Remapping the contours of language, gender/sexuality, and childhood

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2023

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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March 28, 2023

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University of Pittsburgh, 2023

This dissertation investigates the relationship among language, gender/sexuality, and childhood through a digital and sociolinguistic ethnography with a national nonprofit organization, GLSEN. GLSEN's mission is to ensure K-12 schools provide safe and affirming spaces for LGBTQ+ students, through interventions with educators, students, parents, policymakers, and community members. My embeddedness within the organization comes from three years of ethnographic fieldwork with four local GLSEN chapters (Arizona, Mid-Hudson, Tennessee, and Washington) while coordinating a queer oral history project, the StoryBank, and assisting GLSEN Arizona with policy and public advocacy efforts.

My approach is primarily qualitative and discourse analytic and secondarily quantitative and variationist. My analysis focuses on constructed speech, or instances of quoted speech and reported speech, which emerge frequently in narratives told by LGBTQ+ youth and adults involved with GLSEN, as well as in comments made by Arizona lawmakers as they discuss two anti-queer bills during the 2022 legislative session. First, I consider broad discursive and acoustic patterns of constructed speech in StoryBank interviews with 19 LGBTQ+ adults as they narrate events from their childhoods, school experiences as students, and experiences working with the organization. Second, I focus in greater detail on intra-speaker or stylistic shifts that make quoted speech more distinctive than non-quoted speech, on average, in an organizational interview with one LGBTQ+ student leader (from a larger set of 20 Gender Sexuality Alliance student leader interviews). Third, I explore how Arizona lawmakers, in seven hours of legislative hearings, use

constructed speech animations of children to ground their policy positions in imaginings about everyday interactions between children and adults.

My analysis finds that (1) constructed speech allows narrators to engage in embedded or multidimensional forms of stancetaking; (2) acoustic distinctiveness of quoted speech may coincide with and be prompted by narrative affect; and (3) constructed speech animations of children authorize and legitimate lawmakers' arguments about anti-LGBTQ+ bills. These findings are contextualized in relation to the linguistic individual (Johnstone, 1996) and the developmental imperative and heterosexual market (Eckert, 2000).

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Transcription Conventions

Citational forms of English words, to include translations from other languages, are listed with single quotes ('dessert stomach'). Quoted speech is represented with double quotes (e.g., In a moment of frustration, Kim told Khloé and Kris, "Kourtney is the least exciting to look at"). Key terms are bolded and italicized on first reference or when relevant in the course of discussion (***childhood discourse***).

Unless otherwise indicated, words in italics represent phonetic transcriptions using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). For the most part, the IPA matches English orthographic conventions in representing spoken segments (vowels and consonants) as one would expect from writing. Idiosyncrasies are listed below.

[e] is the mid front unrounded tense vowel (the 'ai' sound in 'b<u>ai</u>t')
[ɾ] is the voiced alveolar tap (the 't' sound in American English 'be<u>tt</u>er')
[ə] is the unstressed mid central unrounded lax vowel (the 'a' sound in '<u>a</u>bout')
[ʌ] is the stressed mid central unrounded lax vowel (the same sound as [ə], but in stressed syllables)
[ɛ] is the mid front unrounded lax vowel (the 'e' sound in 'b<u>e</u>t')
[ɑ] is the low back unrounded lax vowel (the 'o' sound in 'b<u>o</u>t')
[ɔ] is the mid back rounded lax vowel (the 'ou' sound in 'b<u>ou</u>ght')
[æ] is the low front unrounded lax vowel (the 'a' sound in 'c<u>a</u>t')
[j] is the voiced palatal glide or off-glide (the 'y' sound in '<u>y</u>es')
[ɑɪ] is the low back off-glide diphthong (the 'i' sound in 'right')
[dʒ] is the voiced alveopalatal affricate (the 'j' and 'dg' sounds in 'judge')

Transcription conventions, for transcripts in excerpts and sentence examples, are adapted from Ehrlich and Romaniuk (2013) and Jefferson (2004).

(0.5)	Silences are indicated as pauses in tenths of a second
(.)	A period in parentheses indicates a micro-pause (less than two-tenths of a second)
.	A period indicates falling intonation contour
,	A comma indicates continuing intonation
?	A question mark indicates rising intonation contour

¿	An inverted question mark indicates a rise stronger than a comma but weaker than the question mark
:	Colons indicate lengthening of preceding sound (in tenths of a second)
-	A hyphen indicates an abrupt cutoff sound
<u>yes</u>	Underlining indicates emphatic stress
((coughs))	Information in double parentheses indicates additional details

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to thank the storytellers from the GLSEN chapter network, who were generous and brave in sharing their life experiences with me so I, in turn, can share them with others. Thanks to the LGBTQ+ youth who offered important perspectives about their Gender Sexuality Alliances (GSAs) to GLSEN as part of the GSA Study, which GLSEN gave me permission to use in my research. Thanks to state lawmakers, school board members, educators, and community members in Arizona and other states who are fighting to keep LGBTQ+ students safe in schools. Thanks to LGBTQ+ students for leading the charge.

Thanks (a bigger word than 'thanks', really) to my committee members, Dr. Amanda Godley, Dr. Jules Gill-Peterson, Dr. Karen Park, and Dr. Scott Kiesling. Thanks to Amanda for initially connecting with me about Armenian, for opening doors to community-engaged scholarship and other opportunities, and for reminding me to take care of myself at critical moments. To Jules, thank you for being who so many of us want to be when we grow up, for nurturing my initial curiosities about childhood studies, and for encouraging me and so many students to pursue our passions. Thanks to Karen for countless hours of conversation and mentorship in teaching and research, and for always encouraging your students (including this student) to be curious, whether as academics or scholars (or both or neither). To Scott, there are too many things to be thankful for. For taking a chance on me as an advisee, for encouraging me to build connections outside of linguistics, for always being excited at my sudden discoveries and pivots, for asking thoughtful questions and offering thoughtful intellectual landmarks during this process, and for creating opportunities for us to collaborate. Thanks most of all for reminding me

that it's okay to be myself in sociolinguistics (or wherever), even if that sometimes means breaking the mold.

This project would not have been possible without the support of GLSEN chapter leaders. Thanks to Leslie George and Michael Torre from Arizona, Rob Conlon and Ashton Riegler from Mid-Hudson, Will French from Tennessee, and Joe Bento, Marsha McDowell, and Emily Lerner from Washington. They are some of the most dedicated and longest serving volunteers and staff within the GLSEN chapter network, which is full of passionate people who have done impossible and inspiring work in K-12 schools for the last 30 years. Thanks to current and former staff in GLSEN's national office, particularly David Eng-Chernack and Dr. Joe Kosciw.

Thanks (beyond 'thanks') to graduate school friends and colleagues in the Department of Linguistics who have kept me going: Dr. Alana DeLoge, Dr. Nori Li, Dr. Farrah Neumann, Dr. Matthew John Hadodo, Aidah Aljuran, Lexy Brown, Domi Branson, Dr. Ben Naismith, Shaohua Fang, Juan Berríos, Angela Krak, Andrea Hurtado, Irene Soto, Alexandra Szczupak, Christy Van Poolen, Kody Messner, Tong Zhao, Misha O'Brien, Anthony Verardi, Tynisha Brice, Mariana Aristizabal, Dylan Ashton, Anne Carney, Sen Laban, Mack Campbell, and Soobin Choi, and anyone I may have missed. Thanks to close friends and brilliant writing partners in the Department of Linguistics and the Department of English: Joe Patrick and Miroo Lee (for many laughs and cries this year), and also Sam Corfman, CE Mackenzie, and Dr. Amanda Awanjo (for being nothing short of inspirational). Thanks to Steffan Triplett, Nalesi Rodriguez, and Treviene Harris.

Many thanks to University of Pittsburgh undergraduate students for being a source of constant insights and joy about language. Thanks to Annika Puskar, Nicole Schnee, and Arina Prakaprenka for offering feedback on early ideas about this project, based on our private text conversations from Russian class. Thanks to former directed research students in the University of

Thanks to my family, Lisa (who should have a PhD herself by now), Bob, Ryan, and Caitlin. Thanks to my Nana, who watches over everything I do as a little fly on the wall.

Finally, thanks to the talented women who kept me going during so much of this process: Janet Jackson, Kim Petras, Ebba Tove Nilsson, Catherine Bush, Seinabo Sey, Selena Quintanilla Pérez, Mariah Carey, Robyn Rihanna Fenty, Stephanie Nicks, and Melissa 'Lizzo' Jefferson (And honorable mention to the Spice Girls, Rocío Dúrcal, and Beyoncé Knowles-Carter.)

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation is primarily about three interrelated social phenomena: language, gender/sexuality, and childhood. I proceed from the assumption that much can be gained by reimagining their relationship in a way that places greater emphasis on the interplay of sociolinguistic practices, whether patterns of discourse or patterns of sounds (or both), and beliefs or ideologies about language and personhood. In particular, I focus on the sociolinguistics of a frequent phenomenon in spoken or conversational discourse and narrative, which I call ***constructed speech***, following the work of Deborah Tannen (2007). Constructed speech (what Tannen calls 'constructed dialogue') is relatively straightforward at first glance: quoted or direct speech and reported or indirect speech (the terms are used interchangeably; for the sake of simplicity, I use the terms 'quoted speech' and 'reported speech'). I prefer 'speech' to 'dialogue' because speakers do not always construct interactive dialogue: they often construct a single (or 'monologic') side of a remembered interaction, as well as inner thoughts, hypothetical-but-never-uttered speech, and even non-spoken writing on posters or flyers that advertise meetings for high school student clubs.

Examples (1) and (2) below, from interviews with LGBTQ+ student leaders involved with the nonprofit organization GLSEN, which is the ethnographic site for my research, provide instances of quoted and reported speech.

(1) Yetch: And I'm just like- and people were like, "I don't think that particularly reflects what it's like," and I'm like, "how, would you know?" And- 'cause they're like, "yeah, people are accepting," and I'm like, "How would you know?"

(2) Ini: Like, they're okay with me being in GSA. Um, my mom actually told me that she was proud of me when I told her that I got elected to be the vice president of GSA for next year.

I explore how constructed speech is a useful entry point into the investigation of sociolinguistic practices and ideologies of language and personhood, in relation to LGBTQ+ childhoods. In (1), Yetch, who is a multiracial transgender queer high school graduate, uses a common quote-introducing strategy of *(be) like-prefacing*, particularly among youth (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007), in describing their experience of working with fellow Drama Club students on play, and deciding whether to include anti-queer bullying and harassment as one of the play themes. Yetch's constructed quotation, in which they question non-queer students' knowledge of the lived experiences of queer students, indicates their sense that life at school is still different for queer (and trans) students in comparison to their non-LGBTQ+ peers. In (2), Ini, who is a white nonbinary asexual and biromantic 11th grader, uses reported speech in describing how their mom is proud of them when they told her that they "got elected to be the vice president of GSA [Gender Sexuality Alliance] for next year." For the LGBTQ+ students like Yetch and Ini, high school remains a space of highs and lows in navigating queer and trans life, depending on interactions with peers and school staff, extracurricular activities like Drama Club or GSA, and the larger sociocultural and political world within which schools and communities exist.

In addition to being about constructed speech in *everyday narratives of personal experience* (Ochs & Capps, 2001), like those told by Yetch and Ini, this research is also about particular narratives of life (life histories) and institutions (institutional histories) told by and about LGBTQ+ people, both youth and adults, involved with local chapters of the national nonprofit organization GLSEN. GLSEN is a charitable organization that focuses on achieving LGBTQ+ justice in K-12 schools and has existed since 1990, around the time that the first Gay-Straight

Alliance (GSA) was formed in the state of Massachusetts (Boesen & Kosciw, 2016; GLSEN, Inc., 2022; Ryan, 2021). Since its formation, GLSEN has gradually developed in-school and community programming around four pillars of support for LGBTQ+ students: knowledgeable and supportive educators, comprehensive and enumerated anti-bullying and non-discrimination policies, inclusive curricula, and GSAs. I have worked with GLSEN for more than a decade, prior to beginning my PhD at the University of Pittsburgh, and have held most chapter-level leadership roles for the Arizona chapter during my time living in Phoenix. I became involved with the chapter as a volunteer in 2012, served as co-chair of the board of directors from 2013 to 2015, and was the student organizing coordinator responsible for providing support to Phoenix-area GSAs and advisors from 2015 to 2016. From 2012 to 2016, I also facilitated professional development trainings for K-12 school staff in Arizona about LGBTQ+ issues and how best to support queer and trans students. For the past three years, as part of my dissertation research, I have worked closely with four GLSEN chapters (Arizona, Mid-Hudson, Tennessee, and Washington) to coordinate queer oral history projects, or **StoryBanks**, which we eventually hope to make part of larger community-based archives. Each chapter's StoryBank contains recorded and transcribed interviews with students, educators, and community members. In the last year, I have also gotten more involved with GLSEN Arizona's public policy and advocacy work by helping community members understand the process of testifying during state legislative committee hearings and school board meetings. I regularly advise students, parents, and educators about the practicalities of crafting their own 2-minute policy testimony. I led the development of materials for an hour-long session on "How to tell your story to advocate for LGBTQ+ students" and, to date, have trained more than 200 people across Arizona.

Because of these experiences with GLSEN, I began my PhD in sociolinguistics with an interest in the language practices of LGBTQ+ students and youth. However, in completing my coursework, beginning to attend academic conferences, and having conversations with fellow linguists – including queer and trans linguists, or linguists whose research touches queer and trans language issues – I was consistently surprised at how rarely LGBTQ+ children, youth, and students figure into sociolinguistic scholarship. I came to realize that research on language, gender/sexuality, and childhood often overlooks LGBTQ+ childhoods. This is the case for seminal work in sociolinguistics (for instance, Eckert's [2000] study of the Northern Cities Vowel shift among jocks, burnouts, and in-betweens in a Detroit high school) and in linguistic anthropology (in Goodwin's [2006] work on stance and status among girls in a Los Angeles elementary school, or Mendoza-Denton's [2014] work about adolescent Chicana girls in a Los Angeles high school). A related absence can be observed in research about language and LGBTQ+ identities, which often has an implicit focus on adulthood. In their review of the field of Lavender Languages and Linguistics, Leap and Provencher (2011) do not mention scholarship about LGBTQ+ children or youth. It is only in recent years that a handful of scholars have researched queer and trans youth language practices, typically in the UK (Jones's [2022] work on constructed dialogue and stancetaking in trans youth's narratives, or Sauntson's [2018] work on LGBTQ+ youth language practices in educational settings).

As I review in more detail in the next chapter, which explores the historical figuration of childhood in sociolinguistics, the study of children's language or, more expansively, ***language and childhood***, has focused primarily on children's language acquisition and later communicative or conversational development. Children are usually regarded by linguists as 'little adult speakers in progress', who acquire language through exposure to input in their immediate speech communities

on the way to developing the underlying cognitive architecture for language (or actualizing it, depending on one's theoretical orientation). To this developmentalist or acquisitionist view, sociolinguists often add that children acquire broader social and indexical meanings of language, with language 'indexing' or pointing to speakers' membership in particular social groups based on region, race, gender, or age. Childhood studies, with its historical roots in children's literature, offers some possible answers as to why LGBTQ+ childhoods have been overlooked in sociolinguistic scholarship, as well as why our view of childhood (in linguistics, within the academy at large, and within society at large) is so frequently and so narrowly conceived as developmentalist. In addition to being viewed primarily through a lens of development, childhood is associated with other deeply naturalized ideologies, such as innocence, immaturity, and futurity (Ariès, 1960; Kinkaid, 1998; Rose, 1993; Sheldon, 2016). Childhood is also associated with cisgenderism (i.e., the assumption that children are or will be the sex or gender they were assigned at birth), and heterosexism (i.e., the assumption that children are or will be straight). Kathryn Bond Stockton (2009) traces some of the normative ideologies of childhood in her book *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century*, through an analysis of literature and film, arguing provocatively that childhood is a time of horizontal or sideways growth in which children, because they cannot grow vertically due to legal and ideological boundaries between childhood and adulthood, experience growth in queer sideways. According to Stockton, all children are queered, or rendered unknowable to adults, by something. Like their queer peers, transgender and intersex children also challenge normative, historical, scholarly, and medical understandings of childhood, as argued by Jules Gill-Peterson (2018) in *Histories of the Transgender Child*, which traces the emergence of trans and intersex children in American medical clinics and their role in configuring a new field of trans medicine.

My work considers how we might broaden our perspective on language and childhood to better account for LGBTQ+ childhoods. I approach this task by intentionally centering LGBTQ+ youth and adult speakers in thinking about language, gender/sexuality, and childhood, while also acknowledging that perspectives on (LGBTQ+) childhoods are regularly negotiated by others, including politicians in state legislatures. Therefore, I also explore what public policy discourse in the state of Arizona, against the backdrop of considering several anti-queer bills in the 2022 legislative session, reveals about legal definitions and ideologies of childhood. I argue that childhood is as much an ideological formation as a development one, and that development is itself one of several constituent and powerfully configuring ideologies of childhood, particularly in sociolinguistic research. I offer an alternative view of childhood that is more ideological in its configuration, in the hopes of opening up the study of 'language and childhood' to new directions. There is ample evidence, for instance, that childhood is of consequence to children and non-children alike, such as when adult speakers reflect on the significance of their childhood in the course of telling stories or narrating events from their lives in interviews.

1.1 Remapping

I wish to say a few words about the significance of the word 'remapping' in my title, and its place in my thinking about the relationship between language, gender/sexuality, and childhood. I most recently encountered the concept of mapping in a Brené Brown's (2021) book *Atlas of the Heart: Mapping Meaningful Connection and the Language of Human Experience*. Brown identifies as a mapmaker and a traveler: "I have data, and I use that data to chart a course that I'm sharing with you and trying to navigate at the same time" (p. xxviii). She presents the perspective

of a colleague at the University of Texas Austin, a mapmaker and scholar of cartography, that all forms of map-making involve the building of layers, in order to "provide readers with orientation" in space all while "appropriately prioritizing the right information" (p. xxix). In *Atlas of the Heart*, Brown ultimately seeks to map the relationships among 87 emotions and experiences central to human life, seeing them as "layers of biology, biography, behavior, and backstory" (p. xxx).

Like many people invested in popular self-help, I enjoy Brown's work. I find especially exciting the connections she makes between what seem like unrelated or disparate emotions (chapter 1 is about "places we go when things are uncertain or too much": stress, anxiety, and avoidance, but also excitement). But I also find Brown's sense of 'mapping' and map-making useful in my work here. Spatial metaphors are well-trodden in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, with variationist work traditionally placing great emphasis on language and place, such as for understanding the features and boundaries of regional dialects of language. Closer to home, my oral history work with the four GLSEN chapters is multi-sited, with each chapter located in a different state and region of the U.S. There is also the virtual spaces I have occupied, in how I interact with and interview my interlocutors in order to generate the recordings for this analysis. Space feels especially relevant to my work.

But my use of the term ***remapping*** should suggest that what I seek to do here is different from simply mapping the contours of language, gender/sexuality, and childhood. In many ways, the relationship among these concepts pre-exists my entry into this specific project, through work by variationist scholars like Labov (1989), Cheshire (1982), MacAulay (1977), and especially Eckert (2000). Eckert's work will come to assume a central place in my theoretical tinkering, as I am interested primarily in revisiting (or remapping) her notions of the ***developmental imperative*** and the ***heterosexual market*** in light of my data. Other mappings of language, gender/sexuality,

and childhood have also already been done by linguistic anthropologists like Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) and Ochs (1992) in investigations of language socialization, the non-universal nature of child-directed speech ('motherese' or 'parentese'), and the relationship between caregiving practices and children's entry into broader systems of belief tied to age, gender, sexuality, race, place, and power, in relation to 'culture' more broadly. Finally, to maps to guide thinking about these phenomena already exist in the field(s) of childhood studies, particularly at it points of intersection with gender and sexuality studies, LGBTQ+ studies, queer studies, and trans studies, which offer insights about the representational and historical nature of childhood itself that are less central in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Here, I am especially mindful of work by Gill-Peterson (2018), Stockton (2009), Sedgwick (1991), and Castañeda (2002).

1.2 Motivation

This project is motivated by several professional (including scholarly) and personal interests. I am interested in producing sociolinguistic work that is multidisciplinary and humanistic in nature, with new analytic possibilities emerging at the intersection of sociolinguistics with linguistic anthropology and queer and trans childhood studies. As I have touched on, research on language, gender/sexuality, and children/youth often excludes LGBTQ+ childhoods (Eckert, 2000; Goodwin, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2016), just as research on language and LGBTQ+ identities often focuses on adulthood (Leap & Provencher, 2011; Zimman 2017; cf. Jones, 2022; Sauntson, 2018). Even though childhood studies might offer potential answers for why, within (socio)linguistics, the study of 'language and childhood' has focused primarily on acquisition and communicative development, my research makes several additional interventions toward a more

robust 'sociolinguistics of childhood'. I center LGBTQ+ youth and adult speakers in thinking about language, gender/sexuality, and childhood. I argue that childhood is as much an ideological formation as a developmental one (and reposition development is one of many ideologies of childhood). I offer evidence that childhood is of consequence to children and non-children alike, and that sociolinguistic scholarship might productively consider 'representations' of childhood (including in constructed speech animations of children in narrative) in addition to actual production and perception language data by children. I expand the study of language and childhood to the context of a youth-focused social justice nonprofit organization, moving us away from the traditional domains of the school, the home, or the laboratory. I present intra-speaker (or stylistic) variation in narrative, following other work on style in sociolinguistics (Bucholtz, 1999b; Coupland, 2007; Johnstone, 1996; Podesva, 2011) as a potential site of relevance for thinking about community-level variation and the negotiation of ideologies. I contextualize these findings in relation to Eckert's (2000) notions of the heterosexual market and the developmental imperative, and remap these theoretical notions in my conclusion. Individual speakers use the heteroglossic affordances of their own voices (Bakhtin, 1981) to sonically materialize community voices within their narratives, in the form of constructed animations of speech. As such, this investigation contributes to linguistic anthropological understandings of voicing (e.g., Hill, 1995). My methods are primarily qualitative and discourse analytic in nature, pulling from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2013; Johnstone, 2017; van Dijk, 1993), queer CDA (Jones & Collins, 2022), political discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), and narrative analysis (Ochs & Capps, 2001), but complemented and enhanced by variationist (quantitative and mixed) approaches to intra-speaker variation and style.

My personal motivation relates to my status as a queer sociolinguist and a queer former child. I remember moving through a world that often failed to represent what I was thinking, feeling, and experiencing as real or possible. Through firsthand experience, I know what it is like to be told, in big ways and in small ways, that my ideas and emotions were wrong, inappropriate, a phase, or an impossibility. I also know that LGBTQ+ childhoods are real and possible. Queer and trans children and adults use language to create possibility, assert agency, and enact forms of self-determination, as I explore in the narratives of GLSEN storytellers.

1.3 The GLSEN StoryBanks, with digital and sociolinguistic ethnography

Next, I describe three phases of ethnographic fieldwork I completed over the past three years with GLSEN. This work began with the GLSEN Arizona StoryBank (phase 1), continued by scaling up the StoryBank to three other chapter (Mid-Hudson, Tennessee, and Washington, phase 2), and ended with policy and public advocacy work with GLSEN Arizona (phase 3).

1.3.1 Phase 1: GLSEN Arizona StoryBank

In the summer of 2020, I received a fellowship as part of the Humanities Engage initiative in the University of Pittsburgh Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences, which allowed me to complete an immersive project with a partner organization. Through this fellowship, I developed a project-based partnership with GLSEN Arizona (which, at the time, was still GLSEN Phoenix – the organization would rebrand as a statewide organization two years later). This project involved creating a StoryBank or digital repository of individual life histories and institutional histories (oral

histories more broadly) from queer and trans youth and adults connected with the chapter's work. Storytellers assumed one of several possible roles: current or former student organizers in high school GSAs (or student clubs that went by other names, such as Club SODA for Sexual Orientation Diversity Association), current or former school staff (educators, guidance counselors, and school administrators), and current or former volunteers or staff consultants with the Arizona chapter.

I first began volunteering with GLSEN Arizona more than a decade ago in 2012. At that time, one of the chapter's board co-chairs and founding members was in the process of stepping down from her leadership role. After I had about a year of volunteer experience under my belt, I was asked by the GLSEN Arizona board of directors to replace them as co-chair. It was in my capacity as co-chair for the next two years that I learned more about GLSEN Arizona as a chapter and GLSEN as a national organization, essentially undertaking a real-life crash course in nonprofit leadership and management. I became acquainted with the organization's history, stretching back to GLSEN's founding by Kevin Jennings, who was involved with the creation of the first GSA in a Massachusetts high school in the late 1980s. I became familiar with all aspects of the chapter's programming and initiatives in K-12 schools throughout Maricopa County, where Phoenix is located, and around the state, although most of the chapter's activities (and people) were situated in Phoenix. I gained experience facilitating professional development trainings for educators and school administrators, managing and mentoring volunteers of various backgrounds (from high school students to retired educators), recruiting and on-boarding board members and staff consultants, engaging in fundraising and grant writing, conducting outreach on behalf of the chapter in the form of newsletters and press releases, collaborating with other GLSEN chapters around the country, liaising with GLSEN's national office, and generally building and

troubleshooting the systems and processes for a small but dedicated working board and group of volunteers. I felt myself drawn to the student organizing area of GLSEN Arizona's work, which allowed me to directly support LGBTQ+ high school students – whether members of GSAs or not – and help them develop leadership, organizational, and advocacy skills. One of my proudest moments during these initial years with GLSEN Arizona came in April 2016, when I led the team coordinating the chapter's participation in the annual Phoenix Pride Parade. After months of planning, we were joined by approximately 300 students, teachers, parents, and community members from 15 high schools in Maricopa County to march under the 'safe schools for all' banner of GLSEN (an actual banner, which was designed by a local queer artist and painted by a team of volunteers, shown in Figure 1). Although the GLSEN Arizona contingent at the Phoenix Pride Parade has undergone some shifts in recent years, the marching group still generally consists of about 500 students and community members. Since 2016, the chapter has received several 'best marching group' awards from the Phoenix Pride organization, which organizes the city's annual festival and parade.

Figure 1 Marching group at Phoenix Pride, April 2016

This work with GLSEN Arizona is what initially sparked my interest in the sociolinguistic practices of LGBTQ+ speakers, including youth speakers. These experiences also provided me

with a deep familiarity with the work of this specific youth-serving LGBTQ+ nonprofit organization. Such familiarity proved important when I approached GLSEN Arizona in May 2020 about collaborating on a summer immersive project as a Humanities Engage fellow, right at the start of our 'new normal' because of COVID. The idea that emerged from our initial conversations was for me to lead the chapter through the next stages of creating a StoryBank, or digital archive of recorded and transcribed interviews with individuals connected to the chapter's work. The Arizona chapter had completed pre-planning for a StoryBank in 2018 with the help of social work graduate student interns at ASU. The purpose of the StoryBank, as a bord member explained in email correspondence to the social work interns in January 2018, was:

> "…[to capture] chapter-based experiences from volunteers, board members, interns, student organizers in GSAs, GSA sponsors, safe schools workshop participants, parents, administrators, and donors – in essence, anyone touched by or contributing to our efforts. Ideally, our StoryBank will include text, photo, and video. These narratives can then be used for our newsletters, invitations, annual reports, social media posts, press releases, grant applications, you name it." (GLSEN Arizona board member, 2018, personal correspondence)

Thus, from its earliest days the GLSEN Arizona StoryBank was intended to capture narratives from individuals directly or indirectly connected with the chapter's work, with the goal of eventually using these narratives, in part or in their entirety, as part of public-facing communications projects. Though my conversations with GLSEN Arizona in May 2020, we articulated a second deliverable of the StoryBank, which is that the interviews could serve as internal feedback (and/or qualitative evidence) about the impact of the chapter's programming.

Following a formal project proposal and vote of support by the GLSEN Arizona board of directors, I took over the management of this multi-faceted queer oral history project as the StoryBank Coordinator for the chapter. My role initially was to bring the StoryBank into existence by moving it from a planning phase to an initial implementation phase. This work required that I

reacquaint myself with the areas of GLSEN Arizona's current work: teacher trainings and professional development for K-12 educators, school counselors, and administrators; student programs (including GSA support and support of a GLSEN Arizona student leadership team, the SHINE Team, which is made up of approximately 10 high school students from across the state who are leaders of members of their own GSAs); policy and public advocacy work; development and fundraising; community outreach; volunteer coordination; and communications. It was decided that the StoryBank should be housed in the communications branch of GLSEN Arizona's organizational structure, although it naturally touches most other areas of the chapter's work – both through a storyteller's connection to the chapter (educator, student organizer, or chapter member) and through how the interviews might be used in communications projects in the future (for instance, as a video testimonial from a supportive educator during a professional development training for high school teachers). Overseeing the StoryBank involved several 'start-up' administrative tasks: creating a system for storing and managing project materials on the chapter's shared Google Drive; developing interview materials – a script, template interview questions, and a StoryBank media release form – with input from GLSEN Arizona (see Appendix A), receiving approval for the project from the GLSEN national office (and specifically the communications office and research office – standard practice for new chapter-level initiatives); promoting the StoryBank through various communication channels (such as the chapter's monthly newsletter, social media accounts, and interpersonal networks); and finally recruiting storytellers.

A shortlist of storyteller leads was created based on input from GLSEN Arizona board members, volunteers, and staff consultants. I emailed potential storytellers to introduce myself, explain the project, and ask whether the lead had any interest in becoming a storyteller. If they did, I provided the StoryBank media release form and scheduled an interview with them. Prior to the

interview, storytellers sent me their completed media release form, which specifies how (if at all) they consent to the chapter using their name, image/likeness, voice, and comments in public-facing communications items (with an 'anonymous' option for each). Storytellers also indicated the duration of time they permit GLSEN to use their recorded interview. The media release form guarantees informed consent by storytellers, and the interview questions align with ethical storytelling best practices for nonprofits and community organizations (Families USA, 2016).

For each interview, I developed a personalized script for the storyteller based on the template for their assigned role (Appendix A.1). Storytellers answered only a sub-set of the total question bank, addressing questions about their experiences growing up (background questions), their experiences in school as a student (school questions) and their experiences working with GLSEN Arizona (organization questions) before ending with final wrap-up questions. Once the interview was finished, a number of files are generated automatically through Zoom and saved to my computer's hard drive, including a video file (.mp4) and an audio file (.m4a, specific to Macintosh operating systems). Recordings were transcribed in ELAN (ELAN, 2020) after being converted to .wav files using the program Audacity (Audacity Team, 2020). For each storyteller, a new transcription file object (.eaf) was built in ELAN, containing separate transcription tiers for the interviewer's speech and the storyteller's speech. The audio file was also anonymized and submitted to Otter.ai (2020) for automated speech-to-text transcription, and the generated transcript served as the basis for the ELAN transcript.

To date, I have completed 22 StoryBank interviews for GLSEN Arizona, each lasting from 30 minutes to 1 hour. In October 2020, at the end of the Humanities Engage project, I presented a preliminary analysis of key themes and findings from the initial interviews to the chapter's board of directors and staff. I framed these findings as 'ten ways of using stories in our work' alongside

ten lessons about supporting LGBTQ+ students from GLSEN Arizona storytellers. I also provided a set of project sustainability recommendations for how to move the StoryBank into its next phase of implementation. Several observations by Arizona storytellers stood out to me then and continue to resonate now. A GSA sponsor from a rural high school in the western part of Phoenix shared that knowing a high school has a GSA matters a great deal to rising elementary and middle school students who would soon find themselves at that school. A former GLSEN Arizona board member and GSA sponsor in east central Phoenix shared her perspective as an out transgender teacher that educators should feel comfortable being open about their identities because that openness can have a positive impact on students. A school administrator from central Phoenix shared that an important principle in restorative justice relates to teachers being whole and well themselves, because only then are they equipped to support their students. A former GLSEN Arizona SHINE Team member shared what a safe and affirming school looks like, in her opinion, and a former co-chair and gay man with a disability spoke passionately about the fact that LGBTQ+ people experience gender and sexuality in intersectional ways, meaning inclusion may require intentional effort on the part of school administrators.

After the October meeting with the GLSEN Arizona board of directors, I worked closely with the chapter's communications consultant to convert short soundbites (30 seconds to two minutes in duration) into a final asset for the organization: a ***StoryBank spotlight on YouTube***. The look and feel of these spotlights have changed over time, as I have worked with various communications consultants at GLSEN Arizona and communications staff at GLSEN national to develop new templates over the past three years. All spotlights now include a quotation, an image of the storyteller, and the storyteller's name and role with the chapter – provided they have consented to our using this information publicly. As of today, there are 10 GLSEN Arizona

StoryBank Spotlights available on the chapter's YouTube channel, taken from the 22 interviews (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLCyA3YGYvzIoYbolcuRUfDDYsxAZGrdsw).

By the end of 2020, the GLSEN Arizona StoryBank 'archive' had begun to take shape as a queer oral history archive. For me, as someone interested in a queer sociolinguistics of childhood, it offered the possibility of destabilizes what we know about childhood, schooling, and nonprofit social justice by capturing the perspectives of current and former LGBTQ+ youth involved with GLSEN. In terms of childhood, the archive centers the perspectives of LGBTQ+ children and former children and, in doing so, challenges cisnormative and heteronormative assumptions about children and youth. In relation to education, the archive identifies ways that LGBTQ+ students and teachers have organized themselves to challenge discriminatory policies and practices in Arizona's K-12 school system. In terms of nonprofit and social justice work, the StoryBank also centers children and teenagers as key agents of local queer and trans activism. The oral history archive is 'historical' in at least two senses: it captures individual life histories for each storyteller, and wholistically (i.e., across all of the interviews) it provides historical details about the development and activities of the GLSEN Arizona chapter.

By October of 2020, I had started having conversations with GLSEN Arizona and GLSEN national about the possibility of expanding the StoryBank to other chapters in order to create multiple archives. I also decided to use the StoryBank as the basis for my dissertation research, for a project focusing on language, gender/sexuality, and childhood in the context of GLSEN's work. Phase 2 of the project, which I describe next, involved 'scaling up' and 'scaling out' the StoryBank to three other GLSEN chapters – Mid-Hudson, Tennessee, and Washington – and the initiation of my sociolinguistic research.

1.3.2 Phase 2: Multi-chapter StoryBanks and research

Figure 2 is a map of the GLSEN chapters, taken from the GLSEN website (https://www.glsen.org/find_chapter?field_chapter_state_target_id=All).
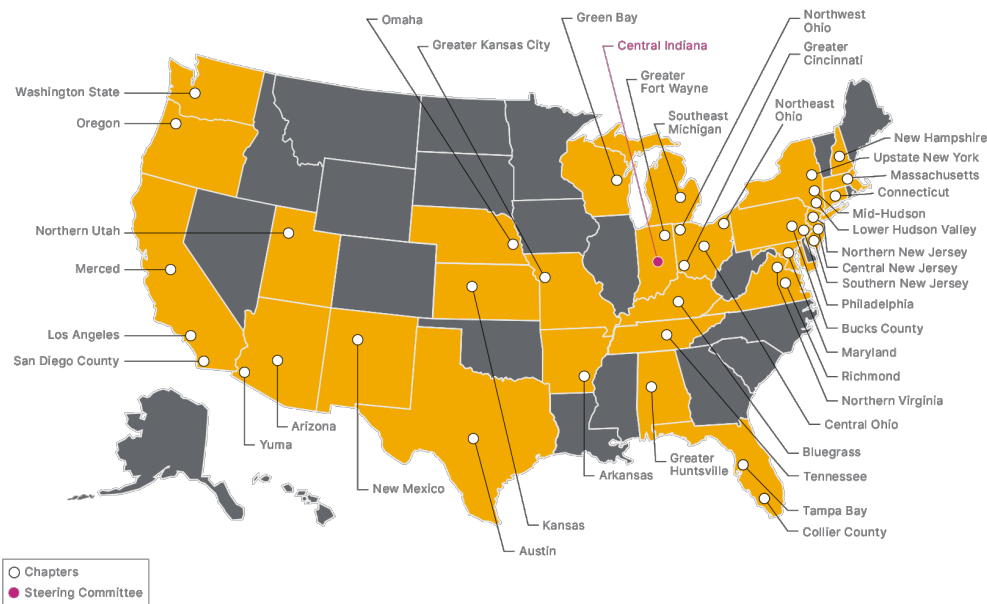
Figure 2 Map of GLSEN's 40 chapters

Initially, I intended to expand the StoryBank according to a sociolinguistic strategy, by identifying at least one chapter from each of the major North American dialect regions in the U.S. (Labov, Ash & Boberg, 2006). My shortlist of potential chapter locations included GLSEN Connecticut from the New England dialect region, GLSEN Mid-Hudson (NY) from the Mid-Atlantic states dialect region, GLSEN Tennessee from the South dialect region, and GLSEN Washington and GLSEN Merced (CA) from the West dialect region, along with Arizona. In late 2020 and throughout 2021, I held meetings with GLSEN's national office about taking the StoryBank from a local, chapter-level program in Arizona and expanding it to other locations in the chapter network. Phase 1 of the GLSEN Arizona StoryBank was to serve as a model for other

GLSEN chapters, and with national's support I began outreach to the GLSEN chapter network about collaborating to create other local StoryBank archives. As with GLSEN Arizona, I offered to assist chapters in developing a storage system, a process and protocol for documentation, and interview templates. I also offered to do an initial set of interviews with local storytellers. I would generate key takeaways and recommendations for each chapter, just as I had done for GLSEN Arizona, and assist with the integration of soundbites or quotes into current communications projects (to create YouTube spotlights or content for the chapter's social media accounts). As was the case with GLSEN Arizona, I would rely on local chapter leaders to connect me with potential storytellers. The process of having conversations with potential partner chapters – first individual board members, and then entire boards of directors – was time-consuming, often involving multiple meetings to discuss the project and answer questions, presentations to chapter boards of directors during monthly or bimonthly board meetings, and follow-up meetings to answer board members' lingering questions. Several chapters initially expressed interest, but due to constraints on internal capacity ultimately decided that they could not commit to working on the StoryBank. By the end of 2021, I secured approval from three chapters[1] to participate in phase 2 of the project: GLSEN Mid-Hudson (serving Dutchess, Orange, Sullivan, and Ulster Counties in the Hudson Valley of New York), GLSEN Tennessee (serving the state of Tennessee, but with most volunteers located in Nashville), and GLSEN Washington State (serving the state of Washington, but with a physical office and most volunteers located in Seattle).

In December 2021, I held an initial meeting with representatives from each of the four participating chapters (Arizona, Mid-Hudson, Tennessee, and Washington) and members of

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[1] A fourth chapter, GLSEN Connecticut, originally agreed to also be involved with the project. They are listed on the MOU in Appendix B.1. However, shortly after working on phase 2 of the StoryBank project, they had to withdraw from the project due to changes with the board of directors.

GLSEN national's communications office to discuss the plan for phase 2. During this meeting, I offered a summary of the work we had done together from July to November 2021, and I also presented some of my initial realizations about coordinating a multi-chapter StoryBank for four different GLSEN locations. I shared that each chapter has different things that we are known for within our local communities. Tennessee is known for its professional development and policy work; Mid-Hudson, for its professional development and partnerships with other community organizations; Washington, for its annual conference about LGBTQ+ issues in K-12 schools and its Rainbow Library (a GLSEN program that provides LGBTQ+-affirming books to schools that request them); Arizona, for its professional development and GSA support work. We also discussed different areas of growth for each chapter. Tennessee was interested in doing a mission and values check and expanding the board; Mid-Hudson wanted to grow its racial and gender diversity; Washington wanted to develop is professional development work and SHINE student leadership team; Arizona wanted to scale our programs up to the entire state. Finally, we reviewed the different structural dynamics of each chapter. In Tennessee, there is one co-chair for each of the three main regions of the state; in Mid-Hudson, most chapter-internal communication happens via Google Chat; in Washington, there is a long history of working closely with AmeriCorps volunteers; and in Arizona, we had been piloting small-scale storytelling activities at events as part of the StoryBank project. The attendees on the call, while excited to learn more about the programming and organizational structure of other chapters, voiced some apprehension about the difficulties of collaborating on a project like this. I too shared this concern, but tried to explain how the StoryBank could serve all of our interests simultaneously by producing local narratives that each chapter could integrate into their work and by giving the chapters access to other local stories from across the GLSEN network. Two of the chapter leaders came up with analogies for

what our work together had started to feel like. The Tennessee co-chair envisioned us being in a car, with me in the driver's seat and everyone else screaming at me from the passenger seats. Similarly, the Arizona board member felt as though we're all on a plane together, but we're building the plane as we're flying it. Both felt accurate to me.

Together, the group developed on a set of individual chapter goals, group goals, and I offered my own research goals related to my dissertation. For individual chapter goals, each chapter would receive ten StoryBank interviews (five with youth and five with adults: both educators and volunteers); all interviews, transcripts, and other materials organized into a local data storage system of the chapter's choosing (such as Google Drive); five storyteller spotlights (on YouTube or social media); continuing ongoing bimonthly or regular one-on-one meetings and communication from me about chapter-specific progress; all with an anticipated end date of November 2022 (but with the possibility of extending the project timeline if needed). In terms of group goals, we would work together to develop a set of multi-chapter StoryBank guidelines (capturing the history of our work together and best practices) and we would find ways of sharing these chapter-level experiences with other GLSEN chapters not involved in the project, in case they may want to do similar work themselves. This collaborative work would involve figuring out how best to work across each of the chapters (horizontally) and from the chapter level to the national level (vertically) for this project. Finally, in terms of my research goals, the chapters agreed to give me permission to use the StoryBank interviews in my dissertation, following IRB approval from the University of Pittsburgh and a second approval from the GLSEN National Research Institute (and the Research Ethics Review Committee, or RERC, which functions similarly to a university IRB by reviewing all research proposals by scholars interested in working with GLSEN). Access to interview data would ultimately depend on each storyteller's consenting

to allow me to use their anonymized interview, in the case of adults, or assenting to my use of the interview for children / youth under the age of 18 (who would also have to provide parent or guardian permission). I received IRB approval from the University of Pittsburgh in February 2022 and the second approval from GLSEN's RERC in May 2022. My initial plan was to use five youth interviews from each chapter (20 interviews total) and one or two adult interviews from each chapter (four to eight interviews total) as 'StoryBank data' for qualitative narrative analysis and discourse analysis, and to complete supplemental sociolinguistic interviews that would focus on LGBTQ+-slang and engagement with technology with all youth (20 additional interviews). Appendix B contains my memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the four GLSEN chapters, which describes the StoryBank project and served as my site permission letter for IRB approval (Appendix B.1), as well as my research plan (Appendix B.2) and my research consent form (Appendix B.3).

Amidst the programmatic backdrop of the multi-chapter StoryBank project, my approach to data collection is ***digital and sociolinguistic ethnography***. While a combined ethnographic (anthropological) and variationist (sociolinguistic) methodology is well established in research on language variation, gender/sexuality, and adolescence (Eckert, 2000; Goodwin, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2014), digital ethnographic methods are less established in sociocultural linguistics, regardless of whether the focus is on the language practices of youth or adults. The joining of 'digital' with 'ethnographic' is a relatively recent methodological innovation among scholars in fields like cultural anthropology, digital media studies, and communications, and there are a number of available models for what digital ethnographic work looks like. Some researchers have embedded themselves in virtual worlds through creating an avatar and engaging this avatar in a range of online practices with co-present others. A notable example of this 'embedded' work is

cultural anthropologist Tom Boellstorff's (2008) investigation of sociocultural practices of users in the video game *Second Life*. Boellstorff's work, along with work by the sociolinguist Lauren Collister (2016), who studied the communicative practices and fabricated social identities of gamers in the video game *World of Warcraft*, operates by taking the traditional practice of ethnography (real-life participant observation) and applying it to online worlds intended, at least in some ways, to mimic the real world. This embedded approach to digital ethnography is different from an 'inside-outside' approach, whereby the virtual lives of individuals are only part of a larger ethnographic sketch that also includes their offline practices. Such an approach to digital ethnography is used by media scholars like Alice Marwick and danah boyd (2010), who have investigated the ways in which Twitter users conceive of imagined online audiences and micro-celebrities through the real-life negotiation of such concepts in their talk. Another inside-outside digital ethnographic position is taken up by Gershon (2010) in her research on media practices and emergent media ideologies in interviews with college students.

A useful definition of digital ethnography is offered up by Sarah Pink, a leading voice in this developing field, and her colleagues in the text *Digital Ethnographies: Principles and Practices* (2016). Following Karen O'Reilley (2005, p. 3), Pink et al. (2016, p. 21) note that "[ethnography is the] iterative–inductive research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods … that acknowledges the role of theory as well as the researcher's own role and that views humans as part object/part subject." They go on to propose that the term 'digital' encompasses an always-changing definition of new media that comes to affect and often help shape what individuals regard to be their "digital lives (and cultures)" (p. 21-22). Crucial in any ethnography, including digital ethnography, is reflexivity on the part of the researcher, or an understanding of how one's participation in or observation of the sociocultural practices of subject-

informants may affect the types of evidence available for assembly and analysis. The following statement most clearly reflects Pink et al.'s articulation of what digital ethnography is and serves as the foundation upon which I move forward with my own digital ethnographic methodology:

> "…[we set] out a particular type of digital ethnography practice that *takes as its starting point the idea that digital media and technologies are part of the everyday and more spectacular worlds that people inhabit*. It follows what media scholars have called a non-media-centric (Couldry, 2012; Moores, 2012; Morley, 2009) approach to media studies by taking a *non-digital-centric approach to the digital*. It also acknowledges the *intangible as a part of digital ethnography research*, precisely because it invites us to consider the question of the 'digital intangible' and the relationship between digital, sensory, atmospheric and material elements of our worlds. In effect, we are interested in *how the digital has become part of the material, sensory and social worlds we inhabit*, and what the implications are for ethnographic research practice." (Pink et al. [2016], p. 25, emphases mine)

The above definition highlights a number of important facts about technologies and mediated practices. First, technologies and practices are part of both the everyday worlds of individuals who use them but also the more spectacular worlds of some users (such as richly elaborated virtual worlds, per Boellstorff's and Collister's work). Second, digital technologies force ethnographic researchers to confront the intangibility of digital life while also seeking to understand its effects on the world – be they sensory, atmospheric, material, or (I would add) linguistic. Finally, because digital technologies and practices have become part of the social practices individuals engage in, they are key to understanding what it means to be a sociocultural actor in numerous contexts today.

With this sketch of digital ethnography in mind, I initially saw my approach – StoryBank interviews followed by sociolinguistic tasks with youth storytellers – as a combination of the embedded and inside-outside perspectives. To the extent that COVID has blurred the line between our offline and online lives and practices, my project was embedded to the degree that much of GLSEN's work had shifted to an online format due to COVID. Board meetings occurred over

Zoom, student programs were held through Google Meetup, and local conferences organized by the chapters for educators and students happened entirely remotely. With so much of the organization's work, to include my own work for the StoryBank, taking place within an entirely virtual environment, it felt appropriate to describe my project as (at least partly) embedded, albeit in ways that differ from Boellstorff's (2008) investigation of *Second Life* or Collister's (2016) investigation of *World of Warcraft*. At the same time, one of my primary interests is to understand the ways in which social meaning (Eckert, 2019) at the intersection of childhood, gender/sexuality, and language, which may originate or circulate substantially in virtual contexts, makes its way into the offline sociocultural world and finds additional expression there. Thus, I saw both embedded and inside-outside digital ethnographic dynamics to my dissertation project.

My interest in a multi-sited approach to ethnography follows the recent call in anthropology (and anthropological work on language) to multiply the spatial domains in which a single researcher completes their fieldwork in order to make more robust claims about the sociocultural and linguistic phenomena under consideration (Zenker & Kumoll, 2010). Over the past three years, I have conducted sustained digital ethnographic fieldwork through my organizational role as the StoryBank coordinator for GLSEN, which allowed me to access queer, trans, and allied youth and adults outside of the school context and their institutional(ized) role within school as 'students' or 'teachers', for instance. Schools are not, nor have they ever been, the only sites in which children and teenagers conduct their affairs. Linguistic scholarship has often treated the 'student' (an institutionalized role) as a proxy for the 'child' or 'teenager' (non-institutionalized roles, though still discursively constructed and regulated by historical and institutional forces). By conducting an organization-based digital and sociolinguistic ethnography, I intended to comment on the lives and linguistic practices of queer and trans children and teenagers within the context of a

community nonprofit organization, an institutionalized setting separate from the school. Multi-sitedness, then, has several meanings for me. One is through interviewing storytellers in cities across the U.S. A second is through embedding myself in a nonprofit organization that, while closely tied to the K-12 education system, conducts much of its work separately from it. My approach is further informed by a communities of practice view language (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992), in that the sociocultural identities indexed by linguistic forms are produced through situated and emergent practices in context.

It is perhaps always the case that research shifts as it unfolds, in the process of conducting interviews and collecting data, in navigating unforeseen challenges while recruiting or building rapport with subjects (Goebel, 2021), in approaching the data with one kind of analysis in mind but ultimately realizing that it tells a different (albeit hopefully related) story, and in navigating research in the broader sociocultural and historical present that nonetheless comes to bear on scholarly access and outputs. Shifts have certainly occurred over the course of this project, many for its improvement. As of February 2023, in addition to the 22 Arizona StoryBank interviews (all with adults), I have completed four interviews with Mid-Hudson storytellers (all adults), three interviews with Tennessee storytellers (two adults, one youth), and three interviews with Washington storytellers (two adults, one youth). This total number of interviews (30 with adults, two with youth) is fewer than I expected to gather, and skewed in the direction of adults. Of these, 19 adults completed consent forms for me to be able to analyze their interviews for my research: 13 from Arizona, three from Mid-Hudson, one from Tennessee, and two from Washington. From the very beginning of our collaboration together, all of the non-Arizona chapters indicated some concern about the difficulty recruiting youth storytellers for their StoryBanks, given that the chapters focused more on professional development and policy work than student organizing

support. Additionally, over the course of 2022, as state-level public policy and political issues moved LGBTQ+ youth, particularly trans youth, to the center of local and national attention, the demands on LGBTQ+ youth to be involved in various forms of activism through GLSEN increased, all while the hardships faced by these youth also increased. If it was already difficult to recruit youth interlocutors through the local GLSEN network for some chapters, widespread attacks on all facets of queer and trans life for youth as 2022 wore on only made matters worse. For these reasons, I decided to move forward with the 19 adult StoryBank interviews and not include any youth StoryBank interviews in my final research dataset. One of my chapters, chapter 3, deals with constructed speech and multidimensional stancetaking in interviews with American LGBTQ+ adults.

At the outset of my research, a key goal of my StoryBank interviews with each chapter was to identify individuals or sub-groupings who might engage in more sustained conversations with me and complete an additional sociolinguistic interview, based on local communities of practices that emerge through fieldwork, as is common in linguistic ethnography (e.g., Bucholtz, 1999a; Eckert, 2000; Goodwin, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2014; Pascoe, 2007). I had intended to rely on each chapter's local network of youth, such as through local SHINE student leadership teams, and potentially also the GLSEN National Student Council to recruit StoryBank storytellers and research participants. The difficulty connecting with queer and trans youth for this project likewise affected my ability to conduct supplemental sociolinguistic interviews framed around technology use and youth slang. However, in the summer of 2021, I was added to a research team that worked with the GLSEN Research Institute to analyze 20 interviews GLSEN did with LGBTQ+ teenagers in the fall of 2020. These interviews were recorded as part of the GSA Study, the first comprehensive report on the experiences of students and advisors in GSAs across the U.S.

(https://www.glsen.org/gsa-study). GLSEN conducted 20 in-depth interviews with GSA students, most of them student leaders, who participated in the survey-based GSA Study, resulting in the 2022 publication of a report about best practices for GSAs (https://www.glsen.org/gsa-study/best-practices). My role on the research team was to re-transcribe the interviews, as the original transcripts had been produced by a third-party transcription service and had numerous errors, and to assist with qualitative analysis and the writing of the best practices report. I was also given permission by GLSEN to use the anonymized interviews for my linguistics research. Thus, a second adjustment from my original research plan was to use the 20 GLSEN GSA Study interviews with LGBTQ+ youth as a source of data. In chapter 4, I analyze sociophonetic distinctiveness and narrative affect in interviews with American LGBTQ+ youth.

The third major adjustment from my original research plan coincided with phase 3 of the StoryBank project and my ethnographic research with GLSEN, during which I became more involved with public policy work for the Arizona chapter. I discuss this phase and the adjustment to my plans in the next section.

1.3.3 Phase 3: Public policy in Arizona

Early in 2022, GLSEN Arizona approached me about assisting with policy work in the upcoming legislative session, which they were expecting to be one of the worst in recent history in terms of the number of anti-LGBTQ+ bills being considered by the legislature. Initially I said no, because I had no background in policy work and no interest getting involved with organization's policy work, beyond being in support of affirming state and local (school or district) policies for LGBTQ+ students. One of the chapter leaders, in response, asked if would consider helping if the work were framed through the lens of 'storytelling' in keeping with the StoryBank

project, something like 'storytelling for legislative testimony'. I agreed that this sounded more feasible and in keeping with the work I was already doing for the multi-chapter StoryBank project, and could likely use many of the resources we had already developed in a slightly different context.

In some ways, this initial hunch was correct. The StoryBank provided a useful frame of reference for developing a training on how community members could tell their story to advocate for LGBTQ+ students in Arizona. In the early part of 2022, with the legislative session underway and more than 20 anti-LGBGQ+ bills being heard by the Arizona Senate and House of Representatives, I had conversations with lawyers, lobbyists, community organizers, education policy professionals, progressive school board members, parents, and students about the ins and outs of testifying. I gradually accrued as many resources as I could find about the structure of legislative and school board testimony in Arizona, what makes testimony impactful, how community members should prepare their own testimonies, and what is most important for community members (particularly youth) to keep in mind when deciding whether public testimony is the right form of advocacy for them, particularly in relation to safety and privacy concerns. This work would ultimately culminate in a two-part training, with part one addressing 'How to Tell your Story to Advocate for LGBTQ+ Youth' and part 2 being a hands-on 'Testimony Workshop' for participants to practice the two-minute testimonies they had scripted out, before stepping into a legislative committee hearing to experience, as one lobbyist put it, 'literal political theater' at the state capitol. These trainings were reviewed and approved by GLSEN national in late 2022, and in 2023 they are being offered as part of a biweekly schedule of policy trainings for community members connected with GLSEN Arizona. The testimony trainings compliment other trainings offered by local partner organizations like the HRC of Arizona or Equality Arizona. Additionally, I adapted the format of StoryBank spotlights to allow individuals to record ***policy testimonies*** that

would be housed on the chapter's YouTube channel alongside the StoryBank spotlights (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K8IvlZJVORk&list=PLCyA3YGYvzIpzf2wwMlwe2jqghn ZmwLNx). Because GLSEN is a 501(c)3 charitable organization, the kind and amount of grassroots lobbying it can engage in is restricted by the IRS (different from 501(c)4 organizations, which are often the political arms of cause-based organizations). Most policy-related content GLSEN produces, therefore, has to be framed as issues-based and educational and cannot be construed as supporting or endorsing particular political parties or candidates for office. Thus, each policy testimony was framed as speaking to the harm of specific *kinds* of anti-LGBTQ+ bills, such as bans on gender-affirming healthcare for trans youth, bans on trans girls' participation in school sports, requirements that students provide parental permission to participate in GSAs, or expansions of parents' right to access medical and educational records about their minor children, all bills that were heard in the 2022 session in Arizona.

In other ways, two years of StoryBank experience did not prepare me for policy work with GLSEN Arizona, which has proven to be challenging on a level I had not experienced in more than a decade of work with GLSEN. The policy work feels very different from the work I was used to educating or providing support to teachers and students. It feels more emotional for everyone involved, with higher stakes, and greater consequences associated with making mistakes. At all times, the policy work proceeds at two speeds simultaneously: incredibly rapidly, with bills being assigned to committee hearings the next morning and needing students and parents to show up and testify (or be supported behind the scenes in doing so), but also slowly, with policymakers and community activists alike 'playing the long game' by looking toward the end of the legislative session, future elections, and future legislative cycles. The best way I could describe the policy work was that it was the most exhilarating and exhausting work I have ever done with GLSEN.

On a given day, I would spend hours researching, compiling, and editing talking points for discriminatory bills, to share with community members as practical tools in developing their own two-minute testimonies to share during a legislative hearing later in the week, before jumping into a Zoom call to brief 30 parents of trans children on how to use Arizona legislative 'Request to Speak' system, what the typical structure of a two-minute testimony was, and what they should do before, during, and after testifying. In the course of doing this public policy work with GLSEN Arizona, I realized that sociolinguists have had little to say about public policy discourse to date, outside of issues related to 'language policy', such as in debates over African American English in California classrooms in the 1990s (Rickford, 1999). For this reason, my third major adjustment to my dissertation plan, and in direct response to the policy work I suddenly found myself doing with GLSEN Arizona, is to consider the ways in which constructed speech animations of children by Arizona lawmakers reveal ideologies of childhood, including beliefs about children's agency and understandings of children and the state.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 2 provides a deeper theoretical exploration of childhood in sociolinguistics, queer/trans childhood studies, and linguistic anthropology, with the goal of presenting a view or working model of childhood that is ideological in nature (with development being one of many ideologies associated with childhood). The analytical chapters that follow each approach ideologies of childhood and language and childhood from slightly different angles. Chapter 3 is my first of three analysis chapters of constructed language, attending to how instances of quoted speech and reported speech in adult storytellers' narratives reveal sophisticated stancetaking

practices with respect to queer and trans life histories. I ultimately argue that constructed speech in narrative allows storytellers to engage in multidimensional or embedded forms of stancetaking, where the embedding of voices is crucial for navigating layers of complex and sometimes contradictory meaning in narrative. Chapter 4 is a sociophonetic analysis of one youth speaker's shifts into quoted speech, in which quotedness coincides not only with moments of the greatest acoustic distinctiveness in the interview (measured across seven sociolinguistic variables: six vocalic, and one discursive) but also moments when the speaker is constructing the affect in narrative for the speakers he is quoting. Chapter 5 pivots from the constructed speech practices of LGBTQ+ adults and youth involved with GLSEN to the constructed speech practices of Arizona lawmakers as they consider two anti-queer bills in the 2022 legislative session. Lawmakers on both sides of these bills ('for' or 'against' them) use quoted speech to animate the figures of children they imagine to be affected by the bills, and in so doing reveal beliefs about children's agency and the relationship between children and the state. My sixth (conclusion) chapter summarizes key findings from the previous chapters about constructed speech and narrative; LGBTQ+ childhoods, ideologies, and language practices; and other findings. In it, I also provide additional ethnographic insights from the StoryBank and revisit the notions of the heterosexual market and the developmental imperative with an eye toward revision, in light of the data and analysis presented here.

2.0 Childhood in sociolinguistics: Developmental or ideological?

In this chapter, I seek to disentangle an ideology of development from other kinds of ideologies in considering ***language and childhood*** in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists have discussed language and childhood in the context of many phenomena, such as language acquisition, the growth of communicative or pragmatic competence, multilingualism, and the relationship between childhood and other social orders like gender, race, ethnicity, and class. But 'childhood' is often an unexamined and taken-for-granted construct, always with 'children' as its principal tenants. Importantly, children are tenants and not permanent residents of childhood. As historian and trans childhood studies scholar Jules Gill-Peterson once observed during closing remarks at a University of Pittsburgh childhood studies conference,[2] childhood is a strange life category, one designed to whither and disappear as we age. I hope to demonstrate that ideologies of childhood, as part of a much more complex and varied set of ideologies related to age, are of consequence to children and non-children alike where language is concerned. It is rare that sociolinguists interrogate the notion of childhood itself or examine their fundamental assumptions about what childhood is. These assumptions originate not only in the history of scholarly discourse about 'childhood' or 'children' or 'children's language' but also, I believe, in broader, powerful assumptions about childhood, which become infused into research designs, results, and theories used for explanation. Paradoxically, sociolinguistic research on children's language has little to say about childhood as an ideological formation.

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[2] 'Playing with Childhood in the Twenty-First Century Colloquium', held at the University of Pittsburgh in April 2018.

Sociolinguistics has a tradition of being insular and self-contained in its theory and methodology. This is particularly the case where discussions of language and childhood are concerned, and for that reason I venture outside of sociolinguistics to find other conceptions of childhood in the fields of linguistic anthropology and queer/trans childhood studies. In making this interdisciplinary trek, we can begin to see how children ultimately occupy a contradictory place in sociolinguistic scholarship. They are agents of language change on the one hand, yet they are simultaneously agents of continuity on the other, whose presence is required for the continuation and vibrancy of languages and dialects. What sustains this tension is a dominant epistemological mode of 'childhood as development', which maintains that although children may innovate age-marked linguistic patterns for a period of time, they will eventually move developmentally forward and in the direction of adult language. A goal of this chapter is to identify 'children's language as development' as an ideology, one that sits alongside other ideologies of childhood. By doing so, I hope to push sociolinguistics in the direction of better recognizing when our claims and interpretations about 'children's language' or phenomena associated with language and childhood are being influenced by ideas about development, versus when they are being influenced by or other kinds of ideologies.

Before reviewing work on language and childhood in more detail, there are two definitional issues I need to address at the outset. The first relates to the term 'language and childhood'. In her groundbreaking work *Language and Woman's Place*, Robin Lakoff (1975) observed that 'women's language' entails two things: language used by women and language used about women. However, in her analysis Lakoff also discusses a third phenomenon: so-called 'feminine' patterns of speech associated with women but used by certain types of men (according to Lakoff, academics, Europeans, and homosexuals). Though some of Lakoff's claims have been subject to

productive critique (as captured in an edited reprint by Bucholtz, 2004), *LWP* expands the reach of 'women's language' by de-naturalizing its link to women and shining a light on its ideological constitution. I aim to do something similar here by arguing that the terms 'language and childhood' or 'children's language' (which I use interchangeably) entail at least three separate but related phenomena: language used by children, language used about children, and language associated with children or childhood but not necessarily used by or about them. The second definitional issue concerns 'childhood', which I view expansively as the period of life preceding adulthood and including infancy, toddler-hood (early childhood), pre-adolescence (late childhood), and teenage-hood or adolescence. While there is a tendency among sociolinguists to keep childhood as separate from and temporally preceding 'adolescence' (which, in turn, eventually becomes 'adulthood'), I follow childhood studies scholars (e.g., Gill-Peterson, 2018, p. 9-10) in viewing childhood as expansive, covering the entire period of life preceding children's emancipation from parents or legal guardians at the age of 18 in the U.S. Constraining our view of childhood is sometimes useful in the context of specific research questions. However, as I argue throughout the remainder of this chapter and throughout my dissertation as a whole, childhood is far more complex and far stranger than we often allow, with implications about age and language for children and non-children alike.

2.1 Language and childhood in linguistics

Children develop into language, but at least some aspects of language may be innate, situated deep in humans' cognitive architecture (Chomsky, 1965; discussed in Carnie, 2016). Linguists who do research in first-language (L1) acquisition have historically held provenance over children's language, with scholarship framed primarily around investigations of the cognitive

processes by which children acquire their first language or languages on their way toward adult-like or 'native' competence (Bavin, 2015; Yang, 2016). By the time a child in any linguistic context reaches the age of four or five, they have essentially developed the core mental and grammatical architecture for their first language(s), internalizing rules and constraints for phonetics and phonology (sound patterns), morphology (word patterns), syntax (sentence patterns), and semantics (meaning patterns). The first years of life up until the onset of puberty are hypothesized as being the 'critical period' for language acquisition, after which new languages can only be imperfectly acquired through formal or informal exposure (Bavin, 2015).

Though I am not a researcher of L1 acquisition myself, I have always viewed children's development of linguistic competence and sudden transformation into speakers as nothing short of cognitive magic. There are two points about L1 acquisition scholarship I wish to make here. First, in the more formalist branch of linguistics known as generative linguistics, initially advanced by Noam Chomsky, children occupy a central role in understanding what language is, and children's acquisition of language must be accounted for in grammatical models. Chomsky (1965, as summarized in Carnie, 2016, p. 29) has argued that an appropriate descriptive and theoretical grammar for a language explains all and only the real sentences that exist in that language and meets various criteria for a particular 'level of adequacy'. An 'observationally adequate grammar' accounts only for language patterns found in a corpus, or large body of assembled textual (usually written) evidence. A 'descriptively adequate grammar' goes one step further by accounting for language patterns for both corpora and native speaker judgements about 'well-formedness' (also known as 'acceptability' or 'grammaticality'). But the gold standard among levels of adequacy is an 'explanatorily adequate grammar', which accounts for how children acquire language.

The second point is that children play a central role in work on language contact and pidgin and creole language varieties. Salikoko Mufwene, a linguist who has written extensively on creoles, genetic linguistics, language birth/death, and language endangerment, discusses in much greater complexity how social and linguistic factors contribute to the formation of contact languages in his 2001 book *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Pidgins, known colloquially as 'trade languages', have traditionally been understood as reduced linguistic systems that emerge in contact settings between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages (p. 7). A complex set of sociohistorical conditions converge to transform a pidgin language into a creole, or a more structurally complex variety identified by non-linguists as creole or patois. For 'classic creoles' like Jamaican and Gullah, sociohistorical factors include those rooted in European colonization and the enslavement of speakers from the West Coast of Africa (p. 8-11). Children's acquisition of language has been identified as a factor in the formation of creoles: when children acquire a language variety spoken by the parental generation, they tend to create new systematicity or patterns that did not exist in the parental input, either during childhood or as they continue using the language into adulthood. Children's role in 'language birth' has been observed in both spoken languages and signed languages.

More could certainly be said about the fields of L1 acquisition, formal linguistics, and language contact. However, my purpose here is to note that within linguistics more broadly, children's language is understood primarily as the acquisition of core linguistic competence in early life. Children are central in at least some kinds of formalist language modeling based on the need to develop explanatorily grammatical descriptions of language that account for the ways in which children acquire it. And children's capacity for language acquisition has translated into their

ability to produce fundamental shifts in language structure, as research in the field of language contact has indicated.

2.2 Language and childhood in sociolinguistics

Sociolinguists share with other linguists a focus on the ways in which language, or the systematic patterning of form-meaning combinations (i.e., the linguistic sign, as initially proposed by Saussure, 2011 [1916]), is produced and perceived by the individual. But while scholars of first-language acquisition are primarily interested in language as an internal system of cognition for the individual, sociolinguists are primarily interested in how language is affected or made variable by system-external (i.e., 'social') factors outside the individual and within the community. Sociolinguists have traditionally viewed themselves as engaged in the study of community-level language variation and its implication for historical change, and they, like other linguists, tend to view children as adult speakers in progress who are responsible for the transmission of languages and dialects across generations (Labov, 2007). In successive waves of sociolinguistic research in the latter half of the 20th century (summarized in Eckert, 2012), variationist sociolinguists, whose work focuses on community-level dialect variation, progressed from using macro-sociological categories like age to explain community-wide patterns of variation at some level of structure – especially the phonetic-phonological level of sound patterns (Labov, 1963; Labov, 1972b) – to reversing the direction of inquiry (Bucholtz, 1999a) and seeing language as a means of constructing an individual's situatedness within a social category like age rather than solely reflective of pre-existing category membership. This turn in third-wave variationist scholarship is often interpreted as a response to mounting pressure in other humanities and social sciences

disciplines to view social identity not as something that pre-exists language and other forms of interactivity (per first-wave and second-wave variationist thinking) but as something that emerges dynamically through ongoing social practice.

In early variationist work, childhood was viewed as a crucial time for the continuation of community-level variation from an older generation to a younger one. Labov's (1989) very first article in the inaugural issue of *The Journal of Language Variation and Change* characterizes the child as a linguistic historian. I'll admit that the excitement I felt initially at what 'linguistic historian' might suggest was met with disappointment when I discovered that Labov closely links sociolinguistic variation during childhood with language acquisition and children's progression through stages of development. Labov's child is an accidental linguistic historian at best, being someone positioned to inherit the same variable forms as the parental generation in the speech community. Labov's analysis focuses on the stylistic, grammatical, and articulatory constraints on word-final (TD) deletion (e.g., pronouncing 'kept' like *kɛp* or 'told' like *tol*) and variable (ING) ('walking' vs. 'walkin'). The transmission of variation from the older generation to the younger one occurs in stages, with four-year-olds beginning to exhibit some (but not all) adult-like patterns of variation before shifting to more fully adult-like patterns by the time they reach age nine. However, older children who move to the dialect area past a certain age do not acquire the same patterns of variation as the younger children in Labov's study. In short, Labov finds that there's a developmental cap on when variation can be acquired. Thus, Labov's 'child as linguistic historian' is in a complicated one. On the one hand, the child is endowed with the ability to acquire variable forms and the necessary rules/constraints for their appearance from the parental generation, making childhood a key site for the inter-generational continuation of community-wide dialect

variation. On the other hand, the child is a passive consumer or vessel of adult knowledge. Labov notes that historical knowledge of a language is not necessary to use it synchronically.

Variationist scholars building on Labov's insights have further pursued the study of language as a community-level system in accordance with the ***apparent time hypothesis*** (Bailey et al., 1991) for understanding age as a social (i.e., language-external, as opposed to 'linguistic' or language-internal) variable affecting speech. Essentially, the hypothesis maintains that language change within a community, i.e., movement toward or away from an existing community norm, can be studied synchronically if speakers of different age cohorts are recorded and samples from their speech are compared. With the right research design, a fieldworker interested in Alabama English, for instance, might interview a small number of 60-year-olds, 40-year-olds, 20-year-olds, and 10-year-olds in 1990 (Feagin, 2015) and take statistically significant differences between cohorts, such as between the 60-year-olds and the 10-year-olds, to indicate the presence of community-wide changes over time. The degree of difference is indicative of the stage of change the community is in with respect to the speech variable: whether it is a change in progress among the younger speakers, for instance, or a stable change that has taken hold across generations. The speech of the 60-year-olds is assumed to be representative of the language the same speakers acquired when they themselves were children some five to six decades prior. And if their speech differs from the speech of the 10-year-olds, this difference is an indication that a community-wide change has occurred.

In many ways, the apparent time hypothesis (ATH) in an ingenious way of studying language variation and change at the community-level and has been shown to be a valid approach when compared to a longitudinal or panel approach (i.e., interviewing the same speaker at age 10, 20, 40, and comparing this one speaker's language at different points in their life) (Bailey et al.,

1991). Or rather, it has been shown to be a valid approach for *some* speech variables, such as phonological chain shifts or phonotactic/positional constraints on segmental variants, which usually sit below the level of a speakers' conscious awareness (Eckert, 2000). But what ATH offers in terms of insight into the *community* over time it lacks in terms of insight into the *individual* over time. ATH maintains that speech later in life is representative of speech earlier in life (i.e., at the time of acquisition), while research into sociolinguistic variation over the lifespan has demonstrated that at least some variables do change as we age. Sankoff's (2019) work on Quebecois French in Montreal has found that while some sociolinguistic patterns do not change as an individual ages, other variables do because of the influence of factors of 'contact' both within the aging peer cohort and across cohorts. Crucially, how one acquires language and language variation in childhood is not necessarily a direct indication of how they will use the same language in adolescence or in different stages of adulthood, due to the fact that language changes over the course of an individual's life span. Communities also have expectations around what it means to sound like a young person or sound like an adult, and these expectations change with historical time. In short, the individual-centric view sociolinguistic variation (that language changes over the lifespan) complicates the community-centric view of variation (that different age cohorts speak differently, per ATH), although the latter community-centric view of language variation is often of greater interest to most sociolinguists.

Penelope Eckert (1989; 2000), a student of Labov, is arguably the sociolinguist who has done the most work on language and childhood (or, more accurately, 'language and adolescence'). Her seminal work focuses on linguistic variation as a social practice among self-identified jocks, burnouts, and in-betweens in a suburban Detroit-area high school in the 1980s. Eckert finds that the teenagers participate differently in the Northern Cities Vowel Shift (NCVS), a chain shift

(Campbell, 2013, p. 40) among speakers living in the northern U.S. that involves a series of interrelated changes to the lower half of the vowel space, resulting in the systematic rotation of the low and mid vowels. Figure 3 provides a schematic of this shift.
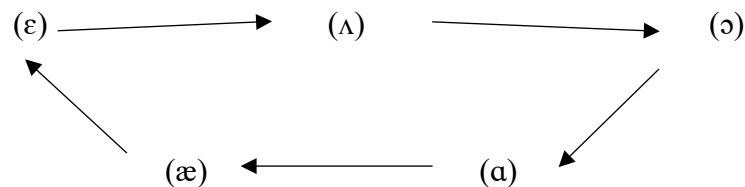
Figure 3 Northern Cities Vowel Shift (adapted from Eckert 2000: 86)

Each of the vocalic variables of NCVS is represented in parentheses. Per the systematic rotation of participating vowels, (æ) shifts up and front to the position normally occupied by (ɛ) in more standard varieties of American English. Thus, a word like 'cat' (*kæt* in IPA) is pronounced *kɛt* (with the same vowel as 'bet'). (ɛ) shifts back toward the central position normally occupied by (ʌ), meaning a word like 'bet' (*bɛt*) would be pronounced like the word 'but' (*bʌt*). (ʌ) shifts back to the position of (ɔ), meaning 'but' would be pronounced like 'bought' (*bɔt*), and (ɔ) shifts down to the low back position of (ɑ) with 'bought' being pronounced like 'bot' (*bɑt*). The final shift of (ɔ) to (ɑ) is itself a sound change phenomenon known as the low-back or COT-CAUGHT merger that occurs in most dialects of American English today (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006). The movement of (ɑ) to (æ) (with 'bot' *bɑt* being pronounced like 'bat' *bæt*) is the final component of the NCVS chain shift.

Based on ethnographic observations from two years of fieldwork, Eckert observed that NCVS features take on local meaning in the context of Belten High as one of several symbolic domains of differentiation between jocks and burnouts. Jocks, the majority of whom come from white middle class family backgrounds, align closely with the institutional structures of the school

and exist as 'corporate' types of adolescents. They actively participate in school extra-curriculars and are generally college-bound. Burnouts, in contrast, tend to come from white working-class family backgrounds and eschew linkages to the school. Unlike their jock peers, burnouts are more active participants in urban networks outside of the (suburban) school and are less likely to be college-bound. Generally, burnouts also go directly into the labor force after high school. The distinction between jocks and burnouts is multifaceted, spanning everything from whether a student pegs their jeans to where they sit during lunch. Differential participation in NCVS is one site of opposition between the two groups, with burnouts using more NCVS-shifted vowels than jocks. However, adolescent girls at Belten High lead in the use of shifted variants compared to adolescent boys, regardless of jock/burnout status. The local leaders among leaders of this vowel shift are the burnouts girls, and among them the most 'burned out' of burnout girls, according to Eckert.

In explaining the social relations among jocks, burnouts, in-betweens (i.e., those who exist between these two poles; a majority of students at Belten High), Eckert posits two theoretical ideas about adolescence. First, she notes that as children grow, they experience a ***developmental imperative*** which maintains that once young children see themselves as social beings, they and the adults in their lives devote increasing amounts of attention to the phenomenon of growing up. Growing up entails moving from being 'a baby' (a taboo for the growing child) to a 'big boy/girl' before leaving boyhood/girlhood altogether in late childhood and constructing more complex forms of being as teenagers. Second, Eckert argues that adolescents engage in social and linguistic practices within a ***heterosexual marke***t, which is based on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of habitus and symbolic markets, as adapted by Thorne (1993). The heterosexual market provides an organizing logic for locally-salient practices and symbolic social meanings that begin to form

during childhood and take hold within the peer group during adolescence. In later work, Eckert noted about the heterosexual market:

> "It is in this sense that Thorne's (1993) term HETEROSEXUAL MARKET could not be more apt, for it is, in fact, the beginning of the commodification of the self. For the first time, kids come to see their cohort as structured around social value – a social market – and to see themselves as commodities on that market. And the value of this commodity is based in what the kids view as elements of heterosexual attractiveness." (Eckert [2011], p. 89, emphasis in original)

For me, Eckert's notion of the heterosexual market has two important dimensions. First, it refers to how social practices and their associated symbolic meanings are used to construct social meaning in the peer group as children move from childhood to pre-adolescence and adolescence. The 'heterosexual' here should not be read too literally, even though all of the students in Eckert's Belten High are assumed to be straight. The market undergirds activities like cross-gender romantic pairings, but it more generally refers to all kinds of social relations with others. As Eckert (2011) has argued, sexuality during childhood and adolescence does not have the same meaning as sexuality during adulthood, with romantic couplings among teenagers sometimes having more to do with public face and social relations than sexual identity or practice. Second, as captured by the word "market," the heterosexual market has something to do with the exchange of commodities of value (or practices of value) that possess symbolic meaning. Self-stylizations are performed for others and are made available for reception, uptake, and evaluation or contestation. Once stylized practices are recognized as potentially valuable, they can be accepted or declined as valuable, and relationships based on emergent evaluations can be created, sustained, or challenged. Practices that are recognized as lacking value or being somehow unacceptable within the market make the individual performing them liable to become a social pariah or outcast. Eckert (2011) later referred to 'the crowd' (i.e., the popular kids at school) as having a special position in local markets to determine what is valuable, cool, or otherwise normative.

Eckert's developmental imperative, however, seems conflate two distinct phenomena: development and ideology. Children experience external pressure or to grow up and constantly be one step older, moving from being a 'little kid' to a 'big kid', etc. This pressure, sometimes in the form of positive encouragement, has multiple sources: older siblings, relatives, neighbors, community members, parents, and other adults. Media and television discourses about childhood and adolescence likewise feed the pressure on children to grow, with half a century of film representations like *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), *Grease* (1978), *The Breakfast Club* (1985), *Clueless* (1995), and *Booksmart* (2019) recirculating fantasies of high school as a timespace for coming of age, early sexual encounters, drinking and partying, and imagining adult futures. Journalist Grace Palladino, in her 1996 book *Teenagers: An American History*, traces how high schools developed as the primary site of teenagers after the Great Depression and World War II, eventually leading to a literal "teenage market" worth $89 billion in 1996 with parents who spent $200 billion on their teens in the same year (p. xii). As it turns out, high school sells and teenagers sell. Growing kids are encouraged to cultivate personalities and interests, first through hobbies and other time spent on general interests (reading, playing outside, spending time with friends) and then through institutionalized school activities like clubs, sports, or other extracurriculars that prepare them for adult responsibilities. The "carefree" concerns of childhood are acceptable so long as children are engaged actively in learning, growing, and developing toward an informed and (eventually) productive adulthood. Although Eckert doesn't discuss all of these dimensions of the developmental imperative, such an imperative to develop out of and away from childhood positions adulthood as a kind of "arrival" by making it to the life stage of full maturation (and one associated with values like agency and self-determination). And children who in some way deviate

from the normative developmental script are considered abnormal, to be contended with or re-understood.

Other sociolinguists have continued to investigate language and childhood, although rarely by revisiting the heterosexual market or the developmental imperative in new research contexts. Work by Tagliamonte (2016), for example, empirically challenged the notion that the internet language practices of youth (i.e., computer-mediated communication on instant messenger, email, and text) are destroying language and formal writing. Tagliamonte found that acronyms/initialisms (e.g., 'haha' and 'lol'), innovative emphatic markers ('so sick,' 'so cool'), and informal grammatical structures (the future partitive 'going to' for the future auxiliary 'will') are not making their way into the written standard. Instead, college-aged Canadian English speakers at a university in Toronto reveal a complex grasp of register, moving between spoken language, internet language, and formal writing quite easily while understanding the rules or norms of each register fluently. In addition to dialect variation, sociolinguists have also considered the relationship between language, childhood, and other social orders, such as gender. As summarized by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013), young speakers come to understand gender and gendered differences in language through interactions with peers and adults. Lieberman's (1967) early study of a 10-month-old boy revealed that the social meaning of pitch may develop quite early in life: the infant babbled to himself at 430 Hz when alone but lowered his pitch to 390 Hz with his mother and to 340 Hz with his father. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013, p. 7) discuss how the parental practice of assigning newborn babies sex-exclusive names, along with the ritual announcement of a child's assigned sex at birth ("It's a girl!" – a performative speech act also discussed by Butler [1993]), is an immediate form of indoctrination into the normative gender order. Conventionalized color patterns (blue for boys, pink for girls, per Fausto-Sterling [2000]) and 'gender-appropriate'

clothing styles combine with language to further reify a binary opposition. Adults have been shown to orient differently to boys' and girls' speech or pre-speech, hearing crying boys as angry and crying girls as plaintive (Condry & Condry, 1976), judging a newborn to be bigger if believed to be a boy but finer-featured if believed to be a girl (Rubin et al., 1974), and using more diminutives like 'kitty' (Gleason et al., 1994) and more inner state or emotional word like 'happy' (Ely et al., 1995) when speaking to girls but more direct prohibitives ("don't do that!") and emphatic prohibitives ("no! no! no!") with boys (Bellinger & Gleason, 1982). Day care teachers have been shown to respond differently to 13-month-old girls and boys, attending to the girls when they talked, babbled, or gestured, while interacting with the boys when they whined, screamed, or demanded physical attention (Fagot et al., 1985). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013, p. 11), citing Rubin et al. (1974), also report that fathers are more likely than mothers to play differently with children (rough with boys, gently with girls) and to praise children for selecting gender-appropriate toys. Children are quick to communicate their own sense of gender, something Maccoby (2002) has found evidence of in children as young as three years old. Boys have been shown to be more rigid in their toy preferences than girls, and they are also more likely to sanction the gender-nonconforming play styles of male peers who make choices that are seen as feminine (Langlois & Downs, 1980). As kids grow, they spend more time in gender-segregated, homosocial playgroups (Edwards & Whiting, 1988), preferring such groups by about three years old (Maccoby, 1998) and finding ample opportunity for the construction of gender-segregated social existences at school (Thorne, 1993). In recent years, scholars of language and gender have challenged sweeping generalizations about gender differences in language. Cameron (2007) has vehemently critiqued studies of language and gender that rely primarily on either a 'difference' perspective (men and women use language in fundamentally different ways) or a 'dominance perspective' (the

experiences of men and women are affected by men's societal power women's lack of power) for explanation. By Cameron's estimation, critical scholarship should aim to see through historically naturalized differences and forms of power and instead view dominance and difference as co-constitutive phenomena. Greater specificity is required to make sense of how difference and dominance are (re)constructed and (re)contested through local practices.

In summary, sociolinguistic work on language and childhood hedges close to notions of development for understanding the variable language practices of children and adolescents. While most scholars focus on language as a property of the community with the help of the apparent time hypothesis and associated methodologies, the linguistic individual (Johnstone, 1996) should also be considered. I seek to pivot from a sociolinguistics of the community to a sociolinguistics of the individual *within* the community in order to better understand how language exists in relation childhood and with respect to community-wide norms or ideologies, both for language and for age. Another key takeaway is that young speakers are innovators of variable forms, such as slang words, which eventually become more broadly recognizable as indexes of informal youth registers. Young speakers have been identified time after time as leaders of linguistic changes within a community and the innovators of new speech patterns (e.g., Eckert, 2000; see also Cheshire, 1982; MacAulay, 1977), even as 'youth speech' is ideologically associated with language ruin (Tagliamonte, 2016). Finally, Eckert's heterosexual market and developmental imperative can be interpreted as primarily concerned with the practices engaged in by growing speakers to (a) reflect individual identity or style and (b) position themselves and others in various kinds of relationships like friendships or romantic partnerships.

2.3 Perspectives on childhood from linguistic anthropology and queer/trans childhood studies

Linguistic anthropologists have approached the study of language and childhood through the lens of language socialization. Their object of study is less language as a cognitive system or language as a heterogenous but systematic property of the community and more language as one of many specific and meaningful practices engaged in by sociocultural actors. As Webb Keane (2018, p. 65) has argued, ideological values, including what can and cannot count as 'significant' (in the sense of being part of a legible sign-object relationship), are "not the product of some specific historical era, social formation, or cultural tradition" but rather are manifestations of "a fundamental reflexive dimension of the general human capacity to use signs."

In keeping with linguistic anthropology's methodological orientation toward ethnography, Ochs' (1992) work on 'child-directed speech' (CDS, also known as 'motherese' or 'parentese') demonstrated that baby talk is not used by speakers of all languages, being something that exists in American English but not Western Samoan. Ochs and Schieffelin (2011, p. 11), the key architects of language socialization theory, have discussed how the collocation of 'language' with 'socialization' suggests two related objects of study: "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language." In other words, language socialization is concerned with (1) speakers' socialization to community practices and ideologies through language, but also (2) speakers' development of linguistic and communicative competence through socialization. As Ochs and Schieffelin (2011, p. 1) note, while first-language acquisition research tends to privilege "mother-child conversations as a site of observation," language socialization research "extends the object of inquiry to the range of adult and child communicative partners with whom a child or other novice routinely engages in some capacity across socioculturally configured settings."

Approaches within this framework are also informed by critical understandings of power and seek to understand the ways power differentials between children and adults are sustained through language.

Linguistic anthropological research has shown that children quickly progress from developing linguistic competence in the first few years of life to refining their communicative repertoires (i.e., pragmatic and discursive competence) through later social interactions. Hoyle and Temple Adger's (1998) edited volume *Kids Talk: Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood* synthesizes scholarship on "how children use oral language in everyday settings – at home, in the community, on the playground, or at school – to organize their interaction and their lives" (p. 3). The growth of communicative competence in later childhood, which the authors place between the ages of seven and eighteen, is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, influenced by things like a child's increasing proficiency in multiple language varieties or registers (Zentella's chapter), institutionalized pressures at school (chapters by Merritt, Temple Adger, and McCreedy), or the interaction of linguistic ideologies with ideologies of personhood, such as beliefs about race (Fordham's chapter). Thus, linguistic anthropologists make clear that the child's use of language and their entry into the social orders of adolescence and early adulthood are mediated by ideologies.

If linguistic anthropology offers a means of thinking through 'ideology' in the context of language, then queer/trans childhood studies offers a way of thinking about childhood itself as constructed and affected by ideology. Claudia Castañeda (2002, p. 4) used the terms 'figure' and 'figuration of childhood' to refer to material-semiotic processes that force the alignment of knowledge, practices, and power with specific modes of embodiment. Childhood is a key site in which the process of figuration occurs, for as Castañeda notes: "the child's ever-changing body is

slowly transformed into the comparatively stable, physically mature, and culturally inscribable adult form" (4p.). But in addition to being ideological (or rather, as part of its ideological constitution), childhood is contingent, a figured life stage conventionalized with historical specificity. In the 20th century, Western European and American childhood came to be viewed through a lens of innocence and immaturity (Ariès, 1965), with children requiring education, protection, and other forms of adult support.

Gill-Peterson's (2018) work in *Histories of the Transgender Child* has shown that the historical appearance of transgender and intersex children in the American medical clinic compelled a shift in medical-scientific interventions for trans medicine in the 20th century. At the same time, pediatricians and endocrinologists, under the guise of helping their child patients, exploited the child's plasticity in racialized ways by facilitating the medical transition of white children but preventing the medical transition of Black trans and trans of color patients (p. 27). Contra contemporary discourses that would have us believe in the 'newness' and the 'nowness' of transgender children, Gill-Peterson's work shows that transgender children existed long before 21st century popular discourse noticed them, and that their presence can tracked through a careful reading of the medical archive. But more than simply existing, transgender children also played an important role in constructing categories like 'transgender' and 'plasticity' (i.e., having developing bodies that can be molded by medical intervention) within medicine.

If transgender children are popularly understood as 'new', then queer children can be understood as 'non-existent', per Kathryn Bond Stockton's (2009) work *The Queer Child, Or Growing Up Sideways in the Twentieth Century*. Stockton traces representations of queer childhood in fiction because, for the most part, "they are not a matter of historians' writings or of the general public's belief" (p. 2). In doing so, Stockton provocatively argues that the queer child

(or 'the ghostly gay child') emerges through a kind of reverse or backwards birth, when the queer adult can look back on their life and realize that they were once a queer child (p. 2-5). Throughout the book, Stockton argues that all children are queered by something in relation to normative Anglo-American expectations of childhood: the ghostliness of the gay child, Freud and the subconscious, or innocence (including the innocence associated with racialized whiteness). And because this figure of the child precludes all children from maturing into full adulthood "until we [as adults] say it's time" (p. 6), Stockton characterizes much of the growth experienced during childhood as 'horizontal' or 'sideways growth'.

My selective reading of linguistic anthropology and queer/trans childhood studies in this section should allow us to notice a few things about childhood not captured in the ideologically-narrow developmental view maintained by sociolinguists. Numerous scholars have thought critically about the abstract figuration of childhood (Castañeda, 2002), its historicity (Ariès, 1965), and its effects in domains like medicine (Gill-Peterson, 2018). The abstract figuration of contemporary American childhood, distinct from but often applied to living children, is figured as white, heterosexual (or proto-heterosexual), cisgender, and middle class. Nonconformity along any of these dimensions makes a child susceptible to backlash, especially when they enact forms of personhood that seem at odds with the dominant figuration of childhood from the panoptical perspective of adult onlookers (Ochs & Taylor, 1995). In addition to providing a sense of how the figure of the child is constrained, childhood studies offers ways of understanding childhood in the plural, more expansively and in different (con)textual sites than traditionally explored in sociolinguistics, such as through understanding histories and representations of queer childhoods (Pascoe, 2012; Stockton, 2009; Rubin, 2011) and transgender and intersex childhoods (Gill-Peterson, 2018; Meadow, 2018). The figure of the child is quite powerful, configuring many of

our expectations of all children. However, no child can live up to the expectations of this figure exactly, for as Stockton notes, growing up is queer and all children are queered by something.

2.4 Development as ideology, and other ideologies of language and childhood

In the opening chapter of their 1997 edited volume *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, Alan Prout and Allison James discuss "an emerging and not yet completed approach to the study of childhood" (p. 7). In tracing the historical development and features of this 'emergent paradigm', Prout and James cite work by Charlotte Hardman (1973) which argues that women and children are 'muted groups' or unperceived and elusive groups in studies of society, marked less by their absence than by their silence (p. 7). They review the centrality of the model of child development in the social sciences (particularly psychology and sociology), influenced by thinkers such as Piaget (for whom "child development has a particular structure, consisting of a series of predetermined stages, which lead towards the eventual achievement of 'logical competence' or 'adult rationality' (p. 11). A critique of the wholesale adoption of developmentalist ideals is done by Tonkin (1982), who identified the conflation of two definitions of the subject in this work: the individual as an instance of the species and the person as an instance of society (p. 12). Prout and James' emergent model, in contrast, "begins with the assumption that a child is socialized by belonging to a 'particular culture at a certain stage in its history' (Danziger, 1970, p. 18)" (14). Prout and James characterize the key features of this paradigm as follows: childhood is understood as a social construction; childhood is a variable of social analysis; children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right; children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of

their own lives; ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood; and to proclaim a new sociology of childhood sociology is also to engage in and respond to the process of reconstructing childhood in society (p. 8). For me, this characterization reinforces or enhances a number points: beliefs about childhood are distinct from developmental facts and configure our expectations about early human life with local and historical specificity; childhoods are plural and intersectional; children must be studied and understood on their own terms; children are agentive; ethnography is a powerful methodology; and social scientific or humanistic research about childhood has broader implications and applications.

Though Prout and James provide a model for a reimagined sociological study of childhood, their work is not specific to sociolinguistics, children's language, or even language and childhood. But I use their model as inspiration to present two contrasting perspectives, based on the insights so far developed. First, I characterize a view of language and childhood as development, which emerges from my reading of the sociolinguistic canon (Table 1).

Table 1 Features of a developmental ideology of childhood

Children acquire language and elaborate their communicative repertoires in identifiable stages; their sociolinguistic practices can be understood in relation to their stepwise progression through developmental stages.
Children's sociolinguistic practices position them as little adult speakers in progress; children's language is seen as progress toward adult-like targets.
The study of sociolinguistic variation, including children's role in language variation and change, is primarily the study of language as a community-level property.
Children are aware of their positionality as 'little adult speakers in progress' (per the pull of the developmental imperative) and they often, through different means, actively or passively construct boundaries between their experience as youth and what they perceive as adulthood (such as through stylized speech variants).
As they age, children become aware of the differential social values ascribed to (or indexed by) certain ways of speaking; language and other practices come to have value as forms of individual stylization and as sign-object relations that circulate among the peer group and adult members of their local communities (per the heterosexual market).

Some intersectionalities with childhood, which are more readily accessible to sociolinguistic study, are of greater or more immediate sociolinguistic interest; these variables include binary conceptions of gender (boy-girl, male-female, man-woman), race, ethnicity, region, and social or economic class.
Other intersectionalities with childhood, which are less readily accessible to sociolinguistic study, are not (or not yet) of sociolinguistic interest; these variables include a broader view of gender (cisgender-transgender/nonbinary/genderqueer/intersex) and sexuality.
The school, home, or laboratory are the typical research sites for work on language and childhood.
The study of language and childhood is primarily about children.

Perspective 1, invested as it is in an ideology of childhood as development, constrains the ways in which we can approach the study of language and childhood as a broader sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and historical phenomenon. In contrast, perspective 2, which I term 'language and childhood as ideology' (i.e., 'ideologies of childhood'), allows us to account for a number of the insights from linguistic anthropology and queer/trans childhood studies while also navigating past the road blocks of a too narrowly-construed developmental view.

Table 2 Features of an ideological view of childhood

Development is itself an ideology.
Childhood, in this historical moment and sociocultural context, is characterized by a number of ideologies: development, innocence, immaturity, ignorance, and the need for care or protection.
Ideologies affect what is / is not study-able (and operationalizable) in sociolinguistic scholarship; for example, expectations that children are or will be cisgender, are or will be straight (and are, as children, 'proto-straight') block us from considering more diverse and intersectional childhoods.
The study of sociolinguistic variation can entail a greater focus on the linguistic individual; this includes the child as a linguistic individual.

Children are meaning-making agents, just like adults, with an immense capacity for sign-object relations (semiotic competence), which enables them to rapidly acquire (socio)linguistic competence and communicative competence. Children also benefit from being unencumbered by sociocultural experiences (i.e., existing real-world knowledge of sign-object relations), which serves as the basis for much adult meaning-making (i.e., the exploitation of existing semiotic relationships).
But also, the semiotic operations of childhood may be different from the semiotic operations of adulthood.
The school, home, and laboratory are denaturalized as the default sites to locate and study children's language; children exist in multiple settings and use language differently at home and in other spaces within their communities (including online spaces that are inaccessible to the adults in their lives or while participating in community-based groups or organizations).
Childhood is of consequence to more than just children. The same features that are often associated with childhood (innocence, immaturity, ignorance, and the need for care) are apt to be incorporated into other phenomena affecting adults. In this way, childhood is de-linked from children (much as scholars of gender have delinked 'masculinity' from 'men' or 'femininity' from 'women') and its associations become re-deployable in relation to non-children.

Perspective 2 reconfigures development as one of many ideological formations associated with childhood. My goal in this reconfiguration, however, is not to throw the baby out with the bathwater, so to speak (you must have known this metaphor was coming). Developmental perspectives are important for understanding many of the phenomena associated with children's language. But perhaps we view childhood solely or primarily through the lens of development less because of the nature of development itself and more because of other, less apparent, but nonetheless present ideologies. Children's development is noticeable (or we believe it to be noticeable) in part because children change quickly in the first few years of life. Adulthood (and the semantic oddness of a term like 'adult development'), in comparison, is seen as unfolding more slowly or not at all, with the assumption that adulthood is the end point or destination of growing up.

Adherence solely to a developmental ideology of childhood has two related effects on age. First, if childhood is always and only seen as progression through stages of growth toward adulthood, then it renders the possibility of 'static' or 'stable' phenomena during childhood impossible. Following Stockton, a little searching should allow us to find examples of sideways or horizontal growth during childhood due to the imposition of adult boundaries on children. Second, if adulthood is seen as "arrival" and the end point of development, then any changes that occur over the latter two-thirds of the human lifespan fail to be noticed as 'changes' or 'growth' or 'development'. That is, they fail to be noticed until old age or senescence, when notions of 'development' are replaced by a different (if related) set of ideologies related to deterioration until death.

3.0 Discursive figures: Constructed speech and stancetaking in LGBTQ+ adults' personal and institutional narratives

I ended the previous chapter with my description of a reimagined sociocultural view of childhood: one that assumes childhood to be as much an ideological and historical formation as a biological or developmental one. This chapter is my first of three analysis chapters intended to provide evidence in support of such a reformulation in sociolinguistics or, as I prefer to position my work, in sociocultural linguistics. Here, I take up an oft-overlooked but nonetheless common phenomenon in narrative: the use of constructed speech, or quoted and reported facsimiles of the speech of others. I consider broad discursive and acoustic patterns of constructed speech in StoryBank interviews with LGBTQ+ adults connected with GLSEN's work, as they recount describe everyday encounters, specific moments from their individual life histories, or dimensions of the GLSEN chapter's organizational history. I present data that beyond being signaled by well-studied prefacing patterns, such as *(be) like* or verbs of speech (inflected forms of 'say' or 'tell', for example) (Mohammad & Vasquez, 2015; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007), once a constructed speech frame is invoked it frequently contains quote-initial discourse marker (such as 'oh' or 'hey'). This cascading in and out of constructed speech with prefacing devices and quote-initial discourse markers allow speakers to engage in complex, embedded, and ***multidimensional stancetaking***, in which a narrators' constructed voices perform their own stance acts of evaluation, position, and alignment with respect to an (embedded) discursive object of focus in narrative.

3.1 Constructed speech

My use of the term 'constructed speech' is based on Tannen's (2007) collapsing together of two phenomenon that are referred to variously as direct (or quoted) speech, as exemplified in (3), and indirect (or reported) speech, in (4). The scenario being described is an interaction between Kim Kardashian and her sister Kourtney Kardashian during an episode of the show *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*, a clip of which is available at https://youtu.be/urzF5LjN5kY.

(3) Kim said to Kourtney, "you're the least interesting one to look at."
(4) Kim said that Kourtney is the least interesting one to look at.

Note that the utterance in (3) is considered direct because it is assumed to represent Kim's actual words to Kourtney. Following the *said*-clause, in which Kim and Kourtney are established as speaker and addressee respectively, quotation marks introduce the language we assume to have been spoken by Kim herself, which employs the second-person singular pronoun 'you' in reference to Kourtney. In contrast, (4) is considered indirect because it does not invoke Kim's speech directly but instead provides a second-hand report of it through the use of a subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer 'that'. The orthographic conventions of written English provide handy clues as to whether constructed speech is direct or indirect. Direct speech is typically signaled by the use of quotation marks while indirect speech is signaled by a lack of quotation marks and an optional complementizer ('that').

Tannen (2007) introduced the term 'constructed speech' to capture the fact that, regardless of whether embedded talk is classified as direct or indirect, such speech likely says more about the immediate communicative ('reporting') context than it does about the source information being reported. In other words, we cannot ever know for certain whether direct or indirect speech was ever uttered in the way it is described, except in cases where a recording or transcript of the original

speech is available for comparison. Time- and place-specific ideologies about the authenticity of embedded talk lead most American English speakers to believe constructed words really were uttered by the speaker (Tannen, 2007, p. 108). However, I, as the speaker-author of examples (3) and (4), am actually inauthentically reproducing what Kim said, which in this case can be compared to Kim's actual speech in (5).

(5) She's the least exciting to look at.

There are several inconsistencies between Kim's actual speech in (5) and the renderings I reconstructed from faulty memory in (3) and (4). First, Kim was not addressing Kourtney but instead was communicating with her mother Kris and other sister Khloé after Kourtney had left the room. In keeping with referring to a non-present other, Kim uses 'she' in (5) and not 'you' in (3). It is now also apparent that the indirect report in (4) contains ambiguity with respect to addressee: it is unclear whether Kourtney or someone else is Kim's interlocutor. Finally, my own recollections in (3) and (4), as well as the E! Entertainment caption for the YouTube recording, use the adjective 'interesting' to describe what Kim said to and/or of Kourtney, whereas in reality the adjective Kim used was 'exciting'. For most speakers, these small discrepancies between the original speech and the speech being constructed are not substantial enough to shift the received meaning of Kim's words. However, the discrepancies suggest that constructing the speech of others often involves a fair amount of inexactness and creative license on the part of narrators. As Tannen notes, constructed speech may never have been uttered in the form in which it is reproduced, or it may never have been uttered at all.

In (3) and (4), the verb 'say' in its past-tense form 'said' is used to introduce Kim's speech. While verbs of speech like 'say', 'comment', 'mention', 'tell', or 'argue' may be used to initiate constructed speech, they are not the only verbs speakers use to do so. Examples (6) through (8),

which are my own adaptations of (3) and (4), introduce other constructed speech verbs (summarized in Mohammad and Vasquez [2015]). The term I will use for each kind of constructed speech form is presented in parentheses to the right of the example.

> (6) Kim {goes, went}, "Kourtney is the least interesting to look at." (*go*-prefaced)
> (7) Kim {is, was} like, "Kourtney is the least interesting to look at." (*be like*-prefaced)
> (8) Kim {is, was} all, "Kourtney is the least interesting to look at." (*be all*-prefaced)

We can observe that the constructions in (6) through (8) are notably less formal and more colloquial than (3) and (4), more likely to be encountered in speech than in writing. The *go*-prefaced construction in (6) lists the past and present tense options in the curly brackets, signaling that constructed speech that occurs in everyday narratives of personal experience often employs verbs in the present tense (or 'narrative present' as discussed by Hill [1995] and Labov [1972a]). The *be like*-prefaced and *be all*-prefaced constructions in (7) and (8) are additionally associated with the talk of younger speakers, even though American English speakers across age cohorts have been found to commonly use these constructions (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007).

Examples (3) through (8) provide an inventory of the most typical constructed speech forms, which can be compared to the original speech in (5). Tannen considers constructed speech to be synonymous with constructed dialogue, whether it appears in narrative storytelling or other speech contexts, and she identifies ten of its most common functions, as exemplified in English, Greek, and Brazilian Portuguese conversation (Table 3, adapted from Tannen [2007], p. 112-119).

Table 3 Ten common functions of constructed speech

(a) Dialogue representing what wasn't said (i.e., hypothetical speech)
(b) Dialogue as instantiation (speech commonly heard, repeated, or troped)
(c) Summarizing dialogue (representing the gist, self-consciously inauthentic)
(d) Choral dialogue (speech attributed to an assembled group)
(e) Dialogue as inner speech (one's own thoughts or feelings as speech)

(f) The inner speech of others (another's thoughts or feelings as speech)		
(g) Dialogue constructed by a listener (listener jumps into story)		
(h) Fadeout, fadein (blurred line between direct and indirect speech)		
(i) Vague referents (speech self-consciously never spoken)		
(j) Nonhuman speaker (speech of animals, plants, etc.)		

Tannen's functions, though not intended to be an exhaustive list, cover a broad range of functions that other scholars have observed in constructed speech cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. There is an inherent link between constructed speech and storytelling or narrative, although this link is only indirectly pursued by Tannen , whose primary interest is conversational discourse and strategies of involvement in conversation pursued by interacting partners. Nonetheless, Tannen ends her discussion of the functions of constructed speech by situating dialogue in character development (or character voicing) and reception or uptake by a storyteller's audience:

> "When speakers cast the words of others in dialogue, they are not reporting so much as constructing dialogue. Constructing dialogue creates involvement by both its rhythmic, sonorous effect and its internal evaluative effect. Dialogue is not a general report; it is particular, and the particular enables listeners (or readers) to create their understanding by drawing on their own history of associations. By giving voice to characters, dialogue makes story into drama and listeners into interpreting audience to the drama. This action participation in sensemaking contributes to the creation of involvement. Thus understanding in discourse is in part emotional." (p. 132)

Because my interviews with GLSEN storytellers occur within the context of an oral history program that prompts interviewees to narrate life experiences from their childhood, school years, and time working with GLSEN chapters, it is useful at the outset to additionally articulate what I mean by 'narrative'. Broadly, my analysis seeks to better understand the place of constructed speech in the narratives told by LGBTQ youth and adults affiliated with the nonprofit organization.

3.2 Approaches to narrative, voicing, and stancetaking

Linguistic anthropologists Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps, in their 2001 book *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*, observe that personal narratives are ubiquitous in life and in language, owing to the fact that speakers "are inclined to talk about events" when they gather together, events that "they have heard or read about, those they have experienced directly, and those they imagine" (p. 1). Narratives give life events a temporal and logical order (p. 2) while being shaped and reshaped by the structuration of turns at conversation (p. 2), which is partly why narratives and their internal composition have been of interest to sociolinguists (Labov, 1972a) and conversation analysts (Sidnell, 2010). Conversational narratives have been shown to be interactional achievements, often involving co-authorship by a narrator and one or more listeners (p. 2). Storytelling is an inherent property of conversation because conversations are open-ended, often involving the airing of unresolved life events, and conversational involvement is a hallmark of interpersonal familiarity (p. 6-8). Narratives are not bound to a single time, place, or cultural setting: they can be found throughout the course of human history (p. 13-15). Narratives may be written (and typically, because they are written, finished and coherent) or they may be oral (and comparatively messy and emergent) (p. 4). Following Russian literary theorist and linguist Mikhail Bakhtin (1986), Ochs and Capps note that everyday narratives of personal experience are a 'primary genre' (p. 3) or the ontogenetic starting point for performance and literary genres of narrative found on the stage and in literature. They go on to discuss five shared dimensions of all narratives (Table 4, adapted from Ochs & Capps [2001], p. 23-54).

Table 4 Five shared dimensions of all narratives

(i) <u>Tellership</u>: the extent and kind of involvement of conversational partners (one active teller vs. multiple active co-tellers)

(ii) <u>Tellability</u>: the extent to which a narrative conveys a sequence of reportable events and makes a point in a rhetorically effective manner (high tellability vs. low tellability)
(iii) <u>Embeddedness</u>: the extent to which personal narrative is an entity unto itself or included in the discourse/social activity around it (detached vs. embedded)
(iv) <u>Linearity</u>: the extent to which narratives depict events as transpiring in a single/closed/temporal/causal/linear path (closed order vs. open order)
(v) <u>Moral stance</u>: the extent to which narratives have dispositions toward what is good/valuable as rooted in community and tradition (certain/consistent moral stance vs. uncertain/fluid moral stance)

These five dimensions are intended to each represent an independent but co-constitutive cline pertaining to narrative form or function, such that a particular narrative can be characterized as having, for example, one active teller, high tellability, relative detachment from the surrounding discourse, a tightly-bound linear order, and a certain or consistent moral stance. This specific combination of positions on the five clines intersect to form what most American English speakers imagine when they consider 'good narrative': one that is easy to relay and understand, with a clear segmentation between beginning, middle, and end (i.e., a defined narrative arc), and with some easy-to-ascertain 'so what' or key takeaway. However, the existence of these five scales suggests that storytellers and the narratives they tell may vary in the degree to which they conform to generalizable expectations of a 'good' narrative. Regarding the final two dimensions of linearity and moral stance, Ochs and Capps note:

> "The dimensions of linearity and moral stance address a central opposition that drives human beings to narrate life experiences – the desire to sheath life experience with a soothing linearity and moral certainty versus the desire for deeper understanding and authenticity of experience." (p. 56)

Put somewhat differently, all forms of narrative – from the most tightly organized to the most disjointed – emerge from a key tension maintained over the course of their telling: the tension between our desire to tell a simplified and linear story with a clear and causal outcome versus our

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desire to accurately and authentically convey what are often complex, contradictory, nonlinear, and unrelated lived experiences. Conversational narrative therefore represents a storyteller's negotiation of this tension in real time and in relation to the context of telling, who an interlocutor is, where and why the narrative is being told.

Although Ochs and Capps focus on 'narrative' and not 'voicing' phenomena per se, other linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguistics consider the two together. Jane Hill's (1995) analysis of voice shifts and the construction of morality in the narrative of a dying Mexicano peasant, Don Gabriel, builds on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia, as Hill argues that Don Gabriel "claims a moral position among conflicting ways of speaking, weighted with contradictory ideologies, by distributing these across a complex of 'voices' through which he constructs a narrative about the murder of his son" (p. 98). Hill demonstrates how Don Gabriel uses lexical patterns in Spanish during narrative moments related to moral and spatial periphery, death, disorder, and industrialization of the rural community, but he shifts to the indigenous language Mexicano when emphasizing moral and spatial centrality (the 'moral core'), reciprocity, and local community values. For Hill, this voicing system, which enables Don Gabriel to construct 20 voices during the 17 minutes of his story, constitutes an elaborate rhetorical and discursive structure while also allowing for the embedding of prosodic features (or what Hill calls 'intonational shadows', p. 109).

Mark Sicoli (2015) introduced the term 'voice registers' to refer to the semioticization of voice quality and control of the larynx to enable the layering of different prosodic qualities onto the segmental and referential content of speech. Again following Bakhtin (1981), Sicoli notes that voice registers are polyvocal and heteroglossic, "simultaneously expressing two different intentions: a direct intention and a refracted intention" (p. 107). Voice registers are indexical and

intertextual, being different from other 'lexical registers' (such as respect or kinship registers, which are referential and tied to vocabulary choice, p. 107). Sicoli reviews literature on the four primary (i.e., prosodic) voice registers in turn, beginning with falsetto voice, which has been shown to go beyond the physical limitations of normal or modal voicing to achieve expressiveness, such as when a speaker wishes to surprise, evaluate, enliven a quotation, or engage an audience (p. 111-2). Creaky voice has been shown to express commiseration, toughness or hardness, upward mobility, insecure or inverted authority, and femininity (p. 118). Whisper voice has been shown to convey secrecy or function as a conspiratorial voice (p. 118), although more recent scholarship (Lurie-Starr et al., 2020) has also shown it to express sensuality and sexual eroticism in the context of Chinese-language ASMR videos on YouTube. Finally, breathy voice has been shown to be used in constructing femininities and signaling confirmation or expansion requests, depending on the language (p. 119-20). Any of the four prosodic voice registers can function as a framing structure for language, according to Sicoli, although variability across societies and cultures requires the pairing of ethnographic observations with acoustic analysis in their study (p. 120).

To summarize the preceding discussion of key literature related to constructed speech, narrative, and voicing, Tannen's description of constructed speech allows for some consideration of whether emergent moments of constructed speech in the context of narrative map neatly onto existing epistemologies, or whether they require new forms of explanation. As Tannen notes, constructed speech may be direct or indirect, having more to do with the 'constructing' context of the here and now and less to do with the original source material being 'constructed'. Constructed speech may also be signaled by or accompanied by a number of discourse (*be + like*) and sonic (acoustic, prosodic) features. Furthermore, the ten common functions of constructed dialogue identified by Tannen suggest that storytellers shift into constructed speech to animate a range of

different characters in their narratives: themselves and others, internal thoughts, and even the imagined "speech" of non-human entities. In short, constructed speech is an incredibly flexible medium for achieving meaning-making. Concerning narrative, Ochs and Capps offer five dimensions of narratives, any one of which may vary from storyteller to storyteller or story to story. The key tension in all forms of storytelling comes down to how to balance the need to tell a coherent narrative against the need to relay the complex reality from which that narrative is derived. Hill's analysis of Dan Gabriel's narrative indicates that speakers engage in the construction of voices and shifts between them with purpose, such as to navigate the moral core of a story, and Sicoli offers insight into the ways prosodic features related to voice quality (falsetto voice, creaky voice, breathy voice, or whisper voice) may convey socioculturally specific meanings in themselves or in some specific context of speaking. With these ideas in mind, I now turn to narratives from adult storytellers involved with the GLSEN chapters' StoryBanks and consider the ways in which constructed speech, prosody, and voicing interact in their interviews.

3.3 Discourse features of constructed speech in LGBTQ+ adults' narratives

First, I focus on discourse features of constructed speech by considering excerpts from the GLSEN Arizona storyteller Rey (she/her or they/them).[3] Rey is a board member with GLSEN Arizona and had been volunteering with the chapter for the past five years at the time of our interview. Most of the excerpts presented here come from Rey's answers to questions about her

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[3] Pseudonyms are used for each storyteller, and pronouns are provided in parentheses on first reference. If a storyteller uses multiple pronouns (e.g., Rey explains that she uses 'she/her' or 'they/them' pronouns in Excerpt 1), throughout my analysis I refer to them using the first pronoun they provide (for Rey, 'she/her').

K-12 school experience in a relatively new charter school system in the Phoenix area. Rey's

description of herself, or her 'about me' introduction, is provided in Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1: 'About me' introduction
```
Yeah. Yeah um, so start off with a general you know, GLSEN
introduction. So name, my name is Rey, I use she her or they
them pronouns. And I am the co-chair of GLSEN Phoenix
currently. I've been co-chair for about a year and have held
other responsibilities including being a board member for the
last like five or so years. And I guess I have some other
identifiers I am- I identify as a queer Latinx individual, um
half-Venezuelan. Um, so I guess a little bit more of a picture
of me ((laughter)).
```

Rey's introduction in Excerpt 1 prompted me to consider the ways in which the seemingly

simple act of introducing oneself in the context of an LGBTQ+ nonprofit is actually a performative

speech activity. A speaker typically mobilizes specific linguistic resources to present an

organizationally-grounded self-image to others, such as lexical items (in Rey's case, role or

identity terms like 'co-chair', 'queer', or 'Latinx'), discursive patterns (Rey's 'about me' strikes

the ear as very co-chair-like, being fluent and rehearsed), and finer-grained phonetic cues (Rey

uses a dentalized articulation of the 't' in 'Latinx', likely because of her familiarity with Spanish

phonology as a bilingual speaker). In the specific context of LGBTQ+ nonprofit organizing, the

introduced self should be legible to other queer and trans volunteers while also legitimizing one's

'place at the table'. Rey begins her introduction with the meta-communicative awareness that what

she is about to provide is a "general you know, GLSEN Phoenix introduction." Due to her

organizational embeddedness, she is adept at immediately shifting out of the meta-communicative

frame of forthcoming GLSEN Phoenix (Arizona) introduction and into the communicative frame

of the introduction itself. In short, it is through Rey's brief 'about me' remarks that we can begin

to see how a simple introduction in the context of the nonprofit's programmatic efforts is more

than a neutral listing of one's identities. Organizational introductions like Rey's are stylized and

practiced, and because they are conventionalized through the organization's regular activities, they eventually fail to be noticed by members as exceptional doings. Instead, they become part of an unspoken frame of expectation (Goffman, 1974) for what it means to perform a legible and unmarked introduction.

Aside from this 'about me' introduction, there are numerous other moments in which Rey's interview as a whole involves the weaving together of individual (smaller) narratives (not unlike the small stories discussed by Georgakopoulou [2006]) and (still-smaller) constructed speech for narrated characters. Rey describes being a 90s kid and coming of age with the internet, and she discusses how her family's move to Arizona from Australia when she was in elementary school was exceptionally difficult. She utilizes creaky voice when agreeing with something I, as the interviewer, had just said to her. She does not remember whether her school had anti-bullying or non-discrimination policies specific to LGBTQ+ students, and she reconstructs the remembered speech or imagined thoughts of her parents when describing their decision to enroll her in an Arizona charter school with "nothing's gonna make this girl happy, let's just throw her in the one we like best."

Excerpt 2 presents Rey's explanation of her high school dress code policy. For ease of reference, key parts of this excerpt and future excerpts are underlined.

Excerpt 2: School dress code
Um, so we, we definitely, we would get it [a student handbook containing policies] on the first day of classes. It would be like the thing you would get in home room. And I, I have, like, vague recollections of going over it. I think as students, we didn't really care too much, except for dress code. Dress code was the big thing for us. Because we were, as a charter school, you're kind of in between being a public and a private school. And so we were treated very, like private school for the dress code that we were given. We didn't have a uniform, but like, we had to follow a very strict dress code, which slowly lessons up as, as the years progressed, probably due to students complaining and teachers

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and parents complaining. <u>And so like, that was like, the big thing for us was always like looking at the student handbook to see if we follow dress code, or if we had to, like get get a detention.</u> So you know, honestly, I probably- if I went back to my parents' house, I'd probably find one or two copies of that student handbook, because it was our school planner as well. <u>So it was like at the beginning of our school planner. So as long as you cared about dates, you probably had that. And it was before having phones, right? So you needed a planner.</u>

Like many of the GLSEN storytellers, Rey remembers being aware of student policies only insofar as dress codes were concerned, but she does not remember whether the same policies included provisions specific to LGBTQ+ students. Like Rey, most adult storytellers recall not being 'out' as queer or trans/nonbinary in high school, which they offer as the reason for not being aware of school policy points specific to LGBTQ+ students. Storytellers explain that unless they had some reason to know the specific details of a policy – i.e., if the policy directly affected them or one of their friends – they often did not. This perspective is reflected in the second underlined part of Excerpt 2, where Rey indicates that she and her peers considered it vital ("the big thing for us") to reference the dress code in their student handbooks and determine whether they were in violation or if they should expect to receive a detention because of what they were wearing. In considering Excerpt 2, we can note that school policies are frequently relayed to students as the beginning section of a student handbook (underlined part 3), which is typically distributed to all students on the first day of classes (underlined part 1). In addition to being a source of policy information, the same material artifact of the student handbook doubles as a student planner (underlined part 3). In mentioning her awareness of the dress code policy and her concern with adhering to it, Rey indirectly reflects on the place of the student handbook as one of several means through which students' bodies are surveilled and regulated by school authorities in accordance with normative ideologies of gender and sexuality. Later in the interview, Rey describes how the

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dress code reified a two-gender binary by prohibiting the wearing of different sets of clothing items by boys and girls and that, especially for girls, clothing items were often considered inappropriate if they revealed too much of the body and, therefore, were deemed too sexually suggestive. A fascinating moment in Excerpt 2 occurs in the underlined part 3, when Rey explains that before phones (and, we should assume, calendar applications), students who "cared about dates" (i.e., were interested keeping track of their assignment due dates in order to do well in their classes) needed to make regular use of their planner. We can imagine that at least some students, such as those who make regular use of their planners, carry the student handbook around on their person at all times, giving school administrators reason to expect that students are well versed in the policies contained within. Thus, the student handbook/policy manual represents both the school's control over the student's body in accordance with normative expectations of gender and sexuality, codified for instance in dress codes, but also the student's acceptance of and participation in the policies and practices of the school.

In Excerpt 3, Rey uses constructed speech when describing an incident where a gay student was bullied.

Excerpt 3: Constructed speech in remembering an incident of bullying
Yeah, um, I don't remember so much like staff or teachers having too much pushback with LGBT students. I wasn't like super out in high school, so I- I probably wasn't paying as close of attention. I do remember a few things with students though. So we did have one student who- he was out from, like day one freshman year, um, and unfortunately, you know, I do remember him experiencing some bullying in regards to that from like, other guys. Um, I don't know- know that necessarily how much like, other students stood up for him. <u>I remember us kind of thinking like, "that's, that's a little messed up." But I think in that typical high school fashion I was like, "I don't want to- I also don't want to touch that."</u>

Rey explains that she does not recall her teachers being openly homophobic or transphobic toward or around students, although she recalls witnessing an openly gay student being bullied by male students ("other guys"). Rey uses constructed speech in the first underlined part (up to "messed up") to ventriloquize the remembered figure of her high school self and pull the listener into her internal thoughts during the moment of watching this bullying unfold, as she and her peers (introduced by "us") think "that's a little messed up." Present progressive verb forms like Rey's "thinking" are commonly used in narrative retellings (Labov, 1972a), and we can assume that "think" in this context, where Rey and other students were engaged in collective witnessing, might suggest something more than just the individualized act of thinking to oneself. It is possible that Rey and her friends also discussed the incident. Rey goes on to explain that "in that typical high school fashion" she decided that she did not want to insert herself into the moment of bullying, which indicates that a normalized response by student onlookers during moments of bullying like the one Rey describes is to do nothing, at least in the specific spacetime of Rey's high school experience. Her usage of "typical" suggests that Rey believes many of her peers would not have responded to homophobic bullying if they witnessed it, although perhaps part of what Rey understands in hindsight as the "typical response" is informed by the fact that she herself was not out during high school, as she explains at the beginning of Excerpt 4. Finally, we can observe that Rey's constructed speech in the second underlined section is prefaced with one of the expected quotative structures: "I was like" (a past tense usage of *be + like*).

3.3.1 Cascading into constructed speech: discourse markers

In addition to frequent use of *(be) like*-prefacing and verb of speech-prefacing to introduce quoted speech, storytellers often include a discourse marker at the very beginning of the

constructed speech frame. Excerpt 4, which is from an interview with a Mid-Hudson storyteller,

Lyun (he/him), and Excerpt 5, from an interview with Washington storyteller Tse (she/her),

provide examples.

Excerpt 4: *(be) like* + "oh…"
```
Um, I would say most of the ones I've had were gen- generally
supportive. I did wind up coming out in high school,
basically, end of freshman year, so I was out for a majority
of the time. And I didn't have too many issues with like,
name, obviously, pronouns are an issue, but I don't think it
was from a place of malice. I think it was just, you know,
they're saying something quick, and it's just obviously, it's
the middle of class. So even like, I didn't, like speak up to
correct them, because it's like, "oh, they just decided to
randomly pick me to use me as like an example." Where, like,
there's no malice in it. But it still was kind of, like
uncomfortable and everything. But- so I don't think I had
ever encountered any teachers personally, who seemed
unsupportive.
```

Excerpt 5: *say* + "hey…"
```
So um and I stopped working there for a number of different
reasons. And I uh signed up to work at Trevor- the Trevor
Project instead, which as you know, is for crisis and suicide
prevention for LGBTQ youth. Um that took a while to get going.
And it was funny because it ended up being the same summer
that they said, "Hey, we want to train you now"- was the same
summer that I found out about GLSEN.
```

In Excerpt 4, Lyun reflects on the response he received from teachers after coming out as

transgender at the end of their freshman year of high school. Although he didn't experience issues

around his name, he did around pronouns, although he believes his teachers' use of the wrong

pronouns didn't come "from a place of malice." He goes on to provide an example of how everyday

misgendering might happen when he was randomly selected to provide an answer in class,

accompanied by a shift into "it's like"-prefaced and "oh"-initial constructed speech. In Excerpt 5,

Tse describes her process of discovering GLSEN Washington later in life, after coming out as

queer in adulthood. She explains how she had initially signed up to work with the Trevor Project,

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another national LGBTQ+ youth-serving nonprofit that focuses especially on crisis interventions and suicide prevention. Tse uses "said"-prefacing and "hey"-initial constructed speech toward the end of the excerpt, when she shares how it was right when the Trevor Project was ready to train her that she discovered GLSEN and subsequently began working with the Washington chapter.

Prefacing strategies like *(be) + like* have been observed as frequent in introducing quotation, such as in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy's (2007) work with Canadian youth born after 1980. Once introduced, however, quoted speech often begins with a discourse marker like 'oh' or 'hey', almost as a means of helping the speaker cascade into constructed orality and signal that the speech which follows was one spoken.

3.4 Acoustic features of constructed speech in StoryBank narratives

Next, I shift to a discussion of broader acoustic features that accompany shifts into constructed speech by focusing on three additional GLSEN Arizona storytellers. My purpose here is to show that, more than simply being signaled by discourse patterns (such as the *(be) like*-prefacing in Excerpt 3 or discourse marker-cascading in Excerpts 4 and 5), constructed speech is often accompanied by distinct prosodic shifts or intra-speaker variation in voicing. While some 'about me' responses, like Rey's in Excerpt 1, reflect brief, rehearsed, and streamlined organizational introductions, others are longer and more personalized, full of moments in which the storyteller shifts into constructed speech in the course of introducing themself. This is the case with Dza's (she/her) introduction in Excerpt 6, when she addresses where she grew up and what it was like growing up where and when she did. After initially explaining that she experienced an overall positive but sheltered life in a suburban Phoenix community, Dza describes early

experiences as a tomboy, being someone who "presented a little bit more masculine growing up

… with my jeans, t-shirts, and ponytail." Being a tomboy made Dza the target of verbal harassment

from other students: "being called a lesbian or a dyke or even … a transvestite once … in middle

school." In Excerpt 6, Dza details another experience in which her gender or sexuality was

questioned by a student.

Excerpt 6. Lexical emphasis and breathy voice
```
Um and so from there, when I was in middle school, I had a-
a friend of mine that was in band class with me asked me if
I was a lesbian, and after having that experience in the past
of it being kind of a negative question, the question was
actually really benign, but at the time I like- it was just-
it was just a kneejerk reaction. I was like, "No I'm not!
Like, what are you talking about? Like, that's so- who says
that? Like who- who's saying that about me?" And I got really
defensive  about  it,  because  I  was  like,  "why  is  this
happening?" And I felt so bad ((chuckles)) 'cause I later
found out that friend actually was part of the community and
was probably just looking for a friend ((laughter)) and uh
and so I had no idea at that time and didn't find out until
high school um-
```

Dza shifts into indirect speech toward the end of the first line when she states "a friend of

mine that was in band class with me asked me if I was a lesbian." Acoustically, Dza's

pronunciation of the word 'lesbian' is accompanied by a sudden increase in pitch on the first

syllable, as evidenced by the upswing of the blue pitch line in the following spectrogram (Figure

4).[4]

---

[4] A spectrogram is a visual representation of speech that displays frequency and amplitude information over time. Throughout this section, screenshots come from the acoustic analysis software Praat, which is commonly used by linguists to visualize the waveform (top), spectrogram (middle), and transcription tiers (bottom) together.
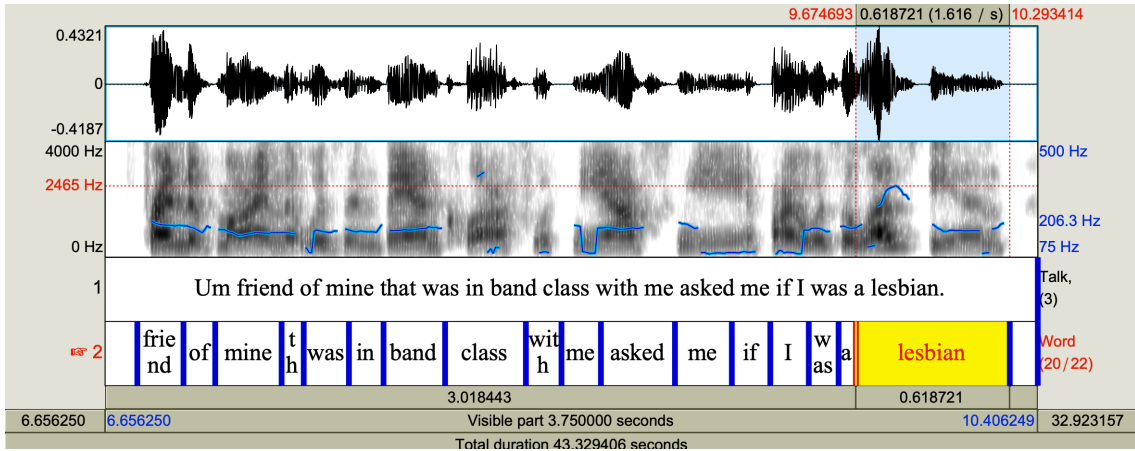
Figure 4 Pitch increase for 'lesbian'

The sudden jump from a fundamental frequency (or F0, the measure of pitch) of about 170 Hz on all stressed syllables in the preceding talk to 336 Hz on the first (stressed) syllable of 'lesbian' indicates Dza's emphasis of this word in the context of her unfolding narrative. But here, stress placement also coincides with the climactic moment of the indirect speech Dza is reporting: that her friend asked her if she was a lesbian. As her narrative continues, Dza explains that although the question itself was benign, prior experiences of being interrogated about her gender and sexuality caused her to respond defensively with "No I'm not!" The spectrogram in Figure 5 indicates that Dza lengthens the word 'not' in this context, which has the effect of emphasizing this word for her listener.
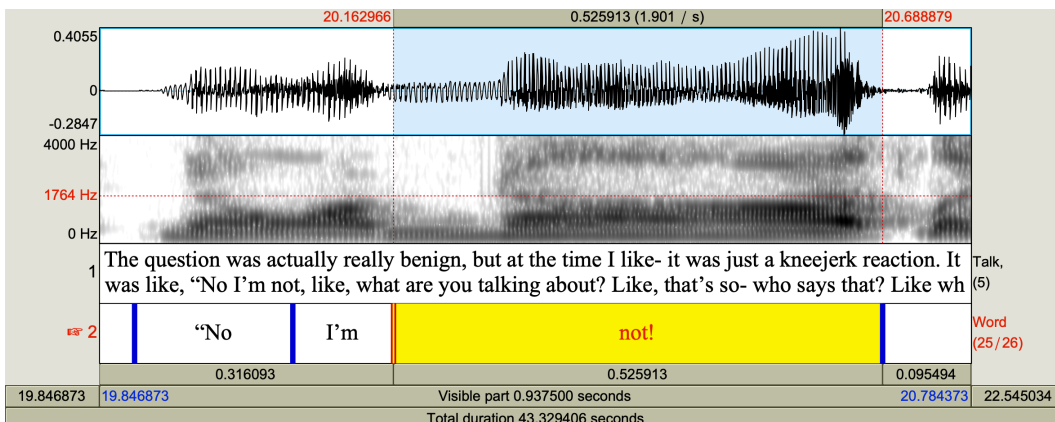
Figure 5 Lengthening of 'not'

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In addition to lengthening, a second acoustic shift occurs with Dza's pronunciation of 'not', although this shift is difficult to visualize in the waveform and spectrogram. When Dza uses quoted speech to construct her former self's response to her friend's question, her pronunciation of 'not' is also breathy, better rendered in transcription as "No I'm #no:::t#" with colons indicating vowel lengthening and number sign indicating breathiness.

Dza goes on to discuss the significance of these interactional moments in shaping her understanding of her own gender and sexuality in relation to her environment.

Excerpt 7. Creaky voice and hurried voice
```
But  yeah,  and  so  it  was  like  those,  even  though  the
overwhelmingly  positive  suburban,  you  know,  education
experience I had, you know, there were those- those moments
that makes you question, like, "I'm not supposed to be this,
so I'm just gonna, like, not even go down that route and
question that" um.  And  then  that  affected  that  other
classmate,  you  know?  'Cause  my  kneejerk  response  was
negative, and so they probably were like, "Okay, I'm gonna go
further into the closet now, just kidding!"
```

In the first underlined part beginning in line 3, Dza shifts into direct speech, introduced by quotative *like*, to reveal her inner thoughts: "I'm not supposed to be this, so I'm just gonna, like, not even go down that route and question that." For Dza, this statement represents a form of finality to the preceding narrative activity as she reaches an ultimate conclusion and internal resolution. Acoustically, Dza shifts into creaky voice throughout this constructed thought, punctuating the lexical or phrasal units with pronounced creak. The spectrograms in Figures 6 to 9 indicate creaky pronunciations of 'like', 'not even', 'route', and 'that'.
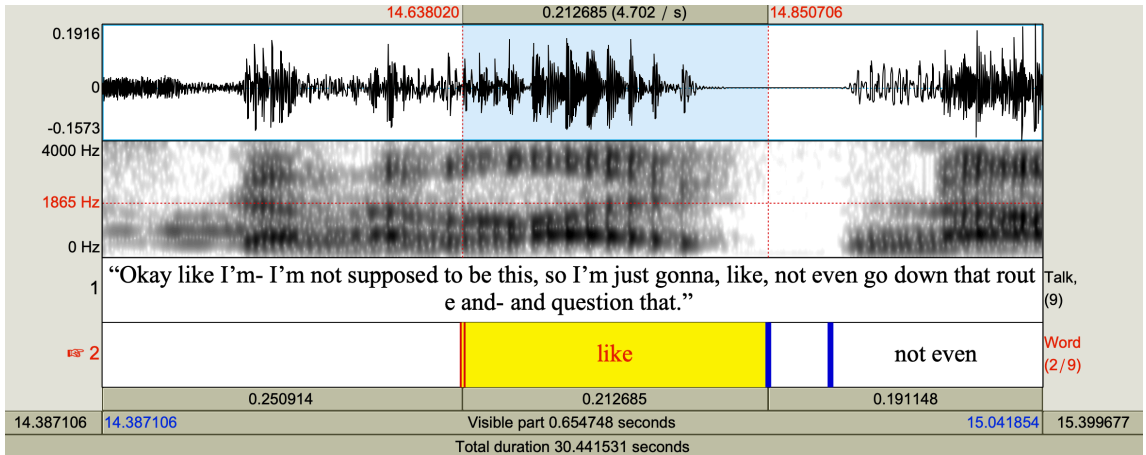
Figure 6 Creaky 'like'
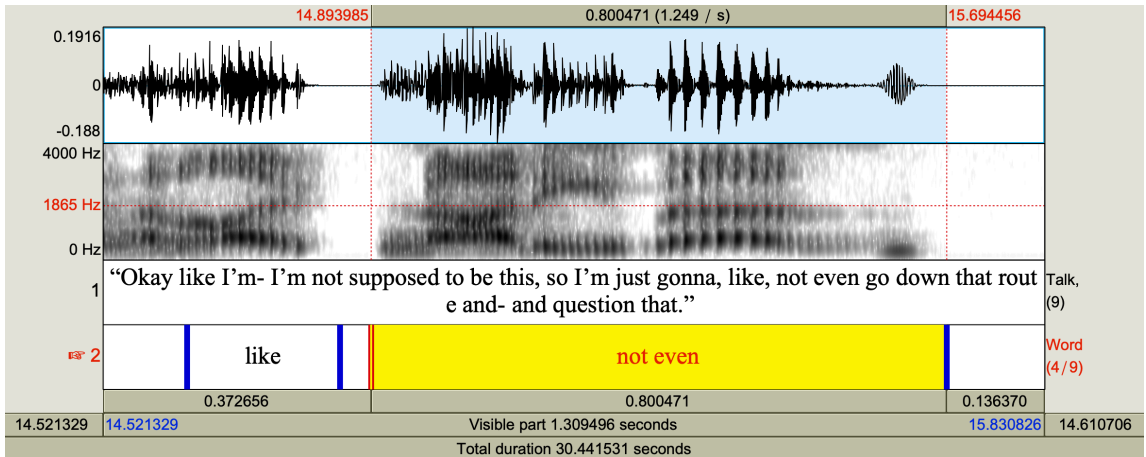
Figure 7 Creaky 'not even'
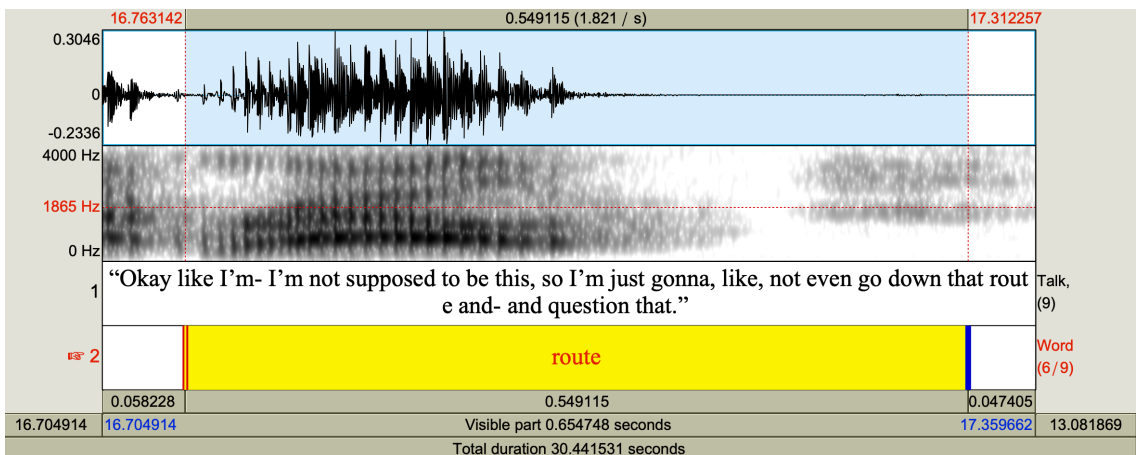
Figure 8 Creaky 'route'
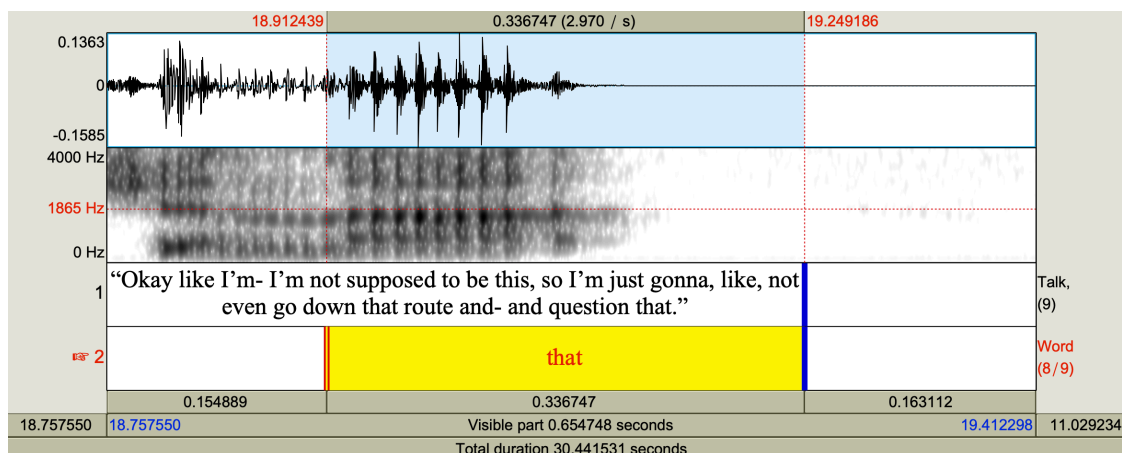
Figure 9 Creaky 'that'

In each of the figures, creak is indicated by the vertical striations in the spectrogram, and Dza's speech is more accurately transcribed as "I'm not supposed to be this, so I'm just gonna, ~like~, ~not even~ go down that ~route~ and question ~that~" using the tilde to mark creak. However, rather than signaling one of the previously identified functions associated with creakiness (commiseration, toughness/hardness, upward mobility, insecure or inverted authority, or femininity, as summarized by Sicoli [2015]), in this context Dza uses creak to indicate finality in directly constructing her inner thoughts while reflecting on normative expectations about her gender and sexuality. At the end of Excerpt 7, which coincides with the end of Dza's introductory narrative, she once again shifts into direct speech to animate the imagined inner thoughts of the friend who asked if she was a lesbian – the same friend who later came out as queer ("part of the community"), as Dza states in Excerpt 6. Notably, the direct 'speech' (i.e., constructed inner thoughts of Dza's friend) is spoken at a faster tempo than the preceding talk. To demonstrate this, I separated Dza's comments into three units, based on word span and natural breaks in the speech stream. The talk itself, number of words, duration, and average duration per word (duration / number of words) are presented in (9) through (11) below.

(9) `And then it affected that- the other classmate, you know?`
(number of words: 10 // duration: 2.80 s // average duration per word: 0.28 s)

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(10) `'Cause my kneejerk response was negative, and so they probably were like,`
     (number of words: 12 // duration: 3.66 s // average duration per word: 0.31 s)

(11) `"Okay, I'm gonna go further into the closet now, just kidding!"`
     (number of words: 11 // duration: 2.63 s // average duration per word: 0.24 s)

Although the word lengths of these three units are similar (10, 12, and 11 words), the duration of the constructed inner thought in (11) is 0.17 s shorter than next shortest unit (9). As these three statements unfold in sequence, the effect on the listener is that (11) is spoken much more rapidly than (9) and (10). Narratively, this acoustic adjustment makes sense: Dza's friend, whose inner thoughts she is directly constructing, must quickly distance herself from any suspicion of queerness in reaction to Dza's negative response to the question about her sexuality. In rushing back into the closet – "further into the closet," in fact – Dza's friend also speeds through the inner thoughts S is constructing for her.

Dza's introductory narrative indicates that prosodic features like stress, voice quality (breathiness, creakiness), and speech rate can all be manipulated by storytellers as they shift into varied forms of constructed speech. However, it is also possible for constructed speech to unfold without distinct acoustic shifts, making it quite similar to the surrounding (constructing) speech before and after it. Such acoustically continuous constructed speech is found in Pyur's (he/him) narrative, during which he describes the experience of middle school boys jumping in front of his wheelchair.

Excerpt 8. Acoustic continuity
`Kids, you know, are fascinated and freaked out and whatever. So they often would jump in front of my wheelchair and ask me to run them over. And um that's boys for you, boys in middle school. And I remember there was a- the principal actually had- in the assembly `<u>`said, "you know, if you do that, and Pyur runs you over, I'm not gonna get him in trouble."`</u>` ((laughter)) And I was like, "oh, okay. Ack- alright." But you know that- that kind of`

```
thing. The wheelchair is very noticeable. I think that's been
true throughout my life. And it, it often serves as the point
of focus for people who don't know me very well. And then as
they get to know me, I think it kind of recede into the
background.
```

After explaining that in middle school, boys would sometimes jump in front of Pyur, who uses a wheelchair, and ask him "to run them over" (lines 1-2), her constructs the speech of a principal during an assembly who said to the boys, "you know, if you do that, and Pyur runs you over, I'm not gonna get him in trouble" (line 4). Rather than being signaled by an acoustic shifts, this shift into the principal's speech relies on discursive marking ('said' plus second-person 'you'). Immediately after constructing the principal's remarks to the boys, Pyur laughs and introduces his own constructed reaction of "oh, okay. Ack- alright" (line 5), which is acoustically distinct from the surrounding speech. In the remainder of the excerpt, Pyur acknowledges that for people who do not know him, "the wheelchair is noticeable" (lines 6-7), but that it's something that "kind of recede[s] into the background" with time (line 8). Pyur's brief narrative about his middle school experience as a student with a disability demonstrates that although acoustic disjuncture from surrounding talk may offset constructed speech in the unfolding of personal narratives, it is not always present. What's most critical for the success of constructed speech is that the speaker somehow signal to their listener that they are about to conduct a frame shift (Goffman, 1974).

If constructed speech can occur without accompanying acoustic shifts, then the following narrative from a final GLSEN Arizona storyteller indicates the opposite: that acoustic manipulation can mimic or echo past speech that does not quite reach the threshold to be considered indirect or direct speech. Vev (he/him) is a trans man who attended an all-girls high school, and in Excerpt 9 he discusses a formative in-class moment with one of his favorite teachers.

Excerpt 9. Acoustic shifts with and without accompany constructed speech
```
One of the things I really liked about him was um he
challenged uh ((pause)) he challenged us in a way that I think
```

```
was only possible at an all-girls school. So like, one of
the- one of the, like, best examples I could give is- or one
of the only, like, clear examples that I can remember is, um,
he ((pause)) asked us a question like, asked the classroom a
question. And then um one of the- one of our students, like,
one of the students raised their hand, and she answered, but
she answered it, like a question- like she had like the upward
inflection at the end. And he was like, "That's not how you
answer a question." He was like, he was, like, "Convince me
that you know the answer." And um and so he had her, like,
repeat it, and he was like, "Don't answer a question like
you're asking a question." He's like, he's, like, "Tell me
that you know-" he was like, "Show me that you know the answer
by just stating the answer." And that, had a huge- 'cause I
was like, 12, like 11 or 12, when he- when he when he did
that, and that made a really big impact on me.
```

The situation Vev describes, where a teacher explicitly instructs a student to answer a

question without the use of 'uptalk' or rising intonation on declarative statements (known

technically as High-Rising Terminal), connects several language ideologies about American

English related to age and gender. In recent decades, young women have been publicly criticized

for what commentators see as their excessive use of uptalk, which (or so the argument goes) has

the effect of making them sound uncertain, timid, afraid, or powerless. Decades ago, language and

gender scholarship (Lakoff, 1975) enumerated features of 'women's language' in American

English, among them rising intonation on declarative statements, while noting that women come

to be ideologically associated with particular ways of speaking in accordance with broader beliefs

about their societal disempowerment, whether or not women themselves actually use such features

of speech differently from men. The historical scrutiny of women's language generally and young

women's language in particular finds curious expression in the formative experience described by

Vev in Excerpt 9, where we should assume his teacher intended to help improve the

communicative abilities of the student who answered the question. In terms of the acoustic features

of Vev's speech, we can observe initially that Vev doesn't quite construct the speech of his

classmate's answer indirectly or directly. Rather, he simply describes *the fact that* his classmate answered their teacher's question. Yet in doing so, he uses rising intonation to match the 'rising inflection' he describes, as indicated by the blue pitch tracker in Figure 10.
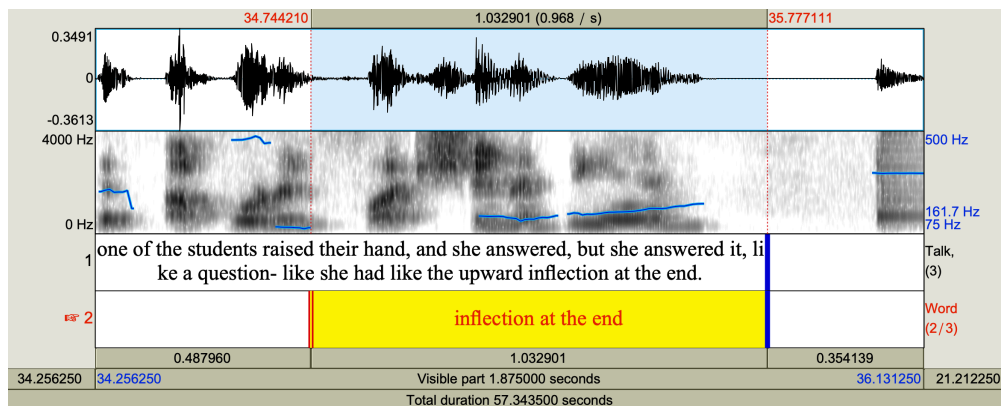
Figure 10 Rising intonation witout constructed speech

As Vev describes how his classmate answered the teacher's question, he modulates his pitch to produce a rising intonational contour. Immediately after, Vev shifts into quoted speech for his teacher's response to the student's uptalk: "That's not how you answer a question" (Figure 11), "Convince me that you know the answer" (Figure 12), and "Don't answer a question like you're using a question" (Figure 13), each of which layers a falling intonation contour on the teacher's injunction suprasegmentally.
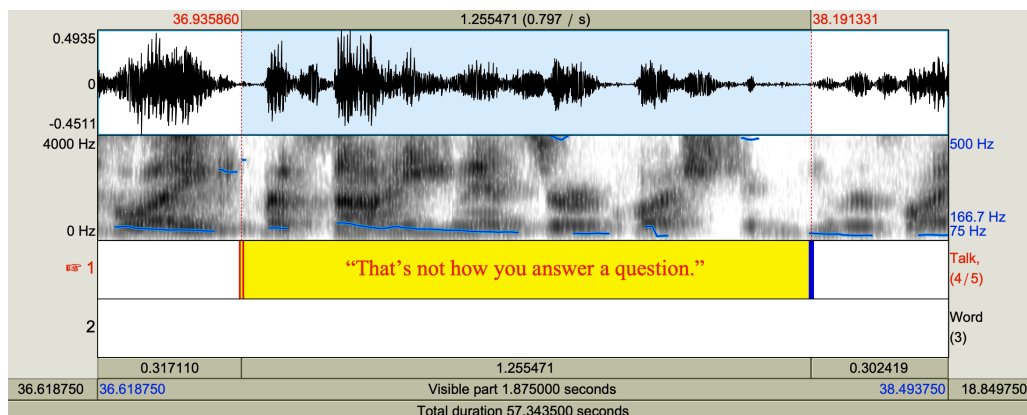
Figure 11 Falling intonation on first injuction

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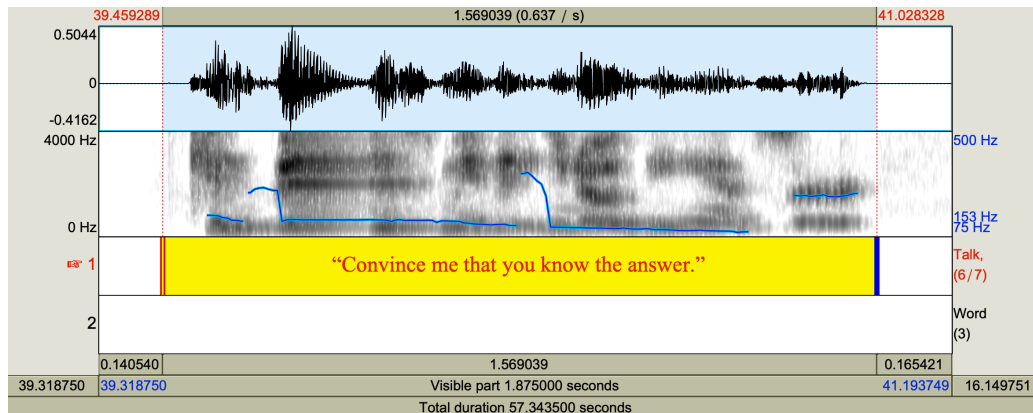
Figure 12 Falling intonation on second injunction
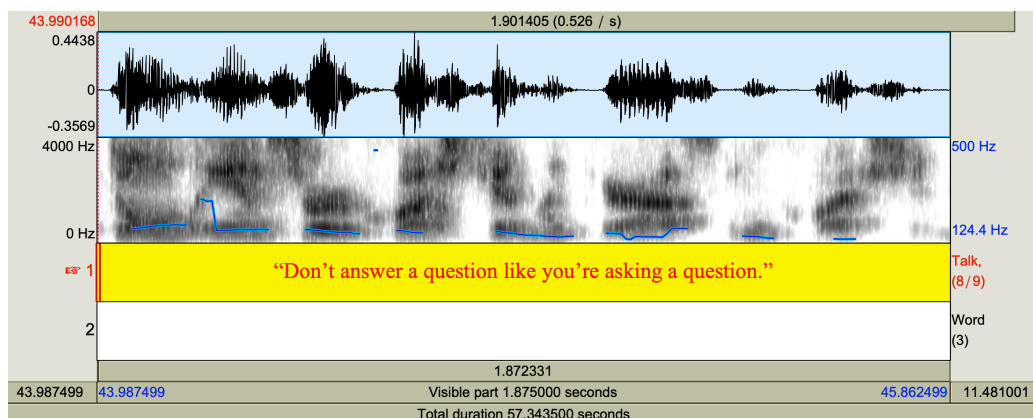
Figure 13 Falling intonation on third injunction

As Vev moves through his narrative, he shifts between, on the one hand, less constructed and more constructed speech, as well as between two distinct intonational contours as acoustic accompaniments. Whether or not he is always shifting into speech that meets the minimum requirements to be 'constructed', his shifts between intonational contours suggest a multiplicity of voices as he moves from suggestively performing uptalk to explicitly constructing falling intonational contours on his teacher's injunctions. As Vev states at the end of Excerpt 9, this particular moment of interaction during class had a lasting impact on him and involved one of his favorite teachers, who was otherwise supportive and affirming. One might argue that the teacher's prescription against the use of uptalk, rooted in deeper ideologies about gendered and age-based ways of speaking, was intended to help students at Vev's high school. But whether helpful or

harmful, the teacher responds forcefully and critically in alignment with a pervasive ideology about girls' and women's speech. All American English speakers, regardless of gender and age, make strategic use of uptalk in various conversational settings, such as when they wish to hold the floor to continue speaking, when they ask questions, and even as a means of establishing solidarity with their addressee (Warren, 2016). My primary interest here to point out that various forms of prosody, including those which, like uptalk, have more readily identifiable sociocultural meanings, find their way into storyteller's constructions of speech.

3.5 The 'so what' of constructed speech in narrative: voicing with a purpose and complex or multidimensional stancetaking

The preceding sections identify several discursive and acoustic phenomena related to constructed speech and voicing by various adult storytellers from the GLSEN StoryBank project. Rey weaves together personal and institutional narrative voices in offering her practiced 'about me' introduction, in describing the significance of school dress codes in her high school, and in detailing an instance of homophobic bullying with the aid of quotation. Dza, Pyur, and Vev demonstrate that prosodic features of language, such as voice quality (breathiness, creakiness), emphatic stress, acoustic (dis)continuity, and the strategic manipulation of intonational contours, all accompany shifts between constructing and constructed speech.

Beyond considering these formal or structural patterns of constructed speech (i.e., *how* speakers shift), it is also important to consider the underlying motivations of constructed speech (*why* they shift). Superficially, shifting into constructed speech allows a storyteller to incorporate other voices into their narrative as it unfolds, and in doing so provide important details that ground

the narrative being told in everyday experience, enhancing any number of the key dimensions of narrative (Ochs & Capps, 2001). At a deeper level, constructed speech allows for embedded, complex, or ***multidimensional stancetaking***. I appeal to sociolinguistic work on stancetaking (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009; Kiesling, 2020; Kiesling, 2022), which maintains that whenever two speakers communicate, they take up positions with respect to each other, the topic of conversation, and even talk itself. Scholars of stance focus their analysis on the linguistic emergence of alignments, investments, evaluations, and positionings that typify stancetaking. Stances may be either affective, or tied to speakers' feelings and emotionality, or epistemic, and related to knowledge claims. In interviews told by LGBTQ+ adults, like the ones described above, one of the key factors motivating narrators' shifts between constructing and constructed frames of speech is the need to take up positions in their narratives. Stances as being formed across several different levels *simultaneously*, between a narrator and the interviewer within the interview frame, and also between the voices being constructed by the narrator in the constructed speech frame.

Figure 14 provides a schematic of multidimensional stancetaking for Rey's description of an incident of bullying (Excerpt 3). In order to visualize multidimensional stancetaking, I adapt the stance triangle first proposed by Du Bois (2007).
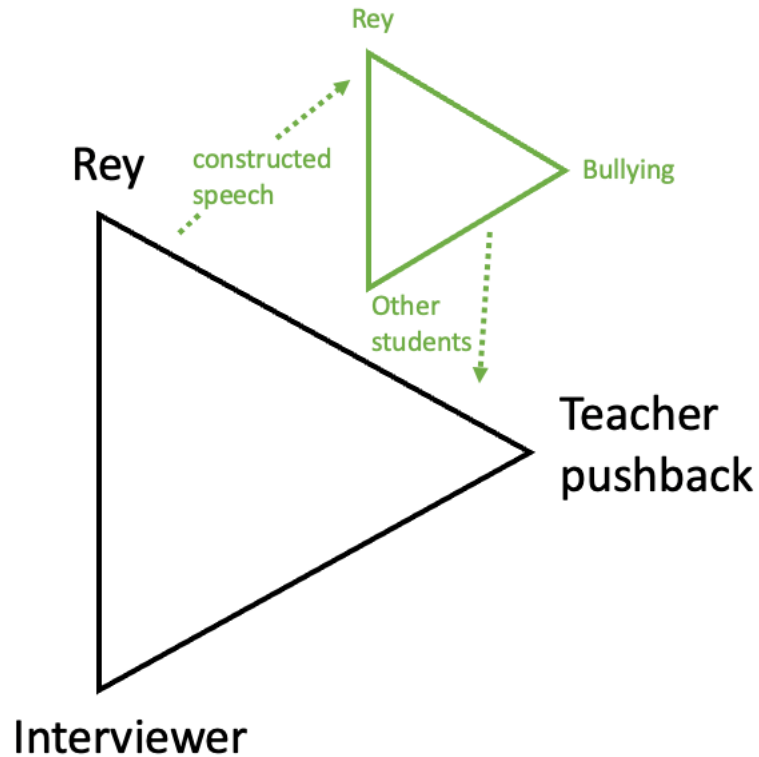
Figure 14 Multidimensional stancetaking

Figure 14 displays two stance triangles, one related to the interview frame (black triangle) and a second related to the constructed speech frame (green triangle). Within the interview frame, two points of the triangle refer to the speakers (Rey and the interviewer) and the third point refers to the topic being evaluated (teacher pushback). Rey had just been asked if she remembers incidents of high school teachers not being supportive of LGBTQ+ students, and she begins her answer in Excerpt 3 with "I don't remember so much like staff or teachers having too much pushback with LGBT students." Rey adds, however, "I do remember a few things with students though," which kicks off her description of a student who was out since freshman year being bullied by other students. Rey doesn't recall that "other students stood up for him" before shifting into quoted speech with "I remember us kind of thinking like, 'that's- that's a little messed up.'

But I think in that typical high school fashion, I was like, 'I don't want to- I also don't want to touch that.'" The green constructed speech stance triangle shows how, in the course of addressing a question about pushback from teachers, Rey achieves a subtle topic shift to evaluate the bullying of an out queer student by his peers. Within this second (embedded) stance triangle, the speakers are now Rey (or the remembered, constructed Rey) and 'other students' that Rey interacted with and who, we can assume, she reflected on the bullying being 'messed up' with. With multidimensional stancetaking in mind, it would be possible to visualize another embedded stance triangle for Rey's final moment of constructed speech in Excerpt 3, in which she constructs her own inner dialogue about wanting to avoid intervening in the incident of bullying "in that typical high school fashion." For this stance triangle, the two speakers might be several 'inner voices' for Rey, in dialogue with each other as they evaluate the stance object of intervening in bullying.

In returning to a central tension of narrative identified by Ochs and Capps (2001) – the tension between a linear or ordered story and a messy or emergent one – we can observe that constructed speech adds greater dimensionality to narrative by removing some of the burden of navigating the messiness of lived experience through the incorporation of multiple voices. In other words, because narrators can use constructed speech to pull the voices of others into their stories, even though these voices are constructed through the discursive and sonic affordances of a narrator's own voice, storytellers have access to a greater array of routes through an unfolding narrative toward its completion. Returning to Tannen's (2007) functions of constructed speech (or dialogue), we have also seen evidence that constructed speech is incredibly flexible, allowing a narrator to voice or animate a potentially infinite field of speaking figures.

4.0 Sociophonetic figures: Quoted speech, distinctiveness, and figural indexicality in interviews with LGBTQ+ youth

I described several broad discursive and acoustic patterns in StoryBank interviews with LGBTQ+ adults in the prior chapter. This chapter focuses in greater detail on the sociophonetic dimensions of quoted speech in GLSEN interviews with LGBTQ+ youth who are also student leaders in high school Gender Sexuality Alliances (GSAs). My purpose is to argue that quoted speech may function as a vehicle for emergent moments of sociophonetic distinctiveness layered onto a speaker's narrative. It is important to note that no two speakers will engage in constructed speech shifts in exactly the same way (due to stylistic differences), but all speakers engage in practices that linguistically differentiate the voices they construct from one another. I consider the sociophonetic properties of non-quoted and quoted speech for a single youth speaker, Ayb (he/him), a cisgender bisexual Asian-American / Pacific Islander (APPI) 11th grader. An analysis of Ayb's speech shows that his quoted speech displays patterns of acoustic distinctiveness that are not present (on average) in his non-quoted speech. I argue that these moments of acoustic, sociophonetic, vocal, and sonic distinctiveness in Ayb's coincide with moments of affect, in which the quoted figure Ayb is constructing experiences heightened emotionality. By the end of this chapter, I explore how the notion of *figural indexicality*, building on Sharma's (2021) recent work on biographical indexicality, offers a means of exploring sociophonetic distinctiveness and affect in the narratives of other LGBTQ+ youth.

4.1 Sociophonetic style and biographical indexicality

In recent years, sociolinguists have increasingly turned to the concept of style to link local patterns of variation with broader social ideologies in the speech of a single speaker (Coupland, 2007; Johnstone, 1996; Podesva, 2011). In its sociolinguistic sense, style refers to the constellation of semiotically charged forms that speakers deploy in constituting themselves as particular types of people (Eckert & Rickford, 2001). Stylistic forms may be sociolinguistic, such as a burnout girl's use of NCVS features, or they may be non-linguistic, as in a California Chicana girl's adornment of red lipstick and black eyeliner to index a hardcore gangster persona (as documented in the work of Mendoza-Denton [2014]). Style is both an enduring phenomenon and a fleeting one. To make sense of this duality, it is useful to turn to another vowel shift from the U.S. West Coast that, like NCVS, is well documented by sociolinguists: the California Vowel Shift (CVS). As described by Podesva (2011), CVS has three primary features: (1) the fronting of high and mid back vowels, (2) the counter-clockwise rotation of the front and low back vowels, and (3) the phonetically-conditioned raising of /æ/ before nasals and backing before other consonants. These shifts are represented in Figure 15 below (adapted from Podesva, 2011, p. 33).
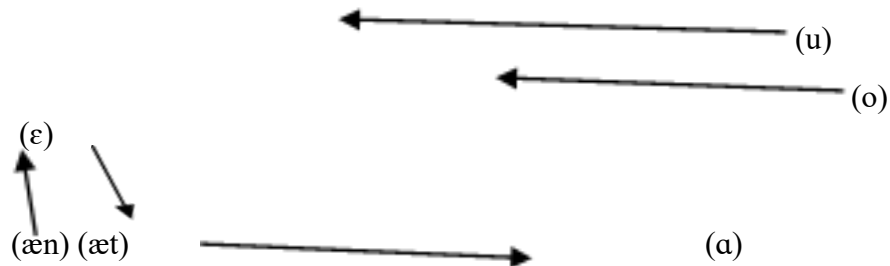
Figure 15 California Vowel Shift

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Podesva finds that rather than being an enduring part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire, CVS features emerge in moments of affective excitement. Regan, Podesva's gay-identified (adult) male informant, uses shifted variants to construct a 'life of the party' or 'diva' persona in informal interactional settings with his friends. In contrast, Regan uses more standard (non-shifted) variants in the formal setting of an at-work conversation with his boss. Podesva argues that this context-driven intra-speaker variation provides evidence of how linguistic features that begin as regional indexes have the potential to become supra-regional through the process of ideologically affixing themselves onto other social variables. That is, Regan's use of CVS features in these interactional moments does not index California regionality as much as a stylized gay persona in some interactional contexts (the 'life of the party' character type with his friends, through analogy to the laidback and fun-loving personae of surfer dudes or Valley Girls).

Several decades ago, Johnstone (1996) explored notions of individuality, sociolinguistic variation, and self-expression in her book *The Linguistic Individual: Self-Expression in Language and Linguistics.* By building on earlier linguistic thinking about individuality (e.g., the importance of the individual in language and culture, p. 20), Johnstone sees sociolinguistic variation as existing alongside other aspects of discourse (broadly conceived), including phonology, syntax, and rhetoric, as sources of linguistic possibility for speakers' individual repertories as the formulate things to say in narrative (p. 28). Her approach to narrative follows Labov (1972a) in focusing on structure, Hymes (1981) in focusing on thematic acts and scenes, Chafe (1980; 1994) in focusing on layers of segmentation, and Polanyi (1985) in analyzing personal narrative in different settings. She traces how several speakers use discourse patterns, like pauses, the manipulation of chronological structure, topic shifts, and different sequencing structures to give different narrative flavors to their stories. Johnstone also considers the ways in which each speaker's regional accents

serve as different resources for innovation in storytelling, with a Southern speaker exploiting different meanings of the verb 'carry' that are not available to a Northern storyteller (p. 51). Johnstone is concerned not with the one-to-one, cause-and-effect relationship between linguistic behavior (including variation) and social factors or psychological factors – as she notes, "sociolinguistic research has made this [connection] abundantly clear" (p. 55). Rather, she focuses on how variation due to an individual's membership in social groups affords them access to sociolinguistic forms, patterns, and meanings that they can mobilize in everyday language, including in their narrative practices.

Recent work by Sharma and Rampton (2015, p. 27) offers an approach called ***Lectal Focusing in Interaction (LFI)*** to take long segments of interactive discourse, break them into smaller units on the basis of clausal boundaries or footing shifts, and then calculate the percentage of variant use in each unit for several language varieties of interest (what the authors call 'lects'). Sharma (2021, p. 246) uses the LFI approach to analyze shifts between more American English-dense speech and more Indian English-dense speech in interviews by Indian-American CNN commentator Fareed Zakaria. This approach takes a segment of speech and codes particular variables for variants of interest. Figure 16 (adapted from Sharma [2021], p. 246) highlights points in an interview between Zakaria and an American host when Zakaria used the greatest proportion of Indian English variants (and the lowest instance of American English variants) for the variables of interest, with gray circle highlights on the graph. Sharma interprets Zakaria's shifts between more AmE-dense speech and more IndE-dense speech (as well as an increase in speech rate during moments of high IndE variant usage) in relation to stancetaking: at these moments in the interview, Zakaria encounters doubt and shifts to his native lect, IndE, to perform stance work of supporting his position. This occurs regardless of interlocutor. According to Sharma, because IndE is

Zakaria's first or native lect, acquired prior to his second lect (AmE), in moments in which he needs to produce "stances associated with frankness, personal commitment, or 'realness'" (p. 246) he may shift to this prior, dominant, or default lect. As Sharma explains,

> "The order in which an individual acquits two lects or variants, or the status of a given lect as 'dominant' or as a default for them, can become a frame of reference for specific types of social meanings, referred to here as *biographical indexicality*." (p. 244, emphasis in original)
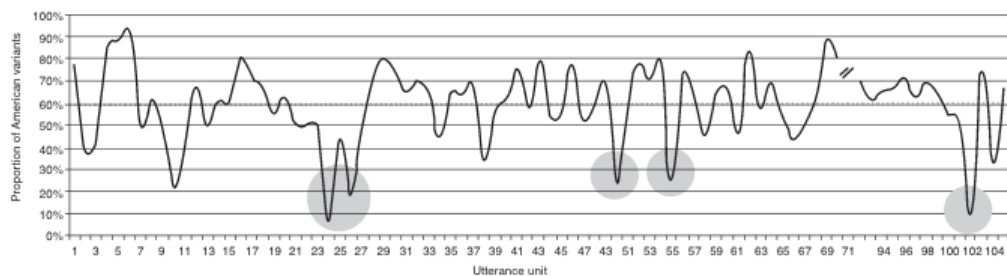
Figure 11.2 Zakaria in interview with an American host (based on fig. 3 in Sharma 2018).

Figure 16 Tracking Fareed Zakaria's shifts between lects

For Sharma, contextual or interactional demands that surround Zakaria's interview, related both to his interlocutor (whether an IndE speaker or an AmE speaker) and the topics of conversation, at times put Zakaria in the position of taking particular stances that coincide with greater use of one set of lectal variants. Building on Sharma's insights, I am interested in tracing shift in the narrative of one LGBTQ+ youth during an interview he completed with GLSEN in 2020. Rather than framing these shifts as indexing a speaker's biography, I am interested in how measurable (socio)phonetic fluctuations contribute to a sense of 'distinctiveness' of speaking or quoted figures in narrative. I introduce the term ***figural indexicality*** to show that such features (and the intra-narrative stylistic distinctiveness they create) index particular kinds of personas, being called upon to do meaningful work in storytellers' narratives. Building on Johnstone's (1996) insights about the linguistic individual, and individual identity or group membership being

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the source of a range of (potential) sociolinguistic resources that can be mobilized in an individual's repertoire, I am interested here in exploring the ways in which quoted speech functions as a vehicle for integrating variation into narrative as speakers move in and out of different voices.

4.2 The GLSEN GSA Study student leader narratives

The 20 LGBTQ+ student interviews that make up the full dataset, and from which I focus on the speech of one student, Ayb, were collected as part of a larger national research project conducted by GLSEN in recent years. ***The GSA Study*** collated survey data from several other GLSEN studies[5] about the experiences of students and advisors in GSAs, in order to provide insights into the demographic composition of GSAs (race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender), student participation in GSAs, club activities, resources, challenges faced by GSAs, perspectives of GSA leaders, and perspectives of GSA advisors (Truong et al., 2021, p. xv). The GSA Study is the first comprehensive report about the experiences of students and advisors in GSAs based on data from across the US.

There are several key findings that emerge from the study, in terms of student-reported data. A majority of students (60.5%) report that the racial/ethnic composition of their school's GSA was mostly white and nearly half (44.2%) reported that their school's GSA was half

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[5] These larger surveys were the GSA Student and Advisor Surveys (collected online from April to June 2020 and consisting of data from 998 students between the ages of 13 and 19 from 45 states and the District of Columbia), From Teasing to Torment: School Climate Revisited (collected online in 2015 and conducted by Harris Poll on behalf of GLSEN; The GSA Study used a data subset consisting of responses from 432 cisgender heterosexual students between the ages of 13 and 18 in schools that had a GSA), and the 2019 National School Climate Survey (a biennial national survey of LGBTQ secondary school students conducted by GLSEN, with data from 16,713 LGBTQ students between the ages of 13 and 21 who attended a middle or high school in the US in the 2018-19 school year). For more information about the methods and sample of the GSA Study, see Truong et al. (2021), p. xv-xvi; p. 7-12.

transgender / nonbinary and half cisgender (p. xvi-xvii). Nearly all GSA students (92.5%) indicated that, in terms of sexual orientation, their GSA was mostly or only LGBQ students (p. xvii). Virtually all GSAs met at least once per month (94.9% of students), with more than half of students (55.1%) indicating that their GSA met once per week (p. xvii). LGBTQ+ students shared that attending GSAs lead to greater feelings of school belonging, slightly higher levels of self-esteem, and slightly lower levels of depression (p. xvii). Among cisgender heterosexual students ('allies' as GLSEN operationalizes them), female students, older students, and students with at least one close LGBTQ+ friend were more likely to be members of their GSA than male students, younger students, and students without a close LGBTQ+ friend (p. xviii). Nearly all GSA students (90.3%) also were involved in non-GSA but school-sponsored extracurricular activities (p. xviii). Among the most common GSA activities were general socializing (for 90.9% of students) and providing students with emotional support (for 70.6%), followed by helping GSA members address instances of harassment and discrimination (for 62.3%) and working with school staff to create safer school environments (for 57.5%) (p. xix). Less common activities were collaborations with other student clubs or organizations on events and advocacy work (for 30.7%) and working with school districts to create district-wide LGBTQ-inclusive policy changes or offer staff trainings (for 15.9%) (p. xix). On the importance of GSA activities, students reported that GSAs provide a space to learn about LGBTQ topics, work with school staff to create safer environments for students, and talk about experiences of harassment and discrimination at school (p. xviii). Commonly-reported internal challenges to GSAs included a lack of attendance (for 73.8%), disorganized meetings (for 62.1%), and fundraising (for 53.1%), while external challenges (reported by students and advisors) included pushback against the GSA from other students, parents, educators, principals, and administrators, as well as a lack of reporting when pushback

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occurred (p. xxi). Often, issues are resolved within the GSA rather than through working with external parties.

Following the publication of the GSA Study, GLSEN decided to produce a supplemental report (or 'research brief') revolving around student leader narratives and best practices for GSAs. I was added to a team of qualitative researchers who would work with the GLSEN Research Institute staff to complete the data analysis and writing for what eventually became ***Leader Narratives on Best Practices for Gender and Sexuality Alliance Clubs*** (Truong et al., 2022). The 20 students who GLSEN ultimately interviewed for the report had expressed interest in participating when completing GLSEN's 2020 GSA Student Survey (p. 20). The sample was not intended to be representative of GSA students or leaders, but was intentionally selected to ensure diverse representation based on race/ethnicity (50% white, 25% multiracial, and 5% each Black, Latinx, Asian American / Pacific Islander, Native or Indigenous, and Middle Eastern or North African) and gender (50% cisgender, 30% transgender, and 20% nonbinary/genderqueer) (p. 20). Interviews were conducted over Zoom by a staff member of the GLSEN Research Institute. The analysis focused on themes that emerged across the interviews related to pathways to GSA membership and barriers to recruitment, the characteristics and strategies of inclusive GSAs (with a focus on race and gender), and strategies for creating effective and sustainable GSAs (with a focus on student leader, advisors, and youth-adult leadership). Practical recommendations are also included for GSAs to work toward effective outreach and recruitment, become more inclusive, and become more effective and sustainable. Alongside the publication of the GLSEN Leader Narratives brief, a second publication analyzing the same set of 20 interviews has appeared in a special issue of *Teachers College Record* focusing on gender and race in K-12 schools (Adelman et al., 2022). This analysis is framed around Gen Z GSAs, and the ways in which GSA members

create various emergent and localized school-based identities through practices that we describe as empowering of LGBTQ+ students (particularly students of color and transgender students), deploying by challenging a school's heteronormative, cisnormative, and white-dominant official curriculum, and leveraging LGBTQ+ identities as a goal when mobilizing themselves and their peers to shift the normative practices of a school.

While the work for these analyses was grounded in language and a qualitative approach to working with recorded and transcribed interviews, the intended outputs were not sociolinguistic. Nonetheless, as I spent time transcribing the 20 student leader interviews and assembling my own notes with a view toward analysis, I created a rich set of (socio)linguistic observations. For example, students made use of strategic pauses during narratives about GSA members discussing queer topics outside of the GSA or topics about race, such as the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020, within the GSA (reminiscent of Mendoza-Denton's [1995] work on 'pregnant pauses' used by members of congress in the confirmation hearing for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas). Students made meta-linguistic or meta-discursive observations about the use of homophobic and transphobic slurs, pronouns (particularly GSA-based or school-based meanings of gender-neutral they/them pronouns), and emergent terminology. One student described in great detail GSA-internal issues with a 'transmedicalist' student, who created problems within the GSA by expressing views that only transgender people who had undergone medical transition had legitimate claims to transness. Another student described presentations the leaders of the GSA would do about pronouns, prefixes, and suffixes for LGBTQ+ identities, offering information about identity morphemes such as 'a-', 'demi-', or 'pan-' (appearing in identity labels like 'asexual', 'demisexual', or 'pansexual'). One transmasculine student discussed the harmful impact of being misgendered in the context of school choir and being constantly forced by the choir

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director to sing in the girls' section. At the level of discourse (and perhaps related to dynamics having to do with the interview setting), numerous students ended their answers (or turns at talk) with utterance-final 'so' or 'so year'. Several students seemed to accommodate to real or imagined interviewer expectations about what constitutes a 'good' or 'successful' GSA, by apologizing for their clubs limited advocacy efforts or offering justifications for the primarily social nature of their GSA (despite GLSEN and other research, such as that described in the GSA Study above, finding that social support is a widespread and effective activity in GSAs). Finally, all 20 students made frequent use of forms of constructed speech, whether quoted speech, reported speech, or 'occurrence speech' in which they described speech that had occurred, such as a conversation between a GSA advisor and a student, without offering referential details about the content of the conversation.

4.3 Approach

With the above insights in mind, and given my interest in the relationship between acoustic distinctiveness and quotedness, my approach is adapted from the LFI methodology of Sharma and Rampton (2015). I first determined several sociolinguistic variables of interest (described in section 4.3.1), then segmented the interview into relevant smaller discourse or 'quotedness' units of quoted and non-quoted speech (4.3.2) before coding the variables of interest for each unit and determining proportions of distinctiveness for each unit (4.3.3). This process resulted in ***proportional distinctiveness*** measures per quotedness unit, related to the proportion of measurements for that unit that fell outside of a specified range determined to reflect the student's 'baseline' (or average) values per variable. The end result is the ability to track subtle shifts in the

'bundles' of sociolinguistic variables from one quotedness unit to the next, in order to link the (quantitative) sociolinguistic variables of interest with the (qualitative) narrative. Unlike Sharma and Rampton's focus on shifts between lects (i.e., bundles of AmE variants at certain points of the interview vs. bundles of IndE variants at other points of the interview), I am interested in whether particular quotedness units are distinctive from other quotedness units and the students' baseline values. Because this is an intra-speaker approach and not an approach that compares multiple different speakers, I do not make *a priori* assumptions about Ayb's baseline values, but rather use his own production data to determine the baseline. Calder et al. (2022) have recently discussed the pros and cons of using Zoom recordings for sociophonetic research (and vocalic analysis specifically), finding that Zoom produces lower raw F1 values and higher F2 values.

4.3.1 Sociolinguistic variables

Table 5 provides the sociolinguistic variables considered in this analysis. Vocalic measurements (first six rows) were made of five vowels of interest: /u/ (or the BOOT vowel), /i/ (the BEET vowel), /æ/ (the BAT vowel), /ɑ/ (the BOT vowel), and /o/ (the BOAT vowel).

Table 5 Sociolinguistic variables

Variable	Measure	Method
Height	F1 (Hz)	Automatic (DARLA)
Backness	F2 (Hz)	Automatic (DARLA)
Duration	Seconds	Automatic (DARLA)
Phonation	Modal vs. non-modal	Impressionistic
Pitch	F0 (Hz)	Manual

Amplitude	dB	Manual
Discourse marker	Presence vs. absence	Impressionistic

These vowels were selected because (with the exception of /o/) they generally represent the extremes of a speakers monophthongal vowel space. As previously discussed, Podesva (2011) has demonstrated that vowel shifts which begin as regional indexes (e.g., of California English) may come to index something else about a speaker's identity, such as contextualized enactments of sexuality through sexuality-relevant personas in different speech contexts (a relaxed 'diva' or 'life of the party' persona with more shifted variants among friends vs. a more standard-sounding and 'professional' persona with one's supervisor at work). Eckert (2019) has developed these ideas insights intra-speaker style even further by linking sociolinguistic variables, social meaning, and what she calls the cline of interiority, with less referential sources of variation (prosody, vowel shifts) being more likely to signal shifts in affect, stance, or mood ('interior' qualities) when compared to more referential sources of variation (morphosyntactic variation). Taken together, this work suggests that intra-speaker stylistic shifts, such as shifts into and out of quoted speech, may index something qualities related to a speaker's interiority (mood or affect).

In addition to considering six vocalic variables, I also considered the presence or absence of a discourse marker (last row in Table 5). As my analysis in chapter 3 revealed, quoted speech sometimes has a discourse marker, such as 'oh' or 'hey' or 'look', at the beginning of quotation. This cascading shift into orality with a quote-initial discourse marker further distinguishes quoted speech from non-quoted speech, as a discursive means of signaling a frame shift to an interlocutor. For this analysis, I coded for the presence or absence of a discourse marker as a measure contributing to the proportional distinctiveness of a quotedness unit. The six vocalic measures were

taken at the level of individual vowels (sometimes appearing in monosyllabic words, other times appearing in stressed syllables of polysyllabic words). The presence or absence of a discourse marker was noted at the level of the entire quotedness unit.

4.3.2 Discourse units: Quoted vs. non-quoted speech

Scholars have applied various criteria in determining the boundaries between units of discourse. Sharma and Rampton (2015) and Sharma (2021) rely primarily on turn-constructional units (TCUs) to indicate boundary shifts and, secondarily, other shifts in footing (e.g., Goffman, 1981, p. 128). Sharma and Rampton (2015, p. 12) explain their criteria for determining unit boundaries as follows:

> "As the goal of the measure in our study is to track fluctuations in style during interactions, we also attend to turn-constructional units (TCUs) and footing shifts as secondary criteria. Footing shifts are noted through marked shifts in pitch, volume, voice quality, topic, addressee, voicing, and alignment, among other factors (Goffman 1981:128). We describe these as secondary rather than primary criteria because relying exclusively on footing shifts can lead to some very long units, which can obscure variation, and relying exclusively on TCUs can lead to many small units, skewing average values. Thus, we first segment the text into major clausal units, and then add unit boundaries if these units include the end of a turn or a marked footing shift. As the metric does not aggregate measurements, effects occurring across larger chunks of discourse, such as footing or topic, are easily captured, as they would be visible as steady patterns maintained over groups of units."

Because the discourse unit of relevance in my analysis is quoted speech, I rely both on TCUs (i.e., Ayb's answer to the interviewer's question) and shifts into and out of constructed speech to determine boundaries between quotedness units. Within the student's single response, quotedness units are determined based on the Ayb's natural shifts in and out of quoted speech – when there is a discursive signal that he has initiated quoted speech (such as *be like*-prefacing). A limitation of using quoted speech is that such speech tends to be shorter than non-quoted speech, sometimes as short as a few words. However, I have sought to overcome this limitation in several

ways. First, I selected Ayb for this analysis because nearly all of his answers have at least one instance of quoted speech contained within and sometimes several instances (such as when he constructs dialogue between his GSA advisor and other students in a single answer). Second, and perhaps related to Ayb's natural (i.e., stylistic) reliance on quoted speech, he has numerous quoted instances that are as long as some of the non-quoted instances. Finally, and I will address this more in the protocol section (4.3.3), my approach to sampling particular vowel tokens for measurement was determined by Ayb's total number of quoted vowels (for the five vowels of interest). This allowed for greater balance between quoted and non-quoted vowels, and actually resulted in slightly more quoted vowel tokens than non-quoted tokens, as I will discuss.

4.3.3 Coding and measurement protocol

My coding and measurement protocol involved three primary stages: coding for quoted and non-quoted speech using ELAN and NVivo, taking automated and manual vowel measurements using Praat and DARLA, and generating measurements of proportional distinctiveness for each quotedness unit based on the seven sociolinguistic variables of interest.

4.3.3.1 Stage 1: coding for constructed speech

During stage one of the protocol, I imported the 20 ELAN transcripts I had created for the GLSEN Leader Narratives project into NVivo. NVivo was used to apply a relatively simple coding scheme to identify all instances of constructed speech in each interview. At this stage of the process, I coded for all instances of constructed speech: quoted speech, reported speech, and a third type of constructed speech known as occurrence speech. Within NVivo, I used the keyword search functionality to search within the 20 transcripts using the following search terms: quotation

marks ("), the word 'like', the word 'all', and inflected forms of verbs of speech and verbs of hearing ('say/said', 'tell/told', 'hear/heard', 'listen/listened', 'talk/talked', 'speak/spoke'). Only interviewee (student) speech was coded for, not interviewer speech. Not included in the coding were a student's use of expressions like "I would say…" at the beginning of their answer, given that these statements directly followed the interviewer's framing of a question as "What would you say…?"[6] I considered occurrence speech to be any mention of speech that did not rise to the level of quoted or reported speech, in terms of containing referential content from a conversation, but still signaling that speech did at one point occur. Several examples of occurrence speech and reported speech from the interviews are provided in (15) through (20) below.

(15) Uh, because at that point like I didn't really talk to a lot of the students in the GSA that were participating, and like, I kinda knew some of the teachers that were also participating in it, but not to the extent that it is now. Um and so just their openness and acceptance to newcomers what-is what made me stay.

(16) And the other one is in school. 'Cause they're like a secretary that's gonna bring all the information that they talk about in school to the Discord.

(17) Um, he typically- he'll intervene sometimes, like, um, if, like, things are getting out of hand and some kids are like misbehaving or something, uh, and one of the officers can't take care of it, um, he'll say something about it.

(18) I told him not to come back.

(19) Um, I didn't want my parents to know I was going to GSA so I told them I was going to, um, a Strategic Gaming Club which is like, um, a gaming team kind of deal-

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[6] In future work, it would be interesting to analyze interviewer "What would you say…?" and student "I would say…" as forms of repetition and parallelism in the interview, as that described elsewhere in Tannen (2007).

(20) Um, yeah it was more of just someone telling me that I
should check it out.

Occurrence speech would also sometimes refer to hypothetical-but-never-uttered speech, speech that could not have been uttered, or speech that students wished would occur. At times, the border between occurrence speech and reported speech was subjective at best, as example (17) above indicates. Examples (21) to (23) below are instances of quoted speech from across the 20 interviews. Appendix C provides counts and proportions of quoted, reported, and occurrence speech in the 20 GSA student leader interviews.

(21) Um, not really. I mean the only real concern I really had
was with my parents but eventually over time, you know, uh, I
told them like, "Hey, I have to stay after school for GSA
meetings," and they were totally fine and cool with it, so.

(22) Like, "Hey, can we do this for this next meeting?" or, "Can
we talk about this?" Um, so it's all very community-based.

(23) Well, when I join these other activities, I told myself,
"GSA comes first. You will do everything before- of GSA before
you even start with the- anything else." And I've kept that.

After coding for all instances of constructed speech, it was determined that Ayb had a sufficiently high amount of quoted speech instances for additional sociophonetic analysis. Additionally, Ayb's answers contain rich details about his own life experiences, the activities of his GSA, the relationship between GSA members and the sponsor. covers a wide range of topics that occur across the entire set of interviews. He is among the more talkative of the 20 students, but unlike other students who used also large amounts of quoted speech had more concise answers, typically 30 seconds in duration to 3 minutes in duration. As such, his interview is suitable for closer analysis, both in terms of the sociolinguistic properties of his narrative style and in terms of topic coverage and answer duration.

4.3.3.2 Stage 2: automated and manual vowel measurements

After the coding stage, I used Praat and DARLA to generate automated and manual vowel measurements. DARLA (http://darla.dartmouth.edu/semi) is a program at Dartmouth University that allows for semi-automated extraction of vowel formant (F1 and F2) and duration measurements. DARLA uses the FAVE forced alignment and the CMU Pronunciation Dictionary. In order to use DARLA, I first created roughly clause-level (or sentence-level) segments of Ayb's speech in Praat in a 'sentence' tier. Because the size of the interview file was 333.4 MB, and Praat allows for standard audio files of 2 GB max, I did not need to segment Ayb's interview into smaller portions to avoid creatin a long sound file. However, for DARLA to run properly, it was best to divide the hour-long interview into smaller pieces (a 'divide and conquer' approach, http://jstanford.host.dartmouth.edu/DARLA_Helpful_Hints_page.html). I first transcribed the entire interview recording and added clause boundary tiers in one .wav file (and corresponding .txt text grid). Then, I used the 'extract part' function in Praat to extract smaller increments of roughly 1000 seconds (setting the start time at 0 as opposed to preserving times from the original file, as inadvertent misalignments through file editing may cause DARLA to crash). Extract 1 was from 300-1300 seconds, extract 2 was from 1380-2335 seconds, extract 3 was from 2345-3000 seconds, extract 4 was from 3300-4300 seconds, and extract 5 was from 4300-5125 seconds. These specific extract boundaries were set so as to not interrupt Ayb's answers, if he was in the middle of answering a question from the interviewer.

For semi-automated extraction in DARLA, I did not filter out stop words (http://darla.dartmouth.edu/stopwords) in case any monosyllabic stop words or stressed syllables in polysyllabic stop words contained one of the five vowels of interest (i.e., to maximize available tokens, given the typically short duration of quoted speech). I did not filter out unstressed vowels

in order to manually inspect them in the DARLA output, but ultimately removed them from the final dataset (any vowel with a stress assignment of 0; thus, the data only includes vowels with stress assignments of 1 or 2). I elected to filter out vowels with F1 or F2 bandwidths over 300 Hz, which is indicative of an issue with the audio recording. The voice type for the speaker was set to low.

The output files returned by DARLA (one for each of the five shorter extracts) were merged into a single spreadsheet for cleaning and additional processing. A total of 5,051 vowels were extracted from the interview by DALRA, inclusive of 1,201 unstressed vowels that were subsequently inspected and removed, bringing the total number of stressed vowel tokens to 3,850. Several additional columns were added to the spreadsheet for manual data entry: quoted speech (with options 'yes' vs. 'no'), answer start time (imported from ELAN), answer end time (imported from ELAN), and a token order number (a unique numeric value assigned to each token, beginning with 1 for the first measured token in the dataset and continuing in ascending order thereafter). Additionally, I manually coded for predictable or stylistic instances of high-rising terminal (HRT), or rising intonation / uptalk on declarative statements, which Ayb tends to use stylistically at the end of a list and as a footing-final but floor-holding marker. I also made note of pragmatically-motivated stress or intonational patterns, such as rising intonation in moments of uncertainty, rising intonation during quoted questions, and emphatic or focusing stress shifts in his narrative. I ultimately decided to retain these HRT and pragmatics tokens in calculating the measures of proportional distinctiveness (section 4.3.3.3), given that Ayb uses them across both quoted and non-quoted units.

Of the final set of 3,850 stressed vowel tokens, there was a relatively even distribution across English monophthongs and diphthongs (see Appendix D for the vowel token counts by

quoted and non-quoted speech in Ayb's interview). Of these tokens, I then selected all tokens of the five vowels of interest: /ɑ/, /æ/, /i/, /o/, and /u/. The counts for these five vowels (by quoted and non-quoted speech) are provided in Table 6.

Table 6 Counts of quoted and non-quoted vowels of interest

Vowel	Non-quoted tokens	Quoted tokens	Total
/ɑ/	171	23	*194*
/æ/	300	38	*338*
/i/	428	53	*481*
/o/	163	33	*196*
/u/	200	72	*272*
Total	*1262*	*219*	*1481*

To produce a comparable dataset of quoted and non-quoted vowel tokens, and to minimize the number of additional manual measurements per token, I used the total quoted vowel token count of 219 to guide the selection of a representative sample of non-quoted tokens (also totaling 219). In composing a subsample of 219 non-quoted vowels, I randomly sampled from the entire set of non-quoted vowels based on the counts by quoted vowel: 23 /ɑ/ tokens, 38 /æ/ tokens, 53 /i/ tokens, 33 /o/ tokens, and 72 /u/ tokens. To assess the feasibility of the randomly selected subsample of non-quoted vowels, I performed a t-test on F1 and F2 values taken at the midpoint (50%) of the vowel (comparing the randomly selected subsample of 219 non-quoted vowels to the total sample of 1,262 non-quoted vowels from which the subsample was drawn). The test result was not significant, meaning that there is not evidence that the subsample of non-quoted vowels significantly differs from the total sample (see Appendix E for the full t-test results comparing the non-quoted sample to the set of all non-quoted vowels). I took this to be sufficient evidence that

the non-quoted sample could serve as a proxy for the entirety of the Ayb's non-quoted vowels and could be used to conduct a balanced comparison with his quoted vowels.

This sampling process produced a final set of 219 non-quoted vowels and 219 quoted vowels[7] for additional measurements and comparison. For each token, I used Praat's automated tracking functions to take manual measurements of pitch (F0 in Hz at the vowel midpoint) and amplitude (dB at the vowel midpoint). I also manually coded for phonation per vowel (e.g., modal phonation, creaky voice or whisper voice, judged impressionistically and then verified by inspecting the spectrogram for evidence of non-modal phonation, per Zsiga [2013], p. 85). To ensure the accuracy of the automated DARLA output, I occasionally checked the F1 and F2 measurements and made manual corrections as necessary.

4.3.3.3 Stage 3: proportional distinctiveness per quotedness unit

The final stage of data processing involved collapsing together the vowel measurements (six measures across 456 tokens five vowels – roughly half quoted and half non-quoted, see footnote 7 below) with the discourse marker measurement (presence vs. absence) per quotedness unit to calculate the measure of proportional distinctiveness for each quotedness unit. I relied on the basic statistical procedure of z-scoring (Levshina, 2015) to determine the overall average and standard deviation per vowel measurement and then determine how far away any particular measurement fell from the average (i.e., how many z-scores away from the mean the measure is, in either direction). Z-scoring or 'standardizing' the measurements in this way allows for the

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[7] In the course of composing the sample for additional (manual) measurements, I discovered 18 quoted tokens that were inadvertently excluded in reviewing the DARLA output and manually coding for quoted vs. non-quoted speech. These 18 tokens were included when generating proportional distinctiveness values (quoted total = 237 quoted vs. non-quoted total = 219 for a grand total of n = 456), but they were not included in calculating initial differences by variable, e.g., difference in F0, duration, amplitude, F1, and F2 between quoted and non-quoted (n = 219 each for a grand total of n = 438).

comparison of measurements that, in their raw form, appear in different units by setting 0 as the midpoint and with positive and negative values falling on either side of the midpoint. Typically, z-scoring is used to detect outliers in a dataset. As Levshina (2016, p. 59) explains, "the most popular absolute values [for determining outliers] are 2 (not very conservative), 2.5 (moderately conservative) and 3 (very conservative). The higher the cutoff point, the fewer observations have the chance of being detected as outliers. Table 7 below lists the raw average and standard deviation values for each vowel measure.

Table 7 Average, standard deviation, and z-score example per measure

Variable	Mean	SD
dur	0.126703947	0.08485679
F0@50%	140.8226316	25.84877649
dB@50%	62.57767544	4.69532195
/ɑ/ F1@50%	709.912	110.1308973
/ɑ/ F2@50%	1293.688	201.1004507
/æ/ F1@50%	767.1220779	96.61431138
/æ/ F2@50%	1594.638961	82.57275127
/i/ F1@50%	363.8409091	69.76498727
/i/ F2@50%	2134.039091	217.3538843
/o/ F1@50%	518.9352113	101.7114449
/o/ F2@50%	1082.138028	198.19719
/u/ F1@50%	373.2283784	51.02971129
/u/ F2@50%	1582.817568	371.6760117

For the discourse variable (presence vs. absence of a discourse marker), I considered the student's 'baseline' to not have a discourse marker present. In all, there were a total of 135 quotedness units in the interview (75 non-quoted and 60 quoted). Once all of the data had been z-scored and collapsed together by quotedness unit, I calculated a simple proportion of distinctive measures. A measure was distinct if it fell outside the + or – 2 standard deviations from the mean. For each quotedness unit, proportional distinctiveness was calculated by taking the total number of distinctive measures for that unit and dividing it by the overall total number of measures for that

unit. Calculating proportional distinctiveness in this way allowed each proportion to be sensitive to the total number of measurements of a given unit (i.e., sensitive to the size of each unit). Appendix F provides the transcript for each quotedness unit, the number of total measurements, the number of distinctive measurements, and the proportional distinctiveness calculated for each.

4.3.4 Research questions

As is customary in variationist work, my analysis is driven by two primary research questions.

RQ1: Within a single speaker, is quoted speech acoustically distinctive from non-quoted speech, across the seven sociolinguistic variables of interest?

RQ2: If quoted speech is distinctive, what sociolinguistic variables or other factors (including those related to narrative) seem to drive distinctiveness?

4.4 Results

This approach yielded numerous insights, related both to individual variables and the fact that affective shifts into heightened emotionality seem to prompt acoustic distinctiveness in Ayb's narrative. I present the results for each variable in turn, beginning with pitch, amplitude, duration, and phonation (measures taken across the aggregate tokens of all five vowels) before shifting to a discussion of F1 and F2 (i.e., height and backness within Ayb's overall vowel space), which requires considering the five vowels separately. I then present the results for proportional distinctiveness.

4.4.1 Pitch, amplitude, duration, and phonation

First, I consider pitch (F0 at the vowel midpoint), amplitude (dB at the vowel midpoint), duration (measured from the onset of periodicity to the end of periodicity), and phonation (modal vs. non-modal) for non-quoted and quoted vowels. The test statistic I use here is a two-tailed t-test, because I do not have assumptions about the directionality of difference between the non-quoted and quoted conditions; I am simply trying to determine if a difference exists. The test is independent because the data points are unpaired, even though they come from the same speaker. The other assumptions of the t-test for statistics on sociolinguistic data are also met (Levshina, pg. 95): the samples have been randomly selected from the populations they represent, the data are at least interval scaled (mine are continuous measurements), and the sample sizes are greater than 30 (true for all but one of the vowels, /ɑ/ with a sample size of 23 in both conditions; however, this criterion is still met because the measurements for /ɑ/ are normally distributed). The threshold for significance is 0.05, as is customary in linguistics research. Because I am using a two-tailed t-test that considers either side (or 'tail') of the t-distribution, a significant test result is that which is less than 0.025 (half of the 0.05 alpha level). Appendix F lists the test statistics for all variables, including non-significant results.

For pitch, there is a significant difference between the two quotedness conditions (non-quoted vs. quoted) (two-tailed t-test, t[399.55] = -2.513, p = 0.012). As indicated in box plots in Figure 17, the average pitch (F0 at the vowel midpoint) for quoted vowels is higher than the pitch for non-quoted vowels, and both conditions have numerous extreme values toward the upper limit of the student's pitch range.

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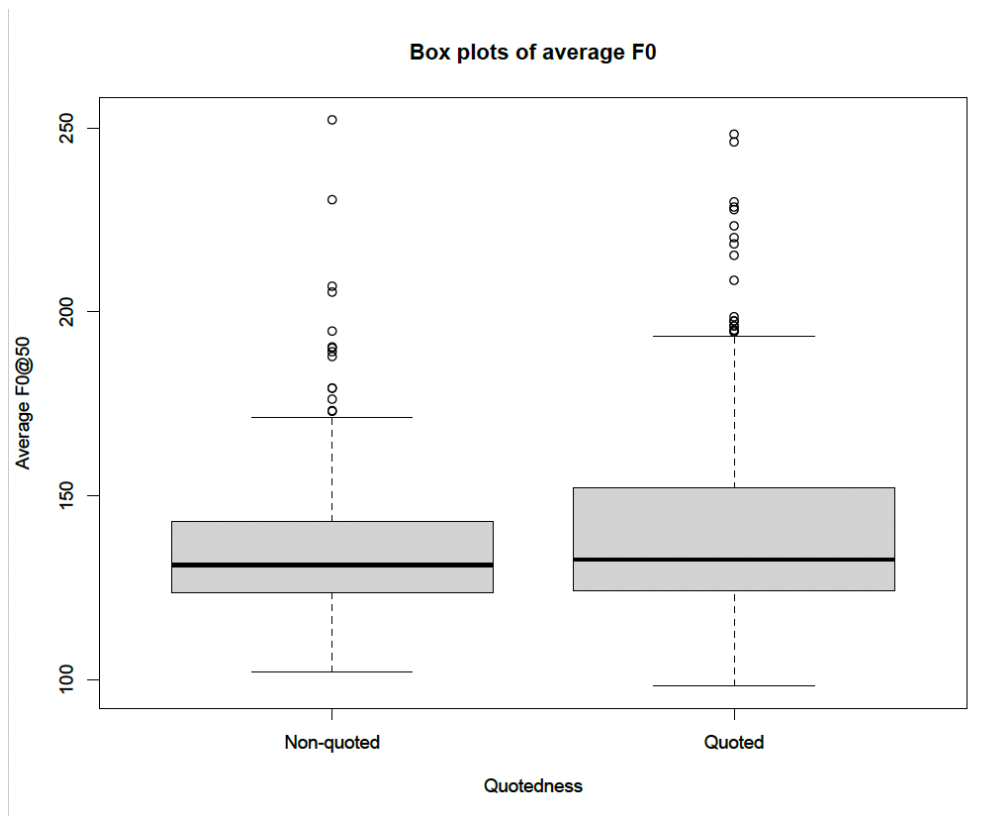
Figure 17 Box plots of average pitch for non-quoted and quoted vowels

The results for amplitude and duration were not significant, meaning that for these variables, there is not evidence of a significant difference between Ayb's quoted and non-quoted vowels. For duration, however, while the difference between the two groups of vowels is not significant, it is approaching significance by being just outside of the 0.025 threshold. Box plots of average duration for non-quoted and quoted vowels is provided in Figure 18, indicating that Ayb's quoted vowels tend to be shorter than his non-quoted vowels.
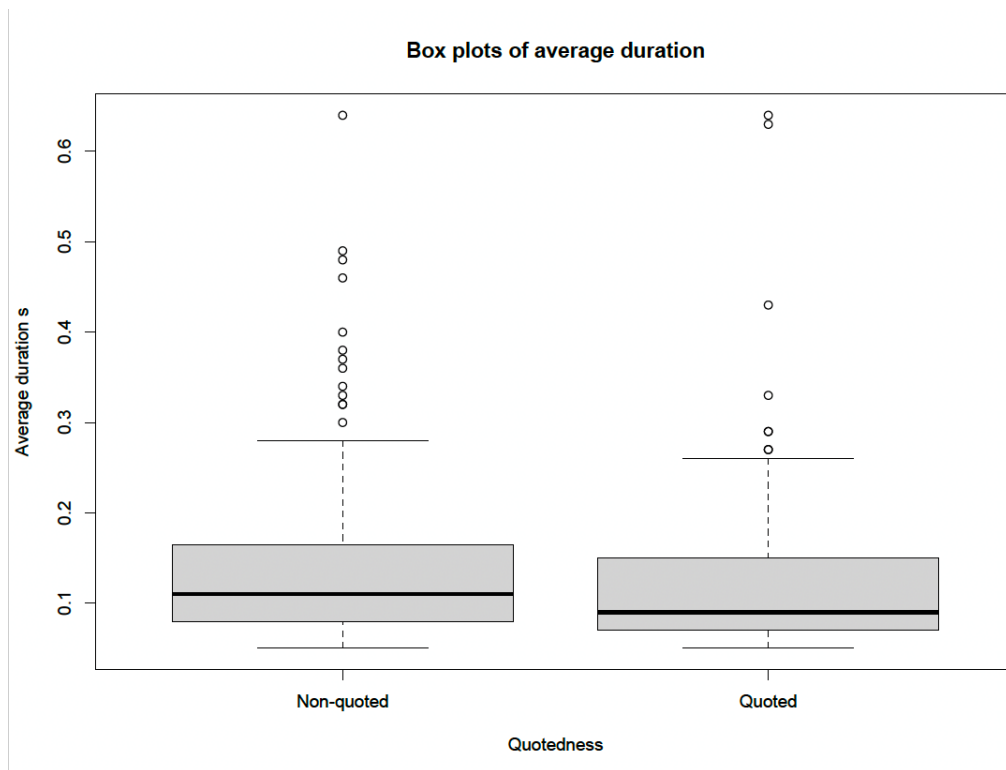
Figure 18 Box plots of duration for non-quoted and quoted vowels

Finally, for phonation, the vast majority of Ayb's vowels (436 out of 438) were articulated with modal phonation, and only two were non-modal: one quoted /æ/ token was breathy, and another quoted /æ/ token was harsh. As a reminder, phonation was determined impressionistically, so taking finer-grained instrumental measurements would likely reveal phonation details and possible differences with greater accuracy. Although a mere two non-modal quoted tokens should not be taken as an indication of a pattern related to phonation, they nonetheless suggest that in future work phonation type could emerge as a relevant variable of distinction between quoted and non-quoted speech.

To briefly summarize the findings for pitch, amplitude, duration, and phonation, there is a significant pitch difference between quoted and non-quoted vowels, with pitch being higher on average for quoted vowels than non-quoted vowels. There is no significant difference for amplitude (volume) or duration, even though quoted vowels are generally shorter than non-quoted

vowels. The data for phonation are too limited to make generalizations, although the only two non-modal tokens were both quoted.

4.4.2 F1 and F2

In considering F1, a measure of vowel height, and F2, a measure of vowel backness, for non-quoted and quoted vowels, it is necessary to perform within-vowel comparisons, as the expected F1 and F2 values differ by vowel (e.g., /u/ tokens are generally higher and farther back than /æ/ tokens, meaning /u/ should have lower F1 and F2 values than /æ/). Table 8 provides the mean formant values and tokens counts (by vowel) for the two quotedness conditions. Figure 19 is a plot of Ayb's non-quoted and quoted vowels (average F1 and F2 values).

Table 8 Mean formant values and token counts by vowel and quotedness

	Non-quoted			Quoted		
	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)	n	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)	N
/i/	361.07	2121.87	53	365.45	2159.66	53
/ɑ/	681.99	1270.95	23	720.34	1307.54	23
/u/	371.29	1503.88	72	373.41	1653.60	72
/o/	530.48	1036.36	33	493.24	1105.72	33
/æ/	796.11	1579.55	38	739.29	1613.74	38
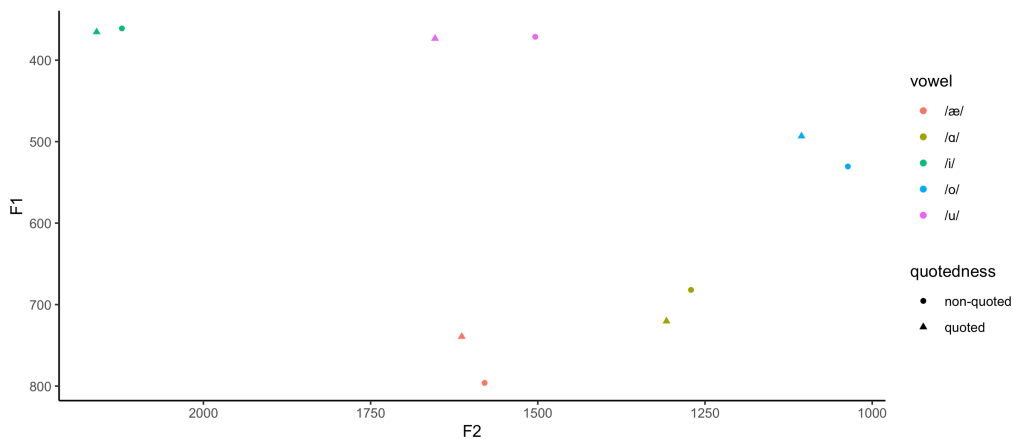
Figure 19 Vowel plot for Ayb

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It is evident from vowel plot that Ayb's quoted /u/ is fronted (with a higher F2 value) compared to his non-quoted /u/, confirmed through a significant t-test result (two-tailed t-test, t[132.16] = -2.433, p = 0.016). Additionally, Ayb's quoted /æ/ is raised (with a lower F1 value) than his non-quoted /æ/, which is also a significant difference (two-tailed t-test, t[63.666] = 2.651, p = 0.010). The remaining F1 and F2 differences between the non-quoted and quoted conditions for all five vowels were not significant (see Appendix F).

In this analysis, I have not considered the effect of prior or following segments vowel formants, which is often necessary to account for in studies of community-level sociolinguistic variation and vowel shifts. For example, a well-studied phenomenon in American English varieties like California English is the TRAP split, which involves the fronting and raising of /æ/ before nasals (a word like 'ban' has a pronunciation closer to 'been') and the lowering and backing of the same vowel in other contexts ('bass' moves closer to 'boss', for instance) (Podesva, 2011). I have also not considered possible effects of off-gliding on /u/ and /i/ vowels. Instead, I have investigated a much simpler question of whether there is a measurable general difference in quoted and non-quoted vowel tokens, which obscures some of the fascinating within-vowel variation that would be worth pursuing in future work.[8] Still, the results show that for at two of the five vowels in Ayb's interview – /u/ and /æ/ – there is an overall difference when we consider non-quoted speech and quoted speech separately, with /u/ being fronted in quoted speech and /æ/ being raised.

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[8] A further complication, which I discuss in the limitations section, is that because I was using speech data from a GLSEN interview and not a carefully designed sociolinguistic interview, I was limited to the tokens Ayb produced naturalistically in answering questions about his GSA. But rather than seeing the GLSEN interview as being entirely unsuitable for sociolinguistic analysis, I proceed with these limitations and caveats in mind and, more importantly, move toward an analysis that views larger units within the interview more wholistically, and composed various measurable dimensions of vowels that may vary between the two conditions (non-quoted and quoted speech).

4.4.3 Proportional distinctiveness

Considering the acoustic properties of Ayb's vowels separately allowed for some preliminary observations about the distinctiveness of his quoted speech: that the position of two vowels, /u/ and /æ/, is different for quoted and non-quoted units, and that Ayb's pitch is higher for quoted vowels than non-quoted vowels. Next, I present the results related to proportional distinctiveness of larger quotedness units, taking all seven sociolinguistic variables into consideration (see section 4.3.3.3 for how these distinctiveness proportions were calculated, and Appendix E for distinctiveness proportions by quotedeness unit). Table 9 provides the counts and proportions of distinctive vs. non-distinctive units, separated by quotedness. When all variables and measurements are taken into consideration, 61.33% of non-quoted units were not distinctive – i.e., had a proportional distinctiveness measure of 0 (versus 38.67% of non-quoted units that were distinctive – i.e., had a proportional distinctiveness measure that was greater than 0). In comparison, only 28.33% of quoted units were not distinctive, compared to 71.66% of quoted units that were distinctive.

Table 9 Counts and proportions of distinctive units by quotedness

Quotedness	Not distinctive (proportion)	Distinctive (proportion)	Total
Non-quoted	46 (61.33)	29 (38.67)	75
Quoted	17 (28.33)	43 (71.66)	60

A t-test confirms that there is a significant difference in proportional distinctiveness for quoted and non-quoted units. Overall, Ayb's quoted speech is significantly more distinctive than his non-quoted speech (two-tailed t-test, t[99.569] = -3.095, p = 0.002). In considering only Ayb's distinctive units (and excluding the non-distinctive units with values of 0), quoted distinctive units

are not significantly different (i.e., more or less distinctive) than non-quoted distinctive units (two-tailed t-test, t[69.04] = -0.904, p = 0.369).

Calculating the proportional distinctiveness measures in this way also for the creation of a plot of fluctuations in acoustic distinctiveness that occur over the course of Ayb's interview. Figure 20 is a line chart that shows these shifts in distinctiveness over time, with the red line representing quoted units and the blue line representing non-quoted units. The plot only includes distinctive units (i.e., those with a proportional distinctiveness value greater than 0).
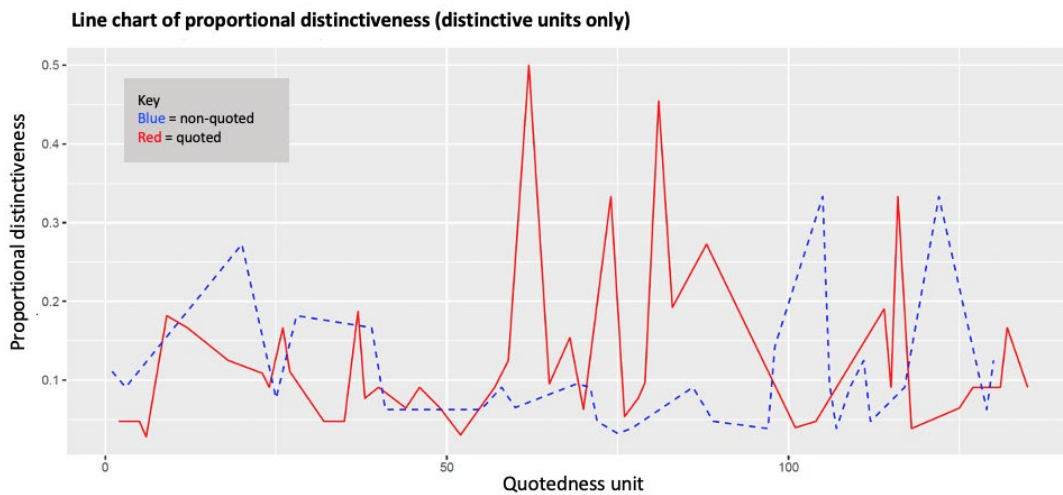
Figure 20 Line chart of quoted and non-quoted distinctiveness

The line chart offers visual confirmation that Ayb's quoted speech tends to be more distinctive overall, with the red line often being above the blue line, even though there are moments of the interview (at the beginning and near the end) when spikes in non-quoted distinctiveness occur. It is also clear that during the middle and toward the end of the interview, there are several points when Ayb's quoted speech is especially distinctive, rising to a peak value of 0.5 for one quoted unit (meaning half of the variables measured for this stretch of speech were distinctive from Ayb's average or baseline values).

4.5 Discussion: Narrative affect and figural indexicality

Beyond establishing that Ayb's quoted speech is acoustically distinctive, I am interested in exploring *why* it is distinctive, or what sociolinguistic or other factors seem to be driving distinctiveness. In the prior section, I identified vowel quality (height and backness) and pitch as sociophonetic variables that affect distinctiveness, for this particular student in this particular interview. The line chart in Figure 27 also shows peaks in distinctiveness at particular moments of Ayb's interview, which I consider in greater detail here. In linking more micro sociophonetic patterns to more macro narrative patterns in Ayb's interview, I am reminded of a metaphor we often use in helping introductory students of linguistics make sense of the relationship between levels of structure in language: that language is like an orchestra. While we can decompose language into constituent parts (such as sounds, words, or sentences), and the formulation of manageable research questions often requires constraining our focus to patterns at one level of structure, in reality language is used and experienced in the parts forming a coherent whole, just as individual instruments grouped into larger sections make up an orchestra. Bundles of distinctive sociolinguistic variables exist within a broader unit – which I have termed the quotedness unit – and Ayb's still broader answers to the GLSEN interviewer's questions. Narrative fluctuations occur in the back-and-forth exchange between the two speakers in the course of an interview over Zoom. Figure 27 captures these peaks and valleys in Ayb's speech nicely.

In the course of the interview, Ayb, like the other 19 students who participated in the Leader Narratives study, answers a range of questions about his school and community, his GSA, and his life as a queer or trans student. One of the things that initially drew me to Ayb's interview, in addition to his frequent shifts in and out of quoted speech for the quantitative parts of this analysis, is the compassion he conveys in his answers, his knowledge of LGBTQ+ issues and their

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intersections with issues of race and disability, and his sense of humor. Excerpt 11 below is the exchange that took place at the greatest moment of proportional distinctiveness in the interview (the quoted unit with the proportional distinctiveness of 0.5 in Figure 27 above).

> **Excerpt 11. "Oh, they're our brothers?"**
> *Interviewer*: And would you say that your advisor is helpful in supporting your GSA?
> *Ayb*: Oh, definitely. We- like she's like our sister, our mother, she- she calls us her- her kids. And so, she's like- when she shows us our- the pictures of her dogs, we're like, "Oh, they're our brothers?" She's like, "yeah." ((chuckles))

In this excerpt, the interviewer asks Ayb if he would say that his GSA advisor is helpful in supporting the GSA (lines 1-2). Ayb answers emphatically with "Oh, definitely" (line 3) before explaining that, to Ayb and the other students in the club, the GSA sponsor is like a sister or a mother. He goes on to explain that the sponsor calls the students her kids, before saying that she will sometimes show them pictures of her dogs. At this point (line 6) Ayb shifts into distinctive quoted speech to animate his and his classmates' speech with, "Oh, they're our brothers?" He then constructs the response of GSA sponsor with "yeah." Important here is the fact that sociolinguistic distinctiveness occurs in the specific narrative context of Ayb explaining to the interviewer how the GSA sponsor is close with the members of the club, accentuated through a moment of humor with Ayb's referring to himself and the other members of the GSA as siblings of their advisor's pets.

The second-highest spike in quoted distinctiveness in Figure 27 (0.45 – shortly after the exchange in Excerpt 11) occurs when Ayb takes on the voice of his GSA sponsor as she expresses frustration at the club members' reluctance to provide feedback about what the club should do for their upcoming meetings. This exchange between the interviewer and Ayb is shown in Excerpt 12 below.

Excerpt 12. "That's not helping me!"

Interviewer: Uh, who makes dec- so it sounds like right now, you're- you have this kind of virtual group chat space. I'm curious about before the pandemic started, before summer break started, um, when you were in-person in school, who made decisions about what the GSA does kind of on a week to week basis?

Ayb: So, um, our advisor, she used to lay out options. She was like, "do you want to have a discussion, I have someone who- who would like to talk to you guys, or do you just want to have an information seminar, how do you guys want to do it?" And so she made sure she asks everyone which one they wanna do and like the majority vote we would do that and then we follow the sequence of doing the other things. So, if we did session first, then we'll do the second most, for example, then the knowledge one, or then the person who wants to talk to us. And if she didn't meet someone, she'll just contact, like find them in the hallway or like stop them and ask them what, "Hey, what do you want to do for GSA?" And when sometimes she forgot, she'll just pop out in the middle, like after our classes or lunch, when she'll meet us, she would be like, "Hey, what do you guys wanna do for GSA? We didn't think about anything. Well, do you want to guys talk or just meet someone, because you need to tell me now." Because she has to plan ahead. And sometimes, we would just say, "whatever's fine with you." She would say, "That's not helping me."

Interviewer: ((laughter)) That's not helpful.

Ayb: She was like, "That's not helpful at all." We'd be like, "alright, we'll do a seminar session, we'll talk." She'd be like, "Okay, now that helps."

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Ayb: So that's how we did- that's how we made all the decisions, all the projects we worked on, she decided like, "what day do you want to do this?" and we'll fix a date and go through with it. But that's just date that we do that.

The excerpt begins with the interviewer asking Ayb who makes the decisions about what

the GSA does on a week-to-week basis (lines 1-6). Ayb begins his answer a lengthy explanation

about the decision-making process that goes into structuring the club. He states that the advisor

usually lays out all the options (line 7) before shifting into quoted speech for his advisor to invoke

conversations she has had with him individually or the group in the past: "Do you want to have a

discussion? I have someone who- who would like to talk to you guys. Or do you want to just have

an information seminar? How do you guys want to do it?" (lines 8-11). He explains that the advisor goes to the effort to check within everyone in the GSA (lines 15-18) in order to generate a majority vote (line 11-12) to guide the sequence of meeting topics (line 13). In fact, the GSA advisor is so meticulous about checking in with students that she will sometimes track them down in the hallway (line 17) to ask (here, Ayb again shifts into quoted speech): "Hey, what do you want to do for GSA?" (line 18). She similarly might try to find them during lunch if she can't locate them in the hallways and outside of GSA meetings (lines 19-21). Ayb explains that, in response to her questions, students will sometimes say, "whatever's fine with you" (line 24), which introduces a moment of heightened distinctiveness in Ayb's quoted speech for the advisor: "That's not helping me!" (line 25). The interviewer, who by this point is amused by the story Aby is telling, uses their own quoted speech (line 26) in saying, "That's not helpful!" (perhaps a kind of quotedness repetition or echo, per Tannen [2007]). Ayb continues quoting the GSA advisor by saying, "That's not helpful at all" (line 27). This produces a (quoted) response in the GSA students: "alright, we'll do a seminar session, we'll talk" (line 28), after which the (quoted) GSA advisor says, "Okay, now that helps" (line 29). The excerpt ends with Ayb explaining that this is how decisions about projects and meeting topics were made in the GSA (lines 31-32) again with the help of quoted speech for the GSA advisor (line 33-34).

What these two excerpts and the moments of quoted distinctiveness occurring within them have in common is that they are breakthrough moments of ***narrative affect*** or emotionality in Ayb's interview. In Excerpt 11, Ayb's quotation of his and the other students' "Oh, they're our brothers?" has a joking affect, in the context of his explanation about the closeness between the members of the GSA and the GSA advisor. In Excerpt 12, Ayb's quotation of the GSA sponsor's emphatic "That's not helping me!" conveys an affect of frustration. In considering the other

moments of proportional distinctiveness in Ayb's interview (see Appendix E for transcripts), whether these appear within quoted units or non-quoted units, various narrative affects are often at play, whether an affect related to 'backing off' or retreat (unit 116), closeness (unit 74), supportiveness (unit 122), reluctance (unit 88), navigation of what Ayb calls "sensitive topics" (unit 20), or reassurance (unit 83). Various narrative affects come through in the most powerful moments of Ayb's interview, which often contain quoted speech, such as when he discusses the nuances of collaboration between the GSA and the Carpentry Club to create the school's first gender-neutral locker room or when he consoles a trans girl who came to the GSA after her former friends refused to use they/them pronouns. Ayb (using quoted speech) recalls explaining to her, "it's our job as your friends to respect you for who you are" (unit 101). At another point of the interview, Ayb shares how his GSA advisor was crushed after club flyers had been torn down, after which Ayb told her, "It's okay. They're just kinda idiots. So, it's okay we'll- we'll do something" (unit 38).

In thinking more broadly about narrative affect, and by building on Sharma's (2021) notion of biographical indexicality in relation to real-time shifts between lects, I argue that these moments of quoted distinctiveness contribute to ***figural indexicality*** in Ayb's narrative. Quoted speech is itself indexical (Silverstein, 2003) of the voice of the self or some other (Hill, 1995), and as I have demonstrated in Chapter 3, one use of constructed speech may be to accomplish complex or multidimensional stancetaking in order to move a narrative to completion. As Tannen (2007) has observed, the figure being constructed may be the speaker may be the figure of their past self – even their past thoughts – or it may be the figure of another person – a friend, a family member, or a GSA advisor. In considering how constructed speech indexes other speakers while using the affordances of a narrator's own voice, acoustic distinctiveness, achieved through variation across

a range of sociolinguistic variables, may coincide with narrative affect. Yet it is not only the narrator's *own* affect begin invoked in narrative. Through quoting the speech of another, the affect *of that figured person* is also being constructed, leading to moments of distinctiveness. In other words, when Ayb quotes his GSA advisor's "That's not helpful!" (Excerpt 11), he is not constructing his own affect (as the narrator, or as the addressee in the constructed interaction), but he is instead constructing an affect of frustration for his GSA advisor. Figural indexicality, or the use of language to point to a particular constructed figure in narrative, thus does more than just invoke the speaking figure: it potentially invokes the constructed qualities of this figure's speech, such as moment-to-moment affect shifts, filtered through the affordances of the narrator's own voice.

Narrative affect and figural indexicality are useful concepts for making sense of quoted speech in other GLSEN interviews with LGBTQ+ student leaders. In Excerpt 13, Ben, who is a multiracial cisgender gay 11th grader, fluctuates between quoted 'carefree' and 'serious' voices in describing the mental health of GSA members prior to and during COVID.

> **Excerpt 13. Pre-COVID 'carefree' and during-COVID 'serious' voices**
> *Ben*: So like, normally, during like before COVID, we would have like a meeting and like people will be l-, "Oh, oh, I'm okay. I'm doing like pretty okay," or like, um, "I'm kind of sad 'cause of this and that." But then during COVID, we were more open, we're like, "look I'm unmotivated. I don't wanna do schoolwork, there- and the teachers are doing this, this and this." And they were- like the students that felt sad or felt unmotivated, they were much more like, "Look, this is what's happening." It wasn't just like a, "Hey, I'm sad, but I'm gonna get through it." It was more like, "Look, this is what's happening to me. And I'm really tired of it, basically."

Ben's pre-COVID constructed voice, the 'carefree' voice, is acoustically lighter, with higher pitch, a slower rate of speech, and the use of discourse markers 'oh' and 'hey' at the beginning of the quoted speech frame. In contrast, his during-COVID voice, the 'serious' voice,

gives the impression of being acoustically heavier, with lower pitch, a faster rate of speech, and the systematic use of the discourse marker 'look', as if to draw the listener's attention to the dire reality of students' mental health. In Excerpt 14, Geem, who is a white cisgender bisexual / pansexual 12th grader, contrasts their own hurried, anxious, and overthinking voice as president of the GSA with their advisors' 'soothing' voice.

Excerpt 14. 'Soothing' voice
Geem: When I'm working, I- I said- I think I said already
that I'm a workaholic and I'm like try- I'm like, also with
that, I'm like an overthinker, I'm like- I'm constantly freak-
like, eh- I- I am freaking out about every single thing. So
my advisors usually help me by like, saying like- like, "take
a step back. I will handle this. Because you clearly are
freaking out way too much for you to handle it." So like,
whenever like my freaking out gets way too bad, they like
take it over and help me out with that.

There is a stark difference between the constructed voice Geem produces for themself, as "an overthinker … constantly … freaking out about every single thing" (lines 3-4) and the voice of the GSA advisors, who encourage them to "take a step back … because you clearly are freaking out way too much for you to handle it" (line 6-8). These differences in the referential content of speech being constructed, i.e., what is said by these voices, coincide with differences in the acoustic quality of speech, or how it's said. The 'soothing' advisor voice is noticeably slower and more fluent, with virtually no false starts or cutoff speech. Finally, Excerpt 15 presents the speech of Da, a multiracial transgender high school graduate, as they recall watching videos of LGBTQ+ people on YouTube while they were growing up.

Excerpt 15. 'Child' voice
Da: So, like, that's kinda weird. Um, I remember watching
those kinda videos back in the day and just me being very
like, "I don't know what to do." Um, but, yes, that was kinda
some of the stuff we did.

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Here, Da engages in distinct voice shifts between their own narrating voice, the 'back in the day' voice (strictly speaking, not constructed speech in terms of referential content, but perhaps an echo to a stereotypically older speaker, such as a grandparent, as they recall a life experience when they were younger), and the 'child' voice that states "I don't know what to do" (line 3). This unknowing child voice is especially performative, with exaggerated high pitch being used to indicate smallness and invoke widespread ideologies of childhood as a time of innocence and immaturity, even for LGBTQ+ children coming to terms with their identity.

While a potentially endless list of sociophonetic resources can (and are) enlisted to achieve narrative distinctiveness via figural forms of indexicality, there appear to be certain patterns that persist across narrators and across the figures they narrate. As the excerpts of speech by LGBTQ+ student leaders Ayb, Ben, Geem, and Da show, quoted speech becomes a vehicle both for invoking affect in narrative and for making use of variation, across similar sociolinguistic variables that are often studied in community-wide studies of language variation and change. It is important to note that there are a number of limitations of this approach, as I have mentioned. There were varying word lengths of quoted vs. non-quoted instances, which I attempted to control for in how the non-quoted sample was created. I opted to include stop words, which include function words that may behave differently acoustically (or socio-acoustically) than content words. There are also limitations due to a lack of consideration for off-gliding on particular monophthongs and the effects of prior or following segments. Additionally, I have limited information about these students, and I do not know where in the US they live, what their first language or languages are. As such, I cannot make wider claims about possible sources of social meaning for variation – I can only rely on the data provided within each interview.

Even with these limitations, the analysis has demonstrated that it is possible to decompose 'distinctiveness' into the smaller sociolinguistic variables, such as the segmental properties of particular vowels, the suprasegmental or prosodic properties of vowels and larger stretches of speech, and the presence or absence of discourse markers.

5.0 Constructed speech and figures of childhood in US lawmaker testimony about anti-queer legislation

My first analysis chapter (chapter 3) primarily considered the discursive properties of constructed speech in the personal and institutional narratives told by LGBTQ+ adults involved with the GLSEN StoryBank project. In chapter 4, I then shifted to the sociophonetic and acoustic properties of quoted speech in narratives by GSA student leaders, highlighting how acoustic distinctiveness between quoting and quoted voices can be used strategically to index affective figures. This chapter, which is my final analysis chapter, considers the role of constructed speech in the broader context of contemporary LGBTQ+ social justice issues by focusing on language and public policy in the state of Arizona.

This chapter investigates sexuality and power in daily life by considering a frequently overlooked persona in language and sexuality research: the child. I focus on constructed speech animations of children by US lawmakers in the state of Arizona as they consider two anti-LGBTQ+ bills during the 2022 legislative session: House Bill (HB) 2161, which sought to bolster parents' access to their minor children's educational and medical records, and HB 2495, which aimed to ban the use of sexually-explicit materials in Arizona's K-12 schools. Like other Republican-backed bills that have appeared in state legislatures across the US, these proposals coincided with conservative moral panic about queer and trans children and challenges to parental rights in public education. After numerous committee hearings, HB 2161 and HB 2495 were passed by the Arizona House of Representatives and Senate and signed into law by the governor. My analysis finds that constructed speech animations of children, either through quoted speech or reported speech, are used by Republican and Democratic lawmakers as they negotiate two primary concerns about

childhood: one regarding children's agency, and a second about the role of the state in ensuring children's wellbeing. I argue that lawmakers use constructed speech as a *tactic of intersubjectivity* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) to *authorize* their positions for or against these bills by grounding their arguments in imagined interactions between children and adults. Following Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), these discursive imaginings also *legitimate* lawmakers' decisions to act based on the power they hold as elected officials. Constructed animations of children are a crucial piece of evidence for or against changes to state law, which in the case of these specific bills lead to the harmful consequences for queer and trans children in Arizona.

5.1 The child in CSS, LLL, and beyond

Compared to adults, children and youth have not figured as prominently in critical sexuality studies (CSS) and lavender languages and linguistics (LLL) scholarship. In their survey of CSS literature, Fahs and McClelland (2016, p. 392) point out that "various power imbalances … are deployed and replicated in sex research," including, I would add, in an implicit focus on adulthood in much existing work on language, power, and sexuality. Fahs and McClelland note that when children and youth are included in critical studies of sexuality, these studies are typically about young women's sexuality (e.g., Bay-Cheng, 2015; Gill, 2008), normative adolescent sexuality (Tolman & McClelland, 2001), or how sexual subjectivity is complicated in narrative (Halberstam, 1998). Fahs and McClelland situate children as abject sexual bodies, or "bodies that are ignored, out of bounds, or pushed out of bounds," arguing that abject bodies are "individuals that are consistently hiding in plain sight" (p. 393). In LLL scholarship, as summarized by Leap and Provencher (2011), queer linguistic studies of childhood are still generally absent. While a goal of

LLL research is "to show that language, broadly defined, occupies multiple domains within the everyday lives of social subjects claiming a non-normative sexuality" (Leap & Provencher, 2011, p. 711), perhaps children, due to their delayed entry into the full personhood afforded to adults, occupy a particular form of non-normativity. Like other marginalized subjects within LLL scholarship, children may be constrained by "practices of visibility and discretion" (p. 711) that render them invisible to scholarly noticing, leading to their exclusion. Put differently, it may be the case that queer and trans children's status *as* children is part of what makes them abject, or individuals who, in the words of Fahs and McClelland, are consistently hiding in plain sight.

Several recent LLL studies have focused on LGBTQ+ youth language practices, particularly in the UK. Jones (2022) analyzed constructed dialogue and affective stancetaking in narratives by British trans youth, finding that these practices allow them to display empathy and assume stances of solidarity and support. Sauntson's (2018) work on LGBTQ+ issues in UK schools addresses language and sexual diversity in schooling from multiple angles from a queer applied linguistics approach. Through this work, Sauntson (2018, p. 7) argues that "the scope of language study in relation to sexuality is much broader than just focusing on homophobic language" in relation to LGBTQ+ youth. While several other studies have focused on the language practices of LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ youth (Jones, 2016; Jones, 2018; King, 2018; Nelson, 2012), few have taken up Sauntson's call to expand the scope of research involving language, sexuality, and childhood, such as through the discursive analysis of media representations of childhood sexuality (an exception to this is recent work by Kiesling and Nonnenmacher [2022], who analyze affective representations of toughness and tenderness in American puberty video discourse). Yet representations of childhood, including in literature and film, are central in the field of childhood studies, which has disciplinary roots in children's literature. Although childhood

is a historical formation whose meaning has shifted over time (Ariès ,1962), it is generally regarded as a life stage of innocence and immaturity, development, and dependence. Children are normatively assumed to be cisgender and straight (or proto-straight, as children are also assumed not to be sexual until adolescence), despite the existence of actual and fictional children who challenge these normative ideologies (Gill-Peterson, 2018; Stockton, 2009; Sedgwick, 1991). As Claudia Castañeda (2002) has observed, figurations of childhood are maintained through material and semiotic practices that naturalize abstract qualities – such as developmental mutability – and ascribe them to real children. Universal expectations of childhood constrain our expectations of children, including LGBTQ+ children, and seep into numerous discursive sites.

5.2 Public policy discourse and constructed speech

Public policy discourse remains an under-researched area in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, with scholars typically focusing on political discourse more broadly (see Wilson, 2015; for a review), forensic or legal discourse (Shuy, 2015), and language and discrimination within the justice system (Baugh, 2018). Several studies have addressed language and sexuality within the US political system or criminal justice system, from the perspective of sexual misconduct. Mendoza-Denton (1995) analyzed US lawmakers' variable and strategic use of pauses when questioning Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill during Thomas's 1991 confirmation hearing to the US Supreme court. Central to the hearing were Hill's accusations of sexual harassment by Thomas when she worked with him previously. US senators involved in the hearing made strategic use of longer gaps following Thomas's statements to "underscore the import of his words and allow the weight of his response to 'sink in' with the audience," compared to shorter gaps following Hill's

statements "to obscure her answers" and ultimately challenge her credibility (Mendoza-Denton 1995, p. 55). Ehrlich (2012) considered how meaning circulated and shifted intertextually during the appeals process in a Maryland sexual assault case that would eventually focus on the legal definition of post-penetrative rape, moving far beyond the scope of the original case. Still within the context of the criminal justice system but not involving sexuality, Philips (1986) analyzed lawyers' use of quoted and reported speech as evidence in an Arizona trial about cocaine possession, finding that quotation is "reserved for information being presented as evidence directly related to proof of the elements of a criminal charge" (p. 153) in comparison to less case-critical evidence, which may be presented as background information through the use of reported speech. Recent work by Perna, Orosz, and Kent (2019) used discourse analysis on US Congressional proceedings to consider how lawmakers employ discursive strategies to differentially construct identities for academic witnesses, describe their qualifications, or frame witness comments in ways that assert their independence as experts or support lawmakers' positions.

My analysis builds most directly on the studies by Phillips (1986) and Perna, Orosz, and Kent (2019) by considering constructed speech in legislative discourse. I use the term constructed speech to generally refer to quoted speech and reported speech, following Tannen's (2007) work on constructed dialogue. There are three main characteristics of constructed speech that will be important for my analysis. First, in terms of form, constructed speech may be either quoted (*Sean said, "I want to watch Netflix!"*) or reported (*Sean said that he wanted to watch Netflix*). Second, what is referred to as "speech" might be one of a varied set of discursive formulations in which something language-like is being described, including inner thoughts, hypothetical-but-never-uttered speech, or writing. Third, constructed speech often has more to do with the immediate context in which it is being narrated, and less to do with the context which it is constructing (or

narrating). While it may be related to language that was actually once said or written, it need not be a faithful representation. As Tannen (2007, p. 111) notes, "the construction of dialogue represents an active, creative, transforming move which expresses the relationship not between the quoted party and the topic of talk but rather the quoting party and the audience to whom the quotation is delivered."

5.3 Approach

My interest in legislative discourse developed during community-engaged research, education, and advocacy work with the US nonprofit organization GLSEN, whose mission is to ensure K-12 schools are safe and affirming environments for LGBTQ+ students and spaces committed to gender justice, racial justice, and disability justice (GLSEN, Inc., n.d.). In early 2022, I became involved with the public policy efforts of GLSEN's Arizona chapter by helping to prepare students, educators, and community members to testify against anti-LGBTQ+ bills being considered during the current legislative session. Arizona is among the states with the highest number of discriminatory bills (17 anti-LGBTQ+ bills, including 12 anti-trans bills), trailing behind Tennessee and Iowa but outpacing Florida (Freedom for All Americans, n.d.), even though much national and international media attention focused on Florida's "don't say gay" bill (Alfonseca, 2022). In Arizona, proposed legislation sought to negatively impact queer and trans lives in far-reaching ways by preventing trans girls from participating on girls sports teams, criminalizing gender-affirming healthcare for trans minors, requiring school officials to out LGBTQ+ students to their parents, restricting trans children's access to bathrooms, or making a student's participation in a Gender-Sexuality Alliance (GSA) contingent on parental permission.

Public policy, which is "a statement of government intentions for addressing an identified problem or achieving various goals" (Perna, Orosz, and Kent [2019], p. 113; following Dougherty [2007], p.198), may occur at different levels of local, state, or federal governance. I focus here on legislative discourse in Arizona, which is part of the public record and therefore accessible for research purposes. Informed by an interest in uncovering the heteronormative and cisnormative dimensions of this discourse, I employ a queer CDA approach (Jones & Collins, 2020) that has been adapted for the analysis of a legislative discourse, which I consider a sub-genre of political discourse. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) outline an approach to political discourse analysis (or PDA) that views political discourse as a form of practical argumentation – one that, following van Dijk (1997), "focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power" (p. 18). Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) approach differs from the discourse-historical approach (DHA) by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) in that PDA is less concerned with descriptive taxonomies of discourse strategies (i.e., patterns related to nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification) and more concerned with how a certain political imaginary is the goal of action, pursued argumentatively by legal actors (p. 24). Instead of completing a full PDA analysis of Arizona lawmakers' argumentation, I focus on lawmakers' use of constructed speech as a tactic of *legitimation*, or "a type of argumentative justification, public justification, in which an action can be justified in terms of reasons and those reasons can themselves be justified as collectively accepted and recognized" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 112). My queer approach to PDA finds a link between the political legitimation and a tactic of intersubjectivity discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) in their theorizing of identity in language and sexuality research: *authorization*. They define authorization as "the use of power to legitimate certain social identities as culturally intelligible," noting the central role of institutionalized power structures in how

authorized identities are enacted (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 503). I will return to the concepts of legitimation and authorization to explain Arizona lawmakers' use of constructed speech animations of children.

The two bills I focus on in this analysis, HB 2161 and HB 2495, were selected because they center issues of childhood and sexuality (along with gender, as we will see) in Arizona's K-12 school system. Video recordings (.mp4 files) of committee and chamber discussions about these bills were downloaded from the Arizona legislature website (Arizona State Legislature, n.d.). I then manually transcribed lawmaker comments for these two bills across 17 meetings, totaling 411 minutes and 32 seconds (approximately 7 hours). This process resulted in roughly 243 total lawmaker comments of varying durations about the two bills (approximately 123 comments by Democrats, 111 comments by Republicans, and 9 comments by non-party officials). I focus only on lawmaker comments that involve the explicit use of constructed speech to animate the figure of the speaking child, with borderline cases not considered (such as when a lawmaker describes a conversation without constructing specific referential content for a speaker). In the following section, I first discuss how lawmakers' constructed speech practices provide insights into their views of children's agency before shifting to the relationship between children and the state.

5.4 Constructed speech as a window into lawmakers' views of children's agency

The following excerpts are constructed speech comments by Republican and Democratic lawmakers during hearings about HB 2161, the parents bill of rights. This bill sought to bolster the rights of parents to access their minor children's medical and educational records, already granted

under FERPA and HIPAA,[9] by expanding parents' ability to file lawsuits against educational bodies if they feel their access to information has been obstructed. For the excerpts presented throughout this section, information about the lawmaker, the meeting in which the comment was made, and the start and end time for the comment is provided. Transcription conventions are listed in the preface, and instances of constructed speech are underlined.

Excerpt 16. John (Republican, for HB 2161, House Education, 59:00-59:32)
```
1   Is there ever a time where it's appropriate where a
    kid, barring any duty to report, barring
2   any- um anything illegal, where a student might come to
    a teacher and say, "hey-" tells
3   them something in confidence, and the parent- and the
    teacher in no way "facilitates or
4   encourages or coerces" that student in any way, but
    just, "ok, sure." And the student
5   specifically says, "hey, please don't tell my parents,"
    for whatever reason. Um is there a
6   time where- can you think of an instance where that
    might be ok, for teacher to say, "ok, I
7   won't tell your parents."
```

I use the words 'supportive' and 'opposing' in reference to a lawmakers' ultimate vote for HB 2161 and HB 2495. Even though all Republican lawmakers would ultimately vote 'yes' and all Democratic lawmakers would ultimately vote 'no' John's constructed animation of a hypothetical child in Excerpt 16 reveals his initial uneasiness with a bill that might negatively impact student-teacher relationships. His question to the bill's Republican sponsor concerns whether it is ever appropriate for a child to share something with a teacher in confidence, without their parent knowing (lines 1-3), with the caveat that he is not talking about issues of abuse, which

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[9] FERPA, the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (https://www2.ed.gov/policy/gen/guid/fpco/ferpa/index.html), and HIPAA, the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (https://www.hhs.gov/hipaa/index.html), ensure parents' access to educational and healthcare records of their minor children.

teachers are already legally required to report to the Arizona Department of Child Safety (line 1). John briefly begins to construct the speech of a hypothetical child with "hey-" in line 2, before clarifying that he is not talking about a case where a teacher (here, he glances at the written language of the bill) "facilitates or encourages or coerces" a child to share information (lines 3-4) but is still ultimately told something in confidence and agrees to respect the child's privacy with "ok, sure" (line 4). John then uses constructed dialogue again to make explicit how this imagined conversation might go, first constructing the speech of the child in line 5 with "hey, please don't tell my parents" before asking the bill sponsor whether there might be occasions for a teacher to say, "ok, I won't tell your parents" (lines 6-7).

Immediately after John's question, another Republican lawmaker, Udall, provides a more tangible scenario of when a child might reveal something to a teacher that they would not want a parent to know, related to sexual practice.

Excerpt 17. Udall (Representative, for HB 2161, House Education, 1:00:33-1:01:02)

```
1   I will say, as a teacher um, every once in a while I'll
    have a- I teach high school math, so
2   high school students are kind of an interesting bunch. Um
    I have on a couple occasions had
3   a student come to me and say, "I just found out I'm
    pregnant," a fifteen-year-old, fourteen-
4   year-old, "I'm scared to tell my parents." And my advice
    to them is always, "You know
5   your parents love you. You need to talk to them." Would
    I be in- in trouble for not telling
6   them myself, but instead encouraging the child to talk to
    them?
```

Udall's question is motivated by her experience as a high school math teacher (lines 1-2). She uses quoted speech to describe a 14-year-old or 15-year-old student coming to her and saying "I just found out I'm pregnant" (line 3) followed by "I'm scared to tell my parents" (line 4). Udall goes on to explain, again with constructed dialogue, that she always advises students with, "You

know your parents love you. You need to talk to them" (lines 4-5). Udall's motivation for asking this question, as she explains in lines 5-6, is to determine whether a teacher using this specific approach, which she herself has used when past students have disclosed their pregnancy status, would get her into legal trouble (line 5) if the bill were to become law and teachers were required to share this information with parents. The sponsor of HB 2161 responds to Udall's question with uncertainty, indicating that he could not provide an answer to that specific question, which prompts Udall to urge him to carefully consider this particular scenario. Excerpts 16 and 17, taken together, indicate that Republican lawmakers use constructed speech animations of children to voice immediate concerns about a child generally disclosing private information to a teacher (John's question in excerpt 1) or the specific scenario of a teenager sharing their pregnancy status (Udall's question in excerpt 2). These initial uncertainties, grounded as they are in real-life concerns about children's agency in deciding who to disclose information to, are eventually dismissed by both Republican lawmakers, who ultimately vote 'yes' on HB 2161.

Excerpt 18 comes from comments shared by HB 2161 sponsor Kaiser during the House Republican Caucus meeting that followed the House Education Committee hearing (described above for excerpts 1 and 2) and in response to a question about the nature of Democratic lawmakers' concerns.

Excerpt 18. Kaiser (Republican / sponsor, for HB 2161, House Republican Caucus, 11:32-12:16)
1   I think a lot of it centered around um uh <u>fear of uh treatment for trans children uh not being</u>
2   <u>comfortable sharing um um their feelings with their parents, being more comfortable</u>
3   <u>sharing it with the teacher</u>, and uh things that could happen if they shared it with parents
4   ((background: what?)). <u>I countered that with uh duty to report still there, so if abuse does</u>
5   <u>happen. But I ultimately came back to we need to strengthen the relationship with the</u>

```
6  parent and the student, and it's actually a great
   opportunity to strengthen the relationship
7  between the parent and the teacher if the teacher talks
   to the parent. And so avoiding that
8  relationship is really, it was kinda striking, a little
   bit scary to me.
```

In lines 1-3, Kaiser summarizes (and simplifies) Democrats' concerns as having to do with their fear about trans children "not being comfortable sharing um um their feelings with their parents, being more comfortable sharing it with the teacher." There are two speaking subjects invoked simultaneously in the reported speech frame Kaiser creates: the Democratic lawmakers who shared these concerns, and the trans children they were speaking on behalf of. After an incredulous "what?" by an off-camera lawmaker (line 4), Kaiser goes on to use reported speech in lines 4-6 to describe how he countered Democrats' concerns by emphasizing that a duty to report (in cases of child abuse) still exists and that the bill helps to "strengthen the relationship" between the parent and the child. Kaiser ends by stating that the bill has a second effect of strengthening the relationship between the teacher and parent, and that "avoiding that relationship" is something he regards as "scary" (lines 7-8). In short, Kaiser uses reported speech of several speakers: trans children wishing to share information about themselves with a teacher but not with parents, Democratic lawmakers voicing concern on behalf of imagined trans children during the House Education Committee hearing, and Kaiser himself who had to respond to these concerns of Democratic lawmakers. As recent educational policy work by Chris Mayo (2021) has shown, conservative advocates have effectively used parental rights debates as a cover for advancing transphobic policies and practices. Here, Kaiser's strategic use of reported speech functions similarly, by briefly mentioning the harm HB 2161 poses for trans children before strategically focusing his Republican colleagues' attention on what Kaiser believes to be the true motivation of the bill (signaled by his use of the adverb "ultimately" in line 5): strengthening the relationship

between parents and students (line 6) and parents and teachers (line 7). He ends with an affective

statement about how avoiding these relationships is "a little bit scary" (line 8).

Like the Republicans in excerpts 16-18, Democratic lawmakers in excerpts 19-21 produce

constructed speech animations when considering how children, including LGBTQ+ children,

would be affected by HB 2161. All three questions in excerpts 19-21 were directed toward Kaiser,

the bill sponsor, during three different committee hearings.

Excerpt 19. Schwiebert (Democratic, against HB 2161, House Education, 48:08-48:41)
```
1  So if the child said, "I'm really afraid to tell my mom
   or to tell my dad," um what if the-
2  ((pause)) I- I would expect that the teacher might give-
   you know, I mean- considering the
3  circumstances, um say- maybe call the parent and say, "I
   know your child is struggling
4  right now," but not- but withhold the information or the
   details about that and suggest that
5  you talk to that person.
```

Excerpt 20. Bolding (Democratic, against HB 2161, House Cmte. of the Whole, 50:55-55:11)
```
1  So, based on- based on your closing comments and the
   explanation that you gave- so is it
2  still true that if a teacher is having a conversation with
   a student and they reveal that they
3  are LGBTQ+, your intent is for that teacher to out that
   student to their parents?
```

Excerpt 21. Gonzales (Democratic, against HB 2161, Senate Education, 1:33:42-1:34:17)
```
1  I have grandkids that are teenagers and- and- and high
   school students and they might be
2  doing- working on- on a project for school, a report, and
   they go to library without their
3  parents, um and they are asking um the librarian for- for
   where can they find this
4  information for their report. And- and- and the librarian
   does her job, and- and directs them
5  to the area and a um possibly a certain book, um and they
   would not know they would be
6  violating-
```

In excerpt 19, which preceded John's and Udall's questions during the House Education Committee hearing (excerpts 16 and 17 respectively), Schwiebert imagines a scenario in which a child shares information with a teacher that they are afraid to tell a parent (line 1), which might motivate a teacher to call the parent and encourage them to speak with their struggling child without providing specific details (lines 3-4). At numerous points during the deliberation on these bills, Schwiebert, who like Udall is an educator, uses her teaching experience as motivation for her line of questioning in opposition to HB 2161. In excerpt 20, delivered when the entire Arizona House of Representatives held final deliberations about HB 2161 and voted as a chamber, Bolding, after hearing closing comments by Kaiser, asks whether it is still true "that if a teacher is having a conversation with a student and they reveal that they are LGBTQ+, your intent is for that teacher to out that student to their parents?" (lines 2-3). Bolding uses constructed speech to invoke a potential scenario in which a child engages in the performative speech act of coming out (Chirrey 2003) as LGBTQ+ to a teacher. The original (proposed) text of HB 2161 stated that parents would have a right to a child's educational records, including information about "the student's purported gender identity or requested transition if the student's purported gender identity or expression is incongruous with the student's biological sex" (Arizona State Legislature, House of Representatives, n.d.). This language, which targets transgender students without specifically naming them, was ultimately removed in the process of amending the bill, as Kaiser notes in his response to Bolding. Nonetheless, Bolding's question is a reminder of early anti-trans motivations for HB 2161. Finally, in excerpt 21 from the Senate Education Committee hearing (which followed the House Committee of the Whole discussion and vote, excerpt 5), Gonzales uses reported speech when describing a scenario in which a teenager may go to a city library without their parents (line

2) and ask the librarian "where can they find this information for their [school] report" (lines 3-4). Gonzales' concern, as she states in lines 4-6, is whether the librarian, a state or city employee, would be in violation of this proposed law by directing students to resources that their parents may disagree with ideologically.

Gonzales' question touches on the role of state officials in relation to childhood, which I address next. For now, I wish to point out that constructed speech animations of children emerged in comments by Republican lawmakers, who would eventually support HB 2161, as well as in comments by Democratic lawmakers, who would oppose the bill, albeit with subtle differences. Key here are lawmakers' negotiations of children's agency (or lack thereof) in deciding who to share personal information about themselves with, and whether all forms of information children share privately with teachers, including a child's LGBTQ+ status, would have to be passed along to parents if the bill were to become law. In excerpts 16-18, Republicans invoked general and specific scenarios of disclosure, including the scenario in which a teenager reveals their pregnancy status. But what ultimately prevails is Republicans' commitment to parents' right to access information about their minor children (Kaiser's comments in excerpt 18), contrasted with children's agency in deciding which adults to reveal information about themselves to. Democratic lawmakers (excerpts 19-21) use constructed speech animations of children when considered the disclosure of information to teachers, voicing specific concerns about children's LGBTQ+ status and the bill's original requirement that teachers out trans students to their parents. Democrats maintain that some kinds of information need not be revealed to parents against a child's will, allowing children limited agency in determining who to share information with.

5.5 Constructed speech, children, and the state

I now consider two additional instances of constructed speech as they relate to lawmakers' understandings of the role of the state in ensuring the wellbeing of children. The first comment (excerpt 22) was delivered by Democratic lawmaker Quezada during the Senate Committee of the Whole discussion of HB 2161, as an explanation of his 'no' vote. Outside of his work in the legislature, Quezada is a practicing attorney.

Excerpt 22. Quezada (Democratic, against HB 2161, Senate Cmte. of the Whole, 29:55-33:45)

```
1   […] And two, kids don't belong to schools, kids do belong
    to parents, nobody disagrees
2   with that. But schools do act in loco parentis. Schools
    do own a responsibility to keep
3   kids safe, schools do own a responsibility to provide
    quality public education to those
4   kids, and schools do own a responsibility to do what's
    best for those kids when they are in
5   their care. […] These are trusted uh uh employees of
    school district, and that trust is built
6   because the kids feel comfortable coming and speaking to
    these uh uh employees.
7   Sometimes the issue is something as simple as, "I want
    to find a book about evolution in
8   the library. Which book should I get?" And- and the
    library can point them in a direction,
9   or say, "you should Google this" or "you should look this
    up." Some- sometimes it's
10  something more- more than that. Uh but whatever that is,
    if that librarian is now doubting
11  whether whatever they tell that child is going to subject
    them to a civil lawsuit, they are
12  less likely to give that advice, to have that interaction
    with the student. That hurts the
13  employee, that hurts the student, it hurts their
    classmates, that hurts everybody when we
14  stop having that level of trust. […]
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Quezada begins his comment in line 1 as a continuation of his two-part critique of the basic issues that HB 2161 purports to solve. He asserts in lines 1-2 that kids do not belong to schools but do belong to parents, invoking the legal doctrine of *in loco parentis* in lines 2-5 with "schools do own a responsibility to keep kids safe, schools do own a responsibility to provide quality public education to those kids, and schools do own a responsibility to do what's best for those kids when they are in their care." Quezada uses reported speech in lines 2-5 to summarize the key tenets of *in loco parentis*, a doctrine in education law that grants public school officials the guardianship qualities of a parent in that parent's absence (Stuart 2010). Later in his comment (beginning in line 5), Quezada shifts to the limitations HB 2161 would place on school district employees who must interact with children in the course of the normal duties of their jobs (reminiscent of Gonzales' comment in excerpt 6). Whether the issue is small, like asking for a library book about evolution (constructed dialogue in lines 7-9) or "something more- more than that" (line 10), Quezada is concerned that HB 2161 would cause school officials to avoid interacting with school children (line 12) out of fear of a civil lawsuit by parents (line 11). Quezada argues that everyone, including children, would be hurt in the scenario "when we stop having that level of trust" between parents and schools (line 14).

A final example comes from comments delivered by Republican lawmaker Pace during the Senate Education Committee hearing for a different bill, HB 2495, which sought to ban sexually explicit materials in K-12 schools. The Republican sponsor of HB 2495 argued that the bill was necessary, despite existing anti-child pornography laws in Arizona's criminal code.[10] As with the original text of HB 2161, which discriminated against transgender children, HB 2495 originally

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[10] Arizona Revised Statues, 13-3553, relating to sexual exploitation of a minor; evidence; classification (https://www.azleg.gov/ars/13/03553.htm).

sought to remove any materials that referenced 'homosexuality' (Arizona State Legislature, House of Representatives, n.d.), harkening back to Arizona's 'no promo homo' law that, before its repeal in 2019, had since 1991 prevented Arizona teachers from discussing LGBTQ+ issues in the context of HIV/AIDS education and was often misinterpreted to prevent the sharing of any information about LGBTQ+ people in school (Kaur, 2019). What I wish to focus on in excerpt 23 is Pace's fluid shifting between constructed speech animations as he summarizes the deliberation process on HB 2495 while explaining his 'yes' vote.

Excerpt 23. Pace (Republican, for HB 2495, Senate Education, 2:46:09-2:48:24)

```
1   I went out and purchased all the books ((pause)) when
    this bill came up- a version of this-
2   this kind of stuff came up, and they said, "these are the
    versions that are available at these
3   schools," and so I went out and purchased them ((pause))
    to see what's actually in them.
4   But something kinda unique happened, my wife opened the
    Amazon packages. ((pause,
5   laughter)). Uh yeah, that's an awkward conversation.
    ((laughter)) Yeah, let me tell you, I
6   hope none of you have to have that conversation with your
    spouse. Um when these ma-
7   this material which has been given to fourth graders
    arrived at my house, uh my marriage
8   got in trouble um when I have a third grader at home, I
    should have just given 'em to him.
9   That would have been totally fine. Um you know, the
    comments that we hear that, "I've
10  never seen these" or "this is an isolated event," they're
    not as isolated as we'd like to
11  hope. It's also- um it's not teachers, it's the school
    districts, it's the administrators who
12  are requiring these. Um it goes much more beyond a single
    teacher who says, "hey, you
13  wanna read this?" Uh yes, of course, if a single teacher
    pulled out a piece of explicit
14  material and showed it to a minor, we have a process for
    that. But when an administrator
15  says, "you're going to use this as instructional material
    for all of your minors," that's a
16  completely different story. Um the last thing I'll say
    is, of course, no bill that comes
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17  through these chambers is without improvement, I'll be
    the first one to say that. But we
18  can't sit here as a committee and say, "man, I wish I saw
    something better." Each one of
19  us has an opportunity to change every single bill, and
    to sit down with sponsors and
20  stakeholders and address the issues. The- the sponsor of
    this bill already said that a- a
21  member in his chamber came to him and said, "there's some
    issues I see with this bill. I- I
22  understand  the  concept,  but  I  want  to  see  some
    improvements." And guess what, those
23  improvements happened in the House, and we can do those
    here. So those who vote no
24  because this goes too far or not enough, take the time,
    meet with the sponsor, say, "these
25  are the things I'd like to see." And perhaps we can get
    even better legislation. And with
26  that, I vote aye.
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Not unlike the Mexicano narrator Don Gabriel in Jane Hill's (1995) classic work on voicing, Pace uses constructed speech to animate no fewer than seven voices as he discusses HB 2495. He constructs the bill sponsors in lines 2-3, who initially motivated him to buy the materials in question so he could review them himself. Later, in lines 9-10, he constructs the speech of Democratic lawmakers who expressed disbelief in response to (unsubstantiated) Republican claims about the widespread existence of sexually-explicit materials in Arizona's schools. In lines 12-13, Pace constructs the speech of a single educator, whose sharing of sexually-explicit materials with a student would subject them to Arizona's criminal code, before asserting the need for HB 2495 to prevent an administrator who says to their teachers, "you're going to use this as instructional material for all of your minors" (line 15). Pace then constructs the speech or inner thought of his Democratic colleagues, who he believes may be thinking about HB 2495, "man, I wish I saw something better" (line 18), before constructing the speech of a specific Democratic colleague in the House of Representatives, who in an earlier hearing voiced concerns about the

word "homosexuality" in the proposed version of the bill (lines 21-22), leading to an amendment. Pace concludes by encouraging his Democratic colleagues to take time to meet with bill sponsors, express their views ("these are the things I'd like to see" in lines 24-25), in order to produce "even better legislation" (line 25). In short, Pace oscillates between everyday voices of teachers and administrators – in imagined dialogue with school children and each other – and institutional voices of the state (bill sponsors, opposing lawmakers, and committee members), whose collaborative endeavors could result in good legislation, like HB 2495, that, according to Pace, prohibits bad actors from harming Arizona's children.

5.6 Constructed speech, authorization, and legitimation

Focusing on lawmakers' constructed speech animations of children reveals that concerns with children's right to choose which adults to disclose personal information to, including information about their sexuality or gender, is relegated beneath the concern with parents' access to information about their minor children. Children's lack of agency within Arizona's legal system, supported by the doctrine of *in loco parentis* (excerpt 22), holds them in a state of far-reaching dependence on the adults in their lives, whether parents, teachers, or state actors working on their behalf. As Pace's comments in excerpt 23 indicate, the Arizona legislature plays an important role in protecting the wellbeing of children, not only in from seeing sexually-explicit materials in K-12 schools, but also in all legislative decisions might affect them and could be achieved through collaborative endeavors. Lawmakers' use of constructed speech animations of children discursively authorize (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) children as individuals who, notwithstanding their own agency and concerns with privacy, ultimately have *no* access to information that *cannot* be

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shared with a parent or legal guardian. Constructed speech grounds lawmakers' comments in imagined and familiar experiences of everyday interaction between children and educators, which lawmakers use to legitimate (Fairclough & Fairlcough, 2012) their decisions to vote for these bills, in the case of Republicans, or against these bills, in the case of Democrats.

Returning to the issue of power and sexuality in daily life, legislative discourse is yet another domain in which abstract ideologies of childhood – as a time of innocence, immaturity, and dependence – configure decision-making that has effects on real children. It became clear in the course of deliberations about HB 2161 and HB 2495 that these Republican-backed bills were not motivated by political neutrality or state concerns with children's protection. The original texts of both bills included specific anti-LGBTQ+ language that was meant to target queer and trans children by eliminating their access to privacy in educational settings and by removing any materials that referenced 'homosexuality' under the auspices of concern with child pornography. Democratic lawmakers discovered this language in reviewing the text of these bills and worked with Republican sponsors to remove it. In January 2022, prior to the start of the legislative session in Arizona, the Trevor Project, which does research about the experiences of LGBTQ+ youth, published the results of a survey indicating that three-quarters of LGBTQ+ youth respondents were following news about issues that impact transgender people and that three in five LGBTQ+ youth reported feeling scared about the future (The Trevor Project, 2022). We should only expect attitudes and associated health outcomes to have worsened as a result of policy shifts in the last year. On a more hopeful note, members of the public – including LGBTQ+ youth – and community organizations play a vitally important role in tracking anti-LGBTQ+ bills, testifying about their harm, telling their stories to lawmakers, and ensuring that discriminatory proposals do not reach the governor's desk to get signed into law. Future work on language and sexuality (and gender)

should consider the role of the queer and trans publics in LGBTQ+ public policy. My analysis does, however, offer perspective on how lawmakers use language to authorize particular identities of (queer and trans) children and, in so doing, legitimate their decisions. My hope is that CSS and LLL work might continue to challenge naturalized ideologies of childhood that exclude queer and trans children, as we move toward more just, equitable, and realistic understandings of language and sexuality in public life.

6.0 Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated the relationship among language, gender/sexuality, and childhood based on three years of digital and sociolinguistic ethnography with four chapters of the national youth-serving nonprofit organization, GLSEN. While the stories that emerge from students, educators, parents, and community members in Arizona, New York, Tennessee, and Washington (and elsewhere, in the case of LGBTQ+ youth involved with the GLSEN GSA Study) reflect the locales in which they were told, they all speak to the difficult but vital work of ensuring K-12 schools are safe and affirming spaces for LGBTQ+ students. As a queer sociocultural linguist, my focus has been on patterns related to constructed speech, or quoted and reported speech, in the course of narrative. The narratives told by GLSEN storytellers relate to their own individual experiences and their experiences navigating various institutions (the school, the workplace, and the community nonprofit organization). My embeddedness within the organization and my experience coordinating a queer oral history project, or StoryBank, also allowed me to begin assisting GLSEN Arizona with policy and public advocacy efforts.

In the following sections, I review key findings about constructed speech and narrative (6.1) before addressing LGBTQ+ childhoods, language practices, and ideologies (6.2). I then summarize my own ethnographic insights (6.3) before revisiting and 'remapping' Eckert's (2000) notions of the heterosexual market and developmental imperative, in light of my own analysis and thinking about stylistic variation and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) (6.4).

6.1 Key findings about constructed speech and narrative

My approach to this work was primarily qualitative and discourse analytic and secondarily quantitative and variationist. My analysis focuses on constructed speech or instances of quoted speech and reported speech, which emerge frequently in the everyday narratives of personal experience (Ochs & Capps, 2001) told by LGBTQ+ youth and adults involved with GLSEN, but also in comments made by Arizona lawmakers as they discuss two anti-queer bills during the 2022 legislative session. My theoretical chapter (chapter 2) explored scholarly figurations of childhood in the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and queer / trans childhood studies and contrasted two perspectives on childhood. One (more traditional) perspective is a developmentalist (or, within linguistics, acquisitionist) perspective, in which children's language is seen primarily in terms of stages of development toward adult-like targets or norms. Within this perspective, LGBTQ+ childhoods have rarely been considered in work on language and childhood. A second perspective, and the one that I adopt throughout my dissertation, is an ideological view of childhood, for which development is one of several constituent, ahistoricized, and naturalized beliefs about childhood. It is with 'ideologies of childhood' in mind that we might find new alliances between the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and childhood studies in considering the relationship between language, gender/sexuality, and childhood, particularly as this relationship relates to LGBTQ+ childhoods.

My first analysis chapter (chapter 3) considered broad discursive and acoustic patterns of constructed speech in 19 StoryBank interviews with LGBTQ+ adults as they narrate events from their childhoods, their school experiences as students, and their experiences working with the organization. I identify a range of formal or structural patterns, discursively and acoustically, that characterize constructed speech in narrative, in line with prior scholarship (Tagliamonte &

D'Arcy, 2007; Mohammad & Vasquez, 2015). I also explore a key function or purpose of constructed speech in narrative, which is that it allows speakers to engage in embedded or multidimensional forms of stancetaking as negotiate nuanced positions on discursive objects or topics with respect to an interlocutor, whether real or imagined (i.e., constructed). Shifts into constructed speech in narrative allow storytellers to incorporate the voices of others from their lives into their narrative practices, as they navigate key dimensions of an unfolding narrative (Ochs & Capps, 2001).

My second analysis chapter (chapter 4) focuses in greater detail on intra-speaker or stylistic shifts that make quoted speech more distinctive than non-quoted speech, on average, in an interview with one LGBTQ+ student leader (from a larger set of 20 student leader interviews conducted by GLSEN in 2020). Across a range of sociolinguistic variables often found to be relevant in community-level vowel shifts, a single speaker, Ayb, manipulates vowel position (fronting /u/ and raising /æ/), raises pitch, and uses quote-initial discourse makers to make his quoted speech more distinctive than his non-quoted speech. The acoustic distinctiveness of Ayb's quoted speech both coincides with and seems to be motivated by his use of narrative affect, in which he constructs not only the speech of quoted figures but also their emotionality. Thus, constructed speech displays figural indexicality: it indexes (Silverstein, 2003; Sharma, 2021) or semiotically points to the speaking and affective figures in narrative, as materialized from Ayb's real world experiences with his Gay Straight Alliance (GSA). Similar moments of acoustic distinctiveness, narrative affect, and figural indexicality are found in interviews with other LGBTQ+ youth.

My third analysis chapter (chapter 5) explores how Arizona lawmakers, in more than seven hours of legislative hearings, use constructed speech animations of children to ground questions

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and comments in their imaginings about everyday interactions between adults and children as they construct arguments to support their positions with respect to two anti-queer bills in the 2022 legislative session. Lawmakers on both sides of these bills similarly make strategic use of constructed speech animations of children in deciding the limits of children's agency and their right to privacy, in relation to a bill that would expand parents' access to minor children's medical and educational records. Constructed speech also emerges as lawmakers discuss the relationship between children and the state, and the role of the state in protecting children from viewing sexually explicit materials in the case of a second bill. In the context of this legislative discourse, constructed speech animations authorize (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) a view of childhood as de-agentivized and in need of vigilant surveillance by state actors while also legitimating (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) lawmakers' arguments about particular bills. These policy debates occur against the backdrop of a wave of anti-LGBTQ+ bills around the country and have the effect of obscuring real issues facing educators and students, including LGBTQ+ students, in K-12 settings. The debates also further reify LGBTQ+ people (including children, and especially trans children) as a political 'boogeyman' as politicians and community members clash over a range of issues. Sadly, there are dire consequences for LGBTQ+ children and youth being pulled into these debates, related to academic achievement (Kosciw et al., 2020) and health and wellbeing (The Trevor Project, 2022).

6.2 Key findings about LGBTQ+ childhoods, language practices, and ideologies

In many ways, and likely because of my disciplinary positionality in sociolinguistics, my analysis is perhaps most directly about language practices (or 'constructed language practices'), and only indirectly about LGBTQ+ childhoods and ideologies. I imagine this work would look very different if I were operating more centrally from the fields of linguistic anthropology or childhood studies. Still, I view LGBTQ+ childhoods – both as they currently exist for youth storytellers and as they existed in the past for adult storytellers – and broader beliefs about childhood (such as those that emerge in comments by state lawmakers) as the sociocultural fabric of my scholarly work and my community-engaged work with GLSEN. Excerpts 24 to 27, which are some of my favorites from the GLSEN youth and adult interviews, convey important perspectives on LGBTQ+ childhoods.

Excerpt 24: Glow up
Taw: Thank you. Hopefully the next school climate survey about my area, it'll be like, "We totally had a glow up," you know? ((laughter))

Excerpt 25: Trinkets
Za: Yeah. Um, I- I have uh like a few trinkets, pride trinkets that I keep in the back of a drawer.

Excerpt 26: Happy Pride!
Nu: But towards the end of the school year, they did come to me and- and said uh- and this was during June. And they said uh, "Mr. Nu, I just wanted to thank you for having such great books in the library." And he looked around, made sure no one was looking, and he raised his hand and a fist and said, "Happy Pride!" And that- that- it warmed my heart, it really did.

Excerpt 27: We all work tirelessly
Yev: Whether as a board member uh kind of just a chapter leader, volunteer or any of our educators who are on our email list or students and families and things like that, I- we're

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all- I think we all work tirelessly to try to make this state
a more inclusive place for LGBTQ+ students.
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Each excerpt conveys hope, persistence, and celebration of queer and trans life in different ways. In Excerpt 24, Taw (they/them), who is a white transgender straight 12th grader, expresses hope at the very end of their GLSEN interview that, based on the information they and other students provide in the course of research studies like GLSEN's, their school and community might have a 'glow up' in the future. In Excerpt 25, Za (they/them), a multiracial nonbinary 10th grader who is not out to their parents or at school, reflects on the significance of having ways to participate in GSA as a closeted student. Even though they are not comfortable attending their city's Pride festival with other GSA members, they have made and collected pride trinkets, which they keep safe in the back of their desk drawer. Excerpt 26, which occurred during an interview with a high school librarian, Nu (he/him), who had recently been involved in a heated book challenge to an LGBTQ+ young adult novel at his school, conveys the importance of having materials about queer and trans people in school libraries. Nu shares that a student came up to him one June and thanked him for "having such great books in the library" before wishing him "Happy Pride." Excerpt 27, shared by a chapter leader, Yev (he/him), from Tennessee, acknowledges the diversity of community member roles from across the GLSEN network, who all "work tirelessly to try to make this state a more inclusive place for LGBTQ+ students."

These excerpts acknowledge the dual reality for many LGBTQ+ children, who may feel pressure to keep their identities hidden while working to understand these identities, but who at the same time may be able to identify sources of information and support in their schools and communities. In Excerpts 24 and 26, constructed speech is part of how narrators describe their life experiences or explain their positions. Many other findings about LGBTQ+ childhoods emerge across the interviews. Adult storytellers often recall positive school experiences, even if their

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school did not have a GSA or other visible markers of support for LGBTQ+ students, such as a GLSEN 'Safe Space Sticker' on classroom doors. Many adult storytellers do not remember school policies specific to LGBQ+ students (such as enumerated non-discrimination policies, name change policies for trans students, or sports participation policies for trans student-athletes), even though many youth storytellers are now attuned to policy-related issues and navigate them daily. Many adult storytellers' 'favorite school adults' were English teachers and history teachers, and many reported being involved with music (whether band or choir) or theater in high school. Often, queer and trans adult storytellers recalled being less outgoing and more introverted as children, even though some (like Pyur from Excerpt 8) are quick to challenge notions of introversion and extroversion as highly context dependent, subjective, and ultimately 'in the eye of the beholder'. Youth and adult storytellers speak to a number of differences between public schools (which are often larger, more established within communities, and where it's easier for a queer or trans student to be 'anonymous'), private schools (when tend to be small, may have sex/gender-segregated education, and where 'everyone knows everyone's business'), and charter schools (which are historically smaller but growing in areas like Arizona, are often newer within the community, and share features of both public and private schools). Adult storytellers report many things that their GLSEN chapter does well, including teacher trainings, GSA support, policy work, and helping schools establish inclusive curricula. Youth storytellers are generally happy with their GSAs, which (like all student organizations) navigate intra-club 'drama' among members, but unlike other student organizations must often withstand forms of heightened scrutiny and pushback from administrators and parents. Racially diverse GSAs, regardless of school demographics, and majority white GSAs that exist within racially diverse schools tend to engage in more and more varied supports for LGBTQ+ students of color (in comparison to majority white GSAs within

majority white schools). In terms of gender, GSAs with mixed membership or majority transgender / nonbinary / genderqueer memberships tend to engage in more and more varied supports for transgender, nonbinary, and genderqueer students (compared to majority cisgender GSAs). Adult storytellers report that their GLSEN chapters have changed substantially in recent years, both in terms of internal changes (changes to boards of directors, changes to staff consultants and volunteers) and in terms of external or community reach (increased visibility, the continued development of a local presence, identity, or 'brand'). Adult storytellers, particularly those who are chapter leaders, are quick to list all the things that could be improved in their chapter's efforts, just as youth leaders are quick to list things that could be improved about their GSA.

6.3 Ethnographic insights

In the course of completing this work, I found myself regularly writing down my thoughts and feelings after interviews, GLSEN meetings, and policy trainings. These very rough 'ethnographic musings' now amass digital pages upon pages. I briefly include a few key ethnographic insights here.

First, this work has taught me about the raw emotionality of narrative and storytelling. In speaking with scholars and community members who do storytelling work professionally (whether as storytellers themselves or people who, like me, are more like 'story hoarders' and 'story assemblers' than tellers), I have come to realize that emotionality is a more shared phenomenon. It is particularly acute for me in this project, perhaps, given how close the topic of LGBTQ+ language and childhood is to my own life as queer person, and given how volatile the sociocultural climate around LGBTQ+ issues has become in recent years. Emotions often percolated in the

background for me as I had meetings, led trainings, or did interviews – manageable, but 'threatening' to erupt at any moment. I realized that, even though I was working with GLSEN chapter leaders on the StoryBank and policy projects and my committee members on my sociolinguistic interpretations, I was much closer to the interviews and interviewees than anyone else involved with the project. I facilitated their sharing, through initial conversations with interested community members in the project and through the carefully constructed questions I would ask during each interview. I received them from each storyteller in the moment-to-moment unfolding of their narrative as it emerged, requiring me to both record my own notes about what they were saying while also being intellectually and emotionally responsive to what they had shared. I worked for long periods of time with the interviews once they were recorded, in creating spotlights and other materials for GLSEN and in formatting them in ways that I could use them for my research. The stories LGBTQ+ people shared with me felt like gifts, but they also felt like kryptonite (*Superman* fans will have to forgive me, as I twist lore to make this metaphor work): they were powerful and manageable in small doses, but if I allowed myself to get too close to them (as I often did) they could hurt me.

Second, over the past three years there have been numerous changes to GLSEN and changes to the world in terms of LGBTQ+ issues. After a difficult legislative session in 2022 with GLSEN Arizona, the mid-term elections brought hope through the election of a new state governor who pledged to support LGBTQ+ people and veto any discriminatory bill that made its way to her desk. In each of the GLSEN chapters I worked with, board members stepped down (some of them longtime board members, who had founded chapters or been involved in the education of and advocacy around LGBTQ+ students for decades). At the national level, GLSEN hired a new executive director and reconfigured its organizational structure and many of its programs. During

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this time, at GLSEN and at the University of Pittsburgh, we all lived through COVID and the vast changes brought about during and 'after' the pandemic.

Third, my work with GLSEN has allowed me to reflect on the nature of community-engaged scholarship and sociolinguistics for social good. In some ways, my training in sociolinguistics prepared me for the work of coordinating the GLSEN StoryBank project for four local chapters and assisting GLSEN Arizona with its public policy and advocacy work. The more 'methodological' aspects of my training were especially helpful, related to how to design and implement projects (including research projects), how to design interview questions, how to conduct interviews, how to transcribe interviews (and generally work with audio and video recordings), and how to summarize and communicate results. However, on more occasions than I can recall, when I would explain my interest in language or sociolinguistics or constructed speech to GLSEN board members, volunteers, or other community members, my impression is that they would nod and smile out of support for me (particularly if I did a good job of explaining the concepts to them), but they would also wonder what relevance these concepts had in their lives or in their work. To do the work that GLSEN needed me to do, I often had to put aside what I knew (or what I thought I knew) about language, based on my training in linguistics, and embrace other ways of knowing, thinking about, or understanding language. An example of this (which I am still grappling with) is how lawmakers, activists, and journalists in Arizona strategically respond to language-based attacks against trans children. I remember being brought to tears by a supportive op-ed in an Arizona news outlet for a 2023 bill that, if passed, would make it illegal for public school teachers to affirm students' genders through the use of pronouns that differ from the pronoun that aligns with the sex / gender a child was assigned at birth (a so-called 'pronoun ban' in schools). The sociolinguist in me felt compelled to dismantle the pseudo-linguistic arguments

put forth in the article claim by claim, something I would do systematically and through the incorporation of research. When I suggested this to community activists, they advised against it. Our collective strategy, which had been tried and true in many situations, was to use personal stories (particularly the stories of trans children themselves and their supportive parents) instead of getting 'stuck in the weeds' (my term) over pronouns. There were larger and more important battles for us to fight, they assured me. This encounter and so many others from the past few years impressed upon me the fact that efforts bridging 'scholarly' and 'community' work are best accomplished when they are critical, reflexive, and nimble collaborations that are also adaptive to local conditions and needs.

6.4 Remapping the heterosexual market and developmental imperative

In light of my analysis, I now revisit Eckert's notions of the heterosexual market and the developmental imperative (first introduced in chapter 2) with an eye toward 'remapping'. I propose two changes: a reconfiguration of terms ('heterosexual' and 'market' and 'developmental' and 'imperative') and an integration of the sociolinguistic as a site of community-level variation in narrative and storytelling (per Bakhtin's [1981] work on heteroglossia). First, the narratives of LGBTQ+ youth and adults involved with GLSEN suggest that queer and trans people do not simply exist within a 'heterosexual' market, including in predominantly queer and trans spaces like the high school GSA or the community nonprofit organization. Rather, their social practices, including their linguistic practices, are configured with an even broader ***normative market*** that affords greater social value to some practices, regarded locally as 'normative', and less social value to other 'non-normative' practices. Furthermore, and building on the insights of childhood studies

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and linguistic anthropology, 'development' is not the only imperative faced by children, who must navigate multiple ideological imperatives simultaneously: a developmental imperative, yes, but also a ***heterosexual imperative*** that places normative pressure on them to be or become straight and a ***cisgender imperative*** that places normative pressure on them to be or become cisgender. These are just three imperatives that emerge most saliently in my work with GLSEN, but there are certainly others related to social orders like race, disability, and class. In the face of these normative imperatives, speakers find ways of asserting agency and self-determination on the way toward empowerment, independence, community, and joy.

Second, sociolinguistic practices and ideologies of language and personhood get negotiated at more than just the community level (or community of practice level) – they also get negotiated at the level of individual speakers or ***sociolinguistic individuals*** (following Johnstone [1996]), as observable in storytelling practices and recorded narratives. A sociolinguistic focus on the individual, and the ways in which intra-speaker stylistic shifts may incorporate community-relevant variation as narrators animate, voice, or index various speaking figures from their lives, might allow for new directions in our thinking about language, gender/sexuality, and childhood or age.

Appendix A.1 StoryBank Interview Questions

A. Pre-interview script CHAPTER

I want to begin by thanking you for agreeing to tell me your story today. Before we begin the interview itself, I need to read some instructions and other information to you. Do I have your permission to begin the Zoom recording now?

<<Begin Zoom recording>>

Today's date is [[MONTH DAY YEAR]] and the time is [[TIME]]. My name is [[INTERVIEWER NAME]] and I am interviewing [[STORYTELLER NAME OR PSEUDONYM]] over Zoom for the GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] StoryBank project. This is recording number [[RECORDING #]].

The interview you provide today is being recorded as part of the GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] StoryBank project. As you may know, GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] is the local chapter of GLSEN, a national education organization that works to ensure that LGBTQ students are able to learn and grow in K-12 school environments that are safe, affirming, and inclusive. The StoryBank project is designed to capture meaningful conversations between GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] and members of the community connected with our work.

First, I want to share some general information about the interview and what happens after we are done speaking today. The interview session will last between 30 minutes and 1 hour and will be recorded on Zoom. We will move through questions about your background, your experiences in school, and your experiences with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]. After the interview is complete, it will be transcribed and used to assist the chapter in understanding the life experiences of the people we work with and the impact of our work. We eventually hope to create a publicly accessible digital archive to house completed interviews and transcripts. Once this archive has been created, you will be notified by GLSEN [[CHAPTER]].

We have provided a set of guidelines to assist you in telling your story. Do you have any questions about these guidelines?

In agreeing to be a storyteller, you have completed a GLSEN Media Release Form and a StoryBank Release Form, which specifies how you consent to allowing GLSEN to use your voice, image, and/or comments in organization-approved media and communications. Do you have any questions about these forms before we get started?

This is all the background information I have to share before we get started. Do you have any other questions?

Are you still willing to participate in the interview today and tell your story?

B. Interview questions CHAPTER

In this first set of questions, I am going to ask you to provide some background information about yourself.

> 1. One of the first things we ask people at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] meetings to do is introduce themselves. A typical "about me" introduction includes information like name, pronouns, and role with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] (such as student organizer, educator, or volunteer). What would your "about me" introduction sound like? What are your identities in terms of sexual orientation, gender, race or ethnicity, ability, national origin, first language(s), or any other ways of being that are most meaningful to you?
> 2. Now, I would like you to tell me about your background. Where did you grow up? Who would you consider to be a member of your family? What was it like growing up where and when you did?
>> a. ((optional follow-up question)) Can you tell me about a time when you felt like you really belonged? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?
>> b. ((optional follow-up question)) How about a time when you felt like you really didn't belong? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?
> 3. Tell me about your childhood. What were some of your favorite things to do? Do you remember being more outgoing or more solitary as a child? Who was your best friend?
>> a. ((optional follow-up question)) Describe a childhood memory to me that was positive or negative. Why does it stand out as being so memorable?
> 4. When you were younger (in elementary school or high school), what did you imagine doing as an adult? What was your "dream job"?

Thank you for providing some background information about yourself. Next, I am going to ask you to talk about your school experiences as a student.

> 5. Where did you go to elementary, middle, and high school? Do you remember what district you were in? Did you move around a lot when you were a kid or stay in the same home and community?
> 6. ((optional follow-up question)) When you were a student, were there different groups or cliques at school? What group did you belong to? Were you happy with that group, or did you wish you belonged to a different group?

7. Tell me about your favorite school adult when you were a student – maybe a teacher, a coach, a guidance counselor, or a principal. Why were they your favorite? Did they teach you an important lesson? Do you remember anything that you learned from them?

8. Did your school have a student club for LGBTQ students, such as a GSA? What was the name of the club? Were you involved?

   a. ((optional follow-up question)) What was your impression of the role of the GSA in your school. Was it well regarded by other students and staff?

   b. ((optional follow-up question)) GSAs serve lots of different purposes. Do you remember why you decided to get involved in the first place? What made you attend your first meeting and what made you want to come back?

   c. ((optional follow-up question)) What were some of the activities your GSA participated in or sponsored, such as the Day of Silence or Pride?

   d. ((optional follow-up question)) Do you remember if the GSA was involved in any conflicts in school? Was there ever been push back from the administration?

   e. ((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about your favorite memory you have with your GSA and why it's your favorite.

   f. ((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about a person you met through your GSA experience that has greatly influenced you. Was there a resource (such as a website, a book, or a movie) that was particularly meaningful to you?

   g. ((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about a time that the GSA sponsor helped or mentored you as a club. Was it difficult retaining a GSA sponsor?

   h. ((optional follow-up question)) In hindsight, what do you think the best part of a GSA is?

   i. ((optional follow-up question)) What might school have been like if you hadn't been involved with your GSA? How might you have felt?

   j. ((optional follow-up question)) How do you see the skills you developed in the GSA making their way into your other work? Do you find yourself in leadership positions, even planning, or conflict resolution?

9. Tell me about the teachers in your school. Were they generally supportive or not supportive of LGBTQ students?

   a. ((optional follow-up question)) Do you remember any incidents that occurred between teachers or staff and LGBTQ students?

   b. ((optional follow-up question)) Do you know if the teachers in your school ever participated in professional development trainings, such as GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] trainings, about how to support safe and inclusive schools for LGBTQ students?

10. Do you know if your school had an inclusive and enumerated policies, such as non-discrimination policies, name change policies for transgender and gender-nonconforming students, and facilities/activities policies for transgender and gender-nonconforming students?

   a. ((optional follow-up question)) If so, do you know how these policies came into being? Did the school work with an organization like GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? Was the policy change primarily student-driven, teacher-driven, staff-driven, or parent-driven? Was there any resistance to the policy being changed?

b.((optional follow-up question)) If not, do you think your school would have been open to revising their existing policy in order to make it more inclusive? Would there be any resistance to the policy being changed?

c.((optional follow-up question)) In your own words, why do you feel inclusive and enumerated anti-discrimination policies are important?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences in school. Next, I am going to ask you some questions specific to your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]].

11. How did you first learn about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? How did you first get involved with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? What made you want to get involved?

12. What have you done in your time with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

13. If you had to pick one important issue in [[CHAPTER]] schools that GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] should focus on addressing in the next year, what would it be? Why is addressing this issue in particular so important?

14. ((optional follow-up question)) What is the nature of your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

15. ((optional follow-up question)) If you were telling a friend about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] who didn't know anything about it, how would you describe the organization's work and impact in the community, in your own words?

16. ((optional follow-up question)) What's the most important thing for people to know about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

17. Tell me about the members of the GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] chapter: volunteers, staff consultants, or board members. What are they like to work with? How would you describe what it feels like to be part of this chapter?

18. How has GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] changed in the time that you have been involved with the chapter? Are there things the organization does better now than when you first started?

a.((optional follow-up question)) How has your role changed in the time you have been involved with the chapter?

19. Are you in touch with people in the GLSEN chapter network? How does it feel to be connected to more than 40 other chapters? Are you connected with them online?

a.((optional follow-up question)) Through your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]], do you ever work with other non-profit organizations, such as LGBTQ non-profits, in [[CHAPTER]]?

20. ((optional follow-up question)) Tell me something you learned because of your work with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]].

21. ((optional follow-up question)) What's it like to be in the room during a GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] meeting or event? What's going through your mind? How do you feel?

22. In terms of work and impact in the community, what do you think GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] does particularly well? What's one area that GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] should work to improve in the future?

23. ((optional follow-up question)) What do you think is the impression of GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] in the community? Do people know about the organization? Do people know about chapter-sponsored programs, initiatives, and events?

24. What is your favorite GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] program, initiative, or event? Why is it your favorite?

25. ((optional follow-up question)) Can you describe an "aha!" moment or turning point during your time with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] – either for yourself or for someone you've worked with, such as a teacher or student?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]. To finish, I have a few final wrap-up questions.

26. We know that safety and affirmation looks different ways to different people. What does it mean to be able to attend a safe school? What does a safe school look like, sound like, and feel like? What does an affirming school look like, sound like, and feel like? Who are the people in the hallways? What is taking place in the classrooms, during lunch, between classes, and during extracurriculars?

27. ((optional follow-up question)) The message we at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] try to get out into the world is that people deserve the opportunity to bring their whole self to school. What does it mean or look like for students to bring their whole selves to school? Do you feel you had the opportunity to bring your whole self to school? What would have to change in order for this to happen for students in the future?

28. ((optional follow-up question)) What are you most proud of in terms of your contribution to the movement to create safe schools?

29. ((optional follow-up question)) Looking to the future, how do you see your life at home, at school, or in your community changing as a result of the coronavirus pandemic or the protests for social justice and racial equity? Has there been a particular challenge of the last few months that you've learned something important from? Have there been any unexpected high points or positives?

30. Finally, is there anything else you'd like to share that you haven't had an opportunity to say yet?

Thank you so much! We are now finished with the interview. I will stop the Zoom recording.

<<End Zoom recording>>

A. Pre-interview script EDUCATORS

I want to begin by thanking you for agreeing to tell me your story today. Before we begin the interview itself, I need to read some instructions and other information to you. Do I have your permission to begin the Zoom recording now?

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This is all the background information I have to share before we get started. Do you have any other questions?

Are you still willing to participate in the interview today and tell your story?

B. Interview questions EDUCATORS

In this first set of questions, I am going to ask you to provide some background information about yourself.

1.One of the first things we ask people at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] meetings to do is introduce themselves. A typical "about me" introduction includes information like name, pronouns, and role with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] (such as student organizer, educator, or volunteer). What would your "about me" introduction sound like? What are your identities in terms of sexual orientation, gender, race or ethnicity, ability, national origin, first language(s), or any other ways of being that are most meaningful to you?

2.Now, I would like you to tell me about your background. Where did you grow up? Who would you consider to be a member of your family? What was it like growing up where and when you did?

    a.((optional follow-up question)) Can you tell me about a time when you felt like you really belonged? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?

    b.((optional follow-up question)) How about a time when you felt like you really didn't belong? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?

3.Tell me about your childhood. What were some of your favorite things to do? Do you remember being more outgoing or more solitary as a child? Who was your best friend?

    a.((optional follow-up question)) Describe a childhood memory to me that was positive or negative. Why does it stand out as being so memorable?

4.When you were younger (in elementary school or high school), what did you imagine doing as an adult? What was your "dream job"?

5.How long have you been working at your current school? And have you worked in other schools?

Thank you for providing some background information about yourself. Next, I am going to ask you to talk about your school experiences as a student.

6.Where did you go to elementary, middle, and high school? Do you remember what district you were in? Did you move around a lot when you were a kid or stay in the same home and community?

7.((optional follow-up question)) When you were a student, were there different groups or cliques at school? What group did you belong to? Were you happy with that group, or did you wish you belonged to a different group?

8.Tell me about your favorite school adult when you were a student – maybe a teacher, a coach, a guidance counselor, or a principal. Why were they your favorite? Did they teach you an important lesson? Do you remember anything that you learned from them?

Now I want you to think about your experiences in school as an educator.

9.When was the first time you heard of GSAs, or Gay-Straight Alliances (which are now more commonly called Gender-Sexuality Alliances)?

10.Does your school have a student club for LGBTQ students, such as a GSA? What is the name of the club? Are you or were you involved?

    a.((optional follow-up question)) What is your impression of the role of the GSA in your school. Is it well regarded by other staff? How about by other students?

b.((optional follow-up question)) Do you know of any activities the GSA participates in or sponsors during the academic year, such as the Day of Silence or Pride? If you've attended any of these events, what was the experience like?

c.((optional follow-up question)) Has the GSA been involved in any conflicts in school? Has there ever been push back from the administration?

11.Have you participated in professional development trainings, such as GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] trainings, about how to foster safe and affirming school environments for LGBTQ students?

a.((optional follow-up question)) If so, describe your experience as a participant in the training. What kinds of learning activities did you engage in? Did your colleagues seem supportive or resistant to the ideas being discussed? Were there any new feelings or ideas that came to you over the course of the training?

i.((optional follow-up question)) Sometimes, school or district administrators will mandate trainings after specific incidents occur at school, such as bullying, harassment, or other types of discrimination. Did your training happen because of a specific incident?

ii.((optional follow-up question)) After the training, did you feel more equipped to handle situations with LGBTQ students? Have you had the opportunity to put these new skills to the test in your interactions with students or staff?

iii.((optional follow-up question)) After the training, did you notice any changes among your staff or colleagues? Was there a culture shift toward being more supportive and inclusive of LGBTQ students? Did the training have a substantial impact on your day-to-day work, including your interactions with students? Do you think the training had a substantial impact on the day-to-day work of your colleagues?

iv.((optional follow-up question)) Would you recommend that your school either bring GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] in or bring GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] back? Who do you think might benefit from this kind of training and why?

b.((optional follow-up question)) If not, do you think a professional development training would be useful for your school? Do you think your colleagues would be supportive or resistant to strategies for supporting LGBTQ students?

i.((optional follow-up question)) Sometimes, school or district administrators will mandate trainings after specific incidents occur at school, such as bullying, harassment, or other types of discrimination. Do you know of any specific incidents involving LGBTQ students in your school?

ii.((optional follow-up question)) How do you think your school would benefit from having educators and support staff participate in a professional development training?

12.Another key area of GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]'s work is policy-based. We provide consultation about policy reform and implementation to individual schools or districts. With our help, schools have been able to develop enumerated anti-bullying policies, dress code policies, name change policies for transgender and gender non-conforming students, and access policies to facilities or extracurricular activities for transgender and

gender non-conforming students. Do you know whether your school has policies that are inclusive of LGBTQ students?

    a.((optional follow-up question)) If so, do you know how these policies came into being? Did the school work with an organization like GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] to modify existing policies? Was the policy change primarily student-driven, teacher-driven, staff-driven, or parent-driven? Was there any resistance to the policy change?

    b.((optional follow-up question)) If not, do you think your school would be open to revising their existing policies in order to make them more inclusive? Would there be any resistance to policies being changed?

    c.((optional follow-up question)) Can you tell me about a specific time when you had to learn about a student policy or use it? What necessitated this? Do you think that staff and students at your school are familiar with student policies and, for instance, reporting procedures if incidents of discrimination occur? How about parents? Is the current process effective, in your opinion?

    d.((optional follow-up question)) Have you ever attended a school board meeting around LGBTQ issues?

        i.((optional follow-up question)) If so, what was that experience like? What topics were being discussed? How did you feel during the meeting?

    e.((optional follow-up question)) Why do you feel inclusive and enumerated policies are important?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences in school. Next, I am going to ask you some questions specific to your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]].

    13.How did you first learn about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? How did you first get involved with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? What made you want to get involved?

    14.What have you done in your time with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

    15.If you had to pick one important issue in [[CHAPTER]] schools that GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] should focus on addressing in the next year, what would it be? Why is addressing this issue in particular so important?

    16.((optional follow-up question)) What is the nature of your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

    17.((optional follow-up question)) If you were telling a friend about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] who didn't know anything about it, how would you describe the organization's work and impact in the community, in your own words?

    18.((optional follow-up question)) What's the most important thing for people to know about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]. To finish, I have a few final wrap-up questions.

    19.We know that safety and affirmation looks different ways to different people. What does it mean to be able to attend a safe school? What does a safe school look like, sound like, and feel like? What does an affirming school look like, sound like, and feel

like? Who are the people in the hallways? What is taking place in the classrooms, during lunch, between classes, and during extracurriculars?

20. ((optional follow-up question)) The message we at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] try to get out into the world is that people deserve the opportunity to bring their whole self to school. What does it mean or look like for your students to bring their whole selves to school? Do you feel they currently have the opportunity to bring their whole selves to school? What would have to change in order for this to happen?

21. ((optional follow-up question)) What are you most proud of in terms of your contribution to the movement to create safe schools?

22. ((optional follow-up question)) Looking to the future, how do you see your life at home, at school, or in your community changing as a result of the coronavirus pandemic or the protests for social justice and racial equity? Has there been a particular challenge of the last few months that you've learned something important from? Have there been any unexpected high points or positives?

23. Finally, is there anything else you'd like to share that you haven't had an opportunity to say yet?

Thank you so much! We are finished with the interview. I will stop the Zoom recording.

<<End Zoom recording>>

A. Pre-interview script STUDENTS

I want to begin by thanking you for agreeing to tell me your story today. Before we begin the interview itself, I need to read some instructions and other information to you. Do I have your permission to begin the Zoom recording now?

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The interview you provide today is being recorded as part of the GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] StoryBank project. As you may know, GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] is the local chapter of GLSEN, a national education organization that works to ensure that LGBTQ students are able to learn and grow in K-12 school environments that are safe, affirming, and inclusive. The StoryBank project is designed to capture meaningful conversations between GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] and members of the community connected with our work.

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This is all the background information I have to share before we get started. Do you have any other questions?

Are you still willing to participate in the interview today and tell your story?

B. Interview questions STUDENTS

In this first set of questions, I am going to ask you to provide some background information about yourself.

1.One of the first things we ask people at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] meetings to do is introduce themselves. A typical "about me" introduction includes information like name, pronouns, and role with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] (such as student organizer, educator, or volunteer). What would your "about me" introduction sound like? What are your identities in terms of sexual orientation, gender, race or ethnicity, ability, national origin, first language(s), or any other ways of being that are most meaningful to you?
2.Now, I would like you to tell me about your background. Where did you grow up? Who would you consider to be a member of your family? What was it like growing up where and when you did?
   a.((optional follow-up question)) Can you tell me about a time when you felt like you really belonged? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?
   b.((optional follow-up question)) How about a time when you felt like you really didn't belong? Did this happen within your family or outside your family?
3.Tell me about your childhood. What were some of your favorite things to do? Do you remember being more outgoing or more solitary as a child? Who was your best friend?

a.((optional follow-up question)) Describe a childhood memory to me that was positive or negative. Why does it stand out as being so memorable?

4.When you were younger (in elementary school or high school), what did you imagine doing as an adult? What was your "dream job"?

Thank you for providing some background information about yourself. Next, I am going to ask you to talk about your school experiences as a student.

5.Where did you go to elementary, middle, and high school? Do you remember what district you were in? Did you move around a lot when you were a kid or stay in the same home and community?

6.((optional follow-up question)) Are there different groups or cliques at school? What group do you belong to? Are you happy with that group, or do you wish you belonged to a different group?

7.Tell me about your favorite school adult – maybe a teacher, a coach, a guidance counselor, or a principal. Why are they your favorite? Did they teach you an important lesson? Do you remember anything that you learned from them?

8.((optional follow-up question)) Do you have a smartphone or personal cell phone in school? How about a computer? What do you use your phone and your computer for?

9.Do you know if your school has a student club for LGBTQ students, such as a Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) (which is now more commonly called a Gender-Sexuality Alliance)? Were you or are you involved? What is the name of the club?

a.((optional follow-up question)) GSAs serve lots of different purposes. Do you remember why you decided to get involved in the first place? What made you attend your first meeting and what made you want to come back?

b.((optional follow-up question)) What has your experience in the GSA been like? What role do you play – are you a member or an officer?

c.((optional follow-up question)) What activities do you do with the GSA? Do you participate in the Day of Silence? Do you participate in Pride? Or do you go to Pride with other friends from outside the GSA?

d.((optional follow-up question)) Have you been involved in any conflict in the school because of the GSA? Was there any pushback from the administration?

e.((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about a favorite memory you have with your GSA and why it's your favorite.

f.((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about a person you met through your GSA experience that has greatly influenced you. Was there a resource (such as a website, a book, or a movie) they shared that was particularly meaningful to you?

g.((optional follow-up question)) Tell me about a time that the GSA sponsor helped or mentored your club. Is it difficult retaining a GSA sponsor?

h.((optional follow-up question)) Do you have any connections to GSAs in other schools? Do you have connections with other types of student clubs?

i.((optional follow-up question)) Do you use social media to learn more about what a GSA could do? How about to share information, promote events, or lead virtual campaigns?

j.((optional follow-up question)) Have your GSA officers ever had the opportunity to participate in leadership development, either in school or through a community organization like GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

k.((optional follow-up question)) What do you think the best part of a GSA is?

l.((optional follow-up question)) What's the most important thing for people to know about your GSA?

m.((optional follow-up question)) What might school have been like if you hadn't been involved with your GSA? How would you have felt?

n.((optional follow-up question)) How do you see the skills you developed in the GSA making their way into your other work? Do you find yourself in leadership positions, even planning, or conflict resolution?

10. Tell me about the teachers in your school. Are they generally supportive or not supportive of LGBTQ students?

a.((optional follow-up question)) Do you remember any incidents that occurred between teachers or staff and LGBTQ students?

b.((optional follow-up question)) Do you know if the teachers in your school ever participated in professional development trainings, such as GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] trainings, about how to support safe and inclusive schools for LGBTQ students?

11. Do you know if your school has inclusive and enumerated policies, such as non-discrimination policies, name change policies for transgender and gender-nonconforming students, and facilities/activities policies for transgender and gender-nonconforming students?

a.((optional follow-up question)) If so, do you know how these policies came into being? Did the school work with an organization like GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? Was the policy change primarily student-driven, teacher-driven, staff-driven, or parent-driven? Was there any resistance to the policy being changed?

b.((optional follow-up question)) If not, do you think your school would have been open to revising their existing policy in order to make it more inclusive? Would there be any resistance to the policy being changed?

c.((optional follow-up question)) In your own words, why do you feel inclusive and enumerated anti-discrimination policies are important?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences in school. Next, I am going to ask you some questions specific to your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]].

12. How did you first learn about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? How did you first get involved with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]? What made you want to get involved?

13. What have you done in your time with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

14. If you had to pick one important issue in [[CHAPTER]] schools that GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] should focus on addressing in the next year, what would it be? Why is addressing this issue in particular so important?

15. ((optional follow-up question)) What is the nature of your involvement with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

16.((optional follow-up question)) If you were telling a friend about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] who didn't know anything about it, how would you describe the organization's work and impact in the community, in your own words?

17.((optional follow-up question)) What's the most important thing for people to know about GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]?

Thank you for telling me about your experiences with GLSEN [[CHAPTER]]. To finish, I have a few final wrap-up questions.

18.We know that safety and affirmation looks different ways to different people. What does it mean to be able to attend a safe school? What does a safe school look like, sound like, and feel like? What does an affirming school look like, sound like, and feel like? Who are the people in the hallways? What is taking place in the classrooms, during lunch, between classes, and during extracurriculars?

19.((optional follow-up question)) The message we at GLSEN [[CHAPTER]] try to get out into the world is that people deserve the opportunity to bring their whole self to school. What does it mean or look like for your students to bring their whole selves to school? Do you feel they currently have the opportunity to bring their whole selves to school? What would have to change in order for this to happen?

20.((optional follow-up question)) What are you most proud of in terms of your contribution to the movement to create safe schools?

21.((optional follow-up question)) Looking to the future, how do you see your life at home, at school, or in your community changing as a result of the coronavirus pandemic or the protests for social justice and racial equity? Has there been a particular challenge of the last few months that you've learned something important from? Have there been any unexpected high points or positives?

22.Finally, is there anything else you'd like to share that you haven't had an opportunity to say yet?

Thank you so much! We are finished with the interview. I will stop the Zoom recording.

<<End Zoom recording>>

<<CHAPTER LOGO>>

GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> StoryBank

Thank you for your interest in telling your story to GLSEN <<CHAPTER>>. GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> is a local chapter of the national education organization GLSEN, which works to ensure that all lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning (LGBTQ) students are able to learn and grow in K-12 school environments that are safe, respectful, and affirming. Non-profit organizations collect life stories from members of the communities they serve in order to better understand the impact of their work. The GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> StoryBank project is intended to record meaningful and reflective conversations between GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> and the students and educators connected with our work.

Benefits of being a GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> storyteller include:

- having a platform to share your life experiences with supporters of GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> through newsletters, social media spotlights, and other forms of communication
- providing valuable feedback about the impact of the chapter's work, which will guide programming in the future
- contributing substantially to the ongoing efforts of GLSEN <<CHAPTER>>, which supports hundreds of students and educators in dozens of K-12 schools around Phoenix

Logistics

- StoryBank participants must be adults (at least 18 years old) or youth (younger than 18) who have received parental permission to participate.
- The interview session will last between 30 minutes and 1 hour and will be recorded on Zoom.
- During your interview session, you will answer questions about your background, school experiences, and experiences with GLSEN <<CHAPTER>>.
- After the interview has been recorded, it will be digitally transcribed.
- Your interview will be part of the chapter's digital StoryBank archive.
- You may withdraw your participation in the StoryBank project at any time and upon request your recorded interview (audio and video) and transcript will be destroyed in full.

Guidelines for Storytellers

- Share as much or as little as you wish in response to each question.
- Most questions are open-ended, allowing you to answer however you wish. Occasionally, you may be asked close-ended questions in order to get specific information, sometimes as follow-up to open-ended questions.
- Try to be as detailed as possible when telling your story by addressing the 5 W's (who, what, when, where, and why).
- Try not to rush through your answers.
- Feel free to ask for clarification if a question doesn't make sense.
- Although the interview session is not therapy, many people find that telling their story is meaningful.
- You may choose to pass any question you don't feel comfortable answering, regardless of the reason. Just say, "I'd like to pass." You will not be asked to provide the reason.
- You may choose to end the interview at any point if you don't feel comfortable continuing, regardless of the reason. Just say, "I'd like to end the interview." You will not be asked to provide the reason.
- If you say something that you ultimately don't want included in your interview, tell the GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> StoryBank Coordinator and this part of the recording will be deleted.
- In the final minutes of the interview session, you will have a chance to share any other information that hasn't already come up.

GLSEN Media Release Form

Because both GLSEN and the media need release papers allowing the use of your and/or your child's voice, image, comments or ideas, the following has been developed by GLSEN to serve all of these needs in one simple form. Please provide your personal information below and read/sign the Media Release section at the bottom, verifying that you consent to the use of your and/or your child's image, voice, comments and/or ideas by GLSEN and approved media outlets.

Name Email

Address: City State

Phone: Date of Birth *(if under 18)*

Media Agreement

Terms Used:

> **"Footage"** – refers to all video, audio or written material of Participant.
> **"Guardian"** – refers to the legal parent(s) or legal guardian(s) of the Participant, under the age of 18 years old.
> **"Participant"** – refers to the person in question.
> **"Media"** – refers to GLSEN and each of the GLSEN-approved media, advertisers, and sponsors.
> **"Ze"** – refers to a non-gender-specific or gender-neutral pronoun.

This Release is made this day of *(month)*, *(year)*, by

(participant) and *(guardian, if under 18)*

in favor of GLSEN and media, in conjunction with the StoryBank Program.

Participant hereby represents that he/she/ze is *(participant)* and has the legal right to sign this release granting GLSEN and all Press permission as further provided herein.

If under 18 years of age:
Guardian hereby represents that he/she/ze is the legal guardian of *(participant)* and has the legal right to sign this Release. Participant/Guardian hereby grants media the irrevocable, unconditional and unrestricted right to photograph, record, videotape and/or interview participant and to use, publish, broadcast, and publicly display participant's name, voice, likeness, biographical information, and any or all of the footage in any of media's programming, publications, or the promotion thereof. In addition, Participant/Guardian agrees that the rights granted hereunder shall include the perpetual, worldwide right of media and its parent, subsidiaries, and affiliated companies to edit, telecast, cablecast, rerun, record, publish, reproduce, use, syndicate, license, print and/or distribute for any purpose, in any manner and in any medium or forum – whether now known or hereafter devised – the footage, or any portion thereof without payment of consideration.

_____
Participant Name   Signature   Date

_____
Parent/Guardian Name   Signature   Date

GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> StoryBank Photo/Recording Release Form

I, _____ understand that my story, photo and voice is my own and hereby grant permission to GLSEN <<CHAPTER>> to:

[CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]
☐   Interview me☐   Record my voice
☐   Take pictures of my image☐   Videotape me

*****

I understand that the information I provide may be edited and shared both immediately and in the future with GLSEN's audiences on websites, in videos, and on other public online forms (email, social media sites, newsletters, etc.). ***I consent under the condition that the following requirements are met:***

[CHECK ONE PER COLUMN]

☐ My image is used without being obscured.	☐ My real name can be used.	☐ My voice is used without masking.
☐ My image is obscured so as not to reveal my identity.	☐ A pseudonym is used to protect my identity. The pseudonym I wish to use is _____.	☐ My voice is masked to protect my identity.

*****

I understand that media shared on the internet is subject to sharing and is accessible globally. I have the right to retract my consent after the production of the video, website, etc. ***My interview, picture, voice, or video can be used by GLSEN for:***

[CHECK ONE]
☐   One time only for _____
☐   Up to one month
☐   Up to one year
☐   Indefinitely
☐   Other: _____

*****

I have been informed and understand that I (and/or my child) is creating a digital story of their life experiences, in-school experiences, and GLSEN experiences in which my (and/or my child's) likeness, image, and/or voice may be included.

I understand that I may revoke my permission at any point in time without penalty.

I hereby warrant that I am over the age of eighteen (18) and have every right to contract for myself (and/or my minor child) in the above regard. I state further that I have read the above informed consent and media release and fully understand its contents.

I waive my right to inspect or approve the photos/recordings, and any uses thereof, nor or in the future, and I waive any right to royalties or other compensation arising from or related to the use of phots/recordings.

I release and discharge GLSEN and GLSEN Chapters from any claims, demands, and damages that may arise from or related to the use of photos/recordings, including any claims for libel or violation of any right of publicity or privacy, and including any re-use, distortion, blurring, alteration, or use in composite form. It is in the discretion of GLSEN to decide whether and how to use the photos/recordings.

This release will be binding upon me and my heirs, legal representatives, and assigns.

Unless my parent or guardian signs where indicated on the signature lines below, I certify that I am eighteen (18) years of age or older, and I am competent to contract in my own name. I have read this release and I fully understand the contents, meaning, and impact of this release.

For subjects of the photos/recordings who are under eighteen (18), this release must be signed by both the minor subject and their parent or guardian. By signing, the parent or guardian attests that they are competent to contract in their own name, has read this release, and fully understands the content, meaning, and impact of this release.

_____

Storyteller Name   Signature   Date

_____

Parent/Guardian Name (if storyteller   Signature   Date
younger than 18)

Appendix B Research Materials

Appendix B.1 StoryBank Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)

Memorandum of Understanding between GLSEN Chapters and Sean Nonnenmacher regarding collection and use of StoryBank data and the completion of supplemental sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of storytellers for dissertation research

Memorandum of Understanding between GLSEN Chapters and Sean Nonnenmacher

This MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ("MOU") is entered into on the 28th day of September 2021, by and between GLSEN Chapters (see signatories), as accredited through GLSEN, having its principal office at 110 William Street, 30th Floor, New York, New York 10038 and Sean Nonnenmacher, Ph.D. candidate in Linguistics at the University of Pittsburgh.

A. Scope of the Project

In order to increase our understanding of the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) students in the context of national social justice organizing, GLSEN Chapters and Sean Nonnenmacher will collaborate on specific, discrete activities related to the recording of programmatic oral history interviews as part of a multi-chapter "StoryBank" program. This will involve ongoing planning and assessment of the interviews and program, the integration of quotes and soundbites into Chapters' communication materials, and the development of a co-authored organizational report about the "StoryBank model." Additionally, Nonnenmacher will make use of the StoryBank interviews as narrative speech data for his dissertation in sociolinguistics and be given access to work individually with a sample of storytellers to complete an additional sociolinguistic interview. Both the use of StoryBank data and the supplemental sociolinguistic interview for research purposes will require approval by participating GLSEN Chapters, the GLSEN national research office (RERC), the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board (IRB), and voluntary consent from each participating storyteller. In addition to completing a doctoral dissertation, Nonnenmacher will seek publication of resulting linguistic analyses in peer reviewed journals, with the option for collaborating with GLSEN Chapters.

By signing this agreement below, GLSEN Chapters and Nonnenmacher agree to the following activities in collaboration with each other:

1) Completion of StoryBank oral history interviews for Chapters' programmatic purposes

As part of this collaboration, Nonnenmacher will conduct interviews with Chapter youth (such as student organizers in high school Gay-Straight Alliances or Gender-Sexuality Alliances or Chapter volunteers) and adults (educators, school administrators, school community members, and Chapter volunteers) as part of a multi-chapter StoryBank program, initially developed in partnership with GLSEN Phoenix from June 2020 to June 2021. This work, to be completed throughout the duration of this MOU, will specifically involve the following:

- Five (5) participating GLSEN Chapters, with guidance from Nonnenmacher, will complete an initial review of StoryBank pilot program materials (general protocol, data storage plan, recruitment materials, interview questions, consent form, and pre-interview guidelines).
- Nonnenmacher will be in ongoing (at least once every other month) written or spoken contact with designated Chapter representative(s) regarding the status of the project. Frequency of reporting may vary as the project progresses, at the mutual agreement of all parties.
- Nonnenmacher will conduct at least ten (10) virtual interviews over Zoom for each chapter: five (5) with youth and five (5) with adults. Nonnenmacher will work with each Chapter to develop an initial shortlist of potential storytellers from the existing Chapter network. Nonnenmacher will manage all communication with potential and final storytellers throughout the project.
- Nonnenmacher will transcribe all recorded interviews using audiovisual data processing programs and transcription programs (Audacity, ELAN, and Otter.ai), as described in the "Guide to StoryBank transcription" PDF (attachment). Nonnenmacher will also create a data storage, tracking, and retrieval system for each Chapter to ensure project sustainability.
- Nonnenmacher may receive support in transcribing interviews from undergraduate students at the University of Pittsburgh.
- For each participating Chapter, Nonnenmacher will develop five (5) "Storyteller spotlights" from among the chapter's ten (10) recorded interviews. Example spotlights can be found on the GLSEN Phoenix YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCthQVBAY3dJnDbVgu-cWdGQ/videos).
- By the completion of the project, Nonnenmacher and chapters will co-author an organizational report about the "StoryBank model" for presentation to GLSEN National and dissemination throughout the chapter network. Nonnenmacher will complete the initial analysis, synthesis, and writing of the report and seek Chapters' input at the outset for the initial vision of the report, at approximately the mid-point of its development, and at the completion of a final draft.

2) Access to StoryBank data for academic purposes

Nonnenmacher will use the StoryBank data for his dissertation research and any resulting publications, with the voluntary written consent of participating storytellers. As a condition of using the StoryBank data for his research study, the following apply:

- Use of the StoryBank dataset is limited to the specific research activities detailed in this MOU. Any additional use of the dataset is prohibited without express written approval from GLSEN Chapters and consent from participating storytellers.
- GLSEN Chapters will grant permission for use of only those themes and variables agreed upon ahead of time, as described in the Memorandum of Understanding – Research Plan (ATTACHMENT).
- In terms of inclusion criteria, a minimum of five (5) youth and two (2) adult storytellers from each chapter will be recruited into Nonnenmacher's sociolinguistic research. Beyond these seven (7) storytellers, additional storytellers may consent to allow Nonnenmacher to analyze their StoryBank interviews.
- Only those storytellers who have provided written consent to allow Nonnenmacher to use their interview data in his research will be included. In the course of completing the required consent and media release paperwork to participate in each chapter's programmatic StoryBank, storytellers will also have the option of completing a consent form to participate in research. Storytellers will be permitted to participate in the Chapter's programmatic StoryBank without also participating in research, in which case they will not complete the research consent form.
- To ensure storytellers' protection and privacy as research subjects, personal identifiable information will be removed prior to sociolinguistic analysis.
- In terms of required approval by the Pitt IRB, Nonnenmacher must provide GLSEN Chapters with his proposed study before it is submitted to the IRB at his institution. GLSEN Chapters will provide feedback on the proposal within 2-4 weeks. The proposal should include research questions, themes and variables of interest, and the analysis plan. Any changes to the proposed study recommended by the IRB must also be approved by GLSEN Chapters.
- In terms of required approval by the GLSEN RERC, Nonnenmacher must provide GLSEN Chapters with his proposed study before it is submitted to the RERC. GLSEN Chapters will provide feedback on the proposal within 2-4 weeks. The proposal should include research questions, themes and variables of interest, and the analysis plan. Any changes to the proposed study recommended by the RERC must also be approved by GLSEN Chapters.
- Regarding the publication of StoryBank data in peer reviewed journals, Nonnenmacher will identify potential publications to submit manuscripts to. Nonnenmacher will approach Chapters will the option of being involved in the publication process, either as co-authors or as contributors.

3) Completion of supplemental sociolinguistic interviews for academic purposes

As part of this collaboration, Nonnenmacher will conduct supplemental sociolinguistic interviews with a sub-sample of Chapter youth and adult storytellers. These interviews are intended to provide specific information and speech data of relevance to Nonnenmacher's dissertation, related to technology / social media use and knowledge of youth slang in the United States. Nonnenmacher will conduct an analysis of these interviews for his dissertation

research and resulting publications. As a condition of conducting supplemental interviews and using them in his research, the following apply:

- •As with use of the StoryBank data for academic purposes, GLSEN Chapters will grant permission for the completion of supplemental interviews contingent on approval by the University of Pittsburgh IRB and the GLSEN National Research Office (RERC).
- •GLSEN Chapters will grant permission for use of only those themes and variables agreed upon ahead of time, as outlined in the "Research Plan."
- •In terms of inclusion criteria, a minimum of five (5) youth and two (2) adult storytellers from each chapter will be recruited into Nonnenmacher's sociolinguistic research.
- •Only those storytellers who have provided written consent to allow Nonnenmacher to use their interview data in his research will be included. Participants will complete a separate consent form to participate in the supplemental sociolinguistic interview.
- •Nonnenmacher will provide GLSEN Chapters with his proposed study before it is submitted to the IRB at his institution. GLSEN Chapters will provide feedback on the proposal within 2-4 weeks. The proposal should include research questions, themes and variables of interest, and the analysis plan. Any following changes to the proposed study recommended by the University of Pittsburgh IRB or GLSEN RERC must also be approved by GLSEN Chapters.

All programmatic work outlined in this MOU will be directly overseen by Nonnenmacher, with ongoing input from Chapters representatives. All academic work outlined in this MOU will be conducted by Nonnenmacher with assistance from undergraduate research assistants at the University of Pittsburgh.

B. Timeframe

The activities described specifically in this MOU will be completed within one year from receipt of approval from GLSEN's RERC with the possibility of renewal of an additional year upon submission and approval by GLSEN's RERC.

IT IS MUTUALLY UNDERSTOOD AND AGREED BY AND BETWEEN THE PARTIES THAT:

1. **Modification** – Modifications within the scope of this MOU shall be made by mutual consent of the parties, by the issuance of a written notification, signed and dated by all parties, prior to any changes being performed.

2. **Termination** – Any of the parties, in writing, may terminate the MOU in whole, or in part, at any time before the date of expiration. If any one chapter decides to no longer be involved in the project, this decision does not invalidate the MOU for the other participating chapters. An updated MOU will be provided.

3. **Commencement/Expiration Date** – This MOU is executed as of the date of the last signature and is effective through the earlier of (i) one calendar year from the date of the last signature (at which time it will expire unless extended) or (ii) the date of termination of this MOU by any party.

4. **Ownership** – The StoryBank oral history interview data is property of GLSEN Chapters. However, Nonnenmacher will be permitted to make scientific use of the specifically designated data for use as proscribed in this MOU. The supplemental sociolinguistic interview data is the property of Nonnenmacher.

C. Contacts

Sean Nonnenmacher, Ph.D. candidate in Linguistics, Dietrich School of Arts & Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, 480-298-6023 (cell phone), sen40@pitt.edu

GLSEN Chapters

Chapter 1: GLSEN Connecticut
Chapter 2: GLSEN Mid-Hudson
Chapter 3: GLSEN Phoenix
Chapter 4: GLSEN Tennessee
Chapter 5: GLSEN Washington

IN WITNESS THEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this MOU as of the last written date below.

GLSEN Chapter 1Sean Nonnenmacher

Signature: Signature:

ASHLEY HOLBROOKS

Title: CHAPTER CHAIR, GLSEN CONNECTICUT

                                                                Print: Print: Sean Nonnenmacher

                                                                Title: Researcher / Program Coordinator

10/31/2021

Date:Date: Oct. 28, 2021

GLSEN Chapter 2GLSEN Chapter 3

Signature: Signature:

Leslie George   Rob Conlon

Print:Print:

Board Co-Chair

Co-chair, GLSEN Mid-Hudson

Title:Title:

09/28/2021   09/28/2021

Date:Date:

GLSEN Chapter 4GLSEN Chapter 5

Joseph
Bento

Digitally signed by Joseph
Bento
Date: 2021.10.20
15:37:16 -07'00'

Signature: Signature:

Joseph Bento   Will French

Print: Print:

Appendix B.2 Research Plan

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING – RESEARCH PLAN

DATE:September 28, 2021

TO:Chapter 1: GLSEN Connecticut
        Chapter 2: GLSEN Mid-Hudson
        Chapter 3: GLSEN Phoenix
        Chapter 4: GLSEN Tennessee
        Chapter 5: GLSEN Washington

FROM:Sean Nonnenmacher, Ph.D. candidate
        Department of Linguistics, University of Pittsburgh

RE: Research Plan Proposal for Use of StoryBank Data and Supplemental
        Sociolinguistic Interview Data: Analysis and Circulation of Findings

This Research Plan Proposal fulfills the requirement found within our Memorandum of Understanding that I submit my proposed research plans. Below I outline three "outputs" derived from my analysis of the StoryBank data and supplemental sociolinguistic interview data. The first output is a programmatic report on the StoryBank model, written in collaboration with Chapters representatives and not strictly "research" although based in part on the StoryBank interviews. The second and third outputs are directly related to my dissertation research, with each of the two data sources (1. StoryBank interviews and 2. supplemental sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of storytellers) serving as the primary data for separate chapters of my dissertation. The working title of my dissertation is "Figurations, orientations, and stylizations: Mapping the contours of language, gender/sexuality, and childhood in contemporary American English." Broadly, my dissertation

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makes the argument that childhood is as much a historicized, ideological, and sociocultural formation as it is a developmental one, contra many current and traditional perspectives in sociolinguistics. My project is multidisciplinary, employing theory and methodology from my home discipline of sociolinguistics as well as scholarship from the fields queer/trans childhood studies and linguistic anthropology. Ultimately, I hope to create space for more inclusive explorations of language and childhood, where LGBTQ youth are largely absent from existing linguistic studies and most treatments of youth language emerge from school-based "ethnographies" (participant-observation) and not through work in other institutionalized settings like youth-serving social justice nonprofits.

1.***Output 1: Programmatic Report***. The StoryBank data, together with my experience managing this project and collaborating with Chapter representatives, will serve as the basis for a programmatic report on the StoryBank model. The purpose of this report is to (1) describe the multi-chapter program, and (2) provide documentation that GLSEN Chapters and GLSEN National might use in applying for additional grant or other funding to further develop the program. The report will detail a formalized model for how Chapters can develop their own oral history archive and integrate the personal narratives from youth and adult storytellers into their ongoing work. The model began to take shape last summer with the GLSEN Phoenix StoryBank, and it will include the following components: (1) interview materials for three storyteller roles (student organizer, educator, and chapter member), (2) consent and media release documentation for youth and adult storytellers, (3) pre-interview guidelines for storytellers, (4) a strategic recruitment plan, (5) a data storage, management, and sustainability plan, and (6) a set of ten strategies and examples for putting stories to work in GLSEN Chapters' communications items (such as in social media spotlights or monthly e-newsletters). The report will also include excerpts and examples from collected interviews, such as written quotes and screenshots. Participant identities will be included or excluded in keeping with how the participant completed the consent and media release paperwork to participate in the StoryBank project.

2.***Output 2: Analysis of StoryBank interviews for dissertation research***. The StoryBank data will serve as the primary evidence for the third chapter of my dissertation, in which I complete a narrative analysis of a storyteller interviews. My approach for this analysis will involve re-transcribing StoryBank interviews in greater linguistic detail (noting conversational mechanics like turn-taking, overlapping speech, pause durations, and other changes in the acoustic quality of a speaker's voice), coding for the variables of interest (tokens and types of constructed speech, as described below), and then completing additional data processing, visualization, and if necessary statistical analysis.

This analysis will specifically focus on instances of **constructed speech**, an umbrella term for direct/quoted speech (the underlined part of: *Sean said, <u>"I'm going to the store today"</u>*) and indirect/reported speech (the underlined part of: *Sean said <u>that he's going</u>*

to the store today). Whether discussing everyday personal experiences or important moments from throughout their lives, narrators naturally shift into constructed speech to give voice to the characters they are describing. I will explore what these shifts in voicing mean for GLSEN storytellers at key points of their narratives, such as during practiced "about me" introductions, in ventriloquizing remembered characters, and in animating a narrator's inner thoughts. By the end of the analysis, I will produce a description of the linguistic features (both phonetic-acoustic and syntactic-discursive) of storytellers' constructed speech in navigating an array of oppositional voice types: internal vs. external, self vs. other, personal vs. institutional, ally vs. foe, and child vs. adult.

The sub-sample of StoryBank interviews for this analysis will include all five (5) of the youth storytellers from each Chapter (20 youth interviews total) and two (2) of the adult storytellers from each Chapter (8 adult interviews total). These 28 interviews will allow me to focus primarily on the narratives of LGBTQ youth, per the overall purpose of my dissertation, while also comparing youth and adult narratives. As detailed in the MOU, each storyteller will provide consent to allow me to complete an additional linguistic analysis of their interview for my dissertation.

For this analysis, I will be assisted by undergraduate research assistants at the University of Pittsburgh. In advance of providing research assistance, students will complete the appropriate linguistics training and/or coursework as well as human subjects CITI research training to be able to work with de-identified audio or audio-video files.

In order to work with the StoryBank data, I will copy and transfer audio-video files and transcripts from each Chapter's password-protected storage systems (such as Google Drive) to the University of Pittsburgh password-protected One Drive storage system. This will enable me to collaborate with research assistants and store all research-related materials (e.g., IRB application, research literature, research memos, meeting notes, etc.). Following the file transfer but prior to additional data processing and analysis, all interviews will be de-identified by manually deleting the storyteller's name from the recording and redacting their name and other personally identifiable information from the transcript. Each storyteller and file set will then be assigned a pseudonym for use in the analysis and write-up of results. The researcher and any assistants will use Otter.ai, ELAN, NVivo, Praat, and R as transcription and data analysis tools, which require occasional upload and automatic processing of some research materials (recorded or transcribed interviews).

Authorship of the dissertation monograph for this proposed project would be done by Nonnenmacher. In the future, authorship in peer reviewed journals would include individuals from GLSEN Chapters based on the level of contribution to writing the report, beyond data analysis.

3.***Output 3: Analysis of supplemental sociolinguistic interviews for dissertation research***. My approach for this analysis will involve transcribing the sociolinguistic interviews, coding for the variables of interest (slang words, California Vowel Shift-relevant vowels as described below), and then completing additional data processing, visualization, and statistical analysis.

The supplemental sociolinguistic interview data will serve as the primary evidence for the fourth chapter of my dissertation, in which I complete an analysis of sociolinguistic (age-based and region-based) dialect variation in the context of discussions about American English youth slang. I focus on vowel variation related to the California Vowel Shift (CVS), especially the pre-nasal raising of the ash [æ] vowel in a word like "ban" (producing an articulation that sounds closer to "been") alongside the backing of the same ash vowel in other phonetic contexts, such as the word "mass" being pronounced closer to "moss" (a well-studied dialect phenomenon known as the "TRAP split"). Sociolinguists hypothesize that features of the California English dialect, like the TRAP split, have become extra-regional markers of gender, sexuality, and age due to the central place of California culture in establishing what's cool or popular, as reflected in popular television shows and films. I seek to investigate this claim in my research while also considering the relationship between constructed speech (discussed in the previous section), "California English," and youth slang. My analysis looks for evidence of CVS shifts in speakers' discussion of American English slang, and particularly slang words or phrases associated with youth speakers or queer/trans youth speakers, such as "yass," "bruh," "yeet," and "sheesh" (all of which have been popularized in recent years through social media platforms). In addition to completing an acoustic comparison of constructed speech and non-constructed speech pronunciations of slang words, I will discuss slang words more broadly: their rapid circulation within and across speech communities (often in ways considered appropriative, as in the appropriation of African-American English slang by white speakers), new paths of circulation on social media, etc. Ultimately, my analysis will produce a new understanding of slang and sociolinguistic variation in the speech practices of queer and trans youth across the U.S., building on prior research that has found slang to be affective (solidarity-raising), boundary-making (solidifying in groups and out groups while being seen as "threatening" to older generations), but ultimately not all that exceptional (reflecting language play and creativity rooted in more general features of language across generations of American English speakers).

Recruitment of storytellers for the supplemental sociolinguistic interview will occur following the completion of the StoryBank interview. The sub-sample to be recruited will include all five (5) of the youth storytellers from each Chapter (20 youth interviews in total) and two (2) of the adult storytellers from each Chapter (8 adult interviews total). These 28 interviews will provide a large enough dataset for acoustic analysis / coding and subsequent statistical testing (focusing on the independent variables of age (youth vs. adult) and region). Each storyteller will provide additional, separate consent to participate in the supplemental sociolinguistic interview.

For this analysis, I will be assisted by undergraduate research assistants at the University of Pittsburgh. In advance of providing research assistance, students will complete the appropriate linguistics training and/or coursework as well as human subjects CITI research training to be able to work with de-identified audio or audio-video files.

Sociolinguistic interviews will be saved directly to the University of Pittsburgh password-protected One Drive storage system. This will enable me to collaborate with research assistants and store all research-related materials (e.g., IRB application, research literature, research memos, meeting notes, etc.). All interviews will be de-identified and each storyteller and file set will be assigned a pseudonym for use in the analysis and write-up of results. The researcher and any assistants will use Otter.ai, ELAN, NVivo, Praat, and R as transcription and data analysis tools, which require occasional upload and automatic processing of some research materials (recorded or transcribed interviews).

Authorship of this analysis chapter in the dissertation monograph would be done by Nonnenmacher. In the future, authorship in peer reviewed journals would involve GLSEN Chapters based on the level of contribution to writing the report, beyond data analysis.

C. Contacts

Sean Nonnenmacher, Ph.D. candidate in Linguistics, Dietrich School of Arts & Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, 480-298-6023 (cell phone), sen40@pitt.edu

GLSEN Chapters

Chapter 1: GLSEN Connecticut
Chapter 2: GLSEN Mid-Hudson
Chapter 3: GLSEN Phoenix
Chapter 4: GLSEN Tennessee
Chapter 5: GLSEN Washington

IN WITNESS THEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this MOU as of the last written date below.

GLSEN Chapter 1Sean Nonnenmacher

Signature: Signature:

ASHLEY HOLBROOKS

Print:Print: Sean Nonnenmacher

CHAPTER CHAIR, GLSEN
CONNECTICUT

Title: Title: Researcher / Program Coordinator

10|31|2021

Date:Date: Oct. 28, 2021

Rob Conlon

GLSEN Chapter 2GLSEN Chapter 3

Signature: Signature:

Leslie George   Rob Conlon

Print: Print:

Board Co-chair   Co-Chair, GLSEN Mid-Hudson

Title:Title:

09/28/2021   09/28/2021

Date:Date:

GLSEN Chapter 4GLSEN Chapter 5

Joseph
Bento

Digitally signed by Joseph
Bento
Date: 2021.10.20
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Will French

Signature: Signature:

Joseph Bento   Will French

Print:Print:

Chair   GLSEN TN Co-Chair

Title: Title:

10/20/21   10/4/2021

Date: Date:

Appendix B.3 Research Consent

Welcome to the sociolinguistic variation in American English research study!

HEADER: Consent to act as a participant in a research study

STUDY TITLE: Sociolinguistic variation in American English

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Sean Nonnenmacher, sen40@pitt.edu

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY: If you have any questions about your rights as

a research subject or wish to talk to someone other than the principal investigator,

please call the University of Pittsburgh Human Subjects Protection Advocate toll-free at 866-212-2668.

OVERVIEW:

I am a PhD student in linguistics at the University of Pittsburgh, and I am currently completing my dissertation research. The purpose of this research is to explore the role of storytelling in the work of nonprofit organizations and to assess variation in English dialects, such as variation related to age, region, and technology use. By consenting to participate in this study, you allow the researcher to:

1. Have access to your recorded and transcribed GLSEN StoryBank interview. GLSEN StoryBank interviews will be conducted based on an individual's role with the organization (student, educator, or volunteer). The StoryBank interview is not being used for research purposes only but is being collected as part of a programmatic initiative for the organization. Participants and/or parents or guardians are consenting to allow the researcher to receive audio and video recordings of the StoryBank interview, to be analyzed for research purposes. The audio will be analyzed and the video will be deleted. Only the StoryBank interview recordings and associated transcripts generated by the GLSEN chapters will be provided to the researcher. Anonymized StoryBank data will not be shared with other researchers outside of the current study. If other researchers wish to use the data, they will need to request permission to do so and obtain informed consent from participants.
2. Complete a supplemental sociolinguistic interview with you. Prior to the interview, you will complete a questionnaire about your demographic

information and your personal use of technology and social media. Personal information (including name and date of birth) will be collected in the questionnaire but removed prior to analysis. The sociolinguistic interview itself will last approximately 1.5 to 2 hours and will be recorded over Zoom. Audio and video will be recorded, but only the audio will be used in the analysis. The video will be deleted. It will cover questions about your personal use of technology and social media and your knowledge of popular American English slang terms.

For research involving both your GLSEN StoryBank interview and your supplemental sociolinguistic interview, your responses will be anonymized for publications and presentations. All of your responses will be treated as confidential and you will be assigned a pseudonym before data processing and analysis. To ensure your privacy, all materials will be kept in password-protected files that are accessible only to the researcher. A record of this linkage sheet will be stored separately and only accessible to the researcher.

The foreseeable risks associated with this project are a breach of confidentiality and emotional distress. There are no direct benefits to participants. You will not be compensated for your time. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this research at any time without penalty. Participants can withdraw by emailing the researcher or requesting to stop the interview while it is happening. Recordings and/or transcripts from participants who have withdrawn

from the study will be deleted by the researcher. However, once data is anonymized, it cannot be withdrawn. It is important that requests to withdraw from the study be communicated as soon as possible to the researcher and no later than 1 month after any research activities (interviews) have completed.

Your decision to participate or not participate in this research will not have any negative effects on your relationship with GLSEN or the University of Pittsburgh. In unusual cases, the researcher may be required to release information related to your participation in this research study in response to an order from a court of law. If the researcher learns that you or someone with whom you are involved is in serious danger or potential harm, the researcher will need to inform the appropriate agencies, as required by Pennsylvania law. Authorized representatives of the University of Pittsburgh Office of Research Protections may review your identifiable research information for the purpose of monitoring the appropriate conduct of this research study.

This study is being conducted by Sean Nonnenmacher, who can be reached at sen40@pitt.edu if you have questions.

By providing an electronic signature below, you acknowledge that:

- you have read and understood the information about this research,
- your participation in this study is voluntary,
- and you may choose to end your participation at any time.

Appendix C Quoted, reported, and occurrence speech in 20 GSA student leader interviews

Appendix Table 1 Constructed speech in student leader interviews (answer count)

Student	Occurrence	Reported	Quoted
Uht	10	0	17
Geem	4	1	22
Eh	1	0	29
Yetch	7	9	68
Ben	2	0	30
Za	9	3	0
Khe	5	1	21
Da	8	3	31
Ghat	2	2	4
Men	3	0	6
Hiy	7	4	12
Ini	5	5	2
Ayb	14	12	35
Sha	5	2	8
Vo	15	1	10
Tcha	18	2	15
Pey	20	2	32
Djey	7	0	3
Taw	19	1	30
Tyun	14	4	4

Appendix D Vowel token counts in student interview

Appendix Table 2 Token counts by vowel in student interview

IPA	Non-quoted	Quoted	Total
/ɑ/	171	23	194
/æ/	300	38	338
/ʌ/	375	39	414
/ɔ/	184	24	208
/ɑw/	141	16	157
/ɑj/	430	45	475
/ɛ/	337	52	389
/ɚ/	73	6	79
/e/	199	39	238
/ɪ/	282	60	342
/i/	428	53	481
/o/	163	33	196
/oj/	1	0	1
/ʊ/	54	12	66
/u/	200	72	272
Total	3338	512	3850

Appendix E Distinctiveness measures for each quotedness unit

Appendix Table 3 Distinctiveness measures by quotedness unit

Proportion	Distinctive measures	Total measures	Quotedness	Transcript	Unit
0.333333333	2	6	non-quoted	We would just like, try to explain them why it was wrong, like how they could change, like the proper way to say it [without] hurting someone.	105
0.333333333	2	6	non-quoted	To everyone. So It's just like,	122
0.272727273	3	11	non-quoted	I knew definitely there was going to be a lot of discussion over sensitive topics, or like just talking to each other. The um, more other stuff, uh, learning more for me, which I did. So we had this discussion panel where we discussed, uh, labels, or mic- and micro labels, where our advisor printed out sheets and talked to us what each of them might what uh wait. So what each of them meant according to us, and then she explained the original meaning of the word. So like, then we had a discussion on what- what was the difference. And now what we learned from i	20

199

0.18181818182	non-quoted	2	11	Uh, we did talk to him. We used to run into him, uh- when we were walking to class, we ran into him in the hallways and we would say,	28
0.16666667	non-quoted	1	6	It was in- uh, we discussed it in our club meeting. So the advisor t- um, was like,	39
0.14285714	non-quoted	3	21	Um, I would say- I'm not really sure. I would say the people I know mostly are like, they identify as the gender they were assigned at birth. But I do know one of my classmates was transitioning and was kind of in the middle and not sure. So we just- she- I- I don't know how she is now. So she did say call- to call her, she- uh they them [in the middle and] then she transitions back the- she or her- she her.	98
0.125	non-quoted	2	16	Um, so we did a Val- we helped our advisor with a Valentine's fundraiser. Where we, um, one of the group members drew a bear, a huge bear with a heart. We- on a wooden piece, which the carpentry had sent to be made. And then they just came in the middle of the school day, took it, by the end of the school day it was back and we just painted it. That's how it worked for all- the entire thing.	111
0.125	non-quoted	2	16	It's like two or three times. Some like- we were just talking about people. Like someone was talking about their crush and I was talking about my crush. And, oh uh someone said,	130

200

0.111111111	non-quoted	36	4	It was like, I was kinda confused what GS- what- actually was* at starting because I never knew what GSA is or what is it about. Then I talked to the advisor and she explained to me like, what this is about. Not* me, well, everyone who was there. That,	1
0.095238095	non-quoted	21	2	Oh, definitely. She- like she- she always tells me, she's always a call away. Whenever I have friendship issues, like two weeks ago, [I] kind of like confronted with my friend and she definitely talked to me over, she explained the person's perspective 'cause she- he's in the club too. And then we calmed down, we talked, and she definitely helps us like keep connected with each other and keep us safe. And like, if she knows you are feeling down, she'll talk to us, she's like,	69
0.095238095	non-quoted	21	2	Yeah. I- I think that's important. Like as a GSA, that is our responsibility. 'Cause we have to- it's an alliance so we have- we can't just be rude to someone. We just have to exp- you have to teach them or explain them why they shouldn't say it or why it's wrong.	106
0.090909091	non-quoted	11	1	And at that time I was still adjusting to the information, but slowly like a week or two later I was okay.	3

0.09090909091	1	11	non-quoted	So like we had this club- um, club fair during one of the parent-teacher conf- s- like meetings. And that's where I had to take uh charge. I was like,	58
0.09090909091	1	11	non-quoted	Or she'll just randomly give us a hug. So, uh, we pretty much like that about her.	71
0.09090909091	1	11	non-quoted	And we'll fix a date and we'll do it. But that's just date that we do that.	86
0.09090909091	1	11	non-quoted	Um, so a part of the Carpentry Club, it was pretty much no-conversation zone. It was just work. So we would- our advisor would tell their advisor,	109

0.09090909091	0.076923077
1	2
11	26
non-quoted	non-quoted
Um, so we had then Art Mural Club's advisor work with us. Then the Debate Team's advisor was like a safe space person. So he had a poster outside his room that it's a safe place if you want to come in. Um, then we had a history teacher. Well, he kind of runs the History Club, or lit- like just like after-school things if you just want to hang around. And then there's the Gaming and Anime Club advisor, who we just used to talk casually.	So like, I want him to come to the meeting more and talk to us. I know he's a busy guy 'cause he has to run the school of fifteen hundred students. But I want him to like come once a month, so- to talk to us, because there were a few things like the locker room, we needed things- stuff to be done fast because we were like getting out of schedule all the time. And people only listened to him mostly, not our advisor, because she's still young and the other teachers are pretty old. So we expected him to tell them and they would just- they would tell him,
117	25

0.065217391	0.0625	0.0625
3	1	1
46	16	16
non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted
Um, our advisor definitely reaches out to people ['cause um] some of us do have like, uh, social shyness like we do not know how to interact with people and some of us are still learning how to send formal things or how to invite someone to things. So we would bring up someone we wanted to talk to during our sessions, and she would try to contact that person. [Or] she herself would reach out to people who she knows that might be interested in talking to us, or we might be interested.	[...] The advisor agreed with us, definite- that was definitely a serious step to take. So- to ensure like safety of uh everyone in the GSA. And then we talked and everything was fine.	And our group- and as we- even being the president, I didn't feel like being the president cause the group was pretty well managed. So it was like I was kinda the member of the group and we didn't have a president.
60	41	55

0.0625	1	16	non-quoted	Uh, I don't think my sexual identity play- like orientation plays much role in my other activities as much as GSA. 'Cause that's more like just me as a person. So it's not re-it's not a topic that often comes up. [But when we were doing-] during the GSA parental meetings, when we were setting up things as the group ambassadors, that's when sometimes it came up and we would just talk about it by ourselves. But otherwise, it never came up in the groups.	129
0.047619048	1	21	non-quoted	Yeah. It- it- but it was after GSA, so it's like outside of GSA mainly. But she still gave them out randomly. And then we talked about it and like gives us advice about school or what we might want to do. So I'm like good at math and we sat down one day after GSA and we were just doing her loans. [She was like, "Arienne,"] uh so she calls me Arienne,	72
0.047619048	1	21	non-quoted	So she gave us four documents. Everyone got different documents, so she made three copies of each. [And] she gave them out randomly. And then we talked about it and she put everyone in groups. So like one person from one topic with- for three other people from three different other topics and then we discussed our topics [and I think] gave a summary. And then as a group, we try to discuss it all together. That only- one of the messed- the part that's like where we went off topics once that was one on the meetings.	89

0.047619048	1	21	non-quoted	Unless we needed paint or anything, or like we needed to talk to them to explain things of how something has to go. Oh- oth- otherwise, that's- that's how our conversation had happened. We- we make things, they take it, and we get it back.	112
0.038461538	1	26	non-quoted	And so she made sure she asks everyone which one they wanna do and like the majority vote we would do that [and then we] follow the sequence of doing the other things. So, if we did session first, then we'll do the second most, for example, then the knowledge one, or then the person who wants to talk to us. [And] if she didn't meet someone, she'll just contact- like find them in the hallway or like stop them and ask them what,	77

0.038461538	1	26	non-quoted	Um, I would- the biggest thing would be like when the Black Lives Matters movement started, that was definitely a key point where we talked about a lot of sensitive things. And we like, we protested like through our- we couldn't go outside, so we protested through our social media and like all of our accounts, we showed our support and like, that helped pretty much feel- I don't know how- I, like, I felt safe, but I can't really talk about others 'cause how they feel will be different from mine. And so other things would be like, we talked about Marsha P. Johnson. That was definite- that was around, I think, April [before the movement] started. And we talked about that and then we brought it up again during Pride Month. So I would say it's pretty well rounded when it comes to making people of color safe.	97
0.038461538	1	26	non-quoted	It was use- and like, okay, so there's a place here for which we raise- did a fundraiser, and we were gonna do a second one. So that was for it. And a few other times we were just like helping set it- the- so we had this meeting with- for parents specifically. If they wanted to come, have questions about the LGBTQ community [or] have questions about how to talk to their kids and et cetera. That was all about like that meeting, doing that. We helped them. So we had coup- that a couple of times [to] like talk to them and just have discussion.	107

0.032258065	0	0	0
1	0	0	0
31	6	6	6
non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted
Um GSA-wise, I would say she's helped me become more social right from the start. [She-] I wasn't the president 'til like January, that's when they needed us to have presidents or models or some uh things. So, 'til then she used to ask me- she knew I was shy, so she would ask me to talk more, or what my opinion was on things, what I felt about it, what I learn- what I was learning. Because I had a conversation with her when the club started that, um, so like a how I recently came out, what's going on at I- I- at my house. So she would definitely talk to me about things, how everything is, is everything okay in GSA, do I have any problems or anything, or was I disturbed by any topic that was brought up. So, she made sure that everyone knew how everyone else felt, but without like talking in third person.	And they- most of my friends like advisory, so they wanted to come.	Everyone was new there.	Uh our advisor told us to pick one person and do research about them and how they've helped the community.
75	15	19	21

208

0	0	0	6	6	non-quoted	31	We- yeah, it was pretty disappointing. We were- so we had a day for like, end of school year, like one day before. So we were pretty- one- that day we were like,
0	0	0	6	6	non-quoted	34	Our advisor told us she found many tore- torn in for- in- outside her door. So that was kinda hard- that kinda hit us hard, kinda [...] We informed it to the school's security and they said they were gonna make- be more strict about the flyers now. And the principal sent out a message that
0	0	0	6	6	non-quoted	36	I felt kinda, um, I wouldn't say scared, I would say like kind of worried. 'Cause I know for someone who's doing it for the first time for our advisor, it would have hurt her too. Because she's like trying. But if someone does that, it's like you did a project and someone just says,
0	0	0	6	6	non-quoted	47	And we need to do something about it, because if it had happened at some other day, it would be understandable. But she especially call- she especially called that person [and] it feels like, um, it's disrespectful to the person because they took out their time.

0	0	0	6	non-quoted	Uh, it would- I would say it's the advisor sometimes, or sometimes it's me. When the advisor- uh, if she's sick or she doesn't feel- she got tired from school like the whole day, [so] she'd tell me to do it. But it was usually the advisor leading us, because I told her,	53
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	I was like,	56
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	Yeah, when we listen to Spotify and her name pops up, we'll be like,	67
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	So that's how we did- that's how we made all the decisions, all the projects we worked on, she decided like,	84
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	Yeah, definitely, because I think it's a big deal 'cause- that the student felt comfortable bringing it up. [So] that like showed like it like- it is a safe space. And just they felt comfortable that- 'cause a lot- when they talked to us, she said that she, um, her friends said,	99
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	Oh yeah. My history teacher. 'Cause he- me and him always had-	119

					Excerpt	
0	0	0	6	non-quoted	We had like- we have a similar thinking process. So like we would just sit down and talk about things, and I find him, he's a pretty nice guy. So he's pretty quiet, he's pretty cool, chill. He is always like, anytime I see he's just like,	120
0	0	6	11	non-quoted	Yeah. I would say they're a safe space, 'cause pretty much like if you put Stage Design and Yearbook on the- in the- 'cause they're the same advisor, so they are the safe sp- place for me always. But Math Scholars, my- the math teacher was pretty supportive of who I was. But um then everyone in the club, was pretty okay- they were okay with it, they never bother or anything with it. Uh uh Blue Bear Ambassadors, the advisor didn't worry that much about things, he just said,	133
0	0	11	11	non-quoted	Um so in that time I did some research into GSAs alone, what they're about, and how they work. Then after that I asked the advisor, so- because-	4
0	0	11	11	non-quoted	I was just worried that I might say something like, I'm obsessed with- kind of obsessed with Disney songs and I start singing them and some people don't like that. So that's just something I needed to control. That's it.	7

0	0	0	11	non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted
0	0	0	11	non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted
0	0	0	11	non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted
0	0	0	11	non-quoted	non-quoted	non-quoted

Um I did starting to talk to more people. And like since I used to be the persistent one, the advisor said, what to do when a person is transitioning in their class, what- um, few other questions like what you can ask a student and what you shouldn't ask a student.

But instead we decided to have a um, a pride- [...] because, um, it was Pride Month so we decided to have a E-Pride where all the teachers came together and they gave messages [...] And we wa- the teachers had a counseling session I guess, or peer counseling session, where a teacher talked to them about how important pronouns are- can be for a person, doesn't happen to any other clubs or any other flyers any more. [...] made the announcement the very next morning.

Um, it was like during the Principal's Council, so it was everyone who talked to him. [[break -- problem with recording]] So yeah. So he talked to all of us and he said he's gonna make sure that

They- all of them told us like uh some had class while some others were still like not- didn't wanna go, had personal reasons not to go too, then a few were sleeping. That was the only time we felt like,

17	33	42	45

212

0	non-quoted	0	0	11	Oh definitely. We- like she's like our sister, our mother, [she-] she calls our her kids. [...] And so, she's like- when she shows us our- the pictures of her dogs, we're like,	61
0	non-quoted	0	0	11	Uh, so like I told you how our advisor had a list of labels, so that was the first time. [And then the] second time, she gave us four documents. She like- she was like doing her English teacher homework and we were like,	87
0	non-quoted	0	0	11	So that- he is one of them. And I'm supposed to have the art teacher this year as one of my teachers.	124
11	non-quoted	0	0	11	And then CPI was just something, since English isn't my first language, I wanted to do the best in my SATs. So I think CPI was something just to keep my mind prepared for SATs.	128
non-quoted	non-quoted	0	0	16	Um Principal's Council shut down I think after Thanksgiving break. Um that's when our- he- our principal was- was new too that year. So he decided he's gonna have to have an open door policy and if someone [[no audio: wants to]] talk to him, they can come after school or have an appointment with him.	10

213

0	0	
0	non-quoted	non-quoted
0		
16	16	16
non-quoted		
Because we know like they're part of the community. So we're like,	In our school, no one really bothers that much about other people ex- outside their groups, like everyone just talks to their friends, unless you're in a different class, they'll talk maybe, unless they're required to. Otherwise, no one really bothers who you, like, who you identify as. Unless like, um, so when it comes to pronouns, they will pay some respect to that. But otherwise, when it comes to sexuality, they don't bother much.	And he would- like at that moment, he would call the teacher or the person in charge on the walkie talkies, and schedule a meeting with them. Which I definitely know he did have meetings, 'cause when he says he does, he always does have meetings. And he- I think he tried his best. It's just in the middle of the communication something broke down. And it- the project wasn't like achieved that time, that's why.
13	16	30

0	0	16	0	50	non-quoted	So either, like I told you, like we used to go to the advisor just for our own discussions, like individual, or when we needed advice for something. And we did that, so that's how everyone handled it when someone had an issue of going off-topic. I went to her, I felt- I told her like how I felt about the things going off-topic. She said it was- in the starting and in the middle, so she said,
0	0	16	0	64	non-quoted	So she definitely jokes around with all of us. So, one of my friends is like, she's kinda crazy in a fun way. So she'll like- she gets mad for- 'cause she knows the advisor doesn't get mad, she doesn't get mad, it's- it's like a safe space. And she would just throw a tantrum and she was like,
0	0	16	0	66	non-quoted	Comedic vibe in the whole GSA, even during sessions, but when like, when someone's outs- from outside is there, we're pretty serious. [But when it's just] all of us in a group, we are laughing or constantly making jokes about things. And we were just like, uh, her last name is similar to Solo, so we call her Han Solo sometimes.

0	0	16	0	non-quoted	She explained him everything. And she like- it- I knew things- what to do in case something bad happened, but it didn't which, touch wood, was very good. [But] like the contact information or the information she gave- resources she gave to us were definitely help- helpful.	94
0	0	16	0	non-quoted	I think, um, the student actively felt comfortable bringing it up once we met our co-advisor. Um, when they told us about their pronouns, I think that's when the student knew that we were comfortable and we were supportive, I would say. But I can't really like speak for them- how they felt at the time and how like they knew when we- it was a safe spl- space.	102
0	0	16	0	non-quoted	It was an open event, so like not in connection with the parents- so we have a parents' council. It wasn't related to that. But the parents' council really want- the- they came, like everyone from their council came [and] talked. And we had few people who just came from the community or the parents of the students. Uh, we had a lady come over from the, uh, what was it, the ha- um, the place I told you the shel- the LGBTQ teen shelter. [She-] she discussed that, what they do at the shelter and how they help. That's when we started the whole- the program about the pamphlet, where we used to cont- put contact information and other things.	108

0	0	0	16	non-quoted	It was neutral since we knew a few people from the Carpentry Club. And we used to bug them a little, be like,	113
0	0	0	21	non-quoted	Uh so yeah um later in December, our school started a Math Scholars Program and everyone in my class was put into the program. The only thing was, our GSA met every second week and the Math Scholars was on the same day. So we had to run back and forth. So we came up with a plan, we were gonna do math scholars thirty minutes and the GSA for thirty minutes since the Principal's Council was shut down by then. And he- the principal was like,	8
0	0	0	21	non-quoted	Um so my friends started in October, considering most of them like, it was an art teacher, so most of them had a- most of us had art classes. So we automatically knew where to go. And few had the advisor, and few others decided to join us after we like, talked to them.	11
0	0	0	21	non-quoted	Um for- um basically, mine was to keep order, like, so where we used to meet, so keep- kinda like, keep people quiet. Like, just make sure everyone- they're not talking over the advisor. Because for some people, that information might be important, but for some others, it might not be. Um, I remember during the Black- during the Black History Month, that project was the most hard because our advisor wasn't there. And I was like,	22

0	0
0	0
21	26
non-quoted	non-quoted
I would say the label- like identities and um their names, and everything was really important and helpful. Because that helps us to like, learn more about the community. [Um uh] so one of our students- like one of my classmates didn't know what they identified as, but with the label they were able to understand how to actually feel. [Like kind of um] think what they want to call themselves and completely understand. It's- it's kind of like- I kind of wish I had discovered GSA last year. (Like) not last- last year, when I was sophomore. And I had no idea how I felt and what to call it. But, uh, but one of my friends came out as bisexual and that's when I kind of learned the term and that's [...] so I was kinda like, I wish I knew about GSA earlier, so I could have learned or that more earlier [before I needed it]	So we have a group chat and our- the em- embarrassing thing was our advisor had called an activist we- who we had talked to earlier. And she is ki- she's a busy lady 'cause she has an acting job, so she was- uh, she didn't get mad at us, she was pretty- she understood what had happened. We waited for thirty minutes for anyone to show up and no one came. But we eventually talked to everyone like,
95	43

0	0	26	non-quoted	Uh, not sure. She would share, like sometimes when one of the students would bring- shared with her- [so] like, I remember she used to have this pamphlet um, I would say a flyer for all important numbers or things we would, um, like that are important to us or might help us, she had a flyer for that. And whenever someone brought in some- a new contact information, or an updated place [or address, she would] put it down on it. [And she would] print out a new copy of it so that like it stays updated.	90
0	0	26	non-quoted	Uh, websites, she had websites for- like we could go to. So like, um, she had the suicide prevention hotline, the website, and then she had her email and we have a place close by who's like, um, a shelter for LGBTQ teens. [So] she definitely had that on her, like their contact information, their address. She found images online, like- I think pretty sure the list was online, cause it was an image and that- and some of the words she typed herself, which she thought were missing from it. And few other images where she just used to talk to, uh- she used as discussion topics, were definitely from online or news articles, [like New York] Times or the Washington Post.	91

219

0	0	26	non-quoted	Definite- um, I would say yes. That's how I felt. Because I was completely comfortable bringing it up. When joke- like, so you- saw- I think I saw a meme, and we just brought it- we were discussing- talking about memes one day after the meeting. And I just brought it up randomly and no one really- like, they just laughed like at the joke 'cause they knew what I was talking about. Um, and we would just laugh on other jokes someone will bring up but it's like not offensive jokes. 'Cause like we understood that's rude completely. And we would just laugh. And when we knew someone went out of line, we wouldn't like,
0	0	36	non-quoted	Uh yeah, definitely 'cause it was like- okay, so one of my friends actually like had a fight with his mom. (Like) not a fight but argument with his mom and his mom kicked him out for like a couple of hours. And I was like, ready 'cause I knew a place exactly the shelter, which it's pretty close to us. But the- he was part of the GSA too so our advisor advised him to stay somewhere for a while. So he went to the park 'til then to talk to his mother. She def- um, quickly reached out to our social services people. She talked to their mom, [like explained] what happened, how he feels, how the mom feels. Then she talked to the kid. She didn't like, didn't tell anyone else to talk to him because she's pretty close to him too. She was like,
		103		92

0	0.5	0.454545455	0.33333333	0.33333333
0	3	5	2	2
36	6	11	6	6
non-quoted	quoted	quoted	quoted	quoted
Uh, we do like we have a separate group chat from that like us classmates, and that's where we have our discussions about different topics. So like recently how the three trans women got shot- uh attacked. So we talked about that. We had a- we just had a discussion between us [and we just] talked about how we felt and how it was like scary for some of us. But we try to console each other, try to make everyone feel safe. That's where, like- that's where we do with- without our advisor, that's what we do outside. Like we use outside resources like articles or Twitter sometimes. So like someone will send a thread and we'll just go into it and start reading all of it. So that's how we would do it sometimes.	" Oh, they' re our brothers?"	"That's not helping me!"	" Okay, I can try."	"Okay, it's okay."
96	62	81	74	116

0.272727273	quoted	11	3	quoted	"We don't wanna do this."	88
0.19230769	quoted	26	5	quoted	"Okay, we'll do sem- we'll do a seminar session, we'll talk."	83
0.19047619	quoted	21	4	quoted	"Can you tell your advisor to be a little fast? Just a little. It's an urgent thing."	114
0.1875	quoted	16	3	quoted	"Oh, good but I don't need it anymore."	37
0.181818182	quoted	11	2	quoted	"Okay, I'm gonna have an open door."	9
0.166666667	quoted	6	1	quoted	"Hey, do you want to come?"	12
0.166666667	quoted	6	1	quoted	"I'm not gay, I'm bisexual."	132
0.1666667	quoted	6	1	quoted	"Okay."	26

0.15384615	4	26	quoted	quoted	"Han Solo, we forgot about that."	68
0.125	2	16	quoted	quoted	"Okay, you can be the president this year."	18
0.125	2	16	quoted	quoted	"Hi, I'm the president. We do this in our club. Nice to meet you."	59
0.111111111	4	36	quoted	quoted	"Oh, he said um, the carpentry teacher said he's gonna take a week to do things, that's all."	27
0.108695652	5	46	quoted	quoted	"Please do it. Please do it. Please do it on time. She needs it."	23
0.09674194	3	31	quoted	quoted	"Hey, what do you guys wanna do for GSA? We didn't think about anything. Well, do you want to guys talk or just meet someone, because you need to tell me now."	79
0.095238095	2	21	quoted	quoted	"Please be quiet. Now- we're not doing this."	65

0.090909091	1	11	quoted	"Okay, today's meeting is a little serious."	40
0.090909091	1	11	quoted	"Yeah, this was a little out of hand."	46
0.090909091	1	11	quoted	"I'll just take responsibility whenever you need me."	57
0.0909091	1	11	quoted	"Okay, I'll do it, sure."	127
0.090909091	1	11	quoted	"Okay, I'll tell you, don't worry."	135
0.09090909	1	11	quoted	"We'll do it. We'll do it."	24
0.090909091	1	11	quoted	" We are making benches for the outside area so it' s gonna take some time."	115
0.090909091	1	11	quoted	"Oh, I didn't know you were gay."	131
0.076923077	2	26	quoted	"Hey, what do you guys want to do for GSA?"	78

0.076923077	0.064516129	0.064516129	0.0625	0.053571429	
2	2	2	1	3	
26	31	31	16	56	
quoted	quoted	quoted	quoted	quoted	
"It's okay. They're just kinda idiots. So, it's okay we'll- we'll do something."	"What happened? We told you we were gonna have a meeting."	"Okay, so my guidance counselor told me about this program. Do you think I should do it? Do you think I should-?"	"From future times be- make sure that you're on time because that plays an important role in your future too."	"Hey, what happened, are you guys, okay?"	"Do you want to have a discussion, I have someone who want- who would like to talk to you guys, or do you just want to have an information seminar? How do you guys want to do it?"
38	44	125	49	70	76

Quote						
"So this is uh this is GSA, Gay-Straight Alliance. And this is what we are gonna do. This is what we are gonna talk about. If you have any questions or concerns, please ask me now."	2	quoted	quoted	21	1	0.04761905
"If anyone tears down any club flyers, you're gonna get caught on cameras and they're gonna, like, gonna take steps or get detention."	35	quoted	quoted	21	1	0.04761905
"How many people come? What do you do? How can I help? And how can I put my skills to use?"	5	quoted	quoted	21	1	0.04761905
"Oh, we would've had that prom today."	32	quoted	quoted	21	1	0.04761905
"Oh, you shouldn't have said that."	104	quoted	quoted	21	1	0.04761905
"Don't listen to them. We- we'll- we're your friends. It's- we respect whatever you wanna call yourself. Whatever you wanna identify as, whatever your pronouns are 'cause that's our job as your friends to respect for who you are and not like what you wanna be like, it's just you. So nothing much changes. You're the same person we knew for so long."	101	quoted	quoted	101	4	0.03960396
"If you want to talk, we- it's a safe space. You are always welcome. We'll have a one on one with you if you need help with anything."	118	quoted	quoted	26	1	0.038461538

226

0.03030303	2	66	quoted	"We need to try to stay on topic. I know everyone's concerns, questions are important that's why we're gonna do them in the end, so then we can go through the session quietly and as quick as possible, and then answer all the questions."	52
0.02777778	1	36	quoted	"When the time comes, you will know when to put your skills at use. Until then you can do your best in which- whichever place you can help."	6
0	0	6	quoted	"We are done with our thing."	110
0	0	6	quoted	"You might be interested."	14
0	0	6	quoted	"Yeah."	63
0	0	6	quoted	"Whatever's fine with you."	80
0	0	6	quoted	"How you're gonna call yourself they them? That doesn't make sense."	100
0	0	6	quoted	"Yeah we're goo- good."	123
0	0	6	quoted	"It's okay."	48

0	0	0	quoted	11	"Let me talk to him."	93
0	0	0	quoted	16	"People are still getting used to it so it might happen often."	51
0	0	0	quoted	16	"That's not helpful at all."	82
0	0	0	quoted	16	"What day do you want to do this?"	85
0	0	0	quoted	16	"If something bothers you or someone bothers you, says something, just tell me, I'll talk to them and if they didn't listen, they're out of the club."	134
0	0	0	quoted	16	"Do you want water? Do you need anything? Are you okay? Are you hydrated?"	121
0	0	0	quoted	21	"You're doing- you're good at math. Here. This is how much I earn, this is how much I spend, find a way for me to save."	73
0	0	0	quoted	36	"Do it. It's free of cost. If you miss it, it's okay, if you don't like it."	126
0	0	0	quoted	36	"We still didn't get the- this piece for the locker room, we s- the locker room still has some issues."	29

0	0	61	quoted	"I'm still new and I don't wanna do something wrong. And you have some- you are someone with experience, so I think you should do it. And I would help you wherever you want."	54

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Appendix F Test statistics

Appendix Table 4 Mean vowel duration, pitch, amplitude, and token counts (midpoint) by quotedness

	Non-quoted		Quoted	
	Measure	**n**	**Measure**	**n**
Duration	0.14 s	219	0.12 s	219
Pitch	137.07 Hz	219	143.11 Hz	219
Amplitude	62.35 dB	219	62.72 dB	219

Appendix Table 5 Significant t-test statistics (two-tailed, independent, alpha level = 0.05)

/u/ F2: t[132.16] = -2.433, p = 0.016
/æ/ F1: t[63.666] = 2.651, p = 0.010
Pitch (F0): t[399.55] = -2.513, p = 0.012
Distinct: t[99.569] = -3.095, p = 0.002

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