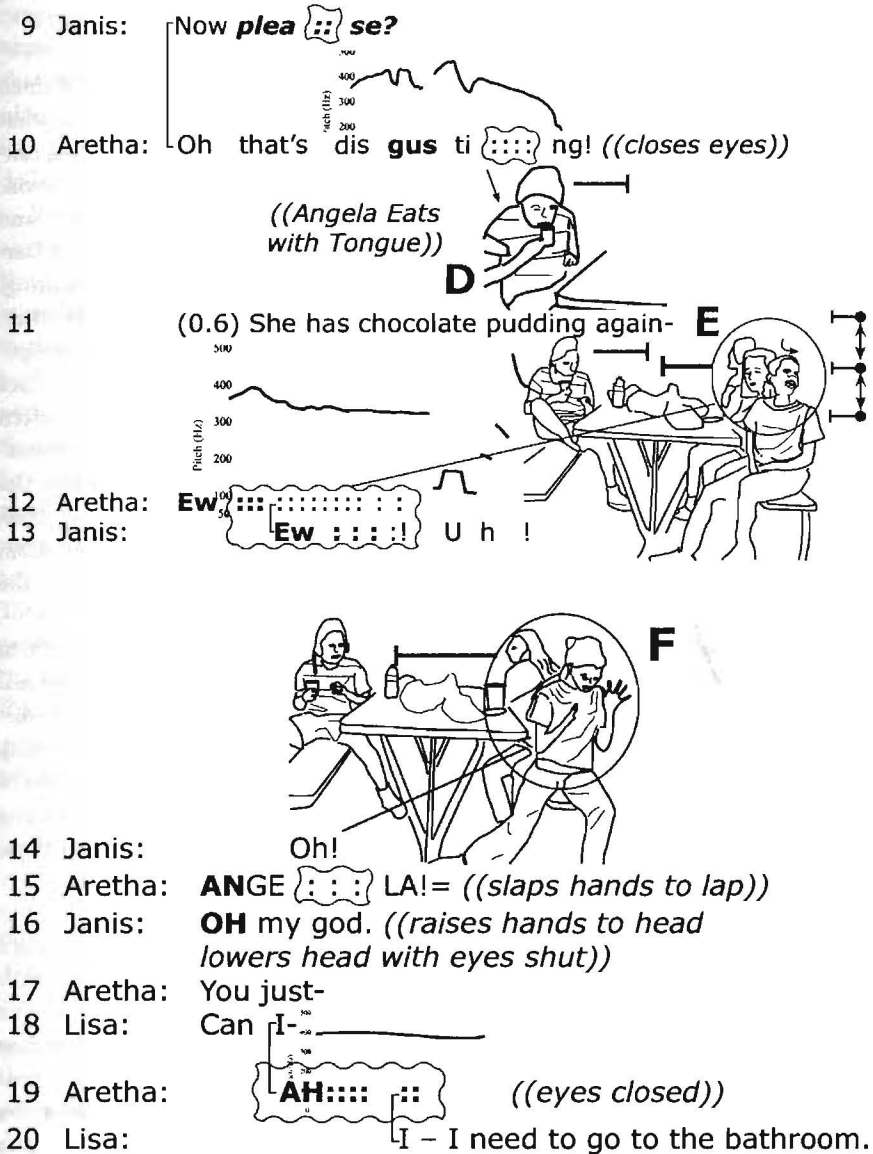


Figure 1 (continued)

tongue into the chocolate pudding container. When this happens the other three girls turn their heads and upper bodies away from her while producing high-pitched screams. These embodied displays escalate (see Figure 1, Image E), and in line 20 Lisa, responding to what she has just seen, says that she needs "to go to the bathroom."⁶

Disgust as a Universal Emotion

One of the reasons that we have chosen the sequence in Figure 1 is that Ekman lists *disgust*, the term used by Aretha in line 10 to categorize her reaction to what Angela is doing, as one of the five distinct emotions universally agreed to be central to the human repertoire of emotions (Ekman, introduction, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. xxx). Disgust has a central place in the analysis of both Darwin and the Ekman tradition. Indeed, what happens here is in strong agreement with Darwin's description of disgust. For Darwin "disgust . . . refers to something revolting, primarily in relation to the sense of taste, as actually perceived or vividly imagined" (Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 250). He notes that disgust is frequently accompanied by "guttural sounds . . . written as *ach* or *ugh*;" and their utterance is sometimes accompanied by a shudder (see Figure 1, lines 13 and 14 and Image F), and is often accompanied "by gestures as if to push away or guard against the offensive object" (Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 256; see Figure 1, Images C and E). Darwin argues that the embodied actions used to express disgust are closely tied to processes such as vomiting, in which something treated as disgusting is forcibly expelled from the body. In line 20, after seeing how Angela eats, Lisa says "I need to go to the bathroom."

Moreover, for Darwin, *disgust* has very close ties to *scorn*, *disdain*, and *contempt*, in that "they all consist of actions representing the rejection or exclusion of some real object which we dislike or abhor" (Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 260). Through their displays of disgust that target Angela, the girls on the right side of the table are treating her as just such an abhorred object, and indeed the displays constitute a means of degrading her. For Darwin disgust can locate objects in the world, such as revolting food, and also constitute a social display that demeans other actors. Both of these processes are intertwined here.

Disgust Locates a Target

We are very impressed with how Darwin's observations, written almost a century and a half ago without any close examination of actual unfolding interaction, accurately draw attention to a number of relevant phenomena in Figure 1. However, the nature of Darwin's analysis renders problematic Ekman's definition of emotions as expressions that do not locate a target in the environment beyond the individual. For Ekman emotional displays have a special status and can be trusted precisely because they are "involuntary not intentional" (Ekman, afterword, in Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 372). Emotions "inform us that something important is happening inside the person who shows the emotion" (Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 372). Unlike phenomena such as hatred, envy and jealousy, emotions do "not reveal who is the target, nor can one know from the expression itself what brought forth the anger." (Ekman, comment, in Darwin, 1872/1998, pp. 83-4). By way of contrast Darwin continuously describes disgust as a response to something the person (or other animal) is encountering in the environment (revolting food, people to be abhorred, etc.). In Figure 1 a

range of phenomena locate Angela quite explicitly as the target of the other girls' expressive behavior. These include both what they say (note the deictic "that's" that immediately precedes "disgusting" in line 10), and how they rapidly reorganize their bodies so as to avoid having to look at Angela. From a phenomenological perspective both the displays described by Darwin and what the girls do locate relevant intentional objects.

What difference does this make? If phenomena beyond an isolated actor's face are in fact relevant to the organization of expressions of disgust, and other emotions, analysis must take this expanded geography into account⁷. Using as primary stimuli static photographs of faces with different expressions renders phenomena in the actor's environment, such as relevant targets of the emotional expression, both invisible and irrelevant. This expanded perspective seems quite consistent with Darwin's original formulation of the issue. As already noted he typically describes not only the expression, but also what the expression is responding to. For example, the caption for a picture of a cat invoking a vivid display states "Cat terrified at a dog" (Darwin, 1872/1998, p. 127). The primary place where environmental response cannot be taken into account is Darwin's use of Duchenne's photographs of faces where electrical current was used to stimulate different muscles. These photographs are among the most striking produced in the entire nineteenth century. They should not, however, be used as methodological guidelines to delimit the parameters for subsequent research into emotion. In brief, we are proposing that emotional expressions be investigated within an environment of unfolding action being constituted in part through orientation to the bodies and actions of others.

Describing Interacting Bodies

Figure 1 and most of the later Figures in this chapter vividly illustrate the highly diverse ways that participants can use their bodies to take up stances, including emotional ones, toward other participants, proposed courses of action, and phenomena in their surround. How can such interacting bodies be transcribed in a way that is analytically relevant? Is it possible to accurately, indeed exhaustively, describe the configuration of a human body (Birdwhistell, 1970)? Thus in Figure 1 one can say that Angela turns around to her left in Image B and then back to her right in images D and E, or that front right girl in Image E moves her torso to her left while the rear girl moves her torso to her right. While accurate, such statements provide no relevant description of how these bodies are displaying affective stance.

To capture the variety of subtle ways that bodies in local circumstances are deployed to accomplish relevant action we are using line drawings, rather than linguistic descriptions. However, central to the phenomena being investigated in this chapter is how the body is used to display a stance toward someone else and a proposed course of action. To note this in the transcript we are annotating the images with simple symbols marking alternative alignments toward what others have just

done, or are doing. A double-headed arrow \longleftrightarrow marks a *congruent alignment*. Thus in Image C Lisa has asked Angela to go somewhere else because of the way she is eating (lines 1–3). Angela doesn't leave the table, but does turn her body away so that her eating is not visible to others (and this, rather than simply moving her body to the left, is what is relevant as a form of embodied action). Over line 8 Lisa waves her hand toward Angela with a dismissive gesture (note Darwin's comments above about gestures showing disdain and contempt). Both Lisa's gesture and her talk openly insult Angela. However, by reorganizing her body to hide the activity the others find offensive, Angela is displaying a congruent alignment to the proposals made by Lisa, and thus participating in her own degradation. The configuration constituted through the mutual orientation of Lisa and Angela's bodies is thus annotated with a double arrow.

We use a horizontal arrow with a vertical line at the end toward the other $\longrightarrow\perp$ to mark an *oppositional alignment*. Thus in Image E Angela brings her face back into the gaze of Lisa and her friends, and shortly after this all three girls dramatically turn their faces and upper bodies away from Angela. These actions are thus annotated with oppositional arrows. We stress that these configurations are being defined not in terms of the behavior of a single isolated body, but instead with reference to how one actor's body aligns with others' bodies and proposed courses of action. Though the girls at each end of the bench turn their bodies in opposite directions, they are performing the same action with reference to the changes just made by Angela's body.

Prosody

While both Darwin and Ekman note that emotion can be displayed vocally, in practice most analysis in this tradition has focused on the face. However, prosody⁸ is both pervasive and absolutely central to the organization of affective stance. Consider lines 12–13 in Figure 1. On seeing Angela eat with her tongue Aretha self-interrupts the talk in progress in line 11 (marked with a dash in *again-*), turns rapidly away from Angela while making a face and closing her eyes, and produces a cry with high sustained pitch. Note the Praat pitchtrack over the transcribed talk. Janis quickly joins her own voice to this cry.

The prosody that occurs here provides powerful resources for displaying affective stance. A number of its features will be noted. First, rather than simply expressing a single individual's internal state, it places something new in the public environment that is constituting the point of departure for the organization of the actions of the moment. Some evidence for the importance of the public organization of this display can be found in the way that Janis, in line 13, rapidly joins Aretha's cry. Rather than having an individual emotion, participants are situated within an environment structured in part by the public presence of hearable emotion.

Second, these prosodic displays are produced over talk that constitutes a form of emotive interjection or the response cry (Goffman, 1978) "*Ew:::::*" However, the

prosody that occurs here in fact produces a more powerful and vivid display of affective stance than the production of the *emotion* word “disgusting” in line 10. Third, the display gets both its power and its intelligibility from its sequential placement, the way in which it is visibly organized as a sudden next move to what Angela has done (eating with her tongue). In this it is like the embodied alignments noted above. It requires an analytic framework that extends beyond the voice of the actor producing the prosody to encompass the target being responded to and operated on. It is an interactive, dialogic action rather than the expression of something internal to a single individual.

Fourth, unlike lexical items that can be abstracted from the stream of speech and transported to other settings and media, such as the transcript written here, prosody, like facial expression, is intimately tied to a particular actor’s body performing consequential action at a specific moment. A person hearing it is thrust into the lived presence of another human being who is in the midst of experiencing something while taking up a powerful, embodied stance toward the phenomena that generated that experience.

Fifth, affective prosody can co-occur with other embodied phenomena. Here the turn-away and the prosody in lines 12–13 occur together as part of a larger ensemble of action. In light of this it might be argued that instead of focusing separately on the face, embodied movements, and prosody, one should analyze the entire action holistically. However, as they mutually elaborate each other, each of these modalities makes distinct and different contributions to the ensemble of emotion and stance that occurs here. Moreover, where relevant, participants can disassemble such structures, to build new forms of action through progressive transformation of distinct elements of a prior ensemble (C. Goodwin, 2011).

From a slightly different perspective the public organization of prosody provides the resources for socially complex alignment displays. When Janis joins Aretha in line 13, an individual display of affective stance is transformed into a shared, multi-party display of stance toward, and disgust with, Angela. One finds a situation of two against one, which is transformed into three against one a moment later when Lisa also turns away. Such coalitions in which within-group solidarity is cemented by shared opposition toward, and/or exclusion of, someone constituted as an outsider is central to not only human, but also primate organization in general. In the diagram to the right of Image E we have tried to indicate this graphically by combining lines of oppositional stance toward Angela with arrows of congruent alignment tying the three girls on the right together into a common framework of stance, opposition, experience, and emotion toward Angela. Prosody makes possible not only the display of experience, emotion, and stance, but provides the resources for constructing and organizing shared experience. Insofar as this is the case, it becomes a major locus for the constitution of embodied habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) within a dialogic framework (Linell, 2009), as separate individuals participate together in common verbal, prosodic, and embodied courses of action in ways that enable them to constitute shared affective stance toward relevant objects in their lifeworld. Some

evidence for the *in situ* socializing power of these interactive environments for the constitution of affective stance and experience can be seen in the way in which Janis, the girl in the middle, starts to produce her embodied displays only after seeing what Aretha is doing.

Prosody will be extremely important in the examples in the rest of this chapter. The use of prosody frequently leads to particular kinds of phonetic selection. Sounds that can be produced with extended duration, such as vowels and nasals, but not stops, make extended prosodic displays possible. In the Jefferson transcription system such lengthening is marked with colons. Because this is so central to the phenomena that will be examined in this chapter we have decided to highlight such lengthening with gray boxes with wavy lines, such as are found in line 12. These boxes include not only lengthened sounds indicated with colons but also adjacent vowels and nasals (including a word such as “No”). This is a purely notational device that helps us to organize our transcripts to make relevant phenomena stand out as clearly as possible to the reader.

Summary

The interaction visible in Figure 1 provides materials for proposing a framework for the investigation of affective stance that conceptualizes such phenomena as dialogic and embedded within ongoing interaction within the lived social world. We have great respect for the work done by Ekman and his colleagues. The video materials we are using do not permit the close analysis of the face and its muscles that are central to his work. We are therefore very much in favor of the presence of diverse research traditions that can provide complementary analysis of important and complex phenomena such as emotion.

As part of a dialogue with other work on emotion we would like to note some distinctive ways that emotion emerges in unfolding interaction documented in our materials. First, rather than having its primary locus in the individual, it is dialogic both in the way in which it takes up a stance toward something beyond the individual, and in how it is organized within frameworks of temporally unfolding interaction. In constructing stance and emotion, participants perform operations on the displays, signs, and embodied materials produced by their coparticipants. Emotions arise in part from the world being encountered by local actors, and help to further shape both that world and the actions of others. Second, the use of interactive materials adds a strong temporal and sequential dimension to the study of emotion. The structured unfolding of interaction helps us to systematically investigate the rapid flow of emotion and the way in which mutable emotions are in a constant process of flux, something that has long been noted by poets such as Shakespeare and philosophers such as James and the phenomenologists. Third, a variety of different kinds of phenomena, such as facial expressions, prosody, embodied stances, and movements (for example, the girls turning away from Angela), are implicated simultaneously in the construction of specific displays of stance and emotion. The way in which action is built through the use of diverse materials that mutually elaborate each other

(C. Goodwin, 2000, 2011) enables actors to precisely adapt to local interactive environments by constructing a range of variable displays. This in fact seems consistent with Darwin's own interests in species as populations, rather than fixed types, with variability providing the resources necessary for both adaptation and change.

The approach to the study of emotion we are suggesting here requires particular kinds of materials. Most centrally we view emotions as dialogic phenomena, and this is certainly true for stance as well (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). Therefore, rather than focusing on the individual in isolation, we want to look at sequences in which one party is responding to, or in some other way performing operations on, actions produced by another. In the remainder of this chapter we will use as data sequences of family interaction recorded in the United States and Sweden in which one party, a child, is responding to a directive produced by another, a parent. Such interactively structured sequences provide environments where the dialogic organization of emotion can be systematically investigated.

CONTEXTUAL CONFIGURATIONS OF STANCE DISPLAY IN DIRECTIVE SEQUENCES

In the midst of mundane activities, as family members take up various types of stances toward the actions in progress, they constitute themselves as particular kinds of social and moral actors (C. Goodwin, 2007). We examine the embodied practices that children make use of in response to directives: in particular, we are concerned with three basic types of next moves: bald refusals, moves that put off or avoid immediate compliance with parental directives, and compliance.

Directives constitute a form of *situated activity system*: "a somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-terminating circuit of interdependent actions" (Goffman, 1961, p. 96). As such, rather than being restricted to the verbal channel, frequently the focus of studies on directives, they require attention to next actions of participants, which entail fully embodied forms of participation (Cekaite, 2010; C. Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; M. H. Goodwin, 2006a) in addition to talk. Kendon (2009, p. 363) argues, "Every single utterance using speech employs, in a completely integrated fashion, patterns of voicing and intonation, pausings and rhythmicities, which are manifested not only audibly, but kinesically as well." Indeed Bolinger (1989, p. 1) early described intonation as "part of a gestural complex" (one that includes the body as well as the face) for signaling attitudes. Both the way that talk and the body mutually elaborate each other and the ways that operations are performed vis-à-vis the other are part of the processes of mutual elaboration through which actions we studied are built.

Ervin-Tripp and Gordon (1984), in an early study of directives, were concerned with children's developmental acquisition of uses of verbal mitigation (through overt marking, justifying and allusion or hinting) to display deference to the addressee. Craven and Potter (2010) examine practices of moving from modal interrogative requests (ones showing concern with the hearer's willingness to comply, or "contingency") to upgraded parental directives displaying increasingly heightened

speaker “entitlement” (Curl & Drew, 2008; Heinemann, 2006; Lindström, 2005) to control the recipient’s actions. By way of contrast our interest is in the agency demonstrated in children’s *responses* to directives, responses systematically shaped as affective stances toward the proposed course of action. As research exploring parent–child directive sequences that develop over time (a day, or a week) has demonstrated, children can exert a considerable degree of agency when formulating, revising or redefining parental terms for requested action (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011).

Just as directives can take more “mitigated” or “aggravated” forms (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), so responses to directives can be formulated with various degrees of politeness or “impoliteness” (Bousfield, 2008; Mills, 2010). While Labov and Fanshel (1977, pp. 87–8) state that an unaccounted refusal can lead to a break in social relations, in the context of family interaction, as Blum-Kulka (1997, p. 150) has argued, “unmodified directness is neutral or unmarked in regard to politeness.” In our data children’s bald refusals constitute one possible response to directives. Alternatively, putting off a directive may be accomplished through actions such as ignoring the directive or pleading objections, which can lead to modifying or postponing the directive.

Ervin-Tripp, O’Connor, and Rosenberg (1984, p. 118) argue that speakers with high esteem have the right to receive verbal deference from others and can make control moves baldly, without offering deference to those who are lower in esteem. We find that through pleading objections children construct the parent as someone who is esteemed, but who nonetheless has obligations to attend to aspects of the children’s emotional life. By way of contrast, children’s bald refusals construct open confrontations and can lead to character contests (Goffman, 1967, pp. 237–8) in which parents and children negotiate relative positions of power (with children sometimes winning). Thus through their uptake to a directive children display a range of different perspectives, not only with regard to notions of obligation, but to notions of deference and demeanor as well. Across the data to be examined we find very different types of social order (Goffman, 1963, p. 8) developing from these alternative trajectories of action. Quite distinctive forms of ethos (Bateson, 1972) evolve as families overlay their activities with different forms of affect (M. H. Goodwin, 2006a, p. 516).

Data

The examples in this study are drawn from video recordings of naturally occurring interaction in families who were part of UCLA’s Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF) and Sweden’s sister project (SCELF). Approximately fifty hours of interaction were collected in thirty-two families over a week’s time in the US and approximately thirty-seven hours for eight families in Sweden. Video-ethnographic methodology made it possible to record mundane talk (C. Goodwin, 1981), physical gestures (Streeck, 2009) and action (C. Goodwin, 2000), and routine activities (Tulbert & Goodwin,

2011), all within the household settings where people actually carry out their daily lives (Ochs, Graesch, Mittmann, & Bradbury, 2006). The age range of children recorded was one through eighteen, although in this chapter we deal primarily with children ages four through ten.

EMBODIED AFFECTIVE REFUSALS TO DIRECTIVES

Rather than delaying disagreement or a preference for agreement through hedges or pauses (Pomerantz, 1978), in the American data negation words often occur at the earliest possible place in response to (recycled) directives, at the beginnings of next moves to directives. In refusals (“No!”) the most dramatic way in which opposition is expressed prosodically is through dramatic pitch leaps with rise–fall contours. Such defiant opposition turns exhibit acoustic features of emphatic speech style identified by Selting (1994, p. 375; 1996, p. 237): duration (the acoustic correlate of length)⁹ or extended vowels and heightened fundamental frequency (the acoustic correlate of perceived pitch). Consider the following:

While children are watching television with Dad, Dad gives three directives to Jason (age four) to initiate actions to brush his teeth: “Here” ((extending toothbrush to Jason)), “Come on.” and “Okay we gotta go” and Jason gives no response. Dad, himself, meanwhile, has remained on the couch avidly attending the television. When Dad gets up from the couch and delivers a fourth directive (line 1) Jason buries himself in the sofa. While speaking “We gotta go.” Dad drags Jason from the couch toward the bathroom.

1 Dad: **Sorry guys. (1.6) Time to turn it off.**



2 Jason: **N** **O** I'M **NOT-**

3 Dad: We gotta **go**. I **told** you Jason.
4 A few **minutes**.

5 Dad: Hailey g- go get the pair of shoes
6 you wanna wear. Also.

7 Dad: Let's **go**. We've gotta **go**.

8 Jason, do you want a piece of gum?

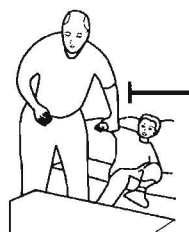
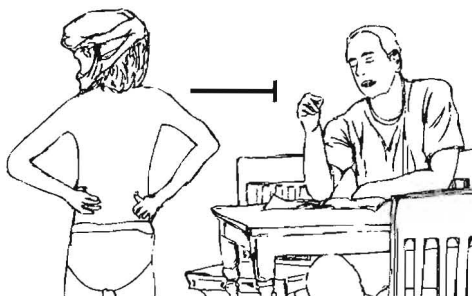


Figure 2

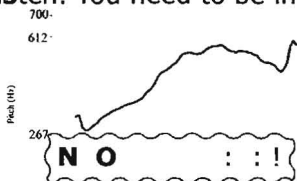
Three times Dad tells Jonah (age eight) to start getting ready for bed, and Jonah remains immobile, taking up a defiant stance with arms akimbo (line 3). Subsequently Jonah moves away from his father by going to the back door and begins looking out the back door. Father next gets up and moves to the back door and began massaging Jonah's shoulders (line 7)

- 1 Dad: **Go-** get a **book**.
- 2 For yours-
- 3 Jonah: **Never.** ((defiant stance arms akimbo))
- 4 Dad: How long is **never**.



10 Seconds Later

- 5 Dad: **Listen.** You need to be in bed in twenty minutes.



- 6 Jonah:

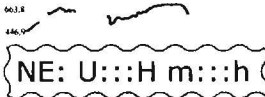
- 7 Dad: If you're **not** in bed in twenty minutes
- 8 I will hunt down wherever your **gameboy** is
- 9 And get it. (.) *h And it's be gone for the **week**.
- 10 So **hurry** your harness. =okay?
- 11 Go brush your **teeth**.



massaging Jonah's shoulders

Figure 3

In response to Mom's refusal to let Emil (age five) brush his teeth on the couch Emil turns away from his Mom and begins dramatically flailing his arms in the air while crying out:

- 1 Mom: **Kom** nu höre du.
Come on you.
- 2 Emil: Ma::a:h. Får man borsta tänderna härinne?
Ma::ah. Can I brush my teeth in here?
((gestures protesting))
- 3 Mom: Ne:j. Det **får** du faktiskt inte.
No:. You can't actually.
- 4 Emil:  NE: U::H m::h

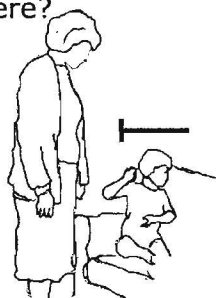


Figure 4

These defiant opposition turns exhibit acoustic features of emphatic speech style identified by Selting: (a) extended vowels (the acoustic correlate of length); and (b) heightened fundamental frequency (the acoustic correlate of perceived pitch):

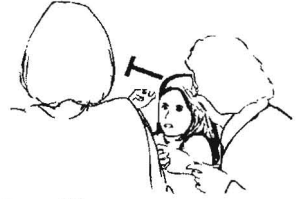
	Vowel duration	Pitch height
Figure 2	580 msec.	750 Hz
Figure 3	860 msec.	612 Hz
Figure 4	673 msec.	663 Hz

In Figures 2–4 children protest over multiple turns the directives that are posed to them, and parents respond with upgraded responses: bribes (Figure 2) and threats (Figures 3–4). In Figure 2 Jason had to be bribed with gum (line 8) to dislodge him from the sofa where he hid his head to avoid going to the bathroom. Jonah in Figure 3 was threatened that he would have his Game Boy taken away (lines 8–9).

Rather than using threats or bribes, another possible parental response to a refusal is a metacommentary about the child's conduct. In Figure 5 below, in response to eight-year-old Alison's refusal to take a bath because she had done so yesterday, Mom responded: "It's not negotiable." (line 8).

Figures 2–4 show ways that children take up stances of defiance to their parent's directive. Both duration of the vowel (well exceeding 200 msec.) as well as the pitch height (above the 250 Hz normal pitch range for children) signal strong opposition. By way of contrast in Figure 5 the opposition that Alison produced was a softly produced, low-pitched "Uh uh" (going up only to 200 Hz, line 5). Her only bodily movement was a slight headshake. In response to Mom's ruling, Alison maintained a sullen face, and looked away from her mom, but she did not protest further. Mom closed down the sequence with her "It's not negotiable." Here disagreement was expressed silently, merely through the way Alison glanced away from her mother. When Mother declared that the act in

- 1 Mom: **Alright.** (4.0) It's twenty minutes to eight
 2 Even though it doesn't **feel** like it.
 3 Alison: **That says seven.** ((*pointing to the clock*))
 4 Mom: **We have** to get you in the bath.



- 5 Alison: **Uh** uh. ((*shakes head*))
 6 I had a bath **yesterday.**
 7 (0.8)
 8 Mom: It's **not** negotiable. ((*shakes head*))
 9 (0.8)
 10 Mom: Okay?
 11 Alison: ((*looks at mom, then turns head*
 12 *away*))

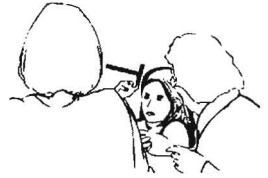


Figure 5

question was nonnegotiable, that ended the matter (line 10). When the family finished eating, Alison complied with her mom's directive and took a bath.

The examples presented in this section demonstrate a range of ways in which children use embodied language practices to take up oppositional stances toward parental directives. Different types of action trajectories can develop, depending on types of accounts, volume, intonation, and embodied actions used by coparticipants. Parents may bodily assist children in complying with a directive through shepherding (Cekaite, 2010), scooping them up in their arms (Figure 7), or even dragging them (Figure 2) toward the targeted location.

EMBODIED AFFECTIVE STANCES USED IN PUTTING OFF DIRECTIVES

In our data on directives in family life, we also find children's responses that put off the directives: in contrast to the dramatic moves of noncompliance (Figures 2–6), children can make appeals to take their position into account and ask to modify or postpone the directive. Pleading turns occur as responses to directives that clearly prescribe a specific course of action, expecting compliance, as in "Luke. Bath. (0.2) Come on." (Figure 6) or "I:ngella? You come here, because we've got to go to bed now." (Figure 8, below) or "Turn it off." (Figure 8) Grammatical forms used for these directives entail a range of resources: imperatives "Turn it off" (Figure 8) and "Come on" (Figure 6), second person declaratives (in Swedish used for indexing upgraded directives as in Figure 7), and noun phrases (Figure 6), that, together with prosody, provide for an unmitigated way of upgrading directives.

Verbal features of responses to such directive forms involve a range of resources, such as politeness terms ("please," address terms of endearment), and accounts

(often prefaced by the sequential conjunction *but*) that argue that an action cannot be performed because it violates the child's personal desires. Putting off directive turns exhibit distinct prosodic contours, characterized by a high global pitch, rising-falling elongated glides on lengthened vowels as well as marked aspiration. Such features Günthner (1997b, p. 253), in her analysis of the contextualization of affect in reported speech in German, describes as a "plaintive tone of voice."

In Figure 6, eight-year-old Luke's pleading cries provide something other than an outright refusal. Covering himself up with a blanket on the sofa (see image below) Luke instead puts off the requested action (his mother's summons to take a bath), by stating "NO:: Not ye:::t!" (line 2) and "after piano" (lines 5, 12), and provides explanations for his lack of uptake through accounts such as "But I'm tired and I wanna go to slee-." (line 26). Throughout lines 1-17 he was curled up on the couch, hiding under a cover.

1 Mom: Luke. Bath. (2.0) Come **on**.



2 Luke: **NO:::** Not **ye:::t!**

3 Mom: Not y- not yet? What do you mean not yet.
4 Marty's coming-

5 Luke: **AFTER (.) PIAN O:::**



6 Mom: **No::!** **Now!**

7 Luke: **Y E::S!**



8 **PLE (A:::SE!)**

9 Mom: Huh **uh**.

10 **NO!**

11 You **are** taking a bath now.

12 Luke: **AFTER**

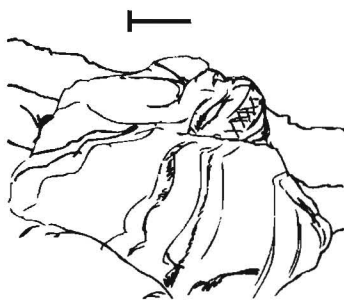
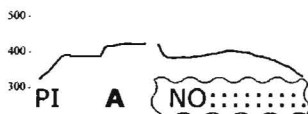


Figure 6

13 Mom: Nope.



14 Luke: **Wh** **y**.....

15 Mom: **N OW**::.



16 Luke: **PI** **ea**.....**se**.

17 Mom: By the time Marty- ((pulling blanket off Luke))

18 By [the time you're

19 Luke: [No.

20 Mom: No. By the time Marty's done

21 It's going to be ten thirty. [Come on.

22 Luke: [No:.....

23 Luke: **PLE** **A**.....**SE**.

24 Mom: No. I'm counting to

25 Mom: three right now.



26 Luke: But I'm tired and I wanna go to **sleep**-

27 Mom: And you're

28 And **you're** going to be even more tired.

29 Come on.=ONE, [TWO,

30 Luke: [PLE **A**.....**SE**.

31 **Please**.

32 Mom: NO! COME!

33 Luke: But I'm t **i**.....**red**!

Figure 6 (continued)

As Mom finishes eating dinner with other family members in the dining room, she initiates a directive to Luke (in the living room) to take a bath. Over numerous moves putting off the directive, Luke provides a series of dramatic rise-fall contours (lines 12, 14, 16, 26) with elongated vowels (some 1130 msec.) on the final falling syllables of utterances (lines 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 22, 23, 26). Mom in this sequence insists that Luke comply, over seventy-five consecutive turns at talk, providing (continual) rationales for the directive (See M. H. Goodwin, 2006a, pp. 534–5, for a more complete analysis of this sequence). Providing a gloss of Luke's actions she states calmly, "I don't want to hear any more complaints please." Eventually, after a series of repeated directives from Mom and refusals and excuses from Luke, he walks to the bathroom to take a bath.

Utterances such as those in Figure 6 might be interpreted as forms of "appeals,"¹⁰ described by Schieffelin (1990, p. 112) for Kaluli society as modalities of action strategically used to attempt to make others "feel sorry for" the speaker. The recipient of an appeal responds with compassion or assistance to the participant making the appeal, who is viewed as being helpless. In our data, pleading turns are used in second pair part accounts for noncompliance with a directive, implicitly casting the parent as someone who has obligations to take the child's feelings and position into account. The child's affective stance toward the requested action can be indexed through (turn-initial) response cries "E::H, AJ, UU:H" (signaling feelings of strong displeasure and indignation), crying sounds, sobbing that, in addition to the "pleading contour," signals the affective quality and intensity of objection.

In Figure 7 Mom demands that her five-year-old daughter, Ingella, who is in another room, go to bed right away in response to Mom's directive (line 1), Ingella, in a plaintive voice, directs her pleading appeal to Mom, with a turn-initial conjunction objecting to the prior turn (line 2). Mom, however, mockingly redirects the appeal to the daughter, employing herself a stylized pleading intonation contour. The daughter then upgrades her pleading with an account that features a strong display of sadness, namely, sobbing (lines 4–5). It is in response to this upgraded affective stance that Mom displays her coalignment with the daughter's position, and Ingella finally complies (approaching Mom).

Pleading objection turns exhibit distinctive acoustic features: duration/extended vowels, heightened fundamental frequency, and falling intonation on elongated final vowels (e.g. Günthner, 1997b, p. 253). Below are the durations and pitch heights of the vowels in selected sequences (including Figure 8):

	Vowel duration	Pitch height
Figure 6, line 2	560 msec.	350→300 Hz
Figure 6, line 12	529 msec.	410→300 Hz
Figure 7, line 2	530 msec.	400→200 Hz
Figure 8, line 9	380 msec.	400→200 Hz
Figure 8, line 11	558 msec.	480→200 Hz

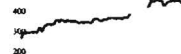

- 1 Mom: I:NGELLA? NU **KOMMER** DU, FÖR NU SKA VI **SOVA**.
I:NGELLA? YOU COME HERE, BECAUSE WE'VE
GOT TO GO TO BED NOW.
- 
- 2 Ingella: Me- **ma::mm=**
But mo: : m=
- 
- 3 Mom: =Men **I:::n**gella.
=But I:::ngella.
- 4 Ingella: Huhh jag vill **so**(hhh)va
Huhh I want to slee(hhh)p
- 5 där(hh)inn(hh)e, huhh huhh
the(hh)re, huhh huhh
- 6 Mom: Jamen vi **kollar** härinne.
We'll look in here.
((points at children's bedroom))
- 7 Ingella: Jag () inte. Jag är **trött**, heh heh
I () not. I'm tired, heh heh
((runs to mom))
- 8 *((Ingella jumps up, mother scoops her in her arms))*
- 9 Mom: Finns inte (.) nån plats här.
Is there (.) any space here.
((carries daughter to the bedroom))

Figure 7

In our data, we find that the entire body is deployed to organize embodied stances toward the actions of others: such stances portray the children as being “unhappy,” “helpless,” or “tired,” or otherwise unable to accomplish the request. In the following Figure 8, Mom tells her two daughters, Alma (eight years) and Saga (six years) to turn off the television and come to eat breakfast. Instead of complying with Mom’s directive, the girls attempt to redefine the terms of the target action. In addition to prosody, the entire body, face, torso, and limbs, index a display of “unhappiness” (lines 9, 11). There is a sad, desperate look on Alma’s face. She also leans back, stretching out both her head (turned a bit to the left) and her arms, arranging her body similarly to an iconic display of the Virgin Mary. Saga with her gesture covers her face.

1 Mom: **Tjejer?** Ni får stänga **av** nu, och komma
Girls? You've got to turn off now, and come

2 och äta frukost.
and have breakfast.

3 (0.2)

4 Mom: Hör ni vad jag **sa**?
Did you hear what I said?

5 Alma: Men jag vill-
But I want-

6 (0.5)

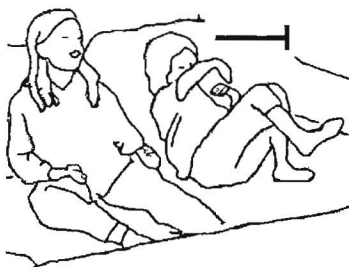
7 Alma: Kan vi inte få äta **frukost** häruppe?
Can't we have breakfast upstairs?

8 Mom: Nej. Stäng av.
No. Turn it off.

500.
400.
300.
200.

9 Alma: Sn(ä::lla mamma::)

Kind mom
'Please mom'



10 Mom: Men ni har redan tittat nu. Stäng **av**.
But you've watched it now. Turn it off.

Figure 8

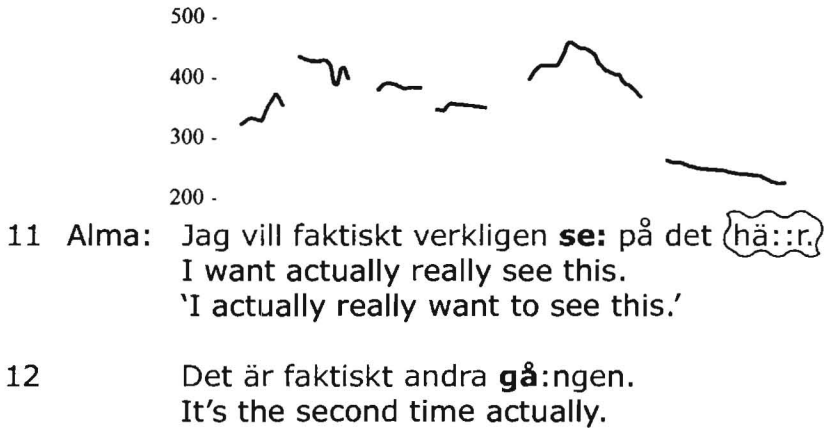


Figure 8 (continued)

When later, shown in Figure 9, Mom demands compliance by finally turning of the television herself, the girls' embodied responses—Alma's gesture of exasperation and Saga's slapping the couch, while looking at Mom—display their exasperation and frustration with Mom's action (lines 21, 22).

Children's pleading turns elicit specific types of responses: Parents may refuse to put off the directive (ignoring the pleading response, recycling it, or accounting for the

20 Mom: ((comes upstairs and turns off the TV))

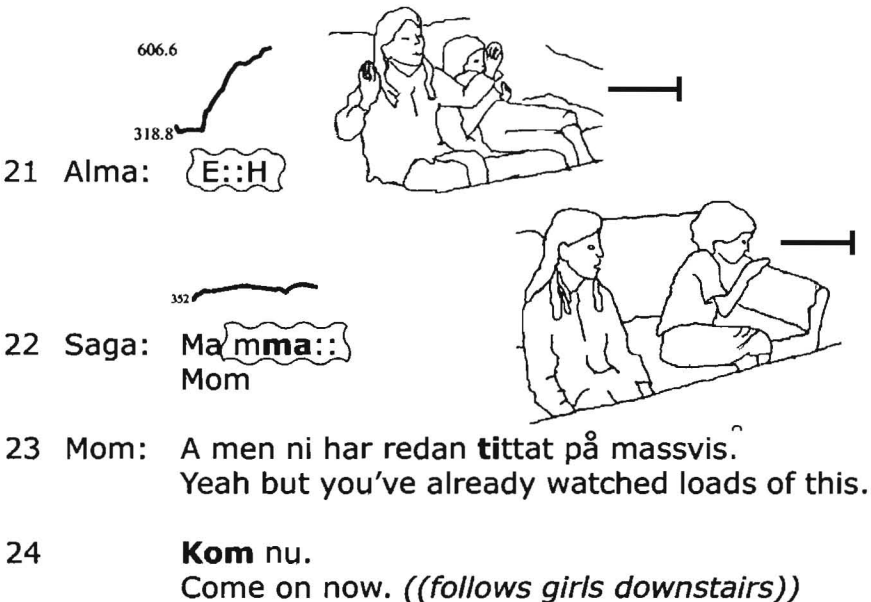


Figure 9

directive, Figures 6, 8, 9) or give in (modifying or postponing the initial directive, Figure 7). Affectively charged pleadings, harboring accounts for noncompliance, evoke parental rationales for directives and constitute a ground for the development of extended directive sequences.

EMBODIED TRAJECTORIES OF JOYFUL COMPLIANCE TO DIRECTIVES

While we have primarily been concerned with how directives are postponed or refused, alternative ways of responding are of course possible. Children do comply and can even enthusiastically spring into action following a directive.

In the examples below we find moves of joyful compliance. In Figure 10 at dinner the family had been discussing how eight-year-old Aurora might befriend a shy

- 1 Mom: **Okay. Time** to brush your teeth.
- 2 Aurora: **Time** to brush your tee(hh)th,
- 3 Wes: eh heh!
- 4 Aurora: **That** is not Brazilian.
- 5 Wes: Eh heh heh heh!
- 6 Wes: Eh heh-heh heh heh-heh!
- 7 Aurora: ((stands up from table))
- 8 Mom: **Samba.** ((pointing to bathroom))
- 9 Aurora: **Sam::ba.**
- 10 Mom: **Samba** to the bathroom.
- 11 Aurora: ((begins to dance samba to bathroom))

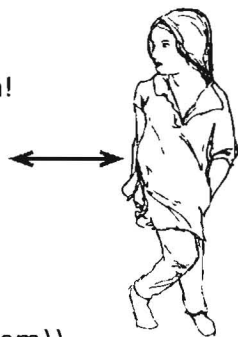


Figure 10

Brazilian boy in her class by asking him about Brazilian samba; the conversation then shifted to a discussion of Brazilian Portuguese. When Mom states “Okay. Time to brush your teeth.” Aurora, in a repair-like counter move (M. H. Goodwin, 1990b, p. 147), playfully challenging the directive, responds: “Time to brush your tee(hh)th, That is not Brazilian” (lines 2 and 4).

Rather than dealing with the pragmatic or referential meaning of the utterance, Aurora instead playfully challenges its form (line 4). Wes (aged five), Aurora’s brother, displaying that he is joining in the humorous interpretation of Mom’s talk, overlaps Aurora’s talk with laughter (lines 5–6). As Aurora gets up from the table, and stands in a position indicating her willingness to carry out what has been asked of her, Mom (lines 8–10) then provides a directive that enters into the frame of play Aurora had initiated (lines 2 and 4), as she states, “Samba. Samba to the bathroom.” Across a number of types of interactions these family members engage in wordplay and joyful exploration of their phenomenal world (M. H. Goodwin, 2007).

In Swedish families, we find similar directive trajectories keyed as playful endeavors. In figure 11 Mom’s directives to go and clean the room before watching the TV show are designed as playfully embodied instructions. Mom helps her ten-year-old

- 1 Mom: A men du. (.) går du upp och så **plockar**
Well but you. (.) go upstairs and then clean
- 2 lite på ditt **rumm**? Städa alla saker på
your room a bit? Clean all things from
- 3 **bordet.** (0.3) Ska du göra det?
the table. (0.3) You'll do that?
((turning the daughter around))
- 4 Marie: Ja.
Yes.
- 5 Mom: Sen kan du komma och **se** det.
Then you can come back and watch it.
((refers to TV show))



Figure 11

daughter pirouette, and Maria dancingly turns from the window toward the target activity-relevant location (i.e., the staircase that leads to the girl's room), while verbally confirming her compliance.

While most studies of directives in the family focus on the moves of parents, here we have investigated the ways in which children not only comply with but also resist actions proposed to them. In Figures 2–11 children display through their bodily behavior (e.g., arms akimbo) as well as their talk their stance toward the directive. Children can avoid entering any type of facing formation whatsoever vis-à-vis those who deliver the directive—hiding under a cover (Figures 6), burying their head in the couch (Figure 2), or turning away from parents (Figures 2, 5, 8, 9). Children can provide vivid portraits of the reluctant (Figures 6, 8–9) and defiant body (Figures 2–3) or, alternatively, assume a willing body, as, Aurora, and Maria (in Figures 10 and 11), displaying forms of cooperative semiosis (C. Goodwin, 2011). Figure 12 below demonstrates the pervasiveness of how the body is organized dialogically. A range of examples from two different societies all demonstrate how individuals organize their bodies with reference to the bodies of their cointeractants and the courses of actions they are pursuing together.

Discussing the special mutuality of immediate social interaction Park (1927, p. 738) argues that the individual in society lives “a more or less public existence in which all his acts are anticipated, checked, inhibited, or modified by the gestures and the intentions of his fellows.” He argues that “it is this social conflict, in which the individual lives more or less in the mind of every other individual, that human nature and the individual may acquire their most characteristic and human traits.”

Embodied stances exemplify such dialogic (Linell, 2009) public phenomena. While they are responsive to the prior action, simultaneously they are proactive: as a display of the speaker's alignment to another's action, they shape the hearer's

Dialogic Bodies

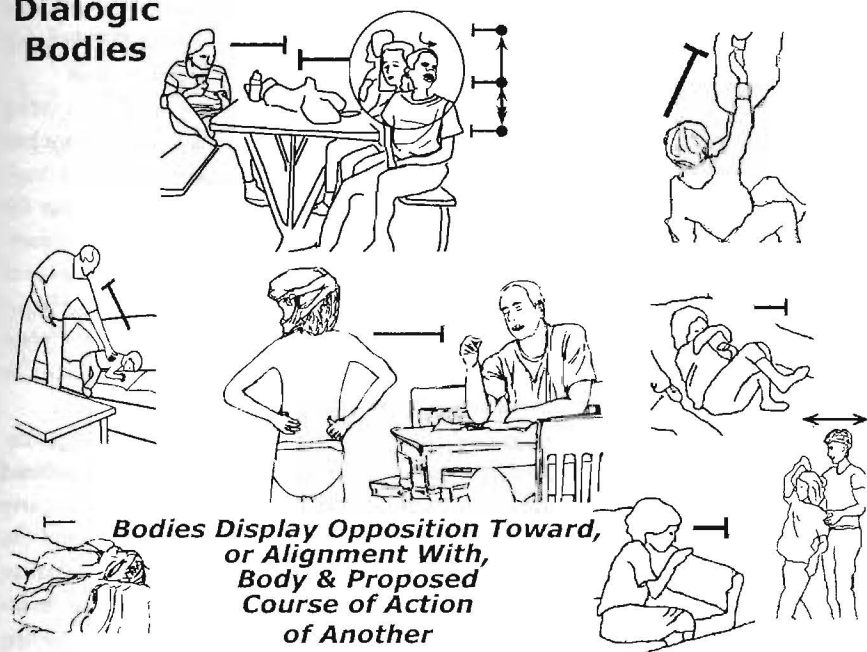


Figure 12

response, constraining what will come next. Children's confrontational refusals result in little accommodation to the child; parents often recycle directives, and mention sanctions for noncompliance. The pleading mode, by way of contrast, is calibrated to invoke a parent's alignment with the child's position. Such multimodally organized directive trajectories thus show clearly that emotion and stance are not simply add-ons to an isolated individual action, but constitute an inherent feature of temporally unfolding sequences of social interaction.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have tried to develop a perspective for the analysis of emotion that focuses on how it is organized as social practice within ongoing human interaction.

Much analysis of emotion investigates its primary organization as being lodged within the psychology of the individual. One strong tradition, taking as its point of departure Darwin (1872/1998), focuses on the evolution of particular emotions, and organization of the muscles used to display emotion in the face. Our framework proposes a quite different geography. From our perspective it is necessary to take into account not only the psychology and facial expressions of the individual expressing the emotion, but also the relevant actions and bodily displays of the parties they are interacting with. We argue specifically that the body of the party producing an

emotional display cannot be examined in isolation. Crucial to the organization of emotion as public practice is the way in which individuals display rapidly changing stances toward both other participants, and the actions currently in progress.

Methodologically it was therefore necessary to provide new ways of presenting relevant phenomena on the printed page: Because of the subtle way in which not just the face, but entire bodies are organized to display relevant stances, we found it appropriate to include images of bodies. The meaningfulness of bodily displays for indexing particular affective stances was constituted through how they were positioned within local activity frameworks, and vis-à-vis each other in the lived space of the habitual environments where interaction was occurring (i.e., homes with separate places for eating, watching television, and so on, and the tables on the playground). All of these phenomena were mobilized by interacting bodies in order to construct affective stance, and display locally relevant emotions.

Our focus on the analysis of emotion as situated interactive practice required particular kinds of data. Specifically, in order to examine how emotions were being mobilized with respect to the actions of others, we chose a particular sequential and multiparty environment. We focused our analysis on directives being given to children, and the responses made by these children, in both Sweden and the United States. All of these data demonstrate how emotion is organized as a multiparty phenomenon that mobilizes a range of different resources provided by both language and the body, including particular kinds of turn prefaces, and systematic use of prosody which showed similarities in the American and the Swedish data with respect to how bodies were mobilized to display either congruent alignment or opposition to the frameworks proposed by prior speakers. From our perspective both stance and emotion are not add-ons to action basically displayed through language structure. Instead they constitute central components of the situated actions participants build to carry out the mundane activities that make up the lived social worlds they inhabit together.

NOTES

This study is part of an interdisciplinary, collaborative research endeavor conducted by members of the UCLA Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELf), under the direction of Elinor Ochs, and the Swedish counterpart (SCELf), under the direction of Karin Aronsson. CELf was generously supported by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation program on the Workplace, Workforce, and Working Families, headed by Kathleen Christensen. We are indebted to the working families who participated in this study for opening their homes and sharing their lives. Diana Hill provided invaluable assistance and expertise in making the pitch tracts for this chapter. Katrina Laygo, Ian Dickson, and Erin Mays provided their artistic talents in the rendering of images. Malcah Yaeger-Dror and Christina Samuelsson provided invaluable help with understanding features of intonation. We thank Karin Aronsson for invaluable comments on an earlier draft and Anssi Peräkylä and Marja-Leena Sorjonen for helpful comments throughout the process of writing this chapter.

1. See also Jaffe (2009b) and Du Bois (2007) on stance.
2. Our focus on emotion as stance is, however, most relevant to the analysis emerging from neuroscience, of how emotions mark and inflect in a most consequential fashion

the events they are tied to (Damasio, 1999), which is relevant to phenomena such as the acquisition of complex skills, including becoming competent in a second language (Schumann et al., 2004).

3. In concert with work that views emotion as something that can be adequately described by restricting analysis to the individual, much work on emotion and language inspired by Wierzbicka (1995) has focused on her notion of semantic primitives. As Bamberg (1997, p. 210) defines it, "emotions to her are a semantic domain (1995, [p.] 235) to be investigated in a semantic metalanguage, i.e., in terms of indefinables or primitives (semantic universals) that are shared by all human languages." See Besnier (1990) and Wilce (2009) for reviews of language and emotion. See also Irvine (1982, 1990), Lutz and White (1986), Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), Matoesian (2005) Caffi and Janney (1994).
4. In 1998 Ekman prepared an edition of Darwin's original 1872 *The expression of the emotions in man and animals*, with his own introduction, afterword, and commentary. Thus many of the citations here that begin with Darwin's book are in fact quotes from Ekman. This is indicated in the in-text citation.
5. See M. H. Goodwin (2006b) for more extended analysis of the dynamics of this group and Angela's marginalization.
6. Talk is transcribed using a slightly modified version of the system developed by Gail Jefferson (see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, pp. 731–3). Talk receiving some form of emphasis (e.g., talk that would be underlined in a typewritten transcript using the Jefferson system) is marked with bold italics.
7. See also Fridlund's (1997) exposition of his "behavioral ecology view" of faces.
8. Reilly and Seibert (2003, p. 538) describe prosody as including "stress, intonation, loudness, pitch, juncture, and rate of speech. It is a suprasegmental feature in that prosody extends beyond the most basic linguistic unit, the phoneme."
9. The normal pitch range of preadolescent girls is between 250–350 Hz; any vowel longer than 200 milliseconds is considered extended (Yaeger-Dror, 2002; Richard Ogden, personal communication, 2010). Klatt (1976, p. 1209), writing about English, states that "the average (median) duration for a stressed vowel is about 130 msec. in a connected discourse." In Swedish the mean length of stressed vowels in connected discourse is 158 msec. and 103 msec. for short vowels (Elert, 1964).
10. Schieffelin (1990, p. 112) explains that she is using the term "appeal" to refer to a modality of action rather than a metalinguistic term in the Kaluli language.