Assisted Storytelling: Deploying Shared Knowledge as a Practical Matter

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Previous studies have shown that storytelling in conversation consists of more than a speaker producing an extended narrative. Stories issue from the concerted action of storyteller and story recipients. The current study identifies features of storytelling found when some participants share knowledge of the source events for the story. Practices for assisting story initiation are described. Through these practices participants arrange who will deliver the story and concomitantly establish the other participant as a story consociate and thereby as a possible co-teller. Practices for assisting the delivery of a story are then described. A set of story entry devices is identified, and these devices are shown to provide occasions for changing tellers in the course of a story. Repeated use of these devices can provided repeated opportunities for re-arranging who will continue the story, thus producing the possibility of a collaboratively told story. The report ends with a discussion of assisted story reception. Assisted storytelling is shown to be a systematic elaboration of storytelling organization with opportunities for a story consociate to participate in both the delivery and reception of the story from the story preface, throughout the story, and into the final reception by story recipients.

Although stories are sometimes treated as seamless, fixed texts that are the products of uninterruptable monologues, stories told in conversation have been shown to be a least in part products of systematic interactional practices involving both storyteller and story recipients.[1] For example, many stories told in conversation are begun with a story preface sequence (Sacks, 1974) in which a story is first proposed or foreshown by a potential teller and then in some manner is forwarded (or preempted)

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by another participant. After the preface sequence the continuing relevance of a story-in-progress is then maintained (or abandoned) moment-by-moment as an ongoing accomplishment of the participants throughout the course of the storytelling. And on a story's recognizable completion (and in part to participate in bringing about story sequence completion) story recipients ordinarily demonstrate their understanding and appreciation of the story (Sacks, 1971, Fall Lecture 1).

Stories told in conversation are usually produced with one participant as the story's deliverer, while one or more of their interlocutors participate as story recipients. When three or more participants are present an additional possibility becomes relevant.[2] There may be two (or more) participants who can jointly initiate and then participate in delivering a story for other participants by employing shared knowledge of events that form the source of the story. Though only one of these participants may actually come to tell the story, the aim of this paper is to show that both assisting a storyteller and co-telling a story are moment-to-moment, methodical (i.e., procedural) possibilities.

Though several investigators (Watson, 1975; Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, 1977; M. H. Goodwin, 1982a, 1982b, 1990) report instances of collaboration in storytelling, they are not primarily concerned with this activity. Eder (1988) provides a more detailed treatment of collaborative narration. She proposes that co-tellers act in accord with sociolinguistic rules of narratives. She found that co-tellers divide the functions of description and evaluation among the different speakers, and use repetition of words and phrases, as well as use conjunctions (e.g., *and*) to string together clauses into one long sentence. Mandelbaum (1987) provides a single case analysis of a collaboratively told story.

The present report provides a detailed description of assisted storytelling as a concerted achievement of the participants. The aim here is to describe a form of sociality in a way that highlights its emergent, contingent, interactive, and yet routine character. I am more interested in recovering the *possibility* of collaborative storytelling than I am in cataloging the resulting narrative structures.

This report describes features of story assistance at each position of the storytelling sequence: story preface, story telling, and story reception. The first part of the report addresses assisted story initiation. I begin with a consideration of story prefaces that seem to be produced solely for story recipients. Yet their production provides an occasion for participants to demonstrate shared knowledge of the story source events. That is, story prefaces (even when unassisted) seem to provide the sequential opportunity for a second knowing participant—a *story consociate* (cf. Schutz, 1973)—to share in story initiation. Next, I consider assisted story initiation. Here three

story preface types are examined. Characteristically, these prefaces involve a speaker foreshowing a story for one (possibly uninformed) coparticipant, while at the same time implicating a next action for a second (already informed) coparticipant.

The second part of the report describes how story consociates contribute to the delivery of the story itself. Consociate recipiency (e.g., anticipatory laughter) is described. In addition, a set of story entry devices is identified. These story entry devices consist of such actions as elaboration of story elements and correction of facts. The use of story entry devices shapes the emerging story and provides opportunities throughout the course of story delivery for the transfer of tellership.

The report ends with a brief consideration of assisted story reception. Participation in story reception provides a way for story consociates to cast the relevance of the story for subsequent talk. The fact that assistance occurs at all three positions of the storytelling sequence anticipates a central finding. Story consociate participation—though it represents a distinct alignment to the emerging story—does not change the overall structural organization of the storytelling sequence.

STORY INITIATION

As noted above stories told in conversation can be introduced by a story preface sequence. The first part of this sequence—the story preface—foreshows the possibility of a story as at line 1 of instance (1).

(1) [SF2]
     ((Mark has asked about a common acquaintance who recently moved away.))
1→ Bob: Yih did hear about the mugging.(0.4) the second mugging?
2   (1.2)
3   Mark: The s:econd mugging I heard about o:ne,
4   Bob: You didn't hear about the other one?

For a story to begin and be successfully told recipients must in a sense recognize that a story is about to be told and they must provide the teller with an 'action space' to deliver the story by limiting their participation to actions such as continuers (Schegloff, 1982; C. Goodwin, 1986) and other forms of story recipiency that sustain the delivery of the story and do not derail it. The story preface can occasion this alignment or alternatively provide an opportunity for the intended recipient to show that they have already heard the story. Sacks (1974) suggests that the story preface provides a routine first site for potential story recipients to show that they have already heard a story, thereby preempting its delivery.

In addition, the story preface can provide an opportunity, and possibly even an obligation for 'knowing recipients' to demonstrate their shared knowledge of the story source events (especially when that is not revealed in the preface) thereby revealing their story consociate alignment to the story. This can provide an initial indication that they may be *possible* cotellers.

Consociate entry may include an assessment that shows recipients what sort of story they are hearing and how they might assess it on its completion as in line 3 of (2).

(2) [Chicken Dinner II:7(simplified)]
    ((The speakers are talking about potatoes.))
    1   Nancy: Yeah where did you git tho:se. Guy they're hu:ge.
    2   Vivian: Well what happ'n was we picked up a ba:[g
    3 →Shane: [Oh yeh it wz ba:[:d
    4   Vivian: [en they were
    5   rott'n.(0.7) So they said (1.7) go back en pick another bag.

Laughter can also be used to demonstrate shared knowledge of the source events of a story in the course of a preface addressed to potential story recipients. In (3) Melenie demonstrates her story consociate alignment by laughing in the course of a story preface (by her spouse) addressed to other participants.

(3) [MEL]
    1   Tim: I got a religious chain letter taday thet [threatened me with death,=
    2 → Melenie: [((laughter))
    3   Tim: =if I broke the chain.

Beyond demonstrating prior knowledge of the story source events in the course of the story preface, story consociates can actively assist in story initiation.

ASSISTED STORY INITIATION

Assisted story prefaces, in addition to foreshowing an upcoming story, ushering in recipiency and demonstrating shared knowledge, also provide an occasion for settling who will begin the story. A coparticipant can be selected to deliver the story through a story prompt or story 'provocation.' Moreover, there can be competition to tell the story when neither participant with shared knowledge of the story source has been selected to deliver the story as in the case of a preface that takes the form of a reminiscence. Three forms of assisted story initiation will be considered: story prompt, story provocation, and reminiscence recognition solicit.

Story Prompt

One type of assisted story preface is the story prompt. In a story prompt one participant solicits a story from another participant, while casting others present as recipients. This demonstrates their knowledge of the story source events. In addition, the prompter shows that knowledge of the source of the proposed story is shared between themselves and the proposed storyteller. This can be seen in (4) at line 1.

> (4) [Schenkein]
> 1→Leni: Oh you haftuh tell'm about yer typewriter honey,
> 2 Jim: oh yes.
> 3 Edith: Yeah didju hear from them?
> 4 Jim: Yes,
> 5 Leni: We had m- more [trouble, (("more"=a lot of))
> 6 Jim: [( ) put in a,
> 7 Leni: Oh you told'em (I forgot)
> 8 Jim: (They're g'nna) put inna new, (.) keyboard.
> 9 Joe: Oh they are?=

In this instance it turns out that potential recipients have already heard the story, except for the final outcome. So, the story is not told.

A story prompt preface can be expanded when there is no immediate uptake by the proposed teller. For example, the prompting of a possibly reluctant potential teller may occur as in (5). Other elements of this story are described by C. Goodwin (1986, 1987) and Schegloff (1987, 1988, 1989).

> (5) [GOODWIN:AUTO]
> 1→Phyl: Mike siz there wz a big fight down there las' night,
> 2 Curt: Oh rilly?
> 3   (0.5)
> 4→Phyl: with Keegan en, what, Paul [de Wa::ld?
> 5 Mike: [Paul de Wa:ld. Guy out of,=
> 6 Curt: =De Wa:ld yeah I [(know'm)
> 7 Mike: [Tiffen.

Phyl's utterance at line 1 foreshows a possible story. However, she is setting up the story for someone else to deliver. This is accomplished by formulating the news of the "big fight" as a report by the copresent source of that news.[3] By formulating the news as a second hand account (as "hearsay") she shows Mike to be the authoritative source for unpacking the events summarized by "big fight." Phyl does not select Mike to speak next, but there is a site for Mike to begin the story after the receipt of the news by Curt at line 2 ("Oh rilly?"). That is, the news receipt

(Terasaki, 1976) provides a place for a story to begin. If Phyl were to begin the story herself, she could begin after Curt's receipt of the announcement as news. However, she does not speak at the place the story ought to begin. That site is left for Mike. Yet Mike does not begin speaking either.

Rather than begin the story herself, Phyl extends the initial story preface. She does this in a way that again prompts Mike to tell the story. This action is achieved through both the design of her utterance at line 4 and a concurrent shift in her gaze. I will first turn to an examination of Phyl's utterance at line 4. This will be followed by a description of her gaze shift. Though these two aspects of the preface extension are analytically distinguishable features, the sequential import of the action issues from the visible unity of what is being said and done.

Phyl's utterance at line 4 is built as an extension of her prior utterance at line 1. "With Keegan . . ." is designed as a syntactic continuation of her initial prompt, rather than as a confirmatory response to Curt's news receipt which is also relevant here. She extends the preface by naming the fight participants. This continues the relevance of the story. Naming makes relevant an appraisal of the recognizability of the principal characters by Curt. This would again make a story relevant after recognition is achieved. However, the naming is used to produce a concurrent action—one that implicates a separate next action and selects a different speaker. She requests the aid of a knowing recipient in the course of speaking to an unknowing recipient (C. Goodwin, 1981, Chapter 5).

The naming of the fight participants comes to take the form of a reference check in which she invites confirmation or correction (cf. Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). Soliciting a confirmation of the names of the principal characters from Mike (while, and as, a solicit of recognition of those same persons from Curt) continues her alignment as a less authoritative prior recipient of the story, continues Curt's alignment as a story recipient and again makes relevant Mike's entry at a place the story could begin. If Mike, on whose behalf the announcement is being made, does not provide or confirm the reference he would clearly be withholding it. This is a powerful way to prompt a reluctant storyteller.

I will now turn to the gaze shift that turns Mike into the addressed recipient of Phyl's utterance. Phyl and Mike are on one side of a picnic table. Mike is on Phyl's right side. Curt is directly across from her while another participant, Gary, is next to Curt (i.e., across from Mike) (see Fig. 1).

Curt is probably the addressed recipient at the beginning of Phyl's utterance at line 4, though her gaze seems to be somewhere between
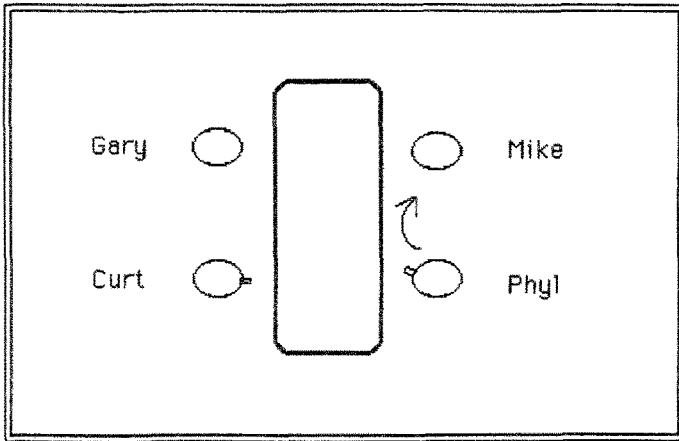
Fig. 1.

Curt and Gary. (If gazing directly across the table at Curt is 12 o'clock and looking directly at Mike is 3 o'clock, then she is turned to about 12:30.) Over the course of her utterance at line 4 Phyl turns her head toward Mike in two distinct stages. Her first movement (which occurs simultaneously with "with") ends at about 1 o'clock. The second move occurs over the course of "en, what" ending at about 2 o'clock. She brings this movement to completion at just the point the name of the second person involved in the fight is due. This brings her gaze to Mike—though it is done without either turning her upper body toward him or fully turning her head toward him. This movement seems visible to the participants. Schegloff (1991) suggests that "torqued" body positions such as this are unstable. This is, interactants do not seem to hold a twisted body position for long. This recognizably transient position provides a visible way to show that the initial recipient (Curt) will be re-turned to and remains the recipient of the story preface. This is a *passing position* in both senses of the term; it is a temporary body position and as such it is also a visible way to pass the foreshown story to Mike for delivery (cf. Jefferson & Schenkein, 1978). This not only selects Mike as confirmor of the reference, but also as the reference check was done as part of a story preface, it concomitantly selects him as storyteller vis-á-vis the story's recipient.

Story Provocation

Another form of story initiation is the story provocation. It is possible for a story consociate to provoke a coparticipant into telling a story.

(6) [Volleyball 2]

1	Davis:	thee ah s-study fer fer Sunday In The Park,
2	Sally:	Yeah
3	Davis:	A study of Sunday In The Park. The same (·) the same
4		ah river bank »but without all the« people on it.
5		(0.5)
6	Sally:	oo::.
7	Davis:	si- sorta strange (ta see).
8		(0.9)
9→	Allan:	'course then this irreverent fellow was going (·)
10		↑Max see these Teracota horses down at (Falli's)
11		I wonder if its a real one,=
12	Sally:	=ah [hah hah hah
13	Davis:	[I didn- no I didn't I didn't say that. It was
14		jus'(·) we were eating we were eating our lunch,
15		(·) in the 1- in the liv in the: in thee ah . . . library
16		((Davis then delivers a story about the horse))

The excerpt of conversation shown in (6) emerges from a listing of a half dozen artists whose work had been seen on a visit to a large estate. At line 9 Allan (addressing the one participant who was not on the trip) makes fun of something Davis said while at the estate. This mild derision is then appreciated by the addressed recipient at line 12, while being denied by the butt of the ridicule at line 13. The denial is then supported by a story that explains what actually happened.

Stories can be provoked by teasingly animating what another participant did or said in a way that caricatures, misrepresents, or sequentially isolates their actions. This parody can make a denial relevant, and one form the denial ordinarily takes is [rejection + explanation]. Since the provocative remark animates an actual (but misleading) action of another participant on an earlier occasion, a story provides an apt way to explain what actually happened and what they actually said. That is, it provides a way to reestablish the sequential environment of the portrayed action.

The Reminiscence Recognition Solicit

A third story preface type can be initiated by a reminiscence recognition solicit. A reminiscence recognition sequence [solicit + recognition]

can begin a storytelling to a third (uninformed) participant as in lines 1-3 of (7) and lines 1-5 of (8).

In (7) Michael addresses his talk *to* Nancy, but it is done *for* the other (non-addressed) recipients. Even though the talk is addressed to one recipient, it nonetheless retains relevance for the others present.

> (7) [Chicken Dinner:II:74 (simplified)]
> ((This fragment follows a story about going the wrong way on a one way street.))
> 1→ Michael: 'Member the wah- guy we saw?
> 2   (0.2)
> 3   Nancy: ehh(h)Oh(h)o he[e Y(h)a(h)ah ha ha ha ha=
> 4   Michael: [huh huh
> 5   Michael: =Ey listen (i:[ss),
> 6   Nancy: [AHH:[:::
> 7   Michael: [We w'drivin home one night

When a reminiscence recognition solicit shows that speaker and recipient co-participated in the story source events as in (8), the preface may foreshow a possible story, but not indicate who is meant to deliver it.

> (8) [Green:Thanksgiving]
> 1→ B: Dave remember when we usetta wear the same size shoe?
> 2   (.)
> 3   D: [ye(hh)ah
> 4   A: [ahahh
> 5   D: an we bought ah pair of shoes=es=s[ame time?
> 6   B: [at the same day and he grew woutta his
> 7   an I musta worn mine fer two years later cause my feet stopped growing he go you
> 8   still in those things? hah hah

In instance (8), B solicits a reminiscence recognition from another participant. As can be seen in this instance the participant that begins the sequence is not automatically placed in a position to begin the story. Rather, the solicit provides a series of opportunities for the possible transferring and retransferring of tellership as reminiscence recognition is accomplished and the story begins.

ARRANGEMENT OF TELLERSHIP

The participant initially cast as storyteller in the story preface will not automatically emerge from the story preface sequence as the deliverer. Which participant turns out to begin delivery of the story and which one ends up as story consociate (but possible co-teller) can be interactionally arranged in the course of the preface.

In (9) a word search sequence provides a sequential environment for arranging who will deliver the story. The participants have been telling stories about prank phone calls. This is the beginning of a story about one of these calls.

(9) [Jim and Ginny]
1→ A: what was the one about thah::=
2   B: =chicken parts
3   (.)
4   A: yeah, they called up the delicatessen one time

The word-search-in-a-reminiscence-solicit at line 1 shows that another participant could recognize the object of the search and concomitantly the story source events. The use of a pre-pausal search marker (i.e., "thah::"), provides a site for story consociate entry into the current turn in order to provide the searched-after item. Turning to B's utterance at line 2, notice that "chicken parts" is produced at the first indication of a word search—at the stretch in "thah::." Also, it is produced as an assertion, not as a guess. These two features demonstrate B's shared knowledge of the story source events.

The sequential structure of word searches bears on the issue of who will end up delivering the story. The speaker of the trouble source turn is allocated the turn position after a candidate solution to the search offered by a coparticipant. This slot is regularly used to assess the acceptability of the candidate solution and then to continue. This is in fact what happens in (9) at line 4. The position of B vis-a-vis the story is displayed, but speakership is systematically returned to A at just the position the story can begin. In contrast, if the query had been completed, B (as the addressed recipient of the solicit) could have been in a position to begin the story.

I would like to amplify this analysis in a way that accentuates the interactional character of storyteller selection. This amplification is in part undertaken to examine what sort of description might be needed to warrant the claim that an activity is an interactional achievement. Consider the following sequence:

(10) [FD:IV]
1   A: He didn't go out on the- on the uh— [fire truck did 'e?
2→ B: [No.
3   B: No Huh-uh.

Here the recipient of the turn in which there is a search for a missing item supplies something other than a candidate solution for the search. There is one sequential environment in which recipients systematically produce something other than candidate solutions for the sought after item during

the search for a word. This is not to say that suggestions are not relevant, only that something else is done that demonstrates recognition of the 'missing item' by a co-participant, though that item has not yet been produced. This alternative to producing a candidate item for the search becomes relevant in cases where the search is done within an adjacency pair first pair part (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). In this sequential environment the implicated second pair part can be produced in the place a candidate solution might otherwise go.

This analysis can be applied to instance (9)). It also contains a first pair part. Speaker A produces a question. In this case the searched for item ("chicken parts") *is* produced by B. Taking this into account one might look at B's utterance in (9) as a way of passing on the first opportunity to begin the story. Since B clearly does know what the missing item is, he could have simply produced a second pair part to the reminiscence recognition solicit. And because of the solicit's form ("What was the one about . . .") the demonstration of recognition could have been produced by doing a recognition token such as "oh yeah" and then beginning the story about the "chicken parts."

This possibility may sound like unwarranted conjecture. However, this second variety of sequencing can be seen in instance (11).

(11) [Green:Thanksgiving]
1   B: Dave remember when we usetta wear the same size shoe?
2   (.)
3→ D: ye(hh)ah an we bought ah pair of shoes=es=same time?

Here the story is begun as an extension of the turn in which the recognition token, "ye(hh)ah" is produced.

The story preface is a site for displaying one's alignment to the projected story. It thereby provides a locus for working out who will do the story on a particular occasion. This does not, of course, either guarantee or require tellership for either participant. In other words, the initial determination of who will begin delivering the story and who will participate initially as a story consociate is not fixed by the type of sequence. There are recurrent features here, but these are not preallocated to particular participants. This is so even in the case of an assisted preface in which a coparticipant is specifically selected to begin the story. For example, in (4) after Leni prompts a story from Jim she may actually be starting the delivery herself at line 5. Who comes to begin telling the story is an outcome of a sequence of contingent participant actions—in other words, an interactional achievement.

However, the initial selection of storyteller is not unalterable. Subsequent entry during the story by a story consociate can occur. Moreover,

story consociate entry can lead to a change of storytellers as (12) demonstrates.

(12) [Jim and Ginny]
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1    A: what was the o::ne with thah::=
2    B: =chicken parts
3       (.)
4    A: yeah, they called up the delicatessen one time
5       (.)
6    B: it wz- ugh- alpha [beta]
7    E:               [be:y]dah
8→  A: it wz alpha b =you tell the story
9       (0.3)
10   B: okay we come over ta alpha beta,
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In (12), A formulates her relationship to the story source events and concomitantly the relationship of B to those events at line 4. The storyteller is not a principal character in the story (cf. C. Goodwin, 1984; Sacks, 1971, Fall Lecture 1). After A begins the story, speaker B produces a correction at line 6. This entry re-occasions the issue of who will deliver the story (and hence who will participate as the story consociate). In this instance the correction leads to a change of storytellers. Speaker A uses the correction as a warrant to pass the delivery of the story to another participant. The entry provides an occasion for the transfer of tellership. However, consociate entry need not be or become a bid for tellership. In (12) the transfer is current teller initiated ("you tell the story"). Speaker B produces a correction at line 6 and then stops. He does not attempt to take up the story from there. There is a change of speakers at line 4, but there is not a change of storytellers at that point.

CONSOCIATE PARTICIPATION IN THE COURSE OF STORY DELIVERY

Story consociates can actively participate in the delivery of a story throughout its course. Story consociates are neither (current) storyteller nor story recipient, yet they can participate in both the story delivery and its ongoing reception. (I use the term 'ongoing reception' here to distinguish recipiency during the delivery from the actions that constitute final reception at the completion of a story.) In this section I will briefly consider consociate recipiency then turn to a description of consociate participation in the delivery itself.

Consociate Recipiency

Story consociates participate in the ongoing reception of a story as do story recipients. However, consociate recipiency takes distinct forms. These include consociate continuers such as confirmatory nods. Unlike recipient continuers which are ordinarily addressed to current speaker, these are specifically addressed to recipients to assert confirmation of some element of the story. Story consociates are in effect putting their "stamp of approval" on a portion of the story. (On the other hand story consociates can also find trouble with aspects of the story and its delivery. This is taken up in a later section.)

Story consociates also engage in anticipatory laughter. Laughter produced on a volunteer basis (Jefferson, 1979) by someone other than current speaker is regularly placed in a manner that has a recognizable source for the laughter in the emerging talk. However, this is not the only sequential relationship between laugh token and laugh source. Current speakers sometimes begin laughing before any recognizable laugh source has emerged, thereby projecting a laugh source in upcoming talk. Story consociates can also produce anticipatory laughter. Line 1 of (13) begins the second episode of a story made up of two somewhat independent episodes. The first episode (not shown) was formulated as a preliminary event on the way to the episode beginning at line 1. NAN's laughter comes after "and then we're almost up the hill." This is just the point in the story source events that someone present at the time could see what was coming toward them (a wrong-way driver), but there is no indication of what is to come for unknowing recipients.

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(13)  [Chicken Dinner (simplified)]
1     MIC:      Yihkno:w? hhh En the:n,(.) ↑the:n, (.) wir almost up the hi:ll,
2               En[here comes this ↑g[(h)u(h) y,]
3→    NAN:      [nh-            [HAA HAA] HAA
4               H[A ha [ha ha ha ].u h h .u h h]
5     MIC:      [on the[wrong ↑la]:ne.like you:.]
6     VIV:         [( hhh)   ]           ] huh huh huh
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NAN's vocalization "nh-" (in line 3) ends with her mouth wide open (holding back her laughter after its onset). As NAN does this she also reaches over and touches MIC then bursts into loud laughter at just the beginning of the laugh source. This initially projects for recipients an upcoming laugh source and then underscores its occurrence. Further, the laughter shows recipients (such as VIV) that a possible occasion for recipient laughter is at hand.

One can contrast story consociate recipiency with consociate entry into the delivery of the story in terms of their differential relevance for ensuing talk. Consociate recipiency continues the telling by the current teller, while use of one of a set of story entry devices seems to provide the possibility of re-arranging who will tell the story.

Consociate Entry into the Delivery of the Story

In addition to consociate recipiency, story consociates can participate in the delivery of the story itself. Before proceeding to an examination of story consociate initiated entry, it should be mentioned that storyteller and story recipient can also make consociate entry relevant. Mandelbaum (1987) provides the following example of a request for verification of a detail of the story ("were we loaded?") by current teller.

```
(14) [Chicken Dinner II]
1    MIC:   Fir:st of a::ll, (1.1) we were (.)
2→          w- were we loaded?
3           (1.1)
4           I don't [know if we were loa:ded] or no:t.
5    NAN:        [I don' remember.        ]
```

Speakers treat consociates as monitors of story correctness. The use of a verification request anticipates the possibility of consociate entry if an error is made (C. Goodwin, 1981, Chapter 5). In this way the presence of a story consociate can shape the delivery of a story.

Also, consociate entry can be occasioned by story recipient action as in (15). As a story recipient says, "the wrong way?" at line 8, he looks to the story consociate (SHA). SHA confirms MIC's candidate understanding of the current component of the story with a head nod, and then continues the delivery of the story from there.

```
(15) [Chicken Dinner II (simplified)]
1    VIV:  They have (0.2) w:one way stree:ts'n evrihthi:ng? En then two way streets (.)
2          He made e- (0.3) a lef'tu:rn fr'm a one way stree:t, (0.2) into a two way street
3          .hh bu[t he thought it    ] = [wu:z:
4    SHA:       [B't in the wro(h)ng] = [la:ne hih hih hi[h
5    VIV:                                                 [He thought it wz a one way
6          street so he's tra:veling do:wn- Right? er w'tche wih tellin me?
7          .hh He's travelling [d o : w n ,   ]
8→   MIC:                      [the wrong wa]y?
9          (0.2)
10   VIV:  The wrong [wa: [y
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    11   SHA: [.hh [All'fa sud' dis g[uy go EH::::::::)

These instances reveal that both storyteller and story recipient can orient
to a knowing recipient as a consociate of the current teller and as a possible
co-teller. However, consociates do not always wait for another participant
to address them to enter the delivery of the story as at line 4. I now turn
to story consociate initiated entry.

Story Consociate Initiated Entry

    In this section I examine two sources of story consociate entry. First,
story consociates (as *incipient* co-tellers) enter to repair aspects of both the
story and its delivery. As Sacks (1971, Fall lecture 4) observed, "A spouse
listens precisely to the story they already know for its more or less correct
presentation [and if not correctly presented] what they do is put in correc-
tions at the proper places." These devices project limited entry. Other
forms of limited entry have been identified, but these will not be examined
here.[4] Second, story consociates (as *actual* co-tellers) enter to continue the
story. I briefly describe one systematic form this can take for one type of
story. Here consociates enter as co-tellers to render their own part in the
story.

Repairing Trouble

    Four sources of trouble that provide occasions for story consociate
assistance are examined here. These are 1. trouble in the event sequencing
of the story, 2. trouble in the delivery (i.e., disruption of the progressivity
of the story), 3. trouble in story elaboration, and 4. trouble in the facts of
the story.
    1. Trouble in the event sequencing of the story. Stories told in con-
versation ordinarily have a temporal-sequential trajectory. That is,
components are explicitly ordered as occurring one after another over time.
The claim of a missing event in the event sequence emerging in the story
can be used to warrant entry. This is characterized by insertion of a story
segment which is an antecedent to the segment currently being produced
by the current teller as in (16).

    (16)   [MEL]
    1   Tim: so I said (I said y'know) an' whadda you think I aughta do?
    2→Melenie: well FIRST he didn['t say anything for a long time
    3   J: [(boy ya better send that o(h)ne)
    4   (.)

5   Melenie: you kinda foldit up we threw the rest a the mail away you just kinna fo:l
6   didit up an carried it up stairs

As has been noted by others (e.g., Pomerantz, 1984), 'well' is often em-
ployed as a pre-disagreement token. In (16) this usage does not itself locate
an error in the facts of the story, rather "well FIRST" characterizes the
prior story component as a trouble source only insofar as it is 'out of se-
quence.' In this instance the entry turns out to produce a change of tellers
(though it need not).

2. Trouble in the delivery. Storytelling can be slowed or derailed
through such digressions from its temporal-sequential path as the search
for a word, problems in person and place recognition by recipients, and
word articulation problems. These disruptions to the progressivity of the
story's delivery constitute a class of entry environments for story consoci-
ates. This can be seen in (17).

(17) [HS:Storytelling]
1   P: . . . and uh, the photo department came in one day found, this whole pile of
2   dog doo on top of their photo enlarger table
3   V: (laughs))
4   J: Well, that's that's about par for the photo department=
5   P: =Wait, no, they didn' do that, i', with a note sayin' "A Gift for You" and
6   right next to it was the bottle of Strawberry Hill that's been around for the last
7   J: ((coughs))
8→ P: B'cause it, he said, he said, y'know, I guess he's really against anybody who uses
9   scab=
10   V: =oh, it said about, he said somethi- about them being scabs
11   P: Yeah

There is a disruption in the progressivity of the story at line 8. After
cutting off a description of the accompanying bottle, the storyteller pro-
duces a compounding series of self-corrections in an attempt to get back
to a description of the contents of the note. The storyteller moves from
describing what "it" (the note) said, to quoting what "he" (the janitor) said.
He finally abandons the recollection of the events and scene of the story
altogether to provide a characterization of the janitor's attitude toward the
use of scabs. This final part of his utterance is formulated as a current
evaluation of the motive behind the janitor's action. P has been describing
past events, but here moves to a present tense formulation ("I guess he's
. . ."). It is in the course of this third try (as P lapses out of the narrative)
that V begins speaking. She comes in with an attempt (not altogether suc-
cessful) to produce the troublesome element (producing it in past tense)
as an element of the story.

3. Trouble in story elaboration. Story consociates warrant entry by demonstrating that a more thorough development is needed for recipient understanding.

(18) [Goodwin:Chapter 5:156]
1   Nadine: You remember Father Denelland that mar- Well yeah we were married three
2   times. Y[ou knew that story.
3   Anita: [I didn't know ever hear that.
4   :
5   Nadine: When we- When we were youngsters we elo:ped,
6   and were marr[ied in Maryland,
7→ Jim: [Went to Elkton
8   Nadine: to Elkton Maryland,[.hh
9   Jim: [Then we got married in Jamaica,

At line 5 Nadine characterizes their marriage as an elopement. This implies travel to another location, but that is not made explicit. At line 7 Jim adds a place name to specify the destination of the elopement. The warrant here seems to be that more attention to detail is needed. C. Goodwin (1981, Chapter 5) shows that at least on some occasions the non-inclusion of a detail can be a noticeable omission, and he goes on to show that these story elaboration items can be punctiliously placed in the course of the emerging story by a story consociate.

One device regularly used to achieve this type of entry is the clarifying appendor (Sacks, 1967, Spring lecture 17). In instance (19) the storyteller seems to be pursuing a strong recipient assessment. The story consociate produces a clarification to aid in proper recipient understanding. (Here 'understanding' seems to be measured by the production of a sufficiently strong negative assessment by a story recipient.)

(19)[Gerken]
1   Cathy: One time we wn'to a restaurant down there 'n-th- they adda waitress named
2   Tilly. (0.6) She adda big mo:le,
3   ( )   uhh[h huh
4   ( )   [hhhh hu hheh .eh
5   Cathy: [She 'ad this big hairy mole y'know those kinds r(h)eally gross ones,
6→ Cindy: o(h)n her neck.=
7   Terri: =Oh how d'sgusting,
8   (0.2)
9   ( )   mghhhmm[mm
10 Cindy: ['n Pam Hatch wz with us 'n we made up a song . . .
11   about a tip fer Tilly,

In (19) at line 6 "on her neck" is placed at the end of an otherwise possibly complete utterance as a clarifying appendor. It is built as a continuation of the prior and seems to be directed to the same recipient as the prior utterance. It is not built to produce a next component in the story, but to elaborate the just prior utterance.

4. Trouble in the facts of the story. Story consociate alignment is routinely achieved and maintained through claims and displays of shared knowledge of the events and details of a story. Doing 'correcting facts' and thereby locating errors in the facts of a story (e.g., references to a specific place as in (20) or a specific direction as in (21)) is distinctly a story consociate device.

```
(20)  [Jim and Ginny]
1     A:      yeah, they called up the delicatessen one time
2             (.)
3→    B:      it wz- ugh- alpha beta


(21)  [Chicken Dinner:II:72]
1     Vivian: He made a right- in Santa Monica yihknow have-
2             they have:[all those right]
3→    Shane:          [Oh: shit I ma]de a left (.) left
```

Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977) point out that massively, in conversation, parties to the talk do self-correction (and more generally self-repair) rather than other-correction. Schegloff, et al., then describe the operation of a repair system for conversation which achieves a preference for self-correction over other-correction. Further, they point out that other-correction is highly constrained in its occurrence, with storytelling being one environment for other-correction. A participant, "may use other-correction of the teller as a bid, or subsequently as a vehicle, for being a co-teller of the story—making, with the initial teller, a 'team'" (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks. 1977).

The interventions shown above appear to be a momentary interpolation and not a direct bid to begin telling the story. Still it appears that consociate entry into the emerging story may be turned into an occasion for changing storytellers, and therefore story consociate entry can be thought of as incipient co-teller entry. For example, in (19) Cindy only continues at line 10 when Cathy does not resume the story after story recipient's assessment. The entry into the course of a story in this way provides for the possibility of transfer of tellership, but such transfer need not occur. That is, the entry provides an opportunity for transfer. Having begun to speak in the course of a story (e.g., to clarify a description), the story consociate can attempt to continue the story or they may have tellership passed to them by the current storyteller. In other words, if

transfer of tellership does occur after the employment of an entry device, that transfer can be initiated by either current teller or story consociate. Who in the end will do the story (or even the next story component) is a matter that can be arranged moment by moment.

In contrast to those devices that seem to portend transitory entry only, some entry devices seem to be produced from their beginning as continuations of the story. This type of entry is briefly examined in the next section.

Rendering One's Own Part

Stories are not told in a single sentence. The events of a story are constructed out of sentential and other turn-constructional units. Each of these units comes to completion, yet recipients recognize that the story will continue beyond that completion. This provides a way for story consociates to begin co-telling a story. Though consociates have ways to simply produce a next story event at the completion of any current story event, some stories provide systematic opportunities for consociate entry.

One warrant for speaking—both in storytelling and in conversation generally—is *speaking on one's own behalf*, and more generally rendering one's own part. Participants regularly assert an entitlement to speak for themselves—to animate those words and actions that they have authored (Lerner, 1989; Goffman, 1981, Chapter 3). Some stories provide opportunities for a consociate to render their own part in the story. One variant of this—accounting for what one said after it has been animated by another speaker—can be seen in (22).

```
(22) [MEL]
1    Tim:      I got a religious chain letter today thet threatened me with death,
2              if I broke the chain
3              :
4              Mel says well does make you worry doesn' it
5→  Melenie:  cause it- it told about all these people thet(.) broke the chain an' one
6              guy died after a week n the-
```

Just after the story begins Tim reports Melenie's reaction to a chain letter he has received. Melenie uses this as a warrant to deliver a part of the story, formulating it as an explanation of the utterance Tim has reported and tying it syntactically to the prior story component. When speaker change occurs in this way a change in storytellers is achieved. However, this need not be an enduring change. The same device can be reused by the original storyteller as Tim does in (23).

(23) [MEL]
1   Melenie: so don't break the chain an see what happens to you in four days
2→   Tim: so I said (I said y'know) an' whadda you think I aughta do?

In (23) Tim fashions a story event that animates what he said in the story. He designs his utterance as the next event in the story through the use of "so," and then continues with a quote of something he said on the occasion being reported. This type of entry is repeated through the course of the story, though a detailed account of how they accomplish this cannot be given here. Though either participant could animate all the story source events in this story, each one attempts to animate what they themselves said and did. Neither participant can be characterized as *the* storyteller, rather they are partners through the course of story's delivery. Out of the repeated use of various entry devices—along with the repeated opportunities for transfer of tellership that accompanies such entry—can come the achievement of a co-telling.

ASSISTED STORY RECEPTION

Just as the story preface provides a site for assistance, so too can story completion provide a systematic place for story consociate entry. Storytellers and recipients ordinarily treat possible story completion as an occasion for recipients to show their appreciation and understanding of the story. Story consociates can participate in the final reception of the story to direct or change its reception. Consociate entry here differs from entry in the course of the story. It requires an orientation to the overall sequential organization of stories told in conversation (i.e., story preface + story delivery + story reception).

Just as story consociates can participate in both initiation and initial reception during the story preface sequence and can participate in both delivery and ongoing reception during the story, so too can consociates enter both delivery and final reception at a story's possible completion. Story consociates can produce their own assessment of the story (as storytellers sometimes do). Story consociate reception can be seen at lines 8 and 11 of (24). This occasions agreement from the storyteller and a change in the reception by one of the story recipients from laughter at line 5 to an appreciation of how frightening the event was at line 13.

(24) [Chicken Dinner II simplified]
1   MIC: He's ↑comin down like this. People er honkin at'im eez like
2   thi:s kagh:ngwa(h)ay Y'know? Gid oudda the waghy yihknoww?

```
3                    .hh He thought'ee wz going rayzih. . . .
4    NAN:    ↑hih[hih hih
5    SHA:        [i.huhhh ha heh he[h heh
6    MIC:                            [Member that guy?
7                    (0.2)
8→   NAN:    =.hhhh ↑e:::hhhhh (0.2) Ooo:[:  Go:]dw[e were so  lucky dih=
9    SHA:                              [ .UUH:]  [
10   VIV:                                                [ihh hn
11→  NAN:    =git make it↑home that [ni [ght.
12   MIC:                            [Ye[a::h.
13   SHA:                                [ho::ly shit
```

In (25) a story consociate participates in story reception by adding
an additional episode involving the principal character. The storyteller
has just produced a story exit device (Jefferson, 1978) at lines 1-2. After
some difficulty (from line 3) the story is brought to a possible completion.
This is a site for recipient appreciation of the story (Sacks, 1973, 1974),
and the story consociate seems oriented to the relevance of this possi-
bility. Phyl confirms the characterization of DeWald that seems to be the
upshot of the story, but may have been lost in the difficulty at the end
of the story.

```
(25) [GOODWIN:AUTO]
1    Mike:    So it ended up thet- He wz up on the (0.2) trailer hh, er up on
2             th'back of his pickup tru:ck with a:: with a ja::ck.
3    Curt:    Who deWa:ld?=
4    Mike:    =DeWa:ld. Y(hh)as(h)h,
5             (0.2)
6    Curt:    Tryina keep (h)evry [body ba::ck,
7    Mike:                        [Tryina keep fn g(hh)e- k(hh)eep imse(h)lf fm
8             gettin iz a:ss beat.
9    Curt:    Well [you w-
10→  Phyl:         [Mike said 'e usetuh race go[carts
11   Mike:                                     [He use-
12→  Phyl:    en e' go:t barred from the go-(.) card track be[cuz he ra:un liddle kids o(h)ff=
13   Mike:                                                    [Over in Tiffen.
14   Phyl:    =teh tra:ck,
```

In this story the consociate seems to package the story by setting both
its beginning and ending sequential boundaries. As described earlier, she
launches the story through a story prompt preface ("Mike says there was
a big fight down there last night, with Keegan en, what, Paul de Wald?").
In (25) she concludes it by doing what might be termed a 'postscript' to

the story ("Mike said he usetuh race gocarts en he got barred from the
go- (.) cart track becuz he ran little kids o(h)ff the tra:ck"). The connection
between these actions can also be seen in the form of the utterances. Both
story initiation and story reception take the same quotation form ("Mike
says").

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Stories told in conversation are not fixed recitations of a narrative.
Rather, storyteller as well as story recipients shape the story throughout
its course. The sequential organization of storytelling can accommodate
more than one participant with knowledge of the source events of the story.
Storytelling organization provides systematic entry for such story consoci-
ates into both story telling and story recipiency, while maintaining the
alignment of other participants as story recipients.

Consociate participation constitutes a distinct alignment to the emerg-
ing story—one that in various ways displays and uses shared knowledge as
a systematic basis for participation. This participation constitutes a local,
situated identity—one that is participant-produced and oriented-to by par-
ticipants through the course of the storytelling sequence. Once established
in the preface this identity can be maintained independently of its current
occupant through the course of the storytelling. That is, it can be main-
tained across the alternation of tellership between (or among) knowing
participants.

Story consociate participation represents a systematic elaboration of
storytelling organization—one that can shape a story through its course.
Yet, this participation is shaped by the exigencies of storytelling organiza-
tion. Story consociates can participate at each sequential position of a
story's telling—story initiation, story delivery, and story reception.

Who comes to be the 'storyteller of record' can be problematic when
story consociate participation is a possibility. Determining who will emerge
from the story's preface as teller is a concerted achievement. In addition,
tellership can be transferred during the story or it can even alternate
throughout the course of the story. Since there are ways for a story con-
sociate to begin participating throughout the course of a story, co-telling
is a systematic possibility. Therefore the narrative produced on each occa-
sion can be seen as an outcome of its collaboratively achieved telling.

Finally, the practices described here show in their detail that the so-
cial distribution of knowledge—at least in the case of shared knowledge—is
a practical concern and routine achievement.

ENDNOTES

1. Georges (1969) traces the story-as-isolated-text approach to nineteenth century scholars. M. H. Goodwin (1990: Chapter 9) provides a review of both 'narrative' and 'interactional' approaches to storytelling in sociology, anthropology and folklore studies. Duranti & Brenneis (1986) offer a collection of papers that examines "The Audience as Co-Author."

2. Actually, a variety of possibilities become relevant concerning recipiency. In this regard, Goodwin has examined the attention structure of storytelling (C. Goodwin, 1986), the interactive determination of current addressed recipient (C. Goodwin, 1979, 1981), and the organization of side involvements by other than principal recipient (C. Goodwin, 1984). Another possibility (for both two-participant and multi-participant interaction) is that all those present may claim and demonstrate shared knowledge to the events. In these cases the events may be recounted as a reminiscence.

3. Several readers of an earlier version of this article have suggested that the crucial element here is that the source of the story (Mike) is currently present. They proposed that if he were not present Phyl's utterance would put her in a position to tell the story. I believe these comments reflect a confusion between participant action and the state of affairs that particularizes the import of that action for the ensuing conversation. The question for participants (and analysts) is, what recognizable action is being accomplished in and through participant activity (including but not limited to talk) *as an unextracateable part of the current state of affairs*? The recognizability of an action cannot (in practice) be removed from the situation of its occurrence.

4. I can mention two examples. Issuing an evaluation of an aspect of the story may constitute one limited entry device for consociates (Eder, 1988; Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1968). The anticipatory completion of a compound turn-constructional unit (Lerner, 1991) represents another form of limited entry as at line 4 of (15). Anticipatory completion provides a method for conjoined participation in conversation and will be taken up in a separate report.

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