CHARLES GOODWIN

10.1 Introduction

Interaction between tellers and a range of different kinds of hearers (including participants who are characters in the stories being told) is deeply consequential to the organization of narrative. To demonstrate, rather than merely claim this, requires looking closely at concrete examples, and restricts the range of phenomena that can be covered.¹

I will focus on (1) the interactive organization of story prefaces; (2) Goffman's deconstruction of the speaker; (3) how different kinds of present participants, such as the story's principal character, make crucial, visible contributions to the interactive field that constitute a telling even when they do not speak; (4) the pervasive importance for interactive narrative of building action by re-using with transformation materials provided by others in their earlier talk, such as types of characters and situations; (5) the visible cognitive life of the hearer; (6) participation as temporally unfolding, actionconstitutive understanding; (7) building social and political organization through interactive narrative; (8) families of stories that extend across particular tellings and participants to build larger courses of action; (9) the interactive organization of narrative in aphasia: how a man with a three-word vocabulary is able to produce complex narrative by mobilizing resources provided by others; and (10) how communities, such as scientific professions, use quite particular kinds of narratives to build new members with the professional vision required to see and act upon the world in just the ways that define the expertise and activities of that community.

10.2 Story Prefaces

The following was told during a dinner in which Ann and Don were guests of Beth and John. In her story (Figure 10.1) Ann recounts what she formulates as a horrible gaffe made by her husband Don. He asked the owners of a brand new house: "Did they make

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_	Well- We coulda used a liddle, marijuna. Short story preface		
Beth:	What h appened. Hearer		
Ann:	Karen has this new h ou:se . En it's got all this like (0.2) ssilvery: : g-go:ld wwa:llpaper,		
	*hh (h) en D(h)o(h)n sa(h)ys, y'know this's th'firs'time we've seen this house. =Fifty five thousn dollars in Cherry Hill.=Right? (0.4)		
Beth:	Uh h u: h?		
Ann: Beth: Ann: Beth:	Do(h)n said (0.3) dih-did they ma:ke you take this wa(h)llpa(h)p(h)er? hh! Climax =er(h)di djupi(h)cki(h)t ou(h)t. Ahh huhhhh huh =		
	Ann: Beth: Ann: Beth:		

Figure 10.1 A story told in conversation (Goodwin 1984). Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

you take this wallpaper or did you pick it out" (lines 13–16). More detailed analysis of this story can be found in Goodwin (1984, 2007b).²

Ann's story has a distinctive shape. Her extended telling, which begins in line 5, is preceded by a short two-part sequence. In lines 2–3 she announces the availability of a story, without actually telling it. In line 4, her principal addressee, Beth, explicitly asks to hear the story. Sacks (1992a: 10-11, 18; 1974) noted not only that stories structured like this occur pervasively in conversation, but that the distinctive shape found here provides a systematic way of dealing with crucial contingencies faced by a potential storyteller in conversation. Typically, a speaker in conversation is entitled to only one turn constructional unit, such as a complete clause, before speaker transition becomes relevant. At the end of that unit others are provided a place where they might claim the floor. Being restricted to producing only a single turn constructional unit poses consequential problems for someone trying to tell a story, since stories typically take multiple units, as indeed this one does beginning at line 5. By first producing a story preface that announces the availability of a story, and then getting an addressee explicitly to display that they are prepared to listen to an extended telling (e.g., Beth's "what happened" in line 4), speaker and recipient explicitly provide for the systematic occurrence of a multiunit turn. The shape found in the story thus constitutes a specific adaptation to the tasks posed by telling a story within interaction.

Note that this story does not have the canonical narrative structure described by Labov and Waletzky (1968), in that it does not begin with an abstract. Labov's methods for assembling a collection of stories, in which the researcher asked the teller to describe a highly charged event, put the teller in the position of having the rights to an extended floor at the very beginning of his or her talk. The task of securing permission for an extended telling thus did not arise because of the interactive structure of the

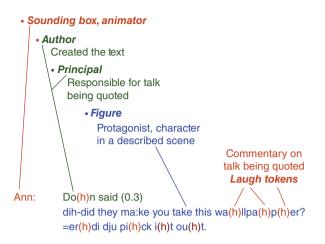
talk in which Labov's narratives were produced. Both the stories analyzed by Sacks (1992b), and those brilliantly collected by Labov (whose interview methods were shaped in part by his need to obtain very high quality audio recordings for his ground-breaking analysis of vernacular language structure), display in the internal organization of their structure adaptation to the interactive contingencies that make possible their telling.

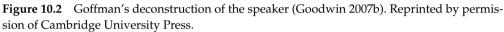
Several other features of the story will be briefly noted. The body of the narrative begins with what I will call background segments in lines 5-6, which set the scene for the story: the house they are seeing for the first time is new and expensive, and it has "ssilvery:: g-go:ld wwa:llpaper" which the teller subtly evaluates as garish with her prosody. In line 13, when the speaker reports what her husband said, the climax of the story is entered. Note that this part of the story has a different interactive organization from the parts leading up to it, in that recipients participate in the talk by actively displaying appreciation of the story. Finally, lines 8-10 constitute what I will call a parenthesis. In line 8 the teller enters the climax by marking that she is about to quote what her husband said. However, in line 9, she instead provides further background information, such as the price of the house and the fact that this is the first time the teller and her husband have visited it. This specific background information provides the teller with resources for prospectively structuring recipients' immediate, appropriate understanding of the quote that constitutes the climax of the story. A prototypical social scene is established: guests admiring their hosts' new possessions. This event, with its expectations about proper conduct, renders what Don said transparently visible as a salient faux pas.

10.3 Goffman's Deconstruction of the Speaker

Who is speaking in lines 14–16 in Figure 10.1? The voice being heard is a female one: Ann's. However, she is reporting something said by someone else: her husband. Goffman (1981) argued that the apparently simple notion of the *speaker* in fact encompasses within its boundaries a number of quite distinct entities, including (1) the sounding box or animator, the party actually producing speech (e.g., a press spokesman for the president), here Ann; (2) the author, the party who actually assembles the words being spoken (e.g., a presidential speechwriter); (3) the principal, the party responsible for the talk being spoken (e.g., the president, or in this case Don); and (4) the figure, the protagonist or character in the scene being animated by the voice of the current speaker, here Don (see Figure 10.2).

Because of this lamination of different kinds of entities within a single strip of reported speech, it would not be appropriate to enclose lines 14–16 within quotation marks. The laughter that peppers this talk belongs to the animator, Ann, and is not to be heard as part of the talk Don produced in the reported scene. As demonstrated powerfully by Volosinov (1973), such evaluative inflection is central to the organization of all reported speech, and to narrative more generally (Goodwin 2007b; Labov 1972).





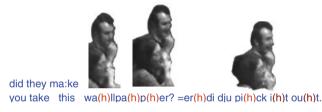


Figure 10.3 Principal character's face intricately matches speaker's laugh (Goodwin 2007b). Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

10.4 A Silent Though Visible Principal Character

Goffman noted that within everyday interaction, the characters depicted within stories are frequently present during their telling. Don, the principal character in Ann's story in Figure 10.1, is seated at the table with her, but never says a word throughout the telling (though he does provide a subsequent second-story in which he counters her version of the events). Most analysis of narrative focuses exclusively on phenomena found within the stream of speech. Within such a framework, Don – and nonspeaking participants in general – are excluded from analysis. However, when a video of the telling is examined it is found that Don actively participates in the telling through the way in which he organizes his visible body. As the teller slowly escalates her laughter through lines 14–16 of Figure 10.1, the principal character's face matches this with visual laughter that tracks the speaker's vocal laughter syllable by syllable in exquisite detail, moving from a slight laugh at the end of line 14 to animated head movements by the end of line 16 (Figure 10.3).

In essence the laugh that occurs here is being performed simultaneously by two separate bodies, vocally by the speaker, and visually by the principal character whose actions are being depicted.

10.5 Building Action by Performing Structure-Preserving Transformations on a Public Substrate

Don's visible laughs cannot be understood or analyzed by studying his body in isolation. Instead, his escalating laugh constitutes a set of quite precise operations on the emerging structure of the teller's talk. The resources that provide for the intelligibility of what he is doing are distributed across multiple participants and diverse semiotic materials: the talk and vocal laughter of the speaker and the changing displays visible in Don's face. Don builds action by performing systematic operations on a public substrate: the emerging talk of the story. His operations preserve structure provided by the original substrate: both the laughter as an activity and the event that makes such laughter relevant. However, rather than simply copying or repeating that structure, Don transforms it by changing vocal laughter into silent facial displays. The action that occurs here is cooperative: one party contributes to the action in progress, or builds new action, by performing systematic operations on a structure provided by another. Building action cooperatively by performing structure-preserving transformations on resources provided by others is a quite general practice and deeply implicated in the organization of human action (Goodwin 2012). When such processes are used to build subsequent action by decomposing and reusing, with transformation, structure provided by the talk of others, they constitute a setting for the organization of grammar as public interactive practice. Figure 10.4 provides a simple example.

1	Tony:	Why don't you get out my yard.
2	Chopper:	Why don't you (make me) get out the yard

Figure 10.4 Structure-preserving transformations on a public substrate that decompose and reuse prior structure with modification (Goodwin 2012). Reprinted by permission of Elsevier.

Chopper builds a powerful counter, one that uses Tony's own words against him, by decomposing the grammatical structure of Tony's utterance into separate parts, and then transforming its meaning by inserting something new between these parts, the challenging "make me."

10.6 The Visible Cognitive Life of the Hearer

The precision with which Don calibrates his visible body with the moment-by-moment emergence of story-relevant structure within the speaker's talk is not accidental. Line 13, "Do(h)n said," projects that he is about to be placed on stage as an animated figure in

the speaker's telling. Moreover, the laugh token that occurs here projects that he will be depicted in a quite specific way, as someone whose actions can be aligned to with laughter. As the teller speaks line 13, Don, who had been looking to his side, moves his head back next to the speaker while looking slightly downward, almost like an actor standing in the wings in preparation for going on stage. The way in which he organizes his body is consistent with the possibility that he is performing a situated analysis of the emerging structure of the story. He is not simply listening to the story. As its principal character, he can recognize that his alignment to the events being told can be inspected at very specific points within it, such as when the faux pas he committed is revealed. Rather than simply waiting for that to be said, he uses line 13 to project its upcoming arrival so that he can act simultaneously with the teller. In Ann's story the phrase projecting the quote "Do(h)n said" occurs not only in line 13 but also in line 8. As can be seen in Figure 10.5, here too Don moves his face into a position where he is ready to come on stage.

However, at that point, instead of producing what Don said, Ann begins her parenthesis providing additional background information. As soon as this happens Don moves his head away, displaying interest in a bowl of soup that is being passed. His ongoing analysis of the emerging structure of the story, and specifically how different kinds of story elements make relevant different forms of participation in it, is visible in how he organizes his body so as to adapt to changing structural features and forms of cooperative participation as the story unfolds.

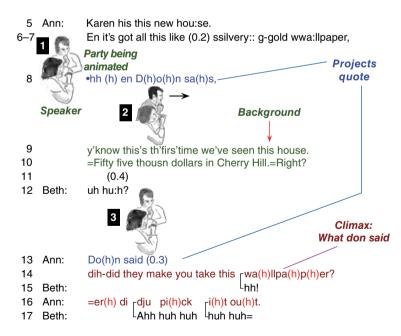


Figure 10.5 Participation and analysis by principal character (Goodwin 2007b). Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

10.7 Temporally Unfolding Participation Central to the Organization of Interactive Narrative

Human beings are able to build action by bringing together semiotic materials with quite different properties, such as talk with its language structure and the visible organization of embodied participation, into contextual configurations where mutual elaboration of these resources creates a whole that goes beyond what is provided by any of its parts in isolation (Goodwin 2000, 2012). Thus the speaker and the principal character (as well as other, structurally different kinds of participants such as the addressed recipient) can simultaneously contribute different kinds of materials (language structure in the talk of the speaker and relevant embodied displays by the principal character) to build as situated social practice a single action in concert with each other.

Within interaction stories do not reside entirely, or even primarily, within the stream of speech. Instead, a telling creates an interactive field that assigns those present to different positions (e.g., teller, principal character, addressed recipient, etc.). To build the story together each must analyze how they have been placed – specifically the story-relevant identity they now occupy, what forms of action are possible and relevant from that position, and precisely when in the visible unfolding organization of the story those actions should occur (e.g., structurally different components of the story, such as background and climax sections, each provide for alternative forms of participation within it).

The categories proposed in Goffman (1981) for the differentiation of structurally different kinds of hearers as well as speakers led to important subsequent research by linguistic anthropologists on participation that revealed a host of structurally different kinds of participants who could be implicated in the organization of talk (Irvine 1996; Levinson 1988). However, Don's visible action and analysis within the story being told about him by his wife suggest an alternative framework for the study of both participation and the interactive field that links different kinds of participants together as they work together within a narrative field. Rather than focusing primarily on a typology of categories, participation can be analyzed as a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events (Goodwin 2007b: 24–25). Participation goes beyond the structure of talk to encompass the practices used by rich, feeling bodies to perform relevant operations on a public substrate provided by others. As demonstrated concisely by Don, participants inhabit each other's actions.

Such issues are also relevant to the interactive organization of understanding within narrative. It is frequently claimed that the place where understanding in conversation is demonstrated is in a subsequent turn (Levinson 2012). However, participants' simultaneous actions upon a story may be quite different from how the story is understood in the turn that responds to it (C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 1987). More generally, a range of different kinds of participants are displaying through the organization of both their talk and their bodies detailed understanding of, and co-participation in,

the emerging structure of the story. Such visible, action-relevant, ongoing analysis is constitutive of what a narrative is: a field of action built collaboratively by structurally different actors using a variety of semiotic resources within face-to-face interaction.

10.8 Building Social and Political Organization through Interactive Narrative

Marjorie Harness Goodwin recorded for a year and a half the talk and daily activities of preadolescent African American children, who had organized themselves into girls' and boys' peer groups (Goodwin 1982, 1990: M.H. Goodwin and C. Goodwin 1987). This enabled her to focus on narratives the children produced for each other as part of the process of building their local social and political organization. As action within interaction, the children's narratives were designed for specific addressees; responses to them were built from a particular position within the interactive field created by the narrative, with an orientation toward the construction of relevant future action.

Social scientists at least since Piaget have claimed that girls' social organization is intrinsically less complex than that of boys. For example boys were argued to engage in complex, competitive games like football, while the games of girls, such as hopscotch, were depicted as simple (Lever 1978). By way of contrast, Goodwin found the girls' social organization was in many respects more complex than that of boys, and also far more painful because it was based on exclusion and coalitions within triads. One powerful example of this is found in the gossip dispute activity that the girls called He-Said-She-Said (Goodwin 1982, 1990). Using utterances of the form "X said that you said that I said" one girl accuses another of having offended her by talking about her behind her back. Figure 10.6 provides an example.

He-Said-She-Said accusations are organized as concise formal narratives that position speaker and addressee in the present within relevant social identities – accuser and defendant – by providing a history of events in the past that warrants the current charge against the defendant. In essence these accusations use a repetitive formal language pattern to both state a charge and provide the evidence for it. Because of the way

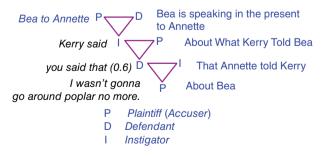


Figure 10.6 He-Said-She-Said accusations (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004). Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

in which the narrative structure of these accusations initiates a vernacular legal process, abbreviations for Plaintiff and Defendant are used to diagram how different participants move systematically through the history of past events used to build the accusation.

During the confrontation the most vivid participants are the Accuser and Defendant, and indeed He-Said-She-Said confrontations are forms of high drama for the entire girls' community. However, the key player in this process is not one of the two focal protagonists, but instead the third party depicted in the accusation, the girl who set the dispute in motion by telling the current accuser what the defendant said about her. Since the girls call someone who does this an Instigator, the letter I is used to mark her position in the diagram in Figure 10.6.

The Instigator brings about the confrontation by telling the girl who will become the Accuser stories with a quite specific character and event structure (Goodwin 1982). The girl who will be the Defendant, and who is absent during the telling of an instigating story, is depicted as telling the Instigator disparaging things about the current addressee, the future Accuser. The addressee is placed simultaneously both as a character in the narrative who is being evaluated in a specific way by another character, and as a current participant occupying a specific position within the interactive field created by the telling. This positioning enables her to perform particular kinds of operations on the story in progress. In Figure 10.7 Bea, the Instigator, is talking to both Julia and Florence. In Lines 5–8 she reports that an absent party, Terry (the future Defendant), described Julia as "actin a:ll stupid." In lines 9 and 13 Julia transforms the Instigator's "you" into

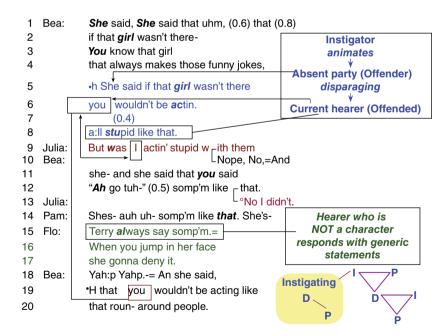


Figure 10.7 Character structure of instigating stories.

"I" as she disputes what she as a character in the story is reported to have done. This particular kind of structure-preserving operation on the story (reuse of the same focal character and type of event) is only available to someone being depicted as a character. Thus in lines 15–17 Florence, who is not being portrayed in the story, uses generic denunciations ("Terry *always* say somp'm") to negatively evaluate Terry, instead of making promises to confront, or transforming what was said in ways that are relevant to her own character. Florence's generic response receives only the most minimal acknowledgement at the beginning of line 18, as Bea immediately returns her instigating story to how her focal addressee, Julia, has been attacked by Terry. The internal organization of the story structures what counts as a proper addressee to it, and this has detailed consequences for the grammatical and modal choices used to build responses by different kinds of hearers.

Bea's continuing pursuit, with further examples of what Terry said about Julia, strongly suggests that a mere denial (line 13) is inadequate. As can be seen in line 63 of Figure 10.8, the response being sought to these stories is a promise to challenge the offender ("I'm a tell her about herself today"). When such a statement is made, the addressee who has been attacked behind her back assumes a new public identity, that of someone who has promised to confront the person who wronged her. At this moment an impending He-Said-She-Said confrontation is created as a visible, public event (see Figure 10.9 below).

Promising to confront the person who wronged her is, however, fraught with consequences for the future accuser. She will be described as "moling out" if she fails to carry through with her promise. The interactive organization of the instigating story displays a sensitivity to this. In lines 41–48 the Instigator depicts a social and political environment supportive of strong action by portraying both the Instigator's own stance toward each of the protagonists, and an alliance of multiple parties who supported the

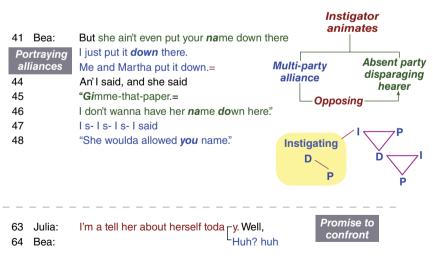


Figure 10.8 Depicting alliances and promising to confront.

current addressee and opposed the future defendant. The stories told by the Instigator are thus both organized internally in terms of characters and events depicted in ways that are structured by the larger activity they are designed to accomplish, and work to transform in consequential ways the identities of its recipients. When responded to with a promise to confront, instigating stories have an ontological power in that they create and position specific participants within consequential, politically charged social identities, and initiate the activity that these identities inhabit.

10.8.1 Cooperative transformation zones

The interactive process of telling instigating stories is organized as a cooperative transformation zone on a number of different levels. The Instigator builds a narrative substrate that not only includes the current addressee as a character, but which invites particular kinds of transformative next actions as a response. When the party depicted as having been wronged promises to confront, her identity is publicly transformed in a way that allows others to inspect and evaluate her character within the framework of a specific projected future course of action. Simultaneously this initiates a particular kind of event – a He-Said-She-Said – that the entire community can follow with rapt anticipation (see Figure 10.9). The organization of the diverse stories through which this occurs will now be briefly described.

10.9 A Family of Interactively Organized Stories

The instigating stories used to initiate the chain of action that will culminate in a confrontation are but one particular kind of interactive story implicated in the organization of a He-Said-She-Said dispute (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004). Instigating creates a landscape of stories that extend far beyond the current interaction.

As can be seen in Figure 10.9, after securing a promise to confront, the Instigator goes and reports to others in the community what happened. These stories have their own distinctive organization. For example, though most of the talk during the confrontation was produced by the Instigator, the stories reporting that process minimize her role and focus on both the Accuser's promise to confront, and what can be expected to happen next. Indeed, though Labov's initial model of narrative focused on the description of events in the past, the stories that occur here include *future hypothetical* stories about what can be expected to happen during the confrontation, what the Accuser will say, and how her opponent will defend herself. Goodwin found that stories that shape the future were as consequential for the building of relevant social organization as those that reported events from the past. All of this occurs within a state of high affective valence. As one of the girls says in lines 1–2 of Figure 10.9, "Can't wait t'see this A::ction:n." For her part the Accuser talks to her friends about what the offender said about her. Consistent with Sacks's analysis of how second stories are built through particular kinds of structurepreserving character transformations (1992b), her recipients produce their own stories about how the offender attacked them. In preparation for the confrontation the Accuser uses stories animating the offender attacking herself to harvest a set of parallel stories

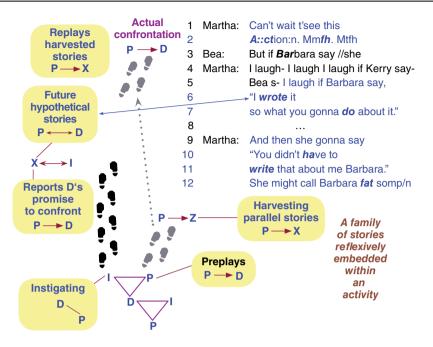


Figure 10.9 Building consequential events, social organization, and actors through interactive narrative (footprints of Instigator on left, Accuser on right).

from others. During the confrontation these will be recycled and thrown in the Defendant's face as further evidence for a general consensus about her flawed character.

The interactive organization of these stories also demonstrates the importance of fieldwork that focuses on how members of an endogenous community build stories for each other, rather than what they report to an outsider. The stories are designed specifically for an addressee who occupies a particular social position, and the responses that party makes – for example promising to confront – emerge from inhabiting that specific position, and would not be available to a neutral observer.

As noted by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004: 236–237), what one finds here is a collection of stories that can be systematically compared and contrasted in terms of structure and organization (e.g., specific arrangements of characters and actions). The classical typologies of scholars from Propp (1968) to Lévi-Strauss (1963) were based upon narratives extracted from their local circumstances of production. Here, however, differences in the structure of related stories that emerge in alternative positions in this process – including types of characters, relationships between them, temporal organization, precipitating events, and the ordering of events into larger sequences – are intimately linked to the ways in which the stories constitute relevant social action. Members of a community talking to one another (not to an outside ethnographer) use interactive narrative to participate in consequential courses of action. What one is dealing with is not a linguistic text, but cognitively sophisticated actors using language to build the consequential events that make up their life world.

10.10 A Powerful Storyteller Who Can't Speak

A clear demonstration of the interactive organization of narrative can be found in the actions of Chil, a man left with a three-word vocabulary – "yes," "no," and "and" – after a stroke. Though Chil was completely unable to produce the syntactically rich complex speech that is so central both to narrative and to the laminated speakers of Goffman (1981) and Volosinov (1973), he remained a powerful speaker in conversation. He led others to provide the words he needed to say what he wanted to say by intervening in the unfolding structure of their complex talk (Goodwin 1995, 2003a, 2003b; Wilkinson in press). Thus, as a response to what someone else has just said, "no" indexically incorporates into its own organization the grammatically and semantically rich talk being disagreed with (Goodwin 2010), while taking up an oppositional stance toward what was just said.

As a speaker, Chil is distributed across multiple utterances and actors as he appropriates the rich language structure of others for his own purposes. A very simple example occurred in the midst of a dispute with his son Chuck on an outdoor deck overlooking a canyon (Figure 10.10). Chuck had ordered Chil a hospital bed that Chil did not want. Immediately after Chuck says "It's a question of where to put it" Chil produces a sequence of nonsense syllables that convey powerful stance through highly expressive prosody, while using his hand to animate an object being tossed into the canyon in front of them. The strong laughter this action receives clearly demonstrates that Chil has gesturally reused with transformation the structure provided by Chuck's utterance to vividly create a mini-narrative depicting the bed he does not want being tossed away.



((General laughter))

Figure 10.10 Using gesture: incorporating the talk of others to build a vivid, oppositional future story.



Figure 10.11 A Storyteller who can't speak (Goodwin 2004). Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Chil's interactive abilities to lead others to produce relevant language which he can transform for his own purposes allows him to tell a complex story about an event that happened almost 60 years in the past (Goodwin 2004).

After Chil's wife tells a story about an earthquake that occurred when they lived as newlyweds in California, Chil uses gesture and limited talk to indicate that he has a tied second story, another earthquake story, to tell (Figure 10.11). With a gesture over his head (later revealed to indicate a picture that almost fell on their sleeping baby) Chil leads his wife to recall and begin to describe this event. Throughout her telling he used his face and body not only to redirect her talk, but also to orient to the story's hearers as a co-speaker himself, and to solicit specific forms of participation from them. In line 52 he uses No: to disagree with what his wife has just said. Typically disagreements such as this include an account explicating why what was said is being treated as wrong. Though Chil can't produce the words necessary for such an account, he does attend to the relevance of this structure by producing a gesture, lifting his hand over his head as he says "No" and then turning his gaze first to Helen and then to Linda. This gesture in this sequential position (i.e., in a place where an account for the disagreement is relevant) is heard as an attempt to convey an alternative to what Helen described. In essence he constructs a multi-modal utterance, one part through talk (the word "No") and the other through sequentially positioned gesture. His action leads immediately to a series of guesses by Linda and Chuck as to what Chil might actually want to say (lines 54, 57, 60, 62–65), and it is through Chil's answers to these guesses that the rest of the story gets told (Goodwin 2004).

Chil was so skilled at using the interactive organization of talk to become a powerful speaker that his wife sometimes complained that her voice got lost, though frequently it was she who was providing both the words and the memory he needed to act as a storyteller.

10.11 Building Both Knowing Actors and the Discursive Objects to be Known through Interactive Narrative

Knowledge is lodged within communities. Geologists are expected to be able to recognize, map, and work appropriately with relevant structures in the earth; surgeons must recognize and operate appropriately on particular anatomical structures within the dense environment provided by a living human body; archaeologists must be able to see in the faint color differences within a patch of dirt the traces of ancient human structures. As a consequence of the inherent, open-ended, accumulative organization of human culture and knowledge, all communities are faced with the task of building (1) the objects of knowledge that animate their activities, and (2) actors who can be trusted to recognize, know, and work appropriately with those objects (Goodwin 2012), e.g., the professional vision (Goodwin 1994) that defines a competent member of the community. A particular kind of interactive narrative is central to the way in which this knowledge is organized as public practice, and new members are shaped into knowing entities whose cognitive skills and work can be trusted.

Figure 10.12 provides an example of work at an archaeological field school. Ann is a senior archaeologist while Sue is a beginning graduate student. She has been given the task of outlining the shape of a post mold visible as color patterning in the dirt she is excavating.

Unlike Labov's formulation of narrative as the telling of a past event, or M.H. Goodwin's future stories, here narrative activity is focused on what can be seen in the present. A specific color pattern in the dirt that both participants are intently scrutinizing, described in line 10 as a "stripe," is progressively reformulated into different kinds of discursive objects (e.g., in line 13 the stripe becomes a "plow scar"), a process that culminates when the student is told how to use what she can see in the present to see actions in the past: the movement of a plow. Narratives tied to the structure of what can be seen at the present moment are both common in vernacular settings (e.g., an announcer's description of unfolding action at a sports event), and crucial in many professional settings (Murphy 2011). Consider for example the descriptions during grand rounds by doctors in training as they report to their supervisor what they see in the patient's body, and what this might mean diagnostically, or the description of a landscape by a young geology student at a field school. The interactive organization of such narratives is central to their power as pedagogical devices that can publicly structure what newcomers to the profession are expected to know. Thus, the senior competent member can both see the world being described, such as the features in the dirt being worked with here, and, through the newcomer's narrative, assess what the newcomer has seen in that environment.

Rather than being organized within the world of talk alone, such narratives are deeply tied to both the interaction between the participants, and the material world they are operating on together. Consider line 6 in Figure 10.12, "En then we got to our problem area." Until this point, Ann, the professor, has been favorably assessing the line that Sue, the student, is drawing to outline the post mold they are working with. As she says "problem area," Ann points toward it in such a way that Sue is forced to pull her hand

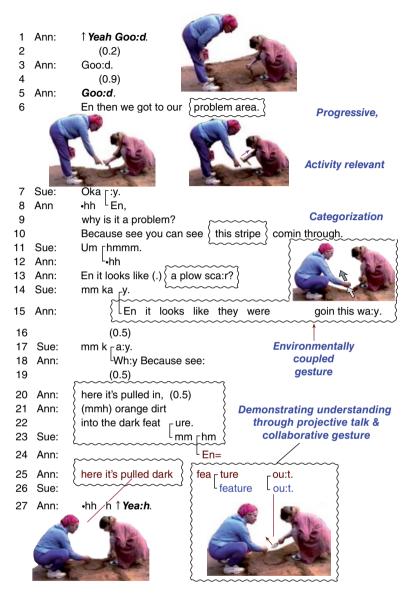


Figure 10.12 Constituting knowing actors and what they are expected to know through interactive narrative (Goodwin 2003c). Reprinted by Permission of Taylor & Francis.

back and stop outlining. Indeed, this is the activity-relevant meaning of "problem area": Sue should stop drawing because the outline of the feature she is trying to trace has become obscured.

Much like the prospective indexicals (Goodwin 1996) in story prefaces that announce the presence and evaluation of something without yet specifying what that is, the expression "problem" sets an agenda for further explication. In lines 10 and 13 Ann progressively reformulates the "problem area" first as "this stripe" - thus clarifying precisely what shape in the dirt should be focused on to understand what will be said next - and then as "a plow scar" (Goodwin 2003c). The addressee of this emerging narrative description is thus expected not only to listen to what was said, but to use that talk to appropriately see and construe the phenomena in the environment that the talk is formulating. This is made particularly clear in line 15 when Ann proposes that it is possible to see the direction of the plow. As she says this she performs an environmentally coupled gesture (Goodwin 2007a), a movement of her hands that is tied simultaneously to the description in her talk, and to the phenomena in the dirt that she is describing. As Sue listens she looks intently toward this conjunction of moving hand and dirt. A quite complex lamination of different semiotic fields, including specific phenomena in the dirt, selective attention to particular parts of each other's bodies, and formulation through language of what is being seen, is occurring during line 15. Rather than waiting to respond sequentially to what Ann has said, Sue is simultaneously inhabiting the action in progress, organizing her own body and perceptual activity so as to put herself in a position to properly understand what she is being told by appropriately scrutinizing the dirt being described.

Moreover, such narratives frequently have a forensic component, as in Figure 10.12. Instead of listening to a description of a past event, participants systematically reconstruct the now invisible processes that created what can be seen in the present.³ In lines 20–23 Ann describes how the color patterning in the dirt reveals the direction that the plow moved, a form of professional vision (Goodwin 1994) that enables a skilled archaeologist to read events in the past from the patterns visible in a patch of dirt.

Though Sue is being told this, that does not mean that she could actually look at dirt and recognize such events on her own. How can her appropriate understanding be demonstrated, rather than simply claimed? As Ann continues her description in line 25 Sue overlaps with her own anticipatory projection of what Ann is about to say. By not waiting, and simply repeating what she just heard, Sue demonstrates her own independent knowledge of what Ann is telling her. However, the phenomenal domain that the participants are attending to as consequential for their work is not restricted to the stream of speech. Sue must be able to find on her own in the dirt the work-relevant categories, such as "feature," rendered in the talk through narrative description. As Sue performs her overlap she simultaneously points with her trowel to the visible structure in the dirt that provides the crucial evidence for the reconstruction of how the ancient plow moved. Once again subsequent action that demonstrates understanding in fine detail is built through structure-preserving transformations on existing public substrates, here both the immediately prior talk and the patterning of the dirt that is the focus of their attention.

Such forensic reconstruction is true as well for many narratives told in ordinary conversation. Thus, in analyzing a story about a car wreck, Sacks (1992a: 233) notes that the teller didn't actually see the accident, but only its aftermath: twisted, wrecked cars. Instead of telling a story about the aftermath, "she tells the story of an accident; work involving, e.g. that she constructs how the accident could have happened – that one car hit a car and then another car hit that one." This is thus a regular practice repetitively

implicated in the organization of narrative. Interaction such as that seen in Figure 10.12 is of particular interest because one can systematically investigate the accountable organization of the practices required for such reconstruction – that is, the work a participant must do to transform what can be seen in the world into an appropriate narrative.

Interactive narrative, as a central locus for endogenous, world-revealing pedagogy, thus provides crucial resources for shaping simultaneously and reflexively both the discursive objects that animate the discourse of a particular community, such as the traces of earlier human activity that can be seen in a patch of dirt, and the actors, here competent archaeologists, who must be trusted to identify and work with such phenomena as skilled, cognitively rich members.

10.12 Conclusion

Central to the organization of narrative as talk-in-interaction is the way in which participants build responses to a narrative by performing structure-preserving transformations on a public substrate produced by someone else. Both the second stories analyzed by Sacks (1992a: 3-8, 21-26, 249-259) and the interactive sequence that emerges from the story being told in Figure 10.1 provide clear, simple examples of this. Don, the principal character in the story being told, uses his visible body to participate syllable by syllable in the teller's emerging laughter that proposes a stance toward what he did. His actions preserve the laughter, and demonstrate understanding of both the emerging structure of the language in progress and the alignment being proposed, while changing that laughter from a vocal to a visible embodied display. The interlocutors of Chil, the man with aphasia, use rich language structure to make public their understanding of what he is trying to tell them through his gesture and other actions (Goodwin 2007b). By transforming his nonlinguistic actions in this way, they make it possible for him to tell a complex story about events 50 years in the past, despite being restricted to a three-word vocabulary (Goodwin 2004). The girl in Figure 10.8 being told that someone has been disparaging her behind her back demonstrates her understanding of what such an instigating story means by promising to confront its principal character. The archaeologists transform the color patterns they see in the dirt they are excavating into work-relevant discursive objects, such as disturbances, features, and plow scars, by using narrative to depict the processes in the past that led to the creation of what they are now seeing. Within this process, the new student demonstrates her comprehension of what her professor is showing her through both anticipatory overlap and an environmentally coupled gesture that displays her independent understanding of how the dirt being narrated is to be construed.

Central to human knowledge and social organization is its accumulative diversity – the way in which members of different societies, and even professions within a society, construe the world around them in specific ways that are relevant to the distinctive interests of their particular community. All human societies are thus faced with the task of populating the worlds they inhabit with both the discursive objects that animate the discourse of their community, such as archaeological features, offensive actions, anatomical structure, a history of consequential, tellable events from the past, etc.; and epistemically accountable, skilled actors who can be trusted not only to recognize relevant objects (e.g., a disturbance obscuring an archaeological feature), but to work with them in just the ways that further develop the activities central to the community, for example responding to a particular kind of story by promising to confront its principal character. Participants demonstrate understanding by using with transformation the materials provided by their interlocutors and predecessors. Moreover, as demonstrated most simply by the principal character's embodied laughter in Figure 10.1, this process encompasses not only talk, but also relevant embodied action as a form of visible, public understanding. It thus provides a matrix within which both the linguistically organized, categorical knowledge of a profession such as archaeology or surgery can be publicly established, and its requisite embodied skills, such as ways of using a trowel as an archaeologist or a knife as a surgeon (Koschmann et al. 2011), can be constituted as accountable, public practice. Because of the way in which it organizes understanding as unfolding public practice, something visible to the participants themselves within the activities they are pursuing together, narrative within talk in interaction is central to the process through which communities construct endogenous life worlds inhabited by skilled, cognitively rich members.

There are also methodological implications for the work reviewed here. In interaction a story is designed in fine detail for its addressee. Though M.H. Goodwin was present as an ethnographer during the telling of the linked He-Said-She-Said stories, they could not have been told to her since she did not occupy one of the relevant social positions that were organizing the events constituted through the telling. Similarly, I was present during the recording of the archaeology narratives, but was not a young archaeologist trying to develop the ability to see the dirt in the excavation so that I could properly map it, and thus did not face the task of demonstrating proper understanding in a move subsequent to the story, or of acquiring competent membership. Those able to work with Chil to collaboratively help him tell his story shared a lifetime of experience with him. While recognizing the most important work on narrative that has been accomplished through interviews, and their genuine integrity as forms of discourse in their own terms (De Fina and Perrino 2011), I would like to argue strongly that there is also an important place for fieldwork designed to recover how participants within endogenous communities build stories for each other as a central part of the process through which they construct the events that are central to their lives (Ochs and Taylor 1995).

A considerable amount of very important research has highlighted the power of narrative to construct the self, indeed a complex fluid self (Bamberg, De Fina, and Schiffrin 2008; Bruner 1991; Ochs and Capps 2001). The investigation of narrative within interaction puts an equal focus on its unique capacity to construct and shape others. Indeed, the phenomena briefly investigated here have revealed two quite different kinds of addressees. First, there are rich, emotionally charged actors, such as the girls being hurt on hearing about the stories being told about them, Chil's vivid actions as he provides his interlocutors with the materials they are to transform into his story, Don participating in his own degradation as the terrible comment he made to his hosts is told to everyone present, etc. However, in the narratives of archaeologists focusing on events such as the movement of a plow, particular actors become so attenuated as to be made almost invisible. Indeed, in the narratives about past events used by geologists to

understand the present (the movements of glaciers, etc.), human actors entirely disappear. Despite these differences, both of these kinds of narratives provide central resources for the consequential transformation of their addressees. Thus, the girl who learns about the offenses committed against her through the instigating stories can be transformed into an accuser, creating a dramatic event that mobilizes the anticipation of the entire girls' community. By performing the transformative operations made relevant by the environmentally coupled narratives they hear, newcomers to a profession such as archaeology are progressively transformed into competent members of that profession, actors who possess the shared understanding and skills required to see and act upon the world in the precise ways that enable the work of their community. The process of participating in the interactive field created by a narrative – performing transformative operations on it that display understanding and build appropriate, consequential subsequent action - simultaneously transforms those who perform such operations. Narratives in interaction provide central human practices for building actors with rich, though specific, locally relevant attributes, consequential discursive objects, and endogenous communities.

NOTES

- 1 I am deeply indebted to Marjorie Harness Goodwin and Numa Markee for insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
- 2 Talk is transcribed using the system developed by Gail Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974: 731–733).
- 3 See Murphy (2011) for a most relevant analysis of brief, interactive narratives that argue about how what is being seen in the present, in his case architectural diagrams, will shape the activities of participants in the future as they inhabit the spaces envisioned by the diagrams.

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