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Biography Analysis on the Empirical Base of Autobiographical Narratives: How to Analyse Autobiographical Narrative Interviews - Part I

SHORT DESCRIPTION

In the first part, this module explains why autobiographical interviewing is an open avenue to the analysis of deep suffering and its biographical meaning, as well as to the analysis of all types of biographical identity developments and infringements. The epistemic power of extempore autobiographical narration to reveal biographical processes (such as trajectories of suffering and metamorphosis processes) is demonstrated. The general features of autobiographical narrative texts are explicated and related to the social and biographical processes they express. The general analytical stance (pragmatic refraction) is explained of how to use these features for biographical research in a non-naive way.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1.To sensitize for the epistemic power of autobiographical story telling to reveal biographical and social processes.
- 2.To provide for the understanding that autobiographical interviewing is an enabling arrangement for letting clients of vocational counselling tell their life histories.
- 3.To convey an understanding of the powerful representational mechanisms of autobiographical story telling: narrative constraints and the cognitive figures of autobiographical narratives.
- 4.To inculcate the capability to delineate the formal structures of textual expressions of biographical and social processes (especially demonstration markers) and to make the latter empirically analyzable through the medium of the former.

CONTENT

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1 The Rationale for Biography Analysis on the Empirical Base of Autobiographical Renderings by Extempore Story Telling

The incapacity to work in one's learnt occupation and rehabilitation situations are mostly disastrous or at least critical in the life of afflicted persons. Quite often there even is a "cumulative mess", to put it into the words of Anselm Strauss. (Strauss et. al 1985; Corbin and Strauss 1988) There might be the simultaneous impact of a chronic illness, of the loss of work and of social relationships (even of the life partner) as well as psychosomatic and psychiatric problems, resulting in the incapacity to think of oneself as being able to perform an active life ever again. This predicament might still be worse if the inability to work in one's learnt and accustomed occupational position or even in one's vocation in general is connected to a disastrous disease, which not only wiped out the former occupational live one was used to but furthermore destroyed important realms of private life (e.g. doing sports, playing music).

Of course, individuals in such a predicament react differently. Some try hard to return to an active attitude to life and attempt to take any imaginable road in order to find a new work position; others, on the contrary, feel totally paralysed and not able to take any initiative. The individual answer to the question whether at all and how to work with this predicament is very much influenced by the biographical preconditions of the life history of the individual. Many persons afflicted by chronic illness that results in unemployment and related problems did not learn how to deal with such a crisis situation. They might even have learnt *not to* deal with it at all, since in their childhood they had been discouraged to trust in themselves. They might not believe that they are capable of handling problems and conflicts in the family, with peers and in school or, later in life, to trust that they are able to handle difficult social relationships, work situations and depressing material conditions. But exactly this is the most important task in a rehabilitation situation: to activate oneself in order to become capable to shape one's own life. The central precondition of this is to do biographical work.

Let's look into one episode rendered by the narrative interview with 25 year old Mr. Bernd Funke in order to understand

- (a) That his notorious unemployment situation is linked with several other biographical problems and with a severe disease;
- (b) That this piling up of problems undermines his positive self image and his personal strength., so that he becomes biographically and socially paralysed;
- (c) And that after important "first aid" by his family and by his health insurance company and with the decisive professional help of a vocational re-training institution he starts to work on himself, i.e., do biographical work to gain insight and strength towards actively overcoming the vicious circle of the simultaneous enforcement of illness, unemployment, social isolation, as well as psychic depression and lack of energy.

The interview excerpts are taken from an autobiographical narrative interview in which the informant Bernd Funke is asked to tell his life history in an unrestricted, free way. The two excerpts of the interview are quoted together, since they address the same difficult life situation of the informant, referring to points (a) and (b) just mentioned above.

Interview excerpts:

(M: informant; I: interviewer)

- 4 M and eh . the casual work
 5 was going on and eh . I did find a company where I continued
 6 to work as a plumber (')

- 7 I mhm
8 M :that: was then(-) . after four years
9 finished(˘)
10 I mhm
11 M and again unemployment(-) . again jobbing around(-) . I was
12 driving cars here (-) and was doing something there(-) . and so forth(.) . :and
13 ehm: I then (-) . because of pure coincidence(-) via a relative(-)
14 ((slower till+)) slipped into in my original area+ metalworking industry
15 again (,) in a small business & that was a (-) let me a call it a shackle (-)
16 . I have worked there hard as well physically hard (-) . and eh . ((slower till+))
17 to that time my former girl-friend left me (˘)
18 I mhm
19 M and ((faster till+))
20 things of great importance which I had there (,) . and there
21 that were then I have lost a lot of weight (,) .
22 I yes
23 M yes (?) ((quieter till+)) because
24 before that time/ I've gained a lot (˘)+ . and there I lost a lot (-) . and eh
25 and there it it suddenly started with my . pains in my back (,) . I had
26 very strong pains in my back (-) . went to the doctor (-) nobody could
27 for a very long time/ . nobody could find out what it is and so forth(-) and ehm had
28 then/ . :<couldn't>: actually work in my profession at all (,) .
29 I mhm
30 M and ehm . that
31 continued further and further (-) more and more medical examinations till
32 somebody/till I found a doctor (-) . who found out that it wasn't
33 a simple blockage so something simple which can be
34 fixed
35 I mhm
36 M or so forth/ or with . with some kind of therapy
37 can be fixed (˘) but it is a real progressive illness (˘) . Morbus
38 Bechterew (˘) that is an inflexibility of the spinal column (-)
39 I mhm
40 M and
41 eh . there it was very clear (-) . not to pick up heavy stuff (-)
42 I yes . yes
43 M hard
44 physical work is actually . not possible any longer yes (?) . and eh . have then
45 :> to that time<: that ((faster till+)) broken up the contract of employment in that
46 metalworking company (˘)+
47 I mhm
48 M by mutual eh . agreement (-) . and eh &
49 where the job centre wasn't happy about that (˘) . is understandable (-) . but well
50 when getting the cash and then what was following (˘) . ((louder till+))
51 I slipped then into financial problems too (-) & well all of a sudden it was
52 a really huge lump which came/ . which came onto me (,) .
- 1 well I couldn't (-) . pay anything anymore (-) . he he . where I have worked in that
2 metalworking shackle let me say it like that (-) . he couldn't pay
3 I mhm
4 M that was
5 really a very small business (-) . and ehm . everything came out of the blue (,) .
6 I couldn't pay my rent anymore (-) were unemployed (˘)
7 I mhm
8 M and eh . was alone (-) .
9 well that was actually a really deep low point let me say that like that (,) .

10 I yes
 11 M yes(?) there
 12 I was actually really deep down (,) . and eh . my life looked like that actually,
 13 right (?) . a lot of alcohol came to that (´) . well practically . really (-) . well how
 14 should I say (-) just so . hanging/
 15 I mhm
 16 M hanging around (,)
 17 I yes yes
 18 M and ehm .
 19 I a lot of things are
 20 coming together then (-)
 21 M some things come together right (?) . that was going on up
 22 to the eviction/ well eviction of my flat that/ had to leave the flat
 (page 2, line 4 up to page 3, line 22)

(M: informant; I: interviewer)

19 I but I had the feeling there when you told me . that/ well I've got an
 20 impression that it was a very difficult time for you (-) . eh .
 21 maybe you could describe that just a bit more how this developed
 22 in detail so that maybe I can imagine this just
 23 a bit better (-) .
 24 M that with being pretty low (?)
 25 I yeah
 26 M that ehm . right (-) .
 27 well at sometime/ I didn't/ . I didn't really check that myself (-) .
 28 I was told that more or less by my friends
 29 “good heavens you are just drinking all day long (-) . you are
 30 smoking” that was eh . I do understand the people who sit around on some park benches
 31 and get stoned, right (?) . drink, smoke whatever . not doing
 32 anything else (-) . you did feel like that in that situation . I didn't
 33 have money (-) . these few pennies/ which you earned erratically whatever with some
 34 casual work as I said (-) . yeah well you did prefer
 35 to get some cigarettes instead/ instead of a loaf of bread or something
 36 like that and that's what I mean with that (,)
 37 I yeah . yeah
 38 M well it was really/ no money (-)
 39 really in principle you didn't know how this should go on (,)
 40 right (?)
 41 I mhm

(page 19, lines 27 up to 41)

The first quotation is a passage from the first part of the interview, from the main narrative of the informant “M” (Mr. Funke) in which he is telling his life history without any essential intervention of the interviewer (i.e., without any suggestions of new topics). The central narrative kernel statement of this passage is: “that was actually a really deep low point let me say that like that (,) yes (?) there I was actually really deep down (,) , and eh . my life looked like that actually, right?” (page 2, line 9 to 13). The second quotation is a passage from the second part, i.e. the questioning part, of the interview. The interviewer “I” refers to the informant’s kernel statement within the first interview part just quoted, to the vague general predicate as an awkward attempt to characterize that difficult crisis phase in his earlier life: “really deep down”. The interviewer would like to get a clearer picture

about what the informant meant by that higher predicate “really deep down”. Let us look at this more explicitly:

In the first interview excerpt, the following features of the former difficult life situation of the informant become obvious:

- The informant gets into occupational difficulties: he loses the work position in his learnt vocation as a heavy machinery plumber, doing casual work without a stable position and finding work again in his learnt craft only under the condition of not getting paid properly (and later on not at all);
- He has been abandoned by his girlfriend and became socially isolated;
- He gets into such disastrous financial difficulties that he is on the brink of being thrown out of his flat;
- He became severely ill from a progressively unfolding chronic disease without any chance of getting healthy again, with this disease excluding further work in his learnt craft or in any other blue colour occupation, as well as that
- He sinks into a dangerous depression, becomes an alcoholic and is almost paralyzed regarding the handling of his daily life.

The first excerpt of the interview transcript from the main narrative in the first part of the interview addresses the phenomenon, however crudely and does not deal very much with the inner (“psychic”) state of the informant, which he himself characterizes with quite vague general predicates such as “really deep down” and “really deep low point”. In the first excerpt it is only explained that the informant becomes socially isolated, is often intoxicated by alcohol, is out of work and in a disastrous financial situation, and that all of these negative “outer” features of his life come together in a cumulative mess with the effect to put him down. In the second excerpt of the interview transcript, in the questioning part of the interview, the interviewer retrospectively focuses on the informant’s former vague general statement from the first interview part towards his psychic inner state connected to the reported central crisis situation of his life. The informant is now expected by the questioning interviewer to make the characterization of his inner state more explicit. But contrary to the probable expectation of the interviewer that the informant would now really describe his inner state, he additionally mentions about his central crisis situation in life:

- That he became strange to himself; his friends and relatives had to tell him that he was in a deplorable, dangerous psychic situation;
- That he was in danger of becoming a notorious de-socialized vagabond without any ability to manage an orderly and independent daily life.

In the actually ongoing interview situation, confronted with the task of recollection and formulation of the psychic “inner” state and psychic “inner” change connected with the central crisis situation of his life, Mr. Funke, who has before just laconically reported its “outer” events and its “outer” social features, remarkably abandons the usual mundane perspective by means of which one normally deals with the “inner” changes of oneself in an autobiographical narrative. This would normally be by telling in a lively, subjective and emotional ways about one’s own “inner room” of experiences, where “I have personally encountered myself”. We can observe a remarkable abandonment of the normal experiential (and re-collective) perspective of mundane interactional and biographical attention in the second excerpt. Regarding his “being deep down”, the informant Mr. Funke is not able to talk about himself directly, he can only manage to talk of and about himself from the observational perspective of his former everyday interaction partners; in this former disastrous life situation he had lost the capacity to directly relate to himself by himself. (And even in the actually ongoing conversation of the interview he is only able to recollect the psychic situation in that former central crisis situation of life from the point of view of his friends and relatives as well as of his former supporters and bystanders, since he can only

recollect his inner *strangeness* to himself but not any concrete, differentiated and circumscribed feelings and thoughts in that former crisis situation of his life.) Both excerpts together show the structural features of a sudden and overwhelming multiple convergence of several destabilizing conditions of life, i.e. the features of “cumulative mess”, as Anselm Strauss named it, and of a striking self-alienation. (Later on we will learn that these two structural features of cumulative mess and self-alienation are central aspects of the biographical trajectory of suffering.)

To put it short, the two excerpts of the narrative interview show clearly that Mr. Funke is in a state of multi-featured biographical disaster (in a state of “cumulative mess”) to the extent that he has totally lost his self-esteem. He is paralysed and hindered even to do the simplest mundane things for organising his everyday life and he is fading out the disastrous state of his identity formation and life situation from his awareness (especially by heavy drinking). It is clear from the transcript excerpts that Mr. Funke urgently needs a biographical reorientation and that means: the necessity for biographical work.

It is not common to envision a reflective reconsidering of one’s inner states and one’s overall personal identity as *work* as such, i.e. as strenuous and time consuming tasks that have to be done. But it is exactly *that* what it is: it is a type of work that consists of shaping one’s own personal identity by referring to oneself in the following dimensions:

- Understanding oneself as a positively developing, unfolding, unique identity;
- Finding out what are the potentials and mechanisms of this unfolding; and in its most elementary form that means: recollecting one’s own life history;
- Finding out the impediments and dead ends of that unfolding – including one’s own incapacities and misconceptions of oneself;
- Finding out whether or not there are alternative modes of understanding the unfolding of personal identity and how to assess those alternative understandings;
- Finding out in which direction the unfolding of one’s own unique identity should go and what would be feasible ways of supporting that development (e.g., choosing a biographically appropriate occupation or a biographically appropriate study course); as well as
- Deciding about the next steps for realizing and accomplishing that development (e.g., going to school a second time in adult life in order to learn and get into a new, more appropriate occupation or undergoing vocational rehabilitation training).

Biographical work (Corbin and Strauss 1988: chapters 4 and 5) is done by autobiographical recollection, reflection about alternative interpretations of one’s life course tendencies, self critical attempts of understanding one’s own misconceptions of oneself and self-chosen or self-erected impediments, a circumspect assessment of impediments superimposed by others and by structural conditions, imagining future courses of life that support the overall “gestalt” of the unfolding biographical identity as essentially one’s own, deciding on the next concrete steps of that unfolding and permanently evaluating the outcomes in terms of the overall distinguished gestalt worked out by recollection, analysis and imagination. However, most important is the insight that one’s own personal identity is something unique with its own overall gestalt, which matters and is essentially valuable and worthwhile to develop. This includes that it is pivotal to support one’s own personal identity by one’s own coordinated and perseverant activities (e.g., gaining clarity about the enormous difficulties in one’s individual past, on the one hand, and about the enormous thematic potentials and basic thematic lines, on the other, and combining both aspects to a basic biographical form or gestalt as well as, later on, following up a certain path of filling in the still missing parts and links of that overall biographical form or gestalt.) Biographical work consists of narrative recollection; reflection of symbolic, “deeper” meanings revealing self historical gestalts of life; an analytical comparison of alternative understandings; imagining a personal future that harmoniously or contrastively fits to one’s personal past; reflective decision making and

evaluating the probable outcomes. Biographical work is basically an inner activity of mind and emotional psyche, and this inner activity is essentially constituted by conversation with significant others and oneself. In life situations of biographical crisis, biographical work can become the explicit and central action scheme of cognitively and emotionally ordering one's own life; in smoothly ongoing life situations it may be just a quick deliberation and recollection connected to the focus on other activities, or it may even be subliminal.

The capacity as well as the incapacity of doing biographical work is very much conditioned by the course of the former life history and its involved learning processes as well as by the respective accidental and structural barriers for learning processes. Of course, even the brute predicament of being incapacitated to do one's learnt occupational work can – at least partially – be conditioned by the lack of biographical work in former life. As an example, let us take the case of Mr. Funke again: Mr. Funke was forced to undergo his second vocational training (if one takes the elite sports school as his first) in an occupation that he did not choose himself. His first career line had been that of GDR professional competitive sports athlete. He had been educated in a high school for elite sports. But then the administrators of that GDR elite sports school decided that the sports capacities of Bernd Funke, as an adolescentscent student, wouldn't be promising enough. And therefore he was displaced and "dumped" into a specialised plumber apprenticeship for the establishment and fitting of heavy industrial machinery. Bernd Funke's undergoing of this apprenticeship was not imbued by any personal sense making activities – at least not in the beginning of his apprenticeship. Soon after the breakdown of the GDR, the East German sites for the production of heavy industrial machinery were almost totally dismantled. Therefore Bernd Funke was then, without any imaginable alternatives, forced to do several menial short-term jobs and to work as an ordinary plumber in an economically unsound small company.

Looking at the life history of Mr. Funke we can learn:

- (a) That the imposed apprenticeship of becoming a specialized plumber was – at least in the beginning – not imbued by any biographical sense, and this is normally a deep-seated precondition for the incapacity to develop mastery in one's occupation; as well as
- (b) That the superimposed occupation, in addition, was a dead end lane, since - what nobody could know in advance - the East German heavy machinery industry would soon be almost totally dismantled after the breakdown of the GDR. Not only the very fact of losing the work place in one's learnt occupation but, in addition, the imposition of the structural incapacity to work in the latter at all, can be personally experienced as a hideous trap of a malevolent structural mind that paralyses all individual activities for the development and realization of sound biographical plans. The person affected could come to the conclusion: it doesn't make sense to plan one's further occupational life at all and to put any personal energy into another job training.

From looking into the autobiographical narrative interview with Mr. Funke we could learn that it is a very important precondition for doing successful rehabilitation counselling with him and for him that a vocational rehabilitation counsellor studies the life history or biography of a person who is in a critical rehabilitation situation. Through practical biography analysis the counsellor can find out what kind of biographical work the client did not finish yet and still must do. Connected with this, the counsellor is capable to find out what is the informant's subliminal interpretation and his or her unreflected overall meaning of the painful experiences of systematic unemployment and structural incapacity to work in one's learnt vocation.

All of this, which is almost unconscious, should normally be conveyed by the counsellor to the unemployed and therefore depressed client in a cautious and indirect way, in order that she herself or he himself can find out by herself or himself what were the biographical problems and potentials in previous phases of life and what they are in the present life situation. Through this self-exploration the client can start or recommence her or his

conscious biographical work. However, most important is the plain insight (which is lost in the life of so many sufferers of unemployment), that one's own biographical history and identity count at all and, that they constitute, in addition, unique and extremely valuable assets. Step by step Mr. Funke learns in cooperation with his rehabilitation counsellor Mrs. Brühl that it is important to see one's own existence and development as valuable. At the very end of the interview he focuses on his success in the employing firm (a public convention centre hall) that took him in as apprentice and later promoted him to a permanent higher work position. He assesses that "I don't know whether I am something special here... but it is possible that it could have developed into the wrong direction" (page 26, line 5 to 7). By this he wants to say: 'Although I was not exorbitant as a person and as a learning apprentice, I was valuable as a person and successful in learning my new occupational work and in realizing my biographical development'. Mr. Funke is very modest in his final assessment, but it shines through that he has finally learnt to see himself as valuable and developing into a felicitous direction. In addition, he has realized that he is not alone and that the intervention of family, friends, institutional practitioners and especially his rehabilitation counsellor Mrs. Brühl brought about a great success, which today s morally obliges him and makes him responsible for the shaping of his future life: "and eh(-). As I said ('), if that retraining wouldn't have come up (-), ...the eh...I believe I still would be down there ..." (page 21, line 30 and 31).

Studying the life history of a client of a rehabilitation institution means two tasks for professional counsellors:

- (a) To collect an autobiographical rendering from the client in order to get close insights into the history of her or his occupational and other life experiences, in order to grasp the personal point of view of the client as a central precondition for supporting and counselling her or him to do biographical work and occupational planning; as well as
- (b) To study the personal narrative of the client regarding her or his personal life in such a way that the "rubber fence" established by the fading-out practices of the client can be cut through. This is important, since many clients have banned hurting and humiliating experiences from their awareness, and therefore cannot come to terms with their predicament. Without deeper insights into their biographies they cannot do their own biographical work.

The client's collection and analytical structuring of her or his autobiographical materials assisted by the help of a vocational counsellor can be suitably supported and deepened through the counsellor's sociological biography analysis on the empirical base of an autobiographical narrative interview with her or his client. But, of course, there have to be provisions for shortcut strategies in favour of downsizing the quite elaborate sociological research steps in the documentation and analysis of autobiographical interviews. Professional counsellors don't have the time of social scientists for elaborate research; they are forced to come to terms with the pressures of their "here and now" work situation of supporting the clients in their actual trajectory predicament of severe suffering and their actual rehabilitation situation.

2. Life History as a Narrative Topic

There is a very deep relationship between the identity development of an individual and her or his narrative renderings of life historical experiences. It was already mentioned that autobiographical narration is the most elementary activity of biographical work. By recollecting one's own past in autobiographical story telling of certain phases and episodes of life or in narrating the life history as a whole, the narrating individual conveys a basic order and identity structure to her or his life that is lived and experienced up to now and is

expanding into the future still to come. Narrative rendering of one's own life deals not just with the outer events occurring to the individual but also with the inner changes she or he has to undergo in experiencing, reacting to, and shaping (and partially even producing) those outer events. And realizing by autobiographical story telling, how one felt when undergoing the experience of outer events, is a first step of coming to terms with the continual built-up and change of inner states and how this amounts to the evolving life historical identity structure of the individual. Therefore we can say that the autobiographical narrator or "autobiographer" is retrospectively shaping her or his own biographical identity; but the task of the meaningful ordering of pieces of biography originally evolves from life historical experiences. She or he is the biography incumbent or the carrier of the history (or story) of her or his own life, and by telling it, or at least episodes of it, she or he is bestowing it with an elementary and systematic layer of meaningful order – offering a partial integration of chunks of meanings originally stemming from the formerly actually ongoing involvements within the concatenation of life-historical events themselves. The meaningful order of one's own life history has at its centre the unfolding of one's own biographical identity in relationship to the overall "gestalt" of concatenated and coexisting life historical processes.

We can demonstrate the complex relationship between the identity development of the individual and the narrative rendering of life historical experiences by using the case of Mr. Funke as an example. Mr. Funke undergoes vocational rehabilitation training. In self-experience groups, in group therapy sessions and in counselling conversations with professionals (especially with his social pedagogue and counsellor Mrs. Brühl) he learns to address himself by autobiographical story telling. Through activities of autobiographical story telling – and even through and within the autobiographical narrative interview conducted with him - he realizes that

- In his earlier life he did not learn to address his own identity development and his own unique life history: he was put into an elite sports school without personal considerations of his own; he was later on thrown out of that school when he had proven not to be able to fulfil its achievement expectations any more; and he was then put or even "dumped" into a plumber apprenticeship – again without having been asked for his own personal considerations or decision. Just by his autobiographical story telling activities in several situations of his rehabilitation training he finally realizes the lack of his own thematization of topics of relevance for building up his personal identity in later childhood (which would normally be conversationally and practically supported by parents and other significant others, but Mr. Funke's father died very early in his life, and by his removal from the elite sports school he was very painfully disconnected from his former peers and friends). There was a lack of his own engagement in biographical work in adolescence and adulthood, which is normally very much grounded in topically focussed activities of autobiographical story telling (e. g., regarding moving experiences with music, literature or friends as well as regarding central biographical difficulties like losing a loved person, having difficulties in school, becoming severely ill, having had a dangerous accident, etc.). At the same time he learns that
- Through searching in his past life and thinking about himself, he must develop his own identity structure. On the one hand, this means finding out what are wrong assumptions about himself acquired in former life (e.g. that he would "just" be a blue collar worker and, therefore, wouldn't have the ability to do mental work at all). On the other hand, this means to learn from former (contrary and/or encouraging) experiences to believe in his own powerful identity development and its value, by trusting in his various learning abilities, etc.

Two central features of the overall gestalt of the life history of Mr. Funke, then, are firstly, up to the time of the beginning of rehabilitation, its lack of personal identity thematization (in a certain sense withholding from Mr. Funke an awareness of his own biographical overall

structuring and of his own developing personal identity structure), and secondly, starting with the rehabilitation process, his later search for personal identity and for biographical work on its development. The implied central reversal of Mr. Funke's life history takes part in the very course of his vocational rehabilitation process. There are several professionally established situations in the institutionalised rehabilitation process that induce him to recollect his life by autobiographical story telling (what he certainly did not do in former times). - Admittedly, the close relationship of identity development on the one hand and autobiographical narration on the other is overwhelmingly obvious in the case of Mr. Funke; but in other life histories, too, almost no pathway of autobiographical identity development would be possible without activities of autobiographical narration in diverse life situations.

Pre-adolescent children are normally not able to tell their life history in terms of the unfolding of their own personal identity gestalt; they can only address their growth of personal competencies and potentials for future personal development – and this attention, in addition, must be assisted by their significant others and central peers. Later, in adolescence and adulthood, these features of learning about oneself will, then, become a topic for focussed autobiographical considerations in the context of explicit activities of autobiographical story telling. (In consequence, in the case of Mr. Funke the deprivation of, or the disconnection from autobiographical considerations and the lack of biographical work might even start in pre-adolescence. E.g., he does not remember discussions at home about the question whether or not he should attend the elite school for professional athletes.) But notwithstanding latent preparations for the ontogenetically later acquisition of the competency for autobiographical narration and for biographical work: generally speaking, only in adolescence genuine autobiographical narration and reflexive autobiographical self-thematization become possible.

Just as an aside I would now like to allude to a nagging terminological question that is a difficult basic theoretical problem at the same time. A conceptual differentiation could be pursued between life course, life history or biography as an overall concatenation and competition of biographical processes as social processes – comparable to processes of ongoing interaction with sequences and competitions of social actions, but in contrast to interaction and action mostly consuming much more time –, on the one hand, and life history or biography as the retrospective narrative rendering of such a life course, on the other. In addition, a conceptual differentiation could be pursued between a life history or biography told by the biography incumbent himself and a life history or biography told by somebody else, e.g. by a historian telling the life of an important politico-historical figure. The former is normally called “autobiography” and the latter “biography”.

Regarding the first conceptual differentiation, we could be drawn into elementary epistemological and basic-theoretical difficulties. We could be confronted with the irritating question whether or not life course, life history or biography is something real at all: something really existing as autonomous configuration (consisting of sequences, competitions and/or relationships of simultaneous mutual support) of personal social processes changing one's life. I personally assume that there is much empirical evidence that there is such a level of life-changing personal social processes *sui generis*, but these personal social processes are very deeply linked with the autobiographical narrative rendering devices. (The latter reveal and obfuscate at the same time. They reveal, since they express biographical processes by formal text structures, by elementary categorizations as well as by self-theoretical reflections of the informant. They obfuscate, since the narrative language activities are just the medium for the expression of biographical processes and not those processes themselves; in addition, language mechanisms of fading out and of harmonization and rationalization step in-between.) I would like to state again – as I did above – that there is a close relationship between social biographical processes proper and their narrative rendering. And out of that reason, for the limited purpose of this module, I would like to skip the term life course as basic term and just use the term “life history” or “biography” referring by these terms *both* to the sequence and configuration of the socio-biographical processes of life course, on the one hand, and to narrative renderings of these processes, on the other. This simplification of terminology seems legitimate because the life course processes are very much shaped by the ordering devices of autobiographical narration that structure personal experiences of life changing relevance conceptually, both in a sequential as well as in an alternative (supportive or competitive)vain. Therefore, a (circumscribed, linguistically marked) narrative unit of an autobiographical extempore narrative as ordering device for personal experiences normally represents and

expresses a circumscribed phase in a life course or life-historical or biographical process. (But under certain conditions it can deviate from this type of representation and expression.)

With regard to the second terminological differentiation between autobiographical narratives proper and biographical narratives told by somebody else, in this module I would like to focus on *autobiographical* narratives exclusively and would like to use – just confined to this module – the term “life history” (or “biography”) only for them. Of course, biographical narratives told by somebody else are life histories themselves in the sense of products of verbal recollection and recapitulation, and they have important functions in our society – especially as part of the construction of collective history (when a historian is reconstructing the life of an important figure of history) and as model for the personal historical life orientation of readers impressed by them. But normally – if we put aside special phenomena of the construction of public identity and celebrity, questions of assisting adopted children to develop their personal identity as well as certain activities of psychiatric and psychotherapeutic treatment – they are not so much involved in personal identity constructions *as such* of biography incumbents in question. Hence, just for the sake of simplification, on the following pages the term “life history” (or “biography”) always refers to *autobiographical* narratives as well as to overall socio-biographical processes that are seen through *autobiographical* narrative renderings. There is a deeper rationale for this terminological simplification, which was already mentioned above: life course processes and the identity of the biography incumbent are much more directly – and mostly much more deeply, too – shaped by *autobiographical* story telling activities than by *biographical* ones told by somebody else. (Of course, even beyond the construction of collective history, biographical story telling done by others can be important, too, for the construction of personal identities: e. g. if social parents tell their adopted children their life course histories - Hoffmann-Riem (1990). But the latter is something extremely special, and it even underlines the basic-theoretical proposition of the preponderance of autobiographical story telling for personal identity construction: The biographical recapitulation by others of what had happened to these adopted children in early childhood is so important for them exactly out of the reason, that it will become an integral part of their own autobiographical narrative and reconstruction.) – In addition, in most topical fields of research, life histories told by others are not the most direct methodological approach in qualitative social research for reaching life courses or life histories of the biography incumbents, and the most direct approach to social phenomena (including the biographical ones) is normally the most authentic one (Hoffman-Riem 1980).

Life history is a narrative “gestalt” that must be envisioned as an ordered sequence of personal experiences, and that orderliness implies the inner identity development of the biography incumbent. The most important ordering principles of life history are biographical process structures. We can differentiate between four elementary biographical process structures:

- Biographical action schemes, by which a person attempts to actively shape the course of his life (this happens in the life history of Mr. Funke, when in the course of his rehabilitation re-training process he learns to transform and model his apprenticeship of secretarial and administrative work within a complex public service institution into his own biographical project in order to finish his rehabilitation re-training successfully and to start a new active occupational life);
- Trajectories of suffering, in which persons are not capable of actively shaping their own life anymore, since they can only react to overwhelming outer events; in the course of their suffering they become strange to themselves (this *then* starts in the life of Mr. Funke, when he is kicked out of the elite sports school, and it *then* becomes devastating, when he gets severely chronically ill, is out of work, drinks alcohol all day, etc.);
- Institutional expectation patterns, in which persons are following up institutionally shaped and normatively defined courses of life, e.g. careers in organizations or the family life cycle that opens up family life in the first part of adulthood (Mr. Funke undergoes several institutional expectation patterns: being a student in the elite sports school, an apprentice in the specialized plumbing craft of establishing heavy machinery or an apprentice in a public administration organization while following up a course of vocational rehabilitation training); as well as
- Creative metamorphoses of biographical identity by which a new important inner development is starting in one’s own biography, that might be miraculous and irritating in the beginning since it is new and that initially prohibits pertinent competencies of the

biography incumbent, and towards which she or he must find out what the very quality of it might be (Mr. Funke's experience of the puzzling problem – a problem of understanding he is confronted with, when he starts his apprenticeship in the course of his vocational rehabilitation training -, that and why mental work and paper work might be work at all, could be a topical experience of a still disguised biographical metamorphosis process, during that former period of life,).

Biographical process structures normally follow each other in their biographical dominance; the life history of a person can normally be seen as a sequential combination of biographical process structures. But, in addition, there also have to be taken into account phenomena of actual simultaneity, e.g. competition as well as one-sided or mutual support of biographical process structures through one another. (A competition of biographical process structures in the life history of Mr. Funke would be the simultaneity of career and trajectory developments during his elite sports school education; a mutual strengthening of Mr. Funke's biographical process structures through each other would be the mutually ongoing interface of his career of vocational rehabilitation re-training, his biographical action scheme to develop a new occupational life and his metamorphosis search for rational meaning and functional value of mental or paper work.)

3. Against two common assumptions of autobiographical story telling

In order to adequately understand the pivotal epistemic power of autobiographical story telling (and especially autobiographical interviewing) as empirical data base for biography analysis and biographical counselling, one should consider and fight in advance two quite common and powerful misconceptions regarding autobiographical story telling that cause lots of misunderstandings regarding the empirical grounding of narrative text analysis in the social sciences. Oddly enough, those two assumptions very much contrast each other. The first assumption states that autobiographical formulations would simply depict social and personal reality like a mirror and could be just taken for granted and at face value, since they would perfectly express the authentic experiences of the autobiographical informant and her or his subjective perspective. The second assumption states that autobiographical narratives could be freely made up as well as suitably changed for requirements of actually ongoing situations of presentation – and would be fictitious in this sense – in order to smoothly serve social functions of self presentation (e. g., making oneself trustworthy, making oneself attractive or at least agreeable, aggrandizing oneself, etc.) and other social functions (like legitimating, rationalisation, dramatization, etc.) in actually ongoing social situations of interaction.

a) Against the assumption of unproblematic “mirror” depiction of reality through autobiographical narrative renderings

As I conveyed already, autobiographical narration is not just an unproblematic mirror-like one-to-one depiction of biographical process structures and of the overall development of a person's life history; instead, it is part and parcel of the production of biographical process structures and the overall structuring of life histories. This implies that one cannot take the formulations of the narrator just for granted and at face value. Instead, they should be envisioned as constitutive part of the work or action they are facilitating: they are a necessary ingredient and instrument of biographical work, whose basic step is to get clearance about one's life by autobiographical narration (which, of course, could be intermingled with the work of self-presentation to an audience up to a certain degree). And this work starts with (a) situational elicited preliminary mental activities of focussing on

naturally occurring segmentations of life time (e.g., falling severely ill, coming out of hospital after the impact of a severe disease has been brought under control, finishing one's school education, coming back home from a long journey, etc.) and/or of focussing on one's involvements within life-historically important episodes or discrete concatenations of events, that were connected with circumscribed, naturally occurring chunks of personal experiences. (b) Biographical work goes on through telling about these experiences in a rudimentary autobiographical vein (telling a good friend about it and/or telling oneself about it in an inner conversation), which is connected with an initial assessment and attempt to understand the experiences in terms of life historical meaning (e.g. what was the felicitous development in it, what was the leap of learning connected with it, what was the mistake involved in it and what one could do better next time, what was the unlucky fate of it, etc.). And (c) biographical work finally ends with the embedding of those chunks of experiences and preliminary first results of understanding accomplished by means of past narratives about them into a longer autobiographical account in order to grasp their systematic relevance within the overall structuring of life history, which might be elicited through a conversational situation of telling an old friend or a counsellor about future plans and/or about a biographical crisis situation and its pre-history. (There can be several types of conversational situations of eliciting explicit autobiographical story telling, although conversational situations of telling the *whole* life history are quite rare.)

Therefore, biographical work meaningfully comes out from, and/or has an ordering impact on, five types of embedding contexts:

- Firstly, the social frames and situations in which the original concatenation of life events was experienced,
- Secondly, the social situations in which these recently made experiences were originally, i.e. for the first time, told to life partners, friends or other significant others,
- Thirdly, the biographical process structure(s) that was (were) dominant (or competing) during the experienced concatenation of life events,
- Fourthly, the (permanently changing) overall biographical structuring of one's life history that, in any ongoing life situation and in its then actual form, was or is shaping the general attitude and overall perspective of one's life as well as of one's biographical identity in a partially thematized, but partly also non-reflected or even non-conscious way, and
- Fifthly and finally, the social expectations and social conditions of telling (parts of) one's life history to a significant other (a friend, a love partner, a counsellor, an interviewer, etc.).

The linguistic formulations are part and parcel as well as the instrument of central focussing of biographical work, and they should be seen in their work function of expression and presentation within the five types of embedding contexts just mentioned. (I.e., they are produced in order to focus on biographically remarkable chunks of experiences, in order to understand and interpret these experiences situationally as well as in terms of the dominant biographical social structures during the time of their occurrence, in order to grasp their systematic biographical relevance as well as to present them in a certain "biographically sensitised" social situation with its interactive, normative and perhaps even institutional expectations.) Especially through consideration of their fivefold contextualization it is possible – at least partially – to substitute for their typical shortcomings in terms of giving information and providing understanding in their capacity as verbal expressions of mostly quite complex multi-aspectual social, life historical and inner psychic phenomena. Linguistic presentation activities quite often express complicated, difficult, subtle socio-biographical experiences only quite indirectly, symptomatically and incompletely, since the latter might be ambivalent, cognitively or emotionally too complex, hurting, shameful or

just non-understood. And linguistic presentation activities can even be the expression and instrument of rationalization, of legitimating, of fading out, etc. Through taking into account their fivefold contextualization it will be possible to reach at their deeper meaning and function as condition, essential part and/or outcome of biographical work.

Instead of taking the autobiographical linguistic presentation activities at face value, they should be pragmatically refracted (the first term stemming from the Greek word “to pragma” = “action”, “activity”, which here is generally understood as all sorts of human activities of any kind - so, for example, biographical work, too -; the latter term metaphorically understood in analogy to the refraction of light through a prism), in order to use a general methodological term of qualitative research. “Pragmatic refraction” (Schütze 2005; Perleberg, Schütze, Heine 2006) means that naturally occurring verbal formulations should be analytically related to their contexts of experiential background, their contexts of production and use as well as to their contexts of later application, social function and meaningful overall (biographical or actional) structure. By consideration of the fivefold analytical embedding, i.e. pragmatic refraction, a more circumspect understanding of biographical work and grounding of autobiographical rendering becomes possible; even the understanding of experiences, which the autobiographical informant her- or himself recollects only dimly, does not understand correctly or doesn't understand at all, becomes possible.

b) Against the assumption of the freewheeling and suitable making up of autobiographical stories according to functional requirements of social situations

Autobiographical story telling should not be seen just as a freewheeling and flexible course of textual invention of the narrator; instead, there is the serious intention and urgent drive of the narrator to express life-historical experiences, which very powerfully induce her or him *what* to tell and *how* to tell it. This is true at least for *oral extempore* autobiographical narration to the extent that it has not been preformed and not been ritualised (as it could have been accomplished by the presenter or client for some public or institutional presentation contexts like radio shows as well as for some therapeutic contexts such as those for the treatment of alcoholics). But even in literary autobiographies that are written for publication, the writer normally tries to formulate her or his own experiences as authentically as possible; quite often in written autobiographical texts the constraint, the drive and the power, too, to express even unhappy or shameful experiences can very easily be seen on the level of textual surface. (Some literary autobiographies reveal extremely high text validity, since the will to be as authentic as possible and the aesthetic power of artistic formulation converge and influence each other.)

Of course, there can be deviations from authenticity in autobiographical storytelling: some narrators do not know or do not understand what happened in certain situations they had to encounter. Others feel that some experiences are too hurting or too shameful to be able to focus on them or even to recollect them at all. But exactly those passages of not knowing, of not understanding and/or of fading-out in autobiographical story telling are very much identifiable: i.e., in normal situations of narrative presentation informants openly express their not-knowing, their non-understanding, their fading-out. – It must also be admitted that dispositions and strategies of faking, of lying, of intended misrepresentation could have an impact on autobiographical story telling. But they occur quite rarely and are normally reserved for special presentation contexts (as court room interrogation and confessions, legitimising self-reports on addiction careers by alcoholics in institutional treatment centres or presentations of prominent figures in public media shows). And normally it is quite easy to detect these endeavours of misrepresentation on the textual surface, since it is observable formulation work that the misrepresenters must accomplish,

and this formulation work characteristically deviates from the normal course of autobiographical presentation activities.

Of course, the intention and the drive to reach authenticity of the expression of life historical experiences and thus to start and to realize biographical work must be empirically grounded on an adequate language instrument for the expression and presentation of personal experiences. The adequate language instrument of this task is the communicative scheme of (oral) extempore narration of one's experiences of having personally been involved in the concatenations of events within the mundane world of social existence. The communicative scheme of extempore narration is the most elementary means to focus on, to present and to understand the flow of events making up the smaller and greater changes of one's (everyday and biographical) life, and these changes are very deeply connected with – sometimes more and sometimes less decisive – historical changes of one's social surroundings. - There are two other elementary communicative schemes of representing life and world: those of description and of argumentation. (Kallmeyer and Schütze 1977; Schütze 1987, 1988) The communicative scheme of description deals with social frames (routines, institutions, social units and their relationships to each other, etc.) within which the flow of social, biographical and historical events is taking part (or has been taking part). The communicative scheme of argumentation deals with possible explanations for the quite often questionable or even miraculous flow of events within the mundane world of social existence, for the establishment and realization of social frames, and for the power of facilitating conditions as well as of impeding restrictions exerted by them. In addition, the scheme of argumentation searches for explicates and discusses the reasons for decisions between alternative projects of action one was planning or one is presently planning for the management of future developments.

For the endeavour of pursuing and realizing biographical work, the scheme of narration is the most important and dominant one amongst the three elementary communicative schemes for representing life and world. But subdominant activities of the scheme of description are built into the unfolding of the scheme of narration in order to deal with (i.e. to focus and to clarify) social frames of involvements of the narrator and other dramatis personae within biographically and socially pivotal events. And, in addition, autobiographical narration is interspersed with subdominant activities of the scheme of argumentation in order to answer questions such as: why certain life historical events would have happened at all and why they would be that important in terms of biographical unfolding, why social frames were established and why they exerted certain social forces on the flow of events and on biographical process structures and what should be considerations and reasons for future biographical developments. The communicative scheme of extempore narration of personal experiences aims at clarifying what might be *the case* – and this means: what is important and what is the overall gestalt and meaning – in all those mundane affairs, one is involved in and what is the impact on the narrator and other dramatis personae.

The capability for extempore narration starts to develop and grow very early in childhood parallel to the development of speech abilities in general, but up to the beginning of adolescence it still doesn't allow a specific self-reflective consideration that the narration of personal experiences also has to deal with, involved within the experienced events of the mundane world of social existence. That means, a preadolescent child can beautifully tell about a discrete concatenation of personally experienced events and her or his personal involvements in them, and this amounts to first steps of hidden biographical work. But up to the commencement of adolescence the child is not able to focus and present personal experiences and personal involvements in an explicitly autobiographical vein, i.e. taking into account one's own smaller and more decisive changes of personal identity.

The communicative scheme of extempore narration induces the narrator not just to a short topical and generalised recollection of one's personal experiences, but, to the contrary, drives her or him into a time-consuming recollection and presentation process of their detailed (although at the same time meaningfully ordered and condensed) re-staging and re-enlivening. The process of undergoing the dynamics of extempore story telling of personal experiences "liquefies" and details the respective contents of memory which are normally categorized and stored in quite abstract higher predicates. After the start of extempore story telling, the recollected flow of personally experienced events is – broadly speaking – permanently steering the line of recapitulation in the evolving narrative; in extempore narration (contrary to written, especially literary, autobiographies with their typical flashbacks and anticipations) the flow of personally experienced events and the flow of the evolving activity line of story telling are mostly congruous.

The main reasons for this are the three constraints of extempore narration (Schütze 1981, 1992, 2001) of personal experiences: (1) the constraint to condense, (2) the constraint to go into details, (3) and the constraint to close the textual forms. The narrative constraint to condense entails the narrator's being driven to tell only what is relevant in terms of central "knots" of the overall happenings in the story to be told. Single events and situations have to be evaluated and weighed permanently in terms of the announced overall thematic meaning and moral of the story to be told. The narrative constraint to go into details has the following effect: if the narrator has told event A, then he or she has to go on and must also tell event B related to event A as the next link in the chain of experienced events – these events are formally concatenated by links of temporal succession, causality, finality, etc. In cases of implausibility of the envisaged narrative proceeding from the recollection of event A to the recollection of event B, there has to be a "background inquiry", a checking of the details of the supposed – but initially not clearly seen, not focussed or not grasped – link between events A and B. The narrative constraint to close the forms ("gestalts") exerts the following impact: the narrator is driven to finish the depiction of an experiential pattern (such as an episode in the unfolding of events, an interaction situation, a chapter in one's own life history, etc.). This implies closing up the embedded patterns of experience and presentation, too. – In extempore storytelling there is always an open and undecided competition between these three narrative constraints, whereas in written storytelling the competition between the constraints quite often becomes re-harmonized and disguised under the polished surface of a literary make-up.

4. The „Grammar“ of Extempore Autobiographical Narration

Extempore narration makes use of basic presentation procedures and related typical language forms generally in order to remember and express social experiences. The presentation procedures and language forms operate on three levels:

- a) On the level of the global story line;
- b) On the level of the intermediate cognitive figures of autobiographical story telling; as well as
- c) On the level of single narrative units and of partial concatenations of narrative units.

4.1 The global storyline of autobiographical narration

The narrator is oriented by the cognitive overall gestalt (Schütze 1976, 1987; Kallmeyer and Schütze 1977) of the ongoing narrative expressing her or his own life history up to now. There are two special demonstration markers for this: the introduction or preamble of the autobiographical narrative and the conclusion or coda (Labov and Waletzky 1967) of it.

In producing a narrative preamble the narrator realizes that she or he is now focussing on her or his own life as overall gestalt, and the first feature of that gestalt might be an answer to the question when life started, how it commenced to be her or his own unique life history and what would be its basic mode. So the narrator could start: “I was born in the last year of World War One”, implying that life started in a difficult socio-historical global situation that had a severe impact on family and self. The next sentences could then be: “My father was a soldier, he was severely mutilated in combat and he came back into the family as a stranger”, and this second sentence of the preamble would express the mode of estrangement between father and son, which would then have had a primordial impact on childhood, adolescence and early adulthood of the latter. Or another narrator could start his autobiographical narrative with the sentence: “I will now start. Yes, and I think, one starts, I think, with one’s birth. I was born as a late child. ...” In this case the female narrator is alluding to later obstacles in her family to be taken seriously regarding her occupational life plans, since she was envisioned to be the baby of the family. Still another narrator – in this case Mr. Funke himself - could start with: “Yes (-). It started /start/ where I would start the story now that was actually the normal vocational school. ...” (Funke, p.1, lines 6,7), and by this introduction of his autobiographical narrative Mr. Funke is implying that certain features of his life history are very much connected to the unlucky fate of his school career and vocational education.

The three quoted examples of preambles of autobiographical narrative interviews are all quite implicit and laconic. This might be caused by the subliminal or even unconscious character of the overall gestalt of one’s life history at the beginning of extempore narration, since the informant within the social arrangement of autobiographical narrative interviewing would normally tell her or his life history *in total* the first time, and that means: just by telling her or his life history the first time she or he has to find out, how to formulate its basic features that could be depicted by abstract higher predicates; the narrator becomes much more aware of the overall biographical gestalt of her or his life history during the course of the ongoing autobiographical story telling. Such an implicit preamble as we can observe in the three quoted (empirically collected) examples is typical for extempore autobiographical narratives. It might be different with the extempore narration of personally experienced episodes of the day just lived through as is the case in the following example, in which a husband tells his wife: “Today something very funny happened”. The adjective “funny” is a higher predicate announcing the overall character of the following episodic story. Of course, in the beginning of written autobiographical texts we find elaborate preambles, since the author could numerously re-read what she or he had written in first and earlier drafts and could think about it and thereby find out about basic features of one’s life. The autobiographical preamble, then, would be a later and finally written preface to the autobiographical text written earlier. - In autobiographical narrative interviews the relatively rare cases of elaborate preambles would normally be a sign of extended rethinking and reassessment work as it could have been accomplished in reflective mental reaction to a severe life crisis and, connected to it, through intensive communication with a significant other about it or with a professional in a biographical counselling situation or even in the context of a psychotherapeutic setting and treatment relationship.

The coda of the extempore narrative of one’s own life as it has been produced in an autobiographical narrative interview is normally much more explicit than its preamble. Just to take the example of Mr. Funke’s finishing his main life historical story line in the first part of his autobiographical narrative interview:

1 M so well I a at this time except of the work which I have now and that
2 night school (-) . in my private life this are going well ((faster till+))

3 actually I am a happy person I can't say/ I have no grounds for
 4 complaint+ I earn good money (-) and . well I am . ((louder till+))
 5 satisfied and eh every step I have done to that time (^)+ . ehm in the direction
 6 of re-training (-) . that was when I see that now/ everything was correct (^)
 7 and everything was great(.)
 8 I yeah yeah
 9 M right (?)and I am well (-) . can only get/
 10 well can't get better (-) & of course it can get better that's clear
 11 but it is/ great as it is (-) .
 12 I yes
 13 M mhm .
 14 I mhm
 15 M I hope that's what you wanted to hear (-)
 16 I Nay
 17 that is correct . well . that is was I . eh . wanted to hear as a story I think
 18 you have in a very . very illustrative and visual way have told me (^)
 19 well I got (a) picture . ehm how this developed (^) .
 (page 8, lines 1 up to 19)

We are here confronted with the last segment of the main story line that is officially and explicitly brought to a close through the sentence “I hope that's what you wanted to hear (-)” and the following official and explicit appreciation of the interviewer as the answer to this half-stating and half-questioning expression of hope of Mr. Funke that the autobiographical rendering would be adequate (line 15 – 19). But the last segment of the main story line starts some bit earlier: with (a) the abstract description that although he has much work in the firm and in evening classes (in order to go on with his learning on top of his apprenticeship), his private life is in good shape (line 1 and 2) as well as with (b) the argumentative evaluation of the present outer and inner state of the informant, i.e. that Mr. Funke now earns enough money (line 4) and is now a happy man (line 3). Of course this is not just understood by the informant as the characterization and assessment of a delimited life situation but as the permanently focussed end and goal of his life history reached at in the present life situation: a happy closure of a difficult life course.

Here we can get a first glimpse on the overall gestalt of the life history as experienced and seen by Mr. Funke. And it is typical for coda parts of the main story line of autobiographical narrative interviews that such general descriptions and evaluations are combined with questions of the overall fate of the narrator's life history and to questions of assessing the narrator's own biographical work, i.e. her or his decisions regarding one's life course and its crossroads. Thus, Mr. Funke states that he has no complaints regarding his present life situation and, a fortiori, regarding the overall course of his life history. He reflects that he has no grounds for complaints (lines 3 and 4) and that he would be satisfied with the assessment of his own biographical work, i.e. with the decisions and the steps he did since he got into contact with the re-training programme (lines 4 to 6). And this argumentative abstraction and assessment process, this inner talk and argumentation with oneself ends up with the delineation of the central turning point of his life: undergoing the career of the re-training programme in the vocational re-training institution which changed his life in a positive direction to the extent that he could finally escape the chaotic and estranging biographical trajectory process of suffering (“and everything was great” – line 7).

Now it is clear that the informant Mr. Funke is really addressing the overall shape of his life history. He is not able to do this in the beginning but at the end of the main story line, since then he has accomplished biographical work in recapitulating his life historical experiences, in looking very closely at them and in thinking about them. Formulation

activities of abstract description and of self-theoretical argumentation are involved in such a narrative rendering. By these activities the narrator is able to address the abstract feature of his life historical overall gestalt. Connected to this ability is also the capacity to look very seriously into one's biographical future in terms of the long run. The narrator, looking at the overall gestalt of his life history, asks himself the question: Can I go on with the dominant biographical process(es) that I am in right now or should I work for a decisive change? In such a context of biographical work Mr. Funke states to himself: "and I am well (-) . can only get/ well can't get better (-) & of course it can get better that's clear, but it is/ great as it is (-) ". (lines 9-11) Mr. Funke can imagine a further positive development of the present biographical process structures of a biographical action scheme of establishing his occupational position in his employer firm, i.e., the convention centre hall complex, and of a (possible) metamorphosis process of ongoing intensive general and occupational learning. Generally speaking: Dealing with one's future life as a pivotal part of biographical work is only feasible on the ground of having gained clarity about the overall shape of the life history up to now and its central general features, especially the biographical process structures involved.

Looking at the coda part of Mr. Funke's narrative interview, which is quite typical for the coda segment of autobiographical narrative interviews in general, we can now risk the following general statement: The coda element of extempore narrative story telling – similar to the short narratives of personal experiences that Labov and Waletzky (1967) dealt with – have two parts:

(a) One part is dealing with the closing up of the content of the autobiographical story, i.e. with bringing the flux of recalled lifetime and its experiences to an end. And this activity encloses intensive biographical work of characterizing the general features of the overall biographical gestalt. (b) Another part (mostly a sequentially second part) is dealing with the activity of refocusing the communicative attention from the time of the life story contents, i.e. the autobiographical experiences, to the time of the actually "here and now" ongoing communication and situation of the interview setting – in the case of Mr. Funke's interview: "I hope that's what you wanted to hear (-)" (line 15). The first part of the coda that closes up the content (the lived-through experiences) of the life history normally states higher predicates delineating the overall biographical gestalt of the life history. Essential features of this formulation of the overall biographical shape are: the abstract description of the present general inner and outer state of the life situation and its evaluation, the assessment of the benign or unhappy overall fate of the life history up to now and the delineation of its possible central turning points, the accomplished biographical work involved (especially finding out about dominant biographical process structures and understanding them, as well as dealing with the question whether there will be a continuous or discontinuous personal future with regard to the present dominant biographical process structures). The coda part of the autobiographical narrative interview is normally preceded by a narrative and descriptive segment dealing with the present phase of the life history; this can also be combined with some argumentative assessments of the present life situation and with the course of the life history in general. In Mr. Funke's interview, the narrator here is formulating his present occupational situation and the success of having reached that position, and in addition he is also reflecting how his life history should go on in the future: He attends evening school in order to get a bachelor in business administration and, through this, he might be able to realize a biographical action scheme of getting ahead by intentionally undergoing a career in the convention centre hall (page 7, lines 43 to 53).

The coda part of the main story line is – as we saw – usually the most explicit textual referral to the global story line of the autobiographical narration and the overall biographical shape or ordering of the life history expressed by it, because it is full of textual

activities of biographical work. As I said already, the preamble of the main story part of the interview is another referral to the global story line and the overall biographical shape of the life history, although normally much more implicit. In addition, there are other textual indicators linked to the usual narrative segments of the inner regions of the main story part of the autobiographical narrative interview. One type of these indicators is the supra-segmental demonstration marker that indicates the general feature of biographical process structures dealt with in the autobiographical narration. As such it just depicts the concatenation of autobiographical narrative elements and the experiences expressed by them. But their sequential or simultaneous combination hints at the global story line and the overall biographical shape (or ordering) expressed by that combination, e.g., the combination of a trajectory marker such as: “Yes, and the I got new problems and life became more and more difficult”, and the action scheme marker: “And then I started to think about these difficulties.” Such a combination expresses a global story line of the sequence of acceleration of a trajectory of suffering and of the action attempt of escaping from it. Finally there should at least be a short mentioning of argumentative commentaries linked to narrative parts of the presentation segments. Of course many argumentative commentaries just explain and evaluate intensive and unusual experiences, happy ones or difficult ones, of locally encountered events or situations. But quite often the argumentative commentaries, especially when they are dealing with very unusual, enigmatic and/or very intensive experiences, attempt to assess the local experience in its importance for the global story line and the overall biographical ordering expressed by it. Special instances are the argumentative commentaries within the pre-coda segment of the autobiographical rendering: here - or in the coda itself - we quite often find argumentative commentaries of balancing the pro's and con's of one's life and biographical work in general, and therefore they deal with the global story line and the overall biographical shape of the life history of the narrator.

The global story line expresses, as we saw already, the largest cognitive figure of autobiographical story telling, i.e. the overall biographical ordering or the overall shape of the life history. Just let me remind you that we established biographical processes and thus the overall biographical shape of the life history, too, as a quite normal social phenomenon exerting even social constraints in the Durkheimian sense (Durkheim 1895) on the biography incumbent and her or his interaction partners. These constraints will even take place, if the biography incumbent doesn't reflect on them and if he doesn't have a circumscribed autobiographical image of them. The socio-biographical phenomenon of the global biographical shape as such with its social gestalt constraints will be called “overall biographical structuring”. If there is a conscious image of it or even a self-theoretical reflection on it, it should be called “biographical view”. Biographical views quite often are the result of sober and intensive biographical work taking into account the authentic experiences of the biography incumbent, and then they have the power to help the biography incumbent to work realistically on her or his biographical problems. But biographical views could also be constructed in contrast to the authentic experiences in order to fade out or to mystify the difficulties and problems of biographical experiences or even of the overall biographical ordering or the biographical process structures involved in it.

4.2 Overview of the level of the intermediate cognitive figures and their strategic importance for research

There are five other cognitive figures of autobiographical story telling which are indispensable for the recapitulation of personal experience, for shaping the overall biographical structuring, for experiencing the concatenation of events the individual is

involved in as an ordered self-historical gestalt or story, from which one is able to make sense and to which one is able to orient oneself, as well as for doing biographical work. In order to give a short overview here is a list of them (Schütze 1984):

1. The abstract, evaluative, emotional and stylistic global shape of the narration, which can be especially studied in the preamble, the coda and the pre-coda segment of the narration (dealt with already);
2. The concatenation of narrative segments: the presentation of the sequence of the events the narrator was involved in and the related experiences including inner changes of the narrator as the person having been involved in the events; especially interesting are here the supra-segmental demonstration markers expressing the contours and the essence of biographical process structures;
3. Situations or scenes of biographical importance, in which there is a peak in the concatenation of events as well as in which the identity change of the narrator as former *dramatis persona* is experienced by her or himself and can be observed by others; a situation as a peak phase of a concatenation of events with a story-historical shape is rendered in a stylised episodic form as well as expressed by a narrative segment which presents the event(s) and its (their) experience through differentiated and multiple interaction perspectives of the participants – including the differences of interaction perspectives between the biography incumbent and her or his interaction partners, this mainly by the rendering of direct speech, as well as including the different perspectives of the inner speech of the narrator as former actor and as present autobiographical story teller;
4. The story carrier, who is at the same time the narrator and the biography incumbent: the autobiographical narrator is identical with the person whose life history is told in the autobiographical narrative rendering; that person is on the one hand the agency of shaping one's own everyday situations and life affairs as well as the "reactor" of experiencing and undergoing it, i.e., the story carrier in the strict sense of the word. On the other hand, that person is the carrier of the overall life history to be told and the red thread of the overall identity development and identity change in the course of the life history, who, at the same time, paradoxically keeps identical with her- or himself as a permanently changing entity, i.e. the trajectory incumbent proper; there can be enormous differences between the former experiential perspectives in the life history and the present one of autobiographical narration; in case the difference in perspective is reflected, there will be a reflective (e.g., self-ironical, self-critical, amazed) self presentation of the biography incumbent with a proliferation of argumentative commentaries; in case the difference is not reflected there will be a naïve self-presentation of the biography incumbent with an unnoticed abundance of symptomatic, almost unconscious markers (as hesitation phenomena, paralinguistic markers like an embarrassed laughter, small self-corrections, etc.), and the narrator is then missing a concept of her or his own identity change;
5. Event carriers: other *dramatis personae* beyond the story carrier; as any type of social units they can even belong to the non-human world (e. g. a severe illness, an old car, a house or a panhandle); they are introduced into the autobiographical narrative rendering by a narrative statement of what they did in terms of higher predicates or by descriptive characterizations often connected with personal evaluations; sometimes an additional characterizing story is told depicting personal (or individual) features of the respective event carrier; there is always a self-referential or retrograde indexicality of the depiction of the event carrier referring to the narrator, the story carrier and the biography incumbent; of special analytical interest are the significant others of the story carrier and biography incumbent, since they are the central helpers, mirror image and counsellors, for her or his biographical work; as well as

6. Social frames for the flux of events and social processes as well as for the flux of the inner time of the story carrier: they can be organizations, institutional milieus, any type of collective social units, social relations between individual persons or social units, social worlds and social arenas, etc. Social frames are depicted by descriptions of social units, social relationships, and social arenas. They can be facilitating conditions for the socio-biographical processes to be told, but they can also be impediments for them. Narrators sometimes differentiate between official social frames and background scripts, e.g. the relationship between mentor and apprentice could be re-interpreted as similar to a relationship between father and daughter. Especially those background scripts are dealt with through presentation marker of contrast sets from the store of elementary social categorization. - There can be a circumspect type of autobiographical narrative rendering with lots of considerations of social frames: especially of new and strange social worlds that by their influence can introduce pivotal changes of identity of the story carrier; on the other, hand there can be an isolating and/or egocentric type of autobiographical narrative rendering. In this case it is difficult for the narrator and her or his listeners to find out what would have shaped the identity development of the story carrier.

The five latter classes of cognitive figures permanently contribute to the overall shape or story line of the autobiographical narrative. In this sense they belong to the presentational grammar of the overall story line or shape of the autobiographical narration. The global gestalt of the autobiographical story cannot be constructed and understood without their help. On the other hand, they also are meso-structures in between the global shape of the autobiographical story line and single narrative units dealt with later. But by their general cognitive orientation power that operates both on the overall story shape and on single narrative units, by their combinations (e. g. situational elaboration and raising the explication level of the concatenation of narrative segments) as well as by the special and careful import laid on the formulation of a cognitive figure, i.e. by their stylistic elaboration, they exert an indirect modelling impact on the overall story shape. Through this they combine the macro and the micro level of life histories as well as the global or long term retrograde “history perspective” with their former and present mundane enactment on the level of actual life within the everyday world of existence.

Cognitive figures are both phenomena of the narrative text of the autobiographical rendering and of socio-biographical reality. This is not difficult to understand. As an elementary means to recapitulate personal experiences of social (or socio-biographical) reality the communicative scheme of narration has to express and to depict basic features of that reality. Social reality is the reality of the members of the everyday world of existence who shape that world, but at the same time live up to its expectations. Therefore there are two alternative, but intertwined basic views of the everyday world of existence.

In the first view, the everyday world of existence is seen through their perspectives and interpreted by their biographical (or identity) relevancies. (Schütz 1962, Part III) Partially it is even produced through their activities. Therefore it has a subjective origin of personal experiences: it is shaped by the perspectives of story carriers or biography incumbents and their interaction partners, the event carriers. It is on the one hand seen through the actual scenic orientation of the story carrier or biography incumbent to social situations she or he has to undergo, has to experience dramatically, has to come to terms with and/or attempts to shape. It is also seen through the basic format of relationships between the identity development of the biography incumbent and social processes (including biographical ones up to the extent of a whole life history) realized through mundane “historical” events. These relationships are the several biographical process structures of biographical action scheme, of the trajectory of suffering, of institutional expectation pattern and of metamorphosis. (Schütze 1981, 1984, 1994, 1995, Riemann and Schütze 1991; Perleberg, Schütze, Heine

2006; Riemann 1987, 2000) The relationship of the biographical action scheme between the identity of the biography incumbent and social processes is characterized by her or his active attitude to the shaping of social processes (including life historical ones) she or he is involved in or will be involved in; the basic feature of that active attitude is the intentional orientation structure. The relationship of the biographical trajectory of suffering between the identities of the biography incumbent and social processes is characterized by the attitude of feeling overwhelmed by powerful outer forces and of just suffering through their impact. This attitude includes the basic experience of having lost the aptitude to model one's everyday encounters and one's life through personally controlled action; to the contrary, there is the feeling to be able to do nothing more than to react to the powerful outer events and just to attempt to keep some balance of handling social encounters and one's life situation. Therefore a basic feature of the trajectory attitude is that of a conditional orientation structure. Another feature is the irritation of becoming strange to oneself, since the active relationship to life is lost. The relationship of institutional expectation pattern between the identity of the biography incumbent and social processes is characterized by the attitude to follow up expectations of institutionally defined paths of development and pertinent activities – institutional expectations which order a social or biographical realm by normative rules and constraints in the Durkheimian sense and which are accepted by the biography incumbent. A typical class of it are career paths and patterns. A basic feature of the attitude of the institutional expectation pattern is the orientation structure and the sense of obligation, but on the other hand there is also the orientation possibility of getting into a distance to the institutional expectations or even criticising or reinterpreting them. The relationship of biographical metamorphosis between the identity of the biography incumbent and social processes is characterized by the attitude of encountering and exploring something essentially new in a social encounter and especially in one's biographical identity and life history, which is not conditioned by outer forces and normative expectation pattern, but stems from the inner identity realm of the biography incumbent and/or her or his interaction partners. A basic feature of the attitude of the metamorphosis relationship is the orientation structure of being puzzled by the dynamics of inner change of one's personal or of individual identity and of feeling driven to find out what are the riddles of it.

The other basic view of the everyday world of existence is that of the objective reality of it: it exerts normative and material constraints on its members, and it delivers favourable conditions, which allow to do things and to develop in certain directions. As we saw already, the biographical process structures of trajectory and institutional expectation pattern especially take into account the objective character of the everyday world of existence, although, at the same time, they are shaped by a subjective or relational basic perspective, which the story carrier or the biography incumbent casts on them. In a certain sense, they are internalisations of the objective reality into the identity formation of the story carrier or biography incumbent. On the other hand, there is the exterior perspective of the objective reality of the everyday world of existence. The stock of cognitive figures of autobiographical story telling deals with it in terms of all sorts of social frames like organizations, institutions, collective social units, social milieus, social worlds, social arenas, social relationships. Of course these social frames have their unique normative and procedural ordering principles, which the biography incumbent has to take into consideration in dealing with his everyday encounters and his long term biographical processes. The cognitive figure of social frames of autobiographical extempore story telling takes into account the exterior relationships of the story carrier or the biography incumbent to the social structures of the everyday world of existence. Naturally these relationships can have a central impact on the identity formation of the biography incumbent, but originally they are envisioned by her or him as phenomena not belonging to the interior formation of

personal identity. To the contrary, they have to be set into a more or less explicit relationship to the identity formation of the biography incumbent: a dialectical relationship of shaping them and being shaped by them at the same time. Finally, there is an additional aspect of the objective reality of the everyday world of existence: There are overall historical gestalts of concatenations of events within the everyday world of existence. (Schapp 2004) One of these gestalts is the total life history of the biography incumbent, another one a shaped phase (a "chapter") in the life of the biography incumbent as ordered by a dominant biographical process structure or the unique interface by two or several of them, still another one the episodic evolvment of a situation of mundane interactive encounter, and still another one collective historical gestalts of any type of social units with a collective identity and collective memory, where the biography incumbent would belong to or be shaped in her or his existence by it. (Those collective units could be families, friendship groups, social milieus, firms, nations, etc.). Overall historical gestalts are experienced, detected and then focussed on, interpreted and worked on by the persons involved. They are only possible through the view and the definition of the individuals taking part in them or being impacted by them. Persons involved have to find out that there is something like that, that it has a shape, and that this shape has a logic of evolvment that must be taken into account (if one likes it or not). That logic of evolvment exerts an exterior orientation pressure, and sometimes even a moral obligation, on the story carrier and biography incumbent. One important aspect of this pressure is the collective character of the image of the overall historical gestalt (this statement holds even for individual biographical phenomena, since the biography incumbent is always in an outer and inner conversation with significant others); the other is the formative logic of the story shape itself, which becomes a self-evident script of past and further evolvments and which grasps the attention of the members of the collective (or biographical) identity unit, where that overall historical gestalt is told about, and their interaction partners. So, in a certain sense even the global shape or overall story line of an autobiographical narration belongs to the aspect of the objective reality of the everyday of existence – as soon it is told to somebody.

Now it might be understood that cognitive figures of autobiographical storytelling are both phenomena of autobiographical narrative texts and of the everyday world of existence. On the one hand, autobiographical extempore narration has the function to "reanimate" or re-enliven former experiences of past events encountered by the biography incumbent through the dynamic recollection of extempore storytelling and the power of its narrative constraints. And this means that by the power of narrative recollection the narrator as biography incumbent again imaginatively dives into former life phases and the social situations connected to them, and there she or he must orient herself through the logic of the action and experiential perspectives of the everyday world of existence. We also saw, on the other hand, that autobiographical story telling is very important for the construction and build-up of overall historical gestalts connected to all sorts of evolvments of social identity units, including the life historical one of the individual biography incumbent. Therefore, storytelling even has a direct structuring impact on the identity work of all types of social we-communities and of individual biography incumbents. – The "double reality status" character of the cognitive figures of extempore autobiographical storytelling has the crucial epistemic implication that there is a close and tight relationship between the logic of life (experience of events, action, suffering, normative following up, metamorphic identity changes) in the everyday world of existence, on the one hand, and the basic presentation and demonstration markers of autobiographical extempore narrative texts depicting the phenomena of the everyday world of existence. – The latter I would like to address some bit.

In a former chapter I addressed the general methodical strategy of pragmatic refraction. (Schütze 2005) Pragmatic refraction means not to take verbal - here: specifically autobiographical narrative - expressions at face value, but to contextualize them, and by this to find out their social functions - regarding our type of materials: especially functions of biographical work - within the constitutive social frames, that have an impact on the production (and possibly later on also on the eventual interpretation, re-interpretation and re-shaping) of the form and the content of these verbal expressions. As we saw, the constitutive social frames of extempore autobiographical story telling are: the process of action, of interaction or of life constellation of the original experience of an event; the situation of first narrative recapitulation of that experience; the biographical process structure that was dominant during that experiential situation; the overall biographical structuring of the life history of the biography incumbent; and finally the actual communicative situation of the ongoing autobiographical narration in front of an interaction partner (e.g. the interviewer), which is possibly influenced by her or his expectations of the autobiographical recapitulation as assumed by the interviewee as well as by other interaction dynamics stemming from the interview situation (like the interviewer's topical interventions that don't belong to the program of a proper narrative interview). But how is it assured that the procedure of pragmatic refraction is done in an adequate way, which mainly means to detect the authentic social frames, which exert their power in shaping the autobiographical rendering as an important part of the biographical work of the narrator as story carrier? By looking at the presentation, the authentic frames can be delineated as well as demonstration markers of the cognitive figures as used and revealed on the macro-, the meso- und the micro level of autobiographical narration. Firstly, the cognitive figures are, as we saw, the ordering principles, on the one hand, of the global and the meso-structural autobiographical story shape, i.e. of macro-textual phenomena, and, on the other hand, of the overall biographical structuring of the life history and of its biographical process structures, i.e. of long term social phenomena of the everyday world of existence. Secondly, cognitive figures also are, on the one hand, the ordering principles of single narrative segments, i.e. of micro-textual phenomena, and correspondingly, on the other hand, of experienced single events, single situations and single episodes of historically shaped sequences of events with their short term mundane meaning (and embedded and ascribed to them: their long term biographical meaning), i.e. of micro- or short term phenomena of the everyday world of existence. Thus, by formal linguistic means textual presentation or demonstration markers identify constitutive logical grids of activities, procedures, processes and frames of the everyday world of existence, which by itself is very deeply modelled by speech activities, including "historical" story telling, as well as the implicit knowledge store of the linguistic categorizations built into the semantic structure of the ordinary language of a social milieu, social world and/or society. There is a stable relationship between the quite short list of formulaic textual presentation and demonstration markers, on the one hand, and those formal logic grids of social evolvments and frames of the everyday world of existence. And that is the epistemic reason for the research-strategically comfortable fact that formulaic textual presentation and demonstration markers can formally delineate the social frames and social procedures of biographical work and biographical processes as told in the medium of extempore autobiographical story telling.

Textual presentation and demonstration markers, by the way, are different for various types of social evolvments and social frames, e.g. for action, for trajectory of suffering, for social situation, for discourse arena, as well as for various types of communicative schemes of presenting facts of the everyday world of existence like the communicative schemes of narration, description and argumentation.

4.3 The presentation markers and the language of biographical process structures in general

Making methodical use of the presentation and demonstration markers of autobiographical story telling basically consists out of three elements: (a) looking at the overall orientation and presentation perspective of the narrative rendering, (b) searching for, and focussing on, formulaic expressions, which formulate the gist of the orientation perspective as well as (c) looking at the sequentially well ordered micro-contexts of the extempore narration, i.e. the narrative segments – at micro-contexts (including difficult contexts with self-corrections and background constructions), in which the narrative perspective will be expressed and in which the formulaic expressions will occur. The latter will be discussed in the next section of this module; the two topics mentioned first will be dealt with right here regarding biographical process structures.

Just to characterize the various overall orientation perspectives of the narrative presentation of the four biographical process structures, which are the four alternative types of the cognitive figure of socio-biographical processes (or concatenation of life historical events) specifically relating to one's own life and identity, and just to give some examples of formulaic expressions and language perspective for the four different orientation perspectives of the biographical process structures:

1. The narrative orientation and presentation perspective of biographical action scheme is characterized by a language of formulating intentions, of emotional volition and of being in a positive, optimistic mood and/or of thinking and planning (the Latin grammarians would name it “*verba sentiendi and dicendi*”), of deliberation and calculation, of assessing and evaluating the discrepancies between plans and their realization, of getting hold of the adequate means to fulfil those plans or at least reach at goals halfway as well as of securing social and/ or professional support to perform the action scheme. Typical formulaic verbal expressions of biographical action scheme would be: “and then I got the idea”, “and then I thought”, “and then I planned”, “and then I decided to become an (occupation)”, “then I decided unconditionally to carry it through”, “I attempted to get assistance and I was successful in it”, “I always wanted to be (occupation) and I’ve never seen a reason to change”, “then I became some bit keen of hearing and said to myself: ‘Now you have to do something’”, “that would be simply my way”, “and then I realized that my plan was not so easy to carry through”, etc..
2. The narrative orientation and presentation perspective of biographical trajectory is characterized by a language of conditioned reaction to powerful outer interventions, of deep and long term suffering, of being fatigued or even being paralysed, or to the contrary of being agitated, of progressive proliferation of the trajectory effect by transformations of their dynamics into other realms of life, of the mutual intensification of the trajectory dynamics by the different conditions (band wagon effect) and its trap-like character, as well as of being disoriented and of becoming essentially strange to oneself – the latter might be connected to expressions of standing on the outside of oneself or even of being disconnected from oneself. Typical formulaic verbal expressions of trajectory would be: “and then it became difficult”, “and then I had the inking that I wouldn’t come past”, “and that struck me down”, “and there was this powerlessness, and I couldn’t do anything against it”, “I realized that I would deteriorate”, “that pressed me down that much that I was without any wish for anything at all”, “my energy to fight against it was lost already”, “and then, again, it was a wash-out”, “and then I didn’t know what to do against it”, “and then it started going downhill”, “and then everything would come together and I was in a real mess”, “and then I was really down and this had a severe impact on all the other aspect of life”,

- “and then I was so stupid in my head, that I couldn’t think; everything was like broken“, “and then I was ashamed about my reaction; I had never thought that I could be drawn into it”, “I went into a state of shock, I can’t remember anything; the voices of the persons around me would be way, way off.”, “and that pressures would become almost unbearable for me; I was astonished that I could stand them at all”, etc..
3. The narrative orientation and presentation perspective of institutional expectation pattern in the course of life histories is characterized by a language of relation between normal expectation and its usual fulfilment and of the temporal (especially sequential) ordering of such cycles of expectations and their fulfilments (in terms of life historical standard courses), of willingly following up the normative and procedural standards of the institutional (including career) order of society and of sometimes distancing oneself from it and criticising it, of passing through institutional or organizational doors, of following up status ladders and their hierarchies and echelons, of opportunities for climbing up on the status ladders and respective sucking mechanisms for elevation as well as of being engrossed or even seduced by them, and of procedural selection, manipulation and alienation. Typical formulaic expressions of institutional expectations patterns within the life history would be: “everything developed quite normally in my life”, “during the upper classes of my secondary school”, “and then one did, what everybody would do; that’s life”, “and then one did what was expected from us”, “one had the feeling that one should serve in the army“, “and then I applied and got it, and then I immediately underwent that career line and carefully followed it up”, “and then I could use it as a springboard” , “and then the career wouldn’t go on”, “and then I had an inkling that I possibly wouldn’t pass”, “There was the attempt of the organization to make me more responsible, but every time they wanted to raise me, I could not help myself but do something against the order”, “there I could pass through”, “there I saw colleagues climbing up and this stirred my sense for competition”, “and then I was asked if I would be interested”, “and then I did not realize that it took all the energy from me”, “and then they had me on the hook”.
 4. The narrative orientation and presentation perspective of biographical metamorphosis is characterized by a language of creative inner development, of being puzzled by oneself and one’s inner evolvments, of searching for one’s change of identity and finding out about it, of discrepancy between the inner time of the dynamics of creative change and the social time of institutionally expected procedures, of being moved by new developments stemming from strange social worlds (this might be connected with the language of travelling), of being eventually disoriented in a limbo situation of having lost one’s old world view and pertinent categories and not having found a new one and the pertinent categories yet, of being counselled by significant others about the riddles of oneself or even of undergoing a special social arrangement of instruction and learning with a mentor and, eventually, of finding bystanders in the difficulties of the metamorphosis process. Typical formulaic expressions of biographical metamorphosis would be: “My permanent wish was, after I had gotten so mature, that I had a better view of the situation, that everybody should do what she or he would be fit for. What one loves to do, one is really able to do well. And what one can do well, one even loves more to do, and one gets even more interest in searching for the sources of its inspiration”; “they told me, that I would have an absolute sense for hearing tones / for seeing colours; I knew that this would be wrong, but I realized that I would have a certain capacity”; “then I got sharp ears: I realize that I wasn’t never satisfied in my life situation / in my occupation, and I knew that I had to do something“; “I was always especially interested in things I was not able to do perfectly. I knew there were personal sources / barrels never opened /“, “there would be a hunger for something, that I did not know – a desire, that could not be satisfied. I was uncertain, empty, unsatisfied”, “being

in a strange social environment (e.g. in the army – F.S.) and seeing totally new things including strange geographical and cultural surroundings, this probably shook me loose from my roots, and it broadened my horizon”; “and then, during my adolescence, in my free time I made myself totally independent and used to be alone with myself; I didn’t know what I needed”; “and I would say, that being in a strange environment would somewhat enlarge my life”; “and then I had a good time to go off into the desert, find interesting and strange things”, “I had some sort inspiration, I didn’t know where it would come from”; “that corresponded to me, it was very natural and easy for me to accomplish it; I didn’t know, where it would come from”; “this capability was strangely tailor-made for me, and suddenly I realized that it was not that difficult to do”; “I had certain qualities, but I never had the sense of responsibility to function in that organization”; “I was undisciplined, I never could accept anybody telling me what to do”; “I had lost my old world view and felt totally senseless, but I knew that I had to search for something else”; “I realized that it was something I couldn’t do and had to find a new stance to it”; “there was a stern, but understanding mentor, who introduced me into the new world “; “I think, her (the spouse’s - F.S.) approach to life had a strong influence on the way I felt and what I got interested in”; “I got help from others being in the same limbo situation of starting to focus on new phenomena with lots of inner difficulties”.

4.4 The language and the presentation markers of the three biographical process structures of action scheme, trajectory and institutional expectation pattern in the Funke interview

Now it might be useful to make out three of the four process structures in the interview with Mr. Funke by just looking at some of these specific presentation markers and some other features of their specific language perspective:

4.4.1 Biographical action scheme:

Mr. Funke has just told that he had been integrated in a class of the vocational re-training institution (“Berufsförderungswerk”). Then he goes on:

17 and all of a sudden
 18 life started to be nice again (´) .
 19 I yeah
 20 M girl-friend was there (-) .
 21 and ehm . had goals right (?)
 22 I mhm
 23 M you will pull through this here . doesn’t matter
 24 what will happen after this . you don’t know that anyway (-) .
 25 I yes
 26 M I got (-) . thanks to
 27 Mrs. Brühl from the agency for advancement for educational training .
 28 personally/ I can’t speak for the others but I speak just about . eh . me (´) .
 29 got a lot a lot of help (.) . didn’t matter what kind right (?) . whether it were
 30 encouraging words or even now when looking for those practical apprenticing
 31 companies (,) .
 32 I mhm
 33 M and eh . . well . because
 34 everything got going (´) . that in that view/ you didn’t feel so alone . you :<could>:
 35 even during the vocational school let me say that again and again at/ well
 36 that was always your contact (´) .
 37 I yes

38 M and if anything happened
 39 (-) . or . they were actually always there for you . and I have that/
 40 that was very good for me (,) .
 41 I mhm
 42 M right (?) .
 (Page 6, lines 17 up to line 42)

I marked the presentation and demonstration markers by grey shadows. There is the indication of intention to follow up a biographical goal: to carry through the re-training procedure (“goals”- line 21). There is the language of unconditional decision to carry the difficult procedure through (“you will pull through this here” - line 23). There is the focus on rich social and technical support in order to reach the goal (“got a lot of help” – line 29 -, “you didn’t feel so alone” – line 34). There is the general assessment of the efficacy of oneself and the professional social pedagogue in the retraining institution to accomplish the biographical action scheme of vocational re-training (“everything got going” – line 34). And finally there is a textual marker of the re-establishment of a positive, optimistic mood for embarking on serious and efficient biographical action. (“And all of a sudden life started to be nice again.”) This marker we find in the introduction to the narrative segment; it is a very emphatic supra-segmental marker of the change from a protracted severe trajectory process (and the initial institutional intervention by putting Mr. Funke on the re-training career track) to a serious and successful biographical action scheme of working on oneself through learning and building up the capacity for successfully performing in a different occupation and finding a position in its organizational context. Supra-segmental markers that indicate a decisive change from one biographical process structure to another will further on be called “demonstration markers” in contrast to usual presentation markers of biographical process structures, which express the quality of a certain process structure in-between.

4.4.2 Biographical trajectory of suffering:

Mr. Funke has just told that he had caught a severe disease to the extent that he couldn’t go on to do manual work anymore, that he had gotten out of work, that he had been trapped into such severe financial difficulties, that he became incapacitated to pay his rent any longer (i.e. that he was on the brink of becoming homeless), as well as that he had become socially isolated. He then goes on:

5 and ehm . everything came out of the blue (,)
 6 I couldn’t pay my rent anymore (-) were unemployed (’)
 7 I mhm
 8 M and eh . was alone (-) .
 9 well that was actually a really deep low point let me say that like that (,)
 10 I yes
 11 M yes(?) there
 12 I was actually really deep down (,) . and eh . my life looked like that actually
 13 right (?) . a lot of alcohol came to that (’) . well practically . really (-) . well how
 14 should I say (-) just so . hanging/
 15 I mhm
 16 M hanging around (,)
 17 I yes yes
 18 M and ehm .
 19 I a lot of things are
 20 coming together then (-)
 21 M some things come together right (?) . that was going on

22 to the eviction/ well eviction of my flat that/ had to leave the flat
(page 3, lines 5 to 22)

Again I marked the presentation markers for biographical process structures, in this case for trajectory, by grey shadows. First of all there are two markers of the final result of going the downward road: i.e. losing control over one's life as well as of the accompanying depression that is overshadowing Mr. Funke's whole life situation ("that was actually a really deep low point" – line 9 – as well as "I was ... deep down... and my life looked like that actually" – line 12). The narrator stresses the generalizing power of the trajectory experience: that it transforms its impact dynamics into any realm of the life situation of the biography incumbent. He also implies by pointing to the "here and now" actual present that the trajectory afflicted person cannot distance her- or himself even through imagination from the trajectory dynamics: she or he is totally immersed into it, and there is no cheering up in looking to one's future hoping that there would be a way out of the predicament, and as well there is no encouragement from looking at a better personal past, which could demonstrate one's capability for an active controlling of comparable former situation. Secondly there are two markers for what Anselm Strauss would call the "cumulative mess" character of many trajectories; one could also call it the multi-conditional trap character of trajectories of suffering ("some things come together, right?" – line 21 – "every thing came out of the blue" – line 5). This is the vicious circle character of trajectories: the different conditions of the trajectory dynamics are influencing and enforcing each other; there is the effect of an uncontrollable negative bandwagon effect. The two types of trajectory markers in this narrative segment are essential ones that depict trajectories almost unambiguously. They are classical supra-segmental markers that exert their symbolic expression and delineation power over more than one narrative segment. But, on the other hand, they are not demonstration markers, since they do not introduce a totally different quality of biographical process structure, although they introduce a new phase in the course of the chaotic unfolding of the trajectory (transformation into other realms of the life situations and negative band wagon effect) – but which is, in its fateful progression, at the same time strangely ordered. .

4.4.3 Institutional expectation pattern of life history:

After having recapitulated the change from a long term and severe biographical trajectory to a biographical action scheme as discussed already (see the section above on biographical action schemes) and his fast and successful learning in the re-training institution, Mr. Funke arrives at the last segment immediately ahead of the coda of the main story line (also mentioned earlier already) that depicts his present life situation during the time of the interview. Mr. Funke draws on the present life situation as follows:

43 M I am working now as a white-collar worker in the
44 public service () . and ehm . have then/ well as I said before I finished it
45 and did work then too () . and you always talk to each
46 other . and I did say then "if there is any possibility to get into a
47 higher position . I am open-minded to everything (,)" right (?)
48 I mhm
49 M and well
50 now I go beside my work go to eh . night school in () and do
51 my degree in business management (,)
52 I mhm
53

(page 7, lines 43 to 52)

In this segment Mr. Funke draws on a threefold career experience as central to the recent part of his life history, which is still dominant in the present. Again I marked the language of career experiences by grey shadows. As we mentioned already, career is one important class of institutional expectation patterns. During the most recent and the present phase of his life it is the dominant biographical process structure – this in combination with an enforcing biographical action scheme to undergo and follow up the career line as obligating, entitling and enabling institutional expectation pattern. Firstly, there is the language of passing a door to a next phase of career (“I finished it” – this refers to the apprenticeship and the final examination, line 44) and the language of orientation and achievement to approach the next door (through additional learning in night classes – lines 50 and 51). Secondly, there is the language of hierarchy and climbing up on the status ladder (“if there is any possibility to into a higher position” - lines 46 and 47). Thirdly, there is the language of opportunities to move up and conscientiously to take one’s chances; this language could even refer to some sort of sucking or elevation mechanism - partially accomplished by casual or directed institutional conversation (lines 45 and 46) - or a mechanism that pulls the biography incumbent up into higher regions of the career status system and to an inner attitude of, on the one hand, mental and social openness or, on the other hand, reservation or even resistance to let that happen (line 47).

Of course, the biographical process structure of career must not be that benign as expressed in the piece of text just quoted. Mr. Funk as a child and adolescent undergoes another institutional career path in the elite sports secondary school. Even the language of the pertinent pieces of text conveys the selection and possible entrapment character of that in institutional expectation pattern and career path; i.e. the orientation on the personal development of school boys was not decisive, but the organisational demand for young blood as a pool for building up a team of official or state elite athletes, and this could only be realized through harsh selection as well as an extreme focus on sports training and sports competition:

3 and all of a sudden the door opened and somebody
4 came to us (-) . and eh . “we support sport” and eh .
(my commentary: and not individual school children in their development)
(page 9, lines 3 and 4)

12 and ehm . it was such a training were all were
13 together (ˆ) like a hundred people (-) . with several coaches (ˆ) and right
14 away you got sorted out “ you can throw you do that and the rest of
15 you can go home”
(page 9, lines 12 to 15)

10 . but there it started to be interesting (ˆ)
11 there was only the sport alone (,) . right (?)
(page 10, lines 10 and 11)

To close this up: the language of the biographical process structure of institutional expectation pattern – and even of career as one important class of it – can also be a language of an alienating normative-institutional or organizational processing, being mentally seduced by this processing and its sucking mechanism, being caught by one’s delivery of awareness and energy and being entrapped by it. In such a case the biographical process structure of institutional expectation pattern is connected to a biographical process structure of trajectory, i.e. of being estranged from one’s own identity development by normative and procedural norms, rules and manipulating arrangements.

4.5 The special chapter of the language and the presentation markers of biographical metamorphosis in the Funke interview as a delicate phenomenon:

Mr. Funke has just produced the narrative segment (discussed already – see point one on biographical action scheme), in which he rendered that turning point in life at which he could get rescued from the multiple trajectory trap of being out of work, of being severely ill, of losing most of his friends and significant others and of turning into an alcoholic, to when he developed his long term biographical action scheme of becoming a secretary, clerk or executive and to, by all means, really carry through the respective apprenticeship of being trained as office and administration worker. After having finished the production of this narrative segment he goes on and deals with the learning experiences of his apprenticeship:

- 42 M right (?) .I also have found a
 43 very good apprenticing company (^) . that was in the festival hall (^) right (?)
 44 I mhm
 45 M and
 46 there (-) . yes (-) . all . let me say the average age elderly women (-) . I was there
 47 the spring chicken now (-) . that was great of course (-)
 48 I mhm yes
 49 M and ehm (-) .
 50 had the interview (^) and it got confirmed there that I could do my training
 51 there (^)
 52 I mhm yeah
 53
- 1 M and as I said I had problems then (^) . actually I was ambitious
 2 in school (,) . in that eh . new vocational school (^) . I in myself
 3 accepted all that (-) . and eh . . yes . made acquaintance ((faster till+))
 4 that is clear with the young people and and and () let me
 5 say that (^)+.
 6 I mhm yeah yeah
 7 M we were several re-trainees in the class (^) .
 8 that was a real help too (^) . ((softer till+)) when something was
 9 somehow/then it is the elderly told a bit (-) and eh right (?)+
 10 I yes yes mhm
 11 M and eh (-) .
 12 yes and no problems in the practical apprenticing company . that was
 13 all trouble-free (^) well it were hard demands but (-) . : <it was>: in . eh .was
 14 great (,) . /// whereas I have to say of course the first time I started there (-) . the
 15 training well the/ the first time practical work that was/ for me there
 16 the next world was coming to an end (,)
 17 I mhm
 18 M ehm (-) . “ you want that now
 19 / you really want to do that . office administrator (?) . before that you’ve
 20 been at the building site when it was –17 Degrees and did/ or were carrying
 21 around toilet seats and and got rid of blockages . so actually real/ really working
 22 the butt off and now you’re sitting on the chair and eh . start on the filing
 23 cabinet or/” to that time I thought of that that it is completely senseless .
 24 to stick some little paper flags on pages so you can see later on which month
 25 it is
 26 I mhm
 27 M I didn’t understand that

- 28 I yeah . yeah
 29 M with the stamping and I did
 30 say there “nay that’s not it” but . as I said (-) . because I do identify
 31 myself with all things in a great way ((softer till+)) so that wasn’t a
 32 problem anymore after a couple of weeks (-)+ .
 33 I mhm ///
 34 M but also had a
 35 stern chief (^) well the one who was responsible for me (^)
 36 I mhm . yes
 37 M but also
 38 fair well not with mobbing or something like that (^) . and eh that is now
 39 actually all in all when I am thinking about that (^) . that was actually all
 40 of advantage(^) . and eh . luckily I was
 41 taken over (^) .
 42 I mhm
 (page 6, line 42, up to page 7, line 42)

In this segment we find the language perspective and some presentation markers – even demonstration markers - of the biographical metamorphosis process (Schütze 1991, 1994). Again I marked these sociolinguistic phenomena by grey shadows. Just to remind ourselves: The metamorphosis perspective to one’s life and identity is characterized by being puzzled by new creative inner developments and intensive learning that changes one’s perspective on life, world and identity.

- 1) Firstly there is the language of the openness and willingness for experiencing the new and unknown. Mr. Funke, in the virtue of story carrier for his experiencing and handling of the recalled social situation of re-training and apprenticeship, is characterizing himself as a “spring chicken” which is a basic self-referential metaphor for one’s openness, willingness and “immature” plasticity for undergoing learning processes and being shaped by them (page 6, line 46 and 47). He is adding that this acceptance of “regression” to a former state of biographical development - eased by the age and competency of women working in his environment of apprenticeship and teaching him some bit like mothers would teach their sons – was quite natural and a lucky one; it just was his situation-adequate self-categorization as learner (“that was great of course” – page 6, line 47). Later on in this narrative segment he adds that in new work situations he would always have the basic attitude to identify with the new learning potentials and their work tasks in an emphatic way (page 7, line 30 and 31). (By the way: this is not just a marker of metamorphosis, but to a certain extent it also is a hindsight to a disposition of getting hurt by an self-alienating acceptance of normative and procedural constraints of the institutional expectation patterns of society and its administrated state-socialistic occupational work structure as well as by the seducing sucking mechanisms of career ladders and hierarchies.)
- 2) Secondly there is the language of an ambivalent limbo situation of passing through a phase of severe emotional difficulties connected to disorienting work demands asking the biography incumbent for too much. On the one hand, there is emotional trouble (“as I said I had problems then” – page 7, line 1 -; “(^) well it were hard demands” – page 7, line 13), and on the other hand Mr. Funke can have a productive experience (“but (-) . : <it was>: in . eh . was great (,)” – page 7, line 13 and 14). At the first glimpse, the narrator would just like to mention this experiential and emotional contradiction incidentally or just as a sideline, since - apart from the nuisance to reconstruct a totally different former mental state left behind some time ago - lively remembering it by delving into a detailed narrative or descriptive or argumentative rendering would be emotionally hurting. It not only re-enlivens the difficult experiences of passing from

manual work to paper work in his apprenticeship, but it also deals with the former (and even today not totally banned) deep fear of the felt difficulties of not being fit for a new occupational life, taking into account his not forgotten history of a hurting and protracted occupational trajectory and the fact of just having learnt the categories of the world of manual work – and not those of mental work - in the formative adolescent period of his life. So he attempts to fade out this doubly hurting experience from his memory and his narrative rendering (page 7, line 1 and lines 13 and 14). But permanently self-monitoring his narrative presentation line, he realizes that his whole narrative rendering would get implausible without embarking on those (double layer) difficulties. And therefore the narrator inserts a background construction into the main story line of his narrative rendering as some sort of elaborate self-correction device. (The beginning and the end of the background construction are marked by my graphic signs “///” , i.e., by triple slashes. The background construction starts on page 7, line 14: “whereas I have to say...”, and it ends on page 7, line 31 to 33: ” ...so that wasn’t a problem anymore after a couple of weeks (-) . “ , and the interviewer reacts with marker of sympathetic understanding: “mhm”.)

- 3) On the one hand, the background construction explains the ambivalent limbo situation of passing through a phase of severe emotional difficulties during the apprenticeship as mentioned above. On the other hand, it makes the puzzling fact plausible that it nevertheless was a productive experience and a successful period of learning. This explanation work and the work of making it plausible is not only done for the listener or interviewer, but for the narrator as biography incumbent and story carrier himself, too. In inserting the background construction he performs important biographical work dealing with the fact and problems of his dramatic identity change: he is realizing and working through his being so severely troubled by this categorical change of identity. In a first step, the language of this metamorphosis-type of working through deals with the breakdown of Mr. Funke’s old everyday world perspective brought by him from his former manual work milieu into his new work milieu of administrative paperwork (“the next world was coming to an end“ - page 7, line 16; reverting to the German original text, “next” just means that even before this new work situation of apprenticeship, Mr. Funke had “lost worlds” (e. g., firstly, the world of the manual labourer’s technical categorization and of his contempt of cultural learning, of getting cultured in writing, speech and foreign languages; or secondly, the world of elite sports). In a second step, the language of metamorphosis-type of working through deals with a severe state of disorientation of the biography incumbent; it depicts a feeling of total senselessness (page 7, line 23) and not-understanding (page 7, line 27), similar to Alfred Schütz’s account of the disorientation situation of the immigrating cultural stranger. In a third step, the language of the metamorphosis type of working through deals with the enculturation into the new world of administrative paperwork, especially with the learning of new categories and work procedures connected to this strange new work world (“to stick some little paper flags on pages” – page 7, line 24 – which is for getting a time control order on the documents coming in or being produced; Mr. Funke must learn new categories for taking into account time). – All in all we could say that in this background construction the language of biographical metamorphosis deals with one certain class – there also are others - of metamorphosis: with a biographical conversion process in which the whole system of existential beliefs and world categorization must be abandoned and a new one acquired; this is connected to a central redefinition of one’s personal identity.
- 4) There is the language of dealing with an extremely intensive social arrangement of instruction and learning and of getting socialised into a new work milieu or even a new world: the relationship between master and apprentice. This is connected with the role

of the stern, but fair and benign mentor responsible for the learning process of the neophyte (page 7, lines 35 to 38). And, in addition, there is the implied background of the imagined relationship between mother and son (page 6, lines 46 and 47) that is an additional mechanism of generating basic trust toward an instructor who can serve as a new significant other so pivotal for many metamorphosis processes.

- 5) Finally there is the language of dealing with the attitude and support of the peers who are bystanders in the limbo situation of the metamorphosis process: “we were several re-trainees in the class (^), that was a real help too (^)” (page 7, lines 7 and 8). Of course this doesn’t hold for any metamorphosis processes, but for those connected to biographical process structure of a collective, school-type, learning career.

Looking back on my treatment of the finally quoted narrative unit of Mr. Funke’s extempore autobiographical narrative rendering in order to give an example for basic features of the narrative rendering of the biographical process structure of metamorphosis, we can ask ourselves: Are there, in this example, just presentation markers or, in addition, demonstration markers of the metamorphosis process structure, too? The narrator Mr. Funke doesn’t introduce the metamorphosis process structure into his narrative unit, in which the partial coming up of the metamorphosis principle in his life history is factually expressed, on the level of the direct or straight forward presentation line of narration as well as by orderly occurring explicit demonstration markers like, e.g.: “and then, to start with, something totally new happened, and I was puzzled and started to search for its features / for the reason.” There are some markers of discontinuity of the unfolding of the presentation line of narration in this narrative segment and in the segment before, but they are much too vague, too unspecific or too ambivalent or even contradictory in order to unanimously depict the metamorphosis principle of biography: “I also have found a very good apprenticing company (^) . that was in the festival hall (^) right (?)...that was great of course (-)” (page 6, lines 42, 43 and 47); “yes and no problems in the practical apprenticing company . that was all trouble-free (^); well there were hard demands, but (-) <it was>: in . eh . was great (.)” (page 7, lines 12 to 14); “and all of a sudden life started to be nice again (^)” (page 6, lines 17 and 18) . That means that Mr. Funke is not very much aware of the dynamics of the metamorphosis principle in his biography. And it also means that the metamorphosis principle doesn’t win unambiguous and long term dominance in the life history and overall biographical structuring in the life history of Mr. Funke. In a more explicit manner, he can only address it in the background construction he first attempted to leave out of his narrative rendering. I don’t want to repeat all those metamorphosis markers coming up there; I would just like to quote again the dramatic marker in the beginning of the background construction: “whereas I have to say of course the first time I started there (-) . the training well the/ the first time practical work that was/ for me there the next world was coming to an end.” (page 7, lines 14 to 16). – Of course we can call markers like that demonstration markers, since they depict a new supra-segmental unfolding in the narrator’s overall autobiographical story line as well as, at least, a partial unfolding of a new biographical process structure in the life history of Mr. Funke: from just undergoing the procedures of the career type institutional expectation pattern of re-training and from just following a biographical action scheme of career management, he at least partially goes on to embark on a metamorphosis process of conversion from a mentality and world view of manual work to a mentality and world view of mental and paper work, which is linked to deeper learning and systematic re-categorization of the everyday world of existence and one’s own biography and personal identity. That the dynamics of dominance of the metamorphosis principle in the life of Mr. Funke are limited, might also be symbolized in his self reference as story carrier in this situation as “spring chicken” (page 6, line 47) – a

quality which is restricted in terms of the time period to the life historical phase of being a re-training apprentice.

5. Exercises

- Take an autobiographical text from the enormous list of published autobiographies, including literary ones (it could even be a *fictional* autobiography), and identify the introductory part of the autobiographical narration and its closing part. In these two textual strings, are there indicators of the general character of the life history which is told in this autobiographical text?
- Within this published autobiography, identify some of the cognitive figures of biographical process structures, that is, of situations of biographical importance, of the story carrier, of event carriers and of social frames. Would you judge the textual expression of one or the other of these cognitive figures especially remarkable? What might be the reason for this?
- Take the two biographical process structures of trajectory of suffering and of metamorphosis and identify their beginning and their end. Are they connected with each other? What is the type of connection? When the informant talks about a metamorphosis process coming out of the process of working-through his or her severe trajectory experience, do you think that this can be just a rhetorical, phoney or self-delusional statement? How would you decide whether or not this is the case?
- Take the transcription of a narrative interview (e.g., the interview of Bernd Funke, say the section quoted in the beginning of the module) and delineate (i.e., do the segmentation of) two or three narrative units. Take one of these narrative units and do a closer analysis of it. What are the biographical and/or social processes expressed by this narrative unit?
- Identify supra-segmental markers of trajectory and/or metamorphosis in this narrative interview. Do you know of similar demonstration markers from literary autobiographies (or autobiography fictions), too? What is the nature of the biographical processes they convey?

6. Conclusions

By no means it is an „of course“, that extempore autobiographical narration would be an open avenue to social reality as experienced by individual members of society. Instead, a common understanding in the social sciences and literary studies is, that an extempore autobiographical narrative can be easily made up by the narrator in order to fit the requirements of an actually ongoing situation (e.g., to show up, to legitimize, etc.). But this common understanding is not true. Grosso modo, one can state – and this is empirically corroborated by the study of autobiographical narrative interviews that have been repeated after one or two years -, that the basic grid of the representational structure of extempore narration of personal experiences is quite stable in various situations of story telling; only some of the argumentative commentaries are drastically transformed according to the change of life situations. The same holds to some extent true for the descriptions of social frames, since the narrator has to arrange them according to the state of knowledge the listener is assumed to have regarding the social structure, the institutions, the social network, the social worlds as well as the social milieus which the narrator as biography incumbent had to live in and/or had to pass through. (In case the narrator is addressing a society or an institutional realm of society that is culturally strange to the listener, he has to

become *more* explicit in her or his description of social frames than she or he would have to in addressing a society or institutional realm assumedly well known to the listener.) The considerable stability of the presentational grid of extempore narration is due to the fact that the structure of biographical experiences of having been entangled in life-historical events (Schapp 2004) is sedimented within the biographical identity of the narrator, i.e., in her or his memory storage, as well as within the mutually assumed and/or even explicitly stated collective remembrance by the social environment the narrator is living in. (And this collective remembrance is focussed on the social episodes or social stories, including the stories of collective or “big” history, the narrator as biography incumbent and her or his consociates are involved in.)

Autobiographical story telling does not just depict social and biographical reality like a photographic picture; instead it expresses it in a “refracted”, sometimes only symptomatic, way. But, on the other hand, there are stable formal structures of autobiographical story telling which are tightly connected to basic forms of autobiographical experiences of life historical gestalts. And these are the structures that form the basis for the empirically corroborated analysis of autobiographical extempore narratives in their capacity to express life historical experiences and identity developments. Therefore it makes good research-strategical sense to explicate these formal structures of autobiographical story telling as it has been done in this first part of the module (and will be additionally laid out in the following appendix to it). After having gotten meticulous insights into the formal structure of autobiographical extempore narration, one is sensitized for the presentational capacity of autobiographical extempore narration to express biographically sedimented personal and social experiences. After having practiced their textual-empirical identification, one is more or less automatically tuned to the specific modes of the epistemic capacity of autobiographical extempore story telling to express biographical and social processes, and one is, thus, able to perform the analysis of autobiographical narratives in a non-naive, i.e., pragmatically refracting, way without a methodological necessity to permanently explicate all the formal-structural textual features involved. Such a sensitized shortened-up version of autobiographical text analysis is, then, especially valuable, for professional case analysis.

7. Appendix to Module B.2.1 Biography Analysis – part 1

7.1 The language and presentation markers of three other cognitive figures as exemplified through the Funke interview: social situations, social frames and event carriers

Now, I have accomplished my task of explicating the way of making methodical use of the presentation and demonstration markers for the depiction of the four biographical process structures as it basically consists of two out of three text-analytical steps: (a) looking at the respective overall orientation and presentation perspective of the narrative rendering, (b) searching for, and focussing on, specific formulaic expressions, which formulate the gist of the orientation perspective. I basically left out a third step of (c) looking at the sequentially well ordered micro-contexts of the extempore narration, i.e. the narrative segments, in which the orientation and presentation perspective of the narrative rendering of the biographical process structures will evolve and in which - meaningfully corresponding with them – the presentation markers with their formulaic expressions will fulfil their delineation function. This will be dealt with in the next chapter. – Just as an aside: In addition to text markers and language perspectives, there are two other linguistic phenomena that characterise two of the four biographical process structures, i.e. trajectory and

which eventually became a central conditional potential for the start of a harsh biographical trajectory of undergoing an alienated course of apprenticeship and work life. The scenic rendering, including the quotations of direct speech, demonstrates the fateful importance of this life situation of getting recruited into an unrealistic elite sports career for the overall biographical structuring of the life history of Mr. Funke.

b) That trajectory, in its conditional potential stemming from the career trap, starts three years later, and here again we have the presentation of a scenic situation:

30 ...(.), and ehm. yeah (-). but that wasn't enough
 31 all in all that means. ehm after the tenth grade (-) .
 32 that was/ three years I've been there (') . was taken out again of these
 33 units (')

40 M and that wasn't enough all in all (-) and
 41 eh. (quiet till +) that was all of a sudden (') . that was like struck by
 42 lightening (')+ . everything at once (-) . that means "yes you are/ you didn't
 43 get further (') . you don't come further (') . your sports career is
 44 finished with that and ehm. now we have to see that we integrate
 45 you in the normal life (')". at that was the time
 46 (') tenth grade was finished passed the exams "you don't get further
 47 and now we have to see that we get you into a apprenticeship (-)"

(page 10, lines 30 to 33 and lines 40 to 47)

Here the scenic situation is introduced by a supra-segmental demonstration marker of trajectory ("that was like struck by lightning"), which at the same time serves as the introduction to a communicative situation of pronouncing the decision against Bernd Funke of having him thrown out of the team similar to a death sentence in a trial. This fateful-decisive communicative situation is again dramatized by direct speech. The direct speech with the pronouncement of the fateful sentence is that powerful activity, by which the biographical process structure of trajectory is introduced into the life of Mr. Funke, conversely ending the biographical process structure of career. Here again the rendering of the scenic situation and, connected to it, the direct speech are underlining a decisive turning point in the life of Mr. Funke, that is characterized by a pivotal change of biographical process structure.

c) We already have discussed the background construction dealing with the difficult beginning of the metamorphosis process structure in the vocational re-training and apprenticeship phase of the life history of Mr. Funke. I would just like to stress that the life historical importance of those difficult experiences are rendered by inner speech:

15 the first time practical work that was/ for me there
 16 the next world was coming to an end (,)
 17 I mhm
 18 M ehm (-) . "you want that now
 19 / you really want to do that . office administrator (?) . before that you've
 20 been at the building site when it was -17 Degrees and did/ or were carrying
 21 around toilet seats and and got rid of blockages . so actually real/ really working
 22 the butt off and now you're sitting on the chair and eh . start on the filing
 23 cabinet or/?" to that time I thought of that that it is completely senseless .
 24 to stick some little paper flags on pages so you can see later on which month
 25 it is
 26 I mhm

27 M I didn't understand that
 28 I yeah . yeah
 29 M with the stamping and I did
 30 say there "nay that's not it" but .
 (page 7, lines 15 to 30)

The inner speech is expressing the emotional and cognitive difficulties of really accepting the new learning and work situation; it is a means for demonstrating ambivalences, quarrels with oneself and puzzlement or even disorientation about a strange inner change of personal identity and about a decisive milieu change in one's life. The conversion type of metamorphosis process was a decisive turning point in the life of Mr. Funke, and this is demonstrated through the dramatizing presentation technique of inner speech.

In the autobiographical narrative interview with Mr. Funke we find only a few instances of scenic-situational rendering. They are always reserved for the depiction of biographical turning points of the life history of Mr. Funke. The autobiographical rendering of the Funke interview is a relatively laconic one; the level of detailing is still quite low; Mr. Funke is not highly advanced in his biographical work; he still has some difficulties in dealing with decisive situations of his life and their various interactive perspectives.

7.1.2 The cognitive figure of social frames

Again, Mr. Funke is not very circumspect in his depiction of social frames. So we know very little about the social conditions, under which it was so easy to dump him into a sort of substitute apprenticeship (of learning specialized plumbing), which he did not like. But in drawing his attention on his retraining and his second apprenticeship, his rendering of social frames becomes quite circumspect and differentiated. We mentioned this already in dealing with his metamorphosis process structure, which came up in the retraining apprenticeship situation. Here he uses collections of social categorization or membership categorization devices (in the sense of Harvey Sacks 1992) by which he could understand pivotal social conditions of a successful metamorphosis. So we find the contrast set of mentor and apprentice: a stern, but fair lady chief who was responsible for his learning (page 7, lines 35 to 38). In addition, we find the contrast set of him, the apprentice, as the "spring chicken" in the festival hall and the "average age elderly women" working there as fully competent executives (page 6, lines 46 and 47); this contrast is indirectly alluding to the background script of a caring and protecting social relationship between son and mother. And finally, in regard to the vocational school, Mr. Funke had to attend, we find the contrast set between the younger regular students and the older re-trainees and Mr. Funke's position in-between (page 7, lines 2 to 9; page 5, line 21, to page 6, line 3). The younger students are seen as interaction partners, who would accept him, too, as young and energetic; the older re-trainees would give useful counsel, but would also make clear, what could go wrong with the apprenticeship, if there wouldn't be a firm belief into one's personal occupational future; and both relationships are emotional help within the limbo situation of the apprenticeship and the difficult metamorphosis experience connected with it (including a conversion process as well as the re-categorization of one's world view and self-definition connected with it).

We can come to the conclusion, that although Mr. Funke was not very circumspect in his differentiation of social frames, he made creative use of background scripts of social relations (of the family type and the friendship type in adventurous situations), which helped him a lot to find important social trust and social support, to define himself in a new situationally adequate way and to make himself open for new influences. The linguistic

markers for those background scripts are collections of social categorizations, especially contrast sets.

7.1.3 The cognitive figure of event carriers

The most important human event carrier in recent life periods of Mr. Funke (up to the present situation of the interview) is his professional re-training counsellor Mrs. Brühl. The narrator states in the context of dealing with his re-training:

- 26 M I got (-) . thanks to
 27 Mrs. Brühl from the agency for advancement for educational training .
 28 personally/ I can't speak for the others but I speak just about . eh . me (´) .
 29 got a lot a lot of help (,) . didn't matter what kind right (?) . whether it were
 30 encouraging words or even now when looking for those practical apprenticeship
 31 companies (,) .
 32 I mhm
 33 M and eh . . well . because
 34 everything got going (´) . that in that view/ you didn't feel so alone . you :<could>:
 35 even during the vocational school let me say that again and again at/ well
 36 that was always your contact (´) .
 37 I yes
 38 M and if anything happened
 39 (-) . or . they were actually always there for you . and I have that/
 40 that was very good for me (,) .
- 27 was always accompanied
 28 with "well just do it/ we have two years . don't worry we get it done"
 (page 6, lines 26 to 40; page 27, lines 27 and 28)

Mrs. Brühl is naturally introduced into the story line, when her assistance work in the context of the re-training process must be reckoned on by the story carrier as former actor and biography incumbent with in the pertinent, then, actual life situation as well as taken into account "here and now" in the present retrospective situation of the autobiographical story telling. The introduction of this central event carrier is done by a quite abstract narrative statement, what Mr. Brühl did in order to support Mr. Funke. The narrator uses higher predicates in order to report, what Mrs. Brühl employed and accomplished in order to assist the apprentice career development of Mr. Funke: as caring professional any type of help that would be relevant (page 6, line 29); as social pedagogue and adult educationalist verbal encouragements of the client's, Mr. Funke's, future learning development (page 6, line 30; page 27, line 28); as social worker the mediation of basic trust into the future availability of necessary assistance from the professionals (page 6, line 30; page 27, line 28); as liaison worker building social and organizational bridges to other institutions (firms of apprenticeship, employers); as liaison worker mediating the care of other professionals in and out the re-training institution (page 27, lines 27 and 28); as well as in her capacity as personal counsellor serving as significant other for the limited time period of the apprenticeship and especially of the initially disorienting and later on still personally doubtful metamorphosis process. – Essential in the language of depicting this important type of event carrier is the tacit conveying, or sometimes even explicit underlining, of a basic self-referential indexicality of all the ascription of higher predicates onto the deeds of the event carrier towards, or in relationship to, the narrator and story carrier as biography incumbent: "personally/ I can't speak for the others but I speak just about . eh . me (´)" (page 6, line 28), "I got thanks to Mrs. Brühl ...a lot of help." (lines 26, 27, 29) as well as

“you didn’t feel so alone ... that was always your contact (˘)” (lines 34 and 36) . It is this characteristic and curious combination of the narrator’s general predication of event carriers by higher predicates, on the one hand, and the retrograde indexicality of this general predication towards, or in relation to, the origo of the story carrier, narrator and biography incumbent, that produces the deeper meaning of the event carrier for the story carrier and biography incumbent.

There is another classical type of introduction of event carriers into the autobiographical story line: the use of the communicative scheme of description for characterizing the most important features of the event carrier. This type of introduction is quite often done in combination with exemplary stories, in which the event carrier was involved. Telling these personal stories quite often has a tinge of gossip or lack of respectful detachment. At least it is mostly necessary to add an argumentative personal assessment of the person or at least some features of him or her. Here again we find the self-referential or retrograde indexicality of the depiction of event carriers – but in this version in a much more explicit way. Mr. Funke doesn’t take the liberty to use this explicit strategy of introduction of the central event carrier Mrs. Brühl, since he is full of respect towards her. The fact that the interviewer cooperates with Mrs. Brühl – the pragmatic refraction on the level the social context of the actually ongoing interview situation always must be taken into account - might be an additional obstacle to it.

And finally: there is one extremely important non-human event carrier in Mr. Funke’s narrative rendering: his severe disease of Morbus Bechterev, which he explains shortly as progressive chronic illness in medical terms, which he states in its decisive impact on his life (no manual work anymore, no intensive sports anymore) and which he half ironically and half respectfully evaluates: ”but it is a really flourishing disease” (page 2, line 37). Mr. Funke seems to have a quite distanced attitude to his severe disease. Perhaps since it had been so important in his life – changing every important feature of his former life situation - , he doesn’t want to give it too much room in his present and future life. This might be a fading out of a severely disadvantageous condition of his life that could cause difficulties for future life arrangements. Event carriers like this can – more or less straight-forward or enigmatically - depict the central set of conditions, which I will call “conditional potential”, for the evolvement of a severe and protracted trajectory of suffering. Their depiction through such a laconic and distanced linguistic reference might be an attempt to name and exorcise the might of an enigmatic trajectory potential at the same time.

7.2 The special chapter of the three epistemic positions and presentation markers of the cognitive figure of story carrier: narrator, story carrier in the strict sense and biography incumbent

In oral extempore autobiographical story telling, three positions of the I-origo of story telling and of the experiences and activities reported in the evolving narrative are permanently referred to and, at the same time, are permanently exerting a modelling power on the textual presentation work:

- the position of the narrator, who here and now autobiographically tells the story of her or his life history and at the same time is the communication partner of the listener, or more specifically: the interviewer, as her or his addressee;
- the position of the story carrier, who is the centre and the subject of activities and of suffering experiences in the reported life events with their, then, actually evolving episode-historical or life-historical forms as enlivened by her or him; as well as the
- the position of the biography incumbent who is the carrier (the designer and facilitator, the object and sufferer, the undergoer and follower, as well as the evolver and creator) of the overall life history of the autobiographical narrative told, the biographical worker

in the course of biographical process structures occurring in the overall life history as well as the red thread of identity development in the sequence (including simultaneities, i.e., competitions and conflicts, mutual assistances and enforcements) of the biographical process structures.

The understanding is important, that not just the position of the narrator is exerting the modelling power of shaping the textual presentation work, but the positions of the event carrier and the biography incumbent, too. As I have contented in a former chapter, the narrator should not be seen as a freewheeling designer of her or his life history to be told, since she or he is under the heavy weight of her or his life historical recollections regarding the episode-historical and life-historical shapes of life events one was and/or is involved in and since she or he is in the grip of the developmental logic of evolvement of the biographical identity structure of the biography incumbent as well as of the biographical work connected to, and focussing on, the biographical process structures. But there can be lots of tensions and discrepancies between the modelling power exerted through these three I-origo positions of the presentation business of autobiographical extempore narration; these tensions and discrepancies are an important source of the thoughtfulness, creativity and expression density of autobiographical story telling, i.e. its text validity. I will address this in a moment.

Before this I would just like to mention that in fictional literary autobiographies there could be additional I-origo positions of autobiographical story telling. On top of the narrator, the story carrier and the biography incumbent, there could be the position of the author of the book. E. g., the author of the fictional autobiography “The Adolescent” is Fyodor M. Dostoevsky; the narrator is the young man Arkady Dolgoruky, who is at the same time the story carrier. In a fictional autobiography the real author can only indirectly be present: through the logic of the story plot, through the overall structuring of dialogs, through mottos, through prefaces or postscripts; the straightforward word of the author would destroy the overall perspective- presentation frame of the novel, which is bound to the perspective of the narrator and, in a second instance, to the perspectives of the story carrier and the event carriers. - In addition, in this novel Dostoevsky differentiates between the young man Arkady Dolgoruky as narrator and the young man Arkady Dolgoruky as commentator, who discusses, what had happened and how he had been involved in it, from a (fictional) slightly later time position than those (fictional) slightly earlier ones, from which one the narrator would tell his partial autobiographical story. The small difference is that one of being at the end of autobiographical rendering, writing the epilogue and thinking by means of argumentation about the dramatic events of a year, which he had narratively reported just beforehand. The narrator Arkady has (fictionally) just finished the narrative of getting into a turmoil-laden but finally fulfilled felicitous relationship to his father Versilov who, before that intensive period of contact, had neglected his son as just an illegitimate offspring living far away in a cheap boarding school. (And at the very end of the book there is an additional commentator not identical with the narrator who, by means of a letter, comments on the report of Arkady he had just read from a neutral position of an “uninvolved observer”: this commentator is the old guardian of Arkady from his time period of the boarding school.) Even in authentic written (literary or non-literary) autobiographies there could be a partial difference between the narrator and the commentator although they are the same person, since the commentator could be a voice, which was formulated at a later time position than the first flow of writing had been taken place - in a later time period of rethinking and reworking the originally written down narrative. Of course, such a commentator in fictional or authentic autobiographies would normally have a more reflective, more explaining, more argumentative, more critical, more ironic or more understanding attitude regarding her or his experiences and identity developments than the “original” narrator – and, naturally, even more than the story carrier. But sometimes such a

commentator could, to the contrary, also be more stupid than the narrator and even more than the story carrier, since the real author would like to convey the atmosphere of times getting darker or the image of a regressive biographical development. This is the case in Eco's "The Name of the Rose", where the eighty year old narrator and monk Adson is much more non-understanding than the young eighteen year old story carrier Adson, the adlatus of his master William of Baskerville, when they are in conversation about difficult topics. - In addition, in fictional or authentic written autobiographies, especially literary ones, there could be an editor, who is the fictional or real publisher of the autobiographical text; he usually is not – as it is most often explicitly stated - identical with the authentic author of the autobiographical text. In cases of real publishing the publisher is motivated towards letting an important new (literary or experiential) voice to be heard (e.g., the voice of the author Fritz Zorn, who had died from cancer and whose autobiographical text was published by the eminent Swiss author Adolf Muschg). In cases of *fictional* editing and publishing, through this framing the authentic author would like to introduce the reader into the perspective and world view of a strange forgotten or culturally very different world, in which the story to be told would evolve. Quite often in these cases the authentic author himself fictionally claims to accomplish an editing activity. E. g., in Umberto Eco's novel "The Name of the Rose", which can be seen as a fictional partial autobiography of master William's adlatus Adson, who tells an important phase of his life more than sixty years later, there is the fiction of a medieval manuscript found and published by author Eco (who fictionally got it as a publication translated from Latin into French on the base of an earlier edited publication and) whose I-origo position and activity of fictional publishing is very important for drawing the reader into a late medieval world view, in which the affairs of the world are seen as fatefully worsening. - And finally, on top of all these positions of I-origo positions of autobiographical story telling, there is the I-origo position of the observer. In an implicit version we will find this position in Dostoevski's novel "The Adolescent", since the narrator is producing a much more meticulous recall of ongoing verbal interactions in the fictitious medium of quasi-transcripts than a normal person involved in such complex interactive situations could remember, and, in addition, he combines those quasi-transcripts with cute and sometimes elaborate observations of the ongoing verbal interactions. Thus, the epistemic I-origo position of the observer adds analytic import to a realistic novel produced in the manner of a fictitious autobiography.

Let's come back to the tensions and discrepancies between the modelling powers exerted through the three ordinary epistemic I-origo positions of autobiographical extempore narration: those ones of the narrator, the story carrier and the biography incumbent. Naturally in extempore narration there cannot be as much productive epistemic tension and contradiction between epistemic positions as we would have in authentic and especially fictional literary autobiographies, since in them – compared to the latter - are less epistemic I-origo positions of attention and presentation with their different perspectives. But even the three epistemic positions left, those ones of the narrator, the story carrier and the biography incumbent, which exert their variously specific modelling powers of presentation, provide a lot of potential for the tension-rich non-identity between

- the story carrier and the narrator, between
- the story carrier and the biography incumbent as well as between
- the narrator and biography incumbent.

7.2.1 The discrepancy between story carrier in the strict sense and narrator

The first non-identity relationship, that one between the story carrier and the narrator, is that one of analytical, understanding, critical or ironical detachment of the narrator (and commentator) from a less than adequate orientation, thinking, behaviour, capacity,

maturity, sensitivity, thoughtfulness of the story carrier who in the course of the recalled life historical events behaved on a sub-optimal level. We can call it an up-hill or victorious sentiment relationship between narrator and story carrier, since the identity development of the involved biography incumbent would go on, would grow and would get stronger in between. Of course, it could also occur, that the identity development of the biography incumbent would deteriorate in between, e .g. that the biography incumbent would get rather stupid compared with the story carrier at a earlier point of the life history told. This could happen in cases of beginning dementia of the narrator. Because of such a medical condition the narrator in an authentic autobiographical communication and recapitulation situation is naturally not capable of presenting such a deteriorating development in a well-ordered artistic way. Instead, there will be many symptomatic signs of incapacity in recollection and reflective commentary. In contrast to this, in fictional literary autobiographies there could be an aesthetically modelled presentation of the relationship between the former promising identity status and the later deteriorated identity status. E.g., the commentaries of the old monk Adson in “The Name of the Rose” who quite often reflects on his former deeds and conversations with his former master William are much more stupid than the reported naïve questions and statements in his conversations with William more than sixty years ago. An aesthetically successful presentation of a discrepancy like this is quite difficult to realize. It normally would not occur in oral extempore autobiographical story telling; there in most cases it could only be expressed symptomatically as a deterioration of the capacity of autobiographical rendering. Of course, the natural course of a life history – “natural” in terms of the ontogenetic development and differentiation of personal identity - would imply the growth of personal identity and the biographical work connected with it. And in addition, there is a strong cultural expectation of personal growth in our Western culture and probably in almost every human culture. This is another reason for a strong tendency towards an up-hill or victorious relationship between narrator and story carrier.

Just to give two examples for the non-identity between the epistemic positions of the narrator and the story carrier. We already discussed Mr. Funke’s self-categorization as “spring chicken” (page 6, line 47) as presentation marker for a biographical metamorphosis process, when he was undergoing his second apprenticeship in the festival hall, expressing by this self categorization his openness for deep learning and for getting something taught by middle age women as his professional masters. Using this category of self-reduction or even self-degradation Mr. Funke expresses a self-ironical relationship towards a former state of mind and identity at least indirectly. Of course, at the same time, when he is using this self-belittling category, he is indirectly expressing his self-understanding that in between those days and the present (at the time of the interview) he has matured in his occupational capacity being now a colleague of his former master instructors. – Secondly I would like to point to the second quotation at the very beginning of this module: a text segment which deals with the lowest point of Mr. Funke’s trajectory experience: being out of work, having been informed to be severely chronically ill (Morbus Bechterev), having been socially isolated (having lost his girl friend), having run out of money and being on the brink to get extradited from his flat, being drunk all day, being unable to start any type of action towards his predicament (page 19, lines 27 to 42). What is in our present context analytically interesting is the distanced, excentric, self-estranging perspective of the narrator in dealing with this extremely low point of his trajectory experience. He is talking about young Bernd Funke like a different person looked on from the outside, out of the observational perspective of his social surrounding. Firstly he points out that, having been entrapped in that severe trajectory dynamics, he himself did not realize his desolate inner and outer state: “well at sometime/ I didn’t/ . I didn’t really check that myself (-).” (page 19, line 27). Then he, the narrator, conveys that he, the story carrier, was confronted with

his desolate state by his social surrounding, and most of it he realized only later, when he had already been rescued: “I was told that more or less by my friends ‘good heavens you are just drinking all day long’.” (page 19, lines 28 and 29). And finally he, the narrator, evaluates that he, the story carrier, was like those strange addicted and intoxicated persons sitting on park benches and being not able to do anything: “I do understand the people who sit around on some benches and get stoned right(?) . drink smoke whatever . not doing anything else (-) . you did feel like that in that situation” (page 19, lines 30 to 32) . At the very end of the quotation, the narrator doesn’t use the personal pronoun “I”, but the second person pronoun “you” in order to underline the perspective of observational distance towards his former inner and outer state at the lowest point of his trajectory. By his distanced rendering, differentiating between him, the rescued and mature narrator, and him the intoxicated, self-delusional story carrier, the narrator can convey the atmosphere of the self-alienated inner and outer state of him as former story carrier entrapped by a severe trajectory as well as, at least indirectly, the later rescue process finally leading to a present inner and outer state of being able to control one’s life.

7.2.2 The discrepancy between the story carrier proper and the biography incumbent

The second non-identity relationship, that one between the story carrier and the biography incumbent, is characterized by the import put on the experiences of discontinuity between the former inner state of the story carrier when she or he would be involved in the life historical events recalled here and now within the medium of autobiographical narration, on the one hand, and upcoming later ones, which would, then, additionally shape the identity development of the biography incumbent, on the other. Especially important in this regard is the discontinuity between a specific first *biographical process structure*, in which the story carrier would be involved at this actual point of the evolvement of her or his life history told here and now, on the one hand, and the foreshadowed following, essentially different, second and/or third biographical process structure(s) which would then come up in the still evolving course of life history with its unfolding biographical identity, and, driven by its or their various ontogenetic evolvement logic(s), would then differently shape the overall biographical structuring, on the other hand, which then, in turn, would exert an influencing impact on further inner states of the story carrier. We can call it the discontinuity and inner change – quite often the fateful sentiment - relationship between the story carrier and the biography incumbent, since the identity status of the story carrier just focussed here and now in the ongoing autobiographical narrative is overshadowed by a tendency to inner change even within the limited course of a still dominant biographical process structure and still much more by a (stronger) tendency to inner change, if and when the story carrier moves from the identity state of a *first* biographical process structure (which she or he was involved in and which she or he is focussed on right now in the course of the autobiographical narrative) towards the identity state(s) of the *later different* one(s) she or he would be going to be involved in. Of course, there could also be a long term stability of identity formation in the sense that the story carrier has no inkling of inner change what so ever, but in the complex (post-)modern everyday world of existence this is a condition of life which is quite rare. And in addition, naturally, the foreboding of a future further downward road of a trajectory, of an upcoming deterioration process of a biographical action scheme or a career and/or of a future impediment or petering out of a creative metamorphosis process - as well as the problematic inner developments of the biography incumbent connected to such fateful biographical process structures - is a much stronger emotional feeling than the usual expectation of a benign development. Out of this reason of emotional intensity, too, such a foreshadowed feeling or hunch of upcoming fate will be remembered much more often than an expectation of inner continuity. – The core

feature of the non-identity between the story carrier and the biography incumbent is the fact, that the inner identity of the story carrier is automatically assumed to be a stable state, that would remain identical during the course of the evolving events and situations the story carrier is involved in, since agency needs a stable subject platform, whereas the inner state of the biography incumbent is seen as a changing identity, as an identity, which gets its structure exactly through the shaped development of an overall gestalt of different inner states following each other and partially assisting or contesting each other.

Again, just to give two examples for the non-identity between the epistemic positions of the story carrier and biography incumbent.

The first example we know already; I already used it as example for the metamorphosis process. The narrator gives an ambivalent image of the career process of his second apprenticeship in the festival hall. On the one hand he states: “that was great of course (-)” (page 6, line 47). On the other hand, in the form of a reminder, although beforehand he has never referred to what he would like to come back to, he announces: “and as I said I had problems then” (page 7, line 1). Referring to the story carrier, the narrator would like to announce an unproblematic career process of apprenticeship that would develop as institutionally expected within the re-training process. The story carrier would exert the agency of learning and career, would be focussed on this and, being identical with himself, would stay in that capacity without any problems. But then the narrator realizes, that something else happened to him, which gave the career process the hunch of upcoming crisis: he got difficulties with himself being confronted with a totally different social world of working: that of administrative paperwork, whereas up to now he was only used to do manual work. This was the beginning of a limited metamorphosis process, which he, the biography incumbent, would go through changing his biographical identity considerably, i.e. in which he would not stay in his unproblematic agency of the story carrier just to learn and fulfil the institutional expectation pattern of the career process. Analytically important is here that the narrative text is not just depicting the initially dominant situation and biographical process structure of the institutional expectation pattern – the situation of learning from his female masters and the biographical process structure of career –, but, in addition, at the same time in the course of narrative rendering the narrative text is conveying the foreboding of something different coming up: the difficult metamorphosis process – a hunch, which is expressed by ambivalent statements like this one: “and eh (-). Yes and no problems in the practical apprenticing company, that was all trouble-free () well it were hard demands but (-)(-) . : <it was>: in . eh . was great (,) .” (page 7, lines 11 to 14) And we saw, that at this point of ambivalence, discrepancy and implausibility the specific narrative constraint of going into details steps in and gives the start for the production of a background construction, which deals with the difficult metamorphosis process and through this repairs the plausibility of narrative rendering (see above). The difficulties in the narrative rendering express the non-identity between the story carrier, who is expected to function without any problems and being identical with himself and the biography incumbent, who is changing his identity with lots of problems involved; and this non-identity of story carrier and biography incumbent conveys the atmosphere of a fateful sentiment.

The other example is a quotation from that part of the questioning part of the interview, in which the interviewer is asking Mr. Funke about his ideas for the future after having been thrown out of the elite sports school (page 11, lines 26 to 32). Mr. Funke answers:

| | | | |
|----|---|--|------------------|
| 35 | M | | I couldn't think |
| 36 | | of anything (') | |
| 37 | I | yes | |
| 38 | M | ehm. there haven't been any ideas (,). nothing (,) | |

39 I mhm
 40 M ehm (-)
 41 actually that was only like “yes it has to go on now
 42 make sure you get something?”
 43 I yes
 44 M I mean you are really
 45 young (-) . You are 17 years old (-) . ehm that you there (-) . I thought “ well
 46 yeah that’s all over (-) that was it o.k.. now you have to make sure that you
 47 make something out of it (‘) and then it’s ok (,)”
 48 I mhm
 (*page 11, lines 35 to 48*)

Here again the narrator conveys that the story carrier, young Bernd Funke, 17 years old, is expecting a career type of development and that he would be willing to focus on it and be able to manage it (lines 41 and 42, lines 46 and 47). But again he doesn’t consider the upcoming inner and outer change, although there was the feeling of an empty head (lines 35, 36 and 38), which was a foreboding – and its textual formulation imparts a hunch to the listener – for a severe trajectory unfolding of being self-alienated in the upcoming first apprenticeship of plumber and heavy machinery establisher. Here we have the textual phenomenon of discrepancy between story carrier and biography incumbent again; it is again conveying the atmosphere of fatefulness.

7.2.3 The discrepancy between the narrator and the biography incumbent

The third non-identity relationship, that one between narrator and biography incumbent, is characterized by the discrepancy between the rational ordering activities of self presentation of the narrator as subject, who is presenting oneself to the listeners, to the scientific audience, which will later on treat the interview or pieces of it as interesting data, and, in addition, to her- or himself as one’s inner audience, which is monitoring her or his presentation activities, on the one hand, and the partially chaotic evolvment of the overall biographical structuring in the life span and long range perspective of the biography incumbent, who is engrossed in biographical process structures elicited by life historical events and, vice versa, having an impact on them, on the other hand. The discrepancy between the epistemic I-origo position of the narrator and that one of the biography incumbent is not only that one between a favourable self-presentation (in the sense of Goffman’s presentation of self in every day life), on the one hand, and the darker and more difficult realities of the hidden backstage life of the actor and narrator, on the other. That aspect of the discrepancy is important, too, but its range and intensity are severely restricted through the constraints of extempore story telling, which engross the awareness of the narrator and forces her or him to concentrate on recapitulating her or his life historical experiences, and this is limiting all the natural tendencies to show off. In contrast to this, the most important aspect of the discrepancy between narrator and biography incumbent is that one between an image of order and rational build-up regarding one’s own life-history and identity development, which is clearly understood, on the one hand, and the enigmatic, difficult and chaotic processes in one’s life history which one does not understand, one does not like to look at and one is tempted to fade out of one’s awareness, on the other. It is the discrepancy between the practical account activities (in the sense of Garfinkel - Garfinkel 1967, Garfinkel and Sacks 1970) of the narrator as a rational communicator who is presenting to oneself and to others the rationality and the orderliness of the every day events and life historical affairs she or he was involved in, the rationality and orderliness of her or his own activities in shaping those affairs in an essentially transparent way as well

the rationality and the orderliness of her or his transparent, controlled and circumspect identity development, on the hand, and the vague, non-transparent, difficult, chaotic experiences and identity feelings of the biography incumbent engrossed within the dynamics and contingencies of the biographical process structures, on the other hand. The discrepancy between narrator and biography incumbent exhibits its especially neuralgic areas in dealing with the following activities:

- to accomplish a favourite self-presentation
- to accomplish a rational understanding of one's involvements in life historical events and one's management of them, as well as
- to fade out of one's own memory and narrative presentation complicated experiences of one's own identity development, that seem to be too difficult and too hurting to look at them.

This time I would like to give just one example for these especially neuralgic areas, since it is so complicated. The example starts with the phenomenon of fading out off one's own memory, but it also includes the presentational tendencies for rational understanding and for favourite self-presentation. Part of the example, i.e. the second part of quotation we will look at, stems from the same section of the interview as the last quotation did. The example demonstrates the difficulties of recalling the gloomy, discouraging and hurting experience of the trajectory of a self-alienating apprenticeship for learning the occupation of a mechanic for the establishment for heavy machinery after having thrown out of the elite sports school. In the pertinent section within the main story half of the interview the narrator is just laconically stating his change from the elite sports career to this apprenticeship:

16 M and ehm . well my sports career couldn't develop any further (-)
 17 yes (?).
 18 I mhm
 19 M : and : ehm ((slow till+)) how was it going with finding the right vocational
 20 school+ yes (?) & or anyway with the right job (-) nothing at all you were just put
 21 into something (.)
 22 I mhm
 23 M :> so many people do this so and many people
 24 do that ()<:
 25 I eh so that I can understand that (-) . was that before the wall
 26 came down or after the wall came down (?)
 27 M & :<that was>: still (-) eh . before it (-)
 28 I ah yes ()
 29 M it was
 30 very clear (-) . eh eh very straight forward :< said>: and I became
 31 fitter for heavy machinery (.) . that was here in Friedrich-Engels-Stadt a lot here
 32 because of the loads of industries because of Meta and such (-) . I've was trained i
 33 Meta (')

(page 1, lines 16 to 33)

In the first course of rendering within the main story part the narrator doesn't like to focus on the difficult trajectory experience, and therefore he fades it out of his awareness and recollection. At the beginning of the interview it would be too hurting to address it immediately without any stabilizing context and basic trust relationship already generated between him and the interviewer. And in addition, the narrator would like to stress the rationality of such an imposed proceeding (e.g., without one's intentional interference) of being personally re-directed in his educational course within the GDR system of managed allocation of individuals to positions and opportunity slots of education, apprenticeship and

occupational work. He would like to convey, that it would have been a normal thing under the condition of the administered GDR educational, vocational training and occupational system, and that it would present himself as a rational and circumspect actor. The narrator express this in the second, the questioning part, of he interview in a cute way: “and I’ve been slipped into that and there I’ve made my two/two and a half years ((quieter till+)) I believe it was to that time. made my training for fitter of power-plant then + ... that as I said was that what actually everybody did here (,)”. (page 11, lines 13 to 18) In stressing his own activity and the normality of it the narrator is also giving a favourite self-presentation; at the same time he, in his capacity of narrator doing his present business of autobiographical narrative rendering, is showing some of the naiveté of not reflecting what had really happened to him and what would have been behind the façade of the second educational career he is superficially talking about.

But in the second half of the interview the narrator would like to know what would be behind that laconic rendering in terms of inner experiences and emotions. We can assume that not only the fact of having been thrown out of the elite sports school would have been a disaster for him but, I addition, the fact of having been dumped into an apprenticeship he did not choose himself and he did not basically like. Of course there is a point of implausibility just having lost one’s most felicitous auspices of becoming a professional state sportsmen and, in the manner of business as usual, going over to a quite down to earth and cumbersome apprenticeship of becoming a mechanic. The interviewer would like to clear up this implausibility and starts an interviewer-elicited or hetero-elicited background construction (page 11, lines 21-34). In answering to the cautious, sympathetic questioning of the interviewer, the narrator looks at this dramatic change of occupational future again, and he realizes that he was in the trap of a powerful trajectory of occupational self alienation as well as that he was on the brink to adjust to it without looking on to the devastating harm that this would cause to his own identity development and to his whole further life:

1 M well you would have now/ ehm. for a life long time I would have worked
 2 Meta (-) . at some machine (-). making ropes and would have gone
 3 to the sport alongside two times a week (,)
 4 I mhm.mhm
 5 M ((very quiet till+))
 6 if that with the illness ()+ . so would the/ that was it then.
 7 ehm. good ok (-). and then maybe doorkeeper with 50 sometime (‘) . and
 8 that was it then (,). right (?)
 9 I mhm mhm.

(page 12, lines 1-9)

The analytical aspect regarding this transcript is, that – driven by the two narrative constraints of going into details and of condensing as well as assessing the relevancies - the narrator now puts away the mask of rational and orderly presentation – and explicates the devastating impact of trajectory on the identity development of the biography incumbent. It was even so devastating that in finally recalling it – induced by the sympathetic questioning of the interviewer - he is driven to fade out of his awareness and recollection one additionally important fact of this course of experiences again: that he was induced by an instructor of the GDR semi-military youth organization “Society for Sports and Technique” (GST) and by his father to apply for an vocational education in the organization of the paramilitary GDR riot police. He is driven to fade it out of his awareness and forget about it, since he was in such a difficult trajectory situation of occupational self-alienation and the rescue plan could have even made it worse. The rescue plan of going to the riot police in times of de-legitimation of the late GDR political system was - and still is in the presence

of autobiographical narration - a dramatizing symbol of the hopelessness of his trajectory entrapment he was caught in.

He just remembers this rescue plan, which would actually be a way of falling out from the frying-pan into the fire, when he, being the rational narrator in his orderly narrative rendering, is attempting to translate or re-interpret the gloomy auspices of his passing from the elite sports school education to the apprenticeship of being trained as mechanic - and especially the involved entrapment within a severe self-alienating trajectory - into something totally mundane and normal: “that was it then (-). ...so (.) . now begins the/your daily life (-)” (page 12, lines 12 to 15). In the very act of attempting this rational re-interpretation he realizes that such a translation to the normal of being caught in such a severe and devastating trajectory trap with all its life-long impact would be implausible again. Exactly then he recalls that he had at least tried to rescue himself, although at the same time he would also know that this way out in undergoing a career at the riot police could get even worse than working as mechanics. He starts a second order background construction:

16 although eh I have to say of course (-). ehm (-) I totally forgot that earlier
 17 on (.) . I have during the/during the trade school (-) . right (?).
 18 there were such GST camps here (-)/

(page 12, lines 16 to 18)

In throwing in the second order background construction the narrator is firstly making the story line much more plausible again, and secondly he is demonstrating the last remnants of his capacity for rational agency and, in addition, for a rational narrative presentation. But the upcoming point of implausibility itself, which actually induces the background construction for the first time, is an indirect expression of the disorderly, chaotic, difficult inner and outer development of the biography incumbent totally trapped in his trajectory predicament. All the difficulties in narration we could see through the points of implausibility and the corresponding necessities for insertion of the two background constructions are due to the contrast between the narrator as a rational presenter and the biography incumbent as a being who has to undergo lots of chaotic, difficult, irrational processes.

7.3 Last remark on the epistemic power of the cognitive figure of the story carrier and cognitive figures in general

We are now at the end of the delineation of the cognitive figure of the story carrier. Out of epistemic reasons we split it into the I-origo positions of the story carrier in the strict sense of the word, the narrator and the biography incumbent proper. The tensions and discrepancies between the epistemic I-origo positions of the narrator, the story carrier and the biography incumbent really add to the thoughtfulness, circumspection, authenticity, creativity and stylistic expression density of autobiographical story telling, i.e. its text validity. This is very much connected to the epistemic power of the three constraints of story telling mentioned in an earlier chapter. The constraints of story telling force the narrator of extempore autobiographical narrative story telling to explicate those discrepancies, to assess and grade their relevancies and, again, to restore their single and triple overall gestalt order after having meticulously looked into, and sometimes even scrutinized, all those deep and complicated cleavages between them. By this, the autobiographical extempore narrator is forced to leave the attitude of naivety she or he is inclined to adopt when she or he is confronted with all the difficult and hurting trajectory experiences and experiences of being lured into a powerfully pre-arranged institutional expectation system of career paths. It is remarkable how much Mr. Funke is forced by the epistemic power of extempore autobiographical story telling and by the biographical work

he has done before to abandon the recollection and presentation attitude of naivety he is understandably prone to in the beginning of his autobiographical rendering. But some of it still left; we will deal with it in the next chapter.

7.4 The contextual level of single narrative units and of partial concatenations of narrative units

In the course of making methodical use of the general methodical strategy of pragmatic refraction we must harness the presentation and demonstration markers and the specific language of the cognitive figures of autobiographical story telling and contextualise them within the presentation activities of the autobiographical extempore rendering as well as within social and biographical processes which are expressed through these presentation activities. As I said already, this endeavour basically consists of three steps: (a) looking at the overall orientation and presentation perspective of the narrative rendering of cognitive figures, (b) searching for, and focussing on, formulaic expressions, which formulate the gist of the orientation perspective of these cognitive figures as well as (c) looking at the sequentially well ordered micro-contexts of the extempore narration, i.e. the narrative segments – at micro-contexts (including difficult contexts with self-corrections and background constructions), in which the narrative perspectives of the cognitive figures will be expressed and in which the formulaic expressions will occur. The first two steps we dealt with quite elaborately, the latter step was already activated practically, when we analysed background constructions, but we did not address it in a systematic manner; this we will do now. Most important is the insight that pragmatic refraction with its analytical focus on the embedding contexts and the functions of the presentation activities and expressions of social and biographical reality in them can only be done in the course of micro-textual line-by-line analysis of the unfolding autobiographical text. The basic reason for this methodological limitation is that the textual context – and all other types of social contexts, too – are sequentially generated and constructed. In a somewhat too bold manner we could also formulate that textual macrostructures like the representation of the cognitive figures can only be generated through textual microstructures. Textual microstructures are providing the sequential contexts for the constitution and functioning of meso- and macro-structural textual phenomena and the social and biographical processes they express. Only through the creative line-by-line production of textual micro-structures the emergence of new textual expressions and respective socio-biographical phenomena is possible, and only through this the power of conditional relevancies of former presentation activities and phases of socio-biographical processes they exert on later presentation activities and process phases can be set free.

As with the formal text-structural phenomena connected with the cognitive figures, it again is important to look first at formal textual structures - this time at the phenomena of the presentation of single narrative units or segments. A single narrative unit or narrative segment is the basic building block of an overall autobiographical narrative. Each of these narrative units could be an autonomous narrative itself. The basic ingredient of an elementary extempore narration of personal experiences minimally is one kernel sentence depicting a social or biographical process that passes over a time threshold of a before and a later on. In addition, such a kernel sentence has another basic quality: it depicts an outer event or row of outer events, on the one hand, and the planning and production of that outer event(s) or the reaction to it by the story carrier (or biography incumbent), on the other hand, and the latter means: change of the inner state of the subject of that activity (or activities) and/or reaction(s). Thus, the minimal kernel sentence of extempore narration of personal experiences must normally have a binominal characteristics: it depicts outer events and the related inner changes – at least smallest processes of identity change - of the subject

of the experience(s) and activity(ies). If one of the two aspects of the binominal characteristics is missing, then that is a deviating presentation phenomenon and expresses a certain type of disorderliness of personal experiences (e. g., it could be conditioned by the fact that the trajectory experience is so hurting that the narrator doesn't like or is even unable to depict his or her inner state). Quite often a single narrative unit produces more than one kernel sentence. In this case, one kernel sentence could depict the outer event(s) and another the change of the inner state of the subject (the story carrier and the biography incumbent). The elementary quality of a kernel sentence in autobiographical story telling is the expression of an at least minimal life historical gestalt or episodic life historical story. And the basic grammar of it is the mutual conditional relationship between outer event(s) and change of identity of the subject involved in that event or those events. This we did already call the self-historical gestalt of autobiographical story telling.

Many narrative units are much more elaborate than that minimal textual structure I was discussing just before. A full-sized narrative unit is constituted out of the following structural presentation activities:

7.4.1 Frame switching elements

In the very beginning of the narrative unit there would normally be an element that is expressing the change or the passing over between narrative units following each other: a **frame-switching element** between narrative units. Typical is the combination of a connector like “and” and a temporal adverb like “then” or a spatial adverb like “there”. Quite often this combination is introduced or interspersed by a paralinguistic element like “ehm” as a sort of thinking and planning pause – and sometimes a hesitation and retardation pause - in constructing the following narrative unit. Quite often there is the additional element of a segmenting and dividing particle like “well”. The narrative segment that immediately ends before the start of the new unit is normally characterized by a closing statement and by a falling intonation. And in between the two narrative units there could be pauses or paralinguistic elements of thinking, planning and/or hesitation. Here are two typical examples from the beginning of the Funke interview: “**And ehm. Well** my sports career couldn't develop any further (-)” (page 1, line 16) as well as: “**And then** the Federal Armed Forces was added to it (^)” (page 1, lines 44 and 45). - But one has to be cautious: The start of the new narrative unit could also be totally different. It could proceed in a manner that could be called telegram style: e.g., “(I) Continued of doing sports” (Funke interview, page one line 35 – The German original is characterized by a deletion of the subject “I”). Such a beginning would express breathlessness or haste of the re-enlivening of a speedy row of events, a super-focusing on an action scheme or career, or an attitude of fading difficult experiences out of one's awareness. - One has to take into account that a narrative unit is depicting a lived experience (an “Erlebnis” in the sense of Dilthey or “having an experience” in the sense of Dewey's “Art as Experience”). And such a lived experience can be recollected and imaginatively approached by the narrator on various paths and from various perspectives. Therefore the frame switching elements for the marking of change between narrative units cannot be used in a technical de-contextualized manner. They are useful “technical” or formal single indicators for delineating narrative units, but as isolated markers they are not unambiguous. The delineation of narrative units can only be done by the interpretive use of them in combination with each other and with other markers of narrative units occurring within sequentially unfolding meaningful contexts of the narrative unit and by hermeneutically taking into regard the developing whole of the narrative unit.

7.4.2 Introduction to narrative units

The second element of a full-sized narrative unit would normally be an **introduction**. One would not find such an introduction in shortened versions of narrative units, whereas the frame switching elements one can find in the beginning of even minimally developed narrative units. The introduction pre-announces the overall quality of the content of the narrative unit to be depicted. Into the introduction is therefore quite often incorporated a first kernel sentence expressing basic features of the self-historical gestalt (process or episode) to be told in the narrative unit, e.g. stating the occurrence of a pivotal felicitous new opportunity. Sometimes the kernel sentence of the introduction is even a suprasegmental marker of a biographical process structure pre-announcing the depiction of long-term processes overarching several narrative units. For doing its pre-announcement work, the introduction uses higher predicates in order to characterize the general features of the socio-biographical processes coming up within the following narrative segment. Sometimes to this could even be attached an argumentative section underlining the biographical import of what will be presented in the narrative rendering, fighting it as something adversative to one's own identity development or explaining it as something difficult to understand. Just to give a few examples from the Funke interview: (a) an introductory remark dealing with the nature of a new situation: “and . that . ehm . . yes(-) . I started there (-) . the first sessions (-) . that was for me . **first all new** (-) completely new (,)” (page 5, lines 4-6); (b) an introductory remark dealing with a new period and atmosphere in life: “an ehm . . and all of a sudden life **started to be nice again** (˘)” (page 6, lines 17 and 18); (c) an introductory remark stating a new pivotal event in the life of the biography incumbent: “I also have found **a very good apprenticing company** (˘) . that was in the **festival hall** (˘) right (?)” (page 6, lines 42 to 43); (d) an introductory marker announcing the deepest point of a trajectory: “there I was actually really **deep down** (,) . and eh . my **life** looked like that actually right (?) “ (page 3, lines 11 to 13); (e) an introductory marker suprasegmentally announcing the beginning of trajectory: “. and actually **then** it all started (-) . **yes**(-)” (page 1, line 38); (f) an introductory marker announcing the permanent unfolding of the trajectory, being trapped in it and paralysed by it: “and ehm . that continued further and further (-) “ (page 2, line 31). – I have marked by grey shadowing the higher predicates for delineating general features of the upcoming socio-biographical processes to be told within the narrative unit.

7.4.3 Narrative kernel sentences

The next elements of a narrative unit are the narrative **kernel sentences**, which we already have talked about. At least one kernel sentence must be found in a narrative unit; therefore it is a universal element of any type of narrative unit. But normally there are more than one kernel sentence, even in the course of a very laconic rendering. We have such an example in the first quotation in the very beginning of this module. The very laconic narrative unit start with: “and eh . ((slower till+)) to that time my former girl-friend left me (˘)” (page 2, lines 16 and 17). It ends with: “and ehm . had then/ . :<couldn't>: actually work in my profession at all (,)” (page 2, lines 27 and 28). In this narrative unit we can observe a whole row of narrative kernel sentences depicting outer events: (a) that the girl-friend would leave him, (b) that he would get severe back pain, (c) that he would go to the medical doctors who were not able to find the reason of the back pain. In addition there are two kernel sentences dealing with the inner change of the biography incumbent: (d) that the abandonment by his former girl-friend would have a decisive impact on him which would be somatized by a dramatical loss of weight as well as (e) that he would lose the ability to work in his present occupation (which is actually just indirectly implying a change of inner

state). Analytically remarkable here is firstly that, although the narrative unit exhibits the binominal characteristics of depicting outer events and changes of inner states, which are connected to each other, the depiction of inner changes are expressed very indirectly either through a vague abstract higher predicate (“things of great, decisive importance I had there” – line 20) or through a statement of somatization (“that were when I have lost a lot of weight”- line 21). This partial tendency to fading inner states and their change out of his awareness of recollection conveys the impression that Mr. Funke still today is suffering from his severe triple trajectory experiences: being out of work and without any money, becoming socially isolated and becoming severely ill, and he, then, could only stand this triple-potential dynamics of the trajectory unfolding by partial fading out. In the first narrative segments he even deviates for the general principle of the story grammar to give a binominal rendering. There he just states the outer events of an unfolding disastrous trajectory, e.g.: “and ehm . well my sports career couldn’t develop any further (-)” (page 1, line 16) or: “I continued with doing sports (-) & that was actually always a big part of my :>life<: yes (?) and ehm . . . :< no>: then in that company no (-) . opportunity to continue to work (-) : and: got then unemployed (ˆ)” (page 1, lines 35 to 38). Even today Mr. Funke has lots of difficulties to look into the inner identity changes and the suffering related to it, which occur in the course of his trajectory of occupational self-alienation. Analytically remarkable secondly is the hasty and laconic row of narrative kernel sentences without any sections of detailing in between. This expresses the unhindered unfolding of a multi-dimensional biographical trajectory process or even the unhindered interface of three of them which overwhelms young Bernd Funke to the extent that he cannot fight it and gets finally paralysed by it.

7.4.4 Textual sections of narrative detailing

In full-sized narrative units **textual sections of narrative detailing** are specifically attached to narrative kernel sentences. Many kernel sentences contain higher predicates, specifically higher predicates for expressing basic features of biographical process structures (in this case in their capacity of presentation markers or at least in their combination with them). Such kernel sentences for the characterization of the biographical process structure of trajectory are: “and zap!, chop-chop, that was it: and I’ve been slipped into that” (page 11, line 12 and 13); “yes(?). there I was actually really deep down (,). and eh . my life looked like that actually, right (?)” (page 3, lines 11-13); “and then the Federal Armed Forces (ˆ)+ to that time everything was fine yet(ˆ)” (page 1, lines 45 and 46). The first quoted kernel sentence addresses the trajectory quality of slipping into a trap situation (in this case the non-beloved first apprenticeship as heavy machinery fitter); the second kernel sentence defines the absolutely lowest point of Bernd Funke’s multiplex trajectory experience (as we have seen already). And the last kernel sentence characterizes a temporary time out from the unfolding dynamics of the biographical trajectory of occupational self-alienation (the military service quite often can have such a time-off quality for the life course of a person). Since the three quotations are introductory statements at the same time I don’t want to dwell on them here, although in all three instances the following text sections could be seen as a sections of narrative detailing. Let’s take just the last example: the following statement details the kernel sentence about the time of military service:

| | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------|
| 45 | | “and eh . I have |
| 46 | during my time in the Federal Armed Forces . gained <u>a lot</u> of weight . I had actually | |
| 47 | a really cool and easy-going job there (ˆ) | |
| 48 | I | mhm what did you do there (?) |
| 49 | M | I was there well |

50 a normal/ well that was more or less waiter . I have worked for one week and
 51 was one week . ehm at home (,) that was great.”
 (page 1, lines 45 to 51)

The quoted statement firstly details the bodily development of Bernd Funke (Here “gaining weight” is used by the narrator as an indicator for the temporal still-stand of trajectory; later for him the loss of weight becomes a symbol for the precipitation of the unfolding trajectory, as we saw already). Secondly it details Bernd Funke’s work situation at the federal German army. And the understanding, that the whole section is understood by the two interaction partners of the interview situation as a section of narrative detailing, can additionally empirically be corroborated through looking at the intervention of the interviewer via his activity of asking for even more details regarding the work situation at the Federal Armed Forces.

But let’s look at two other examples of narrative detailing that are not attached to introductory statements. The first deals with narrative detailing in the context of Mr. Funke’s depicting his emerging biographical action scheme, the second one with his narrative detailing in the context of depicting a phase of his severe biographical trajectory.

The first example we already dealt with in demonstrating the presentation markers and the language of biographical action scheme (chapter 2.2.2.4, point 1). In this example the narrative kernel sentence is clearly separated from the introductory statement. The introductory statement is: “and all of a sudden life started to be nice again (ˆ)” (page 7, lines 17 and 18). And the first narrative kernel sentence as “head” of a following “trunk” section of narrative detailing is: “and ehm . had goals, right (?)” (page 6, line 21) Here again we have a higher predicate, that one of “goals”. It is quite vague and therefore must be explicated. This explication is accomplished by recalling and stating the following inner conversation, which then, at the beginning of his re-training, Bernd Funke had had with himself: “you will pull through this here . doesn’t matter what will happen after this . you don’t know that anyway (-)” (page 6, lines 23 and 24). Therefore the higher predicate (“had goals”) is explicated by stating an unconditioned and ascetic endeavour to hold on to the occupational re-training, whatsoever difficult - and partially even senseless - this could turn out. Another kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I got (-) . thanks to Mrs. Brühl from the agency for advancement for educational training ... got a lot a lot of help (,) . didn’t matter what kind right (?)” (page 6, lines 26 to 29). Here the higher predicate is “lot of help”, and the narrator himself underlines the broad range of several types of assistance he got from his counsellor and social pedagogue Mrs. Brühl. This broad range then gets explicated: “whether it were encouraging words or even now when looking for those practical apprenticing companies (,) . everything got going (ˆ) . that in that view/ you didn’t feel so alone . you :<could>:even during the vocational school let me say that again and again at/ well that was always your contact (ˆ) . and if anything happened (-) . or . they were actually always there for you” (page 6, lines 29 to 39). So Mr. Funke is explicating the broad and vague higher predicate of “lot of help” by drawing a list of activities, which his counsellor Mr. Brühl and her colleagues would do for him: verbal encouragements, liaison work, offering a permanent openness for getting turned to and for counselling, being a biographical caretaker for every type of difficult training and learning situation with its implications of dramatic identity change.

The second example is addressing Mr. Funke’s second recalling of the beginning of his long-term and severe biographical trajectory of self-alienation conditioned by his having been thrown out of the elite sports school in the questioning half of the autobiographical narrative interview:

41 and eh. (quiet till +) that was all of a sudden (ˆ). that was like struck by
 42 lightening (ˆ)+. everything at once (-). that means “yes you are/ you didn’t

43 get further (‘). you don’t come further (‘) . your sports career is
 44 finished with that and ehm. now we have to see that we integrate
 45 you in the normal life (‘)”. at that was the time
 46 (‘) tenth grade was finished passed the exams “ you don’t get further
 47 and now we have to see that we get you into a apprenticeship (-)”
 48 yes

(page 10, lines 40 to 47- by the way, the quoted section is just a sub-segment; the whole narrative segments starts earlier – page 10, line 30 - and ends later – page 11, line 12)

Here we have a narrative kernel sentence (marked by gray shadowing), which contains two higher predicates: the first characterizes the sudden and devastating effect of Mr. Funke’s having been thrown out of the elite sports school - dealt with in the first sub-segment of the narrative unit - on his inner life, the second vaguely addresses additional problems connected to the inner devastation of Bernd Funke: “everything at once”. The narrative detailing section (that part of the quotation that is not marked by gray shadowing) is explicating the two kernel sentences: the first part (up to the middle of line 44) deals with the clearance of the definitiveness of the life historical end of Bernd Funke’s career as elite sportsman. The second part deals with the haste of getting Bernd Funke transferred into a “normal life” apprenticeship, whatsoever that could be, without asking him about it at all. The section of narrative detailing is basically constituted by the quotation of direct speech of the powerful instances of the elite sports school and - possible instances of the school administration or labour exchange. The quotation of their direct speech conveys two impressions: the first one is that the disclosure of the end of Bernd Funke’s sports career and the planning of his transfer into an apprenticeship was done in a one shot “high noon situation”, and the second one is, that the disclosure and the planning was like the pronouncement of a trial sentence powerfully superimposed upon him without giving him a chance to fight and to reshape it.

The basic function of sections of narrative detailing is to explicate the higher predicates of kernel sentences. This explication can even lead to the reconstruction of a whole scenic situation. One example of that would be the inner structure of the background construction in the chapter on the features and the language of social situations (2.2.2.6, point c). There the kernel sentence is: “the next world was coming to an end (,)” (page 7, line 16). The following section of detailing is a depiction of a whole scenic situation using the techniques of inner speech and the reconstruction of attitudes to work assignments and features of the environment of administrative paper work. Sometimes the depiction of a scenic situation can also substitute a kernel sentence (at the same time delivering a hidden or “tacit” kernel sentence) in order to demonstrate the dramatic unfolding of the course of events and/or to express that the emergence of new phenomena is not sufficiently understood yet in order to formulate a kernel sentence with a higher predicate delineating the basic features of the proceedings connected with the emergence of the situation. A typical example of this is the narrative depiction of the scenic situation in which Bernd Funke is sitting in class still being in the ordinary secondary school, the door opens and the recruiters of the elite sports school come in (page 9, lines 1 to 10 – quoted and discussed in chapter 2.2.2.6, point a). Here the hidden kernel sentences are: (a) ‘We have been seduced out of the *raison d’etat*, and they did not take into account our own personal development.’ (b) ‘After having been seduced, we as a peer group started a dangerous career.’

7.4.5 Textual sections of descriptive or argumentative detailing

There are three types of conditions for the production of textual sections of descriptive or argumentative detailing: (a) Vague higher predicates of kernel sentences must be concretised in order to really understand them; this can be done by referring to social

I again marked the combination of introductory remark and kernel sentence by gray shadowing. The higher predicate here is – to reword it a little bit – the super-focusing of young Bernd Funke on elite sports training and competition. The social frame of his former elite sports training and competition must be explicated to the listener and re-enlivened and recapitulated for the narrator himself in order to understand and qualify the life for elite sports during those adolescent years as an important biographical condition for the severity of the following trajectory of occupational self-alienation, after Bernd Funke has been removed from the elite sports school. The explication of young Bernd Funke’s super-focusing on elite sports is accomplished by means of an inserted communicative scheme of description for the characterization of the pertinent social frame(s). The descriptive presentation is firstly setting a contrast set of two locations and the distance relationship between them: the home in north town and the training sights in south town; this depicts the geography of Bernd Funke’s life situation in those three years of education and career in that elite sports school. Secondly the narrator states, that the distance relationship between the two local sites of Bernd Funke’s life can only be managed by the habit of daily routine travel via tram from the north site to the south site of the city early in the morning and vice versa at night; this exposition of daily itinerary is one of the basic “text grammatical” forms of the communicative scheme of description I cannot dwell on in this module. Thirdly the narrator concentrates on the contrast set between the work requirements of elite sports training and ordinary school requirements; he conveys the impression that the training requirements would have been always dominant – he dwelled on this partial postponement of school requirements even in the narrative unit before (page 10, lines 1 to 7) -, which could have been a detrimental condition for later intensive phases of academic learning and biographical work. Such a contrast set is another basic “text grammatical” form of the communicative scheme of description of social frames. Finally the narrator dwells on the strictness and the required extended time and high energy input into the sports training by means of the communicative format of drawing the picture of the daily time and work schedule of the training procedures. Reconstructing schedules of routine procedures is a third typical “text grammatical” form of the communicative schema of description of social frames.

(b) Interpretation of an unfamiliar concept or conception, which is at the same time very important for one’s own identity development

The following example for the structural phenomenon of detailing interpretations of unfamiliar notions – here of the GDR notions of the master team, the good conditions and auspices and the elite state sportsman - stems from the same narrative unit as the last quotation did; it is its immediate follow-up in the course of ongoing narrative rendering, and the end of the quotation is equivalent with the end of the narrative unit:

23 (.). and ehm ..
 24 I’ve played in the master team as well during that time (‘) so there were good
 25 conditions and auspices (‘) so that one/one could have/ well at that time
 26 there haven’t been professional sportsmen in the sense of a profession (‘)
 27 I mmh. yeah
 28 M ehm .but
 29 it was a bit different I believe & I don’t know (‘) . that one
 30 could have done (.).

(page 10, lines 23 to 30)

In this second half of the narrative unit the narrator formulates a bi-nominal kernel sentence, which (a) reports the outer event constellation, that he as a regular member had played in the master team of his sports discipline, and which (b) expresses his inner identity development, that, thus, he had have a good career outlook which (c) would have implied

the prognosis of his being able to carry on with his career expectation pattern up to its institutionally envisioned end of maturation at the elite sports secondary school (in German terminology “gymnasium”, which is roughly the equivalent of British “grammar school”) and to finish it successfully as state acknowledged national sportsman. In formulating this quite complex three-string binominal kernel sentence the narrator uses specific abstract concepts or higher predicates that belong to the GDR official sports language: master team, auspices and status of absolvent of elite sports school. He realizes that his West-German conversation partner, the interviewer, might not know the special meanings of those GDR sports concepts. In addition, he would like to make clear that his perseverance in keeping himself oriented towards an optimistic prognosis of educational career even up to that very moment when he had been kicked out of the elite sports school would not mean that he had been extraordinary unrealistic in his outlook on his educational and occupational life. He would like to convey a personal image of his former modesty and realistic circumspectness, i.e., that a glamorous Western type of professional sports career did not orient him during those days. To be a student of that GDR elite sports school and to become a successful graduate of it would have been something different. The narrator doesn't explain that difference explicitly. But one gets the idea, that becoming a GDR state sportsman would have been the entrance to a normal GDR occupation like others - perhaps a little bit more privileged than the ordinary ones, but without extraordinary payments and respectively required spectacular sports achievements. And, in addition, the narrator would like to convey a sober image of his former self-assessment that he, then, rightfully and sensibly ascribed to himself the capacity of successfully reaching such a modest and realistic educational goal. – Regarding the just discussed textual section it is analytically interesting that the narrator harnesses the communicative scheme of argumentation, firstly in order to - at least partially – explain abstract concepts to a presumably uninformed listener (with a different collective historical background and the respective totally different background knowledge) and secondly in order to work on the problem of his own and - even more - of the listener's possible misunderstanding that his former persistent belief in his own future as GDR elite sportsman might today be wrongly understood as a sign of irrationality and immodesty, i.e. in order to work on the defense of his image as a circumspect rational actor, even if, during those old days, he followed up that ambitious elite sports school career for such a long time. I have marked textual phenomena of argumentation by gray shadowing. Features of argumentation can be seen in the activities of drawing a conclusion (“so there”, “so that”), of using the indefinite third personal pronoun (“one” instead of “I”) and of taking into regard possible objections of others or himself (that his former attitude could be seen as unrealistic and irrational: makers like “well” – “but”) and arguing against those possible objections (in our present case: that an unrealistic and immodest attitude connected to his former sports aspirations could be ascribed to him). Of course, the communicative scheme of argumentation, which has its own generative procedures and rules of presentation we cannot deal with in this module, is here in a subdominant position compared to the communicative scheme of narration. It just serves the function of making the narrative presentation understandable and of conveying a rational image of the narrator as former actor and story carrier. It doesn't interrupt the ongoing narrative rendering.

(c) Description of an enigmatic or at least partially unknown phenomenon

The narrator might refer to phenomena, especially social frames and institutions, which the listener presumably doesn't know. The general noun or proper name (including acronyms) that refers to such a phenomenon presumably unknown to the listener must not be a higher predicate of kernel sentence, and it must not be part of central concept of biographical identity formation and biographical work of the narrator and biography incumbent. It can

via using unit terms like “real sturmbann” (line 42), which at the same time means that the narrator is distancing himself from it: he adds: “and & all such rubbish (,)”. – It is obvious that both conversation partners understand this section as an inserted scheme of description in order to reduce the information gap between the informed narrator and the non-informed listener, since the interviewer immediately asks for the meaning of the noun “GST camps” (line 19), and later on he underlines that he is not informed about the GST institution, since it did not exist in West Germany (lines 32 and 33). - Of course the narrator could have dwelled on the characterization of the GST camps even without the double explicit intervention of the interviewer, but at least by visual and par-linguistic signs the interviewer would have shown the interviewee that his assumption that he, the listener, would presumably not know about that GDR institution would be correct. Otherwise such descriptive sections would be cut short or preliminarily finished. The reason for this is that they are seen by the conversation partners as just second order descriptive explications, that are added to the regular insertions of sections of descriptive detailing (see point (a) of this sub-chapter) – second order descriptive explications, which are mainly important for the understanding of the listener and not for the self-understanding of the narrator.

8. References

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