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1  
2 **Tactile engagement of prospective next speakers in Indonesian**  
3 **multiparty conversations**

4 JOE BLYTHE<sup>a</sup>, FAKRY HAMDANI<sup>b</sup>  AND  
5 SCOTT BARNES<sup>a</sup> 

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7 <sup>a</sup>Macquarie University, Australia

8 <sup>b</sup>UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia and Macquarie University,  
9 Australia

10  
11 ABSTRACT

12 This article investigates the use of touch as a tool for engaging prospective  
13 next speakers within Indonesian multiparty conversation. We examine the  
14 lamination of touch onto questions directed towards specifically targeted  
15 recipients. First, we find that questions with touch are deployed when the  
16 physical environment complicates the attainment of mutual orientation.  
17 Second, when previously targeted recipients have failed to respond to a  
18 question, touch is added to follow-up questions that are deployed for pursuing  
19 a response. Third, touch is added to questions that are personal or that inquire  
20 about potentially delicate matters. This multimodal investigation of conver-  
21 sational tum-taking provides data from Colloquial Indonesian as basis for  
22 cross-linguistic comparison. In considering the volume of touches in these  
23 data we ask whether cultural and environmental factors might contribute to  
24 a haptic modification of ordinary tum-taking procedures. (Tum-taking,  
25 touch, multimodality, sociotopography)  
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30 INTRODUCTION

31 In managing participation in conversation, interactants may deploy a range of  
32 resources from three semiotic modalities: the audio-vocal, the visuo-corporal,  
33 and the manuo-tactile modalities. Human conversation can transpire in any of  
34 these modalities exclusively. For sighted, hearing participants, even though the  
35 cycling of turns-at-talk ultimately plays out within the audio-vocal modality, avail-  
36 able resources for engaging prospective next-speakers may be drawn from all three  
37 modalities (audio-vocal, visuo-corporal, manuo-tactile). In this study, we explore the  
38 relationship between tum-taking organization—specifically, next speaker selection—  
39 and the manuo-tactile modality, as administered though interpersonal touch.

40 A small, but growing number of studies have explored the distribution of touch  
41 and its functions in interaction. These investigations have examined interpersonal  
42 touch in a range of interactional contexts such as adult-child interactions (Cekaite  
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44 & Kvist Holm 2017; Goodwin & Cekaite 2018), medical examinations (Nishizaka  
 45 2007), caring interactions (Denman & Wilkinson 2011; Raia, Goodwin, & Deng  
 46 2020), and tactile sign language (Iwasaki, Bartlett, Manns, & Willoughby 2019;  
 47 Iwasaki, Bartlett, Willoughby, & Manns 2022). Touch may be used for a range  
 48 of purposes. For example, children in busy classrooms tap their teachers to  
 49 summon their attention (Gardner 2015). People also employ touch to comfort  
 50 each other or to build intimacy. According to Cekaite & Kvist Holm (2017),  
 51 adults may use touch along with verbal resources as a form of ‘haptic soothing’  
 52 to calm children. Goodwin (2017) links touch within family interactions to func-  
 53 tions including reconciliation, comforting, celebration and positive assessment,  
 54 and grooming. These touch-based acts are done as independent responses to  
 55 others’ actions. Goodwin & Cekaite (2013) highlight the role of touch in directives  
 56 produced by parents to their children. They indicate that touch can be used to reg-  
 57 ulate mutual orientation, as well as to ‘recycle or upgrade the requested action’  
 58 (Goodwin & Cekaite 2013:136). It is the action import of interpersonal touch  
 59 and its role in regulating mutual orientation that we investigate here, particularly  
 60 with regard to urging specific co-participants to produce the next turn of talk.

61 As Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) argue, the management of participation is a  
 62 complex multimodal activity, composed of verbal and embodied resources. They  
 63 note that participants exploit ‘the semiotic resources provided by their bodies to  
 64 construct a range of relevant displays about orientation toward others and the  
 65 actions in progress’ (2004:239). That is, a speaker and a recipient can negotiate  
 66 mutual orientation through a variety of bodily-visual actions (Ford & Stickle  
 67 2012), such as gesture (Streeck 1993), gaze, and body positioning (Kidwell 1997).

68 The first of Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson’s (1974) ordered turn-taking rules (1a)  
 69 relates to obligating co-participants into taking the floor at the next transition rele-  
 70 vance place. Although the original turn-taking paper was principally based on  
 71 audio recordings, Sacks and colleagues (1974:716–18) explain the basic allocation  
 72 technique for ‘current speaker selecting next’ as involving ‘the affiliation of an  
 73 address term (or some other device for achieving addressing, e.g., GAZE DIRECTION)  
 74 to a first pair-part’ (1974:717, emphasis added). Multimodal analyses of video re-  
 75 corded conversations have begun to elucidate these processes. For example, Lerner  
 76 (2003) notes that a second-person pronoun (*you*) within a question will indicate that  
 77 the person being addressed is expected to take the next turn. Specifically which  
 78 person is being designated may be conveyed explicitly (via gaze or with address  
 79 terms, etc.) or tacitly: the current speaker implicates another participant’s greater  
 80 knowledge of the events being discussed than their own, and that of the other  
 81 present participants. Lerner notes that gaze on its own may be ineffective as a ‘re-  
 82 cipient indicator’ if targeted recipients fail to notice the gaze of the speaker being  
 83 directed toward them. More recently, a suite of ‘engagement tools’ (Blythe,  
 84 Gardner, Mushin, & Stirling 2018) have been identified that increase the likelihood  
 85 of securing a response from the targeted recipient. These include vocative expres-  
 86 sions, recipient directed gaze, epistemic skewing toward the recipient, interrogative

87 lexico-morphosyntax, and language-specific prosodic patterns associated with in-  
 88 terrogativity (see also Stivers & Rossano 2010). Blythe and colleagues (2018)  
 89 note that in multiparty conversations conducted in the Australian Aboriginal lan-  
 90 guages Gija, Jaru, Murrinhpatha, and Garwa, uptake by prospective next speakers  
 91 can be complicated by particular seating arrangements. When participants are not  
 92 arranged within a semi-circular, L-shaped, or classic F-formation (Kendon 1990,  
 93 2010; see Figure 1), speakers deploy pointing gestures, raise their voices, turn  
 94 their heads toward the targets, projecting their voices such that recipient-gaze is  
 95 drawn toward the speaker, thus effecting the attainment of mutual gaze. When  
 96 initial attempts at engaging prospective next speakers prove ineffective, speakers  
 97 will augment their prior attempts by adding additional tools of engagement to a  
 98 follow up question, such that transfer of speakership is effected.

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Fig. 1 - B/W online, B/W in print

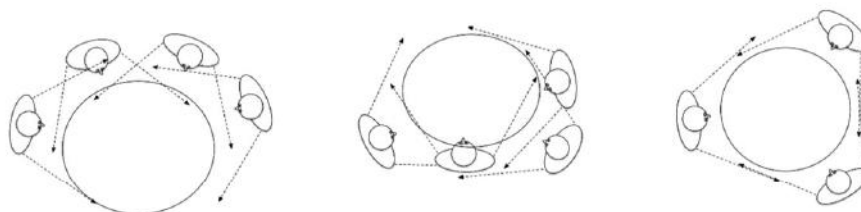


FIGURE 1. The F-formation system (Kendon 1990, 2010). From left to right: semi-circular, L-shaped and classic F-formations with the o-space in the centre.

These factors attest to the organized relationships between the taking of turns at talk and semiotic resources administered via other modalities. There is, for instance, a developing body of evidence on the relationship between turn-taking organization and the visuo-spatial modality (Lerner 2003; Mondada 2007, 2013; Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2012; Kendrick & Holler 2017; Auer 2018). Less attention has been given to haptic behaviour within spoken interaction, particularly with regard to turn-taking and action sequencing, although Licoppe & Veyrier (2020) examine how court interpreters and asylum seekers use interjections and touch to manage turn transitions. Li's (2020) research on Mandarin conversations is another notable exception. Li (2020) demonstrates that touching can be employed alongside 'jokings' that are 'sequentially disaligned' from immediately prior talk, and 'jokings' that arise after a period of sustained disagreement. The additive functions of these touches include seeking appreciation, indicating the sequential misplacement of the 'jokings', and displaying intimacy with the other interactant. In this way touch manages the potential 'relational import' of the joking, particularly in the context of extended disagreement, ensuring recipients participate in the joking activity (Li 2020:20).

Our investigation centres on the use of touch as a haptic tool for engagement of prospective next speakers (Blythe et al. 2018) within Indonesian multiparty

130 conversations. Touch has the potential to be as explicit (perhaps even more ex-  
 131 plicit) than any visual or talk-based resource for next speaker selection—at least  
 132 for the party being selected. In some of the extracts we present, we find other  
 133 (non-haptic) engagement tools such as address terms and second person pro-  
 134 nouns used alongside touch. Touches laminated onto questions are not infre-  
 135 quent in our data (one every eight minutes, on average). Alongside their  
 136 situated and systemic interactional motivations, we also consider both culture  
 137 and the environment as possible factors motivating the use of tactile next-  
 138 speaker engagement in these data.

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#### DATA AND METHODS

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A corpus of Indonesian multiparty conversations was collected in a variety of locations in Jakarta including homes, cafes, shopping centres, and public spaces. All data were collected with the informed consent of all participants, in accordance with ethical approvals granted by Macquarie University. All participants names presented below are pseudonyms. However, participants consented to the use of unaltered screenshots as part of the publication of the study's findings. Participants (forty-four females and twenty males) were recruited and recorded engaging in conversations with at least two other participants they knew well (e.g. friends, neighbours, family members), in locations where they regularly interact. Nine and a half hours of conversation were recorded using several video-cameras. Each participant wore a lapel microphone. Recordings were then transcribed with conversation analysis transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004; Hepburn & Bolden 2017). In this corpus, 1,533 questions were then identified using the Stivers & Enfield (2010) coding system that are implicated in selecting a next speaker, under rule (1a) of the turn-taking system (Sacks et al. 1974:704). We also found 336 tokens of interpersonal touching. The sheer frequency of touches in this collection (one token every 102 seconds, on average) dramatically exceeds those of all other corpora we have examined.<sup>1</sup> This raises the question of whether interpersonal touch might be a cultural feature that characterises Indonesian conversation. Here, we report on the analysis of seventy-one questions that included a touch from a question producer to a question recipient (or prospective question recipient). Of these questions, twenty-one also included an address term (29%), and nine included a second person pronoun (13%). The remaining forty-one questions (58%) included touch but no address terms nor second person pronouns. Regarding the touches themselves, they include single and multiple touches imparted by various parts of the body (e.g. palms, fingers, shoulders, thighs, feet, and elbows). When considering the propensity for touching in these data as a potentially cultural characteristic of Indonesian conversation, we are mindful that Jakarta has a very high population density, and that many of the recordings are conducted in locations that are cramped or crowded. We thus

173 consider the spatial orientation of participants and whether their arrangement is  
174 conducive to the attainment of mutual orientation through gaze, and whether  
175 this arrangement is conducive to interpersonal touching.

176 In the sections to follow, we examine touches that accompany questions that  
177 attend to issues of participation management and action formation. First, we  
178 discuss examples where question producers' use of touch address problems with  
179 mutual orientation by drawing recipient gaze. From there we examine cases in  
180 which touching accompanies follow-up questions that pursue responses to prior  
181 questions that have not thus far been satisfactorily answered. Third, we show  
182 touch being laid onto personal or potentially delicate questions to convey particular  
183 sorts of interpersonal meanings like concern or affection. These touches also draw  
184 recipient gaze but are not particularly geared towards resolving inadequate recipi-  
185 ency. In the final sections we discuss the use of touch as a tool for engaging prospec-  
186 tive next speakers (Blythe et al. 2018), and whether the prevalence of questions with  
187 touch in these Indonesian conversations might be explained by environmental or  
188 cultural factors.

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#### 191 USING TOUCH TO ATTEND TO ISSUES OF 192 MUTUAL ORIENTATION

193

194 When there are problems with mutual orientation, one function of touch is to  
195 engage a co-participant as the prospective next speaker. Gaze is an effective  
196 designator of reciprocity when the speaker and targeted recipient look one  
197 another in the eye (Lerner 2003; Auer 2018, 2021; Blythe et al. 2018).  
198 Touches that are laminated onto questions are effective at ensuring that  
199 mutual gaze is achieved, such that the targeted recipient can see they are  
200 being addressed and thus obligated to respond. We see in the extracts to  
201 follow that speakers' and recipients' orientation toward each other is compro-  
202 mised by their seating arrangements, and that the touches are devoted to dealing  
203 with this issue. For example, in extract (1) the participants are seated in the  
204 corner of a room, leaning against the walls, such that they are not all facing  
205 each other directly.

206 Prior to extract (1), Ami and Sari had been talking about health issues that  
207 elderly people experience. Over lines 1 to 7, Ami and Sari mention various  
208 age-related diseases (e.g. heart attack, stomach ulcers, liver problems, and diabe-  
209 tes), culminating in a collaborative list over lines 6, 7 and 9. The question in  
210 focus is produced by Lela at line 13 and is addressed to Ami. The arrowed lines  
211 prior to the question show the bodily movements that occur before and within  
212 Lela's turn.

213

214

215

- 216 (1) 'I've been asking you!' [12\_1\_X4\_TYP] (00:17:01–00:17:07)<sup>2</sup>  
 217 1 Ami: sakit maag sakit ini [ntar larinya ke] mane-†ma↓ne;  
 218 stomach.ulcer ill this.PROX then run.DEF to everywhere  
 219 'Stomach ulcer, other illnesses then causing {your} body to ache.'  
 220 2 Sari: [he eh ]  
 221 uh huh  
 222 'Uh huh'  
 223 3 (0.2)  
 224 4 Lela: he eh\_  
 225 uh huh  
 226 'Uh huh'  
 227 5 (.)  
 228 6 Ami: ta[kut ke jantung = ] =takut ke le[ver\_  
 229 fear to heart fear to liver  
 230 'I'm} afraid {they cause} heart attack, liver {problems}.'  
 231 7 Sari: [°kencing° manis ] [jan↑tung  
 232 diabetes heart  
 233 'Diabetes Heart attack'  
 234 8 (0.4)  
 235 9 Sari: kuNING  
 236 jaundice  
 237 'Jaundice.'  
 238 10 → # (0.3)  
 239 image #Image 1



- 240 ((Lela glances at Ami))  
 241 11 Sari: → °sekarang #mah°  
 242 nowadays PRT  
 243 'Nowadays.'  
 244 image #Image 2  
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 258 ((Lela raises her hand, and starts gazing))





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12 → #(.)  
image #Image 3



((Lela touches Ami, raises and lowers her hand))

13 Lela: → mak #titi sa↑kit?  
mother NAME unwell  
'{Is} Mrs. Titi unwell?'  
image #Image 4



((Mutual gaze, Lela's second touch))

14 (0.3)  
15 Sari: °he[eh°  
Uh huh  
'Yeah.'  
16 Lela: [dari TADI ditanyain;  
from just.now PAS.ask  
'{I} have been asking {you} for ages.'  
17 (0.8)  
18 Ami: iye sakit,= > begitu aja die mah ↑mak jarang kelua:r<  
PRT unwell like.that just 2SG PRT mother rarely go.out  
'Well, she's just like that, mother, {she's} a homebody.'

After a silence, Sari lists the final symptom, *kuning* 'jaundice' in line 9, but closes the list in line 11 with *sekarang mah* 'nowadays'. At this point Lela starts to change her body posture and glances at Ami. During the intra-turn pause at line 10, Lela gazes at Ami (Images 1 and 2) then touches Ami's arm with an open palm (Image 3). Lela then raises and lowers her hand to implement a second touch; at which point, they establish mutual gaze (Image 4) and Lela asks *Mak Titi sakit?* 'Is Mrs Titi unwell?' (at line 13). There is a gap in line 14 and

302 Sari produces a continuer ('Uh huh'). Lela then produces a possible complaint in  
 303 line 16. After a long gap, Ami deflects the possible complaint by saying, 'Well,  
 304 she's just like that, mother, {she's} a homebody' (*Iye sakit begitu aja die mah*  
 305 *mak jarang keluar*, line 18), which effectively states that she is unsure about  
 306 Mrs. Titi's condition.

307 In extract (1), Ami and Sari had been exchanging turns, with Lela not bidding for  
 308 the floor. In addition, Lela's head, trunk, and legs are positioned away from Ami  
 309 and Sari. Before touching and questioning Ami, Lela reorients herself toward  
 310 Ami and Sari's interactional space. By deploying touch just prior to the question,  
 311 Lela accomplishes a shift in the local participation structure such that Ami's gaze  
 312 is drawn toward her and away from Sari. Note too, that Lela had asked this question  
 313 earlier in the conversation, but it is not shown in the transcripts. This may be part of  
 314 the basis for her account/complaint at line 16 (and perhaps her touch).

315 Extract (2) offers another example of a problematic seating arrangement where  
 316 touch is used to elicit a specific recipient's orientation. The conversation involves  
 317 Tubi, Ucu, and Ucu's family and takes place at Ucu's house. Tubi is visiting Ucu,  
 318 who were best friends during childhood. The other participants include Ucu's sister  
 319 (Asih), Ucu's daughters (Nada and Rina), Ucu's son-in-law (Eman), and Ucu's  
 320 niece (Nana). Nana is a late addition to the conversation, joining in after dropping  
 321 by Ucu's home. In the arrowed lines 15 to 17, Asih reaches over to touch Nana who  
 322 she is addressing (line 16), drawing her gaze toward her (line 17). Prior to extract  
 323 (2), Tubi and Nana had been talking about their friends who had passed away.  
 324 Tubi and Nana had not seen each other for many years after having attended  
 325 school together and they did not recognize each other.

326

327

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(2) 'Alive' (8\_1\_X2\_ATYP\_FH) [23:18–23:47]

329

1 Nana: nana ga ngena<sup>†</sup>lin  
 330 NAME NEG recognize  
 331 'I wouldn't have recognized you.'

332

2 (0.3)

333

3 Tubi: aha HAH [HAH  
 334 'Aha hah hah.'

334

4 Nana: [aha HAH HA HAH  
 335 'Aha hah ha hah.'

335

336

5 (.)

336

6 Tubi: kayak di mana, (1.4) >>si oim =si oim<<  
 337 like WH DET NAME DET NAME  
 338 '{It was} like where was that? (1.4) Oim, Oim.'

337

338

339

7 (0.2)

339

8 Nana: udah meninggal juga = benteng da<sup>†</sup>lem  
 340 already passed.away also NAME.DISTRICT  
 341 '{He} has already passed away as well, {at} Benteng Dalam.'

340

341

342

343

9 (0.4)

342

343

344

8

345 10 Tubi: iya benteng da↑lem = datang ke si↑tu  
 346 INTJ NAME.DISTRICT go there  
 347 ‘Yeah Benteng Dalem, {I} went there.’

348 11 (0.4)

349 12 Nana: mm  
 350 ‘Mm’

351 13 (0.1)

352 14 Tubi: Ji katanya siapa,  
 353 NAME.TITLE say.3SG.POSS WH  
 354 “‘Ji”, he said, “Who {are} you?””

355 15 image → #(.)  
 356 #Image 5



364 ((Asih leans forward and shifts her gaze toward Nana))

365 16 Asih: → #↑emang cing oim masih #ada na?<  
 366 actually uncle NAME still exist NAME  
 367 ‘Is Uncle Oim still alive, Na?’

368 image #Image 6a #Image 6b



375 ((Asih raises her left arm and touches Nana on the elbow))

376 17 image → #(0.2)  
 377 #Image 7



386 ((Nana and Asih establish mutual gaze))

387

- 388 18 Nana: cing oim udah ENGGAK  
 389 uncle NAME already NEG  
 390 'Uncle Oim has already {passed away}.'  
 391 19 (0.1)  
 392 20 Asih: oh udah ga juga ya,  
 393 oh already NEG also PRT  
 394 'Oh, he's already passed away as well.'

395 Addressing Tubi in line 1 Nana asserts *Nana ga ngenalin* 'I wouldn't have recognized you'. Here, Nana uses her own name for self-reference (Djenar 2007).  
 396 Nana and Tubi then laugh. After a brief silence, Tubi takes the floor at line 6 and  
 397 tells Nana that he met his old friend (Oim) and could not recognize him.  
 398 However, he struggles to remember where he last met him. At line 8, Nana responds  
 399 by saying that *Udah meninggal juga* '{Oim} has already passed away as well' and  
 400 indicating Oim's neighborhood (*Benteng Dalem*). After a silence, Tubi provides a  
 401 receipt ('Yeah, *Benteng Dalem*') and then tells Nana that he went there. After  
 402 Nana's go-ahead response in line 12, Tubi continues to speak about the day he  
 403 met Oim, enacting how he could not recognize him. After the brief silence at  
 404 line 15 where Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana, she asks her *Emang cing Oim*  
 405 *masih ada Na?* 'Is Uncle Oim still alive, Na?'. Having established mutual gaze  
 406 (Image 7), Nana confirms that Oim has indeed passed away (line 18), to which  
 407 Asih provides an *oh*-prefaced response at line 20.  
 408

409 We now focus on Asih's question at line 16 *emang cing oim masih ada na?* 'Is  
 410 uncle Oim still alive, Na?'. Asih touches Nana's arm as she asks this question which  
 411 also includes a post-positioned address term (*Na*) (Lerner 2003; Hamdani, Barnes,  
 412 & Blythe 2022). Asih shifts her gaze toward Nana at line 15 (Image 5), but Nana is  
 413 gazing at Tubi. Asih then produces a polar question in line 16, enquiring as to  
 414 whether or not uncle Oim—the person being referred by Nana and Tubi—is still  
 415 alive. Asih is sitting a little behind Nana and, as her turn approaches possible completion,  
 416 she leans forward and tries to secure Nana's orientation by touching her  
 417 elbow (Image 6b). The combination of touch and address term appears to be  
 418 dealing with the fact that Nana keeps gazing toward Tubi, despite having progressed  
 419 a substantial way through her turn. Because Asih is seated behind Nana, Nana  
 420 cannot see who Asih is addressing without turning her body backward to meet  
 421 Asih's gaze. She does this at line 17 (see Image 7), replying that Oim has  
 422 already passed away (line 18). Note too that Asih's question revives a topic that  
 423 Nana and Tubi had already moved past. Thus in addition to dealing with an issue  
 424 of embodiment, the touching question may also deal with the fact that the topic  
 425 of the talk has advanced.

426 The mutual orientation issue in extract (3) relates to how the four neighbours are  
 427 seated on a bench. Before this extract, Mali, a fifty-eight-year-old street food  
 428 vendor, had been talking about his age. Over lines 1 to 2, Mali continues his  
 429 story about younger people in his village looking older than him. After a long  
 430

431 silence in line 3, Muiz selects Ifan as the next speaker by touching him on the shoul-  
 432 der and asking him about his age. After a gap, Ifan jokes in line 6 that he is twenty-  
 433 five. Muiz acknowledges this at line 8 with a change-of-state token before Mali  
 434 informs Muiz that Ifan is lying to him. Ifan smiles and changes his body position  
 435 so that he and Muiz can see each other (Image 9). Ifan then provides a serious  
 436 answer over lines 13 to 16, explaining that he is thirty-two.

437

438

(3) ‘How old are you?’ (21\_11\_X7\_TYP\_FH) [16:37–17:31]

439

1 Mali: ya kalo di kampung aja juga kalo ya:ng (.) adek-adek kita  
 well for LOC village just also if REL RED.yBr 1SG  
 ‘Well, for {people} in my village also (.) my younger brothers’

440

441

442

2 >udah tua-tua banget<

443

444

already RED.old very

‘{look} older than me.’

445

3 [(1.1)

446

[(Muiz shifts his gaze at Ifan, Ifan gazes down)]

447

4 Muiz: → kamu bera#pa?

448

2SG WH

449

‘How {old are} you?’

450

image

#Image 8

451

452

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458



459

((Muiz touches Ifan on the shoulder))

460

5 (0.7)

461

6 Ifan: saya baru dua puluh li↑ma

462

1SG just twenty five

463

‘I’m just twenty-five.’

464

7 (0.1)

465

8 Muiz: °°oh dua puluh lima°°

466

oh twenty five

467

Oh, twenty-five.

468

9 (0.1)

469

10 Mali: aha hah \$bohong dia = udah tiga puluan.\$

470

aha hah lie 2SG PERF thirties

471

‘Aha hah he’s lying. {He’s} already in his thirties.’

472

473

474 11 image # (0.8)  
 475 #Image 9



483 ((Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze))

484 12 Mali: .HH aha [hah  
 485 'Aha hah'

486 13 Ifan: [ʔti[ga dua pak↑\$  
 487 three two sir  
 488 'Thirty-two, sir.'

489 14 Ifan: [((touches Muiz's right knee))

490 15 (0.5)

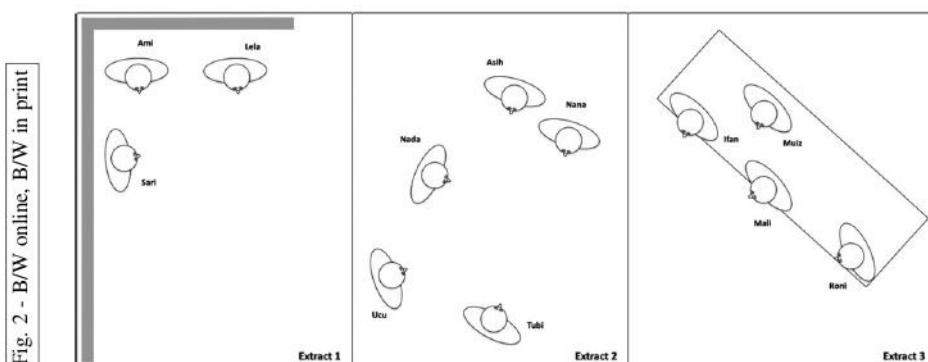
491 16 Ifan: tiga dua\_  
 492 three two  
 493 'Thirty-two.'

494

495 Let us now consider how Muiz engages Ifan as the next speaker. Muiz looks  
 496 toward Ifan from the beginning of line 3. At line 4 Muiz indicates a single addressee  
 497 by producing the second person singular pronoun *kamu*. Muiz, however, is sitting  
 498 behind Ifan who is gazing forward; so they cannot possibly meet each other's gaze.  
 499 Just after *kamu*, Muiz adds touch to the WH-question word *berapa* 'how many/how  
 500 much' (Image 8). By doing this, he ensures that the second person singular pronoun  
 501 *kamu* 'you' explicitly targets Ifan. One might query, though, how the unaddressed  
 502 recipients—Mali and Roni—might come to understand that *kamu* is directed to  
 503 Ifan. Mali has just revealed his age before this extract, which makes *kamu* a relevant  
 504 reference form for Muiz to address him with. As Hassall (2013) has noted, *kamu* is  
 505 mainly used in an age-oriented way, for people who are 'equal or lower status, or to  
 506 address children'. It could potentially be applicable to Roni who is younger than  
 507 Muiz, but Roni is likely to be able to see Muiz reaching out to Ifan (Image 9).  
 508 By contrast, Ifan is less able to see Roni, who he might take as being addressed  
 509 by Muiz's *kamu* question. That is to say, Ifan is really the only party for whom  
 510 this question might possibly be ambiguous, and this is exactly what the touch  
 511 disambiguates.

512 In each extract in this section, the question producers were not actually speaking  
 513 before producing their questions. As such they have interceded into the talk, taking  
 514 the floor (legitimately, under rule 1b of the turn-taking system) and then reallocating  
 515 it to their targeted recipients (under rule 1a; Sacks et al. 1974:704). We can see in  
 516

each case that there are obstacles to establishing mutual gaze. Question producers must deal with seating arrangements that restrict visual access of their targeted recipients. This is summarized in Figure 2.



533 FIGURE 2. A birds' eye view of the seating arrangements in extracts (1) (left), (2) (middle), and (3)  
534 (right).

535  
536  
537 In extract (1) (Figure 2, left), Sari, Lela, and Ami sit with their backs against  
538 brick walls. Although L-shaped, this is not an F-formation as the participants' trans-  
539 actional segments do not overlap. When Lela experiences rheumatic pains, she  
540 stretches her legs out, leaving a space between herself and Ami. She also disengages  
541 from the conversation for a while, gazing away from the other two participants. In  
542 both extracts (2) and (3), the question producers are seated behind the question reci-  
543 pients, which complicates the recipients' return of gaze. These problematic  
544 seating arrangements seem to encourage Asih (Figure 2, middle) and Muiz  
545 (Figure 2, right) to deploy touch as they address their questions, which secures  
546 the reciprocity of their targets who turn around to look them in the eye. Consider  
547 also how the question producers progress towards touching their targets. Images  
548 1 and 2 show Lela (in extract (1)) moving her head before gazing toward Ami.  
549 Lela's first attempt at securing Ami's reciprocity by touching her arm (Image 3,  
550 line 12) is followed by a second touch in Image 4 (line 13), which overlays her ques-  
551 tion. Similarly, the question producers in extracts (2) and (3) monitor the targeted  
552 recipients before launching their questions. Asih raises her left arm in the middle of  
553 her turn (Image 6a, line 16) before touching Nana's right arm (Image 6b) just prior  
554 to the completion of the turn. Muiz raises his arm before producing his turn (line 3  
555 of extract (3)) so that his hand meets Ifan's shoulder (Image 8) before his question is  
556 complete.

557 In this section we have seen touch being used to manage problems with mutual  
558 orientation between question producers and question recipients. Touch is a useful  
559 addition when people are oriented in formations that complicate the attainment

560 of mutual gaze, although touch is only deployable to recipients within reach of the  
 561 speaker. A key outcome of these touches is that the speaker elicits the gaze of the  
 562 targeted recipient, so they can plainly see that they are being addressed and selected  
 563 to speak next, under rule 1a of the turn-taking system. Another point of consider-  
 564 ation is that in extracts (1) and (2) touch is laminated onto questions that inquire  
 565 about delicate matters (Mrs. Titi being unwell and Oim having possibly passed  
 566 away). We consider the caring dimension of tender touches further below, after  
 567 first examining extracts in which touch is implicated in pursuing responses to an  
 568 earlier question.

569

570

571 TOUCH USED IN PURSUING RESPONSES AND  
 572 IN REDIRECTING QUESTIONS TO NEW  
 573 RECIPIENTS

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This section examines how speakers employ touch when pursuing a response. We also see touch being used to redirect follow-up questions toward new—more proximal—participants, in the hope of securing an answer. That is, question producers use touch to address issues related to reciprocity, sequence organization, or both. Their use of touch points towards issues of conditional relevance and the preference for selected next speakers to take the floor (Stivers & Robinson 2006; Schegloff 2007). Being a haptic tool of engagement, touch can augment the semiotic resources that were previously deployed in unsuccessful attempts at securing a response (Stivers & Rossano 2010; Blythe et al. 2018).

Extract (4) is taken from a conversation amongst four male relatives—Anis, Ical, Iyan, and Aldi—who are sitting at a table nearby a shopping centre. Prior to this extract, Aldi, Anis, and Iyan had been talking about a computer Aldi and Anis had recently bought. Ical begins asking Aldi and Anis about the specifications of the computer. The turns in focus are at lines 20 to 22, in which Ical asks Anis a question before re-directing the question to Aldi.

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(4) 'WD' (19\_11\_X20\_TYP\_FH) [08:16–08:46]

- 1 Ical: tapi ramnya;  
 but ram.DEF  
 'But {how about} the RAM?'
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 Anis: ram [delapan\_  
 RAM eight  
 '8 {GB} of RAM.'
- 4 Aldi: [ram delapan,  
 RAM eight  
 '8 {GB} of RAM.'
- 5 (0.4)



TACTILE ENGAGEMENT OF PROSPECTIVE NEXT SPEAKERS

- 603 6 Ical: enggak- ininya\_ (.) apa (.) hardisknya<sub>i</sub>  
 604 NEG this.PROX.DEF WH harddisk.DEF  
 605 ‘No, I mean (.) what (.) the hard disk?’  
 606 7 (0.5)  
 607 8 Anis: hard disk [limaratus\_  
 608 five.hundred  
 609 ‘{The} hard disk {is} 500{GB}’  
 610 9 Aldi: [hard disknya make, (0.5) ini apa (0.5) .HH blue  
 611 hard.disk.DEF use PROX WH NAME.BRAND  
 612 ‘The hard disk uses (0.5) what’s that? (0.5) .HH blue (a brand)’  
 613 10 (0.3)  
 614 11 Aldi: WEDE BLUE\_  
 615 WD  
 616 ‘WD Blue (a brand)’  
 617 12 (0.6)  
 618 13 Iyan: >widi,=[widi,<  
 619 WD WD  
 620 ‘WD, WD.’  
 621 14 Aldi: [>widi = [widi<  
 622 WD WD  
 623 ‘WD, WD.’  
 624 15 Ical: [iya wede si itu,  
 625 INTJ WD DET DIST  
 626 ‘Yeah WD, {just like} that {person}-’  
 627 16 (1.4)  
 628 17 Aldi: iya = [makenya\_  
 629 INTJ use.DEF  
 630 ‘Yeah, {we} use that.’  
 631 18 Anis: [>wede blue<  
 632 WD blue  
 633 ‘WD Blue.’  
 634 19 (0.2)  
 635 20 Ical: → #wede téh apa,  
 636 WD PRT.SUNDANESE WH  
 637 ‘What {is} WD?’  
 638 image #Fig 12



((Ical and Anis establish mutual gaze))

689 his talk, Ical shifts his gaze and touches Aldi's right thigh three times (Images 11a,b,  
690 c). Ical deals with the lack of uptake from the recipient he originally selected  
691 through gaze by using touch and gaze, in combination, to redirect the revised ques-  
692 tion toward Aldi. Aldi and Anis purchased the computer together. If Anis doesn't  
693 know what WD means then Aldi might be able to answer. These touches are thus  
694 central in redirecting the question toward a new target with knowledge about the  
695 computer. Aldi does take the floor by providing two dispreferred responses,  
696 namely accounts for his inability to explain the acronym.

697 The next example is from a conversation between neighbours: Ima, Yaya, Titi,  
698 and Yuda. Ima, Titi, and Yaya are sitting together in the local shop that Ima runs.  
699 Before this extract, the focus of the talk had been on issues surrounding subsidized  
700 liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), and Titi had asked Ima how to source an LPG con-  
701 tainer. There are two questions with accompanying touch in this extract, and both  
702 are produced by Titi. We focus on the second one at line 18.

703 (5) 'No cook' (7\_12\_X1\_TYP\_FH) [00:28-00:48]  
704

- 705 1 Titi: NAH terus kita gantinya pake APAan?  
706 PRT next 3PL replace.DEF use WH  
707 'So what are we going to use?'  
708 2 (0.7)  
709 3 Ima: ya: [balik ] lagi ke minyak tanah;  
710 PRT back again to kerosene  
711 'Well, {we're} going back to using kerosene again.'  
712 4 Yaya: [°hmm°]  
713 'Hmm'  
714 5 (.)  
715 6 Yaya: A hah=  
716 'A hah.'  
717 7 Titi: =†KA:[LO MINYAK] TANAH[nya [ADA JU]GA  
718 if kerosene. DEF BE also  
719 'If the kerosene is available.'  
720 8 Ima: [(gazes away from Titi)]  
721 9 Yaya: [A HA HAH ] [minyaknya, ]  
722 A ha hah oil.DEF  
723 'A ha hah. The oil-'  
724 10 (.)  
725 11 Titi: → kalo ga ade #†GIMANA ya?=  
726 if NEG BE WH NAME  
727 'What if it's not {available}, Ya?'  
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#Image 12



((Titi touches Yaya with her finger))

- 12 Yaya: =minyak #tanah kan ↑ma[HAL,  
kerosene PRT expensive  
'Kerosene is expensive, you know.'

image

#Image 13



((Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze))

- 13 Titi: [na:h=  
PRT  
'See (I told you)!'
- 14 Yaya: =orang ma[na:-  
people WH  
'Where people-'
- 15 Titi: [minyak tanah aja per liter bisa, (.)  
kerosene just per litre can  
'The price of kerosene per litre can (.)'
- 16 berapa ↑duit itu,  
WH money DIST  
'how much money {is} that?'
- 17 (.)
- 18 Titi: → yang duluan aja #berapa duit?  
REL previous just WH money  
'How much money was it?'

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image #Image 14



((Titi touches Yaya with her finger))

19 # (0.5)  
image #Image 15



((Titi and Yaya establish mutual gaze))

- 20 Titi: se[LITERNYA itu?  
one.litre.DEF DIST  
'Per litre?'
- 21 Yaya: [tiga belas\_  
thirteen  
'Thirteen {thousand rupiah}.'

At line 1, Titi gazes toward Ima and asks 'So, what are we going to use?'. Ima gazes away from Titi, shifts her gaze toward Yaya, and answers at line 3 that they are going back to using kerosene again. In line 6, Yaya gazes at Ima and then laughs. At line 7, Titi—who is still gazing at Ima—raises her voice, and responds *Kalo minyak tanahnya ada juga* 'If the kerosene is available'.

At line 11, Titi turns her gaze toward Yaya (who is gazing at Ima), touches her on the arm, and asks her a question, *Kalo ga ade gimana Ya?* 'What if it's not {available}, Ya?'. Yaya responds whilst turning toward Titi, with whom she establishes mutual gaze (Image 13), noting that kerosene is expensive. At line 13 Titi receipts this (non-answer) response with a minimal post-expansion *nah* 'See! (I told you)'. At lines 15 and 16, Titi gazes toward Ima and asks her about the price of kerosene. Ima, however, is not gazing at Titi, nor at Yaya, so she does not respond. At line 18, Titi pursues a response by changing her target. She shifts her gaze toward Yaya,

818 touches Yaya on the elbow with her finger (Image 14), and then asks her *Yang*  
 819 *duluan aja berapa duit?* ‘How much money was it?’. After 0.5-seconds of  
 820 silence Yaya turns toward Titi and they establish mutual gaze at line 19 (Image  
 821 15). Again, Titi pursues a response at line 20 with the turn increment *Selitemnya*  
 822 *itu?* ‘Per litre?’. Yaya answers in overlap at line 21 (‘thirteen {thousand rupiah}’).

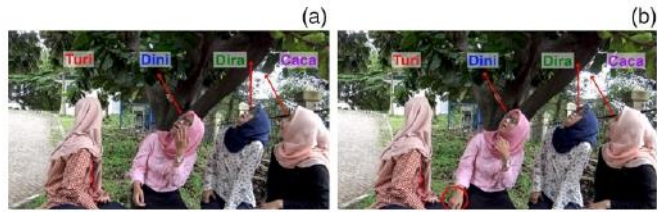
823 As noted above, there are two questions produced by Titi that are accompanied  
 824 with touch. Ima’s shop is quite cramped so the participants are oriented such that  
 825 Yaya cannot gaze at both Titi and Ima at the same time. Her first question at line  
 826 11 is thus similar to those discussed in the previous section in that the touch accom-  
 827 panying this question deals with this problem of mutual orientation. Titi uses touch  
 828 (as well as a post-positioned address term) to solicit the gaze of Yaya in order to  
 829 engage her as next speaker.

830 At line 18, however, Titi uses touch to pursue a response to her question from lines  
 831 15 and 16. As she produces this second question, Titi is gazing at Ima but Ima is not  
 832 returning her gaze. (Note that Yaya aborts her turn at line 14 because Titi’s question to  
 833 Ima overlaps her). Like Ical in extract (4), Titi revises her question such that it now  
 834 asks about the former price of kerosene. With the addition of touch, she redirects  
 835 her revised question toward Yaya who is closer to her, and who previously displayed  
 836 knowledge about the price. Note too that as Titi produces the revised question, Yaya,  
 837 who had been gazing toward Ima, shifts her gaze to Titi before responding, which she  
 838 does after mutual gaze has been established. Titi’s touch is thus effective in soliciting  
 839 Yaya’s orientation and in eliciting an answer to her question.

840 The final extract in this section includes touches that do not solicit the gaze of  
 841 the target and the eventual, dispreferred response is delayed. The conversation  
 842 is between four students, Turi, Dini, Dira, and Caca, who are all classmates.  
 843 Before this extract, they had been talking about rain and floods in South  
 844 Jakarta. A drop of water then hit Turi, which she thought was a raindrop.  
 845 When Dini, Dira, and Caca question whether it was rain or a droplet from the  
 846 tree above, the four girls begin looking up into the tree. Dini asks questions ac-  
 847 companied by touch at lines 6, 8, and 11. The initial touch deals with a problem  
 848 of mutual orientation while her subsequent touches pursue a response. As the  
 849 extract begins, Turi jokes that fruit might fall on them because they are  
 850 sitting under the tree.

- 851 (6) ‘What tree?’ [17\_11\_X23\_TYP] (00:04:53–00:05:08)
- 852 1 Turi: nih kalo KITA, (.).HH AH AH jatoh, ketiban buahnya AHA  
 853 well if 1<sub>PL</sub> fall fall fruit.DEF  
 854 ‘Well, if we (.).HH Ahah the fruit suddenly hit {us}. Aha’
- 855 2 [↑HAH ↑HAH  
 856 ‘ha hah.’
- 857 3 Dira: [AHA HAH [HAH .HH  
 858 ‘Aha hah hah.’
- 859 4 Caca: [aha hah  
 860 ‘Aha hah’

861 5 (0.2)  
 862 6 Dini: → #>emang ini [pohon #apaan<sub>i</sub><]  
 863 really this.PROX tree WH  
 864 ‘What tree is this exactly?’  
 865 image #Image 16a #Image 16b



((Dini moves her arm and then touches Turi’s knee with her fist))

874 7 Dira: [>emang apaan<sub>i</sub> ]  
 875 really WH  
 876 ‘What {is this} exactly?’

877 8 → #(0.1)  
 878 image #Image 17



((Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm))

888 9 Dira: iya\_  
 889 INTJ  
 890 ‘Yeah.’

891 10 (.)  
 892 11 Dini: → #>apa<sub>i</sub>=ini [#pohon apa<sub>i</sub><  
 893 WH this.PROX tree WH  
 894 ‘What? What tree is this?’

895 image #Image 18a #Image 18b



((Dini touches Turi twice on the knee with an open palm))

- 904 12 Dira: [ini pohon kipas tau,  
 905 this.PROX ginkgo tree know  
 906 'This is a ginkgo tree, you know.'
- 907 13 #(.3)  
 908 image #Image 19  
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 916  
 917 ((Dini gazes at Turi while Turi gazes upward))
- 918 14 Turi: ↑e::h (.) ga tau po[hon apaan;  
 919 INTJ NEG know tree WH  
 920 'Uh (.) I don't know what tree {this} is.'
- 921 15 Dini: [mana buahnya SIH,=orang ga ada [bu:ah,]  
 922 WH fruit.DEF PRT in.fact NEG BE fruit  
 923 'Where is the fruit? There is actually none.'
- 924 16 Turi: [ADA ]  
 925 BE  
 926 '{They} are.'
- 927 17 (.)  
 928 18 Turi: bulet-bulet= >NOH NOH = kayak gitu<  
 929 round DIST DIST like.that  
 930 'Round shapes, that one, just like that.'



931 Dini's first touch (Image 16b, line 6) is laminated onto a question which inquires  
 932 as to what type of tree they are under. This transpires as she and Turi gaze up into the  
 933 tree. Despite the girls' arrangement in semi-circular F-formation, their preoccupation  
 934 with the tree impinges on their mutual orientation. Thus Dini's fist on Turi's  
 935 knee attempts to target her as the recipient of the question and select her as the  
 936 next speaker. Dira also asks a similar question at line 7, but it is not addressed to  
 937 anyone in particular. As Turi continues to inspect the tree, Dini repeatedly  
 938 touches her several times (Images 17, 18a, and 18b). Thus, despite Dira offering  
 939 a candidate type of tree at line 12, these touches display Dini's expectation that  
 940 Turi should provide an answer. Her persistent pursuit of an answer may derive  
 941 from Turi's earlier claim (at line 1) that the tree has fruit—a claim that Dini imme-  
 942 diately calls into question. So perhaps Dini's questions provide Turi with opportu-  
 943 nities to support (or abandon) her earlier claim. Nonetheless, Dini's repeated  
 944 touches from line 8 onwards (and her gaze at line 13, see Image 19) display that  
 945  
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947 she is pursuing a response from Turi, pressuring her to take the floor and produce a  
 948 turn. Eventually at line 14 Turi produces an account for not having provided an  
 949 answer, which is a type of dispreferred response. The delayed response is pipped  
 950 at the post by Dira's answer at line 12. Dira, who is gazing up into the tree,  
 951 does not observe Dini tapping on Turi's knee. Dira's self-selection means that  
 952 Turi's eventual reply is not ultimately produced as the 'next' turn, even though  
 953 the response is elicited under turn-taking rule 1a. In summary, Dini's first touch  
 954 at line 6 principally deals with the absence of mutual orientation, as do the subse-  
 955 quent touches, but these subsequent touches pursue the absent response by ramping  
 956 up the pressure to respond.

957 In this section, we have shown that touch may be used by question producers to  
 958 pursue responses from question recipients. As in the previous section, some of these  
 959 pursuits (e.g. in extracts (5) and (6))—but not all of them—relate to problems with  
 960 mutual orientation. Furthermore, the seating arrangements in extracts (4) and (6) are  
 961 F-formations, so a complicated seating arrangement is clearly not the only reason par-  
 962 ticipants deploy touch when attempting to engage would-be next speakers. Touch  
 963 appears to be a highly effective strategy when resources like 'interrogative lexico-  
 964 morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, recipient-focused epistemicity, and speaker  
 965 gaze' (Stivers & Rossano 2010:4) have not been sufficient to gain a prompt  
 966 response. It also seems that touch offers a subtle strategy for readdressing questions,  
 967 shifting the responsibility for responding in a way that is clear to the new recipient,  
 968 but without necessarily making this explicit to the previous one. Importantly,  
 969 touched recipients usually return their gaze to the speakers before providing responses  
 970 to their questions.

971 All examples thus far reveal that although touching generally takes place within  
 972 eyeshot of at least some non-selected recipients, it generally transpires within their  
 973 peripheral vision. This is because the gaze of both addressed and non-addressed re-  
 974 cipients tends to be drawn toward the speakers' eyes and mouth. Consequently, one  
 975 affordance of the manuo-tactile modality is that a public-yet-private connection is  
 976 established between the speaker and the target. The intimate nature of this tactile  
 977 connection is available only to the person being selected to speak, and it is this in-  
 978 timate connection we examine in the next section.

#### 980 PERSONAL AND POTENTIALLY DELICATE 981 QUESTIONS

982  
 983 In this section we revisit the potentially delicate nature of certain questions. Recall  
 984 from extracts (1) and (2) that touch was employed with questions which enquired  
 985 about whether particular persons were unwell or actually alive. These are sensitive  
 986 matters that were broached with touches which would appear to convey concern  
 987 about the referents' wellbeing. Like those examples, certain 'touching-questions'  
 988 in the following extracts belie an intimate quality that signals respect, affection,  
 989 or admiration to the addressee, or displays empathy or concern for the wellbeing



990 of the referent or the addressee. Some of these touches are deployed when new  
 991 topics are raised for discussion. As with the earlier extracts, these touches still  
 992 tend to elicit recipient gaze, but the lead-up to the questions are not precipitated  
 993 by obvious problems that might impinge upon the attainment of mutual engage-  
 994 ment. Instead, these interpersonal touches seem principally devoted to conveying  
 995 tenderness or affability, particularly through the additional attainment of mutual  
 996 gaze.

997 In extract (7), we return to the neighbors Ami, Sari, and Lela. Their prior discus-  
 998 sion about fasting (for *Mawlid*, the birth of Prophet Muhammad) has run its course  
 999 (at line 1). At line 3 Ami addresses a question to Sari that raises a new topic which is  
 1000 possibly sensitive. As she does this, she touches Sari on the arm.

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(7) 'He's alright' (12\_1\_X14\_TYP\_FH) [09:38–10:09]

1 Ami: oh:: mau- gitu,  
 oh want like.that  
 'Oh, want- I see.'  
 2 [(0.3)  
 [((Ami shifts her gaze toward Sari))  
 3 Ami: → HENDRA #gimana kabarnya?  
 NAME WH news.3SG.POSS  
 'How is Hendra {these days}?'  
 image #Image 20



((Ami touches Sari on the arm))

4 (.)  
 5 Ami: baik?  
 good  
 'Good?'  
 6 (.)  
 7 Sari: mendingan #kali\_  
 better perhaps  
 '{He's} better, perhaps.'

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image

#Image 21



((Sari and Ami establish mutual gaze))

- 8 (.)  
9 Sari: BELUM nelpon lagi;  
not.yet call.up again  
'{I} haven't called {him} up again.'  
10 (.)  
11 Sari: °°ga tau°°  
NEG know  
'{I} don't know.'

Once the earlier discussion has run its course (line 1) Ami turns her gaze to Sari—who is gazing at Lela—and asks a question at line 3 about Sari's child, Hendra, touching her as she does so (Image 20). Ami extends her turn in line 5, *Baek?* 'Good?'. Sari gazes toward Ami (Image 21) and replies saying that she assumes he is better. She also accounts for not being very sure by saying that she has not called him (line 9). From there she adds *Ga tau* '{I} don't know' (line 11) but says nothing further on the matter.

In extract (7), Ami and Sari have been exchanging turns with one another while Lela is positioned off to the side. Although Sari is gazing towards Lela as the question begins, her body remains broadly oriented towards Ami. In addition, the topic Ami is raising—Sari's son—has the potential to tacitly select Sari as next speaker, and his name is in fact the first item in the turn. Despite all that, she chooses to touch Sari while asking her topic-initiating question. Why might this be? Evidently, Sari's response (*mendingan kali* 'better perhaps') indicates that Hendra may have been less than GOOD in the past and that his improvement cannot be ascertained. Put simply, this appears to be a delicate topic. Ami's touch might therefore address this delicacy (and the possibility of disalignment and disaffiliation), softening the question and showing Ami's genuine concern about the matter. Sari's lack of expansion on the topic and her claim not to know keep open the possibility of trouble.

In the final extract, the question producer, Ifan, uses touch to convey his interest in the recipient's (Muiz's) personal history. Before this extract, Muiz had been telling Roni about his age, and how he has been getting weaker as he gets older. Roni jokingly suggests the reason for Muiz's weakness is that he quit smoking too early. Mali then tells Ifan that he has never seen Muiz smoking.

- 1076 (8) 'Quit smoking' (21\_11\_X4\_TYP\_FH) [13:16–13:40]  
 1077 1 Mali: si keli = si isit, (0.5) bad[run, ga pernah ngeRO]KO dia,=  
 1078 DET NAME DET NAME NAME NEG ever smoke 3SG  
 1079 'Keli, Isit (0.5) Badrun, he never smokes'  
 1080 2 Muiz: [°ga ada° ]  
 1081 NEG BE  
 1082 'None of {them}'  
 1083 3 Ifan: → =oh [ngeroko #JUGA?]  
 1084 oh smoke too  
 1085 'Oh, {you} smoke as well?'  
 1086 image #Image 22



- 1087 ((Ifan touches Muiz on the knee))  
 1088 4 Muiz: [kalo saya mah, ](.) #°ngeroko dulu°=  
 1089 for 1SG PRT smoke before  
 1090 'I {did} (.) {I} smoke before.'  
 1091 image #Image 23



- 1092 ((Ifan and Muiz establish mutual gaze))  
 1093 5 Ifan: → =#ngeroko juga dulu ba[pak,  
 1094 smoke too before father  
 1095 'Did you used to smoke?'  
 1096 image #Image 24



- 1097 ((Ifan keeps touching Muiz's knee, squeezing it))

TACTILE ENGAGEMENT OF PROSPECTIVE NEXT SPEAKERS

- 1119 6 Muiz: [taUN SEMBILAN DUA #saya °berhenti°=  
 1120 year ninety two 1SG quit  
 1121 'I quit {smoking} in ninety-two.'  
 1122 image #Image 25  
 1123  
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 1139 7 Ifan: =°oh sembilan [dua°  
 1140 oh ninety two  
 1141 'Oh, ninety-two.'  
 1142 8 Roni: [kuat ngeroko pak MUIZ  
 1143 heavy smoke father NAME  
 1144 'He {was} a heavy smoker.'  
 1145 9 (0.1)  
 1146 10 Ifan: °°sembilan du[a°°  
 1147 ninety two  
 1148 'Ninety-two.'  
 1149 11 Roni: [NAH di ↑situlah,  
 1150 PRT LOC.PRT  
 1151 'Well, there you are.'  
 1152 12 (0.8)  
 1153 13 Roni: >kalo pak muiz terus ngerokok sehat kali,<  
 1154 if father NAME keep smoke well maybe  
 1155 'If you kept smoking, {you} might have been healthier.'  
 1156 14 (0.2)  
 1157 15 Muiz: sehat,  
 1158 well  
 1159 'Healthy?'  
 1160 16 (0.1)  
 1161 17 Muiz: iya haha hah  
 INTJ haha hah  
 'Yeah, haha hah.'



((Ifan retracts his hand))

1162 At line 1, Mali lists Muiz's children (Keli, Isit, and Badrun) who do not smoke.  
 1163 Muiz confirms this in line 2, saying that none of his children smoke cigarettes. At  
 1164 line 3, Ifan turns his body toward Muiz and asks him whether he smokes. Most of  
 1165 Ifan's question is produced in overlap with Muiz who, initially facing Roni, asserts  
 1166 in line 4 that he used to smoke. Midway through his question Ifan touches Muiz on  
 1167 the knee (Image 22), which has the effect of drawing Muiz's gaze towards him  
 1168 (Image 23). Having secured his gaze, Ifan prolongs his touch (Image 24) as he re-  
 1169 frames the question in the past tense ('Did you used to smoke?', line 5), this time  
 1170 adding a post-positioned address term *bapak* 'father'. At line 6, Muiz raises his eye-  
 1171 brows and answers, saying that he quit smoking in 1992. It is during this response  
 1172 that Ifan retracts his hand (see Image 25). He then receipts Muiz's claim at line 7,  
 1173 and again at line 10. At line 8 Roni adds that Muiz used to be a heavy smoker. Over  
 1174 lines 11 to 13, Roni again says jokingly to Muiz that quitting smoking has caused  
 1175 his weakness, which Muiz mildly resists at line 15, *sehat?* 'healthy?', before  
 1176 laughing.

1177 In this extract, Ifan has contorted his body position (Schegloff 1998) such that  
 1178 he is tilted towards Muiz. As Ifan commences his question at line 3, Muiz is  
 1179 gazing at Roni. However as he feels Ifan's hand, his gaze is drawn toward  
 1180 Ifan as he produces talk at line 4 that is perhaps responding to Ifan's question.  
 1181 Ifan's second question, now framed in the past tense, solicits an answer that is  
 1182 very specific about when Muiz stopped smoking. Furthermore, the post-  
 1183 positioned address term *bapak* 'father' that Ifan uses at line 5 is a respectful  
 1184 form of address used by younger men when addressing older men (Ewing &  
 1185 Djenar 2019).<sup>4</sup> Despite the second question being perhaps a little redundant,  
 1186 his prolonged touch, the address term, and the reworked question help elicit ad-  
 1187 ditional personal information. Having established mutual gaze at line 3, Ifan sus-  
 1188 tains his gaze toward Muiz throughout his reply (see Image 25). The mutual gaze  
 1189 followed by sustained unilateral gaze, the respectful post-positioned address term,  
 1190 in addition to Ifan's prolonged touch, all evidence a respectful, personalized in-  
 1191 terest in Muiz, which—given the potentially detrimental effects of smoking—  
 1192 perhaps inquires as to his wellbeing.

1193 Questions with touch establish a double conduit of connectivity between the  
 1194 question producer and the question recipient; that is, the interpersonal connection  
 1195 established through mutual eyegaze and touch (especially through sustained touch-  
 1196 ing) affords a more personal and profound connection than is requisite for merely  
 1197 securing reciprocity. The touched recipients in these extracts answer their questions  
 1198 (appropriately, as next selected speakers) but without any observable reaction to the  
 1199 physicality of these intercorporeal enquiries. Because interpersonal touches actual-  
 1200 ly (or at least, potentially) impinge upon one's fellow interlocutors' personal space,  
 1201 in the following sections we consider cultural and environmental dimensions of the  
 1202 phenomenon we're exploring, and how they might impact on the more general or  
 1203 universal organization of conversational turn-taking.

1204

## TOUCH AS A TOOL OF ENGAGEMENT

1205  
1206  
1207 The production of turns-at-talk with few gaps and minimal overlap, by different  
1208 speakers, is a miraculously precise undertaking that yields its output predominantly  
1209 within the audio-vocal modality. Yet the mechanisms required to bring this off  
1210 within face-to-face multiparty interaction are inherently multimodal. The first of  
1211 Sacks et al's (1974) turn-taking rules is a case-in-point. Unless the methods of re-  
1212 cipient designation are tacit (Lerner 2003), or deployed using address terms like  
1213 names or kinterms (Sacks et al. 1974; Hamdani et al. 2022), sighted recipients  
1214 are generally reliant on gaze to determine specifically who is being engaged to  
1215 speak next. Thus speaker-gaze toward the target, pointing gestures, elevated  
1216 prosody, and vocative expressions that draw recipient gaze toward the target  
1217 are engagement tools that involve the visuo-spatial modality (Blythe et al  
1218 2018; Auer 2018), as does touch when layered onto questions directed towards  
1219 specific targets. In this respect, touch as a tool of engagement merely adds the  
1220 manuo-tactile modality to an enterprise that is already inherently multimodal.  
1221 Like the other gaze-drawing tools, touch principally serves to indicate WHICH  
1222 recipient is being selected to respond while the design of the question indicates  
1223 HOW they should respond.

1224 We have demonstrated that the Indonesian question producers in our corpus use  
1225 touch in a variety of ways. Touch is employed to deal with problems of mutual ori-  
1226 entation between question producers and recipients, to pursue responses to ques-  
1227 tions, and to inquire about delicate or personal matters. Touch appears to be  
1228 especially useful for overcoming challenging seating arrangements that disfavour  
1229 mutual gaze, and for changing the reciprocity of a question. In addition, it may  
1230 be useful for designing actions that may risk disalignment and/or disaffiliation  
1231 (cf. Li 2020).

1232 Like Li (2020), the present study has demonstrated that touch can be employed  
1233 for special, additive tasks in action formation. Our analyses have shown that certain  
1234 touches accompanying questions are less driven by next speaker recruitment than  
1235 by the relational import of the question. By including a touch (or touches), the ques-  
1236 tion producer can guide a recipient to inspect a question for special import; not just  
1237 questioning 'simpliciter' (see Schegloff 1996). Like the process of action formation  
1238 in general (Enfield & Sidnell 2017), the nature of this import (e.g. delicacy or affec-  
1239 tion) is realized in and through the 'thick particulars' (Lerner 2003:190) of the  
1240 conversation.

1241  
1242 CULTURE, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND  
1243 TOUCHING BEHAVIOUR

1244  
1245 Finally, we consider whether the use of touch in next speaker selection might have a  
1246 cultural dimension, or whether other factors like the environment might play a role.  
1247 The central question is whether Indonesian people touch each other in conversation

1248 more often than people from other cultures. And if so, what would be driving this?  
 1249 In the Indonesian data presented here, it is quite clear that laminating touch onto  
 1250 questions has a robust effect of drawing the gaze of the touched recipient toward  
 1251 the speaker. However, we do find substantial variation in gaze behaviour across  
 1252 different cultural groups. For instance, Meyer (2017:153) characterises the  
 1253 Wolof of Senegal as having a ‘low-gaze’ culture where ‘[i]t is not uncommon  
 1254 to briefly or constantly touch one’s interlocutor’. He suggests that in Wolof con-  
 1255 versations touch is preferred over gaze for next-speaker allocation, although the  
 1256 application of touch to questions is not discussed. In comparative research specif-  
 1257 ically focusing on gaze’s relationship to questions, Rossano, Brown, & Levinson  
 1258 (2009) compare conversations in Yéli Dnye, Italian and Tzeltal. The Yéli Dnye  
 1259 and Italian data contained high volumes of mutual gaze as the participants  
 1260 often faced each other, while participants in the Tzeltal conversations prefer  
 1261 side-by-side seating arrangements and tend to avoid mutual gaze. A range of  
 1262 factors were identified that increase the likelihood of securing mutual gaze  
 1263 across question-answer pairs but touch (in these dyadic conversations) was not re-  
 1264 ported upon. The relationship between touch and questions has seldom been in-  
 1265 vestigated previously (however see Chen’s (2022) dissertation on Mandarin  
 1266 conversation).

1267 Halls’ (1966) theory of proxemics was the basis for large-scale cross-cultural  
 1268 studies by Sorokowska and colleagues (2017) on preferred interpersonal distances,  
 1269 and by Sorokowska and colleagues (2021)<sup>5</sup> on the prevalence of different types of  
 1270 affective touch (hugs, embraces, kisses, and stroking) vs. different types of social  
 1271 relationships (one’s children, partners, male and female friends). These studies  
 1272 reveal that people in warmer climates exhibit closer contact behaviour—with  
 1273 more touch—than people from colder climates, and that kisses and stroking are  
 1274 more prevalent between partners and between parents and their children. Across  
 1275 the board there is evidence that women touch women more than men touch men  
 1276 (Sorokowska et al. 2021) and there is strong evidence for cross-cultural differences  
 1277 in preferred interpersonal distances, although older people who are acquaintances  
 1278 or intimates generally prefer greater distancing than younger people (Sorokowska  
 1279 et al. 2017, see also Remland, Jones, & Brinkman 1995). Sorokowska et al.  
 1280 (2021) find that conservative values and religiosity are correlated with reduced  
 1281 touching between the sexes. These surveys (and other earlier studies)<sup>6</sup> are reliant  
 1282 on participants’ self-reports and are not designed to deal with frequency of  
 1283 touches. They do however strongly support environmental factors as influencing  
 1284 touching behaviour. As far as we are aware, there are no corpus-based studies  
 1285 that explicitly compare touching behaviours across languages and cultures within  
 1286 multiparty interactions. Be that as it may, if compared to the CIARA project’s  
 1287 the Australian Aboriginal language and ‘remote’ Australian English corpora  
 1288 (Blythe, Stirling, Mushin, & Gardner n.d.)—in which questions accompanied by  
 1289 touch are either vanishingly rare or absent—the volume of touches in this Indone-  
 1290 sian corpus is particularly striking.

1291 The CIARA English and Australian language conversations were collected in  
 1292 the remote outback where population densities are extremely low.<sup>7</sup> By contrast,  
 1293 these Indonesians conversations were conducted in Jakarta, a built-up urban en-  
 1294 vironment with a population density of 13,000 people per square kilometre (Mar-  
 1295 tinez & Masron 2020). Conversationalists who are familiar with one another are  
 1296 often seated within close proximity, in cramped locations that are not necessarily  
 1297 conducive to the return of mutual gaze (Kendon 1990; Blythe et al. 2018), but are  
 1298 very conducive to physical engagement. These environmental factors may be  
 1299 consequential in accounting for the high incidences of touching, none of which  
 1300 preclude against cultural norms and values also contributing to the prevalence  
 1301 of touch. As potentially causal factors, the environment vis-à-vis culture need  
 1302 not be thought of as in conflict.

1303 Culture is enacted within social interaction (Schegloff 2006) by participants  
 1304 who occupy the places and spaces within the environments they live in—thus  
 1305 their relationship with the landscape is socially constructed. This notion lies  
 1306 behind Palmer and colleagues' sociotopographic hypothesis (Palmer, Lum,  
 1307 Schlossberg, & Gaby 2017)—that the ways humans interact socially with their  
 1308 physical environment influences how they conceptualise space and the ways  
 1309 they talk about places and locations, particularly in their choices of spatial  
 1310 frames (see also Lum, Palmer, Schlossberg, & Gaby 2022). Relatedly, de Dear  
 1311 and colleagues (2021) suggest that ease with which 'remote' (non-Aboriginal)  
 1312 speakers of Australian English and 'remote' speakers of the Aboriginal languag-  
 1313 es Gija and Murrinhpatha point accurately to distant locations within conversa-  
 1314 tion does not seem to be determined by language, nor culture, but does reflect  
 1315 participants' long-standing social engagement with their environments.  
 1316 Perhaps the social relationships people have with their physical environment  
 1317 also influences certain fundamentals of social interaction, such as how partici-  
 1318 pants conduct themselves when taking turns at talk.

1319 Our report contributes toward the study of turn-taking practices across lan-  
 1320 guages and cultures. The cross-cultural/cross-linguistic enterprise seeks to un-  
 1321 derstand which dimensions of language use are universal and which exhibit  
 1322 variation. When we encounter apparent variation, the next step is to determine  
 1323 whether such differences are culturally determined, or whether alternative expla-  
 1324 nations are more appropriate. Perhaps these data show ordinary practices that  
 1325 are otherwise predominantly audio-vocal and visuo-spatial, being adapted to  
 1326 the compact urban environment; which is not to suggest that these practices  
 1327 should be unique to participants occupying crowded compact environments,  
 1328 rather that the ways people inhabit the environments they socialise in enables  
 1329 certain practices to flourish, and others to become disfavoured. Our prediction  
 1330 is that other urbanised societies with high population densities may also favour  
 1331 the use of touch in next-speaker engagement. We hope this multimodal investi-  
 1332 gation into the nexus between questions and touch provides fertile ground for  
 1333 future cross-cultural comparisons.



## APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

1334		
1335		
1336	[and]	overlaps between speaker's talk and actions. A left bracket indicates the
1337		point of overlap onset. A right bracket indicates the point at which two
1338		overlapping utterances end.
1339	=	no break or gap
1340	(0.2)	elapsed time by tenths of seconds
1341	(.)	a brief interval
1342	?	strongly rising terminal intonation
1343	ˆ	less strongly rising terminal intonation
1344	,	slightly rising terminal intonation
1345	–	level terminal intonation
1346	;	slightly falling terminal intonation
1347	.	strongly falling terminal intonation
1348	↑↓	shifts into especially high or low pitch
1349	AND	loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk
1350	°and°	the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk
1351	a:nd	a lengthening of a sound
1352	and-	the preceding sound has been cut-off abruptly
1353	.hh	a breath
1354	a hah	a laughter
1355	>and<	talk is faster than the surrounding talk
1356	(h)	plosiveness (e.g. a breath or laughter) within a word
1357	\$	talk delivered in a smiling voice
1358	( )	the transcriber was unable to get what was said
1359	((touch))	transcriber's descriptions of events
1360	(and)	the transcriber was only able to tentatively get what was said
1361	→	the focus of attention in the extract

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In the Murrinhpatha, Gija, Jaru, Garrwa, and Kimberley English corpora from the northern Australian outback (Blythe, Stirling, Mushin, & Gardner n.d.) interpersonal touches between adult participants are rare or non-existent.

<sup>2</sup>Grammatical glosses are as follows: 1PL: first person plural; 1SG: first person singular; 2SG: second person singular; 3PL: third person plural; 3SG: third person singular; BE: being verbs; DEF: definite; DET: determiner; DIST: distal; INTJ: interjection; LOC: locative; NEG: negation; PAS: passive; PERF: perfective; POSS: possessive; PROX: proximal; PRT: particle; RED: reduplication; REL: relative; WH: WH-questions; YBR: younger brother.

<sup>3</sup>WD, aka Western Digital, is a hard-drive manufacturer based in California.

<sup>4</sup>We have translated this kin term as 'you'.

<sup>5</sup>8,943 individuals from forty-two countries and 14,478 individuals from forty-five countries, respectively.


<sup>6</sup>For reviews see (Gallace & Spence 2010; Russo, Ottaviani, & Spitoni 2020; Saarinen, Harjunen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jääskeläinen, & Ravaja 2021).

<sup>7</sup>Western Australia and the Northern Territory have population densities of 0.89 and 0.16 persons per square kilometre, respectively (Population Australia 2022).

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- 646 21 (0.1)  
 647 22 Ical: → apa, (.) #APA singka#tan #nya?  
 648 WH WH abbreviation DEF  
 649 'What? (.) What is the acronym?'  
 650 image #Image 11a #Image 11b #Image 11c  
 651 (a) (b) (c)  
 652   
 653  
 654  
 655  
 656  
 657 ((Ical touches Aldi three times, on the thigh & the knee))  
 658 23 (0.1)  
 659 24 Aldi: °°ga tau°°  
 660 NEG know  
 661 '{I} don't know.'  
 662 25 (0.1)  
 663 26 Aldi: ga \$tau [gua\$  
 664 NEG know 1SG  
 665 'I don't know.'  
 666 27 Ical: [Aha hah  
 667 'Aha hah.'

In line 1 Ical asks Anis *Tapi ramnya?* 'How about the RAM?' (Random Access Memory). Anis and Aldi both answer at lines 3 and 4 by providing the size of the RAM. After a silence, Ical carries out a third position repair (Schegloff 1992) at line 6. Maintaining his gaze toward Anis, he instead asks about the hard drive. Ical answers at line 8, treating the question as inquiring about the size of the drive ('500 {GB}'). Aldi also answers in overlap (line 9) by attempting to explain which type of drive they selected, then, elaborating at line 11, by specifying the brand ('WD Blue'), which he pronounces [wede].<sup>3</sup> After a silence, Iyan corrects Aldi's pronunciation of the brand name ('Wi Di' [widi]) at line 13 which Aldi accepts at line 14 by repeating twice. Ical then tries to link the brand name to a person, *Si itu* 'That person', but he fails, leaving a 1.4-second silence in line 16. At lines 17 and 18, Aldi and Anis reconfirm their choice of hard drive. After a brief silence at line 19, Ical shifts his gaze from Iyan to Anis, establishes mutual gaze, and then asks at line 20 what WD is (Image 10). Ical then shifts his gaze to Aldi and revises his question in line 22 ('What is the acronym?', i.e. 'What does the acronym stand for?'), touching Aldi three times as he does so. Aldi responds twice in lines 24 and 26 with an account stating that he does not know what the acronym means.

The initial version of Ical's question at line 20 does not receive an immediate response. His gaze is directed toward Anis as he delivers this question, but Anis, who is returning his gaze, shows no signs of responding. His second attempt at line 22 asks specifically what the acronym stands for. Alongside the revisions to

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**Address for corespondence:**

Fakry Hamdani  
 Department of English Education,  
 UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Bandung, Indonesia  
 A.H. Nasution 105 Cipadung Cibiru Bandung West Java 40614  
 Indonesia

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia  
 12 Second Way Sydney New South Wales 2109  
 Australia  
[fakry.hamdani@uinsgd.ac.id](mailto:fakry.hamdani@uinsgd.ac.id)