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Tactical Uses of Stories: Participation Frameworks Within Girls' and Boys' Disputes

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Introduction

Stories are often treated as artifacts that can be abstracted from their local circumstances and examined in terms of their internal features (Labov 1972). Here, instead, I want to look at how they are deeply embedded within larger social processes. My concern is with how children use stories as a constitutive feature of the activities they are engaged in and as powerful tools to arrange and rearrange the social organization of a group. In this paper I examine stories within a particular context, the organization of dispute.

My primary concern is with the participation frameworks that stories provide, allowing children to *construct and reconstruct their social organization on an ongoing basis*. I examine how boys and girls, in their same-sex groups, make use of features of stories to accomplish and restructure social identities within encounters. To investigate how stories constitute tools for accomplishing social tasks I look at how they structure situations within one particular domain, argumentative sequences, a fruitful site for investigating the intersection of genres. As noted by Turner (1986:39-43) a world of theater is often created while redressing grievances, as conflict provides the quintessential arena in which "the structures of group experience (*Erlebnis*) are replicated, dismembered, re-membered, refashioned, and mutely or vocally made meaningful" (p. 43). When stories are used in dispute processes they permit the playing out of an event in full dramatic regalia; through a multiplicity of voices (Goffman 1974),

the teller of the story and her hearers animate principal figures in the story and offer commentary upon the unfolding action and characters.

Using the same story and dispute resources, boys and girls construct quite different types of events. Boys use stories as a way of continuing an ongoing argument while reshaping the domain in which dispute takes place; by switching from a sequence of counters to a story, a speaker may radically reformulate the participation structure of the moment. Girls, in contrast, use stories to restructure alignments of participants, not only in the current interaction, but also at some future time. Stories can generate in listeners who are offended parties statements of future plans to confront an offending party, which result in confrontations that mobilize the entire neighborhood. I examine how each gender group manages its social organization through storytelling.

Fieldwork and Theoretical Approach

The present study is based on fieldwork among a group of children in a black working-class neighborhood of West Philadelphia whom I encountered during a walk around my neighborhood. I observed them for a year and a half (1970-1971) as they played in their neighborhood, focusing on how the children used language within interaction to organize their everyday activities.¹ The children (whom I will call the Maple Street group) ranged in age from 4 through 14 and spent much of the time in four same-age and same-sex groups:

Younger Girls	Ages 4-9	5 children
Younger Boys	Ages 5-6	3 children
Older Girls	Ages 9-13	15 children
Older Boys	Ages 9-14	21 children

Here I am concerned principally with older children, ages nine to fourteen. Specific ages of the children who are included in the groups reported on in this paper are listed in Appendix A.

As the children played on the street after school, on weekends, and during the summer months, I audiotaped their conversation. In gathering data, I did not focus on particular types of events that I had previously decided were theoretically important (for example, games or rhymes) but instead tried to observe and record as much of what the children did as possible, no matter how mundane it might seem. Moreover I tried to avoid influencing what the children were doing. The methods I used to gather data about the children were thus quite different from those characteristically used in psychological and sociological studies of children's behavior; in such studies efforts are typically made to systematically collect in a carefully controlled fashion particular types of information deemed to be theoretically important. Rather than being based on a laboratory model, the methodology I used was ethnographic, designed to capture as accu-

rately as possible the structure of events in the children's world *as they unfolded in the ordinary settings where they habitually occurred.*

The tapes I collected preserved a detailed record of the children's activities, including the way in which their talk emerged through time. In all, over two hundred hours of transcribed talk form the corpus of this study. The approach used in this chapter, conversation analysis, constitutes an approach to the study of naturally occurring interaction developed within sociology by the late Harvey Sacks and his colleagues.

Stories Within Disputes of Boys

Within the boys' group, games in which points are scored or activities in which there are winners and losers provide a way of distinguishing group members with respect to relative rank. Boys' pastimes permit a range of comparisons in terms of skill and ability, and boys proclaim and protest how they stand in a series of activities. For example, boys discuss ranking in terms of skill displayed in games and contests.

(1)

William: I could walk on my hands better than anybody out here. Except him. And Freddie. *Thomas* can't walk.

(2)

((Discussing ranking of go-cart members))

Malcolm: I'm the *driver*.
 Tony: He's the driver. // You know he drives it.
 Malcolm: I know what // that- Archie can't *drive* that good.
 Archie: See- I'm number *three* driver.
 I'm number *three* driver.
 Malcolm: And *Dave* can't drive that good,=
 Tony: I'm number // *two* driver.
 Archie: I'm number *three* driver.

In addition, boys compare one another in contests of verbal repartee, as in the following fragments, which occur during a slingshot-making session. Nine boys, aged nine through fourteen, are making slingshots in the backyard of Malcolm and Tony Johnson. The boys have informally divided themselves into two teams, one under the direction of Malcolm (aged thirteen), and the other led by Tony (aged fourteen).²

Disputes Built Through Reciprocal Counters

Looking at example 3, it can be observed that argument proceeds through a sequence of **reciprocal counters**: two-turn sequences in which a first

challenge or threat is answered by a counter to it. Data are transcribed according to the system developed by Jefferson and described in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974:731-733). A simplified version of this transcription system appears in Appendix B.³

(3)

1 Tony: *Gimme the things.*
 2 Chopper: You sh:ut up you *big* lips. (Y'all been hangin around with thieves.)
 3
 4 Tony: (*Shut* up.)
 5 Chopper: Don't gimme that.=I'm not *talkin* to you.
 6
 7 (1.4)
 8 Tony: I'm talkin to *y:ou!*
 9 Chopper: Ah you better sh:ut *up* with your little- *dingy* sneaks.
 10
 11 (1.4)
 12 Tony: I'm a *dingy* your hea:d.=How would you like *that*.
 13

Using such couplets to build an argument shapes the interaction of the moment in distinctive ways. First, it both focuses talk and restricts participation in the debate. Each subsequent challenge selects prior speaker as next speaker. Thus, though nine people are present, only two parties speak in the sequences. Second, the protagonists in this sequence talk in relatively short turns that, typically, are not interrupted.

Within the context of the event that has been in progress, this is striking. The boys have divided themselves spatially into two separate teams, each making its own ammunition in preparation for the slingshot fight, and, during most of this work, parties within each group have been carrying on separate conversations. The effect of this has been considerable simultaneous talk.

The emergence of the dispute sequence creates a point of focus for all present. It thus provides organization not only for those who talk within it, but also for the others present, who become ratified overhearers to it. In brief, argumentative sequences built from paired counters shape in distinctive ways both the interactions of the moment and the talk occurring within it.

Looking at line 9 of example 4, we find that, at a certain point, Tony simply disattends Chopper and turns to other activities.

(4)

1 Tony: Why don't you get out my yard.
 2 Chopper: Why don't you *make* me get out the yard.
 3 Tony: I *know* you don't want that.

- 4 Chopper: You're not gonna make me get out the yard
 5 cuz you can't.
 6 Tony: Don't force me.
 7 Chopper: You can't. Don't force me to hurt you.
 8 ((*snickering*)) Khh Khhh!
 9 Tony: ((*to his team*)) Now you gotta make
 10 your noodles.
 11 Chopper: [[You hear what I said boy?

Thus, despite the fact that Chopper wants to pursue the sequence—note his “You hear what I said boy?” in line 11—he is unable to do so without Tony’s continuing coparticipation. Moreover, though an extended dispute occurs here, there is no clear demonstration that one of the protagonists has gotten the upper hand over the other.

One might ask how a speaker in the midst of a sequence of this sort could design talk that would prevent a move such as the one made by Tony. For example, would it be possible to build a participation framework in which such a unilateral exit would no longer be a strong possibility?

Using a Story to Restructure a Dispute

Example 5 is a continuation of the “I’m a dingy your head” dispute seen in (3).

- (5)
 12 Tony: I’m a *dingy* your head.=How would you
 13 like *that*.
 14 (0.4)
 15 Chopper: No you won’t you little-**h* *Guess* what.
 ┌──────────┴──┬──┴──┬──────────┐
 Recognizable Self Story
 Counter to Interrupt Preface
 Prior
 18 (0.4)
 19 Chopper: Lemme~tell~ya.=*Guess* what. (0.8) We
 20 was comin home from *practice*, (0.4)
 21 and, three boys came up there (.) and
 22 asked~us~for~money~and~Tony~did~like~
 23 this. (0.6)
 24 *hh ((*raising hands up*))
 25 “*I AIN’T GOT* n(h)(hh) o (°m(h)oney).”
 └──────────┬──┘
 Ah~hiih~ha,
 26 Pete: *hh Hah~hah!
 27 *hh Hah~hah!
 28 Chopper: ((*snicker*)) khh

- 29 (): (° look good.
 30 Pete: └ *hh
 31 Tokay: You *di*: d, ((*smile intonation*))
 32 Pete: └ Aw:;
 33 Chopper: ((*snicker*)) *hhh~Khh °Hey Poo(h)chie.
 34 Malcolm: └ Ah~*ha*~aa~aa Ah~*ha*/ha
 35 Tokay: You there *Malcolm*,
 36 Chopper: ((*snickering*)) *hhKh He was the(hh)re.
 37 Tokay: What’d he say *Chopper*. ((*smile*
 38 *intonation*))
 39 Chopper: ((*snicker*)) *hKh Yeah.=
 40 Tony: =*You* was there Tokay!
 41 Chopper: └ *hih *hih
 42 Chopper: Lemme~tell ya, An h(h)e sai(hh)d,

In line 15 Chopper starts a counter to what Tony has just said but breaks it off before it reaches completion.

No you won’t you little-

He then produces a prototypical story preface, “Lemme tell ya. Guess what” and, subsequently, in lines 19–25 tells a story about Tony. With his preface he signals that he has a multiutterance unit to complete that will extend over several turns. Although, generally, following such a preface a recipient provides a warrant for the telling by responding at that point, here the storyteller launches quickly into a story.

Participant Frameworks Invoked by the Story

Introducing a story at this point has a range of consequences. First, since the utterance containing Chopper’s counter is not brought to completion, Tony is not given the opportunity to respond to it. The return and exchange sequence has, in effect, ended, and participants are no longer within that frame. Second, the story invokes a *participation framework* that is quite different from that provided by the aborted counter. The counter locates Tony as its specific addressee—for example, with the second person pronoun in line 15 (“you little-”)—and makes relevant particular types of next actions, such as return counters, from him and not others. Dialogue is restricted to two persons. Though others are present, they are positioned as *onlookers* to the dispute between Chopper and Tony.

By way of contrast the story is addressed to all present and, indeed, Tony, who is now referred to in the third person, is no longer the exclusive, or even the principal, addressee. Rather than being situated as onlookers to a dispute that does not concern them, others present now become the *audience* to the story. Moreover insofar as members of the audience are active coparticipants in the production of a story (C. Good-

win 1984, 1986), they gain rights to participate in the telling in distinctive ways.

Within the story, Chopper portrays Tony as cowardly. In addition, Chopper proposes that Tony's behavior be evaluated in a particular way, specifically as **laughable**: In line 25, as Chopper speaks the words "no(h)(hh)o m(h)oney," he starts to embed laugh tokens in the talk being quoted. This laughter is not heard as part of Tony's words but rather as Chopper's current *comment on* those words. Here, rather than simply reporting what Tony said, Chopper enacts Tony's behavior at the moment of climax; indeed as Vološinov (1971) has argued, one never simply reports an action but, rather, takes up a position with regard to what she or he is saying. First, with the phrase "Tony did like this," Chopper announces that an enactment is to follow. He then marks the talk that follows as an enactment through animation cues such as increased volume (indicated by capital letters) and emphasis (italicized words, the italicization marking high pitch), which result in focus upon the initial part of the reported denial "I AIN'T GOT." Other work (M. H. Goodwin 1980b) has demonstrated that such heightened dramatizations in the midst of speech function to obtain enhanced responses from recipients. Thus rather than treating people other than Tony as overhearers, Chopper is now inviting them to participate in the talk of the moment. Moreover, in animating (Goffman 1974:516–544) Tony's talk and drawing attention to it through increased loudness, Chopper proposes that it should be evaluated in a particular way—as laughable. Jefferson (1979) has demonstrated that such laugh tokens can solicit recipient coparticipation in the laugh, and, indeed, that is what happens here. In response to Chopper's talk, Pete (lines 26–27) and Malcolm (line 34) produce laughter. Before Chopper's animation has reached its conclusion, Pete is laughing with him. Shortly afterward, Malcolm (line 34) also laughs, thereby displaying an affiliation and agreement with the mode of argument Chopper is presenting.

In brief switching to a narrative *about* Tony creates a participation framework into which others now have rights to enter with their evaluations of the events heard in the story. Rather than treating people other than Tony as overhearers, Chopper is now inviting them to participate in the talk of the moment.

Audience Alignment Toward Opponent/Story Character

Recipients may, of course, respond in a number of different ways, depending on their structural positions with respect to the story: (1) Recipients occupying the identity of prior participant in the recounted event can assist the teller in providing details of the event, (2) a prior participant whose actions are negatively portrayed may counter the claims made against his character, (3) participants absent from the event being dis-

cussed can provide requests that lead to expansion of the story or replaying of its key scenes.

In what follows, Tokay not only requests information concerning specifics of the story but also displays intense interest in the report and, with smile intonation, aligns himself with Chopper:

- (6)
- 25 Chopper: "I AIN'T GOT n(h)(hh) o (°m(h)oney)."
 26 Pete: [Ah~hih~ha,
 27 *hh Hah~hah!
 28 Chopper: ((snicker)) khh
 29 (ei2): (° look good.
 30 Pete: [*hh
 31 Tokay: → You *di*: d, ((smile intonation))
 32 Pete: [Aw:,
 33 Chopper: ((snicker)) *hhh~Khh °Hey Poo(h)chie.
 34 Malcolm: [Ah~*ha*~aa~aa Ah~*ha*/ha
 35 Tokay: → You there *Malcolm*,
 36 Chopper: ((snickering)) *hhKh He was the(hh)re.
 37 Tokay: → What'd he say *Chopper*. ((smile
 38 intonation))
 39 Chopper: ((snicker)) *hKh Yeah.=
 40 Tony: =*You* was there Tokay!
 41 Chopper: [*hih *hih
 42 Chopper: Lemme~tell ya, An h(h)e sai(hh)d,

Tokay's talk is first answered by Chopper, who intercepts a request directed to Malcolm ("You there *Malcolm*") and requests for elaboration ("What'd he say *Chopper*"). Second, it is answered by protagonist Tony, who argues that Tokay's asking questions into the story is inappropriate ("You was there *Tokay!*") in line 40.

Tony elaborates a defense against the portrait being presented of him in lines 45–51; he argues that he didn't, in fact, raise his hands up in cowardice.

- (7)
- 42 Chopper: Lemme~tell ya, An h(h)e sai(hh)d,
 43 Tokay: WH:EN!=
 44 Chopper: ="I ain't got no(h) mo (h)ney."
 45 Tony: [Member=
 46 Pete: Whew:.,
 47 Tony: [that night when we was goin there,
 48 Chopper: [((snicker)) Khh
 49 Tony: and them boys came down the street,
 50 Chopper: [((snicker)) Khhh!

- 51 Tony: → I ain't *rai*:sed my hands up.
 52 Chopper: | Go
 53 ahead.=You're gonna say it- I know..
 54 *hh *Didn't* he g'like this? (0.4)
 55 "I ain't go(hh)t
 56 no(hh)n (h)e."
 57 Malcolm: | Ah~*ha*~ha~ha~ha~ha~ha
 58 Chopper: ((*snicker*)) *hkh
 59 Malcolm: Aw:::
 60 Chopper: ((*snicker*)) *KHH
 61 Malcolm: ((baby voice)) "I ain't got no money."
 62 Ah~ ha~ha.
 63 Chopper: | ((*snicker*)) Khhhhh!

This move is useful to the ongoing development of Chopper's characterization of Tony. Chopper counters Tony's defense: "You was there *Tokay!*" and then explicitly requests confirmation ("*Didn't* he g'like this?") of his quote of Tony, which he recycles once again in lines 55-56.

Afterward Chopper's talk receives renewed laughter (line 57), as well as recycling of the refrain ("I ain't got no money") in mocking intonation (line 61) from Malcolm. Refutations are used to Chopper's benefit in the elaboration of the story that he wants to tell. Though Tony repetitively produces counters, these are defensive answers to Chopper's stories rather than first moves in counter sequences. Throughout the storytelling, when Tony attempts to defend himself, he gets himself into greater and greater trouble. Counters result in three further descriptions that instance Tony's cowardice. Recipients ratify Chopper's depiction through laughter and through recyclings of the quote "I ain't got no money" (which gets used as a refrain indexing Tony's cowardice) until Chopper finally entraps Tony.

Building a Multiparty Consensus

Though the introduction of the story constitutes a marked transformation of the dispute, it remains very relevant to it. Of crucial importance is the way in which the story allows Chopper to create a visible multiparty consensus against Tony. Chopper moves to a structure that provides parties not initially designated as ratified participants the opportunity to participate. Maintaining and shaping their participation in particular ways, Chopper is able to demonstrate publicly that his characterization of Tony is one that others share. Through their laughter Pete and Malcolm affiliate themselves with Chopper's position.

Throughout the encounter the story remains a point of focus to which others can return. More important, the rearrangement of argument mode also calls into play a different configuration for social organization. The event shifts from one designating only two parties to the dispute (others

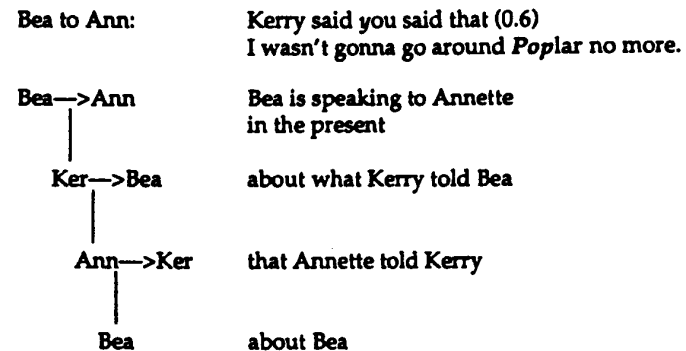
present being ratified overhearers but not full-fledged contributors) to one inviting the participation of all those present. In that others may become contributing participants in the activity, even without being officially summoned as witnesses, they may align themselves with a particular side of the dispute, and their participation may display whose version has more support.

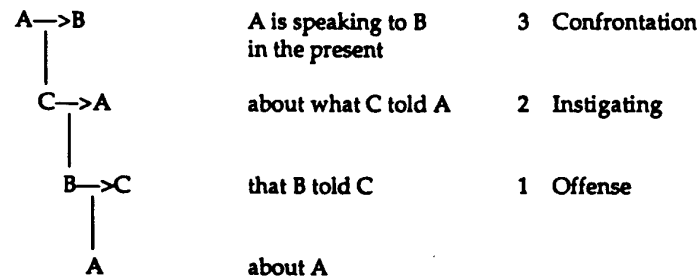
The structure of the recounting itself allows for displays of appreciation, both laughter and repetition of lines in Chopper's story produced in a mocking tone of voice, as well as requests for elaboration of the story, which grant Chopper a warrant to develop his line.

Girls' Stories

In contrast with boys, girls do not generally utilize direct methods in evaluating one another. They seldom give one another bald commands or insults, and making explicit statements about one's achievements or possessions is avoided. Such actions are felt to indicate someone who "thinks she cute" or above another, thus violating the egalitarian ethos of the girls. These different cultural perceptions concerning evaluating oneself in the presence of others lead to different ways in which stories that are part of dispute processes are built by the teller and involve others in the process of storytelling. Rather than directly confronting one another with complaints about inappropriate behavior, girls characteristically discuss their grievances about someone in that party's absence. Through an elaborated storytelling procedure called "instigating," girls learn that absent parties have been talking about them behind their backs, and they commit themselves to future confrontations with such individuals.

The activity of reporting to a recipient what was said about her in her absence constitutes an important stage preliminary to the confrontation event. It is the point where such an event becomes socially recognizable as an actionable offense. The party talked about may then confront the party who was reportedly talking about her "behind her back," producing an utterance of the following form:





Informing leading up to the confrontation typically is accomplished through use of stories by a girl who stands as neither accuser nor defendant. This type of storytelling, as noted, is called “instigating” by the children. The instigator may initiate a sequence of events that leads to conflict as part of a process of negatively sanctioning the behavior of a girl who steps outside the bounds of appropriate behavior or as a way of demonstrating her ability to orchestrate such events.

The larger framework of the he-said-she-said dispute provides organization for the storytelling process in several ways.

1. It provides structure for the cited characters and their activities within the story.
2. It influences the types of analysis recipients must engage in to appropriately understand the story.
3. It makes relevant specific types of next moves by recipients: for example, evaluations of the offending party’s actions during the story, pledges to future courses of action near the story’s ending, and rehearsals of future events at story completion and upon subsequent retellings.

Structure in Telling and Listening to Instigating Stories

Bringing about a future confrontation has direct bearing upon the way a speaker structures her instigating story and recipients respond to it. Through dramatic character development, the speaker skillfully guides her recipients to interpret the events she is relating in the way she wants them to and attempts to co-implicate hearers in forms of future activity. Recipients’ responses to instigating stories are differentiated, depending upon the identity relationship of listeners to figures in the story.

Bea tells two stories dealing with Kerry. Bea’s first story recounts to both Julia and Barbara what Kerry said about Julia. Julia then leaves, and Bea starts a new set of stories in which she tells Barbara what Kerry said about *her* (Barbara).

The description of the past is organized so as to demonstrate that the

events being recounted constitute *offenses*. Moreover, the presentation of past events is carefully managed, so as to elicit from its recipient, now positioned by the story as an *offended party*, pejorative comments about the party who offended her, without this appearing as the direct intent of the speaker’s story.

I start by examining the initiation of Bea’s first story, recounting what Kerry said about Julia.⁴

(8)

- 11 Bea: *How- how- h- um, uh h- h- how about me*
 12 *and Julia, *h and all them um, and*
 13 *Kerry, *h and all them-*
 14 Julia: *Isn't Kerry mad at*
 15 *me or s:omp'm,*
 16 *(0.4)*
 17 Bea: *Pon' kn//ow.*
 18 Barb: *Kerry~always~mad~at somebody.*
 19 *'I 'on' care.*
 20 Julia: *[Cuz- cuz cuz I wouldn't, cu:z she*
 21 *ain't put my name on that paper.*
 22 Bea: *I know cuz OH yeah. Oh yeah.*

This story beginning has the form of a reminiscence. Bea requests that others remember with her a particular event: “*How- how- h- um, uh h- h- how about me and Julia, *h and all of them um, and Kerry.*” The numerous stutters in her speech contribute to the highly charged framing of this talk. The proposed story concerns negative attributes of Kerry. The telling of pejorative stories, especially in the context of the he-said-she-said, poses particular problems for participants. That is, such stories constitute instances of talking behind someone’s back, the very action at issue in a he-said-she-said.

A party who tells 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 taken and cast as an offense. Are there ways in which a party telling such a story can protect herself against such risk? One way might be to implicate her recipient in a similar telling so that both are equally guilty and equally vulnerable. However, this still poses problems: Specifically, it would be most advantageous for each party if the other would implicate herself first. This can lead to a delicate negotiation at the beginning of the story: In lines 11–13, when Bea brings up Kerry’s offenses toward Julia, she requests the opinion of others, while refusing to state her own position. In response, Julia asks a question that describes her relationship to Kerry in a particular way: “*Isn't Kerry mad at me or s:omp'm*” (lines 14–15). If Bea in fact provides a story at this point dem-

onstrating how Kerry is mad at Julia, Bea will have talked pejoratively about Kerry before Julia has co-implicated herself in a similar position. Bea subsequently passes the opportunity to tell such a story by saying “*I’om’* know” (line 17). Then Julia provides an answer to her own question: “Cuz- cuz cuz I wouldn’t, cu:z she ain’t put my *name* on that *paper*” (lines 20–21). Only after Julia implicates herself does Bea begin to join in the telling (line 22).

Cited Characters and Current Participants

Instigating stories concern others within one’s neighborhood group of friends who are judged to have behaved in an inappropriate fashion. Such stories have certain features in common:

1. The principal character in the story is a party who is not present.
2. The nonpresent party performed actions directed toward some other party.
3. These actions can be seen as offenses.
4. The target of the cited offenses is the present hearer.

The placement of present recipient within the story as a principal figure provides for her involvement in it and, consequently, for the story’s rather enduring life span, by comparison with other recountings.

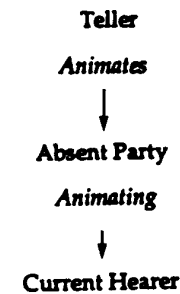
Some evidence indicates that the four features just listed are oriented to by the teller in the construction of her instigating stories. In the data being examined, Bea’s initial stories (line 20 in Appendix D) involve offenses Kerry committed toward Julia. These include having said that Julia was acting “stupid” and inappropriately when girls were telling jokes and having intentionally excluded Julia’s name from a “hall pass.” During these stories both Julia and Barbara are present. However, Julia then departs, leaving only Barbara as audience to Bea. Bea now starts a new series of stories (line 21) in which Barbara is the target of a different set of offenses by Kerry. Thus, when one hearer (Julia) leaves (prior to the beginning of line 21), the speaker modifies her stories. In both sets of stories the absent party who commits the offenses, Kerry, remains constant. However, the recipient of her actions is changed so that the target of the offense remains the present hearer. Through such changes the speaker maintains the relevance of her story for its immediate recipient. What happens here demonstrates the importance of not restricting analysis of stories to isolated texts or performances by speakers but, rather, of including the story’s recipients within the scope of analysis, since they are consequential to its organization.

Stories may also be locally organized with respect to the person selected as the offender. The fact that Kerry is reputedly the agent of offensive talk in the story to Julia may well be why she is selected as a similar agent in the stories to Barbara several minutes later.

Larger political processes within the girls’ group might also be relevant to the selection of Kerry as offender in these stories. Gluckman (1963:308) notes that gossip can be used “to control aspiring individuals.” In the

present data, Kerry is the same age as the other girls but has skipped a year in school, and they are annoyed at her for previewing everything that will happen to them in junior high school. The structure of the immediate reporting situation, as well as larger social processes within the girls’ group, is thus relevant to how past events are organized within these stories and the way in which particular members of the girls’ group become cited figures (Goffman 1974:529–532).

In replaying past events, the teller animates (Goffman 1974) the cited figures within her stories in ways that are relevant to the larger social projects within which the stories are embedded. In a variety of ways the absent party’s actions toward the current hearer are portrayed as offensive. Thus, in describing what Kerry said about Julia, Bea (lines 26–31) reports that Kerry characterized Julia as having acted “stupid.”

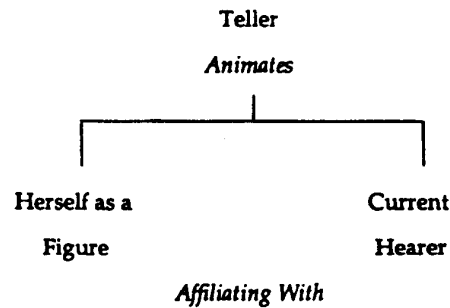


- (9)
- 26 Bea: *She* said, *She* said that um, (0.6)
 27 that (0.8) if that *girl* wasn’t
 28 there=*You* know that girl that always
 29 makes those funny jokes, *h Sh’aid if
 30 that *girl* wasn’t there *you* wouldn’t be
 31 *actin*, (0.4) a:ll *stupid* like that.

Continuing on, Bea (lines 35–36) animates Kerry’s voice as she reports that Kerry said that Julia had been cursing.

- (10)
- 35 Bea: and she said that *you* sai:d, that,
 36 “*Ab*: go tuh-” (0.5) somp’m like tha:t.

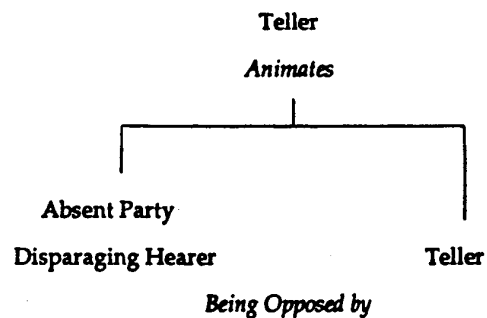
As Bea further elaborates her story about Kerry, she relates how Kerry attempted to exclude Julia’s name from a “hall pass” (a permission slip to go to the bathroom). At the same time that she describes Kerry’s actions as offensive, she portrays Julia as someone whose actions were appropriate and exemplary (lines 64–66) and herself as someone who stood up for Julia (lines 68–69).



(11)

64 Bea: An m- And Julia w'just sittin
65 up there actin- actin:, ac- ac- actin
66 sensible. An she up- and she up there
67 talking bout, and she- I said, I s'd I
68 s'd I s'd "This is how I'm- I'm gonna
69 put Julia *na*:me down here." Cu- m- m-
70 Cuz she had made a pa:ss you know. *h
71 She had made a *pa*:ss.

Throughout her talk, Bea's stuttering adds to the dramatic quality of her talk as she expresses excitement about what she is relating. As Bea animates Kerry's voice, she colors her talk with a whiny high-pitched defensive tone, enacting Kerry's distaste for having to include Julia's name. Immediately following, however, Bea again portrays herself as someone who *defended* the position of her present hearer against the offender.



(12)

93 Bea: But she ain't even put your *name* down
94 there. I just put it *down* there. Me
95 and Martha put it down.=An I said, and

96 she said "Gimme-that-paper.=I don't
97 wanna have her *name down* here." I s- I
98 s- I s- I said "She woulda allowed *you*
99 name."

Quite different forms of affect and alignment toward Julia's perspective are conveyed by Bea's animation of Kerry and of herself. Kerry was eager to remove Julia's name from the hall pass, so that she would not be included in the group of girls exiting from the classroom together. Bea, in contrast, stood up for Julia and argued that, had Julia been in a similar situation, she would have included Kerry.

Recipient Responses

In responding to talk, participants pay close attention to the differential access they have to the events being talked about. Briefly, parties who both were present when the action described occurred and are figures in the story may participate in its telling, denying and countering the absent offending party's statements about them. Recipients who were not present at the past event and are not characters in the story may provide general comments on the offender's character, referring to ongoing attributes of the offender in the present progressive tense, for example:

(13)

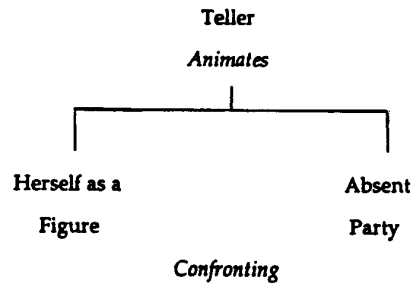
18 Barb: Kerry~*always*~mad~at somebody.
19 'I 'on' care.

(14)

40 Barb: Kerry *always* say somp'm.=When you
41 *jump* in her *face* she gonna *deny* it.

In response to listeners' evaluations of events, the speaker acts upon any indication by recipient of her alignment toward the absent party. For example, when Julia makes an evaluative comment, "OO: r'mind me a-you old b:aldheaded Kerry" (lines 109–110) at the close of the story about Kerry's actions toward Julia, Bea states, "I should say it in fronta her face. (0.8) Bal: head" (lines 111–112). Bea presents a model of how she herself would confront the offending party and invites the recipient to see the action in question as she herself does, as an action deserving in return an aggravated response such as an insult.

Suggestions for how to act toward absent party may also take the form of stories in which *speaker*, rather than recipient, appears as principal character reacting to actions of offending party. Briefly the speaker makes her suggestions by telling her present recipient the kinds of actions that *she herself* takes against the offender, these actions being appropriate next moves to the offenses described in the informing stories.



(15)

- 142 Bea *h And she was leanin
143 against- I- I said, I s'd I s'd I s'd I
144 said, "*Hey* girl don't lean against that
145 thing cuz it's *weak enough*." *h And
146 she said and she said *h she- she did
147 like that. =She say, "Tch!" ((*rolling*
148 *eyes*)) // like that. I s'd- I said "You
149 c'd *roll* your eyes all you *want* to.
150 Barb: Yeah if somebody do that to her-
151 And if [you know what?
152 Bea: [Cuz I'm *tellin* you. (0.5)
153 *Tellin*- I'm not *askin* you." (0.4) An I
154 ain't say no *plea:se* *either*.

In this story, Bea tells how she confronted Kerry with marked insult forms, issuing a direct command to her: "Cuz I'm *tellin* you. (0.4) *Tellin*-I'm not *askin* you" (lines 152–153). The bald, on-record nature of the command is highlighted by placing it in contrast with a more mitigated form that was not said: "An I ain't say no *plea:se* *either*" (lines 153–154).

Evaluation through descriptions of past activities is consequential for the process of eliciting from the recipient a promise to confront the offender in the future. On the one hand pejorative actions performed by the absent party can be interpreted as explicit offenses against the current recipient. On the other hand, a speaker's description of her own actions in response to such offenses, that is, confronting the offender, can provide a recipient with a guide to how she should act toward that party. Thus Julia's statement that she will confront Kerry occurs right after Bea has described how she confronted Kerry about having excluded Julia's name from the bathroom pass.

(16)

- 87 Julia: I'm a- I'm a *tell* her about herself.

Offended parties' responses that constitute plans to confront the offending party are made in the presence of witnesses; they thus provide

displays of someone's intentions to seek redress for the offenses performed against her. Failure to follow through with a commitment statement such as "I'm a *tell* her about herself" can be remarked on as demonstrating inconsistencies in a person's talk and actions, thus reflecting negatively on her character. Indeed, when Julia later fails to confront Kerry, others use her actions in the present exchange to talk about the way in which she had promised to tell Kerry off but then did nothing.

(17)

- Bea: Yeah and Julia all the time talking
bout she was gonna tell what'shername
off. And *she* ain't do it.

Alignments taken up in the midst of an exchange such as this can thus be interpreted as **commitments** to undertake future action for which parties may be held responsible by others. People who refuse to confront once they have reported their intentions are said to "swag," "mole," or "back down" from a future confrontation. The fact that a statement about future intentions can be treated as a relevantly absent event at a future time provides some demonstration of how responses to instigating stories are geared into larger social projects.

Thus, through a variety of activities—passing the opportunity to align herself with a definitive position before the hearer does at story beginning, presenting herself as having defended the offended party in the past, and portraying how she boldly confronted the offending party—the speaker carefully works to co-implicate her present recipient in a next course of action. Though the report is reputedly a narrative account of past events involving teller and offending party and speaker's alignment of righteous indignation toward these acts, it may also function to suggest future courses of action for present recipient.

A Comparison of Boys' and Girls' Dispute Stories

The forms of participation made available in boys' and girls' dispute stories may now be compared. The girls' and boys' stories examined here share several features: (1) The principal topic is offenses of another, and (2) one of the characters in the story is a present participant. In the case of boys' stories, cited offenses deal with wrongdoings of a *present participant*. Among girls, however, offenses concern *reported deeds of absent parties*. Such differences have consequences for the trajectory of dispute in girls' and boys' groups; whereas boys can deal directly with an offender, girls must wait to confront the offending party at a future time.

Within boys' and girls' dispute stories *hearer who is a character in the story* is portrayed in different ways. Whereas in Chopper's story Tony has performed objectionable actions in the past as a coward, in girls' instigating stories the present hearers (Julia and Barbara) are said to have performed exemplary actions in the past that sharply contrast with the report-

edly objectionable actions of an absent party (Kerry). Among the girls, storyteller skillfully works to align hearer *with teller against an absent third party*. A coalition of what the girls call "two against one" (teller and hearer against absent party) is established in the immediate interaction. From the teller's perspective, the offended party's alignment is important for bringing forth a future confrontation. From the recipient's perspective the fact that at least two parties agree on a particular version of an event provides a warrant for bringing action against a third party. By way of illustration, consider the following speech that Vettie (age eleven) makes to her adversary during a confrontation:

(18)

Vettie: Well I'm a get it straight with the people.
 What Kerry, (1.4)
 it's between Kerry, and you, (1.0)
 See *two* (0.5) two against one. (0.7)
 Who wins? The one is two.=Right? (0.5)
 And that's Joycie and and Kerry. (0.5)
 They both say that you said it.
 And you say that you didn't say it.
 Who you got the *proof* that say that
 you *didn't* say it.

In contrast the teller in the boys' stories constructs a situation of conflict, not at some future time, but instead between teller and recipient, who is the principal character in the immediate interaction; boys who are hearers (and can be co-tellers of the story) align themselves *with the teller against the present principal character*.

Response from parties other than those who are principal figures in the story are similar in both girls' and boys' stories; such parties aid in the teller's depiction of the offending party by providing comments on the offender's character. Responses of offended parties, however, differ in girls' and boys' groups. Although offended parties in both girls' and boys' groups oppose reported descriptions, they oppose different identities. Boys who are offended parties direct counters to *principal storyteller*, but girls direct counters to *cited figures* who offended them in the past.

The portrayal of characters and events within dispute stories has consequences for the form and timing of interaction that ensues. Thus, whereas boys' dispute stories engender disagreements that permit contesting in the *immediate setting*, girls' stories engender alignments of "two against one" against an absent third party who will be confronted *at some future time*. In that the offending party is absent from the instigating event, girls cannot resolve their disagreements in the present interaction. Girls' he-said-she-said disputes, in contrast with those of boys, may be extended over several days.

An offended party in girls' stories reacts by stating not only that she disapproves of the offending party's actions toward her in the past, but also that she is prepared to confront her offender. When the offended

party confronts the plaintiff, she does so with indirect, rather than direct, speech, in that the offenses at issue have been learned about through a third party. Girls' stories constitute a preliminary stage in a larger process of negatively sanctioning inappropriate behavior. After the instigating session, girls replay reactions of offended parties to the stories and rehearse future possible scenarios for confrontation with friends (M. Goodwin 1988b). Following the confrontation, serious offenders of the girls' moral code may be ostracized; the degradation ceremony of ridicule and teasing that results can extend over several weeks. Whereas boys' stories have little motive power beyond the present situation, girls' instigating stories are embedded within a larger social process, the he-said-she-said, a speech event providing for the involvement of participants in multiple phases of activity.

The present study has relevance for theories regarding not only the relationship of speech activities to larger social processes but also gender differences in children's social organization and culture. Whereas boys' arguments display an orientation toward social differentiation and principles of hierarchy, within he-said-she-said disputes girls display a form of organization based on what has been called "exclusiveness," reportedly more characteristic of American girls' groups than of boys' (Douvan & Adelson 1966:200-202, Eder & Hallinan 1978, Feshbach & Sones 1971, Lever 1976, Savin-Williams 1980:348, Sutton-Smith 1979). Girls affirm the organization of their social group through assessing the behavior of absent parties. The alliances they form in the process of discussing others mark who is included and excluded from the social group of the moment, rather than relative rank.

It is sometimes argued that girls avoid direct competition and are little interested in "negotiation involvements" (Gilligan 1982, Lever 1976, Sutton-Smith 1979). Girls' tendency to be more nurturant than boys is felt to result in relatively less conflict in their same-sex peer group (Miller, Danaher, & Forbes 1986:547). Within certain domains (M. H. Goodwin 1980a, 1988a) girls do select accounts for their actions that more closely reflect what Gilligan (1982:62-63) terms an ethic of care (as contrasted with an ethic of justice) and appear more concerned with a self "delineated through connection," than with a "self defined through separation" (Gilligan 1982:35) or differentiation from others. Such forms of behavior, however, must be interpreted as situated presentations of self, sensitive to the contexts in which they occur. As the data presented here vividly show, within the he-said-she-said storytelling event, girls react with righteous indignation when they learn their character has been maligned. They display an intense interest in initiating and elaborating disputes about their rights (not to be talked about behind their backs) that differentiate offending and offended parties. Alignments taken up during such disputes clearly demarcate who stands within the bounds of an inner circle of friends, as well as who is relegated to that circle's periphery. Stories thus provide arenas for each gender group to negotiate concerns central to each group's notions of social organization.

Appendix A: The Children

Boys			Girls		
Name	Age	Grade	Name	Age	Grade
Tony	14	8th	Barbara	13	8th
Archie	13	8th	Bea	12	7th
Pete	13	8th	Martha	12	7th
Malcolm	13	8th	Julia	12	7th
Tokay	12	7th	Kerry	12	8th
Dave	12	7th	Annette	10	5th
Chopper	12	7th	Rochele	9	4th
William	10	5th			
Tommy	9	5th			

Appendix B. Transcription

The following example has been constructed to contain a variety of relevant transcription devices in a brief example. It is not an accurate record of an actual exchange. Features most relevant to the analysis in this paper are identified after it.

Example
Number

↓
(16)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Pam:	°Twel- Thir, tee:::n.									
Bruce:	Fou::r//teen. = *hh W~u-mean.									
Pam:	((Chanting)) THIRteen (only) Thirtee(h)n.									
	↑	(0.4)	↑			↑			↑	
		↑								
	11	12	13			14			15	

- Low Volume:** A degree sign indicates that talk it precedes is low in volume.
- Cutoff:** A hyphen marks a sudden cutoff of the current sound. In the example, instead of bringing the word *twelve* to completion, Pam interrupts it in midcourse.
- Italics:** Italics indicate some form of emphasis, which may be signaled by changes in pitch and/or amplitude.
- Overlap Bracket:** A left bracket marks the point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk. Thus, Bruce's "*Thirteen*"

begins during the last syllable of Pam's *Fourteen*." Two speakers beginning to speak simultaneously are shown by two left brackets at the beginning of a line.

- Lengthening:** Colons indicate that the sound just before the colon has been noticeably lengthened.
- Overlap Slashes:** Double slashes provide an alternative method of marking overlap. When they are used, the overlapping talk is not indented to the point of overlap. In the example, Pam's last line begins just after the "*Four*" in Bruce's "*Fourteen*."
- Intonation:** Punctuation symbols are used to mark intonation changes, rather than as grammatical symbols:
 - A period indicates a falling intonation contour.
 - A question mark indicates a rising intonation contour.
 - A comma indicates a falling-rising intonation contour.
- Latching:** The equal signs indicate "latching"; there is no interval between the end of a prior turn and the start of a next piece of talk.
- Inbreath:** A series of *h*'s preceded by an asterisk marks an inbreath. Without the dot, the *h*'s mark an outbreath.
- Rapid Speech:** Tildes (~) indicate that speech is slurred together because it is spoken rapidly.
- Comments:** Double parentheses enclose material that is not part of the talk being transcribed, for example, a comment by the transcriber if the talk was spoken in some special way.
- Silence:** Numbers in parentheses mark silences in seconds and tenths of seconds.
- Increased Volume:** Capitals indicate increased volume.
- Problematic Hearing:** Material in parentheses indicates a hearing that the transcriber was uncertain about.
- Breathiness, Laughter:** An *h* in parentheses indicates plosive aspiration, which could result from events such as breathiness, laughter, or crying.
- Citation:** Each example is preceded by a citation that locates the tape and transcript where the original data can be found.

Appendix C. Boys' Dispute Story

(19)

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 1 Tony: | <i>Gimme the things.</i> |
| 2 Chopper: | You sh:ut up you <i>big</i> lips. (Y'all been hangin around with thieves.) |
| 3 | |
| 4 Tony: | (<i>Shut up.</i>) |
| 5 Chopper: | Don't gimme that. = I'm not <i>talkin</i> to you. |
| 6 | |

- 7 (1.4)
 8 Tony: I'm talkin to *y:ou*!
 9 Chopper: Ah you better sh:ut *up* with your
 10 little- *di:ngy* sneaks.
 11 (1.4)
 12 Tony: I'm a *dingy* your hea:d.=How would you
 13 like *that*.
 14 (0.4)
 15 Chopper: No you won't you little- { *h *Guess* what.
 16 Jack: (°foul) foul
 17 thing.
 18 (0.4)
 19 Chopper: *Lemme*-tell-ya.=*Guess* what. (0.8) We
 20 was comin home from *practice*, (0.4)
 21 and, three boys came up there (.) and
 22 asked-us-for-money-and-Tony-did-like-
 23 this. (0.6)
 24 *hh ((*raising hands up*))
 25 "I *AIN'T* GOT n(h)(hh) { °m(h)oney."
 26 Pete: Ah-hih-ha,
 27 *hh Hah-hah!
 28 Chopper: ((*snick*)) khh
 29 (): (° look {good.)
 30 Pete: *hh
 31 Tokay: You *di:*d, ((*smile intonation*))
 32 Pete: Aw:.,
 33 Chopper: *hhh~ ((*snick*)) Khh { °Hey Poo(h)chie.
 34 Malcolm: Ah-*ha*-aa-aa Ah-*ha*/ha
 35 Tokay: You there *Malcolm*,
 36 Chopper: ((*snick*)) *hhKh He was the(hh)re.
 37 Tokay: What'd he say *Chopper*. ((*Smile*
 38 *Intonation*))
 39 Chopper: ((*snick*)) *hKh Yeah.=
 40 Tony: =You was there { *Tokay*!
 41 Chopper: *hih *hih
 42 Chopper: Lemme-tell ya, An h(h)e sai(hh)d,
 43 Tokay: *WH:EN!*=
 44 Chopper: ="I ain't got no(h) mo(h)ney."
 45 Tony: Member=
 46 Pete: =[[Whew:.,
 47 Tony: that night when we was goin {there,
 48 Chopper: ((*snick*)) Khh
 49 Tony: and {them boys came down the street,
 50 Chopper: ((*snick*)) Khhh!
 51 Tony: I ain't *rai:*sed my hands {up.
 52 Chopper: Go

- 53 ahead.=You're gonna say it- I know:.
 54 *hh *Didn't* he g'like this? (0.4)
 55 "I ain't go(hh)t
 56 no(hh)n(h)e."
 57 Malcolm: Ah-*ha*-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha
 58 Chopper: ((*snick*)) *hkh
 59 Malcolm: Aw:::
 60 Chopper: *H ((*snick*)) KHH
 61 Malcolm: ((*baby voice*)) "I ain't got no money."
 62 Ah-*ha*-ha.
 63 Chopper: ((*snick*)) Khhhheh!
 64 Tony: If *he* had money. If {he had money
 65 Chopper: *hihh
 66 Tony: [[and he said he didn't=
 67 Chopper: *hih
 68 Tony: =them boys kicked his b'hi(hh)nd. °eh heh
 69 Chopper: I ain't *had* no mon- I only had a penny
 70 they didn't even *find* it.
 71 (0.4)
 72 Jack: °mm*Yeah*.
 73 (0.8)
 74 Chopper: At least I didn't go up there and say,
 75 (1.2)
 76 Chopper: ["I ain't got none."
 77 Tony: *Well* there'd be some problems if *he*
 78 came found it *didn't* it.
 79 Chopper: Nope. And {guess what *Malcolm*.
 80 Malcolm: °He said said
 81 ((*baby voice*)) "I ain't got no money."=
 82 Chopper: =Guess what *Malcolm*.=Them boys out
 83 there said, *hh "Your football player
 84 ca:n't, play," And guess where *To:ny*
 85 was. (0.6) All the way ar(h)ound the
 86 cor(hh)n(h)er. (0.5) *hih {Remember=
 87 (): °What?
 88 Chopper: =that night? Them little boys said
 89 "That little p:*unk* can't fight?" And
 90 Tony started *runnin* across the s:street.
 91 Jack: Hey:;.,
 92 Chopper: Not e,ven waitin for em.=
 93 Ray: eh-*heh*-heh.
 94 Tony: =WHAT?!
 95 Chopper: Member that time, (0.5) Lemme see we
 96 got about- where we was playin
 97 basketball at? (1.2) And // you had
 98 Tony: Where *who* w'playin basketball at.
 99 Chopper: You know, where we were playin

100 basketball? And you wasn't even waitin
 101 for us, you was up there r:unnin,
 102 Until you got way around the
 103 comer.=Them boys said, those boys kep,
 104 those boys kept on (*I* said,) "Hey Tony
 105 what you runnin for." He said "*I* ain't
 106 runnin." That boys woulda come next to
 107 *me* I(h) woul(hh)da, ((*snicker*)) *hKkh I woulda
 108 k:icked their *ass*. And // Tony was
 109 was all the way ar(h)ound the comer.
 110 Tony: I don't know what *you* talkin bout.
 111 Jack: °Talkin // bout bein *kicked*. That's
 112 what it // is.
 113 Pete: Member that time,
 114 Tony: I don't remember // what *you* talkin
 115 about.
 116 Pete: that we was goin around the corner on
 117 Poplar?
 118 Chopper: "*I ain't* got no(hh) mo(hh)ney."
 119 Pete: That boy down there
 120 Malcolm: ((baby voice)) "*I ain't* got no money."
 121 "I ain't got no money."
 122 Tokay: Remember when that boy down in the
 123 park, °that time, when he was talkin
 124 to Tony for
 125 Tony: What he- When is he talkin about.
 126 Chopper: OH YEAH!
 127 (0.5)
 128 Chopper: "I *know* you ain't talkin to
 129 *me!*" Down in the park! ((*snicker*)) Khh~heh!
 130 Pete: eh~heh~heh.
 131 Chopper: *hh We was down the park, (0.7) and we
 132 was- (0.6) and wh- wh- what was he
 133 doin,=
 134 Tony: =You can ask *Ralph* what happened down
 135 the *park* Malcolm Johnson cuz *this*
 136 sucker *lie* too much.
 137 Chopper: Uh UH. we was playin- (0.3) we was
 138 makin a *darn raft*, (0.5) and them
 139 boys (.) was throwin things at Tony,
 140 (0.7) And *he* said, (0.6) "Boy!" And-
 141 lemme tell.=*(They)* were talkin to that
 142 *little* boy. Th'he said, "Boy you
 143 better watch them *things!*" That big
 144 boy said,
 145 Tony: °What ones.=
 146 Chopper: ="I *know* (he ain't talkin to *me!*)" I

147 said (0.4) and he said-
 148 "NO: not you: du(hh)mmy-"
 149 Tony: What things.
 150 Pete: Ah:~*heh*~heh~heh.
 151 Chopper: "The little bo:(hh)y."
 152 Eh~heh~heh. ((*snicker*)) *hKh
 153 Malcolm: That-
 154 Chopper: That big boy woulda kicked his butt!
 155 Malcolm: That *li*ttle boy.
 156 Tony: That's a lie *too* Chopper.
 157 Chopper: Why you talk to that *little* boy.
 158 (1.0)
 159 Tony: *I* said *what?*
 160 Chopper: Got you got you *got* you!
 161 (1.2)
 162 Chopper: Say Hey heh *heh*
 163 heh, Hey hey HEY! HEY HEY HEY! "I
 164 ain't go(h)t no(h)" (0.8) Da:g!

Appendix D. Girls' Dispute Story

(20)

((*Bea, Barbara, and Julia are sitting on Julia's steps discussing substitute teachers during a teacher's strike.*))

1 Barb: *Teach* us some little *sixth* grade work.
 2 (0.4) *That's* how these *volunteers* doin
 3 now. A little um, *h *Addin* 'n all
 4 that.
 5 Bea: *Yahp. Yahp.* // *Yahp.* An when
 6 we was in the-
 7 Barb: Twenny and twenny is // forty an all
 8 that.
 9 Bea: *How* bout when we was in-
 10 Barb: Oo I *hate* that junk.
 11 Bea: *How- how-* h- um, uh h- h- how about me
 12 and *Julia*, 'h and all them um, and
 13 *Kerry*, 'h and all them-
 14 Julia: Isn't *Kerry mad* at
 15 *me* or *s:omp'm*,
 16 (0.4)
 17 Bea: *I'on'* kn//ow.
 18 Barb: *Kerry-always-mad-at* somebody.

19 °I 'on' care.
 20 Julia: Cuz- cuz cuz I wouldn't, cuz she
 21 ain't put my *name* on that *paper*.
 22 Bea: I know cuz OH yeah. *Oh* yeah.
 23 Barb: An next she,
 24 (0.3)
 25 Barb: talk-bout-people.
 26 Bea: She said, *She* said that um. (0.6)
 27 that (0.8) if that *girl* wasn't
 28 there=You know that *girl* that always
 29 makes those funny jokes, 'h Sh'aid if
 30 that *girl* wasn't there *you* wouldn't be
 31 actin, (0.4) a:ll *stupid* like that.
 32 °Sh-
 33 Julia: But was I actin stupid w_ith them?
 34 Bea: Nope, no,=And
 35 she- and she said that *you* sai:d, that,
 36 "Ah: go tuh-" (0.5) somp'm like tha:t.
 37 Julia: °No I
 38 didn't.
 39 Bea: She's- an uh- somp'm like *that*. She's-
 40 Barb: Ke_rry *always* say somp'm.=When you=
 41 Bea: She-
 42 Barb: =*jump* in her *face* she gonna *deny*
 43 it.
 44 Bea: Yah:p Y_iahp.=An she said, 'h An- and
 45 Julia: °Right on.
 46 Bea: she said, hh that *you* wouldn't be actin
 47 like *that* aroun- around *people*.
 48 Julia: So: *she* wouldn' be actin like *that*
 49 wi' that *other* girl.=*She* the one picked
 50 *me* to *sit* wi'them.= 'h She said "Julia you
 51 Bea: Y:ahp.
 52 Julia: sit with her, 'h and I'll sit with her,
 53 'h an Bea an- an Bea an-
 54 an an Martha sit together."
 55 Barb: SHE TELLIN Y'ALL WHERE TA SIT
 56 AT?
 57 (0.2)
 58 Bea: An so *we* sat together, An s- and s- and
 59 so Julia was ju:st s:tittin right
 60 there.=An the *girl*, an- an- the *girl*:
 61 next to her? 'h and the *girl* kept on
 62 getting back up. 'h Ask the teacher
 63 can she go t'the bathroom. An Julia
 64 say she don' wanna go t'the bathroom

65 w'her. An m- And Julia w'just sittin
 66 up there actin- actin:, ac- ac- actin
 67 sensible. An she up- and she up there
 68 talking bout, and she- I said, I s'd I
 69 s'd I s'd "This is how I'm- I'm gonna
 70 put Julia *na:me* down here." Cu- m- m-
 71 Cuz she had made a pa:ss you know. 'h
 72 She had made a *pa:ss*.
 73 (0.2)
 74 Bea: For all us to go down to the bathroom.
 75 Barb: Y'all go down t'the bathroom?
 76 Bea: For ALLA- yeah. Yeah. For u:m, (0.4)
 77 for- for alla us- t'go to the
 78 bathroom.=I s'd- I s'd "*How: co:me* you
 79 ain't put Julia name down here." *h So
 80 she said, she said ((*whiny defensive tone*))
 81 "That other *girl* called 'er so,
 82 she no:t *wi:th* u:s, so,"
 83 That's what she said too. (0.2) So I
 84 said, s- so I snatched the paper
 85 wi'her. I said wh- when we were playin
 86 wi'that paper?
 87 Julia: I'm a I'm a *tell* her about herself
 88 *today*. Well,
 89 Bea: Huh? huh remember when we're
 90 snatchin that paper.
 91 Barb: An she gonna tell you
 92 another story *anyway*. // (Are you gonna
 93 talk to her today?)
 94 Bea: But she ain't even put your *name* down
 95 there. I just put it *down* there. Me
 96 and Martha put it down.=An I said, and
 97 she said "*Gimme-that-paper*.=I don't
 98 wanna have her *name* down here." I s- I
 99 s- I s- I said "She woulda allowed *you*
 100 name (if you star:ted)."
 101 (1.0)
 102 Julia: I said Kerry "°How come you ain't put my
 103 name."
 104 Barb: Here go B//ea, "uh uh uh well-"
 105 Julia: "You put that *other* *girl* (name down)
 106 didn't you. I thought *you* was gonna
 107 have- owl: a hall pass with that *other*
 108 *girl*." That's °what Kerry said. I said
 109 (What's-her-problem.) OO: r'mind me a-
 110 you old b:aldheaded Kerry.
 111 Bea: I should say it in fronta her *face*.

- 112 (0.8) Bal: head.
 113 Barb: Hey member when what we did th(h)e
 114 o(h)ther ti(h)me.
 (21)
- ((The following occurs 45 seconds later
 after Julia has gone inside.))
- 1 Bea: She shouldn't be writin things, about
 2 me. (0.5) An so- An so- so she said
 3 Barbara, Barbara need ta go
 4 somewhere.
 5 (1.0)
 6 Barb: Well you tell her to come say it in
 7 front of my fa:ce. (0.6) And I'll put
 8 her somewhere. (3.8) An Barbara
 9 ain't got nuttin t'do with what.
 10 Bea: Write- um doin um, [that- that thing.
 11 Barb: What do y'all
 12 got ta do with it.
 13 Bea: Because because um, I don't know what
 14 we got to do with it. Bu_t she said-
 15 Barb: W'll she
 16 don't know what she talkin bout.
 17 Bea: But- but she- but we di:d have somp'm
 18 to do because we was ma:d at her.
 19 Because we didn't like her no more.
 20 (0.6) And that's why, (0.6) Somebody
 21 the one [that use-
 22 Barb: So, she got anything t'say she
 23 come say it in front of my face. (1.0)
 24 I better not see Kerry today. (2.5) I
 25 ain't gonna say- I'm-a~say "Kerry what
 26 you say about m_e. She gonna say
 27 Bea: ((whiny)) (Nyang)
 28 Barb: I ain't say nuttin."
 29 Bea: (behind her face) she meant- sh'ent You
 30 know you- you know what. She- she
 31 chan_gin it.
 32 Barb: If I wrote somp'm then I wrote
 33 it.=Then I got somp'm to do with
 34 it.=W'then I wrote it.
 35 (0.5)
 36 Bea: And she said, an- an- she u:m ah
 37 whah.(I'm sorry oh.) I'm a walk you
 38 home. She said that um,
 39 Barb: She get on my nerves.

- 40 Bea: She said that um,=
 41 Barb: =Now'n I got somp'm ta write about her
 42 now::.
 43 (0.5)
 44 Bea: Oh yeah.=She said that, (0.4) that
 45 um, you wouldn't have nuttin ta do with
 46 it, and everything, and plus, (0.5)
 47 Bea: [um,
 48 Barb: WELL IF I WROTE SOME'N I HAD SOMP'M
 49 T'DO with it.
 50 Bea: An she said, I wanna see what I was
 51 gettin read ta say, (2.0) °And um,
 52 Barb: She gonna deny every word.=Now watch.
 53 I c'n put more up there for her the:n.
 54 (2.0)
 55 Bea: [What,
 56 Barb: An in magic marker °so there.
 57 (0.6)
 58 Bea: Oh yeah, oh yeah.=She was, she- w's
 59 she was in Rochele: house you know, and
 60 she said that um, that- I heard her
 61 say um, (0.4) um um uh uh "Julia said
 62 y'all been talking behind my back."=I
 63 said I'm a- I'm a say "H:oney, I'm gla:d.
 64 that you know I'm talkin behind your
 65 back. Because I- because I meant
 66 for you to know anyway." An she said,
 67 I- said "I don't have to talk behind
 68 your back.=I can talk in front of your
 69 face too." // And she said-
 70 Barb: That's all I write. I didn't
 71 write that. I wrote that.
 72 (1.2)
 73 Bea: Over here. I write this- I cleared it
 74 off. Because Landa wrote
 75 and I- *h_ and I made it bigger.
 76 Barb: Mmm,
 77 (0.2)
 78 Bea: So she said, [That first-
 79 Barb: And the other I did with
 80 my finger on the cars [and all that.
 81 Bea: An- so- I said,
 82 an- an so we were playin school you
 83 know at Rochele's house? And boy we
 84 tore her all- we said, I got
 85 uh y'know [I was doin some signs?
 86 Barb: I better not go around an

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Conflict Talk

87 catch Kerry.
 88 Bea: And *Rochele* called her *baldheaded*
 89 right-in-front-a-her face. She said "You
 90 *baldheaded thing*." Because she was
 91 messin with Rochele.=I said, and so she
 92 said, you know we were playin around
 93 with her? And she said "You *baldheaded*
 94 thing."=She said, "Rochele YOU DON'T
 95 LIKE IT?" I said I said {that's why-
 96 Barb: Yeah she gonna
 97 base in some little kid's {face.
 98 Bea: Yeah. And
 99 she said, // I said AND I SAID= I said I
 100 said "What-are-ya doin to her."
 101 Barb: I better not see Kerry *today*. I'm a
 102 say "Kerry I heard you was talkin bout
 103 me."
 104 Bea: I a s, ay-
 105 Barb: Then she gonna say "I ain't- *What*
 106 *I* say about you." I say "Ain't none
 107 yer *business* what you said.=You come
 108 say it in front a my *face* since what=
 109 you been tell everybody *else*." (0.4)
 110 ((*falsetto*)) OO:, And I can put more
 111 and I'm a put some- some 'bad words in
 112 *today*.
 113 (0.5)
 114 Bea: *She* said, and *she* was saying,
 115 {she said-
 116 *Now*:
 n I got somp'm to write {about.
 I said,
 117 Bea: I better not catch you t'day.=I'm a
 118 Barb: *tell her butt* o:ff.
 119 (0.4)
 120 Barb: An if she //get *bad* at me:e: I'm a,
 121 punch her in the eye.
 122 Bea: I said, I s- I said, I said, Hey
 124 Barbara I said, "Why don't you" um, I
 125 s- I- I- I- and "Why don' you stop
 126 messing with her." And she said she
 127 said "She called me baldheaded."
 128 =I said,
 129 Barb: That's right.
 130 Bea: =An so-
 131 Barb: That's her name so call her name back.
 132 Bea: *Guess* what. *Guess* what. Uh- we- w-
 133 an we was up finger waving? =And I said,

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Barb:

Bea:

Barb:

Bea:

Barb:

Bea:

Barb:

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167 Barb:

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171 Barb:

172 Bea:

I said, I said I said ((*does motion*))
 like that.=I did.
 hh An {just like that.= 'h and I said=
 OO:.,

an I an I was doin all those *sig:ns* in
 her face and everything? (0.5) 'h And
 she said that um, (1.0) And then she-
 an you- and she s- *She- roll her eye
 like that. 'h And she was leanin
 against- I- I said, I s'd I s'd Is'd I
 said, "*Hey* girl don't lean against that
 thing cuz it's *weak enough*." *h And
 she said and she said 'h she- she did
 like that.=She say, "Tch!" ((*rolling*
eyes)) // like that. I s'd- I said "You
 c'd *roll* your eyes all you *want* to.
 Yeah if somebody do that to her-
 And if {you know what?

Cuz I'm *tellin* you. (0.5)
Tellin- I'm not *askin* you." (0.4) An I
 ain't say no *plea:se* either.

mm hrm.

((*chews fingers*))

Don't do that. (1.5) W'll I'm *tellin* ya
 I better not catch Kerry *today*. Cuz if
 I catch her I'm gonna give *her* a word:
 from my *mouth*. (0.6) An if she *jump* in
 my *face* I'm a punch her in her *fa:ce*.
 (1.5) And she can talk behind my back
 she better say somp'm in front of my
 face.

(1.5)

((*Boy walks down the street*))

OO: there go the *Tack*. 'h 'hh 'hh Eh
 That's your na(h)me.
 (1.5)

((*Barbara starts down the street*))

'h See y'all.

See you.

NOTES

This chapter originally appeared in *Discourse Processes* 13(1990):1.35-71.
 1. For a more complete description of this fieldwork see M. H. Goodwin
 (1990).

2. A more extensive analysis of the formation of teams, as well as speech activities, occurring in this encounter appears in C. Goodwin and M. H. Goodwin (1990).

3. The complete cycle of stories from which these data were selected appears in Appendix C. Subsequent line numbers related to this example refer to line numbers in the expanded version of this story in Appendix C.

4. The series of stories from which these data were taken appears in Appendix D. Line numbers in this fragment correspond to line numbers in the more expanded sequence of which this story is a part, which appears in Appendix D.

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