10

The Primacy of Affective Engagement in Simultaneously Unfolding Participation Frameworks

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10.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine the multitude of ways in which people experience and express together their emotions while they engage concurrently in multiple participation frameworks (Goffman 1981). Building on

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current interactional research on how people engage in the multilayeredness of social interaction, such as when people attend to interactions while their bodies are mobile (Haddington et al. 2013; McIlvenny et al. 2009) or engage in multiple activities at the same time (Haddington et al. 2014), our work investigates how individuals arrange their bodies so that they can attend to more than one participation framework simultaneously. In these settings, we focus on an understudied dimension of interaction—affect (c.f. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Ruusuvuori 2013).

The terms affect and emotion, which we use interchangeably in this chapter, refer to the interactional (Ruusuvuori 2013) and intercorporeal (Merleau-Ponty 1962) aspects of sentiments emerging through forms of human sociality. Emotion is an omnipresent feature of social interaction (Goffman 1961) even if it is seldom topicalized or expressed in words (Ruusuvuori 2013: 330). The expression and sharing of emotions are often intertwined with other actions, making it a challenge to study emotion in interaction.

We begin from the perspective that engaging in another person's emotion is one of the most fundamental elements of intersubjective order (Peräkylä 2013: 552; Peräkylä et al. 2021) and that it is crucial for the organization of social relationships (M. H. Goodwin 2017; M. H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018). We will examine in detail the connection between affect and accessibility to different participation frameworks in moments where multiple participation frameworks exist concurrently, and participants have various types of sensorial access to each other. The use of the term "participation framework" refers to forms of *involvement* which are collaboratively attended to by speakers and hearers in co-occurring action (C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin 2004: 222). We propose that affect has the ability to interweave various participation frameworks and the participants in them, as it is a form of engagement which resonates in space beyond a single participation framework.

We draw on co-operative (C. Goodwin 2018; M. H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018) and intercorporeal (M. H. Goodwin 2017; Katila 2018; Meyer et al. 2017) perspectives to analyze spontaneously unfolding emotion in interaction. We examine how connecting various participation frameworks through affect is accomplished in four different interactional ecologies: a baby's health check-up in Finland, a mainstream

classroom with deaf students in Peru, a celebratory gathering of friends in the US, and a video call between migrant parents and their children in China. In these settings, we study the emergence of different forms of emotion, such as empathy, anger, joy, love, and conflict, which resonate in these interactions.

Exploring emotionally salient moments in these various cultural contexts and interactional settings offers a perspicuous setting (Garfinkel 2002: 181–182) for examining the complexity of interaction in multiple simultaneously unfolding participation frameworks. By complexity of interaction, we refer to the multilayered-ness of affect in the co-existing participation frameworks. Affective expressions built of various embodied resources, such as touch, hand gestures, or prosody can play a role in more than one participation framework at the same time.

Our first two extracts show how affect can become a medium for a basic interpersonal engagement across participation frameworks where shared linguistic resources between all participants are lacking. The third extract illustrates how participants of a multiparty interaction—some engaging through tactile contact, others, through aural and visual means—are still able to engage in the same affective atmosphere (Brennan 2004: 1) while inhabiting nested participation frameworks. We finally demonstrate how affective engagement can be sustained as a form of engagement even when a party is involved in competing activities.

These extracts shed light on the various ways in which emotional engagement is being prioritized in moment-by-moment unfolding complex multiparty interactions, consisting of multiple overlapping interaction projects, activities, and frameworks. We illuminate how emotions are inherently social and often expressed in explicit social actions; they are, at the same time, distributed through inherently felt, experienced, and embodied means. These expressive and experienced aspects of emotion allow people to engage across different participation frameworks.

10.2 Multilayered Interaction Through the Lens of Participation Frameworks

We build upon prior work on multiactivity (Haddington et al. 2014), where a chief focus is on "the various interactional means for coordinating and ordering multiple activities" (ibid.: 24). As summarized by Haddington et al. (2014: 19), "a central issue and challenge for understanding and analysing 'multiactivity' concerns the sequential, temporal, serial or concurrent organisation of actions and phases across activities". A major interest has been how participants manage two or more activities posing multiple simultaneous and, at times, conflicting demands for the organization of their actions (ibid.: 21). For example, Mondada (2014a) analyzes how surgeons engage simultaneously in operating on a patient while giving a demonstration about the operation to spectators. She argues that to investigate the conceptualization of time in interaction, one should attend to the praxeological, as well as sequential details of the unfolding interaction. The embodied action of doing surgery has a different temporal trajectory from that of instruction. C. Goodwin (2002) calls for examining time within multiactivity as a rich multimodal ecology of sign systems within a "multiplicity of concurrently relevant embodied temporalities" (p. 19), including gaze, body posture, and tools. Schegloff (1998: 540) examining "body torque" illustrates how posture is an important resource "for displaying multiple courses of action and the interactional differential ranking of those courses of action" (ibid.: 536).

Taking a different approach from this previous work, we ask: how do participants simultaneously attend to the affective engagement of different co-participants within multiple participation frameworks? We take as our fundamental starting point the "participation framework" (C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin 2004: 222), rather than multiactivity. Thus, the focus is on how, in the midst of talk, participants display to one another what they are doing and how they expect others to *align themselves* towards the activity of the moment (ibid.: 222). Rather than a focus on multiactivity and divergent demands, our concern is with how someone affectively attends to people within two different participation frameworks simultaneously *through the same action*. Our aim is

to explore the *affective engagement* and experience of participants within multiparty interaction, as it is critical to the formation of intersubjective understanding.

10.3 Intercorporeal and Co-operative Perspectives of Interaction

We follow previous literature which has shown that human beings are especially prone to engaging in social interactions with one another (Levinson 2006). Moreover, affect and emotion are primordial elements of this interpersonal tendency (Joaquin and Schumann 2013; Trevarthen and Aitken 2001; Tronick 1989) and, therefore, a basis for intersubjectivity. Yet for the most part, emotions and the construction of human relationships have been treated as separate from the moment-by-moment interactions in conversation analytic studies. For example, Schegloff (2010: 38) writes the following:

> two conceptions of the calling of conversation analysis (CA): One is centered on the organization of action in interaction, the organizations of practices for accomplishing those actions and courses of action, and the basic infrastructure for the whole domain—turns and their form and distribution; actions and their trajectories; troubles and their resolution; language as an interface with the physical, social, cultural, emotional, and other worlds that humans live in, grasp and navigate, etc. The other conception is centered on embodied actors, bringing the elements of the organization of human sociality just mentioned into being moment by moment in a particular place, with particular others, vying with or yielding to one another, etc.

In our view, affect should not be treated as separable from interlocutors and their relationships. Our work highlights the saliency of social relationships and examines the foundation of emotional and affective attunement for social relations (Gan 2020; M. H. Goodwin 2017, Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; M. H. Goodwin et al. 2012; Katila 2018; Katila and Philipsen 2019). We treat affect as a situated practice (Goodwin

et al. 2012), which motivates and enables the social connection between individuals in context.

We draw on various existing studies that have investigated affective, tactile, and haptic aspects of interaction (e.g., Cekaite 2016; M. H. Goodwin 2017; M. H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Katila 2018; Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2012). In particular, we adopt their view that relevant affective engagement does not always occur when participants are vis-à-vis one another in a classic facing formation (Kendon 1990), and that expressions of emotion can extend over multiple turns or parts of turns, rather than being closely tied to a single turn. Emotion can persist beyond any single body movement or moment in time and can therefore be understood as intercorporeally transmitting affective atmosphere or mood (Brennan 2004; Throop 2014). Furthermore, we treat emotions as a form of behavior where sensing, expressive, and performative bodies intersect—they are both intercorporeal and semiotic (Katila and Raudaskoski 2020). As a consequence, we approach these topics employing an intercorporeal and co-operative perspective for interaction analysis of video-recorded encounters.

The idea of intercorporeality developed by Merleau-Ponty (e.g., 1962), who drew from Husserl (1982), refers to the embodied and experienced aspects of interaction, and describes the simultaneity and reciprocity of sensing and being sensed when human beings are in each other's co-presence. Due to these concurrent sentient and sensible aspects of bodies, perception of one another in interaction is inherently simultaneous and already embedded with meaning. The intercorporeal perspective enables us to approach affect in interaction as an embodied and experienced phenomenon.

The intercorporeal co-existence of human beings also implies the individual's creative ability to engage in semiotic and co-operative (C. Goodwin 2018) forms of meaning-making in interactions. The human body, language development, and other forms of symbolic action have developed into their current form in co-operative engagements and actions (C. Goodwin 2018). Analogous to a couple's dance, co-operative action is co-participatory interaction. The actions of the interlocutors do not make sense alone; instead, their meaning is co-manufactured, through building on each other's semiotic and corporeal productions both simultaneously and sequentially (C. Goodwin 2018).

We incorporate these intercorporeal and co-operative understandings of the human body and action in video-analysis of interaction, which aims at describing in detail the temporal order of emotional participation as it unfolds as both intercorporeal and symbolic forms of communication in multiparty interactions. The verbal transcription conventions are presented in the Appendix. The conventions were modified for our purpose from the work of Gail Jefferson (2004). The original spoken language in which the interactions were produced is provided in italics with English translations in bold. In what follows, we present four brief case studies of affective engagement from different contexts: a routine check-up at a child healthcare clinic in Finland, a classroom lesson in a mainstream classroom with deaf and hearing students in Peru, a surprise party in the United States, and a video call between a mother and her left-behind child and grandmother in China. Bringing together cases from different settings and cultures allows us to investigate the importance of emotion in interaction across contexts.

10.4 Analysis

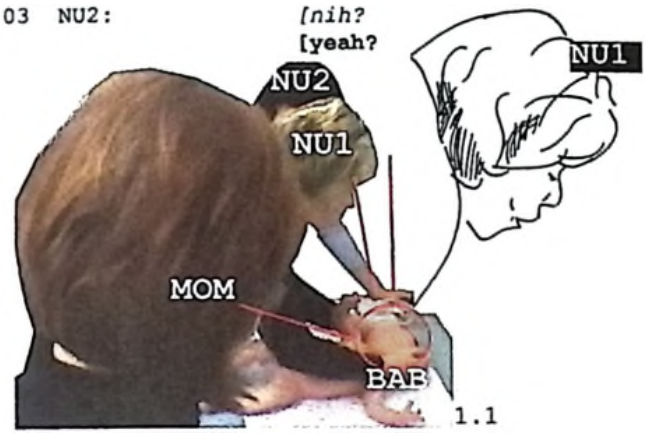
10.4.1 Finnish Health Check-Up: Empathetic Expression Flows from One Participation Framework to Another

Before language or gestures occur, newborn babies are already able to understand the "language of emotion"—to read the affective meanings of the caregiver's embodied actions (e.g., Hertenstein 2002; Trevarthen and Aitken 2001). To exemplify the primacy of emotional engagement, we start by analyzing an interaction episode where a four-week-old baby is being given a routine check-up in a Finnish child healthcare center in order to test if her bodily functions have developed "normally" after her birth. The extract is part of an already existing dataset owned by Tampere University collected at Finnish children's healthcare clinics (for a detailed description of data, see Homanen 2013).

As the episode begins, Nurse 1 (NU1) is palpating the baby's (BAB) soft spot, i.e., "fontanelle", while Nurse 2 (NU2) and the mother (MOM) are closely following the activity. In Extract 1, we witness how the nurse's "motherese" intonation communicates empathy to the baby in the wake of potentially uncomfortable touching, and the baby remains calm. Furthermore, we discuss how this special tone of voice also colors with positive affect the simultaneously occurring visually and aurally orchestrated participation framework between the adult participants.

Extract 1

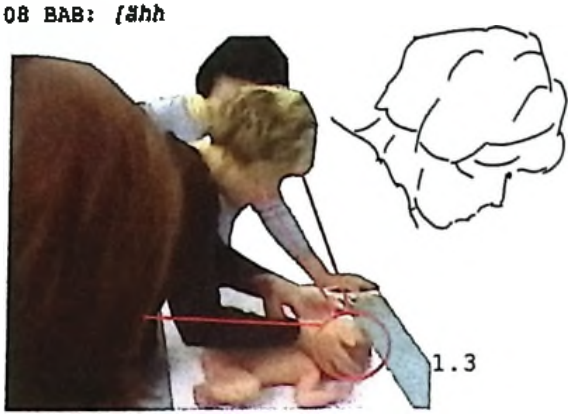
((motherese))
01 NU1: *[kokei]ll[aanko*
[shall] we try
02 BAB: *[khäh]*
((motherese))
03 NU2: *[nih?*
[yeah?



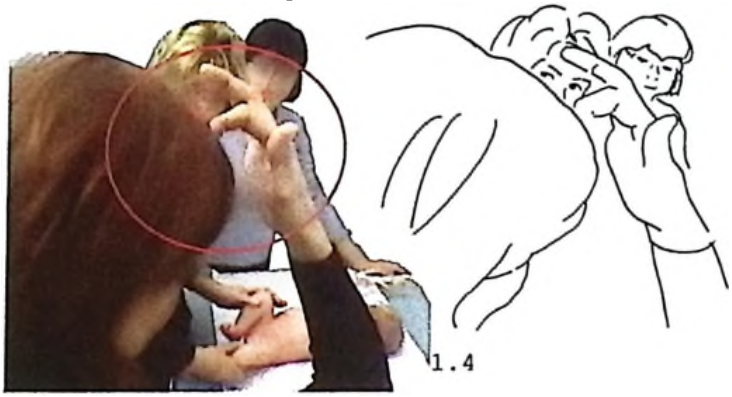
((motherese))
04 NU1: *vähän onko aukile [täältä* #1.1 *kokeillaanko*
a bit the soft spot here #1.1 **shall we try**
05 BAB: *[khäh*
06 BAB: *äääh*

((motherese))
07 NU1: *[sä oot kyllä NII::N* #1.2 *TERHAKKA*
[you are indeed SO:: #1.2 **PERKY**

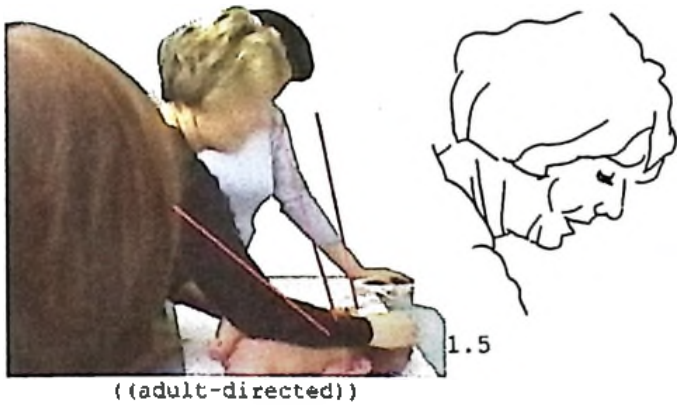
08 BAB: *(ähh*



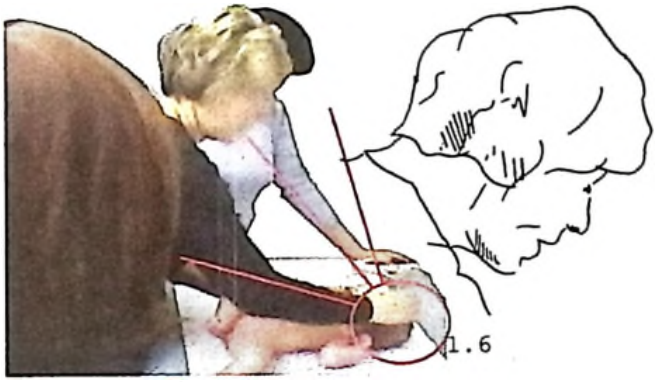
09 NU1: *↑on:*
↑yeah:
10 MOM: *mä: meinasin just kysyy että onko se kun mä .hhh*#1.3
I: was just going to ask if it is because I .hhh#1.3



11 MOM: *mulla tulee käteen ni (.) se on tossa* #1.4 *päässä se*
I have felt it (.) it is there in the #1.4 head that



((adult-directed)) ((motherese))
12 NU1: *JOO [kun ne on #1.5 vielä nää joo (.) [.hhjoo*
YES [when they are #1.5 still like that yeah (.) [.hhyeah
13 MOM: *[okei hyvä [no hyvä?*
[okeyh good [oh good?

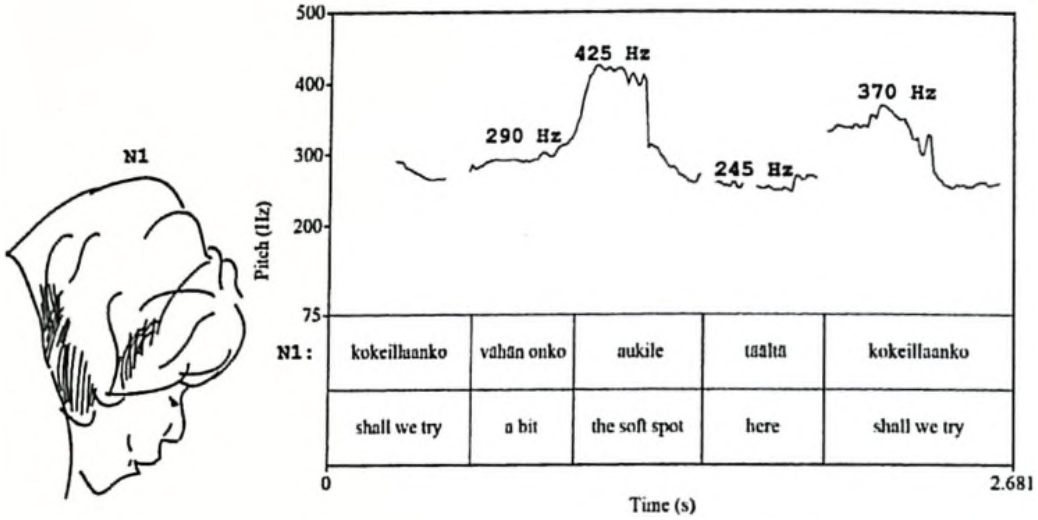


((motherese))
14 NU1: *.HHJOOH(.)se on ihan kyllä niinku #1.6 P(HH)ITÄÄKIN*
.HHYEAH(.)it is just exactly like it is #1.6SUPP(HH)OSED to be
((motherese))
15 NU2: *nih?*
yeah?
16 NU1: *sen täytyy ollakin kauan auki kun muuten ei ne aivot pääse kasvaa*
it needs to be open for a long time as otherwise those brains cannot grow
((motherese))
17 NU2: *nii-i*
yea-h
18 MOM: *°nii-n°*
°yea-h°

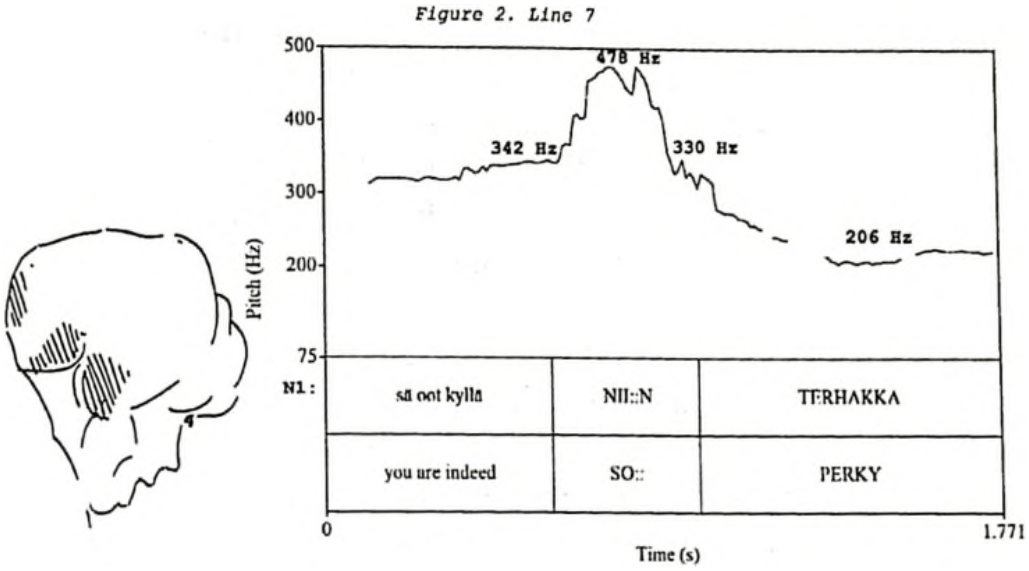
In Image 1.1, NU1 controls BAB's body through touch (Cekaite 2016), which enables her to palpate BAB's soft spot. Co-occurring with this haptic action NU1 incorporates so-called "infant-directed" or "motherese" (Fernald 1985; Stern 2002[1977]) tone of voice, which can be characterized by a higher and wider pitch range, repetitive word structures, and an exaggerated intonation (Fernald 1985: 181). Moreover, the

tone of the voice is often accompanied by exaggerated facial expressions (Stern 2002[1977]:25–29). This voice register initiated by NU1 in lines 01 and 04, and pictured in Fig. 1, introduces the saliency of emotion in the participation framework with BAB.

Figure 1. Lines 1 and 4



As observable in Fig. 1, NU1's pitch contour shifts up and down dramatically during her utterance: starting at 290 Hz on the words 'a little if it is', reaching as high as 425 Hz on the word 'the soft spot', going down to 245 Hz on the word 'here', and then back up to 370 Hz on the words 'shall we try'. This tone can be qualitatively heard as baby talk. Moreover, NU1 uses repetitive structure (saying 'shall we try' two times), and accompanies the talk with an exaggerated facial expression—eyes wide, and narrowing cheeks merging towards pouting lips (Fig. 1). Laminating the haptic action—which may feel uncomfortable for BAB's body, as an unhealed soft spot is touched—with this empathetic voice and facial expression, NU1 is creating a multisensorially radiating affective space which simultaneously communicates an apology for the possible suffering resulting from the touch. Moreover, NU2 co-participates in NU1's action with an aligning tone of the voice ('yeah?' in line 03 and Fig. 1). In line 07, N1 continues with a motherese expression by praising the child. Upon the word 'SO::', her voice shifts from 342 to 478 Hz.

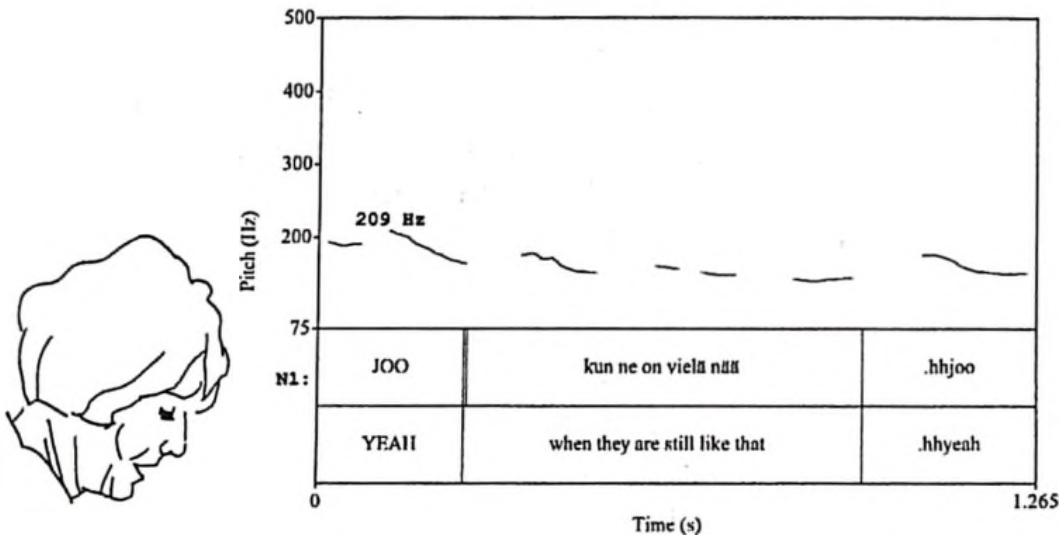


When listening to the audio of the extract, it is possible to hear that NU1's voice embodies the "qualia" of gentleness and empathy which is recognizable and meaningful beyond being part of the conceptual meaning of the words. According to Harkness (2015: 573), qualia refers to a signal which materializes phenomenally in action as sensuous quality. Thus, the tone of the motherese voice aurally "touches" the baby through resonating sound waves, and enables the transmission of affect and an affective engagement between the baby and the nurse. BAB co-participates in NU1's action by not crying or explicitly resisting NU1's movement; she is showing that she is, at least at a basic level, letting her body be investigated. Moreover, BAB accompanies NU1's verbal action with the vocal productions *khäh* (lines 02 and 05), *ääähh* (line 06), and *ähh* (08) which co-occur with N1's affective expression in interactionally relevant places (see Sierra 2017).

In the next move, and immediately after NU1's utterance (line 09), MOM starts asking a question about BAB's soft spot (lines 10). At this point (Image 1.3), NU1's full body is still attending to BAB while the palpation has transformed into gently caressing the baby's face (Image 1.3). MOM continues her turn at talk, "environmentally coupling" (Goodwin 2018: 221–242) the words 'I have felt it (.) it is there in the head that' (line 11) with touching her own head. The ambiguity of MOM's use of the word 'there' invites the listeners' visual attention;

NU1 and NU2 turn their gaze towards MOM to witness the self-touch gesture. While in haptic formation with BAB, NU1 is applying a "body torque" (Schegloff 1998) to engage in a visually coordinated participation framework with MOM and NU2 (Katila 2018: 51–59). By maintaining her lower body towards BAB, NU1 is indicating a more temporally extended and fundamental commitment towards the affective participation framework with BAB (Image 1.4, see Schegloff 1998:536). NU1 then responds to MOM with an adult-targeted tone of voice 'YES when they are still like that [.hhyeah]' (line 09), while she is already twisting her body back to BAB and palpating the soft spot again (Image 1.4). With regard to the pitch contour, we find less variation in the adult-targeted speech in comparison with the motherese. As presented in Fig. 3, the pitch contour in the adult-targeted voice is said in a lower pitch tone in comparison with the previous motherese tone, and there are less dramatic pitch shifts. Moreover, the verbal and facial expression of the nurse is not exaggerated and affectively laden, as in the motherese expression.

Figure 3. Line 12

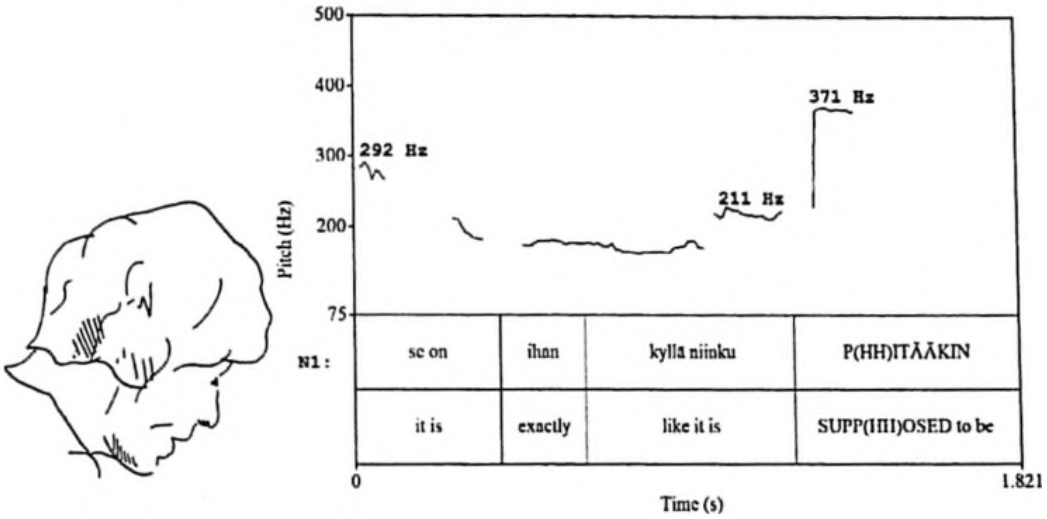


Overlapping with the nurse's vocal production (line 12), the mother formulates two responses ('okeyh good' and 'oh good?', line 13) through which she displays that she is already treating the nurse's response as indicating that everything is all right with the baby's soft spot, even

though NU1 has not actually made this explicit yet (she does this in her following utterance).

During her next verbal action '.HHYEAH' (line 14), NU1 re-initiates an aural engagement with BAB while continuing to manipulate her head (Image 1.6). Re-evoking the affective aspect of the participation framework with BAB, the nurse voices the following utterance by returning to the motherese voice: 'it is just indeed like it is SUPP(HH)OSED to be' (line 14).

Figure 4. Line 14



Through this utterance, NU1 is explicitly confirming that the BAB's soft spot has healed normally. However, by presenting her body posture and facial expression directly to BAB, as well as engaging with the baby through touch and aural action, it is observable that NU1 prioritizes the affective engagement with BAB over the participation framework with the adults. By these means, MOM is multisensorially—through her breathy and emotionally salient tone of voice, facial expression with exaggerated lip movements and touch—painting BAB's body with an empathetic affect. The aurally, visually and haptically elicited space is, moreover, co-chorused by NU2, who, in line 15, produces motherese-toned 'yeah?' Next, in line 16, NU1 still continues giving more information about the baby's soft spot ('it needs to be open for a long time as otherwise those brains cannot grow') which is joined in by NU2 with

a motherese 'yea-h' (line 17) and MOM's silent '°yea-h°' (line 18). This indicates that the mother, too, is treating her response to NU1's action as relevant while constructing herself as a co-participant in NU1's affective action. The baby, for her part, responds to the affective action by remaining calm and not resisting the institutional task.

Due to these multisensorial aspects of her action, NU1 is able to prioritize expressing an empathetic value towards the baby while still participating in the concurrent participation framework with the adults. Moreover, through the deployment of the "motherese" voice quality, the affective atmosphere (Brennan 2004) of the framework between NU1 and BAB extends into the framework with the adults, and also communicates to the other participants—especially the mother who may be worried about her baby's development—that everything is all right.

10.4.2 Peruvian Mainstream Classroom: The Availability of Emotion in the Face of Sensorial Asymmetries

We explore further the primacy and sharedness of emotional meaning across participation frameworks by taking as our next example interaction where there are "sensorial asymmetries" among the participants (Kusters 2017: 285), that is to say different experiences of being deaf and hearing. Although it is impossible to know exactly what sensory information another individual has access to (e.g., deaf individuals have varying hearing levels), the deaf child in Extract 2 is profoundly deaf and therefore has limited access to aural information. In Extract 2, we show that recognizing and attuning to the emotional style of another person's utterance can provide a resource for engagement and participation in a classroom context where a deaf child does not have access to the language of instruction.

Extract 2 takes place in a mainstream classroom with 25 hearing students and three deaf students in Iquitos, Peru, in 2014. The presence of deaf students in this general education classroom is part of an international movement to educate students with disabilities in general education classrooms (UNESCO 1994). Mainstream classrooms in Iquitos

differ significantly from most cases of mainstream classrooms with deaf students in the academic literature (e.g., Holmström et al. 2015; Ramsey 1997). In Iquitos, the majority of deaf children do not acquire the linguistic resources of any named language in their homes. They do not receive hearing-assistive technology to access spoken Spanish and are not exposed to the national sign language, Peruvian Sign Language. As a result, deaf children enter the education system relying on local signs that they develop over the course of their own lifetime (Goico 2020). Upon entering hearing, mainstream classrooms, these deaf children receive no language models to acquire an accessible language, nor receive support services to access the spoken Spanish used in the classroom (Goico 2019).

Extract 2 occurs during a lecture on bullying in a health education class in September 2014. Over the course of the lecture, which began two minutes prior to the start of the extract, the teacher, Mr. Inga, has been using spoken Spanish without making any accommodations for the deaf students. Extract 2 starts just after Mr. Inga (ING) initiated a call and response sequence with the class, asking them for examples of how their parents commit bullying. Picking up on the student answers, Mr. Inga says in lines 1–2, 'insulting you all, beating you all', as he produces sweeping points to the class (Images 2.1 and 2.2). At this point, a deaf boy, Jeremy, (wearing stripes and marked as "JER"), who was copying the text from the board into his notebook, looks up at the board (Image 2.2). Jeremy then recognizes and capitalizes on Mr. Inga's affective display to insert himself into the lecture. The signs seen in Extract 2 are part of the semiotic repertoire that has emerged within the classroom to communicate with the deaf boys. Signs and gestures are identified in all caps. A forward slash indicates a package of bodily actions that are produced together. Following the multimodal transcription style developed by Mondada (2019), the timing of Mr. Inga's combination of speech and co-speech gestures or speech and signs is indicated using two tiers with the speech on the first tier and the gesture or sign on the second tier. The symbol "*" is used to indicate where in the spoken utterance, the gesture or sign starts and stops.

Extract 2

01 ING: *Insul*tándoles a ustedes* #2.1 (0.5)
ing *POINT.ALL---------*
Insulting you all,


2.1

02 ING: #2.2 *golpeándoles a* ustedes #2.3
ing *POINT.ALL-----*
beating you all.


2.2


2.3

03 JER: POINT.UP/mouthing/angry expression#2.4
That's right!


2.4a


2.4b

As Mr. Inga lowers his arm after the second point, Jeremy turns his gaze from the board towards Mr. Inga (Image 2.3). Jeremy then launches into a moment of "byplay" (Goffman 1981: 134; M. H. Goodwin 1997). He does this by imitating Mr. Inga's emotional performance. Jeremy moves his mouth as if speaking (although he makes no sound), produces a large pointing motion across his body, and puts on an angry facial expression to imitate Mr. Inga's affect (Image 2.4a, b). This demonstrates his ability to recognize the emotion in Mr. Inga's embodied action even with minimal access to Mr. Inga's spoken Spanish. As Merleau-Ponty (1962: 184) describes vividly about the recognizability of emotion in gestures: "I do not see anger or a threatening attitude as a psychic fact hidden behind the gesture, I read anger in it. The gesture does not make me think of anger, it is anger itself". It is important to note that Jeremy's action is not identical to Mr. Inga's, moving his finger up rather than sweeping it across his body. This difference indicates that Jeremy did not

have access to the context-specific meaning of the point as referring to the students. Nevertheless, Jeremy was still able to recognize and re-perform the affective display behind Mr. Inga's utterance.

Although Mr. Inga's manner of lecturing has not taken into consideration the sensory ecology of his student population, Mr. Inga's affective display becomes an important resource for Jeremy to insert himself into the lecture. Capitalizing on this resource, Jeremy stops being a non-participant who was engaged in a distinct activity from Mr. Inga and the class and establishes himself as a manual-visual communicator in the classroom. As Duranti (2004: 455) writes, "The very act of speaking in front of others who can perceive such an act establishes the speaker as a being whose existence must be reckoned with". In Extract 2 (continued), Mr. Inga chooses to engage with Jeremy's byplay.

Extract 2 (Continued)

```
04  JER:  FIST [PUMP/ angry expression#2.5
          Yeah!

05  ING:        [*paleándole*s
    ing          *POINT.UP--*
                  Hitting you all

06  JER:  POINT.[UP #2.6
          That's right

07  ING:       [*       n*o? #2.7
    ing         *TO.HIT---*
                 Hitting, right?

08  JER:  TO.[HIT #2.8
          Hit

09  ING:       [*   dá:*ndoles [allí #2.9
    ing         *TO.HIT*
                 Giving it to you like that.

10  JER                          [TO.HIT #2.10
                                  Hit
```

In Extract 2 (continued), Mr. Inga enters into two simultaneous participation frameworks as he takes up and recycles material from Jeremy's previous bodily act (C. Goodwin 2018: 1), while also continuing to lecture to the class. In line 5, Mr. Inga produces a verbal utterance similar to line 1, stating 'hitting you all'. Gesturally, however, Mr. Inga no longer

produces the sweeping point, but mimics the gesture that Jeremy has just produced (Image 2.5). By dividing his body into two intertwined expressive fields of distinct specificity—the class in general and Jeremy in particular—Mr. Inga is thus able to meaningfully engage in two simultaneously unfolding participation frameworks. In line 6, Jeremy once again copies the pointing up gesture back to Mr. Inga (Image 2.6).

Then, in Mr. Inga's next turn, he no longer recycles Jeremy's gesture, but instead, Jeremy's exaggerated emotional performance. In line 7, Mr. Inga signs 'TO.HIT' with no spoken word translation (Image 2.7), followed by a tag question. Mr. Inga produces the movement in a large (the movement starts way out at his sides) and forceful (the hands make an audible noise when they come together) manner, laminated with a facial expression, where he scrunches up his eyebrows and purses his lips. Jeremy imitates back both 'TO.HIT' and the affective display, scrunching down his eyebrows and opening his mouth as he produces the movement (line 8, Image 2.8). As depicted in Images 2.9 and 2.10, this copycat practice continues. Importantly, this exchange unfolds spontaneously and so quickly that Mr. Inga and Jeremy "couldn't have thought that fast" (Sacks 1992: 118), with their bodily performances occurring in overlap with one another.

Mr. Inga will continue to pair individual signs with his spoken Spanish while he lectures for another 20 seconds. This form of communicating maintains the two simultaneous but distinct participation frameworks. On the one hand, Mr. Inga's signs become part of the "composite utterance" (Enfield 2009) that the hearing students in the class have access to in the lecture. On the other hand, Mr. Inga's signs are directed specifically to Jeremy. It is important to note that these two participation frameworks, while occurring simultaneously, are not equal (De Meulder et al. 2019: 895). Mr. Inga's change in lecture style finally makes the classroom lecture accessible to Jeremy, but the deaf boys still have unequal access to the lecture in comparison to their hearing peers. The hearing students see Mr. Inga's signs and affective display in addition to hearing his accompanying speech (along with additional auditory information, such as the sound of Mr. Inga's hands slapping together), while Jeremy has limited access to aural information.

This example shows how emotions, at the very basic level, can be recognizable in spite of language barriers, and that sharing an emotional attitude through co-gesturing or co-signing can be a source of interpersonal bonding (Goodwin et al. 2012; Katila and Philipsen 2019). It is crucial to note that while Jeremy was able to recognize the "angry" performance in Mr. Inga's act and the two shared a moment of intercorporeal attunement through the use of an embedded participation framework, Mr. Inga's signs and gestures have a very different meaning for Jeremy. For most of the lecture, Jeremy and the two other deaf boys did not have access to the lecture content, and never came to understand that the topic of the classroom lecture was bullying. Emotions such as those embodied in facial expressions have been shown to be to a large extent universally recognizable (Ekman 1984), and therefore, as seen here, meaningful affective engagement can occur without shared linguistic resources (see Extract 1 between caregivers and newborns). However, when all expressive modalities are only available to some participants, expressive asymmetry remains. Thus, this example highlights both the power and limitation of affective engagement in interaction.

10.4.3 US Surprise Party: Co-Occurring Visual and Haptic Affective Participation During a Hug

In what follows, we will explore further the accessibility of affect across frameworks by exploring an interactional context which is especially rich in strong emotions: a surprise party held in honor of Chuck Goodwin. The occasion of the party was the presentation of a festschrift for Chuck (see Favareau 2018). Forty-nine scholars contributed articles demonstrating how Chuck's work had been important in their own scholarship. The book was produced quite quickly, within three months, so that Chuck could see and read it before he died. Guests came from across the country and as far away as Japan and Singapore. Many people knew this was the very last time they would see Chuck; a rainbow of emotions from sadness to joy and gratefulness was salient in the occasion.

We will begin by illustrating how people mobilize their haptic configurations in order to achieve affective engagement in multiple participation frameworks. In Extract 3, we show that a hug used in the activity of greeting another in a supportive interchange (Goffman 1971: 62–94) occurs simultaneously with an expression of gratitude to the larger group of party attendees. In performing an embrace, the display of emotion is a situated practice (M. H. Goodwin et al. 2012), which unfolds both sequentially (e.g., Schegloff 2010) and simultaneously (C. Goodwin 2018).

In 1979, C. Goodwin showed us how the shape of an utterance is dependent upon the way recipients attend to it throughout its course; a speaker can append new segments to an emerging sentence in search of appreciative hearership from recipients. In Extract 3, we witness how the trajectory of a hug, the ways in which it is initiated, executed, and subsequently dismantled, are closely attuned to the hug recipient's affective involvement with other participants in the moment. As multiple frameworks can be in play simultaneously, the body may index haptic engagement with a recipient while at the same time engaging with others through visual and aural means. The voice provides not only propositional content, but also a mode of affective coloring (M. H. Goodwin et al. 2012) that attunes to and shapes the emotional atmosphere (Brennan 2004) of current activities.

At the surprise party, the spatial configuration for activities constantly shifted as activities themselves emerged and changed. When Chuck (positioned to the right of the frame and marked as "CHK") spotted a guest from Illinois (positioned to the left of the frame and marked as "NUM") who he had not seen for some time—Numa—he delivered an enthusiastic greeting: Nu(h)ma! Wow. WOW! WO:W! (Image 3.1. and line 01–02), while directing his gaze towards him. Immediately following Chuck's initial acknowledgment of Numa, he turned clockwise from facing Numa to his right to address the assembled group in his living room with an exclamation of gratitude (line 4): All I can say is-.

Extract 3

01 CHK: Nu(h)ma!
02 [Wow. WOW! WO:W! #3.1
03 NUM: [Heh-heh-heh-heh!

3.1

04 CHK: All I can say [is
05 NUM: [It's
06 so good to see you. #3.2


3.2

07 CHK: [I've never seen (.)
08 NUM: [Hih-hih-hih-hih! #3.3


3.3

From Image 3.1 to Image 3.2, Numa moves into a close haptic configuration with Chuck. The first segment of Numa's hug (Image 3.2) is produced while putting his right hand on Chuck's shoulder (with fingers spread apart), as Numa initiates his reciprocal verbal greeting to Chuck ('It's so good to see you', lines 5–6). Numa aligns his body side by side with Chuck's (Image 3.2). As Numa's left hand is presently occupied with holding a camera and Chuck has pivoted his body from an F formation (Kendon 1990) facing Numa to an F formation facing the greater audience to his right, Numa delivers a half hug rather than a full hug.

In line 7, Image 3.3, when Chuck continues with his talk to the group (I've never seen), Numa's fingers are no longer spread widely apart. Now his grip is visibly tightened on Chuck's shoulder as he lowers his head into closer proximity to Chuck's body, while Chuck lowers his head slightly to his left, towards Numa and participants to his left. We see a progressive alteration in the spatial configuration of Chuck's facing formation from his greeting vis-à-vis Numa (line 1, Image 3.1) to his

positioning vis-à-vis the larger assembled group (line 6, Image 3.2), to his lowered head (line 8, Image 3.3), and back to the group (line 11, Image 3.4, Extract 3 continued). The participation framework shifts from a dyadic greeting between Numa and Chuck to Chuck's appreciative comment addressed to the group (lines 7–15). Numa's carefully choreographed embodied actions, overlaid with laughter as he disengages from his haptic configuration with Chuck (line 11, Image 3.4, Extract 3 continued), clear the stage for Chuck's undivided attention to his entire array of guests.

Rhythm figures in the orchestration of affective participation as well. Numa's disengagement from his hug is closely synchronized with Chuck's talk, produced in three cadences in lines 7, 10 and 14–15 with nearly equal rhythmic beat structure:

I've never seen
A surprise pa(h)rty
Like- like this.

Each phrase gets in return a reciprocal expression of appreciation from members of the group. While performing his unilateral departure (C. Goodwin 1987), Numa displays heightened engagement through his laughter. In response to Chuck's 'I've never seen' Numa produces a small laugh (line 8). The laugh token in Chuck's talk, 'A surprise pa(h)rty (.)' (line 10), engenders laughter not only from Numa (line 11), but also from the entire group (line 12).

Extract 3 (Continued)

```
09  ( ):      [eh heh!
10  CHK:      (A surprise  [pa(h)rty (.)
11  NUM:                   [hih-hih-hih-[hih#3.4
12  GRP:                                [eh heh!
13  GRP:   AH-Hah  [hah-hah-hah
14  CHK:           [like-
15  CHK:   Like this. And,
16         Comple::tely (.) [successful.
17  GRP:                    [((clapping)) YEAH! WOW!((cheering))
18  GRP:  [((clapping))
19  CHK:  [OH; Thank you. THANK you.
20         THANK you. #3.5
```

3.4

3.5

In response to the coda of Chuck's talk, 'Comple::tely (.) successful.' (line 16), the assembly responds with enthusiastic clapping and cheering (line 17–18). Chuck then expresses his gratitude for the surprise party accompanied by a joyful smile (lines 19–20) with his 'Thank you. THANK you. THANK you.' After the party, numerous participants reported they felt that a form of electricity and excitement was generated by Chuck's enthusiastic response to the party.

The haptic configuration initiated by Numa to Chuck is assembled and dismantled in exquisite synchronization with Chuck's expression of gratitude to the larger assembly. In an email communication to M. H. Goodwin with Numa about her analysis of this interaction, Numa reflected on the choreography of his hug with Chuck:

> As I touched Chuck's shoulder, I was in fact intensely aware that he had to deal with lots of people simultaneously and that it was really important for me to engage and disengage from the hug as affectionately and as discreetly as possible so that I didn't get in the way of all the other things he had to do in the moment. I silently congratulated myself at the time that I had done an OK job but had absolutely no idea how complex this event was in all its multimodal, laminated details!

Together Numa and Chuck produce an on-line, perfectly choreographed sequence of affectively colored utterances and haptic actions, closely coordinated with Chuck's rhythmic phrases to the assembly. Numa's laughter engenders group laughter and in coordination with Chuck's expression of gratitude, there is group applause. Each co-present party member has a role in the co-production of the moment-by-moment unfolding of a shared emotional atmosphere, both influencing and being influenced by it. Thus, though some participants engaged through tactile contact while others engaged through aural and visual means, each participant was able to engage in the same affective participation framework.

10.4.4 Chinese Video Calls: Affective Participation Frameworks in Virtually Mediated Interaction

With the first three extracts, we have shown the primacy of emotional participation, as well as the ability of emotion, to be recognized and engaged in through the senses of touch, vision, and voice. In the final section, we take as our case perhaps one of the most intimate relationships in everyday life, parent–child interactions, in order to examine how activity unfolds in an affective-based participation framework.

Extract 4 is from a large corpus of video recordings of video calls between migrant parents and their left-behind children in China. In the context of rural-to-urban migration, many parents leave home and go to distant cities to find better paying jobs. This results in the phenomenon of left-behind children, who reside in rural areas and are brought up by their grandparents. This dataset involves children who are under three years old when their parents conduct video calls with them. The children are always accompanied by at least a grandparent during the calls. The video recordings are done through a combination of an external camera view (image 4.1a) and a screen capture of the grandparents' phone (image 4.1b) (for a detailed description of data, see Gan 2020).

In Extract 4, we illustrate the maintenance of affective engagement when the video-call participation competes with other activities—especially when a child is resisting participation in the chat with their parents. As shown by many existing studies, video calls involving young children

are laborious because adults often need to conduct a lot of work to get the children's attention to the video call (e.g., Busch 2018; Gan 2021). This example is extracted from the opening of a video call. We show how a young child deploys a multitude of affective means to display her unwillingness to join a video call—for example, by producing vocalization, using embodied resources to get out of the call. However, even though the child is engaged in competing activities, the affective engagement of this video call remains.

Extract 4

01 ((video call ringing))

02 ((Grandma holds the child at hand and picks up the call#4.1a; Mom appears on screen#4.1b))

#4.1a #4.1b

#4.2

03 GRA: *Ha lou*
Hello ((GRA waves hand))#4.2

#4.3

04 MOM: *Ha lou yao-er*
Hello Sweetheart

05 MOM: Hal:
Hl::

#4.4

06 CHI: **(.hh) ΩhhΩh::ΩhhhΩhhh**((child's vocalization))#4.3

07 CHI: ((looks aways))#4.4

08 CHI: ((lowers down and attempts to get out of grandma's holding))#4.5

09 MOM: *Wang Xiaojia*
Wang Xiaojia ((The baby's full name))

#4.5

10 GRA: *Ai dei gan ma ma dei gan yao er*
Eh here Mom is here Sweetheart

11 GRF: *Hei na*
Hey there

#4.6

12 CHI: **Ba(h)-bah::Ωhhh** ((child's vocalization))

13 GRA: *Dei dei zhan dou zhan dou lan chong*
Here here Stand up Stand up Lazybones

14 (0.4)/((child crawls away))#4.6

15 GRA: *O, pa dao shai gan ji le*
Oh, where are you crawling to

#4.7

16 GRA: *Gou er guo lai [Dei yao er dei gan lai*
Puppy come here [Hey Sweetheart Here come on

17 MOM: *[pa dao na gan ji le*
[where are you crawling to #4.7

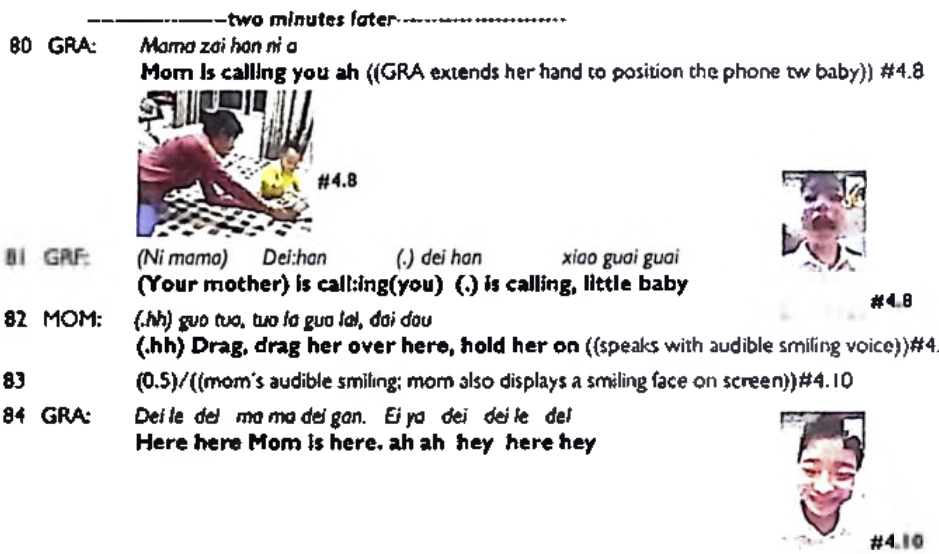
The baby in this extract is one year old. After call ringing (line 01), the grandmother (who is the actual caregiver of the baby) picks up the call and the migrant mother appears on the phone screen (see image 4.1a and 4.1b). Openings of social encounters, including face-to-face and video-mediated settings, often evoke people's display of emotion to confirm their social relationships (Pillet-Shore 2012; Gan, Greiffenhagen and Licoppe 2020). In this example, as soon as Mom appears on the phone, she displays a smiling face and then the grandmother waves her hand. Both Mom and Grandmother attempt to produce a warm greeting, to connect parent with their left-behind child via embodied displays of love (Gan, Greiffenhagen and Licoppe 2020). As noted in line 03, the grandmother's waving hand is not at all in the frame of camera views (image 4.2). She seems to wave "for" the baby, not "for" the mother. What the grandmother does probably serves as a scaffold for the child to attend the greeting routines. Her waving is working as a bridge between the mother and the child to call the child's attention to this emotional event. Mom then greets the child using a term of endearment: 'Sweetheart' (line 04). Mom repeats her greeting in line 05, but there is no response from the child. What happens next is that the child mumbles an audible vocalization, '(.hh) ΩhhΩh::ΩhhhΩhhh' (line 06 and image 4.3). While doing so, the baby moves her gaze away from the phone, she lowers her body, and uses embodied force to get out of her grandmother's holding position (image 4.5). In response to the baby's embodied resistance to participating in the video call, the grandmother continues to use her hand to hold the baby, and visibly uses a bit more force to hold the baby up. For example, in line 13, she says 'Here here stand up stand up Lazybones'. She uses 'here' many times to call the baby's attention to the phone. Then the baby crawls away in line 14 to play on the bed, abandoning the video-call participation.

While the baby is not attentive to the video-call participation framework, we see that people still mobilize affect, body, and visual resources as methods for maintaining the affective engagement between the mother and the baby. After the baby crawls away, the grandmother comments on her crawling (line 15 and 16). The grandmother uses 'Puppy' to describe the baby, showing her vivid metaphor of the baby's crawling. Importantly, we see that the mother smiles largely on the screen when seeing

the baby crawling (image 4.7). In migrant families, the migrant mother may not have access to their children's daily development. Video calling provides an opportunity for the parents to "see" their children. Here (line 17), the mother's smiles show her engagement with her baby, displaying a moment of happiness and joy.

Subsequently, the baby crawls on the bed and plays with pillows or other items. However, during the whole time, even though the baby is involved in competing activities, adults tend to render the baby's playing as a scene to watch and to engage in. For example, in Extract 4 continued, the grandmother extends her hand to position the phone towards the baby, so that the mother can see her baby on screen.

Extract 4 (Continued)



The grandmother's positioning of the phone shows her attempts to engage the baby with her mother. The grandfather (who is out of frame) also joins in the conversation and speaks to the baby, saying '(Your mother) is call::ing you' (line 81). Subsequently, Mom treats the baby's inattentiveness as an opportunity to play with her; she issues a directive in line 82. The directive seems to address the grandmother, who can use haptic resources to "drag the baby over". With this utterance, the mother

produces an audible smiling voice and displays a joyful and smiling face on screen (image 4.10).

The online format allows for the emergence of different types of affective expressions and participation frameworks. Here, we can evidence that even when protesting participation, affective engagement does not necessarily end even when a key participant is inattentive.

This example has demonstrated that affective engagement can remain even when the child abandons or actively resists her participation. On the one hand, we have seen that the child uses the actions of producing vocalization and crawling away (from image 4.3–4.6), to create a simultaneous solitary participation framework, which is different from the participation framework of chatting with mom in a video call, as a strategy to display her resistance. On the other hand, the adults (including the remote mother and the co-present grandmother) affectively engage in the child's inattentiveness. In particular, we have seen that the mother displays her joy in watching the baby's crawling through the smartphone screen. Recalling McLuhan's metaphor, we argue that the smartphone acts as an "extension" of the mother's body (McLuhan 1964). The mother's emotional stance was transmitted to others in the room through her facial expressions displayed on the screen and her voice quality in the phone. Despite the child's attempts to abandon the video-call participation framework, the affective engagement between the remote parents and child still remains. Such an affective engagement creates a space for parents to act as "a parent", i.e., caring for their baby's routine behaviors and development even when they are only virtually interacting with their children. The management of these simultaneous participation frameworks (e.g., the child's crawling and the video-call framework) in this special setting (i.e., conducting video calls with migrant families), in turn, demonstrates the significant challenges in maintaining intimate relationships among long-distance family members; simultaneously parents and grandparents need to put a great amount of effort in managing concurrent participation frameworks.

10.5 Discussion

Across a range of settings, our analysis of interactions from diverse cultural contexts has exemplified some of the creative ways in which the participants of interaction experience and express emotions in multiparty participation frameworks (Goffman 1981). Emotion has to a large extent remained an understudied dimension among studies focusing on multilayered interactional settings (e.g., Haddington et al. 2013, 2014; Mondada 2014a, b). In this chapter, we started from the notion that emotion and affect and engaging in another person's emotion are pivotal features of the intersubjective order (Peräkylä 2013: 552). As such, our study provides a novel contribution to understanding complexity of interaction, and especially the complexity of affect in the establishment of moment-by-moment intersubjective understanding.

More specifically, we examined the relationship between affect and engagement in different participation frameworks in moments where multiple participation frameworks unfold at the same time. Our analysis finds that participants can engage emotionally in more than one participation framework simultaneously. This is achieved by the participants composing their bodies into spontaneously unfolding multisensorial fields of affective expression. While the modality of touch may be fully available only to some participants because of their positions within a close facing formation, other participants can make use of intonation, gaze, and facial expression. Touch creates a dyadic framework with the party with whom one is intertwined, and a framework through which intimacy is conveyed. One's gaze and facial expression can be directed at a multiparty framework or restricted to a dyadic unit. Depending upon the amplitude of one's voice, the voice can either index a close aural huddle or it can transmit into a wider participation framework. The multimodality and multisensoriality of affective expression thus *enables* access to other participation frameworks. We suggest that such multilayered and complex affective expressions are a pervasive feature of the organization of participation frameworks.

The diversity of our cases allowed us to analyze these creative ways in which affect was made accessible across participation frameworks, and

how emotional engagement was being prioritized in multiparty interactions. In the first two extracts, we showed how affect can become a resource for interpersonal engagement across participation frameworks where linguistic resources are not shared between all participants. In Extract 1, an empathetic motherese *tone* of voice and facial expression addressed to the baby enabled an affective engagement with a newborn baby, while the content of the talk was targeted to the adult participants. In the second case, a teacher, who was not a user of a sign language, was able to engage affectively with a deaf boy through a sequence of emotionally laden gestures, while at the same time the emotion embedded in the teacher's utterance played a role in an ongoing participation framework with the group of hearing students.

In the third case, we demonstrated that participants of a multiparty interaction were able to engage in the same affective atmosphere while participating in nested participation frameworks. This was possible as the recipient of a surprise party engaged with one attendee through a hug, while simultaneously opening his body so that he could secure an aural and visual field of affective experience with the larger group of attendees. Finally, we illustrated how affective engagement can remain active even when a participant is resisting her involvement in a participation framework. The child's vocalization and crawling away from the phone to play with pillows shows resistance to engaging in the call with mom. Despite the child's inattentiveness, mom display joy at her child's engagement in play.

While from an analyst's point of view, the ways in which the participants can affectively engage in more than one participation framework at the same time are extremely complex, we did not find that the participants themselves oriented to the situations as such. This is because affective engagement is not only something people "produce" using their bodies; it is also something they *feel* and *experience*. While we marvel at the rapidity with which participants can orient to changing configurations of involvement, and deploy an extremely rich ecology of semiotic resources, the intercorporeal aspect of affective engagement between the participants goes beyond semiotic resources targeted at different participants. Our analysis provides evidence that affective engagement can oscillate across participation frameworks in multiparty interactions. It

is fundamentally because of this intercorporeal aspect of emotion that affective engagement has the ability to unite participants across various participation frameworks and the participants in them.

Appendix

The Transcription Conventions Used in the Conversations

(0.5)	Numbers in brackets indicate a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in brackets indicates a micropause of less than two-tenths of a second.
=	An equals sign indicates an absolute contiguity between utterances.
()	Single parentheses indicate an unclear utterance or another sound.
.hh	This indicates upward inbreath. The more repetition of "h", the longer the breath is.
hhh	The letter "h" repeated with no preceding dot represents exhalation.
:	Colons indicate a stretching of a sound.
.	A full stop indicates a falling tone.
,	A comma indicates a continuing tone.
↑↓	Upward and downward arrows mark the overall rise or fall in pitch across a phrase.
° °	Hollow dots indicate a speech produced with a silent voice.
Under	Underlining indicates the speaker's emphasis.
@ @	The "at" symbol indicates speech produced with a smiley tone of voice.
(())	Double parentheses indicate the analyst's comment.
Color gray	indicates information about non-vocal moves.
[	is used to indicate overlap.
!	indicates animated or emphatic tone.

Transcription Symbols for Extract 2

Signs/gestures are in all CAPS.
/ A forward slash indicates a package of bodily actions that are produced together.
The timing of speech and gestures/signs is indicated using two tiers and the symbol ** to refer to when the gesture/signs start and stop in the speech.
PT indicates a point.

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