New Perspectives on Goffman in Language and Interaction

Body, Participation and the Self

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6 Embodied participation in social encounters

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1. Introduction

In this chapter we explore how Goffman's notions of participation and presentation of self can be of use in examining the interactive competence of an interlocutor with limited language abilities. Specifically, we examine the ways in which an aphasic man with only a three-word vocabulary caused by a severe stroke, is nonetheless able to present himself as a skilled actor in the presence of others. We find that despite his limited lexical resources, he can link his limited utterances and embodied performances to the talk and action of others. Making use of prosody, gesture, and embodied actions he is even able to reconfigure how those in the local interaction are positioned vis-a-vis one another over the course of an interaction. Analysis highlights the relevance of stance taking for the presentation of self in everyday life.

We begin by outlining some major concepts of Goffman we consider crucial to our analysis and provide a critique of these as well. We then move to considering the embodied resources through which meaning-making is possible with the limited language resources available to the aphasic participant. We subsequently examine how multiple expressive stances are articulated by actors differentially positioned within a complex interactive field. Finally, we examine how the aphasic person can create new alignments through "piggybacking" his utterance onto the talk of others and even shift the frame of the encounter.

2. The concept of participation in the work of Erving Goffman

We view embodied participation as a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions and stances that contribute to the further progression of these same events. While doing things together people display how they position themselves toward others with whom they are interacting *in the very midst of another's turn* – through their facial expressions, eye gaze, and body comportment as well

as interjected verbal commentaries. Participation goes beyond the structure of talk to encompass the practices used by rich, feeling bodies to perform relevant operations on a public substrate provided by others.

In his early work Goffman was attentive to such issues regarding the temporal unfolding of interaction. Goffman (1964, p. 135) defines a social situation as "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present,' and similarly find themselves accessible to him." In examining practices for regulating face-to-face interaction, Goffman (1964, p. 136) argued that face-to-face interaction "has its own processes and its own structure, and these don't seem to be intrinsically linguistic in character, however often expressed through a linguistic medium." Goffman (1979, p. 6) envisioned a field of interaction which was attentive to the *visual* and *tactile* as well as the aural channel of interaction. He took issue with "statement-reply" formulas of turn taking (Goffman, 1976, 1979) as the model for how people participate in social encounters.

Goffman (1979, p. 6) was fully alive to the embodied features of interaction: in the management of turn-taking, in the assessment of reception through visual back-channel cues, in the paralinguistic function of gesticulation, in the synchrony of gaze shift, in the provision of evidence of attention (as in the middle-distance look), in the assessment of engrossment through evidence of side-involvements and facial expression – in all of these ways it is apparent that sight is crucial, both for the speaker and for the hearer. For the effective conduct of talk, speaker and hearer had best be in a position to *watch* each other. Goffman (1979, p. 6) stated that "global folk categories" such as speaker and hearer are inadequate because they "imply sound alone is at issue, when, in fact, it is obvious that sight is organizationally very significant too, sometimes even touch."

We fully appreciate Goffman's attention to embodied action rather than sound alone as the analytic focus within the social encounter. However, as we (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004, p. 225) noted in our initial work on participation, there are serious limitations to the analytic approach offered in "Footing." Goffman (1979, pp. 16–23) analyzed speakers in one part of the article using the model of Production Format, with its possibilities for embedding (as happens, for example, in quotation and other forms of reported speech), while other participants (hearers) were described in another section on Participation Status and Framework. Goffman (1979, pp. 9–10) outlined the accepted canonical situation of the hearer in dyadic conversation as a "ratified" hearer or "addressed" recipient. Participants in talk who are not officially addressed or ratified might participate by eavesdropping or overhearing a conversation (Goffman, 1979, p. 8); forms of engagement could include byplay, cross play, or side play (1979, p. 9).

From this perspective speakers and hearers are viewed as inhabiting separate worlds. In Goffman's (1964, p. 135) discussion of mutual monitoring, he leaves unanalyzed how precisely speaker and hearer take into account the participation of the other through stance display (M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012; C. Goodwin, 2007b; M. H. Goodwin, 1998) or in the building of action within an utterance (C. Goodwin, 1979; M. H. Goodwin, 1980). The methods offered for investigating participation take the form of a typology, a set of static categories. Moreover, while the speaker is viewed as cognitively complex, all other participants are treated as 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.) Because attention is drawn to the stream of speech, with its intricate laminations and embeddings, rather than forms of embodied practice, there is a bias toward highlighting the role of the speaker.

While we find problematic the notion that speakers and hearers inhabit separate worlds, we find quite productive Goffman's notion that the term "speaker" is far too global and should be decomposed "into smaller, analytical coherent elements" (1979, p. 6). Goffman (1979, p. 18) states when the term "speaker" is used "one often implies that the individual who animates is formulating his own text and staking out his own position through it: animator, author and principal are one." He notes that the apparently simple notion of the speaker in fact encompasses within its boundaries a number of quite distinct entities including (1) the sounding box or animator, the party actually producing speech, (2) the author, the party who actually assembles the words being spoken, (3) the principal, or party responsible for the talk being spoken, and (4) the figure, the protagonist or character in the scene being animated by the voice of the current speaker.

Goffman's discussion of the decomposition of speaker and hearer "into smaller, analytical coherent elements" (1979, p. 6) led to research by linguistic anthropologists describing a range of structurally diverse *types* of participants who could be implicated in the organization of talk (Irvine, 1996; Levinson, 1988). In our view, however, rather than focusing primarily on a static typology of categories, it is best to investigate participation as a temporally unfolding process. In the course of talk speakers and hearers demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events (C. Goodwin, 2007a, pp. 24–25).

3. The embodied resources for communication of an aphasic man

Goffman's concepts of mutual monitoring during interaction are useful in understanding how meaning can be created from moment to moment in interaction with someone who is capable of only minimal language production.

We will consider our notion of participation with respect to interactions involving Chil, an 83-year-old aphasic man who, due to a blood clot that formed in the left hemisphere of his brain, was left with the ability to speak only three words (*yes, no,* and *and*). However, despite his limited language, he in fact possessed a range of other semiotic resources with which he could build meaning and action with others. His limited lexicon played only one part in the intricate semiotic system (which included gesture and prosody (C. Goodwin, 2000b)) with which he participated with others in the social situations he inhabited in his daily life. Importantly, his exquisite sense of timing meant he could sequence his talk closely to the talk of others.

People who suffer damage to the right hemisphere may retain the ability to produce syntactically correct sentences but do not maintain their prosodic ability. This, however, was not the case for Chil; because he did not lose his ability to create rich melodic intonational cadences, he was capable of expressing deeply emotional stances. When Chil placed intonational contours over his talk which was produced and positioned with reference to the actions of others, he could create a variety of locally relevant actions. A string of syllables such as "duh duh duh" or "dih dih dih" could carry intonational tunes expressing either positive or negative assessment – stance and affect of various forms (M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012).

By producing single words such as *No* with different prosodic contours Chil could create divergent meanings as well as actions, depending on the duration of the vowels and pitch and voice quality of utterances with which they were built (C. Goodwin, 2018, pp. 108–118). The word *No* could initiate a disagreement or comment on the seriousness or illegality (C. Goodwin, 2018, pp. 110–115) of something described. Because Chil could display emotion through both prosody and embodied action, his actions displaying frustration in response to the glosses given his talk by others could lead to repair (C. Goodwin, 1995). While paralyzed on his right side, he was nonetheless able to gesture quite extensively, and with precise timing (C. Goodwin, 2003). By linking his actions to those of others and laminating his richly intoned talk to gesture, he skillfully and animatedly participated in ongoing interactions, articulating a robust presentation of self. Taking participation rather than talk as the focus of analysis, we find action and meaning are organized within an ecology of different kinds of meaning-making resources which mutually elaborate each other to produce a whole that is different from any of its parts (C. Goodwin, 2000a).

4.   Ethnographic context

In this chapter we investigate interactions between Chil and his son (Chuck, age 55) and daughter (Pat, age 49) as they engage in a negotiation regarding getting a hospital bed to help Chil sleep better.

Figure 6.1

Chil is visiting the home of his son Chuck and daughter-in-law Candy (age 54) along with Chil's daughter Pat and Pat's daughter Julia (age 23). Figure 6.1 provides an image of the participants when seated on the porch, which overlooks a garden twelve feet below.

The night before when the family went out for dinner, Chil became weak and had difficulty breathing. Pat, who is a nurse, suggested to Chuck that it might be a good idea to order a hospital bed for Chil so that his head would be elevated and he could sleep more easily. The actual ordering of the bed was done with much reluctance and without Chil's awareness. Ever since having his stroke, Chil had wanted to live as autonomous a life as possible without being catered to. He was quite independent and mobile, and would even travel by motorized scooter to a neighboring town to be able to have a cappuccino when he wanted to. Thus, the delivery of the news that a bed had been ordered was fraught with trepidation.

5. An announcement and embodied oppositional stance in response

Goffman's differentiated components of the production format of speaker (author, animator, figure) are important for examining how Chuck and others present are positioned in the interaction we will examine. Although it had been Pat who had made the decision that a hospital bed was essential, it is Chuck who becomes the animator of the announcement about the bed to be delivered to Chil. This has consequences for various responses to the evolving discussion of the hospital bed.

In the encounter we will examine, the family are seated outdoors at a table on the porch for breakfast. As Chuck enters the scene from the house (Figure 6.2), he makes the announcement "Um (0.6) °°okay (0.9) I ordered a *bed*,".

Excerpt 1 Chuck's announcement to Chil and Chil's protest

Figure 6.2 Chuck enters with announcement

```
01 CHU: Um(0.6)°°okay(0.9)I ordered a bed.
02        (0.3)

03 CHL: No: [No:   No:     No:::.
04 CHU:     [Ye(h)a(h)h.
05 CHU: Yuh. *hh

06 CHL: A[w:  No.
07 CHU:  [It's go(h)nna be de(h)liver(h)ed-
08       No Dad I think it'd [be better.
09 CHL:                     [No::.
10 CHU: [It's gonna be delivered between-
11 CHL: [No::                    No:
        ((moves head left to right))
12      No:[No: No No No.
13 CHU:    [Two en four.
14         (0.5)

15 CHL: Dih Dih Dih   No:.
```

With his announcement in line 1 Chuck presents himself as the party who ordered a bed; although Pat had played an important role in deciding that the bed should be ordered, Chuck is the party held responsible for the words that are spoken. Pat remains silent.

To understand an important feature of participation, we will consider another crucial concept that Goffman elaborates in his article on footing. This is the notion of stance (Goffman, 1979, p. 25), posture, or visible alignment or position that interlocutors take up to an utterance or the events in progress (Du Bois, 2007; M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). In producing the announcement that Chuck has ordered a bed, he becomes the target of a series of Chil's moves expressing righteous indignation (see Figure 6.2). Specifically, Chil produces a series of moves which emphatically show opposition to Chuck's announcement that a bed has been ordered (lines 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15).

In line 3 by sequencing immediately to Chuck's announcement talk (line 1 of excerpt 1), and by gazing directly toward Chuck (with raised eyebrows, displaying the seriousness of his action), Chil displays his talk is clearly intended for Chuck. Chil's series of four "*Nos*" in line 3 are produced with heightened stress and vowel elongation; these features clearly construct this unit of talk as emphatic speech (Selting, 1994). Chil's series of "*Nos*" incorporates into its own organization what Chuck had said before and targets Chuck as the addressee ("No we're not ordering a bed"). In addition, Chil's talk transforms what Chuck had said by taking up a new stance toward it: opposition. In C. Goodwin's (2018, p. 71) terms, Chil is providing specific operations on what Chuck had said, through a form of "co-operative action." Quite succinctly, "These operations preserve and reuse some of the materials in that earlier utterance while transforming the resources it provided to construct a new quite different action" (C. Goodwin, 2018, p. 17).

In the midst of Chil's protest move (line 3), after his first "no", Chuck in line 4 responds with a polar term (Hasan, 1992) "Ye(h)a(h)h." On completion of Chil's oppositional turn in line 3, Chuck responds in line 5 with a second polar term, "Yuh." Such moves contrast with Chil's "*Nos*". These utterances tie back to Chuck's prior talk and provide reinstatements of his announcement, while also displaying opposition to Chil. In contrast to the seriousness of Chil's utterances, produced with a face that expresses mild outrage, Chuck embeds laugh tokens in the midst of the continuation of his announcement, produced in a calm voice, as if the decision had already been made. Chuck's laughable stance in lines 4 and 7 is not reciprocated by Chil.

Indeed, further moves of opposition by Chil occur immediately after Chuck's turn in with "*Aw: No.*" (line 6). When Chuck continues talk about the delivery of the bed with "No Dad I think it'd be better" (line 8), Chil, anticipating the move Chuck is about to make, overlaps Chuck to oppose once more (in line 9) with an emphatic "*No::.*" Both Chuck and Chil speak simultaneously in lines 10 and 11. Chuck reinstates his utterance "It's gonna be delivered between-" (in line 10); Chil reinvokes his opposition by producing two more emphatic "*No:*" utterances (line 11).

After the cut-off of Chuck's turn in line 10, Chil continues his oppositional stance with a multimodal utterance; he moves his head from left to right while producing a series of five more emphatic "*No*" words (line 12). By stating "*No: No: No No No.*" (line 12), Chil is able to construct a multimodal utterance that performs very forceful oppositional operations on the talk of the prior speaker. On each of the five emphatic "*Nos*" in line 12, Chil rocks his body laterally left to right. Indeed, the bodily movements are so forceful that the chair he's sitting on also moves with him. Chil

provides one last oppositional move, a sound phrase of a series of "*Dih Dih Dih*" syllables followed by "*No:.*" (line 15), before he gazes towards his plate to close down the turn and disengage from interaction (perhaps in anticipation that his "no" will not be accepted.) Chil's eyebrows are raised throughout his talk, displaying a sense of intensity. Through prosody and his expressive body Chil renders himself a speaker with agency and a rich emotional life. He places his oppositional moves in close adjacent position to Chuck's statements in lines 3, 4, 11, 12, and 15, exhibiting his exquisite use of timing.

Despite Chil's inability to produce fluent language through lexicon, through prosody he makes visible recognizable linguistic units (C. Goodwin, 2004, p. 152). In addition, he makes extensive use of indexical reference and operations on talk to build relevant meaning with others. He adamantly responds, expressing something new and quite different from what Chuck had said, about Chuck's announcement.

6. Participation through embodied stance by differentiated actors

In *Behavior and Public Places* Goffman (1963) explicates his ideas about the expressive information that a person exudes, emits, or gives off while in interaction. He states that while linguistic messages are "about" something in the world, which might not be directly connected to the sender, expressive messages "are necessarily 'about' the same causal physical complex of which the transmitting agency is an intrinsic part" (1963, p. 13). Goffman (1963, p. 15) further states that "when one speaks of experiencing someone else with one's naked senses, one usually implies the reception of embodied messages." Discussing forms of mutual monitoring, Goffman (1963, pp. 15–16) argues that in face-to-face communication "not only are the receiving and conveying of the naked and embodied kind, but each giver is himself a receiver, and each receiver is a giver."

In excerpt 2 multiple expressive stances are articulated from differentiated actors positioned within a complex interactive field. While Chil and Chuck are positioned as principal addressed recipients to each other's dialogue, Pat and Julia, meanwhile, are positioned as audience to the dispute. Although they remain silent, they nonetheless register their engagement in the events unfolding through expressive embodied action. Their stance object (Du Bois, 2007) is, however, different from that of Chil and Chuck; they respond to the affective tenor of the interaction itself. Their commentary is provided through facial expressions and body posture vis-a-vis how the interaction is proceeding, rather than in response to a specific verbal action.

Excerpt 2 Pat and Julia's embodied stances towards the interaction

```
01 CHU:    Um (0.6) °°okay (0.9) I ordered a bed.
02           (0.3)
          ⌒‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
03 CHL:    No: [No: No: No:::.
04 CHU:        [Ye(h)a(h)h.
05 CHU:    Yuh. *hh
          ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⌒‾‾‾‾
06 CHL:    A[w:   No.
07 CHU:     [It's go(h)nna be de(h)liver(h)ed-
```


Figure 6.3 Pat cringes

```
08         No Dad I think it'd [be better.
09 CHL:                        [No::.
10 CHU:    [It's gonna be delivered between-
11 CHL:    [No::                      [No:
           ((moves head left to right))
12         No:[No: No No No.
13 CHU:       [Two en four.
```


Figure 6.4 Julia covers face while laughing

```
.14              (0.5)
          ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⌒‾‾‾‾‾‾
15 CHL:    Dih Dih Dih No:.
```

As Chil says "*Aw: No.*" (line 6) and Chuck says "It's go(h)nna be de(h)
liver(h)ed" (line 7), Pat assumes a chagrined facial expression that she
maintains through much of the duration of the interaction between Chil

and Chuck (see Figure 6.3). Without speaking, her face and body assume the look of a participant taking on the expression of someone who cringes at what is happening before her; with her cringe she shifts her participation from audience to one enacting her role in the situation that has led to Chil's outrage. She shrinks her shoulders and body in what appears to be an alignment of embarrassment at what is taking place (line 7).

Rather than viewing this as an intentional signal, Pat's postural display can be viewed as the intersubjective experience of discomfort rendered visible by the body. A moment later, after Julia glances briefly at Pat and produces a slight smile, she (line 12) puts her fists to her face hiding her smiling face while she laughs quietly (see Figure 6.4). Here Linell's (2009, p. 360) ideas about the relationship of the body and the objective world in expressing stance in dialogue are quite relevant:

> Sense-making is neither contained in an "inner (subjective) world", nor in an "outer (objective) world", but it lives in the relations between these, in an "inter-world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1955) between the organism and the external world.

With Chuck receiving the blame, there is nothing to say but everything to react to with incredulity of it all. No words are exchanged between Pat to Chil and there is no reaction of Chil toward Pat.

Although Pat had authored the plan of getting a bed, she had remained silent through the first discussion about the bed (excerpts 1, 2). A minute later Chuck asks Pat what she thinks the family should do about getting a bed for Chil. Rather than addressing the question posed by Chuck, she responds, "I'm *sca:r*ed." This utterance retrospectively offers as a gloss for the "cringe" she produced, an expression of fear; before, Pat had positioned herself as audience to the conversation between Chil and Chuck, and not as a party responsible for the decision to order the bed. When Chuck asks Pat for a fuller explanation of what she means ("Of what?") Pat states that what she's afraid of is "talking" (excerpt 3, lines 8 and 13). With her father's strong demonstration of objection and outrage, she expresses no affiliation with the decision to get the bed.

Excerpt 3 Chuck solicits Pat's opinion about getting a bed; Chil objects

```
01 CHU:   Pa:t- No. Pat what do you think.
02 PAT:   [(Ou gad). I'm sca:red.
03 CHL:   [No:.
04             (0.3)
05 CHU:   Of wha:t?
06             (0.4)
07 CHL:   D[ih dih dih dih di:h.
08 PAT:    [Talking.
```

```
09 CHU:   (Wha:t?)
10            (0.6)
11 CHU:   You're scared of what?
12            (0.6)
13 PAT:   Talking.
14            (0.4)
15 PAT:   *hh [Uh: If you're sick we really need it.=
16 CHL:       [Nih-
17 PAT:   =If you're [not sick we don't need it.
18 CHL:              [No No No No No No. ((shakes head))
```

A contrast between Chil's more mitigated and emphatic forms of protest are observable in his next moves to Pat that directly follow in lines 16 and 18. Pat (line 15) provides an explanation for the conditions under which the bed is needed addressed to Chil: "*Uh:* if you're sick we really *need* it." Simultaneous and interruptive of Pat's talk, Chil provides an abbreviated and hence more mitigated form of opposition through "Nih-" produced with a cut off (line 16). As Pat initiates the completion of her explanation (line 17), Chil overlaps her with a vehement response consisting of a series of six "*nos*" produced in rapid succession (line 18): "*No No No No No. No.*" These negations are produced with emphatic stress. With each "*No*" Chil provides a lateral head movement. The lamination of emphatic stress with head shakes renders them strong oppositional moves.

Throughout this interchange (excerpt 3) between Pat and Chuck, Chil registers his own commentary on the project of getting a bed, even usurping slots intended for Pat (lines 3 and 7). In the slot after Chuck's initial question addressed to Pat ("What do you think") Chil answers with an emphatic "*No:.*" (line 3). Next, in response to Chuck's second question posed to Pat ("Of what"), Chil enters once more in Pat's turn space with a string of "Dih dih dih dih *di:h*" syllables (line 7); at the same time she answers "talking." Though no semantic content is provided with Chil's string of syllables, the intonation used to produce them is clearly hearable as one expressing disgust (through emphasis and vowel elongation on the final syllable of the unit). Chil's moves publicly display his displeasure, his strong protest to the very idea of getting a bed.

7. Chil's alignment toward Pat's explanation of Chil's stance toward disability

In what follows Pat openly expresses her ambivalence about how best to care for her dad: abiding by his wishes to be treated as more able-bodied or attending to him as one would a disabled person. In excerpt 4 Pat accounts for the change in her position about ordering a bed by citing his reaction to the current argument: "I'm ambivalent right now 'cause he's really very upset by it." (lines 1–2)

Chil carefully monitors Pat and times the drinking of his coffee to finish just as Pat finishes talking; when Pat completes saying "He's really, (0.4) very upset by it" Chil lowers his coffee mug, and it makes a loud thud noise on the table. In line 6 of excerpt 4, Chil sequences directly to Pat's talk with "Ih Dih dih Dih *Dih:*." Elsewhere we have analyzed the form of sequencing of moves exhibited here as "piggybacking" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990, pp. 101–107), replicating in some way the gist of prior speaker's talk in the midst of arguments. The talk produced by "piggybacking" has a somewhat special sequential organization: though an utterance builds upon immediately prior talk, the party speaking is not the addressee of that prior talk and what is said does not reply to it (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990, p. 102.)

Excerpt 4 Pat discusses her take on Chil's stance towards his disability

```
01 PAT:    I don'know.
02         I'm ambivalent right now 'cause
03         He's really, (0.4) very upset by it.
04 CHL:    ((sets down cup loudly))
05 PAT:    Part of it is his,=
```

```
06 CHL:    =ih Dih dih [Dih Dih:.
07 PAT:                [Has staunchly refused
08         To ever be more disabled that he is.=
09 CHL:    Yes Yes Yes.
10 CHU:    *hh Look. Its only for three da:ys.
```

```
11 CHL:    YUH    DIH    DIH:.
```

Figure 6.5 Chil expresses righteous indignation

Having stopped drinking, Chil is thus prepared to initiate an alternative activity: speaking. Pat has elaborated why she is ambivalent about ordering a bed. She knows that Chil is upset because a special hospital

bed has been ordered. The act of ordering a bed indexes a form of disability status, one Pat states that Chil does not want to inhabit; as Pat explains, he "has staunchly refused to ever be more disabled than he *is*" (lines 7–8).

As Pat elaborates her notion of Chil's position regarding how he does not want to be treated as disabled, she produces a brief pause following "part of it is his," (line 5). Chil (line 6) quickly enters and latches his turn onto Pat's talk to affiliate with her talk; with his "ih dih dih Dih *Dih:*". Chil aligns to what Pat had said, seconding in some fashion the action embodied by prior talk (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990, p. 102).

Chil attaches his own series of "dih dih dih" syllables with a particular prosody to lexico-semantic structure produced by another (Pat) to construct a stance as a co-teller. He begins to speak at just the time she has entered a brief pause while speaking. Two readings of Chil's move are possible: (1) A first reading is that he is saying, "Listen to this. This is my perspective as well: Pat is right" as he turns his gaze toward Chuck. An expression of emotion – being "upset" – is also hearable through the prosody used; (2) An alternative reading is that Chil is animating the character of Chil in the small episode Pat is relating of 'doing being upset.' (See Figure 6.5.) From this position Chil, in Goffman's terms, animates himself as the figure in Pat's description of Chil being upset. Chil can arguably be seen as a co-teller while simultaneously enacting or animating the principal character in the related episode.

Pat then talks at the same time as Chil as she continues her own depiction of Chil, stating, "He has staunchly refused to ever be more disabled than he is" (lines 7–8). This time in response to Pat's depiction of him, Chil provides an explicit affirmation of Pat's talk by emphatically reiterating "*Yes*" three times; Chil's "yes" utterances display his overwhelmingly strong agreement with the statement Pat is making. Chil thus has two ways of displaying affiliative stance; (1) through the polarity expression "*yes*" and (2) through his "*dih dih dih*" string of syllables piggybacking onto teller Pat's talk. In this way he can animate a character affiliated with the description of the main teller, Pat.

Something quite contrastive occurs in Chil's response to Chuck. Chil protests the line that Chuck is taking regarding ordering the bed. When Chuck attempts to account for the argument of getting the bed saying, "Look. It's only for *three da:ys.*" (line 10) Chil objects strongly; he produces "YUH DIH *DIH:*" while he shakes his head from right to left and back to right again. This utterance takes on a completely different intonation contour from the enthusiastic "*Yes yes yes*" affiliative agreement to Pat. With its lower falling contour and louder final elongated vowel syllable it expresses disdain or disgust rather than affiliation toward what is said. We thus can see how quickly Chil can alter the stance being taken toward what is being said; while he affiliates with the line that Pat is producing

about the integrity of his wanting to be independent, he shows revulsion toward the plan of getting a bed that Chuck proposes. In lines 6 and 11 this is conveyed through intonational contours on the syllables "dih dih dih" rather than through lexico-grammatical encoding, semantic talk.

8. Reconfiguring participation and Chil's presentation of self

Pat continues with her account of how Chil has managed to survive, stating it was because he "refused to ever take one step further than he had to into disability land" (lines 12–18).

Excerpt 5 Pat continues and Chil admonishes Chuck

```
12 PAT:   This is why he's still alive now.
13        Because he(hh)'s re(h)fu(h)sed
14        [To ever go one step further
15 CAN:   [Hhh
16 PAT:   Than he had to.
17 CHL:   Dih dih dih. ((looking at Chuck))
18 PAT:   In disability land.
19 CHU:   Well I agree.=But on the other hand,
20        [I don't-
21 CHL:   [AH DIH DIH DIH [DI::H.
22 JLA:                  [hhh
23 CAN:   Eh heh!
24 JLA:   [Eh hih HIH.     *hh. [HIH HIH!
25 PAT:   [NOH:(HHHH)OH(hhh)   [OH!
```

In excerpt 5 Chil presents himself as able-bodied rather than disabled. Pat produces her statement about why Chil is alive today with laugh tokens in her talk ("he(hh)'s re(h)fu(h)sed") (line 13). With these laugh tokens Pat herself takes up a stance of incredulity, commenting on the remarkable way in which Chil chose to lead his life. At a potential transition relevance place in Pat's talk, Chil gazes at Chuck and produces short "dih dih dih" utterances (line 17). As was seen in excerpt 4, by sequencing closely to Pat's talk Chil can be heard as affiliating with what has just been said and providing a coalition of two against one against Chuck. As in excerpt 4, Chil's talk piggybacks onto the talk that Pat has produced. Chil identifies himself as someone who does not want to inhabit the identify of "disabled person."

Chil for the most part takes stances that agree with the position that Pat is taking (about his unwillingness to want to present himself as disabled). When Chuck enters with a statement preface ("but") signaling an alternative position is about to be produced ("but on the other hand,") Chil immediately looks up from where he had been gazing toward his

coffee stirring a biscotti into his coffee mug. Again we see Chil's exquisite precision timing. In overlap with Chuck's continuation of his statement of his reason for wanting to get a bed, with "I don't-" (line 20), Chil produces a string of syllables with distinct prosody, displaying scolding protest: "*AH* DIH DIH DIH *DI::H*" in line 21. Chil's talk is produced emphatically: (1) it contains multiple reiterated strings of syllables; (2) there is stress on the first and last syllables; and (3) the final syllable is elongated to provide a type of prominence. This move by Chil is reacted to by those who are not participants in the dispute; Julia, Candy, and Pat all laugh in response to Chil's scolding move toward Chuck. Suddenly Chuck is targeted as the party whose actions are at issue; laughter from unaddressed recipients affiliates with Chil. The drama changes and the principal figure whose actions feature in the main storyline has shifted from Chil to Chuck.

The public nature of the signs that Chil is producing provide evidence for a particular presentation of self which he is building; Chil claims to know his limits and abilities and protests being treated as disabled. Pat acknowledges that Chil is upset and presents the idea that perhaps accepting his position of not wanting a bed is more valid than treating him as someone who is ill. In essence two alternative trajectories for dealing with Chil, leading to two contrastive identities, are presented. Pat could present herself as a nurse, someone who would treat him according to medical protocols and expectations, or as a daughter, someone respecting his autonomy of choice. The parallels of personal vs. institutional identity are reminiscent of those presented in Steve Leder's book *The Beauty of What Remains* (2021). Lever explains that counseling his dying father as a father to a son is quite different from giving counsel as a rabbi to someone in his congregation.

9.   Parody and shifting frame: re-structuring the role of principal character

In what follows differing opinions are given by Julia and Chuck regarding the advisability of following through on the bed rental plan. Julia (line 1 in excerpt 6), affiliating with Pat's "*NO:*" in line 24 of excerpt 5, supports the idea that the bed is not needed. Her action receives a large guffawing laugh from Pat. Two other moves take place simultaneously. Chil in lines 5–6 agrees with Julia; he affiliates to her position via piggybacking a "dih dih dih" string of syllables to her statement and adds three emphatic affirmative "Yes" agreements, produced with nods that amplify the intensity of his statement.

Excerpt 6 Julia aligns with Chil

```
01 JLA:  [Nope. I don't think we should get it.
02 CAN:  [Heh-heh!
03 PAT:  eh [HEH_HEH! HAH-HAH!
04 CHK:     [No. I think we should.
05 CHL:     [uh dih-dih-dih. ((nods)) YES
06 CHL:  Yes. [Yes. ((nodding))
07 CHU:       [No. I think it's better if we have it.
08 CHL:  No. ((shaking head))
09 CHU:  Dad you were very very-
```

Meanwhile simultaneously with Pat's laughter and Chil's alignment with Julia, Chuck reiterates his own position: "I think we *should*." (line 4). He then in line 7 restates his position in a turn that occurs in overlap with one of Chil's "yes" statements. "No. I think it's better if we have it." Chuck's position receives only a single "No" token from Chil.

In excerpt 7 which follows there is an expansive development of Chuck's ideas. Chuck recounts as a professor might in a lecture (with few opportunities for questions) a series of reasons why it is important to get the bed. Chil had gotten sick yesterday; it's best to be prepared, rested, and healthy so that one has "a little edge" and won't have to go to the doctor. The list of reasons that Chuck recites is extensive and he produces his talk quickly and nonstop, with few pauses (as indicated by latches in the transcript in lines 9 and 10.) The multiple in-breaths (lines 4, 8, and 11) as he catches his breath index the speed with which he is talking.

Excerpt 7 Chil mimics Chuck

```
01 CHK:  All of a sudden
02       We didn't expect it yesterday
03       All of a sudden you got really really,
04       *hh sick (0.5)
05       En- what you wa:nt at that point
06       Especially to avoid having to go
07       To a doctor or something
08       *hh You want every little edge you've got
09       to get over the sickness.=
10       =So that if you can be up en you can be,
11       *hh resting that gives you, *hh that little
12       [Edge. You can't- em hm. ((smiles looks down))
13 CHL:  [((makes face, bobs head right and left))
```


Figure 6.6

```
14 JLA:    Hih- [Hih Hih-hih heh huh ((lowers face))
15 CAN:         [Hhhh ((lowers face
16 PAT:    [heh-heh-heh-heh
17 CHU:    [It's not like Dad- It's not-
18         We're still [go- doing [everything else.
19 CHL:                [dih dih   [eh dih-dih
20 CHU:    [We're going off with the- ((smiles))
21 CHL:    [((bobs head left to right))
22 CAN:    [heh!
23 CHL:    [ih dih-dih ih dih-dih ((bobs head))
24         ((turns left to right, opens jaw,
25         mimicking speaking, scowls))
```


Figure 6.7

As Chuck is discussing that "little *edge*" (lines 11–12) he feels Chil will gain with a bed that allows him to sleep better, Chil assumes a face of someone who is sneering (line 13, excerpt 7), while looking at Chuck (see Figure 6.6). Chil then begins to turn his head from left to right addressing those to each side of him. By bobbing his head up and down quickly while turning his face, Chil's gestures metaphorically mimic Chuck talking at breakneck speed. His actions make fun of Chuck's presentation and invalidate it. Immediately Julia, Candy, and Pat begin laughing at Chil's enactment (lines 14–16). In line 23 Chil shifts from a nonvocal enactment alone to the addition of vocalization, as he produces a syllable string with markedly higher pitch to further mock and impersonate Chuck. Thus at the conclusion of Chil's enactment both Julia and Candy produce laughter, lowering their heads as they display embarrassment. Even Chuck joins in the merriment (line 20); by smiling and quickly cutting off his talk, Chuck accepts this new carnivalization of his earlier presentation. By joining in the others' laughter he not only aligns with the shift in frame (Goffman, 1974), but also saves face.

In a final excerpt (excerpt 8), Chil adeptly produces a climax for the bed dispute, after Chuck says, "It's a question of where to *pu:t* it." With Chil's "Yeah duh-da" (line 4), he seems to agree with Chuck and join the search

for a place for the bed. This is quickly followed by a laughter-infused string of syllables ("huh-huh ih jee jee"), which index a stance toward the type of action to come (a laughable one). With Chil's next action, he explicitly addresses the question Chuck has raised by producing an exaggerated embodiment of his suggestion for where to put the bed. Raising his arm, he enacts energetically throwing an object up and over the railing into the garden below them (Figures 6.8, 6.9).

Excerpt 8 Chil as speaker has the last laugh

```
01 CHK:    Uh:, So- uh:
02         It's a question of where to put it.
03         I originally thought-
04 CHL:    Yeah duh-da [Huh-huh ih jee jee
05 JLA:                [°°*hhhh heh heh
06 CHL:    Daaah. ((gestures throwing bed))
07         ((over railing to garden below))
```
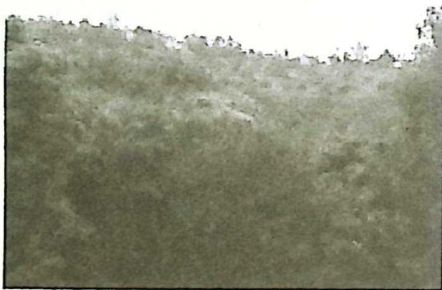

Figure 6.8   Figure 6.9

Figure 6.10

```
08 JLA:    [AH HAH HAH HAH HAH-HAH-HAH-HAH!
```
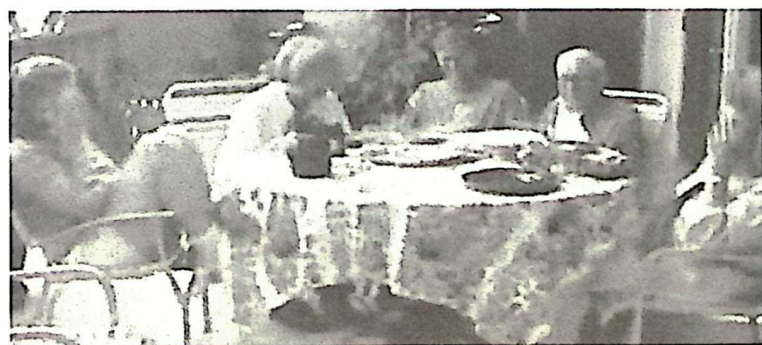
Figure 6.11

Figure 6.12

```
09 CHK:    [Heh-heh heh-heh hih-hih
10 PAT:    [eh heh-heh-heh hih
11 JLA:    *Hhhh Hih-hih hih-hih Hih!
```


Figure 6.13

```
12 PAT:    Where to put it.
```


Figure 6.14

With this action Chil reorganizes the participation framework. Through expressive prosody, gesture, and facial expression, he is, figuratively, able to propel participants into an alternative scenario to the one proposed by Chuck. By agreeing with and then hijacking the trajectory of the sequence Chuck has initiated, Chil creates a scene depicting a bed he does not want being tossed over the railing (see Figures 6.8–6.10). He demonstrates his mastery in keying the frame as a make-believe laughable scene.

Chil progressively transforms how participants align to the encounter at hand. By closely following Chil's participation from excerpts 1–8, we are able to see how he quite skillfully shifts from a position of strong disagreement in excerpt 1, to chiding parody of Chuck's lecturing, in excerpt 7, and ultimately into a mocking alignment with Chuck's pursuit of "where to put" the bed, in excerpt 8. Chil achieves a complete repudiation of the project Chuck is pursuing. With his parodying of Chuck's lecturing (excerpt 7), Chil's exaggerated gesture-gaze-vocalization transforms the structure provided by Chuck's utterances. Chil's vivid animations of Chuck and his extreme suggestion of where to put the bed receive fully embodied responses of hearty laughter so intense that Julia's leg almost causes a water jug to be spilled (see Figures 6.11–6.14).

Here we see the intensely embodied stances taken in response to Chil's enactment of throwing the bed over the railing. Julia and Pat lean back in their chairs while laughing (Ford & Fox, 2010) and Candy and Chuck lower their heads. Pat provides the coda of Chil's small telling with her reuse with transformation of Chuck's phrase "Where to *put* it."

10.   Conclusion

Arguing against a micro-sociology of interaction uniquely focused on the verbal channel, Goffman sought to build a thoroughly multi sensorial and multimodal investigation of the human situation. As he explains in *Behavior in Public Places* (1963, p. 22), "Copresence renders persons uniquely accessible, available, and subject to one another. Public order, in its face-to-face aspects, has to do with the normative regulation of this accessibility." Crucial to maintaining copresence, where mutual monitoring occurs, are public practices of embodiment or situated "body techniques" (Mauss, 1979) displayed by participants within moment-to-moment interaction.

We view *participation* as a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions and stances that contribute to the further progression of these same events. In what we have examined multiple stances are maintained by differentiated actors positioned within a complex interactive field (C. Goodwin, 1984). Participation

status shifts rapidly. In this interaction we first (excerpt 1) saw Chil as the addressee of Chuck's announcement that Chil would be subject to his decisions about getting a bed. By excerpt 8 Chil is the protagonist and instigator of ridicule of Chuck. In excerpt 6 Chil affiliates with Julia's position that a hospital bed is not needed, creating a coalition in opposition to Chuck's ideas.

Despite his impoverished lexicon, Chil is able to make use of the words of others, incorporating them into his own interactive moves. Thus as a speaker, Chil is distributed across multiple actors, appropriating the rich language structure of others for his own purposes. Chil displays his stances of outraged opposition through head shakes, exaggerated bodily movements, and defiant "nos," as well as through his overlap with his son's talk.

We see how through their acting together father and son share a developing dialogue together face to face, and participate, as Schutz (1967, p. 163) says in the process of "growing old together":

> I speak of another person as within reach of my direct experience when he shares with me a community of space and a community of time. He shares a community of space with me when he is present in person and I am aware of him as such, and, moreover, when I am aware of him as this person himself, this particular individual, and of his body as the field upon which play the symptoms of his inner consciousness. He shares a community of time with me when his experience is flowing side by side with me, when I can at any moment look over and grasp his thoughts as they come into being, in other words, when we are growing older together.

Chil is an actor with a powerful emotional life. Schutz (1967, p. 163) highlights the body as "the field upon which play the symptoms of his inner consciousness." While it is critical to highlight the body of the individual, it is equally important to take into account engagement with the public semiotic environment that Pat, Julia, and Candy participate in. Through the embodied stances taken up and the secreted signs of their involvement (facial expressions and body positions), participants work together in a public environment that others can attend to.

Pat's stances toward the idea of getting a hospital bed change through time. Initially in excerpt 2 Pat is silent with respect to Chuck's announcement to Chil (though her body and facial expression exudes embarrassment or chagrin). In excerpt 3, line 5, however, Pat takes the position of a nurse, cautious and concerned, like her sibling Chuck, for her father's well-being. In excerpt 4 she expresses her ambivalence about getting a bed, stating that by never wanting to consider himself disabled, Chil has been able to thrive.

Pat, Julia, and Candy are not the initial protagonists with speaking roles in the argument about the bed. Yet within the interactive field constituted through the talk of Chuck and Chil, Pat and Julia actively render their own commentary through embodied stances of incredulity and amazement. In the midst of the dispute Pat shrugs her shoulders: while laughing, Julia covers her eyes in a form of momentary withdrawal from the naked senses of the others. When Chil provides a parodying embodied meta-commentary on Chuck's verbose extended argument, non-speaking onlookers provide appreciative laughter in the midst of Chil's turn, ratifying Chil's depiction of Chuck. While Goffman's analysis of "participant roles" (i.e., hearers') is of only limited use in our analysis, his decomposition of the speaker roles (author, animator, figure) proved a useful framework for looking at Chil's agency. Through his animations in excerpt 7 Chil, as speaker, fashions an identity for *Chuck* as someone deserving admonishment for the way he devises plans without informing the principal figure (Chil) of the plan. In this respect we see not only how Goffman's writings about micro-seconds of mutual monitoring (1964) coupled with the animation of characters (1979) in which metacommentary is rendered are relevant to examining the data presented here; in addition we see how his work on social identity as institutionally grounded (and resisted) (1961) is decidedly fruitful.

Goffman (1961, p. 320) in analysis of total institutions has argued that "our sense of selfhood can arise through the little ways in which we resist the pull" of others' assignments of a social identity. By closely examining Chil's presentation of self in interaction with others we see how local identities emerge. Through continuous oppositional moves Chil can resist, protest, and object to the depictions of himself as disabled and needing a special bed. But, more importantly, in interaction Chil's sense of self is created through the ways in which he can actively participate in arguments and recruit others to his position. Chil's parodying Chuck and his enactment of where to put the bed receive laughter from everyone present and reconfigure forms of participation on the table.

What our analysis of this encounter has revealed is that action within interaction cannot be found in the stream of speech alone, but instead is emergent through the meaningful frameworks created by acting and interacting bodies (C. Goodwin, 2000a; M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012). From this perspective, stance and affect are not individual phenomena or primarily manifestations of a single actor's psychological state, but instead core public features that interactively constitute the action of the moment to be what it is. The analysis of Chil's participation in interaction shows us that being a speaker does not begin with the symbolic competence of the individual; rather the focus should be upon the multimodal practices through which one can participate in the public processes of dialogue with others.

Acknowledgments

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