CHAPTER 10 Participation

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1 Introduction

In order for human beings to coordinate their behavior with that of their coparticipants, in the midst of talk participants must display to one another what they are doing and how they expect others to align themselves toward the activity of the moment. Language and embodied action provide crucial resources for the achievement of such social order. The term *participation* refers to actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk. Within the scope of this chapter the term is not being used to refer to more general membership in social groups or ritual activities.

When we foreground participation as an analytic concept we focus on the interactive work that hearers as well as speakers engage in. Speakers attend to hearers as active coparticipants and systematically modify their talk as it is emerging so as to take into account what their hearers are doing. Within the scope of a single utterance, speakers can adapt to the kind of engagement or disengagement their hearers display through constant adjustments of their bodies and talk.[1] This is accomplished by speakers through such things as adding new segments to their emerging speech, changing the structure of the sentence and action emerging at the moment, and modulating their stance toward the talk in progress.

Using as a point of departure the analytic framework developed by Goffman (1981) in "Footing," much analysis of participation within linguistic anthropology has focused on the construction of typologies to categorize different types of participants who might be implicated in some way in a speech event. In that speakers can depict, or in Goffman's terms animate, other parties within their talk, phenomena such as reported speech and narrative provide texts that can be mined for rich arrangements of structurally different kinds of participants. However, when this is done participation is largely restricted to phenomena within the stream of speech, and participants other than the speaker are formulated as points on an analytic grid, rather than as actors with a rich cognitive life of their own. In that non-speaking participants

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are, almost by definition, largely silent, a comprehensive study of participation requires an analytic framework that includes not only the speaker and her talk, but also the forms of embodiment and social organization through which multiple parties build the actions implicated in a strip of talk in concert with each other. From a slightly different perspective a primordial site for the organization of human action, cognition, language, and social organization consists of a situation within which multiple participants are building in concert with each other the actions that define and shape their lifeworld. By lodging participation in situated activities it is possible to investigate how both speakers and hearers as fully embodied actors and the detailed organization of the talk in progress are integrated into a common course of action.

1.1 Goffman's model of participation in footing

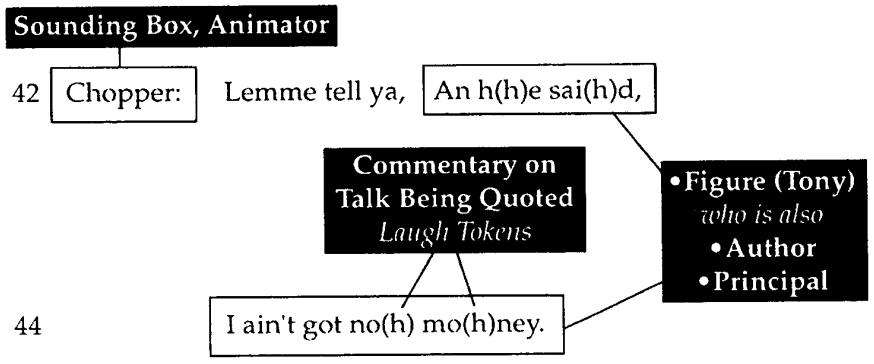
We will begin by looking critically at an article that has had enormous influence on the study of participation. In "Footing" Erving Goffman (1981) provided a model of talk that attempted to decompose "global folk categories" such as Speaker and Hearer "into smaller analytically coherent elements" (1981: 129). The rhetorical organization of "Footing," the way in which Goffman presented his argument, had crucial consequences for the strengths and limitations of the model he provided.

First, Goffman calls into question the traditional model of talk as a dyadic exchange between a speaker and hearer (section II of Goffman 1981), and stresses the importance of using not isolated utterances, but instead the forms of talk sustained within structured social encounters as the point of departure for analysis (section III). Second, Goffman turns his attention to deconstructing the Hearer into a range of quite different kinds of participants (section IV). These include ratified as opposed to unratified participants, bystanders, eavesdroppers, addressed and unaddressed hearers, and so on. A range of possible forms of participation in talk are also noted, including byplay, crossplay, collusion, innuendo, encounters splitting into separate conversations, and the like. The categories offered by Goffman here were developed through much of his career analyzing human interaction (see for example Goffman 1963, 1971). Finally, Goffman defines Participation Status as the relation between any single participant and his or her utterance when viewed from the point of reference of the larger social gathering. The combined Participation Status of all participants in a gathering at a particular moment constitutes a Participation Framework (Goffman 1981: 137). In subsequent sections Goffman calls into question the use of both conversation and states of talk as the analytic point of departure for the study of participation by noting that frequently bits of talk are embedded not in speech events, but in coordinated task activities (for example, the talk that occurs between two mechanics working on a car must take that activity, and not the talk alone, as the primary context for making sense of what the talk is doing).

Once he has decomposed the Hearer into a range of structurally different kinds of participants defined in terms of how they are positioned within an Encounter (which extends beyond the traditional unit of the Speech Event to encompass coordinated action more generally), Goffman turns his attention to the Speaker (sections VII and VIII). He provides a novel and analytically powerful model of a laminated speaker, one who can be decomposed into a range of structurally different kinds of entities.

The categories for types of speaker offered by Goffman include (1) the person actually producing the talk, what he calls an **Animator** (or Sounding Box); (2) the **Author**, or entity responsible for constructing the words and sentences at issue (who can be someone different from the current speaker); (3) the **Principal**, the party who is socially responsible for what is said; and (4), the **Figure**, a character depicted in the Animator's talk. This framework sheds considerable light on the complexity of quoted speech. Consider for example line 44 in figure 10.1 (from M. H. Goodwin 1990: 249). Chopper is telling a story in which he is depicting Tony, with whom he is currently engaged in a dispute, as a coward. Tony is described as running away from a group of boys who confronted him on the street. (An "h" within a parenthesis (h) marks laughter.)

Who is talking in line 44, and how is that question to be answered? The voice being heard belongs to Chopper, who is the *Animator* or Sounding Box in Goffman's framework. However, in line 44 Chopper is quoting the talk of someone else, his protagonist, Tony. Tony is thus a *Figure*. In other contexts (for example, talk by the press secretary for a head of state) one might also want to distinguish the actual *Author* of the words being spoken (a speech writer for example) and the *Principal*, the party who is socially responsible for what is said (the head of state), neither of whom need be the party who is actually speaking. The collection *Animator*, *Author*, and *Principal* constitute what Goffman calls the *Production Format* of an utterance (a slightly different version of this typology is also introduced in Goffman 1974). The possibility of using expressions such as "he said" or "I said" to embed not only *Figures* but entire scenes with their own production formats and participation frameworks within the current utterance creates enormous possibilities for both speakers and analysts. Thus deictic shifts have to be taken into account (the "I" in line 44 refers not to the party actually speaking the "I", Chopper, the *Animator*, but to the *Figure*, Tony), and by virtue of the laminated structure that emerges through such embedding, speakers can display complicated stances toward the talk they are producing. Thus, one shouldn't put quote marks around line 44, since it contains not only talk to be attributed to Tony, the Figure, but also laughter to be attributed to the Animator as part of the way in which he is evaluating both the talk being quoted and the actions of the party who produced it. Goffman thus offers analytic tools for



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Footing constitutes the analytic point of departure for one important approach to the study of participation. The categories for types of participants offered by Goffman were considerably expanded by Levinson (1988). Hanks (1990) has opposed open-ended category proliferation by noting how a range of different types of speakers and hearers could be logically accounted for as the outcome of more simple and general underlying practices, such as systematic embedding of one participation framework within another (as happens for example in quotation and other forms of reported speech). Irvine (1996) argued that rather than starting from the categories provided by the decomposition of the speaker and audience, one had to focus on the larger processes, including links between participant role and social identity and ties to other encounters, that generate this fragmentation.

There are, however, serious limitations to the analytic approach to participation offered in "Footing." Many of these arise from the way in which speakers are analyzed in one part of the article with one model (the Production Format, and its possibilities for embedding) while all other participants are described in another section with a quite different kind of model (Participation Status and Framework). This has a number of consequences. First, speakers and hearers inhabit separate worlds. Despite noting phenomena such as Mutual Monitoring, no resources are provided for looking at exactly how speakers and hearers might take each other into account as part of the process of building an utterance (C. Goodwin 1981; M. H. Goodwin 1980). Second, the methods offered for investigating participation take the form of a typology, a set of static categories. No resources are offered for investigating how participation might be organized through dynamic, interactively organized practices. Third, there is a marked asymmetry in the analytic frameworks used to describe different kinds of actors. The speaker is endowed with rich cognitive and linguistic capacities, and the ability to take a reflexive stance toward the talk in progress. However, all other participants are left cognitively and linguistically simple. Essentially they are defined as points on an analytic grid (e.g., ratified versus unratified participants, addressed recipients versus bystanders and overhearers, etc.), but without any of the rich structure and intricate practices that make speakers so interesting.

Fourth, this privileges analytically what is occurring in the stream of speech (where grammar is being used to construct intricate laminations and embeddings of different kinds of speakers within a single utterance) over other forms of embodied practice that might also be constitutive of participation in talk, and leads to a subtle but consequential focus on the speaker.

2 Participation as Action

We now want to explore a somewhat different notion of participation, one focused not on the categorical elaboration of different possible kinds of participants, but instead on the description and analysis of the practices through which different kinds of parties build action together by *participating* in structured ways in the events that constitute a state of talk.

2.1 Differentiated participation in courses of action

It was noted above that Goffman's Footing separated speakers from all other participants, and provided one analytic framework for the study of speaker, and a quite different one for everyone else. By lodging participation in situated activities it is possible to investigate how both speakers and hearers as fully embodied actors and the detailed organization of the talk in progress are integrated into a common course of action. The data in figure 10.2 provide an example (see Goodwin and Goodwin 1987 for more extended analysis).

In line 2 Nancy, with "it was ***s::so goo:*d," produces an enthusiastic assessment of the pie she has just mentioned. In line 3 with "I love it" Tasha joins in this assessment. One thus finds here multiple parties, both speaker and hearer, collaborating in the production of a single action, an assessment. Moreover, the point where the assessment is produced in their overlapping talk is also marked by a variety of enhanced embodied participation displays including gaze toward each other while enthusiastically nodding. In several different media the collaborative assessment activity reaches a peak or climax here.

Note that Tasha starts to speak before Nancy has actually stated her position, that is, before she has said "***goo:*d." The accomplishment of the simultaneous collaborative assessment requires that Tasha anticipate what is about to happen so that she can perform relevant action at a particular moment by joining in the positive assessment just as it emerges explicitly in the talk. How is this possible? What systematic practices make it possible for her to not just hear what has already been said, but also see what is about to be said? One resource is provided by the emerging syntax of the talk in progress. The intensifier "***s::so:*" occurring in a construction that is clearly about to attribute something to the pie being tied to by "it" projects that an assessment is about to occur. This projection, as well as the experiential character of the assessment, is also made visible through the enhanced prosody (which cannot be adequately captured in the transcript, but which seems to convey both increasing emotional involvement and a "savoring" quality) that starts with the intensifier, and also through aspects of the speaker's body movement (C. Goodwin 2002b). The hearer is thus given a range of systematic resources in language structure, prosody, and the

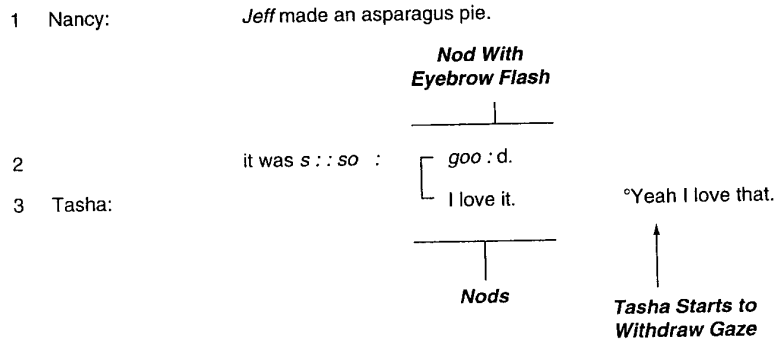

Figure 10.2 Linking speakers to hearers in a common course of action

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Several consequences of this for the study of participation will be briefly noted. First, as was seen as well in the last example, a hearer capable of participating in relevant activity in this way must be endowed with an interesting and rich temporally unfolding cognitive life, for example the capacity to use emerging syntax to project future events. Second, the situated activities (here assessment) that participants are constructing through states of talk provide a framework that enables the analyst to investigate as integrated components of a single coherent process a range of phenomena that are typically analyzed quite separately. Speakers and hearers are joined together in a common course of action, one that encompasses not only linguistic structure in the stream of speech, but also prosody, their visible bodies in a range of different ways (e.g., gesture, orientation, and posture), and on occasion structure in the environment. Third, this has methodological considerations. Most simply, many of the phenomena relevant to the study of participation as action will be rendered invisible or lost if analysis focuses exclusively on the talk or texts of speakers.

2.2 The constitution of an actor with aphasia through participation

Privileging rich structure in the stream of speech as a locus for the analysis of both cognition and the complexity of participation in interaction has the effect of denying full status as a participant to someone who lacks complicated speech. We will now look briefly at how a man with severe aphasia is nonetheless able to both function as a competent participant, and display his detailed understanding of the talk in progress, through the way in which he participates in the activities constituted through that talk. Once again the activity we will focus on is assessment.

A stroke in the left hemisphere of his brain left Chil with the ability to say only three words: *Yes* (and its variant *Yeah*), *No*, and *And*. Chil completely lacks the syntax necessary to build the complex utterances through which are constructed the reflexive, intricately laminated speakers that sit at the heart of Footing (and many other frameworks that use Bakhtin's insights into Reported Speech (Voloshinov 1986) as a point of departure for the dialogic organization of culture). The data in figure 10.3, which is analyzed more extensively in Goodwin and Goodwin (2001), provides an example of a simple but pervasive activity, that of assessing or evaluating something (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987). Jere is holding up a calendar with photographs of birds that Pat (Jere's wife and Chil's daughter) has received as a present. Immediately upon seeing the first photograph Pat, with "*hhh *Wow!*" (line 2), produces a vivid appreciation of what she has just seen. This is followed a moment later by a fully formed syntactic phrase ("Those are *great* pictures") which accounts for, and explicates, the speaker's reaction by describing something remarkable in the event being responded to (C. Goodwin 1996).

Despite his limited vocabulary, Chil, the man with aphasia, is also able to participate in the assessment by producing a series of non-lexical syllables – "Dih-dih-dih-dih" (line 1) – which serve to carry an enthusiastic, appreciative prosodic contour. However, his response does not occur until well after Pat's reaction. It might be proposed

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Tasha Starts to Withdraw Gaze

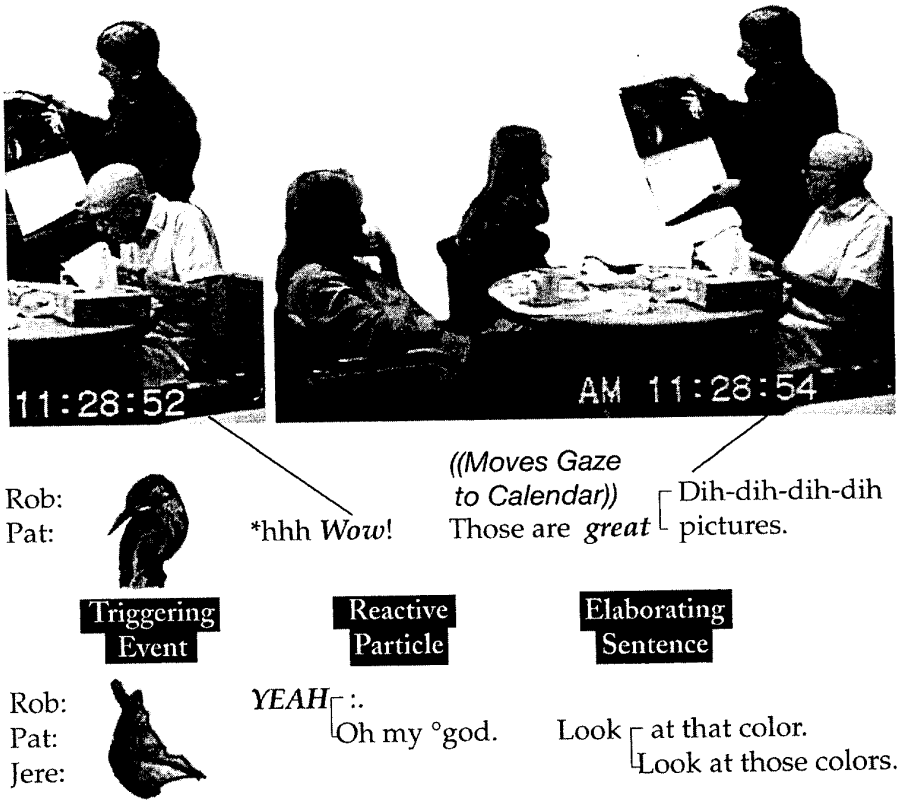

Figure 10.3 Embodied participation in an assessment

that because of his aphasia Chil has cognitive impairments that make it impossible for him to produce action with the rapid, fluent timing characteristic of talk-interaction. This is emphatically not the case. When the videotape is examined, we see that during Pat's "*Wow!*" Chil is looking down at his food. On hearing the "*Wow!*" he immediately starts to raise his gaze. However, he does not move it toward the speaker who produced the "*Wow*," but instead to the calendar that Pat is reacting to. Central to the organization of assessments is a particular kind of experience that requires appropriate access to the event being responded to. It would be quite possible physically for Chil to immediately follow Pat's "*Wow!*" with a congruent reaction of his own, that is to rapidly produce an assessment without waiting to actually see the object being commented on. However, Chil doesn't do this. Instead, by moving his gaze to the calendar he works to put himself in a position where he can independently assess the picture, and only then reacts to it. The very simple lexical and syntactic structure of his response cries masks a more elaborate grammar of practice, one that extends beyond talk to encompass the body visibly acting in a meaningful setting.

As Chil finishes his initial assessment Jere flips the pages of the calendar to reveal a new picture. By changing the form of his assessment to a rich, appreciative "*YEAH!*" Chil displays that he is making a new, different response to this new object, and thus

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At the point where Chil moves his gaze to the picture he is positioned as a hearer to Pat's vivid response to the picture, and more generally as a ratified participant in the local encounter. However, despite the way in which such categories constitute the bedrock for one approach to participation, they tell us almost nothing about what Chil is actually doing and even less about what he is thinking. By way of contrast, when the analytic focus shifts to organization of situated activities, such as the assessment occurring here, it becomes possible to recover the cognitive life of the hearer. Through the finely tuned way in which Chil positions his body in terms of what has been made relevant by Pat's talk, he shows his detailed understanding of the events in progress by visibly and appropriately participating in their further development through his gaze shift to the target of the assessment and appreciative talk. Despite his almost complete lack of language others present treat Chil as an alert, cognitively alive, indeed sharp and perceptive participant in their conversation (C. Goodwin 1995, 2002a). An approach to participation that focuses on engagement in multi-party collaborative action provides analytic resources for describing why this might be so.

2.3 Repairing participation between speakers and hearers

Speakers must have systematic methods of determining whether or not someone is positioned as a hearer to their talk. And indeed, rather than simply listening to what is being said, hearers in interaction, though largely silent, have a range of embodied ways of displaying, first, whether or not they are attending to a speaker's talk (for example by gazing toward the speaker (C. Goodwin 1981) or producing brief vocalizations such as continuers (Schegloff 1982)) and second, their stance toward it (through facial displays (M. H. Goodwin 1980) and brief concurrent assessments (C. Goodwin 1986b)). C. Goodwin (1981) finds that speakers who lack the visible orientation of a hearer interrupt their talk. Thus in figure 10.4 the speaker cuts off her

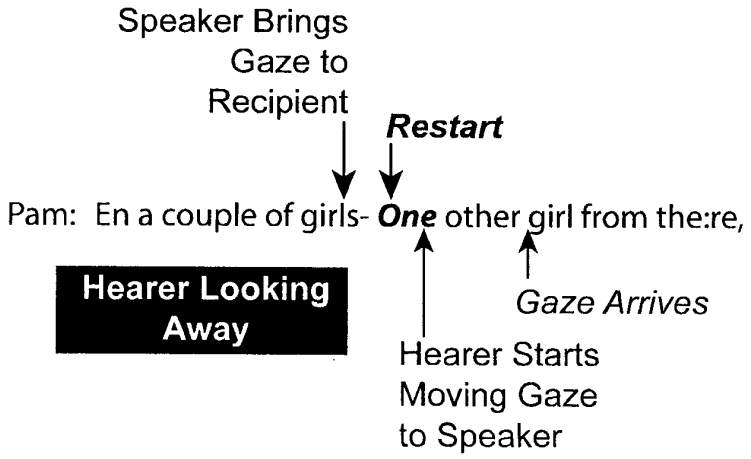

Figure 10.4 Securing the gaze of a hearer

talk in mid-sentence just as she completes the word "girls" and then replaces what she has said so far with a new version of the sentence, thus producing a noticeable restart in her talk. Such restarts function as requests to the hearer who starts to move gaze to the speaker after hearing them. One effect of this is that despite the presence of restarts in the talk the speaker is able to produce a coherent utterance and sentence just when a hearer is visibly positioned to attend to it.

Though "performance errors" such as these restarts provide linguists with their prime examples of how the data provided by actual speech must be ignored by both linguists and language users attempting to discern the grammatical organization of a language, such phenomena in fact provide an in situ analysis of language structure. For example, in figure 10.5 when a hearer looked away over "my son" the speaker drew him back by redoing that phrase as "my oldest son."

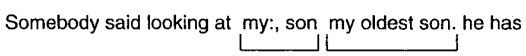

Figure 10.5 Repair and the display of language structure

The repair that occurs in figure 10.5 (1) delimits a relevant unit, a noun phrase, in the stream of speech; (2) shows where that unit can itself be subdivided; (3) provides an example of the type of unit, an adjective, that can be added to the noun phrase; and (4) displays that such an addition is optional.

The way in which utterances are shaped by ongoing processes of participation has a range of other consequences as well. For example C. Goodwin (1979, 1981) shows how the structure of an emerging sentence is systematically changed as the speaker moves his gaze from one type of recipient to another. Similarly, speakers add new segments to sentences that have already reached points of possible completion to adapt to changes in the participation status of their hearers. M. H. Goodwin (1980) demonstrates how changing stance-displays by a hearer lead to systematic changes in a speaker's emerging sentence. In sum, the process of creating a participation framework in which speaker and hearer are aligned to each other can shape, and be shaped by, the detailed organization of the talk produced within that participation framework. In light of this it is notable that much of the work on participation that followed "Footing" did not look closely at the detailed organization of actual talk.

There is thus a reflexive relationship between talk and the participation frameworks within which that talk is situated. Consider a speaker who changes in mid-sentence from (1) a report of something that happened for an addressee who hadn't yet heard the news being told, to (2) a request for confirmation as the speaker moves to a new addressee who shared experience of that event with the speaker (C. Goodwin 1979, 1981). As the modification of structure of the talk adapts to changes in the relationship between speaker and hearer it simultaneously formulates that relationship in terms of how it is relevant to the action of the moment. The details of the talk, the action displayed through that talk, and the participation framework, mutually constitute each other. The talk is reflexive in that it refers to itself, but the scope of what counts as "itself" includes not only phenomena in the stream of speech, but also the relevant mutual alignment of speaker, hearer, and action (and frequently also structure in the environment that is attended to as part of the actions of the moment (C. Goodwin 2000)). A model, such as that offered in "Footing," which treats

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3 Stories as Participation Fields

The vision offered in "Footing" of how different kinds of speakers can be laminated together within a single strip of talk provides powerful tools for the study of narrative (and indeed this may well be its greatest achievement) (see Ochs, this volume). Nonetheless, the model it provides is in significant ways incomplete for the investigation of stories. Consider again Chopper's story about Tony acting as a coward, a section of which was presented in figure 10.1 to demonstrate Goffman's deconstruction of the speaker.

As Goffman himself observed, the characters depicted within the stories told in everyday conversation are frequently present at the telling. Speakers tell stories about themselves, their partners, and those they live with on a daily basis. Moreover their stories are frequently organized as moves within larger social projects. Thus when Chopper told a story about Tony it was a way of trying to gain advantage over Tony in their dispute. This contextual frame shaped in detail just how Tony was being animated (e.g., as a coward whose reported talk was framed by Chopper's laughter at it). Furthermore Tony was present at the telling not only as a character in Chopper's talk, but also in the flesh as someone who could and did vigorously contest the way he was being depicted in the story (see M. H. Goodwin 1990: chapter 10). Finally, a view of Chopper's laughter, as he reports what Tony said, as simply a display of footing or alignment, is in important ways inadequate. As Jefferson (1984) has demonstrated, such laugh tokens can constitute invitations for others to join in the laughter. Indeed this is just what happened, with the effect that Chopper, through use of such invocations of participation, was able to create a public multi-party consensus against his opponent, and thus gain crucial political advantage in their dispute (M. H. Goodwin 1990: chapter 10). In brief, if analysis focuses only on the story-world described in the talk we lose how the story is functioning to build action in the present.

Participation is intrinsically a situated, multi-party accomplishment. For example, the telling of a story, such as a wife telling friends about a social faux pas her husband committed over the weekend (C. Goodwin 1984), can create a complex participation framework that places those present into a range of quite different positions, for example, speaker, addressed recipient, principal character in the story who is present at its telling, unaddressed recipient, etc. Some of these positions might seem the same as those used in "Footing" to describe hearers. However, when they are linked reflexively to the detailed organization of the talk in progress, a more complex and dynamic picture emerges. For example, the principal character, e.g., the husband who did the terrible thing, can expect that he will become the focus of others' attention at a particular place, the point where what he said is revealed at the climax of the story. As the story unfolds he can be seen to be using the story's emerging syntax to project when that will occur and to dynamically rearrange his body as changes in the speaker's talk modify these projections. When participation is taken into account recipients to a story are faced not simply with the job of listening to the events being recounted but

also of distinguishing different subcomponents of the talk in terms of the alternative possibilities for action they invoke. Such tasks involve not simply recognition of the type of story component then being produced but also consideration of how the person doing the analysis fits into the activity in progress. Thus the speaker and main character operating on the same subsection of talk, a background segment for example, find that it provides for the relevance of quite different actions for each of them. Those present are engaged in a local, situated analysis not only of the talk in progress, but also of their participation in it, and the multiple products of such analysis provide for the differentiated but coordinated actions that are constitutive of the story as a multi-party social activity (see also Hayashi et al. 2002; Mori 1999).

By virtue of the organization provided by participation an audience to a story is both shaped by the talk it is attending to and can shape what will be made of that talk, and indeed its very structure (Duranti and Brenneis 1986; C. Goodwin 1986a). Prospective indexicals (C. Goodwin 1996) in story prefaces (Sacks 1974, 1995 [1992]), which include initial formulations of what the story will be about (e.g., "The **funniest/most tragic** thing..."), are used by recipients both as interpretive templates to monitor the story as it unfolds, and as resources for locating relevant structure in the story, such as recognition of its climax where shifts in participation by recipients are relevant. These practices, and the interpretive frameworks they generate, can become sites of contestation. Thus a wife can provide a preface that puts her husband in the position of telling a story about a "big fight" that occurred at an auto race (see C. Goodwin 1986a for analysis of this story). However, once he has launched the story, she, in collaboration with other members of the audience, can put into the telling alternative interpretive frameworks (for example that Mike's epic combatants are "all show" and "like little high school kids") that undercut not only Mike's stance toward the events he is describing, but also where crucial features of its structure, such as its climax, will be located. Taking participation into account enables the analyst to move beyond the study of narrative as texts to investigate interpretation, structure, and action as dynamically unfolding, socially organized processes that are open to ongoing contestation.

This perspective on participation sheds new light on both the internal organization of stories and the way in which they can help construct larger social and political processes while linking individual stories into a common course of action that spans multiple encounters with changing participants. An example of this is provided by a gossip dispute activity that the participants, pre-adolescent working-class African American girls who are speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), call He-Said-She-Said (M. H. Goodwin 1990). The focal point of the dispute is a confrontation in which one girl accuses another of having talked about her behind her back. However, the events leading up to the dispute extend far beyond this encounter, and indeed the overall shape of the activity is encapsulated in the distinctive structure of the statements used to build an accusation. As can be seen in figure 10.6 the accuser uses a series of embedded clauses to report a series of encounters in which two girls were talking about a third. In the present, the top stage of the diagram, an accuser confronts a girl who has been talking about her. She states explicitly that she was told this by a third girl, whom we have labeled "I" for Instigator.

He-Said-She-Said confrontations are dramatic and exciting events in the life of the girls' group. While some can be quite playful, others can be used to dramatically

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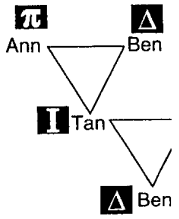

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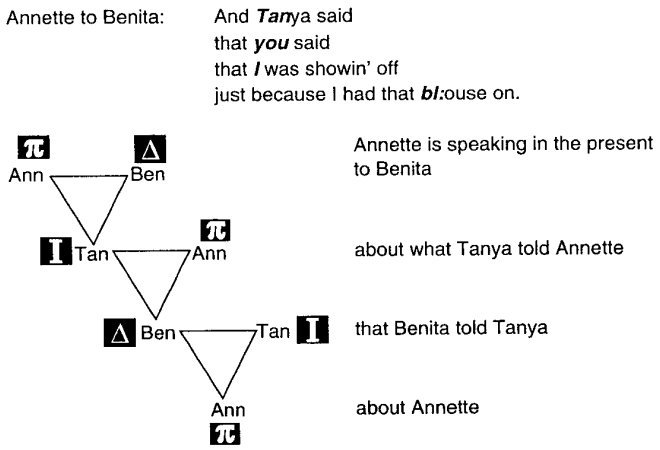

Figure 10.6 He-Said-She-Said accusations

recast the social standing of individual girls in the group. Indeed one family considered moving out of the neighborhood after a He-Said-She-Said confrontation led to their daughter's ostracism. Social scientists have repeatedly described girls' play, disputes, and ability to work with rules as simpler (and thus inferior) to boys' (who are argued to engage in complex games such as football). However, the He-Said-She-Said was far more complex, and extended over a much greater time span than anything found in the neighborhood's boys' peer group. Indeed, with features such as the structure of its accusation statements that systematically provide the grounds for the charge being made, and the way in which it socially sanctions members of the group, the He-Said-She-Said constitutes something like a vernacular legal system. For simplicity the standard symbols used in law courts for plaintiff (π) and defendant (Δ) are used in our diagrams to identify the accuser and defendant in the confrontation.

Within the He-Said-She-Said an actor's current identity is shaped by her history of participation in the process, and indeed this is encapsulated in the structure of the accusation. The three parties cited move through its stages in a regular order. The person being talked to at one stage becomes the speaker at the next, while the person being talked about becomes the hearer in the next stage. A party's identity is constituted by the places she has occupied in the past. Thus, someone is positioned as a defendant in the confrontation because she was the offender at the initial or bottom stage of the process, while being the offended party there – the girl who was being talked about – is what warrants that girl later assuming the identity of accuser. These identities, which shape in detail how an actor participates at different places in the process, emerge from how the act of talking (behind someone's back) is framed by the distinctive structure of the He-Said-She-Said as a situated activity system.

In the confrontation most of the drama focuses on the accuser and defendant. However, an equally crucial player in this process, indeed the one who brings about the confrontation, is the girl who tells the accuser that the defendant has been talking about her behind her back. The girls themselves call this activity *instigating*. An "I" is used to identify the Instigator in our diagrams.

In telling someone that another girl has been talking about her behind her back, an instigator is working to "involve" present participants through eliciting commentary on the absent party's character as well as a public commitment from the "talked about" present party to confront her offender (M. H. Goodwin 1990). However, a party who talks about another runs a particular risk; current recipient might tell the absent party that current speaker is talking about her behind her back. The activity of righteously informing someone of an offense against her can itself be cast as an offense. Implicating her recipient in a similar telling so that both are equally guilty and equally vulnerable leads to a delicate negotiation at the beginning of a story. A speaker brings up the absent party's offenses towards present recipient, requesting the opinion of others without herself stating her own position. For example:

1	Bea:	***How- how-*** h- um, uh h- h- how about me
2		and ***Jul***ia, *h and all them um, and
3		***K***erry, *h ┌and all them-
4	Julia:	└***Is***n't ***K***erry ***mad*** at
5		***me*** or ***s:om***p'm,
6		(0.4)
7	Bea:	***I'on***' kn┌ow.
8		└Kerry~***al***ways~mad~at somebody.
9		°***I*** ┌'on' care.
10	Julia:	└'Cause- 'cause 'cause I wouldn't, 'cau:se she
11		ain't put my ***n***ame on that ***pa***per.
12	Bea:	***I*** know 'cause OH yeah. ***Oh*** yeah.

Figure 10.7 Co-implication

In lines 4–5 Julia asks a question that describes her relationship to Kerry in a particular way: "**Is**n't **K**erry **mad** at **me** or **s:om**p'm". Rather than launching into a story and talking negatively about Kerry before Julia has co-implicated herself in a similar position, Bea passes up the opportunity to tell such a story by saying she doesn't know in line 7 ("**I'on**' know"). Subsequently Julia provides an answer to her own question with "'cause-'cause 'cause I wouldn't, 'cau:se she ain't put my name on that **pa**per" (lines 10–11). Only then does Bea join in the telling. Similar processes are described by Besnier (1989) with respect to gossip in Nukulaelae. Speakers arrange for their interlocutors to involve themselves in the gossip encounter through use of a particular strategy: withholding information about the most scandalous or otherwise central element of gossip over several turns. When the principal speaker finally provides the withheld item of the gossip (in response to a repair-initiation by an audience member) coparticipants assess the news through interjections and "high affect responses" which implicate them in the co-telling of gossip.

Among the African American working-class girls studied by M. H. Goodwin (1990) once a listener has committed herself to providing a statement that she will avenge the wrong of having been talked about behind her back, the entire group can look forward to the drama of the upcoming confrontation with eager excitement, and talk about it extensively. A girl who fails to carry through with such a commitment is said to "mole out" or back out of a commitment to publicly confront her offender. To secure such a commitment the instigator uses the full participation possibilities of stories described above. This shapes in detail the structure of her stories. For example, the current hearer is always a character in the story, and moreover one who is being

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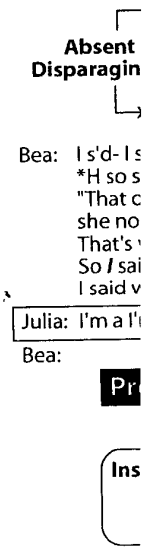

Figure 10.8 An instigatin

talked about by the absent party who is being portrayed as the offender. In multiparty talk a speaker can shift the character structure of the story when one party leaves so that her stories are always addressed to someone who is being portrayed as having been offended against.

Figure 10.8 provides an example of instigator animating in her talk not only her current hearer (the future accuser) and the absent party (future defendant) who disparaged the hearer (by refusing to include her name in a bathroom pass), but also herself opposing the future defendant.

Goffman's deconstruction of the speaker provides relevant and powerful resources for describing analytically the different kinds of speakers (and other actors) animated in this strip of talk. However, a framework that focuses only on the speaker and her talk is seriously inadequate. A participation framework that encompasses both a speaker and a hearer who are reflexively orienting toward each other and the larger events in which they are engaged is absolutely central. The instigator's talk is designed in detail to lead precisely this addressee to perform particular kinds of socially relevant analysis. Thus the speaker not only describes offenses against her addressee, but also how the current speaker strongly opposed that party. Organizing narrative events in this fashion displays a relevant alliance by other group members with the current addressee and against her offender. Moreover the confrontational actions depicted subtly suggest how one can and should act toward the offender, and indeed shortly after this the addressee publicly states that she will confront her offender. The organization of the instigator's story is shaped in detail by the way in which it is embedded in both (1) a local participation framework that includes reflexive mutual orientation between the speaker and a cognitively rich hearer (e.g., one expected to

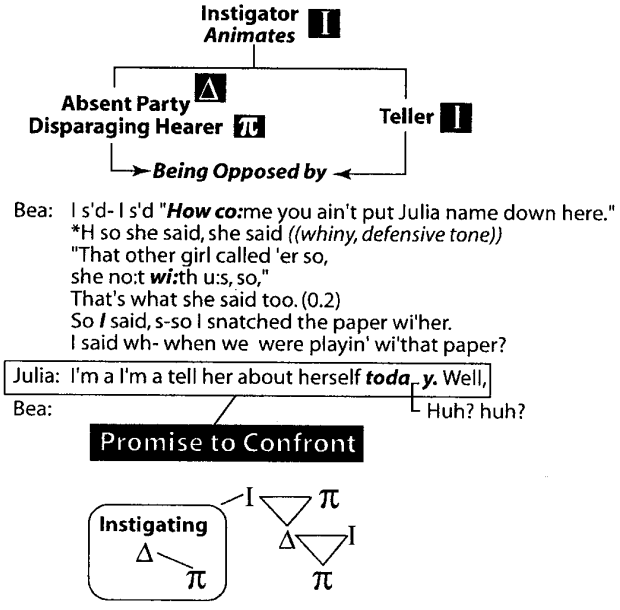

Figure 10.8 An instigating story

perform particular kinds of analysis on the talk in progress that will lead to consequential subsequent action), and (2) structured participation in a course of social and political action that extends beyond the present encounter, but which is relevant to how the talk in progress is positioning those present in particular activity-relevant identities (e.g., offended potential future accuser and instigator).

The larger trajectory of the He-Said-She-Said as it unfolds through time provides organization for an entire family of linked stories that differ in structure with reference to the specific participation framework within which they emerge. Figure 10.9 depicts a series of linked stories, starting from the bottom where the Instigator tells the future Accuser that the Defendant has been talking about her behind her back, and moving to the top, the actual confrontation that follows from this.

At **A** in figure 10.9, as was seen in figure 10.8, the instigator reports past events that include as main protagonists the current hearer and the party who will eventually become the defendant. While the stories are set in the past, they are designed to elicit future action. And indeed, at **B**, when the addressee of these stories promises to confront her offender, her projections of what will happen there take the form of stories set in the future with her and the offender as principal protagonists. Because of space limitations examples of stories at these different stages will not be provided here (but see M. H. Goodwin 1990). The material inside the box at each stage depicts schematically relevant features of the stories that occur there.

The instigator moves on to other encounters where she tells others in the group about the future accuser's promise to confront. The stories through which the reporting is done here, at **C**, provide a very selective version of the talk and action that occurred at **A**, the instigating. For example, while the instigator produced most of the talk at **A**, as she elaborately described the offenses committed against her addressee, that talk is reduced to a line or two in the report at **C**, which elaborates instead, with considerable relish, the promise to confront. This both masks the agency of the instigator in bringing about the confrontation, and constitutes the upcoming confrontation as a focal dramatic event for the group. The instigator and the girls she is talking to also construct hypothetical future stories (**D** in figure 10.9) about what might happen at the confrontation. However, though the protagonists in these stories are the same as those at **B** (the accuser and defendant) the stories differ significantly because the participation framework has changed. The girls at **C** are not animating themselves, and thus assuming a consequential social commitment through the telling.

Meanwhile the offended party also talks to other girls in the neighborhood. By telling them what the offender has done to her she harvests second stories (Sacks 1995, vol. II: 3–31) in which others report what the offender did to them (**E** in figure 10.9). When the confrontation actually occurs at **F** the accuser replays these stories as further evidence for the soiled character of the defendant.

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 abstracted from their local circumstances of production. Here, however, differences in the structure of stories that emerge at alternative positions in this process – including types of characters, relationships between them, temporal organization, precipitating events, and the

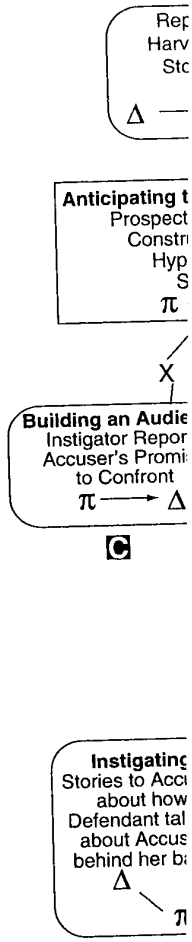

Figure 10.9 A family of frameworks

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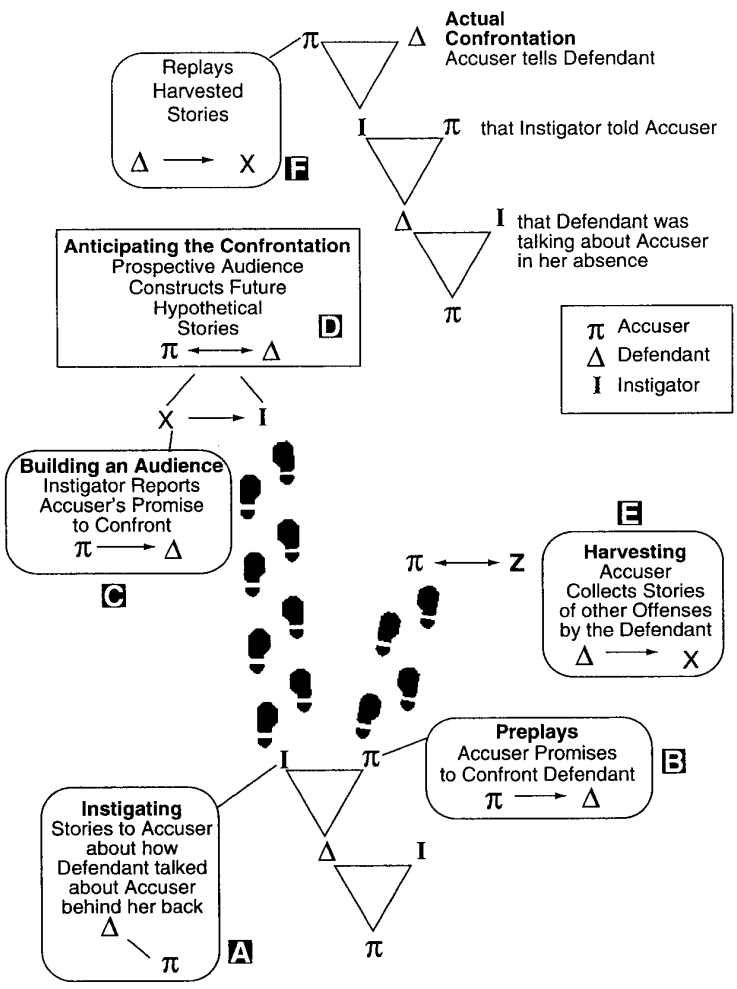

Figure 10.9 A family of stories reflexively embedded within changing participation frameworks

ordering of events into larger sequences – are intimately linked to the ways in which these stories constitute relevant social action by members of a community talking to themselves (not an outside ethnographer) as they participate in consequential courses of action. What one is dealing with is not a text, but cognitively sophisticated actors using language to build the consequential events that make up their lifeworlds.

4 Participation in Linguistic Anthropology

Participation has been one analytic focus within linguistic anthropology since the 1970s. Philips' pioneering and influential study of "participant structures" in Ameri-

can Indian classrooms in Warm Springs (1972) examined how ways of orchestrating student–teacher interaction, allocating turns at talk, and structuring student attention vary across different activities in the classroom. The mismatch between participation in the home, where learning proceeds through observation in community-wide activities, and the school, where individuals are set apart from others, was a major factor contributing to poor school performance (see also Baquedano-López, this volume). Indeed participation has emerged as a major analytic concept for the analysis of schooling. Mehan (1979) and McDermott (1976) analyzed in detail how forms of participation in classroom activities shaped possibilities for learning. Erickson (1979) demonstrated how different norms for interpreting "listening responses" (involving gaze and backchannel cues) of students and counselors can lead to interactional "trouble" in interactions between white teachers and African American students. McDermott and Gospodinoff (1979) use participation to demonstrate how schools are systematically organized for some children to fail. McDermott and his colleagues show how social institutions offer differential access to power, and how this is actualized in conversational sequences. Studies of participation in both classroom activities and the meetings of school bureaucrats (Mehan 1996) have shed important light on how particular kinds of children (for example those classified as Learning Disabled) are marginalized by the school system. Keating and Mirus (2000) use participation to examine multi-modal communication and narrative interactions among Deaf children with hearing peers. Failures in such communication lead to the isolation of Deaf students. Analysis of participant frameworks has been central to the analysis of interaction in a range of institutional settings. Reviewing work on language and power, Philips (this volume) examines how structures of authority constrict turn-taking and rights to speak between bureaucrats and clients in courts, schools, and medical encounters.

The issues raised by attempts to integrate the body and features of the context into the analysis of acts of speaking has shaped a number of important anthropological studies. Duranti (1994, 1997) has analyzed how the placement of bodies in culturally organized space is central to the constitution of a host of events in Samoan society from greetings to political assemblies. Debate in the Samoan Fono, where the community's most important political action occurs, is organized through the interplay between speech, gaze, posture, and material resources (mats, architectural space, etc.) working together to define both actors and action. Keating (1998) shows how hierarchy is constructed in Pohnpei, Micronesia, through body positioning and honorific speech. As Keating (1998: 97) argues, "Honorific verbs status-mark journeys from source areas to goal areas, as well as the areas themselves." Sidnell (1998) demonstrates how the social and interactional construction of space is simultaneously tied to the exercise of social power and argumentation about such social positions in a dispute in an Indo-Guyanese village. Hanks (1996: 198) analyzes the ritual performance of a Mani-Oxkutzcab Yucatec Mayan shaman within the genre *reesar*. He examines how spirit forces work, and argues that we need to envision a notion of participation that will include a configuration of spaces, objects, genres, and participants (who need not be human) embedded in a wider sociocultural order. Central to the enterprise of shamans, he argues, is the "production and transformation of lived space" including the orientation and movements of actors' bodies within perceptual fields.

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Participation has also been central to the analysis of narrative, children's lifeworlds, and language socialization. Analyzing an extensive corpus of dinnertime conversations Ochs and Taylor (1995) investigate asymmetrical forms of turn-taking in the family, specifically a "father knows best" dynamic. Mothers position father as primary audience, judge, and critic of the actions, feelings, thoughts, and conditions of family members, either in the present as a co-teller or in the past as a figure in the story. Further examples of gender asymmetry in family interaction occur in Capps and Ochs' (1995) examination of how the identity of an agoraphobic woman is constructed within narrative interaction. De Léon (1998) analyzes the emerging participatory competence of Zinacantec (Tzotzil Mayan) infants in their first year of life. She documents the multiple socializing channels within complex participant frameworks within which an infant is embedded. These include polyadic as well as dyadic interactions, and involve eye gaze, posture, and touch. She argues (1998: 152) that traditional middle-class dyadic models of language acquisition are inadequate. In order to study children's socialization into language we need both "native evidence based on local theories of socialization and ethnographic evidence based on a micro-analysis of interactions a child is embedded within."

In this article we have not had time to explore in detail how material structure in the environment (rooms, hopscotch grids, Munsell charts, tools, etc.) and technology that links one setting to another expand our notion of human participation in a historically built social and material world (C. Goodwin 2000, 2003; Goodwin and Goodwin 1996; Heath and Luff 1996; Hutchins and Palen 1997; LeBaron and Streeck 2000; Nevile 2001; Ochs et al. 1996). Keating and Mirus (in press) describe how computer-mediated telephone communication among the Deaf leads to new adaptations of sign language and discourse practices developing through this new medium of "techno-social interaction." This technology has radically changed patterns of interaction in the family and friendship groups. The interplay between the semiotic resources provided by language on the one hand, and tools, documents, and artifacts on the other constitutes a most important future direction for the analysis of participation. However, this multi-modal framework should not be seen as something new but instead recognition of the rich contextual configurations created by the availability of multiple semiotic resources which has always characterized human interaction (C. Goodwin 2000).

5 Conclusion

As a set of practices for building relevant social and cultural action talk does not stand alone. Instead, the act of speaking always emerges within complex contextual configurations that can encompass a range of quite diverse phenomena. These include structurally different kinds of actors using the semiotic resources provided by their bodies to construct a range of relevant displays about orientation toward others and the actions in progress, the larger activities that local events are embedded within, past and anticipated encounters, structure in the environment, etc. In so far as such action involves not just language, but rather the interdigitation of different semiotic systems in a variety of media, the question of how such diverse phenomena can be coherently studied emerges. The notion of Participation provides one framework for

investigating how multiple parties build action together while both attending to, and helping to construct, relevant action and context.

In this chapter we have contrasted two approaches to the study of participation. One, very well represented in Goffman's "Footing," offers first, the basics of a typology capable of describing many different kinds of participants that could be implicated in the act of speaking, and second, a most important deconstruction of the speaker into a complex, laminated entity capable of not only animating a theater of characters and action, but also rapidly displaying consequential stances toward these characters and the talk in progress. Despite the analytic power of this model, and the way in which it formed the point of departure for a line of important work in linguistic anthropology on participation, it has a number of crucial liabilities. The speaker is analyzed separately from all other participants, and only the speaker is endowed with rich cognitive complexity. The categories provided for other participants essentially locate them as points on an analytic grid. More importantly, because of the way in which the speaker and the hearer(s) inhabit quite separate analytic worlds, study of their reflexive orientation toward each other – the way in which each takes the other into account as they build relevant action together – is lost. The cognitive, reflexive life of the hearer can be recovered by focusing not on the construction of category systems for types of participants, but instead on the practices actors use to participate together in the endogenous courses of action that make up their lifeworlds.

A range of work has been described in which the embodied actions of multiple participants work together to build social action including individual utterances, assessments, stories, families of stories through which political disputes are animated, social institutions such as classrooms and courts, and so on. This framework provides powerful tools for the analysis of embodiment as social practice. It also sheds crucial light on the multi-modal environments within which children become competent linguistic and social actors, and enables us to expand our frameworks for the analysis of agency and morality.

Sitting at the core of almost all theories about human language ability, the moral ability to form social contracts, and social action in general, is what Nussbaum (2001) refers to as "the fiction of competent adulthood," that is an actor, such as the prototypical competent speaker, fully endowed with all the abilities required to engage in the processes under study (e.g., the speaker with the rich linguistic resources that sits at the analytic center of "Footing"). Such assumptions both marginalize the theoretical relevance of any actors who enter the scene with profound disabilities, and reaffirm the basic Western prejudice toward locating theoretically interesting linguistic, cultural, moral phenomena within a framework that has the cognitive life of the individual (albeit one who has internalized social and cultural phenomena) as its primary focus. The man with aphasia who could speak only three words sheds light on such issues. If participation is conceptualized simply as a structural position within a speech event, a point within a typology, then the intricate analysis he is performing of the organization of ongoing activities, his cognitive life as a participant in relevant courses of action, remains inaccessible to study. However, when utterances are analyzed as participation frameworks which invoke a domain of temporally unfolding embodied action through which multiple participants build in concert with each other the events that constitute their lifeworld, then he emerges as a competent actor capabl
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NOTE

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a competent actor capable of finely coordinated participation in the activities that make up a state of talk.

Finally, by linking the details of language use to embodiment, culture, social organization, and material structure in the environment, participation provides one framework that can link the work of linguistic anthropologists to that of our colleagues in other fields.

NOTE

1 See for example C. Goodwin (1979, 1981, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1987), M. H. Goodwin (1980, 1997) and C. and M. H. Goodwin (1987, 1992).

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CHAPTER 11

1 Introduction

In recent years we have wit
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