# Performing a Memory:
a multimodal analysis of multi-authored past life stories narrated collaboratively by groups of friends.

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Acknowledgements

Writing this paper has been a challenging yet rewarding experience. I would like to thank my supervisor for his guidance throughout this research project. Thanks to his insight, I was able to reach this level of understanding of very fine-grained ideas and this project its full potential.

I would also like to thank my family for their support and understanding. Many thanks to the friends who enthusiastically participated in the project. Their contribution is the cornerstone of the project which made the analysis an enjoyable experience.

Finally, I would dedicate this thesis to my late grandfather, whose love for knowledge and education runs through the family.

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# Abstract

This project sets out to investigate collaborative storytelling among close friends in naturalistic settings, addressing the question: What roles are produced, occupied, emerged, and distributed during these interactions? The study fills a gap in existing literature by specifically examining the dynamic, collaborative narrating of stories by groups of close friends in non-controlled experimental settings. Through this examination we identify what roles emerge during this process. Storytelling roles are expected to be fluid, collaborative and mutually negotiated, involving shifts in verbal and non-verbal communication. The methodology involves recording two informal gatherings of two distinct close-knit groups of friends. The gatherings are analyzed applying Multimodal Interaction Analysis and interpreted through Goffman's production format. This approach provides a comprehensive examination of the complex interplay of roles and interactions in natural storytelling environments, offering insights into group dynamics with potential applications across various disciplines.

**Keywords:** Collaborative narration, Interactional Pragmatics, Multimodal Interaction Analysis, Participant roles, Production format, Stories.

# 1 Introduction

Stories about the past are prolific in natural and mundane social interactions with research suggesting that people talk about past experiences as often as twelve times an hour (Bohanek et al., 2009). While it is difficult to speculate and generalize about why we spend so much time recounting our past, some social and cognitive psychologists argue that personal stories about past experiences are fundamental to how we see ourselves in the present (Bruner, 1991); (Nelson & Fivush, 2004) In a way, our personal identity and how we see ourselves and our position in the world socially, interpersonally and institutionally, is interwoven with a type of personal narrative that we retrospectively construct in relation to sets of experiences. Nelson and Fivush (2004) have referred to this more generally as autobiographical narrative suggesting that it is a pivotal component of our psychological identity.

In linguistics, researchers have long been interested in personal narratives. Initially, researchers probed questions about how stories are organized and structured (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). While pioneering at the time, the linear and straightforwardly chronological stories told by participants garnered through elicitation methodologies (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) are largely thought to be atypical of naturalistic storytelling which emerges in social interaction. More recently, the identity work accomplished through naturalistic social interactions has become a dominant empirical focus (Norris, 2004, 2011; Tannen, 1984)with most empirical work investigating the nature, form and function of naturally emerging stories which manifest in social interaction. Today, it is largely acknowledged that the stories which emerge in social interaction are collaborative (Schegloff, 1997), dynamic, vary in size and scope (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) and have differentiated social, interactional and psychological functions.

The present study aims to address the following research question: What kinds of roles are produced, occupied, emerged, and distributed during collaborative narratives that are produced in naturalistic settings amongst close friends? Employing Goffman's (1981) production format as an analytical framework and Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004), this research project examines two informal gatherings of two groups of friends. The aim is to identify and analyze the various participant roles that emerge and manifest during collaborative storytelling. All collaborative narrative mechanisms that are analyzed occur in natural interactions. Thus, contributing to our understanding of this prevalent form of social discourse.

# 2 Story-telling and Narratives in Linguistics

Stories are fundamental to human experience as they enable individuals to construct meaning, establish identity, and transmit knowledge across contexts and generations. Narrative, as both a form and function of communication, plays a central role in shaping how people understand themselves and relate to others. Over time, the academic study of narrative has undergone significant shifts, moving from structuralist models that focused on the form and sequence of storytelling, to more interactional and context-sensitive approaches that view stories as dynamic and co-constructed within social practices. More recently, the advent of video-based technologies and multimodal theory has further expanded the scope of narrative inquiry by emphasizing the role of embodied, non-verbal, and spatial cues in real-time storytelling. This literature review traces the development of narrative theory and analysis across these major movements—structural, interactional, and multimodal—highlighting the evolution of

methodologies and analytical frameworks. It also considers the social functions of storytelling, including identity formation and group cohesion, particularly as they emerge in collaborative narrative practices among peers.

Stories permeate all aspects of human life, and their power lies in their ability to convey meaning, structure understanding, and shape both individual and collective identities (Bruner, 1990). As Barthes and Duisit (1975) eloquently observed, “narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind, and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative”. This universality highlights the centrality of narrative as a cognitive and social tool. The significance of storytelling extends beyond entertainment or communication and it has been suggested that it is a foundational mechanism through which humans make sense of experience, negotiate relationships, and participate in cultural life (Bruner 1990; Nelson & Fivush, 2004). Consequently, narrative has been studied across a range of academic disciplines including literature, linguistics, sociology, history, and anthropology. Contemporary interest in narrative theory continues to flourish due to emerging interdisciplinary approaches and the proliferation of digital and interactive media.

## 2.1 Structural Approaches

Narrative analysis in linguistics began with a focus on structure, and personal narrative was among the first discourse genres to be systematically examined. The first formal linguistic model of personal narrative was proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967). Prior to their work, most studies of oral narration focused on stylized, performative oral traditions, often overlooking the everyday and personal storytelling that people engage in spontaneously. Labov and Waletzky (1967) challenged this by arguing that narrative analysis should begin with simpler, more basic stories drawn from real-life experiences.

To gather data, they used ethnographically informed, semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews that often included “danger of death” prompts designed to elicit spontaneous narratives. Although narrators interacted with either the interviewers or with other members of their group, the focus of analysis was on the narrator’s responses. These narratives were recorded and analyzed to determine recurrent structural patterns and key components, from the level of individual clauses to the narrative as a whole. Their aim was to examine the temporal sequencing of narrative clauses and identify how stories are organized.

Labov and Waletzky (1967) distinguished two primary social functions of narrative clauses: the referential function, which provides information about events, characters, and settings and the evaluative function, which highlights the significance or point of the story. They identified six structural components common to oral narratives: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. This model marked a turning point in narrative analysis by offering a framework to analyze the emotive, subjective, and experiential aspects of personal narratives.

Importantly, their work legitimized personal life experiences as valid objects of linguistic and sociological study and helped establish the semi-structured interview as a standard data collection tool in sociolinguistics. However, their approach also provoked criticism and inspired alternative methodologies. One critique concerned the inadequacy of formal syntactic definitions for capturing the functional aspects of language in context. Another key limitation was the

marginalization of the recipient's role in storytelling. As Schegloff (1997) later argued, recipients are not passive listeners but actively shape the unfolding of a narrative; thus, they must be considered an integral part of the storytelling process.

The type of narratives examined by Labov and Waletzky typically involved extraordinary, life-threatening experiences - later termed "canonical" or "big stories" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). These stories, while rich in structure, were often the product of formal elicitation and therefore might not reflect the functions of narrative in everyday settings. As a result, researchers began shifting their focus toward more ordinary, fragmented, and contextually embedded storytelling practices. This led to a growing interest in "small stories" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) that occur in natural, spontaneous conversation. Additionally, it became clear that institutional or research-based settings limited the naturalness of interaction. Scholars increasingly turned to naturally occurring data in everyday environments to better capture the authentic uses of narrative in social life.

## 2.2 Interactional Approaches

By the 1980s, the perception of narrative had shifted dramatically. No longer seen as fixed and self-contained texts, stories came to be understood as emergent, dynamic phenomena co-constructed through social interaction (Mischler, 1986; Riessman, 1993). One of the most influential contributions to this shift was the development of Conversation Analysis (CA) by Sacks et al. (1974). CA provided a detailed framework for analyzing the turn-by-turn organization of talk and demonstrated how participants collaboratively manage the structure of conversation through practices like turn-taking, sequence organization, and repair.

A key insight of CA is that narratives are not monologic productions but are inherently dialogic and interactional. Narrators do not simply deliver stories; they do so in response to and in collaboration with their listeners. This perspective redefined narrative as a socially distributed activity. Analytical attention expanded to include not only the primary narrator but also the contributions of interlocutors. However, CA's focus on talk-in-interaction meant that it tended to overlook non-verbal communicative modes such as facial expressions, gestures, and posture, all of which can play crucial roles in face-to-face storytelling.

To address this limitation, the present study employs Multimodal Interaction Analysis (MIA) (Norris, 2004, 2011, 2019), a framework that systematically accounts for multiple communicative modes in narrative co-construction. This approach allows researchers to explicate how embodied cues shape narrative meaning and interactional dynamics in real time.

Tannen's (1984) work is also relevant in this context. Her analysis of conversational style during a Thanksgiving dinner among friends revealed how linguistic and paralinguistic features vary across interactional contexts. She distinguished between "high-involvement" and "high-considerateness" styles and highlighted how these reflect different relational orientations, such as the need for involvement versus independence. Like Labov, Tannen emphasized the importance of context in narrative analysis. However, unlike Labov, she based her study on naturally occurring talk among close acquaintances and participated in the conversation herself. This participatory approach offered unique insights into the role of shared knowledge and group dynamics in narrative construction. In the present research, the insider status of the researcher similarly facilitates the emergence of authentic narratives and supports richer, contextually informed interpretations.

The interactional approach also underscores the importance of recipient participation in shaping narratives. Goodwin (1982), building on Goffman's (1979) ideas about participation framework, examined gossip among a group of Black working-class girls. Her analysis showed how stories are used to negotiate social relationships and values, such as fairness and loyalty. Importantly, she expanded the analytical notion of participation beyond speaker-hearer binaries to include multiple, shifting roles. Her work illustrates how narrative practices are embedded within broader social processes and power dynamics.

The current study builds on Goodwin's insights by analyzing naturally occurring narratives with attention to both verbal and non-verbal contributions. Like De Fina and Johnstone (2015), it views narrative as situated discourse and emphasizes how interactional roles and meanings are negotiated in context. The study also adopts Ochs and Capps' (2001) dimensional approach to narrative, which identifies five key parameters—tellership, tellability, linearity, embeddedness, and moral stance. Although this framework is not used explicitly, its emphasis on flexibility and co-authorship informs the study's understanding of how stories unfold collaboratively.

### 2.2.1 Small stories

Most traditional narrative studies focused on long, coherent, retrospective accounts of significant life events, often elicited in interviews or controlled settings. In contrast, the "small stories" approach introduced in the 2000s (Georgakopoulou, 2007; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) draws attention to short, fragmented narratives embedded in everyday interactions. These stories are often mundane, co-constructed, and contextually situated. They may appear trivial on the surface, but they serve important social functions, particularly in identity construction and relationship building.

Small stories differ from big stories in several ways. Whereas big stories tend to follow a traditional narrative structure and concern major life transitions, small stories revolve around everyday experiences and are often spontaneously produced in conversation. Because they are naturally embedded in social interaction, small stories frequently involve multiple tellers and exhibit features such as overlapping speech, structural incompleteness, and co-authorship (Bamberg, 2006).

The narratives analyzed in the present study do not fit neatly into either category. They are produced in informal settings with minimal prompting and involve co-narration by multiple participants. While they may not describe dramatic life events, they are repeatedly remembered, told, and retold - indicating their significance to those involved. In terms of structure, they may resemble big stories due to their length, but they also exhibit many of the features associated with small stories, such as fragmentation and spontaneous emergence. This hybrid nature makes them particularly rich for analysis.

## 2.3 Social functions of narratives

Narratives are not merely linguistic artifacts; they are embedded in the social fabric of everyday life. They arise out of interaction and serve a variety of social purposes, extending far beyond individual self-expression. In particular, narratives play a crucial role in identity construction and negotiation. In the post-Labovian era, research has increasingly emphasized how individuals use

stories to make sense of their lives, position themselves within social groups, and navigate interpersonal dynamics. As Bruner (1990) argued, identity is not a static construct but a process shaped through the telling and retelling of emotionally meaningful experiences.

Within this view, the self is co-constructed through interaction. Stories are not merely personal accounts—they are offered to listeners with the expectation of uptake, confirmation, challenge, or collaboration. Pasupathi et al. (2009) note that when individuals share significant experiences with others, they invite those listeners to participate in the meaning-making process. This interactive co-construction of narrative meaning supports the development of both individual identity and collective understanding.

Beyond identity formation, narrative also serves broader communal functions. Georgakopoulou (2005a) and Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) have highlighted how storytelling can reinforce group membership, establish shared values, and maintain social bonds. In this sense, storytelling is a tool for community-building. It creates a shared symbolic space in which past events are collectively interpreted and reinterpreted. The collaborative narratives analyzed in the present study perform precisely these functions: they solidify relationships among friends by affirming mutual experiences, group history, and shared understanding.

While individual identity has been widely studied in narrative research, the role of co-narration in forming group identity remains underexplored. The present study addresses this gap by focusing on narratives told in naturally occurring peer-group settings, where stories are collaboratively constructed and embedded in relational dynamics. These group narratives do more than entertain; they reflect and reproduce the collective values and social roles within the group.

## 2.4 Multimodality in narratives

While interactional approaches have significantly advanced our understanding of narrative as co-constructed in social interaction, they have traditionally focused on verbal communication. Yet, face-to-face interaction is inherently multimodal. Stories are not told through words alone—they are shaped by gestures, gaze, posture, facial expressions, prosody, and spatial arrangement. These embodied elements contribute to meaning in essential ways, especially in spontaneous, informal storytelling.

A growing body of research has demonstrated the importance of non-verbal cues in storytelling. Cienki et al. (2014) explore multimodal alignment—how participants coordinate aspects of bodily movement during collaborative remembering. They argue that narrative analysis must account for all communicative resources employed by participants to fully understand the interactional process. This insight is central to the present study's approach. By applying MIA to narratives told among friends, this study investigates how gestures, facial expressions, body language, and spatial positioning contribute to the co-construction of stories and the negotiation of social meaning.

As Geenen et al. (2021) demonstrate, such an approach can reveal subtle dynamics that would be invisible in text-only or transcript-based analyses. Multimodal resources are not merely supplemental to speech—they are constitutive elements of the narrative process. In this sense, narratives are distributed across time, participants, and communicative modes. The present analysis explores how friends use embodied actions to complement, challenge, or extend verbal

storytelling, thereby contributing to the co-performance of narrative and the enactment of group identity.

### 2.4.1 Participation framework and footing

A key aspect of analyzing multimodal, collaborative storytelling involves understanding how participant roles shift throughout the interaction. Traditional models of communication often reduce interlocutors to the binary categories of speaker and hearer. However, this dichotomy fails to capture the complexity of narrative co-construction in real-life, multi-party settings. In such interactions, roles are fluid, dynamic, and contextually negotiated.

Goffman (1981) challenged the speaker-hearer model by introducing the concept of footing, defined as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (p. 128). He also introduced the production format, a distinction among the animator (who physically delivers the words), the author (who composes the content), and the principal (who is socially or ideologically committed to the message). These categories reveal the multifaceted nature of participation in communication and are essential for analyzing how individuals contribute to and position themselves within a narrative.

Building on Goffman's framework, Goodwin (1982) illustrated how different participant roles emerge in natural conversation, especially through multimodal cues. His research emphasized that story recipients are not passive hearers; they actively co-construct stories by offering responses, evaluations, or corrections—often through gaze, gesture, or bodily orientation.

In the present study, participant roles are likewise analyzed as flexible and context-specific. Two recurrent roles have been identified: the Narrator, who provides the main event sequence, and the Fact-Checker, whose contributions involve verifying, correcting, or elaborating on narrative details. These roles are not fixed to specific individuals; rather, they shift fluidly throughout the interaction. A participant may serve as a narrator in one moment and a fact-checker in the next, depending on the evolving structure of the conversation and the knowledge they bring to the shared narrative.

This dynamic role-shifting corresponds with Tannen's (1990) analysis of conversational discourse, where participants use narrative to serve current interactional goals and manage relational alignment. It also resonates with Georgakopoulou's (2007) insights into identity construction in small stories, where even minor narrative contributions can serve significant social functions.

Schegloff (1997) emphasized the importance of analyzing naturally occurring, non-elicited narratives to capture authentic interactional practices. The present study follows this directive by examining storytelling in informal group settings where participants are familiar with one another and share a rich history of past experiences. In such contexts, collaborative storytelling is not just a method of communication—it is a central mode of relational maintenance and identity performance.

Previous research (e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) has acknowledged the co-telling of stories in multi-party interaction, but has often retained the speaker-hearer distinction. The present study advances this perspective by demonstrating that all participants dynamically access and occupy

narrative roles, actively negotiating meaning and contributing to the evolving story. The analytic focus is thus not only on who speaks, but also on how roles are assumed, enacted, and transformed through verbal and non-verbal contributions.

This approach raises several critical questions: How are narrative roles negotiated in real-time? What multimodal resources do participants use to manage role shifts? And to what extent do these collaborative storytelling practices contribute to the construction of group identity? These questions form the foundation of the analytical framework presented in the methodology section that follows.

# 3 Methodology

The present study examines collaborative narrations between close friends to explore what roles emerge and how these roles manifest and are managed in such interactions. Given the situated, contextual and multimodal nature of real-time social interaction, Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris 2004, 2019) has been employed as an analytical framework. While traditional narrative analysis has focused on verbal content, it is now widely acknowledged that all social interaction is highly multimodal and spoken language is only one of the meaning-making modes functioning in interaction.

This analytical framework was applied to a data set of naturalistic multi-party social interactions which was generated using a particular empirical protocol research. Empirically, naturalistic multi-party interactions were audio-video recorded with groups of close friends using a loose, semi-structured interview prompt protocol. The interview prompt protocol was developed to facilitate interactions loosely based on particular themes but without adversely affecting the structure and organization of interactions on or about those themes. Participant details, data collection and analytical protocol are detailed in full in the sections which follow.

## 3.1 Participants

For this study, a bespoke corpus of multi-party naturalistic social interactions was generated involving two distinct groups of friends. The first group comprised five participants, while the second group three. All participants were residing in Greece, with seven being of Greek nationality and one being Cypriot. All participants were recruited from the personal network of the researcher, following a deliberate selection process. The nature of the study, focusing on the interpersonal and social significance of the interactions, entailed recruiting participants with a considerable degree of familiarity and ease among them and with the researcher.

The researcher shared preexisting relationships with all participants which presents implications to the study. The familiarity with the participants facilitated natural interaction and group history knowledge allowed for the co-construction of narrative sequences with minimal elicitation. Extra caution was taken to differentiate between personal knowledge of participants' histories and what was empirically observable in the recorded data.

## 3.2 Materials

A semi-structured interview prompt protocol was designed to facilitate social interactions around particular themes. This protocol was designed to accommodate the semi-structured nature of the sessions and included a set of general questions regarding the participants' relationships, such as

the first time they met, shared activities, common holiday experiences, and similar topics. While the protocol provided a framework for each session, it was intentionally flexible and non-restrictive in nature. The intention behind the protocol was to pose broad questions and allow the participants' interactions to naturally take shape. The questions were meant to serve as discussion stimulating prompts in case the groups encountered difficulties in initiating dialogue, whether due to an abundance of topics or a momentary lapse in conversation. Given the researcher's personal rapport with the participants, she had prior knowledge of certain anecdotes and events, therefore specific narratives, memories, or incidents were anticipated to emerge as focal points of the study. As for the recording process, sessions were captured using a mobile phone mounted on a tripod.

The mobile phone camera was placed approximately one and a half meters from the participants, to capture audio and video of all participants simultaneously. The participants' faces, upper bodies, hand movements, gaze and postural shifts are visible in the recorded data. The physical setting resembles a natural social gathering facilitating interaction among themselves and visibility for recording purposes.

## 3.3 Procedure

First, participants were contacted and informed about the nature of the study. Providing informed consent, arrangements were made for the scheduled sessions. The day of the session before the recording started, participants were provided with the link of the Participant Information Sheet, see Appendix A. The semi-structured interviews were conducted as informally as possible. The interactions were initiated with questions from the interview protocol, with the first question in both sessions being: Do you remember when you first met each other? The rest of the questions were not necessarily asked in a specific order and in some cases some questions were omitted. The primary aim was to foster an informal and naturalistic atmosphere to allow spontaneous interaction. The data collection took place between October 2022 and February 2023, with each session lasting approximately 60 minutes.

## 3.4 Analytical Method - Multimodal Interaction Analysis

Social interactions with their complexities are always undeniably multimodal in nature (Geenen, Pirini, 2019). Qualitative analysis of real-time social interactions calls for a framework and analytical tools that can account for a variety of communicative modes. For the above-mentioned reasons, the methodological framework employed for the analysis of the recorded interactions presented in this study is Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis (MIA) (Norris, 2004, 2011; Pirini, 2014). MIA provides analysts with a singular unit of analysis, mediated action, which "equalizes" all modes and thanks to the division between lower-level actions and higher-level actions it can be applied across a wide diversity of communicative modes (Geenen, Pirini, 2019).

Following the collection of the dataset, the recordings were reviewed multiple times to identify recurrent behavioral patterns across both datasets. The most distinct behavior in both datasets was the allocation or assumption of the role of the "main narrator". The "main narrator" was the participant who assumed primary storytelling responsibilities. The second most frequent behavior participants exhibited was fact-checking behaviors; distinguished by questioning tone, requests for clarification, or corrective statements. Fact-checking varied in fact-checking for information verification and fact-checking for entertainment purposes. Videos were trimmed to isolate specific segments where these behaviors occurred, with particular attention paid to verbal

and non-verbal cues before, during, and after the emergence of these roles. These significant moments were transcribed verbally and visually for analysis. The verbiage of the interactions was first transcribed in Greek, then translated word-for-word in English, and finally a pragmatic translation was produced for use in the visual transcription (see Appendix B). In instances where both main narrator and fact-checking behaviors were exhibited, participants actively collaborated in the co-construction of narrative elements.

Mediated Action is the foundational analytical unit in Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis (MIA). Drawing from Wertsch's (1991, 1998) Mediated Action Theory and Scollon's (1998, 2001) Mediated Discourse Theory, the concept emphasizes that all human action is inherently mediated, by both psychological tools (e.g., language, cognition) and physical tools (e.g., objects, environment). MIA treats action not merely as something individuals do, but as a site where individual, social, cultural, and historical trajectories converge.

A mediated action, such as speaking or gesturing, is not seen as isolated. It is shaped by the body, prior social interaction, cultural history, and the environment in which it occurs. For instance, an utterance is mediated not just by language, but by articulatory habits, context-specific norms, interpersonal relations, and spatial dynamics. The strength in the notion of the mediated action lies in disrupting the society—individual antinomy with the implicit acknowledgment that the two are mutually constitutive. Thus, the concept of mediated action allows analysts to trace how meaning emerges not from isolated individuals but through socioculturally embedded interaction with and in the world.

Importantly, MIA treats all communicative modes as analytically equal. Whether speech, gaze, posture, or gesture, no mode is presumed to have primacy before analysis. This contrasts sharply with traditional linguistics approaches that begin with language, often relegating non-verbal communication to secondary status. By focusing instead on action as the entry point, MIA respects the multimodal reality of social interaction.

MIA breaks action down into two significant categories for analysis – lower-level action and higher-level action. Lower-level actions constitute the smallest pragmatic meaning units within any individual communicative mode. Given that all communicative modes are structured in differentiated ways, this definition of lower-level actions allows for the application of a single unit of analysis across variable communicative modes. For instance, in gesture, a lower-level action is a *stroke* or *stroke hold*, while in posture, it is the *point* (Scheflen, 1967) bracketed by subtle head and eye orientation changes. In gaze, this would be a specific gaze direction shift or fixation and in spoken language, a lower-level action could be an utterance or intonational phrase.

These actions gain meaning not in isolation but through their configuration within a larger communicative context. In real interaction, individuals do not consciously perform lower-level actions—they act holistically. But for analysis, these units are valuable for tracing patterns, sequences, and meaning-making processes.

Importantly, MIA emphasizes that lower-level actions across modes often co-occur or cluster, forming the basis for higher-order activities. Their simultaneous orchestration provides insight into how participants manage interactional roles, align attention, and co-construct meaning. Thus, lower-level actions are the building blocks of real-time multimodal behavior, enabling fine-grained, cross-modal analysis of social interaction.

Higher-level actions are socially and culturally recognizable sequences of activity built from chains of lower-level actions. They have coherent beginnings and endings and are often understood by participants as distinct events or communicative moves—for instance, “greeting someone,” “telling a story,” or “saying goodbye.”

What distinguishes a higher-level action is its scale and salience. While lower-level actions are micro and fleeting, higher-level actions unfold over time and often span multiple modes. A greeting, for example, may involve a wave (gesture), eye contact (gaze), a verbal “hi” (speech), and a shift in body orientation (posture). These actions are not random; their sequencing and coordination produce a culturally intelligible act.

Higher-level actions can nest within each other and operate on different timescales. For example, in a conversation on the street, the overall encounter is a higher-level action, while embedded within it might be a shift in topic, a joke, or a farewell They have coherent beginnings and endings and are often understood by participants as distinct events or communicative moves—for instance, “greeting someone,” “telling a story,” or “saying goodbye.”each a distinct higher-level action in its own right. MIA helps analysts parse these overlapping activities and understand how meaning unfolds across time and modes.

## 3.5 Transcription

The transcription protocol in Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis (MIA) is designed to visually represent the complexity of real-time social interaction across multiple communicative modes, not just spoken language. The process involves a layered, multimodal approach that captures lower- and higher-level actions within a specific site of engagement.

The protocol begins with detailed video analysis, followed by segmentation of interaction into time-stamped frames which are determined by the identification of lower-level actions. Rather than temporal intervals determining frame segmentation, it is the lower-level actions of social actors which determine the still frame representations. Thus, transcription and analysis are a symbiotic process where the two occur simultaneously. Transcriptions are thus visual and seek to represent the multimodal communicative activity in a clear and undiluted manner.

Rather than favoring language, this protocol ensures all modes are given equal analytic attention. The resulting transcript is not a verbatim record but a systematic multimodal representation that supports rigorous micro-analysis of interactional dynamics.

# 4 Analysis

The analysis herein focuses on two prominent participant roles that emerged in the data set: the “Narrator” and the “Fact-Checker.” The analysis explicates how participants dynamically construct narratives through fluid role distribution and collaborative meaning-making processes. In both groups, rather than following a monologic structure with a single speaker controlling the narrative flow, participants collaboratively and dynamically co-constructed various narrative segments with roles shifting consistently. Narrative sequences emerged dynamically with multiple people contributing to the development of the storylines multimodally with the participants remaining actively engaged throughout.

During this process of dynamically distributed role-exchange, distinct recurring role patterns emerged. The two most prominent ones were that of the "Narrator" who performs explicit, verbally and non-verbally exemplified storytelling, and the "Fact-Checker" who engages in information verification behaviors. The analysis explicates when and how certain participants "take-on" the more standard narrator role (i.e. How one becomes the narrator) which happens in two different ways detailed below. Section 2 of the analysis exemplifies the dynamism of the narrator role by detailing when participants take on the non-standard and collaborative narrator role of "fact-checker." The fact-checker constitutes a non-standard narrator role insofar as their contributions tend not to progress activity sequences but instead, function as a type of detail confirmation. In some cases, the fact verification was produced in earnest to ensure accuracy of events or circumstances. In other cases, fact-checking occurs humorously to poke fun at another participant, particular behaviors or circumstances. To capture these nuances, there is a distinction between "Fact-Checker Supreme", when the fact-checking serves actual information verification purposes, and "Fact-Checker Funny" when the purpose is to generate amusement and laughter.

The terms "Supreme" and "Funny" emphasize the distinct pragmatic functions these behaviors serve within the narrative co-construction process - either establishing factual authority or facilitating social bonding through humor. It is important to note that not all interrogatives performed by participants were treated as fact checking behavior; only
fact checking which was collaboratively sanctioned and integral to the co-construction of the ongoing narrative was characterized as such.

Throughout the analysis, representative samples from both participant groups demonstrate how these narrative roles unfold in practice. The section dedicated to Narrator examines how this role is both assigned to participants and actively claimed by them, with particular attention to the multimodal resources employed in this process. The non-verbal cues including gaze, posture, gesture, intonation and silence often precede verbal cues in establishing these roles. Similarly, the analysis of Fact Checker roles reveals distinct patterns of interaction, with Group 1 and Group 2 demonstrating different approaches to information verification and humorous interjections. Frequent interjections and shifts in narrative responsibility highlight the collaborative ongoing negotiation of fact-checking functions within the ongoing storytelling process. Despite individual differences between groups, all analyzed segments demonstrate a consistent finding: collaborative narration involves sophisticated interactional work where participant roles remain fluid and dynamically negotiated throughout the storytelling experience.

## 4.1 Narrator

This section examines the Narrator role as it emerges in collaborative storytelling interactions. The role of the Narrator refers to the participant who, at any given time, takes primary responsibility for advancing the narrative, a role that can shift between participants during the storytelling process. Drawing on Goffman's (1981) framework of participation roles, the narrator can be understood as the designated "animator" who gives voice to the narrative, though our analysis reveals this role encompasses additional dimensions beyond animation alone. Rather than treating this as a fixed position, the focus is on how this role is dynamically negotiated through multimodal interaction, either appointed by others or self-designated. In either case it is essential to highlight the synergy between the main narrator and the rest of the participants, who support and regulate the narrator's performance throughout the storytelling process using various communicative modes. Thus, while a single participant may be taking primary agency (Pirini,

2015) at any given time, other participants are instrumental in co-contributing to the shaping and regulation of the narrative production.

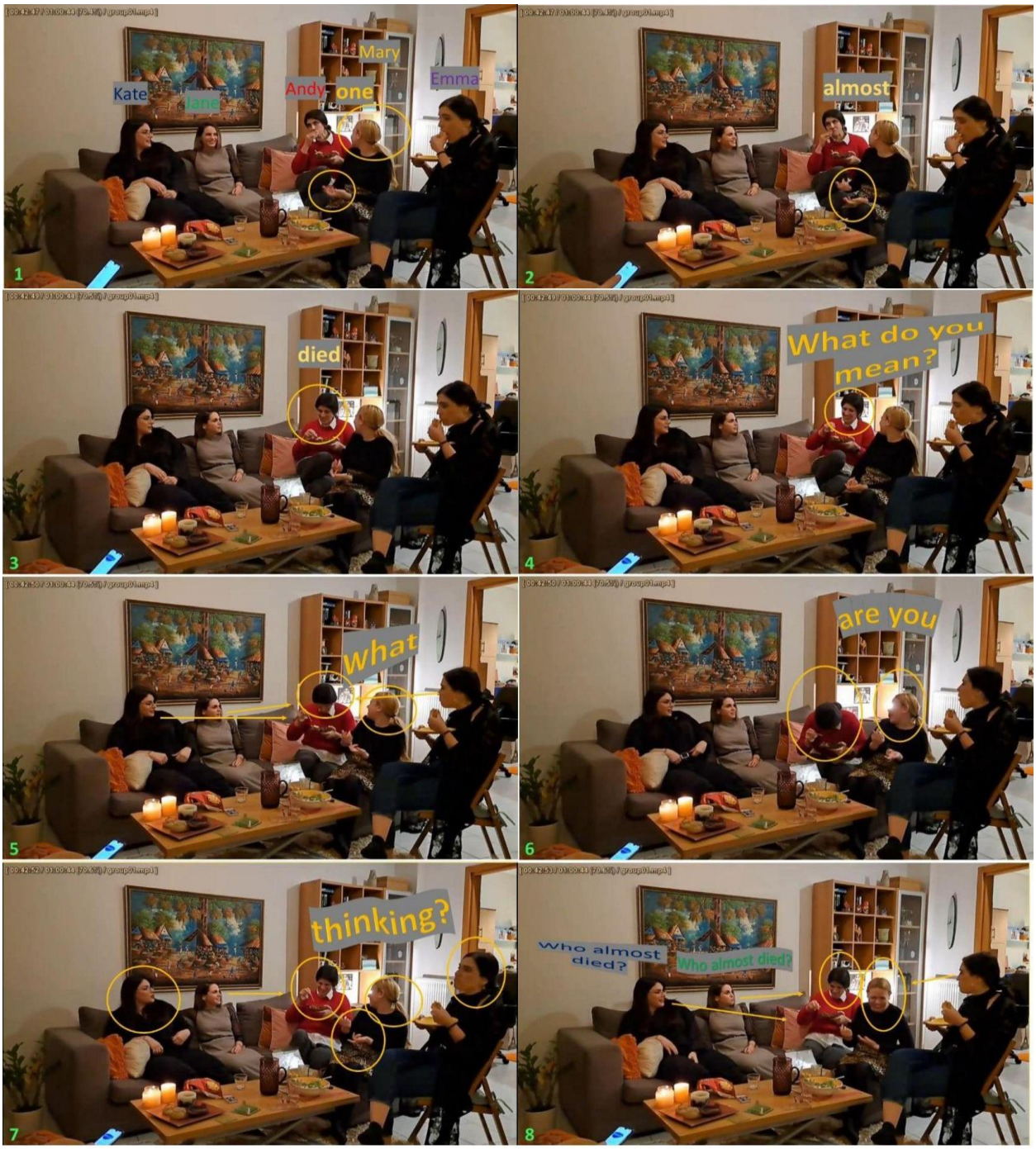
The analytical focus of the section is on role emergence and the lower-level actions which contribute to participants taking on the narrator role. As mentioned, this occurs in two distinct ways, taking of the role and giving of the role. The process of role assignment (giving) typically follows a consistent pattern: it begins collaboratively and implicitly through non-verbal modes (gaze, postural shifts, pausing, and hand gestures) before manifesting explicitly through spoken language. Similarly, when examining the assumption (taking) of the role, narrators-to-be first signal their acceptance through non-verbal cues before verbally confirming it. Analysis also features an instance where a participant explicitly assumes the role herself, providing an important distinction to the collaborative assignment process.

### 4.1.1 Narrator Giving role

The following analysis examines how participants collaboratively assign the narrator role through specific verbal and non-verbal actions. The interaction involves five people, with three members (Andy, Mary, and Emma) sharing a long-standing relationship of almost fifteen years. The analysis focuses on their recounting of a specific memorable summer holiday that has become a frequently shared anecdote within their group. This particular vacation is noteworthy for its unexpected events and is characterized by the participants being "young and inexperienced" at the time. An interesting dynamic emerges in the narrative co-construction as two group members (Kate and Jane) were not present during the original experience but are familiar with the story, influencing how the narrator role is established and maintained among participants.

The interaction begins when participants are asked about their most memorable vacation. Andy responds first, identifying a specific Greek island. Kate then makes a remark to Emma, saying "Generally speaking, you don't do well with [name of the island]," suggesting that the holiday involved some mishaps. This comment serves as a narrative prompt, creating an opening for storytelling. The sequence under analytical scrutiny begins immediately after this exchange, with Mary initiating speech and setting in motion the collaborative process of narrator role assignment. The interaction reveals how participants use multiple communicative resources to negotiate who will take primary responsibility for telling the story.

Figure 1.1
*Narrator giving role 1*




In Frames 1–7 Mary is addressing Andy employing a variety of verbal and non-verbal lower-level actions. We can see her posture and face are turned toward Andy, first she formulates the sentence “one almost died” to which Andy replies with a grin in frame 3. Andy produces the grin but does not provide a verbal response. Mary continues addressing Andy, producing two consecutive interrogative sentences: “What do you mean? What are you thinking?”. The second interrogative is co-produced with head and posture shifts, alterations in hand gestures along with rising intonation, which concludes in laughter. In Frames 4–7 while Mary is talking, Andy can be seen engaging in exuberant laughter with subsequent postural alterations. Kate and Jane have remained silent in frames one through seven, but they are performing a variety of lower-level actions which showcase their visual attention to the ongoing interaction/role negotiation: their

head, body posture and gaze are orientated toward Andy and Mary. In frame 8 Kate is undertaking a lower-level action posing the question “Who almost died?” and Jane, echoing Kate, repeats the same question herself. Mary is featuring a change in her head and body posture; her face is turned to her left, towards the camera for the first time, she is laughing while performing a slight repositioning of her hands.

Figure 1.2
*Narrator giving role 2*


In frames 9 and 10, Mary turns her head and body towards Andy again. Andy is undergoing a postural shift, moving her body upward again and lowering her head. Neither Andy nor Mary provides a verbal response to the question asked by Kate and Jane. The fact that neither Kate nor Jane pursues further clarification regarding the questions shows that their aim is not truly the acquisition of information. Their verbal and non-verbal actions suggest that their questions exemplify both their engagement in the interaction and their endorsement of Andy taking on the role of the narrator.

In frames 11 and 12 Mary performs several lower-level actions as she uses the mode of spoken language to say “Ah, I want Andy to tell it”, while at the same time she repositions her head and body. At the end of her utterance she turned to her left, no longer facing Andy. Mary is undertaking the embedded higher-level action of explicitly appointing Andy as the narrator while shifting her body and gaze. The multimodal ensemble of lower-level actions appears to signify that Mary has finalized her contribution to Andy’s recruitment as a narrator.

In frame 13 Andy has undergone a postural shift, sitting straight, she is not engaging in eye contact with any of the other social actors. Kate, Jane and are looking at Andy and Mary who appear to be at the epicenter of this interaction while Emma, who was with them on the island does not appear to interfere. The participants’ eye gaze and postural orientation along with lack of interruption demonstrates the collaborative, multimodal means by which narrator roles are interactionally appointed.

Despite Mary beginning with speech production and various lower-level actions associated with narration, these actions functioned to incrementally grant story telling responsibilities to Andy. Her questions do not seek answers but rather reaffirm that Andy will assume the role of the narrator. This is further supported by other participants whose questions are not genuine inquiries but aim at reinforcing Andy’s position as the narrator. These questions exemplify the participants’ engagement in the upcoming story. Narrator appointment occurs multimodally through attention orientation and other prompts like questioning that is not denotational.

Role negotiation is first initiated through multimodal resources and then follows verbal designation, formalizing what has already been established through the use of multimodal means. Participants strategically employ non-denotational questions, coordinated gaze direction, postural shifts and silences which have a twofold function; to designate the narrator and establish the participatory framework for the entire storytelling event. All these multimodal cues set the foundation for explicit verbal role assignments.

### 4.1.2 Narrator Taking role

While the previous example has demonstrated how the narrator role can be explicitly assigned by other participants, the following segment exemplifies how the narrator role is agentively assumed. The interactional work performed in the assumption of the role resembles the pattern revealed in the allocation of the role; the narrator-to-be employs a variety of multimodal resources to establish herself as the narrator before she verbally assumes the storytelling responsibilities, in the same way that Mary preludes the role allocation with non-verbal cues, before explicitly stating her intention.

The designated narrator employs silence, laughter, postural and gaze shifts to establish herself as the main narrator before she starts talking. The intricate interactional work performed by Andy (the designated narrator) serves two purposes; first, by stalling, she verifies that she is collectively sanctioned as narrator by all participants and secondly, she gradually builds momentum and engages all ratified participants’ attention before she starts her narration with the comment “we were such babes”. This opening line sets the tone for potential embarrassment coupled with amusement, foreshadowing the entertaining nature of the story to be told. By the very strategic choice of words when she “officially” assumes the role along with the fact that all ratified participants allow her this extended, nearly dramaturgical entry, we can infer that all ratified participants sanction this role assumption.

Figure 2.1
*Narrator Takes role 1*


In frames 1–3 Mary employs the mode of spoken language, stating “One almost died” turning to Andy. In frame 4 we can see Andy performing a variety of lower-level actions that embody her emerging narrator role. There is a marked shift in her facial expressions, body posture and the production of exuberant laughter while at the same time her gaze is fixated on her food, avoiding

eye contact with the other participants. Andy's exuberant laughter prompts Mary to ask, "What do you mean?' within the same frame and the follow-up question "What are you thinking?" in frames 5–7. Mary's questioning constitutes lower-level actions while scaffolding Andy into the narrator position. Simultaneously Andy's body posture is undergoing shifts as she lowers her head while laughing in frame 5 which results in reciprocal gaze shift from all other participants toward her direction.

In frame 6 Andy's laughter becomes more intense and her body posture more extreme as she bends further forward, lowers her head and her laughter further intensifies. Frame 7 captures another postural shift, Andy is sitting more upright, and her facial expression indicates that she is still laughing. Significantly, Andy has not provided any verbal cues so far despite Mary's implicit teasing through her initial statement and the two explicit questions that follow. If Andy's laughter is prompted by Mary's comments, she is setting the tone and providing contextual cues through her reactions, which foreshadow that the content of the forthcoming narrative experience will be funny. Furthermore, Andy has succeeded in engaging everyone's attention which can be established through the achieved coordinated gaze shift toward her, without her needing to reciprocally shift her gaze.

In frame 8 Jane and Kate formulate the question "Who almost died?" through the mode of spoken language, demonstrating their active ratification and engagement in the emerging narrative event. Despite the direct interrogatives, Andy in frames 8–10 does not engage in verbal interaction, as she does not produce any answers. Instead, she pauses while undergoing mild shifts in her head and body posture, which are embodied cues that she is still laughing, but in a more controlled manner. By strategically controlling the dramatic tension through silence, Andy is arguably doing the ritual work of establishing herself in the role of narrator and framing the following narrative.

Figure 2.2
*Narrator Takes role 2*


In frames 9 and 10 all participants pause, producing no verbal cues. Mandy and Mary undergo postural shifts as they move back and forth alternately. In frames 11–12, Mary turns towards Kate and after a sigh "Ah" she completes her statement "I want Andy to tell it". After Mary completes her sentence, her posture and gaze shift, she turns to the center, lowers her gaze, avoiding eye contact with the other participants and she puts her left hand in front of her lips. After Mary explicitly appointed Andy as the narrator it appears as though she disengages her attention from her. All other participants have undergone a gaze shift and are looking at Andy, which exemplifies their attentive behavior. In frame 13 Mary maintains the same posture and she

seems to be taking a step back after she has appointed Andy. Andy is undertaking another brief pause; it appears her pause is strategic as it builds momentum while keeping the ratified participants engaged. Kate and Jane are still maintaining eye gaze toward Andy while at the same time remain silent, thus leaving the floor to Andy and further ratifying her as the narrator after Mary's explicit prompt.

In Frame 14 Andy shifts her body posture and gaze towards Kate and Jane, the two people who were not present at the original event. She employs the mode of spoken language to state "we were such babes". Her attention appears to be focused on the two people who were not present on that trip, arguably to further engage them in the narrative experience. Andy's choice of topic and wording is very specific; she comments playfully on their past appearance in her opening phrase, in a catchy manner, thus highlighting specific aspects of their shared experience and sparking recollection of particular instances in their collective memory.

In frames 15–17 we witness the direct results of Andy assuming the role of the narrator. After her opening statement, she undergoes a gaze shift, looking at Mary in a playful manner, giving her a mischievous look. Andy has finally assumed the role that Mary has bestowed upon her and now Mary engages in exuberant laughter in response. The back-and-forth negotiation between Mary and Andy culminates in frame 17 when Mary performs lower-level actions of hand gesture and postural shifts, bending over and covering her face with her two hands in a show of embarrassment. Simultaneously, Andy is also bending forward with a seemingly teasing facial expression oriented towards Mary. Their embodied actions facilitate the progress of the narration, as Mary's dramatical shame aligns with the topic Andy has introduced, regarding their past appearances.

Figure 2.3
*Narrator Takes role 3*


In the following frames, Andy's opening statement along with Mary's exaggerated reaction, ignites reactions among the other participants. Kate is the first to respond, actively engaging in the process of the narration by employing several lower-level actions in frames 18–20. Kate shifts her head and gaze to Mary while gradually extending her left hand toward Andy, employing the mode of spoken language to say, "We have seen the photos". In frame 20 at the mention of the word "photos" both Andy and Mary exhibit increased laughter as Kate makes her contribution to the narration. Frame 20 captures Jane employing the mode of spoken language to repeat the word "photos" to show that she has also seen the photographs and has a preexisting idea of their situation. By articulating the word "photos" she contributes her prior knowledge and actively participates in the collaborative narration. In the final frame Mary is forming an imaginary rectangle with her fingers iconically depicting the photographs.

Throughout this segment we witness how Andy eagerly embraces the narrator role bestowed upon her by Mary while all ratified participants employ a variety of verbal and non-verbal cues to endorse Andy's designation. Andy masterfully advances the narration by introducing the topic of their youthful appearances. This strategic framing prompts Kate and Jane to actively engage and ratify the unfolding narration, drawing upon their own corresponding knowledge. Andy's skillful employment of dramatic pauses, embodied cues, and carefully curated contributions

exemplify Goffman's (1981) notion of the “ritual work” involved in establishing oneself in the role of narrator and facilitating a vivid, collaborative interactive narration.

### 4.1.3 Narrator Taking role explicitly

This segment reveals how participants can take on the narrator role without external designation, through self-appointment. In contrast to the previous segment showing one participant assuming the role after being explicitly appointed by others, this segment shows a participant claiming the role without being appointed by someone else. We term this process of self-appointment “Narrator Taking role explicitly” to describe what happens when one participant decides that they want to narrate the particular events of a story on her own initiative. Importantly in this case also, despite the narrator allocation being self-initiated, it is still collaboratively sanctioned by the rest of the participants by means of pausing, gazing, encouraging facial expressions and the mode of spoken language. After Elly (the narrator-to-be) explicitly states her intention to tell the story through the mode of spoken language, both Sonia and Tania (the other two participants) interactionally verify her as the narrator by means of verbal and non-verbal cues. This demonstrates that even self-appointment is a collaboratively ratified, collective achievement.

For context, the participants were asked about their past summer holidays. For almost eight minutes all ratified participants collaboratively recounted random events from some of the many common holidays they had as children and teenagers. The specific sequence starts with Elly (the narrator-to-be) mentioning the name of the island where they spent their first holidays the year they turned eighteen years old. This context is important because it showcases how Elly highlights a particular holiday experience from their shared history for focused narration.

Figure 3.1
*Narrator Taking role explicitly 1*


In frames 1–3 Elly provides background information about the holiday incident she introduces. She uses the mode of spoken language to provide information about the place and their age. In frame 1 she is talking about their holidays after they turned eighteen. In frame 2 she performs a head and gaze shift and is engaging in eye contact with the researcher. In frame 4 Elly is engaging in eye contact with the researcher and using the mode of spoken language to ask the question "Do you really want us to talk about these things?", initiating the question with the exclamatory "Poh!" and Sonia and Tania are performing the lower-level action of gaze shift toward Elly. The question asked by Elly performs a pragmatic function beyond mere inquiry, it indicates her intention to steer the narration toward a particular series of events.

In frame 5 the researcher replies with an affirmative “Yes, I do” and in frame 6 Elly produces another utterance with an exclamatory element, saying “When we got on the boat!” followed by an exclamatory “Iii!”. By doing this, Elly shows her intention to narrate specific aspects of those holidays. The exclamatory elements in Elly’s speech appear to command attention. Neither of the two other ratified participants interferes with Elly’s talking, from which we infer that they collaboratively sanction her choice of topic and allow her to pursue it.

In frames 7–8 Elly undertakes several lower-level actions, she shifts her gaze toward Tania while bending forward to put the baby she has in her arms down, while employing the mode of spoken language to say, “I will be the one to say it”. Elly explicitly states that she wants to assume the role of the narrator, while Sonia and Tania shift their gaze toward her. After Elly puts the baby down it can be clearly seen that Elly and Tania are engaging in eye contact, recognizing her assertion. In frame 9 Tania says something imperceptible while Sonia performs a gaze shift from Elly to Tania. Sonia’s facial expression has also undergone a change as she now appears to be amused. In frame 10 Sonia and Tania undergo a postural and gaze shift and engage in eye contact. They look at each other and they appear to be smiling excitedly. Tania has opened her mouth to say something which is at first imperceptible. These facial expressions and coordinated gaze patterns suggest Sonia and Tania's alignment with Elly's narrative direction.

Figure 5.2
*Group 2 Narrator Taking role explicitly 2*


In frame 11 Sonia and Tania perform a slight postural shift and turn toward Elly again. Elly does not engage in direct eye contact with them; her gaze remains toward the researcher. The absence of any speech production from Tania and Sonia serve as confirmation to Elly assuming the narration. In frame 12 Tania employs the mode of spoken language and says to Elly How could you not say it?". This rhetorical question serves as proof of agreement to Elly being the narrator, ratifying Elly's self-appointment. Sonia's laughter and encouraging facial expression showcase her engagement in the ongoing interaction and further establish Elly as the main narrator of the event. In Frame 13 Elly continues with the narration without engaging in eye or verbal contact with Sonia and Tania, instead she remains focused on the only person who did not experience the events firsthand, the researcher.

The negotiation of the narrator role in this case reveals several important patterns. Considering that Elly was already speaking since the first frame, her explicit statement "I will be the one to say it" represents a transition from informal conversation to formal narration. This shift from casual mention to official storytelling involves complex interactional work including directed gaze, attention-commanding exclamations, and explicit self-designation. The participants engage in what Goffman (1981) might term "footing shifts" as they transition from equal conversationalists to narrator and audience roles.

This segment further reinforces the conclusion that the participants engage in a well-orchestrated, finely coordinated collaborative negotiation of narrator roles when recounting shared past experiences. Elly's self-appointment as the narrator is not a unilateral declaration, but rather an interactionally achieved process. Her verbal statements of intent are complemented by a range of embodied cues – gaze shifts, postural adjustments, and excited facial expressions – that function as bids for the narrator role. Sonia and Tania with their reciprocal bodily orientations, rhetorical affirmations ("How could you not say it?"), and lack of interference collectively ratify Elly's assumption of the narrator position. This example also demonstrates the fluid nature of narrative roles in collaborative storytelling. After claiming and performing the narrator role herself, Elly later transitions this role to Tania (in a part of an interaction not included in the Analysis), showing how narrative responsibilities can shift multiple times even within a single storytelling sequence.

## 4.2 Fact Checker

The second most prominent role within the dataset is that of Fact Checker. The role is not fixed, rather it emerges dynamically as the narrative interaction unfolds. A Fact Checker can be anyone of the ratified participants in the interactions who takes on the role of verifying or questioning the accuracy of information shared within a group. The role manifests in two distinct ways in the two groups under analysis; verification-oriented fact-checking, termed as Fact Checker Supreme, and humor-oriented fact-checking, termed as Fact Checker Funny. Fact Checker Supreme can be any participant who tries to verify or clarify the accuracy of certain elements of the narrative. A Fact Checker Funny, on the other hand, is any of the individuals who engages in fact-checking primarily as a means of generating humor and producing (more) laughter and amusement within the group. The distinction between these two types of fact-checking showcases the intricate interactional work participants perform not only to negotiate narrative accuracy but also to foster and maintain social cohesion. It also offers a framework for the analysis of the complex interplay between information exchange and humor in collaborative storytelling. In the same way as narrators, fact checkers contribute to the narrative, and they are collaboratively ratified by all participants.

Analysis reveals different sets of mechanisms and approaches when performing fact-checking. In the segments taken from Group 1 both types of fact-checking emerge collaboratively while the main narrator performs a variety of lower-level actions—gaze and postural shifts, pausing—creating room and time for other participants to contribute to the narrative process. Another noteworthy element in Group 1 is the organic emergence of fact-checking as a process completely relevant to the ongoing narration, in the form of explicit questioning. Group 2, however, exhibits a different approach to fact-checking for information verification purposes. Fact-checking in Group 2 manifests in the form of an affirmative statement, functioning as a comment to the ongoing narration, which leads the group to collaboratively fact check for verification purposes. Despite the individual differences present in each segment, all fact-checking incidents demonstrate fluidity in participant roles as they collaboratively construct and reshape storytelling to create a more engaging narrative experience.

### 4.2.1 Fact Checker Supreme

In the following segment, Elly and Sonia jointly narrate a sequence of events, describing them endlessly looking for a room to rent for their summer holidays when Sonia produces an incorrect statement. Elly appears to have a different recollection and employs a variety of lower-level

actions to encourage the other participants to revisit their memory, instead of directly informing them with the information she has available. This way Elly fosters collaboration within the narrative process. Even though Sonia was not aware that her initial statement was incorrect nor did she explicitly ask for verification, the multimodal ensemble of her behavior leaves room for confirmation or denial from the other ratified participants. This leads the group to collaboratively establish the truth of the situation, effectively functioning as a form of fact-checking, contributing to the accuracy of the shared narrative.

Figure 4.1
*Fact Checker Supreme 1*


In frames 1–4 Sonia starts a sentence and Elly completes it, as they jointly narrate how many times they got rejected by room owners. The narrative shifts in frames 5–7 when Sonia takes on the narration and inserts a comment in the form of an affirmative, using the mode of spoken language to say, “We had found a really nice hotel, really nice”. While this statement doesn't explicitly seek verification, Sonia's repetition of “really nice” and her non-verbal cues; her perplexed facial expression and a deictic hand gesture directed at Elly, suggest uncertainty and invite comment. Elly responds to Sonia’s repetition by means of non-verbal lower-level actions; her facial expression undergoes a noticeable change, and she shifts her head to look directly at Sonia. After Elly’s perplexed facial expression and her pausing, Sonia repeats “really nice” in frame 7, this repetition suggests a connection between these sequential actions. Elly’s head shift, accompanied by her facial expression, her gaze and the absence of speech production indicate

that the narrative flow is interrupted. The information provided by Sonia is not correct, therefore the joint narration cannot continue. The observable shifts in Elly's presence and performance foreshadow the beginning of a fact-checking instance. The interaction evolves further in the subsequent frames 8 and 9. Elly's persistent facial expression coupled with further pausing and a gaze shift toward Tania elicit Tania's contribution to the narrative. Tania first uses the mode of spoken language to say "I don't remember it" in frame 8, indicating uncertainty. In frames 9–10 Tania finally remembers which results in two exclamatory utterances, first an "Oh" in frame 9 and then a more emphatic "No way!" in frame 10, confirming the room was not nice.

Elly's reaction to Tania's realization, in frames 10 and 11, is notably marked. She performs a rather dramatic gesture, involving a shift in her body posture; she first crosses her hands on her chest and then falls back on the back of her chair, mimicking a lifeless posture. This marked physical reaction emphasizes her disbelief and reinforces the correction of Sonia's statement. Elly produces her reaction only after Tania confirms that the room they stayed in was far from nice. The sequence concludes with Sonia laughingly admitting that she doesn't remember it.

Figure 7.2
*Fact Checker Supreme 2*


Throughout the collaborative narration process, Sonia produces an inaccurate statement, which triggers an observable shift in Elly's behavior, manifested through a series of lower-level actions.

This shift prompts Elly to invoke first Sonia and then Tania to reassess their specific recollections. Sonia's unintentional inaccuracy prompts Elly to initiate a fact-checking instance. Interestingly, Elly refrains from explicitly providing corrective information verbally, instead she employs non-verbal cues to stimulate recollection among the participants. Elly's performance prompts Tania to remember and restore the factual integrity of the narrative. This method of prompting recollection through non-verbal cues rather than direct correction is significant, as it illustrates a subtle, yet effective way of fact-checking. It also reveals the collaborative nature of the interactive actions undertaken by all participants to develop the narrative.

This segment exemplifies the organic emergence of fact-checking processes within collaborative storytelling, even in the absence of explicit fact-checking intentions. It shows how fact-checking can occur naturally as a part of the storytelling process, even when it is not the explicit intention of any participant. Sonia's comment led to a collaborative fact-checking process, during which the group collectively reconstructed the shared narrative. This approach contrasts with more direct and deliberate fact-checking methods, highlighting the unique dynamics of each interaction.

### 4.2.2 Fact Checker Funny

This segment exemplifies an instance of fact-checking employed primarily for humorous effect within the collaborative storytelling process, demonstrating the dynamic and playful nature of group narrative construction. The topic of the narration is the aftermath of Andy being unexpectedly pushed inside a pool while fully dressed. Emma assumes the role of the Fact Checker but with a clear intent to entertain rather than to ensure factual accuracy, the fact she is inquiring about has already been confirmed. Earlier in the interaction Jane had asked the same question with the aim of verifying information (supreme fact-checking). This contrast shows how fact-checking can be used both seriously and humorously in the same story, highlighting its versatility as a narrative device.

Figure 5
*Fact Checker Funny 1*


In frame 1 Andy says, "I dry off" and from her body posture, hand gesture and gaze, her focus appears to be on the participants who were not on the trip, Kate and Jane.

In frame 2 Andy performs several lower-level actions; she undertakes a postural and head shift, she turns to her left engaging in direct eye contact with Emma, who also performs a gaze shift toward her, and pauses briefly. Emma also engages in eye contact with Andy but does not produce a reaction or respond further, she just laughs. Andy's shift is significant as these non-verbal cues suggest an invitation for Emma to engage in the narration. Andy continues narrating that with so much dancing she dried off at some point (frames 3 and 4) while Emma performs a hand gesture, bringing the outer part of her hand toward her mouth. This movement is performed when people are trying to control their laughter or conceal their facial expressions.

In Frames 5 –7 Emma performs several lower-level actions; a postural shift, bending forward, at the same time she shifts her gaze toward Andy and formulates the question "Didn't you take off your pantyhose?", performing explicit fact-checking by asking a specific question. Jane has already verified the same information a few moments prior to this and it resulted in laughter by all ratified participants. The group's previous reaction to the same question combined with Emma' effort to control her laughter, suggest that she does not ask the question for information verification.

In frame 8 Andy replies to Emma's question, saying "Nah" to which Emma responds with an exclamatory "Ah" followed by a postural shift as she returns to a more upright position. Emma's lack of follow-up questions or comments, coupled with the ensuing laughter from Jane, Mary, and herself, supports the observation that the question's primary purpose was not genuine fact-checking. The segment concludes with Emma returning to an upright position and smiling widely at the camera, in frames 9–10, while all participants laugh and exhibit amusement. This reaction pattern indicates that Emma's question was a deliberate attempt to elicit humorous responses from the group.

The initiation of Emma's humorous fact-checking is particularly intriguing from an interactional standpoint. Prior to Emma's intervention, Andy (the narrator) momentarily paused her narration, shifted her posture and engaged in direct eye contact with Emma (frame 2). This non-verbal cue creates an opening for Emma to interject. The momentary break in the narrative flow, combined with the visual connection between the two participants, serves as an implicit invitation for Emma to contribute to the narration. Andy's brief pause and eye contact with Emma demonstrates the collaborative nature of the interaction. Andy as the main narrator uses a variety of lower-level actions, such as body and gaze shifts, to signal openness to input from other participants and allow shifts in the narrative direction, fostering a more dynamic and inclusive storytelling environment.

Emma's response in frames seven 7–9 demonstrates the collaborative and improvisational nature of group storytelling. Participants fluidly transition between roles, adapting to subtle cues and momentary pauses to enhance the narrative experience. Furthermore, the humorous approach to fact-checking in this segment serves multiple purposes. This playful interaction likely contributes to a more relaxed atmosphere and facilitates more open and creative storytelling from all participants. Thus, the narrative becomes a more cheerful experience and group cohesion is enhanced by encouraging shared laughter and participation.

This instance is noteworthy because the fact being "checked" has already been confirmed multiple times during the interaction, Emma's choice to revisit this known information shows a strategic use of fact-checking as a comedic device within the group's narrative construction, demonstrating how fact-checking in collaborative storytelling can serve purposes beyond mere

information verification. In this interaction, it functions as a tool for humor, group bonding, and narrative enhancement. It generates group cohesion through shared amusement, highlighting the multifaceted nature of collaborative narrative processes in social settings. This segment also exemplifies how non-verbal cues can facilitate smooth transitions in participant roles and demonstrates how participants can creatively build upon each other's contributions to create a richer, more engaging narrative experience.

# 5 Discussion

This study set out to examine forms of narrative behavior and story-telling which emerge in natural social interactions. The analysis revealed that during these interactions, participants dynamically adopt distinct roles and narratives are built collaboratively through multimodal means, challenging traditional views of storytelling as being primarily verbal, structurally fixed and limited to the dyadic roles of speaker-hearer.

The two primary roles that emerged consistently across the data were the Narrator and the Fact Checker roles. For the Narrator our focus was on the collaborative and interactive bestowal and the subsequent assumption of the role. For the Fact Checker, the analysis focused on two distinct forms of this role: Fact Checker Supreme, who exemplifies information-verification behavior, and Fact Checker Funny, whose behavior is humor-oriented. Importantly it was found that these roles are not fixed, rather participants shift in and out of them as the narrations evolved naturally, employing both verbal and non-verbal resources.

## 5.1 The Collaborative Nature of the Narrator role

**Processes of narrator designation**

Narrators are assigned through complex multimodal negotiations. The designation of a narrator involves a progression from implicit embodied cues to explicit verbal nominations. The process begins with subtle orientation shifts, where potential narrator-designators direct their gaze and body posture toward the targeted participant, creating an interactional focus that signals their intention. Mary’s designation of Andy as narrator exemplifies this process. She first orients her body and gaze toward Andy and makes the statement “one almost died”, creating a degree of anticipation and collective interest. She then produced the questions “What do you mean? What are you thinking?” that serve to focus group attention on Andy rather than to request actual answers. Only after performing this multimodal groundwork does Mary explicitly verbalize “Ah, I want Andy to tell it”. In other data, similar phenomena are demonstrably present though could not be included in full in the analysis. For instance, participants in another group create an interactional focus on the to-be narrator through coordinated gaze direction and strategic pausing before explicitly prompting the narrator. This progression reveals narrator designation as an interactionally achieved process rather than a unilateral appointment. All participants sanction the role allocation within the emerging interactional framework, by means of coordinated gaze patterns, lack of interruption and interactional attention displayed through various non-verbal means.

**Strategies of narrator assumption**

Participants who are designated as narrators also employ complex strategies to assume the role. First, they engage in multimodal actions which contribute to establishing their position and create anticipation for the forthcoming story and only after this do they begin to narrate. Andy responds to Mary's designation first with exuberant laughter and a calculated silence which functions to build narrative tension and successfully recruits the collective attention of other social actors. All other participants orient their gaze and shift their posture towards Andy before verbal narration begins. In many ways, the strategic silence can be seen as the initiation of the story telling as it is a type of stage-setting. While not directly advancing plot, it very much sets the intention for what is about to unfold. The silence also occurs while performing significant postural shifts indicating preparation for telling. All of this occurs prior to the verbal realizations of the story which occurs when she says, "we were such babes."

## 5.2 Non-linear story co-construction

In the data set, collaboratively sanctioned storytelling of shared past experiences among participants rarely follows a linear-chronological structure. Even though the totality of the stories is not presented in the analysis, the instances analyzed reveal the fragmented and non-linear nature of these narrations. Andy starts the narration with the utterance "we were such babes" without adding information about when and where exactly they were on the island or what they were doing. Elly also pinpointed that the storytelling for their group will start from when "they were on that boat". This non-linearity is also evident in Jane's and Emma's questioning regarding Andy's tights. They temporarily redirect the narrative flow while enquiring about a matter that appears to have specific emotional significance to the group and the evolution of the on-going narrative. Andy, wearing tights at a pool party, which might have been considered irrelevant or inconsequential to a person not already familiar with the storyline and the participants, receives emphasis. This goes on to show that the focus of narrative attention is subjective to the participants' intentions and not to an objective, semantically oriented narrative procedure.

These non-linear aspects of storytelling challenge traditional structural approaches to narrative (Labov, 1972) assuming that events are ordered and structured and therefore can be meaningful even after some modification in the order in which they are structured. The findings align with more recent ideas such as "narrative-in-interaction" (DeFina & Georgakopoulou, 2015) where stories are viewed as emergent, situated achievements and not set structures. The meaning and subsequent interpretation of these narratives cannot be separated from the collaborative performance during which they emerge. As demonstrated in the Fact Checker Supreme segment, the determination that ultimately the hotel was not "nice" as Sonia had initially asserted collaboratively emerges through the interactive process of shared remembering. Elly is the individual with the recollection but instead of reminding them the "facts" or the "truth" of the situation by providing direct information she engaged in a variety of non-verbal cues: postural shifts, gaze shifts, a marked hand gesture and strategic silence. All these communicative means employed by Elly initiate and support the process of shared remembering, suggesting that the evolution of the narrative is an interactional achievement.

## 5.3 Collective Remembering and Memory Transformation

Results from the analysis suggest that storytelling, at least for these participant groups, is a form of collective remembering where shared experiences are not simply recalled but actively reconstructed through interaction. This process goes beyond mere recollection to include collaborative validation and contestation of memories through multimodal means. The most compelling evidence for this collective memory work appears in Group 2's fact-checking episode about the hotel quality. When Sonia incorrectly describes the hotel as “really nice”, Elly does not verbally contradict her but employs non-verbal cues—a perplexed facial expression, fixed gaze, and strategic pause—that prompt Tania to access and assess her own recollection. This leads first to uncertainty (“I don't remember it”) and then to recognition and correction (“No way!”). Remembering is thus collaboratively constituted rather than individually accomplished.

This collaborative reconstruction supports remembering as a fundamentally social rather than a purely cognitive process. Elly’s dramatic physical reaction after Tania's correction—crossing her arms and mimicking a lifeless posture—functions not merely as confirmation but as an embodied dramatization that reinforces the corrected memory.

These interactions exemplify what would be more accurately described as embodied, shared re-experiencing rather than simply retelling. The narratives become life experiences through the emotional and physical engagement they generate among participants. This is evident in the exuberant laughter, dramatic postural shifts, and coordinated gaze patterns that accompany the narrative process. The collaborative nature of memory work is further exemplified in how participants fill in details for one another, as when Kate and Jane in Group 1 mention “the photos” without needing explicit explanation. This demonstrates how shared mnemonic resources are activated and integrated into the evolving narrative. These interactions exemplify how storytelling may serve not just to report past events but to collectively negotiate their significance and meaning through embodied interaction.

## 5.4 Retelling Known Stories: Social Functions Beyond Information

Another important issue highlighted in the analysis is the purpose of retelling stories that are already known to most group members. In the group consisting of five participants, three of them shared the original experience but all five possessed prior knowledge of the events from previous retellings. In the group consisting of three participants, all three were present during the recounted events. The argument that the participants engage in such elaborate interaction merely for the sake of the present study or for purely entertaining purposes is inadequate, as it fails to account for the extensive interactional work exemplified through role negotiation and multimodal coordination observed in both groups. This pattern suggests that these retellings serve purposes beyond mere information sharing. Our analysis indicates that these collaborative retellings function as sites for social bonding, identity reinforcement, and the maintenance of group cohesion. Following Norrick’s (2000) approach to conversational narratives we observe that familiar stories serve as “interactional resources” through which participants reaffirm their shared history and collective identity. The intricate multimodal work invested in these retellings, including dramatic pauses, exaggerated re-enactments, and strategic fact-checking, suggests that the performance aspects of storytelling may hold equal or greater significance than the

informational content itself. The following sections examine the specific social functions these retellings serve.

**Social bonding through shared enjoyment**

The exuberant laughter and engagement during both groups' storytelling sessions suggest that retelling known stories creates opportunities for collective amusement. This becomes particularly evident in the fact-checking segments where participants deliberately highlight amusing aspects of the stories to generate shared laughter. The fact that some of the information shared contains transgressions and that some others lead to the good-natured ridicule of past behavior or appearance of certain participants demonstrates the social bonding function of these narratives. As Norrick (2000) argues, shared laughter at past shortcomings serves to strengthen group solidarity while simultaneously negotiating group norms and values. Andy's comment "we were such babes" and the subsequent reactions to photographs establish a playful framework for collectively evaluating past identities. Mary's dramatic response, she covered her face with her hands in a show of embarrassment, shows how these humorous evaluations of potentially uncomfortable aspects of past identities are dealt within the safety of the present interaction. These humor-oriented instances function as sophisticated interactional strategies that enhance group cohesion through shared enjoyment of collectively remembered experiences. The act of remembering and narrating together becomes itself a new shared experience in the collective memory of the group, solidifying social bonds among participants.

**Integration of non-present parties**

A significant function of these collaborative retellings appears to be the integration of individuals who were not present during the original events while simultaneously reinforcing group dynamics among those who were. Kate and Jane were not part of the original holiday experience, yet they actively participated in the narrative construction through questions and comments. Their engagement was actively facilitated by other participants. When Andy assumed the narrator role, she directed her gaze and body orientation during her opening statement specifically toward Kate and Jane, strategically orienting the narrative to include these non-present participants.

The analysis reveals a more complex pattern than simply informing non-present parties. The distributed attention during narrative sequences demonstrates that engagement is not solely informatively driven and aimed at participants who were not there. For instance, Andy, after initially addressing Kate and Jane, she shifted her gaze significantly toward Mary (who was present during the original events) when making her "we were such babes" comment, eliciting an immediate embodied response of mock embarrassment. This orientation toward those who were indeed present suggests that these retellings serve functions beyond merely transmitting information to uninformed participants.

This pattern aligns with what Georgakopoulou (2007) terms "small stories", where familiar narratives function not primarily to convey information but to negotiate relationships and identities within the group. The integration of non-present parties thus appears to serve the dual function of expanding the circle of shared experience while simultaneously reinforcing the special status of those who were present during the original events.

## 5.5 Multi-authored narratives and collective identity

Bruner (1991) argues that psychologically, human identity can be conceptualized as an autobiographical narrative, emphasizing that the stories we tell play a fundamental role in understanding who we are as people. This theoretical perspective takes on additional complexity when applied to collaborative storytelling contexts such as those observed in this study. The analysis demonstrates that when narratives are collectively produced through multimodal interaction, they are not merely told but collectively performed and re-experienced. This collaborative process raises important questions about the relationship between narrative and identity formation.

When narratives are co-authored in interaction, as seen in both Groups, participants' understandings of themselves happens as they engage in the reconstruction of shared experiences. Previous research has defined self-narratives as vital in constructing and analyzing the dynamic nature of identity (Bamberg, 2010), but findings suggest that in collaborative contexts, this process becomes distributed across participants. For example, when Andy frames their past selves as "such babes" and receives immediate embodied responses from other participants, we observe how past identities are collectively negotiated rather than individually asserted. Similarly, when Elly transitions into the narrator role, she demonstrates how narrative authority and the right to interpret shared experiences are fluid and negotiable.

These observations suggest that collaborative storytelling creates a space where identity becomes less an individual construction and more a collective achievement. However, further research would be needed to fully substantiate the extent to which these collaborative narrative practices influence participants' sense of self beyond the immediate interaction.

## 5.6 Methodological Contributions

This study demonstrates the value of moment-to-moment multimodal analysis in order to explore and understand the complexities of narrative interaction. By documenting how participants coordinate gaze, posture, gesture, and speech to create coherent narrative experiences, we demonstrate the limitations of language-only approaches to narrative analysis. The significance of embodied resources in establishing narrative roles and facilitating transitions suggests that future narrative research would benefit from similar attention to multimodal dimensions.

The frame-by-frame analysis reveals the temporal unfolding of the narrative interaction and role transitions, showing how narrative roles emerge through complex organized actions rather than existing as predetermined categories. This finding agrees with research that proposes more dynamic approaches to narrative analysis that can capture the emergent and contingent nature of storytelling practices (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015).

## 5.7 Limitations and Future Directions

While this study provides valuable insights into collaborative storytelling, it has certain limitations. The analysis focuses on groups with established relationships, leaving open questions about how narrative roles might be negotiated among strangers or in more formal

settings. Future research could explore how the patterns identified here might vary across different social contexts and relationship types.

Additionally, the analysis focused primarily on two specific roles, Narrator and Fact Checker, but other important roles likely exist within collaborative storytelling interactions. Future studies could identify and analyze additional roles, to develop a more comprehensive understanding of role allocation in group storytelling.

The findings also raise questions about how digital technologies might be affecting collaborative storytelling practices. As more social interaction occurs in mediated environments that limit access to embodied cues, how are narrative roles negotiated and performed when participants do not share spatial proximity and therefore cannot employ all multimodal resources identified in this study?

Cultural variations in collaborative storytelling practices also deserve further investigation. The Greek participants in this study demonstrated specific patterns of role negotiation and fact checking, but these may vary significantly across cultural contexts. Cross-cultural research could reveal both universal and culturally specific dimensions of collaborative narrative practice.

Finally, the relationship between collaborative storytelling and identity deserves attention. Bamberg (2011) argues that identities form through the connections speakers make with the content of the narratives and their interlocutors. Our analysis suggests that these role shifts act as a negotiation both in narrative terms: what the story was versus what the story becomes now that they retell it and re-experience it, and in terms of identity work: what their identity was versus what it is collaboratively becoming through the present interactional processes.

# 6 Conclusion

The analysis has examined the dynamic processes involved in collaborative storytelling among close friends in naturalistic settings. By employing Multimodal Interaction Analysis and Goffman's production format, the flexible and co-constructed nature of participant roles in storytelling interactions has been exemplified. The analysis has revealed how the particular narrator roles are not static but negotiated through both verbal and non-verbal cues such as gaze, posture, and gesture. The findings challenge traditional, linear conceptions of narrative by showing how stories are often non-linear, fragmentary, and shaped by collective memory processes. Storytelling here, is not merely as a means of information transfer but is an interactional achievement that fosters group identity and relational cohesion.

This study contributes to broader understandings of how narratives operate in everyday social life and emphasizes the multimodal and collaborative nature of doing memory work. In a way, friends engage in a co-performance of past events rather than simply the telling of stories. The findings open up new directions for research into multimodal storytelling, especially within naturally occurring, peer-group contexts, where shared histories and relational dynamics shape how stories are told, remembered, and transformed.

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# Appendices

## A Participant Information Sheet

Radboud University
MA Language and Communication Coaching
Contact information: Eirini Bogia, Eirinib.em@gmail.com, +306979458994

Participant Consent Form
Project : Talk between friends and close acquaintances in naturalistic settings
Goal of the study
To understand how friends and close acquaintances tell stories and interact with each other in naturalistic settings. The study focuses on many aspects of social interactions, all of them are non-threatening. We are interested in following the little tangents that occur while naturally talking to friends. It does not matter what you talk about, we are interested about the shape of your conversation.
Data use
It is very important that we have an accurate record of the interaction therefore I will be recording the interaction with audio-video equipment. This is a research project; the stories and interactions may be used in conference proceedings or academic publications. In all conference proceedings or academic publications aliases will be used for the names of all participants and all identifying or potentially identifying information will be deleted from the data.
If audio/video clips are used in conferences or in publications please indicate how you would like the data to be presented.

- □ Use the data without any alterations.
- □ Please pixelate my face so I cannot be visually identified
- □ Please use a cartoon character in my place but the audio is fine
- □ Please do not use the audio and video in any conference proceedings and/or publications

| |
|---|
| I have read the information provided and I would like to participate in the study |
| Full name: …… |
| Date : …….. |
| Signature : …… |

Feel free to contact me in case you have questions regarding the study and your participation in it.

# Έντυπο δήλωσης συγκατάθεσης για συμμετοχή σε επιστημονική έρευνα

**Πανεπιστήμιο: Radboud University**
**Εκπαιδευτικό Πρόγραμμα: MA Language and Communication Coaching**

**Στοιχεία επικοινωνίας:** Eirini Bogia, Eirinib.em@gmail.com, +306979458994

**Έντυπο δήλωσης συγκατάθεσης για συμμετοχή σε επιστημονική έρευνα**

**Θέμα εργασίας** : Συζήτηση μεταξύ φίλων και γνωστών σε φυσικές και ανεπιτήδευτες συνθήκες

**Στόχος της μελέτης**

Αντικείμενο της παρούσας έρευνας είναι το πως φίλοι και γνωστοί συνομιλούν και αλληλοεπιδρούν υπό φυσικές και ανεπιτήδευτες συνθήκες. Η μελέτη εστιάζει σε διάφορα χαρακτηριστικά των κοινωνικών αλληλεπιδράσεων, όλα τους μη-απειλητικά προς τους συμμετέχοντες. Μας ενδιαφέρει να παρακολουθήσουμε τις (μικρές) θεματικές αποκλίσεις που συντελούνται όταν μιλάμε σε φίλους υπό φυσικές συνθήκες. Οι απόψεις που εκφράζονται δεν θα αναλυθούν και επομένως δεν θεωρούνται σημαντικές για την έρευνα, αυτό που μας ενδιαφέρει και θα αναλυθεί είναι η πορεία και η εξέλιξη της συζήτησής.

**Χρήση δεδομένων**

Πολύ σημαντικό είναι να έχουμε ακριβή καταγραφή της συζήτησης, επομένως θα καταγράψω την αλληλεπίδραση με συσκευή εικόνας-ήχου. Αυτό είναι ένα ερευνητικό έργο. Οι ιστορίες και οι αλληλεπιδράσεις μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθούν σε πρακτικά συνεδρίων ή ακαδημαϊκών δημοσιεύσεων. Σε όλα τα πρακτικά του συνεδρίου ή στις ακαδημαϊκές δημοσιεύσεις θα χρησιμοποιούνται ψευδώνυμα για τα ονόματα όλων των συμμετεχόντων και όλες οι αναγνωριστικές ή δυνητικά αναγνωριστικές πληροφορίες θα διαγράφονται από τα δεδομένα.

Παρακαλείστε να αναφέρετε πώς θα θέλατε να παρουσιαστούν τα δεδομένα σε περίπτωση τα αποσπάσματα ήχου/βίντεο χρησιμοποιηθούν σε συνέδρια ή σε δημοσιεύσεις.

Παρακαλώ επιλέξτε μία από τις παρακάτω επιλογές.

- [ ] Χρησιμοποιήστε τα δεδομένα χωρίς καμία τροποποίηση.
- [ ] Παραμορφώστε το πρόσωπό μου ώστε να μην μπορώ να ταυτιστώ οπτικά.
- [ ] Χρησιμοποιήστε έναν χαρακτήρα κινουμένων σχεδίων στη θέση μου αλλά χρησι-μοποιήστε τον ήχο κ...
- [ ] Μην χρησιμοποιήσετε τον ήχο και το βίντεο σε οποιαδήποτε πρακτικά συνεδρίου ή/και δημοσιεύσεις.

Έχω διαβάσει τις παραπάνω πληροφορίες και επιθυμώ να συμμετέχω στην μελέτη.
Συμπληρώστε το Ονοματεπώνυμό σας και την σημερινή ημερομηνία

Short-answer text

# B Transcription of Verbiage

**Narrator Giving role**

**Greek**
M: Ένας κόντεψε να πεθάνει
M: Τι εννοείς;
M: Τι σκέφτεσαι;
K: Ποιός κόντεψε να πεθάνει;
J: Ποιός κόντεψε να πεθάνει;
M: Αχ, θέλω η Andy να τα πει

**Word by word**
M: One approached to die
M: What you mean?
M: What you think?
K: Who approached to die?
J: Who approached to die?
M: Ah, I want Andy to them say.

**Pragmatic**
M: One almost died
M: What do you mean?
M: What are you thinking of?
K: Who almost died?
J: Who almost died?
M: Ah, I want Andy to tell it.

**Narrator Taking role**

**Greek**
M: Ένας κόντεψε να πεθάνει
M: Τι εννοείς;
M: Τι σκέφτεσαι;
K: Ποιος κόντεψε να πεθάνει;
J: Ποιος κόντεψε να πεθάνει;
M: Αχ θέλω η Κατερίνα να τα πει.
A: Ήμασταν κούκλες.
K: Έχουμε δει φωτογραφίες
J: φωτογραφίες

**Word by word**
M: One approached to die
M: What you mean?
M: What you think?
K: Who approached to die?
J: Who approached to die?
M: Ah, I want Katerina to them say.

A: We were dolls.
K: We have seen photos
J: photos

**Pragmatic**
M: One almost died
M: What do you mean?
M: What are you thinking of?
K: Who almost died?
J: Who almost died?
M: Ah, I want Andy to tell it.
A: We were such babes.
K: We have seen photos
J: photos

**Narrator Taking role explicitly**

**Greek**
E: Βέβαια, στην (ελληνικό νησί), είμαστε πλέον δεκαοχτώ κλεισμένα, πάμε πρώτη χρονιά.
E: Πω! Αλήθεια, θέλεις να τα πιάσουμε αυτά;
R: Ναι θέλω!
E: Που μπήκαμε στο καράβι ιιι!
E: Εγώ θα το πω αυτό!
S: ΧΑΧΑ
T: Εμ;;; γίνεται να μην το πείς;
E: Λοιπόν, κλείνουμε στην (ελληνικό νησί).

**Word by word**
E: Of course, in (Greek island), we are now eighteen closed, we go first year.
E: Poh! Really, do you want to them catch these?
R: Yes I want!
E: That we got on the boat! iii!
E: I will it say this!
S: HAHA
T: Um??? It becomes you to not it tell?
E: Well, we close to (Greek island)!

**Pragmatic Translation**
E: Of course in Paros, we are now eighteen, already turned, we go for the first time.
E: Poh! Do you really, want us to talk about these things?
R: Yes I do!
E: When we got on the boat! iii!
E: I will be the one to say it!
S: HAHA
T: How could you not say it?
E: Well, we book in (Greek island).

**Fact Checker Supreme**

**Greek**
S: Καλησπέρα κύριε, για το ξενοδοχείο...
E: Παίρναμε, άκυρο. Παίρναμε άκυρο.
S: Ωραίο ξενοδοχείο είχαμε βρει, πάρα πολύ ωραίο.
T: Δεν το θυμάμαι.
T: Α, όχι, καλέ!
S: Εγώ δεν το θυμάμαι.
T: Άλλο θυμάσαι!
E: Πού είχες μείνει εσύ;

**Word by Word**
S: Good evening sir, for the hotel...
E: We called, invalid. We called, invalid.
S: Nice hotel we had found, very much nice.
T: I not it remember.
T: A, no, dear!
S: I not it remember.
T: Other you remember!
E: Where had stay you?

**Pragmatic Translation**
S: Good evening sir, about the hotel...
E: And we would call, get rejected. We would call, rejected.
S: We had found a really nice hotel really nice.
T: I don't remember it.
T: Oh! No way!
S: I don't remember it.
T: You must remember another one!
E: Where were you staying?

**Fact Checker Funny**

**Greek**
A: Στεγνώνω
A: Με τον τόσο χορό στέγνωσα κάποια στιγμή.
E: Δεν το έβγαλες το καλσόν;
A: Όχι ρε.
J: Προστατεύει, waterproof!
A: Γιατί να το βγάλω; Αφού είμαι από πάνω μέχρι κάτω χάλια

**Word by word**
A: I dry
A: With the so much dance I dried at some moment.
E: Not you take off the pantyhose?
A: Nah.
J: Protects, waterproof!
A: Why to it take off? Since I am from up to down a mess

**Pragmatic translation**
A: I dry off.
A: With so much dancing I dried off at some point.
E: Didn't you take off your pantyhose?
A: Nah.
J: It protects, waterproof!
A: Why would I take it off? Since I'm a mess from head to toe.

# C Semi-structured Protocol Questions

1. How long have you known each other?
2. Do you remember when and how you met?
3. What kinds of things do you do together?
4. Have you ever been on vacation together?
5. When was the first/last time you were on vacation together?