

Carrying out carrying: Language, touch and movement in the organization of assisted mobility in family interaction

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Abstract

This conversation-analytic study documents contexts and situations of family interaction in which it becomes relevant for caregivers to carry children. Carrying involves the physical management of the recipient's body, while simultaneously it provides the necessary bodily assistance as a condition for human mobility and care. In each case, carrying is set within a particular spatial and temporal framework and related to an ongoing or imminent activity that requires some mobility. The study shows how carrying is interactionally organized into a sequence with three distinct phases and specific designs: the initiation, the carrying proper and the release. The study also describes different kinds of mobile haptic formations. The video-recorded data come from family interactions involving children aged 1-6 years in Sweden and Finland.

Keywords: caregiver-child interaction – carrying – directive sequences – haptic formation – mobility.

German abstract

Die vorliegende konversationsanalytische Studie beschäftigt sich mit Kontexten und Situationen in der familiären Interaktion, in denen Betreuungspersonen Kinder tragen. Das Tragen umfasst die physische Manipulation des Körpers der betreuten Personen, während es gleichzeitig die erforderliche körperliche Unterstützung als Voraussetzung für menschliche Mobilität und Betreuung bereitstellt. In jedem der besprochenen Fälle erfolgt das Tragen in einem besonderen räumlichen und zeitlichen Rahmen und in Bezug zu einer laufenden oder bevorstehenden Aktivität, die eine gewisse Mobilität erfordert. Die Studie zeigt, wie das Tragen interaktional in einer Sequenz mit drei unterschiedlichen Phasen und je spezifischem Design organisiert ist: der Initiierung, dem eigentlichen Tragen und dem Absetzen. Die Studie beschreibt außerdem unterschiedliche Arten mobiler haptischer Formationen. Die auf Video aufgenommenen Daten stammen von familiären Interaktionen mit Kindern im Alter von ein bis sechs Jahren in Schweden und Finnland.

Keywords: Betreuer-Kind-Interaktion – Tragen – Instruktionssequenzen – haptische Gestaltung – Mobilität.

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1. Introduction

In this study, we focus on the interactional organization of a form of human-assisted mobility that is pervasive in social interaction between young children and their caregivers: carrying. Carrying involves forceful physical management of the recipient's bodily actions and puts constraints on their kinaesthetic autonomy and possibility for bodily movement. Simultaneously, carrying provides necessary bodily assistance as a condition for human mobility and care. It therefore constitutes an intricate social corporeal practice where multiple social concerns (Goffman 1963) and sensory affective experiences (Merleau-Ponty 1962) are interwoven. Because it involves both physical contact and movement, carrying requires particular kind of coordination by the participants through their corporeal and verbal actions.

The study explores recurrent situations where carrying features in caregiver-child interactions. The video-recorded data come from indoor and outdoor contexts in Sweden and Finland. Multimodal conversation analysis is employed to examine how carrying is interactionally organized in directive or request sequences when a child needs to accomplish an embodied task or engage in independent locomotion but displays reluctance or trouble in doing so. In such situations carrying is deployed to secure that children put into action the requested tasks or to help children move, for example, in difficult terrain.

The study is organized as follows: In section 2, we develop the notion of 'mobile haptic formations' by discussing previous research on walking as a mode of mobility (2.1) and on human-to-human touch (2.2). After briefly introducing the data, methods and transcription conventions in section 3, we provide an analysis of the carrying sequence, from initiation (4.1) through carrying proper (4.2) to the release (4.3). In the analysis, not only do we shed light on the sequence as it generally unfolds but we also follow two individual cases from beginning to end (i.e. Examples 1, 5 and 10 form one continuous sequence, as do Examples 4, 6 and 9). We summarize and reflect on our findings in section 5.

2. Towards mobile haptic formations

Walking is a common social activity that humans are initiated into early: much of children's first months and years are concerned with learning how to walk. However, before and for some time after they can walk, children are frequently carried or otherwise transported using different culturally dependent means, such as strollers or slings. As a form of human-assisted mobility, carrying involves a carrier and the carried, who move together by foot as one unit and whose bodies are in physical contact to varying degrees. These two central aspects for providing and receiving assistance through carrying, walking as a mode of mobility (2.1) and human-to-human touch (2.2), are discussed in detail below.

2.1. Interactional organization of walking

Carrying essentially involves participants' mobility – walking from one location to another. Previous studies on walking have established it as a situated and interactional accomplishment, where the practices of 'walking together' vs. 'walking alone' (Ryave/Schenkein 1974; Schmitt 2012; De Stefani 2013; Mondada 2014a) are oriented to as recognizably different forms of action. A number of studies have focused specifically on 'vehicular units' (Goffman 1971) or "mobile formations-in-action" (McIlvenny/Broth/Haddington 2014:104), in order to explore how multiple participants walk or move together, for example, in dancing (e.g. Keevallik 2013) or during guided tours (e.g. De Stefani/Mondada 2014) and how pedestrians interact with other road users (e.g. Haddington/Rauniomaa 2014; McIlvenny 2019b). In terms of providing or receiving assistance in mobility, studies have explored how (groups of) mobile individuals navigate and traverse in built and unbuilt environments, either with the assistance of maps and navigation devices (Laurier/Brown/McGregor 2016; Smith/Laurier/Reeves/Dunkley 2020) or by relying on the assistance or cooperation from others (e.g. Relieu 1997; Due/Lange 2018; Merlino/Mondada 2019; see also Muñoz and Smith in this special issue).

Walking itself has been observed to consist of smaller practices of "stepping, walking, walking backwards, accelerating, slowing down, etc., which have specific sequential trajectories" (Mondada 2016:347), and to be involved in the organization of other activities (e.g. vom Lehn 2013; De Stefani/Mondada 2014; González-Martínez/Bangerter/Lê Van 2017; Mondada 2018; Jakonen 2020) as well as in opening (Mondada 2009) or closing them (Broth/Mondada 2013, 2019; Tuncer 2015). Opening and closing activities or changing orientation and level of engagement within an activity frequently involve the use of multiple resources beyond walking. The practices of such transitions are increasingly studied, in both mobile and stationary contexts (for mobile contexts specifically, see e.g. Broth/Lundström 2013; Broth/Mondada 2013; Broth/Keevallik 2014; Keisanen/Rauniomaa/Siitonen 2017).

In social-interactional studies of mobility, and especially of walking, language, space, and the material environment are essentially treated as intertwined resources: the material environment and mobility influence the organization of interaction, and the human body with its resources constitutes an essential part of interaction (e.g. Broth/Lundström 2013; Mondada 2014; Weilenmann/Normark/Laurier 2014; Smith 2017; McIlvenny 2019a). This study explores the interactional organization of how two single individuals come together and form one mobile formation for the

duration of carrying, and how the mobile formation is then dissolved for the two single individuals to continue their (mobile) activities. This involves the coordination of various linguistic, spatial, material and embodied resources, the last most notably via touch.

2.2. Interactional organization of touch

Previous interactional studies on touch, as corporeal contact, show that haptic steering can be used in initiating, controlling and scaffolding others' mobility (Cekaite 2010). Studies on the use of physical contact in order to manage and monitor the recipient's (e.g. a child's, an older person's) bodily conduct have shown that touch is frequently coordinated with other modalities (see also Hippi, Laurier et al., Majlesi/Ekström/Hydén and Pehkonen in this special issue). Controlling physical contact constitutes a part of contextual configurations (Goodwin 2000) where multiple modalities laminate each other within recognizable sequences of interaction. Verbal resources are used concurrently, or prior to, physical contact in ways that, for instance, clarify its meaning (e.g. explicitly requesting compliance, or through an indexical reference to the relevant social activity). For instance, requests and directives in family interactions overlay the physical control act (Cekaite 2010, 2015; see also Marstrand/Svennevig 2017).

Moreover, the sequential organization of such haptic controlling sequences can be structured so as to verbally inform, request or negotiate the recipient's volitional compliant response, before engaging in, for instance, the 'shepherding' of a child's locomotion (if compliance is not forthcoming). Engagement into physical contact, especially controlling touch that manages and directs the recipient's conduct, is a matter of negotiation that can involve coordinated deployment of verbal as well as corporeal means. Coordinated deployment of multiple modalities, as they are configured in specific social interactional situations, has also been conceptualized as 'complex multimodal gestalts' (CMG; Mondada 2014b). Complex multimodal gestalts can also involve the use of touch. For instance, CMG consisting of touch followed by a deictic pointing gesture has been shown to occur within an ongoing pedagogical activity and to direct a recipient's attention to a particular focus of concern (Routarinne et al. 2020).

Interactional studies have also shown that embodied acts, including haptic acts, can bear a recognizable and systematic interactional, sequential design (e.g. Cekaite/Mondada 2020). Similarly to talk-in-interaction, embodied acts can also invite a response. For instance, as demonstrated by Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) and Goodwin (2020), hugs between family members as well as friends are sequentially established in that the initiation of a hug is usually realized by one of the participants reaching out their arms towards another as a part of supportive interchanges, such as greetings or farewells (Goffman 1963). Embodied and verbal responses are similarly characterized by a specific interactional design: the recipient putting their arms around the hugger. Resistance and disaffiliation are configured not only verbally, but also by refraining from expected embodied reciprocation (e.g. by resisting to sustain a hugging haptic formation or rejecting it verbally, see also Katila/Gan/Goodwin 2020). In this way, embodied as well as verbal responses are indexical of the participants' affiliation, social relations and affective stances.

Carrying, as a way of assisting the recipient's locomotion, can be assembled as various haptic formations (Cekaite 2015), that is, specific ways of positioning bodies vis-à-vis each other. While a range of spatial-orientational formations, such as the F-formation and the nested formation (e.g. Kendon 1990; Ochs/Solomon/Sterponi 2005; McIlvenny 2009), allow interactants to arrange specific spatial conditions for interaction, they can also be deployed in the organization of mobile units. Similarly, a range of haptic formations can be configured in ways that resemble spatial-orientational formations. Notably, however, haptic formations provide possibilities for sensorial co-perception of engagement and responses through physical contact between the participants, and haptic formations that involve extended areas of bodily contact, such as an embrace or a head-to-head formation, are used in close and intimate social relations (Goodwin/Cekaite 2018). Haptic formations are also deployed in configuring assisted mobility, such as carrying.

3. Data and methods

For this study, we draw on two data sets of everyday family interaction involving children aged 1-6 years, that is, children who are already able to walk themselves but whom the caregivers would or could still carry. One set includes video recordings from family homes in Sweden: a researcher followed family members with a handheld camera as they carried out their domestic activities, such as various morning routines dealing with getting dressed and brushing teeth. The other set includes video recordings from outdoor settings in Finland: family members were given handheld or wearable action cameras and they recorded themselves as they engaged in nature-related activities, such as trekking and foraging. We chose the two data sets in that they have documented naturally occurring, mundane family activities in which human-assisted mobility is salient: in these data, caregivers often carry children to help them move in difficult terrain or to make them comply with parental directives.

We employ multimodal conversation analysis to examine how sequences of caregivers carrying children unfold. We are interested in how the participants themselves render their conduct meaningful and recognizable, among other things, through the design, timing and sequential position of their verbal and embodied actions (see Garfinkel 1967; Sacks 1992; Schegloff 2007). The data extracts have been transcribed according to basic conversation-analytic conventions (see, e.g. Jefferson 2004) and Mondada's (2019) conventions for multimodal transcription. Talk is written in black, bold font, while descriptions of participants' relevant embodied conduct are written in gray font. Translations from the Finnish or Swedish original into English are provided in italics. First-name pseudonyms are used for the children, whereas the caregivers are referred to with the following participant labels: mother (MOM), father (DAD), grandfather (GRF) and grandmother (GRM). The dollar sign (\$) indicates whiny voice. The symbol # is used to indicate the timing of figures with reference to talk, while two sets of symbols are used to indicate where various forms of embodied conduct occur: the symbols + and ± for the child, and the symbols * and □ for the caregiver. The symbols do not have a fixed meaning but are used to distinguish between, for example, the caregiver's body position and arm movements, if such a distinction is relevant for the analysis. The granularity of the descriptions of embodied conduct depends on what is captured on the video

recordings, on the one hand, and what is relevant for the analysis of individual examples, on the other hand.

4. Interactional organization of carrying

This section analyzes carrying as an interactional sequence that is accomplished by using multiple modalities, and proceeds along the phases of an unfolding carrying sequence: section 4.1 focuses on the initiation of carrying and differentiates between the sequences that are started off by the prospective carried, i.e. the child (4.1.1), and the prospective carrier, i.e. the caregiver (4.1.2). Section 4.2 examines how the participants together establish and maintain the mobile haptic formation and negotiate the trajectory and length of their joint movement by using resources available in embrace formations (4.2.1) and nested formations (4.2.2). Section 4.3 analyzes how the participants manage the release of carrying and move on to the next activity to finish the requested routine task at home or to continue with the activity that they were engaged in before the carrying.

4.1. Initiation: Orienting to the relevance of carrying and establishing the formation

As carrying requires profoundly embodied actions, it is intrusive on the corporeal agency of the carried and it can also be physically demanding for the carrier. This is addressed by participants, at first, during the initiation of a carrying sequence: participants draw on a broad range of multimodal resources and interactional practices to negotiate and establish the relevance of carrying, and thus to ascertain that it is not carried out in vain. In our data, depending on the situational and socio-material context as well as the prevailing rights and responsibilities of the participants, carrying may follow an indication of need for assistance (see, e.g. Drew/Couper-Kuhlen 2014; Kendrick/Drew 2016 on 'recruitment') when moving across challenging terrain outdoors, or a part of directive sequences that aim at "getting things done" in the family home.

The following analyses show that participants employ a conventionalized complex multimodal gestalt (Mondada 2014b), comprising particular body configurations (e.g. extended arms, proximity of bodies) that may be accompanied or preceded by verbal requests, offers and other directive actions, to initiate the carrying sequence. The establishment of an appropriate haptic formation is a dialogic endeavor that sequentially resembles the interactional organization of a hug and comforting embrace (Goodwin/Cekaite 2018): it has to be accepted and instantiated, which is primarily accomplished through embodied actions. Verbal components around the initiation typically relate to negotiations about how the activity should progress and, possibly, whether carrying is relevant in the first place. Whether carrying is initiated by the prospective carried or the prospective carrier has an effect on how this initial phase of the carrying sequence unfolds. Unlike young children of 1-6 years, caregivers namely ordinarily have the physical capacities, such as the stature and strength, that lifting, holding and carrying require. Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 examine how carrying may come about, and they are divided on the basis of who initiates the sequence.

4.1.1. Carrying initiated by the prospective carried

Let us first examine cases in which the child, as the prospective carried, initiates the carrying sequence. In these cases, it is the children who, in different ways, put forward that carrying is relevant in that moment and make themselves available for their caregivers to pick up. While the children may not be physically capable of forcing their caregivers to carry them (i.e. caregivers typically need to bend down to pick children up), the children may move and position themselves so as to insist on being carried. What is more, as Example 1 shows, the initiation of carrying may involve verbal negotiation.

In Example 1, three-year-old Risto has been picking bilberries in the woods with his mother, grandfather and grandmother. Here, Risto positions himself in front of mother and requests her to hold him. The request leads into a lengthy sequence of negotiation and preparation, as a result of which mother lifts Risto up in her arms. (N.B. No continuous footage of Risto and mother is available until line 15 of the transcript. Figure 1a is taken from the camera first held by mother and Figures 1b-c from the same camera then held by grandfather.)

(1) 06 HANS Mustikassa I (T:00:39:50)

- 01 (0.8)
 ris >>walks twd M-->
 02 RIS: äitti.
 mom
 ±lifts arms up twd M-->
 03 RIS: minä# haluan tulla+± syl[liin.
 I want to come into {your} arms
 04 MOM: [oota ko pappaa ot°taa sinut.°
 wait for grandpa to take you
 ris -->out of camera view-->1.15
 ris -->±out of camera view-->1.15
 fig #1a



Fig. 1a

- 05 (0.6)
 06 GRF: tuupa pappaa ottaa sinut syl[liin.
 come grandpa will take you into {his} arms
 07 RIS: [↑EIKU ÄITI.
 no I mean mom
 08 (0.6)

- 09 MOM: no pappa ot[taa sitte ka]meran.
well then grandpa will take the camera
- 10 GRF: [paapa se jon(-)]
put it some(-)
- 11 GRF: no ni.
there we go
- 12 (0.7)
- 13 RIS: eiku äiti.
no I mean mom
- 14 (0.3)
- 15 MOM: joo äi*ti ottaa.
yes mom will take
*lets go of camera and brings hands down-->
- 16 (1.2)
- 17 MOM: siitä *näät siitä ruu'usta.
you can see from the screen
-->*brings l. hand up and points at camera-->
- 18 (0.5)*α(0.8)
mom -->*brings l. hand down and takes hold of R-->
αbends down-->
- 19 MOM: @hop.@# *α(0.3) HHHα
-->*lifts R up-->
αstraightens upα
- fig #1b
- 20 (0.4)*(0.3)*α(0.5)#*(0.6)*(0.5)α
mom -->*lowers R on l. shoulder
*brings l. arm under R
brings r. arm under R
αturns-----αwalks-->>
- fig #1c



Fig. 1b

Fig. 1c

A moment before the example, Risto has begun to walk towards mother from a couple of feet away. As he gets closer, Risto lifts his arms up towards mother (Figure 1a), addresses her with *äiti* ('mom') and makes a verbal request, *minä haluan tulla sylliin* ('I want to come into {your} arms', ll.2-3). The increasing proximity of the participants, the upheld arms of the child and the verbal request form a complex multimodal gestalt and the first part of a pre-sequence, with which the child initiates the carrying sequence and prepares to be held by the caregiver, allowing her access

to his body or, indeed, making it impossible for her to avoid some form of physical contact.

Mother first rejects Risto's request by suggesting that grandfather hold him in a moment (l.4), and grandfather himself offers to hold Risto (l.6). Risto, in turn, rejects the offered alternative with a loud *eiku äiti* ('no I mean mom', l.7, see Haakana/Visapää 2014 on the Finnish particle *eiku*), insisting on a particular caregiver to act as the carrier. Mother then accepts the request and begins preparations to fulfill it (see Rauniomaa/Keisanen 2012), by handing the video camera over to grandfather (ll.9-11). The purpose of the transfer is not clear to Risto, however, who again protests with *eiku äiti* ('no I mean mom', l.13). Mother now spells out her acceptance of the request (*joo äiti ottaa* 'yes mom will take', l.15) and positions herself so that she is able to lift Risto up: she brings her hands down, bends down and takes a firm grasp of Risto under the arms (Figure 1b). Facing mother, Risto also grasps her by the arms (Figure 1b).

Immediately before the lift, mother produces the interjection *hop*, which is a recognizable but not truly conventionalized lexical item in Finnish (l.19). It sounds strained and ends in a hold rather than a release of the final plosive, *p*. As such, it prepares both the carrier and the carried for the lift as somehow strenuous, something for which they need to prepare. Similarly, the loud exhalation that mother produces when straightening up and lifting Risto up constitutes "a deliberate display of a physical effort" (Keevallik/Ogden 2020:10). It is a means for the caregiver to show that carrying is no trivial task and that she is now focused on lifting the child off the ground. Once Risto is in mother's arms, mother first brings his body against her shoulder and then brings her arms around under him to secure a stable hold as she turns and begins to walk (Figure 1c).

The lengthy sequence of negotiation and preparation presented in Example 1 shows how the participants orient to the relevance of carrying: by insisting not only that he be held, but that he be held by a particular caregiver, the mother, the child establishes the relevance of carrying as providing an opportunity to be comforted and to display affection, rather than as simply facilitating movement forward (see also Laurier et al. in this special issue). Example 1 also shows that a carrying sequence may be initiated by the prospective carried through a directive action, such as a request, that comprises both verbal elements and a particular body configuration.

Example 2, by contrast, shows that a carrying sequence may be initiated through embodied means alone, and that the interactional meaning of such an initiation may be informed by a verbal sequence that only indexically relates to the subsequent carry. In Example 2, carrying is initiated by five-year-old Ingella. Using an imperative directive and a declarative account, *kom nu för nu ska vi sova* ('come now because we're now going to bed'), mother loudly calls her daughter to come from another room to get ready for bed (prior to the extract). Mother is standing at some distance from the bedroom. The girl responds by expressing her wish to sleep together with mother.

(2) 'Ingella': Evening routine.

- 01 MOM: *jamen vi *kollar härinne*
 well we'll check here
 *faces I---*points to bedroom*
- 02 ING: (0.3) \$(jag tror inte jag är +trött)\$ (0.2)
 (I don't think I'm tired)
 +walks to M-->
 ±arms stretched out-->
- 03 ING: ##heheh#heheh (0.3)*
 -->+runs to M-----*
 fig #2a #2b



Fig. 2a

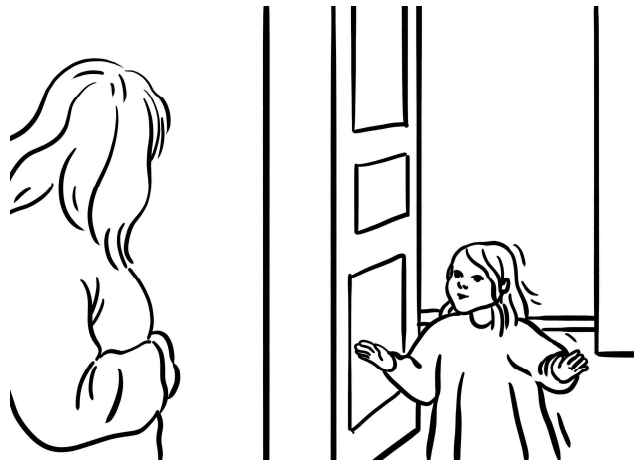


Fig. 2b

multimodal gestalt, which is immediately responded to by mother, who in turn stretches out her arms and scoops up Ingella (ll.4-5; Figures 2c-d). Ingella, upon being lifted up, makes yet another impact response cry, *uh*, which is mock-repeated by mother, *uh* (ll.5-6). Notably, in contrast to Example 1, where an impact response cry is produced by the carrier because of strenuous bodily efforts in lifting, here, it is the carried who vocalizes her bodily response towards the effort of being lifted.

In Example 2, there is no explicit verbal request to be carried, or offer to carry. Rather, the child's embodied actions invite carrying by the caregiver. The child's running in this context is easily interpretable as an approach for being lifted up and carried. It is especially noteworthy that the caregiver is immediately prepared to respond to the child's embodied actions (ll.4-5) and that, as the child jumps into the caregiver's arms and the caregiver lifts her up, they smoothly establish an intercorporeal embracing formation (l.6; Figures 2c-e). In this way, while there may not even be time for verbal negotiation, as in Example 1, both the child's and, consequently, the caregiver's embodied conduct here show that they orient to carrying as relevant in this moment. What Examples 1 and 2 have in common is that the carrying sequence is initiated by the prospective carried, the small child, whose means of making carrying relevant and realizable are in significant ways different from those of the grown-up caregiver.

4.1.2. Carrying initiated by the prospective carrier

In our data, carrying sequences are also routinely initiated by the prospective carrier, the caregiver. We have observed several verbal and embodied designs: In terms of verbal actions, offers and accounts can be used to invoke the relevance of carrying and to lessen the imposition on the child's corporeal agency, because they frame carrying as an optional means of movement that can also be refused. In other cases, by contrast (and similarly to Example 2), the initiation of a carrying sequence may not involve any negotiation, and the caregiver may simply enforce it, being as they are able to overpower the child and control the child's movement.

First, however, let us examine a case in which the caregiver makes a verbal offer and, only after evident acceptance by the child, lifts the child up for carrying. In Example 3, three-year-old Risto, his mother and his grandparents are on their way from a forest road deeper into the woods to pick berries, grandmother and grandfather carrying empty buckets and mother holding the video camera.

(3) 06 HANS Mustikassa I (T:00:01:10)

```

01      (3.0)
      ris  >>walks fwd-->
      grf  >>walks fwd-->
02  GRF:  pääsetkö #sinä sii[tä.]
          can you make it
03  RIS:  [en ]#ptää*se.
          no I can't
          -->±
          -->□
          *leans fwd-->
          fig          #3a          #3b

```




Fig. 3a



Fig. 3b

- 04 (0.6) *
grf -->*
- 05 GRF: *no ↑pappa vähän uuppaa. jootko.*
well grandpa will oop you okay
αsteps behind R-----α
stretches out arms-----
- ris ±lifts arms-->
- 06 *(0.4) # (0.2) *
grf *sways bucket r.*
fig #3c
- 07 GRF: *öp,± (0.3) *höp, # (.) nä:*αin,
eup heup so
*brings hands under R's arms
lifts R up---
αwalks fwd-->>
- ris -->±
fig #3d



Fig. 3c



Fig. 3d

Risto follows grandmother through undergrowth that reaches over his knees. After Risto has taken a couple of halting and slightly staggering steps, which serve as an embodied display of trouble (Kendrick/Drew 2016), grandfather, who follows Risto, makes a pre-offer of assistance in the form of a yes/no interrogative: *pääsetkö sinä siitä* ('can you make it', 1.2). During grandfather's pre-offer, Risto takes another

step with his left leg and balances the step by lifting his right arm, making somewhat unsteady progress through the undergrowth (Figure 3a). Risto then responds to grandfather's pre-offer both by producing a negative verbal answer (*en pääse* 'no I can't', 1.3) and by balancing himself to a stop so that he takes a short step with his right leg, bends his knees, leans forward and throws his arms down, as if resigning any independent movement (Figure 3b).

Risto remains standing in his resigned position, and grandfather leans forward a little. Grandfather then offers to carry Risto (*no pappi vähän uuppaa* 'well grandpa will oop you', 1.5), while taking a step closer to him and beginning to stretch his arms out towards him. On uttering the tag question *jooko* (yes-Q, 'okay'), grandfather takes another step that positions him steadily behind Risto and brings his arms close to Risto. At the same time, Risto lifts his arms slightly, making it possible for grandfather to slip his arms under them (Figure 3c). That is, the participants not only establish the relevance of carrying through the sequence of pre-offer and acceptance, but they also orient to carrying as requiring intrusion by the caregiver into the corporeal integrity of the child, for which the child needs to grant the caregiver access to his body. The verbal negotiation may be accentuated by the fact that, at first, Risto is moving forward and grandfather is walking behind him; in a sense, the negotiation prevents Risto from being caught by surprise. The participants' preparations for the establishment of a mobile haptic formation without gaze contact may also be reflected in how grandfather marks the pace of the subsequent lift with two vocalizations: 'eup' as he brings his forearms under Risto's arms and 'heup' as he lifts Risto off the ground (1.7; Figure 3d).

In addition to lifting up the child once an offer has been accepted, as in Example 3, carrying may simply be enforced by the caregiver. Such cases are recurrent in our data from the family home, in situations in which caregivers' directives to accomplish particular domestic tasks require movement to another space in the architecture of the home. In cases when the caregiver requests or demands some action to be done, verbal negotiations ensue primarily to the particular request, rather than the carrying. When the child's resistance to engage in locomotion is extended, and verbal negotiations concerning compliance with the requested action are exhausted, carrying is initiated and enforced on the child (on enforced human-assisted mobility, see also Pehkonen in this special issue). While the bodily act of scooping up and then carrying the child is not introduced verbally, the communicative meaning of the physical act is indexically invoked and inferred by the participants from their prior talk and embodied conduct.

In Example 4, carrying is initiated and enforced by mother, in the service of getting morning routines done. Prior to the extract, mother makes the bed and repeatedly requests three-year-old Ludvig to go to his room. Ludvig resists by teasing mother by, for instance, lying immobile in bed or grabbing and preventing mother from arranging the duvet. The extract presents mother's third attempt to get Ludvig to go to his room and continue his morning routine. He resists by holding on to the duvet. Mother releases the duvet from his grip and lifts him up (11.1-3; Figures 4a-b).

(4) 'Ludvig': Morning routine.

01 MOM: *så!*=
 so
 puts away duvet
 02 LUD: =%heheh heheheheh%
 %tries to grab duvet%
 03 MOM: #α(0.3)α #*+du:
 listen
 αtakes hold of L with both hands, pulls to herα
 *lifts L, puts one hand around his neck,
 another under his armpit-->
 +feet disengage fr. ground
 lud
 fig #4a #4b



Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b

04 LUD: +\$AIHH\$*
 +puts r. arm around M's shoulders, neck-->>
 mom -->*

Mother bounds off her prior activity with *så* 'okay', putting away the duvet, which Ludvig pursues laughingly. Mother then gets the duvet from his hands and lifts him up, while addressing him with 'listen' (ll.1-3; Figures 4a-b). Although the carrying sequence is not introduced and negotiated verbally, the haptic act gains its meaning within the communicative context, that is, mother's prior directives for Ludvig to get prepared to get dressed in his room. Mother uses touch and the physical act of lifting to rearrange Ludvig's bodily action and position, thus employing a haptic directive. Although mother's physical act – lifting Ludvig from the ground and swaying him in the air – occasions his bodily impact response cry *AIH* (l.4) (see also Example 2), he does not show more resistant actions but conforms to carrying.

Examples 3 and 4 have shown how the carrying sequence may also be initiated by the caregiver, as the prospective carrier. In these cases, the caregiver first begins to orient to the relevance of carrying, for instance, after possible displays of trouble or resistance to the caregiver's prior directives by the child. Similarly to carrying sequences initiated by the prospective carried (section 4.1.1), sequences initiated by the prospective carrier may involve different degrees of verbal negotiation or be simply enforced, once the participants are within appropriate distance from and appropriately positioned with reference to one another. Indeed, it should be noted that,

unlike children, caregivers are typically capable of initiating a carrying sequence also when the prospective carried does not treat it as relevant or even resists it.

4.2. Carrying proper: Reciprocating embodied actions and maintaining the mobile haptic formation

As carrying is initiated and the haptic formation between two bodies is established, the participants reciprocally configure their bodies into various forms of haptic interfaces that are appropriate in the current activity context. These 'intertwinements' (Goodwin 2017) require a high degree of cooperation and trust while the haptic interface also provides both participants various affordances for action, including affectionate touch and other displays of affect. The analyses illustrate how the participants draw on various verbal and embodied resources during the carrying proper in order to jointly establish and maintain the mobile haptic formation, as well as the trajectory and length of carrying. Section 4.2.1 discusses different forms of embraces, while section 4.2.2 focuses on nested haptic formations. Reciprocation of embodied actions in the maintenance of these mobile haptic formations is established as a continuum of aligning bodily responses.

4.2.1. Reciprocation in embrace formations

The mobile haptic formations discussed in this section are based on different forms of embraces, where the participants hold one or both of their arms around each other so that they can also face one another. Such bodily configurations allow for direct tactile and visual access to the other participant's body, including intimate skin-to-skin contact.

The example below is a continuation to Example 1, where Risto (three years) requested to be carried. In addition to helping Risto through terrain that is difficult for him, carrying provides a means to offer and receive comfort: the family has been in the forest for a while now, and Risto is getting tired. In this example, which depicts the participants' joint movement during the carrying proper, the half-embracing carrying position is achieved and maintained for some length of time, during which Risto and mother also negotiate the end point of carrying.

(5) 06 HANS Mustikassa 1 (T:00:40:05)

```

18          (1.3)
19 MOM:    @hop.@ *(0.3) HHH
           *lifts R and turns-->
20          (2.3) *(0.3) # (2.7)
mom        -->*walks-->>
fig                #5a

```



Fig. 5a



Fig. 5b

- 21 RIS: (pääsen.)
(I can {walk})
(1.0)
- 22
- 23 RIS: minä jaksan +tuo(sta.)+
I am able to {walk} from there
+points fwd+
- 24 (.)
- 25 MOM: +siinä sää jaksat.+
there you are able to {walk}
ris +r. hand off M's bag strap, holds on to M's shoulder+
26 +(0.4)#(0.2)
ris +pushes upper torso away from M's body-->
fig #5b
- 27 RIS: kyl, (0.5) +kyllä.+ (0.4) kyllä. (.) k+yllä kyllä.
yes yes yes yes yes
-->+turns to face back+ ±grabs strap-->
- 28 (0.8)
- 29 RIS: kyl+lä ↑kyllä.
yes yes
+turns to face fwd-->

A half-embracing carrying position is achieved when mother lifts Risto up against her shoulder, turns and starts to walk towards the road: Risto straightens up his body, takes a hold of the shoulder strap of mother's bag, and faces the direction of walking (Figure 5a). In so doing, he orients to carrying as a joint activity, molding his position to fit mother's movement and the resources available to him; the shoulder strap provides a convenient resource for Risto to stabilize the carrying position. Mother holds Risto under his buttocks mainly with her left arm (Figure 5a), which leaves her right arm available for balancing the mobility of the two bodies that she is now maneuvering through uneven terrain in the forest.

The end point of the carrying is explicitly negotiated during this extract, as it was not established during the initiation of the carrying (see Example 1). This sequence is initiated by Risto's proposal *minä jaksan tuosta* ('I am able to {walk} from there', 1.23). In addition to the end point, also the reason for the carrying is explicated here: Risto's use of the Finnish verb *jaksaa* (roughly 'to be able to') indicates that when they reach the location in the forest that he is pointing at, the terrain will be easy enough for Risto and that he has gained enough energy to walk himself

again. During mother's agreeing response *siinä sää jaksat* ('there you are able to {walk}', 1.25), Risto also lets go of the bag strap and leans forward (Figure 5b), presumably in anticipation of being lowered down. However, this is a premature assumption as mother does not reciprocate these actions but continues to walk at a steady pace. It can be noted that in her verbal response mother repeats the same verb *jaksaa* that Risto used in his proposal, thereby ratifying the reason for the carrying as well as the end point (see Laury 2018). Further, the place referent is changed from *tuossa* to *siinä* (both of which mean roughly 'there'), to indicate that the spatial location referred to is in the recipient's sphere (Laury 1997), in other words, to indicate that walking will become Risto's own activity again once they reach that location. Towards the end of the example Risto returns to the initial half-embracing carrying position by turning back up and taking a hold of the bag strap again (11.27-29). This carrying position is held until the participants reach the road ahead (see Example 10 for the release).

In addition to the reciprocal molding of bodies during carrying, different kinds of linguistic markers and carrying sounds may also be used to create and reflect the rhythm and duration of joint movement. In the current example, the carried, Risto, vocalizes the ongoing carrying by repeating the word *kyllä* ('yes') playfully several times (11.27,29). Also the carrier may use vocalizations during carrying (e.g. repeated *nä:in* 'like this').

In the previous example carrying was integrated as part of the ongoing activity via an initial request by the carried. However, even when carrying is enforced and the carrier is exerting considerable bodily control on the carried, it is still notably a dialogic enterprise. While the verbal mode can be used to negotiate or oppose carrying, or to request the recipient to do something else, corporeal responsivity and compliance are crucial for the successful accomplishment of a carrying trajectory. In Example 6 (continuation of Example 4), when the three-year-old boy is scooped up by mother to be carried into another room to get dressed, he reciprocates by contributing to the embrace (Figures 6a, b).

(6) 'Ludvig': Morning routine.

- 04 LUD: +\$AIHH\$*
 +puts r. arm around M's shoulders, neck-->
 mom -->*
- 05 MOM: *det #här är inte roligt när du håller på såhär
 it's not funny when you are acting like this
 *looks at L's face-->>
 fig #6a
- 06 LUD: #mhuh+
 -->+puts l. hand around M's neck-->
 fig #6b



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b

07 MOM: #*+nej
no
*walks carrying L-->>
lud -->+
fig #6c
08 LUD: +hehe:h #(.) heh (.) heheh
+touches M's hair-->>
fig #6d



Fig. 6c



Fig. 6d

When mother scoops Ludvig up, she embraces him by putting her arms around his back, holding him under his buttocks. Such bodily hold requires a certain embodied response, a reciprocation by the carried who, in order to stay upright, has to embrace the carrier. In this situation, although Ludvig initially resisted mother's directives (see Example 4), here he puts his right hand around mother's neck. In doing so, he changes his participation from noncompliance to collaboration in the establishment of a mobile haptic formation (l.4; Figures 6a-b). Then, mother arranges their bodies into a face-to-face formation, looking at Ludvig and disciplining the child during a short sequence, to establish attention and participation of the child (ll.5,6). The adult-child gaze ratifies their mutual encounter, as mother is telling Ludvig *det här är inte roligt när du håller på såhär* ('it's not funny when you are acting like this').

It is upon the child's agreement (1.6) that mother initiates the carrying trajectory (1.7).

Notably, the carrying proper is initiated when the child finalizes the embrace formation by putting his left hand around mother's neck (1.6; Figure 6c). This reciprocation and establishment of a carriable formation – becoming a carriable – demonstrate the child's embodied knowledge of this bodily technique; it involves the mutual reciprocity and bodily attunement between the caregiver and the child in a close haptic formation. Mother starts carrying after the disciplining is finished, and when Ludvig confirms that his teasing resistance was not 'funny' (11.5-8; Figure 6c). The carrying configured as embracing formation allows Ludvig's affectionate actions, as he touches mother's hair, laughing (1.8; Figure 6d). The spatial trajectory and duration of joint locomotion is affected by the architecture of the home with a known destination (the child's room), and in this way it is routinized and predictable. As demonstrated, different mobile formations provide varying interactional affordances to control the child's mobility. The embracing carrying trajectory allows for a close and affectionate moment of togetherness where intimate close relations can be re-enacted (see also Example 5).

4.2.2. Reciprocation in nested formations

In addition to mobile haptic formations that are based on face-to-face embraces and that provide direct, reciprocal tactile and visual access to the other's body, other kinds of formations are found in the data. These include nested formations where the child is held from behind and, in some cases, upside down. Such formations provide less direct access to the other's body for the carried, but as the following extracts will show, various verbal and embodied resources are flexibly and intersubjectively employed in such situations as well, to display resistance or submission to being carried, for instance.

Example 7 illustrates a nested formation that provides the opportunity for the carried to use their legs as a resource in the intersubjective management of the mobile haptic formation. The example is from a situation where Risto (here four years) and Väinö (two years) are picking bilberries with their grandfather and grandmother. The children's mother and father are both recording the events, each with their own camera. Example 7 includes grandfather and Väinö, videoed by father.

(7) 22 HANS Mustikassa II (T:00:02:38)

- 12 GRF: >pappa< vähän kato, (.) ↑uuppaa.
grandpa will oop you a little you see
 >>wraps hands around V's waist-->
- 13 VO:i k*+u tässoi*s, (.) palijo mus+tikoiita,
oh dear how many bilberries there would be here
 -->*lifts V--*carries V-->>
 väi +feet disengage fr. ground +swings legs in air-->
- 14 VÄI: >eh #eh eh,<
 fig #7a



Fig. 7a

- 15 GRF: >Mennäänpä sinne.<
 let's go there
 16 (0.6)+(0.3)
 vääi -->+
 17 GRF: noni?
 there we go

Similarly to examples in section 4.1.2, the carrying is here enforced by the caregiver. Väinö has displayed observable trouble in moving in the high vegetation for some time. In response to this, grandfather first stops Väinö's movement forward by touching and holding him by his shoulder, then wraps both of his hands around Väinö's waist, and as the example starts, announces the initiation of carrying verbally with *pappa vähän kato uuppaa* ('grandpa will oop you a little you see', 1.12). Grandfather lifts Väinö up during a verbal assessment of the number of bilberries around them (1.13), creating a nested formation where the carrier holds on to the carried under the arms from behind. Assembled as a specific spatial-orientational pattern – the caregiver positioned behind the child – the nested formation provides the caregiver with affordances to visually and physically control and scaffold the child's actions (Cekaite 2010).

However, as soon as the lift is complete, Väinö starts swinging his legs back and forth and produces a quick vocal turn *eh eh eh* that displays impatience (1.14; Figure 7a). Even though grandfather does not stop carrying, he orients to Väinö's verbal and embodied actions as an attempt to move without assistance: grandfather's turn *mennäänpä sinne* ('let's go there', 1.15) is produced hurriedly. It also verbalizes their joint movement towards an end point in the forest with *sinne* ('there'), by placing the end point in the recipient's sphere (Laury 1997), in other words, as one that is known and here also determined by Väinö. Additionally, grandfather speeds up his walking pace. The turn thus presents the carrying as serving Väinö's interests and assisting him in accomplishing that. In response to grandfather's turn, Väinö stops swinging his legs and, in so doing, complies with being carried (1.16). This transition from resistance to compliance is acknowledged by grandfather as he next produces the typical transition marker *noni* ('there we go', 1.17; see Raevaara 1989:149; Sorjonen/Raevaara 2006:62; VISK § 859).

Even though the nested formation provides less resources for the carried to display their resistance or submission towards being carried as would an embracing

formation, for example, the carried may use several embodied means such as their freely hanging legs as a resource for action. Sometimes, the child's configuring their bodily response by adopting stillness may also be used meaningfully in order to align with being carried. Example 8 presents one such case.

In this extract from family interaction, father has requested Emil (five years) to go brush his teeth, but Emil does not comply: he starts rough and tumble play with a sibling on the sofa. When compliance is not forthcoming, father starts approaching Emil, arms stretched out towards him, together with a verbal directive, designed as an imperative with an account concerning the requested action (*kom nu så borstar vi dina tänder* 'come on now we'll brush your teeth', 1.1).

(8) 'Emil': Morning routine.

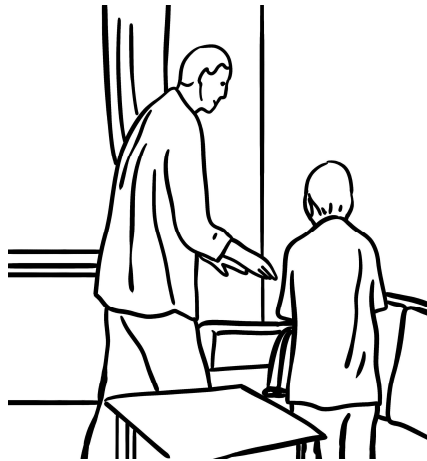


Fig. 8a

- 01 DAD: *kom #nu så borstar vi dina tänder.□*
 come on now we'll brush your teeth
 arms stretched towards E-----
 □walks twd E-----□
 fig #8a
- 02 EMI: *+nej nej nej nej ne:j+ *#ne:#nej
 no no no no no no
 +wiggles-----+
 dad *tries to get hold of E-
 *lifts E up by his ankles
 upside down, carries-->>
 fig #8b #8c



Fig. 8b



Fig. 8c

03 EMI: +(0.3) ne:he:j
no oh
+'hangs' steady upside down-->>

((Omitted: something falls down on the floor, dad laughs))

04 (0.4)
05 EMI: *A::: A::: #LÄ:PP A: *LÄ::P
ah ah lelease ah lelease
dad *mock eating E's feet*
fig #8d



Fig. 8d

The fact that father reaches his arms towards Emil as he produces a verbal directive (i.e. CMG) clearly indicates that he is about to scoop him up or in other ways use physical action to initiate his locomotion from the sofa (l.1). Upon father gripping the boy, Emil resists by loudly shouting, wiggling and kicking away (l.2). Father, however, does not pay notice to Emil's playful resistance: he scoops the boy up, holding him by the ankles, turns around and starts carrying him upside down. Interestingly, Emil continues resisting by playfully screaming, but bodily he aligns to being carried upside down (ll.2-3; Figure 8c). Although shoutingly resisting father's carrying (especially loudly demanding to be released when father starts mock eating

the boy's feet, 1.5; Figures 8c-d), the boy does not resist bodily. Different modalities – talk and touch – serve contrasting communicative purposes: resisting by shouting, the boy bodily complies with father's carrying controlling touch. Moving his body could possibly allow him to get free from the enforced nested upside-down position (or at least, obstruct the carrying), but bodily resistance could be potentially dangerous because father would not be able to project and calibrate the carrying in a safe manner. The child's response to the enforced mobile haptic formation is bodily alignment through sustaining a still body position. Although this mobile haptic formation is enforced and does not allow the child to exercise much active responses, it is also collaboratively configured in the attempt to accomplish a safe carrying trajectory. There is no negotiation of the end point of the carrying, which is already indicated by the overarching directive sequence. The carrying trajectory is purposeful and projectable within the architecture of the home: the general activity context and the routine of the family morning. The carrying is finished when father approaches the bathroom and carefully lowers Emil on the floor.

The examples in this section have shown how the different haptic formations are reciprocated and how the end point of the carrying may be negotiated and (re-) confirmed during carrying. However, whether that is done explicitly or not, once the end point of carrying is reached, the dissolution of the haptic mobile formation and transition to the next activity becomes relevant. This is the analytic focus in the next section.

4.3. Release: Withdrawing from the formation and moving on to the next activity

In our data, carrying is typically a sub-project carried out in the service of a larger 'communicative project' (Linell 1998; see also Goodwin/Cekaite 2018:41-42) that involves movement. For example, carrying a child into the bathroom advances the teeth-brushing project (which in turn advances the project of getting ready for bed). This means that after the carrying proper, some effort is still required to bring the larger project to completion and, typically, the caregiver directs the child with embodied, haptic or verbal means in the transition (see also Cekaite 2010, 2016; Goodwin/Cekaite 2018). Notably, transitions from carrying to the next activity involve a special element as one mobile haptic formation becomes two single mobile individuals again. Due to the reciprocal nature of carrying, the participants necessarily adjust to each other's movements and body positions and stop, withdraw from each other and close the carrying sequence collaboratively.

As shown in the previous sections, the caregivers in our data carry children mainly in two different contexts: 1) after unsuccessful directives concerning daily routines in the family home, and 2) while walking in challenging terrain during foraging or other nature-related outdoor activities. In the former set of cases, it is often clear to the children what they should relevantly do after the carrying sequence, whereas it is typically not so clear in the latter. Therefore, also the transitions from carrying to the next activity differ from each other in the two settings. Indeed, the release provides the participants a convenient opportunity to show how the carrying sequence has in effect been relevant for what they are doing: depending on the familiarity of the setting and the task at hand, the participants employ different means to display their orientation to whether the purpose of the carrying has

been to forward the now-initiated activity or the activity that was already underway before the carrying sequence.

The following examples (9-11) illustrate how the participants manage the release and move on to the next activity in familiar and less familiar settings. Example 9 shows that when carrying is carried out to secure the accomplishment of a routine domestic task after unsuccessful directives, the new location reveals the relevant next activity, which is not negotiated verbally. Instead, a boundary marker that signals the end of one sub-project and the transition to another in a larger project (Goodwin/Cekaite 2018) is treated as sufficient at the end of a routinized route. Example 9 is a continuation to Examples 4 and 6: the trajectory of carrying ends in the child's room and is marked as such by mother's use of the boundary marker *så* 'okay' (Ottesjö/Lindström 2005; Lindström/Heinemann 2009) as she lowers the child on the floor. The participant label 'sis' on line 10 refers to Ludvig's sister.

(9) 'Ludvig': Morning routine.

- 09 MOM: **så*+
 okay
 *lowers L on floor, holds him in nested position-->>
 lud +stands on his feet-->>
 10 SIS: ()

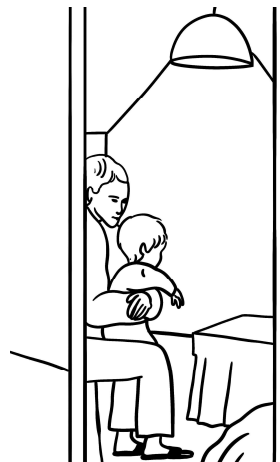


Fig. 9a

- 11 MOM: #*va*?
 what?
 αturns to S-->>
 fig #9a

The transition from carrying to the next activity is coordinated with *så* and mother's lowering of the child. Notably, the child is still positioned so that mother embraces him, now in a nested formation, holding her arms around him and controlling his bodily position and conduct from behind, while he faces away from her. This bodily position allows the caregiver to engage the child in the clothing activity, which she initially requested him to do. Neither the carrying trajectory, nor the release are negotiated. Rather, they are configured according to the situated activity context – previous requests that the child prepare to get dressed – and the material architecture of the home – the dressing is to take place in the child's own room.

As shown in Example 9, in addition to resources that involve embodiment, movement and space, participants employ only minimal linguistic means when transitioning from carrying to the next activity at the end of a routinized route. Similar cases can also be found in our outdoor data. For example, the boundary marker *noin* 'there we go' is treated as sufficient in a case where a child has been carried from forest terrain onto a path on which other family members are already engaged in the next relevant activity. Nevertheless, more elaborate verbal turns may be required at the end of a relatively unique route in a possibly unfamiliar outdoor setting, to direct the child to move on to the next activity and to forward the larger project underway.

Example 10 shows that both the carrier and the carried take active part in ending the carrying sequence: they monitor the trajectory of the carrying and use various means to negotiate the release and to secure the resumption of the main activity. The example is a continuation to Examples 1 and 5, in which Risto, mother and grandfather have been picking berries in the forest and are now returning to their cabin. Mother is carrying Risto, and they have established the road ahead as the end point of the carrying: the road takes them back to the cabin and it is easier for Risto to walk on the road (Example 5, ll.23-25). Before getting on the road, the participants need to get across a ditch, to which they both orient. It is noteworthy that the (half-)embrace formation in which mother carries Risto is an interactional resource for him to negotiate the ending of the carrying also in an embodied way.

(10) 06 HANS Mustikassa 1 <T:00:39:50>

- 30 (0.6)+(0.6)
 ris >>holds on to M's bag strap-->
 +bends head and looks down at ground-->
- 31 MOM?: π (op,)*
 mom π stretches r. arm out to r. side-->
 *leaps over ditch-->
- 32 (0.3) π (.)
 mom --> π stretches r. arm fwd-->
- 33 MOM?: \uparrow uih,*
 mom -->*walks to road-->
- 34 (.) π (0.5) \pm +(.)
 mom --> π lowers r. arm-->
 ris --> \pm loosens his grip on M's bag strap-->
 --> \pm raises his gaze fr. ground-->
- 35 RIS: $\pm m\pi in\ddot{a}\# halua*n\pm nyt.\#$
 I want now
 \pm pushes himself away from M \pm
 mom --> π holds on to R with both arms-->
 -->*stops, bends down and lowers R down-->
 fig #10a #10b



Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b

- 36 (0.7)±*(0.3)
 ris ±feet touch ground and takes one step bwd-->
 mom -->*

- >±loosens her grip on R-->
 37 MOM: #°nonnii?°
 there we go
 fig #10c



Fig. 10c

- 38 ±(.)±*(0.5)±(.)*(0.3)
 ris->±turns away from M
 ±faces and looks along road-->
 mom -->±
 *straightens up*turns r. twd G-->
 39 RIS: ±↑ollaanko nyt* ↓täälä.
 are we here now
 ->±turns twd M and G-->
 mom -->*reaches for camera-->
 40 (1.0)±*(1.5)±(0.4)
 ris -->±turns to look along road±out of camera view-->
 mom -->*out of camera view-->
 41 MOM: ↑nyt ollaan mökkitiellä.±
 now we are on the road to the cabin
 ris -->±looks twd forest-->
 42 (0.3)±(0.8)
 ris -->±turns to look along road-->
 43 MOM: mennäänkö.
 shall we go

On line 30, mother walks towards the ditch, and Risto holds on to the strap of mother's bag with his right hand (see also Example 5, 1.27) and monitors the trajectory of the carrying by bending his head and looking down at the ground. When they reach the ditch, mother leaps over it and speeds up the leap with an arm movement (11.31-34). While mother still continues walking after the leap, Risto loosens his grip on the strap, raises his gaze from the ground and pushes himself away from mother (Figure 10a). Simultaneously, he also produces the turn *minä haluan nyt* ('I want now', 1.35) that requests mother to end the carrying and also accounts for his embodied conduct. Mother responds by stopping and bending and lowering him down (11.35-36; Figure 10b). As Risto's feet touch the ground, mother starts to loosen her grip on him. While she still holds on to him loosely in a face-to-face formation, she verbalizes the release of the carrying with the transition marker *nonnii* ('there we go', 1.37; Figure 10c; on the Finnish transition marker *no niin* 'okay' or 'there we go', see Raevaara 1989:149; Sorjonen/Raevaara 2006:62; VISK §859). Immediately after that, Risto turns away from mother, and she lets him go and straightens up (1.38). As the carrying sequence is closed, Risto orients to the activity that they were engaged in before: he faces the road and looks ahead. Mother, in turn, turns backwards towards grandfather and reaches for the camera that he is holding. Her conduct may seem confusing to Risto, who already orients to the road, because he then turns back to mother and asks *ollaanko nyt täällä* ('are we here now', 1.39), as if uncertain whether this is the road that they are to follow. Although mother is busy taking the camera from grandfather, she affirms verbally that they are on the road that takes them to the cabin (1.41) and directs him to walk along the road (1.43).

The example illustrates the child's active part in bringing the carrying sequence to a close and in resuming the activity that they were engaged in before. Although it is the caregiver who accomplishes the actual release by lowering the child down, their haptic formation allows the child to use his body as a means to negotiate the release: his embodied conduct, pushing himself away from her, makes it easier for the caregiver to let him go than to hold him in her arms (similarly to the release of embrace haptic formation in hugs, where it is indicated by one of the participant's taps on the other's back, Goodwin/Cekaite 2018).

It is also notable that mother's *nonnii* ('there we go', 1.37) verbally marks the transition from the carrying proper to the child's standing on his feet again but remaining in haptic contact with her. When resuming the main activity, then, the child's conduct highlights the fact that in an unfamiliar setting and with tasks that are not routine, the new location does not necessarily reveal what the next relevant activity is. In Example 10, as mother is bodily engaged in something else (11.39-), talk plays a significant role in the participants' negotiating and moving on to the next activity. The participants refer verbally to the next activity (return to the cabin along the road) and use temporal and local adverbs (*nyt* 'now', *täällä* 'here') to connect the activity with the present time and location. Even though the child's turn *ollaanko nyt täällä* ('are we here now', 1.39) does not verbalize the next activity, mother responds to it as a question that provides 'here' and 'now' as a starting point for their next activity, and affirms the starting point (1.41).

Example 11 represents another case of intercorporeal management of the release in outdoor settings. Here the child is carried in a nested formation, which provides

him different resources for closing the carrying sequence than an embrace formation. The example shows that moving together as a haptic formation allows for organizing the transition from walking to standing differently than moving together as individuals. In the latter case, participants need to show somehow to each other that they are going to stop (De Stefani 2013). This can be done before stopping, for example, by verbally marking the physical place at which they are arriving so that all participants are able to slow down and come to a halt together (see Broth/Lundström 2013). Here, however, the participants of a mobile haptic formation do not employ language for such purposes but rather use it to secure the transition from carrying to the next activity. Example 11 is a continuation to Example 7, in which grandfather assists Väinö in getting to a better bilberry-picking spot.

(11) 22 HANS Mustikassa II (T:00:02:38)

18 (0.7)+(.)+(.)*(.)
 väi +raises gaze fr. ground
 +looks fwd-->
 grf >>carries V--*brings r. foot beside l. foot, bends-->
 19 GRF: tä:*ts:sä# +on p*+alijo,#
 here's a lot
 -->*lowers V down
 *loosens his grip on V-->
 väi ±feet touch ground
 ±straightens his arms-->
 -->+looks down at ground-->
 fig #11a #11b



Fig. 11a



Fig. 11b

20 (.)
 21 VÄI: °m±m, °
 -->±lowers his arms-->
 22 (.)*(0.3)±
 grf -->*looks at ground, leans away from V-->
 väi -->±

- 23 GRF: j:oo.
year
- 24 (0.3)*(0.6)*+(0.4)
grf -->*shifts mug from r. hand to l. hand
*bends down and reaches for berry-->
vãi -->+raises gaze fr. ground-->
- 25 GRF: k+atopa ku t#uo±: *a±sa.
look there
-->*takes berry
±turns head to look at V-->>
vãi-->+V's head out of camera view-->>
±walks away from G's picking spot-->>
fig #11c



Fig. 11c

After carrying Väinö a short distance, grandfather stops walking, bends down and lowers Väinö down, producing the turn *tä:s:sä on palijo* ('here's a lot', ll.18-19). By using such a 'boundary account' (Goodwin/Cekaite 2018), grandfather displays his orientation to ending the carrying in a good berry-picking spot. Furthermore, by lengthening the first syllable of the deictic word *tässä* 'here' so that Väinö's feet touch the ground during the word, he marks the new location as the end point of the carrying sequence. Väinö responds by looking down at the ground after the word *tässä* 'here', and the participants then together orchestrate the very end of the carrying sequence: grandfather loosens his grip on Väinö, and Väinö straightens his arms so that grandfather has more space to pull his hands from under Väinö's arms (l.19; Figures 11a-b). Väinö acknowledges grandfather's release boundary account also verbally with the response particle *mm* and starts to lower his arms (l.21). After letting Väinö go, grandfather resumes the berry-picking activity by first looking down at the ground and leaning slightly away from Väinö and then marking the resumption verbally with the particle *joo* ('yeah', ll.22-23). He also shifts the berry container from his right hand to his left hand and bends lower down to reach for a berry (l.24; Figure 11c). Although they are now almost side by side, Väinö does not follow grandfather's embodied example to resume the berry-picking activity, and grandfather directs him verbally with *katopa ku tuosa* ('look there', l.25, Siitonen/Rauniomaa/Keisanen 2021, see also Keisanen/Rauniomaa/Siitonen 2017). Nonetheless, Väinö does not join grandfather in picking berries but walks away (ll.25-).

It is worth noting that the participants in Example 11 do not draw on verbal resources to mark a transition from walking to standing, unlike in cases in which two or more mobile individuals use talk and other resources to coordinate their walking as well as to foreshadow and synchronize their stopping (see Broth/Lundström 2013; De Stefani/Mondada 2014). In the cases examined here, by contrast, the whole mobile haptic formation stops when the carrier stops walking. As a consequence, the carrier does not necessarily need to provide any interactional cues to secure a simultaneous standstill for both participants. Talk, if there is any, is rather used to direct the child to move on to the next activity, particularly if it is not highly projectable or routine-like for the child. This is shown in the design of turns produced around the release. In our Finnish data, boundary accounts include features that project the next activity and link it to the present time and location through local and temporal adverbs, especially. Temporal adverbs either tie the relevant next activity to the present time (*nyt* 'now') or make visible the sequential organization of activities (*sitten* 'then'; *jo* 'already'). Local adverbs, in turn, mark the new physical location as a starting point for the relevant next activity and establish it as a joint project (*tässä* 'here'; *tänne* 'here') or as the child's own project (*tuosta* 'from there'; *siinä* 'there'; *siitä* 'from there'), depending on whether the speakers include or exclude themselves from the location referred to (see also Laury 1997; Etelämäki 2009).

In sum, Examples 10 and 11 have illustrated that although the carrier eventually does the actual lowering of the carried, either of the participants may take the initiative in the multimodal release of carrying, within the limits of the resources provided by the mobile haptic formation. In a fairly unfamiliar outdoor setting, the caregiver typically guides the child in transitioning from carrying to the next activity by showing the way and/or instructing the child verbally. In familiar indoor settings and with routine tasks at home, such verbal guidance is not needed. As Example 9 has shown, a carrying sequence may be brought to completion with the use of conventional verbal boundary markers and controlling bodily positions that allow the caregiver to engage the child in the relevant next activity.

5. Conclusion

In this study, we have examined and documented contexts and situations of family interaction in which carrying as assisted mobility becomes relevant. As discussed by using multimodal conversation analysis, carrying in family interactions involving children who are already able to walk themselves but whom the caregivers would or could still carry presents an intricate activity where multiple social concerns intersect: those of configuring bodily assistance and control, affectivity as well as bodily integrity, compliance and resistance. The data come from two Nordic countries – Finland and Sweden – and may therefore reflect particular locally, culturally defined norms and practices, where carrying is socially negotiated and collaboratively accomplished. As demonstrated, carrying being set up within particular spatial and temporal frameworks depends not only on the local material features of the environment, but also on the social context, i.e. an ongoing or imminent activity that momentarily requires mobility. Carrying is deployed for multiple reasons. It can be used to secure that children carry out the requested task, towards which they

may have earlier shown reluctance or resistance. Carrying is also done to help children move, for example, in difficult terrain when the children have possibly indicated, or caregivers anticipated, trouble. Whether carrying takes place in the familiar architecture of the home or in the less familiar and even unpredictable outdoor environments, the participants can be seen to orient to the trajectory of their joint movement within the spatial, material and situational affordances of the setting.

More specifically, by examining the coordination of linguistic and other resources, we have shown that carrying is interactionally organized into a sequence with three distinct phases and specific verbal and embodied designs: 1) the initiation, 2) the carrying proper and 3) the release. Throughout the sequence, both the carrier and the carried may employ language to deal with different aspects of carrying as a collaborative act that involves negotiation and careful calibration. The participants may issue verbal requests or offers to establish whether carrying is relevant and acceptable, and statements or proposals to indicate for how long and possibly to which spatial end point the carrying should continue. The participants may also use vocalizations to signal the force and length of physical contact, and various boundary and transition markers or accounts to indicate how the carrying sequence relates to larger communicative projects. Such linguistic resources form an integral part of and orient to the bodily character of the social actions being performed (although language may also be only indexically related to the carrying). A closer look at the coordination or divergence between the modalities – language and touch – deployed in these situations can contribute to the understanding of how social actions can exhibit homogeneous, unified, or, sometimes, contrasting features, exemplified in the cases of verbal resistance and simultaneous bodily compliance (Example 8).

What all the examined cases of assisted mobility have in common is the establishment and maintenance of a mobile haptic formation during a carrying trajectory. The study contributes to research on mobility and social interaction by having 1) identified and described different forms of haptic formations used for assisted mobility, such as the nested or embrace formation, and 2) detailed their interactional organization (bodily and verbal responsivity). For instance, in establishing and maintaining a mobile haptic formation, both the carrier and the carried mold their bodies in concerted ways that are recognizable to both. The carrier needs to bring their arms around or under the carried and use some strength to secure a firm but comfortable hold while they walk on, and the carried needs to respond by allowing for and facilitating different types of holds and keeping themselves steady, i.e. sustaining such coordinated and mutually responsive mobile formation throughout the trajectory of carrying. The mobile haptic formation involves a great amount of interactionally manifested trust, as the carrier, especially, has to rely on being able to anticipate possible adjustments by the carried, and the carried is largely dependent on the carrier for their safety. With grown-up caregivers and young children, opportunities for carrying are typically unequal because, due to differences in their physical capacities, the adult carrier may refuse carrying or enforce it even in the face of resistance, but the carried may only try to insist on being carried or to resist it. It is in orienting to these social and bodily concerns that linguistic resources and sequential organization can be used to signal the carrier's orientation to the bodily integrity, volition and autonomy of the carried.

Notably, the participants being assembled as specific haptic formations provides the caregiver with varying possibilities to control and scaffold the child's mobility. The smooth accomplishment of carrying – and of being carried – in the data attests to the participants' bodily attunement and routinized knowledge as specific "techniques of the body" (Mauss 1973). Indeed, the analyses suggest that carrying can be conceptualized in terms of complementary forms of corporeal involvements, where one body makes itself and is treated as an "embodied object" (Meyer/Wedelstadt 2017), susceptible for carrying. It is therefore interesting to note that in our indoor data caregivers may enforce carrying, especially after unsuccessful directives, but the children thus scooped up soon stop resisting and conform to the carrying. In our outdoor data, by contrast, caregivers hardly ever enforce carrying, but rather negotiate it beforehand with the children. This salient difference may be related to the kinds of socialization processes that take place in the two settings: taking care of domestic tasks in the family home can be considered a mundane, necessary and sometimes dreary duty (Cekaite 2010; Aronsson/Cekaite 2011; Goodwin/Cekaite 2013, 2018), whereas foraging and other nature-related activities can perhaps be considered somehow out of the ordinary, albeit everyday and commonplace, carried out for the purpose of enjoyment (see Keisanen/Rauniomaa/Siitonen 2017). In any case, the ways in which children in our data may, for example, verbally resist but through their embodied conduct comply with being carried attest to the potential of the human body for most fine-tuned, nuanced multimodal interaction.

What is more, we have shown how the mobile haptic formation allows for affectionate sensorial engagement between the carrier and the carried. In family interaction, carrying may be choreographed according to an affectivity continuum, realized through caregivers' offers or children's requests for being carried, playful resistance, and the close bodily intertwining of the participants, sustained and, at times, elaborated during a carrying trajectory (e.g. by patting or pressing cheek to cheek, or simply being close together). Our exploration into these fleeting but dense moments of child-caregiver interaction, which are characterized by mutual trust in being carried and being able to carry in a safe way, thus contributes to understandings of how intimacy, closeness, and playfulness are brought about between family members.

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