Gestural Resonance: The Negotiation of Differential Form and Function in Embodied Action

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Many scholars have shown that gestures may be used to organize interactive engagement, including such things as turn-taking, participation, and narrative structure (e.g., Goodwin, 1984; Haddington, 2006). More recent work has shown that gestures may also serve as a type of dialogic embodied action (Arnold, 2012), connecting and relating utterances to one another and promoting engagement among speakers. However, within the research tradition that looks at the ways in which gestures resemble each other within interactional sequences, less attention has been given to examining how gestures are not simply reproduced but are actively negotiated as a crucial part of the meaning-making process. In this article, I will examine the ways in which participants negotiate the relationship between sequences of focal and iconic gestures that are formally and/or functionally related to each other. Similar to dialogic resonance in speech (Du Bois, 2007, 2010b), gestural resonance involves the activation of affinities across utterances—and here I take an utterance to be the interactionally gestalt boundaries of both speech and bodily behavior. While much previous work has focused on the ways in which gestural resemblance can promote agreement and understanding, here I investigate the relation of gestures by analyzing the differentials between gestures—that is, the degrees to which across-turn gestures are *and are not* the same. The defining feature of gestural resonance is that gestures are actively reformulated to varying degrees in order to achieve a variety of interactional functions. That is, participants are—through embodied action—actively commenting on the semantic content of a prior gesture and, where present, its accompanying talk.
Keywords: gesture, resonance, iconic, focal

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have shown that gestures may be used to organize interactive engagement, including such phenomena as turn-taking (Goodwin, 1984), participation (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992), and narrative structure (Haddington, 2006). More recent work has shown that gestures may also serve as a type of dialogic embodied action (Arnold, 2012), connecting and relating utterances in order to perform some instrumental action. As discussed further below, there is a rich research tradition that looks at how gestures resemble each other in interactional sequences. However, while this work aptly characterizes

the similarities among related gestures, less attention has been given to investigating how the differences between gestures may also function as an important semiotic resource in the negotiation of meaning. In this article, I examine both formal and functional differentials in order to highlight how gestures are not simply reproduced but are reformulated in relation to each other. I begin the article by teasing out the distinction between resemblance among gestures, which focuses on similarities, and resonance among gestures, which takes into account both similarities and differences. I then outline some of the characteristics of gestures used in resonance sequences; namely, focality and iconicity. In the data analysis section, I examine two preliminary types of gestural resonance that I have identified: collaborative and problematizing.

FEATURES OF GESTURAL RESONANCE

Resemblance Versus Resonance

Many scholars have looked at types of resemblance among gestures and have given the phenomena many different names, including 'return gestures' (de Fornel, 1992), 'gestural rephrasing' (Tabensky, 2001), 'gestural matching' (Lerner, 2002), 'gestural mimicry' (Kimbara, 2006), and 'bodily quoting' (Keevalik, 2010). These studies importantly highlight the positive interactional functions that gestural resemblance can serve, such as indicating understanding, agreement, and appreciation. Building on the work of these scholars, I propose that gestural resemblance is in fact a subset of a larger phenomenon I call *gestural resonance*. In using this term, I draw on Du Bois' (2007, 2010b) concept of dialogic resonance, which characterizes the engagement of utterances across turns as the result of an activation of affinities. I thus define gestural resonance as the activation of affinities across embodied turns. Gestural resonance encompasses the positive interactional functions that resemblance can entail, but it also takes into account the differentials between gestures—that is, the degrees to which across-turn gestures are *and are not* the same. Moreover, gestural resonance places emphasis not only on formal resemblance but also on the functional alignment of embodied action. Thus, gestures that may or may not formally resemble each other may nevertheless functionally engage with each other. Through the differential resonances created between gestures, participants actively negotiate the semantic content of the prior gestures and speech in order

to communicate a variety of interactional functions as diverse as agreement and disagreement, understanding and confusion.

Focality in Gestural Resonance

Similar to gestural matching (Lerner, 2002), gestural resonance involves the participation of two or more people in a gestural sequence that is oriented to as focal in the interaction. This is in contrast with other types of gestural synchrony involving gestural matching, which is more unconscious and less intentional (e.g., Condon, 1976; Davis, 1982; Loehr, 2007).

An illustration that highlights focality in a gestural resonance sequence is seen in the following example, taken from a recording of four women having dinner together. Here, Ella and Kim negotiate the meaning and embodied representation of what a "barnacle" is.[1]

Example 1. "Barnacles" (2006Dinner, 20:09–20:26)

1	KAY;	It could [sink.]	
2	KIM;	[Barnacles.]	*Kim speaks through chewing food*
3	LISA→KAY;	Pirates.	
4		(0.3)	
5	ELLA→KIM;	What are barnacles.	
6		(0.3)	
7	KAY→LISA;	Pirates.=	*Kim makes barnacle gesture with thumb and forefinger*

8 ELLA→KIM; =Those little like, *Ella makes barnacle gesture with right hand cupped on top of left hand*

9 ELLA→KIM; things that grow like,

10 (0.4)

11 ELLA→KIM; This? *Ella squints at her own barnacle gesture, then drops hands*

12 ELLA→KIM; (1.2) *Kim pulls her barnacle gesture toward herself*

13 LISA→KAY; Dude,

14 LISA→KAY; if I were [a #pirate,]

15 KIM→ELLA; [They're like] little:, *Kim pushes barnacle gesture out in front of her, rubs thumb and forefinger together, looks at Ella*

16 KAY→LISA; Are there [$_2$still pirates?] *Kim looks at her own gesture*

17 KIM→ELLA; [$_2$I don't even know what.] *Kim looks at Ella*

18 KIM→ELLA; .. Shells:, *Ella nods slightly*

19 KIM→ELLA; that,

20 KIM→ELLA; .. cling, *Kim moves barnacle gesture upward*

21 KIM→ELLA; [to the bottom] of stuff.

22 ELLA→KIM; [Okay.] *Ella nods more emphatically*

In this example, Kim's original candidate gesture in line 7 gets picked up by Ella in line 8 and made focal to the interaction. This focusing allows Ella and Kim to negotiate the most appropriate gestural representation of barnacles. The focality is indicated both by the length of the gestural sequence (e.g., Kim's barnacle gesture continuously evolves over 14 consecutive lines) and the fact that participants orient to the gestures as focal through means such as gaze and speech (e.g. Ella's "this?" and squint at her gesture in line 11). The gestures in resonance sequences are thus not acting in the service of something else in the interaction; rather, they are the focus and the topic of the interaction.

Iconicity in Gestural Resonance

Iconicity, where gestures resemble that which they are meant to embody, is also an important aspect of gestural resonance. As McNeill (1996) points out in his typology, iconic gestures are closely related to the semantic content of the speech. However, iconic gestures aren't merely gestural representations of the accompanying verbal expression. They contribute a specific visual-characteristic meaning to the verbal expression (de Fornel, 1992) and are deeply tied to the entire array of semiotic resources in the interaction. Moreover, the fact that iconic gestures are often used in word search sequences (Beattie & Coughlan, 1999) lends validity to the fact that these gestures carry an important semantic and cognitive load in the interaction.

An example of iconicity in gestural resonance sequences is shown in the following excerpt, taken from a video of three women who are housemates talking around their kitchen table. Here, Bonnie and Teresa take turns depicting the iconic chest hair of the title character from the movie *Austin Powers*. Notice that each of the women homes in on a

different iconic aspect of the chest hair, from its volume and density to its size and shape.

Example 2. “Hairy Chest” (Housemates, 21:25–21:40)

1	TERESA;	Oh my god.	
2	TERESA;	The main guy?	
3	TERESA;	Had this like,	*Begins hairy chest gesture at chest*

4		(0.3)	
5	TERESA;	Hairy chest?	
6	TERESA;	That was all like,	*Moves gesture to abdomen*

7		(0.4)	
8	TERESA;	Fff.	*Moves gesture to chest in “T” shape*

9	TERESA;	Like,	

10 TERESA; .. right over his @boobs, *Moves hands back to abdomen*

11 TERESA; and like, *Moves hands to chest*

12 TERESA; right here, *Moves hands to abdomen*

13 TERESA; but it was like, *Cups chest with both hands*

14 TERESA; like [really long] [$_2$hair?] *Points both index fingers out from chest*

15 JENN; [Long hair?]

16 BONNIE; [$_2$It was like a] T, *Draws hands across chest*

17 (0.4)

18 TERESA; It was @really @funny. *Covers mouth with right hand*

In this example, Teresa makes extended iconic "hairy chest" gestures that accompany her explanation of the nature of Austin Powers' chest hair (lines 3–14). Bonnie then takes up these iconic gestures herself in line 16. The variety of gestures that Teresa and Bonnie make in reference to Austin Powers' chest hair are resonant in their function more than their form; they produce several different forms that index different iconic aspects of the chest hair such as placement (lines 10–12), volume (lines 13–14), and shape (lines 8, 16). What connects this progression of gestures is that they are iconically, functionally, and referentially linked to the phenomenon of Austin Powers' chest hair. Moreover, the iconic nature of resonant gestures may make them more accessible for elaboration or contestation due to their innate referencing relationship to an actual object in the world.

TYPES OF GESTURAL RESONANCE

As mentioned before, analyzing gestural resonance involves looking at the ways in which across-turn gestures are both similar *and* dissimilar. Thus, I have preliminarily categorized the data examined here into two general types of gestural resonance: collaborative or supportive, and problematizing. I will discuss each of these in turn.

Collaborative/Supportive Gestural Resonance

Much of the prior literature concerning gestural resemblance has identified the many varied ways that the activation of gestural affinity may indicate agreement, understanding, and involvement. These findings resonate with the first type of gestural resonance that I have identified. In such collaborative or supportive gestural sequences, several features are

present: (1) the subsequent gestures align with the prior gesture, (2) the subsequent talk supports (or at least does not problematize) the validity or appropriateness of the prior gesture, and (3) the collaborative gestures may overlap or progressively elaborate upon each other. I will show two examples of this type of gestural resonance.

The first example comes from a video recording of a group of six friends—three men and three women—who are playing a game together. In the excerpt analyzed here, Jack discusses the topic of having his nails filed by his guitar teacher—commenting both with what he says and with his embodied behavior. Jack's nail-filing gesture is then picked up by the two other men in the group, Josh and Caleb.

Example 3. "Filing Nails" (2007Cards, 7:07–7:34)

1 JACK; So he took [my hand and he,]

(1) Makes small nail filing gesture

2 ANNE; [I thought] [$_2$it was just] a,

3 JACK; [$_2$and #he #just,]

4 ANNE; random professor,

5 SARA; @ [@]

6 JACK; [No,]

7 JACK; [$_2$it was my guitar teacher.]

8 JOSH; [$_2$<VOX> Let me see your nails. </VOX>]

(2) Makes large nail filing gesture

9 MOLLY; So [$_3$wait.]

10 CALEB; [$_3$<VOX> Let me] [$_4$see your nails] [$_5$there. </VOX>] *(3) Leans in, makes large nail filing gesture*

11 MOLLY; [$_4$So:,]

12 MOLLY; [$_5$You pick?]

In recounting this story, Jack iconically represents the act of nail filing with his own hands in a very short and small gesture close to his body (line 1). Josh then dramatically recasts Jack's original gesture in a more elaborated form that is larger both in amplitude and duration and also re-enacts a hypothetical voicing of the teacher who did the nail failing (line 8). Once Josh has made repeating the gesture relevant to the interaction, Caleb then tries out the gesture for himself, again in a more elaborative way and also while performing a hypothetical voicing of the teacher (line 10). The differential relationship of these gestures to one another is summarized in Figure 1. Both Josh's and Caleb's subsequent supportive gestures resemble Jack's original gesture, but they take the basic configuration and elaborate in such a way that the entire sequence may be seen as a gestural collaboration similar to jazz-like improvisation; everyone is creatively contributing by building upon a central theme. That is, no one is problematizing anyone else's contribution but rather they are all expressing both appreciation and understanding of the activity of engaging in a collaborative sequence.

Gesture	Gesture Animator	Amplitude	Placement	Duration (24 fps)	Teacher Voicing
(1)	Jack	Small	In front of self	13 frames	No
(2)	Josh	Large	Center of table	60 frames	Yes
(3)	Caleb	Large	Center of table	92 frames	Yes

Figure 1. Gesture differential for "Filing Nails"

The next collaborative example is taken from a recording of five mothers and mothers-to-be who are holding a prayer meeting. Both of the main participants in this example, Jamie and Anna, are in the third trimesters of their pregnancies. In this example, Jamie remarks that she saw Anna's baby kicking while the group was engaging in prayer a few moments prior. Jamie then proceeds to re-enact through gesture the act of the baby kicking, and Anna takes up Jamie's gesture and elaborates on it herself.

Example 4. "Baby Kicking" (1:34:19–1:34:34)

1 ANNA; Thank you all so much,

2 JAMIE; @@ The baby @was, @@

Jamie points to Anna's abdomen

(1) Jamie makes baby kick gesture over Anna's abdomen (2 iterations)

3 ANNA; The baby's just,

Anna touches own abdomen

4 ANNA; did you see it?

5 JAMIE; <@> Yeah,

6 JAMIE; I saw it.

(2) Jamie makes baby kick gesture over own abdomen (1 iteration)

7 JAMIE; It was just,

(2) Jamie makes baby kick gesture (1 iteration)
(3) Anna makes baby kick gesture (1 iteration)

8 JAMIE; poom,

(2) Jamie makes baby kick gesture over own abdomen (1 iteration)
(3) Anna makes baby kick gesture (1 iteration)

9 JAMIE; poom. </@>

(3) Anna makes baby kick gesture (2 iterations)

10 (0.5)
11 JAMIE; I told you,
12 JAMIE; there's something about,
13 JAMIE; prayer and,
14 JAMIE; babies.

Jamie's first gesture in relation to the recounting of the baby-kicking event is to point to Anna's abdomen in order to locate where the event was happening (line 2). From this point, she enacts her first iconic representation of the baby kicking by bouncing her index

finger up and down for 2 iterations (line 2). Once Jamie's noticing re-enactment is taken up by Anna (lines 3–4), Jamie then engages in self-elaboration by performing a larger and more sustained baby-kicking gesture in front of her own abdomen using both hands (lines 6–8). Anna then involves herself in the re-enactment series, overlapping with Jamie and elaborating the baby-kicking gesture in front of her own body with twice as many iterations as Jamie's original gesture (lines 8–10). The differential relationship among these gestures is illustrated in Figure 2. This successive and overlapping elaboration suggests that both Jamie and Anna are engaged in a collaborative gestural endeavor that is meant to indicate shared experience and understanding.

Gesture	Gesture Animator	Amplitude	Placement	Hand(s) Used	Iterations	Duration (30 fps)
(1)	Jamie	Small	Anna's abdomen	Left	2	12 frames
(2)	Jamie	Large	Own abdomen	Right	3	60 frames
(3)	Anna	Large	Own abdomen	Both	4	93 frames

Figure 2. Gesture differential for "Baby Kicking"

PROBLEMATIZING GESTURAL RESONANCE

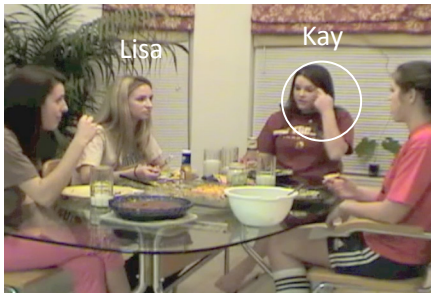
As alluded to before, gestural resonance may also be used for more provocative purposes. Sometimes gestures are deemed inadequate or inappropriate by subsequent participants, and participants choose to negotiate this divergence. Sequences of problematizing gestural resonance are characterized by the fact that subsequent gestures (1) produce a significant differential and (2) are generally accompanied by talk that problematizes the prior gesture. The gestures involved in a problematizing sequence do not elaborate on prior gestures in a collaborative sense as seen in previous examples; instead, they highlight a complete divergence in one or more aspects of the gesture—whether it be placement, amplitude, duration, etc. As seen in the two following examples, these gestural divergences are typically a result of disparities in epistemic access (Heritage & Raymond, 2005); that is, the person producing the original gesture has epistemic access and the person producing the subsequent gesture does not. This leads to a need to negotiate both the appropriateness of the gesture as well as the shared understanding of the semantic content of the interaction.

In this first problematizing example, we return to the group of four women having dinner together who were shown in Example 1. Kay begins by explaining her dog's state of health, and she and Lisa

negotiate the appropriate size and placement of a gestural representation of the dog's tumors.

Example 5. "Tumors" (2006Dinner, 15:10–15:26)

1 KAY; He just has, *Kay scratches temple*



2 (0.3)

3 LISA; [Ma:n,]

4 KAY; [The tumors are just] like, *(1) Kay makes small pointing gesture at temple*

5 (0.6)

6 KAY; That --

7 KAY; something that old dogs [get.]

8 LISA; [The tumors?] *(2) Lisa makes large pointing gesture all over face*

9 LISA; Are on his face?

10 (0.2)

11 KAY; They're all over his bo[dy.]

12 ELLA; [Ow.]

13 KAY; They're not like,

14 KAY; .. growing out of him,

(3) Kay makes large horn gesture from temple

15 KAY; they're just like little,

(4) Kay makes small pointing gesture at temple

16 KAY; dot .. [things,]

17 KIM; [Little] bumps.

Kay's initial tumor gesture is small, quick, and restricted to a confined area near her temple (line 4). Lisa attends to this gesture through her peripheral vision and then proceeds to problematize it not only through her gesture but also through her speech (lines 8–9). Her subsequent gesture is much larger and longer than Kay's gesture and covers the entire area of her face. In rejecting Lisa's reformulation of the "tumor" gesture, Kay specifies both through speech and gesture what the tumors are *not*: that is, growing out of him, as represented by her large "horn" gesture (lines 13–14). Kay then repeats her original gesture as she concludes her argument about the appropriate gestural representation of her dog's tumors (lines 15–16). This gesture differential is summarized in Figure 3. This example shows how someone may actively reformulate different elements of a gesture—as Lisa did—in a quest for intersubjective understanding. Thus, what is important here is not necessarily how Kay's and Lisa's gestures are similar but also how they are *dissimilar*. The basic similarity of their gestures is what makes this sequence recognizable as resonance and not a mere coincidental

juxtaposition of gestures. However, the fact that each of the girl's gestures differ with respect to crucial aspects makes this sequence seeable as a problematized negotiation rather than a collaboration.

Gesture	Gesture Animator	Amplitude	Placement	Duration (24 fps)
(1)	Kay	Small	Repeated, restricted to temple	18 frames
(2)	Lisa	Large	Circularly, around entire face	45 frames
(3)	Kay	Large	From temple outward to neutral space	30 frames
(4)	Kay	Small	Repeated, restricted to temple	33 frames

Figure 3. Gesture differential for "Tumors"

In the last example, we see gestural resonance sequences involving both collaboration and problematization, though not necessarily at the same time. Bonnie and Teresa are recounting the movie *Austin Powers*, which was referenced in Example 2 and which the third participant, Jenn, has not seen. Bonnie and Teresa focus on the signature gesture made by the character of Dr. Evil, which involves the placement of the pinky finger to the edge of the mouth. A still shot of the original gesture from the movie is seen in Figure 4. Bonnie produces an initial gesture, which Teresa begins to elaborate but then abandons in favor of representing other aspects of the movie. Jenn offers a reformulation of the original gesture, which Bonnie corrects.

*Figure 4. Dr. Evil, played by actor Mike Myers, performing the original pinky gesture (*Austin Powers*, 1999)*

Example 6. "Austin Powers" (Housemates, 20:37–20:58)

1 BONNIE; When he says something like,

2 BONNIE; <@> really intense?

(1) Bonnie prepares pinky near table

3 BONNIE; He goes like this, </@>

(1) Bonnie moves pinky to mouth

4 BONNIE; (2.2)

(1) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth

5 TERESA; @ But_he's_all_like,

(1) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth

6 TERESA; (1.3)

(1) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth
(2) Teresa moves pinky to mouth

7 JENN; The bad guy?

(1) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth
(2) Teresa holds pinky to mouth

8 BONNIE; .. He'll be like,

Bonnie and Teresa lower hands

9 BONNIE; [<VOX> I'm gonna take over the world,]

10 TERESA; [<VOX> #I'm Doctor Evil, </VOX>]

11 BONNIE; for,

12 (0.4)

13 BONNIE; @a @million,

14 BONNIE; @doll[ars. </VOX>]

15 TERESA; [But then it like all] zooms in, *(3) Bonnie moves pinky to mouth*

16 TERESA; it's all, *(3) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth*

17 TERESA; Vvrrrf. *Teresa moves "frame" hands toward Bonnie*
(3) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth

18 JENN; Oh, *(3) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth*

19 JENN; is that like going like this? *(3) Bonnie holds pinky at mouth*

20 (0.8) *(4) Jenn touches all four fingers to mouth*

21 BONNIE; Yeah.

22 BONNIE; Only he does it [with his pinky.] @ *Bonnie wiggles pinky in the air*

23 JENN; [But he does it with his pinky.] *(5) Jenn makes quick pinky gesture at mouth*

This re-enactment involves both a collaborative sequence between Bonnie and Teresa and a problematization sequence between Bonnie and Jenn. Bonnie's original gesture involves a long, drawn-out movement of the pinky to her bottom lip (lines 2–6). Teresa begins to take up this pinky gesture (line 6) but then fails to elaborate either in amplitude, placement, or duration, and in fact abandons it when Bonnie begins another re-enactment sequence (beginning in line 8). Thus Teresa's gestural resonance may be seen as an attempted or incomplete collaboration. Bonnie goes on to reiterate her original pinky gesture

(lines 15–19), and Teresa takes up a complementary role as the hypothetical cameraperson from the movie, literally focusing attention on Bonnie's re-enacting gesture (line 17). Figure 5 illustrates the gestural differential between Teresa's pinky gesture and Bonnie's first two pinky gestures.

Gesture	Gesture Animator	Amplitude	Placement	Duration (30 fps)
(1)	Bonnie	Small	At mouth	195 frames
(2)	Theresa	Small	At mouth	69 frames
(3)	Bonnie	Small	At mouth	108 frames

Figure 5. Gesture differential for collaboration in "Austin Powers" (lines 1–19)

Once Jenn has seen three of these pinky gestures performed (two by Bonnie and one by Teresa), she endeavors to reformulate the gesture herself (line 20). However, her gesture isn't so much an attempt at replicating the physical aspects of the gesture but rather at relating the semantic content of the gesture to a more familiar hand-to-mouth movement. While Bonnie seems to accept the meaning proposed by Jenn (line 20), she corrects the manner of the gesture, re-articulating both with talk and embodied behavior that the movement is done with the pinky, as opposed to all four fingers (line 22). Jenn takes up this reiterated explanation and resonates both with her talk and gesture, this time using her pinky but for a markedly smaller duration (line 23). This problematization differential is illustrated by Figure 6. This gestural resonance sequence involving problematization again illustrates how disparities may arise due to a lack of epistemic access. However, it also underscores the fact that participants may display shared understanding not just with talk but also with gesture, as demonstrated by Jenn's final gesture in the example.

Gesture	Gesture Animator	Fingers Used	Duration (30 fps)
(3)	Bonnie	Pinky	108 frames
(4)	Jenn	All four	33 frames
(5)	Jenn	Pinky	27 frames

Figure 6. Gesture differential for problematization in "Austin Powers" (lines 15–23)

CONCLUSION

In this article, I have introduced and defined the concept of gestural resonance and illustrated some of its key features. I have argued that while gestural resonance necessarily involves some kind of resemblance, the differentials between gestures are also crucial in the negotiation of meaning in interaction. Participants may activate resonances of form and function in order to achieve both positive and negative interactional functions such as agreement and disagreement, understanding and lack of understanding. The focal and iconic nature of the gestures involved in gestural resonance sequences also makes them more accessible to interactional negotiation than other types of non-focal gestural synchrony or instrumental actions. As I have shown in my analysis, participants create and orient to resonances among gestures in their recruitment of embodied action as a resource for pursuing dialogic engagement.

I have also argued that gestural resonance sequences may perform very different kinds of social actions, such as collaboration or support on the one hand and problematization on the other hand. With collaborative sequences, the progression of gestures builds one upon the other in order to align with and support prior gestures and *display* shared understanding. With problematizing sequences, the progression of gestures *seeks* shared understanding through a negotiation of the semantic content expressed by each gesture. Such sequences typically involve a complete divergence in one or more aspects of a prior gesture and are accompanied by problematizing talk.

While previous work on gestural resemblance has aptly characterized the positive interactional functions of gestural similarities, in this article I have proposed that gestural resonance more generally encompasses participants' orientation to both similarities and dissimilarities in the pursuit of a wide variety of functions. In the study of the meaning-making processes of interaction, it is thus crucial to account for the differing degrees to which participants utilize and orient to gestural resonance.

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NOTES

[1.] The data I use come from a corpus of about 10 hours of video-recorded interaction in a variety of informal contexts which involve gatherings of friends around board games, card games, and meals together. Transcription conventions are detailed in the appendix.

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription conventions are based on Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Du Bois (2010a):

Meaning	Symbol
Intonation unit	{line break}
Truncated intonation unit	--
Speech overlap	[ ]
Final intonation	.
Continuing intonation	,
Appeal intonation	?
Timed pause (in seconds)	(0.0)
Micropause	..
Laughter	@
Dubious transcription	#
Latching	=
Elongated speech	:
Rapid speech	Connected_with_underscore
Speaking in voice of another	<VOX>
Nonverbal information	*Italics*

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