

Narrative iteration and place in a Johannesburg tavern

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Abstract

This article explores how the retelling of a story, or narrative iteration, intersects with place. Data are collected through ethnographic participant observation and consist of a series of seven retellings, and thirteen auxiliary stories. The situation of telling changes from being one-on-one with the researcher to group tellings in a tavern called The Brazen Head in Johannesburg, South Africa. Following Bamberg's article on twice-told tales (Bamberg 2008), iteration is approached in terms of thematic, structural, interactional and discursive criteria and these criteria serve to compare the series of retellings. Analysis concerns changes in thematic progression, distribution of structural components, spatio-temporal coordinates and changes in interactional positioning. Findings explore how iteration can advance narrative research as this applies to place. The discussion examines how place takes on thematic, material and symbolic dimensions which, in this case, are informed by Orientalism (Said [1978] 2003). This is to say that the participants use the storied setting of the Middle East as a resource, but in so doing discursively construct both the place and the Other.

Keywords: narratives, narrative iteration, place-making, interactional positioning, Orientalism, South Africa.

1. Introduction

Narratives encode place in the story worlds they evoke and which they invest with social meaning (De Fina 2009b). Additionally, in the process of telling stories, participants create place through their involvement, which responds to setting and to the contingent social relations that it frames (Gumperz 1982; Hymes 1986). Tannen refers to two kinds of involvement: sound (rhythm, intonation and prosody) and sense (meaning-making) (Tannen 1998: 633). This article will explore place- and meaning-making through the analysis of a series of stories told in a tavern called The Brazen Head, in Johannesburg, South Africa. It hopes to contribute to the understanding we have of the role of iterative tellings in the making of place, and will explore the thematic, structural, interactional and discursive aspects of the stories.

As will become apparent from the extracts below, discussion will require a consideration of what Said ([1978] 2003) terms 'orientalism', in that one aspect of the

place-making with which participants are engaged concerns an imaginative geography of the Middle East:

“Imaginative geography [...] legitimates a vocabulary, a universe of representative discourse peculiar to the discussion and understanding of Islam and of the Orient.” (Said [1978] 2003: 71).

It is through the summoning of a distant land, Qatar, that the participants at The Brazen Head are doing a certain kind of place-making. One aspect of the emplotment of Qatar is an othering of the characters in the stories. However, narrative interaction is not restricted to this, but also raises questions of ecology, of dignity and of independence.

The themes, places, characters and events of the stories told are what will occupy the pages below. The discussion concerns, firstly, the relationship between narrative and place. Secondly, the literature on narrative iteration is briefly examined and thematic, structural and interactional approaches are introduced. The data and methodology of the study are then presented. Following this, the stories told at The Brazen Head are analysed from thematic, structural, interactional and discursive perspectives, and conclusions are drawn for the role of narrative iteration in place-making.

2. Place, narrative and narrative iteration

Place, definitionally, can be thought of as having three characteristics: geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value (Gieryn 2000: 464–465). Narrative intersects with place in all three of these respects. Firstly, as De Fina (2009b) has shown, specific geographic places can be constructed within the story world, which is to say the discursively produced setting of a story. Secondly, the intersection of objects, people and places is important in the meaning of language and storytelling (see Otsuji & Pennycook 2018: 211). Additionally, De Fina and Blommaert note that identity work such as that occurring through narrative, “is organized in, or at least with reference to, specific timespace configurations which are non-random and compelling as ‘contexts’” (Blommaert & De Fina 2017: 1).

Thirdly, narrative informs, and is informed by, place-specific meaning and value. These meanings can occur at the stage of language socialisation (Schieffelin 2018: 31) or through later construction of collaborative experience. This is because narrative has the capacity to entextualise and recontextualise events and places (Georgakopoulou 2007: 11) and it is in this sense that Johnstone states that a community of speakers is, “a group of people who share previous stories, or conventions for making stories, and who jointly tell new stories” (Johnstone 1990: 5). Finally, place organises discursive production through the possibilities of sociability that are available and that serve as the arguments, topics and materials for discourse (Lindquist 2002: 73).

Narrative iteration presents a unique opportunity to study changes over time in the relationship between narrative and place. As participants in a situation of interaction jointly construct and share narratives that repeat episodic, structural and discursive elements, the altering mobilisation of these elements is indicative of new configurations and new reasons for telling. This goes beyond questions of audience design (Goodwin 1986), since what is at issue is not the adaptation of a speaker to a changing milieu, nor

the participation of listeners in telling, but rather changing conditions of co-construction and the deployment over time of different thematic, structural and interactional components. The literature on narrative iteration has not however focused much attention on this question, dealing rather with memory and experience, or functional and analytic criteria. Thus, Chafe (1998), Ferrara (1998), Schiffrin (2003) and Mishler (2004), explore the questions of development, identity and memory that arise from a consideration of variation in retold narratives. Bauman (1986), Norrick (2005), Mambu (2013) and Trester (2013) look at how retellings function in the accomplishment of various social behaviours such as humour, recounting of good and bad experiences, or display of cleverness. Polanyi (1981) and Norrick (1997, 1998) examine what can be considered a retelling and have recourse to structural and conversational analysis. Tannen (2007), finally, provides an interesting study of both analytic criteria, functions and participatory conditions of repetition that links with several other innovative studies based on narrative as talk-in-interaction and on the sharing of retold stories.

These interactional studies represent a departure from structural analyses and also an adaptation to new media. Georgakopoulou (2005) examines how stories that are already known to group members are elicited, prefaced or referred to in order to serve inter- and intra-group purposes. For the group, stories serve in display, analogy and assessment (Georgakopoulou 2005: 238). Georgakopoulou (2013) and Niemelä and Rauniomaa (2010) examine how iteration can become a resource in stance-taking or positioning, which is to say the orientation of a participant to broader social processes and discourses. Georgakopoulou (2015) provides an analysis of social media and the spatial affordances of different platforms. This includes,

“the imaginative and affective presentation of self as grounded in specific spatio-temporal realities and the ability to invoke other worlds, real or possible, to bear on the here-and-now of the narrating act, but also to position self over time and across places.”

Additionally, De Fina and Toscano Gore (2017) and Wortham et al. (2011) look at participation frameworks, which is to say the roles, voice and extent and kind of participant involvement.

Between these studies, and the previous literature, a bridge is provided by Bamberg (2008) who links more conventional approaches (reposing on structural and thematic operations) to interactional approaches that privilege participant orientations to stories, and their roles and alignments. Since the present article aims to provide a broad investigation of iteration and place-making, Bamberg's article will serve as a guide in integrating thematic, structural, interactional and discursive analyses.

3. Methodology and data

The research presented here comes from a South African National Research Foundation funded project into narrative at a central business district in Sandton, Johannesburg. This district presents a nexus of discourses concerning consumption, property development and trade. The stories that form the data analysed below were recorded with a freelance cameraman who has been named Ric. The dominant methodology for collection of these

stories was ethnographic participant observation with Ric and a friend, here named Marty, and, on this occasion, with a group of businessmen and bankers who met at a bar, The Brazen Head, on the periphery of the site. In the discussion of this article the term participant should be taken to include the researcher who is here a temporary member of a friendship group. This friendship group is close to forming a community of practice (see Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992, 2007), since its membership is stable and coordinated by its founder, Marty. There is an overt code of conduct and a private Whatsapp page.

The audio files were recorded during an outing with Ric and Marty to The Brazen Head and run from 10h30 to 14h10. They have been annotated using Audacity.¹ Ric's stories are numbered and considered as repeat tellings when separated from each other by stretches of non-topically related intervening talk. These stories (see Table 1) involve common characters, events and spatio-temporal coordinates, as well as common telling roles and interpretative markers. Auxiliary storytelling (see Tannen 2007: 35) such as second stories or accounts (see De Fina 2009a), that are marked with the ampersand (&) in Table 1, are topically related and often share similar spatio-temporal coordinates, but do not share either characters or events. In these auxiliary stories, telling roles and purposes also change. In total the data analysed here consist of a series of three researcher to participant retellings and four group retellings at The Brazen Head by Ric. In addition to this there are 13 auxiliary stories. The total transcription comprises some 8000 words.

Ric's stories 1–7 concern a shoot in Qatar. The first three consist of a form of self-disclosive behaviour, told in Ric's car and occasioned by either prompts from the researcher or the spaces through which Ric is driving. Ric is telling of a film shoot that had not been successful, forcing him to leave the set. Some of the reasons he gives for this departure are the harsh working conditions in the Qatar desert where he has to sleep in a container, Ric's disaccord with the macho reality show style of the shoot, the overbearing director, the behaviour of the Qatari hunters who are the subject of the film, and the nature of the hunting with Saluki dogs in which they are engaged. The subsequent four tellings and 13 auxiliary stories in the Brazen Head are much more participative. They contain exclamations, enjoiners, negations and interruptions that concern both the principal storied characters and events, as well as the spatio-temporal coordinates. Ric is an accomplished teller. He holds the floor through both the four tellings of his Qatar shoot and an additional four of the auxiliary stories.

4. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis has been pursued in some studies into narrative iteration, in Mishler (2004) and in Tannen (2007). It relies on a poetic approach to spoken language (see Hymes 1985; Gee 1996) in which stories are divided into stanzas, strophes and episodes. Prosodic and performance features such as stress, rhythm, inbreaths and hesitations mark episode boundaries. Episodes coincide with speaker emphasis on certain aspects of the story and its evaluation. They then become thematised. Thematic progression can provide a means of understanding the import of a story for both teller and listener. In Ric's data, a thematic analysis gives rise to the recapitulation in Table 1.

¹Source: <https://www.audacityteam.org/>.

Table 1. *Recapitulation of Ric's data*

story	auxiliary story telling	time	thematic analysis	structural elements
1		10h45	confidence + creativity	abstract + result + evaluation + complicating action
2		10h51	independence + dignity	evaluation + complicating action + evaluation
3		11h00	dignity + authenticity	coda + evaluation + orientation + result + orientation
	&1 account (Ric)	11h22	independence	abstract + orientation + complicating action + evaluation + result
4		12h22	dignity	orientation + evaluation + complicating action + evaluation + complicating action + result
	&2 account (Marty)	12h25	dignity	orientation + complicating action + evaluation
	&3 account (male friend) (does not obtain floor)	12h26	majesty	abstract + complicating action
5		12h38	authenticity	complicating action + evaluation + coda
6		12h40	honour	orientation + evaluation
	&4 account (male friend) (obtains floor but mostly inaudible)	12h42	majesty	evaluation (+ result)
	&5 account (Ric)	12h43	resilience	abstract + complicating action + evaluation + result
	&6 account (Ric)	12h46	sense	evaluation + abstract + evaluation + abstract + result
	&7 account (male friend)	12h47	instincts	result + complicating action
	&8 account (Ric)	12h49	instincts	abstract + orientation + complicating action + result + evaluation + coda

	&9 account (Marty)	13h22		Orientation
	&10 account (Ric)	13h22	resourcefulness	complicating action + orientation + result + evaluation
	&11 account (male friend)	13h24	resourcefulness	abstract + orientation + complicating action + result + coda
	&12 account (male friend)	13h27	honour	orientation + complicating action
	&13 account (Marty)	13h28	resourcefulness	abstract + orientation + complicating action + result + coda
7		13h40	dignity	complicating action

In light of the recapitulation of Table 1, story 2, with its movement from independence to dignity, is pivotal for the episodes that follow. Story 4, that encloses a significant opposition in the storied characters' lack of dignity, is equally important. Excerpts from these stories are given in Extract 1 where they are transcribed with a simple notation (see De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015: vii) in which bolding shows raised voice, pauses are marked with ellipses, arrows mark shifts in intonation and square brackets indicate overlap. Ellipses in round brackets indicate short (.) or long (...) pauses.

Extract 1. *Excerpts from stories 2 and 4 presented in parallel (R is the researcher)*

	[...]		[...]
1)	Ric °no° I should be doing my own film-making that's [the really what I must do	1)	R howzit
2)	R [yah (..) that's why I sent you that (...) stuff [where I	2)	Female hey friend
3)	Ric [that's why I must go and make my own films for people (...) then I don't have to deal with other people's shit (..) I never have (..) I said to them when eventually I (.) did (.) confess to some of the people I said (..) you know I've never worked on a reality show (...) I I I've worked on one (...) I just (.) don't (.) know what it's ↑like to- (...) I usually shoot on my own you know (..) I don't shoot with 20 people and- (..) if I do	3)	Ric you know what's going ↑on (..) I mean (...) you've got a (..) [falcon

		it's all very simple (...) you know↑=			
4)	R	=you were shooting a reality show hey	4)	R	[what's up bru [sitting down]
5)	Ric	yah I didn't realise it was a reality show	5)	Ric	and they (.) only hunt Houbara which are (...) Kori Bustard (...) and errr it's not really much of a
6)	R	oh no:: man (..) oh well that's obviously that's why it's obviously so like (...) bullshit you know [it's	6)	(0.7)	
7)	Ric	[content is everything bra	7)	Male friend	Kori Bustard's not a mobile creature
8)	R	[you know you know	8)	Ric	no::: not a mobile creature so that's (...) pathetic (...) I mean they breed the Kori Bustard in a ↑cage (...) in a pen↓ (...) 'cause they [then release it
9)	Ric	[it's low-grade television =	9)	R	[how's it going (..) u:m I'll just have a
10)	R	=yah it's low-grade bullshit	10)	Ric	[I know yeah order
11)	Ric	there's no thought involved it's just (...) let's show it as it is and I'm keep telling well (..) and then they keep telling you not to show (...) you can't show the people smoking (...) you can't show them (...) erm	11)	R	[did you order
12)	R	[alright so you've got the whole (.) geez	12)	Waiter	[Amstel draught
13)	Ric	[in a	13)	R	[did he order (...) he has ordered one
14)	R	[yah yah yah	14)	Ric	[and then they run after it on a camel and then (.) then release your (.) your falcon and you know the falcon is an incredible bird hey
15)	Ric	[compromised situation↑	15)	R	[I just thought I'd have something light myself hey (..) and a menu because I'm hungry hey yoh we were swimming
16)	R	no because you want to keep it kind of cle::an	16)	Ric	[[inaudible] bird of prey rah (..) you know and (...)↑so (.)

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|-----|-------|---|--|
| | | | within ten minutes the Kori Bustard's [inaudible] ripped its neck off and then (...) so you have all these Arabs (...) shouting hoo↑ray and it's [[inaudible] |
| 17) | Ric | and these people don't wanna be filmed that's the other thing (...) so they haven't really agreed | 17) R [are you guys going to eat anything you going to eat |
| 18) | R | ((long inbreath)) | 18) Ric [inaudible] hunt a wild animal and then take time over it you know (...) actually spend (...) a bit of effort (...) obviously they track this (...) Kori Bustard (...) you know (...) desert where's there's nothing higher than about that [indicates height of bird with a gesture] so (...) Kori Bustard's quite a big ↑bird you know °>it's a ↑hell of a<° big bird (...) stands::: about (...) the (.) head stands about a cable |
| 19) | Ric | [they've agreed to be filmed but they don't really want to (..) so they know that (...) they can't be put on television with smoke (...) so whenever they don't feel like you (...) they just fucking light up a cigarette (...) and you're talking about rich people= | 19) Male friend 2 does it fly ↑ |
| 20) | R | =oh no::: | 20) Ric it can fly but (..) you know it's a ground bird = |
| 21) | Ric | so you're constantly shooting and the next thing you see (.) oh the oke's smoking (..) oh fuck so that fucked that↑ shot up (...) okay let's try someone else | 21) Male friend [the biggest land bird in the world |
| 22) | (1.2) | | 22) Ric = and it flies about from here to that gate there (...) then it (.) sort of needs to run again you |

			know °the type (...) °so it's (..) it's not really got much chance [we've got mayo
23)	R	and then and then [can't they can't they	23) Waitress
24)	Ric	[shoot the camel's feet	24) Ric and I thought that if they were (..) goi:::↑ng if you were going to release why don't you just release pigeons (..) at least they fly a bit better and you can have some [laughs]
25)	R	[can't they just edit can't they just	25) Male friend
26)	Ric	[go back to the camel's feet [laughs]	26) Ric I (.) I thought (..) I mean the only ones I =
27)	R	keep a long shot?	27) R [it's true hey
28)	Ric	[laughs]	28) Male friend =‘ve ever seen (...) [maybe (...) film
29)	R	but ca(h)n't you just (.) um (.) keep a long shot and then they edit out↑ the smoking when they're cutting=	29) Ric [maybe you could see that part
30)	Ric	=yah::uh↑ that's what I↑ said (...) no they don't want that (..) they want you to not shoot it (..) so I'm like what the- if you've shot it you've shot it what you want to go and stop [and delete it	30) Male friend [when you're doing that you know I'd say -
31)	R	[what was the whole but what was the [theme of the::	31) Ric [so::: you know it became a bit depressing
32)	Ric	[you've got to stop and delete it	32) Male friend [too↑ easy
33)	R	oh no Jesus	33) Ric and then the ↑other thing is that they hunt is they hunt with Salukis (...) which are (.) like greyhound >you know< (..) dogs (...) and they hunt (...) gazelles (...) but the gazelles are also bred and then re(hh)leased you know you have this >poor little< gazelle (...) running around in the desert with half a dozen [inaudible] hunting dogs

			number one (...) well if a if a (.) if a buck lives in the habitat (...) for a long time it will kno:↑w things it will know (.) little places to hide it'll know little ways out (..) and =
34)	Ric	it's a hunting show	34) Marty =↑know which sa:nd is (..) better to run on and which is worse or-
35)	R	ah no man [a hunting↑ ah no it's pathetic	35) R yah exactly (...) [you know↑
36)	Ric	[it's pathetic (..) it's like they hunt with th: falcons right so I thought it was going to be some romantic (.) thing like really (...) cool you know ride on a camel with a falcon (...) going off into the [desert=	36) Ric [so they run the- the- the these dogs run these gazelles (..) to pieces then eventually the man on horseback (...) charges after them and then he jumps on=
37)	R	[no:: no sss no:	37) Marty =camelback
38)	Ric	=[to look for some unsuspecting pigeon and then (..) and then hunting it right [...]	38) Ric [yup (...) cuts the (..) throat of the (...) the the gazelle (...) so this is the the thing (.) and basically they [get [...]

In the interview data (on the left in Extract 1) thematic progression is developed between the participant and the researcher. The researcher, for instance, is very active in negatively assessing the reality show format of the shoot at turns 6, 10, 18, 33 and 35 of story 2. Ric's stories move from lack of confidence, through creativity and independence to dignity and authenticity. In terms of Ric's biography, this thematic movement is perhaps a cathartic one in which the violence of the hunt and of the treatment he received are revisited. In Extract 2, in the left column, the opening lines of this story 2 are given in stanza form. The theme of independence is clearly apparent. However, even in Ric's interview data the iterations of the story of the shoot in Qatar are completed with auxiliary stories. An account of a job that Ric had as a young man (story &1) turns specifically on independence. This alters the movement of the whole and affects the way in which his stories can be understood. Narrative iteration is therefore more than a simple retelling. It consists, rather, in a complex progression, an aspect of which can be captured in this initial thematic analysis.

Extract 2. *Opening stanzas of Ric's story 2 and story 4*

<p>no I should be doing my own film-making that's really what I must do that's why I must go and make my own films for people then I don't have to deal with other people's shit I never have</p> <p>I said to them when eventually I did confess to some of the people I said you know I've never worked on a reality show I've worked on one I just don't know what it's like to- I usually shoot on my own you know I don't shoot with 20 people and if I do it's all very simple</p>	<p>you know what's going on I mean you've got a falcon and they only hunt Houbara which are Kori Bustard they breed the Kori Bustard in a cage in a pen 'cause they then release it</p> <p>and then they run after it on a camel and then release your falcon and you know the falcon is an incredible bird of prey so within ten minutes the Kori Bustard's ripped its neck off and then you have all these Arabs shouting hooray</p>
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Ric's stories in the Brazen Head tilt towards the lack of dignity of both the subjects he films, and, by analogy, of himself. It leads to increasing irony and self-deprecation, and Ric's last story (story 7) mocks both himself and the people he is filming for the way they hunt and ride camels. The column on the right in Extract 2 gives the opening stanzas for story 4, told very soon after arrival at the Brazen Head. There is a marked difference in prosody and in phatic orientation with repetition of *you* that serves to emphasise and to generalise behaviours with which Ric is in disaccord (see discussion in Norrick 1997: 208). If, however, the auxiliary storytelling, of both Ric and the other participants, is included in analysis, Ric's stories again show a more complex progression.

The speaker who is labelled as male friend in Table 1 (the central participants to the study were Ric and Marty) introduces, for instance, the majesty of nature in his account of &3. He does not obtain the floor, and reintroduces the theme at &4, some 15 minutes later. In stories &7, &11 and &12 his accounts turn to natural instincts, and then to the resourcefulness and honour of people met in the Middle East and in Africa. The thematic movement in his accounts endows both human and non-human subjects with moral value. This participant's stories, and indeed those of Marty, modify the othering in Ric's stories of Extracts 1 and 2 above where the filmic subjects are increasingly depicted as pathetic, cruel and lacking in a sense of sport (a sentiment that is partially ratified by Marty, at turn 34, and by the researcher at turns 27 and 35).

Of the three characteristics of place which are geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value, thematic progression concerns material form and value. What is occurring here is a circulation of themes linked to Ric's story that are place dependant. The group almost only meets in this tavern and the resources for socialisation are circumscribed by the conjunction of actor and setting. The long tables and benches that space participants out, for instance, favour slightly longer turns at talk with less

overlap and thus clearer episodic progression. This progression, is, as noted, complexified through the interweaving of stories. It is also, as noted in the introduction, strongly linked to the symbolic and discursive construction of the place of the storyworld, the Middle East.

Said ([1978] 2003) sets out “orientalism”, the colonial and post-colonial experience of the countries in the Middle and Far East, as in integral part of European and American symbolic, imaginative and material experience. As he puts it, the Orient is, “the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (Said [1978] 2003: 1). His point is that this engagement with place and the Other is as discursive as it is geographic or economic. In *Orientalism* Said traces the origins of this discourse and shows its entanglement with both the political, the religious, the literary and with ordinary ways of speaking.

In the stories at the Brazen Head, the themes that the participants emphasise (dignity, honour and resourcefulness) take their meaning from a confrontation of the West with the Orient. This confrontation concerns the consumption of alcohol, the rigid Islamic law, the customs and attitudes of the people. It is noteworthy that the participants align with a Western viewpoint. This alignment is partly a product of the use of English, a language that gained currency in South Africa through colonialism. It is also a product of the general identification with England through travel and heritage. Ric, for instance, is of Irish descent and was in the process of applying for English residence at the time of research. The Brazen Head itself is a copy of a twelfth century bar in Dublin, Ireland.

It would be an over-generalisation to state, however, that all members of the group have such links with this metropole. Several members are rather of Indian or African descent and the fact that their participation ratifies these themes would seem to indicate that governmental and developmental efforts to place South Africa in non-Western geographic axes, through such initiatives as membership of the BRICS grouping of countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), do not impinge on the group’s discursive and thematic progression.

5. Structural analysis

In sociolinguistics, structural analysis is generally attributed to Labov (see for instance Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky [1967] 1997). Labov and Waletzky contributed two very important research orientations to narrative inquiry. Firstly, they sought support for the proposition that narrative clauses (the succession of events) were carried by use of the simple past. Secondly, they established a six-part taxonomy for narrative activity: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result and coda. Each of the elements of this taxonomy has a specific function and characteristics. Orientation, for instance, is particularly associated with the spatio-temporal coordinates of the story and allows a teller to situate the story world for other participants. The six-part classification is also an indication of the completeness of a story in that all elements should be present. In practice, however, elements can double up, be omitted, or apply severally (see analysis in Bamberg 2008; Mambu 2013). A structural classification leads to the identification of recurrent elements that relate to the functions of summarisation (result), localisation

(orientation), assessment (evaluation), indication of point (abstract) and relation to the situation of talk (coda).

Table 1 offers, in the very right-hand column, a breakdown into structural elements for each story. This is the chronological ordering. It is interesting to note that even in the relatively controlled environment of the interview with the researcher (stories 1–3) elements do not always follow a typical structural ordering (Labov 1972: 363). Orientation, for instance, occurs only in story 3 and gives rise, as a result, to negotiation between Ric and the researcher over the sense of the preceding story elements. If one looks at Ric's stories 1–3 in terms of their structural elements, one obtains the following distribution:

- Abstract 1
- Orientation 3 + 3
- Complicating action 1+2
- Evaluation 1 + 2 + 3
- Result 1 + 3
- Coda 3

Only one abstract and one coda are present, whilst there are two moments of complicating action and three moments of evaluation. Ric's stories with the researcher are tipped towards evaluation. Story 2 (Extract 1, above) can be seen to start at turn 1 with evaluation, move at turn 19 to the complicating action (the subjects of the film who deliberately stop Ric from shooting) and then include evaluation at turn 21 through direct speech at (*oh fuck so that fucked that↑ shot up*). There is a second moment of evaluation that revolves around the qualification of pathetic and that stops the action at turn 35.

In situated tellings at the Brazen Head, there is a much greater departure from the structural six-part schema. Orientation is provided in Ric's stories 4 and 6. Resolution is given in story 4. The coda, similarly, is provided in story 5 and not in story 7. The distribution of structural elements is as follows:

- Abstract
- Orientation 4 + 6
- Complicating action 4 +4 + 5 + 7
- Evaluation 4 + 4 + 5 + 6
- Result 4
- Coda 5

Interestingly, complicating action and evaluation are similarly emphasised. The distribution is more irregular, however, and some elements are missing. No abstract is provided for instance.

Alteration in distribution of structural elements is briefly discussed in Norrick's study of narrative iteration (Norrick 1998). In comparing versions of a story told to a familial group (Norrick 1998: 82), the third version omits orientation and adds evaluation in a way very similar to Ric's stories. In Ric's story 4 (Extract 1) the structural elements are the orientation at turn 3, the evaluation at turn 5 (*it's not really much of a [competition]*), and at turn 8 (*no::: not a mobile creature so that's (...) pathetic*). Evaluation is followed by

complicating action at turn 8 in the fact that the Kori Bustard (the large bird that the Qataris are hunting) is bred in a cage and not wild as one would expect. This unfair advantage is pressed at turn 14 where the virtues of the Falcon are emphasised. There is then evaluation at turn 16 in the depiction of the Qatari hunters. Ric returns to the complicating action of turn 8 in noting the size and conspicuousness of the Kori Bustard (turn 18) and the fact that it doesn't even really fly (turn 22). Additional evaluation is provided at turn 24 in a comparison with pigeons.

A structural approach to Ric's series of stories can serve as a means of investigating place through meanings and values, but also a means of analysing the group's successful uptake of storyworld coordinates. In this case these coordinates concern the Middle East. Given below is a second distribution that takes into account the auxiliary story telling (column two of Table 1), and that in superscript indicates those stories told by Ric (1), Marty (2) and the friend (3). There are ten members present at the Brazen Head, but the other members are pursuing a different conversation.

- Abstract $&3^3 + &5^1 + &6^1 + &6^1 + &8^1 + &11^3 + &13^2$
- Orientation $4 + 6 + &2^2 + &8^1 + &10^1 + &11^3 + &12^3 + &13^2$
- Complicating action $4 + 4 + 5 + 7 + &2^2 + &3^3 + &5^1 + &7^3 + &8^1 + &10^1 + &11^3 + &12^3 + &13^2$
- Evaluation $4 + 4 + 5 + 6 + &2^2 + &4^3 + &5^1 + &6^1 + &6^1 + &8^1 + &10^1$
- Result $4 + &5^1 + &6^1 + &7^3 + &8^1 + &10^1 + &11^3 + &13^2$
- Coda $5 + &8^1 + &9^2 + &11^3 + &13^2$

This much more even distribution of elements would seem to indicate that speakers orient to functional characteristics of story elements, omitting parts of a story that are not necessary in terms of the flow of narrative. It would also seem to indicate that structural elements have both a role in group behaviour and cohesion (see analysis of abstract in Georgakopoulou 2005: 227) and also in terms of the merging of separate stories in community tellings. In this light one can understand a speaker's commencing a story with evaluative elements as occurs several times in Table 1, or in providing orientation before discontinuing a story.

One can note that, in both Ric's stories and those of the other members at The Brazen Head, complicating action and evaluation are preponderant. A comparison of these elements across stories is instructive. Ric's story 1 complicates action with his having to leave the Qatar job whilst evaluation concerns his own attitude to the conditions on set. Story 2 (Extract 1) complicates action with the uncooperative subjects that he is filming. Evaluation refers to the same subjects. Story 3 evaluates the Qataris' living conditions. At the Brazen Head complicating action and evaluation are significantly different. Ric's stories 4 (Extract 1 above) to 7 complicate action with the conditions of the hunt and the captivity of the prey. His evaluation remains fairly constant and focuses on how pathetic filmic subjects, hunt and conditions are.

Of Ric's other stories, topically related to the Qatar shoot, &5 hinges on the pugnacity of a hawk and of a buck that manages to escape despite a broken leg. Evaluation concerns the hunting abilities of the hawk. In &6, complicating action concerns feline hunting abilities whilst evaluation concerns wildlife documentaries. In &8, complicating action

turns on a child eaten by a lion in Zimbabwe with evaluation referring to natural instincts. In &9 the complicating action is getting drunk in Doha with evaluation as to expense. Other members' stories are, for instance, Marty's story &2 of a night in jail and the brutality of the police officers, whilst his story &13 is of a visit to a doctor and her unorthodox prescription. Despite their differing characters and events, the complicating action of these stories reinforces the sense of an underdog that triumphs against the odds. Evaluation is positive of the human and non-human protagonists of these feats and negative of those who try to maintain coercive structures and relations.

This is perhaps a fairly standard social script (see Polanyi 1981) but it's prevalence in the data is made clearer by a structural analysis. Ric's story as told to the researcher is one of a negative and upsetting professional experience. In the group at The Brazen Head this avenue of narration is not pursued. Instead stories build on complicating action of triumph over adversity, and do so with respect to places, the Middle East and Southern Africa, that are ratified by the group. The weight of complicating and evaluative elements in the distribution shows, simply put, that the participants have something to say about these places, and the fact that there should be so many auxiliary stories is in itself a sign of alignment (Jefferson 1978; Tannen 2007: 35).

The story worlds of the Middle East and of Africa enter into a dynamic relationship with the local story telling world of The Brazen Head as the group members embed characters and events in different ways and towards different interpretations. The group's uptake of place allows for the competing interpretative frameworks (Goodwin 1986) that are such an integral part of what storytelling accomplishes. The participants' discursively produced imaginative geography constructs places (Qatar and Zimbabwe) whose characters and events connote authoritarianism and traditionalism. The juxtaposition of these places with the majesty and resilience of nature is underscored by the heightened contrast of the pair authoritarianism / resilience. Place serves as a symbolic resource much as noted by Georgakopoulou (2015).

6. Interactional analysis

An interactional analysis anchors narrative interpretation in the situation of telling. It approaches a story in terms of its social consequentiality (Georgakopoulou 2007: 39) and the import of telling formats, telling roles, co-experience and interpretative grids (Georgakopoulou 2013: 92). Bamberg refers to this kind of analysis as "bottom-up" (Bamberg 2008: 192). As a first step towards this kind of interpretation, Bamberg effects a comparison of simple past narrative clauses (the sequence of events) and what are termed durative, free, background or descriptive clauses. This comparison is important because it is in the descriptive clauses that a teller evaluates the events and characters of a story. A comparison of narrative clauses to free or durative clauses gives the recapitulation in Table 2.

Table 2. *Recapitulation of narrative vs free clauses for Ric's stories*

Story	Total number of turns	Narrative clauses	Free clauses	Ratio
A 1	59	20	31	1:1.5
A 2	49	4	37	1:9
A 3	43	4	20	1:5
B 4	35	1	32	1:32
B 5	34	1	22	1:22
B 6	8	0	7	0:7
B 7	19	1	18	1:18

In interview, Ric scaffolds his story using a fairly high proportion of narrative clauses, particularly as quotatives (s/he said/they said). In his tellings in the Brazen Head he provides more durative information that is given non-finite verbal aspects such as the present continuous. This indicates an increased importance in the descriptive and evaluative information he provides. This descriptive information can be discussed in terms of its spatiality (the meaning of the places and of the story world coordinates that are evoked) and its temporality (the relative time-scales that organise the story world). A discussion of the time and place of the story world, in turn, helps understand how participants orient to the situation of interaction in a process known as positioning (Bamberg 1997; De Fina 2013).

At the Brazen Head (stories 4–7) Qatar and the desert are portrayed as places of nature that are host to animals with capacities and resilience. These places are also however presented as being backward, cruel and other. We see this in story 4 (Extract 1 above) where the Saluki hunting dog, *ripped its neck off* and where the film subjects are *shouting hoo↑ray* (turn 16). This portrayal is relayed in the profligacy of the place, where one pays 300,000 USD for a single falcon (story 5) but also in the sense of religious and political alterity that is constructed with the other participants. In auxiliary story telling &9–&13, the Middle East's interdiction on alcohol and possible beheading, as well as its supposed relationships with African dictator Idi Amin are mentioned. This interpretation of the Middle East differs from that offered by Ric in stories 1–3 where Qatar is a place of business, a place where he is meant to film. The difference is perhaps informed by Ric's extensive travelling and working experience. In interview, Qatar's alterity is relational to other places, politics and cultures like Nigeria, the Congo, or Amsterdam, where he has also recently been.

Temporally, there are four main scales that are operative. Firstly, there is the time of the hunt: those few fleeting seconds in which the falcon plunges to the earth, kills the Houbara (the Kori Bustard), and following which the hunter then jumps from his horse and slits the Houbara's throat. Secondly, there is the time of filming. This is a relatively slow subjective time, during which Ric must hold a camera under the hot desert sun, follow hunters to a killing of which he does not approve and go to sleep in a container. Thirdly, there is biographic time, the time of one's life and career. Fourthly, there is geopolitical time (see Baynham 2009: 137). In stories 1–3 what is emphasised is

predominantly biographic time, and the fact that this recent adventure is just one of many. At the Brazen Head, the time of the hunt allows details as to behaviour, instinct and ethics to be compared. It predominates. For instance, in the friend's account at &11 of a man in Doha, the capital of Qatar, events that must have taken a minute at most are recounted in detail, over several turns at talk. Ric also marks, through an absence of direct speech and through his use of the present continuous, the time of the film and of actions that are conjured in the present, through the media of the camera that reproduces what is seen.

In story iterations, time and place map onto each other and overlap in complex ways. Thus, the time of filming and the time of the hunt map onto the same desert place that is represented as both natural and backwards, as other and as part of one's biography. This raises the question of the participants' orientation to wider social processes and discourses. It is the positioning with respect to these questions that determines the mobilisation of the spatio-temporal coordinates of the story world. A positioning analysis moves from the characters positioned in relation to one another within the reported events (level 1) to the narrator's positioning with respect to the audience (level 2) and to how the narrator positions her/himself to her/himself (level 3) (Bamberg 1997). There is, further, a discursive level 3 that concerns how narrators position themselves with respect to social processes and meta discourses (De Fina 2013) the discussion of which will be deferred to the following section of this article.

At level 1, key storied characters are Ric, the film crew, the Qatari hunters and the prey. Hunters, crew and prey remain fairly stable in their relationships to each other across tellings. Ric himself, as a storied character, however, is much more effaced in the tellings at the Brazen Head. His lodging conditions, his relation to his subjects and his relation to the overbearing director that were pertinent to the interview with the researcher disappear from these tellings, which, in turn, tend to focus more on the technical details of filming and the technical details of the hunt. At level 1 therefore, and with reference to Ric, there is a strong adaptation of positioning to the place of telling, which is to say The Brazen Head.

At level 2, another difference between the one-on-one tellings in stories 1–3 and the group tellings in stories 4–7 is the absence of direct speech in those stories told in the Brazen Head. Absence of direct speech heightens the sense of alterity in characters who are only described but never talk directly to the audience. It is as if Ric is reproducing a sense of his filming. In doing so he also positions himself to his audience as an expert. In story 5, for instance, this positioning allows him to rebut a participant: *agh don't be silly man (..) it's a competition*. But it is above all with respect to documentary film making itself that Ric positions himself most clearly as local expert who can discern the quality of a project. A passage from one of his accounts (&6) is notable: *you spend six months following a tiger around (...) it's (..) ↑kind of interesting (...) but (...) there a::ll↑ these jobs have been (...) in a way (..) fundamentally flawed*.

This positioning as local expert echoes a general, level 3, increase in agency throughout stories. As a character in stories 1–3 Ric is very much at the mercy of the whims of the subjects he is filming and the demands of the film's director and technical crew. In story 2 (Extracts 1 and 2 above) for instance there is the comical situation (turns 24 to 26) where he must repeatedly film the camels' feet in order to avoid recording a

Qatari smoking. In stories 1–3 he repeats his disappointment: *I was very depressed* (story 2), *so (...) anyway (...) so I was like a (bad call)* (story 3). He also, significantly, couches the story as a memory, *I remember* (story 3), and in so doing (see Bamberg 2008: 196) emphasises the overall impression that he had during the events of the shoot. In contradistinction, in stories 4–7, Ric adopts a position in which he relies on his experience and reinforces a sense of his knowledge of the film industry with several other anecdotes (stories &5, &6, &8, &10).

Through a discussion of spatial and temporal meanings and through a brief positioning analysis of Ric's data, the adaptation and progression of iterations of a story can be seen to have consequence for both Ric's role as teller, but also for tellability itself. The *why* of telling can be accessed. Stories in interview with the researcher focus on biography and the demands of the job. At the Brazen Head this cedes to a positioning that is more self-assertive and agentic. Temporally and spatially, these stories also give the opportunity to other participants to share experiences and to emplot pertinent social meanings.

7. Discursive interpretation

One of the aims of sociolinguistic research is to move from the micro of linguistic interaction to a more comprehensive understanding of a place and its relation to macro social discourses and processes. This is a point that is regularly made (see Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts 2014), and as Baynham notes it involves a question of scale, from the small-scale local meaning-making to the large-scale societal ordering (Baynham 2009: 136). Iterative stories are particularly germane to this kind of exploration, and the preceding discussion has opened up the possibility of a three-fold comparative moment in which: a) Ric's interview stories can be compared to those he told at the Brazen Head, in an intra-teller consideration of story version, b) the effects of telling at the Brazen Head can be followed in the interweaving of Ric's stories and other participants' stories, giving rise to a conjoint analysis, and c) stories told at the Brazen Head can be analysed in their own right, as being those stories most directly linked to the practices and place of the site under research. This section will briefly consider each of these discursive bases in light of thematic, structural and interactional analyses.

It was noted, when discussing thematic development, that Ric's original narrative-poetic organisation favours themes of independence, dignity, and a right to creative control. However, in the Brazen Head, both Ric's stories, and the stories of other participants, tend towards themes of authenticity, resourcefulness and honour. There is most certainly group identity work being carried out in this narrative progression, where the values of the group as a whole are being transferred and re-injected into the narrative. Interpretation would therefore involve understanding which themes are dominant and why. In the case of the Brazen Head, the theme of resourcefulness is often repeated, for instance, in conversation and in overt statements by Marty of the ethos of the community.

Structural considerations prompt two bases on which discursive analysis can be continued. Firstly, Ric's data emphasises, as noted, evaluation and complicating action. Individually, and in interaction with the researcher, Ric is concerned with the behaviour of the director and the filmic subjects. Collectively, the complicating action concerns the relation of human to nature. This can be explored discursively by taking the story as text

and drawing out the implication of these changes. The distribution of structural elements, furthermore, changes significantly when auxiliary storytelling is taken into account. Elements become much more evenly distributed. In this case, the appropriate discursive analysis would consist of a cumulative assessment of the component and co-constructed parts of what is, in many respects, a group narrative that is actualised in the interactional space of the Brazen Head.

Discursive interpretation of spatio-temporality and positioning (see De Fina 2003, 2009b, 2013) relies on the linguistic strategies through which social and subjective meanings are generated. In Ric's data, the discussion has touched on the place that is Qatar, on temporal scale, on event and character, on telling role and on presentation of self. Here, following research statements such as that of Leiden (2014) on the role of the social sciences and the humanities, a discursive interpretation that one can pursue could look at narrative inquiry in light of our environment. An ecolinguistic approach (see Stibbe 2018), for instance, notes that storytelling and storylines are both conditioned and conditioning of our relation to nature. In the Brazen Head, Ric's stories are notable for their paucity of direct speech.

Direct speech, or what Tannen refers to as constructed speech (Tannen 1998, 2007), functions to give voice to embedded characters and to thereby provide a more immersive story, as opposed to a merely observational or descriptive story. The rarity of direct speech in Ric's stories would therefore seem to imply a less involved attitude to nature. This implication is increased by the distance at which events occur, in a desert land on the other side of the world from South Africa and Johannesburg. For the other participants this is modified somewhat. The majesty of the falcon and its resilience would indicate a stance from which human impact on nature is minimised and where ecosystems are still relatively unaffected by industrial activity.

Finally, narrative iteration has provided the opportunity of examining several distinct relationships between narrative and place that can, in turn, be given a discursive interpretation. The first relationship to place is thematic. Socialisation at The Brazen Head promotes certain themes to the disadvantage of others. The themes that are taken up by the group circulate in interactional space and are reinvested in successive stories. A second relationship to place is identified through a structural analysis and concerns the successful ratification, by the group, of the Middle East and of Southern Africa as locations for story world characters and events. A third relationship concerns the spatial and temporal meanings that are invested in these places and that inform participants' narrative positioning. In each of these three relationships what has been seen to be at work is a process of Orientalism (Said [1978] 2003) in that, firstly, themes deal with lack of dignity and honour. Secondly, the supposed traditionalism and authoritarianism of the places evoke a heightened contrast with the non-human protagonists (the falcon, the houbara etc). Thirdly, the group's fairly stereotypical social scripts and evaluations as applied to the Middle East align with a Western point of view which is the more surprising given South Africa's position in the global South and the composition of the group.

8. Conclusion

This article has examined narrative iteration from thematic, structural, interactional and discursive perspectives. In so doing it has hoped to contribute to better understanding the relationship between iteration and place. In terms of the triple conception of place which opened the paper, where place has geographic location, materiality and investment with meaning and value, the stories examined here have been shown to relate to place in all three ways. The meaning and value that is a product of a thematic, structural, interactional and discursive progression applies both to the situation of telling (The Brazen Head) and to the embedded story worlds of Qatar, the Middle East, and Southern Africa. The story world places constitute a resource that is mobilised by participants and that sets up a dynamic alternation between the story world coordinates and the interactional work being done in the immediate setting. The materiality of these places, their contours, their temporality and their living conditions, as well as their natural resources and non-human protagonists, are taken up by the group and emplotted in a series of tellings that implicitly ratify the choice, and meaning, of the story world locations. The choice of the Middle East is not value-neutral. As story worlds are progressively invested with events and characters that portray traditionalism, authoritarianism and even lack of honour, there is a more global identitarianism at work that says much about The Brazen Head's participants' conception of socio-political conjuncture.

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