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The Narrative Performances of Teenage Girls: Participation, Identity, and Authority as the Foundation for Power

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THE NARRATIVE PERFORMANCES OF TEENAGE GIRLS: PARTICIPATION,

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English Composition:

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by

Cheré Michelle Smith

December 2016

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Dr. Caroline Vickers, Committee Chair, English

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the ways in which teenage girls use narrative performance to negotiate participation, social and gender identity, and individual authority in order to establish ratified and equal statuses of power within their social peer group. Although previous work on narrative discourse has shown that narratives can act as the catalyst for the complex co/construction of identity especially in social situations of talk, little work has been done to focus on the way teenagers, particularly girls, use this discourse to their benefit as they fulfill social and gender goals in social and conversational settings. Furthermore, while multimodal, narrative performance has been discussed as a cognitive and participation centered function of narrative discourse, this work has been largely quantitative. Consequently, the field of sociolinguistics, predominantly in the realm of narrative discourse, could use more work on the social function of narrative performance. This project, then, combines an analysis of teenage girls' narrative co/construction in social contexts with a qualitative analysis of their use of narrative performance to show the ways in which this combination allows the girls to do complicated social and linguistic work to manage membership statuses, via complex participation frameworks.

Data for this project consists of 5, one hour long, audio and video recorded instances in which four teenage girls, who make up an established peer group, hang out during regular social meetings. An analysis carried out via a lens of Narrative Discourse influenced by Conversation Analysis (CA), revealed that

teenage girls are doing a great deal of power negotiation during their social

interactions and that moments of narrative, particularly those in which narrative

performances are utilized, function to make these negotiations both visible and

therefore more influential on overall group dynamics. Suggestions for how this

research could be continued in the future are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this project to my sister, Rebecca Louise Smith.

Thank you for being you. Never change!

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Goffman's (1979) discussion of "footing" attends specifically to the complexity underlying the terms "speaker" and "hearer" as they apply to social situations involving talk. His argument is that there is far more going on in social events of talk, than these two terms allow for, especially since at any given moment during the talk, speaker and hearer may be conflated, or may be only two of the roles that participants take on during their social engagement. Although there is much to be taken from this seminal work, I want to focus, here, on the way Goffman defines a social situation: "the full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another" (p. 10). The fullness of the physical arena is significant to his discussion because, as he points out, using the terms "speaker" and "hearer" suggest that only oral/aural interaction is important to social situations. He counters this by stating:

> [I]t is obvious that sight is organizationally very significant too, sometimes even touch. In the management of turn-taking, in the assessment of reception through visual back-channel cues, in the paralinguistic function of gesticulation, in the synchrony of gaze shift, in the provision of evidence of attention…in the assessment of engrossment through evidence of side-involvements and facial

expressions – in all of these ways it is apparent that sight is crucial,

both for the speaker and for the hearer. (p. 6)

The roles of "speaker" and "hearer" are, therefore, immersed in a physicality that relies heavily on sight and relative nearness to each other for the social situation (their interaction) to be functional. In fact, Goffman finishes this explanation with the statement that "[f]or the effective conduct of talk, speaker and hearer had best be in a position to *watch* each other" (p. 6).

I begin my own work with that of Goffman because I believe that if we are to approach narrative with any sort of critical analysis, we must first understand that narrative, by nature, depends on one or more "speaker" and "hearer" immersed in interaction with each other via a social situation. Goffman's complication of these roles should, as an extension, complicate the way we discuss narrative. While it seems clear that narrative is directly attached to the development of identity for both "speaker" and "hearer," the work to support this claim is based largely on oral/aural interaction. However, as Goffman points out regarding the need for sight and touch, it is clear that we can associate much more than oral and aural qualities/senses to the carrying out of narrative.

It is with this mind, then, that I want to turn the gaze of sociolinguistic work on narrative towards a more inclusive look at narrative, and its influence on identity, that seeks to include performativity – particularly the physical component to narrative that takes into account not only those hearing and speaking, but

those watching i.e. performative gesture – as part of the co-construction of the social situation within which the narrative exists.

In previous literature to date, linguists have shown that narrative and its oral/aural quality is intimately tied to identity development in social contexts (Labov, 1972; Georgakopoulou 1995; 1998; 2006; Ochs, 1997; Ochs and Capps, 1996; De Fina, 2008; 2011; Eckert, 2003; 2004). This is not surprising, as we tend to tell stories about ourselves and others as a means of conveying ourselves to others, as well as continuing a consistent construction of ourselves that fits into our social groups. At the same time, linguists interested in how speakers use multimodal language cues, such as gesture, during speech events, have done quantitative research to show that such cues are often used to increase cohesion during cognitively complicated speech events. Since this research has been conducted via prompted narrative events, such research on gesture use during speech production, has shown, to a degree, that narrative delivery might be highly reliant on multimodal language cues, such as gesture, to help speakers and the listeners interpret and engage with conversational narrative as equal participants (McNeill, 1986; Cassell, 1988; Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Levy and McNeill, 1992; McNeill and Levy, 1993; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Lwin, 2010). Although the field lacks purposeful, qualitative work to further these notions, quantitative research shows a clear connection between multimodal language cues and prompted narratives. Specifically, it is clear that when a speaker is asked to describe or tell

what happened, the speaker seems to immediately begin using multimodal language cues to assist the listener in contextualizing the oral information being delivered, while inferring, based on listener participation, how many and what kind of cues will be necessary for the delivery.

The significance of this research is the idea that successful narrative delivery, i.e. a narrative delivery that fulfills identity and social goals, is based on more than oral and aural qualities, but on a kind of physical performance through which being able to view the narrator promotes a sense of cohesion overall. Furthermore, such strong cognitive ties between speech (particularly narrative speech) and physical motion (particularly gesture) seems to suggest a sense of embodiment during narrative events. This is important to note because as the narrator embodies, and therefore performs, aspects of the narrative, the narrator is able to construct a very visual sense of identity, whether for self or other, by which the audience can orient themselves. When we consider the impact this kind of narrative performance might have on identity construction and ratification on its own, it becomes even more impactful in combination with gender performance. Narrators not only perform the events of the narrative and their parts in the narrative (including assessment), but they also perform their roles and identities as gendered social beings.

In fact, research has made it clear that we cannot help but perform our gender as we display any part of our identity, since gender is intricately tied to identity (Butler, 1988; Butler, 1999). Further, since social environments often

contribute to the ways in which we perform gender, it is important to note that in sum, the performances we put on of our identities are based on the kind of social interactions we participate in. Via our successful performances of our gendered selves, we are able to negotiate the kind of social capital we need to maintain successful participatory roles. This is particularly important for women as they negotiate social gender role performances in order to gain and maintain social capital through personal authority in social peer groups, typically built through the construction of narrative (Georgakopoulou, 1995; 2002; Ochs and Capps, 1996). Moments of narrative performance, necessarily brings other performed roles into greater view, and make them more available for added assessment. Women seem to be very aware of this phenomena.

Linguists interested in the way gendered social roles are carried out in social environments have shown the kind of work women do to maintain their roles as successful social participants. Particularly, Georgakopoulou (1995; 1998) shows that women use narratives to manage status in social groups, using the stories they tell to tie themselves tightly to their social groups and negotiate differences between themselves and others, whether positively or negatively. Such studies also show that women who use narratives as a tool of status management are very aware of and able to manipulate interactions in which their identity as women hangs in the balance. In fact, it is a risky business that is often tied directly to narrative construction and delivery, and women seem to be masters of the business (Eckert, 1989; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Eckert and

McConnell-Ginnet, 2003). They begin the work of mastering this business from a young age. Goodwin (1980) points out that "[g]irls talk about and concern themselves with their appearance and the forms of relationships they can be seen to maintain with others" (p. 675). In fact, these girls are highly aware of the roles they play in groups with other girls, or in groups where boys are presents. On these grounds, girls are careful to make sure that interactions during speech events fulfill goals of status equity, which has been strongly connected to female participants' sense of gender, regardless of age. In fact, Goodwin's research on girls' gossip and conflict management strongly suggests that the stories they tell about themselves or about others are meant to achieve the same kind of goals Georgakopoulou outlines for women.

It is here, that we can see how narrative performance is a space of research that could complicate the way we see the use of narrative in identity construction and management, especially for female narrators. With narrative events carrying such potential for both narrators and audiences, the addition of an embodied performance seems to make the business of storytelling even more risky. And although a base of narrative research exists to help us begin to understand how performance aspects of narrative could affect the identity management of women and pre-adolescent girls, very little work has done to create that base for teenage girls. Linguists have shown that teenage girls are doing a tremendous amount of identity management in conversational contexts, some including narrative, in order to sustain social roles/statuses in peer groups

(Eder, 1988; Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Cheshire, 2000; Georgakopoulou, 2002; Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet, 2003; Bucholtz, 1999; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Cutler, 2010). However, there is surprisingly little work focused specifically on narrative, considering the bridge teenager-hood represents for girls to become women, and therefore master storytellers. This seems a significant gap, since it has been established that teenage girls tend to be hyper-social as they often use social interactions to construct their sense of self and would therefore seem most likely to use multimodal narrative performance to co/construct and maintain social identities in peer groups during social speech events.

Consequently, the aim of this study is to fill this gap. Such work could add significantly to the literature that currently exists on these topics individually by bringing them together and showing that it is in synchrony with each other that we can learn more, not just about narrative performance as it relates to social identity co/construction, but also as it extends our knowledge of how teenage girls manage social roles that they have recently become hyper-aware of as near-adult, social beings – a process that potentially effects them far into their adulthood (Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992).

1.1.2 Research Questions

In order to discover how teenage girls use narrative performance to co/construct social identities in peer group settings, it is important to investigate what exactly narrative performance looks like and how it pertains to gendered social roles so as to see exactly how identity is being co/constructed and how

that affects what goes on within these girls' peer groups. With this in mind, this study aims to answer three questions:

1) What impact does multimodal, narrative performance have on participation dynamics as a narrative event unfolds?

2) Does narrative performance influence the negotiation of gender roles during participation in and assessments following the narrative and what influence does this have on social/group identities?

3) In what ways does narrative performance allow participants to negotiate authority as participants in narrative events, and thereby build social capital as participants in social events?

By answering these questions, I hope to explore the effects multimodal performance has on narrative production. As a result, we can better understand narrative as a rich and complex matrix of social interaction. We can also expand our knowledge of the kind of work teenage girls are doing with narrative performance, and then extrapolate that to other peer group communities. By beginning with teenage girls, we are able to focus on a group that very likely expert at using narrative for identity co/construction and gain further insights into how identity is established and sustained beyond teenager girl peer groups.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Setting the Parameters of the Narrative

If we are to really rethink or even complicate our approach to narrative, we must begin with Labov and Waletzky (1967). Their work on narrative is meant to move narrative research from a focus on literacy narrative traditions to the original production of narratives about personal experiences by unsophisticated tellers, in order to come to some understanding of the complexity of narrative discourse in ordinary social situations. They came to the conclusion that this work needed to be done after their (1966) study of African American Vernacular English in South Harlem, during which they discovered that the best way to overcome the observer's paradox was to elicit narratives of personal experience. To carry out their research on narrative, they initiated the narrative analysis of data collected from situations of elicited narratives (p. 3). What they arrived at is a primary definition, that Labov (1972) repeats, which states that narrative is a verbal technique that relies on narrative units put together in such a way that a recapitulation of experienced events unfold in a temporal sequence.

In other words, the narratives we tell have a structure, by which we organize our past, our present and our future, all in ways that make sense to our present contextual moment of narration (Labov, 1972; Ochs, 1997). This was an important move in discourse, specifically narrative analysis, and in fact, further work on this definition is continued in other instances of Labov's work (1972; 1981; 2006), all of which are influential to sociolinguistic studies on narrative.

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However, although Labov is often focused on the structure (syntactic and semantic) of narrative discourse, Labov and Waletzky (1967) add something important to their initial definition of narrative: "narrative that serves this function alone is abnormal…narrative serves an additional function of personal interest, determined by a stimulus in the social context in which the narrative occurs. We, therefore, distinguish two functions of narrative: (a) *referential* and (b) *evaluative*" (p. 4). Ochs (1997) builds on this by stating, "[a] narrative can be a simple chronicle of events or an account that contextualizes events, by attempting to explain them and/or persuade others of their relevance" (p. 189). It is the evaluative/persuasive function, the function tied up in social context, that I am most interested in because, based on the above, it is the function that seems to have been the most complicated, as linguists continue to explore narrative discourse, since such a function depends upon social engagement and ratification.

It is not difficult to see the way Labov and Waletzky's (1967) and Ochs' (1997) definition of the evaluative function of narrative falls under Goffman's definition of a *social situation*, (as discussed in the introduction above)*.* Narrative relies heavily on a social situation for its existence, and not just a social situation, but an active stimulus/exigency, by which the speaker of the narrative transitions from conversationalist only to conversationalist/narrator. Goffman points out that such a transition allows the speaker to take a new footing within the social context, wherein the pauses and completions, which might otherwise suggest

that the speaker is ready to give up the floor, suggest instead that the speaker is building the narrative in various stages to reach a "so what?" moment, all of which include strategic narrative construction that seeks to maintain continued audience participation and alignment (p. 22-3).

In fact, audience maintenance is significant in any social situation of talk, in which a speaker has the floor. Without paying attention to the audience (listeners), the speaker risks not being ratified as a valid and valued speaker and, therefore, risks losing the floor. Gumperz (1990) explains that involvement in conversation depends on: "inferences that participants must make in order to judge what they hear as a cohesive talk, and that these inferences in turn are significantly affected by perception and interpretation of certain types of linguistic signs or contextualization cues" (p. 431). Along these same lines, Goodwin and Heritage (1990) state that conversational dynamism (CD) is the result of a negotiation between a "speaker's attention to designing talk that takes into account the particularities of its intended listener" and the listeners' "ability to decline or accept the position of listener" (293). Gumperz sums this up, then, by explaining that cooperation between two or more participants results in a desire and ability to cooperate and collaborate in the production of the discourse unfolding (p. 434).

Although Gumperz (1990) and Goodwin and Heritage (1990) are referring primarily to conversation in these works, by building on and referencing conversational analysis (CA), respectively, it is important to note here that

narrative, unless otherwise prompted by interview or professional performance, etc., typically develops spontaneously as part of conversation, when participants seek to convey noteworthy events. As such, narratives act as conversational units within any conversation as a whole. According to Ochs (1997), "[s]tories normally have a point to make, which organizes the construction of the narrative itself. Often the point is a moral evaluation of an occurrence… related to a set of events" (p. 193). But as, Ochs further points out, stories do not just spring up out of nowhere; instead, the narrative activity is carried out when a participant indicates the desire to tell a relevant story and other participants signal a go-ahead. "Tellers of stories in conversational interaction often have an additional task: not only do they let others know that a story is coming up…they also need to link their story at least vaguely to current talk" (Ochs, 1997, p. 194).

Narrators transitioning from conversation participant to storyteller do an incredible amount of complicated linguistic work as they weave narrative into the overall social situation, in a way that keeps their audience/fellow participators engaged and able to interpret the narrative as a valuable component to the overall conversation. They, therefore function as both conversationalist and narrator simultaneously. Listeners also contribute quite a bit to narrative construction via questions, comments, and sidebars, back channeling, overlaps, turn taking, laughing, and shared interest (Ochs and Capps, 1996; Ochs, 1997; Norrick, 2004; Goffman, 1979), all of which act to either ratify, or not, the

narrator/narrative. However, the burden of tellability and telling falls directly on the narrator.

1.2.2 Narrative Performance and What's Still Missing

With the burden of telling sitting squarely on the shoulders of the speaker, whoever that is at any given moment in the conversation, the speaker must have tools with which to carry out the responsibility and successfully integrate the narrative into the conversation through means of participation elicitation. Georgakopoulou (1995) points this out in a study of conversational narrative performance, explaining that conversational narrative employs devices used by the speaker to carry out the narrative in order to fulfill the speaker's own narrative goals and thereby convince the audience of its purposefulness. Georgakopoulou explains that these devices "key the stories as replayings of the events narrated and not as simple reports" (p. 464). Since such devices for telling fall to the speaker as narrator, the speaker takes on the role of performer, or as Goffman (1979) suggests, animator. In fact, Goffman explains that a speaker carries three roles as speaker: animator, author, and principal. As an animator, the speaker is a "body engaged in acoustic activity…an individual active in the role of utterance production" (p. 17). As such, the role of animator, in and of itself, is not a social role, but a "functional node" in a commutative system (p.17). Goffman also points out here that "to select the capacity in which we are to be active is to select…the capacity in which the recipients of our action are present" (p. 17). In other words, as the speaker makes narrative performance choices, the speaker not only

determines the activity of narrative performance, but also attempts to determine the responding activity of the narrative audience.

For this reason, Georgakopoulou (1998) defines the burden of not just telling, but also of tellability, as a performance (p. 321). In fact, Georgakopoulou states, "[p]erformance is thus viewed as forging links between tellers and audiences not least as part of their shared aesthetic enjoyment of the act of expression" (p. 321). It is the act of expression, the performance, that if successful, aligns both teller and audience in the activity of narrative delivery. Expression in narrative, then, is the sum of parts that contribute to the act of storytelling. If the sum is successful, as part of the social context in which it is performed, the performance adds to the perceived skill of the speaker as a storyteller. According to Georgakopoulou (1998), "the teller-audience interactional norms are geared towards granting strong floor-holding rights and upholding full-fledged, single teller performances which call attention to the teller's skill and autonomy" (p. 319). The narrative performance is, then, a type of spoken art. Referring to Hymes' (1975) ethnographic work, Georgakopoulou comments that the sociocultural studies on narrative, and communication, suggest that performance is a foundational aspect of communicative competence as such performances, either poetic or theatrical, utilize devices that call attention to the kind of performance being delivered and thereby bring together the teller's and the audience's spaciotemporal and emotional proximity. Use of narrative

performance devices determine, then, uptake of the narrative as relative to the social context.

In line with Georgakopoulou's assessment of performance, Lwin (2010) looks at oral storytelling performance (OSP) through the activity of a professional storyteller telling a story with a moral/lesson to a class of six-year-old children, as a way to define what storytelling performance looks like and what it achieves. Through an analysis of the storyteller's performance, Lwin explains that "vocal and visual features play an integral, rather than peripheral, role in the narrative development" and that further, "the audience's responses to the story elements can possibly be manipulated by the interplay between verbal, vocal, and visual features of the storytelling discourse" (p. 372). It is important here to define what Lwin means by verbal, vocal, and visual features. Within the context of Lwin's study, verbal features refer to semantic and syntactic construction choices as the narrative is delivered. Vocal features are those features that encode sound effects the storyteller enacts during the telling, as well as multiple in-character voices for the audience so as to distinguish characters in multi-character stories. Finally, visual features refer primarily to gesture (theatrical devices), although facial expressions are included in this category. In short, Lwin suggests that it is the synchronization of these features that help maintain a "keen engagement between emerging story elements and the audience's mental processes" (p. 372). Lwin argues that taking a multimodal perspective on storytelling performance allows researchers to think about how the actualization of an oral

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story is cognitively enhanced for audience members when such features are used.

The features that Lwin mentions and the devices that Georgakopoulou (1995) outlines, are primarily the same. Some of the most pertinent devices of narrative that Georgakopoulou lists are: use of narrative present, instances of character speech, deictics, deep embedding of the story in in the conversational event, minimal external evaluation, initiating backchannelling from the audience without interruption (i.e. losing the floor), expressive phonology, and use of gesture. In short, Lwin and Georgakopoulou both interpret the performance of narrative as a multimodal, multilevel event that has as its essence, the proximity between the story and the conversational setting, promoting the relationship between storyteller and audience and thereby developing solidarity, involvement and coparticipation.

At this point, pertinent to this study, it should be noted that something is missing in this development of narrative as performance in the field. Although research on the social effectiveness of narrative performance offers a richer analysis of the goals of conversational participants, the overall goal in the sociolinguistic community has largely been to compound various takes on dynamic oral performance, instead of leaving these components fragmented as the previous work on professional and elicited oral storytellers has done. Therefore, the work on conversational, everyday storytelling (narrative performance) has primarily focused on oral attributes, with little thought or time

given to other attributes of narrative performance. In fact, although scholars of narrative development in social contexts such as Lwin (2010), and Georgakopoulou (1995), Goodwin (1980; 1991), and Goffman (1979), mention gesture as part of the narrative performance, particularly as it relates to eliciting participation from the audience, very little work has been done to specifically incorporate theatrical gesticulations as part of the narrative performance analysis. That does not mean, however, that there has been *no* work done on gesture.

Thanks to linguists such as McNeill, Levy and others, abundant research has been done to connect gesture acts to speech acts in meaningful ways. In McNeill's studies over the last thirty years or so, participants (adults and children) are invited to watch a Sylvester and Tweetie Bird cartoon, or something similar, such as a comic strip. Following this step, they are asked to re-narrate the story to someone who has not seen the cartoon. The participant's use of gesture, as a natural occurrence of narration, has allowed McNeill to categorize not only gesture use, but how gesture fits with speech acts as they occur. Based on McNeill's (1986, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2014) work, and subsequently, McNeill's and Levy's (1992, 1993) work together, linguists in the field are now able to label gesture production and break it down into its parts. Most importantly, we know of four basic units of gesture that are generally accepted in the sociolinguistic field: beat gestures, which emphasize prosody and structure during speech; deictic gestures, which depict referents with hand movements or shapes; and iconic

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gestures/metaphoric gestures, which depict concrete acts or abstract ideas/spaces, respectively.

In another study, Cassell and McNeill (1990), were further able to connect gesture to three different categories of narrative structure: the narrative (iconic gestures found), metanarrative (metaphoric/deictic gestures found) and paranarrative (deictic/beat gestures found). Furthermore, Cassell and McNeill found that within the narrative structure, iconic gestures could be used from a character viewpoint (C-VPT) or an observer's viewpoint (O-VPT) and the difference in focalization determines how the iconic gestures are carried out, whether by use of the narrator's body, or by use of the narrator's hands at arm's length. They argue that these gestural components to narrative structure enrich the overall narrative, as they elaborate on the narrative development of the speaker, specifically as the speaker displays a near or far connections to the events being narrated.

With these multiple levels and categories for gesture production, linguists have followed McNeill's methods for looking at gesture, in order to discover as much as they can about how gesture connects with and promotes speech production, specifically via narrative discourse. In work done by linguists, such as, Cassell (1988), Levy and McNeill (1992), McNeill and Levy (1993), Goldin-Meadow and McNeill (1999), Bolden (2003), Hostetter and Alibali (2008), Alibali, Evans, Hostetter, Ryan, and Mainela-Arnold (2009), Alibali, Kita, and Young (2010), Parrill (2010), and Debreslioska, Özyürek, Gulberg, and Perniss (2013),

gesture in relation to speech has been studied, in order to discover how it is

actualized during narratives, and ordinary conversations, whether or not it is

redundant as it is actualized during narrative construction, and whether it is a

cognitive tool for filling in gaps that spoken language does not fill during the

computational stage. In multiple cases, the conclusion has been that speakers

use gesture (particularly performance gesture) to help them make sense of what

they are saying, as they are saying it, i.e. computational processing. It has further

been acknowledged that, while it may appear redundant, gesture offers a richer

fulfillment of spoken language by adding what spoken language cannot, whether

due to lexical restrictions or narrative time management. In fact, McNeill (1985)

points out very clearly that gesture, as opposed to body language, is a verbal

construct that is closely tied to overt speech. As a consequence, gesture and

spoken language are simultaneous and synchronized products of the same

internal process of turning thought outward to a listener. In other words, spoken

language conveys semantically, the same thing that gesture conveys

pragmatically. We cannot look at them as separate entities, according to many of

these linguists, especially when focusing on iconic gesture, which is the

speaker's embodiment of what the speaker is saying – what Lwin,

Georgakopoulou, and Goodwin refer to as theatrical/visual devices in storytelling.

     The work on gesture that shows its contribution to speech production, and

its organizational properties as part of narrative discourse has been largely

influential in discovering the connection between spoken language and gesture.

However, as stated above, little work has been done to explore the work gesture does in social, co/constructed contexts, specifically during narrative performance, in which the narrator is keenly aware of the audience's attention, and is therefore making performance choices accordingly. Jacobs and Garnham (2007) responded to this need in the field, with a study to determine whether or not gesture use was connected to communicative demands, and not singularly lexical demands, as McNeill and others have suggested. In other words, they wanted to know if gesture could be audience oriented in its production, rather than only speaker oriented. To answer their inquiry, they asked participants to look at a comic strip and then describe the comic strip under four different conditions, in order to determine how the use of gesture related to different communicative events. The results "clearly support the hypothesis that gestures are produced for the benefit of the listener…we can therefore assume that in these circumstances at least, speakers do not produce gestures primarily to aid speech production" (p. 298). Furthermore, they found that "the attentiveness of the listener has a significant effect on the gesture production of the speaker" (p. 301). Their study forwards the concept that communicative motivation is a strong factor for gesture production. This corroborated the study done by Beattie and Aboudan (1994), who suggest, again, that "the social context of the speech has a very significant effect on a number of different aspects of gesture production" (259), since speakers are particularly attentive to audience needs during floor holding speech events.

Although there is some work, like that above, which suggests that gesture is a response to communicative demands, and can be audience oriented/driven during the social interaction of talk, all of the studies on gesture included here are quantitative in nature. Results are based predominately on counts, such as the number of gestures per 100 words in various social contexts, in which narratives, or conversational input, are being delivered, so as to define how useful gesture is to the cognitive production of narrative. We, therefore, need qualitative work that looks beyond the fact that gesture is dependent on the speaker's lexical needs, and instead focuses on the social context and playing out of the narrative, in order to discover how gestures actually affect the social situation as it involves multiple participants, the audience's acceptance of the delivery, and the narrative goals of the speaker.

One real qualitative work on gesture as a speech act comes from Goodwin (2000), who argues against the stance in sociolinguistics to look only at spoken language, and lump everything else together as contextual. Instead, Goodwin looks at the use of gesture, among other multimodal devices, in coparticipation frameworks, as action in interaction, making the human body visible, dynamic, and organized, as a display of meaning. As a result, "social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also that others present, such as its addressee, be able to systematically recognize the shape and character of what is occurring" (p. 1491). In the study, Goodwin looks at a dispute between three girls playing hopscotch and the discussion between a

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group of archeologists coding the color of dirt they are excavating, and analyzes their language production multimodally, to determine that the speaker's embodiment of action and the resulting interpretation of that action by the listeners contributes meaningfully to the "unfolding processes of situated human interaction" (p. 1520). In other words, the sequential building of talk through action is the means by which interlocutors are able to participate fully in the production of the talk. Gesture, therefore, contributes to the co/construction of meaning by both the speaker and the listener as it is interpreted, allowing for the embodiment or performance of meaning through the human body.

Qualitative work on gesture can also be seen, to a degree, in Goodwin and Alim's (2010) ethnographic study on stancetaking and transmodal stylization, where they specifically focus on the use of the "neck roll, eye roll, teeth suck" gestures of a preadolescent African American girl as an identity building/maintaining performance. In this study, the term transmodal is used in the same way Lwin (2010), Bucholtz (2009), Goodwin (2000), and Ochs and Capps (1996) use the term multimodal – non-lexical variations of communicative performance. Although, narrative discourse is not directly part of Goodwin and Alim's (2010) research project, here, the particular attention to multimodal performance as identity building is significant. For their study, the "neck roll, eye roll, teeth suck" gestures produced are attempts made by the girl to develop stylization and take a stance as an individual participant, while still trying to

negotiate interaction via the group style of white girls who do not necessarily accept her as part of their group.

According to Goodwin and Alim (2010), stance is the way by which speakers shape the subject positions of their fellow communicative participants in ways that attempt to match their own stylization, which is defined as "the ways speakers can produce styles indexing multiple culturally salient representations through the use of different yet mutually elaborating communicative modalities," of which gesture is a part (p. 179-180). Similarly, Bucholtz (2009) defines stance as "subjective orientations to ongoing talk, including affective, evaluative, and epistemic stances" (p. 148). Bucholtz, explains that stance supports style as "a multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for the display of identity in interaction" (p. 147). When both style and stance are taken together as sociolinguistic strategies for interaction in social contexts, the result is the creation and reification of social categories in and beyond the peer group that establishes them, as a means for identity co/construction. In fact, Johnstone (2009), suggests that stancetaking is linked to the emergence of style. Johnstone cites both Eckert (1989) and Eckert (2000) to show, through the example of adolescent peer groups, that stance is usually adolescents' way of performing and forwarding their social identities via local life. As a result, styles develop that are intrinsically linked to the social identity developed by stancetaking (p. 6).

Under these conditions, and recognizing the multimodal nature of stance and style, it is easy to see how the use of multimodal, narrative performance, specifically in this case, gesture, might be analyzed under more qualitative conditions in order to define how gesture contributes to both the stance of the narrator and the style of the narrator's performance, especially as it is constructed within the communicative context. In fact, we could connect the concept of multimodal, narrative performance, as has been laid out, to the kind of stancetaking and stylization offered by sociolinguists, with Bamberg's (1997) work on positioning. This connection occurs, specifically, when Bamberg takes a "second reading" approach to Labov and Waletzky's (1967) work, to suggest its focus on the narrative as an act of instantiation for the performer. Under this condition, the audience is a direct factor for how the narrative is shaped via its performance: "What actually is being said is one of the many different performance features in what the speaker aims to achieve in the act of narrating" (p. 335). In other words, the social context under which the narrative speaker performs, contributes directly to the kind of performance stance the speaker will take, and the stylization, including gesture, that the performer will initiate. Therefore, the narrative performer's stance and style will be reflective of the peer group, but will also develop individually, based on the narrative performance's needs, as well as the particular audience's needs.

With all of this in mind, then, gesture bears significant consideration as a non-lexical performance device that contributes qualitatively to the overall

narrative performance, and therefore, the goals of the narrative performance held

by the speaker. This becomes even more true, when the we consider the kind of

work that has been to done to suggest that narrative and narrative performance

are identity building factors for all participants involved, but most specifically, the

speaker/narrator.

1.2.3 Identity Co/Construction in Narrative Performance

The topic of identity construction is vast in the sociolinguistic field, and

narrowing the topic down to narrative discourse does not greatly lessen the

vastness. I, therefore, turn to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), who

notwithstanding the accepted methods of linguistic research which tend to handle

narrative by clinical elicitation, so as to isolate it as a unitary frame of

personhood, and put it under analytical scrutiny, take a turn back to Labov

(1972). Labov argued for narrative data collection to occur while in a natural,

social environment, so as to collect real narratives, in real moments, and

therefore gain an understanding of how the narrative actually reflects the

narrator. At a self-claimed point of departure from Labov, Bamberg and

Georgakopoulou explain that their particular interest lies in "the social/functions

that narratives perform in the lives of people: how people actually use stories in

everyday, mundane situations in order to create (and perpetuate) a sense of who

they are" (p. 378-79). Particularly, they focus on "small stories" as openings to

discovering the ways in which the speakers are constructed within space and

time, taking up certain positions that display their contextualized identities (p.

379). In fact, much of Georgakopoulou's work is centered on these "small stories," specifically in Greek social contexts in order to define the ways in which performing narratives co/construct and display identity. Georgakopoulou (1998), further argues, in alignment with Bamberg (1997) and Goffman (1974), that narrative performance creates a space in which storytellers are able to frame or position their core of individuality. Most importantly, in identity construction, Georgakopoulou points out that

> [by] delegating or socializing different aspects of their self to different characters, storytellers can manipulate their positioning so as to diffuse agency or responsibility in the social field, cast position light on their views and beliefs, or generally reinforce the effectiveness of their self-presentation. (1998, p. 335)

As a consequence to storytellers' critical positioning of self, the narrative becomes a cite for allegiance building between narrator and audience. If the narrative performance, particularly as it aligns with the listeners' style and/or stance, is successful, the narrator builds support from the audience, allowing an idealized view of the narrator to form from the power of the narrative. The position that the narrator takes and subsequently carries out is pivotal to identity construction, because the narrator is a responsible agent for initiating and carrying out the narrative activity.

Goffman (1981) suggests that when the speaker takes on the role of animator, principal, and author, all of which make the speaker directly

responsible for the narrative's contents and results, then the speaker stakes out a position, or identity, by which the audience recognizes authority. In the same vein, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) define identity as the "social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Within this concept of social positioning, these linguists take the stand that identity emerges from and is constituted through social action, particularly language. It is therefore, through the positions that speakers take, and the social action that creates exigency for the speakers, that identity emerges as a result, reflecting the speakers' inward notions of self, as well as the speakers' construction of the audience's identity, specifically as the audience engages with and approves or challenges the speaker. Furthermore, Ochs and Capps (1994) states that by performing acts and displaying affective stances, speakers are quite able to construct the social identities of their interlocutors. Ochs goes on to say that identity, then, is socially mediated, and distilled into act and stance displays. However, Ochs adds that this sort of mediation is dependent on the interlocutors being well versed in local social conventions, prescribed by the group, for the group (p. 289). De Fina (2011) furthers this by suggesting that, particularly, storytelling is a prime site for the development and negotiation of identity, among interlocutors such that narrative discourse "is shaped by and shapes relationships among people" (p. 30). Finally, Georgakopoulou (2002), explains that narrative, as talk-in-interaction, is an "ideal point of entry" for the ways in which the "participants' local actions make visible larger roles and identities" within peer groups (p. 429). Indeed, Goodwin (1999)

explains that participants are only able to construct local actions and take up positions of alignment or dis-alignment through the process of narrative. And as has been described above, these local actions must include multimodal, narrative devices.

Therefore, we are able to locate identity construction as a result, and perhaps the goal of, narrative performance. As Schiffrin (1996) sums up perfectly, "narrative language contributes to the construction and display of our sense of who we are – our own person being as an integrated whole with properties of stability and continuity over time" (168). However, it is important to note that the identity of the speaker is not the only one under construction in these moments. The ratification of the storyteller by the audience is a further means by which identity is created – co/constructed. Georgakopoulou (2002) points out that narrative construction in peer group settings is dependent on an interactional history that establishes an occasion-specific social context, within which the participants negotiate entitlement issues of telling, hearing or other forms of participation (p. 445). Under these conditions, not only does the peer group then legitimate the act of storytelling by the teller, they validate and asses the character of the teller both in and out of the story, and as a result they are constructed as particular listeners and participators. Bucholtz and Hall (2005), in line with Georgakopoulou, emphasize the fact that "identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (p. 598). If the speaker's

identity is being negotiated during the narrative activity, then so is the audience's. It is, then, that the speaker and the audience contribute to the narrative event as a whole, and consequently affect each other's sense of self. This becomes evident when we see the kind of back and forth work that occurs during the carrying out of narrative performance.

For example, Jacobs and Garnham (2007), in their study on gesture in narrative, found that storytellers were more engaged in the act of telling when the listeners were explicitly involved and attentive. The storytellers responded strongly to the listeners' use of backchannelling, questions, laughter, etc. as they performed the narrative. In fact, Ochs (1993) suggests that it can simply not matter how much work has been done by the speaker, or what understandings are in place, if the listener does not ratify the speaker's claim to social identity, whether because the listener chooses not to or does not know how, then a breakdown results, where positive social identity co/construction comes to a halt. Hence, storytellers are highly dependent on the reactive and attentive positioning of their audience. Ochs and Capps (1996) list several audience cues for attentiveness in their work on the ways in which speakers narrate themselves and hence construct identity for themselves and the speaker as narrator. The list consists of comments, questions, gesture, eye gaze, facial expressions, etc. (p. 31).

An example of this sort of audience participatory work comes from Norrick (2004), who points out that laughter plays a significant role in the positive

co/construction of the narrative performance for all of the interlocutors. Specifically, Norrick explains that although stories are typically expected to be newsworthy, noteworthy, and original, familiar, or reminiscing stories are acceptable if there is a promise of high involvement, such as laughing. The promise of laughter along with the fulfillment of laughter make the narrative successful and reify the positions of all participants involved. It can be taken, then, that any narrative performance relies on a promise of high involvement, in some form, where both speaker and listeners expect to have a part to play. Another example comes from Tannen (2007), who explains that when storytellers enact the voices of their characters, they create a sense of drama that pulls their listeners in by asking them to interpret the dramatization of each character. If the characters are correctly interpreted, the narrative performance is successful, and therefore so is positive identity co/construction. The final example here, and most importantly for this study, Goodwin (2000) states that gesture "is the ability of human beings to demonstrate in the ongoing organization of their action reflexive awareness of each other and the contextual configurations that constitute the situation of the moment" (p. 1504). In other words, gesture does not only place the narrator in the narrative as part of the performance, it places the audience in the narrative also. As the audience participates as embodied observers, they are able to reify the narrator's position as the narrative itself conveys/constructs identity.

Therefore, Ochs and Capps state, "[i]f we develop our selves through the stories we tell and if we tell them with others, then we are a complex fluid matrix of coauthored selves" (p. 32). It is a poetic statement, and yet at the same time there is an undercurrent of stress placed on every interlocutor in every social context, but perhaps most significantly in moments of narrative performance. There is so much depending on the perfect performance from the storyteller and the perfect reception from the audience. For this reason, Ochs and Capps refer to the narrative as a "medium of socialization par excellence" (p. 31). It is through this medium that participants come to an understanding of themselves and others as human beings. Cognitively, this can be either a huge milestone to each participant (if the narrative is ratified and co/authored) or it can be a social disaster (if the narrative performance is challenged or ignored).

1.2.4 The Gendered, Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls

A significant part of the perfect narrative performance is the way in which the narrator is able to negotiate a gendered identity in a social environment that puts gender at the of the list of important identity constituents. We must, therefore, take into consideration the impact gender has on the different ways narrative performances might be acknowledged or interpreted by those participating in the performance event. Eckert (1989) claims that as an integral component to identity, "[g]ender…is a social construction and may enter into any of a variety of interactions with other social phenomena" (p.253). Specifically, Eckert points out that gender differences in variation between men and women

can be traced to particular social forces that are attached to either, due to their position in the economy. Eckert explains that there is no real difference in language use, between men and women, but rather a difference in goals. Since women are perceived as powerless in the economy of the business world, as it stands, they busy themselves with the economy of the social world: "women's innovative and conservative patterns lie, therefore, in their need to assert their membership in all of the communities in which they participate, since it is their authority, rather than their power in that community, that assures their membership" (256). Women's authority, then, is attributed to their ability to navigate moments of talk in productive and constructive ways. In fact, Ochs (1992) states that "[g]ender ideologies are socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk, particularly through verbal practices that recur innumerable times in the lives of members of social groups" (p. 336). Georgakopoulou (1995) points out, then, that women use storytelling to "increase rapport and solidarity with their interlocutors," and in fact they are keen to provide stories; however, women's narrative performances are constrained by gender roles and expectations as women navigate power hierarchies in talk to fulfill social and identity goals. Although Georgakopoulou's work is focused primarily on the stories told by Greek men and women, it is suggested that these findings are not unique to Greek social atmospheres. In fact, Georgakopoulou claims that numerous studies have reported a pattern amongst women to contribute positively to informal contexts of talk in such a way as to obtain the floor for themselves. Such

contributions include "good listenership, supportive elicitation, and reinforcement of other participants' topics and contributions" (p. 463). It seems fair to say, then, that women are particularly efficient at managing narrative performance events as micro goals for fulfilling macro goals in the larger community. In fact, there is plenty of research to confirm this conclusion.

Schiffrin (1996) looks at the stories women tell about their family to show how narrative identity construction is reflective of a larger identity construction within the peer group. Of such stories, Schiffrin states, "stories about women in families offer a particularly interesting site for such analyses. The family provides our first set of social relationships…; it also remains a traditional nexus of social life and cultural meaning for many women" (p. 170). Schiffrin goes on to show that women typically tell stories that reflect their roles in their various communities, specifically in the community of family. Similarly, Georgakopoulou (1995) points out that Greek women, and according to other research, most women, focus on face-to-face stories of self that portray a complicated balance between self-deprecation or mocking and self -legitimation or justification. In other words, during narrative events, women to do purposeful identity construction and maintenance via narrative performance, where they walk a careful line of positioning between too authoritative and not authoritative enough. Women's narratives, therefore, offer rich and meaningful knowledge about social construction and gender performance.

The concept of gender performance, particularly as it relates to narrative performance, is significant. Butler (1988) refers to this gender performance as "a stylized repetition of acts" (p. 519) and subsequently defines it as "the stylization of the body…the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self" (p. 519). This is in direct correlation with Shiffrin (1996), who states: "the form, content, and performance of narrative thus all provide sensitive indices of our personal selves and our social and cultural identities" (p. 194). With all of this in mind, then, it is extremely important to stop and consider how teenage girls might be doing this work, when we consider how complicated the work is that women (well-practiced in the art of narrative delivery) are doing in gendered, narrative performance.

Within this line of reasoning, Eckert (1989) devotes an entire section to teenage girls because "they are at a life stage in which the issue of gender roles becomes crucial" (p. 257). Eckert explains that teenage girls are highly conscious of the fact that the only way they wield any power is through personal authority in social contexts. Girls, who as children may have been able to wield direct physical power over boys or other girls, are now, especially in high school, expected to find their power in the following of routes to social status. Eckert suggests that this is not as big of a deal for boys because they are able to wield that direct power through physical prowess, that the girls have lost as

adolescents. The result then is that girls must display their persona in such a way that they can manipulate their own social constraint:

> Not only do they monitor their own behaviour and that of others more closely, but they maintain more rigid social boundaries, since the threat of being associated with the wrong person is far greater to the individual whose status depend on who she appears to be rather than what she does. This difference plays itself out linguistically in the context of class-based social categories. (p. 258).

Since Eckert's work to expose the kind of social work required of teenage girls, specifically, in linguistic settings, many other linguists have added to the conversation in order to expand the sociolinguistic field's knowledge of teenage girls' work as social agents. Linguists such as Bucholtz (1999; 2000; 2004; 2009), Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Eckert (2003; 2008), and Cutler (2010) tend to specifically *how* teenage girl identities are managed in terms of coded membership as they display certain styles and take particular stances in spoken and non-spoken language, thereby taking positions that display identities, which consequently strengthens their authority in their social contexts. By performing social roles that give them a certain amount of social currency and power, they can either successfully negotiate social gender roles, or successfully challenge them. In other words, it is clear to see that teenage girls are doing quite a bit of complicated work as they perform as teenage girls in social contexts.

In terms of identity development via narrative discourse, although not discussing teenage girls, Goodwin (1980) and (2010) proposes that young pre-adolescent girls are already aware, to a degree, of their ability to wield social power via the roles and statuses they maintain in peer groups. Goodwin's studies on peer groups of African American pre-adolescent girls show that even young girls are more interested in talk of others, especially in the absence of others, i.e. gossip, than in any of the activities that the boys their age participate in. In other words, they are more interested in social dynamic of talk, than in physical prowess. As a result, Goodwin also looks at the way that gossip leads to group disputes, and the ways in which those disputes are handled through the use of stories. Under these circumstances, each girl in the group must be able to construct a story that attends to the desired alignment of the audience members, including the girl with whom there is a dispute. Therefore, via the stories these girls are able to craft, each girl takes up a position in the group and seeks alignment from the other girls, thereby negotiating her own identity as well as the others'. Goodwin points out that these stories, then, are particularly important to the group as a whole, and as a consequence, the instance of storytelling to settle a dispute permits "the playing out of an event in full dramatic regalia" (Goodwin, 1991, p. 239). Through this process, the storyteller is able to use narrative performance and assessment to recruit participants, who will also take up positions, and negotiate alignment positions within the group (Goodwin, 1980; Goodwin, 1991; Goodwin, 1999). The ultimate goal in these moments of gossip

dispute narratives, is to realign group members to an equal status – to fulfill social goals necessary for these girls to participate successfully in their social groups.

When we take this research on pre-adolescent girls in combination with Eckert's work above on teenage girls, and Georgakopoulou's work on the narrative performance of women in social contexts, it is not a far reach to assume that teenage girls are talking about others, since they are monitoring and managing their social contexts, in which their own position is vital to their status and authority. It is also not difficult to assume that teenage girls are just as worried about social status in their peer groups, as the pre-adolescent girls that Goodwin discusses. Since it is clear that narrative performance is significant to the way narrative develops group alignments, we might take it as obvious that there are narrative performances occurring in the social environments of teenage girls, specifically amongst peer groups where these narratives are adding to the process of social status management and identity maintenance.

In fact, although the performance aspect is lacking, authors such as Eder (1988) and Cheshire (2000) point out that teenage girls do a lot of maintenance work to develop and sustain social identities within peer groups by using collaborative narrative. Through collaborative narrative, teenage girls are able to build solidarity, rapport, and status among friends, especially as it becomes ever more necessary to separate "us" from "them" in meaningful ways in the transition from pre-adolescences to adolescence. Furthermore, Georgakopoulou (2002)

looks at a group of three teenage girls and analyzes how their use of familiar or shared narratives, as well as their use of narratives of the future, "constitute building blocks in the groups interactional history" (p. 431). The findings suggest that stories of shared or projected events (past and future narratives, respectively) are co/constructed and co-drafted by the participants in ways that support and legitimize their own versions of events, and hence themselves. Georgakopoulou focuses mostly on narratives of the future, which consist primarily of talk about male-female relationships, joint activities, holidays, appearance, and celebrity news. As this group of teenage girls co/constructed and discussed their narratives of the future, their discourse allowed the girls to negotiate identity in a moment-to-moment unfolding of joint interaction. Consequently, the girls' identities were defined broadly as participators in the stories being told, which in turn, displayed their larger roles and relations to one another as members of a social group. Georgakopoulou, therefore, arrives at the conclusion that teenage girls' identities are intimately tied not only to the narratives they tell, but the structure each narrative takes on, as it is built collaboratively.

These works that focus on teenage girls' narrative as identity building seem to largely stand alone in the field of narrative discourse studies in sociolinguistics. Although there is definitely work that answers Sleight's (1987) call for more work on adolescent language use, and shows the work teenage girl, in particular, are doing to construct their social identities and why that might be

important, the research seems to be unimodally focused, leaving very little such research that explicitly explores the use of multimodal, narrative performance by teenage girls to manage their social identities. This seems an interesting gap, since many teenage girls are very active speakers, as anyone who interacts with them might notice. The result of this lack of research, then, is that we still do not know much about how teenage girls use multimodal, narrative performance to create social identity and thereby gain social capital.

1.3 Conclusions

Ultimately, by taking into account the kind of positions that speakers take during social interaction specifically during narrative production, and the work that multimodal, narrative performance does to sustain those positions and thereby establish identity, and furthermore, knowing that co/construction of narrative performance aligned with social gender role performance is intimately tied to social and individual identity development, we may be able to more specifically determine how teenage girls' identities are formed in the peer groups they form and maintain. It is, therefore, important to collect data of teenage girls' ordinary peer group interactions, in order to find these moments of narrative performance and see how these moments contribute to the participants' identity management.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodological Approach

In order to understand the ways in which multimodal, narrative performance affects social identity, I conducted a narrative analysis influenced by conversational analysis (CA) and interactional approaches to narrative within sociolinguistics (Eder, 1988; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Goodwin and Heritage, 1990; Gumperz, 1990; Ochs, 1993; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Through narrative analysis, as a conversational and interactional event, this project considers the ways in which narratives influence the development of teenage girls' social identity as narratives are collaboratively co/constructed (Eder, 1988; Ochs, 1992; Eckert, 1990; Georgakopoulou, 2002; Georgakopoulou, 2005; Bucholtz, 2009).

With this goal in mind, then, my project considers three levels of simultaneous narrative analysis. On one level, this project looks at narratives developed as part of a social event of conversation – small stories – in order to define these narratives as moments during which social identity is formed and maintained through peer group interaction (Eder, 1988; Shiffrin, 1996; Ochs and Capps, 1996; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). The narratives I focus on for this project, although all directed to some aspect of the storyteller's own experience, are varied in nature. Narratives in this project include stories of self, stories of others, and stories of characters from popular entertainment. It is

important to note, then, that I am not concerned with what the narrative is about,
here, so much as how it is delivered. On another level, this project defines
particular instances of narrative as delivered via multimodal performance, in
order to show what narrative performance looks like in action (Eder, 1988;
Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Haddington, 2006; Goodwin and Alim, 2010;
Thompson and Suzuki, 2014). Although I do take into consideration use of gaze
and voicing of a character as part of the overall performance, for this project, I
am particularly concerned with the use of gesture (and possibly facial
expressions as they are related to gestures during the performance) as a direct
device for performing details of the narrative. Finally, this project seeks to show
how such multimodal narrative performances are directly tied to social and
gendered identity co/construction as both storyteller and audience contribute to
the ratification and the carrying out of the narrative (Goffman, 1979; Butler, 1988;
Eder, 1988; Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Ochs, 1993; Georgakopoulou, 1995;
Bamberg, 1997; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Norrick, 2004; Haddington, 2006;
Bucholtz, 2009).

Specifically, I am looking at the narratives produced by teenage girls
(specifically of high school ages) through a lens of narrative as multimodal
performance (Eder, 1988; Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Georgakopoulou, 1995;
Georgakopoulou, 1998). It has been shown that narrative is a performance of
both group identity and gender identity in the way the narrative is carried out,
ratified by co/participants, and co/constructed by peer group interaction, during

conversation events. However, as shown in Chapter One, little work has been done to show that embodied, theatrical reenactments (via, specifically, iconic and metaphoric gesture, re-invoicing, facial expressions, etc.) strongly contribute to the overall narrative performance. Therefore, I argue that such embodied reenactments, or performances, allow participants to position themselves and others in such a way that informs the overall identity performance by all participants. In so doing, I further argue that gesture, although previously largely overlooked as an integral part of identity construction, is a major component to teenage girls' narrative performance and construction as a social act in which others are then invited to participate. As a consequence, I am also problematizing gesture as one of many multimodal performance devices, suggesting that it should be considered as not only a cognitive and pragmatic reinforcer of speech, but also as a calculated narrative device meant to aid in position and stance taking during narrative events.

2.2 Setting

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board in Fall 2015 (see Appendix A). Data was collected in the family room of a participant's house, where the four teenage girls that make up this study typically gather once a week to socialize and work on homework together. These particular girls were chosen because they are an established peer group, as they have been friends for over two years. Furthermore, since these girls meet up regularly at various shared

events, they tend to share the same values, beliefs, experiences, and interests as a group. They are members of the same church, so, as a group, they attend twice monthly youth dances and other activities as set up by their church. They are all four homeschooled and so consider themselves members of the homeschooling community. They are also all very involved in popular culture and topics of boys, which the majority of the data reflects. Consequently, when they meet up at one of the girls' houses to hang out with each other, much of their talk revolves around these factors that aid them in maintaining their social group.

The fact that they are an established peer group of friends is significant to this data, since women, and perhaps especially teenage girls, tend to use narratives of shared interest or values to create a sense of cohesion amongst participants (Eder, 1988; Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Georgakopoulou 1995; Georgakopoulou 2002). In other words, according to research in the sociolinguistic field, specifically on narrative discourse, girls use narrative co/construction to strengthen friendship bonds. As the bonds are strengthened, each girlfriend in the peer group is able to establish a social identity that allows for the building of individual identity. As identity co/construction occurs, then, girls are able to align themselves with others in the peer group on deeper and more personal levels as they weave themselves and their own stances or positions into their narratives of self and others (Schiffrin, 1996). Consequently, teenage girls are highly dependent on high functioning peer group friendships that allow them to build social capital. Therefore, via conversational narrative interaction, these

friendships are of a high maintenance quality. This group of girls allows for a

clear view of how this works in action.

Furthermore, my own interactions with this group of girls made it easy to

approach them and their parents about this project, as they all already know me

and frequently interact in spaces where I am present or am also interacting with

them. This group of girls consists of 3 sixteen-year-olds and 1 fourteen-year-old

who is the younger sister of one of the other girls. For purposes of anonymity, the

identities of these girls are only referred to via pseudonyms. Their real names will

not be divulged, nor will their place of residence. As a consequence, all

identifiable portions of the data used for this project has been trimmed or deleted

as necessary, to protect their anonymity.

Table 1. List of Teenage Girl Participants

Name	Age	Relation to Other Girls
Monica	16	Friend
Stephanie	16	Friend
Brittany	16	Friend and Sister of April
April	14	Friend and Sister of Brittany

2.3 Data Collection

Data for this project consists of five 50 minute sessions, during which the girls hung out in the family room of one of the girls' houses. Each session was audio recorded and video recorded. Video recordings, for all but one of the sessions, were carried out via two different cameras so as to get different angles of the girls as they interacted. The cameras were positioned as out of the way of the family room as possible so that they would not seem obtrusive to the girls' typical environment. Audio recordings were carried out via a voice recorder, which records WAV files, positioned on a table in the midst of their group so as to be as unobtrusive as possible. The setting of the family room, where they typically interact, during a time that they usually set to hang out, was used in order to reduce the effect of the observer's paradox. Labov (1972) explains that the observer's paradox is the effect that comes about as participants in a study are observed during, and for the purpose of understanding, a natural event that becomes unnatural due to the observation. Labov's attempt to counter such a paradox was to ask participants in his narrative data collection to tell stories, in the places where they usually tell those stories to alleviate the fact that they were being observed, thereby allowing for more natural narrative data. In line with Labov, I observed these girls while they participated in a natural occurrence of social interaction, i.e. hanging out, in a space where they normally do so. Furthermore, Goodwin and Heritage (1990) explain that conversation largely consists of narrative. Therefore, based on the nature of conversation and of my

own interest in these girls' conversation, I expected that my participants would come to engage with each other as naturally as possible, and thereby generate narratives while they hung out. All of the data recorded for this project were later saved to a password protected computer hardrive.

2.4 Transcription

Audio data collected for this project was collected using a voice recorder that records data as WAV files. After securely uploading all of the data to a password protected computer, I used ExpressScribe to transcribe the data onto Microsoft Word. These transcriptions are also saved on a password protected computer. I used Du Bois (2006) transcription conventions (see appendix C) to code my data. The resulting corpus consists of five documents of transcription covering approximately five 50 minute sessions with my participants, comprising approximately, 57,124 words. In addition to representing what the speakers are saying and how they are saying it, transcripts, particularly the parts used for this project, highlight the kind of gestural actions of the participants so as to align them with the video recordings. Video recordings were also saved on a password protected computer. Clips were selected and still images retrieved so as to combine written transcription with visuals so as to clearly see the particular multimodal devices being used by the participants (Eder, 1988; Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Haddington, 2006; Goodwin and Alim, 2010). A chart showing the

transcription symbols used, symbol description and meaning, as well as how they were used in the analysis are included in appendix C for reference.

2.5 Data Analysis

The data for this project was analyzed in order to answer the three research questions listed in the introduction. I explain here how my analysis of the data works to answer these questions and sum up, briefly, my findings. A detailed account of my findings and my conclusions will be discussed in the next chapter.

In order to answer my first research question, what impact does multimodal, narrative performance have on participation dynamics as a narrative event unfolds?, I have culled particular instances of narrative from my data that consists of the kind of multimodal devices that Cassell and McNeill (1990) discuss, specifically iconic and metaphoric gestures. Although the girls use deictic and beat gestures, these are not considered parts of the reenactment or theatrical devices discussed by Georgakopoulou (1995), Lwin (2010), and Thompson and Suzuki (2014), and so they are not looked at in this study. Furthermore, Cassell and McNeill describe the use of different viewpoints (observer or character) that are initiated during iconic gestures, and explain the ways in which these viewpoints might infer how close the storyteller feels or chooses to be to the events of the story. In line with Cassell and McNeill's categorization of gesture use, and in line with Georakopoulou (1995) and Lwin

(2010), I was able to look at these small conversational stories and label the parts of the narrative that were most performative as types of reenactments, such as those described by Thompson and Suzuki (2014) who explains reenactment as using gesture, gaze, and features of talk to embody and thereby perform the physical stance and bodily behavior of the character being referenced in the story. In this way, I was able to point specifically to the performative work being done by the storyteller at any given time.

I was further able to look performance according to the audience's reactions to the storyteller. According to Haddington (2006), gaze is initiated by the audience when the speaker attracts their attention to the object of the gaze. Participation in the activity of gazing at the referred object, then, signals uptake by the audience. Norrick (2004) suggests that laughter is also a signal that is used to show participation in the storytelling event, as the narrative requires. If the storyteller signals it is time to laugh, and laughter does not occur, the storyteller will need to revise and make another attempt. Finally, as with any conversation, participation is evident by the use of backchannelling, questioning, and gestures of agreement, on the part of the audience (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990; Gumperz, 1990). By linking the audience's performances with the storyteller's performance, I am able to show that when the audience responds positively to the reenactment/theatrical devices used by the storyteller, the audience gives the storyteller the floor and encourages the storyteller to continue

the performance, and vice versa. Hence, the performance, whether successful or not, is recognized as a performance.

Via this analysis, I was able to determine how participation was influenced by the narrative performance being carried out, as well as the impact that participation had on the ratification of the narrator by the group. A close analysis of narrative performance in general also allowed for a sense of how the interactions of participation might be negotiated so as to create group alignment amongst participants.

In response to my second question, does narrative performance influence the negotiation of gender roles during participation in and assessments following the narrative and what influence does this have on social/group identities?, I did a close analysis of the kind of work done by the group to co/construct the narrative in terms of gender roles, goals, and identities. Eder (1988) explains that since developing friendships is an important step to achieving status among peers, for girls in particular, girls tend to use talk to strengthen friendships, and thereby minimize differences by emphasizing their common interests, positions, and attitudes. Strong group solidarity builds strong group identity and allows individual identity to develop where each girl holds a status that is upheld by consistent support from the group. Therefore, it is important for girls' talk to be as cohesive as possible, even with challenges from other group members. Furthermore, Georgakopoulou (1995) suggests that female participants in talk tend to initiate positive contributions to the talk at hand by reinforcing the topics

and contributions of others, making their contributions more cooperative in nature. In fact, this is corroborated by other scholars such as Goodwin (1980) and Schiffrin (1996).

The result of such conclusions is that girls can be expected to do complicated work at the level of co/constructed and collaborative talk, especially narratives, in order to highlight commonalities, and extinguish attempts at holding oneself at a higher status than the other girls in the group. Therefore, it makes sense that if a performance did not have the potential to achieve the work of group cohesion or solidarity, that performance might not be acted upon, but shifted to one that would achieve the goal. In my data, I was able to note moments when performance initiations failed, and hence participants shifted positions in talk to repair the engagement and fulfill the goal of overall cohesion and solidarity. In these moments, it is clear to see not only a group social identity emerging as it is shaped in the moment, but also an individual social identity, within the group, as each participant shifts patterns of alignment to reflect their own contributive role in the narrative at hand, or later chooses a better narrative that was more group productive.

In this way, it became apparent that narrative performance, if not appealing to the group, was cast aside in favor of one that was more appealing. Since not every narrative involved the kind of multimodal performance that is discussed in this study, the ratification of such performances are even more suggestive of social identity, since these performances explicitly set the narrative

and the performer on display for judgement of success by the group. Therefore, gendered identity plays a significant part in the roles that participants take on in relation to peer group roles overall.

Finally, to answer my third question, in what ways does narrative performance allow participants to negotiate authority as participants in narrative events, and thereby build social capital as participants in social events?, I looked at the way individual identities are made visible as a result of demonstration of authority during narrative performance. Eckert (1989) points out that women find social capital in the construction of authority, which thereby gives them power as individuals in society, especially in social contexts. There is no reason to believe that this is not also true of teenage girls. I was able, then, to define contexts of narrative performance in which authority is constructed by each girl as she participates and is then ratified or not by the other girls, via participation devices. If she is ratified, her authority is also, which allows her to accumulate social capital based on her authoritative structuring of her own identity within the group. What is interesting about the data, as will be shown later, is that while each girl is constructing authority through her participation in various events of talk, not the least of which is narrative performance, each girl carries out that construction in her own form of participation. This personal construction becomes apparent during narrative performance, especially as it is successful or not.

It is through the construction of authority, in direct relation to the gendered group goals of cohesion and solidarity that identity is co/constructed, during

purposeful narrative performances that elicit participation and alignment from group members. Hence the ways in which participation unveils itself during narrative performances of self and other, is directly related to groups and individual social identities and their ability to be sustained during social interactions, specifically social talk. This is in line with Ochs (1992) who explains that gender ideologies are actualized, as they are socialized, sustained, and transformed, during moments of talk, specifically via practices that recur during the interaction of the group. Therefore, as these girls develop their own practices for participation, and as these practices are ratified and reified by the group, not only are gendered group goals met, but individual gendered goals of status and identity realized.

These findings seem significant when looking at the ways in which groups are developed, sustained, and/or disbanded, especially for female social groups, but perhaps more generally for all groups, as gender roles are not limited to women.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

3.1 Narrative Performance Analysis

In this chapter, I present an analysis of my data, where I focus on narrative performance as it fulfills different goals for the group. The first three excerpts demonstrate the ways in which we can recognize narrative performance as an event, previously, under-researched in the field of linguistics at large. The following two excerpts show the ways in which narrative performances are directly associated with the social and gender identity construction of these particular girls, and how that affects these girls both as a group and individually, via the positions they take during the narrative performance. The last two excerpts consider the effect of narrative performance on participation frameworks that allow each girl to develop an individual style of participation that has the potential to lead to the accumulation of social capital and authority. Each excerpt in this chapter is attended by a series of images taken from my video data, allowing a visual addition to my analysis of narrative performance. The last section of this chapter offers the conclusions of my analysis as well as suggestions for further research.

3.1.1 Multimodal Narrative Performance in Action: Its Delivery and Reception

The first example of narrative performance I offer here is short, and might generally seem un-noteworthy, except that it outlines the narrative performance

as a type of foundation for looking at the other examples. In this example, Excerpt 1, Monica is telling a story that forms from a connection she is making between one of her own experiences and the one Brittany and April just shared, regarding people getting married. Before this moment, in this particular part of the overall conversation, the girls have been using diectics and beat gestures as part of their talk. However, it is at the moment that Monica shifts the topic of her story from that of Brittany, to something new, that the performance aspect of her narrative arises with the use of performance/iconic gesture.

Excerpt 1: Tiffany's the Best

1) B; [A couple of weeks later their] gettin' married. It's crazy guys.

2) A; [################]

3) S; That's kind of cute guys.

4) M; So this is how- what Tiffany did. Tiffany Johnson

5) S; @ @ @ @ [@ @ @]

6) M;   [She's her age.]

7) B; Okay

8) M; And so she married a guy who was like John's age..

9) M; [Four years- four years right?]. Four years younger [than her. ###]

10) S; [oh::]   [I know who it is]

11) M; And as soon as he got off his mission

12) S; Mhm

13) M; She like took him and got married.

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14) B; She was like <VOX> okay, let's do this .</VOX>

15) B; ((RAISES FIST IN THE AIR))

16) M; And now, and she hates kids and so now she has two sons.

17) M; And I was up giving a talk and her son was making noise-

18) M; -so she leans over and goes like that on his mouth-

19) M; ((TAPPING GESTURES

20) M; TO THE SIDE))

21) M; -and @he @reaches @up @and

22) M; [@goes @like @this @on @her @face. @@@@]

23) M; ((TAPPING GESTURES IN THE AIR.))

24) S; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@]

25) B; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@] That's awesome.

26) A; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@]

27) M; @And @I @just @sit @there, I's @like@@@@..

28) M; ((LAUGHING FACIAL EXPRESSION/POINTING))

29) M; Oh oh Tiffany is the best. @@@@@@@@@@@@

30) B; No guys what am I going to do about sleeves?

The excerpt above shows two separate narratives. Although one is easily worked into the conversation currently being carried out, the second one takes a little more work to integrate into the conversation, but it is not easily seen in the transcript alone.

The eventual success of both narratives is based on the interactions of the storyteller and the audience as participants in talk. This is evident in lines, 7,10, 14, and 20-23. The beginning of Monica's turn, at line 4, signals that the audience should now shift their attentiveness to her, as speaker. Monica is able to construct her narrative because it is in direct relation to the previous story and that is recognized by the audience when Monica begins with, "So this is how-what Tiffany did," suggesting that she is about to add to the story just told by Brittany, with a character situation of her own. In line 10, Stephanie corroborates Monica's main character, by saying that she knows who Monica is talking about. Such corroboration shows not only an alignment between Stephanie and Monica, but it also gives weight to Monica's contribution. In line 14, we see another move to align with Monica, from Brittany. Here, Brittany aids in Monica's narrative construction by invoicing what she imagines to be Tiffany's attitude about getting married so quickly: "She was like, 'let's do this.'" Her contribution to the narrative is accompanied by her raising her fist in the air, as if enacting a motivational leap from the ground. The reenactment, here, of what Brittany must suppose was Tiffany's attitude, creates a sense of co/construction of Monica's story. We can see that not only is her audience showing alliance with her as holder of the floor, but they are helping her construct her narrative, taking up positions of collaborators, even to act out the probable positions of the characters. The result is that up to this point, Monica has been adding her story about Tiffany's quick marriage to Brittany's previous story about quick marriages, and her audience

shows full engagement, positioning themselves as co/participators and

co/constructors of the narrative, which thereby furthering the story's relevance to

the group's overall conversation (Georgakopoulou, 1995).

Image 1. Gaze and Positioning as Participatory Audience

By taking up a position of positive contribution, via Monica's connective

narrative and the kind of backchannelling and co/construction that implies active

listenership from the audience, the girls actively position each other's

contributions, here, as significant parts of a successful conversation and each

other as successful co/participants (Goffman, 1979; Goodwin and Alim, 2010).

The narrative, then, is ratified by the group, creating a sense of cohesion, which

is typically the goal of any social conversation (Eder, 1988; Georgakopoulou,

2002). This is evident in Image 1, where Monica's gaze is directed at her

audience, and their gaze is directed at her. Together, they position themselves

and each other as co/participants, thereby validating the narrative turn that is

occurring, granting Monica, not only floor holding rights, but also their attention

as Monica demonstrates her skill at using the floor to tell a story that is relevant

to the group (Haddington, 2006). However, Monica does not end her narrative

turn at Tiffany getting married. Instead, she extends her story to Tiffany's

experience of having and managing kids.

We might, then, consider Monica's initial narrative about how quickly

Tiffany got married as a kind of narrative bridge to get herself from the narrative

topic at hand to another one she thinks is worth telling. In other words, she uses

the story of Tiffany getting married very quickly to link her story to Brittany's as

well as lead into the story she is actually going to tell. Since the first narrative has

been accepted and co/constructed by the group, Monica's success allows her to

move to her own original narrative by building it upon the first. In line 15, Monica

sets up the orientation to the new story: "And now, and she hates kids and so

now she has two sons." By saying, "and now," Monica connects her new story to

the old story of marriage she just told, making it temporally relevant. Her

audience is now aware that she has more information to offer. She then makes it

clear that Tiffany hates kids, but has two of them anyway. This orients her

audience to the tellability of this narrative (the main point) and establishes the

kind of response they are likely to have, especially as her tone during her

orientation is one that suggests that the story she is about to tell is a humorous

one (Norrick, 2004; Labov, 2006). At this point, though, there is a change in the level of contributions to Monica's narrative. In lines 15-20, Monica is the only one talking. The clear collaboration or co/construction that has occurred up to this point in the group does not continue into this part of the narrative. Although this is only a few seconds of narrative, the shift from overt collaboration to Monica as the only speaker stands out. Furthermore, Image 2 shows that at this point in the narrative Monica seems to lose the gaze of her audience. It is here that we see Monica go from telling a narrative with her hands in her lap (as seen in Image 2) and only a few beat and diectic gestures, to using performative gestures to reenact the story she is telling.

Image 2. Loss of Audience Participation

During lines 17-23, Monica takes up a character viewpoint position of performance (iconic) gesture, making her gestures a kind of theatrical re-enactment of the events of her narrative (Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Lwin, 2010; Thompson and Suzuki, 2014). In line 17, she wins back her audience's participation, via their gaze, when she first performs what Tiffany does in response to her son's mouth noises in church. When she refers to her performance as "that" while making tapping gesture, reenacting Tiffany tapping her son's mouth to get him to be still, Monica uses a deictic term to signal to the group that they need to re-position themselves, and hence their gaze and co/participation, so as to ratify this installment of the narrative (Goodwin and Heritage; Gumperz, 1990; Haddington, 2006). In other words, Monica is requesting that her audience, although still granting her floor holding rights, be active participants, thereby validating her further contribution to the conversation, and her particular narrative at large. In combination with her diectic signal, Image 3 shows Monica gaining the attention of her audience by reenacting Tiffany's tapping gestures on her son's mouth. These gestures are contained in their movement, as she is using performance gestures to show what happened, off to her side. The gestures are not overt at all, and merely seem to regain the gaze of her audience.

Image 3. Regaining Attention

Image 4 shows the successful repositioning of the group by line 19, when Monica reenacts Tiffany's son's response to being hushed. Monica has the attention of her audience, and her gestures become less subtle as she carries them out with more overt motions in the air in front of her, seemingly exaggerating the performance gesture of the son tapping his mother's mouth. These more overt gestures signal to her audience that their gaze should be focused on this action in relation to the narrative she is telling. The girls' responses are similarly more exaggerated than the previous instance of tapping gestures in line 17. Here, the girls laugh, gasp, and use facial expressions to openly perform their own participation in the narrative, in response to the performance Monica delivers. It is here that we see them signaling their ratification of the narrative through their appreciation of the humor involved, as

can be seen in lines 21-26 and Image 4, when their participation in the narrative is revived.

In lines 20-22, the girls are all laughing together, creating a sense of unity in the conversation, since the simultaneous laughing implies a shared sense that the situation is a funny one. Brittany's assessment of the story as "awesome," in line 21, furthers this unity and minimizes differences amongst the group since assessing the narrative as successfully pertinent to the group, also assesses Monica as a successful speaker (Eder, 1988; Georgakopoulou, 1995). This positive response and assessment from her audience allows Monica to finally position herself in the narrative she is telling, by performing a reenactment of herself, within the story, sitting, watching, and judging this mother and son interaction, as it occurs.

Image 4. Ratification

Image 5. Successful Narrative Performance

As seen in Image 5, by line 23, Monica has taken the role of both

performer and assessor, and breaks her held gaze with the other girls. She

positions herself as mocking the mother who hates children but had them

anyway, and who previously in the narrative got married as quickly as possible.

In doing so, she positions herself as separate from the characters of her story,

her audience as needing to align themselves with her to further the act of

cohesion in the conversation, and the group, overall, as separate from the events

of the narrative, and therefore able to assess and judge (Eder, 1988; Cheshire,

2000; Georgakopoulou, 2002). The continued laughter and gaze from the girls

suggests that they have aligned themselves with Monica as narrator and

assessor in a way that allows Monica to continue with the conclusion of her story

and she does so with a final assessment of Tiffany, "Tiffany is the best." Although

this new topic of mothers managing their children is not picked up by the other

girls in the end, Monica's narrative and the performance attached to it is ratified

by the group, making her contribution valuable to the conversation, before the

girls move on to a new topic, that of sleeves for a prom dress.

This particular example of the narrative performance is a typical example

in the data collected for this project. In fact, although there are several narrative

performances that are far more elaborate than this one, the majority of narrative

performances are carried out in small theatrics that allow the storyteller to not

only keep the floor while telling their story, but also manage the audience in such

a way as to achieve positive outcomes for both the storyteller and the group as a

whole (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). As evidenced in Excerpt 1,

Monica's ability to maintain her audience's attention while adding a new

component to the conversation demonstrates her skill at holding the floor as a

speaker, while both successfully weaving the new component into the

conversation as a storyteller in her own right, and also building on group unity

and cohesion to do so (Eder, 1988; Cheshire, 2000; Georgakopoulou, 2002). It is

important to note, also, that Monica did not rely on her spoken language skills

alone to encourage the continued attention and participation of her audience.

Rather, she expertly carried out theatrical performances of each character in her

story, specifically through gesture, so as to position her audience as if they were

there. In doing so, not only is she able to embody the experience as it occurred,

she is able to bring her audience into an embodied experience as observers of

the event (Goodwin, 2000). Since understanding of the event is established

through embodiment and a compelling and relevant plot, the storyteller initiates a system of performance that makes the construction of the narrative a group activity. The result is a co/constructed unity, where both the speaker and the audience work to build off the narrative in ways that show cohesive interest in the event. Without the images used here, the negotiation of attention and ratification, via both interpretation of gaze and use of gesture (multimodal devices), would not be as clear.

Based on the transcript and image combination, co/construction of group participation in a single speaker narrative performance is clearly a process in which all participants play a part and work through each turn at talk towards a goal of cohesion, where each girl achieves equal status in the group. In the next example, this process is made more complicated because there are two speakers constructing the narrative performance for the audience. In Excerpt 2, April and Brittany are talking about the actor, Richard Armitage and his role as Sheriff of Nottingham in the T.V. show, *Robin Hood.* The two sisters are relating their experience of having started this series, and developing a crush on the actor who plays a really bad man. The particular excerpt shown here displays these girls' co/construction of him as a sexually appealing character, regardless of his bad morals. The other girls know who Richard Armitage is and participate as attentive listeners, while their friends describe his attractive behavior in the show.

What is interesting about this excerpt is the way the girls use theatrical gesture, collaboratively, to demonstrate the sex appeal of the actor. In Excerpt 1, Monica is the only one constructing the story of Tiffany and her son, although she invites the others to participate as observers with her. Excerpt 2, however, is carried out differently, as both April and Brittany work together, and interestingly talk over each other, to construct the story of the character, making it a co/constructed narrative performance. In doing so, not only must the storytellers align themselves with each other, ratifying each other's experiences, but they also must collaboratively gain ratification from their listeners, for the narrative to be a successful one that brings the group together. Although the transcript shows this collaboration, the images show that the success of their collaboration depends on more than spoken language.

Excerpt 2. Black Leather

1) A; =It's the way he looks at you

2) B; [Oh my gosh, right?]

3) A; [He's got like dark eyes]

4) A; [and he's just like looks at you.]

5) A; ((GAZING LIKE RICHARD ARMITAGE AT MONICA))

6) B; [and then he's like- so he's like whoosh.]

7) B; Black leather.

8) B; ((ARMS COVERING BODY TO ILLUSTRATE THE CLOTHING

9) B; IS ALL BLACK LEATHER))

10)   B; Oh and then whenever he removes his gloves,

11)   B; he uses his [teeth.] ((USING TEETH TO PULL OFF GLOVES))

12)   S;   [(H)]

13)   A;   [It's like-] ((USING TEETH TO PULL OFF GLOVES))

14)   M;   [Uh:]

15)   A; ## @@ [I don't ask for much in life. ((PRAYING POSE))]

16)   B;   [((PULLING GLOVE OFF FINGER BY FINGER))]

17)   A; [But ple:ase. @@@]

18)   [((EVERYONE LAUGHING))]

19)   S; Oh my gosh.

20)   A; (H)=

The first lines of this excerpt show the immediate alliance between the sisters as

the topic turns to the qualities of this character that make him so appealing. In

lines 3-5, April is discussing the way Armitage uses his eyes to look through

other characters and consequently the viewer. Simultaneously, in lines 2 and 6-7,

Brittany is discussing the fact that he dresses in all black leather. At this point,

both girls are in agreement that his character is more than a little attractive, but

they are talking over each other and discussing different parts of the character by

performing them to the other girls, creating two separate conversations. For

April's contribution, she uses gaze as a theatrical performance and looks directly

at Monica the way the character might. At the same time, Brittany uses

metaphorical gesturing to imply the way Armitage is dressed entirely in black

leather to Stephanie. Finally, in image 6 and lines 5 and 8-9, April and Brittany

are simultaneously completing their individual gestures that also complete their

seemingly separate accounts.

Image 6. Uncoordinated Collaboration

At this point, no one person, has full command of the floor, since Brittany

and April are talking at the same time. This is important because this kind of

uncoordinated collaboration works itself out into total cohesion as the topic

progresses, beginning in lines 9-11, when Brittany brings up the way the

character takes off his gloves and performs the act of him pulling his glove off

with his teeth: "Oh and then whenever he removes his gloves, he uses his teeth."

At the same time she gestures this action, in line 12, April adds, "it's like-" as she

makes the same performative gesture of pulling off a glove with her teeth. It is

here, that not only do the subtopics of Richard Armitage's character in the show

finally align, but the theatrical gestures do as well, making the performance a cohesive unit, to which the audience can also coordinate responses, rather than participate in a competition for floor holding rights. We then see the audience acknowledging this collaborative effort with giggles and sighs in lines 11, 13, and 17-18. This ratification by the other girls, allows the storytellers to further embellish their story. Brittany repeats the gesture in slow motion, and April displays her new level of desire for this character with pleading and a gesture of prayer. These embellishments are not wasted on the audience. Laughter, as with the first excerpt marks appreciation and cohesion, while Stephanie offers a final breathy assessment of "oh my gosh," furthering the sense that this character is desirable.

Once again, without the ability to see the narrative performance in action, we might miss these multimodal devices that allow the storytellers and the audience to align with each other as the narrative progresses. The images that follow, show the gestures and gazes of the participants as the narrative is carried out. In line with the transcript, we see the beginning of cohesive gesturing in Image 7, when Brittany performs the taking off of a glove with her teeth. At this point, all of the participants' gaze is focused on Brittany. Brittany is in full character, with her facial expression and her gesture of pulling off the glove replicating that of Richard Armitage's character.

Image 7. Brittany Pulling off the Glove

Image 8. April Pulling off the Glove

In Image 8, April aligns herself with Brittany and follows suit, right as

Brittany is completing her gesture, with the same theatrical gesture. At this point,

Stephanie gives a gasp that responds positively to their collaborative

performance of the character, and seems to encourage them forward in the performance. Finally, in Image 9, Brittany does a slower, finger by finger, gesture of taking a glove off with her teeth, while April takes a praying position while asking for this character to come to her. At this point the audience is laughing – a sign of appreciation for the further embellishments.

Image 9. April Praying and Brittany Pulling off the Glove

It is noteworthy, here, that the laughter is also an active participatory event, as both girls seem to use their whole body to display their laughter as positive ratification of the narrative (Norrick, 2004; Thompson and Suzuki, 2014). Image 9, then, displays a complete cohesion of participation, as each girl in the group performs a role that matches the performance of the other girls. The scene

is a dynamic one, making the narrative performance as a whole, also highly dynamic. The girls' positioning of self and body in this narrative, displays the kind of work the group does to reach these moments of fluid and cohesive participation. As the two girls coordinate their collaborative multimodal narrative performance, they aid in the co/construction of the entire event, making the audience's roles as participants clear and accessible.

Based on the two examples above, it would seem that narrative performance, particularly multimodal narrative performance, becomes identifiable when the narrative performer uses voice, gesture, and gaze to achieve multiple levels of narratorship. Firstly, such a performance keeps the audience engaged with things to listen to and look at that contribute to the overall understanding of the narrative as it is related from the perspective of the speaker. Secondly, multimodal performance allows an embodiment of all participants, whether as actors or observers. Finally, it allows for a sense of cohesion in the conclusion when all participants are able to equally assess the worth of the narrative related to its tellability. When all of these things occur, we may mark the performance as successful due both to its delivery and its reception, as seen in the above examples (Georgakopoulou, 1998; Haddington, 2006; Lwin, 2010; Thompson and Suzuki, 2014).

Gesture, particularly performance gesture, in the excerpts above, plays a significant role in the way that the audience takes up the narrative as a whole, performance and all. Performance gesture seems to have the power to

immediately attract and hold the gaze of the audience, while the story is being told. It also seems to be a tool that is consciously used to manage audience participation, since in both of the excerpts, the girls' use of performance gesture increased as audience attention and participation increased (McNeill, 1985; Jacobs and Garnham, 2007). Furthermore, it would seem that, especially in the case of my data, laughter as a tool of ratification and appreciation is highly utilized by the girls. In both of the excerpts above, the result of the narrative performance was unified laughter and positive comments that assess the result of the narrative as adequately available to each girl, so she can act as participant in some way. In other words, the speaker/performer seems to know that the story has been approved by the group when laughter and backchannelling appear in the narrative conversation, as occurred in excerpts 1 and 2. At these moments, the speaker ups the ante by embellishing the performance with more overt multimodal devices, particularly performance gesture in the cases above. When the audience is not responding positively to the narrative, and/or the performer/speaker does not initiate the use of performance gesture to obtain the positive response needed to continue, it seems that the speaker easily loses the floor to a more interesting or dynamic speaker.

This is the case of Excerpt 3, when Stephanie is relating a story about her use of strange accents during her early morning seminary class, but does not successfully hold the gaze or attention of her listeners. As a consequence, she loses the floor to Brittany, who performs her own use of an accent, via the

gesture of taking the body position of performance and the manipulation of her voice, and receives the response from the audience necessary to continue the conversation that erupts from her performance.

Excerpt 3: A Scottish Accent

1)   S; You should've heard the accent I was doing

2)   S; this morning at seminary..

3)   S; it was like a mixture of French and Russian.

4)   S; I don't know what I was doing…

5)   A; ((SLOWLY NODDING HEAD))

6)   S; But it's- It's because I had the like the zhe like how the French has it-

7)   S; ((BEAT GESTURES THROUGH OUT))

8)   B; Oh, check out my Scottish.

9)   B; ((SITS UP AND PLACES HANDS OUTWARD AS IF PERFORMING

10)   B; AN ORATION))

11)   B; <VOX> Tis an unweeded garden that grows to seed. </VOX>

12)   A; [She's based this] on David [Tennant's ##]

13)   S; [She sounds like-]   [Yeah]

14)   M; [@ @ @ @]

15)   S; That is awesome:

16)   B; What ?

17)   M; Uh

18)   S; I have [to get an Australian accent before his-]

19) M;   [I love the way David Tennant does] Shakespeare.

Looking at the excerpt above, it is clear that in lines 1-7, Stephanie's narrative of her experience with using accents is not being immediately ratified by the group, since she receives little to no response or participation from the other girls. The most she gets as a response is April nodding her head slowly. There is no backchannelling or facial expression to encourage her narrative forward. The narrative seems to be struggling, simply due to the lack of audience responses.

In fact, as can be seen in Image 10, she does not even have the gaze of the group. When she is talking, they are looking in different directions, but not consistently or fully on her. Her narrative is filled with pauses as she seems to wait for a response, but since she receives none, she continues, with longer pauses. It is interesting to note that Stephanie uses only beat and a couple of metaphoric gestures during her narrative, but unlike Monica, when she sees she does not have the attention of her audience, she does nothing to repair the situation. Instead she is cut off by Brittany, who leaps up into a position of oratory performance with her hands outstretched and her gaze off to the center of the room, and exclaims, "oh, check out my Scottish accent." At this interruption the other girls turn their gaze to Brittany, who commands their full attention, as seen in Image 11.

Image 10. Not Looking

By line 9, Image 11, Brittany takes the floor from Stephanie and as a result she takes the total gaze of the audience as well. Her facial expression, her body position as she gestures like an orator, and her voicing of her Scottish accent, constructs a performance that is recognized not only by her use of these multimodal tools, but the fact that she has the complete attention of her audience. The result seems to be exactly right as the girls assess her performance as "great." Monica laughs, and April and Stephanie compare the accent to that of David Tennant, which leads to Stephanie saying, "that's great." Finally, in line 17, Monica is able to shift the conversation to David Tennant in Shakespeare plays, which the group aligns with thereafter.

This instance of a failed narrative is interesting in that it suggests that there was a need for performance in the telling of this particular narrative, as opposed to a different one that might have been able to survive without the multimodality of a performance. In fact, it seems this is why Brittany was able to so quickly take the floor from Stephanie. The multimodal devices Brittany employed immediately commanded the attention of the other girls, including Stephanie. In that moment Brittany labeled her contribution as significant, and noteworthy. Stephanie's narrative never seemed to reach that moment of noteworthiness and she failed to repair it soon enough, so that she lost the floor, and did not quickly gain it back, although she tries in line 16.

Image 11. Brittany Takes the Floor

Certainly other narratives occur during these girls' interactions and conversations that do not require such overt multimodal performance, particularly via performance gesture, to be ratified by the group. During such narratives, we may see the use of beat or deictic gestures, or metaphoric gestures. However, it would seem there are some that do require such a performance and fail if that performance is either not initiated or maintained. This further implies that part of the skill of a storyteller is to be able to assess various situations of narrative performance and carry out the performance accordingly, via multimodal means that do not only include facial expressions and voicing.

The question that ensues as a result of these findings, therefore, is whether or not a narrative performance that does not include multimodal devices is actually a narrative performance, or instead, is simply a narrative. In the cases above, the answer seems to be no. As much as it has been shown in this project that performance gesture is an extremely important device for narrative performance that should not be neglected in determining how storytellers position themselves and others during the storytelling event (Eder, 1988; Schiffrin, 1996; Bamberg, 1997), other devices such as facial expressions, gaze, and voicing, are also important to the success of a narrative in its delivery (Georgakopoulou, 1995, Lwin, 2010). In other words, embodiment of the event by the storyteller is directly connected to the performance devices used by the storyteller. Hence, it seems fair to say that if a narrative performance does not use these devices, the narrative is not a performance, but rather a relaying of information to a listener in

the narrative formula described by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and other linguists.

Although narrative performance, as here displayed, does follow the narrative formula of temporal sequencing, which is highly recognized by sociolinguists who study narrative in transcript form only, it is complicated here, by the speakers' use of multimodal performance devices that aid in ratification and participation by audience members. It is therefore the negotiation between speaker and listener as well as the multimodal devices the speaker may or may not use to keep the listener involved that marks the performance of narrative as recognizable and determines the successful ratification and completion of the narrative and its performance in action. From here on out, then, in this project, the term narrative performance will necessarily mean that it is multimodal in nature. As such, we are able to recognize and identify these events as moments of social interaction and conversation, during which the speaker creates a sense of embodied experience as the narrative unfolds and the audience responds positively and appropriately.

Furthermore, narrative performance, since it relies heavily on audience participation, remains a conversational unit of speech, making the conversation a dynamic sphere of group participation, in which each participant is able to establish themselves and take up a position, via their own performance, as part of the narrative, both independently and collaboratively within the group framework of interaction. Consequently, the positions the participants take as

related to the narrative performance, also reflect the positions they take as members of their social group, especially in relation to those outside of the group (Schiffrin, 1996; Bamberg, 1997; Bucholtz, 2009; Goodwin and Alim, 2010; Johnstone, 2009). These girls, therefore, act, not as casual participants, but as invested members of a social group that is identified by age, gender, and values/goals. Consequently, narrative performance as it has been outline in this project, purposefully and overtly displays each girl's identity in an open and risky arena, in which constant upkeep of group goals must be managed so as to fulfill social and gender roles and be compensated positively with social capital.

3.1.2 Narrative Performance as the Fulfilling of Social/Gender Roles

Teenage girls tend to tell narratives that allow them to separate themselves from others in constructive ways, specifically to friend or peer groups who will ratify these narratives in solidarity (Eder, 1988; Eckert, 1989; Ochs, 1992; Schiffrin, 1996; Georgakopoulou, 2002). A group of girls (or women) will lay the foundation for their own group by creating distance between themselves and other groups, whether those groups are composed of a mixture that includes boys/men, or whether that consists only of other girls/women (Ochs, 1992; Bucholtz, 1999; Cheshire, 2000; Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet, 2003; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). By doing so, these girls have the opportunity to take a group stance or position, via the cohesion they construct together during social conversations, that establishes social identity within the group. As mentioned above, narrative performance is a perfect, but risky arena for this identity

construction to occur, since the stance/position each girl takes in relation to the other girls, to the narrative, and to the performance as a whole, allows the girl to display her identity, and allows the other girls to assess her fulfillment of her role as part of the group.

Although the previous excerpts were geared towards a clear analysis of narrative performance and its impact on the participation frameworks in general, the following excerpts show a much more complicated execution of narrative performance in order to show the ways in which each girl takes up a position which fulfills the expected role of her participation and displays her social identity within that role. The first excerpt of this section, Excerpt 4, occurs as the group discusses the possibility of girls watching "chick flicks" the same way "guys" watch sports.

Excerpt 4. Chick Flicks and Sports

1) B;   [############################]

2) B; [So- so could you] imagine,

3) B; If girls watched chick flicks like guys watch sports?

4) M; Oh [no:. @@]

5) S;   [<SCREAMING> @@@@@</SCREAMING>]

6) B; [<YELLING> Kiss her, yeah, whoa: Yeah ### </YELLING>]

7) B; ((CHEERING GESTURES))

8) S; [<YELLING> @@@@@@@ Whoa: Yeah. </YELLING>]

9) S; ((CHEERING GESTURES))

10)   A; [<YELLING> @@@@@@ Whoa: </YELLING>]

11)   A; ((CHEERING GESTURES))

12)   B; [<YELLING> Score. </YELLING>]

13)   M; [Okay come on] you have to admit we are doing-

14)   M; -that on the [inside. @@] ((CLASPED HANDS TO HEART))

15)   B;   [yes: @@ ######] ((RUBBING HANDS TOGETHER))

16)   S;   [We- okay, alright,]

17)   S; [Is it just me or are we ##########]

18)   M; [And we're like, <GROWL> u::gh </GROWL>]

19)   M; ((HANDS CLASPED TO HEART))

20)   A; ((HANDS CLASPED TO HEART))

21)   S; [Wait, we] should do that one day just go into a theater [and do that.]

22)   B; [((CLAPPING))]

23)   M;   [We'd get]

24)   M; kicked [out.]

25)   A;   [No:]

26)   A;   [They'd]

27)   A; kick us out.

28)   S; [#######]

29)   A; [#######]

30)   B; That's what I did during Peter Pan cuz that was just so-

31)   M; I know [she was sitting] next to me, she was like,

32) M; ((ANGRY LOOK UPWARDS))

33) S;   [I heard you]

34) B; And I kept like doing this and like, <VOX> Ah: </VOX>

35) B; ((KICKING LEGS AND FLAILING ARMS))

36) S;   I [know I was watching you, I wasn't watching the movie

37) S; I was watching you.]

38) M; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@]

39) A; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@]

40) B; [@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@]

This particular excerpt stands out as a narrative performance, since the girls are constructing themselves as a specific kind of viewer and thereby narrating a possible future, in which girls act like "guys."

By co/constructing a possible future, they outline what might happen while they are watching a chick flick and acting like guys watching sports. They are therefore aligning their identities as females, and taking up a position that seems to simultaneously mock as well as envy the male identity as sports viewer, since it is unclear whether the girls actually would like to seriously carry out this more male performance, or whether they think it would be ridiculous to do so. However they feel about this narrative construction, it does not occur without the performance of male sports viewers in direct relation to the performance of female chick flick viewers. In fact, once the "what if" question has been posed by Brittany in line 2, we see the performance of a future narrative begin, and we see

each girl align with this narrative, ratifying it with her own performance, as is clear in Image 12 and in lines 3-10, and constructing a group identity that sees the potential of male and female performance being carried out the same way (Georgakopoulou, 1995; Georgakopoulou, 2002).

To carry out this performance, the girls construct a future narrative in which they are watching a chick flick, waiting for a kiss to occur at the right romantic moment, and cheering and chanting for it as they see it coming. This consists of yelling, screaming, and waving of the arms in various victory gestures, as it is assumed the kiss actually occurs as a touchdown in football might. One by one, each girl participates in this performance of what they have assessed as masculine cheering until all of the girls are engaged in an embodiment of their assessment of masculine viewership. This is the first step of cohesive unity in the group, as the narrative of "what if" unfolds.

Image 12. Cheering for a Chick Flick

It's at this point, while the girls are actively embodying their coordinated vision of men watching sports, that Monica makes an observation that becomes important to the group identity. In lines 9-10, Monica points out that girls already do this, but on the inside, gesturing to her heart. Although Monica participated as an observer during the cheering performance of lines 4-8, Monica now initiates a performance of women watching chick flicks, making clear the overt division between their group and the other (men). In Image 13 and lines 13-20, Monica leads the girls in a more realistic, or perhaps more socially accepted, performance of their current narrative as women who watch chick flicks, and the other girls ratify it by co/participating.

Here, the girls begin to align themselves with this present narrative of themselves as a more realistic assessment of their feminine viewership. This happens via a coordinated performance of themselves as actual females. The contrast becomes very clear between men and women, or at least how this group of girls perceives the difference between men and women. Although Monica suggests that the girls are doing the same thing, the actual embodiment of feminine viewership is quite different from the masculine one they just performed. According to these girls, while the men are loud and very active with their body, the women are quieter and their actions are closer to their body. The girls clasp their hands and hold them up in a pleading position, demonstrating their waiting for the kiss to occur in a movie. Their facial expressions and their performance

gestures carry the message of their desire in a modest way. In other words, their performance of themselves watching a chick flick, as opposed to guys, is much more reserved. In this way, the difference between guys and girls (and therefore men and women) is made very obvious and each of the girls have aligned to this performed difference, by once again taking on the embodiment together in solidarity, creating a cohesive image of their own femininity.

Image 13. What Girls Really Do

In line 19, however, Stephanie, veers away from the group alignment a bit and suggests that maybe they should carry out the masculine performance in the theater sometime, to which the girls respond, in overlaps seen in lines 19-21, that such a performance would not work because they would be kicked out. Once more, a division is constructed in which perhaps the girls would like to participate in such a performance, yet they realize their social limitations. To do so would not

fulfill their role as socially conscious individuals, nor would it fulfill their role as females, which they have just narrated.

Following this acknowledgement of unacceptable movie watching behavior, in line 24, Brittany explains that she actually was carrying out a type raucous performance of viewership, while watching a movie that made her mad. Since she watched this movie with the group, the group is able to comment on her behavior, which she explains as being almost as dynamic as the cheering she was participating in before, as can be seen in Image 14, as she performs her narrative of herself in co/participation with the other girls. According to Georgakopoulou (1995), women tend to comment on their own follies and gaffes in friendly group situations as a way to reach a kind of social legitimizing of themselves. If the group aligns with the woman who is confessing, despite the supposed error in judgement, then the woman is considered justified in her behavior and still socially unified with the group. It may be, here, that Brittany outs herself as behaving inappropriately in the theater, as a way to justify herself and her performance of annoyance, despite it not aligning with the feminine performance of viewership just established by the group.

In response to this confession, the other girls assess this narrative performance of a past behavior as a kind of gaffe in Brittany's social role, with comments of "I heard you," "she was sitting next to me like," and "I wasn't watching the movie, I was watching you." Since they were at the movie theater when this happened, and Brittany's behavior took their attention away from the

movie, such behavior seems automatically incorrect, especially after the

discussion of being possibly kicked out of the theater because of that behavior.

However, the girls end the narrative with mutual laughter suggesting that since

the girls have already assessed their narrative performances of future and

present, this narrative performance of the past is only there, perhaps to be

humorous as it suggests that sometimes the girls do step out of their social roles,

and as long as this is not too embarrassing (i.e. being kicked out), it is likely

acceptable or at least justifiable under certain circumstances (Georgakopoulou,

1995; Georgakopoulou, 1998).

Image 14. Mad at a Movie

This seems to be a complicated structure of narrative performance as it

relates to both the girls' social and gender identity. The girls, here, are carefully

constructing themselves, and to an extent, each other, as something very

specific. They are young women, and so they are more likely to recognize and abide by the social roles expected of them in social environments, such as correct behavior in a theater and correct, gendered movie watching. However, this particular excerpt points to kind of desire or interest in stepping out of expected social norms to portray their reactions as movie watchers in a more overt way. We, therefore, see the group coming to conclusions and rationales for fulfilling their social and gender roles. Furthermore, since as teenage girls, they stand on the brink of adult, womanhood and as such are still negotiating the process of becoming fully accepted social beings (Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992), it is clear that in whatever way they decide to carry out their roles, it must be in alignment with the group. This becomes one example, then, that shows that teenage girls (and women) rely on their peer groups – their friends, to not only construct an identity, but to construct one that is acceptable overall, thereby creating the sort of social capital that gives them power to negotiate various social situations within and without the group.

Since every girl in the group aligns herself with the construction of girls versus guys in this excerpt, by participating in the narrative construction and performance, each girl constructs her own social identity as the kind of girl and movie viewer that the group has collaboratively ratified. In this way, the girls build cohesion amongst each other as friends and as a group, and build social capital, giving them a sense of power over the view they and others have of them as near-adult, social beings, particularly as women, in public/social environments

(Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992). Such a woven performance, to get to some sort of distinction of "us vs. them," implies that teenage girls are not only aware of gendered roles in social situations, but that they are able to embody these different roles in their own narrative performances of self and other, so as to construct their identity as clearly as possible (Eder, 1988; Bucholtz, 1999; Cheshire, 2000; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

The construction of identity during narrative performance, then, seems to rely on the ability of the participants to not only perform the identity of self and other via embodiment, but also to makes assessments of the performance in relation to accepted and expected social roles and norms. In Excerpt 4, the girls' social identities are tied up in the way they align themselves with each other during the assessment of female versus male behavior. Since the girls align themselves with each other and ratify the assessment of each level of the narrative performance, the girls ultimately construct their own identity in contrast to "guys" identity.

Excerpt 5 shows a different kind of identity construction via narrative performance. In this excerpt, the narrative performance leads to an assessment of gender differences and works to minimize those difference as much as possible. Stephanie and Monica are telling the story of a firefighter first aid nurse at their annual girls' camp, who took up the behavior of the teenage girls he was there to serve. Ultimately, rather than mock him, the girls assess his behavior as

a kind of silly breaking of social gender roles in order to align himself with the teenage girls he is around.

Excerpt 5. Y'all Are Cray Cray

1) S; [M, weren't you there the year we had the fire fighter as the nurse?]

2) M; Oh yeah and we walked in, we were like do you got anti itch powder?

3) S; Oh [my gosh he was great.]   [Okay.]

4) M;   [Cuz we're cray cr- cuz he was like- [okay] so-

5) M; ((SWINGING ARMS))

6) M; So these girls were like doing something-

7) M; [-and he was walking up the path.] ((HAND MOVING UPWARDS))

8) S;   [and he was running down-] no he was running down the hill.

9) S; ((HAND MOVING DOWNWARD))

10) M; He was going down the path. ((HAND MOVING DOWNWARD))

11) M; And he stops at the girls doing whatever they're doing.

12) S; Yeah. [And he goes <VOX> cray cray. </VOX>]

13) S; ((SWINGING ARMS ABOVE HEAD))

14) M; And [go <VOX> y'all are cray cray. </VOX>]

15) M; ((SWINGING ARMS ABOVE HEAD))

16) S; And he does, [cray cray.]

17) S; ((SWINGING AMRS ABOVE HEAD, STANDING AND

18) S; TURNING IN A CIRLCE))

19) M;   [He does the-] yeah.

20)   M; And so [af- when we found out he did that-]

21)   S;   [We all thought he was gay for a minute.]

22)   M; When we found out he did that,

23)   M; -we went into the nurses office and our friend was like,

24)   M; -do you have anti itch powder?

25)   M; [We're like, <VOX> cuz we're cray cray. </VOX> @@@]

26)   S; [And we all were there. <VOX> we're cray cray. </VOX> @@@]

27)   ((M AND S SWINGING ARMS ABOVE HEAD))

28)   M; And he's like,

29)   M; <VOX> you guys are never gonna let me forget that. </VOX>

30)   M; [We're like <VOX> no:.</VOX>]

31)   S; [And cuz like a lot of [us]] thought he was gay for a while.

32)   B;   [My-]

33)   M; I didn't. He was so hot and he had a wedding ring.

34)   S; Yeah.

35)   M; And plus it's un-%LDS.

36)   S; Yeah. I know. A lot of the girls in our cabin were like, is he gay?

37)   S; [I was like no.]

38)   M; [Yeah me too.]

39)   M; I was like you guys, you're freaking idiots he has a wedding ring.

40)   S; Yea:h.

41)   A; He's just being silly.

42) A; A guy can be silly [and feminine and not be gay.]

43) M;   [And he's with a bunch of girls too. So like-]

44) A; Like he was channeling his inner teenage girl.

45) A: [It's okay.] It does not make him gay.

46) S; [Exactly.]

47) M; %I %know.

During this narrative, Stephanie and Monica explain that the behavior of the firefighter was what made him endearing to the girls. At the time of this girls' camp, 2014, the term "cray cray" was very popular. Many girls used this term to explain various types of "on the edge" or "cool, but crazy" behavior. The firefighter, in this excerpt uses this term with the girls at camp and shows his alignment with the girls, which they ratify when they go to the nurse's station for anti-itch powder and bring up his use of the term by semi-teasing him about it, to which he responds, "you guys are never gonna let me forget that" and the girls answer, "no." Within the narrative production, itself, there is a kind of primary ratification of the firefighter's identity and the identity of the girls who play along with his gesture of allegiance. The story is one of ratification of participation in an event. As the story unfolds and is performed for the audience, Brittany and April, the identity of the characters, including Stephanie and Monica, are being constructed by the storytellers, before the audience really has an opportunity to participate. On the narrative and the characters' identities have been

constructed, the audience is then able to jump in and continue identity construction through assessment of past events and assessments.

What makes this narrative so important to the construction of identity, then, is the performance that Stephanie and Monica attach to the narrative they are co-telling. Not only is the firefighter's use of a term predominantly used by teenage girls significant, but the way the term is carried out by the firefighter carries the significance of gender role performance, since he embodies what the girls perceive as teenage girl behavior, with teenage girls as his audience. Image 15 shows the girls performing the gendered performance of the firefighter, by swinging their arms in a circle above their head and implying their turning in a circle, while using the term, "cray cray."

Image 15. Cray Cray

The girls use this performance to construct his identity as a character in the story, and although the two storytellers are in agreement that the firefighter was funny and a good addition to girls' camp because of his aligning performance of teenage girls in such an easy manner, it comes out that Stephanie thinks that if this behavior, or performance, is one employed by girls and a man uses it, he must be gay. She makes this clear in lines 19-20 and 28, when she continues to insist that it was possible he was gay because of his behavior, which she and a different group outside of the current narrative assessed as being particularly feminine. This is challenged, however, by Monica in line 29, when she makes a list of reasons for why he could not possibly be gay. It is here that Stephanie shifts her own position to take that of Monica's, rather than have discordance in the group, and especially in the narrative. Had Stephanie maintained her original position, she would have risked aligning her own social identity with the girls Monica refers to as idiots for assuming the firefighter to be gay.

Such an open difference between the girls, especially as they co/construct the narrative, would be contrary to the kind of social roles girls tend to have during social communication, which, as has been discussed previously, is to create a sense of solidarity in the group (Georgakopoulou, 1995). April, then, furthers this stance in favor of the firefighter, by taking the position that it is okay for men to be silly and not have their gender commented on as a result. In this case, the firefighter's being silly was him "channeling his inner teenage girl," as

seen in line 41. The final assessment that all of the girls seem to ratify, in solidarity and cohesion, is that the girls who thought the firefighter was gay, are not to be agreed with since they are basing their judgments on strict gender norms.

There are multiple levels of identity construction going on here. First, the identity of the firefighter is constructed twice (once inside the narrative and once after the narrative) as one that is in alliance with the teenage girls with whom he works. This identity construction is then used as a challenge to others' construction of him as gay because he uses feminine methods to construct his role in relation to the girls. As a result of the challenge and the construction of the other girls as being wrong, Stephanie must realign herself so as to construct her own social identity in a positive way within her group. As the girls in this group work on aligning with each other's opinions, identity is co/constructed to reflect positively on all, but those who thought that the firefighter must abide by social gender norms and categories.

This entire process of identity management is based on the performance gesture carried out by the firefighter, which is performed a second time by the girls during their narrative performance, and finally used as part of the assessment portion of the overall narrative performance, which includes the co/constructed identities that are assigned to each character and participant. There are other such moments in the data collected for this project, in which narrative performance becomes key for the girls in the co/construction of identity.

Gender identity and roles are almost always a large component to this process, especially considering the kind of topics teenage girls tend to be interested in. But the way gendered identities and roles are embodied during narrative performances is not the only consideration, although it is a major one for this project. The ability for the girls to co/construct identities for themselves and each other that build on the gendered goal of solidarity and cohesion in the group is particularly important for the girls to gain and maintain the social capital necessary to retain their power as individual members of a group, and perhaps many other groups associated with their own. For this reason, we can even look to the excerpts described in the first section of this chapter, and see the way identity is being managed both in terms of gender and social expectations for the group, through the use of alignment and ratification as a process of creating solidarity, unity, and cohesion in the group.

In Excerpt 1, Monica uses narrative performance to realign the group not only to her goal of storytelling, but also to the goal of solidarity. In Excerpt 2, April and Brittany align themselves via narrative performance, so as to create unity and cohesion between them, and thereby pull the attention of their audience, allowing for the solidarity of ratification to occur as the group took up the performance and the final assessment. Finally, in Excerpt 3, although Stephanie loses the floor to Brittany, she quickly aligns herself to Brittany so as to continue the sense of unity and solidarity that Brittany initiates with her interruption of a more dynamic narrative through performance. In these cases, identity is being

built within the group amongst the girls as they shift, align, and even realign themselves with the other members in such a way that discordance is avoided as much as possible and differences are minimized. The result is a participation framework that relies on solidarity for the sake of the group. When these sort of gendered, social goals are carried out, it is interesting to note also, that there is always some sort of negotiation regarding the role of women in particular situations. In each narrative performance, the girls work out the issue of solidarity while working out their social identities as women in the world. Therefore, as solidarity is reached, so too is a sense of gendered identity.

Furthermore, group solidarity gives each girl the ability to navigate and negotiate how she participates. If she is the one to cause discordance or difference, she is the odd one out and this can reflect not only on her membership in the group, but other groups associated with that particular group. However, to simply be the same as everyone else, suggests that she does not have her own identity and that can also be disastrous to her social capital as a social being. In order to navigate both group and individual identity, both as co/participant and as a social female, each girl must develop her own style of participation that fulfills the goals of her membership: that of being in solidarity or unity with the other members of the group and still being her own person.

3.1.3 Narrative Performance and Its Effect on Participation

Part of creating an individual identity that allows these girls to accumulate social capital in their social environments is the negotiation of authority as part of

their participation in the group. By constructing authority, these girls have a higher chance at being ratified by the group as valid and equal participants. As a result, every instance of narrative performance, is an instance in which the storyteller is able to establish herself as an authority on the topic and events as they occurred (or will occur), as well as the following assessment of narrated events, thereby making her the knower of that narrative moment. As her authority is ratified and built upon by the group, she is able to accumulate social capital, which lends her a sense of individual and participant power in her social environment. This is an important goal for women/girls in social environments, since they are able to gain the most power in these social environments by negotiating and displaying authority in ways the others clearly recognize and respond to (Eckert 1989; Ochs, 1992; Ochs and Capps, 1996). With this in mind it is important to note the ways in which each girl performs her narratives and therefore displays her authority during moments of participation, whether that is as speaker or listener. It is further important to understand whether or not each girls' display of authority is ratified by the group.

One option for noting this negotiation of authority, specifically in the context of narrative performance, is looking at how the storyteller holds the floor. During each storyteller's performance, it becomes apparent that the speaker has a method of narrating that is different from the others. This is apparent in combinations of spoken language and performance gesturing, as each girl constructs her narrative performance in such a way that she is able to command

a sense of positive attention from the group, thereby securing the floor as her own, and establishing her authority as narrative speaker. Excerpt 6 is an example of the way three of the girls, Brittany, Stephanie and April seem to construct authority through their narrative performance.

In the excerpt, Brittany and April have been talking about a particular female character in the series, *Robin Hood*, who they were hoping would die sooner rather than later. At this point in the conversation/narrative, they are happy to announce that the character was indeed killed off in the show.

Excerpt 6. I Was Literally Like

1) B; <VOX> Muah, muah thank you script writer. </VOX>

2) B; ((KISSING/WAVING

3) B; MOTIONS))

4) B; Somebody walked in like it was- ((WALKING MOTIONS))

5) B; like it was their break and someone like did the kiss scene,

6) B; And someone else walked in and was like,

7) B; <VOX> What is this? </VOX>

8) B; ((INTERROGATING POSITION))

9) B; No, she was dying, and they were like,

10) B; <VOX> Come on man we need some drama in there. </VOX>

11) B; ((BEAT GESTURES)

12) B; And he's like, <VOX> it can be dramatic at her funeral. </VOX>

13) B; ((BEAT GESTURES))

14) ((EVERYONE LAUGHING))

15) A; [I was so happy] [I was literally smiling and] clapping. (CLAPPING))

16) S; [######]

17) M;   [@@@@@@]

18) B; That'd be cool. @@

19) A; She's dead. [@@@@@@@@] ((CHEERING GESTURE))

20) B;   [We were like- we were like] <VOX> Uh Uh Uh. </VOX>

21) B; ((DISCO DANCING))

22) B; And then there's like this dramatic scene where they're all like,

23) B; <VOX> Oh I feel so conflicted,

24) B; where we're crying over the body and stuff. </VOX>

25) B; And then I was over here like just

26) B; [<VOX> Disco, disco disco disco disco disco disco. </VOX>] ((DISCO

27) B; DANCING))

28) A; [<VOX> ### she's gone #### ((SINGING))</VOX>]

29) B; Uh uh. Yeah.

30) ((EVERYONE LAUGHING))

31) S; That was my reaction to Ruby. ((POINTING))

32) B; @@@- Yes. Uh she was-

33) S; Aw she's Ruby, she died I was in- ((BEAT GESTURES)

34) S: It was midnight at my house, my parents were at the Temple.

35) S; ((BEAT GESTURES))

36)   S; And literally they walked in right as she died.

37)   S: I jumped off the couch and went,

38)   S; ((BEAT GESTURES))

39)   S; <VOX> (H) Yes. ((Screaming)) <VOX> ((JUMPING UP))

40)   S; My mom's like-

41)   B; Clearly [this movie is bad for you.]

42)   S;   [You- you okay?] Do we need to take you to the hospital?
       @@

43)   M; @@@

44)   A; I'm so glad she's dead though.

45)   [((EVERYONE LAUGHING))]

During this narrative performance, there are two different narratives being woven together, and three different storytellers collaborating in the final assessment of being glad when a character dies. This happens often during the conversations between this group of girls. What is interesting is how each storyteller, here, delivers her own separate part of the narrative performance by choosing words and performance devices that set herself up as the authority on what she is adding/telling.

       We can see this perhaps most clearly in Brittany's narrative performance, in not only this excerpt but in the other used in this project. Brittany's ability to hold the floor and consistently gain positive attention from the group seems to rest on her ability to be as dynamic in her narrative performance as possible. As

a result, we see her in constant motion whenever she is talking, and especially when she has the floor as narrator. In the excerpt above, she is constructing a narrative around the event of a character dying in the show she and April watch. Every time she uses the word "like," we can see her move into a position of performance. This occurs eleven times during this excerpt alone. Brittany's constant use of performance, in not only her general conversation style, but in her narratives, is particularly useful, then, in the way she holds the floor and keeps the attention of her audience, as can be seen in Image 16. In fact, Brittany speaks the most in this group and never, in all of the data, does she lose the floor. This may be attributable to the fact that she is in constant performance motion, particularly in response to her signal, through the use of "like," that she is going to explain, in exact detail, the events she is relaying. Her spoken signal and her performance gestures combine to form a sense of her authority in the group emanating from her ability to perform the narrative as if it is actually happening, or in as interesting and dynamic a way as she can for her audience. Brittany's style of authority as contributive participant, therefore, seems to utilize the most and loudest energy during her turns at talk, especially during narrative performance. Furthermore, it is clear that Brittany's authority is taken up by the group since she is never challenged. Instead, the group seems to trust her narrative performances as well as her narratorship.

Image 16. Disco Dancing

April is a close second to this, as she is Brittany's sister and tends to either encourage or be encouraged by Brittany's dynamism, especially since they tend to share the same narratives. However, when April takes a narrative stand, individuated from her sister's, she displays a kind of narrative authority that is subtler and more reliant on a combination of her spoken signals of authority and her performative gestures as tools of assessment. In the data, and as can be seen in the excerpt, here, April typically marks the authority of her performance with the use of direct claims or statements that imply that she is qualified to talk on whatever subject she is speaking on, even if it is a humorous telling. For example, in the excerpt above, she firmly articulates the word, "literally," before using her own narrative performance as an assessment tool of the overall narrative. During her narrative performances, April consistently takes a stance of being qualified to make assessments and she uses performance devices to

either set up the narrative she is assessing or to carry out the actual assessment. In the excerpt above, she claps and smiles as she narrates her response to the character's death in the show, suggesting that it is clearly correct that the character should die. Her assessment is marked by her statement of authority and her performance of her assessment within the narrative.

April is not at all stingy with her performance gestures, but she takes a more verbally commanding stance on her narrative performances, as opposed to Brittany, whose exuberance does most of the work of commanding attention. April's authority as participant, then, rests not only in her performance skills, but also in the overall tone of delivery she invokes. Image 17 shows how she attracts the gaze of the audience during a break in Brittany's narrative (line 12), when she exclaims that she was so happy, she was "literally clapping and smiling." Although Brittany may have continued to hold the floor by continuing her narrative performance after April's addition, the authority April utilizes in her combination of words and gesture, allows her to briefly take the floor and express her own participation in the narrative, as a separate individual from her sister.

Image 17. I Was Literally…

This tendency to use direct claims and statements a with a commanding tone in order to construct a sense of authority will delivering a narrative is repeated during Stephanie's contribution to the narrative conversation when she performs her own response to a disliked character dying in the series, *Supernatural*. We again see the use of the word "literally" to signal authority in her narrative, in line 32, and in fact, the data for this project suggests that Stephanie has the most instances of using a commanding tone while making direct statements or claims as part of her narrative accounts, in comparison to the other girls. Furthermore, Stephanie uses the least amount of performance gestures in her narrative performances, overall. Typically, as was seen in Excerpt 3 earlier in the chapter, Stephanie relies very heavily on her spoken performance in combination with her beat and diectic gestures to command the attention of

her audience. She actually tends to use very little performance gesture, unless she has been encouraged to by the other members of the group, via their own performance gestures, as was the case in Excerpt 5. The seeming result to this, in the data at least, is that Stephanie tends to lose the floor more often than the other girls, during narrative performances that might be expected to include gesture. In this excerpt, at line 32-33 and visible in Image 18, Stephanie uses performance gesture sparingly, waiting till the exact moment when the character dies in her narrative to make a leaping gesture as if cheering, while screaming "yes."

Her performance at the end of her narrative seems to justify her telling, since the story is short, and she is able to keep her audience's attention until the end, at which point they engage with her performance and help her continue to construct the end of the narrative. Although Stephanie typically uses performance gestures sparingly, she uses beat and diectic gesture in great abundance. Both of these types of gestures seem to be intended to attract and keep her audience's gaze and attention via a sense of her authority. For example, while telling a story and providing an assessment, Stephanie will slap the back of one hand into the palm of the other in a definite of motions suggesting, "this is how it is." While such stances of authority may allow her to maintain audience attention, and ratification, in other social groups, her, they seem only to fail her. It is interesting to note that Stephanie is also the most challenged in her narratives, by the other girls in the group, which might be a

result of displaying too much authority. The consequence is that Stephanie, although utilizing a style of authority in her participation she must feel comfortable with, is not being quite successful in maintaining her individual identity as ratified narrator in the group. Her most successful moments, like the one shown here, are those moments when she builds off of a previous narrative performance and integrates performance gesture as a component, even if it is sparse.

Image 18. Jumping Up

Finally, in Excerpt 7, Monica seems to demonstrate a careful balance of performance devices in a simplistic way that might suggest a nonchalant position as her authoritative style of participation. Although Monica uses a great deal of performance gesture, as well as other performance devices, these gestures tend

to be subtle like April's, yet highly descriptive like Brittany's. In the excerpt below,

Monica is fully embodying the characters she is quoting, but her narrative

performance is paced and simple, which allows the other girls to insert their own

collaborative pieces of the narrative along the way. Here, Monica is discussing

two brothers' conversation on the show *Supernatural* (which all the girls watch),

about a dog in the car the brothers often use as a home.

Excerpt 7. I Knew I Smelled Dog

    1)   M;   [And then when he comes back from purgatory, he's like,]

    2)   M; <VOX> I smell dog, [why do I smell dog,]

    3)   M; did you have a dog in here? </VOX>

    4)   M: ((HOLDING THE STEERING WHEEL))

    5)   S;   [<VOX> Why do I smell dog? </VOX>]

    6)   B; Like, [I'm about to send] you where I just ##. ((POINTING))

    7)   S;   [No:]

    8)   ((EVERYONE LAUGHING))

    9)   M; And- [and Sam's] like smart enough to be like

  10)   S;   [No]

  11)   S; [No, what?]

  12)   M; [<VOX> No, what ? </VOX>]

  13)   B; Don't be stupid like ### @@@@@

  14)   M; And then he's like, <VOX> I had a dog. </VOX>

  15)   M; He's like, <VOX> I knew I smelled dog. </VOX> @@@

Since Monica's performance is open and paced, the other girls' contributions allow her to build authority in her participation as a storyteller because every contribution lends to and ratifies the narrative she is performing.

This is evident in the transcript as Monica's narrative is fraught with overlaps, while the other girls co/construct the narrative with her. Monica appears to be nonchalant about her narrative performance and is not threatened by the other girls' contributions, yet she uses every performance device to produce a narrative that maintains her audience's gaze, and therefore their attention, as can be seen in Image 19. Monica does not often lose the floor, although her narratives tend to be open to contributions. It therefore seems likely that Monica builds her authority as an equal participant in the group off of her ability to hold the floor, while sharing her space on the floor with others in group, thereby making her narrative performances inviting and appealing to her audience.

Image 19. Why Do I Smell Dog?

In sum, each girl's style of authoritative display during narrative accounts is different, and yet each girl's style utilizes the use of performance devices to some degree or another, especially performance gesture, in order to construct a sense of overall successful authority as individual participants. In fact, performance gesture, throughout the excerpts given here, hold particular significance to the girls' ability to produce narrative performances in ways that maintain a positive rhythm of participation as they construct their authority as equal contributors. As the girls use their own style of narrative authority, they develop and display individual identities as participants in the social event of conversation and narrative. Brittany's participation style is boisterous and exuberant, commanding attention from the other participants through the use of her entire body. April's participation style is reserved and moderated, yet still dynamic enough in performance to back her authoritative appeals via spoken language. Stephanie displays the most authoritative style of participation, relying on an authoritative delivery of information to construct her participation, rather than demonstrating by use of performance as the other girls seem to do; however, since her participation is so often challenged, Stephanie's individual identity, and therefore her authority, often seems to submit to the group identity as a whole. Monica's participation style is the most laid back and inviting, relying on the contributions of the other girls to ratify her authority as speaker; she appears to be the most nonchalant in her construction of authority as participant, which seems to lend her plenty of authority as a member of the group.

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As a result of these findings, it seems that participation is highly reliant on opportunities for both group and individual performances as a type of identity co/construction. It further seems evident that these opportunities are most often found in and built upon dynamic narrative performances which allow each speaker to hold the floor, receive the audience's attention, attract the gaze of all participants involved, and ultimately be ratified by the group, as meeting the goals of the group overall. In this case, since this group is strongly gendered, the goals seem to be to build group solidarity and individual authority as equal participants, allowing each girl to build certain amounts of social capital that she make take with her beyond the group. Such social capital allows her to carry that ratified authority with her as participant in other social environments, much like a social résumé. Without these components, participation is likely to fall through, and so also the group's sense of cohesion and each girl's reputation as a social being. Participation, then, is directly affected by participants' use of dynamic and ratified performance devices, whenever appropriate, which means participants must be able to asses each moment of participation, especially during the kind of small, conversational narratives described in this project.

3.2 Discussion, Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

The overall goal of this project is to complicate sociolinguistics' understanding of narrative. Typically, narrative is considered to be compilation of temporally sequenced events, placed within a conversation, in order to construct

some kind of identity or take up some position via spoken language interaction (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Bamberg, 1997; Ochs, 1997; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). However, in this project, I forward the idea that by incorporating the kind of visual components that take place during a performance, narrative speakers are able to do multiple levels of linguistic work during conversational situations that are directly tied to their construction of self and other in terms of identity and participation. Although narrative performance has been alluded to in various sites of narrative research, it has not been overtly studied in such a way that any kind of conclusions can be drawn from the use of narrative performance by conversation participants (McNeill, 1986; Cassell and McNeill, 1990; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Jacobs and Garnham, 2007; Lwin, 2010). Instead, such performances are either brushed over as not important enough to seriously delve into, or are only studied in controlled situations and only quantitatively. This project seeks to bring this performance into the light as not only a worthwhile site for research and investigation, but as necessary to our understanding of the ways in which narrative is intimately tied to the co/construction of self.

Furthermore, although gendered, social identity is highly studied in sociolinguistics, especially as it relates to conversational atmospheres, which include narrative environments, work on teenage girls as narrative building conversationalists has been largely overlooked. What we do have in the field is research on the ways women and pre-adolescent girls construct their narratives,

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which social environment they construct them in, and what the implications of such construction are (Goodwin, 1980; Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Goodwin, 1999). In terms of research done on teenage (or pre-teenage) girls, the majority of work in sociolinguistics has to do with the development of groups, styles, stances, and spoken language (Sleight, 1987; Eder, 1988; Bucholtz, 1999; Cheshire, 2000; Eckert, 2003; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Cutler, 2010). Therefore, this project also seeks to fill the gap in research regarding the use of narrative by teenage girls to co/construct themselves in social situations.

These gaps seemed particularly strange to me as a linguist who is also involved in community work with teenage girls on a regular basis. My own observations, before this project, led me to believe that teenage girls are apt to use their entire body to tell stories about themselves and others. In my mind, such dynamic work suggests a purpose – a narrative need that must be fulfilled by these narrators. The analysis of such full body, narrative performances carried out in this project, implies that indeed such a need exists, as these performances are directly tied to the ways in which these girls construct themselves and their social identity via the attention and ratification of their peers. Three questions were asked as part of this study: what impact does narrative performance have on participation and group alignment?, what influence does narrative performance have on gender and social identity construction?, and how does narrative performance aid in the construction of authority as individual group

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participants? I will briefly lay out, here, how I see the analysis above answering those questions.

<u>3.2.1 Discussion</u>

The analysis of the data collected for this project suggests that narrative performance can have a profound impact on participation frameworks, overall. For the particular group of girls that I observed, I was able to see this in the way they negotiated the process of participation. Excerpts 1-3 highlight this kind of negotiation, but there were other instances that this project does not give room for, in which narrative performance – a dynamic embodiment of past or future events – allowed the girls to not only elicit floor holding rights and participation from the audience via ratification, but also negotiate alignment within the group overall.

This was particularly clear in Excerpt 1 and 3 when both Monica's and Stephanie's ratification by the group seemed to be directly impacted by the use or non-use of narrative performance. Monica's use of narrative performance allowed her to gain participation from her audience members. Stephanie's non-use seemed to allow Brittany to overtake Stephanie's narrative, due to her lack of as elaborate gesturing as that of Brittany. In fact, it seemed clear that had Stephanie been more dynamic, she likely would have held the floor longer, and gained more participation from her audience.

Participation from the audience became particularly important during narrative performances, because it is during these dynamic and very visual

instances of interaction within the group, that each member, not only the speaker, is under scrutiny from the other members. In these moments, alignment is key to keeping the group intact. This was obvious when the audience and narrators bounced off of each other in enthusiastic participation in excerpt 2, thereby increasing not only the level of participation during the narrative performance, but also increasing a sense of unity that only a high level of alignment could make possible. This kind of participation negotiation via narrative performance, then, seemed to be focused on finding the niche wherein these girls could align themselves with each other in such a way that the group maintained a sense of unity. Eder (1988), explains that for teenage girls, the more collaborative the social talk, the more powerful the social bonds within the group (p. 234). Since this is often the goal of such collaborative stories amongst women and young pre-adolescent girls (Goodwin, 1980; Ochs, 1992; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Shiffrin, 1996; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Goodwin, 1999; Georgakopoulou; 2002), it is not surprising that teenage girls are just as much aware of it. In fact, as was clear in the data, not only are these girls aware of the power of collaborative, co/constructed narratives, they manage that power by managing each other through the negotiation of which kinds of participation are viable for the group.

It's clear, then, that the impact of narrative performance on participation and the negotiation of alignments is remains necessarily gendered. This became clear to me in response to my research question regarding whether narrative

performance influences gender and social identities. Narrative performance and the kind of participation frameworks attached to each performance pointed to a very gendered goal of building and maintaining group solidarity in groups that include female participants, as has been mentioned previously. Narrative performances allow the narrator to not only perform the events of the narrative being told, but also the gendered identities of each character, including themselves. Such visual performances leave an incredible amount of space for assessment. First, the narrator is able to provide identity assessment during the performance, whether by use of the performance or by interpretation of the performance. Second, the audience is able to not only participate in the identity assessment of the characters along with the narrator, but they are also able to assess the narrator's identity as the performance/assessment unfolds. This makes these moments extremely risky for all involved, since assessments that are not accepted by all members of the group create a rift that might not be easily fixed.

The gendered goal of group solidarity, however, implicitly socializes each member into carefully negotiating moments of alignment and realignment, especially so as to avoid direct, negative assessments (Eckert, 2003). This was clear in Excerpt 5 when Stephanie found herself not in alignment with the rest of the group and realigned herself in order to further a sense of solidarity between herself and her peer group. She not only avoided a negative assessment of her own social and gender identity, she also reconstructed in that moment in line with

the other girls, who aided in the reconstruction, and in fact made it necessary. In order to align herself with the goals and values of the group, she had to separate herself from a less favorable assessment of a gendered performance, and through the process of negotiation realign herself with her current group who valued a more lenient position on the carrying out of narrative roles. Therefore, her social identity was one that needed to be reflective of more liberal gender expectations, and her gender identity needed to be one that supported the genders norms or expectations set up by the group. Eckert (2003) points out that this is common in groups of adolescents because, as they separate themselves from the adult world while appropriating the social norms of adulthood, they initiate a "social hothouse effect" (p. 112-113). In the hothouse, they are able to define norms and work out social meanings that thereby bind the group as a whole. Since this is then the foundation by which they view and assess participants in the group, the group builds power and authority through their own, developed socialization techniques. In the case of this group, these techniques are clearly very visual, in that narrative performances are used to directly negotiate the socialization of each member through their participation. Although Excerpt 5 is relatively short, the work on identity, both gender and social, that narrative performance initiated is powerful, especially for a group of young women because the socialization goals that narrative performance fulfills are directly in line, here, with the gendered goals of the group. This puts identity work in the forefront.

Furthermore, although narrative performance, initiates and makes room for this kind of identity work to develop, it also allows for the actual overt performance of gender as a process of reification of gender roles that have been accepted as the norm by the group (Butler, 1999). This was clear in Excerpts 4 and 5, when the girls co/constructed a very clear sense of the difference between boys and girls with the use of their performances of each, as well as their assessments of such performances. In this way, the negotiation of both gender and social identities are influenced by narrative performance, since such performances make both far more visual and available for commentary and assessment. When one embodies a particular gender identity or initiates commentary on gender roles, one is often cast into a precarious position of needing ratification and alignment from peers, in order to maintain a sense of validation. In moments of narrative performance, this is exactly what is happening. Excerpts 4 and 5 allowed the girls to establish what it means for them to be girls, and exactly what that might look like in action. They were also able, perhaps as a result, to differentiate their own roles and identities as girls from that of boys, and by doing so they were finally able to establish social expectations for themselves. This is what makes that moment in Excerpt 4, when Brittany brings up her unusual behavior at the movies, so interesting. The girls had just aligned themselves to a particular interpretation of gender roles, thereby taking up the identity of a girl, ratified by the group: this is how we watch chick flicks as girls. When Brittany outs herself, it is almost as if the moment in the past

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must be revisited in order reassess her own behavior as a member of the group, and reconfirm solidarity with the group. This moment in the excerpt seems out of place until we come back to the gendered group goals, which for females of any age, seem to be group unity, especially so as to avoid direct conflict during moments of social engagement (Goodwin, 1980; Eder, 1988; Eckert, 1989; Georgakopoulou, 1995; Georgakopoulou, 1998; Goodwin and Alim, 2010).

Narrative performance, then, makes visual social and gendered identities, roles, goals, and participation frameworks within which each member of the group must to some degree adhere in order to maintain group solidarity, which ultimately benefits each member of the group during the actual moment that the narrative unfolds. However, there are long term benefits to the use of narrative performance, since it also makes visual, and perhaps more poignant, the authority each member brings to the table. This is significant, since authority during narrative events is particularly helpful in allowing the narrator to build social capital (Eckert, 1989). That is, as the narrator is able to demonstrate appropriate levels of authority in the telling of the narrative, the narrator is able to build a trust and rapport with the audience that gives more credence to other instances of talk. The narrator then becomes a valued speaker in the group, and that could branch out into other groups. Therefore, a successful stance of authority as narrator/speaker, extends long terms to future social engagements where the capital built up previously gives the narrator a stronger foundation for participation, and hence more power to sway participation in the speaker's favor.

Excerpts 6 and 7 were particularly focused to show that the girls were doing a lot of work, via narrative performance, to construct their own individual authority within the group, in response to my third research question. However, once we know how to identify instances of the girls building authority, we can easily go back to other excerpts and see this work being done throughout. The results were that each girl was able to build a sense of individual authority within the group, although it did not always work out positively. Since Brittany was able to hold the floor and the attention of the group with exuberant narrative performances, we might surmise that she had previously been able to build that social capital that carried over from other moments of exuberant and ratified moments of narrative performance. The same can be said of April and Monica, who rarely lost the floor and always had good levels of participation, while using narrative performances that elicited audience co/construction. These girls, therefore, demonstrated a positive accumulation of authority within the group that benefited them overall. However, in Stephanie's case, we could see the exact opposite, where perhaps not enough use of the right kinds of narrative performances, or not enough group preferred demonstrations of authority, often led to her losing the participation of her audience and therefore the floor. Once again, we see the ways in which participation frameworks, in this case the giving or taking away of participation by audience members, actually works to socialize the members of the group into correct participation. As each girl successfully develop her individual sense of authority, she is also able to build an individual

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identity in the group which, according to Schiffrin (1996), can be just as important in groups where solidarity is a goal, because distance and the exercise of autonomy allows for the building of individual power. In the case of the data for this project, it seems that even the members' ability to build social capital via instances of authoritative narrative performances depends on the ratification alignment with narrative performances. The group members not only assess of validate the narrative performance as a visual embodiment of authority from the narrator, but also they determine whether the authority of the narrator fits into the expectations of the group, making each speech act a demonstration of power that may or may not pan out for the speaker (Butler, 1999). Hence, once again, narrative performance, in all its visual tendencies, creates a risky arena for each girl to participate in, and yet they continue to do so, displaying complicated patterns of social engagement that attempts to make each performance worthwhile.

The results of my analysis, therefore, particularly in the case of teenage girls, show that narrative performance could have quite a profound impact on participation dynamics as a narrative unfolds, specifically in that each participant is being held to a certain expectation of performance, so that each member must carry out their participation in a manner that maintains alignment within the group, and avoids conflict and discordance as much as possible. Further, the analysis demonstrates that narrative performance might be particularly influential during negotiations of gender and social identities, which arise during the telling

and assessing of narratives in group contexts. Not only must the group find solidarity in the assessment of social and gender norms, values, and expectations, they must align themselves with those assessments. Narrative performance makes each members' position in this negotiation of identity visible to the others and is consequently a risky and influential event as it opens each member up to even stronger assessment from the other members. Finally, narrative performance seems to allow participants to develop authority, via performance strategies, helping them to build social capital as social young women who function as narrators and speakers in their social groups. Ultimately, social arenas have been shown to be where girls/women are able to gain the most influence as members of society. As they gain the social capital needed to participate with higher and more ratified levels of authority, they are likely also to gain power as social individuals. Narrative performance, at least in the project here, seems to be a very visual embodiment of authority, which is, again, ultimately determined by the kind of participation that the performance garners.

3.2.2 Conclusion

The findings of this research project, then, hold great potential for the way we might understand teenage girls' narratives during situations of conversation. The girls in this study seem to use very visual, very overt negotiations of participation, identity, and authority that are often directly associated with narrative performance. Such environments for social events can be particularly risky, since the kind of embodiment of social positions that narrative performance

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allows puts the narrator and the audience in a situation of immediate and direct

assessment of each other. In these instances, we can see a strong influence of

socialization from the group overall, wherein there is a strong persuasion from

each participant to the others to follow the norms that have been established

(Ecker and McConnell-Ginnet, 2003). This is even more complicated when we

consider that often times, these norms or values are being established on the

ground, as the narrative performance is being carried out. If a participant does

not adequately align with the norms or values of the group, the participant risks

being ostracized. This makes narrative performance a risky undertaking which

suggests a great deal of work being done by these teenage girls and this is

especially important, since it is as teenagers that they discover a need for social

capital in order to construct themselves as powerholding women as they grow

into adulthood. The kind of work they do as teenagers has the potential to

directly affect their social identities and choices as adult women, which has

already been shown in sociolinguistic research to be a large undertaking,

particularly in narrative situations.

Ultimately, with issues of participation, alignment/solidarity, identity, and

authority being so interwoven into each event of narrative performance, via a

process of sought after ratification from each member of the group, for each

member of the group, what actually begins to surface is an overall negotiation of

power, via the participation frameworks established during narrative

performances. If we consider what has been discussed up to this point, it seems

that each girl in the group is exercising power over every other girl, and they all seem to know it. The result is a kind of social dance, in which each girl exercises power at the same time that she is vying for power. This can be seen particularly in the way the individual members of the group constrain each other to participate in what they have determined to be appropriate manners. According to Goodwin (1999), this happens as part of the natural course of social organization and reorganization, wherein various instances of participation makes visible each participant's position, especially in relation to the story being told and the interpretation being given as context is built around the story. In these moments of visible participation, each member is able to constrain the others, since the narrator is seeking ratification from the listeners and the listeners are determining their position in relation to the narrator, which may or may not influence the narrator's strategic choices during the telling.

In the case of this project, the girls developed a rubric of constraint to influence how each girl should participate in the narrative performance, from beginning to end, how she should understand gender and gender performances, and how she should perform her narratives in general, and whether or not her construction of individual authority will be ratified or not. This constraint is not carried out overtly, however. Often times, the girls use subtle strategies, such as pointing (verbally or gesturally) at what they want the others to participate in, denying floor holding rights when the narrative performance is not appealing to the group, or shaping the assessments of gender performances through general,

yet overtly judgmental comments. In other words, there is constant process of socialization as an exercise in power, where the girls do not come right out and tell each other what to say, or think, or act, but rather set up parameters through their own performances and assessments that clue the others into knowing where they should position themselves. Subtlety seems key here, as is it is interpreted by savvy members of the group as an invitation to appropriately align with the group at the same time that it avoids direct conflict. It is in fact, direct in its non-directness and that is what gives these girls so much power over each other. They all know the expectations. If they do not align themselves with the expectations, especially during narrative performances where they are the most vulnerable and visible, there is a risk of not fitting in – not belonging. Socially, this could be disastrous, as it would eliminate them from that group and possibly other groups (Goodwin, 1980; Goodwin and Alim, 2010).

We might, then, consider the kind of social outcomes for the girls discussed in this study. In an environment where a peer group of teenage girls, whose goals are ultimately to accumulate social capital (Eckert, 1990; Ochs, 1992), are negotiating their individual identities via the co/construction of a group identity, there is bound to be a certain level of conflict underlying these social interactions, but it must be subtle enough to allow the power dynamics of the group to remain equalized. If equality is lost, if the goal of solidarity in the group fails, then all members of the group have something to lose, not the least of which the member who is outcast. The subtle conflict and negotiation of identity,

therefore, is pertinent to development of a socialized and accepted identity that will conform to the group's identity. It is important, then, that each girl take a stance that aligns with the group, for only when she is aligned, is she also able to gain power within the group (Ochs, 1993). It is important to note, however, that these moves to take a stance of alignment, must also be authoritative and purposeful, since a purposeful act of authority or alignment that is ratified by the group suggests the power of the participant to fulfill social goals, and thereby socialize other members (Ochs, 1993; Goodwin, 2000; Johnstone, 2009). As was seen in the case of the data for this project, some girls were able to utilize narrative performance much more successfully than others. This could have been due to the ways in which the narrative performance was carried out and/or the level of authority being displayed that was actually ratified by the group. It most likely had to do with how closely the narrative performance and the participation in the performance aligned with group goals of gender and social identity.

In any case, the underneath these complicated and intricate negotiations is an accumulation of power. Such an accumulation allows these girls to mark themselves as autonomous, authoritative, social beings. As such, they are more and more able manipulate social environments in ways that benefit them, since, as Eckert (1990) and Ochs (1992) point out, successful accumulation of social capital equals an accumulation of social power. Therefore, the results of this project suggest that teenage girls are doing complicated and risky work to

establish, negotiate, and co/construct their selves as socially ratified and therefore powerful social participants, perhaps most prominently during narrative performances, which make up a large portion of these, and possibly other, teenage girls' social interactions. Furthermore, one might conclude that if the analysis of narrative performance allows us to see the kind of subtle power negotiations that we might otherwise miss in traditional oral/aural representations of narrative events in social situations with teenage girls, then there is bound to be other such instances in other groups that are not made up of teenage girls. Narrative performance, then, really allows us to come at narrative discourse analysis from a different perspective, one that encourages us to *see* the interactions unfolding, and how the negotiation of power via overt, visual participation and embodying of various positions of performance really influences the member of the group.

We come full circle, then, to Goffman (1979), with the point that if speaker and listener are to be effective participants in situations of speech, they better be in a position to watch each other, as each will take up a footing – a performance – that establishes their role and the role of each participant in the social engagement. In other words, the positions that these girls take up socially and physically during their interactions directly affect their roles as participants. Since narrative performance seems strongly preferred by teenage girls as a form of communication, it is important that these instances be further studied.

3.2.3 Suggestions for Further Research

Further research, then, should be focused on expanding the research on teenage girls' narrative development, particularly their performances, in order to really get at how teenage girls are developing into socially empowered, adult women, via the use of their narratives in social situations of talk (Eckert, 1990). Beyond teenage girls, there is a similar dearth in the research of narratives developed by adolescent boys. Since Georgakopoulou's work has suggested that narrative development is a gendered event for both men and women, it would seem that this work needs to be done to see how differently boys may develop and use their own narratives in social situations to construct their identities as near adult men, particularly in a world where men's social norms are being challenged and brought into scrutiny more frequently.

Beyond the issue of gender as a significant component to narrative participation. Narrative performance, specifically as it relates to the use of gestures to reenact or embody the event of the narrative, needs more work in the field of sociolinguistics. This study, alone, suggests that overt and visual performance strategies are directly tied to participation frameworks, and therefore to issues of identity. This means that although quantitative work on gesture, to date, has suggested its strong connections to narrative development, we need more qualitative work that seeks to discover how gesture, and other visual performance devices influence social constructions during narrative performances.

The narrative discourse and sociolinguistic fields should consider this complication of narrative development for further research and study. Such work could expand our notions of how narrative arises and is carried out in social environments. This work could also help us understand the goal of young, socially aware, adolescents who are quickly approaching adulthood and will carry with them the strategies and lessons they learn while constructing themselves in social situations. With an expansion of our narrative analysis that considers narrative performance as a serious undertaking for speakers and listeners, the work of narrative research has the potential for deeper and better understandings of narrative development.

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL LETTER, FALL 2015

Academic Affairs
Office of Academic Research • Institutional Review Board

December 16, 2015

Ms. Chere Smith and Prof. Caroline Vickers
Department of English
California State University, San Bernardino
5500 University Parkway
San Bernardino, California 92407

| **CSUSB** |
| **INSTITUTIONAL** |
| **REVIEW BOARD** |
| Administrative Review |
| IRB# 15027b |
| Status |
| **APPROVED** |

Dear Ms. Smith and Prof. Vickers:

Your application to use human subjects, titled, "Identity Maintenance Through the Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls " has been reviewed and approved by the Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of California State University, San Bernardino has determined that your application meets the requirements for exemption from IRB review Federal requirements under 45 CFR 46. As the researcher under the exempt category you do not have to follow the requirements under 45 CFR 46 which requires annual renewal and documentation of written informed consent which are not required for the exempt category. However, exempt status still requires you to attain consent from participants before conducting your research.

The CSUSB IRB has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval notice does not replace any departmental or additional approvals which may be required.

Your responsibilities as the researcher/investigator reporting to the IRB Committee include the following 4 requirements as mandated by the Code of Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46 listed below. Please note that the protocol change form and renewal form are located on the IRB website under the forms menu. Failure to notify the IRB of the above may result in disciplinary action. You are required to keep copies of the informed consent forms and data for at least three years. Please notify the IRB Research Compliance Officer for any of the following:

- **Submit a protocol change form if any changes (no matter how minor) are proposed in your research prospectus/protocol for review and approval of the IRB before implemented in your research,**
- **If any unanticipated/adverse events are experienced by subjects during your research, and**
- **When your project has ended by emailing the IRB Research Compliance Officer.**

If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Michael Gillespie, the IRB Research Compliance Officer. Mr. Michael Gillespie can be reached by phone at (909) 537-7588, by fax at (909) 537-7028, or by email at mgillesp@csusb.edu. Please include your application approval identification number (listed at the top) in all correspondence.

Best of luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Judy Sylva

Judy Sylva, Ph.D., Chair
CSUSB Institutional Review Board

JS/MG

909.537.7588 • fax: 909.537.7028 • http://irb.csusb.edu/
5500 UNIVERSITY PARKWAY, SAN BERNARDINO, CA 92407-2393

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Maritime Academy • Monterey Bay • Northridge • Pomona • Sacramento • San Bernardino • San Diego • San Francisco • San Jose • San Luis Obispo • San Marcos • Sonoma • Stanislaus

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APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORMS

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SAN BERNARDINO

Identity Maintenance through the Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls
CHILD ASSENT FORM

My name is Cheré Smith. I am trying to learn about how teenage girls tell stories to their friends because I want to know how telling stories might help teenage girls define their own identity and I want to know how teenage girls choose to tell stories. If you would like, you can be in my study.

If you decide you want to be in my study, you will be voice and video recorded 5 times for 1 hour each time while you hang out with your friends at my house. I will also interview you for no longer than 1 hour to ask you questions about what we see in the video recording and how you told stories to your friends. I will use these recordings when I give presentations about my research and when I publish my research.

The benefits to you participating in my project is that you will be able to see how you tell stories and how that is important to your identity. The benefits also include my ability to see how teenage girls hang out with each other, so that I, and other people, can understand more about teenage girls and how they tell their stories. The risks are that you might feel uncomfortable being voice and video recorded because others will be able to hear your voice and see your face and they might recognize you. You could also feel like you are being judged. I will do my best to help you feel comfortable while I record you and you can choose to stop being in the study at any time. I am not going to judge you or your friends. I am looking only for how you hang out as friends and how you tell stories to your friends, so that others can see how teenage girls interact with each other.

Other people might be able to know who you are if you are in my study because they will be able to see your face and hear your voice when I give presentations and publish my work. However, I will choose a different name for you and your home city so that no one will know your name or where you live.

Your parents have said that it is OK for you to be in the study. Now you get to choose if you want to do it. You can choose how you want to participate. For example you can choose to be voice recorded, video recorded, and interviewed, or you can choose to only participate in one or two of these things. If you don't want to be in the study, no one will be mad at you and we will still be friends. If you want to be in the study now and change your mind later, that's OK. You can stop at any time and we will still be friends and no one will be mad at you. I will also allow you to choose how I am allowed to use the recordings.

If you have any questions or concerns, you can contact Caroline Vickers at 909-537-5684 or email her at cvickers@csusb.edu.

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SAN BERNARDINO

If you decide to participate in this study, I will ask you to say the agreement on this form, and tell me that you agree to be audio and video recorded, and to be interviewed. I will give you a copy of this form in case you want to ask questions later.

Agreement

I have decided to be in the study even though I know that I don't have to do it. Cheré Smith has answered all my questions.

☐ Child agrees to be audio recorded. ☐ Child agrees to be video recorded.

☐ Child agrees to be interviewed.

Identity Maintenance through the Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls
PARENT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I am asking your child to participate in a study that looks at the way teenage girls (14-17 years of age) use story telling as a way to build identity in social interactions and conversations with their peers. This study will be carried out by Cheré Smith, an MA student in English, under the supervision of Professor Caroline Vickers, Professor of English.

In this study, I am asking to audio and video record your child as she hangs out and has conversations with her friends in my family room at my house. These audio and video recordings will last up to, but no longer than 1 hour each on five different occasions. I would also like to audio and video record an interview with your child, also in my family room at my house, that will last no longer than 1 hour, during which I will ask her some questions about her choices about how she told her stories based on what we see in the recordings. The purpose of these recordings will be to understand how teenage girls use story telling during social interactions and conversations with peers and how they use their stories to help them build an identity for themselves. I am also interested in how they interpret their behavior as they socialize with their friends, as that might lend insight to why/how they make the choices they make while telling their stories.

The benefits for your child in participating in this study is that this study will help linguists who look at social interactions to better understand how teenage girls manage their own identities, through storytelling, in social interaction with other teenage girls, thereby filling a gap in research about teenage girls' identities. Risks to your child could include some discomfort at being audio and video recorded during these social events, as well as during the interviews, because your child's face will be seen and her voice will be heard as my research is conducted. Further discomfort might be felt since I will be using clips and picture of these recording during presentations and in research I publish, like articles and books. In these cases, others will be able to see your child's face and hear her voice. She might be recognizable. The purpose of this study is not to evaluate or judge your child in any way, but rather to look at how she hangs out as a teenager with her friends in as natural and objective a way as possible. However, if your child is uncomfortable, she may choose not to participate at any time without any negative consequence. She may also choose which parts of the project she wants to participate in and what she is comfortable with the recordings being used for. If she decides she does not want to participate at any time, I can erase the recordings.

Your child's participation is totally voluntary. If she feels uncomfortable at any time, she can ask for me to stop the audio and video recorder, and I will. If she decides that she do not want these recordings to be used, they will be immediately destroyed or modified, no questions asked. I will not use any data that she does not feel comfortable with me using. She should also feel free to ask any questions she may have about this study at any time during her participation. You should not feel obligated to participate in this project based on our friendship. If you choose not to allow

your child to participate, we will continue to be friends and there will be no negative consequences to you child or her friends. It is okay to say no.

If you choose to allow your child to participate, I will replace her name and her home city with a pseudonym. However, it should be clear that because there is a video recording, as well as an audio recording, your child's face and voice can and may be identified as I use and present these recordings as part of my research. I will use the recordings and transcripts to look at the way teenage girls build and manage their identities while interacting with their peers. I intend to present these findings and clips and pictures from the recordings I collect of your child in a graduate thesis to a graduate committee. I will also present these findings at conferences and in publications, such as journals and books. The audio and video recordings will be stored on a password protected computer, and will be promptly and permanently erased from the recording device. The recordings will be saved on the password protected computer for five years, and then they will also be erased.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to ask now or to contact Caroline Vickers at cvickers@csusb.edu or 909-537-5824.

By signing below, I acknowledge that I have been informed of and that I understand the purpose of this study, and I freely consent to my child's participation.

☐ I consent to allow my child to be audio recorded.

☐ I consent to allow my child to be video recorded.

☐ I consent to allow my child to be interviewed.

_____
Signature of Parent

_____
Date

Identity Maintenance through the Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls
PHOTOGRAPH/VIDEO/AUDIO USE
CHILD INFORMED ASSENT FORM
FOR NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS

As part of this research project, we will be making a photograph/videotape/audiotape recording of you during your participation in the experiment. Please indicate what uses of this photograph/videotape/audiotape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces, and your response will in no way affect your credit for participating. We will only use the photograph/videotape/audiotape in ways that you agree to. In any use of this photograph/videotape/audiotape, your name would *not* be identified. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, the photograph/videotape/audiotape will be destroyed.

Please indicate the type of informed consent

☐ Photograph ☐ Videotape ☐ Audiotape

- **The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be studied by the research team for use in the research project.**

  ☐ Please initial: _____

- **The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be used for publications, such as articles and books.**

  ☐ Please initial: _____

- **The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played at meetings of scientists.**

  ☐ Please initial: _____

- **The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in classrooms to students.**

  ☐ Please initial: _____

- **The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in public presentations and conferences.**

  ☐ Please initial: _____

I have read the above description and give my assent for the use of the photograph/videotape/audiotape as indicated above. The extra copy of this consent form is for your records.

DATE _____

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SAN BERNARDINO

Identity Maintenance through the Narrative Performance of Teenage Girls
PHOTOGRAPH/VIDEO/AUDIO USE PARENT INFORMED CONSENT FORM
FOR NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS

As part of this research project, we will be making a photograph/videotape/audiotape recording of you during your participation in the experiment. Please indicate what uses of this photograph/videotape/audiotape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces, and your response will in no way affect your credit for participating. We will only use the photograph/videotape/audiotape in ways that you agree to. In any use of this photograph/videotape/audiotape, your name would *not* be identified. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, the photograph/videotape/audiotape will be destroyed.

Please indicate the type of informed consent

☐ Photograph   ☐ Videotape   ☐Audiotape

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be studied by the research team for use in the research project.

    Please initial: _____

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be used for publications, such as articles and books.

    Please initial: _____

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played at meetings of scientists.

    Please initial: _____

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in classrooms to students.

    Please initial: _____

- The photograph/videotape/audiotape can be shown/played in public presentations and conferences.

    Please initial: _____

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the photograph/videotape/audiotape as indicated above. The extra copy of this consent form is for your records.

SIGNATURE _____   **DATE** _____

5500 UNIVERSITY PARKWAY, SAN BERNARDINO, CA 92407-2393

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APPENDIX C

DU BOIS (2006) TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Meaning	Symbol	Example
Speaker attribution, letter in all caps	A;	A;
Pause, timed	(3.8)	(3.8) So anyway
Hold/micropause	..	.. I don't know
Pause, untimed	…	… well
Prosodic lengthening/lag	:	U:::m
Appeal	?	A; Do you know?
Overlap	[ ]	B; It was so [funny] M; [Hilarious]
Unintelligible	# one per syllable	###
Uncertain	#word	#you #could see
Quotation quality less than a true voice of another	<QUOTE>	B; He was like, <QUOTE> what are you doing in there? <QUOTE>
Truncated/cut-off word	Word-	Wha-
Inhale	(H)	(H) Well I told him
Exhale	(Hx)	(Hx) I know
Laugh	@	@ @ @
Laughing word	@word	@he @was @so @funny
Vocalism	(COUGH)	
Click	(TSK)	
Time in seconds in recording	<T=00:00:0.0>	And then she came over <T=0:03:15.8>
Creak/glottalization	%	%oh
Transcriber's comments	((COMMENT))	((WAVING ARMS))

Transcript Conventions (Du Bois, 2006).

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