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**Kirra's Aboriginal epistemic talk: Driving her
bildungsroman**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract:

This research is concerned with the discovery of a bildungsroman as a structural device for understanding the storytelling embedded in a long duration of talk. Bildungsroman refers to a literary genre that is a particular way of constructing a life story through talk about stages-of-life, moral agency, psychological troubles, identity and responsibility, and ethnicity. The structural device bildungsroman in this research was discovered through the application of the principles, policies, and analytical techniques of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples often transmit their culture through storytelling. A long duration of talk was recorded with a nineteen year old Aboriginal woman, here named Kirra. This phenomenon is reflected throughout the logical sequential organisation of Kirra's series of ten connected conversations that orient to significant stages in her life. Through topical talk and the strategic use of interactive resources, Kirra discloses stages-of-life that have characterised her progress from infancy to her coming-of-age as a young adult. Kirra's talk encompasses episodes, phenomena, and obstacles that she has overcome to achieve a degree of maturity, dignity, and autonomy. Her construction of a bildungsroman is characteristic of Aboriginal discourse whereby their individual lives and their culture are constituted in storytelling. The conversational structures she employs, her moral agency, and her use of membership categorisation devices support the integrity of the choices she makes in her story. This achievement Kirra proposes to pass on to her community in the form of a book. The findings of the study make a distinctive contribution to the scope of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis research, through discovery and analysis of the bildungsroman as a powerful organising conversational phenomenon, providing new ways of analysing storytelling structures in talk. Further, this research has the potential to contribute in distinctive ways to understanding the Aboriginal episteme as shown in day to day talk.



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Declaration:

This is to certify that:

This thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Faculty of Education and Social Work.

Due acknowledgement has been made in the text of all other material used.

The thesis does not exceed the word length for this degree.

No part of this work has been used for the award of another degree.

This thesis meets the *University of Sydney's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) requirements for the conduct of research.*

Signature:

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Date: September 2014

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This thesis has grown out of my association with an Aboriginal family that I came into contact with while working with the Department of Education and Communities. I acknowledge their willingness to share their experiences and knowledge with me. Without their cooperation over the past eight years I would not have been able to accomplish this work. We have talked together, laughed together, and sometimes cried together. This thesis only comprises a small part of our interactions. I deeply appreciate their input into my life and this thesis. I hope all of them and their community find acceptance, reconciliation, recognition, and prosperity in the future.

The supervision of Professor Derrick Armstrong laid the foundations of this research. I greatly value his contribution to an historical and emancipatory intention behind the conduct of the thesis. This study is grounded in the talk of the co-participants and an appreciation of their life worlds and the realities of their experiences.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to this Research.

This research studies the bildungsroman of a young Australian Aboriginal woman. The study documents and analyses a long duration of talk by one young Aboriginal woman to disclose the resources she draws on to impart information about the stages of her life and her interests. The notion of ‘talk-in-interaction’ includes dialogue, discourse and the communicative language used in conversations (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). The talk-in-interaction is analysed using the methodological and conceptual framework of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA) (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998).

This chapter introduces

- the setting of the research,
- the inspiration for doing the study,
- the educational and sociological background of the study,
- some observations from recent research in Aboriginal education,
- definitions of some of the key terms used in the study,
- the aim of the research,
- the significance of the study,
- an outline of the organisation of the thesis.

The Setting of this Research

The multi-turns of talk that populate the transcript (see Appendix B) and form the basis for this document were initially recorded when Kirra was telling her story to the co-participants in an ordinary naturally occurring hour of talk-in-interaction. The participants included her paternal great Uncle Eric an Aboriginal Elder, her younger brother Donny, the non-Aboriginal researcher who was driving the other participants to their community, and Kirra who was the main protagonist. The talk took place while travelling from Sydney to a remote community in the North Western regions of New South Wales, Australia. There were ten identifiable conversations over an hour of talk in which Kirra did most of the talking and the researcher mostly made affiliative continuer utterances and her relatives mostly remained ‘actively silent’.

The Inspiration for this Research

The researcher was inspired to study Aboriginal education when he observed that some Aboriginal children in Kindergarten and infant school were not engaging in learning literacy and acquiring reading skills. He observed by using computers and individual work that their

lack of engagement was not due solely to behaviour or socio-economic factors since the children were intelligent, could be engaged socially, and participated in educational activities on an individual basis. The researcher began a friendship with an Aboriginal liaison officer who invited him to accompany him out to a remote community to meet his family and engage with them. The researcher understood that this was an avenue through which he could engage with the Aboriginal community and learn how to create an educational partnership with them (Gooda, 2012b).

The Educational and Sociological Setting of the study

This section briefly outlines the access that Aboriginal peoples have had to education since the commencement of the European domination of Australia.

When Australia was colonised by the British in 1788 the non-Aboriginal colonialists were geographically separated from the 'metropole'; the centre of civilization in Europe and North America, and Australia occupied the periphery of the British Empire (Connell, 2007). On the other hand, the Aboriginal peoples (this is their preferred nomenclature for this community) were the proud occupiers of this island continent (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). Their way of life was classified as primitive and a source of empirical curiosity rather than a different or hybrid way of life with its own social reality, organisation, languages, and structures (Smith, 1999). The availability of European education for Aboriginal peoples followed the changing relationship between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal people.

In the penal colony of 1788, the welfare of the children of convicts and child convicts who came out on the first fleet was not cared for by the officials (Austin, 1972a). The official British attitude was not inclined to educate the inferior ranks of its own subjects but rather left them in the state of ignorance into which they were born (Austin, 1972a). Nor were Aboriginal peoples seen as the responsibility of the government.

By the mid-1850s some public primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions were beginning to be established but only for the poor white children of the colony with no mention of Aboriginal children (Austin, 1972a). For the children of those people with financial means there were a large number of private schools (164). The quality of education in the few public schools was very low. At the end of 1851, the deplorable state of education for the colonial non-Aboriginal child was attributable to a lack of attention by parents, schoolmasters, clerics, squatters, and Legislative Councillors who were mainly interested in exploiting Aboriginal land for pastoral purposes. The influence of the metropole was still determining the course of

policy in the colonial periphery where the Aboriginal peoples were segregated from the white community (Austin, 1972a; Connell, 2007; Hyams & Bessant, 1972).

In the Education Acts of the 1860s, a secular system of public education was to be established on a basis of common citizenship but even though Aboriginal peoples were British subjects, they were not eligible to be “Australian citizens” (Rorabacher, 1968). It would be another hundred years (1950s) before the survival of the Aboriginal peoples would be conceded and free, secular, and compulsory education made available to them (Chesterman & Galligan, 1997; Nichol, 2005; Rowley, 1970).

Educational theorists in 1972 were still referring to the Aboriginal culture and education as something that had almost been left too late to include in their theorising and acknowledgment (Cunningham, 1972). More particularly the responsibility for the education of Aboriginal peoples on reserves and missions had been relegated to the Department of the Interior (1932-1939) and the Department of the Interior (ii), Central Office, Commonwealth of Australia (1939-1972) and therefore once removed from mainstream educational bodies (Bowker, 1972; Cunningham, 1972).

Governor Macquarie had attempted to establish a school for Aboriginal children as early as 1814 but the school was unsuccessful (Beresford, 2003; Conroy, Drummond, & Splatt, 1993). Some Christian organisations offered European education to Aboriginal peoples on an incidental basis. The dominant attitude toward educating Aboriginal peoples was influenced by ‘biological essentialism’ that regarded Aboriginal peoples as intellectually different from English people and considered the Aboriginal race was doomed to extinction by the Darwinian principles of natural selection and survival of the fittest (Beresford, 2003; Connell, 2007; Nichol, 2005; Smith, 1999). In 1848 the NSW Board of National Education stated that it was impracticable to teach them and most Aboriginal children were excluded from schools. This policy of segregation was reinforced by the NSW Aboriginal Protection Act (1909-1910) that remained in force up to 1937 when a policy of assimilation began to be implemented. Between the late 1930s to the late 1960s the policy of assimilation failed to deliver educational outcomes to the majority of Aboriginal children due to lack of funding and teaching services (Beresford, 2003).

A shift in theorising in the metropole from colonialism to post-colonialism spanning World War I and World War II did not mean that the Imperial occupation of Australia had ceased and that the land of Australia had been returned to the Aboriginal peoples (Smith, 1999). It

meant that the theorising of the metropole had shifted to a position of Post-colonialism and Post-modernism. The grand theories of Marxism, capitalism, the enlightenment, and modernity that had guided the dominant cultures of the metropole gave way to theories of globalisation (Connell, 2007; Dodson, 2008). Between 1950-1980 non-Aboriginal Australians were now 'sociologically constructed' to be similar to those of the metropole and modernity. Then with the advent of globalisation, Aboriginal Australians were constructed to be similar to other indigenous people as socially disadvantaged in a stratified advanced society (Beresford, 2003; Connell, 2007).

Concurrent with the new classification of disadvantage and the advent of post-war immigration to Australia, Aboriginal peoples were sociologically classified as an 'ethnic minority' (Connell, 2007). Despite the policy of multiculturalism, the practice of exclusivity, elitism, stratification, and a re-emergence of neo-racism in the 1990s have continued, even though we purport to be an inclusive and egalitarian society that has enshrined into law the policies of anti-discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, age, gender, sexual preference, and disability (Beresford, 2003; Hamston & Love, 2003).

The Aboriginal Elder in this study was born in the late 1940s and received a primary school level of education in a Mission school before working on cattle and sheep stations with his peers and his father. Kirra's grandfather was born in a mission, given a primary education, and then moved to a satellite settlement on the fringe of a remote town in outback Australia. Kirra's father was taken in the 1970s from the same Mission School as his Uncle and educated in a school in South Sydney, and lived in a boarding house along with some of his siblings. Kirra's father completed his secondary education in a state high school. The families in this research have benefited from the shift in thinking from segregation and non-citizenship to assimilation and citizenship that has given them access to the free, compulsory, and secular education of the Australian education system.

Recent Research on Aboriginal Education

Recent research on Aboriginal education has found that Aboriginal parents are often only contacted by teachers in a crisis (Stewart, 1999), there is a lack of meaningful interaction between the Aboriginal and school communities (Colman-Dimon, 2000), and that educational institutions are unaware of the communication styles and humour of Aboriginal peoples and the ability of Aboriginal parents to motivate their children (Chambers, 1994; Gooda, 2012a; Ngarritan-Kessaris, 1994b).

Educational institutions still underestimate the extent to which Aboriginal children come from a culturally diverse community that has heterogeneous levels of social capital and funds of knowledge, and that some Aboriginal parents have had negative educational experiences and feel inadequate to assist their children (Attwood & Markus, 1999; Cline, 2001; Janes & Kermani, 2001; Reese & Gallimore, 2000).

The Aboriginal community would benefit from the education system recognising the ability of some Aboriginal students to make conscious and deliberate efforts to acquire literacy and from acknowledging that the tendency of some Aboriginal students to exhibit behavioural problems is not peculiar to Aboriginal students (McMackin, 1993; Neuman, 1994; Ready, LoGerfo, Burkam, & Lee, 2005).

For most Aboriginal peoples, the Australian educational system only became accessible in the 1970s (Rigney-Sebastian, 2009). The experience of Chris Sarra (2003), an Aboriginal man and former principal of a predominantly Aboriginal School in Cherbourg, was that entrenched institutional talk was socially conditioning Aboriginal children to low achievement and that, by changing the talk to become affirming, valorising, and empowering dramatically improved their grades, attitudes, and behaviours on several key educational indicators (Booth, 1998; Oliver, 1997; Sarra, 2003, 2005).

The effects of literacy can either develop or deplete the prosperity of a society and the eradication of illiteracy is the stated aim of the powerful global economic, political, and bureaucratic elites who perceive literacy as the way to extend their power structures (Mathen, 1997). On the other hand, literacy is a means of empowerment and liberation, not just a privilege, but a right of all people (Freebody, 2003; Freire, 1972, 1979, 1985; Gooda, 2012a; Sykes, 1986, 1989, 1997; Sykes, Bonner, & Turner, 1975; Sykes & Edwards, 1993). Aboriginal peoples are not broken people and they want genuine partnerships, self-determination, corporate governance, and culturally relevant respect for their people, country and their stories (Gooda, 2012a).

Terminology used in this Thesis

Four main descriptors in EMCA research are 'autochthonous', 'endogenous', 'indexical' and 'reflexivity' (Garfinkel, 1967). Within EMCA, the term 'autochthonous' or 'indigenous' describes the source of the object of the study as being locally produced (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Garfinkel, 2002; Liberman, 2013). That is, it is situated in the naturally occurring setting in which it is recorded. In this research the talk-in-interaction that constitutes the data set is

mainly generated and expressed by Kirra. However, this locally produced data is also 'endogenous' where 'endogenous' refers to the inherent order and organisation of its production (Schegloff, 1997). That is, the order comes from within the social production and during analysis this order is retained and made visible as a critical resource in the production of the phenomena. The task of EMCA analysis is to minimize the introduction of exogenous material that is not present in the data set and concentrates on remaining with the resources, structures, and devices generating the phenomena (Garfinkel, 2002). The term 'reflexivity' describes how the information is generated within the social interactions by the interactants agreeing/disagreeing or affiliating/disaffiliating or by the use of some similar mechanism where the next mutual and reciprocal interpretation and production precipitates the next action or talk-in-interaction that in turn produces further interactions (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Langsdorf, 1995; Liberman, 2013). This reflexivity ranges over the whole of the previous interactions in the present situation and could extend back into previous interactions between the participants. The term 'indexical' refers to the on-going interpretations of the naturally occurring phenomena. The indexical context of the present and past interactions determines the mutual and reciprocal interpretations and understandings of the ongoing interactions and constitutive social realities (Garfinkel, 1967, 2002). These terms all indicate that the research confines its analysis and discoveries within the constraints of the data set and excludes the introduction of extraneous or exogenous material that comes from outside the immediate long duration of talk. This terminology is further explained in the literature review on the policies of ethnomethodological analysis. Each sequential social interaction is interpreted within the framework of the previous actions or talk-in-interaction, and is dependent upon the immanent contextual information to be understood by the participants.

The Aim of this Research

The aim of this research is to discover if an Ethnomethodological and Conversation Analysis of an Aboriginal person telling their educational story can disclose the generative resources that the participant uses in the dynamic constitution of their identity, episteme, and culture.

The Significance of this Project

This research is significant for the Aboriginal peoples, for educational and EMCA research, for educational theory, educational policy making, and educational practice. The significance for each of these bodies will be discussed.

The significance for the Aboriginal peoples: Aboriginal peoples are sensitive to the extent that their ontology, epistemology, and practices have been researched in the past and the assumptions that have determined those studies (Connell, 2007). They consistently implore the dominant culture to engage, to participate, to dialogue, and form partnerships with their communities (Gooda, 2012b). They are open to forming alliances with the dominant culture based on agreement and consent among equals. This study respects Aboriginal knowledge and their episteme, and consistent with EMCA policies has analysed the members' methods and resources that they have employed (Dodson, 2008; Gooda, 2012a).

The significance for EMCA Methodology: This study engages directly with social activities, dialogue, and conversation that have been generated from within the Aboriginal life world. The material has been collected in the natural setting of normal interactions (Garfinkel, 2002). The recording of conversations and dialogue was done ethically with their knowledge and consent, and non-intrusively. The study is situated in the local context of interactive talk and activities with Aboriginal peoples in their country, land, and stories (Dodson, 2008; Gooda, 2012a). The findings of the research contribute to the corpus of EMCA research by studying the Aboriginal tradition of storytelling and in particular, the bildungsroman form of storytelling. EMCA research is extended by the knowledge and understanding that a bildungsroman is a resource that adequately describes the form of storytelling that includes stages-of-life, moral agency, psychological troubles, spiritual phenomena, and ethnicity.

The significance for Theory: This EMCA study does not employ any normative theory about acceptable or appropriate behaviour for a particular community but analyses how an incumbent of the membership category Aboriginal person generates new generalities through their ordinary routine interactions. These new generalities and social facts are the grounding for sociological theories regarding educational life stories and may be observable and applicable to incumbents of other membership categories. These findings will then be warranted by the defensible analytic techniques that have been applied to the data, which then make a reasonable, adequate, and acceptable contribution to the Aboriginal community as well as an extension to the resources discoverable by EMCA (Gooda, 2012a; Mellor & Corrigan, 2004).

The significance for Educational Policy: The representation of the phenomena disclosed in this study forms a basis upon which clear educational policies can be formulated in regard to the future education of Aboriginal peoples. There was a partnership between the Aboriginal participants and the researcher formed on an equal basis upon which the relevant information

could then be collected, transcribed, and analysed (Craven, Halse, Marsh, Mooney, & Wilson-Miller, 2005; Mallock, 2003). The empirical documentation of these interactions constitutes a platform for framing educational policies that are culturally relevant to the furtherance of Aboriginal educational outcomes (Austin, Freebody, & Dwyer, 2001). Policies based on EMCA researched material are based on the inter-subjective constitution of their life world through social interactions (Herschell, 2001; Williams, 2003).

The significance for Educational Practice: Policy change on the grounds of empirical studies can lead to changes in educational practice (Berard, 2005; Craven et al., 2005; Craven, Parente, & Marder, 2004). Changes in practice can ameliorate the policies of segregation and assimilation that have debilitated their progress in the past. Effective educational practices will incorporate Aboriginal peoples into mainstream Australian society and recognise their contribution to the quality of Australian life and the economy (Armour, 2000; Ogbu, 1978).

The Thesis Organisation

Chapter 2: A Depiction of Bildungsroman.

This chapter addresses the properties of a bildungsroman and research that demonstrate the features of this phenomenon and its applicability to this research. There are many resources that run through the long duration of talk in this study. These resources relate to the storytelling of the main protagonist, Kirra. The resources deployed in her storytelling are typical of a bildungsroman. A bildungsroman is a form of biographical storytelling that pertains to the sequentially formative phases or stages-of-life of the main protagonist (Gottfried & Miles, 1976). The components of a bildungsroman that are present in this study are resources committed: to stages in her life; to her realisations and her moral agency; to her psychological confessions and ambivalences; to her full humanity, spirituality, and identity with the community to whom she feels responsible; and to her Aboriginality and being a woman.

The bildungsroman is the warrantable trajectory that draws together these components into an over-arching phenomenon. The epistemic engine driving and sequentially assembling the talk-in-interaction is best depicted as a bildungsroman (Heritage, 2012; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a).

Chapter 3: Literature Review on Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA).

This literature review outlines the empirical and conceptual framework of EMCA. The chapter mainly outlines the ethnomethodological framework, principles, and policies that are implemented in the data analysis of this study.

EMCA allows for an equal and symmetrical relationship between the researcher and the Aboriginal participants. Aboriginal societies traditionally consisted of an egalitarian social structure that suppressed individualism, and EMCA maintains this perspective by positioning the participants as the knowledge providers (Lieberman, 1985).

EMCA was chosen for its rigorous treatment of the constitutive work of social activities and talk that does not position the study in a preconceived dominant theoretical framework but begins with the mundane routine ordinary material of the extant interactions (Garfinkel, 1967, 2002). EMCA privileges the material offered by the participants with social validity and facticity. The academic validity of the study relies upon the full submission of the transcript (see Appendix B for the transcript and Appendix F for the audio file) so that it is open for interpretation by readers. The tools and policies of EMCA form a rigorous methodology that constrains the analysis to remain within the collected material chosen for analysis by concentrating on the methods, topics, and resources that the members have deployed in the interactive talk.

Chapter 4: Literature Review on Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA).

This chapter delineates the devices and resources that Conversation Analysis has analysed to be present in the talk-in-interaction. These devices are predominantly the domain of Conversation Analysis (CA). CA orientates to the sequential and reflexive mechanisms and devices that participants use to produce the talk-in-interaction. These resources are described and explained in this literature review.

Chapter 5: Procedure

This chapter outlines the design and methods used by the researcher to collect the data, the reasons for the choice of this particular data, and the choice of these particular participants. The ethical procedures that are followed and maintained throughout the research are stated.

The full transcript in Appendix B and the audio file in Appendix F are available to the readers for their interpretation and analysis. The validity of EMCA analysis and interpretation relies upon the transparency of the data and how it is made accountable, recognisable, and intelligible to other academics.

The transcription procedures and conventions are explained in relation to EMCA policies. The mode of interpreting the data that forms the next two chapters of data analysis is detailed and specified.

Chapter 6: The First Phase of Data Analysis.

The first phase of analysis follows the principles, policies, and members' methods of both Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis. The transcript was sequentially analysed turn by turn and an interpretation made of the talk. The interpretation identifies resources that the participants were deploying from the perspective of previous EMCA research and analysis.

Chapter 7: The Second Phase of Data Analysis.

The second phase of analysis deals with each conversation by focusing on the membership categorisation devices (MCDs) employed to generate talk around different topics. The application of MCD analysis is effective in making noticeable and mentionable the resources the participants have been using to make their talk recognisable and intelligible. Often talk-in-interaction is implying more than just the words used and the open texture of talk can be made relevant to the sharing of contextual knowledge through this form of analysis (Francis & Hester, 2004).

Chapter 8: Discussion of the Major Findings.

The discussion of the resources developed throughout the conversations is drawn together to make known the major phenomenon of a bildungsroman that has been discovered through the sequential talk of the study. The discussion also addresses the contributions that this study have made to EMCA research, and its implication for Educational theory, policy, and future educational practice.

Chapter 9 The Concluding Remarks.

The study is brought to a close by some concluding remarks about the content of the study that has enduring attributes and properties. They concern the participants, their community, their episteme, and their contribution to the research. The effectiveness of EMCA to achieve this work is summarised and the limitations of the study are addressed.

This introduction has outlined the location and setting of the study and the enduring inspiration for pursuing the material. The sociological setting of Aboriginal education in Australian history was briefly surveyed along with recent issues affecting their inclusion in the learning institutions. The aim of the research was clearly stated and the main terminology used in the methodology has been presented. The significance of the project for Aboriginal peoples, research, theory, policy, and the practice of education were indicated. Finally, an outline of the thesis organisation was briefly charted to bring cogency and coherence to the project. The next chapter looks at the characteristics of a bildungsroman.

Chapter 2: A Bildungsroman Literature Review

Introduction

The present study analyses a long duration of talk. The transcript of the talk is analysed on two levels and from a synthesis and transformation of the resources deployed by the main protagonist an overarching phenomenon, of a bildungsroman is manifested. This chapter is a literature review that connects the overarching phenomenon to the structure and components of this particular form of storytelling. A bildungsroman is a form of storytelling that captures the changes an individual has undergone through interacting with different environments and how these interactive changes have formed and matured their character (Gottfried & Miles, 1976). The bildungsroman involves the individual consciously relating the challenges they have encountered at different stages in their life and the moral stance they have taken to those demands. These demands have implicitly drawn on their psychological and spiritual resources and the individual has been able to articulate how they have accessed them in their storytelling. When these encounters include the added dimension of cross-cultural interactions then the bildungsroman includes an articulation of the resources the storyteller has deployed to interact successfully in the culturally and racially different environments (Lima, 2002).

The work of EMCA is to uncover the mechanisms that are driving the social activity and the interactive talk between one or more members (Silverman, 1998). This occurs where the cohort of members interacts collaboratively to produce social order by mutually orientating to the phenomenon that is being generated (Beach, 1990, 2000; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a). The descriptor “overarching” refers to the unifying and emergent nature of the phenomenon. The phenomenon is not immediately apparent in the talk and only becomes evident as the analysis peels back the layers of constitutive interaction that the members are employing. The descriptor ‘autochthonous’ refers to the ‘*in situ*’ origins and source of these social objects. ‘Autochthonous’ captures the resultant generative and productive methods that develop out of and over the course of the interaction, in that the cohort are moral agents that are performing accountable, intelligible, and practical actions. The phenomenon in this study has the characteristics of a bildungsroman that draws together the different embodied resources the participants employ to achieve this social object (Emirbayer & Maynard, 2011; Liberman, 2004, 2007a; Livingston, 2006).

The objective of the analysis of the talk-in-interaction is to discover the relevance for the participant of the information generated and the significance of the sequential ordering of that knowledge giving. For instance, Sacks cites talk by a girl who is two years and nine months old. The girl contributes two clauses “The baby cried. The mommy picked it up”. Sacks’ analysis discovers that the girl’s utterances are relevant to her experience, to her knowledge of the relationship between the baby and its mother, and how this knowledge is implicit in the consecutive and sequential positioning of the two utterances (Sacks, 1974, p. 216). An analysis of talk-in-interaction requires the analyst to decipher the relevance of each component of the talk and how each section of a long duration of talk contributes to the construction of a phenomenon such as a bildungsroman. A bildungsroman is one particular form of storytelling that utilises many of the same resources and devices as other forms of storytelling (McWilliams, 2009).

In his lectures, Sacks (1992) not only discloses his discovery of the resources and devices that are characteristic of conversations but he also analyses member’s method used in storytelling (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). Storytelling can introduce facts and information that constitute a pre-story to the main story. For example, Sacks recounts a story where some travellers hear a local news report and then in the course of their journey witness the scene. This pre-story requires the analyst differentiating the pre-story from the actual story being recounted (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a). In the same way a long duration of talk can contain stories that interrelate with previous stories that develop backwards and forwards over the course of the talk. These interlocking properties of information-telling, sequencing, and construction of the talk are designed to make the moral point of the story understood by the participants (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a). In the context of this study, the sequence of talk performs the function of informing the participants about the content of a bildungsroman. According to EMCA analysis the storyteller has the information and is the giver and driver of the epistemic engine generating the talk (Heritage, 2012). When the mutual interpretations of the participants contain similar or affiliative information the phenomenon under construction is inter-subjectively constituted and communication is achieved.

The Traditional Bildungsroman

Traditionally, the ‘bildungsroman’ referred to a literary genre made popular during the Enlightenment and attributed to a novel written by Goethe (1749-1832), entitled “*Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*”; and to Rousseau’s book “*Emile*” (Gottfried & Miles, 1976; Jenks, 1993). In Goethe’s book the formation and education of the main character, Wilhelm Meister,

eventuates his coming of age as a businessman and his subsequent journey to self-realisation (Jenks, 1993). Wilhelm is seen to have assimilated the learning opportunities that were afforded to him and were critical to the formation of his life. This subjective process of assimilation and accommodation of social, educational, (Macbeth, 2000) and personal objects are attributes common to this genre. The self-awareness, self-realisation, and self-conscious acts are operating within social contexts such as educational, military, and business institutions and constitute inter-subjective co-constructions where the power of those institutions may be appropriated by the individual in the development toward maturity. Dostoyevsky's "*Notes from the underground*" has the same inter-subjective, self-questioning, and self-consciousness that are characteristics of this genre (Dostoyevsky, 2013; Frankl, 1985; Goffman, 1961; Gottfried & Miles, 1976; Jeffers, 2005). His book exemplifies the principle of educating others by disclosing his own psychological commitments, strivings for freedom, religious aspirations, and self-realisation.

Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* is considered the classical form of the genre. It was written during the enlightenment when the historical relationship between employers and employees was changing (Jeffers, 2005). Men had traditionally learnt the art of living by following in their father's business and their place in society was inherited. Goethe transformed this concept of coming of age from a feudal and parochial paradigm to one that included the changes in life brought about by the renaissance and reformation. Life would be developed through aesthetic, intellectual, and sensual pursuits and moral accountability was becoming an individual rather than a collective responsibility (Jeffers, 2005). The relationship between fathers and sons was changing in that the sons were resisting the models set by their fathers and they were having to find their own way in life. This rise in individualism brought with it a moral agency of self-determination in choosing one's own direction in life. With this new freedom came new challenges that had to be overcome to succeed. The individual leaves home and moves into the metropolis and has sexual affairs some good and some bad that re-orient his values and preferences. He renegotiates his career as a citizen and a worker in the commercial, industrial, or entertainment worlds. Finally he may return to his home to manifest his developments. Through his experiences and his self-realisation he will be in a position to make informed choices about his marriage and career that is free from the conventions and restrictions of his home (Jeffers, 2005). Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* makes his own choice concerning whom he marries and reveals that for Goethe "the individual is born not for society's sake but for his own, and that society is essentially an arena in which individuals can

collectively realize their own “capabilities”, *and this* applied mostly to upper-class or upwardly tending males like himself” (Jeffers, 2005, p. 34 words in italics were added). Matthew Pietrafetta (2009) argues that the bildungsroman genre is brought to closure by the protagonist’s development culminating in marriage as did *Wilhem Meister’s* (Pietrafetta, 2009). However, the bildungsroman has taken on different forms as it has travelled from being a uniquely German Enlightenment genre to a contemporary transgender and transcontinental phenomenon.

The Female Bildungsroman

The dictionary definition of a bildungsroman focuses on boys coming to maturity however there has been a “growing literary tradition” that reconceptualises the bildungsroman to include the self-improvement and development of girls (McWilliams, 2009, p. 5). Just as the enlightenment, the renaissance, the reformation, and romanticism have contributed to the development of the genre so the genre has come to encapsulate these attributes into the character of those nations that have embraced these properties. Academics have associated the physical, intellectual, and spiritual cultivation and transformation of fictional heroes and heroines in numerous nineteenth and twentieth century novels with the bildungsroman, the genre has been broadened and reinvented as a modern literary category (McWilliams, 2009). The intimated presence of the genre in a work of fiction is sufficient to render the imaginative work an instance of the literary genre, a bildungsroman (McWilliams, 2009). This intimated presence is also now identifiable in comics (Earle, 2014) and in talk-in-interaction.

An awakening, or self-discovery, or coming to self-hood are all intimations of the growing individualism of the character irrespective of their age, gender, race, marital status, or sexual preference (Jeffers, 2005; McWilliams, 2009). One of the common factors of the genre is that the individual is challenging the conventions and norms of the community in which they were born. They are seeking to rise above the paternal influences of their social milieu (McWilliams, 2009). The presence of the female bildungsroman is evident where the heroine is willing to question and change the socially constructed expectations of subjugation, submission, and marginalisation that would deny them the opportunity and freedom to develop independently into an autonomous adult (McWilliams, 2009).

The Historical, Legal, and Contextual Background: A Précis of Appendix E

In this study, the bildungsroman genre is being linked to the historical development of the principles of the enlightenment as they are applied in the theorising and practice of the southern

“global periphery” and in contra-distinction to the theorising of the metropole located in Northern Europe (Connell, 2007, p. viii; Jeffers, 2005). The Aboriginal peoples of Australia are currently negotiating with the dominant culture to be liberated from the restraints imposed on them by colonisation. A brief documentation of the legal and historical development of this relationship is presented to contextualise the exposition of a bildungsroman contained in this research and an expanded account of the material can be found in Appendix E. Some personal anecdotal reflections are included to further elucidate the researcher’s connection with Aboriginal peoples.

In the 1950s and 1960s, I grew up with a series of young Aboriginal women performing domestic duties in our home for my mother. This was a time when relating to Aboriginal peoples was seen as radically confronting the existing social norms. There were a few Aboriginal students in my school who came from the nearby mission station at Point Pearce. I have vivid memories of relating to them.

However, I was relatively unaware of the history of the first contact between the dominant culture and the Aboriginal peoples until I began this research. On one of my first trips to the community of Aboriginal people that have provided the data in this thesis, I was taken to a massacre site at Hospital Creek where a plaque has been erected to commemorate and mark the place where a whole tribe of Aboriginal people lost their lives to the colonialists (Elder, 1988; Muruwari, 2013).

At first, I “didn’t get it” that there were two worlds, two epistemologies at work in the talk that was being generated between the Aboriginal participants and myself (Connell, 2007; Ogbu, 1978). The concept of “Terra Nullius”, the international legal doctrine of the European colonial past that declared that Australia was void of inhabitants before European occupation, didn’t become apparent until the late 1980’s (Reynolds, 1987). This doctrine didn’t allow for any acknowledgement or recognition of the sovereignty of the Aboriginal peoples over their land (Brennan, Gunn, & Williams, 2004) even though Governor Phillip had been instructed to treat the original inhabitants as English subjects. The Aboriginal peoples didn’t only lose their land by this doctrine but also their citizenship because without ownership of land or the right to own land you could not be a citizen of Australia (Rorabacher, 1968). For more than two hundred years Aboriginal peoples have been deprived of their humanity, their rights, their citizenship, and their dignity.

The laws documented in Appendix E from the beginning of colonisation in 1788 chronicles the ways in which the dominant culture have made possible the dispossession of the land from the Aboriginal peoples, and their isolation and exclusion from the colonial society. Social norms and explicit laws made relationships between the dominant culture and Aboriginal peoples taboo. Even though, the killing of Aboriginal peoples was considered “murder” the laws protecting the dispossession of Aboriginal lands made their forceful removal legitimate (Threlkeld & Gunson, 1974). During the 1800s the land in New South Wales was cleared of Aboriginal peoples and those that survived were confined to Mission stations where their traditional ways and the customary relationships between the different Aboriginal nations were violated (Madden, Fieldhouse, & Darwin, 1985; Stavrou, 2007). In the mission stations the proud Aboriginal peoples were institutionalised and made dependent upon the colonial governments for the basic rations of blankets for clothing, and flour and tea to survive (Krichauff, 2011; Rowley, 1970; Scott, 1916).

The beginning of the twentieth Century continued the process of the exclusion of the Aboriginal people from the political processes of the Federation of the Australian states. The Constitution of Australia 1900 specifically gave rights to other races of people whilst denying rights to the Aboriginal peoples who were and who remain the original owners of this land. The White Australia policy 1901 was only partially directed to limit the flow of Asian people into Australia following the gold rushes it was also directed toward a continuation of the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from paid employment and free association with the dominant society (Stavrou, 2007).

The protectionist policies of the twentieth century continued to enforce the confinement of Aboriginal peoples to reserves and mission stations for their safety and the perceived safety of the members of the dominant society. It was not until 1948 when Dr. H. V. Evatt was made the president of the committee for the Crimes of Genocide at the United Nations General Assembly that the treatment of the Aboriginal peoples was exposed for being acts of genocide. In response to this covert exposure the Australian Government passed the Commonwealth Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948-1966) that prepared the way for the 1967 referendum to the Australian Constitution that finally deleted the clauses that relegated Aboriginal peoples to being deprived of citizenship. A series of laws following the growing awareness of the inhumane treatment that the Aboriginal peoples had been subject to finally gave them the right to own land and access education (Stavrou, 2007).

The doctrine of “Terra Nullius” was legally rejected in 1993 with the upholding of the Mabo case that acknowledged prior ownership of Aboriginal peoples to their land. Unfortunately, in the mid-1990s the Howard government began a reversal of these trends that were emancipating the Aboriginal peoples of Australia by their interpretation of the “Little Children are Sacred” report (2003) that once again implied that Aboriginal peoples were incompetent and this led to the Northern Territory National Emergency Response on the 21st of June, 2007. The Australian Government has a long history of putting in motion positive opportunities and changes for the Aboriginal peoples that end in reversals that render many of the Aboriginal people even more dependent upon the Government with the resultant and inculcated helplessness and hopelessness that is a characteristic of institutionalised people (Goffman, 1961; Jenkins, 1989).

The Aboriginal Bildungsroman

The bildungsroman genre has been adopted by many indigenous and ethnic people to express their autobiographical stories of resolving the complexities occasioned by colonisation and the dispossession of their country and land. Indigenous people from Africa, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia are awakening identities that will liberate them from the stereotypes, conventions, and orthodoxies that the dominant culture has sought to impose upon them (Elliot, 2013; Ihimaera-Smiler, 2003; McWilliams, 2009; Okuyade, 2010; Sykes, 1997, 2000, 2001).

The conflict of the multiple identities resulting from the colonisation of the minds of Indigenous people has been reconstructed by some Indigenous writer in the literary form of a twin bildungsroman (Goffman, 1961; McWilliams, 2009). The twin bildungsroman is a semi-biographical novel in which the two cultures and epistemologies are lived out in the imaginative lives of two main protagonists. One character follows the stereotypical trajectory of “the native girl syndrome” into drug abuse, unwanted pregnancy, petty theft, and jail. The other character follows the traditional customary ways of her indigenous heritage. However, the development of both trajectories encounter disillusionment where the protagonists have realizations and epiphanies. The one that follows the “native girl syndrome” realises that the internalisation of the values of the dominant culture lead to dysfunctionality while the other realises the limitations and inadequacies of the “self-fulfilling stereotypes” of her own culture (Elliot, 2013; McWilliams, 2009, p. 143).

The Ethnomethodology Conversation Analysis of a Bildungsroman

An EMCA citation of the literary genre ‘bildungsroman’ will be different from those incorporated in the ideals of the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment emphasised the optimistic

benefits of the meta-narratives of human rights, freedom, democracy, reason, and progress whereas EMCA validates its evidence on the basis of the specifics contained within the locally produced data and more importantly how those specifics such as Aboriginal spirituality are used to constitute and interpret social reality (Button, 1991; Connell, 2007; Geertz, 2003; Habermas & Seidman, 1989). EMCA is not a theory-driven sociology that endeavours to deliver emancipation and liberation either conceptually or pragmatically but instead concentrates on analysing the resources people use to accomplish their social realities (Habermas & Seidman, 1989).

The word ‘enlightenment’ written with a small “e” can be used to refer to realisations (Schegloff, 1988b) and the bildungsroman formulated in the present study contained several critical realisations that contributed to the production of the talk-in-interaction by the main protagonist, Kirra.

The phenomena that coalesce to characterise a bildungsroman as the over-arching phenomenon in this long duration of talk include the following components:

- Stages-of-life: Incompetency and vulnerability to decisiveness and competency.
- Moral agency and realisations: Life determining decisions, initiative, talk, and actions.
- The psychological dimension: Feelings and confessions of confusion, self-questioning, fears of being domineering.
- Full humanity: The spiritual dimension of responsibility and identity.
- Aboriginality: Not colonisation or assimilation but the full potential of their community.

In the following sections of this literature review on the applicability of the genre bildungsroman to this study, I will be specifying these components and I will outline some EMCA findings that indicate the role of these phenomena in other *in situ* contexts of EMCA research.

Stages-of-life

EMCA researchers have addressed the phenomenon of ‘stages-of-life’ mainly in the classroom and found that students move from stages of incompetency through to competency as they increase in knowledge and apply that knowledge by learning skills. This process has been observed in the acquisition of language skills from an analysis of talk between children and their parents (Forrester & Reason, 2006). The research was occasioned by an analysis of

children's talk that noticed and made visible the difficulties associated with how children speak and in making out what the child has said (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). Further analysis has been made of the level to which children are interpreters of their culture and the world in which they live (Mackay, 1974).

Research with beginner readers in the classroom demonstrates a movement from incompetency to competency in the acquisition of the orthographic code of letter-sound correspondences underlying reading skills and how students learn to follow instructions in mathematics (Macbeth, 2000, 2002). Close analysis by EMCA researchers has disclosed that an acquisition of communicative competency in the classroom contributes to learning (Macbeth, 2003). Research with novice college students has found that the acquisition of conventions and formal rules that are embedded in cultural assumptions is associated with attaining competency in graduate studies (Macbeth, 2006). In the context of exploring the constitutive work of studying text in the classroom, the child is seen as immature, irrational, asexual, a-cultural, and simplistic, whereas an adult is seen as mature, rational, sexual, cultural, and complex. Students who respond like adults are seen as precocious, although classroom texts go beyond the acquisition of reading skills and involve social and cultural phenomena (Austin et al., 2001; Baker, 1984). EMCA research has found that the overall trajectories and affiliative activities of giving and taking advice are contingent upon the competency of the participants (Heritage & Sell, 1992). The acquisition of competence in the classroom and learning situations have some similarities and some differences from the competency associated with stages-of-life in the present study. Competence in the classroom is different in that it is mainly measured by the acquisition of literary, numeracy, technical, and other academic skills. On the other hand, the competency of the present study is similar in that there is a development in the social and cultural maturity of the individual in both the classroom and the natural setting of the environment from which this data was drawn.

The competency in this study relates to the stages-of-life that Kirra has orientated to in her development from a child to an adult. Kirra reflects on each of the stages that have contributed to her maturation as a person and uses them as a resource for articulating her bildungsroman.

Moral Agency: the Social Interactant

The storyteller in this study is exercising moral agency by actively orientating to, organizing, and communicating the information being transmitted. The work of EMCA is to disclose and make visible the methods the members use in the work, in the present location, and at the time

of that particular situated interaction (Rawls, 2008). The social object is determined by the assigned meanings and interpretations of the moral actors through the vocabulary and terms chosen in their environment (Cicourel, 1974). The work of the participants enables them to objectify, validate, and reify the social production generated through their '*in situ*' contextualised and localised work (Cooren, 2009; Cooren, Thompson, Canestraro, & Bodor, 2006; Liberman, 2013). The resultant social object is a compositely constituted entity rather than the achievement of any single participant and the social order is an accomplishment from within the situated interaction. In the process of constructing warrantable rationales for their social actions and talk they reflexively disclose their motivations, intentions, and decision-making (Samra-Fredericks & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2008; Schneider, 2002). The moral agency of Kirra in the present study is exemplified by her initiative in generating the talk-in-interaction and her communication of her decision-making processes. Kirra and the co-participants are social actors who constitute social realities that are accountable, intelligible, and recognisable.

The Psychological Dimension

The reference here to psychological phenomena is related to the experiences, ambivalences, and emotions that Kirra expresses in her talk-in-interaction. EMCA does not divorce expressions of psychological ambivalence and equivocation from the members' methods constituting the social interactions and order nor does it look for neurological equivalences between mental and anatomical activities (Lynch, 2006). EMCA research analyses the salience and the work that the psychological utterances are achieving. The expressions of psychological phenomena is examined from the point of view of the participants and their collaborative effect on the constitutive work of the social object. The phenomena in the talk-in-action are analysed as social practices rather than psychological units per se (Lynch, 2006; Woolfitt, 2005). The production, organisation, and implications of the occurring psychological phenomena depend on the individual's self-assessment or self-negation or self-appraisal that they can safely express (Speer, 2012). The inclusion of troubles-telling of a psychological character are occasioned by a moral agent in their talk-in-interaction and contribute to the formulation of a bildungsroman (Jefferson, 1988).

Full Humanity

When individuals practise responsible actions in social interaction then they actuate their full humanity and constitute their identity (Frankl, 2000). This identity does not reside in essentialist concepts like race but in social actions and talk (Edwards, 1998; Smith, 1999;

Verkuyten, 2003). The work of acting responsibly toward one's own community or to co-participants in talk is one resource that members implement in the ordinary practice of sharing information (Sarangi, 2003). The sharing of such information contains within it the social history of the participants (Smith, 1999; Wetherell, 1996, 2006). EMCA respecifies and repositions issues of race, identity, spirituality, and responsibility as resources that generate social interaction and topics around which talk is orientated.

Aboriginality

For the purposes of this study the Aboriginal Episteme consists of resources that constitute the sociological realities of contemporary Aboriginal life, culture, and Aboriginality (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997).

Aboriginal peoples live in two domains, the Aboriginal domain and that of the dominant culture (Ogbu, 1978). It has been argued that teachers of Aboriginal students are faced with a dilemma namely, the more time Aboriginal children spend learning the western domain the less time they spend learning their own domain (Dodson, 2008; Harris, 1990a). Furthermore, Aboriginal ways of thinking have been shown to differ from Western ways of thinking (Harris, 1990a; Hughes, Williams, & More, 2004; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Yunkaporta, 2009).

Aboriginal peoples often account for their current sociological reality as having been constituted by the following resources:

Terra Nullius: In 1770 when Captain Cook reported to the British Government that the structure of Aboriginal society did not include treaties and recognisable ownership of the land the prevailing doctrine of European law classified the country under the rubric of 'terra nullius' meaning 'belonging to no one' (Connell, 2007; Conroy et al., 1993; Reynolds, 1987). The full import of Terra Nullius is perhaps best understood from a Proclamation made by Governor Bourke, 10 October 1835 where he informed all British subjects in Australia (except the Aboriginal peoples) that they could not trade with the Aboriginal peoples for occupancy of the land because the whole of Australia was crown land (Stavrou, 2007). This was so despite the fact that from the inception of colonisation Aboriginal peoples were deemed to be granted the same rights as British subjects (Chesterman & Galligan, 1997; Nichol, 2005).

Aboriginality: Aboriginal peoples are proud of their identity, religion, languages, and culture (Lieberman, 1985; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962).

Colonisation and Settlement: Aboriginal peoples are aware that their land has been taken from them and that the invaders are not going to leave and that they need to coexist with the colonisers (Bartlett, 2004).

Dispossession: Aboriginal peoples are aware that many massacres happened all over the country by the colonisers and that much of this history is not being told but is shrouded in silence and secrecy due to the past practice of concealing evidence (Elder, 1988; Rowley, 1970; Trudgen, 2000).

Country: Aboriginal peoples are tied to their land by religious totems and know their totems, and often say the land owns them: they do not own the land (Harris, 1990a; Hiatt, 1965; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Read, 1996; Von Sturmer, 1978)

Storytelling: The Aboriginal episteme has traditionally been transmitted down the generations through storytelling, sand drawings, body painting, and singing (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). Now their art and their storytelling are being committed to the more permanent medium of paint and books (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004). Aboriginal peoples who have become academics, or who work with academics, are writing their stories and having them published (Briscoe, 2010; Read, 2009; Sykes, 1997, 2000, 2001). A close textual analysis of these published biographies and autobiographies may indicate that they contain similar resources to the bildungsroman of the present study.

Dreaming: Each Aboriginal clan, tribe, and nation have their own laws and religions that they respect and maintain by rituals and ceremonies rather than written codes and words. They do not question other people's ways of doing things but maintain their own. Aboriginal peoples consider that non-Aboriginal people do not possess dreaming (Harris, 1990a; Liberman, 1985; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962).

Elders: The authority of the Elders has been weakened by the process of herding tribes into mission stations, but their Elders are still recognised in their communities (Blake, 2001).

Indigenous: In this study the nomenclature "Aboriginal person" or "Aboriginal peoples" is used in preference to Indigenous people. The Aboriginal peoples with whom the researcher interacts with prefer the term "Aboriginal peoples" to other designations. The term indigenous is primarily used by official government sources and by reference to globalisation theories rather than by the Aboriginal communities with which the researcher has been associating (Dodson, 2008).

Land: Aboriginal peoples consider themselves to be one with their land and their identity with the land has a spiritual quality for them (Bartlett, 2004; Connell, 2007; Smith, 1999; Tatz, 2004).

Reconciliation: Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's (2008) apology was a deliberate act of reconciliation even to the point that some Aboriginal people now feel included in Australia Day celebrations, which they have previously avoided because they considered it 'Invasion Day' (Rudd, 2008). There are two sides to an act of reconciliation and Patrick Dodson's address in the Opera house when he received the Sydney Peace prize may be one of the most informed statements we have on the Aboriginal response to the Apology. Patrick stated, "The simple act of Apology and its acceptance by Indigenous Australia has gifted us an opportunity to begin a new dialogue about the future relationship between the Indigenous peoples and the modern settler state" (Dodson, 2008, p. 3). This and other statements made by Dodson indicate that the process of reconciliation has not begun in fact but only in the possibility of word and dialogue. Non-Aboriginal gestures at reconciliation have not specifically addressed the deeper issues of the land, dispossession, genocide, and sovereignty. The perspective of the non-Aboriginal person is confined to contextual and situational resources, and tends to avoid the real work of dialogue and material change that is needed for lasting reconciliation (Dodson, 2008; Johnson, 2002; Vereck, 2001).

Resistance: Aboriginal peoples have had everything taken away from them by the doctrine of *terra nullius*. Aboriginal children are carriers of this predicament and often avoid or refuse to perform in the education system of the dominant culture (Beresford, 2003; Stavrou, 2007).

Survival: Traditionally, Aboriginal peoples have been easy targets for the dominant culture's tactics of dividing them and destroying them as they have done since the inception of colonisation through such means as the Native Police, Protectionist policies, the Stolen Generation, and Assimilation, but now Aboriginal peoples are uniting to protect and retain their identity (Read, 2002; Stavrou, 2007).

Aboriginality in this research project is a resource that forms a background to their talk-in-interaction and occasionally forms a topic to which the co-participants orient.

Summary

This research is a study of a long duration of talk and from the conversations contained in that talk a particular story emerges. That story is best described as a bildungsroman and the next

two chapters are literature reviews that define the resources that the main protagonist, the storyteller and her co-participants use to constitute that sociological object. This research is unique in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis literature for demarcating a bildungsroman as the organising phenomenon of a long duration of talk-in-interaction.

The data contained in this study was generated by the constitutive and co-constructive talk-in-interaction of Kirra and her co-participants. The inclusion of an introduction to the literary genre of a bildungsroman isolates several resources that are defining characteristics of this form of storytelling. The presence of these resources would indicate that a bildungsroman has been deployed.

Chapter 3: Literature Review of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA)

Introduction

This literature review engages with the theoretical and empirical understandings of the practice of EMCA. The review is structured in the following sections:

1. The epistemological grounds of EMCA.
2. Philosophical and sociological influences that have contributed to EMCA.
3. The place of generality and generalization in EMCA.
4. The nature and role of ‘rule’ following and ‘norms’ in EMCA.
5. Issues concerning the context, the researcher, and the participant in relation to this study.
6. The Place of Policies in Ethnomethodology (EM).
7. The literature review concludes with a reference to four major research projects that are pertinent to this study in that over-arching phenomena have emerged through the application of EMCA analysis.
 - a. The classical study on the passing of Agnes (Garfinkel, 1967).
 - b. Aboriginal congeniality and consensus of the Central Desert of Australia (Lieberman, 1985).
 - c. The study of Tibetan sophistry (Lieberman, 2004).
 - d. The study of Indians identifying real Indians (Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA) are the methodologies selected for this research. The term ‘ethnomethodology’ (EM) refers to the study of methods that members of a culture use to constitute activities through “their practical sociological reasoning, its circumstances, its topics, and its resources” (Garfinkel, 1974; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 338; Stahl, 2012) (Garfinkel, 1974). Conversation is one activity that members frequently use to establish and maintain social interactions. The enquiry into the methods or resources members employ to construct talk-in-interaction is a component of EMCA known as Conversation Analysis (CA) (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Silverman, 1998).

EMCA seeks to discover, recover and make visible social objects that are often unnoticed, invisible or taken-for-granted (Benson & Hughes, 1991; Sharrock & Button, 1991). As an analytic approach, EMCA adopts a stance of indifference toward the data, suspending value judgements and not offering corrective recommendations but setting out only to contribute to the progress of sociological analysis and knowledge (Berard, 2003; Craig, 2003; Garfinkel, 1967; Wilson, 2003).

Section 1: The Epistemological Grounds of EMCA

EMCA is grounded in the practical reasoning of the shared language of ordinary society (Jayyusi, 1984). It bases its empirical status on noticing phenomena in routine mundane social interactions. Everyday language has often been assessed as being unstructured and in need of reformulating into grammatical and formalised propositions and statements (Garfinkel, 1967). This approach to studying linguistic phenomena follows the principles of ordinary language philosophy or practical philosophy that notices order and structure in the details of everyday activities and interactions (Aune, 1970; Gadamer, 1994; Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 2001; Myles, 1999; Rawls, 2009).

In the middle of the twentieth century Wittgenstein, de Saussure and others began to shift the grounds of philosophy from logical concepts consisting of fixed, static, synchronic, and a-contextual meanings to the contextual, dynamic, diachronic, and evolving meanings of everyday practical reasoning within a language community (de Saussure, 1972; Garfinkel, 2002; Wittgenstein, 1953, 1958). EMCA practitioners claim to be making empirical observations when they analyse members' methods and resources to construct social realities through talk and mundane activities (Coulter, 1991b). The relocation of epistemic experience from the realm of the inner mental processes of the individual to the linguistic and social realm of inter-subjectivity may provide the independent verification necessary to ground the epistemological stance of EMCA's research in social practices (Aune, 1970; Garfinkel, 2002; Lynch, 2006; Sharrock & Anderson, 1991).

EMCA discovers the meaning of words in the situated members' methods of interactive, sequential, indexical and contextual usage (Garfinkel, 2002; Silverman, 1998). The social facts of interactions and activities are inherent in the resources people use to generate those actions. EMCA has respecified the theoretical grounding of sociological research from an objective and /or subjective philosophical stance, to an inter-subjective stance of making visible the resources

that interactants have deployed to maintain their social activities (Coulter, 1991a, 1991b, 1999, 2004, 2005).

Section 2: Some Philosophical and Sociological Influences on EMCA

Garfinkel's contribution to social science began in the 1950s and culminated in the early 21st century. His unique and distinctive perspective was that sociological phenomena are contained in phenomenal fields. These phenomena are socially produced autochthonously making them native occurrences to that localized *in situ* unique event and consequently the order produced has the "autochthonous coherence" of that phenomenal field (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 110). This autochthonous coherence is inherent in the salient and locally produced phenomena that is inter-subjectively constituted, and is self-organising and self-governing rather than deliberately or cognitively constructed by normatively determined and rule governed acts (Lieberman, 2013). The EMCA resources used in this study are autochthonous phenomena that are constitutive of the main protagonist's bildungsroman.

Although Garfinkel acknowledges that some contributions from rationalism, empiricism and pragmatism are consistent with EMCA, he attributes inspiration for his methodology to Durkheim, Schutz, Husserl, Gurwitsch, and Parsons (Garfinkel, 1967, 2002). Garfinkel credits Schutz with having contributed to the empirical justification of making visible the taken-for-granted moral order in members' methods of practical action and reason. Schutz depicted social reality as inter-subjectively constituted and social interactions as predictable, consequential, informed by choice, and temporally conditioned (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 56; 1972, 1996, 2002; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342; Langsdorf, 1995; Psathas, 2004). These concepts have informed EMCA and will be discussed further in the remainder of this literature review.

Garfinkel assimilated his interpretation of Durkheim into EMCA. According to Durkheim "the objective reality of social facts is sociology's fundamental principle" and "what constitutes social facts are the beliefs, tendencies, and practices of the group taken collectively" (Durkheim, 1982, p. 54; cited in Garfinkel, 1991, p. 11). Garfinkel calls the implications of these statements 'Durkheim's aphorism' and positions EMCA within the historical development of Durkheimian sociology. Durkheim asserted that "our rational activity whether theoretical or practical is dependent on social causes" (Durkheim, 1964, p. 162). Garfinkel (1991) reformulated Durkheim's aphorism in EMCA terms as:

"for ethnomethodology the objective reality of social facts, in that, and just how, it is every society's locally, endogenously produced, naturally organised, reflexively

accountable, ongoing, practical achievement, being everywhere, always, only, exactly and entirely, members' work, with no time out, and with no possibility of evasion, hiding out, passing, postponement, or buy-outs, is thereby sociology's fundamental phenomena... endlessly seminal was sociology's stunning vision of society as a practical achievement" (Garfinkel, 1967; 1991, p. 11).

For Durkheim, Schultz, and Garfinkel sociology is the product of the shared community of language and practical action (Rawls, 2008, p. 707). The work of sociology is not about extrinsic principles or schemata that can be superimposed on a phenomenon but about the intrinsic phenomenon acting within the social order under investigation (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 140; Langsdorf, 1995, p. 179).

The reference to the "immortal ordinary society" was another contribution from Durkheim to EMCA. Rawls interprets this to mean that "society is immortal in that the patterned orderliness of situations outlives the particular persons who occupy them" (Rawls, 2002, p. 24). Ordinary society does not depend on individuals complying with norms since society is independent of the discourse that describes it and consists in the recurrences and objectivity of ordinary immortal social facts (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 143).

The concept of *Verstehen* is accepted in EMCA sociology on the basis that incumbents of different cultures reflexively, inter-subjectively and mutually interpret each other's social interactions to constitute social realities (Heritage, 1984). *Verstehen* is an indispensable resource whereby participants understand social interactions by stepping into the "shoes" of the co-participants who are from outside their own culture and thereby gain a common interpretation and experience of the phenomenon that the participant has constructed from within their culture (Griffin, 1962; Heritage, 1984; Lee, 1963). Emic knowledge is gained from membership within a culture while etic knowledge is gained through observation from outside a cultural group (Garfinkel, 1967). Emic knowledge involves interpreting meaning from the participants' point of view rather than treating participants as objects. EMCA researchers are to fulfil a condition termed 'unique adequacy' whereby they invest time and resources to embrace the perspectives and experiences of the participants that they are investigating (Garfinkel, 1996, 2002; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992; Rawls, 2008). For example, Wieder (1974) in his classic study of the criminal code frequented a half-way house where individuals were integrating back into society having served time in the prison system. His undercover research and exposure to their use of the criminal code *in situ* meant that he fulfilled the conditions of

investing in their social milieu sufficiently to warrant his analysis of how these individuals routinely used the criminal code in their social interactions (Wieder, 1974b). In this study the researcher travelled with the participants and engaged in ordinary local activities with them to gain acceptance within their social milieu.

The haecceity or just-this-ness of the social order is the locally created '*in situ*' social interactions of social actors (Garfinkel, 2002). To lose these phenomena or to leave them out of the final articulation of the research would be to ignore sociology's fundamental principle and neglect Durkheim's legacy. The task of EMCA research is to fully articulate the autochthonous resources that are deployed in the study. The research material is approached objectively and empirically to analyse the observable social facts that have been constituted by the co-participants. Autochthonous is a term borrowed by Garfinkel from Gurwitsch (Rawls, 2002, p. 45). The autochthonous details are the resources the co-participants have deployed to generate the recognisably coherent and orderly properties of the phenomena, in this case a bildungsroman. The phenomenal field is the local and specific context where the research material has been obtained. The attributes of the autochthonous resources deployed by the participants are ubiquitously prevalent and recognisable in the observed social interactions once the analysis has made them visible and noticeable (Garfinkel, 1996, p. 18; 2002, 2007; Rawls, 2002).

Section 3: The Place of Generalizability in EMCA.

EMCA is an epistemological framework as well as a methodology for analysing and discovering social objects. One of the objects of this research is to find social realities that are identifiable in this study and that may be identifiable in other similar social interactions. EMCA research contrasts with other Formal Analytic (FA) sociological research. Other FA research investigates "objective" formulations in contradistinction to EMCA's "indexical" accounts of social phenomena. The findings of FA studies generally consist of generalisations based on theoretically driven scientific enquiries that may be replicated. EMCA's indexical accounts of research data rely on the description of temporal and spatial social interactions that are contextual and unrepeatable, but formulated as empirically observed social objects for "all practical purposes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 7). The over-arching autochthonous phenomenon that is discovered in EMCA research constitutes a re-specified transcendent social object that is generated through the coordinated resources of different members' methods (Armour, 2000; Francis & Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967, 1996, 2002; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Heritage, 1984;

Hester, 2000; Hester & Francis, 1997, 2001; Liberman, 2007b; Schegloff, 1992c, 2007b; Sharrock & Ikeya, 2000)

In this research the work of EMCA is to recover the methods and resources that members employ in constituting the social realities in a long duration of talk. That is to find the order, the sequencing, and reflexivity inherent in the natural language and in the concrete details of the social utterances and activities that have been recorded (Coulter, 1991b, p. 29; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b; Schegloff, 2007a; Turner, 1974a).

EMCA's orientation is to the specific details of the practices and shared methods that the co-participants employ. This places the sociological phenomenon of the interactions as the pre-eminent social object. The focal point of this EMCA investigation is to make visible the members' methods of constituting their social reality rather than expanding upon the topics and ideas propounded in the talk. EMCA's sociological pursuit "locates the constitutive ordered properties toward which members mutually orient in the contingent details of their work" (Rawls, 2008, p. 708). EMCA research affirms that the concrete details of social objects contain structures that can be sought out, and once specified, inform social science. EMCA seeks to demonstrate empirically the resources members use, and not superimpose conceptual and theoretical presuppositions on the data (Garfinkel, 2002; Rawls, 2002).

The autochthonous phenomena found in the phenomenal fields of EMCA research are attributed with "generality" (Garfinkel, 2002). Garfinkel (2002) states "their 'generality' is a proxy and an abbreviation for the great recurrences of things-for exhibited worldly and real production and accountable, coherent immediacies-of-detail-in-and-as-of-their-generality" (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 109). This hyphenated words-phrase-descriptor describes the inherent properties of social phenomena that are generalizable in the sense that the detailed endogenous incident observed could obtain even if the actors were substituted by other actors. The social phenomenon is independent of the actors and can be extracted to form a transcendent entity from specific *in situ* analysis that exemplifies the social phenomenon. Durkheim also postulated that social facts are independent of the individual manifestations and external constraints on an individual. Once again this mode of expression is emphasising that the work of EMCA sociology is not about concepts that have been operationally defined a priori from a theoretical framework tested and found to be generalizable by FA procedures, but social facts that have been socially, empirically, and objectively observed to possess the constitutive property of generality (Drew, 2005; Fele, 2008; Garfinkel, 2002, p. 109; 2007; Garfinkel &

Lieberman, 2007; Livingston, 2000). Sacks and Jefferson (1992) described the achievements of EMCA as the analysis of “natural occurrences that ...yield abstract or general phenomena, which need not rely on statistical observability for their abstractness or generality” (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 11). The facticity of EMCA phenomena is based on this generality, and subsequent EMCA research builds on these findings.

This resolution of the problem of “generalisation” has progressed from the argument that the social facts of autochthonous phenomena are scientific and empirical facts to the acknowledgement that such EMCA phenomena can attain facticity and be elevated to having the property of immortal objective generality. These social facts carry with them the property of attaining substitutability and interchangeability with other social actors. This independence of the analysed phenomena from the agents does not abstract social facts as in FA sociology but makes relevant the constituted, endogenous, and indexical nature of their origins (Garfinkel, 2002; Rawls, 2002). This indicates that other individuals may deploy the same resources as those found in this research to their storytelling and formulate their own bildungsroman from their *in vivo* experiences.

Section 4: The Place of ‘Rules’ and ‘Norms’ in EMCA

The norms present in the episteme of a cohort of participants in a research study do not necessarily determine the course of talk or action the actors will take (Gregg, 1999). EMCA rejects the notion that research participants have internalized pre-existing norms or rules and are inadequate products of the interplay of predetermined social forces. Participants act in ways that conform with the resources that they have available to them to achieve a social reality that is recognisable, intelligible, and according to a preferred response to the contextual phenomenon.

As in Garfinkel’s (1967) experiments with store salesmen who expected customers to pay the recommended retail price for items; when confronted with a breach of this practice by a customer bargaining over the price, they responded by conforming to the company’s policy. The salesmen expected the customers to follow the constitutive rules of shopping in this department store. Another example by Garfinkel (1967) involved individuals playing ticktacktoe who did not follow the reflexive constitutive rules of the game but instead made arbitrary responses. The strong reaction experienced by both the participants and the researchers in these experiments illustrated that when confronted with a local event individual’s anticipated a standard socially relevant response that achieved a recognisable socially

structured practice. Garfinkel (1967) argued that these strong responses indicate that individuals constitute social events rather than follow internalised social norms (Garfinkel, 1967; Gregg, 1999).

EMCA attributes to communicative members the status of intelligent actors and moral agents who achieve accountable and recognisable interactions. Research by Lynch (1999) found that the 'artefacts' referred to by archaeologists are different in origin and constitutive social reality from the 'artefacts' referred to by neuroscientists (Lynch, 1999). Agents may appear to be passive, but their actions may be analysed to be reflexively constitutive according to the resources available to them in the context in which they are acting and socially interacting (Macbeth, 2003, p. 251; Pollner, 1991; Schneider, 2002; Watson, 2009a, 2009b). The participants in this study are moral agents who are giving an account of their lives using resources that are generated from within their cultural context and from within the context of the social interaction in which they are engaged.

Members' methods are the seen but often unnoticed practices of social structures in the phenomenal field of constitutive rules or techniques for sense-making. Members' methods are not intentionally conscious rule governed actions but the application and reconstruction of constitutive rules that are competently and relevantly fitted to specific situations. These EMCA practices are constitutive interactions that are "logically dependant on rules" that are inherent in the order of the interaction (Searle, J (1969) as cited in Ogien, 2009, p. 458). EMCA analysis of local events does not make visible actors following privileged normative or regulative rules that are "logically independent" of the situation and abstractly prescribed to the social activity (Searle, J (1969) as cited in Ogien, 2009, p. 458). Members' methods follow "rule-autonomous procedures" even if they are following institutional or legal protocol (Gregg, 1999, p. 363). For example, Wieder (1974) observed members of a half-way house evoking the criminal code as a resource for socially interacting with other members and the responses of the other members determined if the particular application of the code was warranted in those circumstances (Wieder, 1974a, p. 175). This uncertainty as to whether the evocation of the code is warranted represents the indeterminacy of constitutive rules. Constitutive rules are part of the lived phenomena that EMCA is revealing from routine and mundane social actions. Actors' interactions can be scrutinized for consistency of code use in order to maintain the organisation and "moral persuasion and justification" of a way of life experientially practised within a community and where the mutual sense-making of the code is made intelligible (Gregg, 1999, p. 363; Pollner, 1991, p. 175; Rawls, 1984; Sharrock & Button, 1999; Wieder, 1974a, p. 175).

EMCA research makes visible phenomena that contain the application of rules and show actors' understanding of those rules or techniques for sense making. Those researchers who adhere to empiricist scepticism and solipsism tend to conceive of rules as problematic private essences that individuals are following in their actions, whereas EMCA research exposes naturally occurring rules that have been embedded and embodied in social interactions (Schegloff, 1972). The understanding that meaning and rule fulfilment is socially constructed stems from the idea that rules are linguistically learnt from communities disposed toward relevant and correct social talking, believing, and acting (Kusch, 2004). The social construction of rules contrasts with the subjective, perhaps Platonic, conception of rules as abstractions. From this perspective, rules and their application exist in practices and cannot be formulated or determined uniquely in isolation from practices. The notion of a rule is one of a linguistic directive that is to be sequentially accomplished to perform practices that are evaluated according to normative requirements within a social setting. To the degree those actors' interactions are meaningful to others they are rule governed by the norms of that community over the life-span of its members. The members act responsively, non-vacuously, sequentially, and competently, toward each other. They achieve social interaction by this practical reasoning that reflexively and endogenously inheres in their utterances and ordinary actions (Ogien, 2009; Sharrock & Button, 1999).

EMCA has fully embraced the constitutive order in social facts and in the process has delineated its epistemic domain as being separate and distinct from formal analytic sociology. Social interaction operates on the basis of reflexivity, where each constituent act responds to the previous act and in turn is recast to inform the next act. Each spoken or gestural act derives its meaning from the context and the sequencing of the interactions and recognition of the implications of the moral order that is being constituted and witnessable in the talk-in-interaction (Rawls, 2009).

Section 5: The Place of the Context, the Researcher, and the Participant in EMCA

The following discussion will review the approach taken to the setting of the research, the relationship of the researcher to the participants, and the selection of the participants from an EMCA perspective. EMCA is directed toward discovering how individuals constitute their social reality in natural settings by rigorously observing and recording their ordinary everyday mundane talk-in-interaction. The members' methods are scientific for all practical purposes, in that the methods may be witnessable and may be reproducible in other similar interactions (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 11).

Sacks (1992) used the expression “order at all points” to explain that every human interaction however small contains social order (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 484). He accepted that others have described his approach as ‘microscopic’ in that he is describing social order as it is found in the sequential order of social events. His concern was that, owing to the “overwhelming detailed order” in social interactions, the critical matter might not be found (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 485). His detailed analysis of social interactions brought him to the conclusion that whatever you look at in a particular data set manifested recurring patterns that make it possible to formulate attributes and properties that are characteristic of that data set. This “order at all points” property of data sets indicated that any individual from a data set would exemplify the attributes of that data set making it possible to generalise from a single case to others in that data set (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 485). Sacks gives the illustration that learning how to be ‘Navajo’ in New York is transferrable to knowing how to be ‘Navajo’ elsewhere. The discovery of the character and features of a singular endogenous activity “tells us what kind of phenomenon we are dealing with” (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 485).

In the introduction to Sacks’s (1992) lectures, Schegloff summarises Sacks’s view of sampling with the comment “a culture is ... substantially present in each of its venues”, “in the detail on a case-by-case, environment-by-environment basis” (Freebody, 2008; McCarthy & Rapley, 2001; McHoul, 2009; Rapley, McCarthy, & McHoul, 2003; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a; Schegloff, 1992a, pp. xlvi-xlvii). EMCA prefers participants to remain in their natural social settings, and maintain their normal roles and social networks (Mishler, 1979). The natural setting would not normally include the presence of an etic researcher or cultural outsider but would contain recordings of conversations that took place in the ordinary emic or insider cultural talk. The presence of the researcher would have the effect of transforming the data from naturally occurring data to structured data and from a ‘conversation’ to a scheduled ‘interview’, since the questions, interruptions, assessments, silences, continuance utterances, and comments, of the researcher, would generate interpretations and determine or shape the course of the interaction. This study attempts to enter into the participants’ social reality and observe their perspective on their own culture and that of the dominant culture. This was achieved by the researcher responding reflexively to maintain the participants’ endogenous talk, thereby rendering it naturally occurring for all practical purposes. The presence of the ‘observer’s paradox’ in this study, where the researcher is a participant in the co-construction of the talk, is discussed incidentally and relevantly throughout the data analysis. The researcher

did ‘bracket’ his own assumptions and values while collecting the data (Defina & Perrino, 2011; Quinn, 1992).

EMCA data is ‘inter-subjective’ in that the social interactions between all the participants embrace a social construction. All participants mutually influence the course of the talk-in-interaction and unless a members’ method privileges the social interaction it proceeds reflexively. The talk of the researcher is subject to public analysis in that the transcripts are open to all for investigation and re-interpretation. Emic or insider studies respect the ontology and epistemology of the other culture whereas etic studies are based on the assumptions of the dominant culture (Braga, 2010). EMCA engages with other cultures and subcultures without being drawn into and embracing the assumptions of those cultures. The theoretical, political, or ideological assumptions, preconceptions, and interpretations of the participants’ and the researcher’s cultures are ‘bracketed’, analysed, formulated, and respecified as topics and members’ resources (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Korobov, 2001; Maynard, 1998; Quinn, 1992; ten Have, 2006; Watson, 2009b).

Section 6: The Place of Policies in Ethnomethodology (EM)

The work of EM is to make visible the taken-for-granted phenomena of talk-in-interaction. The analyses reported here require the fulfilment of the following EM policies (Garfinkel, 1988; 1991, p. 17; 2002). These policies maintain the rigor of the methodology, ensure the identification of the endogenous phenomena and substantiate the scientific adequacy of the research for all practical purposes (Garfinkel, 1967). These policies are peculiar to Ethnomethodology but are not necessarily indicative of the work of current Conversation Analysis (CA) practitioners. These policies were formulated by Garfinkel and although Sacks and Garfinkel worked collaboratively they did formulate different orientations to the practice of EMCA (Heritage, 1984). The similarities and differences between Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis go beyond the scope of this thesis. This research adopts Garfinkel’s policies that are outlined below and adopts the Conversation Analysis techniques that will be outlined in the next chapter. EM analysis is particularly applicable to finding the over-arching phenomenon of a bildungsroman in the long duration of talk of this study. CA is employed to analyse the sequential order in the data set.

A fuller explanation and examples of the policies governing the practice of EM analysis is developed and presented in Appendix D. Section 7 of this chapter contains four defining examples of the application of these policies. They are relevant in defining the boundaries that

restrict the analysis to a full explication of the data and a maintenance of the participant's orientation to the talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1999b). Each of the policies determine and contribute to the rigor of the analysis and a commitment to making visible the phenomenon generating the production of the talk-in-interaction. The policies reinforce a stance toward the data that excludes the imposition of extraneous sociological paradigms on the data and retains the resources that disclose the sequential organisation of the locally produced phenomenon.

a. Indifference and Unique Adequacy:

i. The EMCA policy of indifference requires the researcher to abstain from making judgments and to refrain from adding to the categories generated in the data (Garfinkel, 1967).

ii. The Unique Adequacy policy requires the researcher to be involved in the social interactions being studied (Garfinkel, 2002).

b. The 'Ordinary' and Haecceities:

i) The 'ordinary' refers to the embodied practical actions of the participant (Garfinkel, 1991).

ii) Haecceities refers to the just-this-ness of naturally occurring interactive talk and actions (Garfinkel, 2002).

c. The Irreducibility of the Phenomenon: Refers to the problem of 'reductionism' where formal analytic sociology reduces data to exact and abstract explanations and proportions with nothing left over for further explication whereas EMCA remains with the data in all its particulars without reducing it to the confines of any formal theoretical structures that may exclude some particulars of the data as insignificant (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Sharrock & Button, 1991).

d. The data is Inspectable not Remediable: This policy follows on from the 'irreducibility' of the phenomenon in that EM does not try to remedy any details of the observed interactions by either neglecting them or theorising their occurrence (Garfinkel, 1967).

e. Social Facts are Discovered: EM phenomena are discoverable and inspectable from within the research enterprise (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992).

f. Foundational Phenomenon: EM's foundations are the discovered products of practices created interactively by social agents and do not include the foundations of the domain, in

which those interactions occurred (Cooper, 1992). For example, studying the sociological interactions between scientists discovers the foundations of their interactions but not the foundations of science.

g. Locally, Endogenously, and Reflexive Social Phenomena:

i) Locally or autochthonous produced maintains the *in situ* and *in vivo* details of the social object (Garfinkel, 1996).

ii) Endogenously produced refers to discovering the practices from within the data (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992).

iii) Reflexivity refers to the mutual obligation of participants in a social interaction to attend to the details of the next action (Langsdorf, 1995).

h. Respecification of the Phenomenon of Order: Refers to EM studies being grounded in the social realities of ordinary interactive talk and activities and not in any conceptual framework (Silverman, 1998).

i. Indexicality: Indexicality is a resource that disambiguates the meaning of a word by grounding it in the sequential and reflexive context of its ongoing usage (Rawls, 2008).

The application of these policies accounts for the detailed analysis of the data in this study as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The researcher has adopted a position of “indifference” toward the information collected and has established a uniquely adequate knowledge of the social and cultural realities of the participants by relating to them both on a personal and professional level. The information was gathered from natural settings and ordinary activities with those involved, and the information has been analysed as it is without presuppositions or preconceptions. The processing of the talk has been an investigation into the methods and resources that the main protagonist and other co-participants have contributed without reducing the talk to any theoretical models. The analysis has yielded phenomena of order and the identification of an autochthonous phenomenon through heuristic procedures. The talk-in-interaction was locally, endogenously, and reflexively generated by the co-participants. The EMCA work of only specifying the phenomena and resources operative in the ordered delivery of the social interactions was maintained. The meaning and sense making of the talk was indexically interpreted according to the contextual information known and shared between the

co-participants. Significant discoveries can be made by analysts following the routine procedures of these policies set forth by Garfinkel (Zimmerman, 1974).

Section 7: The Place of Autochthonous Phenomena in EM Studies

Introduction

In this section, four examples of previous research that began with detailed analysis of social activities and talk, and ended with the emergence of an autochthonous phenomenon, will be briefly précised as prototypes of the present research. Garfinkel's (1967) foundational work on Agnes' passing was the first exemplification and application of the EM policies to a longitudinal case study. Liberman (1985) was a student of Garfinkel and studied Australian Aboriginal peoples through the lens provided by Garkinkel's formulation of Ethnomethodology. Liberman (2004) has further developed the methodology by analysing the praxeological sophism of Tibetan monks, and Weider and Pratt have applied these policies in an analysis on some American Indians. All these research studies have applied the policies and principles of EM to naturally occurring data taken from social interactions and through closely analysing the data discovered the autochthonous phenomenon that was generating the talk and activities of the participants (Garfinkel, 1967; Liberman, 1985, 2004; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

The Passing of Agnes

A classic study by Garfinkel (1967) analysed the "passing" of Agnes from that of a boy to that of a young woman via a sex-change operation. The autochthonous phenomenon of "passing" emerged from a detailed analysis of data collected in the Department of Psychiatry, Urology, and Endocrinology in the Medical Centre of the University of California between 1958 and 1967. One condition for Agnes to obtain free medical procedures to achieve a sex-change was that she talks with a research scientist who was part of the team assessing her eligibility for the operation. Agnes' talk was recorded, transcribed, and analysed by Garfinkel (Garfinkel, 1967). The analysis discovered that the man-made physiological changes were a small part of the adjustments that Agnes needed to enact to move from a male gender identity to that of a female gendered identity. Agnes was observed to deploy a number of socially orientated resources to accomplish a feminine identity. She invested time and resources to managing the risks surrounding situations, in which her male organs could be exposed, especially in relation to her interactions with her boyfriend. The feminine gender norms of the time required her to adopt a

passive acceptance toward instructions in relation to the medical procedures. In order to conceal her real biological condition, feelings, intentions, and motivations Agnes organized euphemisms and affected superlative expressions. She withheld specific information by speaking in generalities and by responding to words in a literal and legalistic frame. She orientated her selective explanations, improvisations, and actions, to the relevancies of the particular circumstances of accomplishing her sex-change. This demanded of her a “continuous project of self-improvement” and the “management of impressions” to accomplish her deliberate and calculated ‘passing’ (Garfinkel, 1967, pp. 143, 147, 167, 174, 147; Rawls, 2008, p. 715). Garfinkel’s account of Agnes’ ‘passing’ directly addresses the topics discussed in their interviews, and analyses the devices and resources Agnes engineered for the emergence of the autochthonous phenomenon of her “passing” as constructed by her.

Aboriginal Congeniality and Consensus in the Central Desert of Australia

In the 1970s Liberman came to Australia from the USA and obtained a job as a Western Desert Research Officer for the Western Australian Museum and later worked as a community organizer for the Aboriginal Council at Docker River in the Northern Territory, (Liberman, 1978). He learnt to speak the Aboriginal language of Pitjantjatjara and some associated dialects (Liberman, 1982, 1985). Having learnt these Aboriginal languages he achieved the unique adequacy required to research the resources Aboriginal peoples practised in their social interactions. According to Liberman, the autochthonous phenomena that the Aboriginal peoples practised were those of ‘congeniality and consensus’ (Liberman, 1985). Liberman’s (1985) EMCA analysis of the social interactions of Aboriginal peoples found that the features of congenial fellowship, were that Aboriginal peoples enjoy each other’s presence, and maintained harmonious practices that subsumed personal differences under the compulsion of avoiding embarrassment to each other. They established consensus in their talk by practising an egalitarian social structure, where any individual could speak at any time as long as they respected those already speaking by remaining silent (Mushin & Gardner, 2009). An organisation of consensus was formed through the practice of inter-subjective, collaborative, and co-operative decision-making. Self-depreciation was maintained, and conceit and egoism were constrained by the lowering of the eyes in deference to others, and by verbal expressions of humility. These features were identified in the talk-in-interaction by the practice of the generative resources that he summarised in the following groups:

1. Facilitators:
 - a. 'Yes' (yuwa) and its variants. Listening and a chorus of 'yuwa' would accompany their natural discourse facilitating approval and social hegemony.
 - b. 'Good' (palya) and 'Wonderful' (wiru). Their affirmation would be punctuated with 'good' and 'wonderful' and this added affective strength that overrode confrontation and added to their approval.
 - c. 'That's it' and 'That one'. These expressions call the listeners to positively pay close attention to what was being said and to affirm it.
 - d. Repetition. Repetition of the speaker's utterances was used to reassure the speaker, to produce congenial relations, to effect unanimity where all speak as one, to engender positive feelings, and to provide validation.
 - e. Vocal gesture. Vocal gestures like 'mmm' or whistles or bleats all added to the construction of the social reality of 'congeniality and consensus' (Lieberman, 1985).
2. Congeniality:
 - a. Congenial rhythms. 'Congenial rhythms' were evident in the pleasurable ambience of their social gatherings. These occasions were accompanied by buoyancy and effervescence in their chorus of positive affirmations that were interspersed with intermittent periods of silence.
 - b. Displaying-the-obvious. Their reiterations and repetitions of the intended meanings of the discourse made the communications clear and obvious.
 - c. Objectification of discourse. Their clear and obvious formulations of knowledge or ritual actions then became publically visible to the gathering who celebrated, perpetuated, and ratified their achieved consensus.
 - d. Contentious interaction. However, if arguments over kinship interests or sexual rivalries emerged, then physical violence could occur. This physical violence was in relation to personal interests and isolated from the social congeniality of the collective enabling both to co-exist together (Lieberman, 1985).
3. Consensus:
 - a. Summary accounts. Consensus did not always come easily. Grievances were approached and accompanied by silences, hesitations, and self-deprecations. Each speaker would speak in turn and provide a summative formulation of the previous speaker or speakers. In this way the discussion was preserved and orientated to the mutuality of the group. The discussion continued until it was exhausted.

- b. Calling for consensus. Should the discussion become ambiguous or members become disorientated then there would be a call for consensus. This would refocus the talk on the corporate life of the group and maturity was expressed in the restoration of congeniality.
 - c. The serial order of accounts. Personal preferences were subordinated to group consensus and unanimity was achieved by the silence of those possessing differences. The serial development of summary accounts acted to formulate and validate the group orientation and the 'truth' of the collective consensus.
 - d. Traditional models. This is where the adjudication referred matters to the 'Old Men' with grey hair in the group who were respected as the custodians of the land and the Dreaming. This was especially the case where the discussion was orientated to issues surrounding sacred sites and sacred laws. When the Old Men spoke everyone listened and remained silent.
 - e. Letting-it-pass (wanti). A constant refrain in Aboriginal talk is 'leave it' and let the matter pass without consideration. This call to 'leave it' was particularly directed to those who had strong negative feelings.
4. Anonymity. In the Aboriginal community anonymity is achieved when anyone could speak and it would express the consensus of the group (Lieberman, 1985).
 5. Turn-taking. Turn-taking for Aboriginal peoples took the form of listening in silence to the serial contributions of the discussion and then making a summative statement before making a further contribution to the discussion (Lieberman, 1985; Mushin & Gardner, 2009).

These features of 'congeniality and consensus' and the resources that achieve these autochthonous phenomena are derived from the observations that Lieberman made of the interactions between the incumbent members of the Aboriginal community that he studied (Lieberman, 1985).

Lieberman (1985) also found that:

- EMCA could make astute observations of the relations between the Aboriginal peoples and incumbents of the dominant culture.
- trust between Aboriginal peoples and incumbents of the dominant culture could be discerned by Aboriginal peoples if the incumbents of the dominant culture understood their jokes.

- Aboriginal peoples made statements in the form of riddles, and if the incumbent of the dominant culture laughed, then the Aboriginal person accepted and trusted them (Lieberman, 1985).
- often when Aboriginal peoples found themselves in a no-win situation with incumbents of the dominant culture, they would acquiesce by giving a gratuitous concurrent response in the form of a ‘yeah’ that didn’t indicate understanding but their avoidance of further conflict (Lieberman, 1985).
- Aboriginal peoples used the indeterminacy caused by the gaps in their understanding of English to indicate that they did not comprehend what was required of them.
- They would acquiesce with incumbents of the dominant culture even if it was detrimental to them. The acquiescence and use of gratuitous concurrent agreements by the Aboriginal peoples gave the incumbents of the dominant culture the impression they were indecisive and undependable (Lieberman, 1985).
- Aboriginal peoples have become adept at acquiescing with the incumbents of the dominant culture so that they might contribute to their survival while maintaining their own religion that they have kept secret from the dominant culture (Lieberman, 1985).

Lieberman (1985) cites primary texts that have recorded the impressions of the first encounters between incumbents of the dominant culture and the Aboriginal peoples and found that Aboriginal peoples have always valued their social relations more highly than providing for the means of their material survival. Aboriginal peoples have always been friendly, spontaneous, convivial, and sociable people who have valued the congeniality and consensus of their familial relationships and community (Lieberman, 1985). The EMCA analysis that Lieberman performed on the talk of the Pitjantjatjara people of the Central Desert of Australia and his observations of their activities confirms the use of these autochthonous phenomena of ‘congeniality and consensus’, even after the dispossession of their land by the incumbents of the dominant culture.

Lieberman’s (1985) observations form a contextual background to the bildungsroman that Kirra constructs in the sequence of talk recorded in this study. Her Aboriginality, psychological troubles, moral agency, and spiritual responsibilities, are features that relate to her incumbency in the membership category “Aboriginal” and the autochthonous phenomena of ‘congeniality and consensus’ that Lieberman has found characterise her Aboriginal community and culture. Kirra’s acquiescence with the dominant culture can be understood in the context of Lieberman’s

analysis whereby Kirra maintains the continuance of her Aboriginal culture and religion while at the same time adapting to the demands of the dominant culture (Lieberman, 1985).

The Sophistry of Tibetan Monks

Another example, in which the members' methods and resources of ethnomethodology and of conversation analysis are combined is in the subsequent work of Lieberman (2004) where he analyses the debating practices of Tibetan monks.

Lieberman learnt Tibetan, studied their culture, recorded their activities, and transcribed their debates and social interactions. He provides a complete analysis of their reasoning and debating techniques and devices where they apply syllogistic thinking to philosophical and socially relevant phenomena within the context of monastic universities. Some of the properties of debates by the Tibetan monks were physically interactive and these non-conceptual resources contributed significantly to the socially orientated autochthonous phenomenon that they achieved in their debates (Lieberman, 2013).

The debates were contests with winners, losers, and onlookers. They required the performance of complex rules and highly organised structures that Lieberman meticulously analysed (Lieberman, 2004). The contests were public events and performed socially complex and socially constitutive functions within the context of traditional and formal Tibetan philosophical debate and scholarship. Lieberman (2004) analyses how the formal logical aspects of their debate are dependent upon the public context of language and embodied posturing to secure a warrant for valid reasoning within their culture (Lieberman, 2004). The name given to the form of syllogistic reasoning adopted in their debates is apophansis. In Tibetan debates, apophansis is a necessary discoverable phenomenon that facilitates the collaborative practice and by its very nature maintains philosophical reasoning, even though apophansis has a proclivity to separate participants from social praxis. Apophansis in Tibetan practice is concerned with the moral, creative, and intellectual competence in debating and reasoning.

The debaters' obligations are to the protocols surrounding the formal structures of apophansis for the continuance of the endogenous phenomenon of Tibetan philosophical engagement. The debating is sometimes "momentarily suspended" to attend to indexical details and the "what more" of these protocols including physical gestures such as rhythmic clapping (Lieberman, 2004, p. 302; 2013). The sophistry does not depend upon apophansis but what the members do with it. It has become a critical resource for how Tibetan monks do cultural expression and

transmission. Liberman (2004, 2007) distinguishes between the properties of apophansis and a cultural expression of sophistry. Apophansis is dependent upon social praxis, physical posturing, and practical reasoning to attain the overarching autochthonous phenomenon of Tibetan philosophical sophistry (Liberman, 2004, pp. 118, 120, 263, ; 2007a, pp. 12, 59; 2013).

On Being a Real Indian in the USA

A study with American Indians in the USA has made recognisably visible the organizing constituents and essential activities of the autochthonous phenomenon of being a 'real' Indian of the USA (Wieder & Pratt, 1990). The main researcher was himself an American Indian and he analysed the salient features that characterised how Indians recognised and acknowledged other Indians they encountered in different social environments. The criteria that they found included,

“(a) reticence with regard to interaction with strangers, (b) the acceptance of obligations, (c) razzing, (d) attaining harmony in face-to-face relations, (e) modesty and ‘doing one’s part’, (f) taking on familial relations, (g) permissible and required silence, and (h) public speaking” (Wieder & Pratt, 1990, p. 51).

American Indians recognise each other by remaining silent and observing certain non-verbal actions before initiating a conversation with each other when meeting for a first time in public venues. A 'real' Indian remains silent. 'Real' Indians establish communication with other Indians through recognising their observance of obligations and rights toward each other due to their common bond of being Indian. Each initial interaction between Indians is accompanied by a series of features that determine each Indian's right to their claim to be a 'real' Indian and to default on meeting these criteria would lead to their non-recognition as an Indian (Pratt, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

A distinctive feature of being an Indian is 'razzing' where Indians display verbal sparring and humour in a competent and culturally acceptable form. This 'razzing' is remembered and forms the basis of their next interaction. However rough this sparring may appear it is a mutual obligation to make light of the situation. The topics selected for the 'razzing' are determined by the conventional protocols governing the different possible social relationships between the parties (Harney, 1957; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Pratt, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

A 'real' Indian will accept their obligation to avoid antagonism and maintain harmony when conversing. They show respect, solidarity, and do not assert superiority irrespective of their position in the community and their own opinions. An Indian will remain silent, polite, and display quiet acceptance and agreement in face-to-face encounters (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Pratt, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

The primary constitutive activity generating relationships between 'real' Indians is to communicate the genuineness of their Aboriginality and Indigeniety. Individual members subsume any personal ambition to the notion that they remain 'just one of us' and to display knowledge in the presence of other indigenous members may be offensive (Lieberman, 1978; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Pratt, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). This action of maintaining their 'real' incumbency in the membership category of being an Indian requires them to do their part in conversations by extended and sustained periods of silence. The silence fosters harmony and avoids conflict. The right of an Aboriginal person to talk is governed by protocols surrounding the parts played by different incumbents in the community. These protocols and obligations are even more pertinent when exercising the right to engage in public speaking. In large gatherings, speaker-audience rights are formalised. Incumbents with the right to talk can talk freely and at length while others remain respectfully silent (Harney, 1957; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Mushin & Gardner, 2009; Pratt, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

The resources of members' methods for enacting the phenomenon of being a 'real' Indian include reticence toward strangers, the acceptance of obligations and rights, razzing, maintaining harmony, modesty, familial relations, silence, and protocols regarding public speaking (Wieder & Pratt, 1990). These same resources accompany the long duration of talk in the present study with a young Aboriginal woman. These members' methods are often topicalised in the literature documenting the social conventions that are operative in Aboriginal communities (Harney, 1957; Harris, 1990b; Kessar, 2003; Lieberman, 1978, 1982, 1985, 1990; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Malin, 1994; Mushin & Gardner, 2009; Pratt, 1985; Unaipon, Muecke, & Shoemaker, 2006; Wieder & Pratt, 1990; Yunkaporta, 2009).

Summary

In this chapter it is argued that the epistemological grounding of EM is in the philosophy of ordinary language. The main philosophical and sociological influences on EM have come from American sociology and European phenomenology. The key problems of generality and

generalization have been resolved in EM research by reifying the social objects on the basis of the rigorous application of the Ethnomethodological policies and principles employed to analyse the phenomenon (Lieberman, 2013). The function of following ‘rules’ and enacting ‘norms’ is based on the inter-subjectivity of constitutive activities and talk. The importance of the context, the interactive and participatory role of the researcher and the inter-subjective involvement of all participants has been discussed in relation to this study. The official policies of EM were explained with particular reference to the analysis of the data in this research. Finally, the autochthonous phenomena of four classical EM research projects that are pertinent to this study were briefly discussed. The next chapter will look at Conversation Analysis and the methods used to generate conversations and the particular form of storytelling, a bildungsroman that are relevant to this thesis.

Chapter 4: The Place of Members' Methods and Resources in EMCA

Any resource, device, or mechanism made visible by EMCA analysis is an endogenous phenomenon that has been generated from within the data set of the study. Different phenomena are identified in the data set of this study as performing different functions at different levels of mundane practical reasoning by the co-participants. The remainder of this literature review will explain how these phenomena are identified and located within this layer of members' methods and resources. These phenomena are operative in the talk-in-interaction of this study and add to our understanding of the generative members' methods that result in the emergence of the overarching phenomenon of the main protagonist's accomplished work of a bildungsroman.

This researcher is not separating Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis into two distinctly separate methodologies as the members' methods and devices of both disciplines are implemented at different levels to analyse the overarching phenomenon of a bildungsroman. The phenomena of the different EM policies, members' methods, devices, resources, and other tools of analysis and observable techniques in the social talk and activities are all incorporated into the combined EMCA methodology. The different members' methods interact and overlap with each other either to isolate a distinct phenomenon of interest like Sacks did with the 'adjacency pair' or as being instrumental in generating an overarching phenomenon like Wieder and Pratt (1990) did with the autochthonous phenomenon of "Being a real Indian" that emerged from several resources that real Indians enacted when relating to other Indians in public venues (Silverman, 1998; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

In this Chapter previous research that has discovered different members' methods used in generating conversation and storytelling are explained. The chapter is organised into the following sections:

- Section 1: Clarifies the use of the word 'conversation' and the expression 'talk-in-interaction' in this research.
- Section 2: Looks at the 'adjacency pair' and some of the functions that it performs in interactive talk.
- Section 3: Introduces the phenomenon of 'openings' and 'closings' in conversations and themes.
- Section 4: Examines the practice of 'turn-taking'.
- Section 5: Mentions 'overlapping talk' and what it may indicate.

- Section 6: Gives some background information on ‘storytelling’.
- Section 7: Looks at Recipient Design whereby participants design their talk for the recipients of their interactions.
- Section 8: Gives the big picture of the long duration of talk .
- Section 9: Shows how several phenomena can generate an over-arching autochthonous phenomenon through the use of and the transformative function of Membership Categorisation devices (MCDs).

Each of these resources is employed in the long duration of talk that constitute the analysed material in this study. These resources are often taken-for-granted and unnoticed. It is by analysis of the mechanisms that interactants employ in ordinary talk that their accomplished work is realised. It is through reflection on these otherwise unremarkable actions that the generative source of the participant’s achievement emerges and can be named. In this study the bildungsroman of a young Aboriginal woman is named as the autochthonous phenomenon that an analysis of the social talk and activities has made intelligible and recognisable.

Section 1: Conversation and Talk-in-interaction

The word conversation is used in CA to indicate naturally occurring or ordinary talk as distinct from talk generated in an interview and/or institutional talk like in a classroom or courts (Billig, 1999; Billig & Schegloff, 1999). However, Schegloff switches between using the word ‘conversation’ and the expression ‘talk-in-interaction’ sometimes indicating a difference and sometime as though there is no difference (Billig, 1999; Schegloff, 1999a). The word conversation in the corpus of Conversation Analysis literature includes the analysis of talk and activities like glances, gaze, and linguistic units like intonation and pitch (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 1996a) whereas the expression ‘talk-in-interaction’ indicates more the socially constitutive properties of talk (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997).

Ordinary conversation from a CA perspective is identifiable by ‘turn taking’, ‘adjacency pairs’, ‘recipient design’, and ‘openings and closings’ (Billig, 1999). A long duration of talk can be interactively organised into sequentially identifiable schismatic segments that have the properties of separate conversations that subsequently reassemble into a single conversation (Schegloff, 1999c). The data in this research contains all these resources, it is naturally occurring, and it is an audio recording without access to video recordings that would have provided additional conversational information. The terms ‘conversation’ and ‘talk-in-interaction’ are used differently in this study with the term ‘conversation’ mainly referring to

those multiple turns of talk that are bounded by opening and closings, and the expression ‘talk-in-interaction’ mainly referring to socially constitutive talk.

Section 2: Adjacency Pair

A greeting is a good example of an adjacency pair. When a first speaker says, “Hello” that constitutes a first pair part and the second person responds with “Hi” a second pair part and the two utterances form an adjacency pair (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a; Schegloff, 2007a).

Excerpt 1 is an example of an adjacency pair:

Excerpt 1

04 How er you (h) .h hh

05 Janet: I'm goo:d, how are y[au (Sidnell, 2010, p. 200)

A pure adjacency pair consists of two utterances that are produced by different speakers and positioned consecutively (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). The second utterance in the pair is relevant to the first. The first utterance can be a question, request, invitation, offer, or announcement and is implicative of the second and forms a close structural organisation where the initial utterance can be terminated by a sequentially adequate resolution in the second utterance with an answer, a rejection, an agreement/disagreement or an acknowledgement (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b; Schegloff, 2007a). The first pair part requires the production of the second pair part preferably after the completion of the first pair part (Button & Casey, 1988/89; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sidnell, 2010). The first pair part is also known as an initial elicitor and the second pair part a recipient response (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991). The relationship between the two utterances is ordered and recognisable. A fully formed adjacency pair can complete a communicative exchange like an exchange of greetings or question and relevant answer. Even after an adequate or a preferred closure of an adjacency pair there may be further insertions and expansions that sequentially accompany the achievement of the core adjacency pair (Schegloff, 2007a). The work of conversation analysis is to differentiate between the core achievement of the adjacency pair and the achievements of the other components of the talk-in-interaction. Every detail of the talk is examined to discover how it is sequentially implicative in the interaction (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b; Schegloff & Sacks, 1974).

Part of the work of adjacency pairs is to select the next speaker in the talk. The selection process determines the turn allocation and can involve a consideration of potential next speakers by the

current speaker who may self-select to continue talking or select another party. At relevant transition points (Schegloff, 1972) the current speaker selects the next speaker and this constitutes the orderly sequential turn-taking between the participants of the talk (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b; Sacks et al., 1974). Adjacency pairs can occur in storytelling sequences to keep the co-participants attentive to the talk and may take the form of the continuants “uh huhs” or “mm” or “yeah” or some other continuance utterances (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b, p. 557). Talk-in-interaction is an ongoing achievement of interpretation of what has gone before and what is relevant or the “why that now” to the production of the next turn (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 211; Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). The next turn is contingent upon the analysability and recognisability of the prior turn.

Adjacency pairs is a procedure whereby members constrain and make accountable one another’s next turn of talk (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). Turns of talk are reciprocally intertwined and indicate members’ interpretations and understandings of what has transpired as intelligible and collaboratively sustained (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990).

Section 3: Openings and Closings

Talk usually begins with an opening sequence. The following illustration is an opening from a telephone conversation:

Excerpt 2

Summons <<ring>>=

01 Anne: =Hello::

02 Janet: Oh=hi:_=it's [Janet]

03 Anne: [hi: Janet]

04 How er you (h) .h hh

05 Janet: I'm goo:d, how are y[au

06 Anne: [I'm fine. h [we're actually: uhm

07 Janet: [O goodO

08 (0.2) (Sidnell, 2010, p. 200)

The opening sequence commences with the ring of a telephone that constitutes a summons for an answer by the person called. In this case Anne answers with “hello”. Next follows a greeting by Janet “hi” and an offer of an identification “it’s Janet” but overlapping talk intervenes by the recipient who identifies the caller as “Janet” at the same time as the caller identifies herself. The greeting, the mutual identification, and recognition of both the caller and the recipient are then followed by pleasantries concerning their mutual well-being (Sidnell, 2010).

The long duration of talk analysed in this study contains a series of conversations that could be differentiated not only by the introduction of new topics but also by analysing the identifiable opening and closing sequences of the consecutive conversations. The noticing of the ‘openers’ and ‘closers’ of the different conversations uncovered some characteristic features of the way the main antagonist did ‘openings’ and ‘closings’ of talk and how she engaged the co-participants in the construction of her autochthonous phenomenon of a bildungsroman (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

Talk-in-interaction is usually initiated by a greeting, and a greeting exchange may constitute a conversation in itself. Talk may have a pre-beginning consisting of a silence or a grammatically incomplete sentence like a phrase or “uh huh” or some other indicator that is intended to evoke a response from a hearer (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). In the long duration of talk, subsequent conversations may be initiated by new sets of opening talk. The opening of a conversation usually consists of a sequence of adjacency pairs where for instance a greeting is responded to in kind, and the conversations typically ends with closing remarks and the cessation of talk. There is a distinctive opening to a new conversation that reflexively builds on the relationship between the members in the participating cohort (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b; Turner, 1974b). There are turn indicators like who introduced a new topic, who has something to say, what follows on from a previous interaction that confers the right or grants a warrant to a particular person to open the next instance of interactive talk in a long duration of talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). One sequential and constitutive rule of EMCA is that the person who initiates the talk and introduces a topic is the person who can choose the next speaker (even if it is themselves) and determine the orientation, the framework, and the trajectory of the conversation (Schegloff, 1991). The initiation of a conversation requires a level of organisation to be reached before participants become engaged in the talk (Antaki, 2008; Schegloff, 2007a, p. 206). The context and the content of the opening will set the parameters and mutual relevance of the re-initiation of talk in a sequence of talk (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). In the long duration of talk in this study Kirra moved between adjacency pairs of interactive

talk and storytelling where she took the floor and orientated the conversation to explicating her bildungsroman.

The maintenance of a topic is dependent upon the recipient affirming or re-opening the topic rather than beginning a new topic (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The speaker may pre-empt the introduction of a topic by the recipient that the speaker deems to be irrelevant or in need of avoidance (Schegloff, 1996a, 2005). An interjection into a conversation with a topic opening statement can constitute a breach of the correct order of silence that is expected of recipients who have not been invited into the conversation by a relevant indicator such as a pause or a question giving them a ticket to participate (Sacks, 1974).

Another feature of opening sequences is the extent to which a speaker invites other participants to engage with the topic of talk through a summons-answer sequence. For example, this engagement may be precipitated by a reference to some sort of trouble or problem that may pre-empt the trajectory of the conversation with an apology or excuse, and the reassignment of the roles of the participants. Part of the work in the opening is to align the identities of the participants around the reason and mutual relevance of the talk (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 1991, 2005). In the long duration of talk shown in the present study both opening and closing adjacency pairs were mostly observed to demarcate consecutively distinct conversations. On some occasions the initiation of a new topic initiates a new conversation.

The closing initiator utterances indicate the impending closing of a topic and are identifiable as precipitating the closure of a topic and cessation of talk after a terminal exchange or the utterances may act as an invitation to the alternative, the opening of a new topic. The former option of closing the conversation is usually preferred if there are no further mentionable topics of interest to be broached.

This closing sequence is between John and George who are conversing by telephone (Sidnell, 2010):

Excerpt 3

- 01 John: Why don't we have lunch
- 02 George: Ok so that would be in St. Jude would it?
- 03 John: Yes

- 04 (0.7)
- 05 John: Okay so:::
- 06 George: One o'clock in the bar
- 07 John: Okay
- 08 George: Okay
- 09 John: Okay *then* thanks very much indeed George=
- 10 George: =All right [See you there
- 11 John: [See you there
- 12 George: Okay
- 13 John: Okay [bye
- 14 George: [Bye (Sidnell, 2010, p. 217)

This excerpt contains both an opening sequence in turns 1 and 2 with an invitation and acceptance and a closing sequence in turns 12 to 13 that terminate the conversation. Turns 10 and 11 act as a pre-closing sequence with choral overlapping talk, indicated with the square parentheses (see section 4 for a fuller discussion of overlapping talk).

The proper closing of a conversation is a collaborative interaction where all parties express a terminal exchange. If the parties engage in pre-closing topics that may consist of mutually facilitative information concerning impending interactions, they are sequentially inserted into the adjacency pairs that constitute the closing exchanges. Some closing exchanges consist of 'bad news' that are inserted as an after-thought to minimise their impact on the conversation (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974).

Section 4: Turn-taking

The mark of turn-taking is that one participant speaks at a time (Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002). Turn-taking relates specifically to the organisation of the choice of the next speaker and on the occasion for the transition from one speaker to the next. This is sequentially ongoing from one occurrence to another in a reflexive manner that is influenced by syntactical, grammatical or some other structure in talk that could include intonation. A turn of talk can

consist of utterances that range in duration from short sub-lexical parts of speech to long sequences of grammatically articulate phrases, clauses, or sentences over an extended period of time (Schegloff, 1996c, 2007a; Schegloff, Ochs, & Thompson, 1996). Turn-taking operates to maintain and generate talk-in-interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). Turn-taking is locally managed by those present in the interaction. The members of the cohort administer and distribute whose turn is next and this is dependent upon the direction and design of the interaction particularly in relation to the recipient of the talk. Turn-taking can be envisaged as a speech exchange system. The observation of relevant utterances that transfer the speakership from one individual to the next and the fine coordination of these transitions are some of EMCA's topics of study (Schegloff, 2007a).

One common way to affect a change of speaker is a slight micro-brake in the talk. There are two examples of such relevant transitional spaces in this next example from a telephone call between Deb and Dick (Sidnell, 2010):

Excerpt 4

- (ring)
- 00 Dick: (r [
- 01 Deb: [Hello:?hh
- 02 Dick: Good morning=
- 03 Deb: =Hi:, howareya.
- 04 Dick: Not too ba:d. Howareyou?
- 05 Deb: I'm fi::ne
- 06 Dick: Howdit g[o?
- 07 Deb: [.h Oh: just grea:t <everybody:st_still
- 08 here
- 09 Dick: Oh really(h)=
- 10 Deb: =Yeah

11 Dick: Oh they stayed. Okay.

12 Deb: Yea:h (Sidnell, 2010, p. 48)

There may have been a turn transitional point in turn 4 after the word 'bad' where there was a micro-pause and Deb could have responded but instead waited for Dick to initiate a turn by saying 'Howareyou?'. There was a similar micro-pause in turn 11 where Deb could have taken a turn without Dick inviting her to respond with his 'Okay'.

Although turn-taking can be identified and recognised in locally situated contexts the dynamics of turn-taking can be extracted and generalized to other talk-in-interaction.

Some aspects of turn-taking that have been observed are:

- recurrent turns between speakers,
- one person speaks at a time,
- overlapping talk,
- latching of turns where there is no gap or overlapping talk,
- variations in turn order,
- varying length of turns,
- unspecified number of turns (see table 1),
- turns are not premeditated,
- distribution of turns are not predetermined,
- the cohort or number of participants can vary in size,
- turns can be continuous or discontinuous,
- turn allocation from one speaker to another is organised,
- relevant transitional points where others can enter the talk,
- turn constructional units (TCU) are used either to invite others into the talk or self-select to retain the speakership and the floor or to express complex or cultural information to which the preferred response is silence (Kitzinger, 2000),
- repair occurs when a turn is not fully understood, heard, understood, or is misinterpreted. The turn is suspended until the problematic interaction is addressed (Sacks et al., 1974),
- Prefatory phrases or articles like "you know" or "Oh" can be deployed as a third turn to indicate a change of state and to further defer or transition between speakers or make proclamations or accomplish rational, intelligible, or accountable constructions that

progress the course of the ordinary talk-in-interaction (Berard, 2003; Heritage, 1984, 1998; Hopper, 2005; Pollner, 1987).

Section 5: Overlapping Talk

This is a small example of overlapping talk and is taken from excerpt 4 in section 3 above:

06 Dick: Howdit g[o?

07 Deb: [.h Oh: just grea:t<everybody:st_still here (Sidnell, 2010, p. 48)

Overlapping talk is most often in alignment with the conversation and contributes to the agreement and constitutes the preferred response by the recipient to the initiated talk. It is represented by square parentheses.

The distribution of turn-taking dictates that one person talk at a time; overlapping talk contravenes this rule of sociality. Overlapping talk can disrupt the trajectory of the conversation. Interruption to talk is a separate topic of study from overlapping talk (Schegloff, 2000b). An orientation to the embedded patterns of talk-in-interaction shows an awareness of the organisation of talk and participation in the constitution of social reality through talk. Overlapping talk that is not competitive and that remains within the same conversation may respectfully terminate a conversation, or be a continuer, or be a response to a transitional prompt. These are all tolerable occurrences that do not fall outside of the rules of turn-taking (Schegloff, 2000b). However, if overlapping talk does not cease as soon as possible but becomes competitive or disagreeable then a serious breach occurs. Most overlapping talk is brief and represents a hitch in the interaction. If the overlapping talk is in alignment with the trajectory of the talk, sensitive to other recipients, and resolved within the turn-taking movement then no breach of the rules has occurred. Other overlapping talk can be accompanied by faster talk, or with a higher pitch, or louder talk in a way that may be designed to cut-off the other speaker (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Schegloff, 2000b). Overlapping talk occurs in this research but does not lead to conflict and was resolved by realignment and resumption of talk.

Section 6: Storytelling

There is a peculiar set of devices used in storytelling that depart from ordinary vernacular conversations. As outlined above ordinary conversations are controlled by rules of turn-taking, adjacency pairs, turn constructional units, repair, and other mechanisms. Storytelling has a two-move sequence. First, the speaker may initiate talk using turn-taking and adjacency pairs to

engage the recipients and then make a second move where they take the floor and suspend ordinary conversational devices to produce a story (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). The storytelling may contain turn constructional units where the recipients indicate their engagement in the story with continuance utterances like “uh huh” or in the present study “yeah” (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). These transitional points are not designed to elicit a change of speaker but to facilitate the co-construction of the story by indicators of preferred alignment and/or agreement. However, when the storytelling is brought to completion then the recipients would ordinarily have a right to take turns of talk. Even though the storytelling is initiated by a speaker the story is a social production of the cohort of participants and the recipients contribute to the formation by their silences, their comments, their continuance utterances, their listening, and turns of talk where appropriate (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

The speaker who is storytelling is in a knowing position whereas the recipient in this study the researcher and other family members are in a relatively unknowing position (Heritage, 2012). The differential between the epistemic status of knowing information and that of not knowing the information forms an imbalance that drives an epistemic exchange between the participants. The speaker in a story may have the epistemic status of deploying knowledge but may actually lack knowledge or as much knowledge as the recipients to the story (Heritage, 2012). When this occurs the speaker is said to have the epistemic status but not the epistemic stance. In this study Kirra has both the epistemic status and stance, and imparts the knowledge that is driving her bildungsroman. The giving of information warrants the storytelling (Heritage, 2012). Furthermore, there are epistemic rights that determine who is the speaker and it may be that the speaker is appreciated and approved or may be ignored and dismissed. The differential between the one with knowledge and those without knowledge is known as an asymmetrical relationship. Agreement, alignment, and confirmatory utterances by the recipients confer on the speaker epistemic authority, knowledge, stance, and primacy of speakership. If on the other hand, the recipient has independent, superior knowledge, or alternate evaluations regarding the information this may be indicated with a change of status or orientation. EMCA analysis by Heritage (1998) has uncovered the use of the “oh particle” as a device that recipients have deployed to change the orientation of the talk or to express a competitive right to access the next turn of talk and obtain the epistemic status of being the next speaker (Heritage, 1998). If the recipient defers to the first speaker then the first speaker will maintain the stance and the primacy of the first speaker. This may include the recipient withholding negative or

interrogative interjections that may introduce complications and interruptions to the talk-in-interaction (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

In storytelling the speaker has privileged access to the information that is being shared. The speaker's motivation for telling the story will help establish the genuineness of the information (Heritage & Clayman, 2010).

Section 7: Recipient Design

Persons initiating social talk-in-interaction sequentially frame and orientate their talk to be relevant to the context and sensitive to the recipients of their talk. Recipient design can affect word choice, topic selection, sequential selection of next speaker, and obligations for opening and closing conversations. It orients to the mutually shared knowledge of a particular recipient in a specific situation (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1988a, 1991, 2000b). The talk contains utterances that are relevant and recognisable by the recipient (Schegloff, 1996b). Talk in progress is moment by moment being reorganised, recalibrated, and re-constructed (Schegloff, 1996c). One proviso of recipient design is that the talk does not tell hearers what they already know (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000; Schegloff, 2007a). The phenomenon of recipient design involves the practices of confirmations, pre-indications, and alignments to orientate, and mutually constitute the talk-in-interaction (Maynard, 2003). The co-participants in this data set represent a variety of recipients. Kirra's storytelling was directed simultaneously to the incumbents of several membership categories represented by the researcher and relatives. Kirra designed her talk to be inter-subjectively constitutive across this variety of membership categories in ways that acted to form a polysemic property to her talk that related to the co-participants from these different membership categories (Lieberman, 1982). This polysemic property meant that the various co-participants would be interpreting and making meaning of her talk from their incumbency in different membership categories including stage of life, race, and sociological perspectives.

Section 8: A long duration of talk

This long duration of talk forms a whole unit and is analysed to explicate its structure. The over-arching phenomenon of the whole unit is different from the separate conversations and topics of talk. The overall structure has an opening and a closing independent to the opening and closing of the topical conversations contained within the whole.

This study is an explication of an hour of talk between the researcher, two of her relatives and the storyteller (Psathas, 1992). The EMCA work was to discover the sequential development of the parts and the whole structure by accounting for the machinery used by the storyteller to construct the social reality of her bildungsroman. Each conversation formed prior talk that triggered further topical conversations that formed a coherent story (Psathas, 1995a, 1995b). The storyteller is directing the recipient into a collaboratively constituted social reality that is made up of multiple turns of talk that are sequentially ordered to form a coherent and connected whole (Psathas, 1991). The co-construction of a long sequence of interaction is a feature of storytelling (Psathas, 1995b). Interactive storytelling can contain interlocking themes through a series of topical conversations that reflexively build on previous talk. The same or different tellers constitute subsequent stories that are noticeably similar to the initial story (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). Storytelling typically consists of multiple utterances. Shifts in the content of the multi-turn talk-in-interaction tend to develop and refine the information being transmitted. EMCA analysis of sequential stories isolates the interaction between the episodic stories and moves toward a resolution by disclosing the core autochthonous phenomenon (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). Each of these topical conversations can be described as separate stories that form a series or class of stories that systematically constitute the narrative construction. Perceived dissimilarities between the serial stories may indicate conflict or a shift to a deeper level of knowledge construction that will be resolved in the over-arching autochthonous phenomenon. The work of disclosing the hearable similarities and exhibiting the interpretative understanding operating in the co-construction of consecutive stories can act as evidence of a strong relationship between the analysis and the validity, verifiability, and warrantability of the autochthonous phenomenon (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The disclosure of agreement or confirmatory remarks or understanding utterances in the course of talk-in-interaction may not prove that these states have been achieved unless further analysis verifies that the co-participants' responses are in accordance with a prerequisite understanding of the transmitted information (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

Section 9: Membership Categorisation device (MCD)

A Membership Categorisation device (MCD) assigns members to a category or to a collection of categories that is made relevant by the activities or features that a member is performing or can be perceived to possess. There is a problem of assigning members to just one category as members invariably fall into a collection of categories (Jayyusi, 1984). All individuals can meet the criterion for certain categories like age or sex but only some individuals can meet the

criterion of specified categories like full back in a football team. There are two aspects to an MCD. One is the assignment of individuals to categories and the other is the identification of the sub-categories within a collection of categories. For example, the category 'mother' belongs to the collection of categories that constitute the MCD 'family' (Sacks, 1972; Schegloff, 1992b; Stokoe, 2012).

The consistency rule is evoked when the incumbent of a subsidiary category like fullback in a footy team indicates the presence of incumbents in the collection of categories constituting all the positions in a football team (Silverman, 1998). The consistency rule can also apply to cases where an individual is assigned to a category in respect to a relevant activity or characteristic and other individuals are assigned to the same category for performing the same activity or possessing the same characteristic. For instance, if a person writes a story that becomes a classic then that individual becomes an incumbent of the category 'classic author'. Furthermore, the corollary to the consistency rule dictates that if there is a story then there is a storyteller; this is known as the hearer's maxim. Furthermore, if the story is a classic story then the author is heard as being a 'classical author' according to the hearer's duplicative maxim (Sacks, 1972; Vallis, 2001).

If a member is assigned to a category out of a membership categorisation device then this single category can be referentially adequate according to the economy rule. For example, ascribing the category 'police person' or 'nurse' to a member provides adequate information for the identification of that person's contribution to the incident or story. Other categories of information can then be added to form a collection of categories that are attributable to that category membership device according to the consistency rule. For example, 'doctor' can be added to 'nurse' in the MCD medical treatment (Jayyusi, 1984; Silverman, 1998). The economy rule contributes to the generality of the findings in that the attributes of one member of a category are adequate to account for the population of incumbents in that membership category. For example 'medical doctor' informs us of the attributes of a recognised medical physician and the category bound activities associated with that practice that form the membership category medical doctor (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1972; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Silverman, 1998; Stokoe, 2012).

Membership in different categories is either made on the grounds of ascribable or achievable attributes. The dichotomy between ascription and achievement is often determined by the orientation and preference of the participants in the interaction (Jayyusi, 1984). Femininity can

be an achievement as in the case of Agnes whose “passing” from a masculine orientation to a feminine orientation was documented by Garfinkel (1967) (Garfinkel, 1967). Usually a person’s sex is determined by observation and is a naturally occurring ascription. A person’s incumbency in a racial group can be an achievement embedded in a person’s talk or an ascription due to racial features. Stage of life can be an achievement or a publically available ascription related to the observable age or context of the incumbent. The member category ‘dream interpreter’ is an achievement where a person demonstrates that they can identify the significance of a symbol in a dream. A person performing a category-bound activity determines that individual’s incumbency in a recognisable category. The recognition by an observer of this category-bound activity is known as the viewer’s maxim. For example, the process of writing a story would be an achieved category-bound activity of a storyteller and being nineteen is an ascribed category-bound attribute of the member category ‘teenager’. The activity rather than the agent is the determining feature of a category-bound activity like “crying” is a category-bound activity of babies and picking up your own baby is a category-bound activity of the mother of that baby (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1974).

Moreover, bureaucratic authorities can assign incumbency to a membership category by virtue of their institutional power like a registered celebrant declaring a person to be married. Institutions can also confer credentials on an incumbent to assign them to a membership category that requires those qualifications (Eglin & Hester, 1992; Jayyusi, 1984).

EMCA also recognises and analyses the implicative occurrences of a Standard Relational Pair (SRP) where the mention of one member of that incumbency is sufficient to indicate another member since the attributes, rights, obligations, and protocols are bound to that relationship and require the ontology of the other member. For example, a husband is in a SRP to his wife (Eglin & Hester, 1992; Sacks, 1972; Silverman, 1998).

A membership categorisation device has the power to generate expectancies in other incumbents of the category. If an activity is expected of one incumbent then it will be expected of other incumbents in that membership category. A recognition and intelligible interpretation of an incumbent’s actions may be generated from the procedures or methods they deploy either to avoid, or to meet, or in some other way negotiate these expectancies (Turner, 1974b). Membership categories once identified have this capacity to control and to generate constitutive activities and talk. The work of analysing talk and activities is to make visible the abstract co-constructive rules or MCDs or grammar that are generating the sequences and

continuity of interaction. The generative power of these devices is observable in the vast variety and indefinite set of activities and talk that they produce (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

The core or overarching phenomenon may not be initially apparent and the work of EMCA is to examine the different membership categories that are being generated in order to disclose the unifying affiliation that binds them together. Each of these categories is sequentially ordered and explicated as they are generated from the core overarching phenomenon (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). Part of the dynamic of discovering the overarching phenomenon is detecting the sequential relevance of subsequently generated membership categories. Often these categories can only be identified by the category-bound activities inherent and noticeable in the talk-in-interaction (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The way a category membership is received and interpreted by a cohort determines whether or not another category topic will be generated or if a transitional shift is made into talk of other categories from within the membership categorisation. These transitional shifts and modifications may assist in the identification and recognition of the core phenomenon like in the present research where different phenomena contribute to the identification of a bildungsroman (Jayyusi, 1984, 1991; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

In this study the MCDs were developed over the long duration of talk and contributed to the explication of an emergent overarching phenomenon. The shifts and modifications made in transitions between membership categorisation devices were determined by the implicative fit or deletion of the generated categorisation devices, whereby those that attain an acceptable fit enhance the socially constitutive talk and those that are rejected are deleted or precipitate a transitional shift (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The MCDs that fit are those that have been generated from a position within the core phenomenon driving the conversation. The categories generated from within the core phenomenon and the constitutive work of the main protagonist retain the grammar, correctness, and organisational order that is consistent with the emergence of the main overarching core phenomenon (Jayyusi, 1984, 1991; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The epistemic machinery originates in the temporal personal memories and familiar spatial places of the incumbents and the relevance of each sequential segment of talk is reflexively responsive to talk in prior segments (Heritage, 2012). Should the membership categories be taken out of their endogenous social order they would lose their generativity whereas the insider telling their story and generating member categories is a first person witness who can vouch for the phenomenon (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

Given this first person experience of the phenomenon the collection of categories that are accumulated can transformatively synthesise to contribute to the formation of a new core overarching phenomenon (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The work of EMCA is to make visible the transformations that occur through this synthesis of various membership categorisation devices that are evident in the talk-in-interaction under analysis. The explicated core over-arching phenomenon unifies the set of category-bound activities and the relevant MCDs can then be made visible and noticeable. The transformed generative core phenomenon will be constituted from an orderly synthesis of the original autochthonous phenomena from within the data set. The cultural and epistemic engine of the core phenomenon will be seen to have driven the production of the order in the long duration of talk (Jayyusi, 1984; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). In this research the transformation of the MCDs contributes to a new over-arching autochthonous phenomenon of a bildungsroman and modifies the identity of the main protagonist to include storyteller/author.

Summary

All the devices and resources specified in this chapter contribute to the rich description contained in the analysis of the talk-in-interaction that will be analysed in the coming chapters. The nature and the properties of a bildungsroman contribute to an identification of the collection of categories that constitute the overarching autochthonous phenomenon of this study.

Chapter 5: Procedures

Introduction

This chapter outlines the procedures undertaken to conduct the data collection and to prepare the data for analysis. The following two chapters (6 & 7) contain the data analysis and results of the investigation. The following topics will be addressed in this chapter: the planning, trialling and implementation of the study; the selection and rationale for the sample; the transcript conventions (Appendix A); the transcript (Appendix B) and the methods used to collect the data; ethics approval; and how the policies of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis have been applied to the data. The chapter ends with a summary statement of the procedures.

Planning, Trialling and Implementing

Previous to the analysis of this long duration of talk, the researcher did record, transcribe, and analyse conversations with an Aboriginal woman from the Central Desert of Australia and a conversation with the Elder, who is also a participant in this study. The conversations with the Aboriginal woman of the Central Desert (CD) were presented in a student forum at the university and the analysis and discussion of her talk-in-interaction contained elements of a bildungsroman. CD drew pictures in the sand while she spoke and talked about the importance of learning their language, their art, and women's business. This initial work of recording and transcribing a conversation with a person from an Aboriginal community alerted me to the necessity of finding a methodology that would allow me to examine in detail the talk to discover what was occurring in the talk-in-interaction. This experience led me to choose EMCA as the methodology of choice for working with audio recordings of talk with people from the Aboriginal communities.

The conversation with Eric the Elder more adequately contained the characteristics of a bildungsroman and was presented at a University student forum and the 8th Australasian Institute of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis Conference (2012) in Brisbane. The Elder, in thirty-minutes of talk-in-interaction, gave a rendition of the life stages that he had passed through. The story disclosed his schooling in a Mission township, his life as a stockman, how he had overcome alcoholism, the troubles he went through to achieve this, how he has remained sober for thirty five years, and his spiritual activities both in relation to the church and through his Aboriginal spirituality by performing smoking ceremonies for many celebrities, and openings of formal and other significant occasions. The Elder's story contained

many components of a bildungsroman and how he has come to maturity as a recognised Elder in the Aboriginal community and can now pass on his story to the next generation of Aboriginal children. The analysis and presentation of these talks acted as a pilot study for this research and informed the researcher that Aboriginal peoples are willing and have the capacity to share their stories in a form that is characteristic of a bildungsroman. The recording, transcript, and analysis of the Elder's talk was particularly relevant to this research in that the structure of a bildungsroman was disclosed in his talk and contributed to an awareness and identification of this resource in the data that was chosen for this thesis. The work of EMCA allowed me to ask the question of how the participants were generating their talk and interacting with the researcher.

Many other conversations with a diverse group of incumbents from the membership category Aboriginal peoples were recorded but this particular long duration of talk was chosen for its intensity, sequential organisation, longevity, and completeness (Psathas, 1992). Kirra's conversation was intense in that it contained sensitive material relating to her authorship of a book and her concern for her community to implement ways to improve the quality of life in their communities. The talk was sequentially and fluently organised over an hour of talk-in-interaction, and ebbed and flowed between topics and in intensity in a way that commended itself to analysis. The length of the conversation offered the analyst the opportunity of analysing an extended sequence of talk. At the end of the talk there was a recognisable conclusion that indicated that the storyteller had satisfactorily and recognisably concluded her story (Psathas, 1992, 1995a).

This conversation exemplified the investigative criterion of having the main participant initiate and maintain the multi-turns of talk from a recognisable opening to an adequate closing of information giving (Booth, 1999). An attractive element of this material is that the main protagonist was in the knowledge giving position and appeared to be reasonably free of inhibitions in sharing her knowledge (Heritage, 2012).

The Sample

EMCA esteems each incumbent of a membership category as an adequate representative and legitimate exemplar of that community and that a single event is sufficient for discovering the generative implications of the talk (Lee, 1991; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). How each participant speaks the utterances they make and their acts of speech are all valuable instances, even constructional components of the representative episteme, identity, and social reality

(Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). This capacity of talk to provide information about a culture is known as ‘order at all points’ such that whosoever and wheresoever an individual interacts they make known the membership category of which they are an incumbent (McCarthy & Rapley, 2001; Schegloff, 1992a, p. xlv; Silverman, 2013). A conversation by a participant provides a separate and distinct set of data that forms the empirical basis for EMCA research (Atkinson, 1988; Beach, 1990; Berard, 2006; Coulter, 2004). Every recorded utterance provides evidence for various phenomena that constitute the social reality. In this study the phenomenon is produced through the talk between the incumbents of the membership category Aboriginal participants and the researcher from the dominant culture (Rapley et al., 2003). The number of individuals that contribute to the constitution of a social object adds to the various interpretations that are occasioned by the polysemic capacity of words to produce a multiplicity of meanings (Fink & Gantz, 1996; Liberman, 1982, p. 286).

In EMCA research the individual attributes or character of the participants does not add or subtract from the validity or reliability of the data since EMCA is inclusive of all that is constitutive of the phenomenon being observed and analysed in the social event (Heritage, 1984). The selection of the participants does not affect the quality of the study and the nature of the utterances does not affect the quality of the data. Each utterance or action constitutes part of the reality of the phenomenon that is under construction. Therefore, any participant would be suitable since the study is not looking for culturally competent or technically pure representatives of a particular community or membership category but is inclusive of a diverse or complex exemplar of, in this case, the Aboriginal episteme (Dippo, 1994; Heritage, 1984). However, the Aboriginal participants in this study fully identify themselves with their Aboriginality and are clearly recognisable incumbents of that racial membership category.

(Further explanations of the sampling method used in this study and its relationship to the generalizability of the results can be found in Chapter 3 sections 3.5 and 3.3 respectively.)

Data Collection

This data was selected from a large corpus of audio recordings that were collected over several field trips between metropolitan Sydney and a town in the far north-west corner of New South Wales. This particular data was recorded on a late winter’s afternoon at the end of a long day of travelling by vehicle from the city to the remote semi-arid country of the Murray River basin. Audio recordings were the sole media requested from the Ethics Committee to gather data for this thesis. The multifarious information available through the use of other media like video

recordings were not available for this thesis. The only information used was that of the audio recording (Goodwin, 1981; Mushin & Gardner, 2009). The researcher's visual attention was confined and restricted to driving a vehicle for about twelve hours. The main protagonist was sitting behind the researcher in the vehicle further restricting any observation of non-verbal information. Consequently, the data in this thesis only consists of the talk-in-interaction between the co-participants.

Transcript Conventions (Appendix A)

The transcript conventions employed in this study are based on the work of Atkinson and Heritage (Atkinson & Heritage, 1999). Some modifications and refinements have been made to this base list of symbols from various other EMCA documents that effectively render this list of conventions suitable for this study. EMCA research does not appeal to any specific conventions as definitive but recognises the conventions used for a particular study (ten Have, 1999).

The Transcript (Appendix B)

The transcript presented in this document originated from an audio recording made of the long duration of talk between Kirra the main protagonist, the Researcher, Donny her brother and the Elder, her paternal great uncle.

The talk-in-interaction was recorded on a handheld MP3 player and is provided in Appendix F of this thesis. The transcript was generated by the researcher using a program called Voice-Walker obtained from the internet. This program allowed the researcher to stop, start, and rewind the voice recording to obtain a reasonably accurate transcription.

The transcript of this talk constitutes the complete data collected for this study. The full transcript is available in Appendix B.

Ethics Approval (10-2006/9411)

The ethical issues of confidentiality, consent, anonymity, and confidentiality were paramount in the collection of this data. Pseudonyms of names and places have been used for these purposes. Ethics approval was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Sydney. All amendments to the study were approved by the committee. Participants were given the choice to fully or partially withdraw from the research at any time without embarrassment or detriment to their continuing association with the researcher or any other stakeholders. Participants were informed both verbally and in writing of their investment

in the research. All recordings were made transparently and with the participant's knowledge. The participants were given written information on how to contact the University Ethics Committee if they had any reservations. Copies of Ethics Approval, the participant information sheet, and an example of a consent form are in Appendix C.

How Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis was Applied to the Data

EMCA has discovered a lot of devices and resources that members use to generate and maintain conversation. Chapters 3 and 4 detailed the members' methods that are relevant to the present study. The data chapters 6 and 7 that follow draw on this previous research to determine what resources Kirra deployed to achieve her bildungsroman storytelling.

Chapter 6 of the data analysis examines the transcript line by line using the resources known to EMCA to describe Kirra's constitutive work and the local production of her talk-in-interaction. The analysis discovers that Kirra opens and closes a series of conversations that have been sequentially produced. The transcript is subjected to a relatively fine-grained analysis that examines each utterance for its reflexive contribution to the long duration of talk (Schegloff, 2000a). The fine-grained analysis primarily draws on the findings of research conducted by Conversation Analysts, who examine how turns of talk are organised to produce the series of identifiable conversations that are relevant to the main protagonist.

The data analysis in chapter 7 focuses on each of the conversations identified in chapter 6 to discover what resources and members' methods were implemented to generate her talk-in-interaction. This analysis was relatively course grained and examined the membership categories and topics within each of the identified conversations to show the development in Kirra's reasoning and storytelling (Schegloff, 2000a). Chapter 7 primarily draws on research conducted by Ethnomethodological studies that examine how conversations reflexively interact with themes and developments over the course of the long duration of talk to constitute the resources that in this study are identifiable components of the over-arching phenomenon of a bildungsroman.

Both the relatively fine grained Conversation Analysis and the relatively course grained analyse of the conversations contribute to the construction of the over-arching phenomenon of a bildungsroman. The data analysis develops an EMCA account of Kirra's achievement of generating a long duration of talk that constitutes a social reality. The social reality is recognisable as having been reflexively generated from the indexical context of her situated community and relationships. Her bildungsroman is an autochthonous phenomenon in that it

has grown out of her authentic life world and is an endogenous phenomenon in that it has been constituted from within her life world. The interpretation of the data is restricted to the content of the transcript and remains within the confines of the generative production of Kirra's talk-in-interaction.

Summary

In this chapter the procedures that have been followed to complete this research have been outlined. The initial planning and trialling involved practising the recording of the life stories of Aboriginal peoples and analysing some of that talk. The rationale for selecting the data collected from Kirra was then discussed. The reasoning behind the sampling procedures was explained. The practical instrumentation of the data collection was given. The rationale for the conventions followed in transcribing the recordings to print was outlined. The data for the study has been collected and transcribed according to ethical and responsible methods. The steps taken to analyse the data to discover the resources that lead to the major findings have been described. The next two chapters contain an analysis of the data and constitute the results of the study. The final two chapters will detail the findings of the research.

Chapter 6: Phase 1 Data Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter a turn by turn analysis of the hour of talk-in-interaction is conducted according to the EM policies and CA methods outlined in the literature reviews and as they are employed by the co-participants. The work of EMCA is to discover the resources that are being deployed by the co-participants in their ordinary conversation (Lieberman, 2013). Two of the founders of EMCA Sacks and Garfinkel both insisted in their lectures on methodological practice that a full transcript of the data be produced before an analysis of the resources be commenced (Lieberman, 2013). The full transcript was then to be analysed line by line before the main features of the co-construction of the social phenomenon could be disclosed. This chapter contains the initial noticings and observations made by an analysis of the full transcript (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Schegloff, 1998).

Some of the resources that were disclosed through this initial analysis of the long duration of talk is the recurrence of 'opening and closing' sequences that were observed to delineate several relatively distinct conversations in the talk. The schism of a long duration of talk into subordinate conversations that together re-form into one conversation has been observed in EMCA literature (Mushin & Gardner, 2009; Schegloff, 1999c).

The analysis has also disclosed Kirra's awareness of the co-participants and the reflexivity occasioned by their presence that has collectively contributed to the co-construction of the locally produced social phenomenon. The data analysis exposes some reflexive talk-in-interaction by the researcher whereby he discloses personal material that co-constructs elements of his own bildungsroman. Through an EMCA orientation to, interpretation of, and interaction with the analysis of this long duration of talk with the co-participants, the researcher's understanding of this community of Aboriginal peoples, and their historical, contextual, and legal relationships has been challenged and changed to new directions that are characteristic of a bildungsroman.

The mainly silent participation of the other members present in the talk is also interpreted within the context of the resources Aboriginal peoples deploy in interactive talk (Mushin & Gardner, 2009). Their participation is analysed and is relevant to both the resources and topical content of the main protagonist's work of expressing a new direction and generating her bildungsroman. The EM policies have contributed to the analysis by the researcher maintaining

an EMCA 'indifference' to the topics that were discussed and allowing Kirra, the main protagonist, to express her story by not actively directing the talk-in-interaction (Garfinkel, 1967). The production of the full transcript and the close data analysis were conducted before the phenomenon of a bildungsroman was fully disclosed. Subsequent revisions of the data analysis have inserted references to the co-participants deployment of resources that are constitutive of a bildungsroman.

The analysis has been carried out without imposing any prior theoretical framework on the data but has remained within the constraints of the ordinary, endogenous and mundane nature of the talk as it has been recorded. The analysis has respected the inherent order that has been produced and the social fact of the bildungsroman has been discovered by investigating the reflexive and local autochthonous interactions in the talk-in-interaction. At all times the analysis has remained in the indexical context of the naturally occurring social realities by the researcher adequately and relevantly respecting the culturally determined social objects that were being produced by the co-participants.

The analysis in this and the next chapter manifest several layers of EMCA devices that the co-participants have employed to sustain the talk-in-interaction. The analysis exposes the different CA and EM devices and resources that Kirra draws on to generate her bildungsroman through the how of her realisations and decisions that have set a new direction in her life. This new direction includes a commitment and engagement to the education of the dominant culture. Furthermore, it demands of her some confrontation and expressions of disillusionment with the established norms and practices of some sectors of her cultural community in a way that is characteristic of an individual orientating to different outcomes and individualistic choices that constitute a bildungsroman (Jeffers, 2005; McWilliams, 2009). The autochthonous nature of the over-arching phenomenon of the bildungsroman is derived through a transformative process whereby the application of the EM policies, the CA members' methods, and members' category devices that coalesce to form a bildungsroman (Jayyusi, 1984). The formulation of this female and Aboriginal bildungsroman is predominantly driven by the resources deployed by Kirra and is mainly her accomplishment.

The analysis has made noticeable the following ten conversations:

Conversation 1: Writing Her First Book: Polysemic Interaction with Co-participants.

Conversation 2: The Teenage Experience of Incumbents of Any Racial Membership Category.

Conversation 3: Storytelling the Woman Born from the Red Sand and Reborn from a Whirlwind.

Conversation 4: Interpretation of Dream Images and Stages-of-life.

Conversation 5: Animal Transmogrification and the Aboriginal Episteme.

Conversation 6: Kirra's History of Authorship and First Person Avowal.

Conversation 7: Teenage Mums and the Colonisation of the Mind.

Conversation 8: The Function of a Classic and Indigenous Identity.

Conversation 9: Setting an Alternative Agenda for this Generation of Aboriginals.

Conversation 10: Kirra's Book and the Virtues of Education.

Conversation 1 (turns 2-26): Writing Her First Book: Polysemic Interaction with Co-participants

Kirra introduces the topic of the first conversation with an initial elicitor stating that she is half way through writing her first book (turn 2).

Turn	Speaker	
2	K	°I'm about half way through my first book °
3	R	What writi::ng your first book¿=
4	K	=Yea::h (.) I've like just got like all my note pads for some reason (1)
5	R	O::h that's alright ↓
		Do you use the computer much at a::ll?=-

Her reference to it being her first book may indicate that she has more books in mind for the future as she reiterates this assertion in turn 553. The researcher's response (turn 3) confirmed the content of her statement that she was writing a book and in particular, her first book, and his quizzical surprise was indicated by the use of the word "what" and rising intonation in his voice.

Kirra continues to provide documentary evidence both for the organisation of the conversation and for the verifiability of her status as the author of a book (Lieberman, 2013). In turn 4 she mentions that her writing is being kept in the form of note pads. This slight transitional shift that orients to the process of writing, acts as an elicitor for the researcher enquiring if she is using a computer to record her material. Kirra responds by illustrating the practicality of using a notebook in preference to a computer in that the notebook is instantly available for capturing ideas as they emerge. The high degree of latching established in these opening adjacency pairs of talk between Kirra and the researcher indicates the relevance, determinate, and assured nature of the interactions (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974).

Kirra continues to orientate her talk to the topic of writing. The researcher manages the range of contingencies that could be generated by interpreting her utterances in the situated and indexical context of her procedurally and consequentially organised communications on authorship. Her utterance that “once I get into the zone I go for five or six hours” (turn 8) is interpreted in the context of writing a book in contradistinction to playing tennis, swimming, or many other activities. The researcher in turns 7 and 9 appears to realise that Kirra is taking the initiative in the talking and that a sequence of mutually intelligible utterances will follow and he accordingly provides continuance utterances of confirmation. However, the researcher’s interjection in turn 10 has the effect of bringing the sequence to a standstill with Kirra providing her own continuance utterance. The researcher provides a partial wrap-up of the topic so far in turn 11.

Turn	Line	Speaker	
10	13	K	=yeah _i (.2)
11	14 15	R	Well that’s a great discipline (3) So when you say you are half way through your boo::k do you (3) [ah-
12	16 17	K	[()] but I’m amazed sometimes you think ()

The researcher refers to writing as a discipline requiring effort especially to write the equivalent of half a book (turn 11) and then begins a new request for information but Kirra cuts off the talk with her own announcement (turn 12). This utterance goes undetected and unexplored by the researcher. Instead the researcher reverts to talk about the text type of a narrative that requires a story to have a denouement and resolution of the conflicts generated in the plot and

the themes assumed to be contained in the book (turn 13). The researcher's first pair part "Do you know how the book's going to end?" is accepted by Kirra and she responds with the second pair part "Me (1) no (1)" completing the adjacency pair. Kirra adds further information saying that the Christmas holidays are interrupting her writing but she will resume when she returns (turn 14). From the immediate local and topical context, the researcher provides an elicitor asking how many pages of text she anticipates the approximate 200 pages of notes will translate into. This question only makes sense and can be interpreted in the setting of the extended sequence where we have learnt previously that the 200 pages are ideas jotted in a note pad (turns 4 & 6). Kirra's response to this level of specificity concerning her text elicits a reference "to a rough guess" and then an evasive and incomplete comment (turn 16). After a pause, Kirra re-organises her interpretation of the elicitor and reformulates her response by referring to the process of writing where she writes a page of text and then on alternate pages records her ideas (turn 18). This clarification indicates that Kirra is actually engaged in writing text and not just collecting ideas. After two continuers, the researcher attempts another wrap-up statement that the text "is still in the process", which Kirra immediately confirms and she also confirms that this is "not a finished product" (turns 19-23). These are pre-closure utterances indicating that the first conversation is coming to an end.

At this point, it is not obvious to the Researcher that Kirra is beginning to develop her bildungsroman by transiting from a conversation to storytelling where she takes the speakership. Kirra says, "I have got a page then I have ideas I've got a page and then I have ideas" (turn 18) and then continues her description of how she is composing her book. Furthermore, this conversation is taking place in the presence of the co-participants including her brother and her great Uncle, and Kirra seems to be acutely aware that her situated meanings are being subjected to polysemic or layers of multiple sense making by the different co-participants whether their contributions are passive or active (Lieberman, 1982). This becomes evident in turn 24 where she states "I do not give away my secrets if I am around people ... that are in (the book)". Their informed co-participation (turn 26) "they know what it is like" situates Kirra's discourse in the 'here and now' of the conversation (Freiberg, 2003; Garfinkel, 1967). This use of "know" relates to the function of 'knowing' the content of one's own personal material and evaluating the appropriateness of expressing that conscious content. Kirra is making the deliberate decision to restrict how much information she is willing to disclose and designing her talk with awareness of their shared knowledge (turn 26 line 34) (Drew, 2005). Heritage (2005) refers to this as the 'relative rights' to 'particular facts' known

to the speaker that confers ‘epistemic supremacy’ on her ‘in relation to other interactants’ (Heritage, 2005, p. 196). However, this exercise of relative rights is in a particular social context that requires her to show respect to the significant others present (Rosaldo, 1990; Wieder & Pratt, 1990; Yunkaporta, 2009).

Conversation 2 (turns 27-99): The Teenage Experience of Incumbency in any Nationality

The second conversation reflexively follows on from the previous talk by the researcher questioning Kirra about her use of the plural pronoun “they” in turn 26’

26	K	=they know what it is like=
27	R	=yea::h, (2) are you writing Aboriginal stories?= =
28	K	=umm (.) yeah you ↑ could say that (6) I wanta like um (1) I wanta aim at teena::ge gir:::ls (1) at teena::ge gir:::ls but (do) not mean just Aboriginal girls you know any nationality=

The researcher orients to the unspecified “they” in turn 26 “they know what it is like” and asks if the book contains “Aboriginal stories” (turn 27) indicating that the researcher anticipates that the ‘they’ refers to incumbents in the membership category of Aboriginal peoples. Kirra’s use of this indefinite plural pronoun contains ambiguity for the researcher for whom the pronoun is hearable as referring to her readership rather than directly to their silent co-participants and travelling companions. This is borne out by the fact that the researcher asks if the stories have Aboriginal content (turn 27). If the stories are Aboriginal and the audience is Aboriginal then it would explain why “they would know what it is like” (turn 26). Kirra is an incumbent of the Aboriginal community and a writer, whereas the researcher is an incumbent and member of the dominant culture. Kirra responds to the elicitor (turn 27) with the information requested and informs us in turn 28 that her intended audience is not just Aboriginal teenagers but teenage girls in general. Her reference at this point to the audience of her book seemed to confirm to the researcher that she was referring to her readership rather than the co-participants in the conversation. Whether Kirra opportunistically re-oriented the direction of the conversation in turn 28 away from the co-participants and to the readership of her book depends on how certain we can be that her utterance in turn 26 “they know what it is like” refers back to “I don’t give away my secrets if I am around you know people that are in (the book)”, which would refer to

the co-participants present (turn 24). The researcher does not make any exchange that would indicate that he understands her utterance as referring to those present in the conversation. If Kirra's reference to "people that are in (the book)" in turn 24 and "they know what it is like" in turn 26 refer to the co-participants then there is no further indication of this reference and no confirmation by the researcher that that is the case.

This ambiguity and misunderstanding accounts for the researcher shifting the topic back to the readership and away from a direct acknowledgement of the silent and seemingly passive co-participants. The silence of the co-participants can alternatively be understood culturally as an active mark of respect to Kirra by giving her the space to tell her story (Wieder & Pratt, 1990). If Kirra was indicating her awareness of the other co-participants by her reference to "they" in turn 26 this confirms that Kirra is creating polysemic levels of meaning for the constituents of those present and this is an indication that the researcher is unaware of the cultural mechanisms in operation. The researcher's shift of the orientation of the topic from the co-participants in the vehicle to the audience of the book can be interpreted as a category-bounded device (CBD) whereby the researcher is exposing his orientation to educational topics. This is demonstrated by his question "are you writing Aboriginal stories", which bears specifically on Kirra's writing (turn 27) rather than a question related to the reflexive nature of the conversation where Kirra is socially constructing reality with all those present, perhaps even especially her great Uncle and her brother.

The researcher's question in turn 27 asking if Kirra is "writing Aboriginal stories" is ambiguous. It could either mean stories written for Aboriginal girls or stories containing Aboriginal content. Kirra answers by saying that she is writing to teenage girls like herself and not necessarily Aboriginal teenagers (turn 28). Kirra's endogenously and reflexively produced comment, "I wanta aim at teena::ge gir:::ls (1) at teena::ge gir:::ls" but (do) not mean just Aboriginal girls you know any nationality" indicates that she is aware that she is a member of several categories including a teenager, a girl from all nationalities, and an Aboriginal person. Kirra elaborates on her choice of readers as being those who "think" like herself because it helps to think like those that are your audience (turn 30). The researcher takes this turn as an indication that Kirra wants to talk about her identification with her potential audience and the readership of her writings (turn 31), but instead Kirra shifts the topic endogenously and reflexively back to the incumbency in the membership category her Aboriginality.

Turn	Line	Speaker	
31	45 46	R	(2x small coughs) =yea::h. it (.) is that one of the things that you write about?= =
32	47 48	K	=um yeah yeah being ↑ being in two worlds is kinda like being in two places
33	49	R	=yea::h,= =
34	50 51	K	=>but most of the time you know () is like being in two places at the same time<= =
35	52	R	=yea::h. (2) =

Her statement “being in two worlds is like being in two places” may be designed to communicate different things to the different recipients of her information giving (turn 32) (Heritage, 2005; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b), bearing in mind that Kirra has three co-participants, two of which share her racial incumbency and one that is from the dominant culture. Kirra may be reflexively commenting on her present situation of relating across these two domains. At this point in the sequence of highly latched adjacency pairs the pattern of elicitor and recipient response is superseded by a sequence of impassioned acts of compressed thought (turns 34, 36, 38). This compression of thought is indicated by spurts of staccato speech acts notationally represented by the signs (> <). Kirra talked quickly with short, sharp, separate and distinct sounds. Kirra was avowing that something is in ‘two places at the same time’, and not ‘straight forward’ and ‘to the point’ (turns 34, 36). These statements once again seem to contain recipient-design. Recipient-design typifies her sensitivity to the co-participants of the talk-in-interaction and reflects the complexity of the socially constructed reality with which she is confronted. The researcher’s continuers allow the monologue to take its course. Unless the locally situated context yields an interpretation of these statements, they will remain a setting for something deeply significant for Kirra. The concept that Aboriginal people perceive themselves as living in two worlds at the same time is a well-documented phenomenon (Harris, 1990a; Ogbu, 1978; West, 1994b; Yunkaporta, 2009). The previous context is that of two cultures, two membership domains of experience (the indigenous and the dominant culture) and the subsequent context is not filling young girls’ lives with something that has been imposed upon them from the dominant culture. Instead teenage girls need to know something

better (turn 38). The talk-in-interaction continues to be a monologue indicating that Kirra has taken the floor and is now storytelling. The researcher provides continuers that pass the speakership back to the chief protagonist, who is telling her story. The substance of her remarks culminates in her concerns about young girls filling their lives with “twilight stuff” and “romance” rather than “doing something” (turn 40). This raises the level of ambiguity as now we are invited to interpret the two domains as that of the dream-like world of romance and the actual world of feminine achievements.

The researcher’s question about the audience to whom Kirra was writing and the subsequent talk about being in two places at the same time (turns 27-37) has had the effect of transmuting the talk-in-interaction from talk about writing a book to talk about the constitution of the audience to which Kirra is appealing. However, this shift from talk about writing to talking about the audience of her book remains under the category book writing.

The second conversation has been initiated by the researcher asking the writer if she is writing Aboriginal stories (turn 27-101). Kirra does not directly answer this generic question but as discussed above introduces the topic of the audience to whom she is writing. The second conversation concerns the membership categorisation of teenage girls of which Kirra is the only incumbent present in the conversation, although her brother is a teenage boy. Kirra is an insider to this category whereas the other co-participants are outsiders. In the first conversation, Kirra informs the co-participants that she is the author of a story, the progress she is making on her first book, how she is writing it, and some of the things associated with incumbency in the membership category of being a female teenager.

58	99 100 101 102	K	But >I see it a lot in g-< (.) I see it a lot in girls like um (1) I see a lot of girls ↑ (° °) (.) like a lot of them don’t grow up it’s because they are stuck in (.) stuck in some kinda (.) like a ↑ fa::ntasy wor::ld
59	103	R	=yea::h,=
60	104 105 106	K	=Yeah a lot of girls are brought up in a fantasy world oh you know (.) I’ll wait (.) be patient something is going to happen=
61	107	R	=yea::h,=
62	108 109	K	=and they get to twenty (.) you know (.) and their life is over you know (° °) it’s gone like that with ↑ boys and that

	110		so you don't want to be twenty and be hooked up (.) and have like (.)
	111		tw::o or thr::ee ki::ds
63	112	R	=yea::h,=
64	113	K	=you know I want girls to be::ha::v::ours=
65	114	R	=yea::h,=
66	115	K	=that's part of when (.) when I hit high school I think (1)
	116		every every aspect of my childhood like was gone (.) you know I hit
	117		thirteen you know and I ↑ decided that my childhood you know (.)
	118		didn't impact me by the time I got twenty (1)
	119		So when so when I was thirteen I grew-up=

According to Kirra the first device that female teenagers have to contend with is that of being pushed into romance rather than being encouraged to participate in the adult world. They are being coerced and manipulated rather than being offered freedom, grace, and harmony (turns 38, 40) (Ngarritan-Kessaris, 1994a, 1994b; Wieder & Pratt, 1990; Yunkaporta, 2009). Kirra is talking about her writing out of her *in vivo* endogenous experience as a teenage girl and an Aboriginal girl, who is living in two places at the same time (turn 32). Kirra delineates the characteristics of this device. The pushing comes in the form of books and films (turn 44), it became evident to Kirra when she was between thirteen and fourteen (turn 48), the pushing affects the young mind (turn 50), brain washes them (turn 52), and the contents are “fake stories” (turn 56). Kirra concedes that the books may have “really good writers” (turn 54 line 90) but contrasts this with her intention to give the young girls some reality to hang onto and instruct them on how to grow-up (turn 54, 56, 66). Kirra’s talk comes from her autochthonous responses that are being generated from and stimulated by her reflections on the substance of her own life experiences (Garfinkel, 2002). Her lived experience has taught her that these cultural constructions of romance, movies, and books create a lived fantasy world for young girls where they are in a state of suspended animation anticipating something mythological to happen, presumably according to the scripting of the stories (turn 60). In reality, this state of expectation makes them vulnerable to boys and having two or three children by the time they are twenty (turn 62). Her intention is to change this predicament (turn 64).

Kirra introduces the break between her teenage years and her childhood in turn 66. This mention of childhood constitutes a topic shift in the conversation. In turn 50 Kirra began to say

that books affect a child's mind but in mid-sentence she transmuted the object of her thoughts from a child's mind to a "young person's mind". Kirra again initiates the talk-in-interaction and is using resources that draw on her life story that indicate that Kirra is engaging in a form of storytelling known as a bildungsroman. The researcher mirrors her reflections by repeating the same affirmative and continuance utterance "yeah". It would seem by her emphatic remarks "I decided that my childhood didn't impact me by the time I got twenty" and "so when I was thirteen I grew up" that there was something about her childhood that she didn't want to continue into her teens and adulthood (turn 66). It needed to change. These are potentially statements designed to cover some aspect of her childhood that she felt needed to be left behind deliberately, radically, and consciously. The nature of this object may be revealed in turn 314 where Kirra apologetically says "I'm not going to lie to you" and reveals that she once played with Barbie dolls.

Kirra employs a metaphor taken from a well-known fairy tale to illustrate what content of her childhood needed to be left behind and not carried over into her teenage years. The reference is to Cinderella (turn 70). The metaphor encapsulates the fantasy disposition of patiently waiting for something to appear that will somehow solve all one's problems. Kirra appears to be adamantly opposed to this passive disposition indicating that she has accepted full agency over life by confronting external pressures to conform to certain stereotypes and by dissociating herself from internalising or following fantasy scripting (turns 58, 62, 66, 72). From the locally situated talk the "it" in the statement "I wanta aim 'it'" (turn 72) can be interpreted as referring back to the previous conversation about her book and means that the content of her book is going to direct young people's and children's minds away from the Cinderella disposition. The deep rationale for this recourse to popular culture is that Aboriginal girls are criticised and lose their "confidence in who they are" (turn 72). The fairy tale of Cinderella ironically featured harsh criticism, exclusion, and marginalisation directed at Cinderella by her step-mother and step-sisters (turn 74). These remarks concerning harshness are often made by insiders to insiders (Foster, 1994; Ladwig & Gore, 1994; West, 1994a, 1994b).

The term /pushing/ is now given two meanings. First 'pushing' refers to the downward pressure of harsh criticism and second to the upward thrust of young Aboriginal girls to rise further and higher above the debilitating influences of criticism and marginalization (turn 78). The muted and partially concealed reference to Ken in turn 76 may be to a relative, who is putting pressure on Kirra in regard to her own relationships with men (Yunkaporta, 2009). Kirra is expressing these thoughts in the presence of her brother and her father's uncle both of whom will be aware

of Kirra’s personal experience with criticism and boy-girl relationships. Her intention and free agency is exemplified in her words, “I wanna ... I am confident... that whatever comes my way or whatever someone says about me I don’t care” (turn 78). Kirra is not acting out of fear of rules or what others may think or say, but is self-actualising and is resolutely determined to overcome the troubles incited by her decision to socially construct a new agenda for herself and other readers of her book. Her intention and free moral agency is witnessable in this text. Her modified statement “it’s not that I don’t care” is tempering her possible defiance or free agency in relation to what others think, with her conviction that their actions will only push her up and increase her self-direction in life’s decisions (turn 78).

Her brother and father’s uncle remain silent during Kirra’s storytelling and the researcher remains neutral in that he continues to provide affirmative and continuance utterances that hand the speakership back to her. The active silence of her Aboriginal great Uncle and her brother seems to indicate the way respect and social reality is co-constructed culturally in their community whereas the continuance utterances and occasional interjections are tolerated by Kirra as procedural activities expected of an academic researcher (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

Kirra reiterates that “Aboriginal girls deserve confidence” (turn 80). In many ways this is unremarkable ordinary mundane talk but it constitutes the social facts of Durkheim’s immortal society (Garfinkel, 2002). The local documentary substance of this conversation is that Aboriginal teenage girls are the projected audience of the narrative that Kirra is writing. Through several shifts in the topic we now arrive at another example of recipient-design. Is Kirra talking about her intention to communicate a new confidence to her readers that will neutralize the ‘harsh criticism’ and elevate the self-worth of her readers or is Kirra talking about her own ability to transcend other’s criticisms through her decisions concerning her own relationships or both? Kirra states, “I have had that experience ...and I always feel” clearly indicating that she is talking about herself and therefore her decisions relating to her personal relationships, which some of the co-participants to the conversation would recognise (turn 84). Kirra is not only talking about instilling confidence in the readership of her book but also talking to the co-participants in an intelligible and mutually understood rationale for her actions (turn 84).

84	151	K	=and me I have had that experience (° °) and stuff (2)
	152		and I always feel the (Lord) says

	153		“it’s not what you wear it’s who you are”
85	154	R	=yea::h,=
86	155	K	=and it is not what you like it is who you are=

Kirra justifies her decisions on the basis of an aphorism “it is not what you like (wear) it is who you are” (turns 84, 86). This is an aphorism as it requires information that goes beyond the documentary evidence contained in the transcript to be intelligible. Kirra provides a set of preferences regarding choices of clothes, cosmetics, and music as the instigators of the judgments and disapproval of some people in their community (turns 88, 90). Kirra formulated her aphorism in two variations “it’s not what you wear it’s who you are” (turn 84) and “it is not what you like it is who you are” (turn 86). Kirra seems to be indicating that the preferences of teenage girls for clothes, cosmetics, and music are coming from the media pressure and social expectations. This pressure is summed up in the words “this world (that) is a judgemental world towards .. women” (turn 88). Kirra reiterates the items clothes, cosmetic, and music in turns 88 and 90 indicating that teenage girls succumb to these pressures rather than finding their identity in who they are (turn 86 line 155). Young Aboriginal girls that capitulate to these pressures find that when they are twenty years old “they want a man to pick them up” (turn 92). Kirra wants the young Aboriginal girls to have the confidence to find their worth in their identity but she is “not going to say that straight out in her book” (turn 92 line 170).

Turn	Line	Speaker	
92	168	K	=to Aboriginal girls you know (1)
	169		being twenty (°they want a man to pick them up°) (3) but
	170		↑ hello like I’m not going to say that straight out in the book um
	171		I am giving them (5) I’m putting across a story
	172		I ↑ am putting across a story like about a young Aboriginal girl=

When Kirra says “I’m putting across a story...about a young Aboriginal girl” (turn 92 line 172) she is contextualizing and introducing the main character in the story she is about to present who will have a strong grown up feminine Aboriginal identity (turns 166, 192, 202).

94	174	K	=but it’s split up (.) it’s spiritual and reality
----	-----	---	---

			>do you know what I mean<=
--	--	--	----------------------------

Her next utterance “it’s split up” and “it’s spiritual and reality” re-affirms that Kirra wants to use stories and not fantasies to communicate to her readers the need to understand reality, (turn 94) a reality that will give them the confidence to be strong Aboriginal women (turn 166, 192). The use of the word “it’s” is a contraction of “it is” that is referring to the reality that Kirra is proposing to communicate through her storytelling that will present a grown up orientation to reality that is not contaminated by what is fake or fantasy (turn 56, 60).

Kirra though does not formulate a disjunction that would clearly delineate the two categories as being ‘spiritual and reality’ (turn 94) or ‘divine and reality’ (turn 100) but instead she uses a conjunction that unites both entities. This conjunction of the “spiritual and reality” is an indicator of her Aboriginal episteme that accepts the unity and reality of the spiritual, and the spiritual in reality (Lieberman, 1985). Her story “about a young Aboriginal girl” has these properties of being ‘spiritual’, ‘real’, and ‘divine’ (turn 92). Her previous talk about romance and cosmetics has triggered a major shift in the talk-in-interaction (turns 70, 88, 90). Kirra is not interested in pursuing formal logical connections between criticisms and adolescent preferences (turn 88 line 162 and turn 90). Kirra is offering an alternative that is constructed out of the situated and raw material of her life. Kirra is exercising her self-determination and free moral agency to formulate a reality that will reduce the confidence of young Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teenage females. The researcher affirms her story by providing continuers (turns 93, 95, 97, 99). The continuance utterances by the researcher and the silence by the other co-participants perform two functions; they establish the social reality between the main protagonist and her co-participants and they maintain her speakership while she tells her story including the decisions she is making about how she is telling her story both in her book and also in her present talk-in-interaction.

Conversation 3 (turns 100-129):Born from the Red Sand and Reborn from a Whirlwind

Conversation three is generated out of the previous two conversations. The first conversation talked about the process of writing a book and presented her credentials as the author of her first book. Conversation two set the scene by talking about her immersion into the world of her co-readership, clearance of the obstacles of harsh criticism, and her place as a teenage Aboriginal girl. Now with the leading statement “I am putting across a story ... about a young

Aboriginal girl” Kirra is introducing her story (turn 92). There is a topic shift and a relevant conversational transition happening between the second conversation and the beginning of the third conversation in turns 92-99.

Kirra’s utterances “um I’m thinking” (turn 96) and “>I said I am thinking<” (turn 98) reiterate her agency in the work of building her own life through writing a book and portraying her life through the talk-in-interaction that she is constituting by telling a portion of her book to the co-participants. The emphatic way that Kirra says “I said I am thinking” (turn 98) indicates her confidence in who she is. Kirra is describing more than a sensation or a state of mind, or a cognitive process, she is generating a declarative proclamation that what follows is an empirical, witnessable, hearable, and observable phenomenon that is not to be denied its authenticity and credibility (Rawls, 2001). The researcher had responded to her initial “I’m thinking” with the exclamation “pardon” rather than the usual and casual ‘yeah’ indicating that he may not have heard her or that he detected a further change in her talk (turn 97). Kirra interpreted his “pardon” as a request for a reiterating that she does in turn (98).

Kirra reveals her main character as a ‘young girl’ with an non-determined age (turn 100). In the situated context of local talk contained in the second conversation the age of the girl is perhaps designed to be flexible sometimes referring to new born child, sometimes to a child, sometimes to a young teenager, sometimes to a late teenager, and sometimes to an emerging adult. Kirra holds the attention of her co-participants by repeatedly saying “I haven’t given her a year [an age] yet” (turn 100).

There is a ‘spiritual’ and ‘divine’ quality to her story about a young feminine girl; a quality that is identifiable as a device characteristic of and from her incumbency in the category of a young woman. The local production of her talk-in-interaction is not derived from some internalized institutional stimulus that is conditioning her talk but from the inter-subjective constitutive work of telling her bildungsroman. Kirra is building her own story as well as that of her heroine. This is an objective social fact of how Kirra constructs her social reality - a formative maturation implicit in building a life story that is central to the work of a bildungsroman. Kirra has prepared herself for the bold and courageous telling of her story in the previous conversations by developing her resolve to rise above possible harsh responses from her audience. Kirra continues with the storytelling with simple and uncomplicated naturalness and confidence. The facticity of her story flows from the reality of her incumbency in the

membership category ‘young woman’ without absurdity or illogicality (Garfinkel, 2002). This is how one young Aboriginal woman constitutes her social phenomena.

Kirra commences telling the narrative that will be the opening scene of her “first book” and the third conversation in this sequence of local and topical talk (turn 100-130). Here is the full text of Kirra’s story from her book:

Turn	Line	Speaker	
100	181 182 183 184	K	=yea::h it’s it is caught between the divine and reality and what happens is (.) in in real life (1) It’s a young girl she is about (1) I haven’t given her a year I haven’t given her an age yet=
101	185	R	=yea::h,=
102	186 187 188 189	K	=anyways (.2) shes (.) the story starts off where she’s out in the desert it’s about um (1) It’s about um this is this i::s a fa::nta::sy a fantasy and this is the dream that keeps reoccurring=
103	190	R	=yea::h,=
104	191 192 193 194 195	K	=and this you know she is waking ↓ up ↑ ! out in the desert and (2) and (.) she is actually °!cov::ered in r::ed dust° and >↑a::ll you can s::ee is red dust< what happens is she stands up and (.) what happens is she is reborn out of a (.) out of a you know ↑! a wh::irlw::ind=
105	196	R	=yea::h,=
106	197 198 199	K	=and (re-) yeah a whirlwind and she is reborn out of that and what happens is (.) she wa::kes up and she sta::nds up and she ca::n’t see nothing around her?= =yea::h,=
107	200	R	=yea::h,=
108	201 202 203	K	=and (.) ↑ all she see::s (.) you know ! she ju::st ope::ning h::er e::yes and all sh::e can see out of the dust is a (°grub°) and in the f::ar a::way distance i::t’s a tree you know= =yea::h,=
109	204	R	=yea::h,=
110	205 206	K	=it’s an oasis the ! tree for one thing is an o::asis for ! someone out in the country (.)

111	207	R	=yea::h yea::h.=
112	208 209 210	K	=so all she can s::ee is this tr::ee but (5) the tr::ee is °the tr::ee is d::ying° and it is only pro::ducing so much sha::de=
113	211	R	=yea::h,=
114	212 213 214 215	K	=and um (.) and she looks down and um she picks up the way I write it and the way I talk about it heh but she picks up this (° °) and what happens is (.) she sifts it thr::ough h::er h::airs and what comes out of it is this ↑! grub=
115	216	R	=oh yea::h.=
116	217	K	=and this you know what °a cute little° ↑! grub heh and um
117	218	R	=yea::h,=
118	219 220 221	K	=what happens is she looks up at the grub and what happens is she looks down at the grub and the grub it stands up you know=
119	222	R	=yea::h,=
120	223 224	K	=it stands up and has these really big huge eyes and it looks back at her=
121	225	R	=yea::h,=
122	226 227	K	=and what happens is ↑!in <the::se hu::ge e::yes she can see a reflection of her^self a:: ^s an a^ <u>du:::lt</u> ((lilt))>
123	228	R	=oh yea::h (4) yeah=
124	229 230	K	=and um that's that's >the start of the story and I am not going to tell you the ↑ re::st?=-
125	231	R	=[[heh heh]]=
126	232	K	=[[heh heh]]=
127	233	R	=[y-
128	234	K	=[you got to wait for the book=
129	235	R	=yea::h,=

The main character is introduced simply as ‘she’ (turn 102). We are informed of the setting of her character, she is ‘out in the desert’ (turn 102). The inclusion of the word ‘out’ with the phrase ‘in the desert’ is an Australian colloquialism indicating distance, isolation, and remoteness (Lieberman, 1985). Her character is surrounded by the desert. Her character and the desert are all that exist in the beginning of the scene. This is not an empty landscape but a place of birth (turn 104). It may be expressed with the minimalist expression “out in the desert” but this does not deplete it of its significance and enormity but rather fills the space with the purity of an untouched landscape (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). Some people might feel uncomfortable here but Kirra’s character is at home and fulfilled in the red sand of the desert. The desert is a creative and fertile place for her.

Kirra offers her co-participants the explanation, “this is a fantasy ... and this is the dream that keeps recurring” (turn 102). Kirra may be saying to the researcher “this is a fantasy” and to her kin “this is the dream” that they will interpret as coming from the “dreaming” the credible place of creativity in the Aboriginal episteme (Bell, 1983; Harrison & McConchie, 2009). Kirra may be designing this ambiguity between it being either a ‘fantasy’ or being ‘a recurring dream’ to add authenticity to her story in the minds of the recipients. That is, Kirra may be deterring her co-participants from thinking that this is a personal story by affirming with reiteration that it is either a fantasy or something made up about a fictional character while saying to others this is like a recurring dream that anyone from any culture might have or coming from the Aboriginal ‘dreaming’ (Lieberman, 1985). A dream that recurs may emphasise that it is important since it will not go away. Kirra is giving a witnessable account and warrant for telling the story. The dream “keeps recurring”, suggesting urgency, and insistency.

Kirra’s feminine character “is waking up out in the desert” (turn 104). Kirra poetically repeats the phrase “out in the desert” (turn 102) attributing to the landscape qualities of being covered with red dust, of being reborn, and of waking up strengthened sufficiently to stand.

Added to this image of awakening in or being born out of the desert is the picture of one being “covered in red dust” (turn 104) as water covers your body when you are swimming so the red dust covers your whole body when you emerge out of the elements of the desert. As you stand up when you come out of the water so Kirra’s heroine “stands up” when she comes out of the red dust. “She is reborn out of ... a whirlwind” (turn 104). Being formed out of a whirlwind comes from the Aboriginal Episteme where a whirlwind is a spiritual symbol, a sacred object, and sacred colour that is to be feared and revered. Her kin would know that to be “reborn”

through a whirlwind would require sustained strength and nobility (Harney, 1957; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962).

This experience would confer respect and special attributes upon the main character of her story. Kirra is telling her story to her recipients with different levels of meaning and interpretation. Her use of the word “reborn” carries the connotation of being “born again” that may be designed to continue the ambiguity and incorporation of cross cultural references. Kirra maybe melding a mixture of metaphors to unite and include different cultures, perhaps with the intention of claiming, owning, and possessing the universal truths that the telling of her story reveals. Her oft-repeated refrain “you know” adds weight to her inclusiveness, confirmation to her establishment of cultural and social reality, and her appeal to universal truth as verification and accountability to the veracity of her story.

Kirra embraces the whirlwind as a source of rebirth. Kirra is privileging the red dust with creative spiritual powers that she values and holds close. Kirra stays with her whirlwind and the whirlwind gives rebirth to her character (turn 106). In the Aboriginal episteme the land owns the people; the people do not own the land (Read, 1996). Kirra does not try to change the land but rather allows the land to change her character. She is at one with the red dust and the whirlwind. She repeats that her character is reborn by the whirlwind and that it causes her to wake up and stand up (turn 106). The imagery of her story resonates with the autochthonous nature of her storytelling. Kirra is endogenously generating social reality through her descriptive use of familiar imagery. For her kin the indexical and contextual implications of the chosen landscape elicit their acceptance and for the recipient researcher the story informs of a different ontology.

Like a newborn child that opens its eyes for the first time her character looks and “sees nothing around her” (turn 106). Kirra says with a stretched out utterance that “she ca::n’t see anything around her”. The implication is that Kirra’s main character could not see because she had been covered in dust from being in a whirlwind (turn 108). We are informed that she opens her eyes and out of the dust she can see an unidentified object and then far away in the distance a tree. These two objects fill her vision. Kirra’s own words are eloquent “in the far away distance it’s a tree”. Kirra attributes to the tree the qualities of an oasis for someone who is “out in the country” (turn 110). Once again, Kirra uses the word “out” to refer to a place that is removed from normal habitation and isolated by its environmental elemental qualities. This is untouched virgin country. With a lowered soft voice we are told with slowly articulated and long drawn

out words, a long five second pause, and with repetition “the tr::ee is °the tr::ee is d::ying°” and consequently “only producing so much shade” (turn 112). The storytelling is ordered and progressive. The images are interpreted within the context of the situation. The recognisable and identifiable vignette gradually rises out of her poetic and descriptive talk. The unfolding picture is an example of the elegant qualities of ordinary mundane routine and immortal sharing of thoughts, feelings, and images. The tree is providing less and less shade as it dies. Kirra uses several conversational devices to add to the melancholic and morose sadness associated with the dying of the tree. It is though the oasis, which is the source of life out in the desert country, is evaporating and dehydrating as the tree is perishing. There are only two objects in this landscape and one is diminishing and the intrinsic worth of the other is yet to be known.

Kirra’s newly emerging heroine “looks down,” “picks up”, “sifts through her hair” and “what comes out of it is this ↑! grub” (turn 114). Kirra raises the tone of her voice with animation that indicates surprise and delight at her heroine’s discovery. In a diminutive tone, we learn that it is “a cute little grub” (turn 116). Her affection for this grub is expressed in the animation, raised tone of voice, and “heh and um” that accompanies and follows her description. In the ordinary facts of social communication, much is transmitted in hums and minimal articulations. In the Aboriginal episteme animals including insects are incumbent members of their dreaming and some clan identities (Unaipon et al., 2006).

Her total focus is upon the life found in the grub. Kirra and her main character become one in their fascination with this new character. It is difficult to differentiate between the storyteller and her main character as Kirra describes looking up and looking down on this grub that stands up (turn 118). The “you know” inserted into the interactive talk punctuates her surprise and wonderment. The grub’s participation is not one of withdrawal and avoidance but participation, engagement, and advancement as it stands up (turn 118). This grub definitely has character and stature. It is to be admired and appreciated. The potency of this grub is emphasised in the repetition of the words “it stands up” (in turns 118 & 120). The grub is strong and it has “really big huge eyes and it looks back at her” (turn 120). Their eyes meet as the grub “looks back at her”. It is though a connection is generated through the eye contact between the heroine and the grub. In the Aboriginal episteme eye contact has a special significance. Out of respect children and young people do not raise their eyes to certain adults and Elders (Lieberman, 1985; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). For example, it was taboo for Aboriginal boys and even adults to look at certain female members of the family, and there were some women that Aboriginal men would not look upon. This severe discipline carried a high degree of cultural

significance. An Aboriginal man's credibility and eventual qualification for Eldership required this exercise of discernment and observance of protocol (Harney, 1957; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). The grub however was transmogrified and transcended the responsibilities and obligations of the social structures in a way that enabled this girl to be lost in the gaze of this new strong determined character.

The eyes of the grub act as an enormous mirror in which the feminine character in the narrative is reflected (turn 122). Kirra is relating a familiar story that has been constructed from her imagination. Kirra as the sole agent has been holding the floor and telling her story without interruption or comment from the co-participants in the conversation. The researcher has been making affirmative verbal gestures in the form of continuers, although in some indigenous cultures silence is a mark of respect, and effectively hands the speakership and the floor to the main protagonist (Lieberman, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). One of the conversational aims of the researcher was to elicit free flowing storytelling from the participants and between turns 69 and 131 the researcher does not make a comment, only the highly latched continuance utterances that render the interactions storytelling rather than forming adjacency pairs that would render the talk a conversation (Sacks, 1986).

This part of her story culminates in and completes a transition from birth to adulthood. The heroine of Kirra's story looks into the eyes of the grub and sees herself as an adult (turn 122). It is as though these images capture the formative transformations that have characterized her stages-of-life through to adulthood. The building of a person's life is an attribute of the bildungsroman form of storytelling. There is a sense of a deep level of transference between the grub and the heroine. The animation, the raised tone of voice, and the slow expanded articulation of this reflexive realisation add to the gravity of the moment. For the word "adult" her vocal intonation was stretched, emphatic, and rose before falling (↑!>in the::se hu::ge e::yes she can see a reflection of herself a::s an adu::lt<). An adult has passed beyond infancy, childhood, and adolescence, and is fully developed and matured. There are only two characters in this whole landscape the newly reborn woman and the grub that has been discovered by her from the same red dust from which she came. The tree may be a third character and we are told that the efficacious nature of the tree is receding. The reflective transference between the grub and the woman engenders a level of intimacy between the co-participants in the conversation, which is broken by Kirra saying "that's the start of the story and I am not going to tell you the ↑ re::st?=" (turn 124). Kirra it seemed deliberately interrupted her storytelling with this recall back to full conscious reality.

The break in the tension of the intimacy associated with the images in her story is accompanied by laughter and the slightly overlapped rider “[you got to wait for the book” (turn 125-6, 128). Laughter is a social phenomenon that is tied to the last utterance where Kirra stated that others would need to read her book if they wanted to find out more. The idea of waiting a long time for her book to be published might have contributed to the laughter. The researcher was accountable to the main protagonist’s assertion and laughing with her was an appropriate response. Laughter is a social activity that does not follow the rule of one person acting at a time. It is something that actors can do together and forms cohesion in the group (Greatbatch & Clark, 2003; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). In this instance, laughter forms part of the closing sequence to conversation three and de-topicalises any further telling of stories from her proposed book (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). Her laughter may also have acted as a further request not to expect any more stories from her book (Hak, 2003). The sequence and consistency between her ultimatum concerning what she has been saying and the praxis of the laughter established the communicative life world of Kirra and her co-participants.

Kirra has been articulating a story that maybe profoundly personal. The story may follow the cycle of life that characterises the physical coil of our mortality but it encompasses the immortal details and embellishments of our mundane talk and existence. It is the haecceity of the language game of telling a story. Kirra knows that her words have created this interaction as the participants travel along the road ahead. Her brother sitting next to her may have observed her bodily gestures but those of us in the front seat of the vehicle were only subliminally aware of the embodiment of her storytelling. However, the intonations, the emphases, the stretches, and the compressions or expansions in her speech were all recorded in her storytelling.

Kirra emphatically brings this conversation to a close with the statement “you got to wait for the book” (turn 128). The researcher accepts this declaration of finality with a positive affirmation that is indistinguishable from other continuers but achieves the closure of the storytelling conversation. Kirra has set a boundary to how much of that form of storytelling she is willing to generate and share at this time. The co-participants acknowledge and respect this boundary through laughter by the researcher and silence by the other co-participants. There is no indication up until this point that the talk can be interpreted in any other way than just a story that is embedded in the Australian bush and the imagination of the storyteller. She is a person who is writing a spiritual fantasy about realities that will enhance the expectancy of others to participate in the transformations of the life cycle between childhood and adulthood.

The story thus far has been told in sufficient detail to excite the listeners to enter into the world of the storyteller but without explicitly exposing the embodiment of the material.

The researcher continues with a question relating reflexively back to the images in the former conversation of “do you have these transformations happening all the time” (turn 131). This question acknowledges the end of the storytelling conversation and commences a reflective fourth conversation. This sample of storytelling is treated as exactly that a sample of a style of writing and communication that Kirra has committed to writing in the approximately 200 pages of script and notes that were mentioned in the first conversation (turn 14). The question provides a transition into a new discourse that is characterised by dialogue where she brings the talk back to the theme of the previous conversation with the utterance “what I want is like when you..” (turn 130). What Kirra wants is to relate with others through the medium of storytelling and oral tradition particularly through the transformation of animal images. This urge is deeply rooted in the Aboriginal episteme of storytelling (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004). Aboriginal reality is constituted by telling stories that use natural materials like red dust, whirlwinds, trees, hair, and grubs to convey knowledge, learning, and cultural transmission. These archetypal *prima materia* are recognisable and hearable as culturally relevant and appropriate. The social phenomenon of transmitting knowledge through storytelling is the substance of a bildungsroman where a person’s life is built through their social and inter-subjective activities, talk, realisations, and experiences (Gottfried & Miles, 1976).

Conversation 4 (turns 130-214): Interpretation of Dream Images and Stages-of-life

The researcher asks Kirra if she has other animal images in her book and if they are the same or different. Kirra responds with “yea::h they keep reoccu::rring and they reoccur with different a::nimals” (turn 132). The participants are not introduced to these different animals but rather to the salience, ubiquity, frequency, and richness with which they occur indicating that Kirra has other stories and possibly different phenomena to communicate. The talk-in-interaction returns to analysing the specific images in conversation 4.

The storytelling from her book concluded in the last conversation but the theme of the main feminine character is carried into the fourth conversation of this long duration of talk (turn 130). Kirra responds to the question “do you have these transformations happening all the time” (turn 131) with “if she is in the country they [*the transformations*] keep recurring in the dreams

that she has” (turn 134). The researcher asks if the images will be something other than the grub (turn 137) to which Kirra agrees indicating that there will be more images (turn 138). However, the eyes of the other animals do not act as mirrors reflecting adulthood (turn 122) but perhaps other latencies and contingencies that are being realised. Kirra’s dialogue continues at a highly intuitive and imaginative level by saying “no she doesn’t keep getting reflections through the eyes (.) it jus’ um (5) yes no it’s um (.) sometimes it is bringing animal actions towards her” (turn 140). In this turn there is overlapping talk, a long silence, and a ‘yes no’ equivocation. The overlapping talk indicates that Kirra is taking back the initiative in directing the talk and is ready to resume her talk-in-interaction form of bildungsroman storytelling. The five second pause indicates that she is transiting from the form of imaginative storytelling that characterized the third conversation to an explicatory form of information giving that relates to how the images in her story relate to her formation and maturation as a young adult. The “yes no” ambivalence indicates that she is carefully choosing what direction her talk-in-interaction will follow.

Turn	Line	Speak-er	
140	252 253 254	K	[no she doesn’t keep getting reflections through the eyes (.) it jus’ um (5) yes no it’s um (.) sometimes it is bringing animal actions towards her
141	255	R	=o:::hç=
142	256 257	K	=and sometimes it’s it’s like um (.) hang on it’s ↑ like when a wo::man goe::s through stages in h::er ↑ li::fe=

Her announcement that the images that come to her are sometimes “bringing animal actions toward her” (Turn 140) gives an explanation of how these dreams and images are connected, practical, and material expressions of “when a wo::man goe::s through stages in h::er ↑ li::fe” (turn 142, 144). The images are stages-of-life transmogrified into reality (turn 146) although this is not deterministic as later Kirra states that “being a teenager is selecting a good path” and exercising moral agency (turn 158 lines 285-286). The dream images and story images are metaphors for the stages-of-life from birth through to womanhood; “my whole life is a dream” where the dream represents the realities of the developmental phases of maturation (turn 154).

The *in vivo* nature of this discourse preserves the polysemic and multi-levelled vibrancy of her talk-in-interaction with her occasioned co-participants. Stages-of-life is recognizable as a

psychological phenomenon and Kirra is indicating that she is consciously using this resource to articulate her bildungsroman. Her use of erudite terminology indicates that Kirra is capable of conversing conceptually as well as through the imagery that occurs in the stories in her book. The images in her stories are disclosing personal developmental material and Kirra is showing her cultural sensitivity by using conceptual resources from the dominant culture to avoid crossing any boundaries or Aboriginal protocol that may incur the censure of the Aboriginal co-participants. Her ability to remain within safe cultural limits is evidenced by their silence and the respect they are showing her storytelling.

Kirra next makes the statement “the stages in her life comes as drea::ms” (turn 140). Her lapse into the grammatically incorrect use of “comes” instead of “come” from the point of view of standard Australian English is an indication of her occasional use of Aboriginal English. Aboriginal English emphasises operational and functional words, and verbs are often used in the infinitive or intransitive form privileging them with nounal and conceptual significance. In this use of terminology “comes” becomes an abstract concept as we would use “becoming” or “formulating” (Lieberman, 1982). Kirra is expressing the transformative process of how stages-of-life originate in dreams. This is all encompassed by the use of the word “comes” that would be known by those familiar with Aboriginal English. Her reference to “stages-of-life coming from dreams” seems to suggest that there is an integral perhaps even causal relationship between the physical and psychological development of a woman and her dreams. The nature of this relationship may be further specified when she says “she ha::s thi::s and tha::t and (3) but yea::h that’s that is one of the drea::ms” (turn 148). It is the connection between the “thisness” and “thatness” of dreams coming and then reality following (turn 146) that Kirra considers to be an ubiquitous property of the progression through the stages-of-life of a woman. Dreams, talk, and images are all contributing to the haecceity and facticity of maturation through the passages of *in vivo* reality (Garfinkel, 2002). Her initial statement (“the stages in her life comes as drea::ms” (turn 140)) seems to lack contextual associations that add to its ubiquitous quality. Kirra seems to be attributing the haecceity of this connection between dreams and reality to all women. She adds “that’s that is one of the drea::ms that she has and I think that’s that will be my first dream” (turn 148) indicating that Kirra is referring to her book and is sequentially investing relevant qualities to this membership category of stages-of-life (turn 142). The use of the personal pronoun “my first dream” continues the ambiguity between references to her own personal bildungsroman and perhaps the creation of the bildungsroman of the main character in her narrative (turn 148 line 266). The rest of Kirra’s book is not

available for textual analysis to trace the development of the bildungsroman of the main character. However, this reference to her first dream is probably the first dream that Kirra intends to share in her book.

The researcher asks the question “wh::at w::ere y::ou s::aying a::bout sch::ool a::gain” (turn 149) that may fold back to the second conversation when Kirra says “when I hit high school I think (1) every every aspect of my childhood like was gone” (turn 66). Kirra seemingly continues by reiterating her previous thought, “when she has these dreams she wakes up the next morning and reality happens” (turn 150). The researcher again enquires if this is “going to school” (turn 151) since Kirra is enrolled at school but has not been attending regularly. Kirra partially revisits the former conversation by referring to the membership category of teenagers in her rejoinder “teenagers between the age like I ↓ find with ↑ myself that m::e b::eing b::etween the ages of sev::enteen and ninet::een” (turn 152) but then folds back to once again reiterate the connection between dreams and reality (turn 154). By specifying these late teenage years, Kirra is indicating that her attention has sequentially traversed from her former school years to her current years of withdrawal from schooling. This is not the Freudian distinction between the pleasure principle of play, family life, rest, and recreation on the one hand and the reality principle of school, work, and performance on the other hand. Kirra’s distinction is between “reality” and the expectations instilled through romance, physical appearance, movies, and popular culture as is discussed in conversation 2. The mention of ‘school’ reflects the researcher’s interpretation of reality but Kirra introduces a distinction between waking life and dreaming of “crazy things” (turn 154).

154	276	K	=my whole life is a ↓ dream like ↑ I go to bed dr::eaming ab::out
	277		you kn::ow I go to bed
	278		! dreaming about these cr::azy things and then I wake up and (.) and
	279		then ↑ re::alit::y h::its.

This distinction may be interpreting “dreaming” in the cultural and archetypal sense of the origins and source of the land and all the creatures that live in country. For eight interactions Kirra maintains this tension between the dream being a delineation between waking life and dreaming (turns 148 to 154) as compared to the dream being the origin and source of Aboriginal knowledge and episteme that is re-instantiated with the utterance “when she is °re::born in the whir::lwind sh::e i::s re::born i::nt::o the wor::ld^o” (turn 162). The ordinary and extraordinary

structure of conversation is manifested in Kirra’s accommodation of both the researcher who would most probably relate to the former delineation between waking-dreaming and her community audience who would need to be reassured that her allegiance and acknowledgement lies with the Aboriginal episteme of ‘the dreaming’ (Lawlor, 1991). The exposure of the propensity of conversation to be intelligible and recognisable to all co-participants is part of the polysemic work of conversational analysis and ethnomethodology (Lieberman, 1982). Kirra’s aptitude to incorporate both dominant culture theorising and Aboriginal episteme into her talk reinforces the perception that she is not rendering one perspective normative and the other strange or derogative. The two worldviews are portrayed as complementing each other. Kirra is not separating one social reality from the other. This is consistent with her view that to be Aboriginal is to be in two places or worlds conceptually at the same time (turn 32) with both living in harmony with each other (Ogbu, 1978; Wieder & Pratt, 1990; Yunkaporta, 2009). Her talk is endogenous in that it does not have an external origin and autochthonous in that it is generated in the locally situated interactions and inter-subjective communication with the co-participants. At the same time her talk is not oblivious to the theorizing of the dominant culture. Her talk presents as being unremarkably devoid of oppositional structures that would generate antagonism between the Aboriginal episteme and the dominant culture.

Kirra’s feminine character is definitely “reborn” (turn 104, 106, 162, 164). Her heroine comes out of the whirlwind reborn. The whirlwind may be a spiritual and divine force in the Aboriginal episteme such that having passed through it one emerges reborn (turn 94, 100) (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962).

162	290 291 292	K	=so yea::h and yeah I should explain (° °) explaining that is (3) when she is °re::born in the whir::lwind sh::e i::s re::born i::nt::o the wor::ld°=
163	293	R	=y::es=
164	294 295 296	K	=her ! ide::ntity and she is re::born when she comes out she is asleep that is when she is reborn and given the identity she has got=

Kirra provides her own interpretation of this transformation by proclaiming that she has been “given the identity she has got” (turn 164). Her rebirth may be a repossession of who she really is: a reclamation of her original identity that had been lost perhaps in fantasies and fake

identities like being a Cinderella (turn 70) or a character out of the ‘Twilight Zone’, or some other character from the dominant culture (turn 46, 54, 56). Should this be the case then the objective social facts that are being constituted through the storytelling is an oppositional stance between the identities postulated and formerly assimilated from the dominant culture and a return to her Aboriginal identity. A dramatic rebirthing experience has liberated her from the fake and fantastical identities of her formative years that left her in an unacceptable state of unreality. The haecceity of Kirra’s ontology and identity is that she is Aboriginal and she explicitly states, “we are in ! Australia and ↑ am Abor::iginal” (turn 166) (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). This haecceity has come from listening to the red dust, the land, the country, the whirlwind, the sand, ‘her surroundings’ that have been telling her and giving to her, her true identity, and reflexively giving her rebirth (turn 166) (Read, 1996). The phenomenon of her reborn status is an icon of her re-found ontology. This phenomenon may be ordinary but it is not absurd or incongruous (Garfinkel, 2002; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b). The contents, topics, and transitions of the sequences embedded and articulated in the previous conversations have driven the logic of her rationalisations and expressions to the conclusion that her identity is Aboriginal. The poetic quality of her imagery and linguistic orientations are profoundly constitutive of her regained social distinctiveness. The work of EMCA is to amplify the endogenous, autochthonous, and reflexive order in talk-in-interactions such that the phenomenon that is analysed and isolated is authentic to the inter-subjective interactions of the participants. The researcher was affirming these utterances, and the silence of the other Aboriginal co-participants was consenting to this realisation and actuation of Kirra’s polysemic disclosures. To overlay her interpretation of her story and its meaning with dominant cultural schemata and theorising would be to colonise her unique disclosures and would lose the phenomenon (Goffman, 1961).

In the local sequence of latched turns of talk Kirra now shifts the topic from the “reborn woman” to the tree that her heroine saw once the dust settled (turn 168). We are immediately informed of the meaning of the tree; it is family (turn 170). The tree is not growing but leaves and branches are falling from it (turn 168, 172). We are also informed that this means “! par::ts of the fa::mi::ly fall off” (turn 172). In the presence of two highly significant members of her family, Kirra maybe talking in metaphors to detach and distance the full message of her story from explicit and conscious accountability and cultural scrutiny. The organic function of leaves falling from a tree clearly represents a separation from the tree such that it “↑!doesn’t form an oasis for them?” because parts of the family are being detached (turn 174). The family members

leave the tree and the tree is left feeling alone (turn 176). The tree represents the experience of many teenage girls (turn 176). The researcher expresses a thought that is moving in a different direction. He says, “so the bits that fall off aren’t transforme::d?” (turn 177). Kirra achieves a repair by re-orienting the dialogue and emphatically insisting “they aren’t transforme::d” (turn 178). Kirra repeats that the fallen parts of the tree are family members that have been dissociated from the tree, possibly the main character. However, the researcher’s focus remains on the fallen parts because he draws her attention back to them by asking if these parts remain on the ground (turn 183). Kirra maintains harmony in the talk by acknowledging that the separated family members can cause problems and “create waves” for the heroine (turn 184) (Lieberman, 1978, 1982; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). These troubles are “aimed at” Aboriginal girls (turn 185) and this expression may orient back to the harsh criticisms mentioned in the second conversation (turn 72).

Whether or not the researcher has understood her in the way that she meant to be understood, his continuance utterance (turn 187) was sufficient for Kirra to move on and transition to the next image in her dream. The grub is now interpreted to represent innocence (turns 188, 198). Kirra may be indicating more than a simple predication of a quality to an image. Her carefully ordered sequence of utterances paints a richer picture than a declaration of a poetic and metaphorical proposition, “a grub is innocence” (turn 188). Kirra says in diminutive tones “she is sitting there and up comes the grub and she looks at the grub and the thing about a grub is inno::cencen” (turn 188). ‘Sitting’ would normally be a passive disposition while the verbal phrase “up comes” would suggest an active move of taking initiative. Innocence is associated with a lack of active participation in evil and malicious intent. It is often said, “x did not do it; he is innocent” yet in Kirra’s story the grub takes the initiative and approaches the heroine and is attributed with “innocence”. The heroine sits passively while the grub makes the move. There is some ambiguity here as to whether the innocent grub is coming to her or whether Kirra is attributing innocence to the grub. This is something that perhaps can only be determined by the significance the co-participants choose to place on the character of the grub.

Then Kirra makes known her intent to give back innocence to the group (turn 190). In the context of these conversations, “the group” would seem to be the readership of her narrative.

Turn	Line	Speaker	
190	334 335	K	=so I want to give back innocence to the group you know to have innocence you know for someone like Meripa=

Kirra's aim appears to be for young teenage Aboriginal girls to repossess innocence through the mediation of Kirra's first book. Kirra then mentions Meripa her pre-adolescent sister (turn 190). She says, "it reminds me" perhaps the "it" in this utterance refers to the innocence that she still sees in her little sister (turn 192). This would mean that Kirra wants to give to her audience pre-adolescent innocence. However the logic of her own situation compels her to reassert "when she looks into the eyes and 'reflects herself she finally realizes you know I::'m a w::oman" (turn 192). It is as though Kirra is looking back to when she was like Meripa an innocent pre-adolescent, and now she is being propelled forward through the eyes of her character into the eyes of the grub and seeing herself mirrored and reflected as a woman. It is a transition from childhood to womanhood. The shift in identity is from innocence to growing up, awakening, and reality kicking in (turn 202). The conjunction of "I want the girls to" and "I've grown up and all of a sudden she's awake" indicates Kirra's realization that she is an incumbent in the membership category of 'woman' that Kirra's heroine represents in her story and what she wants her readers to achieve (turn 202).

Meanwhile the researcher rather than silently listening in the way that the other co-participants allow the process to unfold, questions Kirra about the literal age of Meripa (turn 197) saying that indeed Meripa is still pre-adolescent (turns 193-198). Kirra re-affiliates this intrusion into her train of thought with the statement "no Mer::ipa is not that old" (198).

Having dismissed any further discussion regarding Meripa, Kirra explicitly asserts "but (.) like um for a grub means innocence towards a gir::l; >a grub means innocence<=" (198). Here the 'like um' may be taken as 'like Meripa' who is innocent because of her age so the "grub means innocence" in that the grub is naturally innocent. Kirra's argument contains a further premise, "for a grub means innocence towards a gir::l;" (turn 198). Kirra wants to open the eyes (turn 200) of the girls (turn 202) who will then look into the eyes of the grub, see themselves reflected in that mirror and awaken to that reality, perhaps the reflected innocence of the girls in the eyes of the grub, who is naturally innocent. Furthermore, with this new found innocence the girls awaken to their adulthood, the fact that they have grown up and "it is like rea::lity ki::cks i::n" (turn 202). Once again, the imagery of 'being mirrored in the eyes of the grub' is not dissociated from reality but rather is constitutive of reality. The imagery is enlightening the readers of their real state as innocent women (turn 192). Kirra seems to be propounding that it is good to be

conscious of the process of becoming a woman, where the state of being physically awake acts as a metaphor for the state of full consciousness (turn 202).

Turn	Line	Speaker	
202	353	K	=°you know (being)° innocent and I want the girls to o::h (.5)
	354		! it's a reflection of themse::lf and then she goes o::h
	355		>°I've grown up and all of a sudden she's awa::ke<
	356		and it is like rea::lity ki::cks i::n,=

According to this rationality, Kirra wants her readership to use the images in her narrative to be "... a reflection of themse::lf" (turn 202). She wants a girl to wake up and become fully conscious of herself as a woman (turns 192, 202). The researcher affirms this talk with a positive response (turn 203). Kirra still retains the speakership and seems to begin a summary statement with the words "so it's" (turn 204) but this is followed by a relatively long silence either indicating that Kirra is thinking about elaborating her explanations and reasoning further or bringing closure to her thoughts. The innocence may also represent a restart for Kirra, the girls, and her heroine where they embark on a journey that takes them from the desert to a career. It is a relevant place in the conversation to bring about either a transition or closure. The researcher encourages her to retain the speakership and waits for her next move (turn 205). This depiction of coming to maturity, realizing her Aboriginality, finding identity, embracing her womanhood, and leaving childhood behind is indicative of Kirra's bildungsroman form of storytelling in this long duration of talk.

What follows is a section of transition talk between the closing of conversation 4 and the commencement of conversation 5 (turns 206-214). In conversation 4, Kirra has been analysing and interpreting the major images in the story from her book that she told her co-participants in conversation 3. Kirra initiates this transition talk with a question "How do you like it so f::ar?" This performs the functions of handing the speakership back to the researcher and also eliciting feedback. Kirra uses a mixture of continuance utterances that mimic the researcher (turns 210, 212) and inaudible sounds (turns 208, 214) to maintain a balance between the identifiable conventions of dialogue and adjacency pairs, and active silence that is characteristic of her own cultural convention of listening. The researcher evaluates Kirra's performance so far in the long duration of talk by encouraging her in the richness of her

creativity (turn 207) and the benefit of her finishing the process (turn 209). The researcher is sensitive to the indeterminacy of a story that is based on the early stages of a life that is still unfolding and ruminates on how it can be shaped into a form where it can be published (turns 211, 213). Kirra reflects back what the researcher is intimating with the affirmative response “that’s what I want t::o ai::m it at;” (turn 212) indicating that she has communicated her intentions of telling her story so far and he is reflecting it back appropriately. This act of consensus is the substance of social facts and objects where co-participants constitute social reality by agreement that can either be achieved verbally as in the dominant culture or in respectful silence as in the Aboriginal way (Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

Conversation 5 (turns 215-271): Animal Transmogrification and the Aboriginal Episteme

Conversation 5 begins when the researcher comments on the cultural and racial attributions of Kirra’s images, “and those transformations are (.) are just so like you say (.) ju::st s::o A::bor::iginal” (turn 215). The researcher may be referring to other Aboriginal stories that contain similar transformations of the landscape, animals, and people or he may be insensitively drawing Kirra’s attention back to her incumbency in the membership category of Aboriginal peoples. Kirra acknowledges this ambiguity and addresses both possibilities. Kirra states categorically that her story is “not about petrol sniffing and everything it’s not about you know this and that” where ‘this and that’ is a generic phrase perhaps referring to the negative stereotypes associated with the recent release of an acclaimed film by an Aboriginal producer depicting the excessive effects of petrol sniffing in the lives of some Aboriginal communities. Rather her intention is specified in the phrase “I want to” and her substantive aim is “to create Aboriginal (°girls°)” with the understanding “you know” that co-constructs this intention and aims at constituting a social fact among the co-participants of the conversation (turn 216).

216	380	K	= yeah well that’s that’s what I want to get across but not only that um
	381		(1) you know (.)
	382		I want to get across the story that it is not about (.) not about petrol
	383		sniffing and everything it’s not about you know this and that I want to
	384		create Aboriginal (°girls°) you know

The researcher recognises and acknowledges this with the affirmative continuance response “yea:h” (turn 217). Kirra qualifies her previous declaration of her aim “to create Aboriginal

girls” (turn 217) with the phrase “like everybody else” (turn 219) perhaps indicating that the effect of her narrative is to influence her readers to be ‘like everybody else’ who are socially adjusted individuals according to the values of the dominant culture. This qualification is immediately revised to “not like everybody else” (turn 220) with overlapping speech probably that over-rides the researcher’s change of topic and indicating Kirra’s sensitivity to the co-participants in the conversation. Kirra indicates to the researcher that the influence of her book will aim to develop normally adjusted individuals and then to her co-participants that the influence of her storytelling is to create Aboriginal women who will be women of high degree, dignity, and nobility. The ambiguity concerning the intent of her book and her polysemic communications between maintaining her collective Aboriginal identity and resigning to the individuality of the dominant culture continues (Lieberman, 1978, 1982).

The researcher’s next contribution is a source of trouble in the conversation in that it does not build on the previous turn (ten Have, 1999). The speakership had been handed back to the researcher during the transition phase between the last conversation and the new conversation that has been initiated. Evidently, Kirra understood the speakership to have been recommitted to her whereas the researcher had not relinquished it. The usual sequence of highly latched adjacency pairs is disrupted with overlapping talk between turns 219 and 220 and again between turns 223 and 224. Kirra is still talking about the effects that will flow in the lives of the readership of her narrative (turn 216) while the researcher is still evaluating her mainly unknown narrative as a publishable document (turn 211). The researcher is attempting to constitute in the minds of the co-participants the potential for Kirra’s narrative to become a classic piece of Aboriginal literature like *Alice in Wonderland* is a classic piece of English literature due to some perceived or imagined similarities between the two stories (turns 219, 225).

219	387	R	=this is [so you know the only thing that I can think of that
	388		is a bit similar to what you are talking about (cough)
	389		is perhaps one of English literatures greatest classics
	390		and that’s Alice in Wonderland (.5)=
220	391	K	[not like everybody else
221	392	R	= have you ever seen Alice in Wonderland the movie=
222	393	K	=o:h yes I have=
223	394	R	=or [even

224	395	K	[I see right now=
225	396	R	=and you know what you're doing could be ↑ right up there and
	397		cou::ld be::come a (.)
	398		could become a::n A::boriginal cla::ssic a classic piece of literature so
	399		I ↑ rea::lly encou::rage yo::u to keep go::ing wi::th it=

Irrespective of the interjections by and encouragements of the researcher, Kirra maintains her dialogic line and returns to some topics she has been repeatedly mentioning and that are still unravelling. Her topic addresses the subject of avoiding coming out straight with what she thinks and forcing it into the face of her readership (turn 226) and the inevitability of creating fantasy and the inescapability of the ‘someone’ behind the production of the fantasies (turn 228). Kirra has spoken of girls being ‘pushed’ (turns 38, 78), ‘sucked in on romance’ (turn 40), books ‘affecting’ the minds of children and young people (turn 50), ‘brain washing’ (turn 52), being subjected to ‘criticism’ (turns 72, 74) and ‘judgement’ (turn 88) and not ‘talking straight’ about the agenda behind her story (turn 92). Kirra depicts her own life and that of her audience as being under pressure from books, films, other media, and even other Aboriginal people, and Kirra does not want to construct her narrative in a way that contains similar negative potentialities. Kirra says ‘you know’ four times in two turns (turns 226, 228) saying “you’ve always got your fantasy but behind your fantasy you know you’ve got someone speaking”. The performative force behind the expression ‘you know’ that occurs repeatedly throughout the long duration of talk seems to indicate the co-operative act of reflexively constituting the social reality of the *in vivo* experience of the co-participants of this local talk (Searle, 1990). The ‘your’ in ‘your fantasy’ seems to reflexively refer to Kirra herself (turn 228) as an author but the formal structure of the utterance seems to be generalised to include the author, the ‘someone’ behind all other recorded fantasies. Kirra elaborates on how she plans to keep her influence as an author as supportive and beneficial by “so ↑! that is why I wa::nt to co::me a::cross li::ke tha::t; (.) then everyone (.) sometimes people can say my li::fe’s like that too as well?” (turn 230). Kirra expresses herself in such a way that other people will create an affinity between their life and hers so that the affinity with and the authenticity of her life will guard against negative contingencies. If the agenda or fantasy of her book is to persuade young Aboriginal peoples to adjust to the dominant culture then she is indicating she will feel exposed. It will be as though her thinking has been colonized by the institutionalization practiced by the dominant culture and she is recommending it to others (Goffman, 1961).

The researcher suggests to Kirra that she communicate through the medium of metaphors as a way of avoiding negative contingencies (turn 231). Kirra responds with a continuance utterance that also serves to confer the speakership to the researcher. The researcher gives a vignette of an hypothetical teenage Aboriginal mother who has had a couple of children but who reads the metaphorical transformations and transmutations in Kirra's book and is in turn transformed, empowered, and reactivated to discover new directions for her life (turn 233). Kirra listens to this possibility and allows the researcher to retain the speakership (turn 234). The researcher then refers back to her image of a tree from which branches have fallen off and consequently lost their connection to their family and the potential for Kirra's story to restore them to participation in life as a way of encouraging Kirra about the positive affect her story may have on others (turn 235). This attempt at communication with Kirra has the effect of reactivating Kirra's primary intention to "...take girls no - take young Aboriginal girls in that direction but I don't want to push 'em;" (turn 236). In the context of the vignette that Kirra has been proposing this would mean in the direction of the norms and careers of the dominant culture. The fact that Kirra clarifies her assertion by specifically targeting "young Aboriginal girls" further indicates her primary intention as being invested in aligning with the researcher for the greatest good of her community and once again indicating the polysemic function of her discourse in building social objects not only with the researcher but also with her brother and great Uncle (turn 236). Kirra specifies the purity of her intention by reflexively acknowledging that her work may contain negative "pushy" contingencies that she seems determined to minimise (turn 236).

236	425	K	=well ↑! that's what I want to do I wanna wanna take girls
	426		no take young Aboriginal girls in that direction
	427		but I don't want to push 'em;=
237	428	R	=yea::h=
238	429	K	=you know what I mean=

The researcher hands the speakership back to Kirra (turn 237) but she indicates that she is willing to stay with the haecceity of this urgent matter of making a good impression on her readership by her utterance "you know what I mean" and to elicit a reinforcing affect by a reflexive obligation to this social phenomenon (turn 238). Indigenous communities often maintain an obligatory harmony of social relationships in a way that is a defining characteristic

of incumbency in that group and should this protocol be impaired then recognition of genuine and categorical membership could be denied (Lieberman, 1982, 1985; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). The researcher’s affirmative response “yea::h” is another continuer (turn 239).

Kirra’s next utterance “I think I think they get English literature is (.) read a book (.) or is something like that;” indicates that she may be thinking about the place and importance of English literature (turn 240) to her and the Aboriginal co-participants present and the incompleteness of her utterances may indicate that it does not hold the same place and importance as it might for the researcher. If this is the case then this utterance further portrays the polysemic nature of her discourse and the problematic troubles that come with articulating different levels of meaning assembled in the presence of the incumbents of a variety of membership categories.

Nevertheless, the speakership is not formally handed back to the researcher with the customary continuance utterance (yea::h); the researcher may be seeking to re-establish affiliation by re-orienting the talk away from English literature to Aboriginal literature and art. He refers briefly to the uniqueness of Kirra’s story even though it is easily identifiable and recognisable as Aboriginal material and then he draws a parallel between Kirra’s Aboriginal stories that are similar to and different from other Aboriginal stories in the same way that her father’s paintings are similar to and different from other Aboriginal art particularly that of dot painting from the Central Desert of Australia (turn 241). Kirra’s indeterminate response “that’s it” has the quality of a gestalt experience where all the bits and pieces of our previous conversations take on a ‘haecceity’, a ‘thatness’, a ‘thisness’, and an ‘itness’ such that the whole concept and totality of the import of her story is more than the individual parts that we have been discussing (turn 242).

241	433	R	=well young Aboriginal girls need that sort of literature to be able to draw on because (.)
	434		
	435		It’s not I haven’t heard of any (.) it’s a bit like your father’s paintings
	436		isn’t it when you look at your dad’s paintings they are not dot
	437		paintings they are no::t Central Desert paintings.=
242	438	K	=that’s it you know=
243	439	R	=↑ they’re different (2)
244	440	K	=it’s like um ! >if a per::son goes out there<

	441	> if an artist goes out there<
	442	and pu::ts li::nes or something in a pai::nting=

The “you know” confirms that empirical and objective communication has been accomplished in a way that may be relevant to all co-participants present in the conversation (turn 242). The fact that one Aboriginal person’s story or painting is different from another Aboriginal person’s story or painting does not detract from the ubiquitous Aboriginal quality of the stories or paintings (turn 243). At every point of artistic representation a person’s culture and ontology is expressed (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a). This is not suggesting a theory of essentialism but rather an acknowledgement that the incumbents of a community display their membership of that group in everything that they do as they continue to socially constitute the defining characteristics, codes, and episteme of that culture (Ogbu, 1978, 1999; Smith, 1999). Kirra sums up this process in her own words, “it’s like um ! >if a per::son goes out there< > if an artist goes out there< and <pu::ts li::nes or something in a pai::nting... they are not just about the lines it i::s be::yond tha::t>” (turns 244, 246). Kirra uses compressed speech (> <), quickly articulated speech, and expanded (< >) drawn out emphatic talk to express her point (turns 244, 246). The compressed speech seems to represent excited gestalt-like realization while the expanded speech seems to represent deliberate and conscious accommodation. Her words “they are not just about the lines it i::s be::yond tha::t” seems to echo the principle that painters can create meanings that are simultaneously different and the same, since they are achieving unique expressions of a common society. In the midst of this realization the researcher hands the speakership back to Kirra who retains it for eight turns (turns 246, 248, 250, 252, 254). Kirra amplifies the uniqueness of each person’s artwork saying that painters in the Northern Territory are not just painting animals since every dot in a painting can have a meaning indicating that multiple individual stories are being told at multiple levels that can only be understood by the situated local message of each painting (turn 248). Kirra amplifies with animated speech and raised intonation some of the elements of a painting that carry specific meanings including “the ↑! colour of the back ground” (turn 250) and “the ↑! co::lours yo::u u::se” (252). It is interesting that Kirra draws a distinction or further amplification between the colour of the background and the other choices of colours used in the painting. The repetition and amplification of the concept of colour may indicate the cultural importance of colour to Aboriginal peoples (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004). Kirra cited the colour “red” in her story (turn 104) and we are not given an explicit understanding of the significance of the colour red apart from

the concatenation of the colour red and the reference to the desert (turn 102). Kirra continues her amplification with a metaphoric purpose driven utterance “now that’s (.) that’s what I want to draw you know” (turn 254). The researcher checks that Kirra is not speaking literally but rather metaphorically by stating, “but you’re yo::u’re u::sing words [rather than pictures]” (turn 255) and this haste to clarify the intent of her utterance reciprocates two instances of overlapping talk, first, at the mention of ‘words’ and again at the mention of ‘pictures’, and Kirra confirms that her drawing is in words but is perhaps denied the opportunity of explaining the true characterisation of colour in her word picture and what she was conceptualising (turn 256). What we do discover from this utterance is that colour is as integral to Kirra’s language and story as it is in the painting of any Aboriginal artist and that her references to the ‘red dust’ contains meaning that although remains unspecified are laden with significance (turn 104) as part of the Aboriginal episteme. The researcher reiterates the topic that continues to preoccupy his social action of encouraging Kirra to fulfil her objective of producing a ‘work of art’ (turn 257). His argument is that all acts of ‘creativity’ in whatever forms they take are ‘unique’ and therefore have a ‘place’ substantively in the totality of human knowledge (turn 257). The researcher is talking about art and Aboriginal storytelling and encouraging Kirra to complete her creative work in writing a book. Kirra on the other hand may be talking about encouraging young Aboriginal peoples through her writing to choose a career path in the dominant culture.

The next ten turns are an insertion of commuting talk into the conversation that are followed by a further four turns of transition before a new conversation is begun in this long duration of talk. Kirra observes in the section of inserted talk that the car in which her mother, father, and little sister are travelling is not visible behind us (turn 258). The researcher’s response “pardon” (turn 259) does not specify whether he has misheard Kirra’s observation or if he is eliciting more information. Kirra restates her observation that they are not behind us (turn 260). It would appear that the researcher anticipates that Kirra requires some explanation for the distance between us and that of the other car moving in caravan style toward the final destination in out-back New South Wales. He offers the reason that the distance between the two vehicles is the result of him driving twenty kilometres per hour faster than he anticipates the other car to have been travelling (turn 261). Kirra now makes a direct request “hang on can you stop for a minute” (turn 262). The researcher does not take the request literally and stop the vehicle but instead questions Kirra’s intentions “do you want to stop and wait for them?” (turn 263). Kirra gives her reason for stopping in that she is worried about them (turn 264). The researcher again forestalls responding literally to the request by objecting that the occupants of the other car can

communicate to us by mobile telephone if there is any cause for worry (turn 265). Kirra accepts this proviso and indicates that he should continue driving (turn 266). The researcher passes confirmation of this back to Kirra with the disclaimer “well it is up to you I don’t mind stopping and waiting but-” (turn 267). If Kirra had specified grounds for her concern then the researcher was willing to stop. On the other hand, he may have been indicating that stopping would delay their arrival at their final destination, a fact that all in the car would be aware of. Kirra repeats the researcher’s words “I don’t mind either” in a way that indicates that she has paid attention to his utterance and that she has nothing further to add to the decision-making process. Without taking a breath, Kirra adds “sor::ry a::bout tha::t a::nyway” the context, of which was slightly ambiguous (turn 268). Kirra could mean that she was sorry for unnecessarily wanting to stop or sorry that she has been sharing something that is deeply significant, private, personal, and perhaps culturally sensitive or even inappropriate to communicate to the researcher (turn 268).

Her apology though serves the purpose of re-initiating the talk. It forms part of a topic shift and transition from conversation five to conversation six. A pattern is emerging that when Kirra closes a topic, she will ask for reassurance that her talk has been approved. The researcher maintains the high level of reciprocal and latched transactions by responding with the words, “I really enjoyed what you were sa::ying.” (turn 269) and the respectful silence of her brother and great uncle seem to additionally harmonize with the researcher’s approval. Kirra accepts this encouraging interaction with a further elicitation for a specific comment on her sharing a small segment from her book that she merely refers to as “ho::w do you li::ke my star::t” (turn 270). Within the context of the previous conversations “my start” is understood as the storytelling presented in conversation 3, which is abruptly brought to a close with the words “that’s >the start of the story and I am not going to tell you the ↑ re::st?” (turn 124, see also turn 102). The actual telling of the story consists of eleven turns of talk between turns 102 and 124. At the end of conversation 4, Kirra refers back to these same eleven turns with the expression “How do you like it so f::ar?” indicating that her storytelling is continuing to occupy her thoughts. The researcher answers with not only praise “it is brilliant” but also a reference to something more analytic and incisive, “You have got something really important” (turn 271). However, the nature of this “really important” thing is not specified and is open to ambiguity. Kirra may feel affirmed for taking a life path into a career in the dominant culture and scripting other Aboriginal women to do the same or Kirra may feel affirmed to write an Aboriginal classic.

Conversation 6 (turns 272-313): Kirra’s History of Authorship and First Person Avowal

The analysis of conversation 6 discovers that Kirra has a history of being a writer and uses this information to vouch for the fact that she has a record of being an author. Kirra develops the tension between the storytelling content of her writing and her concern to address the social needs of her community.

272	485 486	K	=>you haven’t read my version of my story that I have written in my life?<
273	487	R	=no I haven’t=
274	488 489 490	K	=this is ↑! when I was about probably (.) twe::lve or so::mething (.) and I writ my first short story and that and I won a state competition for shor::t stor::riesζ=

Kirra begins conversation 6 with an important leading remark about something from the past that the researcher did not immediately remember. It was a question and an informative comment “you haven’t read my version of my story that I have written in my life?” (turn 272). This reveals that the present story has grown out of a process that has been developing over an extended period of time. The answer is that the researcher has not read it (turn 273). Kirra now informs the co-participants that when she was about twelve years old “I writ my first short story and that and I won a state competition for shor::t stor::riesζ” (turn 274). Kirra is now about nineteen years old (turn 152) so this process has been consciously forming for at least seven years. The researcher again states that he did not remember this, although he may have been told about it, he is not acknowledging any prior awareness of it. Even if he should have known about Kirra’s previous writing, it does not deter Kirra from offering to make it available to the researcher and possibly the others when she gets home (turn 276). The researcher makes a commissive speech act “I would like to read that” to the effect that he is committing himself to reading her prize-winning short story (turn 277) (Searle, 1990). Kirra actually seems to be weighing up whether to be more specific about her short stories when she says “I have got it at home (3) ↑What I have done was a (.) is a (.) What I have done is (.) I wrote (.) I have written” (turn 278). The repetition and pauses could either indicate hesitation or indecision regarding her next disclosure. She has confirmed that the original short story is at home and the co-participants are unaware of any others (turn 278). The researcher responds with a continuer

that confirms the speakership with Kirra. The co-participants are then informed “I (Kirra) have written a couple of short stories” (turn 280) “that will fi::t into that boo::k” (turn 284).

Momentarily the researcher is distracted by a goods train that is travelling along the railway line that runs parallel to the road and then intersects the road ahead at a crossing (turn 281). This conversation continues after the crossing is successfully negotiated.

Kirra now associates her writing of short stories with her oft-repeated (turns 38, 40, 52, 72, 74, 78, 88, 226, 236) and emphatic intention not to “pu::sh tha::t su::bje:ct onto a pe:r::son” (turn 282). The use of the words ‘that subject’ in this utterance in conjunction with a caveat not to be confrontational increases the tension between the agenda in the book and the acceptance of that agenda by the Aboriginal community.

The researcher did not return to the theme of *Alice in Wonderland* but instead moved onto the topic of her father’s art that leads Kirra to the realization “that’s it you know” (turn 242) as a further indication of how creative works of art can communicate without being “pushy or in the face of the other” (turn 281, 226). Kirra continues to explain the function of her short stories that are designed to “fi::t into that boo::k” (turn 284) whereas the function of the notes (turns 4, 6, 286) that she referred to in the first conversation are to act “like (.) fa::ntasy sce::nari::o::s” (turn 286). The juxtaposition of ‘fantasy scenarios’ with her caveat of being ‘pushy’ suggests that ‘fantasy’ is the word that describes Kirra’s project of scripting other Aboriginal girls and what the researcher calls ‘Kirra’s agenda’. In the talk the mention of ‘fantasy’ (turn 286) in close association with her reiteration of ‘pushiness’ (turn 281) re- instigated a continuation of talk on the theme of using metaphors like the writer of *Alice in Wonderland* used metaphors and stories to make his point (turn 287 line 519). The researcher further argues that using metaphors requires the readership to make an effort and empathise with the process she is trying to set in motion or it won’t affect the reader and will leave them without either confronting or changing them (turn 287). That is, the use of metaphors is being postulated as a way of protecting both the writer and the reader from adversely affecting each other by putting the responsibility back onto the individual (turn 287) and therefore retaining the preferred outcome of social harmony between them (Lieberman, 1985; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). Kirra’s inaudible response (turn 288) allows the researcher to continue to initiate talk. He continues by asking Kirra if she understands the concept of ‘resonance’ (turn 289), which she indicates that she does without taking the speakership back (turn 290). The researcher then qualifies his talk about metaphors and stories as a non-confrontational tool for communication by reiterating (turn 215,

291) that her images are Aboriginal and not English. When the researcher reuses the word “English” in close association to a reintroduction of a reference to *Alice in Wonderland* (turn 287), which is prototypical of the dominant culture, an episode of overlapping talk again occurs (turn 291). Kirra explains with increased intonation and animation “well ↑! that’s it I don’t want to come across as um oh gosh you know (.) se::ttlement ty::pe of stu::ff you know like English rea::lly Englishe::ee type of stu::ff” (turn 292).

Kirra’s reference to “settlement type of stuff” indicates her awareness of colonisation, the indigenous history of Aboriginals being subjected to genocide, the marginalisation of Aboriginal people in settlements as fringe dwellers, and institutionalized in missions and reserves (Augoustinos, 2001; Crawford, 2001; Elder, 1988; LeCouteur, 2001; Read, 1999; Tatz, 1999; Trudgen, 2000). Kirra dissociates herself from the English and repositions herself within her own culture, and assures the co-participants that her book will not compromise her social identity. The decisiveness with which Kirra dissociates from the dominant culture may be a measure of the inner conflict that she is experiencing by proposing an agenda or “direction in life” that may include education within the dominant culture and a career (turn 294 line 535). The researcher acknowledges this and allows Kirra to retain the speakership (turn 295).

Kirra next makes a series of reflexive statements, the first of which is in compressed rapid talk “oh come straight out >you do this< and >you do that< >that’s your direction in life<” (turn 294), then with raised intonation and animation “I’m I’m ↑! taking this on my (authority) in life” (turn 296). She continues with raised intonation, and expanded, stretched out, and softened speech “you know and ↑ m::y ending o::f the stor::y it mi::ghtn’t ever get there because °I mi::ghtn’t get there° (turn 298). Then with stretched, emphasis, and with a final drop in tone “and tha::t’s wh::y I:: h::ave t::o ta::ke i::t slo::w be::cause I’m not there yet” (turn 300). Kirra seems to be expressing that being an author is having the effect of demanding her attention (turn 294), drawing on her inner life (turn 296), creating self-doubt, challenging her adequacy (turn 298), and finally causing her to adopt a slowdown strategy so that her life can catch up with her creativity or vice versa (turn 300). Alternatively, Kirra may be deliberately choosing not to finish the story and be an author since it means making known material that may not belong in the public realm. Her not making it is also ambiguous. It could mean that she will not finish the story by writing the book or it could mean that she will not follow the direction in life that she is recommending to the other incumbents in her category membership of Aboriginality. Her decision to go slow may give her time to consider if it is for the highest

good of her community to publish it, or time to live out the agenda of completing a tertiary education, and finding a career before she makes her recommendations.

The ambiguity and the recipient design contained in these utterances may be grounded in the polysemic effects of talking across the membership categories of the co-participants. Kirra is addressing a community Elder who is her father’s uncle, her brother who is a teenager, and the researcher who is a schoolteacher, a researcher with a family of grown up children and teenagers. This bracketing of ambiguous talk (turns 294-300) has come after about twenty turns (272-293) of utterances that have primarily been around the topic of her use of short stories in the structure of her book. The researcher may be interpreting the ambiguous talk as closing remarks about the organisation and dénouement of her book (turn 301). He mentions with hesitant drawn out speech her incumbency of being a late teenager and refers back to her reference to stages-of-life (turns 142, 144) in what seems to be an attempt to make sense of her feelings of being in transition rather than at a place of arrival (turn 300).

300	542	K	=and tha:t’s wh:y I: h:ave t:o ta:ke i:t slo:w be::cause I’m not
	543		there yet.=

Kirra allows him the speakership with a routine affirmative continuer (turn 302) until he labours her status as a teenager by repeating her present age (turn 303). Kirra becomes exasperated and makes a perseverative response of “well that’s that’s” (turn 304) the content of which remains unexplored since the researcher interrupts her expression by overlapping talk that is preoccupied with his thoughts of understanding the background of what is being implied (turn 305).

The researcher misses the opportunity of passing the speakership back to Kirra. Instead, he delivers a rather long self-reflective monologue about the missed opportunities in his own life to appreciate, value, and articulate the stages-of-life he has passed through and how Kirra can maximise the formulation of her experiences by bringing some closure to this stage of her life by completing her book (turn 305). The reflexivity of talk-in-interaction is exemplified in this monologue by the researcher, where the unfolding of Kirra’s bildungsroman elicits talk from the researcher of content relating to his bildungsroman.

305	552	R	[I think one of the mistakes I’ve made in my li:fe is
	553		that I’ve adopted tha:t a::ttitude that I fee::l that you might be starting

554	to say and that is that I am going to wai::t until I kn::ow i::t a::ll and I
555	think that can rob (.) you of of of co::mpleting thi::ngs
556	and a::nd fu::lly e::xpressing thi::ngs that you have <u>no::w</u> . (.)
557	because you are rea::lly wor::king har::d on you::r no::te boo::ks and
558	thi::ngs (.) and that you just need to be able to give
559	that some sort of <u>sha::pe</u> where you would be able to say
560	if I was (.) if I was someone else and I read <u>thi::s</u> (.)
561	would I understand what (.) I am wri::ting abou:t
562	do you know what I mean?
563	That can help you fill in more detail
564	and fill it out a bit more so that other people who (.)
565	who are not <u>yo::u</u> ah-um can know the secret thi::ngs that and the
566	hi::dden thi::ngs that yo::u a::re pu::tting i::n the::re (.)
567	do ↑ you know what I mean?

His talk encapsulates his own bildungsroman that is continuing to be acted out in this talk-in-interaction. The elements of his formation and on-going maturation through education with psychological equivocations, realisations, and acts of responsibility for those outside of his incumbency in the membership category dominant culture are coalescing in an autochthonous phenomenon of the researcher's bildungsroman.

The researcher states his interpretation of Kirra's previous remarks about possibly not making it, to mean that Kirra is going to wait until she fully understands the circumstances in her life before completing her book (turn 305). There is no indication in her utterances that this is what Kirra is implying and it would seem that the researcher is projecting his own experiences onto Kirra's remarks. Based on this projection, he makes a series of suggestions including that she continue to work hard, that she shape the story around her creative material, that she test the veracity of what she is writing by her own response to its meaning, and that she fills in as many cultural details as she can. Then the researcher makes a further assumption that if Kirra expands the storytelling with more details then she may make known the "secret thi::ngs that and the hi::dden thi::ngs that" are in the story (turn 305). The researcher does not as yet specify what he means by these details but rather ends the utterance with the social constructive cue "you know what I mean" (turn 305). Talk-in-interaction is an inter-subjective activity where one storytelling triggers a reciprocal storytelling in another participant. Kirra's resource of

articulating her bildungsroman has reflexively given place to the researcher articulating parts of his bildungsroman and this in turn reflexively affirms Kirra in continuing to expand upon her bildungsroman through her talk-in-interaction.

Kirra generously acknowledges this cue “do you know what I mean” (turn 305 line 567) by repeating the continuer “yeah” and also the reality establishing utterance “I know what you mean” (turn 306). This grants the retention of the speakership with the researcher. With this permission, the researcher seeks to explain what he means by the ‘secret and hidden’ things. He prefaces his remarks with a citation of previous interactions with Aboriginal people who have requested that non-Aboriginal academics share with them the ‘secret and hidden’ knowledge that they have received from their culture that contextualises their educational learning. People from different cultures often do not understand the dominant culture unless the contextual ‘secret and hidden’ knowledge is made visible by members of that culture (turn 307). He then makes a reflexive move to turn the tables and propose that non-Aboriginal people will not understand her story unless the ‘secret and hidden’ knowledge from her culture is made visible in the details of her text. He further cites Kirra’s father as having said that even marriage of a non-Aboriginal person to an Aboriginal person will not ensure that this knowledge is evident. It takes an Aboriginal person who wakes up every day being an Aboriginal to pass on this information (turn 307). The Aboriginal ontology is the source of the Aboriginal episteme that only they can embody and make manifest (turn 307). Non-Aboriginal people do not have this ontology and therefore their experience of the Aboriginal episteme can only be learnt from and informed by those who do have it (turn 307). Kirra’s continuance utterance “and no they don’t” confirms that non-Aboriginal people ‘don’t’ have the ‘secret and hidden’ episteme possessed by virtue of the ontology and experience of the Aboriginal person (turn 308).

307	569	R	=because see a lot of Aboriginal people say (.) that you white fellas
	570		don't tell us what you are thinking you don't tell us the (.) secret
	571		information that yo::u alrea::dy ha::ve because of the way you have
	572		gro::wn u::p (.) >well the same thing can happen with Aboriginal
	573		people<
	574		I do not understand wha::t yo::u're thinking when you sa::y thi::ngs
	575		>because I haven't grown up in an Aboriginal family< (.)
	576		or related (.) um dee::pl::y (.) like yo::u're Da::d was saying this
	577		morning even if (.)

	578		even if you are somebody married like say Jay's ma::rried to an
	579		Abor::iginal or have a partner an Abor::iginal par::tner (.)
	580		↑ you are still a white person and yo::u're ne::ver rea::lly be an
	581		Aboriginal person because >white people never really know what it
	582		is like to wake up every day and be A::boriginal<=
308	583	K	= and no they don't =

This statement might also indicate that the researcher is insensitive to the ambiguous content of Kirra's self-doubt about making known publically her culture, her agenda, and private life. The researcher is not suggesting a theory of essentialism when he refers to the ontology of being Aboriginal but rather that their talk and the images, colours, etc., ("all those things that you were talking about" turn 309) that are chosen will all reflexively and endogenously construct the social reality of their story (Smith, 1999). The researcher is referring back to segments of the previous conversations and proposing that Kirra amplify her material so that the 'secret and hidden' cultural phenomena that are peculiar to Kirra's presentation of Aboriginal feminine teenage stages-of-life are communicated more effectively to readers of other cultures (turn 305). There is some ambiguity in the use of the utterance 'secret and hidden' since in the Aboriginal episteme men's knowledge and women's knowledge are kept separate and it is a culturally unacceptable practice for men to know women's 'secret' business and women to know men's 'secret' business (Behrendt, 2012; Harris & Kinslow-Harris, 1980; Hiatt, 1965). The literary device of amplifying and embellishing what one is portraying in a story may be intentionally different from divulging material that is culturally sanctioned in that it is seeking to make known the import of the material rather than sharing culturally forbidden information. The researcher ends his part of the dialogue by eliciting a confirmatory response from Kirra by using the expression that ends with a slightly raised intonation "do you know what I mea::n?" (turn 309). Kirra confirms her understanding and then makes a transitional shift that precipitates a move toward the initiation of a new conversation and perhaps away from the direction that the researcher has been pursuing.

Kirra states that she does not want to finish her story in a certain way, the details of which are inaudible as Kirra drops her voice (turn 310). The researcher's response to her statement of intent "oh you don't have to" indicates that in the actual conversation he may have heard her utterance in full whereas now in the transcript taken from a recording, part of the conversation has been lost (turn 311). Kirra reiterates her intent that the end of her story does not contain

content that is inconsistent with her concept of reality. She says, “I mean we are in rea::lit::y you know” (turn 312). The researcher responds to this statement with the reflection “some people doubt that but (1) yeah (1) I know what you mean (.) to some extent there is ... a distinction between reality and fantasy” (turn 313). He is questioning the distinction between reality and fantasy, perhaps proposing that in another dimension fantasy could be reality, and reality could be fantasy (turn 313). His remarks could also be classified as razzing or making light of the matter (Wieder & Pratt, 1990). This statement brings conversation 6 to an abrupt end.

Conversation 7 (turns 314-377): Teenage Mums and the Colonisation of the Mind.

The new conversation begins with a new disclosure, “well that’s it ↑ I’m no::t go::ing to li::e to you bu::t when I was (° °) I played with Barbie dolls heh heh” (turn 314). Kirra is referring to a period of her life when she played with Barbie dolls (turn 314). A Barbie doll is an incumbent member of dolls that have recognisable feminine characteristics. The mention of “Barby” in conjunction with “doll” delineated particular attributions of both dolls and femininity. The use of the term “play” has an element of incumbency in the category of something that is done for leisure and personal satisfaction (turn 314). The word in brackets (° °) with signifiers of soft intonation indicates that the word was not clearly identified however the context indicated that it related to the infant school years of her life. Kirra ends this utterance with a giggle. Her great uncle and her brother both witness this self-disclosure, continue to remain silent, and allow Kirra to hold the floor. The giggle may indicate a level of embarrassment accompanying her utterance in front of this multi-dimensional audience. The researcher hands the speakership back to Kirra with the customary continuance utterance ‘yeah’ that affirms Kirra’s talk (turn 315).

Kirra’s declaration may have been a response to the researcher’s sceptical assertion about the distinction between ‘reality’ and ‘fantasy’ (turn 313) at the end of conversation 6. The concept of ‘fantasy’ was first mentioned by Kirra in conversation 2 in the context of teenage girls being locked into responding to men in a way that prevented them from controlling their lives and leading them into motherhood before they have lived their own lives (turns 58, 60, 62). Kirra uses the term ‘fantasy’ at the beginning of her storytelling conversation 3 where it refers more to the use of images in storytelling (turn 102). In conversation 5, Kirra uses the term in the utterance “you’ve always got your fantasy but behind your fantasy you know you’ve got someone speaking” (turn 228) that links fantasy to the person who constructs fantasy. Later Kirra talks about the structure of her own book consisting of notes and short stories that she

calls “fa::ntasy sce::nari::o::s” (turn 286). The researcher has also been questioning if ‘fantasy scenarios’ may be a description of Kirra’s agenda of scripting young Aboriginal women to choose a direction that will ameliorate their living conditions. Now Kirra uses the notion of ‘fantasy’ as ‘playing’ with ‘Barbie dolls’ (turn 314). Kirra explains that fantasy is an attribution of a certain stage of her life “my fantasy life is between when I was in preschool and when I went to year three” (turn 316) and this is the last time the word is used in this long duration of talk. The association of ‘fantasy’ and ‘playing’ with ‘Barbie dolls’ may be an underlying formulation where the implications and dynamics of the category ‘Barbie dolls’ may act as a metaphor for the romance that leads young Aboriginal women into premature marriages and following a scripting that was part of their formative years. Kirra delineates this period between “preschool and when I went to year three” from “year three onwards until year six”, which she gave the attribution the “sports phase of my life where you make frie::nds” (turn 316).

316	605	K	=you know that
	606		>that (.) was a fantasy time< my fantasy life is between when I was in
	607		preschool and when I went to year three yeah and then what happened
	608		is then from year three onwards until year six and that is the time
	609		when (.) you know (1)
	610		then I ma::de frie::nds it’s kind of like (.) going through the sports
	611		part sports phase in my life where you make you know frie::nds=

These stages of her life might be the scenarios (turn 286) that form the structure of her book since Kirra does not separate fantasy and reality. The sports stage was followed by Kirra going to high school where she says “I thought to myself (.) you know (.) < >it is time to gro::w u::p<” (turn 318). This last self-revelation is articulated with compressed speech that adds to the emphasis being made upon the decisive nature of this process and an act of maturity that she is expressing in the presence of her co-participants. Kirra’s decision to deliberately ‘grow-up’ underscores the reflexive and endogenous moral agency of Kirra’s talk individually and talk in general. Kirra retains the speakership as the researcher makes continuance utterances for the following twelve turns of conversation indicating that Kirra is using the resource of a bildungsroman to tell her story. Meanwhile, the other co-participants remain respectfully silent. Kirra’s talk “I don’t live in preschool (.) one and two no more (.)” (turn 320) is illustrative of Aboriginal talk where frequency is specified one at a time (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). This contrasts with the second part of this utterance “I don’t live in three to six no more you

know” (turn 320) where the expression ‘three to six’ clearly indicates that Kirra is able to move into the more standard form of English. These two different speech acts are illustrative of the two worlds that Kirra is negotiating as she converses with both her brother and great paternal uncle from her culture and the researcher from the dominant culture. Kirra is equally proficient in these worlds and equally aware of the presence of both in the conversation.

Kirra now states her concern for the young girls that she knows and says “a lot of young girls live in tha::t₆” and “stay with tha::t₆” (turns 322, 324). This reflection is made with animation, repetition, raised intonation, and emphasis. The importance of this social fact is established with the constitutive utterance “do you know what I mean” (turn 326). Kirra continues to use this device throughout her talk in this conversation (turns 328 2x, 332, 334, 338 etc.,). From the context it would seem the “that” that Kirra is referring to is either the preschool-to-grade two ‘fantasy stage’ or the three-to-six ‘sports and making friends stage’. To remain in either of these stages without progressing to the “it is time to gro::w u::p” decision (turn 318) is to remain vulnerable to being a teenage Mum and having “children in their tee::n years” (turn 328) with “my hu::sband is the::re” (turn 330). The consequence is that these girls say “my life is over” and “wha::t e::lse ca::n I d::o” at the age of twenty or twenty one (turns 328, 330). Kirra is particularly aware that this plight means that these young girls are dispossessed and deprived of having the privileges, the choices, and the alternative opportunities to grow-up and develop their creativity.

Kirra indicates her intention by saying “I would” and “I want” to “encourage girls”, “to show them the way from fellas” and “a different approach to the situation when you are a teenager” (turn 332) so that they can avoid being disempowered and trapped (turns 328, 330). Kirra is aware that the normal progression for young girls is to have children and a husband but denies that she is being “nasty” by encouraging girls to take a different approach (turn 332). Her intention and agency is further exemplified in her emphatic observation that the young Aboriginal girls that she is concerned about do not have the opportunity to make “really significa::nt changes” (turn 334) while those who do make changes may become “confu::sed” (turn 336). Kirra’s aim is to help them “sort ou::t” (turn 338) their lives so that they can “experi::nce wha::t’s arou::nd” (turn 342) and have the “tee::n years when you [they] can experience those [people and] things in you::r [their] li::fe [lives]” (turn 346). The fact that Kirra avoided having children and getting married in her teen years is something she is proud to have achieved (turn 344) and forms the basis of her dialogue. To the researcher she constitutes a story that will take the form of a piece of literature but to her brother and her great

Uncle she may be attempting to provide a recognisable, intelligible, and accountable explanation for remaining unmarried. The researcher's continuers "well that's great" and "that's right" may be reinforcing the academic theme of performativity and productivity in contributing to the dominant culture and recognising a social principle where women don't have to follow the conventional path of having children (Lyotard, 1984). Kirra expresses this in the words "oh gosh (now it's time to have kids) I will go and get married but that's not the way it is sometimes life is not about that perfect movie" (turn 348). The reference to the "perfect movie" indicates that this stereotypical scripting and expected passage of life is not unique to young country Aboriginal girls but also a common cultural theme in the romantic world in much of the film industry. The common and perhaps universal scenario of boy meets girl and they marry and have children is imbued in myth, ritual, culture, and entertainment. The expectation that life might hold more than this pattern is indicated by the words "that's not the way it is sometimes life is not about that perfect movie" and "you have to think 'in a different way' about yourself" (turns 348 & 350). Thinking in different ways may imply a significant and radical departure from the cultural "norms" and "scripts" familiar to Kirra although it may also represent embracing a different set of "norms" and "scripts" that are already accepted in the liberal world of academia and the dominant social milieu.

The words "'in a different way'" surrounded with the transcript convention ("°") indicates that they were spoken in a subdued tone of voice reinforcing the radical nature of her utterance in the presence of other incumbents of the category membership of her race and culture. The researcher continues to affirm and support these possibly radical propositions and Kirra's willingness to formulate alternative avenues for her readership. The facticity of this alternative is founded on "the way you think the way you're going to approach yourself" (turn 352) a formulation that may highlight the two worlds that Kirra is negotiating. The collective world of her people and the individualistic rhetoric of the dominant society may be confronting each other in this latest development in her thinking (Lieberman, 1978, 1982).

For country Aboriginal girls to defer marriage and give themselves until they are twenty eight or twenty nine to earn money and to complete a university or a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) course is to incorporate these radical new elements into their membership category work (turns 354, 356, 358). The researcher reinforces this membership category by citing "Larissa Behrendt (.) do you know Professor Larissa Behrendt" (turn 359). Kirra is endeavouring to use her storytelling to become a role model for new choices while Larissa Behrendt who is a Aboriginal woman and a professor of law has already gained recognition as

a role model within that community. The information regarding Professor Larissa Behrendt was an interjection into the conversation that disrupted the continuity of Kirra’s full and transparent disclosure of her agenda. The culmination of Kirra’s radical proposal that girls can wait until they are twenty eight or nine (turn 354), and the researcher’s citing of an Aboriginal woman role model of this option (359) triggers an interjection from Donny, Kirra’s brother. He questions the efficacy of this proposal in the words “But do::n’t yo::u thi::nk that will de::crease the population of Indigenous people b::y doing tha::t_i” (turn 360). His interjection takes the form of an expression of concern. Donny is evaluating the implications of Kirra’s proposal in the understanding of other facts known about his community. He further elaborates on his concern with the words, “look at the life expectancy of Aboriginal people and you look at (.)” (turn 362). His comments are particularly pertinent and relevant to Kirra’s argument that is directed to the incumbents of the membership category young Aboriginal girls. Donny is proposing that if Aboriginal women add work experience and tertiary education into their passage through life’s stages then they will be older before they begin having children and considering the low life expectancy of Aboriginal peoples this will mean a possible decrease in their population. Donny makes his comments with deliberation and emphasis that is indicated by the stretched and expansive articulation of his words with a slightly raised intonation at the end to indicate that he is expressing his opinions as an enquiry (turn 360).

360	684	D	But wouldn’t yo::u thi::nk that will de::crease the
	685		population of Indigenous people b::y doing tha::t _i

Donny is also conveying the message that young Aboriginal girls have a moral obligation to maintain the Aboriginal population. Kirra immediately responds with a similarly raised tone of voice denying those consequences “↑No it wouldn’t ↓ decrease” and then modulating her tone of voice to clarify her intentions in a way that will gain their acceptance by saying “but I am just sa::ying-” (turn 361). This utterance is cut-off by Donny’s second proposition that Aboriginal peoples have low life expectancies that in turn overlaps with a continuance utterance by the researcher (turn 363). These comments have broken more than 359 turns of silent participation by Donny in this long duration of talk. The ability to remain silent is a primary attribution of the membership category of indigenous people (Lieberman, 1990; Mushin & Gardner, 2009; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). Donny’s infringement of the protocol of silence constitutes a challenge to Kirra’s proposed course of action. Donny’s two statements indicate a commitment to the continuance and survival of his people and this concern has overridden

the protocol of silence. Donny again breaks the silence when he says “so the boys need (° °)” (turn 370) to which Kirra responds with the words “yea::h. I’m speaking from the girl’s perspective” (turn 371).

Following the exchange we encounter the only utterance made by her great Uncle when he says “from a girls point of view yeah”, which happens to be overlapping talk with the researcher (turn 375 line 718). The Elder’s comment cuts across the researcher and affirms Kirra’s concerns. Within the polysemic layers of meaning being generated by Kirra’s talk, the Elder’s comment might have acted to indicate to Donny that Kirra’s comments are acceptable from a woman’s perspective and therefore, a return to the protocol of silence is appropriate. In this utterance, the Elder is indicating acceptance of this local and situated talk. He is maintaining the protocol and obligation to allow Kirra to talk and for the true Aboriginals to remain silent. He is also reinforcing the protocol that women are free to specify women’s business.

When Donny had asked Kirra if her blue-print for young Aboriginal girls to have a tertiary education and to earn money would interfere with the furtherance of the race, she replied emphatically that it would not affect the survival of their community but enhance it (turn 361).

361	686	K	↑No it wouldn’t ↓ decrease (.) but I am just sa::ying-
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Kirra becomes very reflective and in a serious tone of voice appeals to him to consider the “the food they eat (.) The co::nditions the::y live in” (turn 364). Before these conditions can change the girls are “going to take cha::nge up in a girl’s mi::nd before it takes cha::nge in the bod::y (.5)” (turn 364). Kirra postulates that by changing the minds and attitudes of her readers then their embodied actions and life circumstances will change. She clearly articulates her deep understanding and connection with the embodiment of life’s choices and opportunities. Having a job is sufficient to have an independent life that will enable and empower women in their twenties “so that (.) >when your young kids grow u::p they ↓ have proper food to ea::t< >and they have proper living conditions< >and they have got a nice husband” (turn 368). The intrusion of the word ‘your’ while she is addressing Donny has the dual effect of scripting him to have a job as well and for the young women to become competent providers and wives of similarly responsible husbands. Her use of the word ‘husband’ contains the standardised relational pairs ‘wife’ in its construction (turn 368). Kirra is being typically inclusive rather than exclusive in that her characters will have both productive and self-fulfilling careers, and become caring and munificent mothers. The ambiguity of Kirra’s use of ‘your’ to both address

Donny and to script her young women may have been a response to Donny's final utterance "so the boys need (° °)" (turn 370). His quiet inaudible tone at the end of this utterance may indicate that he is relinquishing his position of questioning her blue-print for young Aboriginal women or he is anticipating that Kirra is indeed scripting him and other young male Aboriginal youth to become accountable and responsible providers. Kirra clarifies the intention of her scripting as being directed to "the girl's perspective" (turn 371) and she reinforces this with the expression "but am I wrong or am I wrong about girls being ↓ (°unhappy°)" (turn 373).

This relegation of the scripting as women's business seems to bring a resolution of the conflict for the time being. The construction "am I wrong or am I wrong" consists of an iterative emphatic ambiguity that acts as an affirmation of the assertion that girls are unhappy with their present circumstances and positioning in their community. The conjunction "or" may act to convey choice between alternatives, equivalents, substitutions, uncertainties or disjunctions. If it is acting to convey choice then Kirra is saying there is no choice for her readers given the conditions and influences that are determining their life outcomes. If it is acting to convey substitution or equivalency then there is no other description or evaluation that can be given to their circumstances than that they are unhappy. If it is acting to convey uncertainty then Kirra intends to eliminate any psychological uncertainty and logical disjunction. The formulation "am I wrong or am I wrong" uses a formal logical structure to confound a logical rebuttal to her socially reasonable and dialogically organised presentation of intelligible community facts. The expression aptly confirms beyond reasonable doubt that young Aboriginal girls who find themselves with children while they are teenagers are not happy particularly about the living conditions of their children and the life opportunities available to them (turn 368). After her great Uncle says "from a girls point of view yeah" (turn 375), Kirra adds "yeah from a girls point of view I am quite right" (turn 376). It is as though the social reality of this conclusion has been established by their mutual talk and in response to Donny's apprehension about the advisability of Kirra's blue-print and the possible implications that it will "decrease the population" of their community (turn 360).

The Elder's confirmation of Kirra's formulation "from a girls point of view yeah" (turn 375) is sufficient for the restoration of the protocol and obligatory respectful silence previously shown by Donny. The researcher may have been trying to smooth over the trouble that had accompanied the over-lapping speech between the Elder and himself when he agrees with Kirra "yeah I think you are very right" (turn 377). It is evident that Kirra's formulation of the plight of young Aboriginal teenagers and women has been accepted and recognised as a social fact

by the co-participants. The definitive nature of this final utterance brings this conversation to a close.

Conversation 8 (turns 378 to 480): The Function of a Classic and Aboriginal Identity

A question about fairy tales begins the eighth conversation. The researcher asks about *Sleeping Beauty* (turn 378) and then gives a brief account of the scene where the dwarves have put sleeping beauty outside on a box sleeping until a prince comes and wakes her (turn 380). Again the researcher asks “have you ↑ heard of that?” either to engage her in the story or to see if this myth resonates with Kirra. Kirra’s continuance utterance (turn 381) allows the researcher to maintain the speakership and Kirra seems to acknowledge that she is familiar with that fairy tale but her response so far does not indicate whether Kirra feels the need to contribute extra information. The researcher on this occasion seems to be returning to the theme of the “perfect movie” (turn 348) that Kirra had partially dismissed in favour of reality and moving on to a different approach to life that would lead to a career and better quality of life (turn 356). The researcher is attempting to reset the story by evoking similar mythological and psychological dynamics to those already discussed. However, conversations may not be that conscious in their construction. Conversations are rather created by the talk itself in the presence of the co-participants. When the researcher made the statement “that sort of fable” (turn 382) Kirra produced an elicitor of her own “you know why they call ’em yo::u kno::w cla::ssi::cs” with drawn out intonation and with the co-constructural unit ‘you know’ (turn 383). At this point, the researcher gives a familiar continuer that hands the speakership back to Kirra.

383	733 734 735	K	[but (.) >did yo::u look at< (.) do yo::u kno::w wh::y they call them (.) you know why they call ’em yo::u kno::w cla::ssi::cs=
384	736	R	=yea::h,=
385	737 738	K	=because >if a young girl< >something like sleeping beauty< and something like (° °) ↑if you read it=

She confidently constructs a new topic by developing a scenario where a parent reads a bed time fairy tale like *Sleeping Beauty* to a young girl (turns 383, 385) or an infant (turn 389) then surmises “that it could impact on your life <.. between those primary years and then you start to grow-up and ↑ you start to re::alize new fa::cts abou::t that stor::y” (turn 391).

This recapitulation of talk about stages-of-life from birth, to infant school, to primary school, and then teenage years is Kirra returning to the resource of stages-of-life to continue her constitution of a bildungsroman. The bildungsroman encapsulates the developmental stages through which individuals move to mature and negotiate a successful passage in life. According to Kirra the classic fairy tale captures the substance of the bildungsroman. Kirra completes the scenario saying “and the::n you find out a bit more when you are in hi::gh school and whe::n yo::u gro::w up that story’s still there” (turn 393) and “that’s wh::y th::ey call them classi::cs?” (turn 395). Here Kirra re-iterates the phrase “when you grow-up” that reinforces her moment of realization that she must change (turn 393 line 754, see also turns 56, 58, 202).

393	751	K	=>and then by the time you get to high school then you’re like<
	752		oh. yo::u kno::w (.) that’s it (.) yo::u kno::w (.)
	753		and the::n you find out a bit more when you are in hi::gh school and
	754		whe::n yo::u gro::w up that story’s still there.=

Kirra’s comments are grounded in the recognisable experiences of people growing-up and relating their lives to the myths. There is an acknowledgement that myths can act as a resource that can be applied at different stages of a particular individual’s development. This formulation may be a reflexive recipient response to the researcher’s use of classic stories like *Alice in Wonderland* that has been resurfacing throughout the conversations (see turns 219, 221, 225) as a resource to generate talk about storytelling. The researcher immediately reflects her observations about classic stories back onto her writing that has the same classical quality of depicting a female Aboriginal bildungsroman through different images, metaphors, and transformations (turn 396).

396	757	R	=ye::s (1) ye::s (.) bu::t the thing about yo::ur story (.) i::s
	758		>althou::gh it tou::ches on some of the sa::me the::mes<
	759		it touches on them in different wa::ys with different ima::ges with
	760		diffe::rent meta::phors with diffe::rent transformations=

The manifestation of resonance with classical myths is summarised in the words “that’s what I li::ke about yo::ur stor::y although it resona::tes with the classi::cs (.) it ta::kes them in ne::w dire::ctions with new cultural (.) a::r applica::tions and i::mplications” (turn 398). The talk about *Snow White* (turn 380), *Sleeping Beauty* (turn 385) and the function of classics has re-

orientated Kirra’s talk to the function of fairy tales and a transition to more uses that the resource of fairy tales can perform.

The presence of square brackets in turns 397 and 398 indicates that the dialogic remarks are made with overlapping talk and that Kirra’s “well we::ll that’s it like um” (turn 397) may accurately relate more to a shift in the topic to a discussion of the characteristics of the “u::gly duckling” (turn 399) than to an affirmative continuance remark about resonance, classics, new directions, new applications, and new implications that the researcher is explicitly mentioning (turn 398). In this take on the structural characteristics of the conversation, Kirra is realigning the conversation to her story, her thoughts, and her interpretation of the topic.

The researcher’s continuance utterance “yea::h.=” (turn 400) with the latching seems to pass the speakership back to Kirra who returns to the “that’s it” of turn 397. The “it” is not resonance but the ‘ugly duckling’ (turn 399) of “Hans Christian Andersen” (turn 401). Kirra is organizing her thoughts around a resource; a culturally constitutive resource that Hans was writing for a certain audience (turns 401 & 402) and that audience was identified with and symbolised by the ‘duckling’ and more particularly the “colou::r” attributes of the duckling (turn 403). Hans and his audience are characterized as incumbent members of the category ‘black’ (turn 413). Hans has insider knowledge and being “from an indigenous ra::ce h::e kno::ws what it is li::ke?” (turn 405). He knows what it is like because “he wrote the ugly duckling” (turn 407). According to Kirra, he knows “that’s how” it is to be indigenous (turn 407) and “° and that’s how he related to his audience”. The diminutive tone may suggest that feelings of “ugliness” are to be mentioned softly and intimately. Although on further reflection, Kirra may be saying that ‘ugliness’ like ‘shame’ is not so much a feeling for indigenous people as a position that the dominant society imposes on the members of that racial category. Both in the experience of being indigenous and that of the swan amongst the ducks, the condition deemed to be ‘ugly’ is beyond moral choice and is therefore an involuntary state of being. Kirra is attributing to Hans not only the ‘what’ of being a member of an ‘indigenous’ race (turn 405) but the ‘how’ it is to be a member of an indigenous race. The ‘how’ of being indigenous is given precedence over the ‘what’ in that Hans’ affinity with the ontology of ‘black’ is what qualifies him to epistemologically “know what it is like” (turn 405) to belong to that membership category. Kirra asserts quite clearly and distinctly that Hans is a person “from an indigenous ra::ce” (turn 405).

401	769	K	=what his name (.)
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	770 771		Hans Christian Anderson he does that (.) with umm certain (.) he wrote that to a certain ah he wanted a certain au:: =
402	772	R	=audience=
403	773 774	K	=yeah a certain audie::nce; but not only that but a certain colour too as well (.) du::ck is a cer::tain colou::r=
404	775	R	=yea::h,=
405	776 777	K	=and he being from an indigenous ra::ce h::e kno::ws what it is li::ke?= =yea::h,=
406	778	R	=yea::h,=
407	779 780	K	=and that >that's how he wrote the ugly duckling< (° and that's how he related to his audience°)

Underlying Kirra's argument seems to be a formal logical structure that can form a syllogism. Hans is an indigenous person; indigenous people know what it is like to be positioned as being 'ugly', therefore Hans knows what it is like to be positioned as being 'ugly'. That is, knowing what it is like to be positioned as being 'ugly' is an intelligible phenomenon to indigenous people, therefore Hans must be indigenous. Furthermore, because Hans is indigenous and knows what it is like to be so positioned he can relate this experience to other indigenous people who will resonate with that experience (turn 407). This endogenous facticity and evidential haecceity is the substance of social facts, according to EMCA. However, when the researcher discontinues his customary roll of respectfully listening and providing continuers (turns 400, 402, 404, 406) and questions Kirra's knowledge of Hans Christian Andersen's indigenous identity "But wha::t ↑ wha::t indigenous group was (.) did h::e belong to?" (turn 408) overlapping talk eventuates (turn 409). The researcher provides an answer "is h::e a nor::thern Eu::ropean i::ndigenous grou::p is he?" (turn 410). Kirra clarifies this suggestion and rightly identifies that "h::e is from ↑ Denmark" (turn 411) illustrating that her general knowledge is accurate and pertinent. The researcher then completes the reasoning by asking, "he is an indigenous Danish person (.) do you think?" (turn 412). Kirra's response to this teacher-like questioning is to say "we::ll <well he wouldn't paint the ugly duckling black for nothing<" (turn 413).

The fact that Kirra is unaware at this moment that swans in Europe are not black but white makes her statement appear to be inadequate. The researcher has unwittingly engineered this

dilemma. The two horns of the dilemma are the ontology of being indigenous on the one hand and the episteme of knowing how it is to be indigenous on the other. Kirra is performing another syllogism when she defends her identification of Hans Christian Andersen as being indigenous by saying that if a person is indigenous and if indigenous people are black then the personalized images in their stories will be black. The researcher has brought the conversation to this level because he asked Kirra to specify the ontology of Hans Christian Andersen, which may be taking an essentialist approach to the conversation (turns 408, 410, 412, 416) (Smith, 1999). Whereas, Kirra's original reasoning and the intelligibility of her observations were based on the indigenous episteme of knowing 'what it is like' to be indigenous (turn 405). In the domain of psychology, the process of equating one haecceity with another based on one's subjective orientation to the topic is called projection (Goldenson, 1970; Popplestone & McPherson, 1988; Sutherland, 1995). The disciplines of philosophy and psychology require objectivity where categorical mistakes of this order are exposed and invalidated. A formal logical analysis requires that all the premises in an argument be true if the conclusion is to be true. The fact that swans in Europe are not black but white would from this point of view invalidate Kirra's conclusion that Hans Christian Andersen is indigenous. However, this is arguing from an essentialist perspective that is detached from the orientation and organization of the conversation between Kirra and the researcher.

EMCA is not committed to formal analysis but to how the conversation is constructed and organized according to the morality of everyday life and in this case, the interpersonal relationships between the researcher and the co-participants and the work of maintaining the integrity of the interactive talk. The conversations in this long duration of talk are concerned with how images, stories, and narratives are used as resources to generate the constitutive work of a bildungsroman between the storyteller and the co-participants.

As the conversation progresses Kirra expands upon her identification of Hans as being black by adding "he was a really dark man so" and then after another interjection from the researcher she adds, "yeah well ninety percent of the world's population is indigenous" (turns 415, 417). It may be that Kirra is playing with realism, idealism, and irrationality here to get the conversation back on course and that is about the indigenous episteme and of "how" it is to be indigenous rather than "what" it is to be indigenous. It seems unrealistic to assert that ninety percent of the world's population is black but Kirra didn't say they were black but that they were indigenous. In the context, this can be taken to mean that ninety percent of the world's population can identify with Hans Christian Andersen's "ugly" duckling and with the feeling

of what it is like to be positioned as indigenous. Furthermore this extends to “yea::h s::o yo::u kno::w and that’s something the ugly duckling did as well (.) >it’s like Snow White< (.) >it’s like Sleeping Beauty< >and something like Alice in Wonderland<” (turn 419). If the experience of the ‘ugly’ duckling and the experience of “what it is like” to be indigenous (turn 405) are social facts in the Durkheimian and Garfinkelian sense then the premises in Kirra’s argument are valid and acceptable. The researcher’s defensive and even apologetic comment “ye::h fai::r e::nough (.) >I was just wondering what< (.3) >you were thinking of yea::h<” (turn 416) where the elongated concession (fair enough) and the compressed utterances reinforce and indicate his willingness to reorient the conversation and allow it to be socially constructed rather than essentialist. This concession is again re-iterated with the affirmations and possibly nervous cough of “yea::h. (4) yep (3) (cough) yea::h<” in turn 420.

The researcher may have brought the ‘Ugly Duckling’ sequence to a close by coughing, pauses, and wrapping up utterances but Kirra re-initiates the talk by making some self-evaluative comments about her work that indicate that she has self-doubts about her writing. Kirra says “it’s like (.) (° °) (2) when I started out on my writin’ and stuff (.) I thought o::h yo::u kno::w and I come to think (° °) o::h yo::u kno::w I have my opinions and >I am not a (°bad°) person< ↓ °yo::u kno::w” (turn 421). Kirra acknowledges that the content of her writing can be classified as her “opinion” and that she considers that what she is expressing is not ‘bad’ since she is not a ‘bad’ person, although the transcription of the word ‘bad’ is signified as being unconfirmed. Kirra qualifies this remark with two further reflections “I ↑ I express my opinions< right or wrong” and “and I >expect to get an answer back” indicating that she is willing to take the liberty to express herself with the anticipation that others will challenge her and that she is prepared for that eventuality. Kirra is showing her resilience in the face of perceived challenges to her credibility, and the intent and agenda in her writing. The main resource that is driving Kirra’s talk is her incumbency in the membership category writer. Writers use their knowledge and opinions as a resource to inform their storytelling. Self-doubt is another resource that accompanies the constitutive work of formulating a personal bildungsroman. Talk-in-interaction with co-participants can be generated around talk concerning these self-doubts.

Kirra accepts that she is a storyteller like Hans Christian Andersen and that her authority stands and falls on her integrity and on the judgment of her readers (turn 423). Kirra expresses this in the utterance “and um (.) I believe that if if if I write ↑ my opinio::n in a boo::k. then I would

beco::me a frie::nd to that per::son (1.5)” (turn 427) and “yea::h. I want to express myself in books so that I am a friend to every home of indigenous girls” (turn 429).

The researcher’s statement “to that part of yourself you mean” may have been an invitation for Kirra to introspectively view her authoring processes, however the interception of this proposal with overlapping talk indicated that Kirra still held the speakership and was proceeding to fully articulate her intention to establish a friendship type relationship with her readership. From an EMCA perspective, writing is an inter-subjective and social activity between the writer and the reader. The act of writing is the act of becoming a friend and a role model for Kirra (turn 435). In Kirra’s words “if you write something you beco::me a ↓ °role model° to that per::son”. Kirra asserts her intention of co-constructing her friendship with her readers (turn 431) and her identity as a role model (turn 433).

433	822	K	[I want to become that role model=
434	823	R	=to that reader=
435	824 825	K	=yea::h. It is like if you write something you beco::me a ↓ °role model° to that per::son=

The researcher interjects with a “that” (turn 432) that may have been intended to summarise her mutual and reciprocal relationship with her readers that may be a consequence of writing stories that resonate with others. However, the interjection was dismissed with overlapping talk (turn 433) and the introduction of the attribute “role model” that is a recognisable aspect of the Aboriginal episteme where exemplary Aboriginal peoples act as role models for other incumbents of their community membership (Sykes & Edwards, 1993). Kirra may be appealing for support from her great Uncle and her brother by this reference. Both in her writing and in her talk-in-interaction Kirra is constitutively building her story and her life into that form of storytelling known as a bildungsroman where the resources an actor deploys co-construct social realities.

The mutual and reciprocal nature of Kirra’s relationship with her audience is further anticipated as being expressed in monetary terms where “the reason someone bu::ys tha::t boo::k is ↑ because the::y wa::nt a frie::nd;” (turn 437). That is, there is a compensatory relationship between the author and her reader. Kirra further develops her argument by comparing her relationship with her audience with her relationship with the Bible that she reads and considers her friend (turns 439, 441). Her inclusion of the Bible shifts the topic of her conversation to the

significance of the spiritual dimension in her life and what part that resource plays in the formation of her opinions, her talk-in-interaction, and her bildungsroman form of storytelling. Kirra acknowledges that the Bible has become her friend (turn 441) and this resource will enable her to ‘touch’ some of her readership with ‘Christianity’ (turn 443). The researcher reinforces her use of this resource by adding “yea::h so did Hans Christian Andersen” express some Christian content in his stories.

At this juncture Kirra returns to her resource of expressing psychological troubles about not imposing her beliefs upon others and this intention has occurred in several of the conversations using different expressions (turns 38, 40, 52,72, 74, 78, 88, 226, 236). Her concern in the present conversation relates to her interest in the Bible, God, and Jesus and her determination not to “dri::ve ...°Go::d° dow::n peo::ple’s throa::t.” (turn 447). However, Kirra next summarises the different levels that will inform her writing and the agenda she is pursuing. She acknowledges the resources of her culture (turn 449), of Christianity (turn 451), and of personal material (turn 453) and that each of these resources can form the basis of a friendship between her membership in the category of a writer and those incumbents of the membership category, readers of her book.

Kirra’s intention to form friendships through the effective performance of writing and eventually publishing a book constitutes evidence for the intelligibility of her bildungsroman storytelling (Lieberman, 2007a). Kirra informs us that she intends to “go out” and “make friends”, a friend that “will be like you” (turn 455) for that friend will be “your best friend” (turn 457). The change from the plural to the singular in this passage adds ambiguity to the intent of her reasoning although Kirra may be arguing for a ripple affect where as she makes friends “like you have got” and those friends will in turn make other friends and so the effect of Kirra’s agenda will be multiplied (turn 455). Especially, as Kirra “want’s to “become a frie::nd of that per::son” (turn 459) singular but then concludes with the plural “I want to be everybody’s frie::nd” (turn 461). Kirra’s diminutive utterances in turns 455, 459 and 463 where some of her words become completely inaudible to the recorder may mean that some of her intent has been lost. Kirra may be expressing the intention to use her authorship to send a message to “everybody” (turn 461) on the one hand and yet make one of the friends “>he’s your best friend<” on the other hand (turn 457).

Kirra shifts the topic from this orientation of making friends to place the focus back on the origins of her creativity and the resources she is drawing on to generate her writing (turn 465).

As observed previously when Kirra asks for affirmation and approval of her creativity it indicates a closing of the present conversation and a transition to a new conversation. This next sequence is a pre-closing sequence of talk about creativity and alignment of talk (466-488). Kirra makes the utterance “I don’t know where I get that creativity from” (turn 465) and the researcher affirms her with the evaluation “we::ll it’s very pre::ciou::s (.) but it’s like your Dad he has that crea::tivity that ↓ um” (turn 466). This reference to her father’s creativity has the effect of opening up this closing sequence. The reference to her father is slightly ambiguous in that it partially answers her question of where her creativity comes from though the use of a simile (like) partially diverts attention from her father to the nature of her creativity itself. Kirra is happy to go with this shift in the topic from the origins of creativity to different expressions of creativity and identifies her father’s creativity as “h::e expresses it through art and dance” (turn 467). The researcher extends this observation by an observation of his own, even though he encounters overlapping talk (turns 467, 468). The researcher has seen both her brother and her father dance and it is not until “they start dancing you see you see that creativity coming through” (turn 468). He then tries to lighten the talk by jokingly comparing the creativity manifested in their movements when they are dancing to the unnoticeable features of their movements in other states like standing and sleeping (turn 468). The researcher may have made this comparison to encourage Kirra that her writing will also accrue the same creativity when it is expressed and articulated in her book. Kirra then makes some observations of her own mentioning that every dance, painting, and building has a story (turns 469, 473, 475).

469	879	K	= every every like e::very dance has a (° °) story=
470	880	R	=pardon=
471	881	K	=>every dance has a story<=
472	882	R	=ye::s=
473	883	K	=>every painting has a story<=
474	884	R	=ye::s=
475	885	K	=every building and (.)
	886		yo::u kno::w (.) it has a stor::y in i::t=

The substitution of the word ‘story’ for ‘creativity’ suggests that for Kirra there is an equivalency between these terms (turn 469). This is a reiteration and reference back to conversation 5 (particularly turns 248 to 257) where the point was made that in the Aboriginal culture every detail of a painting or a dance has meaning. Kirra’s repetition of these modes of expression that contain more than sense perceptions is in preparation for her final and emphatic

utterance “that’s why I wa::nt to wri::te” (turn 479). In this statement, Kirra recognizes that creativity comes from the performative act, the storytelling, and also acknowledges that other members of her family express their creativity through other activities. In turn, the researcher responds to Kirra’s covert elicitor for approval (turn 465) by affirming the creativity of both Meripa and herself in lilting tones saying “yea::h we::ll I rea^::lly want to enc^ou::rage you just as much as I w^ould encourage Meripa to be an e^lite a^thlete ((lilting speech)) (.) I think (.) yo^::u nee::d to be enc^oura::ged to be your (° °) (.) an au^thor (.) an ab^original author” (turn 480). This statement closes conversation number 8 and Kirra initiates conversation 9 without any break between the two conversations.

Conversation 9 (turns 481-558): Setting an Agenda for this Generation of Aboriginal Peoples

Conversation 9 begins with Kirra making a reference to my closing remark to conversation 8 in which I anticipate that Meripa will become an elite athlete. The conversation begins with a futuristic scenario in which Meripa is ten years older than she is now and playing basketball in America. Kirra puts the scenario in these words “I love >I love Meripa when she is travelling over to< (.) yo::u kno::w shes in a team (° °) and she’s about eighteen (.) nineteen and she is travelling over to America and she nee::ds m::e” (turn 481). Kirra does not state why Meripa will need her when she is in her late teens and playing professional basketball, however it may indicate something about the membership category to which these sisters belong. When Kirra says “and I will be there in a book” the researcher goes along with this fantasizing in which the future is being constructed by a book that at present only exists on about 200 leaves of a notebook (turn 483). EMCA affirms that reality exists in the interconnection of actions and talk and not in inherent essences so the future is as viable as the past or the present in that Kirra is talking about a socially constructed eventuality (Lieberman, 2007a). Even if in the future this does not eventuate the present reality of the talk demands that the possibility be accepted as intelligible and feasible. In the Aboriginal culture like other Indigenous cultures this talk is called ‘razzing’ or ‘gammon’ and is an affectionate form of kidding or joking (Siegal, 2011; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

Kirra alludes to the opening images of her book in diminutive tones as though referring to something that is sacred and reverential (turn 485). The researcher doubly confirms with Kirra that she is referring to the images and transformations discussed above in conversation 3 (turns 486, 487, 488). Kirra inform us that those images “take up about ten pages” (turn 489). The

researcher expresses his evaluation of how what seem to be just a few images could take ten pages and his “well it would [well it would-” is both cut off and produces overlapping talk (turn 490). Kirra re-establishes affiliation in the talk by declaring “say u::m that’s why I wa::nt to go to Ta::fe” (turn 491). The researcher anticipates that Kirra wants “to do a writing course” (turn 492) that Kirra affirms with an affirmation. Kirra makes a series of inaudible utterances (° °) in turn 491, another in turn 495, then two in turn 497 and again in turns 501, 505, 507, 509, 513, 517, 519, 525, 531, 533. Inaudible and diminutive utterances may indicate vulnerable and sensitive material. Conversation 9 also lacks the coherence and energy of the other conversations as Kirra changes topics and leaves topics unexplored and unfinished. The futuristic topic of going to America and having been preceded by her book remained an incomplete vignette. Her talk of going to TAFE suddenly fades into another shift and topic change. These conversational devices and miss-firings seem to indicate the emergence of something like a constellation that is to be approached circuitously and cautiously (Unaipon et al., 2006).

The researcher takes the speakership although there is no indication that it has been given to him and mentions the advantages of going to TAFE (turn 496). The cut-off marks at the end of turn 494 and turn 496 have been occasioned by Kirra’s inaudible utterances and indicate that either Kirra is uninterested in the researcher’s comments or that she is stalling while she deliberates on where she wants to transition the talk. The researcher’s suggestions about TAFE courses, intellectual stimulation, and associations are all left unnoticed (turn 496). Instead Kirra presents another elicitor in the form of a question “have you watched the movie (° °) it’s called Conversations with God_i” (turn 497). The researcher has not seen the movie and his next comment is again cut short (turn 498). Kirra asks the researcher if he has read the book and his response of having read a book of that title is met with an inaudible utterance (turns 499, 500, 501). The researcher recalls some of the content of the book that he had read a long time ago; however these utterances are cut short and/or left unheeded (turns 502, 503, 504). It is not as though the conversation had ceased to function though some elements of it had become inconsequential.

Kirra then tells the story of the movie where the main character “gets down pretty low in his life” “to a point where he is ho::mele::ss_i” (turn 505) and “then Go::d star::ts havi::ng conversa::tions with hi::m” (turn 507). “When he is alone he starts having conversations with God” (turn 509) and “it’s in the conversations He always taught him” that “He will always be up there” (turn 513). The aloneness of the man is counteracted with the closeness of God.

Turn	Line	Speaker	
513	948	K	=(° °) He will always be up there (° °)
	949		yo::u kno::w=
514	950	R	=yea::h,=
515	951	K	=if I do this=
516	952	R	=yea::h,=
517	953	K	=(° °)
518	954	R	=yea::h,=
519	955	K	=I don't fit in with (° °) girls =
520	956	R	=yea::h,=
521	957	K	=yo::u kno::w=
522	958	R	=>yea::h I can< (.) we all we all >as it were< um (.)
	959		>mar::ch to differe::nt dru::m bea::ts<=
523	960	K	=yea::h,=
524	961	R	=and the drum beat that you are marching to is is (2)
	962		can be different from what groups of other people are (2)
	963		are happy dancing to (2) or b::e mar::ching t::o=

The researcher allows Kirra to take the speakership and indicates this with continuers (turns 508, 510, 512, 514, and then onto 516, 518, 520). Kirra comes to the point and divulges her dilemma in a short conditional statement “if I do this” (turn 515) presumably author a book and be a writer then, “I don't fit in with (° °) girls” (519). Kirra is ambivalent and having equivocations about being an author/writer/storyteller lest it sets her apart from her friends and peers.

An alternative interpretation of “if I do this” is that if Kirra goes to TAFE, University and then has a career and defers marriage and having children then she will lose the friends she has in the country (turn 515). Kirra's troubled talk and incomplete conversations, indicate the cost of either being an author or a career person. It is unclear if Kirra means that she is presently not relating with other girls because of her writing activities or her intention to become educated and have a career. The researcher hears both propositions as consequential and employs the

remedy resource to offer the suggestion that such consequences are the result of each of us marching to different drum beats (turns 522, 524). At first Kirra seems to accept the explanation but she responds with an inaudible utterance (turn 525). The researcher continues to expand his explanation by implying that the risks she has been taking to be an author and/or have a career have made her more determined (turn 526) and that her creativity is unique and unduplicable (turn 528). However, this line of explanation causes trouble in the conversation with Kirra cutting short the researcher’s attempted gesture of empathy (turn 529). The researcher continues through the overlapping talk (turn 530) and Kirra brings the conversation back to where she had left off giving a further amplification of her difficulties. It would seem that it is not just the cost and risks of perhaps being an author or having a career but also Kirra confides “as I go through life (° °) °I am so co::nfu::sed abou::t wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o°” (turn 531). At first, this statement might indicate that Kirra is divulging some deep psychological equivocation and vulnerability that is threatening to obstruct her possible development as an author, or career, or some other possibility but Kirra provides more information about her “confusion.”

Turn	Line	Speaker	
531	982 983	K	=°as I go through life (° °) °I am so co::nfu::sed abou::t wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o°=
532	984	R	=yea::h,=
533	985 986 987	K	=(° °) °it’s taken me to until about nineteen for a wake-up call to come my way to say you have to get up (° °) o::h ↑ >thi::s i::s wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o<
534	988	R	=ye::s=
535	989 990	K	=and it has taken me (.) and I think running as girls w::e do::n’t li::ste::n and w::e do::n’t b::e patie::nt¿=
536	991	R	=ye::s=
537	992 993	K	=for that one day (.) it’s not going to be the end of the world yo::u kno::w >if I don’t ha::ve kids ea::rly<=

She adds almost chiding herself “(° °) °it’s taken me to until about nineteen for a wakeup call to come my way to say you have to get up (° °) o::h ↑ >thi::s i::s wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o<” (turn 533) “and it has taken me (.) and I think running as girls w::e do::n’t li::ste::n and

w::e do::n't b::e patie::ntꞤ" (turn 535). Then Kirra comes to the point "it's not going to be the end of the world yo::u kno::w >if I don't ha::ve kids ea::rly<" (turn 537) and after some equivocations she makes a closing statement "well maybe °I will give my book° three years (.) thre::e mor::e yea::rs (.6)" (turn 551) and "then I will have my first book hey" (turn 553). After listening to Kirra's subsequent utterances it becomes apparent that Kirra is quite determined and definite rather than 'confused' about devoting three more years to the completion of her book and then achieving its publication. Her mention of 'confusion' may have been the introduction of an element of intrigue into the storytelling to re-engage the silent participants in her agenda. Her recriminations and confessions are balanced by her decisive realization of the necessity to follow her authorship and the message it contains. She really does want to script her generation of Aboriginal peers to choose a life course that will ameliorate the life conditions of her community. Kirra is quite capable of applying self-remedies to the psychological troubles that her realisations and decisions engender. Her equivocations, realisations, and confessions are all components of her construction of a bildungsroman form of storytelling through this long duration of talk.

Twice Kirra mentions 'patience', "it has taken me (.) and I think running as girls w::e do::n't li::ste::n and w::e do::n't b::e patie::nt" (turn 535) and again "so yo::u kno::w I (° °) a lot of gir::ls to be pati::ent" (turn 545). These references to patience particularly for Kirra and for girls needs to be contextualized to demonstrate what she is implying. The patience is in reference to deferring having children early (turn 537) because "there is something in your head that pops up and says oh< (.) yo::u kno::w this is what you should be doing" (turn 547), which is "°I will give my book° three years" (turn 551). This is a revised agenda considering the one proposed in conversation 7 "that's that's what I want to encourage (.) ↓ °yo::ung A::boriginal girls° to d::o because (.) by the time they're twe::nty eight twe::nty nine" (turn 354) ">they have got a job and earning money< >they have been to uni<" (turn 356) and "no::w the::y are read::y to ge::t marrie::d" (turn 358). If Kirra patiently works on her book for three years and then has children she will only be deferring a family until she is twenty two years old and it won't be "the end of the world if I don't do thi::s" (turn 541) that is, have a family while she is still a teenager. It was when Kirra's agenda included tertiary education and waiting until young Aboriginal girls are twenty eight or nine that Donny interjected, broke the protocol of silence, and challenged her agenda (turns 360 to 376). Donny and the Elder are co-participants of this long duration of talk and storytelling. That Kirra has revised her agenda and that she has given reasons for this revision "wait (.) >for that moment in time< °for that (.)

specific purpose in life whether you may be anywhere in life or whatever you are doing” (turn 545) indicates that she is aware of their active co-constructing of the social reality of her performing both as an effective incumbent of their shared culture and also as a storyteller and author.

545	1001	K	=wait (.) >for that moment in time< °for that (.)
	1002		specific purpose in life whether you may be any where in life or
	1003		whatever you are doing°=

Meanwhile, the researcher has been providing continuance utterances to the modifications Kirra has been proposing for her life. He makes the affirmative comment “I think that will be great if you can do that (5)” (turn 554) that is, complete the book, and this is followed by five seconds of silence that ends the conversation. Kirra may well have preferred to be affirmed for going to TAFE, University, and obtaining a career and supported in leading others in her community to this “specific purpose in life” (turn 545 line 1002). Although Kirra is talking as if this is an act of individualism, she retains her collective identity in the Aboriginal community throughout her talk. She expresses her continuing sense of responsibility to her people by the embedded message in the book (turn 553 line 1014) (Lieberman, 1978, 1982).

Conversation 10 (turns 559 to 609): Kirra’s Book and the Virtues of Education

Kirra begins the final conversation of this long duration of talk with an assertion spoken with a lilting sing song voice “but I reckon to learn how to read and write is the biggest thing in life” (559).

559	K	=but I r^eck^on to learn h^ow to r^ead and wr^ite is the b^igge::st th^ing in l^ife ((lilting))=
Con 10		
560	R	=mm=
561	K	=tha::t e::verybo::dy nee::ds to d::o it=
562	R	=that’s a good point=
563	K	=r^ead and wr^ite (.) and >you kn^ow I w^ant< (.) some g^irls n^ever went to school ((lilting)) m^aybe employed to (°relate to°) something like, s^ome (°guys°) r^elate to something like th^at (.) that m^aybe yo::u kn^o::w (.) they ca:::’t r^ea::d (.)

		and >yet m^y stor~y ma::y be the f^ir::st stor~y th^e::y've eve::r r~ead< (.)=
--	--	---

Notice the researcher's response was an "mm" that is distinctly different from the customary continuer "yeah" indicating that the utterance required thought rather than acceptance (turn 560). Kirra seems to have been sensitive to this variation and produced an even more educationally pertinent assertion "tha::t e::verybo::dy nee::ds to d::o it" that is, become literate (turn 561). The educator researcher is taken in by this pronouncement knowing that education is the privileged way forward in life for everyone especially incumbents of marginalized minority groups (Sykes, 1986, 2000). The researcher's comment "that's a good point" (turn 562) demonstrates that he is pleased with the direction that Kirra is taking the conversation. Kirra may be "razzing" the researcher with the holy grail of education but such "razzing" contains truth and forms a basis for future discussion about these matters (Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

Kirra makes garbled pronouncement that to "read and write (.) and >you know I want< (.) some girls never went to school ((lilting)) some (°guys°) relate to something like that (.) ... they ca::'t rea::d (.) and >yet my story ma::y be the fir::st story the::y've eve::r read< (.)" (turn 563). Here is the final piece in the puzzle, Kirra's book may open the minds of the incumbents of her community both girls and guys who have never read before to the transformatory empowerment of literacy. Literacy is critical for her people to read her book. Kirra is writing the final chapter of this research by claiming that her 'saying' and 'said' material, her 'talk' and 'book' will unlock the future of the minds of those Aboriginal individuals both girls and guys who hitherto have seen little advantage in or had little access to education (Freire, 1972, 1979, 1985; Sykes, 1986). Not only will her community begin to read because they can identify with her (turn 563) but their lives will be motivated to follow in her ways. They will presumably live lives worthy of their role model that is "when they read it they will gro::w u::p o::n i::t" (turn 565) and "have their minds (blown)" and fully informed (turn 567). The researcher with lilting sing song voice joins in this fantasizing but seeks to ground it by reminding Kirra "you have changed the au::dience ther::e but that (.) that doesn't matter; originally you were saying that your audience is tee::nage girls" (turn 568). Kirra absorbs this comment into her policy-making with the inclusive "yea::h but yea::h teenage girls and like 'em but anyone yo::u kno::w" meaning every Aboriginal person from infancy through to adulthood (turns 569, 571) both male and female (turn 573, 575).

Here Kirra is broadening her scripting from tertiary education being a girl’s perspective to an agenda that includes her taking teenage boys through stages-of-life (turn 573 line 1051). Kirra is saying that all Aboriginal peoples of the next generation are to continue on through TAFE and University to gain a career that will ameliorate the material condition of their families. Kirra reflexively utters “there is one way to be loud in life..” (turn 577) and here is evidence that she is consciously constructing this educational policy and triumphantly projects her solutions as being the “one way” forward for education “in the twenty first century” (turn 581). Kirra cites the paradigm of Hans Christian Andersen as the basis for her surmising. After a ten second break in the conversation, Kirra continues “It’s like I said though (° °) like Hans Christian Andersen yo::u kno::w the::y point out (°a well-defined°) audience and they point out some other like yo::u kno::w some other (° °) Danish person something like that there yeah o::h maybe yo::u kno::w it is similar to my life and have the same (°nationality°) as me (.) do you know what I mean” (turn 587). The resonance between one significant Aboriginal person with another Aboriginal person “inspires them to yo::u kno::w to use that as a tool” (turn 589). The bounds of restraining her message within women’s business have been broken and Kirra intends to extend her influence to men’s business as well as women’s business.

Kirra goes on to address a bad practice that occurs when some Aboriginal peoples write “about a man” (turn 591) who does some “most stupid thing” (turn 595), “that’s selfish” (turn 597).

591	K	=that’s what I want to do (° °) you know I mean there are Aboriginal writers but they don’t get to the point (.) like I have read book there (.) where (.) all is where is about a man (.) =
-----	---	--

Kirra’s talk on the bad practice of some Aboriginal writers is accompanied with diminutive soft brackets of expression that reinforce her disapproval of the practice. Her approach is to write in a way that will resonate with readers and thus inspire them not out of selfishness or portraying the counter-productive excesses of some of the incumbents of the community to which she belongs (turns 591, 599).

Conversation 10 and the suggested end of this long duration of talk are mooted by the researcher with the words “Well that’s it um” (turn 600). Kirra leads off with a pre-closing sequence after four seconds of silence with a confidential “You’re the first one I have ever told besides my Mum” (turn 601). However, we are informed that her Mum “crie::s to::o mu::ch”

(turn 603) and “breaks up” (turn 605) when Kirra reads her script to her. The researcher is encouraged by this information that indicates that Kirra’s writing has the capacity to move and touch people (turn 606). Kirra returns to talking about TAFE, publishers, and the effort of tertiary training (turns 607, 608, 609) but Donny feels free to break the protocol of respectful silence and introduce the mundane topic of buying fuel (turns 610-622).

Tables

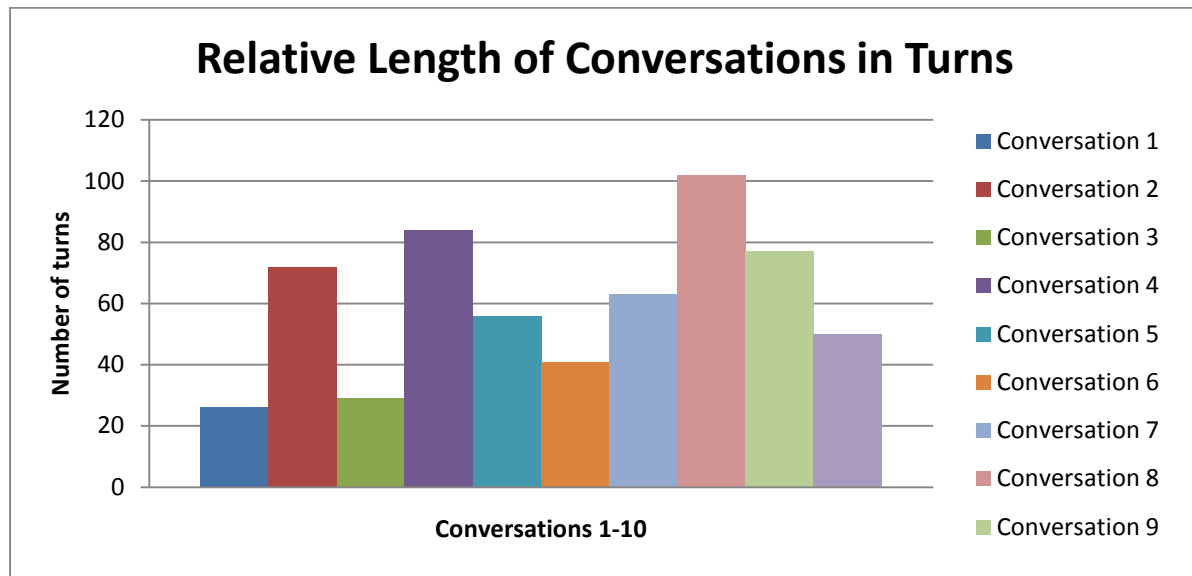


Table 1: This is a visual representation of the differing length of the conversations in the extended sequence of multiple turns of talk-in-interaction between Kirra and the Researcher.

1	1-26	[Blue blocks]
2	27-99	[Yellow blocks]
3	100-129	[Yellow blocks, Red blocks]
4	130-214	[Blue blocks, Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Red blocks]
5	215-271	[Blue blocks, Green blocks, Red blocks]
6	272-313	[Blue blocks, Green blocks, Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Red blocks]
7	314-377	[Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Purple blocks, Red blocks]
8	378-480	[Blue blocks, Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Red blocks]
9	481-558	[Blue blocks, Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Purple blocks]
10	559-622	[Blue blocks, Yellow blocks, Orange blocks, Red blocks, Purple blocks]

Table 2: This is a visual representation of the difference resources in the long duration of talk between Kirra and the Researcher.

The two tables give a visual representation of the analysis of the ten distinct conversations delineated in this chapter. The first table shows the relative length of each of the conversations and the second table gives a visual representation of the different interactive resources deployed by the participants in the long duration of talk. The tables highlight the distinctive nature of the conversations and the sequential order that was generated in the talk-in-interaction. Table 2 depicts the changes in the properties of the interactive talk over the full sequence of talk.

Colour Code: Blue: opening talk and/or dialogue; Yellow: Kirra storytelling; Red: closing sequences; Orange: Researcher interjections; Green: Car Talk; Purple: Donny Talk including some Donny Car Talk. The conversations are listed 1-10 on the left hand side of the table and the range of the turns is between the conversation numbering and the visual representation.

The focus of the table is to show that most of the conversations began with small reflexive talk (coloured blue) consisting mainly of adjacency pairs and the yellow sections highlight Kirra's storytelling. Each cell approximately represents two turns of talk. Not all cells represent adjacency pairs. Cell size is determined by the number of turns in a conversation, therefore the fewer the turns the bigger the cells while conversations with more turns have smaller cells. The disproportionate number of small yellow cells indicates the predominance of storytelling turns in the talk-in-interaction. That is, the number of cells and not the size of the cells determine the proportion of turns committed to each of the members' resources.

Summary

Phase 1 of the data analysis has discovered ten (10) distinct conversations during the long duration of talk and multiple turns of talk. The first conversation contained a predominance of adjacency pairs that indicated the talk began as a dialogue and then as the talk-in-interaction progressed the nature of the interactions changed to Kirra taking the floor and storytelling. During the talk that followed Kirra covered many aspects of her life in different forms. Her bildungsroman began by her giving information about her intention to write a book. This theme was carried forward throughout the talk. In conversation 2 the alternate theme of setting a new agenda for young Aboriginal peoples was introduced.

A creation story of a young woman was presented and then the images analysed. The story takes the form of bildungsroman with Kirra telling the stages-of-life that have formed her and contributed to her maturation. In ordinary mundane talk-in-interaction her moral agency is evident in the observations and realisations that she has made and the decisions she has made

to be accountable and responsible to her community by proposing a new agenda for them that will ameliorate their material conditions and reinstate their dignity.

These two themes of authoring a book and a setting a new agenda continue to generate resources and realisations throughout the long duration of talk. The resources include stages-of-life, moral agency, spirituality, psychological troubles, and the cultural context of Aboriginal identity and episteme. Together the resources constitute the overarching resource of a bildungsroman that is a form of storytelling that is generated when the maturation and educational formation of an individual is traced from the commencement of life to the present stage of that individual.

One member's method that is used to uncover the bildungsroman implicit in this study is the membership categorisation devices. In the next chapter each conversation is analysed using this method.

Chapter 7 Phase 2 The Membership Categorisation Devices (MCDs) in Kirra's Bildungsroman

Introduction

The previous analysis in chapter 6 shows that the long duration of talk contains ten distinct conversations each identifiable by distinct topical shifts accompanied by transitional opening and closing sequences of talk. This next phase of the analysis examined each of the conversations for the presence of membership categorisation devices (MCDs). Membership categorisation devices are detected in talk-in-interaction by the mention of identifiable categories like family, gender, race, and others or by activities that are bound to such categories. Ascriptions, predicates, and attributes accompany different categories. For example, affection is predicated of a mother, aggression is ascribed to young incumbents of the male gender, and skill is achieved and attributed to cricketers (Francis & Hester, 2004; Jayyusi, 1984; Psathas, 1999; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a; Silverman, 1998; Stokoe, 2012). The identification of the MCDs inform the five resources of: stages-of-life, moral agency, psychological troubles, the spiritual dimension, and Aboriginality that in turn constitute the overarching phenomenon of a bildungsroman. This analysis is not exhaustive of the MCDs embedded in the sequence of talk-in-interaction but focuses on the salient resources.

A fuller explication of the rules and organisational principles ordering the application of membership category devices can be found in chapter 4 section 9. The consistency and economy rules allow for the ascription of the words chosen by Kirra in her talk to be assigned to collective categories (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Lee, 1991). For example, through these principles her talk about Aboriginal art, dance, and peoples can be assigned to the Membership Category of race and her talk about girls, women, boys, and men can be assigned to the Membership Category of gender (Jayyusi, 1984). Reference to some members of an MCD are indicative of the collection of members in that MCD enable the hearer to identify that MCD. The identification of the overarching phenomenon of a bildungsroman is disclosed and discovered in the accumulation and amalgamation of the different collective MCDs deployed by the participants. The reflexivity operating in a long duration of talk generates MCDs that undergo a series of regressive and projective transitional shifts that contribute to a full articulation of the overarching phenomenon that is being constituted. This overarching phenomenon results from a transformative synthesis of the different MCDs that the participants have deployed (Jayyusi, 1984).

This chapter has disclosed the following membership categories in the different conversations. The headings for each conversation specify the MCDs that are followed by a hyphen that then specifies the main attributes of that membership category.

- Conversation 1 (turns 2-26) incumbent of the MCDs: Author/Writer/Storyteller-Moral Agency; Race-Aboriginality.
- Conversation 2 (turns 27-99) incumbents of the MCDs: Author/Writer/Storyteller-Moral Actor; Race - Aboriginal and Global persons; Stages-of-Life - Teenager; Gender - Girl.
- Conversation 3 (turns 100-129) incumbents of the MCDs: Author/Writer/Storyteller - Moral Actor; Stages-of-life - Young Adult; Race - Aboriginality and Global; Gender - Woman.
- Conversation 4 (turns 130-214) incumbency of the MCDs: Author/Writer/Storyteller - Dream Interpreter - Opinion Leader; Race - Aboriginal; Gender - Female; Stages-of-life - Birth to Adulthood; Family - Daughter; Romance - Boyfriend.
- Conversation 5 (turns 215-271) incumbency of the MCDs: Race - Aboriginal; Gender - Female; Author/Writer/Storyteller – Affinity, Friend - Role Model.
- Conversation 6 (turns 272-313) incumbency of the MCDs: Race - Aboriginal versus English; Author/Writer/Storyteller – Advocate, Education and Career.
- Conversation 7 (turns 314-377) incumbency of the MCDs: Stages-of-life - Infant School Child; Race - Aboriginal, Dominant Culture; Gender - Female; Family - Mother; Standardised Relational Pairs - Wife-Husband.
- Conversation 8 (turns 378 to 480) incumbency of the MCDs: Stages-of-life - Full Life Span; Race - Aboriginal, Dominant Culture; Gender - Female; Author/Writer/Storyteller - Classic, Affinity, Role Model; Spiritual - Cultural, Personal, Religious.
- Conversation 9 (turns 481-558) incumbency of the MCDs: Family - Standardized Relational Pairs - Older Sister, Younger Sister; Religious - Spiritual Responsibility to Her Community; Author - Personal Cost; Education - Student, Career, Job.
- Conversation 10 (turns 559 to 609) incumbency of the MCDs: Family - Standardized Relational Pairs – Mother, daughter; Author/Writer/Storyteller - Universal Affinity, Classic; Race - Global Citizens.

Conversation 1 (turns 2-26): Author/Writer/Storyteller - Moral Agency; Race - Aboriginality

Kirra’s introductory utterance provides us with the underlying basis for her talk and sets the stage for her bildungsroman storytelling. Kirra makes an initial announcement that generates the framework for the remaining talk-in-interaction. Kirra commences with the utterance “I’m about half way through my first book” (turn 2).

2	2	K	°I’m about half way through my first book °
3	3	R	What writi::ng your first book _i =
4	4	K	=Yea:::h (.) I’ve like just got like all my note pads for some reason (1)

The pronoun ‘I’ identifies Kirra as the unambiguous agent who is writing a book. At the commencement of the transcript, we are only empirically aware of Kirra and the researcher as being present in the conversation since the other co-participants consisting of her brother Donny and her paternal great Uncle the Elder remain silent for the majority of the talk.

The only verb in this introductory statement is a remnant (’m) of the verb “am” from the verb ‘to be’. The inclusion of a verb is a necessary grammatical component of a conventionally acceptable sentence in standard Australian English. In speech, however, syntagmatic grammatical units consist of strings of words or phrases that may or may not form part of larger grammatical sentence structure but still convey semiotic movement that produces meaning (Lieberman, 1982). It is a characteristic linguistic formation of Aboriginal peoples speech to convey meaning through adjectival phrases rather than through verbal constructions. That is, this statement does not depend on the verbal remnant “m” in “I’m” to convey meaning and does indicate that Kirra is an incumbent of the membership category Aboriginal peoples. The absence of a recognisable verbal structure is problematic and prone to ambiguity for conventional users of standard spoken English who anticipate the presence of a verb to direct the performance of the predicate in the utterance and to identify the category-bound activity of the phrase. The statement conveys meaning but it requires prior epistemic content to replace the category-bound activity embedded in a verb to complete the semantic comprehension of the utterance. For incumbents of the membership category Aboriginal peoples utterances can consist of a series of thought forms expressed in linguistic signs and pictorial symbols that establish a semiotic movement that communicates the intended message (Lieberman, 1982).

The first of these pictorial symbols is the phrase “about half way through” to indicate that the material in the book is still emerging and yet to be completed. The word “about” indicates in this context that the predicate “the book” is only approximately half complete and still in an amorphous state. If the unspecified action was reading the book then one could specify what “half way” meant. For instance, it could be that she had read part one of a two-part book or perhaps a hundred pages of a two hundred-page book. This book though does not have a definite form possibly giving the hearers a hint that she is not referring to reading but to writing a book. The expression “half way through” suggests a metaphor of passing through space, like walking half way through a woods or a house. Although, “half way through” can also be a temporal concept where half the time to complete an activity has passed. Writing and reading a book are both activities that are situated in space and time (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992b).

Kirra’s use of the personal pronoun “my” reinforces her initial use of the first person personal pronoun “I”. The repeated use of personal pronouns suggests that Kirra is identifying with this book. The researcher’s subsequent response that Kirra is ‘writing’ her “first” book becomes increasingly more logical and understandable although Kirra’s initial announcement did not tell us what action she was half way through performing. Kirra does not repair the researcher’s assertion that Kirra is writing a book and therefore indicates that she is an incumbent in the membership category author/writer/storyteller.

Her description of the book as ‘my first book’ may be hearable as a book about ‘herself’ although this is not the only possible way of hearing this utterance. It could be heard as the first book that she is writing. Her use of the adjective ‘first’ is also tied to her description of the book. Kirra may be establishing herself as a ‘writer’ or ‘author’ of a book as distinct from her other forms of writing like short stories or essays. Kirra’s use of the word ‘first’ clearly indicates that this is the first book that she has commenced and plans to finish.

21	30	R	S::o (3) it is still in the <u>pro::cess</u> =
22	31	K	=yea::h,=
23	32	R	=not the finished product=
24	33	K	=yea::h. but I don’t yeah
	34		but I don’t know if I like I don’t give away my secrets
	35		if I am around you know people that are in (the book)=

After giving more information about writing her book Kirra informs us that “I don’t give away my secrets if I am around you know people that are in (the book)” (turn 24). The frequent use of the first person personal pronoun “I” used in conjunction with the verb “to be” emphasizes Kirra’s agency and accountability, and suggests that her obligations and responsibilities are to maintain the confidentiality of her own story. The expression “if I am around” is consistent with both a spatial and temporal awareness of her immediate situation and the co-participants. Kirra seems to be working on determining a relevant orientation to the co-participants occupying the moral and social space of her performance of her bildungsroman storytelling. Kirra is acting reflexively by making explicit her awareness of the other members present and the relationship that they hold to what is being discussed.

Kirra’s use of the “you know” phrase after the two utterances may indicate that she has laid down the premises that warrant her next utterance as a summary declaration and announcement of her intent. Kirra is withholding, at this time, the content of the book from those “people ...in the book”. This further information adds new features to the constitutive work generated by the member categories present in the talk. Their presence even though predominantly silent is generating accountability on the part of Kirra. The researcher is not a member of the assigned category of those who are present and who are “in the book”. Those “in the book” are hearable as members of a standardised relational pair from the storyteller’s extended family. The defining characteristic of a standardised relational pair is mutual and reciprocal rights, protocols, obligations, and responsibilities between the different members in the relationship both personally and culturally (Jayyusi, 1984; Liberman, 1978, 1982; Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962; Wieder & Pratt, 1990).

From this portion of the text and her first person avowal we can recognise and understand that the content of Kirra’s book contains private and confidential information that will ideally be kept secret from those who are represented in the book (Jayyusi, 1984). That the presence of such people during her storytelling is reflexively and endogenously constitutive of what she will discuss. Her conscious and explicit delineation of the co-incumbency of these members is implicative both of their presence and the effects of their presence on the talk. Kirra is informing the researcher that because of the cultural and social implications of her talk she will be observing and respecting certain rights, obligations, protocols, and responsibilities. Kirra’s incumbency in the membership category author/writer/storyteller and Aboriginal person provides an explanation and re-specification of the reflexive nature of the talk and the limitations that are being placed on the talk. Kirra’s awareness of these covert restrictions is

culturally determined and not implicitly expressed by the co-participants who are “in the book” (turn 24).

At a methodological and theoretical level her statement exemplifies the sensitive relationship between talk and interaction that effects social practice and dialogue. Incumbency in the membership categories of Aboriginal person and author/writer/storyteller has cultural and social implications (Lieberman, 1982; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). These membership categorisation devices also place an implicative moral responsibility on outsiders to become familiar with these devices so that genuine dialogue can be made between incumbents of differing cultural and racial membership categories (Ogbu, 1978).

The MCD of Author/Writer/Storyteller are resources that Kirra has deployed that demonstrate that she is a moral actor in the development of her bildungsroman and the racial MCD of Aboriginality further contributes to the bildungsroman form of storytelling.

Conversation 2 (turns 27-99): Author/Writer/Storyteller - Moral Actor; Race - Aboriginal and Global persons; Stages-of-Life - Teenager; Gender - Girl

Conversation 2 begins with talk about the audience of Kirra’s book. Her response to the suggestion that it will be directed to Aboriginal girls is modified in these words:

Turn	Line	Speak-er	
28	39	K	=umm (.) yeah you ↑ could say that (6)
	40		I wanta like um (1)
	41		I wanta aim at teena::ge gir:::ls (1) at teena::ge gir:::ls
	42		but (do) not mean just Aboriginal girls you know any nationality

One aim of this study is to empirically analyse the text for evidence of incumbency in a member category of race or stages-of-life or other relevant category that is warranted by the talk-in-interaction. Three MCDs are contained in turn 28. The MCD of race where both Aboriginal peoples and global people or people of all nationalities are specified, the MCD of stages-of-life where teenagers are selected, and the MCD of gender where girls are given preference.

The researcher initiated a request for information by asking Kirra if she was “writing Aboriginal stories” and this formed the first pair part of an adjacency pair (turn 27). Kirra

replied with the above utterances that completed an answer and the second pair part of the adjacency pair. However, the second pair part consisted of several utterances that revealed some re-specification. The researcher asked if the content of her stories was Aboriginal (turn 27) and Kirra indirectly replied by specifying that the stories would appeal to incumbents of people from all nationalities that is global citizens including Aboriginal peoples.

Kirra's verbal response "umm" followed by a micro-pause (.) indicated some hesitation rather than an immediate affirmation to the suggestion that her audience is Aboriginal girls (turn 27). This is followed by an even more non-committal utterance "yeah you ↑ could say that" (turn 28 line 39). This use of the second person personal pronoun contrasts with her use of the first person personal pronoun when Kirra is confident of her position. The six (6) second pause could constitute a transition turning point where either of the participants could have become the speaker of the next turn. If this utterance were the completion of the turn then a second pair part to the researcher's question would have remained incomplete. Instead, Kirra renders her "you could say that" a filler by initiating a repair with a statement of intention and the restoration of her use of the first person personal pronoun ("I wanta like um") that indicates Kirra is retaining the speakership and formulating a reply. The one (1) second silence again could act as a transition point but Kirra follows the silence with "I wanta aim at teena::ge gir::ls". Again this is followed with a one (1) second silence but her statement of intention allowed for an expansion comment "but (do) not mean just Aboriginal girls" with a further logical marker "you know" that set up her declaration of teenage girls of "any nationality" indicating that her book is dealing with universal material that is relevant to a global audience of teenage girls.

The consistency rule allows for all members of a population to adequately qualify for the category (Stokoe, 2012). In this case teenage girls from all nationalities are included in her target audience. The economy rule concerning MCDs allows for certain individuals to qualify for incumbency in the membership category for instance of race, which in this case would only include Aboriginal peoples. All thirteen-year-old girls of whatever race or nation are eligible for inclusion in this stages-of-life membership category. This employs the hearer's maxim where the categories race, stages-of-life, and gender are evoked to include all teenage girls as readers of her book.

The amalgamation of the three MCDs of the Aboriginal race, of incumbents in the stages-of-life teenagers and of incumbents of the gender female continue to occupy Kirra's talk-in-

interaction for the remainder of this conversation on how teenage Aboriginal girls aren't confident because of criticisms that are thrown at them (turn 72ff). The subjection of incumbents of these three MCDs that is teenager, Aboriginal peoples, and girls is also mentioned in conversation 4 turns 184 to 186 where Kirra refers to them as being subject to "waves" of conflict.

These MCDs continue to be directly referred to intermittently throughout the long duration of talk and implicitly through the identity of Kirra who is sharing her bildungsroman. The amalgamation of the three MCDs race - Aboriginal, stages-of-life - teenager, and gender - female are evident in conversations 3 where Kirra tells a story from her book, and in conversation 4 where she analyses and interprets the images in the story she told in conversation 3 (turns 93 to turn 166). The MCD of Aboriginality is specifically evoked in turn 166, conversation 4, where it is located and identified in the landscape of her story. In conversation 5 (turns 216 and 236), Kirra states her intention to enhance the self-esteem of Aboriginal teenage girls who are incumbents of the collection of the three MCDs, Aboriginal peoples, teenager, and girls, by offering them a better direction in life than that proposed by those who depict some features of the Aboriginal lifestyle as being self-destructive. The negative implications of the work of some incumbents of the membership categories race - Aboriginal person and writer are revisited by Kirra in the last conversation (turns 591 to 599). Kirra positions herself as an incumbent of the collection of membership categories race-Aboriginal person, performative-author/writer/storyteller, stages-of-life-teenager, and gender-female who intends to give Aboriginal teenage girls a new direction in life that will ameliorate their circumstances and enhance the quality of their lives. These MCDs are used as resources to generate talk-in-interaction and drive the production of Kirra's bildungsroman.

Further evidence of Kirra deploying the MCD stages-of-life in amalgamation with gender issues reoccurs in conversation 8. When Kirra is discussing what constitutes a classic story, she mentions different milestones between birth, through to the last year of being a teenager, and affirms that each of these stages will be critically relevant to her bildungsroman, and will bring new realizations and understandings to each step of the journey (turns 383 to 395). Later on in her exposition of the MCD stages-of-life, Kirra crosses the gender boundary and includes boys as benefitting from the lessons of her bildungsroman (turn 573) and even affirms that "anyone" can relate to the truths embedded in her text (turn 569).

The MCD of an Author/Writer/Storyteller exemplified in this conversation notifies her co-participants that Kirra is a moral actor, while her Aboriginality is affirmed, and her use of the stages-of-life and gender resources of teenage girls warrants her talk-in-interaction constituting the construction of a bildungsroman form of storytelling.

Conversation 3 (turns 100-129): Author/Writer/Storyteller - Moral Actor; Stages-of-life - Young Adult; Race - Aboriginality and Global; Gender - Woman

Conversation 3 is pivotal to an analysis of this long duration of talk by Kirra and the recipient co-participants. The critical part played by the two mainly silent co-participants has been exemplified by Kirra’s utterance concerning her unwillingness to disclose her secrets to those who are in the book (turn 28). In this conversation Kirra tells a story from the book that she is writing. Incumbency in a membership category can be achieved through the performance of a category-bound activity that is identifiable as a property of a particular category. Telling an original story is an achievement that qualifies an individual to be categorized as an incumbent of the membership category storyteller (Jayyusi, 1984). Kirra tells a story that she has written and that constitutes her qualification to be an incumbent in the membership category author/writer/storyteller.

The whole of Conversation 3 that contains the story that Kirra told her co-participants is reproduced here and will be analysed as a complete unit. Here is the text:

Turn	Line	Speaker	Talk
100	181	K	=yea::h it’s it is caught between the divine and reality and what
	182		happens is (.) in in real life (1)
	183		it’s a young girl she is about (1)
	184		I haven’t given her a year I haven’t given her an age yet=
101	185	R	=yea::h,=
102	186	K	=anyways (.2) shes (.)
	187		the story starts off where she’s out in the desert it’s about um (1)
	188		it’s about um this is this i::s a fa::nta::sy a fantasy
	189		and this is the dream that keeps reoccurring=
103	190	R	=yea::h,=

104	191	K	=and this you know she is waking ↓ up ↑ ! out in the desert and
	192		(2) and (.) she is actually °!cov::ered in r::ed dust°
	193		and >↑a::ll you can s::ee is red dust
	194		< what happens is she stands up and (.) what happens is
	195		she is reborn out of a (.) out of a you know ↑! a wh::irlw::ind=
105	196	R	=yea::h,=
106	197	K	=and (re-) yeah a whirlwind and she is reborn out of that and
	198		what happens is (.) she wa::kes up and she sta::nds up and she
	199		ca::n't see nothing around her?=-
107	200	R	=yea::h,=
108	201	K	=and (.) ↑ all she see::s (.) you know ! she ju::st ope::ning h::er
	202		e::yes and all sh::e can see out of the dust is a (°grub°)
	203		and in the f::ar a::way distance i:t's a tree you know=
109	204	R	=yea::h,=
110	205	K	=it's an oasis the ! tree for one thing is an o::asis
	206		for ! someone out in the country (.)
111	207	R	=yea::h yea::h,=
112	208	K	=so all she can s::ee is this tr::ee but (5)
	209		the tr::ee is °the tr::ee is d::ying°
	210		and it is only pro::ducing so much sha::de=
113	211	R	=yea::h,=
114	212	K	=and um (.) and she looks down and um she picks up the way I
	213		write it and the way I talk about it heh but she picks up this
	214		(°grub°) and what happens is (.) she sifts it thr::ough h::er h::airs
	215		and what comes out of it's this ↑! grub=
115	216	R	=yea::h,=
116	217	K	=and this you know what °a cute little° ↑! grub heh and um
117	218	R	=yea::h,=

118	219 220 221	K	=what happens is she looks up at the grub and what happens is she looks down at the grub and the grub it stands up you know=
119	222	R	=yea::h,=
120	223 224	K	=it stands up and has these really big huge eyes and it looks back at her=
121	225	R	=yea::h,=
122	226 227	K	=and what happens is ↑! <in the::se hu::ge e::yes she can see a reflection of her^self a:: ^s an a^du::lt ((lilt))>
123	228	R	=oh yea::h (4) yeah
124	229 230	K	and um that's that's >the start of the story and I am not going to tell you the ↑ re::st?=-
125	231	R	=[[heh heh]]=
126	232	K	=[[heh heh]]=
127	233	R	=[y-
128	234	K	=[you got to wait for the book=
129	235	R	=yea::h,=

Although Kirra informs us that the heroine of this story has not been given an age (turn 100 line 184) we know that the encounter between her and the grub brings her to the realization of her impending adulthood (turn 122 line 227). It is possible that within these few turns of talk Kirra is encapsulating the category “stages-of-life” between birth and adulthood. Kirra has informed us that this is a universal story that applies to girls of “any nationality” (turn 28 line 42c). It is part of the cycle of life. The recipients are informed that this story is coming from a recurring dream (turn 102 line 184). The story is “about an Aboriginal girl” (turn 92 line 172). The origins of her life come from the dust of the earth but could have come from other elements (air, water, fire) for people of different ethnic or tribal groups. The depiction of Kirra’s heroine waking up from the red dust implies that the heroine of her story is born from the sands of the Australian desert (see also turn 166 lines 298-300). The portrayal of life beginning from the

elements may be a common figurative image among the incumbents of the membership category race - Aboriginal. Kirra does not dwell on the birth process so much as quickly transitions to a rebirth where the heroine is “reborn out of ...a whirlwind” (turn 104 lines 191-195). There is some ambiguity as to whether the sand in the original image is the same sand as the sand in the whirlwind or if there are two processes being juxtaposed next to each other. The text allows for two processes, a birth, and a rebirth and this adds evidence to the stages-of-life incumbency of the story where Kirra starts from the beginning of her character’s life and then moves quickly to the action that is happening in the present (turn 104).

The state of waking up, standing, and not being able to see anything (turn 106) may encapsulate a characteristic of adolescence where youth have an awareness of life, they have some experience of progressing to independence, and beginning to take some responsibility for themselves but they feel vulnerable because of the vicissitudes of the impending adult world that they are entering. They are still unaware of the demands and scope of that world.

Kirra’s heroine can see a grub up close and a tree in the distance (line 108). This picture is informing us of a dynamic of late teenager-hood when individuals are prone to focus on things that are close up and interesting like the grub and pending adulthood (see turns 122 and 188) but maintain their distance from other things like the tree that in this case represents their families (see turn 170). Her imaginative description of this phenomenon draws the audience into her story. It presents the attributes of this stage of life in a positive and compelling way. The self-absorption implied by the eye contact between her heroine and the grub gives the illusion that those things close up will grant a new identity (turn 122).

The heroine’s attention moves between the tree and the grub (turns 108-114). Parts of the tree are dying and consequently decreasing in influence (turn 112) while the grub once again comes into focus (turn 114) and through a series of developments opens up the possibility of a passage from adolescence to adulthood (alternate turns from 116-122) (Unaipon et al., 2006). The heroine is at a distance from the tree whose functionality is seen as being less essential and her affection is being directed to the grub. The imagery of the grub emerging through sifting her hair with her hand and her description of the grub as ‘cute’ is intimate and intriguing in a way that draws the recipients into the story (turns 114 and 116). The symbiotic relationship between the heroine and the grub, and the reciprocal eye contact contributes more detail to the intimacy of this encounter (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). The reference to this encounter evoking

a sense of adulthood in the heroine reinforces Kirra’s original image of her heroine being reborn out of a whirlwind and awakened to a new life (turns 122 and 106).

This conversation contains the only material that comes directly from her book. Kirra is a nineteen year old woman and the images of her story contribute to our understanding of incumbency in the membership category stages-of-life of late adolescence and onset of adulthood. The talk of the tree and the grub captures some attributes of the growing independence and autonomy of a young woman. Her description of intimacy and affection may also be warrantably and referentially constitutive of her incumbency in the membership category stages-of-life - adult. This story gives us stages-of-life from birth, to a reborn adolescent, to a young adult. The maturation and formation of the heroine’s personal development is a resource that Kirra acknowledges as depicting stages-of-life (turn 142). Stages-of-life are a resource that contributes to the construction of Kirra’s storytelling as constituting a bildungsroman.

In conversation 3 Kirra’s talk positions her in the membership category storyteller and information giver indicating that Kirra is using stages-of-life as a resource to generate her talk-in-interaction and the production of a bildungsroman. The MCDs of author/writer/storyteller, stages-of-life, race, and gender all exemplify the components that warrant Kirra’s specific form of storytelling as an indigenous female bildungsroman.

Conversation 4 (turns 130-214): Author/Writer/Storyteller - Dream Interpreter, Opinion Leader; Race - Aboriginal; Gender - Female; Stages-of-life - Birth to Adulthood; Family - Daughter; Romance - Boyfriend

Turn	Line	Speaker	Talk
131	238 239	R	[and do you have these transformations happening all the time=
132	240 241	K	=yea::h they keep reoccu::rring and they reoccur with different a::nimals=

In conversation 4, Kirra reveals her ability to interpret her own dreams and images. Her ability to interpret dreams is an attribute of her incumbency of the membership category author/writer/storyteller. The question “Do you have these transformations happening all the

time?” is answered in the affirmative and with a temporal qualification indicating that they occur frequently (turns 131-132). This question, followed by a preferred unequivocal answer in the affirmative, forms an adjacency pair with closure, but not without ambiguity. The source of the ambiguity is whether the recurring images are consciously assigned to the heroine in Kirra’s story or if the transmogrifying dreams are Kirra’s dream experiences that are projected onto her heroine. Kirra informs her co-participants that she goes to bed dreaming about these crazy things (turn 154). The researcher’s question asked specifically if these transformations occurred to her in her dream material or imagination, and she affirmed that they did come as dreams (turns 131-132) and this reply comes twenty turns later when Kirra informs the co-participants that she has these transformative “crazy” dreams frequently (turn 154). It is important to clarify this point because either Kirra’s accomplishment is the result of her ability to construct metaphors and figurative speech, which would make her a recognizable storyteller or that she has seen these transformations in her dreams, and subsequently assigned meanings to them, which would make her a dream interpreter and recorder of dream material. Furthermore, it could be a combination of both storytelling and dream interpretation. The process of writing a book would indicate that Kirra is combining both her personal inner material with her ability to formulate metaphorical images to produce her stories. This places Kirra’s incumbency in the membership categories storyteller that can interpret her own dreams. This membership category also includes the attributes metaphor maker, dreamer, interpreter, transmogrifier of images, and much more. Kirra is employing and embodying multiple criteria, phenomena, images, actions, and dream states in a way that demonstrates the open textured attributes of category membership work. Her skill in performing and achieving these formulations ratify the grounds for her self-avowal as the author, writer, and storyteller. Even though the book has not been published, the formative constitutive activities of these category-bound activities are evident in the storytelling that constitutes this long duration of talk.

Kirra begins interpreting the images in her story with the utterance “when she is reborn in the whirlwind, she is reborn into the world” (turn 162). This statement is not without ambiguity. The sentence only contains the verb “to be reborn” leaving the co-participants the interpretative work of determining what action is being implied. Her utterance only deals with the action of rebirth and the contextual elements of that action, sand and wind (air). The completion of this action is reserved for the next utterance, “her identity” (turn 164). The heroine’s specific identity is qualified by interpreting the red sand as Australian and even more specifically her identity as “Aboriginal” (turn 166). As mentioned above, Kirra’s heroine is an incumbent of

family rather than a nuclear family of father, mother, and children. This concept of family would be consistent with the Aboriginal episteme of family that incorporates many members with different relationships to the primary member (Harris & Kinslow-Harris, 1980; Hiatt, 1965). The detachment from the tree of certain members of the family is accompanied by the emotional attributes of loneliness (turn 176) and turmoil in the form of waves (turn 184). For instance, if a young Aboriginal woman were considering attaching herself to another man then this might cause these emotions. According to the Aboriginal episteme, attachment of a young woman to a man must follow right side or wrong side protocol of their moiety customs (Crawford, 2001; Harris & Kinslow-Harris, 1980; Hiatt, 1965; Lawlor, 1991). Even without entering into a relationship with a man, a young Aboriginal woman would be required to follow certain obligations, rights, privileges, protocols, and responsibilities that are implicit in the standardised relational pair implicit in the incumbency of the membership category family (turns 186). These conjectures are predominantly derivable from the implicative work of the EMCA membership categorization devices where the devices of interpreting talk includes the endogenous and autochthonous material from which it is emerging (Francis & Hester, 2004; Liberman, 2013).

188	330	K	=and then what happens is what happens is when °she is sitting there
	331		and up comes the grub and she looks at the grub
	332		and the thing about a grub is inno::cence°=
189	333	R	=yea::h,=
190	334	K	=so I want to give back innocence to the group you know to have
	335		innocence you know for someone like Meripa=
191	336	R	=yea::h,=
192	337	K	= so you know it's someone like Meripa >it reminds me< and when
	338		she looks into the eyes they °reflect herself° she finally realizes you
	339		know I::'m a w::oman.=

Kirra's final two interpretative moves associated with her story in this conversation can be summed up in her words "a grub means innocence" (turns 188 & 198) and "when she looks into the eyes [of the grub] they reflect herself, she finally realizes ..I'm a woman" (turn 192). This level of innocence and maturity is something that Kirra wants other girls to experience by being awakened to this type of reality (turn 202). There is some level of ambiguity here because

if Kirra is referring to a relationship with a man then we have Kirra positioned as an incumbent of the member category romance. On the other hand, if the relationship is associated with a phenomenon that is still emerging in the telling of her bildungsroman then it could be associated with her incumbency in the membership category leader and role model of a new way of being an Aboriginal woman. Kirra's incumbency in a collection of membership categories of possible romance, storyteller, Aboriginality, writer, woman, and stages-of-life (turn 142) are all intertwined and indicative of the variables that constitute the resources that Kirra is deploying in sharing her bildungsroman.

A bildungsroman is characterized by moral agency that the MCD author/writer/storyteller exemplifies. Stages-of-life that Kirra specifically mentions from birth to adulthood and psychological troubles that come with being female, romance, and family issues are all represented in Kirra's talk-in-interaction.

Conversation 5 (turns 215-271): Race - Aboriginal; Gender - Female; Author/Writer/Storyteller – Friendship, Role Model

Conversation 5 like conversation 2 was initiated by a direct comment to Kirra implying that the images and transformations in her stories are very reminiscent of Aboriginal legends (turn 378). Kirra agrees that her authorship has the intention of what she calls “creating Aboriginal girls” (turn 216 line 384). This is a clear identification by Kirra of her incumbency in the racial membership category of Aboriginal and female gender. In turn, the researcher introduces the idea of her book becoming an Aboriginal equivalent of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (turns 219, 221, & 225) thus introducing to the membership category author/writer/storyteller the attribute of classical writing.

216	380	K	= yeah well that's that's what I want to get across but not only that um
	381		(1) you know (.)
	382		I want to get across the story that it is not about (.) not about petrol
	383		sniffing and everything it's not about you know this and that I want to
	384		create Aboriginal (°girls°) you know
217	385	R	=yea::h=
218	386	K	=like everybody else=

Kirra extends this theme by nominating attributes that are consistent with classical writing in which the writer exerts moral agency, and establishes affinity and empathy between the author and the readership, and furthermore, is meticulous in that every detail conveys meaning.

The moral agency of a classic writer, according to Kirra, is referred to in these words “behind your fantasy you know you’ve got someone speaking” (turn 228). This attribute is relevant to this work for two reasons, first, Kirra is acknowledging that her story lies within her imagination as the author and second, her imagery is recognisably reflecting the message of a moral actor. One resource used for generating talk is called recipient design (Goodwin, 1981; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000). This ensures that the talk is directed or designed to be heard by the co-participants in the talk. Recipient design can also be used in text where the author directs her or his creativity in such a way that the readers will align themselves with the story. Kirra’s statement “sometimes people can say my life’s like that too” (turn 230 line 412) is indicating that she is writing in such a way that people will empathise and establish an affinity with either her message or with her sentiments.

The next attribute that Kirra designates as constituting a classic work is evoked by an analogy to Aboriginal painting where she asserts “every dot can mean something”. The corollary is that every image in her book means something (turn 248 line 450). Kirra has already illustrated this in conversation 3 where every detail of every image was meticulously analysed and the interpretation of its meaning given. Kirra expresses this overtly in the comment “that’s what I want to draw you know” (turn 254 line 456). Her inclusion of her work of writing as being equivalent to “drawing” is another use of a syntagmatic grammatical construction that uses verbs like adjectives and substitutionary semiotic descriptors whose purpose is to produce meaning (Lieberman, 1982). Lieberman argues that thought, pictures, and images precede words and language (Lieberman, 2007a). Perhaps for Kirra, her writing is a subsidiary process to the images and pictures that come to her in dreams (turn 154) and her writing is a linguistic description of what she is receiving. When the researcher questioned her, Kirra casually agreed that her medium is the written word and then changed the subject, and this led to the closing of this conversation (turns 255, 257 & 258).

Turns	Lines	Speaker	
254	456	K	=now that’s (.) that’s what I want to draw you know=
255	457	R	=but you’re yo::u’re u::sing words [rather than pictures]

256	458	K	[()
	459		[=yea::h=

In conversation 5 Kirra continues to draw on her Aboriginality, the gender troubles she is experiencing, as well as the attributes of being an author/writer/storyteller that demand that she establish an affinity, a friendship, and role model relationship with her readership as resources that drive her talk-in-interaction. In her talk-in-interaction Kirra is not only informing the co-participants of the various happenings in her life story but also constituting a bildungsroman by the properties of the resources that she is using.

Conversation 6 (turns 272-313): Race - Aboriginal versus English; Author/Writer/Storyteller - Advocate, Education and Career

Kirra has been giving us her first person avowal that she is an incumbent of the membership category, author/writer/storyteller. The first conversation in this long duration of talk began with Kirra making this claim. In Conversation 3 Kirra told a story that constituted the first story in her book and gave her a warrant to be an incumbent in the membership category storyteller. In the next conversation 4, Kirra expounded on the images in that story and gave us the interpretation of those images.

Conversation 6 commenced with Kirra giving further evidence of her eligibility to be an incumbent of the membership category, author/writer/storyteller. Kirra informs her co-participants that when she was about twelve years old she wrote a short story that won a state competition (turn 274) and that the documentation of this is publically available where she lives (turns 272, 276 & 278). This achievement acts as a category-bound activity that adds another warrant to her incumbency in the membership category author/writer/storyteller (Jayyusi, 1984). Furthermore, Kirra attests to having written another couple of short stories that will fit into her book (turn 282). Together these self-avowals and this public recognition affirm her authorship.

274	488	K	=this is ↑! when I was about probably (.) twe::lve or so::mething (.)
	489		and I writ my first short story and that and I won a state competition
	490		for shor::t stor::riesζ=

The researcher at this point again mentions an affinity between her metaphorical writing and that in Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland* to demonstrate the effectiveness of this medium as communicating with metaphors to allow her readers freedom in their interpretation of her book (turn 287). The researcher qualifies this affinity by differentiating her Aboriginality from the English cultural material contained in Lewis Carroll’s writing (turn 291). This juxtaposition of English and Aboriginal racial membership categories evokes a disclaimer from Kirra. Kirra dissociates herself from incumbency in the membership category, English (turn 292), irrespective of the affinity between her writing and that of Englishmen, Kirra definitely disclaims incumbency on the grounds that the membership category ‘English’ endogenously and autochthonously generates a cluster of categories: including the settlement of Australia and by implication colonisation, dispossession, massacres, genocide, and survival, and the continuing effects of the institutionalisation and the colonisation of Aboriginal peoples mind’s and culture (Elder, 1988; Goffman, 1961; Read, 2002; Stavrou, 2007; Trudgen, 2000). Kirra’s disavowal of incumbency in the category English constitutes a disjunction between Aboriginal membership on the one hand, and English and settlement incumbency on the other. Kirra’s dissociation from settlement that incumbency in turn generates further categories of resistance to the dominant culture, possibly include insubordination to the internationally legitimatised government of the country, refusal to accept the sovereignty of the English Crown, and by reciprocation an assertion of Aboriginal Sovereignty over the land and country (Brennan et al., 2004; Ogbu, 1978).

Kirra follows her disclaimer of incumbency in an English MCD with several utterances that do not carry meaning when standing alone.

turn	line	Speaker	
294	534 535	K	=oh come straight out >you do this< and >you do that< >that’s your direction in life<=
295	536	R	=yea::h=
296	537	K	=I’m I’m ↑! taking this on my (authority) in life=
297	538	R	=yea::h=
298	539 540	K	=you know and ↑ m::y ending o::f the stor::y it mi::ghtn’t ever get there because °I mi::ghtn’t get there°=

299	541	R	=well that's right=
300	542 543	K	=and tha::t's wh::y I:: h::ave t::o ta::ke i::t slo::w be::cause I'm not there yet.=

Kirra asserts “oh come straight out >you do this< and >you do that< >that’s your direction in life<” followed by “I’m I’m ↑! taking this on my (authority) in life” and “you know and ↑ m::y ending o::f the stor::y it mi::ghn’t ever get there because °I mi::ghn’t get there” “and tha::t’s wh::y I:: h::ave t::o ta::ke i::t slo::w be::cause I’m not there yet” (turns 294, 296, 298 & 300). It may be that these utterances are reactions to the material evoked and brought to the surface when “settlement” is mentioned. For example, the first utterance of Kirra advocating to other Aboriginal girls that this is “your direction in life” could relate to the inner conflict evoked when Aboriginal girls accept education and careers in the dominant culture rather than having children and maintaining the survival of their race (turn 294). Furthermore, Kirra’s assertion that she is working from her authority may be a statement of resistance to the dominant culture and at the same time her resignation to working within the dominant culture (296). Kirra’s lament that she might not get there might be referentially determined by her unwillingness to depend on the dominant culture sufficiently to get an education, a career, and publish her book (turn 298). The researcher who is the only vocal recipient of Kirra’s utterances offered continuances utterance but responded to Kirra’s suggestion that she may not complete her book by encouraging her to finish it (turn 305).

The other recipients who share the same Aboriginal incumbency as Kirra may have known more specifically if Kirra was responding to ‘settlement’ issues or deploying the resource of expressing psychological troubles to produce this talk. The researcher’s taking the floor and commenting on the epistemic disjunction between incumbency in the membership category race-Aboriginal peoples and incumbency in the membership category of the dominant culture may have prompted her closing the conversation or at least transitioning into another topic where she takes back the speakership (turns 307-313).

This conversation began with Kirra informing the co-participants of her history of story writing and affirming her incumbency in the membership category, author/writer/storyteller. The researcher observed that Kirra’s story has an affinity with English literature, particularly that of Lewis Carroll. The mention of a possible incumbency in the membership category English evoked a collection of attributes associated with the membership category English. This

collection contained attributes that would prevent Kirra being associated with the membership category English-settler. The category English literature and associations with colonisation seem to have evoked in Kirra a further reaction that leads into conversation seven (7).

The characteristics of a bildungsroman form of storytelling are evident in her stance as an Aboriginal person and her moral agency by being a female author, writer, and storyteller.

Conversation 7 (turns 314-377): Stages-of-life - Infant School Child; Race - Aboriginal, Dominant Culture; Gender - Female; Family - Mother; Standardised Relational Pair - Wife-Husband

Kirra begins this conversation (7) with a confession that reflexively and endogenously orients back to earlier conversations particularly related to her incumbency in membership category of stages-of-life infant school child.

314	Con 7	602	K	=well that's it ↑ I'm no:t go::ing to li::e to you bu::t when I was
		603		(° °) I played with Barbie dolls heh heh

The expression “I am not going to lie to you” (turn 314 line 602) constitutes a confession in that a confession belongs to that category of activities that generate an open and transparent acknowledgement of one’s actions and behaviour. The confession may be reflexive in that it may have been generated by an acknowledgement that at that stage in her life Kirra acquiesced to activities that are attributable to incumbency in the membership category of the romantic girls and the dominant culture. According to the Hearer’s Maxim we can hear that Kirra is associating such activities to the realm of fantasy in contrast to that of reality (turn 312 line 597 and turn 316 line 606), where fantasy would be acting according to the conditioning of the dominant culture rather than the reality of acting according to the constitutive activities characteristic of incumbency in the membership category race-Aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, it may be incumbency in the membership category of those who are trapped in romance and do not get an education and career before having a family. This analysis relies on an understanding of EMCA resources that attribute constitutive talk as being generated from incumbency in a category membership. At this point, Kirra’s talk is located in and orientated to her Aboriginality. Her Aboriginality is the resource that would ascribe fantasy to her involvement in dominant culture activities.

Kirra is also associating this lapse in behaviour as being generated from her stage in life (turn 314 lines 602-603). If her statement “I am not going to lie to you” can be ascribed to the category-bound activity of a confession, then her evocation of her incumbency in the membership category stages-of-life - infant school acts as an excuse to exonerate her behaviour from culpability because she was in a state of innocence at the time. Her accountability and culpability to the Aboriginal culture arises endogenously from her incumbency in that membership category and is dissociated from the membership category dominant culture attribute Barbie dolls.

Incumbency in the membership category stages-of-life continues to generate more predicates. The infant school stage is preschool to grade three and has the predicate that may involve playing with Barbie dolls (turn 316 lines 606-607). The next stage primary school years comprises grade three to grade six and has the predicate making friends through playing sport (turn 316 lines 610-611).

MCD analysis of stages-of-life enlightens the construction of Kirra’s argument when it passes through these stages in her life. The predicate for high school coincides with becoming a teenager (turn 318 line 613 and turn 328 line 629). Once again Kirra’s incumbency in the membership category Aboriginal teenager is implicative of a new membership category family with the attribute motherhood (turn 328 line 629). Here her Aboriginality is a resource that informs the pattern of activities that are attributable to this membership category. The consistency rule of membership in the category race-Aboriginal peoples would dictate that Kirra would have the predicate children during her teenage years. Kirra had conflict between her incumbency in the membership category race-Aboriginal peoples and the category-bound activity of the dominant culture playing with Barbie dolls during her infant to primary school stages-of-life. Kirra now finds that trouble is occurring during her teenage years. Kirra is not engaging in the activities that is normally attributable to her incumbency in the two membership categories stages-of-life - teenager and race - young Aboriginal girl. Kirra’s statement “it is time to grow-up” indicates that Kirra is boldly confronting the normal attributes of her stated incumbency for this stage of life as an Aboriginal girl. Kirra asserts that a lot of young Aboriginal girls remain mentally fixated in an infant and primary stage of life that Kirra has characterised as fantasy. This ascribed fantasy that is generated from the Barbie doll attributes of being extremely feminine, preoccupied with attracting individuals of the opposite sex, and unrealistically committed to romantic pursuits that has colonised her incumbency in the category membership race - Aboriginal peoples. As a teenager Kirra disavows her previous

incumbency in the category membership dominant culture with the attributes of playing with Barbie dolls and romance but also takes a stand against incumbency in the membership categories race - Aboriginal peoples, gender-girl, stages-of-life -teenager implicating family-mother of children. Kirra has reacted to the attributes of the dominant culture that generated the romantic and idealistic images of femininity epitomised in the Barbie Doll phenomenon and formulates an alternative course of action that defers motherhood and pursues a career.

328	628	K	=and that is what I am saying you know (.)
	629		lot of girls they have children you know they have children
	630		in their tee::n years and then once they get to years twenty (.)
	631		twenty one then they say my life is over=
329	632	R	=yea::h,=
330	633	K	=my hu::sband is the::re (.) wha::t e::lse ca::n I d::o=

Kirra is constructing a case that young female Aboriginal teenagers are positioned into incumbency in the membership category family-motherhood and standardised relational pair-wife-husband (turn 328 and 330) by their non-reflective acceptance of influences from the dominant culture. The decision to re-prioritise her incumbency in the membership categories Aboriginal, teenager, wife, and mother to that of being an Aboriginal person that develops a career could generate freedom from confusion, freedom from marriage and children, and opportunities for enriching life experiences (turns 334, 336, 340 & 342). Kirra postulates that her efforts will reposition young Aboriginal teenagers to avoid motherhood until they have established a better quality of life (turn 332). Kirra places herself in the membership category of an author/writer/storyteller, who can rescue and lead teenage girls from incumbency in the membership categories teenager mother in a standardised relational pair with a husband (turn 332). Kirra articulates and generates “a different way”, a different identity, and the development to become a practical and confident young women with new experiences, higher education, and careers (turns 350, 352. 354 & 356).

350	667	K	=>you have to think °in a different way° about yourse::lf<
	668		(1)
351	669	R	=yea::h,=
352	670	K	=it's the wa::y you think the wa::y yo::u':::re going to
	671		think about yourself

353	672	R	=yep.=
354	673	K	=and that's and that's what I want to encourage (.)
	674		↓ °yo::ung A::boriginal girls° to d::o
	675		because (.) by the time they're about twe::nty eight twe::nty nine=
355	676	R	=yep.=
356	677	K	=>they have got a job< (.) you know, yep (.) >they have got a job
	678		they're earning money< >they have been to uni<>they have been to
	679		TAFE< they ha::ve do::ne thei::r TA::FE cour::se=

The facticity of Kirra's Aboriginality is implicated as a resource to her ambition to be a role model and leader. This is evidenced by her response to a challenge made by her brother. Her brother postulates that there is a disjunction between young Aboriginal women embarking on careers and higher education, and them accepting the normative role of being wives and mothers. The consequence of the direction chosen by Kirra, according to her brother, is that the population of Aboriginal peoples will decline (turn 360) because he argues the life expectancy of Aboriginal peoples cannot sustain both a commitment in time and resources to a career and higher education on the one hand, and time and resources committed to child rearing on the other (turn 362). Kirra further postulates that under her innovative leadership young Aboriginal women will develop a change in their thinking that will lead to a change in their behaviour such that they will defer having children in their teenage years and defer their role as wives and mothers until they are in their twenties when they will be better able to provide materially for their children and maintain better relationships with their husbands (turns 366 & 368). This change is a modification in the member category of stages-of-life where marriage and child rearing is postponed from the teenage years to the twenties (turn 368).

366	697	K	=and o::h thro::ugh those teenage years yo::u kno::w ↑ what a lot (.)
	698		I don't recommend any young girl and °Donny
	699		>this is physical changes as well isn't it;°< >if you are pregant as a
	700		kid< then physical changes is going to take change in a girl's li::fe
	701		and it is going to take cha::nge up in a girl's mi::nd
	702		before it takes cha::nge in the bod::y (.5)=
367	703	R	=yea::h,= (.)
368	704	K	=and I wanta only know I wanta express to those young girls °that°

705		yo::u kno::w(.) when (.) yo::u kno::w e::ven i::f yo::u're in yo::ur
706		early twenties (.) ↑ and you have kids that's OK (.)
707		> as long as your've got a job< > yo::ur've got a li::fe< so that (.)
708		>when your young kids grow u::p they ↓ have proper food to ea::t<
709		>and they have proper living conditions<
710		>and they have got a nice husband<=

In this talk in conversation 7, Kirra topicalises, expands, and expounds explicitly on the member category of the normative stages-of-life of young teenage woman and as a resource addresses the need to defer motherhood and marriage from the teenage years to that of their twenties. She delineates how teenage girls are positioned into a standardised relational pair of wife and spouse from their infant years where they are introduced to a Barbie Doll mentality towards a life that is full of romance and pre-occupation with their body image that embodies and generates categories that attribute marriage and motherhood as normative, obligatory, and culturally appropriate activities. Kirra reveals that she can transcend this membership category by her incumbency in a higher order membership category of author/writer/storyteller with the attributes leader and mentor that can transform the thinking of other young teenage women to defer marriage and mothering until they are in their twenties.

Kirra continues to draw on the resources of Aboriginality, stages-of-life, and the psychological troubles accompanying these phenomena to construct her bildungsroman. An Aboriginal female bildungsroman that challenges and seek to formulate a new direction to that currently followed in her social milieu.

Conversation 8 (turns 378 to 480): Stages-of-life - Full Life Span; Race - Aboriginal, Dominant Culture; Gender - Female; Author/Writer/Storyteller – Classic, Friendship, Role Model; Spiritual – Cultural, Personal, Religious, Art Making

The researcher commences conversation 8 by referring to *Sleeping Beauty* and in particular to her “waking up” out of a sleep (turns 378 & 380). According to the reflexive nature of talk-in-interaction, this may relate back sequentially to the heroine in Kirra’s story waking up out of the red sand of the Australian desert (turn 104). If Kirra’s utterance in turn 104 does constitute the first part of this category of ‘young girls waking in different circumstances’ then the second pair part to this turn is separated from the first by two hundred and seventy four turns of talk.

This extensive interval between a first pair part and a second pair part of a turn constructional unit is indicative of the generative power of talk to develop topical categories that can be revisited on subsequent occasions. Kirra did not recognise the researcher's utterance as relevant to the story of her heroine and instead chose to initiate the talk (turn 383).

Kirra commences this conversation by reflexively revisiting a discussion on the attributes of a classic begun in conversation 5.

383	733	K	[but (.) >did yo::u look at< (.)
	734		do yo::u kno::w wh::y they call them (.)
	735		you know why they call 'em yo::u kno::w cla::ssi::cs=

Kirra has been positioning herself as an author/writer/storyteller. She has reflected upon the attributes, predicates, and category-bound activities that constitute incumbency in the category of a classic story. The classic story needs to entertain an infant (turn 389 line 745). It needs to relate to a teenager (turn 393 line 753) and the same story needs to have the meticulous attributes of being resourceful for an adult (turn 393 line 754). According to Kirra, these are some of the necessary and sufficient attributes that an author/writer/storyteller needs to achieve to produce a classic piece of writing (turn 383 line 735).

393	751	K	=>and then by the time you get to high school then you're like<
	752		oh. yo::u kno::w (.) that's it (.) yo::u kno::w (.)
	753		and the::n you find out a bit more when you are in hi::gh school and
	754		wha::n yo::u gro::w up that story's still there.=

A classic for the researcher contains metaphors of life changing psychological developments that meet the challenges peculiar to the cultural milieu in which they are occurring (turn 396 line 760 and turn 398 line 764). For Kirra a classic is a resource that constitutes a person's social identity and the psychological states associated with that identity (turn 399 line 766). In the talk that follows, Kirra reasons that the ugly duckling is a black swan. Irrespective of Kirra's assumption that swans are black, her reasoning that the colour of an image is relevant to the story remains valid. This identity work contributes a new dimension to the constitutive elements of a classic story. Furthermore, for Kirra the category-bound attributes of a classic include the meticulous resource that enables the story to relate to each of the stages-of-life over

the full span of life; infancy, adolescence, and adulthood. Furthermore, all the images in a classic story need to reveal the storyteller's ability to identify with the experiences of ordinary people that are, in this instance, Aboriginal people (turn 405, 415 & 417).

In the course of the talk, Kirra delineates a further attribute of a classic where the author of a classic story must become friends and a role model to their readership at a spiritual, cultural, and personal level (turns 435 & 437). Kirra cites the Bible as a book that exemplifies the category-bound criteria of constituting friendship at the spiritual, cultural, and personal levels (turns 443, 449 & 453).

435	824	K	=yea::h. It is like if you write something
	825		you beco::me a ↓ °role model° to that per::son=
436	826	R	=yea::h,=
437	827	K	=the reason someone bu::ys tha:t boo::k is ↑ because
	828		the::y wa::nt a frie::nd;=

Storytelling activities include other media like art, dance, painting, and buildings as well as written stories (turns 466, 469, 473, 475 and 479). Any of these media can fulfil the criteria of relating to all the stages-of-life during the full life span of their audiences.

In this conversation Kirra has expanded on the attributes that constitute a classic. In conversation 5, Kirra predicated of a classic the attributes of a moral actor, who writes the story (turn 228); affinity whereby the writer and readership become friends (turn 230); and the quality of being meticulous where every detail of the story conveys meaning (turn 248). In conversation 8 Kirra reiterates that a classic is meaningful for the full life span of its readership (turns 385-395) and that classics have an affinity, friendship, and role model relationship between the author and the reader (turns 429 to 433, 459). However, she later adds that classic stories convey cultural (turn 449), religious (turn 451) and personal (turn 453) affinities. Furthermore, classics can communicate these attributes through various media like art, dance, text, and buildings. These are some of the attributes that an incumbent in the membership category author/writer/storyteller of a classic needs to achieve according to Kirra.

These attributes reflexively fit with the inter-subjective constitution of that form of storytelling known as a bildungsroman whereby an author/writer/storyteller conveys the development of their own and that of their main character during the full span of their life to uncover the moral

agency, stages-of-life, psychological troubles, spiritual dimensions, and cultural and racial obligations they have successfully negotiated to achieve maturity.

Conversation 9 (turns 481-558): Family - Standardized Relational Pairs, Older Sister to Younger Sister; Spiritual - Responsibility to Her Community; Author - Personal Cost; Education - Student, Career, Job

Kirra returns to her self-avowal of incumbency in the membership category author/writer/storyteller and formulates a restatement of her conviction that her book can be reflexively identified as an extension of herself (turns 481-483). Kirra and Meripa are in the standardized relational pair of an older sister to a younger sister respectively. One of the obligations of an older sister is to help and guide her younger siblings. Kirra envisages that her ability to help and guide her younger sister will be enabled by writing her book. Then if Meripa goes to America to represent Australia as an elite sports woman, Kirra will be able to go with her in the form of her book and continue to help and guide her.

48 1	896 897 898 899	K	=I love >I love Meripa when she is travelling over to< (.) yo::u kno::w shes in a team (° °) and she's about eighteen (.) nineteen and she is travelling over to America and she nee::ds m::e.=
48 2	900	R	=yea::h,=
48 3	901	K	=and I will be there in a book=

Kirra's objective of completing her book before her nine year old sister becomes an accomplished international sports star may be the motivation and driving force behind much of her talk. To become a recognised author Kirra has chosen to defer any proposals of marriage and child bearing, and to become a student at TAFE. She says, "it's not going to be the end of the world yo::u kno::w >if I don't ha::ve kids ea::rly<" (this choice is implicit in turn 491, turns 356ff and turn 607, and explicit in turn 537). Her storytelling will benefit from a creative writing course at TAFE (turns 485-490) and information on how to publish her book will hopefully be gained through her association with TAFE personnel (turn 607).

The category-bounded activities of being an author affect Kirra’s individual life. At a personal level Kirra recalls a film she has seen where the main character believes he is receiving inspiration directly from God and this enables him to find direction in his life (turn 511 line 946). Kirra’s brief discussion on this topic seems to infer that her inspiration and perhaps her sense of responsibility as an author comes from a similar source (turn 545 & 547).

The personal cost to Kirra of pursuing this work is that her individual development seems to come at the expense of her recognition and place in the collective context of her relationships with other girls presumably in her community (turn 519). However, this obligation to the higher role of an author and public mentor rather than remaining a private person generates a degree of confusion for Kirra regarding what example she is setting in relation to her obligations to her community (turn 531).

533	985	K	=(° °) °it’s taken me to until about nineteen for a wake up call to
	986		come my way to say you have to get up (° °)
	987		o::h ↑ >thi::s i::s wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o<
534	988	R	=ye::s=
535	989	K	=and it has taken me (.) and I think running as girls w::e do::n’t
	990		li::ste::n and w::e do::n’t b::e patie::nt;=

As Kirra orients to the fulfilment of this work of being an author, she refers to a “wake up call” (turn 533); to patiently taking time to listen (turn 535); and waiting for the moment (turn 545), when the realization (turn 547 line 1007) of the “specific purpose” (turn 545 line 1002) for one’s life becomes evident. The inference and reflexive work of this talk indicates that Kirra is aware that these are category-bound activities and attributes of an incumbent of the membership category, an author but more particularly a person who has chosen to be an incumbent of the membership categories student and career person that are included in the message Kirra is hoping to offer her readership. Kirra ends this discussion on the personal cost of being an author by stating a time frame of three years in which to achieve this work and publish her first book (turns 551 & 553).

551	1011	K	= well maybe °I will give my book° three years (.) thre::e mor::e yea::rs
	1012		(.6)=
552	1013	R	=yea::h,= (1)

553	1014	K	=then I will have my first book hey=
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Through the application of the resources of membership category analysis the orientation and import of Kirra’s talk is made apparent. Kirra commenced with the objective of publishing a book even before her sister becomes an international sports woman. Kirra outlined her personal preference for making sacrifices and putting her work as an author and becoming a person who is well established in life before marriage and child rearing. She has recognised that she will need education to be able to achieve the outcome of publishing a book and she is aware that the inspiration and responsibility of being an author comes from a source beyond herself. Kirra’s experience is that her commitment to the public life of an author may be in conflict with her personal relationships with other girls and although she feels confused, she is determined to complete the task within a specific time frame.

Further evidence of the construction of Kirra’s bildungsroman is noticeable in this conversation by her use of the MCDs stages-of-life, Aboriginality, spiritual responsibilities, and the psychological troubles and costs associated with her message of promoting education and sustainable careers.

Conversation 10 (turns 559 to 609): Family - Standardized Relational Pair, Mother, daughter; Author/Writer/Storyteller – Friendship, Classic; Race - Global Citizens

Kirra’s talk has been accomplishing her assignment and incumbency to several different membership categories including an author/writer/storyteller, a young woman, stages-of-life, and an Aboriginal person. Some of these categories have been generated and made relevant by her self-avowal of her incumbency in the over-arching membership category author/writer/storyteller of a bildungsroman. It seems that her next topic of discourse is generated from these previous topics and categories. This is the last recorded conversation in this long duration of talk with recipient participation.

Kirra commences with a preferential statement about literacy.

Turn	Line	Speak-er	

559	1024 1025	K	=but I r [^] eck [~] on to learn h [^] ow to r [~] ead and wr [~] ite is the b [^] igge::st th [~] ing in l [^] ife ((lilting))=
560	1026	R	=mm=
561	1027	K	=tha::t e::verybo::dy nee::ds to d::o it=

This preferential statement that everybody needs to read and write is in the form of a prescription (turn 559) (Hare, 1952). Kirra is not making a descriptive statement about any of the categories discussed previously. Kirra is not suggesting that it is an attribute of incumbency in the membership category author, young adult, woman, Aboriginal person, or interpreter of dream images for a person to be literate. It is clear from the second part of her assertion and declaration that “everybody needs to do it” that Kirra is prescribing the necessity of these skills to incumbents of the membership category global citizens and more particularly those in minority groups who have in the past pursued life styles that didn’t include education or who have been excluded from educational institutions (turn 561) (Rigney-Sebastian, 2009). Statements of this order are referred to as generalisations or universal imperatives (Hare, 1952). Generalisations are assertions based on inferences from a sample population, or specific or particular cases. Kirra’s categorical prescription may be a projection of her own experience onto others or it may be learned from the dominant culture that reifies universal education (Lieberman, 2013). It may be a reaction to her culture that has a rich oral tradition of cultural transmission through song, dance, rock art, wood carving, and sand drawings (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004). It may be part of her agenda of having all Aboriginal peoples pursue tertiary education and a career in the dominant culture where these basic skills are required. It may be that Kirra is aware that education was not made generally available to Aboriginal peoples in the past and that has only recently become freely available to them (Austin, 1972a, 1972b; Sykes, 1986). The use of the words ‘everybody’ and ‘need’ (turn 561) give the statement an element of universality and necessity respectively that turn the preferential statement of literacy being a positive personal experience into an imperative that all people should acquire these skills.

Kirra’s next statement indicates that some Aboriginal girls and boys can’t relate to literacy but that they will be able to relate to literacy when they can learn from an incumbent of their own membership category - Aboriginal peoples rather than from incumbents in the membership

category dominant culture (turn 563). The researcher comments on Kirra changing her audience from teenage girls to teenage girls and teenage boys and seems to indicate that Kirra’s reasoning is generalizing the influence of her writing to a boarder readership (turns 563-573). The researcher expects Kirra to direct her writing to the limited pre-specified audience of Aboriginal teenage girls. When Kirra generalises the readership and pedagogical value of her story to boys and girls, and indeed ‘anyone’ (turn 569 line 1043) Kirra is implying a universal and classical quality to the efficacy of her story that not only extends to everyone but also applies through the critical stages-of-life that any individual will pass through between infancy, childhood, teenage years and adulthood (turns 565 line 1037 and turn 573 line 1053).

563	1029	K	=r^ead and wr^ite (.) and >you kn^ow I w^ant< (.)
	1030		some g^irls n^ever went to school ((lilting)) m^aybe employed to
	1031		(^relate to^o) something like, s^ome (^guys^o) r^elate to something like
	1032		th^at (.)
	1033		that m^aybe yo::u kn^o::w (.) they ca:::’t r^ea::d (.)and
	1034		>yet m^y stor^y ma::y be the fir::st stor^y th^e::y’ve eve::r r^ead< (.)=
564	1035	R	=yea::h,=
565	1036	K	= yo::u kno::w and um now yo::u kno::w (.)
	1037		and when they read it they will gro::w u::p o::n i::t=

Thus far, Kirra has attributed to her authorship the philosophical qualities of universality and pedagogy. Now she adds the attribute of temporality and projects the scope of her influence into the “Twenty First Century” (turn 581). Kirra reinforces this scope and sequence of her writing with a reference to the image of being “loud in life” (turn 577). A loud person can be heard over a great distance spatially but to be “loud in life” in the context of the Twenty First Century implies that the influence of Kirra’s story will penetrate not only contemporary peoples’ lives but individuals longitudinally over time into the future.

Kirra reinforces this spatial vastness, temporal perpetuation, and universality of the efficacy of indigenous culture by evoking the name and stories of Hans Christian Andersen (turn 587). Kirra again aligns herself by association into the incumbency of membership category author/writer/storyteller of classic stories whose writings span lives, times, places, and cultures to have an affinity with the personal lives of global citizens.

She affirms the universal nature of her writing by comparing and contrasting it to the writings of an Aboriginal man that in her estimation contains ‘stupid’ and ‘selfish’ content (turn 591 to turn 600). Unfortunately, some of the specific attributes of the male Aboriginal writer have been lost in the process of transcription but for Kirra there is writing that is edifying and there is some writing that is not.

601	1100	K	=yeah plus (° °) (4)
	1101		You’re the first one I have ever told besides my Mum (° °)
602	1102	R	=o::h=
603	1103	K	=she crie::s to::o mu::ch=
604	1104	R	=heh heh heh=
605	1105	K	=>I read it to her and she breaks up<=
606	1106	R	= that’s that’s that’s a very affirming a (.)
	1107		sort of response to get though (1)
	1108		that means that you are moving people (.) you are touching them (.)
	1109		and that’s that’s very importa::nt (1.7) that’s amazing=

In this conversation, there has been a generalisation of her writing and a move to make it universally applicable. The work of EMCA is to value the locally and situated moves generated in ordinary language and talk. Kirra has topicalized the importance of literacy while drawing her reasoning to closure. Having evoked the applicability of the universal imperative to obtain literacy, Kirra has extended the hypothetical influence of her storytelling to permeate the temporal epoch of the Twenty First Century. Finally, Kirra aligns her storytelling potential with another classic storyteller Hans Christian Anderson and verifies her own ability by citing its emotive effect on a maternal adult.

Throughout her long duration of talk Kirra has sequentially developed her incumbency in the membership category of author/writer/storyteller and advocacy for literacy and self-actualization. These are properties that warrant categorising these conversations as constituting an Aboriginal female bildungsroman.

Summary

This EMCA analysis of Kirra’s long duration of talk has discovered that her talk has been contextually and locally generated by her storytelling and writing. Her storytelling has the

attributes of a bildungsroman where the author/writer/storyteller draws on the resources of a moral actor, a person passing through stages-of-life, psychological troubles, spiritual responsibilities, and cultural and racial obligations in order to express her realisations and commitments to move forward to attain maturity and a viable quality of life.

Chapter 8: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter discusses how the investigation of the dynamic relationship between the long duration of talk with Kirra and the lived social reality of her community addresses the research aim of this study. The research aim is to discover the resources a participant uses when telling their educational story. The research aim is fulfilled in the major finding that Kirra's talk-in-interaction constituted a bildungsroman by deploying several resources that characterise that form of storytelling. These resources include talk about stages-of-life, the exercise of moral agency, the experience of psychological troubles, the mention of spiritual resources, and the inclusion of her Aboriginality in the storytelling. This chapter also discusses the implications and further directions for research in educational theory, EMCA and educational methodology, educational policy, and educational practice.

The work of EMCA research does not reify concepts but reifies the social productions made through talk-in-interaction and human activities (Lieberman, 2013). For this research the phenomena of moral agency, stages-of-life, psychological equivocations, spiritual postulations, and bildungsroman storytelling are not the object of study but how Kirra and the co-participants generated the socially constitutive objects of the occasion. The constitutive phenomena that make up a bildungsroman are resources that Kirra used in the production of her bildungsroman (Cooren, 2009; Lieberman, 2013). The autochthonous ground out of which the talk-in-interaction flowed is the inter-subjective reality formed by the reflexive interactivity between all of the co-participants even though Kirra was the main protagonist and story-teller.

The Research Aim

The aim of this study was to discover if an Ethnomethodological and Conversational Analysis of talk-in-interaction with an Aboriginal person could disclose the resources that the participants employed in the dynamic constitution of their identity, episteme, culture, and communities by analysing their social interactions and activities. This research has found that the major phenomenon around which Kirra organised her talk-in-interaction was a bildungsroman. The EMCA work of discovering the resources operating in Kirra's bildungsroman indicate that this methodology does adequately accomplish this research aim. The evidence verifying the presence of these properties and their instrumentality in Kirra's talk-in-interaction is contained in the following sections detailing the major finding of this study.

The Major Finding: Kirra's Bildungsroman

Garfinkel (1967) and Sacks (1992) were both interested in understanding the devices incumbents used to generate interactional phenomena. For instance, Garfinkel studied the decision-making processes of jurymen, and Sacks studied telephone conversations to observe the machinery or epistemic engine that drove the social interactions being observed (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 2012; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). Liberman (2013) has documented a series of different autochthonous phenomena that have emerged both through his own studies and those of his students, including coffee-tasting, and students and members of the public negotiating a particular pedestrian crossing (Liberman, 2013). In EMCA studies, particular attention is paid to the sequencing of the interactions to decipher the constitutive resources that were guiding the production of the phenomenon that was emerging (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 2012; Liberman, 2013; Psathas, 1992; Sacks, 1972; Silverman, 1998).

The bildungsroman is a particular form of storytelling that uses several resources and devices including information and reasoning about stages-of-life, moral agency, psychological motivations and equivocations, acts of full humanity and cultural sensitivities. The products of each of these resources validates that a bildungsroman has been formed as the over-arching phenomenon of this study. Kirra's talk, detailing her formative realisations and conceptual transformations from immaturity to maturity, is indicative of a bildungsroman (Boyle, 2011).

Consistent with other EMCA studies, the bildungsroman was identified through analysing the resources used in the production of the details and the sequential order of talk (Sacks et al., 1974). The indexical nature of the talk made the understanding of the unfolding phenomenon dependent on the context of the talk. The incumbency of the co-participants added polysemic layers of meaning to the talk. The sequential conversational episodes of talk allowed for reflexive interaction and connections to form over the long duration of talk (Liberman, 2013).

Stages-of-life: A Resource Driving Kirra's Bildungsroman

Kirra's references to developmental stages-of-life are a resource that she uses to organize her self-disclosures in the talk-in-interaction. Her mentioning of these stages performs two functions; they introduce new topics of talk and they drive the talk to perform the work of telling her bildungsroman.

The second conversation begins with a reference to teenage girls (turn 28) who are the audience of her book. The mention of teenage girls here is performing a function associated with her

incumbency in the membership category of teenage writer-author. As a writer Kirra is conscious of a potential audience that drives the relevance of her writing and the orientation of the subject matter of her text.

Her book is directed to her audience but at the same time discloses the realisations that Kirra is making about being a teenage girl. Kirra realises that if a teenage girl allows romantic literature to script their life (turns 38-60) then they will end up being “brain washed” (turn 52) and possibly teenage Mums (turn 62).

The storytelling text from her book that is rich in imagery, again employs stages-of-life to drive her bildungsroman (turn 92 to turn 128). The imagery of her heroine waking up in the red sand of the desert and her rebirth in the whirlwind indicate the commencement of her life and the stages her life passes through (turn 104). Her encounter with the grub indicates a phase of innocence (turns 188-202) and her awareness of being or becoming a woman (turn 192).

The epistemic engine that Kirra is working from does not differentiate between states of consciousness of dreaming, spirituality, or reality but acknowledges that the different states are all generating the same ontological outcomes of passages through the developmental stages-of-life (turns 142-146). The generative nature of Kirra’s episteme is similar to that of EMCA that directs the focus of study from the topics of discussion to the transformative phenomenon (Jayyusi, 1984). Her dreaming, her sense of reality, her spirituality, and her psychological states are all contributing to the expression of her maturation (turn 154).

The resource of stages-of-life is also evoked when Kirra confesses to having played with Barbie Dolls when she was in a fantasy stage of life between pre-school and grade 3 (turns 314-316). The symbol of the ‘Barbie Doll’ indicates both a stage of life and her incumbency in the member category infant/child, and this reinforces Kirra’s technique of generating a bildungsroman. The next stages-of-life device characterises the sports phase where she makes friends (turn 316). The movement of the talk-in-interaction is to build her life through mentioning these stages in her life and the life of her contemporaries in the isolated community where she was growing-up. In high school the movement takes a new direction and involves making decisive choices (turn 318). The content of the decisions is only part of the movement. The decision-making is itself indicative of that teenage stage of life. Not to make such decisions is to forfeit the potentially empowering nature of that phase of life. For Kirra a predicate of incumbency in the membership category teenager is “selecting a good path” and practising the moral agency implicit in the formation of a bildungsroman (turn 158).

The bildungsroman resource that Kirra is employing again materializes in her exposition on the functions of writing a classic. Classic stories contain bildungsroman capacities in that they can both generate and reflect meaningful connections with all of life's stages. According to Kirra, a classic story contributes to the formation and meaning of life from birth, to infancy, to childhood, to teens, and on through adulthood to the completion of one's life (turn 395).

The scope of the bildungsroman device to transform lives by choosing a path of education and careers is not limited to the perspective of teenage Aboriginal girls but is co-extensive to include teenage girls of all cultural backgrounds (turn 28 lines 41-42) and teenage Aboriginal boys, as Kirra intends, through the agency of her writings to take teenage boys through these transformative trajectories of life (turn 573 line 1051-1052).

This research demonstrates that stages-of-life are not only a topic of discussion but are an interactive resource for constituting lives in the autochthonous phenomenon of a bildungsroman. The social activity of talk-in-interaction is generated from life and in turn contributes to the formation of social realities and social objects.

Moral Agency: A Bildungsroman Resource

Social objects are the inter-subjective productions of moral actors who are performing the mundane reasoning, talk, and activities of their routine lives (Garfinkel, 2002). The talk-in-interaction that constitutes this research material was generated by the co-participants acting out of their *in vivo* and *in situ* local work. Moral agency is indicated by individuals and communities collaboratively and accountably possessing, actualising, and developing the potential inherent in their abilities and skills. Moral actors possess their abilities by using them interactively in the production of social facts and realities (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Jayyusi, 1984; Wieder, 1974b). Writing books, telling stories, being a role model, making friends, having babies, and playing sport are some normative activities that members can possess, constitute, and actualise through interaction with others (Jayyusi, 1984).

Kirra uses the first person personal pronoun in excess of two hundred and fifty times in the long duration of talk. Kirra mentions her writing (turn 6), her ideas (turn 18), her decisions (turn 24) and her intentions (turn 28, 38, 72). Kirra asserts that when she was in high school, aged 13 or 14, she made a decision based on a realisation (turn 48) to grow-up and face reality. Part of the significance of her realisation is that it demonstrates that Kirra is an active, reasoning,

and moral agent. By articulating her realizations and decision-making, she is acting reflexively, accountably, and intelligibly to her co-participants (Garfinkel, 1967).

Throughout the talk-in-interaction Kirra has exerted her moral agency by acting out of her incumbency in the member category an author/writer/storyteller that requires self-initiative and self-expression. Kirra began this long duration of talk by informing us that she is half way through writing her first book (turns 2-4). The topical material in the first conversation was about Kirra compiling information to write a book. Conversation two was her orientation to the audience of her book and the relevance of her writing to that audience (turns 28 & 36). Kirra continues to orientate to the content of her book and to her intention to give her audience something substantial with which to inform their lives, rather than content that may reinforce directions in their lives that can lead them to becoming “trapped” (turn 62). The initiative demonstrated by Kirra in writing the stories that come to her are indicative of her moral agency. Kirra’s voluntary engagement with being an author makes her a moral actor rather than a passive subject of her circumstances.

In the sequence of talk leading up to and including conversation three, Kirra’s actions as a moral agent orientate to her incumbency in the member category writer/author/storyteller. Here Kirra tells a story from her book. Kirra’s storytelling both in conversation three that is taken from her book, and her storytelling throughout the long duration of talk, both employs resources that constitute her bildungsroman. Kirra informs us at the end of conversation three that the story that she has just told will be in her book (turn 128). In conversation four, Kirra again orientates to her authorship of a book by stating that this “will be my first dream” in her book (turn 148). At the end of conversation four Kirra orientates to her book by agreeing that this is the beginning of something, meaning her book (turns 211-12). Kirra’s moral agency as an author/writer/storyteller is a resource that accounts for the generation of her talk-in-interaction and the formation of her bildungsroman.

Conversation five begins with a strong orientation by Kirra to herself as an author/writer/storyteller and to her book. Kirra again affirms that the content of her book will not reiterate dysfunctional material, but will focus on giving Aboriginal girls a positive and constructive direction in life. Kirra continues her orientation to the content of her nascent book by insisting that the intent of her book is not to detract from the well-being of her audience, but rather to empower them (turns 226 & 236). The fifth conversation closes with another clear indication that Kirra is actively orientating to her incumbency in the member category author/

writer /storyteller when she says, “How do you like my start” (turn 270). Kirra has positioned herself as an author/writer/storyteller and this stance is informing her epistemic knowledge base and showing her moral agency that continues to generate and energise her talk-in-interaction.

Conversation six begins with a similar indication that Kirra is speaking from the membership category device author /writer /storyteller. Kirra informs the co-participants and particularly the researcher of a short story she wrote when she was twelve years old (turns 272-274). The conversation continues to be framed by talk of literary material and Kirra makes the claim “I am taking this on my authority in life” (turn 296). This self-avowal reinforces the analysis that the resource that Kirra is drawing on is her capacity, her moral agency, and her identity as an author /writer /storyteller. In conversation seven this same confidence in her ability to communicate to her generation is reiterated in her intention to encourage Aboriginal girls to make changes that will give them more opportunities in life (turns 332-354). Kirra the author /writer/storyteller anticipates that her book will be a friend and make her a friend to her target audience (turn 427). The book and the written form of her opinions is the substance to which Kirra is orientating and what is driving her talk-in-interaction with the co-participants, that is, both her writing of the book and the articulation of her bildungsroman (turns 429, 435, 461). Conversation eight ends with Kirra acknowledging that “I don’t know where I get that creativity from” (turn 465), to be an author/writer/storyteller (turns 469-479).

Conversation nine continues the orientation to being an incumbent in the membership category author/writer/storyteller as she anticipates that her book will be known and circulated through publication (turns 483 and 553). Conversation ten continues Kirra’s orientation to having disseminated a book that will be available and make it possible for Aboriginal children to grow-up learning to read and write (turn 563). Furthermore, Kirra compares herself with Hans Christian Andersen with the expectation that her writing will relate to and captivate her readers as he did (turn 587). Kirra also compares herself to other Aboriginal writers who tell stories that convey less exemplary messages (turns 593-599).

Kirra’s orientation to her projected incumbency in the membership category of an author/writer/storyteller exemplifies her moral agency in the formation of her bildungsroman. The epistemic knowledge and creativity that has generated her telling of her bildungsroman to the co-participants of this long duration of talk and her intended incorporation of this information in her book, reinforce her moral agency in the formation of her bildungsroman.

Kirra's self-avowal of her incumbency in the membership category writer/author/storyteller accountably contributes to the production of her constitutive talk.

Members' activities in the past are resources that a moral agent or social actor can draw upon to bring definition to the bigger device of the autochthonous phenomenon Kirra's bildungsroman (Sharrock & Button, 1991). Kirra's past performance of refraining from marriage and becoming a teenage mother creates the circumstances that will meet her objective of completing her education, having a career, and writing a book (turns 344-356). Her actions as a moral agent in taking this alternate life trajectory are a result of her patience (turns 533-543).

Intentionality is an indicator of moral agency. Kirra is motivated by her desire to "touch a life with Christianity" (turn 443). Her talk is in the context of her writing. The Bible is a friend to Christians and accordingly Kirra is going to fulfil her moral obligation to change the cultural expectations, the personal career trajectories, and the Christian dimensions of her audience by her becoming their friend (turns 449-453). Moral agency is expressed in terms of her incumbency in the membership category 'friendship' that Kirra expects to gain by sharing her writing/storytelling (turns 455-461).

This long duration of talk has been generated by several epistemic devices including the use of moral agency expressed in writing, storytelling, realisations, intentions, and consequential decision-making that Kirra has both articulated in and as her bildungsroman, in and as the formation of her story and in and as her intention to share that story (Garfinkel, 2002; Liberman, 2007a). The psychological consequences of these constitutive intentions forms another resource that Kirra encounters in discussing her bildungsroman.

Psychological Troubles: A Bildungsroman Resource

In EMCA studies the sequential trajectory of 'troubles' over several conversations is a known resource for maintaining multiple turns of talk (Jefferson, 1974, 1988). These studies have analysed a pattern in the announcement of a 'trouble'. The pattern starts with an initial approach to the conversation and then a lead up, before the trouble is announced. The expected response to the announcement is affiliation where the recipient(s) engage with the 'trouble' and seek a solution. Then the status quo is reaffirmed and an attempt is made to make light of the situation. Closure or a topic shift usually follows (Jefferson, 1988).

In this study the resource of delivering ‘troubles’ is presented as the psychological component of Kirra’s work of accomplishing a bildungsroman. Kirra informs the co-participants of the psychological troubles that have accompanied the different stages-of-life through which she has passed and that she is still experiencing.

Throughout the long duration of talk Kirra expressed equivocal feelings about her writing, the effect that it would have on her readership, and troubles associated with the topics that she was addressing both in her talk and in her writing. For example, Kirra made reference to the negative experience of girls generally and Aboriginal girls in particular in their being “pushed about” by romantic media that “affect a young person’s mind” (turns 38-40, 50-70).

Mention is made of the psychological troubles of “harsh criticism” that is directed toward young Aboriginal girls by male members of their community (turn 72-90). Kirra’s writing is designed to ameliorate this situation by giving them the confidence and means by which to make decisions that will remedy the situation. Kirra uses these psychological troubles as a resource in the production of her talk-in-interaction that constitutes her bildungsroman.

Kirra’s incumbency in the member category writer/author/storyteller can explain some of her utterances where she follows the trajectory of re-introducing ‘troubles’ into the conversations. The topic of the conversation seems to be about writing a classic piece of literature, and then Kirra mentions a psychological equivocation “I don’t want to force stuff in their face” (turn 226). This indicates that Kirra’s talk about being a writer includes her talk about her equivocations and the potential troubles associated with her writing. The researcher provides affiliative responses and suggests remedies for avoiding the psychological troubles (Jefferson, 1988). Kirra’s solution to these ‘troubles’ requires her audience departing from the status quo and accepting her solutions, solutions that Kirra does not want “to push” onto them (turn 236). Part of the remedy that Kirra is suggesting is to take a career path that will defer having children until after an education and a career is established. This prescription provokes a response from her brother indicating that this solution will be a source of psychological ‘trouble’ if it were to be presented to their community (turns 360-370). A temporary resolution to this ‘trouble’ is that the prescription would only apply to Aboriginal girls and would therefore follow the protocols in the Aboriginal episteme that surrounds women’s business that is customarily kept separate from male scrutiny (turns 375-376) (Harris & Kinslow-Harris, 1980). This remedy would present ‘troubles’ to the collective congenial composition of traditional Aboriginal life

by imposing a potentially individualistic solution to their collective consensus (Lieberman, 1985).

The self-recriminations associated with a bildungsroman form of storytelling re-emerge in turn 421. Kirra announces, “I have my opinions and I am not a bad person”. Kirra seeks to resolve these ‘troubles’ by stating that her intention in writing her opinions is to be a friend (turn 431) and a role model (turn 435). In addition, Kirra appeals to spiritual writings and stories, but this causes further troubles in that she does not want to appear to be someone that “drives” spiritual solutions toward people (turn 447).

The next psychological ‘trouble’ in this trajectory of talk-in-interaction is Kirra’s self-disclosure “I don’t fit in with *other* girls” (turn 519). The researcher offers a remedy to this trouble-telling. This attempt at providing a remedy fits the pattern previously observed by Jefferson (Jefferson, 1988). The device of ‘trouble-telling’ continues to serve two functions in this study. First the ‘trouble-telling’ is a resource generating the talk-in-interaction and second, it constitutes one of a collection of resources that undergoes a transformative function that constitute the over-arching phenomenon of a bildungsroman (Jayyusi, 1984).

The final instance of a ‘trouble’ is when Kirra says “as I go through life ... I am so confused about what I want to do” (turn 531). Her ‘troubles’ generate choices and realisation that are the formative properties of a bildungsroman. This extended sequence of storytelling has raised Kirra’s consciousness such that she is aware of the alternate paths that she can choose from in her life, and that she can offer to her readership. Her prescription for resolving the predicament of young Aboriginal women is by education and a career that mean deferring the alternate course of getting a man and having children. However, Kirra uses this psychological ‘trouble-telling’ as a resource to reset the conversation because later she not only reaffirms her commitment to education and a career for Aboriginal girls but extends it to include boys in general and Aboriginal boys in particular (turn 573). This extension goes beyond the restraints of women’s business to include everyone who is willing to be educated and follow a career as a means to resolving the predicament their community experiences.

Kirra has included the resource of psychological ‘trouble-telling’ in the constitutive work of maintaining this long duration of talk. The psychological ‘trouble-telling’ fits with the resource of a bildungsroman.

Full Humanity-Spiritual Dimension: A Resource Driving a Bildungsroman

The formation of an individual's personal development from immaturity to maturity often includes a spiritual dimension that can be observed by the individual taking responsibility for their community and others, rather than just their own concerns (Dostoyevsky, 2013; Frankl, 1985, 2000).

The strength and confidence to achieve comes from keeping the purpose in focus and active in the socially creative domain. For change to occur, Kirra is asking "lots of Aboriginal girls to look at themselves and turn around" and face what is being said about them by pushing themselves further into a creative solution to the circumstances (turn 78). Implicit in this stance, Kirra is accepting responsibility for these girls and willing a change from what is, to what could be (Frankl, 2000; Hare, 1952; Jayyusi, 1984, 1991). To accept the status quo when it is dysfunctional is not a responsible option especially when there is real potential for change.

Full humanity can be discovered through a commitment to responsibility to others and from this flows an individual's identity (Frankl, 2000). When Kirra's heroine changes by being reborn through a whirlwind, she obtains her identity (turn 164). This change coincides with an acceptance by an Aboriginal girl of her Aboriginal identity (turn 166). Implicit in this acceptance is a renewed commitment to the protocols and obligations of being an Aboriginal person (Yunkaporta, 2009). Part of this act of full humanity includes accepting her gender that, in her story, is reflected in the eyes of the grub that act as a mirror (turn 192). In the case of Kirra's heroine, it is her realisation that she is a woman (turns 192 and 371). There are obligations and responsibilities that accompany the potential of an individual's gender especially when survival of the population of a minority group is concerned (turn 360).

This re-creation by Kirra of Aboriginal peoples to be socially responsible individuals contrasts with the dysfunctional depictions of their communities that are being propagated in some contemporary films and other media (turn 216). Kirra realises that by exemplifying a life that has changed from the social circumstances in which she began to an educated person with a career and a writer will empower others from a similar background to make the same change (turn 230). The purpose of Kirra's writing is to inspire and encourage other young Aboriginal girls to follow a similar path to a stable and safer quality of life (turn 354) and in this way gain the friendship of those who have succeeded through following her example (turn 461). This spirituality is a property of a bildungsroman (Boyle, 2011).

Kirra acknowledges that reading and writing literacy is the foundation for achieving these social goals and she anticipates that her writing will be instrumental in engendering these

outcomes (turn 563). Kirra's storytelling, which includes talk of spiritual phenomena, is purpose driven; to have her writing productive of and as social realities that will ameliorate the quality of life of both girls and boys in her community (turn 573) (Garfinkel, 2002). This epistemic stance is employing the resources of acting responsibly toward her community, with whom she fully identifies. Her spiritual talk-in-interaction acts as a resource that generates and actualises her bildungsroman.

Aboriginality: A Resource Driving Kirra's Bildungsroman

The work of EMCA is to discover the practices that drive talk-in-interaction. An individual's cultural and racial talk is a resource that produces the interactions and accrues the properties of a story and in particular a bildungsroman. Reflecting on the dynamics that operate within a community, forms the basis for contextualising the autochthonous characteristics of that life world. Story-tellers use their experiences and their knowledge of their life world to frame their story. Kirra uses her knowledge of the Aboriginal community, of which she is a part to frame her bildungsroman and her realisation that the experience of being an incumbent in that membership category can be ameliorated by making decisions and following new directions.

Throughout her sequential talk, reference is made to her Aboriginal community. Aboriginal peoples are proud of their life world (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). Kirra is a confident writer of a book (turn 2) and directs much of the content of her writing to a readership of Aboriginal peoples of all ages and both genders in her community. The images in the story from her book are characteristic of the Aboriginal episteme and grounded in their cultural relationship with the land and their country (turns 94-128). Aboriginal peoples often say that they do not own the land but the land owns them (Read, 1996), and this knowledge is reflected in conversation three where the heroine in her book is rebirthed out of the earth (turn 106) and this knowledge is reflected in conversation three where the heroine in her book is rebirthed out of a whirlwind (turn 106). Her knowledge of the Aboriginal episteme is used as a resource to communicate her understanding of their art, their dance, their music, and their buildings where all the details of their practices expresses the meaning of their life world (turns 466-477).

The progressive path that Kirra is proposing does not implicate her in embracing the "settlement" stance of the dominant culture (turn 292). Her book, practices, and propositions are in and at the service of restoring dignity and self-worth to her community (turn 192). It is the progression from her beginning to where she is going as an individual and anticipating

consensual interaction with the collective Aboriginal community that constitutes this particular storytelling in and as a bildungsroman (Lieberman, 1985).

Summary

The application of Ethnomethodological policies and Conversation Analysis has disclosed the resources and devices that the participants in this study have used to generate this long duration of talk. The mention and noticing of stages-of-life are used as resources to drive the talk. The conscious articulation of critical realisations and decisions has formulated the direction and path along which Kirra recommends others in her community proceed. The direction Kirra's new decisions and realisations are taking have engendered conflict and confrontation and generated psychological troubles that are resources and properties of her bildungsroman (Jefferson, 1988). Her drawing on spiritual sources both from within her own imaginative dreaming, her culture, and from some Christian sources were resources that strengthened her resolve to be fully human and follow a course that will produce responsible outcomes (Frankl, 2000). Finally, the Aboriginal episteme that is distinct from the dominant culture informs her ways of knowing and is a resource that produced her bildungsroman storytelling.

Kirra's long duration of talk has produced a nascent bildungsroman in that as a young nineteen year old female school student, she has not lived out the possibilities and new directions that she is proposing. The proposed changes and challenges have not been put to the test but are still latent in the form of dreams, intentions, realizations, and decisions. Kirra has not severed herself from her family and community to test her radical agenda. Her talk is indicative of a female bildungsroman in that she proposes to challenge the stereotypes of having a man and children. It is indicative of an Aboriginal bildungsroman in that she is rejecting the enticement and consequent dysfunctionality of falling into the ways of the dominant culture that go into drug abuse and disregard for the law. At the same time she has not fully embraced the customary Aboriginal culture and ways of life that she is challenging by proposing that she follow the dominant cultures career path of gaining an education and employment. However, the resources that she has employed indicate that she is fully aware of the different choices, directions, and life trajectories that lie before her.

The aim of this research was not to analyse a fully developed bildungsroman but the resources the participants and specifically, Kirra the main protagonist, have deployed to constitute the social objects and devices embedded in her talk. The content and topical talk contained in her

talk has been re-constructed in the analysis and in this discussion to validly specify the properties and attributes of those resources that collectively synthesise into a bildungsroman.

Implications and Further Directions of the Research

The implications of this research for educational and EMCA methodology, educational theories, educational policies, and educational practices will now be discussed particularly in relation to the formal education of Aboriginal students.

The Implications for Educational and EMCA Methodology

This study has been performed by subjecting the data to an empirical analysis that is consistent with the policies and previous findings of EMCA research (Mason, Button, Lankshear, Coates, & Sharrock, 2002). The present research has applied the EMCA methodological practice of discovering the sociological objects that are endogenously produced within the social interactions analysed in the study.

A wider implication of this study indicates that EMCA is an effective methodology for doing educational research with the Aboriginal community of Australia. The starting premise of EMCA is that information gathered from the practices of the target community can be used to formulate educational theory and educational policy in a way that will enhance good practice in the education of incumbents in that membership category (Freebody, 2003). The information and findings provided by the co-participants in this study are significant for; understanding the cultural background, the motivation and intentions, the psychological troubles, the spiritual protocols and obligations, and the influence of Aboriginality on the Aboriginal students seeking to achieve a better quality of life through higher education.

EMCA methodology allows research to commence with the social practices and actions of the incumbent members of a community rather than from social constructs that pre-theorise the ideals, norms, and problems associated with that community (Gooda, 2012b). The EMCA methodology relies upon a praxeological validity that is attained by retaining the social orientation of the participants that accounts for the constitutive work being performed, which in this case is a bildungsroman (Emirbayer & Maynard, 2011). The social objects are morally organised using constitutive resources. The constitutive resources are determined by the reflexive and sequential properties of the interactive order in the social dialogue. EMCA recognises that the phenomena that good research discloses will be lost if the inter-subjective constitutive work of the co-participants is taken-for-granted, and not noticed and made hearable

(Emirbayer & Maynard, 2011; Garfinkel, 1967; Wieder, 1974b). The application of EMCA to this research has made a significant contribution to educational methodology by disclosing the social reality of Kirra's bildungsroman. It can be anticipated that further research that deploys EMCA principles, policies, and practices will disclose resources that incumbents in the membership category Aboriginal employ to generate social phenomena.

The Implications for Educational Theory

Educational theories are “employed to explain and predict the behaviour of other individuals” (Sharrock & Button, 1991, p. 157) and the disclosure of Kirra's bildungsroman informs academic expectations on how other incumbents of the membership category Aboriginal might tell their stories. The analysis in this study respecifies the phenomenon of a bildungsroman to include Kirra's storytelling and the constitutive work of the co-participants. The significance of this re-specification for educational theory is that other Aboriginal people may generate a bildungsroman form of storytelling when communicating the importance of their educational stories. The implication is that Aboriginal peoples often refer to the stages in their lives, their actions as social individuals, their psychological equivocations, their responsibilities and moral obligations, and their Aboriginality as a relevant way of verifying their social realities. A bildungsroman is particularly pertinent to an Aboriginal person's way of communicating because it incorporates both their collective identity within their community and their individual identity through their responsible and inter-subjective interactions with other members of both the Aboriginal community and the dominant culture (Lieberman, 1982). Educational theory can anticipate that further research with incumbents of the membership category Aboriginal, will generate generalities that will inform educational policies and practices.

The Implications for Educational Policy

Education will benefit from including Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis into its policy development. Policies that are based on the use of EMCA research could discover other resources that members use to make education relevant to their communities.

Policies could be formulated to analyse how different communities go about constituting their social reality and making these structures visible and noticeable. This would require policies that would make resources available for disclosing these phenomena.

Policies that draw on EMCA research would be fostering rigorous study of actual talk-in-interaction of the incumbents of different member categories that would inform syllabus and curriculum outcomes that are relevant and would enhance the engagement of these members with the dominant culture.

Aboriginal peoples would particularly benefit from policies that enable and empower them to implement their own EMCA studies into social interactions where their ways of knowing and doing things are often misunderstood and misrepresented (Gooda, 2012b). The Aboriginal episteme would be better served by a full formulation of their social realities that could be articulated using EMCA techniques and policies.

The incorporation of policies that implement an EMCA approach to research based on a symmetrical and equal relationship between the researcher and the participants would suit the Aboriginal culture where hierarchical power structures are less significant (Lieberman, 1982).

The Implications for Educational Practice

There are at least three ways that this research can inform educational practice.

First, the inclusion of Aboriginal history and culture is a mandatory component of all the key learning areas of English, Mathematics, History, Geography, and Science in the Australian Curriculum. This study has shown that an EMCA analysis of social interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people can achieve educational outcomes by discovering the phenomenon of a bildungsroman form of storytelling that some Aboriginal peoples are applying to their lives to propose alternate career paths for themselves and for their community (Read, 2009). Further research could discover the resources Aboriginal peoples deploy in the key learning areas in secondary and tertiary education.

Second, the behaviour of many Aboriginal students in schools is often misunderstood. These students are often excluded from the curriculum because of their behaviour and insufficient accommodations and adjustments are made to engage them more fully in the dominant culture. This study and the methods adopted in this research could inform teaching practice about how Aboriginal peoples can be engaged with knowledge construction and how to engender learning environments that suit their motivations and learning styles.

Third, this study could inform both the content and practice of the course on Aboriginal studies that is taught in the High Schools. Teaching practice could adopt a more open approach to

education where the theoretical presuppositions relating to Aboriginal history and culture are less structured and allow for the knowledge of Aboriginal students to inform the content of their studies as well as the students being informed by the texts (Freebody, 2003).

EMCA research begins with the study of social practice. This research began with the study of an Aboriginal woman's talk-in-interaction. Educational practice can in future be a subject of analysis in and of itself such that the interactive practices in the educational environments can be reflected upon. The more clearly the practice of including Aboriginal knowledge into the key learning areas of the curriculum are articulated the more accurate will the educational outcomes become. The more clearly the practices of Aboriginal communities is analysed the more effective will the outcomes be for the engagement of those students in their education. The effective practice of teaching the Aboriginal episteme in the schools will contribute to Aboriginal peoples engaging and being included in the dominant culture (Hughes et al., 2004; Yunkaporta, 2009).

Educational practice can change if the conditions for change are present. The main condition is relevant information that can be obtained by further research in the natural setting and the practices of the communities that will benefit from those changes. Analysing the information gathered from communities without resorting to theoretical assumptions, but with tools designed to capture the phenomena inherent in the activities and interactions of the incumbents of the member category under observation, will produce a balanced view of their ability to perform and contribute to the well-being of the whole society (Freebody, 2008).

EMCA is a particularly pertinent methodology to apply to research into social objects that implicate interaction between multiple epistemologies. Through the discovery of interactive resources and activities a deeper understanding and knowledge can be gained of the differences between cultures (Yunkaporta, 2009). The methodology can disclose the significance, the prior knowledge, the challenges, the changes, the connections, and the narratives of individuals from different cultures in a way that can lead to greater inclusivity of those members in the learning environments of the dominant culture (Teaching, 1997). An inclusivity that is sensitive to their epistemologies and ontologies that enable and empower them to substantively communicate their knowledge without the expectation of them having to displace their epistemology with that of the dominant culture. In this way cultural knowledge is not replaced but shared and absorbed into the dominant culture enriching both cultures with new ways of knowing and

thinking (Hughes et al., 2004). This will in turn increase the inclusive capacity of educational practice to embrace other epistemologies and diverse ethnicities.

Further Directions for Research

The major finding for this study is that Kirra and the co-participants were engaged in a long duration of talk that was resourced by a bildungsroman form of storytelling. This specific device has not previously been analysed in EMCA literature. This study adds the storytelling resource of a bildungsroman to the scope of EMCA methodology. In a like manner, the application of the EM and CA methodologies can be deployed to more activities and talk to disclose more resources that individuals employ in the production of their activities or talk-in-interaction in other contexts and environments. The EMCA methodology has proven to be effective in discovering the resources members use in and as the mundane reasoning of their normal ordinary lives (Garfinkel, 2002; Liberman, 2013).

The highly reflexive nature of human activities and talk dictates that members' actions and talk are directed by the indexical context of social interactions. The context of this study was framed by the enquiry "You are asked to participate in conversations where you tell your story about learning and how you maintain educational outcomes" (Appendix C: Research information sheet). However, in the course of this research many other recordings were made of conversations that were initiated by other circumstances and other contexts that if analysed would disclose different resources that members were using to constitute other social realities. In the future the researcher plans to apply the EMCA methodology to these materials to further extend the scope of EMCA discoveries.

Further research will inform education theory. Theory enables predictions of what individuals may do or say in similar circumstances or conversations. The social objects discovered in each particular work will be unique but the resources used possess a property of generality that is consistent across the different circumstances and conversations.

The disclosure of the generalities and properties of similar activities and talk-in-interaction can inform educational policies and dialogue with different membership categories. The highly reflexive nature of EMCA research ensures that future policies will reflect the social realities of the incumbents in those membership categories. The Aboriginal community are willing to engage in reflexive social interactions based on the symmetric and equal dialogue that is pertinent to their social realities (Dodson, 2008; Gooda, 2012b; Liberman, 1978, 1982).

Given that EMCA methodological research findings do contribute to future educational theories and policies, further research may indicate that social change has been achieved through such research. The practice of each activity or talk that is analysed will inform future practices and determine better outcomes for education and Aboriginal members.

Summary

The major finding of this research was that the co-participants mutually constructed a bildungsroman around the life and intentions of the main protagonist, Kirra and addressed the research aim of the study. The bildungsroman is an autochthonous phenomenon and a particular form of storytelling where the initiator of the talk uses resources from the stages in their life, their intentions and realisations, their psychological states, their spiritual perceptions, and their cultural responsibilities and identities to generate their talk and their story, and constitute the social reality they are formulating.

The implications of the research are relevant and significant to educational methodology, educational theory, educational policy, and educational practice. The cycle of beginning with practice that in turn informs theory; that informs policy; that informs better practice; was deemed to be uniquely instructive for the formal education of Aboriginal students.

Chapter 9 Conclusions

This research has analysed a long duration of talk between Kirra and the researcher that took place over an hour with minimal participation of her paternal great Uncle and her younger brother. The aim has been to discover the resources that Kirra was deploying in generating her talk. The first phase of the analysis was directed to analysing the Conversation Analysis resources used by Kirra and to answering the central question “Why that now?” (Schegloff, 1998); ‘that’ refers to the relevance to Kirra of what she is doing with each of her utterances.

This chapter makes concluding comments about the implementation of:

- a) Conversation Analysis resources,
- b) Membership Categorisation Devices as resources,
- c) Combined Ethnomethodological and Conversation Analysis resources,
- d) Limitations of the research,
- e) Concluding comments.

The Operation of Conversation Analysis (CA) Resources in Kirra’s Storytelling.

The initial analysis deployed known conversation analysis (CA) tools to the long duration of talk. The CA resource of opening and closing of conversations disclosed that the hour of talk-in-interaction consisted of ten identifiable conversations (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). Talk-in-interaction is produced sequentially over time, and a pattern of talk initiated by opening statements was followed by turns that indicated affiliation and the further imparting of information, which was then observed to be closed by identifiable interactions that indicated each conversation had come to a satisfactory conclusion.

The CA resource of turn-taking that occurred at the beginning of the conversations usually consisted of the CA resource of adjacency pairs indicating a period of dialogue between Kirra and the researcher. This gave way to storytelling where the turn allocation was dictated by Kirra taking the floor and providing information from her personal life that told her story (Billig & Schegloff, 1999). Both the content of the topical talk and the pattern of the allocation of turns reinforced this empirical observation that Kirra was generating a story.

The occasions where overlapping talk occurred, usually reinforced the fact that Kirra was generating a story in which she was transferring her epistemic information in a way that required the other participants to remain respectfully silent (Mushin & Gardner, 2009; Wieder & Pratt, 1990). The CA resource of a turn construction unit indicates that the current speaker

is providing a transition space that makes the next turn available to the co-participant of the conversation to respond to the talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1979, 2007a). The absence of turn-construction units in those sequences of talk where Kirra was storytelling, further indicate that Kirra was holding the floor. Furthermore, the researcher offered repair sequences when he interrupted Kirra's talk, or when he offered utterances that initiated talk on topics different from those chosen by Kirra, further indicating that Kirra's storytelling was the main resource that were deployed in the long duration of talk (Schegloff, 1979, 2007a).

Kirra reflexively deployed the CA resource of 'recipient design' to hold the attention of her audience and to maintain the participants' affiliation and alignment to the content of her storytelling (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Schegloff, 2007a). The talk-in-interaction was intersubjectively co-constructing the social reality of Kirra's story. A level of polysemic interaction was detected in the talk where the transmission of Kirra's epistemic knowledge carried layers of meaning directed differentially to her relatives and the non-Aboriginal researcher.

The CA resources were effective tools to analyse the long duration of talk in this research and to discover the resources Kirra was deploying to generate her story. The disclosure that Kirra was opening and closing conversations to generate her storytelling resolves the otherwise defeasible and indexical nature of her utterances (Billig & Schegloff, 1999; Schegloff, 1998). This study has found that Kirra's utterances are doing storytelling and the observable relevance of her utterances orient to achieving the articulation of her bildungsroman. There is an indefinite number of alternate contexts that could determine Kirra's actions like she is doing gender or doing race (Billig & Schegloff, 1999). However, the work of CA methodology is to empirically observe how Kirra's long duration of talk was achieving her bildungsroman rather than to be a starting point for other conceptual frameworks. The analysis observed a collection of resources, which indicated that in Kirra's own terms, that is, what she was actually realising was the formulation of her bildungsroman.

Membership Categorisation devices (MCDs) and Resources in Kirra's Bildungsroman.

The ten conversations were analysed using the resource known as membership categorisation devices (Jayyusi, 1984; Psathas, 1999; Stokoe, 2012). The linguistic content of the talk-in-interaction was investigated to distinguish the terms used that related to incumbency in different membership categories. Furthermore, the relationships between individuals mentioned by Kirra were examined for the occurrence of standard relational pairs (Sacks &

Jefferson, 1992a, 1992b). The actions Kirra's conversations were observed to determine if they constituted category-bound activities that indicated incumbency in recognisable membership categories.

The main Membership Categorisation Devices generated in the talk-in-interaction were:

- stages-of-life that produced the collection of membership categories including - infancy, childhood, teenagers, and adulthood, and these interacted with the standard relational pairs of younger sister and older sister, boyfriend and girlfriend, husband and wife, and mother and daughter. Stages-of-life also interacted with gender to produce the member categories of girl, boy, woman and anyone.
- Moral agency produced the collection of membership categories - author/writer/storyteller, classic writing, dream interpreter, friendship maker, opinion leader, advocate, role model, student, career seeker, and creativity.
- Race produced the collection of membership categories – Aboriginal peoples, and incumbents in the dominant culture and global citizens.
- Full humanity produced the membership categories - religious and spiritual responsibilities.

This collection of membership categorisation devices with their respective collections of membership categories coalesced into the resources identified as a bildungsroman.

The bildungsroman was the transformative and overarching resource that was discovered to be based on stages-of-life; moral agency; psychological troubles; spiritual responsibility and full humanity; and Aboriginality (Jayyusi, 1984).

Kirra propounded a social stance that was morally prescriptive for her community (Hare, 1952). She formulated her talk-in-interaction using recognisable, intelligible, and accountable conversational resources, and at the same time conveyed her message of deferring marriage and child bearing until a career trajectory had been attained. The social message of choosing to engage with the dominant culture to achieve better living conditions is grounded in the reality of Kirra's own realisations and aspirations for her community (Billig & Schegloff, 1999).

In this research the work of analysing membership categories and attending to the topical talk of Kirra was not done with a view to fuelling any ideological or sociological argument, but to facilitate the discovery of the work that Kirra was doing in the generation of a bildungsroman

(Watson, 1997). The researcher has worked to maintain the endogenous content of Kirra's constitutive work by dis-attending to any theoretical overlay of the observations made during the analysis of the membership categories (Watson, 1997).

The study material was collected under naturally occurring circumstances of the researcher relating to an Aboriginal family while travelling to their family destinations. The effect of the researcher doing the observations and being a teacher is irrelevant to Kirra doing her bildungsroman. There is no indication in Kirra's long duration of talk that she was doing any socially constitutive work other than producing a bildungsroman reflexively generated from her own material and her own understanding of the *in situ, in vivo* circumstance of a young adult relating to a researcher about education and life choices. The relationship between the researcher and Kirra is more likely to have been determined by the congeniality and consensus that are characteristics of Aboriginal peoples as observed by Liberman (1985) than by other sociological factors affecting the relationship between a researcher from the dominant culture and a young Aboriginal woman (Liberman, 1985). The question of whether the relationship was equal or unequal, symmetrical or unsymmetrical, institutional or domestic is discounted on the grounds that Kirra can be observed to be exercising her own moral agency as independent young incumbent in the membership categories of an author/writer/storyteller who was reflexively producing her bildungsroman and allowing it to be recorded (Billig & Schegloff, 1999).

The Resources of Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology

The CA resources are located in the sequential structure and order inherent in social interactive talk and activities. The EM resources are located in the membership categories as well as the sequential structures (Watson, 1997). This study includes both sets of resources and acknowledges that all the resources that Kirra and the participants embodied are constitutive of the social object that Kirra co-constructed on this occasion.

The EMCA stance toward Kirra's long duration of talk is a warranted, reliable, and verifiable account of the resources that Kirra deployed in the inter-subjective constitution of her bildungsroman. The talk-in-interaction is available both in the transcript and an auditory recording that are accessible for independent enquiry and analysis. The researcher took an unmotivated and detached stance to the material and refrained from interpreting the observations from any ideological or critical paradigms (Billig & Schegloff, 1999).

Limitations of the Research

This study offers a new beginning in the research of the bildungsroman form of storytelling for EMCA. Further research can apply these findings to the educational life stories of other Aboriginal peoples and other participants from different cultural groups. The research is limited in that it only addresses the constitution of one bildungsroman. However it can add to the scope of EMCA resources and further research could verify the componential elements of what constitutes a bildungsroman for other educational life stories. The generality of the bildungsroman form of storytelling could be validated in future research by obtaining a greater variety of examples of the phenomenon.

The collection of the data was limited in that it only contained an auditory recording of the talk-in-interaction made in a vehicle where physical interaction was restricted not only by the seating arrangements and time of day, (dusk), but also by the limitations imposed on the researcher who was driving the vehicle. A fuller study would include a video recording and more accurately observe the visual information associated with the auditory information to clarify and determine more clearly the work being performed by the participants.

Concluding Comments

The data analysis of this study material has incorporated some historical and cultural material to substantiate the contextual information to understand the work that Kirra was performing in her bildungsroman. Further background information is provided in Appendix E. The verbal exchange between Kirra and Donny brought into stark relief the magnitude of the agenda that Kirra was proposing. Kirra's agenda of pursuing a career and further education rather than child bearing, or contributing to the survival of her people, constitutes a challenge to the congeniality and collective consensus that is a dominant characteristic of her people (Lieberman, 1985).

Other aspects of Kirra's talk require background information that can be found in Appendix E. Kirra speaks of living in two worlds at the same time. Kirra lives in the Aboriginal world and that of the dominant culture. These two cultures and two worlds have a profound effect upon Kirra and her mention of them provides an opportunity to include them in the conclusion of this study (Sharrock & Anderson, 1987a, 1987b). Aboriginal peoples have been subjected to the dominant culture in ways that can be categorised genocide as formulated by the United Nations convention on genocide 1948. Appendix E of this research document is not intended to offer an ideological framework to this research but rather, further acknowledges the legal,

social, and political relations between the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and the dominant culture.

This research has adopted an uncritical and empiricist approach to the data observing the resources and members' methods in the constitution of Kirra's bildungsroman. The troubles and personal resources that Kirra has drawn on in her life have been subsumed under the rubric of the EMCA work of discovering how Kirra was using these phenomena to achieve the co-construction of her bildungsroman. The work of EMCA is to differentiate between the content of Kirra's troubles and personal resources to disclose the resources Kirra was deploying in articulating her story. The content of Kirra's utterances in this long duration of talk could be subjected to an infinite set of different noticings and observations that could lead to many different interpretations and perspectives, but the work of EMCA is to answer the question of why-that-now in the sequential, relevant, and endogenous order of Kirra's construction to provide a rich description of how Kirra was generating her talk-in-interaction (Billig & Schegloff, 1999).

This study began with the researcher not knowing the significance and implications of this data set or how to describe the work that Kirra was performing. The application of the principles and policies of EMCA analysis have made the practices, tools, and resources of how this bit of the social world is constituted, made visible, and describable (Billig & Schegloff, 1999). Although Kirra does not use the word 'bildungsroman' or 'recipient design' in any of her talk, the analysis of these devices from her talk does not detract from the relevance of her implementation of these resources in the trajectory of her talk (Billig & Schegloff, 1999).

The componential resources of stages-of-life, moral agency, psychological troubles, spirituality and Aboriginality that are identified in this research are a collection of resources that contribute to the identification, articulation and grammar of Kirra's female bildungsroman. However, the Aboriginal female bildungsroman was the resource that drove and generated the manifestation of these componential resources.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Transcript Conventions

	Meaning	Roger's
Pause	Pause	(0.7)
	Short micro pause	(.)
	Long pause	((gap/silence))
	Latching	=
	Cutoff	-
Sequence	Overlap	[]
	Simultaneous	[[]]
Disfluency	Truncated or cutoff	Wor-
Vocalism	Laugh pulse	heh
	Laughing word	Wor(h)d
	Glottalized word	wghord
	vocalism	(sniffle)
Metatranscription	Unintelligible	()
	Uncertain/doubt	(word)
	Ellipses talk omitted
	Ellipses turns of talk omitted	. .
	Comment	((translators descriptns))
Participation	Speaker/turn attribution	R:
	Readers attention	→
Speech production		
Intonation	Speech stretch	Wor::d
	Emphasis	Wor:d
	Rise	Wor:d
	Drop	Wor:d

	Rise and drop (lilting)	Wor [^] d
	Drop and rise (lilting)	Wor ^ˇ d
	Stretch and emphasis on vowel sound	Wor _: d
	Stretch and rise on vowel sound	Wor _: <u>d</u>
	Stretch and drop on vowel sound	Wor _: <u>d</u>
	Stretch, rise and emphasis on vowel sound	Wor _: <u>d</u>
	Stretch, drop and emphasis on vowel sound	Wor _: <u>d</u>
	Stretch and emphasis on consonant sound	Gr _: <u>owl</u>
	Stretch and rise on consonant sound	Gr _: <u>owl</u>
	Stretch and drop on consonant sound	Gr _: <u>owl</u>
	Stretch, rise and emphasis on consonant sound	Gr _: <u>owl</u>
	Stretch, drop and emphasis on consonant sound	Gr _: <u>owl</u>
	Animated tone	! (exclam)
	Compression of talk	> talk <
	Expansion of talk	< talk >
Boundary/closure	Terminative falling final intonation	. (period)
	Continuative intonation	, (comma)
	Appeal (rising intonatn)	?
	Rise but weaker than ?	¿
Prosody	Forte (loud)	WORD
Manner/quality	Piano / softness	° °
	Piano attenuated speech	° words °
Pitch	Rising intonation	↑
	Falling intonation	↓
Time	"no one thousand, one one thousand... etc."	Voice walker shows it

There are modifications that have been made to the original conventions of Atkinson and Heritage (1999) that effectively make these conventions a personalized set (Atkinson & Heritage, 1999).

Appendix B: Transcript

Extended Sequence of Multi-turns of talk by Main Protagonist with Reciprocity.

K = Kirra, a nineteen year old Aboriginal woman who is the main protagonist.

R = Researcher, the academic doing this study

D = Donny, Kirra's younger brother

E = Elder, an Aboriginal Elder and paternal great Uncle of Kirra and Donny

Turn			Creative Story December 2009
Time/ Con	Line		For conventions used in this transcript see Appendix A. Abbreviations- Conversation (Con), Transition (Trnsitn)
1	1		(28)
2 Con 1	2	K	°I'm about half way through my first book °
3	3	R	What writi::ng your first book _i =
4	4	K	=Yea:::h (.) I've like just got like all my note pads for some reason (1)
5a	5	R	O::h that's alright ↓
5b	6		Do you use the computer much at a::ll?= =U::mm well (.) sometimes I use the computer but um (.) most of the time I write on the (.) note pads so that (.) you get an idea and then you like, you write it down _i
7	10	R	=yea::h (3)
8	11	K	Once I get into the zone I go for like (.) five or six hours=
9	12	R	=rea::lly _i =
10	13	K	=yeah _i (.2)
11	14 15	R	Well that's a great discipline (3) So when you say you are half way through your boo::k do you (3) [ah-
12	16 17	K	[()] but I'm amazed sometimes you think ()
13	18	R	Do you know how the book's going to end?= =Me (1) no (1) I don't like u::m I go on holidays and um I come back and it is like you know its 200 or something pages ()
15	22	R	So how many pa::ges do you think you have done already?= =Oh (2) about (4) rough guess (4) I don't perhaps bring it here ()=
17	25	R	mm
18	26 27	K	=I have got a page then I have ideas I've got a page and then I have ideas=
19	28	R	=yea::h,=
20	29	K	=mm=
21	30	R	S::o (3) it is still in the pro::cess=
22	31	K	=yea::h,=
23	32	R	=not the finished product=

24	33 34 35	K	=yea::h. but I don't yeah but I don't know if I like I don't give away my secrets if I am around you know people that are in (the book)=
25	36	R	=yea::h,=
26	37	K	=they know what it is like=
27 Con 2	38	R	=yea::h, (2) are you writing Aboriginal stories?=-
28 3:10	39 40 41 42	K	=umm (.) yeah you ↑ could say that (6) I wanta like um (1) I wanta aim at teena::ge gir::ls (1) at teena::ge gir::ls but (do) not mean just Aboriginal girls you know any nationality=
29	43	R	=yea::h. (20)
30	44	K	I think like um me like me () it helps ↑ it helps a lot=
31	45 46	R	(2x small coughs) yea::h. it (.) is that one of the things that you write about?=-
32	47 48	K	=um yeah yeah being ↑ being in two worlds is kinda like being in two places
33	49	R	=yea::h,=
34	50 51	K	=>but most of the time you know () is like being in two places at the same time<=
35	52	R	=yea::h. (2)
36	53 54	K	>It's not like something that you read that is straight forward to get to the point (.)<=
37	55	R	=yea::h. (1)
38	56 57 58 59	K	() ↑ >I don't want to fill young girls lives with something< like um (.) >fill young girl's minds with something like they can be pushed about< you know >young girls these days need to know (°grace°)<
39	60	R	=yea::h.
40	61 62 63 64	K	=and if ↑ >you fill them with something like twilight stuff < the girls are going to be ever dreaming you know and not going out there and doing something > and I don't want girls sucked in on () romance<=
41	65	R	=yea::h,=
42	66	K	=>do you know what I mean<=
43	67	R	=yea::h,=
44	68 69	K	=and (.) usually a lot of girls because these movies (.) because these books
45	70	R	yea::h.=
46	71 72 73	K	=something like Lord of the Rings or something like um (4) or something like twilighter is always (4) is always you know stuffed with romance and stuff like that
47	74	R	yea::h.=
48	75 76 77 78 79	K	=and you know some girls they need to know facts you know some girls you know and when you are caught between something like 13 and 14 (1) when I was at that age you know that is when I stopped getting my head in the clouds and started you know (.) and started being pushed=

49	80	R	yea::h.=
50	81 82 83	K	=and ↑ I think you know (.) in this day and age a lot of (.) in this day and age a lot of those books affect (.) affect a chil- (.) >affect a young person's mind<
51	84	R	yea::h.=
52	85	K	=> it kind of like brain washes them<
53	86	R	=yea::h.=
54	87 88 89 90 91 92	K	=and I am not a per::son (.) you know (.) you know that goes to bed with (.) read a long book (.) but I have read them and something like Harry Potter or that I haven't read them you know really good writers yeah ↑ but (.) it's something that I wanta to have ↓ something that ↑ young girls can hang onto that's rea::lity=
55	93	R	=yea::h.=
56	94 95 96 97	K	=I don't wanta to give them a fake story >where they can go so ↑ my life is like that there ↑ too< (3) Yeah >I want to give them< > I want to give them the (° °)< rea::li::ty >and how to grow-up< (1)
57	98	R	yea::h. (1)

58	99 100 101 102	K	But >I see it a lot in g-< (.) I see it a lot in girls like um (1) I see a lot of girls ↑ (° °) (.) like a lot of them don't grow up it's because they are stuck in (.) stuck in some kinda (.) like a ↑ fa::ntasy wor::ld
59	103	R	=yea::h.=
60	104 105 106	K	=Yeah a lot of girls are brought up in a fantasy world oh you know (.) I'll wait (.) be patient something is going to happen=
61	107	R	=yea::h.=
62	108 109 110 111	K	=and they get to twenty (.) you know (.) and their life is over you know (° °) it's gone like that with ↑ boys and that so you don't want to be twenty and be hooked up (.) and have like (.) tw::o or thr::ee ki::ds
63	112	R	=yea::h.=
64	113	K	=you know I want girls to be::ha::v::ours=
65	114	R	=yea::h.=
66	115 116 117 118 119	K	=that's part of when (.) when I hit high school I think (1) every every aspect of my childhood like was gone (.) you know I hit thirteen you know and I ↑ decided that my childhood you know (.) didn't impact me by the time I got twenty (1) So when so when I was thirteen I grew-up=
67	120	R	=yea::h.=
68	121	K	=I knew then you know (2)
69	122	R	You wanted to make something of your [life?
70	123 124 125 126	K	[yeah well I knew then that ↓ you know it is not all about being ↑ C::inder::ell::a (.) not every girl is going to get something like Cinder::ell::a=
71	127	R	=yea::h.=

72	128 129 130	K	=and I wanta aim it at like um (.) and I find like a lot of Aboriginal girls are::n't c::onfid::ent in wh::o ↑ they a::re and the criticism that they get thrown at them
73	131	R	yea::h.
74	132 133	K	you know what I mean 'cos (.) u::m (.) criticism is harsh towards one another=
75	134	R	=yea::h,=
76	135 136	K	=and especially if you know someone like (Ken °probe°) 'im=
77	137	R	=yea::h,=
78	138 139 140 141 142 143 144	K	=and I wanna like () but I am confident I can take whatever comes my way or whatever someone says about me I don't care well it's not that I don't care but it's though they're pushing me up and ↑ I want a lot of Aboriginal girls to loo::k at the::mselves and t::urn around and say oh yo::u kno::w (.) there're saying those things but I want to push myself further=
79	145	R	=yea::h,=
80	146 147	K	=I want to give the::m th::e co::nfi::de::nce >because Aboriginal girls deserve confidence< =
81	148	R	=yea::h,=
82	149	K	=you know=
83	150	R	=yea::h they sure do=
84	151 152 153	K	=and me I have had that experience (° °) and stuff (2) and I always feel the (Lord) says "it's not what you wear it's who you are"
85	154	R	=yea::h,=
86	155	K	=and it is not what you like it is who you are=
87	156	R	=yea::h,=
88	157 158 159 160 161 162	K	=and a lot of Aboriginal blokes (.) a lot of Aboriginal girls they don't (.) they're not confident (.) with what some other person says about them and they are not confident in what um (1) you know in um in what's being dealt and I believe this world is a judgemental world towards like women=
89	163	R	=yea::h,=
90	164 165 166	K	=especially about what they wear and what they put on and what make up they have the CDs they listen to (.) and all that=
91	167	R	=yea::h,=
92	168 169 170 171 172	K	=to Aboriginal girls you know (1) being twenty (°they want a man to pick them up°) (3) but ↑ hello like I'm not going to say that straight out in the book um I am giving them (5) I'm putting across a story I ↑ am putting across a story like about a young Aboriginal girl=
93	173	R	=yea::h,=
94	174	K	=but it's split up (.) it's spiritual and reality >do you know what I mean<=
95	176	R	=yea::h,=

96	177	K	=and (8) um I'm thinking=
97	178	R	=pardon=
98	179	K	=>I said I am thinking<=
99 11:3 4	180	R	=yea::h,=
100 Con 3	181 182 183 184	K	=yea::h it's it is caught between the divine and reality and what happens is (.) in in real life (1) It's a young girl she is about (1) I haven't given her a year I haven't given her an age yet=
101	185	R	=yea::h,=
102	186 187 188 189	K	=anyways (.2) shes (.) the story starts off where she's out in the desert it's about um (1) It's about um this is this i::s a fa::nta::sy a fantasy and this is the dream that keeps reoccurring=
103	190	R	=yea::h,=
104	191 192 193 194 195	K	=and this you know she is waking ↓ up ↑ ! out in the desert and (2) and (.) she is actually °!cov::ered in r::ed dust° and >↑a::ll you can s::ee is red dust< what happens is she stands up and (.) what happens is she is reborn out of a (.) out of a you know ↑! a wh::irlw::ind=
105	196	R	=yea::h,=
106	197 198 199	K	=and (re-) yeah a whirlwind and she is reborn out of that and what happens is (.) she wa::kes up and she sta::nds up and she ca::n't see nothing around her?= =yea::h,=
107	200	R	=yea::h,=
108	201 202 203	K	=and (.) ↑ all she see::s (.) you know ! she ju::st ope::ning h::er e::yes and all sh::e can see out of the dust is a (°grub°) and in the f::ar a::way distance i:t's a tree you know=
109	204	R	=yea::h,=
110	205 206	K	=it's an oasis the ! tree for one thing is an o::asis for ! someone out in the country (.)
111	207	R	=yea::h yea::h,=
112	208 209 210	K	=so all she can s::ee is this tr::ee but (5) the tr::ee is °the tr::ee is d::ying° and it is only pro::ducing so much sha::de=
113	211	R	=yea::h,=
114	212 213 214 215	K	=and um (.) and she looks down and um she picks up the way I write it and the way I talk about it heh but she picks up this (° °) and what happens is (.) she sifts it thr::ough h::er h::airs and what comes out of it is this ↑! grub=
115	216	R	=oh yea::h,=
116	217	K	=and this you know what °a cute little° ↑! grub heh and um
117	218	R	=yea::h,=
118	219 220 221	K	=what happens is she looks up at the grub and what happens is she looks down at the grub and the grub it stands up you know=
119	222	R	=yea::h,=
120	223 224	K	=it stands up and has these really big huge eyes and it looks back at her=

121	225	R	=yea::h,=
122	226 227	K	=and what happens is ↑!in <the::se hu::ge e::yes she can see a reflection of her^self a:: ^s an a^du::lt ((lilt))>
123	228	R	=oh yea::h (4) yeah=
124	229 230	K	=and um that's that's >the start of the story and I am not going to tell you the ↑ re::st?=-
125	231	R	=[[heh heh]]=
126	232	K	=[[heh heh]]=
127	233	R	=[y-
128	234	K	=[you got to wait for the book=
129	235	R	=yea::h,=
130	236 237	K	=anyways (.) this is (.) What I want (.) it is like um it is like when [you
131	238 239	R	[and do you have these transformations happening all the time=
132	240 241	K	=yea::h they keep reoccu::rring and they reoccur with different a::nimals=
133	242	R	=o:::h ₂ =
134	243 244	K	=so if she is out in the country they keep reoccurring in the dreams that she has?
135	245	R	=yea::h,=
136	246	K	=and um=
137	247 248	R	=but i::nstead with the grub i::t wi::ll b::e something e::lse=
138	249	K	=yea::h it will be something e::lse=
139	250 251	R	=and does she keep getting reflections throu::gh the e::yes of [these
140	252 253 254	K	[no she doesn't keep getting reflections through the eyes (.) it jus' um (5) yes no it's um (.) sometimes it is bringing animal actions towards her
141	255	R	=o:::h ₂ =
142	256 257	K	=and sometimes it's it's like um (.) hang on its ↑ like when a wo::man goe::s through stages in h::er ↑ li::fe=
143	258	R	=yea::h,=
144	259	K	=the stages in her life comes as drea::ms=
145	260	R	=yea::h,=
146	261 262	K	=but um you know she wakes up in the next morning and her life is rea::l it is reality=
147	263	R	=yea::h,=
148	264 265 266	K	=she has yo::u kno::w she ha::s thi::s and tha::t and (3) but yea::h that's that is one of the drea::ms that she has and I think that's that will be my first dream=
149	267	R	=wh::at w::ere y::ou s::aying a::bout sch::ool a::gain=
150	268 269 270	K	=no she has 'em (.) what happens is when she has these dreams she wakes up the next morning and reality happens [yeah
151	271	R	[yea::h like going to school=

181	321	R	=yea::h. so they sort [of-
182	322	K	[=yea::h,=
183	323	R	= sort of just stay on the ground d::o th::ey?=-
184	324 325	K	= =yea::h. You know if things keep falling down ° (2) (for someone) you know that creates (waves) for someone?°
185	326	R	=yea::h,=
186	327 328	K	=and that's °you know° that's ! ↑ what is ai::med at a lot of Aboriginal gir::ls?=-
187	329	R	=yea::h,=
188	330 331 332	K	=and then what happens is what happens is when °she is sitting there and up comes the grub and she looks at the grub and the thing about a grub is inno::cence°=-
189	333	R	=yea::h,=
190	334 335	K	=so I want to give back innocence to the group you know to have innocence you know for someone like Meripa=-
191	336	R	=yea::h,=
192	337 338 339	K	= so you know it's someone like Meripa >it reminds me< and when she looks into the eyes they °reflect herself° she finally realizes you know I::'m a w::oman.=
193	340	R	=yes= [although sh::e i::s not quite at that a::ge is she?=-
194	341 342	K	[() = Hey
195	343	R	=She is not quite at [that age is [she?=-
196	344	K	[no [no not Meripa?=-
197	345	R	=Mer::ipa is no::t that old ye::t i::s sh::e?=-
198	346 347 348	K	=no Mer::ipa is not that old but (.) like um for a grub means innocence towards a gir::l: >a grub means innocence<=-
199	349	R	=yea::h,=
200	350 351	K	=yeah and I like wanna open those eyes and stuff °(cute)° and everything=-
201	352	R	=yea::h,=
202	353 354 355 356	K	=°you know (being)° innocent and I want the girls to o::h (.5) ! it's a reflection of themse::lf and then she goes o::h >°I've grown up and all of a sudden she's awa::ke< and it is like rea::lity ki::cks i::n,=
203	357	R	=yes=-
204	358	K	=so it's (3)
205	359	R	=yes=-
206	360	K	=How do you like it so f::ar?=-
207	361 362 363 364	R	=I think you have a real wealth of of creativity and um insight there (.) it is rea::lly happening (.) I really encourage you to continue that process it is amazing (.) amazingly (1.5) yeah amazing really good (1)=-
208	365	K	=()
209	366	R	=>I really encourage you to finish it<
210	367	K	=yea::h=

211	368 369 370 371 372	R	=not that that sort of story might ever finish (.) but you know get it to some sort of form i::n whi::ch (.) you ca::n pu::blish it and can ar say this is (1) this is (cough) a ar (2) a a full description of the beginning of something ↑ do you know what I mean?= =yea::h (.5) that's what I want t::o ai::m it at;
212	373	K	=yea::h (.5) that's what I want t::o ai::m it at;
213	374 375 376	R	=yeah just so that you have a complete picture of the process that you're um (1) that you're expressing and articulating (.) it's really great= =(° °)
214	377	K	=and those transformations are (.) are just so like you say (.) ju::st s::o A::bor::iginal= =yea::h (.5) that's what I want to get across but not only that um (1) you know (.) I want to get across the story that it is not about (.) not about petrol sniffing and everything it's not about you know this and that I want to create Aboriginal (°girls°) you know
215	378 379	R	=and those transformations are (.) are just so like you say (.) ju::st s::o A::bor::iginal= =yea::h (.5) that's what I want to get across but not only that um (1) you know (.) I want to get across the story that it is not about (.) not about petrol sniffing and everything it's not about you know this and that I want to create Aboriginal (°girls°) you know
216	380 381 382 383 384	K	= yeah well that's that's what I want to get across but not only that um (1) you know (.) I want to get across the story that it is not about (.) not about petrol sniffing and everything it's not about you know this and that I want to create Aboriginal (°girls°) you know
217	385	R	=yea::h=
218	386	K	=like everybody else= =this is [so you know the only thing that I can think of that is a bit similar to what you are talking about (cough) is perhaps one of English literatures greatest classics and that's Alice in Wonderland (.5)=
219	387 388 389 390	R	=this is [so you know the only thing that I can think of that is a bit similar to what you are talking about (cough) is perhaps one of English literatures greatest classics and that's Alice in Wonderland (.5)=
220	391	K	[not like everybody else
221	392	R	= have you ever seen Alice in Wonderland the movie= =o::h yes I have= =or [even
222	393	K	=o::h yes I have= =or [even
223	394	R	=or [even
224	395	K	[I see right now= =and you know what you're doing could be ↑ right up there and cou::ld be::come a (.) could become a::n A::boriginal cla::ssic a classic piece of literature so I ↑ rea::lly encou::rage yo::u to keep go::ing wi::th it= =yea::h and I don't like um (.) you know I don't want to come straight out with what I think but if like with young girls and stuff I don't want to force stuff in their face all the time?= =yea::h=
225	396 397 398 399	R	=and you know what you're doing could be ↑ right up there and cou::ld be::come a (.) could become a::n A::boriginal cla::ssic a classic piece of literature so I ↑ rea::lly encou::rage yo::u to keep go::ing wi::th it= =yea::h and I don't like um (.) you know I don't want to come straight out with what I think but if like with young girls and stuff I don't want to force stuff in their face all the time?= =yea::h=
226	400 401 402 403	K	=yea::h and I don't like um (.) you know I don't want to come straight out with what I think but if like with young girls and stuff I don't want to force stuff in their face all the time?= =yea::h=
227	404	R	=yea::h=
228	405 406 407 408	K	=so what I want to do is to create >'cos in a book< (.) >you know you have always got< >you have always got< you know >you've always got your fantasy but behind your fantasy you know you've got someone speaking= =yea::h yea::h=
229	409	R	=yea::h yea::h=
230	410 411 412	K	=so ↑! that is why I wa::nt to co::me a::cross li::ke tha::t; (.) then everyone (.) sometimes people can say my li::fe's like that too as well?= =well that's it that's the beauty of using you know like in English language we call it metaphors= =yea::h=
231	413 414	R	=well that's it that's the beauty of using you know like in English language we call it metaphors= =yea::h=
232	415	K	=yea::h=

233	416 417 418 419 420 421	R	=that's the beautiful thing about metaphors (.) if someone has um (.) just got married at eighteen and had a couple of kids they could read your book (cough) and it could awaken in them um the process that you are talking about so that it will give them direction in how to you know how to (.) reactivate their life=
234	422	K	=yea::h=
235	423 424	R	=and recapture those parts that are otherwise just going to fall off and and g::o nowhe::re=
236	425 426 427	K	=well ↑! that's what I want to do I wanna wanna take girls no take young Aboriginal girls in that direction but I don't want to push 'em¿=
237	428	R	=yea::h=
238	429	K	=you know what I mean=
239	430	R	=yea::h=
240	431 432	K	=I think I think they get English literature is (.) read a book (.) or is something like that¿=
241	433 434 435 436 437	R	=well young Aboriginal girls need that sort of literature to be able to draw on because (.) It's not I haven't heard of any (.) it's a bit like your father's paintings isn't it when you look at your dad's paintings they are not dot paintings they are no::t Central Desert paintings.=
242	438	K	=that's it you know=
243	439	R	=↑ they're different (2)
244	440 441 442	K	=it's like um ! >if a per::son goes out there< > if an artist goes out there< and pu::ts li::nes or something in a pai::nting=
245	443	R	=yea::h=
246	444	K	=they are not just about the lines it i::s be::yond tha::t=
247	445	R	=yea::h=
248	446 447 448 449 450	K	=it is like you know if someone goes (.) if someone (.) if someone you know in the Nor::thern Ter::ritory goe::s out and does a pai::nting ! it is not just animals in the painting it is not just about the dots in the painting. E::very do::t ca::n mea::n so::mething=
249	451	R	=yea::h=
250	452	K	=>the ↑! colour of the back ground means something<
251	453	R	=yea::h=
252	454	K	=>the ↑! co::lours yo::u u::se mean something.<
253	455	R	=yea::h=
254	456	K	=now that's (.) that's what I want to draw you know=
255	457	R	=but you're yo::u're u::sing words [rather than pictures]
256	458 459	K	[()] [=yea::h=
257	460 461 462 463 464	R	=and thatta combination of the wa::y yo::u u::se wor::ds and the wa::y yo::u u::se mea::nings (.) is what um (.) is what will make your (.) you know what your um (.) your work of art or your creativity u::nique (.) but also (.) will have a place=

258 Car	465 466	K	=>they aren't behind us<= ((two cars driving to Brewarrina))
259	467	R	=pardon=
260	468	K	=>they ain't behind us<=
261	469 470	R	=no n::o we've left them behind I've been I've been going 20 kilometres an hour faster=
262	471	K	=hang on can you stop for a minute=
263	472	R	=do you want to stop and wait for them?= =yea::h I'm a bit worried about them=
264	473	K	=yea::h I'm a bit worried about them=
265	474	R	=well they can always ring us if they get into trouble=
266	475	K	=yea::h (2) Oh well keep going=
267	476 477	R	= well it is up to you I don't mind stopping and waiting but- =
268 Apol -gy	478 479	K	=yea::h but I don't mind either sor::ry a::bout tha::t a::nyway=
269 Tran -stn	480	R	=no I really enjoyed what you were sa::ying.=
270	481	K	=yea::h so ho::w do you li::ke my star::t=
271	482 483 484	R	=I think it is brilliant I think it is rea::lly rea::lly rea::lly (.) you have rea::lly go::t so::mething (2) You have got something really important=
272 Con 6 26:2 9	485 486	K	=>you haven't read my version of my story that I have written in my life?<
273	487	R	=no I haven't=
274	488 489 490	K	=this is ↑! when I was about probably (.) twe::lve or so::mething (.) and I writ my first short story and that and I won a state competition for shor::t stor::ries<=
275	491	R	=no I didn't know that=
276	492 493	K	=>n::o I will have to give you a rea::d I think I have got it at home.<=
277	494	R	=I would like to read that=
278	495 496 497	K	=yea::h I have got it at home (3) ↑What I have done was a (.) is a (.) What I have done is (.) I wrote (.) I have written=
279	498	R	=yea::h=
280	499	K	=I have written a couple of short stories=
281	500 501 502	R	=au do we have to wai::t for that thi::ng (goods train) do we have to wait for that train (2) is it a long way back now? (4) au we got across there ((train crossing)) alright=
282	503 504 505 506	K	=that's what I was saying I writ a couple short stories um (1) I started off I thought I don't want to go too (deep) you know you kno::w >pu::sh tha::t su::bject onto a per::son<=
283	507	R	=yea::h=
284	508 509	K	=>so what I did is so I wrote a series of little short stories that will fi::t into that boo::k<=
285	510	R	=yea::h=

286	511	K	=>so I have used the notes like (.) fa::ntasy sce::nari::o::s<
287	512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520	R	=but I ↑ I think when you say ↓ you do::n't wa::nt to te::ll pe::ople what to do or push them because you are using metaphors (.) because you are using things that those people will have to (.) make an effort to co::me to kno::w (.) wha::t it is your (.) wha::t it is your (.) what pro::cess it is (.) you're activating. People will ei::ther ma::ke that e::ffort or they wo::nt it's a bit like reading Alice in Wonderland ah (.) it ei::ther re::so::nates with you o::r it doesn't resonate with you=
288	521	K	= ()
289	522	R	=do you know what I mea::n by re::sonate?= =yea::h=
290	523	K	=yea::h=
291	524 525 526 527 528	R	=so I don't think you are being pushy at all (.) I just think you are being ri::ght ou::t there. and just being right out there and e::xpressing rea::lly i::mportant stu::ff (.) but you are expressing it in an Aboriginal way and not in (.) an E::nglish like in an English [way=
292	529 530 531 532	K	[well ↑! that's it I don't want as um oh gosh you know (.) se::ttlement ty::pe of stu::ff you know like English rea::lly Englishe::e type of stu::ff =
293	533	R	=yea::h=
294	5345 35	K	=oh come straight out >you do this< and >you do that< >that's your direction in life<=
295	536	R	=yea::h=
296	537	K	=I'm I'm ↑! taking this on my (authority) in life=
297	538	R	=yea::h=
298	539 540	K	=you know and ↑ m::y ending o::f the stor::y it mi::ghtn't ever get there because °I mi::ghtn't get there°=
299	541	R	=well that's right=
300	542 543	K	=and tha::t's wh::y I:: h::ave t::o ta::ke i::t slo::w be::cause I'm not there yet.=
301	544 545 546 547	R	=well yes and no (.) yes and no you could do something which is completed for this for want of a be::tter wor::d this sta::ge of li::fe (.) um (2) this is (.) you're nineteen now are::n't you?= =yea::h=
302	548	K	=yea::h=
303	549 550	R	=this is your last tee::nage year (.) you will be (.) next year you will no longer be a tee::n=
304	551	K	=well thats thats [()
305	552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559	R	[I think one of the mistakes I've made in my li::fe is that I've adopted tha::t a::ttitude that I fee::l that you might be starting to say and that is that I am going to wai::t until I kn::ow i::t a::ll and I think that can rob (.) you of of of co::mpleting thi::ngs and a::nd fu::lly e::xpressing thi::ngs that you have <u>no</u> ::w. (.) because you are rea::lly wor::king har::d on you::r no::te boo::ks and thi::ngs (.) and that you just need to be able to give that some sort of sha::pe where you would be able to say

	560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567		if I was (.) if I was someone else and I read thi::s (.) would I understand what (.) I am wri::ting abou:t; do you know what I mean? That can help you fill in more detail and fill it out a bit more so that other people who (.) who are not yo::u ah-um can know the secret thi::ngs that and the hi::dden thi::ngs that yo::u a::re pu::tting i::n the::re (.) do ↑ you know what I mean?
306	568	K	=yea::h. yea::h. ↓ I know what yo::u mea::n.
307	569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582	R	=because see a lot of Aboriginal people say (.) that you white fellas don't tell us what you are thinking you don't tell us the (.) secret information that yo::u alrea::dy ha::ve because of the way you have gro::wn u::p (.) >well the same thing can happen with Aboriginal people< I do not understand wha::t yo::u're thinking when you sa::y thi::ngs >because I haven't grown up in an Aboriginal family< (.) or related (.) um dee::pl::y (.) like yo::u're Da::d was saying this morning even if (.) even if you are somebody married like say Jay's ma::rried to an Abor::iginal or have a partner an Abor::iginal par::tner (.) ↑ you are still a white person and yo::u're ne::ver rea::lly be an Aboriginal person because >white people never really know what it is like to wake up every day and be A::boriginal<=
308	583	K	= and no they don't =
309	584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592	R	=and that is something that is something that will a::lso be coming through (.) like you say the colours that you pick (.) the animals that you pick the um >all those things that you were talking about< but what you can do (.) you can sort of help other people understand tho::se mea::nings a bit mo::re >not necessarily explain them< but just by (.) expanding them a bit or (.) saying the same thing two or three different ways or (.) filling it out a little bit more (.) do you know what I mea::n;=
310	593 594	K	=yea::h I kno::w wha::t you mea::an but I don't I don't wanta to finish my story with an (° °)=
311	595	R	=oh you don't have to=
312	596 597	K	=one thing I don't wanta finish my story like that (.) I mean we are in rea::lit::y you know (3) (cough)=
313	598 599 601	R	=yea::h well may be may be not (.) some people doubt that but (1) yeah (1) I know what you mean (.) to some extent there is rea- (.) a distinction between reality and fantasy
314 Con 7	602 603	K	=well that's it ↑ I'm no::t go::ing to li::e to you bu::t when I was (°in °) I played with Barby dolls heh heh
315	604	R	=yea::h=
316	605 606 607 608 609	K	=you know that >that (.) was a fantasy time< my fantasy life is between when I was in preschool and when I went to year three yeah and then what happened is then from year three onwards until year six and that is the time when (.) you know (1)

	610 611		then I ma::de frie::nds it's kind of like (.) going through the sports part sports phase in my life where you make you know frie::nds=
317	612	R	=yea::h=
318	613 614 615	K	=and then you get to hi::gh schoo::l >and then I think<(.) >and then I thought to myself< (.) you know (.) >it is time to gro::w u::p<
319	616	R	=yea::h=
320	617 618	K	=I don't live in preschool (.) one and two no more (.) I don't live in three to six no more you know=
321	619	R	=yea::h,=
322	620 621	K	=and and ↑ ! a lot of young girls they live in tha::t ₁ (.) and they will stay with tha::t ₂ (2)=
323	623	R	=yea::h,=
324	624	K	=and they will stay with tha::t ₂ (2)
325	625	R	=yea::h,=
326	626	K	=do you know what I mean=
327	627	R	=yea::h. (1)=
328	628 629 630 631	K	=and that is what I am saying you know (.) lot of girls they have children you know they have children in their tee::n years and then once they get to years twenty (.) twenty one then they say my life is over=
329	632	R	=yea::h,=
330	633	K	=my hu::sband is the::re (.) wha::t e::lse ca::n I d::o=
331	634	R	=yea::h,=
332	635 636 637 638 639	K	=and I would encourage girls you know (.) >I am not being nast::y< you know but I want to show them the way from fellas and stuff (.) that's just normal bu::t having a different approach to the situation when you're a teenager=
333	640	R	=yea::h,=
334	641 642	K	=you know like girls they don't ha::ve really signfica::nt changes and changes up in their (mind)=
335	643	R	=yea::h,=
336	644	K	=and that don't make them confu::sed=
337	645	R	=yea::h,=
338	646 647	K	=that's what I want to sort ou::t if you kno::w wha::t I mea::n ₁ =
339	648	R	=well that's great=
340	649 650 651	K	=when you are thirteen and nineteen where you can keep up you know I don't need >ki::ds in my life< (.) I don't nee::d to ge::t married ₁ =
341	652	R	=yea::h,=
342	653	K	=you ha::ve to experi::ence experi::ence wha::t's arou::nd her=
343	654 655	R	=yep (3) yep for su::re (3)=
344	656 657	K	=and that's something that I'm proud of (.) I haven't got kids ye::t and not marri::ed ye::t=
345	658	R	=yea::h,=
346	659	K	=() the teen years are the best years of my life

	660 661		that's your tee::n years when you can experience those (people and) things in you::r li::fe=
347	662	R	=that's right=
348	663 664 665	K	=it's not oh my gosh (now it's time to have kids) (.) I will go and get married yeah but that's not the way life is sometimes life is not about that perfect movie.=
349	666	R	=yea::h,=
350	667 668	K	=>you have to think °in a different way° about yourse::lf< (1)
351	669	R	=yea::h,=
352	670 671	K	=it's the wa::y you think the wa::y yo::u'::re going to think about yourself
353	672	R	=yep.=
354	673 674 675	K	=and that's and that's what I want to encourage (.) ↓ °yo::ung A::boriginal girls° to d::o because (.) by the time they're about twe::nty eight twe::nty nine=
355	676	R	=yep.=
356	677 678 679	K	=>they have got a job< (.) you know¿ yep (.) >they have got a job they're earning money< >they have been to uni<>they have been to TAFE< they ha::ve do::ne thei::r TA::FE cour::se=
357	680	R	=yep.=
358	681	K	=no::w the::y are read::y to ge::t marrie::d=
359	682 683	R	=yep like Larissa Behrendt (.) do you know Professor Larissa Behrendt?
360	684 685	D	But wouldn't yo::u thi::nk that will de::crease the population of Indigenous people b::y doing tha::t¿
361	686	K	↑No it wouldn't ↓ decrease (.) but I am just sa::ying-
362	687 688	D	=[look at the life expectancy of Aboriginal people and yeah but you look at (.) (if they call that in)=
363	689	R	[=yea::h,=
364	690 691 692 693 694 695	K	=Donny ↑ you look at some of (.) you loo::k at so::me of (the teens you knew) Donny¿ (.) ((change to serious tone of voice)) loo::k if the::re is one thi::ng that tee::nage girls wa::nt is (.) you know what will kill them first is the food they eat (.) the co::nditions the::y live in (.) and yo::u kno::w (1) their parents=
365	696	R	=yea::h,=
366	697 698 699 700 701 702	K	=and o::h thro::ugh those teenage years yo::u kno::w ↑ what a lot (.) I don't recommend any young girl and °Donny >this is physical changes as well isn't it¿< >if you are pregant as a kid< then physical changes is going to take change in a girl's li::fe and it is going to take cha::nge up in a girl's mi::nd before it takes cha::nge in the bod::y (.5)=
367	703	R	=yea::h,= (.)
368	704 705 706 707 708	K	=and I wanta only know I wanta express to those young girls °that° yo::u kno::w(.) when (.) yo::u kno::w e::ven i::f yo::u're in yo::ur early twenties (.) ↑ and you have kids that's OK (.) > as long as your've got a job< > yo::ur've got a li::fe< so that (.) >when your young kids grow u::p they ↓ have proper food to ea::t<

	709 710		>and they have proper living conditions< >and they have got a nice husband<=
369	711	R	=yea::h,=
370	712	D	=but the boys need °boys and girls need °
371	713	K	=yea::h. I'm speaking from the woman's perspective so
372	714	R	=yea::h,=
373	715 716	K	=but am I wrong or am I wrong about girls in their teenage years being (.) ↓(°unhappy°)=
374	717	R	=I think you will [find
375	718	E	[from a girls point of view yeah
376	719	K	=yeah from a girls point of view I am quite right=
377	720	R	=yeah I think you are very right
378 Con 8	721 722	R	Have you ever heard about um sleeping beauty the the um (.) fairy ta::le sleeping beauty;
379	723	K	=yea::h,=
380	724 725 726 727 728 729 730	R	=um and she um (.) I think it also happens in (.) in snow white doesn't it that she gets um she eats the apple and it puts her into a deep sleep (.) and then the dwarves leave her out ou::tside (.) lying on a (.) sort of like a bo::x and she stays in that state until (.) a prince comes along and gives her a ki::ss and then she wakes u::p umm from her slee::p (1.5) have you ↑ heard of that that?= =
381	731	K	=yea::h. yeah=
382	732	R	=that sort of fable or that sort of [-
383	733 734 735	K	[but (.) >did yo::u look at< (.) do yo::u kno::w wh::y they call them (.) you know why they call 'em yo::u kno::w cla::ssi::cs=
384	736	R	=yea::h,=
385	737 738	K	=because >if a young girl< >something like sleeping beauty< and something like (° °) ↑if you read it=
386	739	R	=yea::h,=
387	740 741	K	=or your mother and father reads it out as a bed time story=
388	742	R	=yea::h,=
389	743 744 745	K	=then it's it's >it could be something that< (.) between the ages yo::u kno::w between those (.) >between those infant years<=
390	746	R	=yea::h,=
391	747 748 749	K	=>that it could impact on your life< and between those primary years and then you start to grow up and ↑ you start to re::alize new fa::cts abou::t that stor::y =
392	750	R	=yea::h,=
393	751 752 753 754	K	=>and then by the time you get to high school then you're like< oh. yo::u kno::w (.) that's it (.) yo::u kno::w (.) and the::n you find out a bit more when you are in hi::gh school and whe::n yo::u gro::w up that story's still there.=
394	755	R	=ye::s=
395	756	K	=that's wh::y th::ey call them classi::cs?= =
396	757	R	=ye::s (1) ye::s (.) bu::t the thing about yo::ur story (.) i::s

	758 759 760		>althou::gh it tou::ches on some of the sa::me the::mes< it touches on them in different wa::ys with different ima::ges with diffe::rent meta::phors with diffe::rent transformations=
397	761	K	=well we::ll that's it like [u::m
398	762 763 764 765	R	[that's what I li::ke about you::r stor::y although it in a way resona::tes with the classi::cs (.) it ta::kes them in ne::w dire::ctions with new cultural (.) a::r applica::tions and i::mplications=
399	766 767	K	=look look at somethi::ng yo::u kno::w like the u::gly duckling.=
400	768	R	=yea::h,,
401	769 770 771	K	=what his name (.) Hans Christian Anderson he does that (.) with umm certain (.) he wrote that to a certain ah he wanted a certain au:: =
402	772	R	=audience=
403	773 774	K	=yeah a certain audie::nce¿ but not only that but a certain colour too as well (.) du::ck is a cer::tain colou::r=
404	775	R	=yea::h,=
405	776 777	K	=and he being from an indigenous ra::ce h::e kno::ws what it is li::ke?= =yea::h,=
406	778	R	=yea::h,=
407	779 780	K	=and that >that's how he wrote the ugly duckling< (° and that's how he related to his audience°)
408	781 782	R	=yea::h. But wha::t ↑ wha::t indigenous group was (.) did h::e belong to?= =he:::s a [
409	783	K	=he:::s a [
410	7847 85	R	[is h::e a nor::thern Eu::ropean i::ndigenous grou::p is he?
411	786	K	=N::o h::e is from ↑ Denmark=
412	787	R	=he is an indigenous Danish person (.) do you think?= =we::ll
413	788 789	K	<well he wouldn't paint the ugly duckling black for nothing<=
414	790	R	=o:::h (1)=
415	791	K	=he was a rea::lly da::rk ma::n s::o (.) =
416	792 793	R	=ye::h fai::r e::nough (.) >I was just wondering what< (.3) >you were thinking of yea::h<=
417	794 795	K	=yea::h well ninety percent of the world's population is indigenous=
418	796	R	=yea::h,=
419	797 798 799 800	K	=yea::h s::o yo::u kno::w and that's something the ugly duckling did as well (.) >it's like snow white¿< (.) >it's like sleeping beauty¿< >and something like Alice in Wonderland¿<=
420	801	R	=yea::h. (4) yep (3) (cough) yea::h¿=
421	802 803 804 805	K	=it's like (.) (° I believe that °) (2) when I started out on my writin' and stuff (.) I thought o::h yo::u kno::w and I come to think (° °) o::h yo::u kno::w I have my opinions and >I am not a (°bad°) person< ↓ °yo::u kno::w°=
422	806	R	=yea::h,=

423	807	K	=I ↑ I express my opinions _i right or wrong=
424	808	R	=yea::h,=
425	809	K	=and I >expect to get an answer back<
426	810	R	=ye::s=
427	811 812 813	K	=and um (.) I believe that if if if I write ↑ my opinio::n in a boo::k. then I would beco::me a frie::nd to that per::son (1.5)
428	814 815	R	ye::s what (.) that you to (.) [to that part of yourself you mean=
429	816 817 818	K	[yo::u kno::w =yea::h. I want to express myself in books so that I am a friend to every home of indigenous girls=
430	819	R	=O::h I see watch::u mea::n ye::s=
431	820	K	=yo::u kno::w I want to become that friend that=
432	821	R	=ye::s to [that
433	822	K	[I want to become that role model=
434	823	R	=to that reader=
435	824 825	K	=yea::h. It is like if you write something you beco::me a ↓ °role model° to that per::son=
436	826	R	=yea::h,=
437	827 828	K	=the reason someone bu::ys tha::t boo::k is ↑ because the::y wa::nt a frie::nd _i =
438	829	R	=ye::s=
439	830 831	K	=and it is like yo::u kno::w and (.) I read the Bible a lot yo::u kno::w=
440	832	R	=ye::s=
441	8338 34	K	=I believe tha::t (.) yo::u kno::w the °Bible ↓ is your friend.°=
442	835	R	=ye::s= (.2)
443	836	K	=I am going to touch a life with Christianity to (.) as well=
444	837	R	=ye::s=
445	838	K	=yo::u kno::w wha::t I mea::n=
446	839	R	=yea::h so did Hans Christian Anderson=
447	840 841 842 843 844	K	=well well tha::ts i:t I want um thats ↑! what as I said I don't wantta I don't want to be out there to put yo::u kno::w °>I'm not a person that wants to put (.) °Jesus° <° yo::u kno::w I don't wantta be a per::son that puts °God° (.) dri::ves down (.) °Go::d° dow::n peo::ple's throa::t.=
448	845	R	=ye::s=
449	846 847	K	=I wantta (.) I wantta to able to (.) when I write that book at the cultural level=
450	848	R	=ye::s=
451	849	K	=at a Christianity level=
452	850	R	=ye::s=
453	851	K	= and o:n a (.) o:n a yo::u kno::w (.) a per::sonal le::vel.
454	852	R	=yea::h,= (1.5)
455	853 854 855	K	=yo::u kno::w that person can go out and when they make friends (° °) like that and one of the friends will be like you have got=

456	856	R	=ye::s=
457	857	K	=>he's your best friend< (.)
458	858	R	=ye::s=
459	859 860 861	K	=and that's how come I want to go over there and (° °) >do something like< er (.) is become a frie::nd of that per::son=
460	862	R	=yea::h,=
461	863	K	=>I want to be everybody's frie::nd<=
462	864	R	=yea::h,=
463	865	K	Because I'm a (° °) person=
464	866	R	=yea::h,=
465	867	K	=I don't know where I get that creativity from=
466	868 869	R	=we::ll it's very pre::ciou::s (.) but it's like your Dad he has that crea::tivity that ↓ um=
467	870 871	K	=well he h::e expresses it through art and dance and [(° °)
468	872 873 874 875 876 877 878	R	[yea::h when he starts dancing it's like it's like watching Donny dance yo::u kno::w as soon as they start dancing you see you see that creativity coming through that whe::n they are st^andi::ng there g^oing to sl^ee::p in fr^o::nt of y^ou ((joking)) y^ou don't n^o::tice ((lilting speech)) heh heh heh (.) yea::h,=
469	879	K	= every every like e::very dance has a (° °) story=
470	880	R	=pardon=
471	881	K	=>every dance has a story<=
472	882	R	=ye::s=
473	883	K	=>every painting has a story<=
474	884	R	=ye::s=
475	885 886	K	=every building and (.) yo::u kno::w (.) it has a stor::y in i::t=
476	887	R	=yea::h,=
477	888	K	=it has a story in it=
478	889	R	=yea::h,=
479	890	K	=that's why I wa::nt to wri::te=
480	891 892 893 894 895	R	=yea::h we::ll ((lilting speech)) I rea^::lly want to en^cou::rage y^ou just as m^uch as I w^ould encourage M^erip^a to be an e^lite athl^ete ((lilting speech)) (.) I think (.) yo^::u n^ee::d to be en^coura::ged to be your (° °) (.) an au^thor (.) an A^boriginal au^thor ((lilting speech)) =
481 Con 9	896 897 898 899	K	=I love >I love Meripa when she is travelling over to< (.) yo::u kno::w she's in a team (° °) and she's about eighteen (.) nineteen and she is travelling over to America and she nee::ds m::e.=
482	900	R	=yea::h,=
483	901	K	=and I will be there in a book=
484	902	R	=that's right (1.5) that will be great (5) yea::h=
485	903 904	K	=that's that's the aspect of (° °) on the first (.) couple of pages (.) I argue about (° °)=

486	905 906	R	((Eric coughing in the background)) =>what those transformations you were telling me<=
487	907	K	=yea::h,=
488	908	R	=>about the whirlwind and things<=
489	909	K	=yea::h. That takes up about ten pages (°to write°)=
490	910	R	=well it would [well it would-
491	911 912	K	[(° °) say u::m that's why I wa::nt to go to TA::FE=
492	913	R	=to do a writing course
493	914	K	=yea::h,=
494	915	R	=just to sort of-
495	916	K	(° °)
496	917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924	R	=well ho:pefully if you g::o to Ta::fe you do a cour::se on creative writing o::r (.3) a::r (.) English expression or whatever they call it (.) you will make other friends who will encourage you to complete the process (.5) because I know (.) you have been talking about (.) writing books now for (.) for as long as I have rea::lly known you (1) and um and it is just something that is gro::wing (.) but it is something that=-
497	925 926	K	=(° °) have you watched the movie (° °) it's called Conversations with God¿=
498	927	R	=I haven't seen the movie there've brok[-
499	928 929	K	[have you read the book=
500	930 931	R	=I used to read the book a long time ago now but yeah I read the book=
501	932	K	(° °)
502	933	R	=isn't it a daily reading Conversations with God=
503	934	K	=yea::h,=
504	935	R	=a sort of daily=-
505	936 937 938	K	=no no it's um what happens is he he (° °) he gets down pretty low you know in his life and (° °) he goes to a point where he is ho::mele::ss¿=
506	939	R	=no I haven't heard that story=-
507	940 941	K	=(° °) then he started (.) then he started (.) then Go::d star::ts havi::ng conversa::tions with hi::m=
508	942	R	=yea::h,=
509	943 944	K	=(° °) when he is alone he starts having conversations with God yo::u kno::w=
510	945	R	=yea::h,=
511	946	K	=it's in the conversations He always taught him=
512	947	R	=yea::h,=
513	948 949	K	=(° °) He will always be up there (° °) yo::u kno::w=
514	950	R	=yea::h,=
515	951	K	=if I do this=
516	952	R	=yea::h,=
517	953	K	=(° °)

518	954	R	=yea::h,=
519	955	K	=I don't fit in with (° °) girls =
520	956	R	=yea::h,=
521	957	K	=yo::u kno::w=
522	958 959	R	=>yea::h I can< (.) we all we all >as it were< um (.) >mar::ch to differe::nt dru::m bea::ts<=
523	960	K	=yea::h,=
524	961 962 963	R	=and the drum beat that you are marching to is is (2) can be different from what groups of other people are (2) are happy dancing to (2) or b::e mar::ching t::o=
525	964	K	=well that's it (° °)
526	965	R	=yea::h it made you more determined- =
527	966	K	=yea::h,=
528	967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978	R	to complete what you (.) the process you have got (.) the creativity that you have got (1) well ↑ I th^ink >I th^ink it will alw^ays be u^nique to y^o::u< (2) they u^m (.5) that wh^a::t makes i::t ver::y obviou::s when somebody um ((lilting tone of voice through turn)) c^opies what s^omeone el^se has done um (.) >no t^wo sent^ences< (.) >c^an ever re^ally be the s^ame< no two (.) people can e^ver reall^y paint the s^a::me pict^ur::e (.) no t^w::o (.) sn^o::w fla::kes are the sa::me or n^::o tw::o (.) e- e- e^veryth^ing ha::s that in^dividu::al (.3)m^ark upon i^t (.) and ur- (.) but n^ot all of u^s ur not a^ll of u^s ur take advantage of our (.) cr^eativit^y and of our un^ique^ness and u::m (.6) and make it [-
529	979	K	[yeah
530	980 981	R	[come to fruition=
531	982 983	K	=°as I go through life °(° °) °I am so co::nfu::sed abou::t wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o°=
532	984	R	=yea::h,=
533	985 986 987	K	=(° °) °it's taken me to until about nineteen for a wake up call to come my way to say you have to get up (° °) o::h ↑ >thi::s i::s wha::t I wa::nt t::o d::o<
534	988	R	=ye::s=
535	989 990	K	=and it has taken me (.) and I think running as girls w::e do::n't li::ste::n and w::e do::n't b::e patie::nt<=
536	991	R	=ye::s=
537	992 993	K	=for that one day (.) it's not going to be the end of the world yo::u kno::w >if I don't ha::ve kids ea::rly<=
538	994	R	=ye::s=
539	995	K	=>or something like that<=
540	996	R	=[ye::s=
541	997	K	=[or the end of the world if I don't do thi::s.=
542	998	R	=yea::h,=
543	999	K	=so yo::u kno::w I (° °) a lot of gir::ls to be pati::ent=


544	1000	R	=yea::h,=
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545	1001 1002 1003	K	=wait (.) >for that moment in time< °for that (.) specific purpose in life whether you may be any where in life or whatever you are doing°=
556	1004	R	=ye::s=
547	1005 1006 1007	K	= >and there is something in your head that pops up and says oh< (.) yo::u kno::w this is what you should be doing=
548	1008	R	=ye::p=
549	1009	K	=and you know (.) wai::t (.1.6) =
550	1010	R	=well you have done big (1.1) you've done big.=
551	1011 1012	K	= well maybe °I will give my book° three years (.) thre::e mor::e yea::rs (.6)=
552	1013	R	=yea::h,= (1)
553	1014	K	=then I will have my first book hey=
554	1015	R	=I think that will be great if you can do that (5)
555	1016	D	=(° °)=
556	1017 1018	R	=o::h no we would be (.) we would be ten (.) up to half an hour ahead of those guys (5)
557	1019	D	I could ring them (° °)=
558	1020 1021 1022 1023	R	=that car obviously hums along at 90 because of the size of the engine and the way it is built whereas this thing hums along at 110 but'um (.3) it's just 20 kilometers different thats all (8)
559 Con 10	1024 1025	K	=but I r^eck~on to learn h^ow to r^ead and wr^ite is the b^igge::st th^ing in l^ife ((lilting))=
560	1026	R	=mm=
561	1027	K	=tha::t e::verybo::dy nee::ds to d::o it=
562	1028	R	=that's a good point=
563	1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034	K	=r^ead and wr^ite (.) and >you kn^ow I w^ant< (.) some g^irls n^ever went to school ((lilting)) m^aybe employed to (°relate to°) something like, s^ome (°guys°) r^elate to something like th^at (.) that m^aybe yo::u kn^o::w (.) they ca::'t r^ea::d (.) and >yet m^y stor^y ma::y be the f^ir::st stor^y th^e::y've eve::r r^ead< (.)=
564	1035	R	=yea::h,=
565	1036 1037	K	= yo::u kno::w and um now yo::u kno::w (.) and when they read it they will gro::w u::p o::n i::t=
566	1038	R	=ye::p=
567	1039	K	=have their minds (blown) (.) =
568	1040 1041 1042	R	=ye::p yea::h y^ou have ch^anged the au^:dience th^er::e but that (.) that doesn't m^att^er, or^iginally you were s^aying that y^our au^dience is t^ee::nage g^irls=
569	1043 1044	K	=yea::h but yea::h teenage girls and like 'em but anyone can yo::u kno::w=
570	1045	R	=yea::h I see what you mean=
571	1046	K	=yea::h I am ai::ming it at °teena::ge gir::ls° (1.5)=
572	1047	R	=ye::p=
573	1048 1049	K	=and (.) >and not only that< (.) not only that (° °) woman already had kids yo::u kno::w

	1050 1051 1052		like by nineteen or something like that yo::u kno::w (.) maybe yo::u kno::w (° °) I take my teenage boys through yo::u kno::w (.) stage of life=
574	1053	R	=ye::s= (2)
575	1054	K	=tha::t's wha::t I wa::nt to sha::re with a lot of gi::rls. (1)
576	1055	R	=ye::s=
577	1056	K	=there is one way to be loud in life than (°surprise°)=
578	1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064	R	=well I think i::t is i::mportant that you have (.) that a::rr that connection with (.) with other o::ther peo::ple (.) that'um (.) that au::dience will draw out of you (.) um (.) the best story if you if ↑ yo::u are writing for tho::se peo::ple (.) an' if you've got those people in mind and (.) you want them to read it (.) then then that will (.) that will inspire you to um (.4) to kee::p on o::ffering what you::'ve got to gi::ve to the::m. (2.5)
579	1065	K	(° °)
580	1066	R	=yea::h,=
581	1067 1068	K	=that's one way (1) to (.) there's always something (° °) in the twenty first century (2)=
582	1069	R	=ye::p=
583	1070	K	(° °)
584	1071 1072 1073	R	=well I think that is only the first part (.) I think you have lots and lo::ts of thin::gs to sa::y (4) its got to start somewhere though=
585	1074	K	=yea::h,=
586	1075	R	=but I think you have got a great star::t. (10)
587	1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081	K	It's like I said though (° °) like Hans Christian Andersen like the ugly duckling yo::u kno::w the::y point out (°a well defined°) audience and they point out some other like yo::u kno::w some other (° °) Danish person something like that there yeah o::h maybe yo::u kno::w it is similar to my life and have the same (°nation°) as me (.) do you know what I mean=
588	1082	R	=yea::h,=
589	1083 1084	K	=and that inspires them to yo::u kno::w to use that as a tool (.2)
590	1085	R	ye::p=
591	1086 1087 1088 1089	K	=that's what I want to do (° °) you know I mean there are Aboriginal writers but they don't get to the point (.) like I have read book there (.) where (.) all is where is about a man (.) =
592	1090	R	=yea::h,=
593	1091	K	= like um (° Aboriginal °) meaning his (° °)=
594	1092	R	=o::h rea::lly=
595	1093 1094	K	=yea::h I thought (.) yo::u kno::w the most stupid thing (° °) =
596	1095	R	=yea::h,=
597	1096	K	= yo::u kno::w that's selfish=
598	1097	R	=yea::h,=
599	1098	K	=>and I ! don't wa::nt to be se::lfish.<=

600	1099	R	=yea::h. (7) Well that's it um (1)=
601	1100 1101	K	=yeah plus (° °) (4) You're the first one I have ever told besides my Mum (° °)
602	1102	R	=o::h=
603	1103	K	=she crie::s to::o mu::ch=
604	1104	R	=heh heh heh=
605	1105	K	=>I read it to her and she breaks up<=
606	1106 1107 1108 1109	R	= that's that's that's a very affirming a (.) sort of response to get though (1) that means that you are moving people (.) you are touching them (.) and that's that's very importa::nt (1.7) that's amazing=
607	1110	K	=if you go to TAFE or something like that (° °)=
608	1111 1112	R	=u::m find publishers for you (3) I I I rather think that um-=
609	1113	K	=I kno::w it's training but u::m (4)
610 Trav -el	1114	D	Do you want to fill up here? R-
611	1115	R	=No I don't need to fill up here (.) I'll filled up in Dubbo=
612	1116	D	=o::h=
613	1117 1118	R	=no I will fill up ter (.) I will fill up at (.) Bre::warrina or or Bu::rke=
614	1119	D	=yea::h,=
615	1120	K	=yea::h a toilet break
616	1121	R	O::h you want a toilet break=
617	1122	D	=it wi::ll be clo::sed i::n Bre::e=
618	1123	R	=I won't need to-=
619	1124	D	=at this time=
620	1125 1126	R	= I won't need to fill up till tomorrow (.) unless you want to use the toilet=
621	1127 1128	K	=yea::h. Wait yo::u kno::w wait for them awhile yo::u kno::w=
622	1129	R	=yea::h we can wait

Appendix C: Ethics

	The University of Sydney	Human Research Ethics Committee http://www.usyd.edu.au/ethics/human
	ABN 15 211 513 464	
	Gail Briody <i>Manager</i> <i>Office of Ethics Administration</i>	Telephone: +61 2 8627 8175 Facsimile: +61 2 8627 8180 Email: gbriody@usyd.edu.au
	Marietta Coutinho <i>Deputy Manager</i> <i>Human Research Ethics Administration</i>	Telephone: +61 2 8627 8176 Facsimile: +61 2 8627 8177 Email: mcoutinho@usyd.edu.au
		Mailing Address: Level 6 Jane Foss Russell Building – G02 The University of Sydney NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA

Ref: PB/JH

7 August 2009

Prof. Peter Freebody

Faculty of Education & Social Work

Room 439

Education Building – A35

The University of Sydney

Email: p.freebody@edfac.usyd.edu.au

Dear Prof. Freebody,

Title: **An Ethnomethodological and Conversational Analysis of the Aboriginal Episteme and its impact on education.**

Ref. No.: **10-2006/9411**

Authorised Personnel: **Prof. Peter Freebody**

Dr. Kelly Freebody

Mr. John Evans

Mr. Roger Bourne

The Human Research Ethics Committee, at its Executive Meeting held on **28 July 2009**, considered and approved the request to modify the above protocol as follows:

- Remove Prof. Derrick Armstrong and A/Prof. David Evans from the project.
- Add Prof. Peter Freebody and Dr. Kelly Freebody to the project.
- Change of project title to “*An Ethnomethodological and Conversational Analysis of the Aboriginal Episteme and its impact on education*”
- Change of sample size to twelve Aboriginal adults.
- Change of methodology by adoption of the qualitative methodology of Conversational Analysis and Ethnomethodology.
- Changes to Participant Information Statement, Conversation Schedule and Telephone Script and Participant Consent Form

The Committee found that there were no ethical objections to the modification and therefore recommends approval to proceed.

Please note that in accordance with Human Research Ethics Committee policy, the current ethics approval is valid for four years only, contingent on annual reporting. The approval for this research protocol expires October 2010 being four years from original approval in October 2006. If the project will continue after October 2010 you will need to submit a new application for ethics approval prior to this date in order to have continuity of ethics approval.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor’s responsibilities to ensure that:

- (1) All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.
- (2) All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.
- (3) The HREC must be notified as soon as possible of any changes to the protocol. All changes must be approved by the HREC before continuation of the research project.
These include:-
 - If any of the investigators change or leave the University.
 - Any changes to the Participant Information Statement and/or Consent Form.
- (4) All research participants are to be provided with a Participant Information Statement and Consent Form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee. The Participant

Information Statement and Consent Form are to be on University of Sydney letterhead and include the full title of the research project and telephone contacts for the researchers, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee and the following statement must appear on the bottom of the Participant Information Statement. *Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Ethics Administration, University of Sydney, on (02) 8627 8175 (Telephone); (02) 8627 8180 (Facsimile) or gbriody@usyd.edu.au (Email).*

- (5) Copies of all signed Consent Forms must be retained and made available to the HREC on request.
- (6) It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.
- (7) A report and a copy of any published material should be provided at the completion of the Project.

Yours sincerely



Associate Professor Philip Beale
Chairman

Human Research Ethics Committee

cc: Mr. John Evans, email: j.evans@fhs.usyd.edu.au

Mr. Roger Bourne, email: rbou8995@usyd.edu.au

Encl: Approved Participant Information Sheet

Approved Participant Consent Form

Approved Conversation Schedule and Telephone Script



The University of Sydney

Professor Peter Freebody Telephone 02 9036 9317

Dr. Kelly Freebody Telephone 02 9351 8463

Faculty of Education and Social Work

Mr. Roger Bourne Telephone 02 94283629

Research Project: Participant information sheet

Title: An Ethnomethodological and Conversational Analysis of the Aboriginal Episteme and its impact on education.

This study is being conducted by Roger Bourne MPhil. to meet the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in Education under the supervision of Professor Peter Freebody, Professorial Research Fellow Faculty of Education and Social Work.

About The Project

Australia has passed laws that recognize all citizens living in our country and their rights to equal opportunity to work and education. This research plans to gain insights into how well Australia is doing in achieving a society where everyone can reach their potential and achieve their goals. On-going research and study is made to improve the quality of teaching and understanding of Aboriginal students in our schools. The purpose of the study is to differentiate how people accomplish and constitute relevant educational experiences that represent and develop the potential of their communities.

The Study Involves Conversations

You are asked to participate in conversations where you tell your story about learning and how you maintain educational outcomes. It may be an easy or hard story to tell but it will help the university know how it can improve teaching in the future. The conversations will leave you free to tell your story the way that you want it heard and your opinion on certain key learning issues both from your own experience and also what you have observed in the learning experiences of your children and community. It will also give you the opportunity to share those things you think or feel should be taught to children. The conversations will go for as long as you need to say all you have to offer. The conversations will be held at your favourite public venue where you feel comfortable to talk. The conversations will be conducted by Roger

Bourne and the content of the conversations will be shared with you at a later time of your choosing to discuss the content further until you feel you have been fully understood. Each conversation will take about fifty minutes of your time and will be recorded using an MP3 recorder. My fellow researcher John Evans may be present in some conversations.

Some conversations may be held by telephone either for follow-up or for participants who are willing to be involved in the research but are not contactable in person. The 'participant information sheet', 'conversation schedule', 'information relating to the time, length, and date of call', and 'consent form' will be sent to the individual prior to the conversation. The participant will be informed on how their name, address, and telephone number has been obtained and why they have been approached concerning this research. Means by which the individual can prevent the conversation will also be arranged depending on the circumstances.

Your decision to be involved is completely voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent. You will be free to withdraw your consent or discontinue from the research at any time without prejudice.

All aspects of the study including results will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants, except as required by law. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such material.

The conversations are designed for your benefit to learn, observe, and have your say in educational theory, policy, and practice. You will be free to share the content of the conversations with others.

If you would like to know more at any stage please feel free to contact the researchers whose details are provided at the top of this sheet.

<p><u>Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Senior Ethics Officer, Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on (Telephone) (02) 9351 4811; (Facsimile) (02) 9351 6706 or (Email) gbriody@mail.usyd.edu.au</u></p>
--

This information sheet is for you to keep



The University of Sydney

Professor Peter Freebody Telephone 02 9036 9317

Dr. Kelly Freebody Telephone 02 9036 6038

Faculty of Education and Social Work

Mr. Roger Bourne Telephone 02 96981967

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I,, give consent to my participation in the research project

An Ethnomethodological and Conversational Analysis of the Aboriginal Episteme and its impact on education

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.
3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) now or in the future.
4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

5. I understand that my conversations will be recorded onto a MP3 player either directly and/or through a speaker telephone.

Signed:

.....

Date:

.....

Appendix D: Policies

The Ethnomethodology (EM) policies and techniques incorporated in this thesis are those policies and techniques that this researcher has followed to discover the findings that characterise this study.

a) ***The policy of Indifference and Unique Adequacy.***

- a. Ethnomethodological ‘indifference’ necessitates the researcher remaining within the confines of the data set and not extrapolating or adding to the content, topics, phenomena or categories generated in the social interactions in the study (Garfinkel, 1996, 2002). EM ‘indifference’ requires researcher to “abstain from all judgments of their adequacy, value, importance, necessity, practicality, success, or consequentiality” of the study (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 345). It requires the researcher adopting a stance that maintains the “practical objectivity and practical observability of structures of practical action and practical reason” of the phenomenon of order being studied (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992, p. 186).
- b. The combined policies of ‘unique adequacy’ and ‘indifference’ are designed to empty EM research from the theoretical presuppositions implied in the methodological rules, analytic procedures, and evaluative criterion of Formal Analysis (FA) sociological research (Garfinkel, 2002). The unique adequacy policy ‘privileges’ and makes visible the members’ inter-subjective relations with the natural world by requiring the researcher to adequately engage in the social practices being studied (Lynch, 1999; Maynard, 2012). The policy of ‘unique adequacy’ accounts for the researchers participation in the social codes and verbal moral orders. A participation that contributes to the adequacy of the researchers engagement with the study (Wieder, 1974). This policy binds research enquiry to the phenomenon being made explicit and makes available and noticeable the intrinsic and distinctive characteristics of the social interactions by limiting the scope of the analysis to the data set (Hester & Francis, 2001; Weber, 2003; Wilson, 2003)

b) ***The Policy of the Ordinary and Haecceities.***

- a. The ordinary actions and talk are the familiar organisation of locally produced, witnessed embodied details of practical actions and reasoning (Garfinkel, 1991; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992). The phenomena are the ordinary routine achievements that are accomplished by the inter-subjective links in communication between cohorts of social actors in mundane contexts (Beemer, 2006). Once researchers abandon the framework of specifying human practices as being derivatives of sociological theories then they are left with the task of respecifying the order that is in the detailed workings of ordinary human practices as the phenomena of study (Button, 1991).
- b. Garfinkel often calls these ordinary embodied familiar details ‘haecceities’ or “the ‘just this-ness’: just here, just now, with just what is at hand, with just who is here, in just the time ...” (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 99) of the local productions. The absence of these concrete ‘haecceities’ are the “missing what” in the documentations of much FA social sciences (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 99). The *in vivo* social objects, practices, logic, meanings, reasons, or methods are identical to the assemblage of haecceities for the “next first time” (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 98). These haecceities are “essentially unavoidable” (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 113) and in Macbeth’s terms “everywhere underfoot” and to avoid them is to lose the sociological phenomenon that is being studied (Macbeth, 2011, p. 444). Garfinkel specifies that the haecceities “can be brought to teach the analyst what he needs to learn and know from them” and “to illuminate ... the unremarkable” affairs of participants that require awareness (Garfinkel, 1996; 2002, pp. 153, 182, 216).
- c) ***The Policy of the Irreducibility of the Phenomenon.*** The phenomenon cannot be reduced by FA’s “reduction procedures” that lose the “missing what” of the phenomenon by studying theoretically driven generalisations (Garfinkel, 1988, pp. 107-108). The phenomena of order are inextricably embedded in and dependent upon the social context and situation in which they occur; they cannot “be adequately identified independently of that social order” (Button, 1991, p. 7; Sharrock & Button, 1991). The concrete practicalities cannot be reduced to generalities or abstractions like reducing a participant’s moral agency to a

description of their role that would miss the 'how' of a members orientation "to the contingent details of their work" (Rawls, 2008, pp. 718, 708)

- d) ***The Policy that Phenomenon of Order are only Inspectable not Remediable.*** EM does not attempt to remedy the discrepancies between FA generalisations and the discoveries of EM phenomena (Garfinkel, 1996). The actions generating a sociological phenomenon include "member's methods for assessing, producing, recognizing, ... efficiency, planfulness, and other rational properties of individual and concerted actions" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342). The theoretical descriptions of social actions in FA sociology are often irremediably incomplete from an EM point of view since they miss the nuances of the language and details of the context of the social interactions (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 22; 1991, p. 117; 2002; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992; Ogien, 2009, p. 460).
- e) ***Policy that Social Facts are Discovered.*** EM phenomena are discoverable and inspectable from within the research enterprise (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992). The details of these common sense actions are what constitute the workings of ordinary immortal society (Garfinkel, 1988). For example, Sacks and Garfinkel (1970) mention an unexpected and unintended 'laugh' in a conversation as an example of a phenomenon that is discoverable through careful analysis of the sequential order and content of the talk-in-interaction (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). Members' methods that "create social order" are often hidden in the obvious, are unsuspected, are taken-for-granted, and consist of the "what more" of ordinary interactions (Garfinkel, 2002; Langsdorf, 1995; Rawls, 2002, p. 30). An example of a socially constructed 'agreement' is the use of continuance utterances that indicate that the recipient of the talk has heard and accepted what is being communicated (Garfinkel, 1972; Rawls, 2002). Bjelic's (1995) research has led him to the discovery that an understanding of the praxiological rules of science can only be achieved "through one's own work with relevant material" and "first person hands-on witnessing of the work of science" (Bjelic, 1995, pp. 191, 197).
- f) ***The Policy of Foundational Phenomenon.*** From their ethnomethodological studies of science Bjelic and Lynch (1992) have discovered that the "praxiomatic foundations" of a natural system and of a conversation are different. Studying conversations by scientists does not discover the foundational laws of scientific knowledge but can lead to the discovery of the foundational phenomenon

generating talk-in-interaction (Bjelic & Lynch, 1992, 1994). EM's foundations are the discovered products of practices created interactively by social agents, of constitutive rules of social processes, of order that is mutually intelligible, of language, of inter-subjectivity, and of practices like sounds and movement in cultural ceremonies (Cooper, 1992; Rawls, 1984, 1987, 2001, 2005, 2008, 2009). The policy of foundational practice is disclosing the detailed accountable actions of ordinary society (Button, 1991; Sharrock & Anderson, 1991).

g) ***The Policy of Locally, Endogenously, and Reflexively Produced Social Phenomenon***. Garfinkel respecifies the object of EM research as the “locally and reflexively produced, naturally accountable phenomena of order*^{*}. These phenomena of order*^{*} are immortal, ordinary society's commonplace, vulgar, familiar, unavoidable, irremediable, and uninteresting ‘work of the streets’” (Garfinkel, 1991, p. 17).

- a. ‘Locally’ is defined in these descriptors as an *in situ* and *in vivo* detail for another next first time in social interaction. They are the details of talk or action that are not manipulated or artificially positioned (Coulter, 1991; Garfinkel, 1996; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992, p. 186).
- b. ‘Endogenously’ produced phenomena are discovered from within the practical actions and practical reasoning of social interactions whereas exogenous phenomena are superimposed on social facts by theory. Coulter calls this the “endogenous logic of praxis” that is exemplified in the moral inferential logic of membership categorisation devices (Coulter, 1991, p. 40). The endogenous order sequentially emerges and unfolds from the “inextricable inner” workings of talk-in-interactions (Garfinkel, 1996, p. 17). The endogenous production and achievement of members’ methods or talk make explicit the concerted practices within the phenomenal field (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 70; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992, pp. 191-192, 205; Rawls, 2002). An endogenous work is an interior production of ‘distinctive inter-affiliations’ that are displayed in the details of social facts that are coherent in their certainty and generality (Garfinkel, 2002, pp. 247, 277). The present study is an analysis of a locally, endogenously, and witnessable production of a bildungsroman .
- c. EM works on the policy that no action, utterance, particle, or fraction of an action or talk is insignificant or dismissible but is available for analysis.

There is fine grain analysis that works on “a single unit of activity” and there is coarse grain analysis of extended sequences of talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 2000a, p. 717). Selectivity of different levels of granularity has been a part of the present study as the overarching focus has been on obtaining the salient features of a bildungsroman from a large sequence of multiple turns of talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 2000a, 2000b). However, every particle of interaction forms an integral part of the sequential order of the social object (Beach, 1990; Heritage, 1984).

- d. A major property that social interaction depends upon is reflexivity. Natural language provides an indefinite number of sequentially ordered particles that could precipitate an indefinite number of consequential responses. Any one of the particles may be made relevant by the next action and each next action makes clear the significance of the ordered social object (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Rawls, 2011). Each unit of action or speech is contingent upon a preceding unit and forms the basis for the next unit of activity and this sequentially ordered and accountable interconnectivity of social reality is what constitutes the policy of reflexivity. There are ‘mutual obligations’ to attend to and are required to create the next action. There is a moral obligation that is based upon the mutual trust of the participants. Each next action potentially sheds new light on the last action. The mutual orientation of each reflexive action is dependent upon the competency of the participants and their level of social membership. Endogenous reflexivity is the inherent “how” of social interaction and the constitutive what of social reality (Forrester, 1999; Forrester & Reason, 2006; Garfinkel, 1967, 2002, 2007; Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992; Langsdorf, 1995; Pollner, 1991; Rawls, 2002; 2008, pp. 712-713; 2011). Reflexivity is not an epiphenomenon or referential action where an individual is separated from their social realities, but a sequentially ordered haecceity where the move of one participant is inseparably confirmed by recasting and supplying information to co-determine the next constitutive move. Agents are reflexive constitutive actors and reflexivity is an inevitable property of all social interactions (Garfinkel, 2002; Heritage, 2001; Kim, 1999; McHoul, 1998; Pollner, 1987; Rawls, 2009, 2011; Schegloff, 2007; Schneider, 2002; Watson, 2009).

- h) ***The Policy of the Respecification of the Phenomenon of Order.*** EM respecifies sociological terminology to differentiate EM usage from FA usage. EM usage is not commensurate or comparable to FA sociology. EM usage offers an asymmetrical alternative that topicalises different information embedded in social actions from those selected by FA sociology (Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992, p. 175). The policies of EM are incommensurable because they do not have their origins in any sociological conceptual framework and they are asymmetrical in that they are not definable using the same meaning of the terms that constitute other sociological models of human society (Silverman, 1998). Part of the alternate attribute of EM sociology is that EM research is grounded in the social reality of the inter-subjective practical actions and reasonings of the co-participants in the study (Langsdorf, 1995). Lynch and Bogen (2005) similarly extend Garfinkel's respecification of topics, methods, and phenomena of order to include the respecification of "perception, attention, memory, learning, problem solving, reasoning, *and* representation" by showing that these features are embodied in the actual situated conduct of members (Lynch & Bogen, 2005, p. 239 words in italics are added). In this research the different phenomena that are transformed into an over-arching phenomenon are situated resources used by the co-participants. EM respecifies recurrent concepts of FA sociology, moral agency, race, psychology, and philosophy, and other domains of epistemological and theoretical formulations as *in situ* and *in vivo* resources that generate the talk-in-interaction that forms the autochthonous phenomenon of a bildungsroman discovered in this research (Sharrock & Anderson, 1991).
- i) ***The Policy of Indexicality.*** Language contains both indexical properties that are contingent upon contextual and purposeful information for sense making, and there are the logical properties of language that are context free and abstract. Practical actions consist of indexical expressions and indexical actions that can be subject to analysis to determine their rational properties (Garfinkel, 1967). Coulter (1991) illustrates the difference between logical concepts and indexical properties by considering the incident of a child calling 'mother'. Here a logical formulation of 'mother' would miss the contextual information contained in a child purposefully calling for her/his 'mother'. Indexicality also retains the sequential properties of communicative praxis (Coulter, 1991; Garfinkel, 1967). Words can mean anything unless understood in the sequential context of their delivery. The properties of words are context free, which allows them to be extended to an indefinite number

of contexts. Indexicality is a resource that disambiguates the meaning of a word by grounding it in the sequential and reflexive context of its ongoing usage (Rawls, 2008). The indexical properties of an interaction are unavoidable once they have been noticed. However, they are the uniquely structured details of the locally produced interaction. The indexical details are the topic of EM studies and without them the phenomena are lost. Indexicality is implicit in the “persons, biographies, identities, settings, equipment, costumes, gestures, architecture, and language” according to the relevance of these particularities to the analysis (Garfinkel, 1996, p. 18). It is the indexical expression along with reflexivity that enables actors in transient circumstances to know how to hear the social interaction, for the practical purposes at hand. The indexical properties of interactions once analysed by observation warrant the rational accountability of the mundane activity or language. In EM research the indexical information is retained in the description or transcript of the activity and talk, and as many details as possible including temporal and spatial details are explicated to decipher the rationality of the interaction. The temporal and spatial details are specific to that event and therefore beyond replication. In member’s conversations requests for clarification may indicate a lack of competency on behalf of a member that is finding fault, requiring repair, or experiencing trouble unless they are being obstinate, ironic, or joking. Practical talk is usually accomplished and recognised by paying attention to the “indexical particulars” (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, pp. 358, 339, 349, 357)

The application of these policies accounts for the detailed analysis of the data in this study as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The researcher has adopted a position of “indifference” toward the information collected and has established an uniquely adequate knowledge of the social and cultural realities of the participants by relating to them both on a personal and professional level. The information was gathered from natural settings and ordinary activities with those involved and the information has been analysed as it is without presuppositions or preconceptions. The processing of the talk has been an investigation into the methods and resources that the main protagonist and other co-participants have contributed without reducing the talk to any theoretical models. The analyse has yielded phenomenon of order and the identification of an autochthonous phenomenon through heuristic procedures. The talk-in-interaction was locally, endogenously, and reflexively generated by the co-participants. The EMCA work of only specifying the phenomena and resources operative in the ordered delivery of the social interactions was maintained. The meaning and sense making of the talk was

indexically interpreted according to the contextual information known and shared between the co-participants. Significant discoveries can be made by analysts following the routine procedures of these policies set forth by Garfinkel (Zimmerman, 1974).

Appendix E: Historical, Legal, and Contextual Background

Much of this document has focused on ‘how’ Kirra was constituting social realities through her talk. However, some of the topics discussed in the conversations between Kirra and the other participants, her father’s Uncle Eric (an Elder), her younger brother, and the non-indigenous researcher, touch on the cultural and ethnographical issues related to being incumbents of the Australian indigenous community. This research has been an Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA) of a conversation with a nineteen year old indigenous Australian woman, Kirra. EMCA directs its attention to the ‘how’ of achieving social interactions in preference to the topics discussed in the talk.

History of Dispossession and Institutionalisation of Aboriginal peoples

The historical relationship between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal Australians requires some explanation to fully appreciate the work that Kirra is performing in this study. A full discussion of this historical relationship is not possible here nor is it the purpose of this research. However, the researcher through his association and conversations during the data collection phase of the study witnessed and experienced the nature of their legal and sociological predicament. The lens through which I will be introducing the experience of Aboriginal peoples in relation to the now dominant culture has been influenced by the conversations and activities that I have shared with them. When I was growing up my mother had young Aboriginal women from the nearby Mission station performing domestic tasks and living in our house. She did this even though, during the 1950s and 1960s dialogue, and association with Aboriginal peoples were considered to contravene the social norms of white society that maintained an isolationist stance toward Aboriginal peoples (Sykes, 1986).

The different members of the Aboriginal family I have been relating to come from the Budjidi (paternal grandmother), Muruwari (paternal grandfather) and Kamilaroi (mother’s) peoples. This means that Kirra and her siblings are Kamilaroi people. I will be referring to the Indigenous people of Australia either as Aboriginal peoples or Indigenous Australians. Most of the incumbents of these communities accept both appellations and recognise that the different terms pertain to different contexts where recent government and official agencies are increasingly selecting the term ‘Indigenous Australians’, whereas historical documents, colloquial usage, and self-selected bodies more often choose the terms ‘Aboriginal peoples’ or ‘Aborigines’.

In 1770 Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks reported to the British Government that Australia was thinly populated along the coastal area and intimated that Aboriginal peoples only lived near the sea and did not till the inland. In fact, the whole of Australia was occupied by Aboriginal tribes who maintained careful observances and song lines along the borders of their tribal lands (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962). Captain Cook mapped the East coast of Australia and claimed it in the name of the crown. In the eighteenth century the Roman practice of occupation and dispossession by the use of superior weapons had come to be accepted in International law and philosophy. The concept of 'terra nullius' (land of no one) was a prevalent theory of this period of European thought and applied to land where the occupants were not observing Roman and European laws. Furthermore, the structure of Aboriginal society did not appear to include treaties and recognisable ownership of the land (Connell, 2007; Conroy, Drummond, & Splatt, 1993; Davis, 1988; Dawson, 2004; Reynolds, 1987).

The history of the initial contact between the dominant culture and Budjidi, Muruwari, and Kamilaroi peoples is summed up on the Muruwari website (Muruwari, 2013). Between 1846 and 1853 the white settlers/invasers came to the region and the two cultures collided. The white dominant culture brought with it animals that acted in ways that were contrary to the traditional laws of the land of the incumbent people. The Muruwari people sought to reinstate their lores by traditional means, which was by spearing (Reynolds, 1982). The spearing of animals owned by the advancing colonists brought reprisals. There are also stories that attribute the reprisals to the killing of white settlers. The reprisals included massacres. One massacre memorial site is at Hospital Creek where a whole tribe of possibly four hundred Barrabinya people were encircled and shot. The British invaders did not keep records of such incidents whereas the Aboriginal peoples remember and have kept their own records of this and other massacres (Attwood & Markus, 1999; Elder, 1988; Reynolds, 1982; Trudgen, 2000).

My Aboriginal friends took me to visit the site at Hospital Creek (Muruwari, 2013). The difference between the lore of the Aboriginal peoples and those of the British is a message that came home to me when I was out driving with my Aboriginal friends in a remote community and I was unable to avoid hitting a dog that ran in front of my vehicle. The owner of the dog became extremely angry with an indignation that I was later to learn was fuelled by the lore of the Aboriginal peoples, which justified what followed. My attempts to apologise and excuse the incident were met with remonstrative physical blows. I now realise that the Aboriginal owner of the dog was merely defending his lores and his dog in a way that his community would accept and I have come to respect and recognise (Lockwood & Waipuldanya, 1962).

Aboriginal peoples have an expression by which they categorise non-Aboriginal people, they either 'get it' or they 'don't get it'. Non-Aboriginal people may learn about the laws and lores of Aboriginal peoples but unless they 'get it' they remain oblivious to the ways of Aboriginal peoples. Part of the on-going conflict between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal people originates in a perceived lack of respect by non-Aboriginal people for their laws and lores, and epistemic ways of knowing. If non-Aboriginal people 'don't get it' then Aboriginal peoples lose respect for them and tend to withdraw. The colloquial expression to 'get it' is often used as a device to mean a reciprocal understanding or interpretation of a mutually assumed phenomenon, particularly regarding jokes. In this context to "get it" means to think from an Aboriginal person's perspective and to "not get it" is to only adopt the European way of thinking (Armour, 2000; Dunbar, Rodriguez, & Parker, 2003; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Sacks & Jefferson, 1992).

The appropriation of ownership of the whole of Australia by the crown became synonymous with the occupation of the country and the imposition of colonial British law. The proclamations and laws that followed, which enabled settlers to dispossess the Aboriginal peoples from their subsistence relationship with the land effectively denied Aboriginal peoples their rights and rendered them dependent on the government as if they were institutionalised. The crown was the only means by which a British subject could possess land.

Governor Arthur Phillip had been given mandatory British government orders (1787) to treat the Aboriginal peoples ethically, morally, and legally as subjects of the crown. This was reaffirmed by a New South Wales (NSW) Act: Crown Lands Unauthorised Occupation Act 2 Vict. 27, (1839), which included an Ordinance from Queen Victoria ordering the colonial government to respect the legal rights of Aborigines as land possessors and British subjects. Governor Bourke, on the 10th of October 1835 made a proclamation informing all non-Aboriginal British subjects in Australia that they could not trade with the Aborigines in anyway regarding the occupancy of the land because the whole of Australia was deemed to be crown land consistent with the doctrine of 'Terra Nullius'. Governor Burke had passed two Acts that acted as loopholes to prevent the carrying out of the intention of the crown. The first was the Vagrancy Act (1836) that sought to prevent vagrancy by punishing the idle and vagabonds, and classified Aborigines in these categories rendering them criminals by race and preventing white people associating with them. The Vagrancy Act (1851) legislated that any non-Aboriginal person accompanying Aboriginal peoples could be goaled with hard labour. The second law was Supplying Liquors to Aboriginal Natives (1938) that had the effect of isolating Aborigines

from social contact with members of the dominant culture and exposed them to the consumption of methylated spirits. This law was again reinforced in the Sale of Liquor Licencing Act (1862), Supply of Liquors to Aborigines Prevention Act (1867), the Licensing Act (1882) and the Liquor Act (1898) (Connell, 2007; Stavrou, 2007; Threlkeld & Gunson, 1974).

A Standing Order by the Governor published in the Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser on April 28th 1805 reacted to the murder of settlers by Aborigines by sending a detachment of the NSW corps to exclude, isolate, and repel them from the properties of the settlers. Similar orders were issued with the Governor's authority placing the Aboriginal peoples in an untenable position where they had been effectively dispossessed of their traditional land and consequently had no access to their customary food sources. As more crown land was released by the Governor's office and with the emergence of powerful corporations like the "Australian Agriculture Company" and the "Imperial British East Africa Company" funds were generated and more pressure was brought to bear on the Government to protect those acquiring the land (Madden, Fieldhouse, & Darwin, 1985).

The mounted police was formed in 1824 at the time that the Legislative Council was growing in power and rivalling that of the Governor and so those constituting the Legislative Council were influenced by their interest in the distribution and acquisition of the land. Meanwhile, both Aboriginal peoples and white people who had committed murder either of their own or of the other race, were walking free due to a lack of evidence and reliable witnesses (Rowley, 1970; Stavrou, 2007; Threlkeld & Gunson, 1974).

The dispossession of the Aboriginal peoples from their traditional way of life can be measured by their growing dependence on the government and missions. The distribution of clothing is mentioned in the Sydney Gazette, 16th of October, 1832 issued by the Colonial Secretary's Office at a meeting in Parramatta of the Chiefs and Tribes of the Natives and the same office distributed blankets and clothing in 1833-4. The Aboriginal peoples called the blankets "gubbah" or "gubby blankets" and would unpick the government symbols as they had become a symbol of their dependence on Government handouts (Rowley, 1970; Seal, 1999; Stavrou, 2007; Threlkeld & Gunson, 1974).

A report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) 1837 stated that the population of the Aboriginal peoples was diminishing and that the people were demoralised by the violence of the colonial settlers and by disease (Stavrou, 2007; Threlkeld & Gunson, 1974).

The following quote from a letter of the time captures the fear that the settlers were generating in the Aboriginal peoples.

“One man so distinguished on the Clarence, among the first settlers, was E.D. Ogilvie of Yulgilbar; ... (who) had taken Pundoon, a young boy, and learned the Bandjalang language. He participated in other reprisals, but looked beyond them. Returning from such an expedition to the head station, some time prior to July 1842, he found a woman with a child of about five, and another at the breast. They cried out in great fear, and upon our coming close, the woman took the infant from her shoulders, and ... threw herself upon her knees, and bowed her face to the ground ... the other child crouched at her side, and hid its face in the grass. But instead of expected death, they heard their own tongue, which I learned from a young boy called Pundoon, who was taken in one of the encounters ... I addressed the woman, telling her not to fear. They called the warriors who were hunting over the hill; two appeared above them; one of them cried Begone! And take away your horses; why do you come hither among the mountains to disturb us? Return to your houses in the valley, you have the river and the open country, and you ought to be content; leave the mountains to the black people.

Unarmed, Ogilvie approached him.. Pundoon's father. Edward Ogilvie told them that the white men wanted the grass, and would leave them their kangaroos, their opossums and their fish... To the readers of the Sydney Herald ...Ogilvie apologises for .. having [shown] ... the very placable disposition and unvengeful spirit of these people, and ... convince those who are in the habit of looking upon them as little better than wild beasts that they are mistaken.” Letter of C.G. Tindal, 12 July 1850 (Rowley, 1970, p. 26 cited this letter of Tindal).”

The passing of protective and restrictive laws, and to escape being murdered many Aboriginal peoples sought safety in institutions, reserves, and missions. The intention of the institutions was to educate them in European ways but the level of control exercised over their lives lowered their prestige, and had the effect of institutionalising them and making them helpless (Rowley, 1970; Sykes, 1981).

In 1847 a Rev. Dr. Lang reported that Aboriginal peoples were being murdered in Victoria by the lacing of common food products with arsenic. The population of Aboriginal peoples was facing extinction and was only being preserved by the efforts of missionaries (Scott, 1916).

The NSW Native Police were established in 1848 and deployed to bring reprisals against Aboriginal people who allegedly had committed crimes against the dominant white community (Fitzroy, 1848; Rowley, 1970). In the Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings (1849), Mr. Foster objects to Aborigines giving evidence and an Act that further amended the Law of Evidence (1858) excluded Aboriginal peoples from giving either sworn or unsworn evidence in court and hence access to legal protection (Rowley, 1970; Stavrou, 2007).

The New Constitution Act (NSW) (1853) reinforced the predicament of the Aboriginal peoples in that they were excluded from owning a franchise, renting, or leasing land that now belonged to the crown. Only those who had access to land tenure were included in the franchise to vote. The deliberations in the Colonial Parliament, Votes and Proceedings: electoral rights of Aborigines (1859) concluded that Aboriginal peoples did not have a right to vote since they did not have permanent residency.

The Legislative Assembly Proceedings (1856) were responsive to petitions by settlers against Aboriginal depredations or the misappropriation of their possessions and reinforced their claims to make reprisals against a dispossessed people who from 1846 were being driven into a few restrictive and institutionalising Mission reserves around the state (Stavrou, 2007).

The Crown Lands Alienation Bill and provision for Aborigines (1861) was another licence for settlers to occupy, dispossess, and alienate Aborigines from their land. The discussion on what provision could be made for them revolved around allocating land that they would not have the capacity or inclination to access. However, the Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings did deliver some blankets to them, although some of the blankets were diverted to the beds of magistrates and constables (Stavrou, 2007).

The Royal Commission (1877) in Victoria reported on the placement of Aboriginal peoples on stations where they were mainly given food for labour, although some stations paid them for contractual work.

The Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings, “Aboriginal Natives” (1880) in the NSW Legislative Council, reported that Aboriginal boys could be bought for five pounds and that young children living in Rose Bay in the care of guardians could be had for a shilling. Aboriginal peoples came to receive rations and blankets for support, but it was acknowledged that the Government could have done more for them given that their land had been taken from them. The camps where the Aboriginal peoples lived were used in disgraceful ways and the

people suffered not so much from the laws but from a lack of the administration of the laws (Stavrou, 2007).

The Protection and Institutionalisation of Aboriginal peoples.

In 1883 (21/02/1883) the Legislative Assembly deliberated on the ‘Brewarrina Aboriginal Mission, Aborigines removed to America, the Protectorate of Aborigines report’, which suggested that Aboriginal peoples might be relocated in America. The proceedings also revealed that some Aboriginal peoples had been left in a state of starvation on Christmas day. In 1884 in the Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings: the Aborigines Protection Board again acknowledged in the Legislative Assembly that the Aboriginal peoples had been dispossessed of their land, were not being cared for, and were without food and blankets. In the Legislative Assembly (17/04/1884) the Aboriginal peoples were referred to as an ‘expiring race’ through being left wanting, and that the colony was achieving the demise of the Aboriginal peoples under the guise of peace and achieving this without a standing army although it was acknowledged by another member of the assembly that in the last ten years a million pounds had been spent on the military forces (Stavrou, 2007).

The Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings between 1886-1887, again made provision for rations, and railway and Tram passes for Aborigines and in 1888 the Legislative Assembly voted on money for the Aborigines Protection Board. The Legislative Assembly continued to refer to the demise of the Aborigines at the rate of 500 a year and deliberate on their obligations to those that remained, even though, according to the Aborigines Protection Board the NSW Aboriginal population was 4,893 in 1886 and 5012 in 1887. The debate in the Assembly was characterised by a total disregard for the Aborigines. During the 1890s the same issues dominated the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and some resources were allocated for essential needs and the work of the Aborigines Protection Board (Stavrou, 2007).

In the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (1900) part V section fifty one [subsection (xxvi)] it is written:

“The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:

“The people of any race, other than the Aboriginal race in any State, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws”, and again in section 127, “In reckoning the numbers of the

people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted”.

These are the only two references to Aboriginal peoples in the Constitution and it is reasonable to interpret these laws as withholding citizenship from them. The passing of the Referendum (1967) repealed the two clauses referring to Aboriginal peoples but this in itself did not give Aboriginal peoples rights to vote, to citizenship, or to their inclusion in the census although that was the generally accepted interpretation the voters were given at the time. The laws and proclamations between 1788 and up to and including the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (1900) that were designed to protect the rights of settlers, effectively denied Aboriginal peoples Australian citizenship on their own land (Rorabacher, 1968). The process of rendering Aboriginal peoples as non-citizens or subjects either of Australia or Britain has left them in a precarious position where they have become increasingly dependent on the Federal and State governments for the essentials of food, shelter, clothing, and blankets. This form of dependency might be similar to institutionalisation that protects people but at the same time disables them by instilling helplessness (Blake, 2001). The nineteenth Century ended with the Aboriginal peoples in a very vulnerable position. The laws that were to follow have similarly failed to improve their social condition and provide structures for them to live independent autonomous lives.

The White Australia Policy (1901) that remained in force until the Australian Labour Party abolished it in 1973 restricted immigration from Asia and other non-European countries (Behrendt, 2012). This had a paradoxical effect on the remaining non-white people of Australia including the Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal peoples were seen as the only remaining source of cheap labour (Kinslow-Harris, Harris, & Historical Society of the Northern Territory., 1998). Aboriginal peoples would be increasingly isolated from other Indigenous people of the world who were denied entry to Australia by the White Australia Policy. It would give citizens of the world the impression that Australia did not have a black population (Sykes, Bonner, & Turner, 1975). The prevailing attitude behind the policy was that Australia would be a ‘white’ country free from the contamination of tainted blood, and that the economy would be controlled by white Australians and free from any threats to national efficiency caused by indigenous people (Blake, 2001). The White Australia Policy undergirded the form of assimilation that followed namely, removing Aboriginal children from their parents to isolate them from the socialising effects of their communities, and to prevent them from interbreeding, and learning European standards of behaviour. Another damaging effect of the White Australia Policy on the

Aboriginal community was to marginalise them from the work force that was to remain the almost exclusive prerogative of white Australians (Rowley, 1972). White Australia Policy was philosophically aligned and associated with Social Darwinism and the expectancy that the superior white race would survive and other races particularly the Aboriginal peoples would become extinct (Blake, 2001; Connell, 2007; Reynolds, 1999; Smith, 1999). The White Australia Policy (1901) summed up the nineteenth Century business between the Colonial state of New South Wales and the Aboriginal peoples of this country. The White Australians saw themselves as the distinct survivors and the Aboriginal peoples were nearly exterminated (Crawford, 2001; Rowley, 1970).

In the Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings session (3/7/1906), a provision of blankets is made for the poor where 'the poor' refers to Aboriginal peoples. The Commonwealth Year Book for 1906, Protection of Aborigines records that the native race of Tasmania is extinct and institutions to house, feed, and educate NSW Aboriginal peoples are provided by the Aborigines Protection Board. The Aborigines Protection Board Act NSW (1909) gave power to the board to remove children over the age of fourteen from their parents and place them in apprenticeships. The Aborigines Act S.A. (1911) is a clear statement of all the ways that government were taking responsibility for Aborigines to care for and protect them but in the process forming what the Act calls "Aboriginal institutions" including missions and reserves, and rendering the Aboriginal peoples susceptible to being institutionalised. This Act gave powers to the "Chief Protector of Aborigines" and police officers to take custody of children, to place Aboriginal peoples in reserves and to convict any individual that refused or resisted as guilty of an offence, the penalty for which was imprisonment, possibly with hard labour. The NSW Aborigines Protection Amending Act (15/2/1915) gave the Board powers to remove Aboriginal children, take them into custody, acquire guardianship, and place them in compulsory apprenticeships that meant unpaid work. However, it was the Aboriginal Protection Act in Victoria (1869) that was the first legislation to introduce the removal of children.

The Assimilation and Institutionalisation of Aboriginal peoples.

The Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Bill (18/06/1936-23/06/1936) confirms that Aboriginal peoples are not allowed to be removed from or enticed to leave reserves, schools, homes, or institutions without consent from the Courts or Protection Board. This Bill became very efficient in controlling Aboriginal peoples by driving them into reserves and thus

restricting their movements around the country. The urgency of this legislation was due to the occurrence of venereal diseases and an eye disease that could lead to blindness from being spread either in the institutions or to those who came into contact with Aboriginal peoples. In the debate pertaining to this Bill it is mentioned that there are about nine or ten thousand Aboriginal peoples in NSW at this time. The Aboriginal peoples are referred to as nomadic, primitive, and facing extinction and once institutionalised “will cease to trouble this country anymore” however, other members of the assembly testify that they are good hard working people and that the country has been taken from them and some of it should be returned to them. One member testifies that Aboriginal workers are “exploited to the full”, and that their wages required protection while at the same time acknowledgment was made that other Aboriginal peoples worked for their upkeep, food, and bed. It is also acknowledged by the Government that forcing Aboriginal peoples into reserves is tantamount to putting them in gaol. The debate recognises that forcing Aboriginal peoples into reserves irrespective of their tribal allegiances is detrimental to them and contributes to their degradation. The huts in the reserves were built of wood with galvanised iron roofs with inadequate ventilation such that they resembled cages. The assembly acknowledges that the Aboriginal peoples have no person in Parliament to champion their causes. However, the Bill would give powers to the police and members of the Protection board to inspect and interrogate Aboriginal peoples. One section of the bill put the onus of proof on the accused Aboriginal person, which is contrary to British and Australian law that is based on the premise that a person is innocent until proven guilty. Another member regarded Aboriginal peoples as not being responsible implying that they were not capable of acting like adults. One evaluation of the Bill is that it will inflict an injustice on Aboriginal peoples by taking away their liberty even though similar legislation is extant in Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia. After all this debate the Bill became law and is the Aborigines Protection (Amend) Act 1936. This Act was further amended in 1940 to change the name of the Aboriginal Protection Board to the Aborigines Welfare Board and to officially introduce assimilation as the declared policy of the Board. The 1943 amendments to the Aborigines Protection Act (Amended) (1943) repealed the 1909 Act of the same name with the intention of provisionally allowing an ‘exemption certificate’ to grant full privileges of citizenship to selected Aboriginal peoples implying that all other Aboriginal peoples were denied citizenship (Rorabacher, 1968). This legislation was a further implementation of a policy to keep Aboriginal peoples isolated from the rest of the non-Aboriginal population by increasing their dependency upon institutions to survive and denying them gainful employment and award wages (Rowley, 1972).

The Devolution of the Machinery of Genocide.

The Federal Government passed the Commonwealth Powers Act (1942) where for five years the Commonwealth Government would replace State powers in regard to Aboriginal peoples. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) extended the same rights to people of all races. In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly under the presidency of Dr. H. V. Evatt who was an eminent Australian Judge and Parliamentary leader of the opposition when Sir Robert Menzies was Prime Minister, convened 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Article 2'. The convention defined Genocide as the intent to destroy, in whole or in part a racial group by killing, by causing mental and bodily harm, by inflicting conditions calculated to bring about physical destruction, by preventing births, and by forcibly transferring children of that group to another group (Cunneen, 2007). The NSW Government had passed laws and provided Mounted and Native Police that allowed settlers rights to bring severe reprisals to Aboriginal peoples. The NSW Government had also passed laws that allowed the forcible removal of children from their families. These laws effectively allowed genocide to be perpetrated against the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Perhaps the Commonwealth Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948-1966) that acknowledged Aboriginal peoples as British subjects and Australian citizens was some response to the United Nations declaration (Rorabacher, 1968).

The Aborigines Protection Act (1909-1963) made the following amendments by omitting clauses relating to the removal of Aboriginal peoples to reserves, enticing them from reserves, the supply of liquor to Aborigines, ward absconding, removal of Aboriginal peoples from camps, and compulsory medical examinations. The Aborigines Welfare Board Report, October 1963 required Aboriginal peoples to vote in Federal and State elections. The Aborigines Act (1969) repealed the 1909 Protection Act and also amended the Attachment of Wages Limitation Act, 1957 and enabled the Governor to appoint a Director of Aboriginal Welfare. An Aboriginal Advisory Council of nine Aboriginal peoples was appointed by the Governor. Individual Aboriginal peoples could now possess land and erect buildings. The devolution of restrictive legislation seemed to be gathering momentum, especially with the 1967 Referendum where the Australian people collectively sent a message of acceptance to the Aboriginal peoples and rectification to the government. Aboriginal peoples would from this time on exercise their right to vote although their minority status continued to diminish their expectations (Sykes et al., 1975). Similarly, the removal of Aboriginal girls to the Cootamundra

Domestic Training Home for Aboriginal Girls continued from 1911 to 1986 and the removal of Aboriginal boys to Kinchela Aboriginal Boy's Training Home continued from 1935 to 1970 (Behrendt, 2012; Nichol, 2005; Stavrou, 2007).

The 1967 Referendum on section (51) of the Australian Constitution (1900) related to the legislative powers of the Parliament whereby “the Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to (xxvi) the people of any race, ~~other than the Aboriginal race in any State,~~ for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws” and the referendum also voted on the deletion of section 127 where it states that ~~Aborigines [were] not to be counted in reckoning [the] population [and more specifically] “In reckoning the numbers of people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted.”~~ One interpretation of the paragraph after striking out some of the words in section 51 paragraph 26 was that previously the Federal Government deliberately made specific laws regarding Aboriginal peoples like the Acts of Parliament cited so far in this document. The implication of striking out these words could be interpreted as granting a mandate not to make special laws in regard to Aboriginal peoples but rather allow them the same right to live under the same laws as all other Australian citizens. However, a general interpretation of the modified race paragraph reinstated the Federal Government's right to enact specific legislation in relation to Aboriginal peoples as has been evident in the Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act (2007) that resembled legislation regarding Aboriginal peoples prior to 1948 (Commission, 2013).

One consequence of Aboriginal peoples being exempt from the Census is that accurate records of the numbers of Aboriginal peoples that lost their lives in the frontier wars will never be known. Marjorie Baldwin-Jones was born on a station in the Gulf of Carpentaria on the 23rd of February, 1945 and her birth was registered in the Horse Book that recorded the birth dates of horses and other animals (Sykes & Edwards, 1993).

The Advancement of Aborigines.

Commonwealth Policy (26/01/1972) has continued the rhetoric of devolution with policies that proffered respect for Aboriginal peoples within one Australian society, recognised rights to effective choice, pride in their identity, traditions, and culture, accountability to the express wishes of Aboriginal peoples, programmes to address essential problems, develop capacities

of self-management, economic independence, the reduction of health, housing, educational, and vocational handicaps, and enjoyment of normal civil liberties.

The abolition of the White Australia policy by the Australian Labour Party in 1973 broke the enforced isolation that had locked Aboriginal peoples into institutions and into an institutional mentality of fear of movement and made it possible for Aboriginal peoples to visit and receive visits from other Indigenous and black peoples of the world (Sykes, 1989).

I have had conversations with an Aboriginal man who mentioned that after he came out of the Mission station where he had lived most of his life he no longer feared going into town and later to Sydney. Many Aboriginal peoples did not hesitate to take full advantage of the opportunities that this emancipation offered them and presented themselves to educational institutions for higher, liberating education (Freire, 1972, 1979, 1985; Sykes, 1986, 1989).

The Commonwealth-State Ministers' Conference for "The Urgent Need for Increased Financial Assistance from the Commonwealth Towards State Programmes for Aboriginal Services such as Health, Housing, Education, and General Welfare" (22/06/1972) was a financial acknowledgement of the cost of the policies. The Aborigines (Amendment) Act (1973) set up the Incorporation of the Aboriginal Lands Trust with a Trustees Audit Act (1912-1973) and a series of other Acts designed to make the administration of the funding on Aboriginal land viable. The National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) and the Heritage Act (1977) have made some provision for the preservation, protection, and prevention of damage to objects of special significance to the Aboriginal community (Stavrou, 2007).

The Aboriginal Land Rights Act and Amendments (1980) and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW) have made some Crown land available to selected Aboriginal peoples in compensation for their dispossession by the colonial settlers. They established state, regional, and local Aboriginal Land Councils (ACL). This land is described as land not needed for residential or essential public use and not otherwise classified as native title land. However, governments in the past have offered land to Aboriginal peoples that was not viable for their life style (Attwood & Markus, 1999; Behrendt, 2012; Stavrou, 2007).

The implications of the High Court of Australia's decision regarding *Mabo v Queensland (2)* (1992) were that the legal system was for the first time recognising Aboriginal laws particularly those pertaining to sovereignty over the country and the land. The High Court decision in favour of traditional land occupation and ownership negated the corner-stone on which the

whole structure of dispossession and institutionalisation was built that is the eighteenth century notion of “terra nullius” as well as mandatory suppression of negotiations, dialogue, and consultation with Aboriginal peoples (Reynolds, 1987).

This decision laid a new foundation on which future relationships between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal people could commence: a foundation of negotiation, dialogue, consultation, and common humanity where the way we treat each other is the way we would like to be treated ourselves and have been treating ourselves as non-Aboriginals but not the Aboriginal peoples. On December the 10th 1992 on the day celebrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the lead up to the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People, Paul Keating gave a speech in Redfern Park to a group of mainly local Aboriginal peoples. The speech is hailed as highly significant and was accepted by the Aboriginal peoples in the spirit it was given and that is a genuine gesture of declaring common humanity between the non-Aboriginal people and Aboriginal peoples. However, the Labour government of the day was implementing a policy of multiculturalism and the speech contained elements of this levelling of ethnicity in Australian society. Multiculturalism is perceived by Aboriginal peoples as the loss of their first nation status and the mainstreaming of their identity. Democracy is interpreted in the same vein as a cultural imposition of the status quo onto the Aboriginal peoples who have never conceded defeat or relinquished their sovereign relationship to the land (Augoustinos, 2001; Behrendt, 2012; Brennan, Gunn, & Williams, 2004; Dodson & McCarthy, 2006; Keating, 2008; Stavrou, 2007).

The Commonwealth Native Title Act 1993 expressed the High Court decision to reject ‘terra nullius’ and confirm the right to native title claims and invalidated past Acts that denied the existence of native title and traditional laws. It acknowledged that Indigenous people have a connection to the land and that those rights are recognised in common law. This law was designed to provide a national scheme for the recognition and protection of native title and the regulation of future claims to native title (Behrendt, 2012; Hazlehurst, 1995).

The Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1993), Native Title (NSW) Act 1994 and Offshore Minerals Act 1999 now required companies to negotiate and obtain written consent from the NSW Minister for Mineral Resource to access native title land and land in indigenous use to ensure that archaeological and historical sites that are significant to the Aboriginal community will be conserved and preserved. These Acts have provided some jobs for Aboriginal peoples but

reinforce a perception of Aboriginal peoples as being museum artefacts (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004; Hazlehurst, 1995; Rowley, 1972).

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and the Institutionalisation of Aboriginal peoples, report 1991 looked into the deaths of 99 Aboriginal peoples while in custody. It would seem that the prison system has been used by Australian governments to further institutionalise Aboriginal peoples (Davis, 1988). Aboriginal peoples are imprisoned at a rate thirteen times higher than non-Aboriginal people (Sykes, 1989). The Royal Commission found that Aboriginal peoples are often imprisoned for minor offences, refused bail, given harsher sentences, and have a history of removal from their families and come from low socio-economic backgrounds (Behrendt, 2012; Dodson & McCarthy, 2006; Dodson, 2008; Kessar, 2003; Liberman, 1978; Tatz, 1999). Some Aboriginal peoples were disappointed in the findings of the Royal Commission and research by Dr. Tatz because they did not uncover any explicit deaths of Aboriginal peoples due to law enforcement mistreatment and cover ups, and that is contrary to their perception of the circumstances surrounding some deaths in custody (Cunneen, 2007; Davis, 1988; Tatz, 2004).

The *Bringing Them Home* report (26/05/1996) and inquiry into the Stolen Generations (children forcibly removed from their parents), was tabled in Federal parliament near the beginning of John Howard's time as Prime Minister of Australia (1996-2007) (Barone, 2002). Some senior members of Howard's cabinet considered that the devolution of legislation that was setting Aboriginal peoples free from institutionalisation and eradicating the official obstructions to the integration of Aboriginal peoples into the broader Australian community, had gone too far (Attwood & Markus, 1999; Tatz, 1999). Irrespective of their concerns, the anniversary of the *Bringing Them Home* report, the 26th of May, has been commemorated as *National Sorry Day* since 1998. In 2000, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination criticised the disregard shown by the Federal Government under Howard's leadership (Behrendt, 2012).

The Howard Government Reverses History.

Under Howard, the Native Title Act 1993 was amended in 1996 to extinguish native title land claims when the Wik and Thayorre people of North Queensland claimed native title over two areas of leased land. This reinforced the restriction that Aboriginal peoples can only make claims over land that no one wants. The Hindmarsh Island Bridge Act 1996 (Cwlth) was passed

to settle in favour of the dominant culture a dispute that had arisen when a group of Ngarrindjer woman in South Australia tried to prevent the construction of a bridge that transgressed on land that was significant to them for 'secret women's business'. Gunner and Cubillo: 2000 commenced proceedings against the Commonwealth for the severe consequences they had experienced having been removed from their families. When the case for the cessation of construction of the bridge came before the High Court it was lost on the basis of insufficient evidence or 'hearsay'. The Yorta Yorta Case 2002 that involved a claim for native title land was also dismissed by Federal and High Courts on the grounds that traditional laws had been washed away by the tides of history leaving no evidence of their customs (Behrendt, 2012). The use of the word 'extinguish' resonated with the past where Government proceedings along with popular and published documents expressed the sentiment that Aboriginal peoples were expected to become extinct according to the principles of Social Darwinism. The expression 'extinguishing of Native title' has become a colloquial understanding that the elevation of Aboriginal peoples to recognisable citizenship within their own land has once again been withdrawn from any effective realisation (Kessar, 2003; Rorabacher, 1968).

The Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act (NTER) 23rd June, 2007 was a Federal government special law for Aboriginal peoples following the *Little Children are Sacred* report 15th of June, 2007 that had been commissioned by the Northern Territory (NT) government and had found some medical evidence of sexual abuse perpetrated by non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal men among Aboriginal children. The emergency response meant Aboriginal lands could be entered without a permit from the Aboriginal peoples, the quarantining of half of their welfare payments, the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act (1975), and other NT anti-discrimination mechanisms, cessation of the work for the dole scheme, the withdrawal of land leases, mandatory health checks, an injection of police into the communities, appointment of non-Aboriginal Managers, and a ban on alcohol and pornography. All of these measures with the one exception of the direct forcible removal of children had the effect of reinstating the systemic institutionalisation of Aboriginal peoples by controlling their means of survival and making them dependent on the government (Concerned Australians (Vic), 2010; Wild & Anderson, 2007). The Intervention bore little resemblance to the recommendations of the report and sent a clear message to Aboriginal peoples that the government did not protect them from discrimination, took away the work for the dole program that had given many Aboriginal peoples a sense of dignity in receiving welfare in places where work was not available, and that the government was once again grabbing the land off them,

especially land that was valuable to the mining industry. The Intervention was perceived by Aboriginal peoples as an act of discrimination because it was only directed at them and not any other ethnic groups in Australia (Concerned Australians (Vic), 2010).

The Howard Government was defeated in 2007 and the new Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd made an apology to Aboriginal peoples and the Stolen Generations on the first sitting day of the new Parliament on the 13th of February, 2008. The nation stopped for this event as it was broadcast live into Schools and public places, especially in the grounds of the new Parliament House in Canberra (Behrendt, 2012). The apology went to the core of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Article 2, the removal of children from their parents although it did not specifically address the legal issues of the massacre of Aboriginal tribes. The apology was received in good faith by significant representatives of the Aboriginal community. The Prime Minister's words visibly affected the pain and anguish experienced by so many Aboriginal peoples. The Aboriginal community at an Inner Sydney school made up of Aboriginal children and people mainly from the Redfern and Waterloo area sat in silence while the Prime Minister made the apology and sighs could be heard coming from those affected. However, when the leader of the opposition Brendan Nelson made the address following groans and disappointment were audible. The broadcast of participants in Canberra showed images of Aboriginal peoples turning their backs on Dr. Nelson. One student commented that Dr. Nelson's words were undoing and reversing all the good that the Prime Minister had proffered and once again restored the status quo. There was even unsubstantiated talk that while the apology was taking place Aboriginal children were being forcibly removed from members of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy who had been camping on the grounds of Old Parliament House since 1992 (Attwood & Markus, 1999).

The legal and historical context of this research is that Aboriginal peoples have been subjected to government policies and acts of parliament that have had an institutionalising effect upon them. On the 9th of November 1938 the 'Night of Broken Glass' took place in Germany where the Nazis destroyed at least 7500 Jewish businesses. William Cooper of the Australian Aborigines' League passed a resolution against these actions and sent a protest statement to the German Consulate (Attwood & Markus, 2004; Tatz, 2004). Later in Germany many Jewish people were institutionalised in Concentration Camps and one of them wrote,

“There are things which must cause you to lose your reason or you have none to lose. An abnormal reaction to an abnormal situation is normal behaviour. Even we psychiatrists

expect the reactions of a man to an abnormal situation, such as being committed to an asylum, to be abnormal in proportion to the degree of his normality” (Frankl, 1985, pp. 38-39 attributed to Lessing)

In Nietzsche’s words, “He who has a *why* to live for can bear almost any *how*” and “that which does not kill me makes me stronger” and in Dostoyevky’s words “There is only one thing that I dread: not to be worthy of my suffering” and “man is a being who can get used to anything” (Frankl, 1985, pp. cited in 36, 87, 97, 103).

The Aboriginal peoples live for their land and their resistance to the dominant culture is understandable in relation and in proportion to the abnormal and systemic extermination, assimilation, and institutionalisation that they have been subjected to. Even so, they are contributing to Australian life in incommensurable ways through their art, sporting talent, dance, and creativity, and in so many other less overt domains. Their culture and people have survived.

My Aboriginal friend said to me one day “We are not interested in what you white people have been through” and when I puzzled over his comment, he explained that white man’s sacrifices, battles, and suffering pale into insignificance compared with the continuous and systemic maltreatment that has been perpetrated toward the Aboriginal peoples (Kessar, 2003).

The Nature of Institutionalisation

The institutionalisation of people passes through several phases (Frankl, 1985; Goffman, 1961). First, there is the withdrawal from the situation as you have known it. For the Aboriginal peoples this included the loss of the traditional and customary relationship they had with their land and to which they would like to return. Not only the dispossession of the land but also the fencing and domination of the land that is so foreign to the ways in which they maintained a symbiotic relationship to the land where the land owned them rather than them owning the land (Read, 1996). Second, there is the intransigent stance where the Aboriginal peoples have resisted and opposed their total institutionalisation and that of their land. This has led to conflict and suppression. Third, institutionalised people align themselves with the colonising pressures of the institution to make the most of the circumstances in which they find themselves. Fourth, there is a form of conversion or colonisation of their minds that takes place in which the Aboriginal individual identifies with the discipline and morals of the institution to make their new situation bearable (Frankl, 1985; Goffman, 1961; Rowley, 1972).

Aboriginal peoples talk of the black PhD; poor, hated, and deprived. In the past the dominant culture has had a proclivity to hate Aboriginal peoples because they were not able to make profit from them. The history of the relationship between the colonising dominant culture and Aboriginal peoples has largely been shrouded in secrecy and a cone of silence (Elder, 1988; Kessar, 2003; Reynolds, 1999).

Kirra, the main protagonist of this study is fully aware of this history. Her grandfather came from a mission and now lives in a satellite town on the fringe of a small country town. Many Aboriginal peoples still live in small isolated communities where the only visitors are recycle collectors, ambulances, and police cars. These communities are often managed by Aboriginal Land Councils that are democratically elected by power brokers who come from dubious origins and self-proclaimed Aboriginality and who often arrogate resources away from the best interests of the community.

As I sat with Kirra's grandfather one day, two infant Aboriginal children came and stood in front of me and stared. I asked the grandfather what was going on, he quipped, "they haven't seen a white fella before". He meant they hadn't seen a white man sitting in their community before. The massacre sites are known to them, the institutionalised mission reserve is not far away and the police presence is palpable. On the first visit I made to this community I visited a house I called the women's house. Three Aboriginal women lived there with their children and a brand new red sports car. I was told that the car was from compensation money due from the abuse one of them had experienced in the past. In the next visit, the car had disappeared, the children had been taken from them, and one of them had died of a broken heart.

The dominant culture anticipated that the Aboriginal peoples would be a dying race after the massacres, chemical warfare by poisoning, disease, and institutionalisation, and yet each year on the 26th of January Aboriginal peoples celebrate survival day. The compounding historical currents of de-institutionalisation and multi-culturalism have meant that Aboriginal peoples are being left to their own initiative with the same support as any other people of low socio-economic status in our society. Relegating and subsuming their demographic status to that of the policies of multi-culturalism and deinstitutionalisation means that the past is once again ignored, denied, and forgotten. Aboriginal peoples want the past to be recognised and acknowledged. Reconciliation and apologies without compensation or the support required for them to live independent and autonomous lives, is further impoverishing them. Leaving them to their own devices when they have been dispossessed of their land, lost their coping skills

through institutionalisation, had their social structures weakened by a process of forced and offensive tribal intermingling, and become estranged from their country has often left them feeling hopeless, helpless, and disempowered.

Summary

This is the context and ground out of which Kirra's bildungsroman and talk-in-interaction emerges. How Kirra goes about facing these monumental issues and the direction she chooses to take shows the strength and resilience of the Aboriginal peoples to maintain the creative empowerment of their culture and demonstrates how she once again contributes to the survival of her people. The Northern Territory Intervention of the Howard Government was a regressive attempt to restore the institutionalising measures of the past but the initiatives that Kirra proposes are progressive and constitute the material of this research.

Appendix F: Audio File: The Original Data

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