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Telling Tales as Oral Performance: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Storytelling in Ireland,
Scotland and Southern Appalachia

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the department of Communication

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Professional Communication

by

Annalee Tull

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Dr. Andrew Herrmann, Chair

Dr. Kelly Dorgan

Jane MacMorran

Dr. Delanna Reed

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ABSTRACT

Telling Tales as Oral Performance: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Storytelling in Ireland,
Scotland and Southern Appalachia

by

Annalee Tull

I sought to link, through this paper, cultural performances of identity through storytelling in Ireland, Scotland, and southern Appalachia. I evaluated storytelling practices, whether it was a public or private performance, using symbolic interactionism, dramatist theory, narrative paradigm, and performance theory. The author studied abroad in Ireland and Scotland through the East Tennessee State University Appalachian, Scottish, and Irish Studies Program and experienced an array of stories. She then evaluated her own experiences with storytelling from growing up in southern Appalachia and visited the International Storytelling Festival in Jonesborough, TN. The research is rooted in grounded theory from ethnographies, with themes emerging from the field notes. The themes reinforced the theories evaluated tied the cultures together through history.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of Appalachia is one of the most intriguing stories about American culture. Unfortunately this history is too often overshadowed by long-held stereotypes. As Behringer et al. (2007) noted: “Stereotypes of Appalachia took hold by the late 1800s when journalists, missionaries and travel writers promoted the image of the uneducated, impoverished ‘hillbilly’” (p. 44). These stereotypes have persisted in popular culture (Williamson, 1995), including in the book and movie versions *Deliverance* (Dyer, 2010), and most recently Suzanne Collins (2008) perpetuated the stereotype in her best-seller *The Hunger Games*. Her heroine Katniss Everdeen comes from the dirt poor mining District 12 that “used to be called Appalachia” (p. 41).

Like all stereotypes, this stereotype of the Appalachian peoples overlooks the depth and breadth of the cultural significance of the region. Many well-known American writers come from Appalachia: Catherine Marshall, James Agee, Thomas Wolfe, Wilma Dykeman, Wendall Berry, and Charles Frazier. Pioneers John Chapman, better known as Johnny Appleseed, and Daniel Boone, as well as Presidents Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson all came from the region (Buchanan, 2001; Kerrigan, 2012; Randall, 2006; Trefousse, 1989). Importantly the stereotypes overlook the history and the cultural practices of the Scots-Irish in Appalachia and their connections to the narratives and storytelling practices of the Scots, Irish, and Scots-Irish. (Blethen & Wood, 1997).

Storytelling has held a strong place in the cultures of Ireland, Scotland, and Appalachia and further connects these cultures to one another. When traveling, storytelling is found in numerous places in these areas such as pubs, bars, classrooms, parks, carnivals, homes, storytelling centers, and festivals. Growing up in Appalachia, I heard numerous stories and

always felt connected to how these stories impacted my life. I had heard about the Appalachian regions Scots-Irish roots and wanted to further investigate that. I studied abroad, starting in Ireland and travelling through Scotland. While there, I conducted field research to tie these cultures together and evaluated the performance aspects of storytelling. I sought to examine through this paper the cultural ties of these areas and establish storytelling as a broad communicative performance of culture.

By using various theories, such as the narrative paradigm, symbolic interactionism, performance theory, and dramatist theory, I sought to connect cultural communication and performance studies. I employed grounded theory analysis after writing field notes then sifted through the notes to write up the ethnography. I sought through this paper to expand the areas of performance studies to include storytelling as a means of exploring narrative from a performance point of view.

Appalachia has always been dear to my heart. I am intrinsically Appalachian and am proud of my Scots-Irish roots. This research evaluates the connections of these identities and how these cultural identities are performed through storytelling. Storytelling is an integral part of everyday life, not only amongst family and friends, but also in festivals celebrating historical oral traditions. Storytelling is defined in many different ways and integrates itself into life even when people do not realize they are experiencing it (Birch & Hekler, 1996). While storytelling festivals and events take place worldwide, the Appalachian mountains of America as well as Scotland and Ireland are especially known for their oral traditions and links with storytelling. Part of this tradition is rooted in history. Becker (1998) argued the closeness of tradition and folk life found in Appalachia. He noted, “Invoking their history could help Americans live in the present while reconciling present days with times past” (Becker, 1998, p. 15). The Appalachians reinforce this

by living closely with each other, the traditions of their ancestors, and maintaining folk traditions such as storytelling or handiwork. The American South is linked to Scotland and Ireland through immigration, but more specifically Appalachia shares ancestors with the Ulster Scots plantation in Northern Ireland, as well as a variety of various cultural groups. To understand the connection requires a look at the intricate history involved.

A Brief Historical Overview

The history of Ireland, Scotland, England, and the American Appalachia is a tangled web of political intrigue, clashing cultures, religious entanglements, and more (Horning, 2002; Williams, 2002). While a complete history of these dilemmas is not possible, a brief overview of that history will provide the background and the impetus not only confirming the connections between these people but how and why storytelling remains such an important aspect of culture that connects them. Before discussing aspects of storytelling, narrative, and performance, this brief historical overview serves as important background context.

James VI of Scotland became king at a young age, taking over from his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots in 1567. In 1603 James ascended to the throne of England after the death of Elizabeth I, the last Tudor monarch, becoming James I of England. As such, James unified the two crowns (Webb, 2004). Historically Scotland and Ireland shared common bonds and interacted peaceably with each other, fighting outsiders and other foes prior to James taking the throne. Due to Northern Ireland, specifically Ulster's religious turmoil, James was required to place an army there at great expense. James, being Protestant and the English leader, greatly distrusted the Catholic Irish of the North. Later, James decided to sell Catholic Irish land to Protestant Scottish settlers, forming the plantation of Ulster in 1606 (Webb, 2004). James viewed Ireland as a barbarous place and planned to civilize it through the importation of Protestant

Scottish immigrants. He ranked the settlers as Episcopalians (English) being most important, then Presbyterians (Scottish) coming next, and Catholics (Irish) as the lowest rank. This translates as English settlers, Scottish settlers, and Irish natives. Eventually, the hierarchy in Northern Ireland would cause more trouble and end in revolt. For James, Ireland, specifically Northern Ireland's Ulster Plantation was constantly in turmoil, requiring a constant military presence. The Scottish and English settlers interacted as little as possible. These settlers kept their cultures and religions separate (Webb, 2004).

In 1690 a mass exodus of settlers emerged from Scotland to the Ulster Plantation. Queen Ann, James's successor, enacted penal laws requiring all office holders in Ireland to be Episcopalian. Naturally, many Scots-Irish leaders were forced out of their positions and treated like second-class citizens. Queen Ann's attempts to crush their spirits only ignited their defiance. Hill (1993) noted the Celtic Scots, many of whom settled in the Ulster plantation, got along better with the Irish natives due to the shared Celtic origins. The Celts are the cultural group that spanned across a wide variety of medieval Europe. This also allowed the two groups to share a commonality and garner a culture with one another. The Celtic Scots who settled in the Ulster plantation built their houses and villages in the same style as the pre-established Irish villages, refuting the English stone houses, and villages centered around an aristocratic homestead (Hill, 1993). Another factor dividing the Celtic Scottish settlers from the English or other Scottish settlers centered around religion. A common misnomer laid claim to Celts, whether Irish or Scottish, is their being Catholic. While this is true for many, others are Protestant. Hill (1993) noted it was not religion that caused the cultural divides between the Celtic Scots and Irish against the English and Scottish who were not Celtic settlers; it was the infiltration of English settlers and their attempt to Anglicize Ireland.

According to Dowling (2007) many people in Northern Ireland blended Scottish and Irish cultures while others rejected one, the other, or both. After the inception of the Troubles, a tumultuous time centering around religious and political differences in Ireland, Scottish and Irish people divided between Catholics and Protestants. Attempts to blend the two into a unified culture were halted by the fighting during the initial Troubles. Only recently have the two sides reached a step towards reconciliation under the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Dowling (2007) noted the attempts of the two to celebrate a unified culture by sharing and celebrating the differences from the two sides. The communal understanding and blending of the Scottish and Irish traditions sparked unification. Later, Scots-Irish people celebrated the renewed Ulster Scots movement, promoting the unification further.

However, at the time of the Troubles and the strained relations that existed between the various factions, and given the persecution and limited opportunities to live freely in Ireland, the Scots-Irish decided they would take their lives elsewhere. The opportunities waiting in the new world, America, such as religious freedoms and economic opportunities, worked as a driving force navigating the Scots-Irish to the newly formed colonies (Webb, 2004).

After coming to America, Ulster Scots settlers helped shape democracy and the world around them. According to Webb (2004), “they not only came to America, they became America.” Their cultures and traditions travelled with them and evolved into the cultures and traditions we hold in the Appalachian region today. The history of their farming expertise also paved a way for these people in America. They used their farming knowledge to harvest flax, spun and used to make linen, that they would then ship back to Northern Ireland and other European ports, enhancing trade and commerce for the Scots-Irish in America. When the Scots-Irish in Northern Ireland heard of the opportunities in the colonies, more immigrants arrived.

When the first wave of Scots-Irish settled in western Pennsylvania to help the Quakers protect their lands, Governor William Gooch of Virginia offered them farmland in the Shenandoah Valley, luring them into the mountains. Extending through present-day Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and parts of South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, the Scots-Irish built new homes and new lives in the Appalachian region (Webb, 2004; Williams, 2002).

The Scots-Irish faced more than fearsome wilderness with minimal supplies in the mountains of Appalachia. They also faced Native Americans, the only fighters known to rival them in skill and expertise. The Native Americans, who had no conception of land ownership, did not appreciate these new settlers laying ownership to their land. In 1754 tensions between the two groups erupted. When the British started the French and Indian war, the Scots-Irish proved their worth as fearless fighters. Soon after the war ended in 1763, as the Scots-Irish of Appalachia were settling into their peaceful new lives, they joined the other colonists against British rule (Webb, 2004; Williams, 2002).

The Scots-Irish, while peaceable with each other, have a history of warfare and fighting anyone who would stand in the way of their desires and freedoms, especially the English. That history translated to the colonies and their fight for independence (Dameron, 2003). The mountain people proved an honest threat to the British armies. The British did not view the mountain men of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina as a threat, and this lack of fear outraged Scots-Irish colonists. The Battle of King's mountain culminated in a victory for the American Revolution. "Fight, Sing, Drink, Pray" (Webb, 2004) sums up the impact these people had on the Appalachian mountain region. This historical-cultural similarity binds Appalachia with Scotland and Ireland. The original Scots-Irish settlers brought not only their farming and

fighting; they also brought their cultures, rich in music, storytelling, dancing, religious strength, and whiskey making.

Scottish settlers, who erected churches as the first buildings in their settlements, demonstrated how important religion was to these people, which continued through to the current Bible-belt region. The music styles were rooted in similarities and folk music and bluegrass used many similar instruments. Dance styles such as clogging resembled Irish step dancing. The stories of these people also shared similarities. The oral tradition for Scots-Irish and Appalachian settlers never lost importance, and the similarities are visible today through a common history (Webb, 2004). The terrain of the Appalachian region shared similarities with the native lands of Scotland and Ireland, and this region became a safe-haven for the Scots-Irish, with many cultural parallels.

Gleeson (2006) noted as the Scots-Irish and Irish immigrated to the American colonies and began settling the new frontier a new commonality bound them. The religious and political differences that caused strain in relations on Ireland's soil washed away in Southern Appalachia after a time of continued strain where the Scots-Irish deemed themselves "Scots-Irish" in order to differentiate themselves from the Irish. The new American settlers united under the shared identity of Scots-Irish in America. Religion, while practiced differently, lost importance as an arguing point for the Catholics and Protestants, and a united front emerged. The religious differences diminished, but the religious importance remained in these people's lives. Looking across the American south and especially the Appalachian region, the Scots-Irish religious fervor aided in the establishing of the "Bible belt" still intact in the region today. So, too, do the stories they tell.

There is no doubt that the Appalachian region of Scots-Irish America is directly connected to Scotland and Ireland. Given that connection, analyzing the storytelling and the tales and the performances of *only* the Scottish or *only* the Irish or *only* Appalachia would not fully represent the cultural ties that bind these cultures together. To develop a richer understanding of these cultural connections required evaluating storytelling practices and cultural research in Appalachia, Scotland, Ireland, as well as the historical Ulster plantation region, including present-day Northern Ireland. This impetus required a lot of planning, including travelling to the United Kingdom to collect data and perform ethnographic research. Before discussing how the research was conducted, it is necessary to discuss the philosophical underpinnings and intricacies of storytelling, narrative, and performance, through symbolic interactionism.

Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction theory situates and explains how we use language to create meaning (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1900). Mead posited through learned conversations, social interactions, including common verbal and nonverbal signifiers, as well as past experiences, we create meaning. This meaning is created, sustained, and changes both on the interpersonal level and the societal level. As Charron (2004) noted,

“The human being must be understood as a social person. It is the constant search for social interaction that leads us to do what we do. Instead of focusing on the individual and his or her personality, or on how the society or social situation causes human behavior, symbolic interactionism focuses on the activities that take place between actors. Interaction is the basic unit of study. Individuals are created through interaction; society too is created through social interaction. What we do depends on interaction with others earlier in our lifetimes, and it depends on our interaction right now. Social interaction is central to what we do.” (p. 31)

Symbolic interaction is entwined with the unique American philosophy of pragmatism (Denzin, 1992; Lewis, 1976; Perry, 2001) and was foundational to “communication study in the 20th century...bound up with how we form self in interaction with community” (Johnston, 2011, p 5).

We share these meanings in order to interact with others and understand the world around us. As Holstein and Grubman (2000) summarize,

Symbolic interactionism orients to the principle that individuals respond to the meanings they construct as they interact with one another. Individuals are active agents in the social worlds, influenced, to be sure, by culture and social organization, but also instrumental in producing the culture, society, and meaningful conduct that influences them (p. 32).

The symbolic interactionists maintained meanings are not a priori but are social products formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact communicatively. Therefore, society is socially constructed, and people interact based on their beliefs about their socially constructed world. These interactions are all motivated based on the way people piece together meanings of their world. American pragmatism and symbolic interaction are directly connected to dramaturgy, particularly the influential works of Kenneth Burke (Simonson, 2001) who examined the motivations of interaction (Burke, 1945; Mead, 1900). This metaphor of the theatre that theoretically connects Burke, Mead, and Blumer (1969) is useful for analyzing communication praxis. As Burns (1972) noted:

In ordinary life each person is engaged in a constant endeavor to mark out his own role, his setting, his course of action and to distinguish between those who are to be fellow actors and those who are to be spectators.... In their most highly valued relationships and preoccupations people like to think of themselves as free of all the attributes of an actor. It is, however, possible to preserve the necessary sense of authenticity if "theatricality" is seen not as a mode of behavior but as a mode of recognition. It belongs to the critical, judging, assessing "I" that stands aside from the self—as conscience or "ego." But its function is enriched by theatrical awareness and theatrical insights that take into account the self as a social being (p. 232)

While dramaturgical theories are criticized for focusing on the "acting" and "performing" in the negative sense, assuming that individuals are deceiving others or presenting a fake self, this is not the case. In fact,

the focus is on maintaining a sense of agreement and not disappointing others, so as to preserve the interaction itself. The main focus of interest for interactionist studies is the meaning that people derive from a situation, and meaning construction is an interpersonal process that is open to negotiation. In this context, negotiation consists of achieving a

mutual definition of the situation, which forms a condition for the possibility of cooperation and the continuation of the interaction. (Benjamin, 2003, p. 5)

The examination of communication, performance, and personal identity through symbolic interaction analysis spans topics as diverse as the metaphor of “being in the closet” (Adams, 2010), familial deterioration (Foster, 2001), online communication (Fernback, 2007), punk rock culture (Herrmann, 2012b), self-help discourses (Woodstock, 2007), and organizational communication (Manning, 2008), among others. Symbolic interaction is the underlying theory that grounds storytelling, narrative, and performance.

CHAPTER 2

STORYTELLING, NARRATIVE, AND PERFORMAMNCE

Narrative is a telling, a performance event, the process of making or telling a story. A story is an account involving the narration of a series of events in a plotted sequence that unfolds in time. (A story and a narrative are nearly equivalent terms.) A story has a beginning, a middle, and an ending. Stories have certain basic structural features, including narrators, plots, settings, characters, crises, and resolutions. (Oakley, 2003, p. 249)

As noted, Appalachian, Scottish, and Irish cultures are intrinsically tied together, one in which this manifests itself is in their ties and emphases on storytelling in their respective cultures. Storytelling and narrative themselves have a storied tradition. The differences between stories, storytelling, and narrative are slight. Stories are the actions we tell, have a beginning and end, and are close-ended; storytelling is the act of telling the story, and narrative is open-ended and invites the audience to participate, meaning the end is unknown. There are a number of different theories and concepts regarding storytelling and narrative that are important to this type of cultural research. This tradition continues to be examined and expanded upon. I, however, will touch on a few important but related theoretical traditions.

I begin with the historical importance of storytelling as connected to Walter Ong's theory of orality (1982), connecting his ideas with the cultural insights of storytelling as explicated by Cohen (1993) and Carey (2009). From there, I discuss McLean's (2009) and Fisher's (1989) understandings of storytelling and narrative, particularly Fisher's conception of analysis through the narrative paradigm. I then briefly examine Bochner's conception regarding the virtues of thinking with stories (1997). I then introduce Sobol's (1992) two types of storytelling and then review the performance of storytelling. While all of these theories may seem to be separate and individualistic, there are common connections and understandings that underpin them all and undergird the need to study cross-cultural stories.

Storytelling as Cultural Practice

As Denzin and Lincoln (2003) noted, “Culture is an unfolding production, thereby placing performances and their representations at the center of lived experience” (p. 328). This combination of performance and cultural practice has a long tradition. Ong (1982) argued the importance of orality noting that the basis of human interaction is language. Language exists through hearing and speaking, and while other forms of language, such as sign language have been invented, they act as a substitute for the spoken and heard language. He went on to point out how the practice of speaking in preliterate cultures left no written text for scholars to study. Ong discussed primary oral cultures, which scarcely exist today and rely solely on orality with no written texts in their language systems. Ong argued literacy changed primary oral cultures in substantial ways including the development of philosophical traditions and the creation of repositories for the written language, and the cultures need to rely less on memory.

Ong (1982) noted oral cultures produce “powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth, which are no longer even possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche” (p. 14). Reading a text before hearing it performed aloud can have an affect on the consumption of the story. One may have predetermined notions of a text, and therefore not listen honestly to the oral representation of the tale. On the flipside, however, Ong (1982) discusses how without new writing, “human consciousness cannot achieve its fuller potentials” (p. 14), and that writing itself changes the human thought process.

As Ong (1982) continued his discussion of orality and literacy, he noted the use of sound in oral traditions. Regarding communication in orality, as soon as a word or sound is produced, it subsequently left. Sound therefore fled whereas written text stayed. Written text used the ocular sense, while the spoken word employed hearing as well as seeing. When a storyteller performed

an oration or narrative, the audience used their hearing to understand and note what the storyteller was saying but also used their eyes to see the storyteller and watch the performance at hand. Ong (1982) argued how the use of the two senses strengthened the mind and the remembrance of these stories in the oral traditions. In addition to strengthening the relationship between the audience and the story, oral traditions allowed for a strengthened relationship between the audience, the storyteller, and each other (1982). The shared experience of hearing and seeing an oral performance bound the audience and storyteller into a culture through a shared experience. The retelling of stories adds to the conservatism of culture because in oral cultures, the stories and lessons remain relatively unchanged, thus preserving the culture and that culture's mores and ethos.

Because orality constitutes cultures and can change them as well, a need presented itself for a communicative view of culture. Cohen (1993) argued that culture is created through the people involved in the process; in other words, the people coming together under a shared experience with similar meanings and understanding create a culture. People of a certain culture share common symbols and understandings strengthening or changing them over time. Cohen (1993) continued by saying "culture, in this view, is the means by which we make meaning, and with which we make the world meaningful to ourselves, and ourselves meaningful to the world" (p. 196). Cohen's view of cultural formation involved creation as opposed to passive acceptance of society around you. It involved creation and meaning making with a shared group with similar interests. Storytelling aided in the creation of a shared culture by requiring the tellers to perform identity through their stories. The shared identities meshed together, and the final created product became a culture.

Similar to Cohen, Carey (2009) noted storytelling fell into the ritual view of communication. The transmission view of communication remained the mainstay for the majority of communication theories, especially as the world transitioned into the widespread digital era, with technology replacing earlier forms of communication. The transmission view dealt primarily with sending messages or simply giving information to others (Carey, 2009). The ritual form holds that communication constitutes culture as an often-viewed archaic method of communication transference (Carey, 2009). The ritual view of communication aimed to involve people, associated them into a commonality with others, shared ties, and formed communities with a shared culture (Carey, 2009). Storytelling is a form of communication as ritual because of its ability to include a multitude of people who share a common theme in hearing the stories being told. Carey went on to note that due to the lack of camaraderie and commonality in American social culture, Americans primarily understand communication in accord with the transmission model. However, I would argue Americans also practice the communication as regional ritual. Appalachian storytelling invested itself in the ritualistic practice by adding drama and folk tales. According to Carey (2009), “it does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action; it exists solely in historical time; and it invites our participation on the basis of our assuming, often vicariously, social roles within it” (p. 7).

Storytelling not only unites people as a community under a common cultural practice, but it also aids people in the discernment and understanding of changing times. McLean (2009) noted the permeability of stories into everyday life in order to cope with everyday realities and situations. He states, “these are stories that affirm not only the need to keep telling stories, to respond creatively to the creativity of the world’s ceaseless self-transformations, but also the productivity and consequentiality of the stories that human beings tell” (p. 231). The importance

of storytelling cannot be underestimated. While the analysis of orality, narrative, and storytelling delve deep into philosophical and historical aspects of communication and culture, Fisher's (1984) narrative paradigm provides a guideline by which stories themselves can be examined and analyzed.

The Narrative Paradigms

Fisher (1984) not only explained the need of storytelling to shuffle through the questions of an ever-changing life and world but presented narrative as a paradigmatic approach to understanding. He argued his narrative paradigm, a cross between argumentative rhetoric, literary rhetoric, and symbolic interaction theory, best allowed humans the ability to clarify their worlds. Fisher (1984) notes that human beings are storytelling animals (*homo narrans*), and make decisions based on historically, culturally, and biographical "good reasons." Examining stories through the narrative paradigm requires examining them via the concepts of "narrative coherence" and "narrative fidelity". Narrative coherence asks, "how does the story hang together," in accord with other stories? Is the story consistent, are the characters acting in a consistent manner? The other question is about narrative fidelity. Does the story make sense with my experiences and values and does it provide good reasons that can guide my future actions? If so, then the story has narrative fidelity.

Fisher's (1984) paradigm considers historical as well as situational stories, blending historical fact, situational fact, and human emotion. He also noted the difference in his narrative paradigm and other popular theories for sifting through narrative discourse; the ability to distinguish whether one should adhere to the stories or not (Fisher, 1985). The narrative paradigm required the personal implications regarding the application of stories into one's life. The paradigm also posited symbolic actions as only holding meaning for those who live, create,

interpret, and interact with the stories. Later, Fisher (1989) further clarified his position of the narrative paradigm by noting,

The narrative paradigm is a philosophical statement that is meant to offer an approach to interpretation and assessment of human communication—assuming that all forms of human communication can be seen fundamentally as stories, as interpretations of aspects of the world occurring in time and shaped by history, culture, and character. (p. 57)

Fisher follows a long tradition of theorists who view narratives and stories as the basic building blocks human understanding (Bruner, 1987; Crites, 1986; Josselson, 1996; Mishler, 1991; Polkinghorne, 1995). However, Fisher’s paradigm is not the only way to think about narrative.

Bochner (1997) argued a second way to think about narrative. In opposition to Fisher’s analysis,

To think about a story is to reduce it to content and then analyze the content. Thinking with stories takes the story as already complete; there is no going beyond it. To think with a story is to experience it affecting one’s own life and to find in that effect a certain truth about one’s life. Thus...stories are not “data” to support various propositions that I advance. Instead, the stories are the materials that I use to model theorizing—and living— with stories. (Frank, as quoted in Bochner, p. 141)

Rather than analyzing the stories people tell, as in Fisher’s paradigm, we should instead think with stories and how they connect the storyteller and the story hearer. “We ask what kind of person we are becoming when we take the story in and consider how we can use it for our own purposes, what ethical directions it points us toward, and what moral commitments it calls out in us” (Bochner, 1997, p. 436). Telling a story or personal narrative not only allowed for interactions between others but also created meaning for ourselves through symbolic interaction (Ellis & Bochner, 1992). As Andrews (2000) noted, “We become who we are through telling stories about our lives and living the stories we tell” (p. 78). To think with and through a story is to experience verisimilitude, resonance, the illumination of emic and tacit knowledge, and dialogic understanding as we relate the stories to our personal identities and the cultural surround

in which we find ourselves embedded (Bochner, 1994; Eisenberg, 2007; Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2010; Goodall, 2009; Herrmann, 2012b). As Oakley (2003) noted,

Experience, if it is to be remembered and represented, must be contained in a story that is narrated. We have no direct access to experience as such. We can study experience only through its representations, through the ways in which stories are told. (p. 249)

What makes the narrative paradigms unique is how they connect to other theories, including dramaturgical and performance theories.

Burke's Dramaturgy

These interactions ground Burke's (1969) dramatist theory and the use of the pentad can further clarify the narrative paradigm. Burke noted all human interaction is dramatic and, thus, need a way to map out actions. He combined five key terms into a dramatic pentad, being made up of act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. Broken down, these become what, where, who, how, and why. The act then is what happened, the scene is where it happened, the agent is who did it, the agency is how the agent performed the act, and the purpose is the reason(s) behind what happened (Burke, 1969). Burke (1969) summarizes it:

In any rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (*agency*), and the purpose." (p. xv)

This, in relation to the narrative paradigm, can be used in the basis of storytelling but also reflects how the act of storytelling and the use of narrative explain and create meaning in our world.

From the historical perspective of Ong, to the philosophical narrative paradigm of Fisher, to the dramatistic application of Burke, to the personalized thinking with stories as proposed by Bochner and others: all these arguments support the explicit usefulness of storytelling and

narrative analysis in making meaning for us and for the world around us. While these are important arenas of research, another distinction needs to be made regarding the preparation and performance of storytelling.

Storytelling: Preparation and Performance

The performance paradigm privileges particular, participatory, dynamic, intimate, precarious, embodied experience grounded in historical process, contingency, and ideology. Another way of saying it is that performance-centered research takes as both its subject matter and method the experiencing body situated in time, place, and history. The performance paradigm insists on face-to-face encounters instead of abstractions and reductions. (Conquergood, 2003, p. 362)

According to Sobol (1992) two different forms of storytelling require distinguishing: the oral traditional and the oral interpretive mode. The distinction comes from the type of preparation for the story. The oral traditional mode of storytelling consisted of a teller hearing a story from another and retelling that story or relaying a similar personal experience story. These stories derive from the body- or a personal experience; the ear- or hearing from another source; or the imagination- a tale completely constructed in the mind (Sobol, 1992). On the other hand, in the oral interpretive mode the story is found in a written text first and then relayed, making adjustments as necessary, but ultimately keeping the story the same as the original written text. The interpretive mode is very similar to Ong's idea of secondary orality. The adjustments present themselves in the act of performing the story (Sobol, 1992). The storytelling observed in this project focused on the oral traditional mode but can also be found in written texts. Stories are often passed from generation to generation orally, but as printing became available, the oral narratives became texts. Therefore, many of the stories told today may be found across the two modes of storytelling (Sobol, 1992).

Storytelling, at its base, is an enacted performance. Storytelling encompassed restored behaviors, consisted of "physical or verbal actions that are not-for-the-first time, prepared, or

rehearsed” (Schechner, 2013, p. 22). Planning often took place with restored behaviors and because storytelling, especially in the case of storytelling festivals and events, required planning and construction in order to tell the stories, they are restored behaviors. Therefore, both forms of storytelling-including the interpretive and traditional modes represented restored behaviors.

Storytelling includes a long history of folklore and reality-based narratives in its makeup. Often described as orality and not literature, storytelling involved the performance aspect of publicly orating a tale. The content of the stories drew variously from historical accounts passed from generation to generation, oral histories, fantasy tales, and personal accounts of life and experiences. Storytelling could be found anywhere you looked: two friends sharing a cup of coffee tell stories, a group of friends at a bar, coworkers in a meeting, family gatherings, theatres, festivals, concerts, and classrooms. While personal and historical stories made up many narratives in society, folktales expanded storytelling acts. In the Appalachian region the popularity of Jack tales represented ties between a normal human being and adventures in one’s world, often adding a supernatural element. Jack was a popular name for boys and men when Jack Tales, such as “Jack and the Beanstalk” and “Jack and Jill,” rose to prominence. These tales explored aspects of Appalachian folk life as well as teaching a moral code (Hanlon, 2013). The folktales became a way for a culture to teach specific cultural traditions, social norms, behaviors, and manners. Moral lessons popularized these stories, with children often making up the intended audience. Folktales essentially represented the moral aspect of folk life.

Storytelling tied and bound the individual to the community, emphasizing a connection between the two. “Culture comes already narrated with canonical stories about how lives may (and should be) lived, a narrative bricolage into which we are recruited by virtue of membership in communities” (Langellier, 2003, p. 460). Different communities, such as Appalachia and

Scotland, share differences and similarities that make up their cultures. As cultures change over time, the way communities taught and shared mores and values must change as well. Storytelling maintained a placeholder as one of the oldest traditions with which to share and teach culture.

Storytelling festivals reignited the performance aspect of oral narration. These events went beyond identity and culture to include aspects of drama and rhetoric, but they also included aspects of social reality. Like narrative theory, performance theory viewed people as *homo narrans*, communicating through stories to form their social world and make meaning of it, similar to a people using symbolic interactionism to create their reality through these stories (Schechner, 2013; Mead, 1900). Fairy tales become part of children's identity at early ages allowed their social reality to become an aspect of the story. Many stories would include aspects of fairy tales, including prince charmings, princesses, and storylines matching the stories and characters with whom they identify. Karpman (1968) noted the use of stories and fairy tales to subconsciously teach children social norms and cultural rules. As their lives progressed they relayed their own oral narratives with enhancements of the same themes they heard from childhood. The performance aspect of oral narration also allowed rhetoric to take center stage. Therefore, rhetoric, symbolic interactionism, oral narratives, performance theory, and identity collided to increase the community-building aspect of storytelling.

When discussing the performance emphasis of a storytelling event, certain aspects must be considered. Performance studies emerged as a rather recent term within the communication discipline. When deciding what accounted for a performance, the only requirement is that someone, either the performer, audience, or the general nature of the event is seen as aesthetic (Pelias & VanOosting, 1987). This opened an ambiguous definition of performance studies, but it also allowed for performance to emerge out of any situation, expanding performance beyond a

theatrical event in a proscenium or arena. The study of performance could communicate cultural change and personal emotion in the realm as long as aesthetic definition roots it (Pelias & VanOosting, 1987). As Spry (2001) noted, “Human experience is chaotic and messy, requiring a pluralism of discursive and interpretive methods that critically turn texts back upon themselves in the constant emancipation of meanings” (p. 727). Performing stories emerged as a way people can sort through human experience with oral narrative to find meaning, share meaning, and build culture.

Storytellers acquired the title of entertainer but branched out beyond that title to historian, lecturer, and teacher (Lwin, 2010). Some argued storytelling has the power to enhance language and literacy in early childhood development (Dawkins & O’Neill, 2011). The different aspects that make up an oral storytelling performance included the visual, the verbal, and the vocal. The three aspects worked together to incite a reaction from the audience and to increase their connection with the story (Lwin, 2010). The teller would use these three aspects to enhance the audience’s experiences with the story. The blending of these aspects also allowed the teller to shift and motivate the reactions of the audience as well as allowing the audience to glean from it what they will (Lwin, 2010). The use of visual cues to engage the audience’s eyes, the verbal to engage their minds, and the vocal to engage their ears all cohesively constructed the dramatism of storytelling. This is related to Burke’s pentad (Burke, 1945). All five aspects of act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose are involved in the storytelling performance to incite drama and action with the stories being told. The way in which the story is told also connected to the ancient accounts of rhetorical performance. Nadeau (2003) noted Aristotle’s use of the verbal, vocal, and visual to enhance the delivery of his rhetoric and argues that without the use of

performative delivery techniques, the audience would scarcely stay awake, much less form a connection with the deliverer of the story.

Storytellers once were esteemed as having great wisdom. Today, however, storytelling is often used both by individuals and large organizations to push an agenda, to create brand loyalty, and other types of possible manipulation and corporate propaganda (Denning, 2004; Simmons, 2001). Similar to the folk music revival of the 1960s, storytelling reached a boom, and many tellers emerged from the woodwork to practice the lost art of oral narration (Sobol, 2008). Many storytelling events today may be considered the commercialized mainstreaming of storytelling. In these settings lost are the organic happenings of sitting around Granny's rocking chair while she spun a story as intricate as the spider webs on her porch. Today's storytelling events are larger, culminating in national and international festivals, which are mainly performed on worldwide stages in celebration of a lost heritage or history. The storyteller's job became to decipher the "important implications both for the kinds of stories they tell and for the kinds of realities those stories help to make" (McLean, 2009, p. 232). However, McKean (2003) argued that the content of stories may have changed over the years, the tradition evolved as well, shaping society with it. The method of deciding what stories to tell and how to perform the stories still maintained its historical worth and its traditions, which is particularly important for this study.

Three Traditions of Storytelling: Irish, Scottish, Appalachian

According to Noguera (2003) an oral tradition required "knowledge, memories, values, and symbols generally configured in linguistic objects of non-literary or aesthetic-literary nature, objects with or without consignment in written testimonies, accomplished vocally" (p.164). The Scots-Irish and Appalachian people honored the oral tradition, conveying their histories,

folktales, realities, and fantasies primarily through storytelling. While more of these stories are being written down, many existed only through the performance of storytelling. Because of the blending of the Scottish with Irish as they made their way to the Appalachian region, it is important to understand each culture's oral tradition individually before drawing a connection.

The Scottish Storytelling Forum was founded in 1996 to connect modern Scots of the nation to the oral tradition that was so widely popular in the nation's history (Stanistreet, 2009). In 2006 the Scottish Storytelling Centre opened in Edinburgh. The center opened under the direction of Donald Smith. In an interview with Stanistreet, he noted, "We're talking here about live telling of stories, a direct sharing. There's no script, even in your head. You might have the shape of the story in your head, but it's always made anew in the telling" (2009, p. 20). The Scottish tradition of storytelling honored the imagination of everyone involved; the listeners needed to be as involved with the tale as the tellers. Smith went on to say, "Everybody is imagining and reacting and experiencing together and the storyteller is a kind of enabler who is allowing everybody to share this story. You're not a solo performer; it's a group thing" (as cited in Stanistreet, 2009, p. 20).

Stanistreet discussed the renaissance of storytelling that emerged in the 1980s and how the culture of storytelling was popularized to draw people back to their traditional Scottish and Gaelic roots. Smith noted the storytelling center's ability to stretch the imaginations of those involved and the importance storytelling has in adult education. Not only did the Scottish people value the tradition of their culture, but they also used storytelling as a means to expand the thought process of adults and teach them new challenges involving communication and oral performance (Stanistreet, 2009).

Similarly, Abrams (2012) analyzed Mary Manson's oral history interviews about her memories of Shetland life and her family heritage. These interviews included stories Manson's family passed on to her and she felt the stories needed to be transcribed. Abrams (2012) noted the use of folktales and storytelling narrative as a means of not only recording a cultural heritage but also as a way to construct the Scottish identity. She noted the meaning-making basis of folktales and narratives, using stories as a way of deciphering the world around us and applying meaning to what happens or has been told to us. People took pieces from the stories told or heard, imparted meaning to them, and used them to construct identity whether it be nationally, locally, familial, or individually (Abrams, 2012).

As the Scottish settlers moved onto the Irish soil of the Ulster plantation, they blended the two cultures into one. Therefore, a look at traditional Irish storytelling is needed in order to give an honest representation and a link to the Appalachian storytelling. Henigan (2002) discussed the three different types of tales told in Ireland: the legend tale, the tall tale, and the Marchen. The legend tale is characterized by a third person telling, a telling told as fact, supported by evidence known to community members. The use of third person narrating drew interest due to the belief in Ireland that telling a story about oneself is unacceptably boastful. The tall tale, known in Ireland as a yarn, pant, or lie, used first person telling, and is told as "truth" (Henigan, 2002). Usually the "evidence" presented cued the audience to the outlandishness of the tale, while other tellers mask the incredulity of the story so well, many accepted the tale as fact. Marchen, or fairy tales, included the categories of wonder tales and hero tales (Henigan, 2002). These fictitious tales often involved magic as well as adventure and superhuman elements. These tales most often included a happy ending.

Similar to the Scottish tradition, Irish storytelling involved travelling. The travelling tellers were welcome to anyone's home for they carried news of the outside world. These tellings also involved the community. Storytelling endured as a communal activity in Irish culture. The Scottish and Irish employed storytelling in their festivals but also in their everyday lives. Communing at a pub or someone's house allowed for a performative storytelling session using stories or music to bring people together (Rotenberg, 2010). Traditional storytelling allowed for open-minded debates, ways to teach, entertain, frighten, relay historical truths, and embellish those same truths. As the Ulster Scots migrated over to the Americas, the tradition of storytelling travelled with them, combining their traditional Scottish roots, adding the Irish influence and emerging as an American pastime rich with intricacies from whence they came and where they were going.

At the heart of the Appalachian storytelling scene stands Jonesborough, TN. This small mountain town boasted itself as a Mecca intent on preserving the dying art of oral narratives, especially those that enriched the culture of the mountain region (Essin, 2009). Bards and balladeers alike flocked to this town in order to participate in the cultural performances. Halan (1977) argued the Appalachian region to be one of America's most richly folkloristic areas.

Halan (1977) further noted certain characteristics of the Appalachian people based on their Scots-Irish roots and maintained there are many similarities today. These values and characteristics included but are not limited to "traditionalism, familialism, neighborliness, love of home place, individualism, personalism, modesty and being one's self, having a sense of humor and religion" (Halan, p. 31). These resembled characteristics found across the American south as a whole. However, because of the economic status of this region and its general ability to maintain a sheltered environment with little input from the rest of the nation, the Appalachian

region maintained a distinct cultural flavor and passed information orally from generation to generation. This allowed Appalachians to keep their traditions and tales rich in their minds, and the lack of influence from the outside allowed them to maintain a culture based on oral traditions such as folk music, songs, ballads, hymns, riddles, beliefs, tales, and superstitions, similar to Scotland and Ireland (Halan, 1977).

For the purposes of this paper, I will look at storytelling in the specific areas of Scotland and American Appalachia as well as include the importance of storytelling for these societies, the similarities and differences, the festivals that each society has, and the construct on performance in each area. The ethnographies present one ethnographer's view of an aspect of culture with traditional roots in a new era. Scotland, Ireland, and Appalachia still honor these time-honored traditional roots and catapult them into the current society.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In order to discover more about Irish, Scottish, and Appalachian storytelling performances and their abilities to construct cultures, I travelled to Northern Ireland, Scotland, and the Appalachian mountain region of the United States. I observed facets of cultural life as well as storytelling festivals. I spoke with people in each setting to better understand the use of performative storytelling in their cultures and discover any similarities that manifested themselves between these historically similar cultures. For the purposes of this research, I focused on grounded theory techniques as applied to my ethnographic data collection in a qualitative research setting.

The ethnographic fieldwork involved participant-observation ethnographic practices and unobtrusive observation (Van Maanen, 1988). I entered into the various settings needed to complete the fieldwork and would watch the participants while trying not to affect their process of performing. I became a bystander, an observer, and a participant within the world around me. Therefore, the people were primarily unaware of my presence. I blended in to be able to have an honest representation of the performance aspect as well as observe the culture manifesting itself in the stories. Willis and Trondman (2000) set out four primary characteristics of ethnography. They included the recognition of the role of the theory, placing the theory in line with the act of researching and distinguishing what comes from the fieldwork represents the theory, or how the fieldwork represents the theory. Then the focus of culture enters in, culture being a central point of focus for ethnography. Culture is a critical focus in researching and writing, the purpose driving the fieldwork being the understanding of a culture for the expansion of knowledge; and an interest in cultural policy or cultural politics, representing the role of the focus on the culture

and how the culture is created on a daily basis. The intense physical and mental energy required for ethnography is uniquely suited to what Goffman calls being “tuned up” (1989). For Goffman, participant observation is a process of gathering data by “subjecting yourself, your body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation” (p. 125)

While ethnographies can be written up in numerous ways, I have chosen a narrative ethnographic, or autoethnographic, approach. As Goodall (2004) noted,

Narrative ethnography is a cross-disciplinary communication project aimed at re-establishing the centrality of personal experience and identity in the social construction of knowledge. Narrative ethnographers—sometimes called autoethnographers, sometimes new ethnographers, sometimes performance scholars—accomplish this purpose through what Art Bochner calls rendering “theories as stories” (p. 187)

Through this process, the researcher involves themselves in the research (Herrmann & DiFate, *in press*; Holman Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013). Identity and narration are linked, and narration, in turn, constructs our identities (Bruner, 2004; Herrmann, 2012a). Narrative ethnographies are not autobiographies, as the latter do not involve questioning and interrogations of familial, historical, organizational, and cultural narratives (Boylorn & Orbe, 2014). Narrative ethnography crosses with performance ethnography as well. Jones (2006) wrote about performance ethnography as ethnography or field work performed by the ethnographer. Performance ethnography also “rests on the idea that bodies harbor knowledge about culture, and that performance allows for the exchange of that knowledge across bodies” (Jones, 2006, p.339).

Madison argued about the performance of possibilities, where the possible suggested a movement of creation and change. “It is the active, creative work that eaves the life of the mind with being mindful of life” (Madison, 1998, p.471). The subjects are allowed a voice; the

audience has the ability to incite change based on this voice. The performers obtain the difficult task of embodying the subject's story. They must learn the narrative, the struggles and life in that, and then embody that, taking it all and retelling the subject's narrative (Madison, 1998). Madison optimistically viewed the performance of possibilities as having the ability to incite social change through personal narratives and performance ethnographies. Conquergood (1985) also noted the morality involved in ethnography as performance, citing how these performances are not meant to be a flight from lived responsibilities. Ethnographers work along people in order to capture their experiences, their culture; they do not keep a distance from the natives' performances but rather place themselves into these performances to experience the complexities (Conquergood, 1985).

The process of fieldwork contained the tasks of watching and consuming the cultures and writing short hand field notes of the encounters. I conducted research in Northern Ireland, including the city of Belfast and Counties Donegal, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Antrim. In Scotland I conducted research in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and the Orkney Islands; and in the Appalachian region, including Elizabethton, Jonesborough, and the areas of the Western North Carolina mountains. I observed everyday life in Scotland and Ireland mid-May through June of 2013 during travels as well as listened to stories told in pubs and taxicabs and at area festivals. I travelled to the Scottish Storytelling Centre on High St. in Edinburgh in June 2013 and observed the tales told there. I attended the Celtic festival in Elizabethton, TN at Sycamore Shoals State Park in September of 2013. I attended the International Storytelling festival in Jonesborough, TN in October of 2013 as well as the International Storytelling Centre. I also attended various local festivals throughout the mountains of Western North Carolina and listened to the stories people told and focused on the way in which they told these stories. During these encounters, I took

field notes and returned to a safe place to expand the notes so as not to forget what happened. While in Scotland and Ireland, I took approximately 90 pages of field notes that expanded into roughly 175 pages of notes. In Appalachia, I took approximately 30 pages of field notes that expanded into roughly 55 pages of notes. The names have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

Grounded theory is the process of simultaneously performing research as well as discovering theories that appear from the data collected through research (Strauss & Corbin). This process involved the marriage of theorizing with the actual ethnographic data collection during fieldwork, as opposed to waiting after the completion of the fieldwork in order to start the theorizing process. Charmaz and Belgrave (2012) presented the idea of grounded theory as the idea of an unfolding story. This theory is similar to gold miners placing their pans in the water and sifting through the extremities and extrapolating the gold they seek. Grounded theory entails identifying emergent themes while comparing them for similarities and differences to existing themes. Grounded theory coding is a two-step process according to Charmaz (2003). First, “initial or open coding forces the researcher to begin making analytic decisions about the data.” In the second step – focused coding – “the researcher uses the most frequently appearing initial codes to sort, synthesize, and conceptualize large amounts of data” (Charmaz, 2003, p. 319).

Because no new theories were developed in this work, but three theories were reinforced by the themes and categorizations found, the research was evaluated using grounded theory techniques. My initial notes and expanded notes were coded openly for themes and categories. These themes were then evaluated against each other in each location to determine similarities and differences across the cultures, across themes, and across categories of stories. I reviewed the expanded notes and wrote reflexive field notes and analytical field notes, which were also

coded. The themes and categories drove the connection to the theories of symbolic interaction, dramatist theory, and the narrative paradigm.

While in the field, I heard innumerable stories. Some stories consisted of personal narratives, daily occurrences that seemed worth mentioning to their friends, while others were outlandish folktales consisting of supernatural occurrences, such as giving animals the right to speak, and spooky events that became mystical happenings. I heard historic tales about the founding of a region, their recent struggles, their connections with other cultures, and their pride of how they were formed and lived. I heard tales on how the weather is predicted, and about the old creatures, such as witches and giants that inhabited a region. All the stories I heard had a certain performative aspect as well as a rhetorical aspect.

The performers took their intended audience on journeys while spinning a web of ideas into a cohesive, thought-provoking tale in and around their locations. The audience found common ties with some aspect of the story and felt connected to the performer as well as their fellow audience members. Others performed these tales to express some intense emotion about death and recuperation after a tragic event or a horrible day. The rhetors I found invoked change in their audience. They wanted their audience to take the tales told and think about them in order to make the world a better a place or to show the misdeeds done and to rectify such misdeeds. They also expected their audience to mediate the change and not complacently muddle through life with knowledge of the struggles surrounding them but to step up and claim a world worth changing for the greater need of all humanity. These people told their stories to persuade.

The common thread between all the stories I heard tied back to the need to tell the story. These people gained strength from communicating these stories, and a common tie was the strength gained by performing a story brightened the teller. These people formed connections

through these stories as well as got a load off their chests. The story must always be told, someone just has to be strong enough to step up and begin the process of telling it. Through a “layered account” (Ronai 1995), that moves from my narratives to analysis, and back to narrative, I am going to tell mine...

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Ireland

We landed and rushed off the plane. I had no preconceived notions of what to expect other than a calendar of pictures of Ireland from when I was 12. I followed the group to the bus, boarded, sat near the front so that I could see everything, and settled in for the drive from Dublin to Bridgend in County Donegal. When we stopped at a gas station for a break, I got off the bus to stretch my legs. Standing next to the bus driver, I could stare directly to his eyes. “You resemble my wife when she was younger,” he told me. He noted how her hair and eyes were what drew him into her. The fierce green eyes and fiery red hair I donned my whole life had immense meaning for this man. He noted how Irish I appeared. When I began to tell him where I was from in the states, he did not seem surprised and assured me of my Scots-Irish heritage. His short-medium frame presented a man who was anxious to get back to his wife. He told me a tale about when he and his wife moved into the house they live in now. He described it as a stone cottage with greenery climbing up the front. He noted how it was not much, but it was home for them. He offered to take me there if I ever came back alone to Ireland.

Because I travelled with a study abroad group of traditional and bluegrass musicians, I waited for our professors to speak with the woman who owned the Frontier Hotel. After checking in and putting away my things, I went out to explore. Bridgend is a small town nestled between Buncrana, a beach town, and Derry/ Londonderry, the site of the Troubles and the 1972 “Bloody Sunday” attack, when 26 unarmed citizens were gunned down by a British regimen in Derry. Bridgend is part of the Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland begins when you cross

over into Derry/ Londonderry (henceforth Derry). I walked along the road before turning and venturing back to the Frontier Hotel. By this time, the sun was setting. The empty parking lot was full, and I was anxious to see what made the sleepy Frontier Hotel spring forth with life. I walked through the front door into the lobby, and the receptionist informed me the pub and restaurant was open if I wanted anything to eat. I found others in my group, and we joined the festivities. The workers in the pub encouraged the group to bring down their instruments and play for them. I became a fish out of water; the only instrument I can play involves tap shoes. I wandered over to the bar of the pub as the music surrounded me. I was not alone for long.

* * * *

Two men joined, one on either side of me. They introduced themselves as Harry and Seamus. Seamus was 85 years old and could no longer drive himself around. Harry picks Seamus up for card games and drinks with other friends at the Frontier. I told them I did not wish to keep them from their game, but that I truly did enjoy their company. Soon their friends came over and suddenly everyone was just as interested in me as I was in them. All these Irishmen asked questions about why I was there and what I was studying. When I said I was studying storytelling, Seamus chuckled and said, "If it's a story yer looking for, we can fill you up."

This tickled me pink because I was intrigued by their dialect as well as what they might tell me. "My wife died last year. I wasn't sure how I would get on, but all these fine people here (at the Frontier) made life easier," Seamus began as the night drove on, "especially Harry picking me up and taking me out." Seamus's wife, Aileen, had been with him for 66 years before death took her. "She was the love of my life," he said as his blue eyes misted and he rubbed his wrinkly forehead, brushing his bushy, white eyebrows in the process. He pulled out a snapshot.

“When I brought her to the home I found for us after our wedding, I carried her across. When they had to carry her out after she died, I never wanted to live there without her.” He still lives in the house, but said he filled the walls with photographs of her. The sentiment made me long for a man who would feel this way about me. Seamus distrusted the emptiness of his cottage now and longed for noise, like the music swirling around us, to fill the void left by Aileen departing.

Harry interrupted and begged Seamus not to trouble me with tales of his Aileen anymore. Such a sad subject should not be burdened upon the young, Harry informed. Instead, Harry began telling of his own misfortune when it came to love. He was 46, his red hair was fading into peachness, and his wife had left him, saddling him with divorce papers and a son. The son was the bright spot of Harry’s marriage, a 14-year-old high school student, bright and dedicated to his studies. Harry hoped his son would not make the mistake he had made. “I married for looks, and she left me with heartbreak,” Harry mourned. “Oh but what looks!” When Harry, with his green eyes and sagging skin full of secrets, talked about his empty house, he told me of the rooms that I could fill. This took me aback. He said he could take care of me and offered me a chance to stay with him. I began to wonder if he was looking for a new wife and mother for he and his son. I politely declined, and he said I belonged more in Ireland with him and Seamus than I did in the states with people who did not understand me. I told him of my family that they would miss me and how I did actually belong in the States because I loved my family. Our conversation for the night ended with, “ A girl with your hair and eyes belongs no where else in the world but wee Ireland.”

* * * *

The stories I was told by Seamus and Harry about their respective lost loves demonstrates the communicative and social interaction of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1900). These two

men used their stories to make sense of what had happened. It became a coping mechanism and a way to understand their own respective life events. The narrative paradigm also suggests the use of personal narrative to construct identity and understand one's own world (Bochner, 1997; Fisher, 1984; Pelias & VanOosting, 1987). According to Sobol's (1992) categorization of storytelling, these stories fell under the oral traditional mode because they were relaying a personal experience. The stories are coherent and consistent, reinforcing Fisher's (1984) narrative paradigm. Bochner's (1997) narrative paradigm theory discussed the connection the story was drawing between the teller and the hearer. In these personal stories from these men, I discovered what I would someday want, a man pining for me even after I am gone. Seamus lost his wife, and he was still dreaming of her every day. This story woke me up to that and sparked a desire in my heart, affecting my own life. The stories did connect me with the tellers, but these stories did not change my ethical direction or change the meaning of my life in the way Bochner (1997) posits. The stories did allow me to analyze the performance and the cultural connections stories draw out.

By drawing from Burke's (1945) theory of dramatism, stating that motive drives action and explains why people do what they do, and the pentad, discovering the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose, a better understanding of the stories told by Harry and Seamus can be achieved. The act moved into storytelling while the scene was the restaurant and pub of the Frontier Hotel in Bridgend around twilight. Seamus enacts the role of agent as the teller, as well as Harry and myself as agents of listening, accounting for our agency, or our actions. The role of teller agent changed when Harry cut Seamus off while my role remained the same. The three agents acted in this scene in accordance with what they wanted. I wanted to hear stories, so I listened to Harry and Seamus speak. Harry and Seamus both wanted to comply with my wishes

of gathering stories as well as understand and make sense of the loss with which each was dealing. By evaluating the pentad and dramatism while drawing from the narrative paradigm and symbolic interactionism, the communicative aspect of storytelling in this situation narrowed down to making sense or meaning of a personal life event, and by performing the story, an understanding could be discovered by the teller with the help of outside agents acting as listening ears.

* * * *

I spoke and sat with Harry and Seamus on multiple occasions in the days that would follow before our group moved from Bridgend to Belfast, and while they told me many stories, none resounded the same as their respective love stories, each wrought with heartache of different forms and amidst the heartache, each told with a twinkle in the eye and a cheeky grin spread across the cheeks. I thought about these two older men. In the States, I might not have sat with gentlemen like them; I might have looked for someone my own age. In Ireland, their childlike playfulness made them seem my age. These two men were not what I expected as friends when I first thought about travelling abroad. Hearing about their respective lost loves made me realize how important love was and how it kept people young at heart.

* * * *

While touring around Derry and learning about the troubles, our group visited a museum and met Tom O'Henry. Tom was older; his white hair sparkled in the fluorescent lighting of the museum, and his eyes displayed the pain of loss. His face was downturned as he told us of his brother, and his voice began to crack. His brother was killed in the Bloody Sunday attack in Derry/ Londonderry. He showed his brother's jacket in a museum, the bullet hole surrounded by maroon blood and dust. The museum contained evidence of the cruelty involved in the civil rights

movement in Ireland. Tom spoke of how the death affected him and told a story about his brother's dreams if he had lived longer. He then recounted his own dream of showing people the injustice inflicted upon the Irish people, culminating in his working at the museum and collecting evidence, such as his brother's jacket, to tell and show the world what happened.

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We then met up with a professor from the University of Ulster, Magee Campus. The man wore black, head to toe, looking like some dark figure or modern day vampire. His long black hair reached below the shoulders of his long black trench coat, which stretched down to his black cowboy boots. His sapphire eyes popped as the only splash of color on an otherwise dark man, but then he spoke. He was not dark at all! Happy as a lark, he excitedly began taking us around the walled portion of the city, showing churches as we went. His research focused on the Jacobites, the people who remained loyal to King James. He showed us various places around the city with significance to the Jacobites, such as this massively large cannon memorialized as "roaring Meg." Positioned on the Double Bastion of the wall surrounding Derry, Roaring Meg was said to have a scarier bark than bite. Firing this cannon startled away the intruders during the siege of Derry in the seventeenth century before they became close enough to attack in combat.

After telling us historical tales in relation to where they happened in Derry, we saw him again on campus several days later for a lecture. After the lecture, I held back to ask him some questions. I asked about his cowboy boots, and he informed me of his love of Johnny Cash and his desire to be the man in black. I told him how I thought he had accomplished his goal nicely, as he startled me when first we met. The man in black said the Irish enjoyed country and bluegrass music because of the similar instruments and the similar bond of hard work through

hard times that Ireland shared with Appalachia. He asked about my heritage and said “with hair like that, there’s Celtic in ye somewhere.” He chuckled and said “probably a culhoun.” This would come back to me as a I discovered more about what everyone seemed to think I was. I then asked him about life growing up during The Troubles. He described how it caused rifts with his friends, based on where he lived in Ireland, he could not be friends with people from over the border. He grew up in the Republic of Ireland and he lives there now. While he works in Northern Ireland, his heart belongs to Ireland and its freedom and no amount of fighting will change his love for his country and his desire for them to rebuild but also to be a unified, independent country.

Upon arriving, nearly everyone I met began to tell me how well I fit in with the Irish. I looked Irish, sounded Irish, made friends with the Irish easily. My identity became malleable. I began to believe I could be Irish. I could live in the beautiful Irish countryside, travel into the city when I needed to, work alongside the Irish. While my ancestry did have Irish in it, I was still fully American, and more than that I was Appalachian American, a fact of which I was proud. Yes, my Scots-Irish ancestry filled my mind with importance, but my identity would always be steeped in the mountainsides of Appalachia, in the south of the United States.

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We woke early and boarded the bus, setting out for an adventure at the Giant’s Causeway near Bushmills, a natural structure of basalt columns. So much legend surrounds the causeway, but thanks to our trusty bus driver, we learned more legends than just the legend of the reason for our trip. The man, short of stature, smiled as we all boarded, sleep still in our eyes. The bus was much bigger than our 10-person group could fill, leaving about 40 seats empty. Because of the expanse of space, we scattered and spread out, hoping to settle in for a few more minutes of sleep

as we drove along. I was shocked when the much anticipated, much needed sleep was interrupted by the best snippets of history. Upon arriving to Ireland, I noticed how everyone was willing to talk to us and the friendliness never ran out for these people. Everyone from the professors at the universities to the cab drivers taking us in and out of Bridgend and Derry would tell us about life here, their own lives, and knew every tiniest detail about the history of the area and the nations. This bus driver was no different. Liam began telling us all about the countryside as we passed. He spoke of mystical creatures such as the banshee, a creature that would screech and clap as a warning that someone would soon die, and the little folk, who, if you did not keep happy, would play tricks on you and disturb your life. He spoke of the fairies, noting that some were good and some were bad. The land of the sidhe (pronounced shee) is where the fairies live and only the most worthy of humans venture there.

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Liam then called out, "Eh, red-head, come up here." I did not hear him at first as I was furiously writing everything as to not miss a detail of this treasure trove of stories. My professor then called out and informed me to join him in the front of the bus. Shocked and a little anxious, I wandered up, jostling as I walked from the unsteadiness of the gravel and unpaved roads we were travelling and the affect that had on the bus. I sat in the front just behind Liam and inquired as to what he needed. He then changed my perspective and the rest of my trip.

"Changelings exist you know. Sometimes a fairy will like a human baby more than their own child and will swap the human baby for the fairy baby in the cradle, taking the human baby to live with them. The parents will then go to the cradle and discover that their baby is gone and has been replaced with a shriveled up, sickly fairy baby," Liam began. I became uneasy, as I was not sure where he was going with this story. "Occasionally, the fairies will want a better life

for their children and will swap a sick human baby with their healthy fairy baby so that the fairy can grow up and live a happy life in the human world, free from the devil,” he continued. Liam saw the expression of shock and curiousness on my face and continued rapidly.

“While redheaded women have been associated with magic for years, the magic is often thought of as evil. Many believe redheads are witches and need to be killed or appeased. Others are thought to be fairies with magical power or otherworldly beings.” It all began to come together. This is what he suspected me to be. A culhoun is the latter fairy baby given up in hopes of a better life in the human world. He informed me I was most likely a changeling, a full-fledged fairy given to my human parents in the hopes that I would not be questioned as evil. He said I probably used have magical capabilities, but that I either lost them or decided not to use them anymore. “Come away oh human child to the waters of the wild,” he said, quoting W.B. Yeats. I soaked all this in with the wonder of a child learning that Santa Claus is in fact real. I believed him and his story in every intense detail, and then realized the rest of the group must have believed him too. They had all moved from the scattered points of the bus to sit in the front and hear his tales of fairies and my changelingness. They began calling me fairy and the nickname would stick for the remainder of the trip.

I enjoyed the nickname though. I always felt something magical about my family. I was unsure of whether it was the strength of the women in my family, or the attention my hair garnered various places I went, but I enjoyed thinking there was something special about myself. My grandmother used to read me a story called “Child of Faerie, Child of Earth,” and I resembled the illustrations throughout the book. This made what Liam said even more special, to think I was connected to some mythical fairy race.

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Liam's story differed from Harry's and Seamus's personal narratives. Liam used the oral traditional mode of storytelling, retelling a story that he heard about fairies (Sobol, 1992). By evaluating Liam's fairy tale using Burke's (1945) pentad, the act was the replacement of the human babies with the fairy babies, the scene became my house because he placed me into the story, suspecting I was a changeling, which also gave me the role of agent in addition to the fairies as agents. The purpose or motivation driving the fairies' actions were to gain better lives for the fairy children. When Liam placed me into the story, I became part of the action and scene. The performative aspect came into play as Liam attempted to display the fairy story using me as an example. He called upon the visual, verbal, and vocal in order to perform the story (Lwin, 2010). I enhanced the visual as a visual representation of a changeling, he verbally told us the story with vocal changes and inflections adding to the performance.

This fantastical story differed from Seamus's and Harry's personal stories. While Seamus and Harry told me stories about themselves from facts, Liam described a purely fantastical tale with myself included in the story. The suspension of disbelief involved with Liam's story invoked human emotion and drove the story into my life more deeply. With less connection to symbolic interaction theory and the idea that Liam's story made sense of the world around me, Bochner's narrative theory appeared to be more applicable. While it is a fantasy story, Liam placed me into the story, gave me a role, and an action to perform. Because of that, I began to include this story into my identity. I began to see myself as this character Liam described and connected to myself. I began to imagine the possibility that this is what I was, a changeling. I emotionally began to connect myself more to Ireland and the cultural history of fairy tales. I began to dream the same way I had as a child and reverted to a naïve girl who fully and unquestionably believed in little people and fairies and all of their magical powers. This reverse

into my childhood adjusted my thinking and drew a connection between my small Appalachian upbringing and the country I had dreamed of visiting for so long.

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Liam told tales of fairy folk, who were never to be spoken ill of for fear of how they may react and what they might do to you, and he encouraged the group to treat me with respect and give me whatever I wanted for fear that I could in fact channel my lost magical changeling power and harm them in some ways. He also told us of a little island. We stopped and disembarked from the bus in order to stretch our legs and look out at the expanse of sea and sheep surrounding us. He walked us to the edge of a cliff and pointed downward to a tiny island. This island was used in this area as property of anyone who wanted it.

“The night of a wedding, the community places the new couple on this island. The island is empty except for a tiny cottage in the middle of it. See there? The community fills the cabin with all of the necessities for a romantic and lovely wedding night. Foods are baked and linens provided. The couple is given this island for their wedding night and spends the night on it as a sign of good luck and prosperity for their lives together. In the morning, the couple is collected from the island and either sent home or off on their honeymoon, but the tradition of setting the couple on the island is an honor for anyone marrying in the region,” he relayed.

I wanted to know if Liam had stayed there with his wife, but without knowing whether he was married or not, felt it would not be appropriate.

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The last tale Liam told us as we prodded along to our destination was the legend of Fionn mac Cumhaill. Fionn mac Cumhaill was the resident giant of Ireland, and he was challenged to fight the resident giant of Scotland, Benandonner. So Fionn built the Giant's

Causeway, a honeycomb type rock formation as bridge from Ireland to Scotland, but when he ventured across the bridge and saw Benandonner, he saw that Benandonner was much too big for him to beat in a fight. Fionn rushed home to his wife, Una, who helped him devise a plan. She dressed Fionn as a baby and hid him in cradle. Benandonner has come across the bridge and asks Una if he can speak with Fionn. Una, being so clever, says that Fionn is out right now but should be back and Benandonner is welcome to wait. While Benandonner waits, he sees Fionn in the baby cradle and thinks that if the baby is that size, imagine what the size of its father is. Scared into thinking Fionn is a much more massive giant than he really is, Benandonner leaps up and rushes across the Giant's Causeway, ripping up the bridge behind him so that Fionn mac Cumhaill cannot cross and kill Benandonner. Liam finished his tale just as we pulled up to the Causeway. We anxiously disembarked, thanked Liam for all of his tales, and began climbing the causeway built by Fionn mac Cumhaill and broken by Benandonner.

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Derry received the honor of being named the United Kingdom's City of Culture for 2013. This meant that festivities would take place in Derry throughout the year, and thankfully one such festival took place while I stayed in Bridgend. The Carnivale of Colors was not, in fact, a festival because of the City of Culture festivities, but was made bigger due to it. The Carnivale of Colors has taken place in Derry for 6 years now, and 2013's event was the biggest to date due to the UK City of Culture fame Derry had experienced in 2013. The festival was unlike anything I had seen before. To get to the festival, one had to cross the peace bridge built in hopes of diffusing tensions between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland after the peace treaty was signed. As I crossed, I reflected on everything this bridge meant. The amount of strife this area saw, from Ireland's turmoil beginning with the Ulster Plantation to the divide between

Northern Ireland and the Republic, eroded this land. This bridge stood as a symbol of peace between the two sides that no one else should die, that Ireland can regain peace. An explosion of sights, sounds, and smells soon interrupted my reflection as I entered into the space occupied by the Carnivale of Colors. The carnival was aptly named because the rainbow was well represented at this festival. Circus tents grew from the ground, each sporting colors of oranges, reds, yellows, greens, and purples. Clowns and other costumed characters wandered around. A burlap colored Indian tent housed storytelling and magic shows for younger children. A massive stage was set up in an amphitheater style for live music from local rock bands. Laughter filled the air as well as the music and screaming of excitement.

I felt instantaneous joy, and it became difficult not to get swept up in it all. My inner child took over. I sprinted off running in and out of everything, not caring how I looked, an adult at play. I wandered through the Indian tent and watched two teenage boys attempt magic. The attempt was well received, but the execution fell flat. Still the children applauded their encouragement. I walked into one of the big top tents that housed a circus act, Death or Circus. Unfortunately, the show was over, and I missed it. I staggered back out, spinning and taking in every sight I could, when I bumped into a tiny man.

I turned to apologize and jumped back startled. This was no ordinary tiny man, as he donned a knapsack larger than his body stacked on top of himself. Pots and pans clanged together, attached somewhere to the side of the backpack. I apologized, and the man bowed. I stepped away and was followed. I turned again, and the man bowed again. I began dancing around him, trying to sidestep out of the way, but he began dancing as well. With this, children rushed over, in awe of the spectacle I had created, or had he created it? I let the children interrupt my own play, and the attention from the man to me was diverted to them. I took a few snapshots

of the man as I backed away, thinking the person inside the costume was the cleverest human I had met so far. I did not back up for long because motorcycle noises caused me to pause. I stopped and heard boom box noise. I searched for the source of my new distraction, noting how the smell of the turkey legs and funnel cakes were causing my stomach to gain hunger, when I saw what had distracted me. Some elderly women sitting on boxes and rolling on mechanized scooters zoomed passed, hollering out as they went. These were the infamous Granny Turismos I had overheard a couple speaking about earlier.

Entertaining as they were, I was forced to notice that while I had not heard a single story from anyone directed at me, I had experienced a lifetime of stories about this culture just by wandering through. In my own mind, I had a whole tale about the vagabond little man who had danced with me moments earlier. I was curious as to where he was going and what he would do when he got there. The tiny man had said nothing, but I deduced from his dress and knapsack that he was one of the little people spoken of so often around here. The knapsack and all the pots attached meant he was travelling, probably to the shores off Buncrana. There, he would meet a little woman, probably blonde with green eyes and braids. They had a forbidden love that his parents did not approve of because he was a prince. He renounced his title in order to be with his love and he had to dress like a vagabond because his family would no longer support him. Once he reunited with his love, they would live a happy life, filled with beach picnics and nights by the fireside. Eventually, his family would come around to the relationship and welcome both of them back into royalty with open arms, causing him to have no more need for his vagabond clothes or knapsack of clanging pots. I had crossed him, and he seemed pleased with me. Maybe I was a changeling as Liam had said, to entertain a little person as much as he had entertained me.

The Carnivale of Colors presented no specific story from a specific person but displays the joviality of these people. The meaning of this festival and the atmosphere added to the symbolic interactionism of the carnival (Mead, 1900). Amidst the hard times, that had recently ended, and the tensions still felt because of it, they could and would take time to come together and enjoy one another's company. They would celebrate life and for a while, suspend reality to play as children do. That spoke to me as the heart of these people. That told a thousand more stories than one person could express in a lifetime.

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We wandered away from the Frontier Hotel one night, just down the street to the next corner. Five other students and I discovered a small pub back off the beaten path. We wandered in and were immediately uncomfortable. We were not regulars and were not entirely welcome. Once they realized we were from out of town, however, they warmed up. While the others sat back and shot pool, I sidled up to the front of the room where several men were seated around the bar, beginning a conversation with a man who spoke mostly of his son after I told him I was traveling with a group of student musicians. He asked if they could play "Wagon Wheel," which they had played everywhere we had gone so far. This was a popular song in Derry. He said he enjoyed country music because, like their traditional music, it tells a story. They use ballads and poems set to music to tell tales. It reminds him of how country music and Appalachian music does the same. He then told me about his son, who was also a musician, coming home to see him. He had become a local celebrity because he played with a popular band known as Celtic Thunder. I told him I would certainly look up some of his son's music, and we parted ways for the night.

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The next night, our last one in Derry, the group joined some friends they had made, fellow musicians, at Sandino's pub. While the others joined their friends in rounds of musical merriment, I sat back and watched, listened and enjoyed the fun energy exuding from the crowd. Unfortunately for me, there was no space to dance. Suddenly, excitement filled the room as a roar of voices erupted above the music. I peered through the crowd of people shaking hands with a blond man. His shaggy hair hung around into his face, and his green eyes pulled you deeper than any forest. One of the women who had been playing a round, drum-like instrument called a bodhran asked him if he would play something for everyone. He kindly agreed and sat to begin playing and singing a slow song. I asked the man behind the bar what the commotion around this man was about, and he informed me he was Keith Harkin from Celtic Thunder. He was home visiting his father. I thought back to the man I had met the night before and how excited and proud he was of his son. Now I could see why.

Storytelling and Performance in Ireland

While Seamus and Harry told their stories to me, and the stories were not presented to a large group of people, the performance aspects of their tales still presented themselves. Both Harry and Seamus told oral narratives with personal identity enriching them. One presented the widower's perspective while the other presented the divorce perspective. I experienced so much while in Ireland. I learned much about myself as well as legends surrounding what I was suspected to be. I learned legends of giants and little people and personal narratives of heartbreak and the ability of a person to move on and forward. I heard the man in black talk about the history of Derry/ Londonderry. He had grown up in the Republic and while he worked in Northern Ireland, his heart would always belong to a free Ireland. I heard from Tom O'Henry whose brother was killed in the Bloody Sunday attack, who now works in the Free Derry

Museum in the hopes that others will sympathize with Irish suffering and his brother's story will be told. I heard Liam's legends and tales of fairies and giants. I heard Mr. Harkin talk of his son and his pride in his family. Amidst all of these people and all the stories, true or not, I learned the heart of a people, the culture of the Irish, and a newfound respect for my own heritage. The stories each told were used to make meaning of their lives (Mead, 1900).

McLean (2009) discussed the permeability of stories and storytelling into everyday life. While the man in black told historical stories, Tom O'Henry, Seamus, and Harry all told personal narratives in order to make sense of changes happening in their lives. This aligns with Fisher's (1984) narrative paradigm by noting the historical as well as situational stories used to make meaning of life changes and the world. Seamus and Harry discussing their lost loves allowed them to make meaning of the changes happening in each of their lives as a result of losing love. Liam's tales of folk and fairy lore enforce Ong's (1982) ideas and values of oral traditions. Liam, in the act of performing his stories to a bus of people, created a human interaction based on an oral tradition. Because of the temporality of the action, the performance happened and then was swiftly gone. It is not saved except for the folklorists who have written down the folk and fairy tales, but these still change through the oral performance because no two performances of narratives are the same. Similar to Bochner's (1997) idea of thinking with a story, Tom O'Henry's tale of his brother only resounded with his audience because of his personal connection to the story. His presentation to us aligned with his personal moral dilemma regarding what happened. By experiencing the stories through the retelling by the subjects, I was able to feel through the stories (Bochner, 1997).

The stories told in Ireland all shaped into Sobol's (1992) oral traditional mode of storytelling, meaning they came from hearing the story or from living the story, not from a

written text- except some of the man in black's stories, which are historical and therefore often textual or oral interpretive mode. Pelias and VanOosting (1987) noted the aesthetic aspect of performance being present, which is seen in every situation described above. Also the expanse from storyteller into other titles such as historian, lecturer, and teacher are evident with Tom O'Henry and his museum as well as the man in black's professorship (Lwin, 2010). The crossover into music as storytelling and performance is seen in the performance of country music, ballads, and hymns. This ties the Appalachian people back to their Scots-Irish ancestry through musical performance of stories (Halan, 1977).

Scotland

As soon as I stepped off the plane from Belfast to Glasgow, I knew something was different. The friendly atmosphere I had grown to love while in Ireland was absent. This would all change as my group travelled up to the Orkney Islands. While in Orkney, we stayed in a hostel. This was quite an enjoyable experience because I have never stayed in a hostel and had preconceived notions about the dangers, which was not the atmosphere of this hostel. We studied at the Center of Nordic Studies, part of the University of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. After a night to rest up, we woke early the next morning to find a bus waiting for us. We boarded and were greeted by the most unusual and thrilling person. Her name was Dr. Puddle, and she would shock the pants off of you. Standing at about five feet tall, her short, stout nature, as she calls it, was traditional of Orcadian women. It helped them face the cold that was experienced year round in the Islands.

She took us along the road, pointing out landmarks as we went along. We saw hills where famous battles had been fought by Robert the Bruce and shores where ships and submarines came in during the World Wars. Most intriguing were the ancient ruins. She climbed down into

these rock formations, sunk beneath the shade of the hills and began spinning this intricate web of history. We stood, mouths agape, intrigued by the little woman and all of her knowledge. While the biting wind whipped around us, she explained how the Pictish people created their subterranean structures into the hills.

“They would excavate the hills so as to keep the mounds covered with grass in order to trick enemies into thinking nothing was there,” she displayed as she pointed to the mounds. The structures were quite advanced for the Stone Age, and we learned more history in this trip than any other location to date in our travels. “The Picts inhabited this area, which was later overtaken by the Norse Vikings, then claimed by the Scottish and English, and still argued over,” Dr. Puddle relayed. Because of this history, Dr. Puddle lamented the lack of nationality of the Orcadians. Some felt fiercely Norse and Scandinavian while others felt fiercely Scottish and English. Most could agree, however, that they were all Orcadians and maybe it would not be so bad to separate from all the countries and create their own. Dr. Puddle entertained this idea, and it was visible how much the thought of an independent Orcadian nation tickled her fancy.

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Hilde, another teacher and researcher in the Center for Nordic Studies, backed up one clever story Dr. Puddle told us. Hilde was Scandinavian, having come over from Norway to live in Kirkwall, the largest city in the Orkney Islands. With blond hair, blue eyes, and fair skin, she could have been a Scandinavian princess. They told us about how the Orkney Islands passed from the Norwegians to the Scottish. The Norwegian king, Christian I, could not pay his daughter Margaret’s dowry. She was betrothed to James III of Scotland, and because of a lack of money, Christian I gave the Orkney Islands and Shetland to James III. This passed the Islands into Scottish hands. The money was never repaid and the Orkneys and Shetland have remained

under Scottish rule ever since. This tale is historical in nature but could also be the stuff of legends.

History engulfed the tales heard in the Orkney Islands, but most of the history is found in ancient runes in various ancient ruined structures, such as Maeshowe and the Broch of Gurness. The runes are thought to have been written by Norse Vikings and translated to create the history of the Orkney Islands. This also heightens the legends and sense of story surrounding the historical tales of the Orkney Islands. The Standing Stones of Stenness and the Ring of Brodgar are said to be used in ancient pagan rituals. These giant stones inspired legends of rings turning Celtic gods into animals, which would then torment the kings of the Scottish highlands for centuries, such as the Disney tale, “Brave,” which presents the first Scottish princess.

After Dr. Puddle introduced us to the area, she took us to the highest point on the island, and we stared off the cliffs into the abyss of seas below, a terrifying yet inviting drop if you were a bird and could fly out across it. She explained how the puffins would build homes in the side of the cliffs and would spring out flapping as hard as they could to fly off before they plummeted down to the water. Dr. Puddle walked between us, warning us not to lean too far for fear of falling off. However, I saw the puffin burrow holes in the cliff and called out to the group, expecting a puffin to soon fall out, Dr. Puddle bounded forth, leaping across crevices that would pull her into the sea if she slipped. This was the type of character Dr. Puddle was.

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Dr. Puddle was not only an interesting character but also a dynamic storyteller. By using the environment of historical artifacts around her, she drew from the visual to enhance her verbal and vocal performance (Lwin, 2010; Nadeau, 2003). She also used symbolic interactionism by displaying the visual examples and allowing us to understand her meaning and sharing the

meaning (Mead, 1900). Without the visual representation of her stories, the performance would not have had the same impact or meaning for us as the audience. Because the audience could physically see and understand the runes, puffins, and mountains, they could better create the meaning and place their own emotional weight into the story. This allowed for the opportunities of retellings with the audience inputting and adding their own emotional support to the stories told by Dr. Puddle.

While these stories are historical in nature, and therefore entirely different from Seamus's and Harry's personal narratives and the fantasy story by Liam, the setting allowed for the audience to situate themselves into the story, drawing from Bochner's (1997) narrative paradigm about situating oneself into a story and drawing the connection between the teller and the hearer. The setting allowed for a connection between the teller and the hearer while also implicating the hearer into the story, so if the hearer was to retell or analyze the story, he or she would analyze himself or herself into it. Fisher (1984) also discussed drawing forth human emotion and whether to adhere to the story or not.

Both of the storytelling modes became used, as described by Sobol (1992), because the stories, historical in nature, can be found written, and therefore represented the oral interpretive mode, as well as the oral traditional because Dr. Puddle included a personal spin. The setting motivated the action of the storyteller and the hearer (Burke, 1945). By displaying the scene from the story as the story was being told, Dr. Puddle motivated the audience to accept the act, agent, agency, and purpose more fully. Visualizing the scene also allowed for the audience to create meaning and understand history through the stories.

* * * *

One day, while waiting on a lecture at the Center of Nordic Studies, Dr. Puddle came in where I was sitting in a lounge area with two other students. We had packed our lunches from our hostel and did not go out looking for food with the rest. She made us all hot, Scottish tea with Orkney water, the “only and best way to drink it,” and served us some “biscuits,” or “cookies” according to Americans. She sat and entertained us during our lunch break. She told us stories of Robert the Bruce, how he came and saved Scotland during war and arose as a great hero in Scottish history. As she told these stories of Robert, she had a certain way of saying his name that instantly added the effect that he was a strong, Scottish war hero. She would puff out her arms as if she, tiny in stature, had the same muscle and force as the Bruce and would lower her voice to a deep gruff. She also told us about various traditions in and around Scotland and Orkney that had been passed down to her from her mother, father, and ancestors. Family is important here, similar to in Ireland. She said if we wanted to know whom we would marry, we needed to light a candle and hold it in front of a mirror in an otherwise darkened room. She stood before us, acting out each motion of the act required to discover our husbands. Then our future husband would appear in the mirror, but it only works on Halloween night.

Another way to find out whom we would marry would be to carve an apple peel into one long strand. If the peel broke, we would have to start over. After having our one long strand, we should throw the peel over our shoulder and whatever shape it would land in would be the initial of our future husband. She stared off wistfully as if remembering completing these acts herself. We told her about seals we had seen while touring around the islands that morning, and she squealed about the finn folk. Dr. Puddle, using every ounce of her short, stout frame, jumped about the room and used the largest hand gestures for such a small person. She talked about the

finn folk being shape shifters that would change between humans and seals so they could travel on land and sea, similar to mermaids but “much more advanced.”

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Dr. Puddle epitomized dynamic storytelling because she drew from the visual, verbal, and vocal (Lwin, 2010; Nadeau, 2003). By changing her tone and imitating a mighty man while talking about Robert the Bruce, the audience learned of his nature and had an example of just how mighty he was. Her familial stories allowed a personal twist on a historical or traditional tale. These stories had been passed down throughout her family, but as she told them, the audience was transported to her childhood and saw a personal side of the story. This allowed for a relationship to form between the audience, the story, and the teller, as well as an example of a ritualistic culture (Carey, 2009). The motivation for Dr. Puddle telling the audience, our student group, about historical, familial, traditional, and personal stories was more than likely entertainment (Burke, 1945). These stories may be true, but peeling an apple will probably not display one’s future spouse. However, the audience was entertained by the stories and her visual representations of the finn folk and the actions required to find a spouse in the scene of the office space allowed for a dynamic performance. Burke (1945) noted that the purpose of dramatism, or action in everyday life, was to discover motive, and Dr. Puddle motivated the audience to be entertained.

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About this time, Hilde came in and sat with us for some more tales. She told us about the Odin Stone, which is an ancient mythical stone. If you stood on one side, and your partner on the other, and you held hands through the hole in the middle of the stone, you were bound to this person and married for all eternity. If you broke this bond, terrible things would happen. She

then walked us out of the center to the next corner down, where the Orkeny welcome center was located. Here was a replication of the Odin stone, but none of us dared put our arms through such a sacred hole.

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Hilde's story displayed a historical, mythical tale. While she did not act out her story as robustly as Dr. Puddle, Hilde sat, calming the audience with a peaceful tale about human bondage. Hilde represented a teaching style of storytelling (Lwin, 2010). Her stories always came back to the history of the islands, which displayed her love and devotion for where she lived. Little relation to her was included, shy of the scene being Kirkwall. Carey (2009) delved into the idea of ritual storytelling and using history to connect a culture through storytelling. Hilde accomplished this through her historical tales and enhanced the ritualistic aspects of storytelling.

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Back in the center, I asked Dr. Puddle about the importance of storytelling in Scotland and the Orkney Islands, and she told me "storytelling here isn't about what is it, but how and why is it?" This shifts the emphasis from the story itself to culture and morality. This is why people know so much more about their history and traditions in Scotland and Ireland than in the United States. Dr. Puddle thinks it is because they care more about the people and less about the what. After spending some time with her, I would agree. The moral of the story drives much of the storytelling, and it is used to teach younger people about what is culturally acceptable.

* * * *

After reluctantly leaving the Orkney Islands, our group traveled down to Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland and our last stop of our trip. I had heard about the Scottish Storytelling

Center and was anxious to see it in person. Located in the John Knox house on High Street, the storytelling center contains a stage or black box theatre area, a café, and a store to purchase admission to tour the house or books, toys, and storytelling memorabilia. The first thing that drew me in was a small pillowed area in one corner of the room. The area had cards sprawled around it, and so I sat, picked up a card, and read. It seemed to be a story prompt card containing various words that would start a story and keep it going with the other words. I found the sealed packages of cards for purchase, and the back of the box informed me that the cards were used to prompt children to begin telling stories. Storytelling is so important to Scottish culture that even children at early ages are trained in the art and craft of telling tales. As I wandered around the shop trying to find information about when the next story would be told, a group came barreling down a hallway and exited the center. I asked at the front desk about the next event and how to attend, and the young man, roughly mid-twenties, impolitely and annoyed, informed me that was the last event for the week and everything would resume in a few days, after which I would be back across the pond. Frustrated, I exited the center and noticed a quote on the brick inlaid, reading, "There is no wealth but life."- John Ruskin

After disappointedly leaving the storytelling center, I strolled up High Street and watched various street performers. One particularly entertaining man had a boy who was chosen from the crowd, hold a balloon above his head. The man said he would pop it with his whip. He cracked the whip, but the boy was too far away. Instead, the man had the idea to swallow the blown up balloon and give the boy the whip. The performer swallowed the long, skinny, blue balloon, the boy cracked the whip, and the man then pulled out the deflated blue balloon. It was entertaining. I proceeded on up the street.

I ended at the Edinburgh castle and toured there, learning all I could about the history of how it was built, who lived there, and the infamous Honours of Scotland, or crown jewels. As I wandered down the street, I went into a restaurant for something to drink. I sat in the back of the restaurant and got some coffee. As I sat there, I saw the castle placed high on the hill above me. The waitress came over, caught my gaze, and told me about an author who had sat in the same spot, staring at the same castle, and wrote seven books about a mythical place based on the castle. She was referring to J.K. Rowling, and I was in the Elephant House. The next day, our whole group would come back for lunch, and I would return one last time for the best meat pie I'd ever had and the best view.

Storytelling and Performance in Scotland

The same is true in Scotland as in Ireland. Much of these stories are steeped in tradition, especially the ones told by Dr. Puddle. She uses a strong performative style in her use of the aesthetic by including robust hand motions and full body movement. Her voice as well signifies performance as she transitions between conversational tone to a more informed and dynamic use of voice when she tells her stories. The personal and situational stories are not as plentiful shown above, and the focus centers on traditional and historical tales. The Scottish presented themselves in a more reserved manner than the Irish, which culturally could be attributed to the connection between Scotland and England. The self is presented differently and not as willing as it was in Ireland and because of this, a different cultural norm is presented. I sat in various public places and asked people on the streets about storytelling and if they had any stories to tell. They were much less willing than the Irish to tell me a tale; however, they always pointed me in the direction of a storytelling house or venue, noting the importance of storytelling performance in a public venue. Storytelling in Scotland focused on social narratives, performed in public as

cultural acts, and less on personal narratives. Cohen (1993) noted the creation of a culture through the people involved sharing experiences. This is seen especially in the Orkney Islands through the strong Norse history and the shared historical sites as well as the strong cultural implication placed on these findings. The Standing Stones of Stenness believed to be the original location of the Odin stone, and the cultural reverence placed on these archaeological findings enhance the story of the Odin stone.

Carey (2009) argued for the ritual view of communication placing a stronger importance on the people involved in a culture than the transmissional view of simply communicating information. This aligns with Dr. Puddle's view that Scottish storytelling emphasis the how and why and not the what. The people and how they are connected and why enforces the storytelling in the Orkneys and Scotland.

Both the oral traditional and oral interpretive mode of storytelling can be found in Scotland (Sobol, 1992). The oral traditional mode lays the emphasis on the teller hearing a story and retelling, such as in the Orkneying Saga, which was later written down. The saga began as the passing of the history of the highlands and islands through orality, and it was later transcribed into a book, transitioning into the oral interpretive mode. The oral interpretive mode is also seen through the storyworld cards for sale at the Scottish storytelling center. These cards contain words and pictures in order to inspire children to begin telling stories using what is found on the card. The written text prompts the story like in the oral interpretive mode.

Stanistret (2009) discussed the renaissance of storytelling and reviving the tradition of storytelling by opening the Scottish Storytelling Center. He also noted the honoring of the imagination for everyone involved, which can be seen in the center with the act of performing the stories in the theatre or using the storyworld cards and books on hand to incite people's

imaginations. The Scottish imagination is strong as seen through the waitress telling of J.K. Rowling sitting and staring at the Edinburgh castle while writing her books. All of these uses of tradition and storytelling build the Scottish culture and display the effects of the traditions and storytelling on the culture.

Appalachia

This is home. This is life. Until someone said that it was different in other areas or parts of the world, I couldn't see past the monumentous mountains that surrounded me, protecting me from anything outside that could come in, but also keeping me from getting out. I am still not sure which one carries more weight.

Growing up in a small mountain community in the hills of East Tennessee allowed for lots of adventures. I was as far East as you could get in the state, with North Carolina and Virginia within a half a day's walking distance. Growing up here allowed for something that I did not even know had happened until I began to study it. I had grown up in a folk tradition. Our mountainous folk life had been studied by outsiders, but here's how it really is if you venture on down into East Tennessee.

* * * *

Starting in my town, we have a fort here called Fort Watauga. When I was little, I loved the stories about the fort and still spend many afternoons down in the park, sitting under a tree, down by the river, or even inside the fort if tourists aren't being too noisy. My mother always took care that I knew a great deal about the town where I was from, and she encouraged me by telling me stories about them. The people who built this fort and the surrounding areas were hardy settlers. They knew how to handle mountain regions because of being immigrants from

Scotland and Ireland, the other mountainous regions of world. One of my favorite stories about the fort involved an Indian attack, told from a ranger at the State Park.

* * * *

“One day a slew of Indians came out of the surrounding forest at Sycamore Shoals State Park, but it wasn’t a state park back then. As they came through, the men rushed the women and children into the fort to save them, and then grabbed their muskets and began firing at them over the fort walls. Bonnie Kate, a spunky, spry young woman, found herself locked out of the fort with no way in when John Sevier gallantly rode in and scooped her up, jumping the fence and saving both of them. As the Indians bore down on the fort, other woman boiled scalding hot water and poured it over the fort wall to keep the Indians at bay. Such heroism stayed true for the Wataugans when they were called up to fight in Revolution. The Overmountain men, as they were called for all the mountains they came over to come help, became heroes at various battles and succeeded greatly at the battle of King’s mountain. Our part of the state had a lot of folk heroes and some might call them legends,” the ranger explained.

* * * *

When the park ranger noted the “legends” of the Appalachian area, it triggered evidence that this was a legend tale, based on fact but elevated with fictional additions. The park ranger used the teaching mode of storytelling as well as the oral traditional mode of storytelling (Lwin, 2010). This story, because of its historical significance to the area, also drew forth Carey’s (2009) ideas about communication as ritual. The story drew in the listener and connected the listener with the surrounding area, giving them a reason to be interested in what they were seeing at the state park. The motivation of this story was to connect the audience to the area, and because, according to Fisher (1985), the narrative paradigm attempted to use symbolic actions to

create meanings for the audience and the listeners of the stories, the storytelling involved with this performance enforced the narrative paradigm. The coherency of this story aligns with what has been told in history books as well as researched by the state park.

Bochner's (1997) narrative paradigm fits well with this story because while this story is not a personal story, by thinking with this story, I constructed an Appalachian identity and connected myself to where I lived. Cultural stories, therefore by thinking through them and with them, can construct identity and resonate with the audience in a similar manner as personal stories. I learned about how women should act, with spunkiness and cunningness to pour water and protect themselves, while men should also do what they can to help ladies and support them. The women's ability to protect themselves and the men's willingness to step out for the women constructed my Appalachian identity and motivated my actions in dating relationships. Therefore, Bochner's (1997) paradigm is applicable to cultural tales as well as personal narratives.

While evaluating this story with Burke's (1945) pentad, the scene encompassed the state park where I grew up. The act, agent, and agency derived from history, while the purpose of the story was to teach and motivate a sense of pride about the Over mountain men from the area and garner a support for Tennesseans in history. The story motivated the audience to gain a connection with the area and the scene, while I also gained a connection with the agents and their agency.

* * * *

My favorite stories have always been John Sevier, for what he did for sweet Bonnie Kate, Davy Crockett, for his knack for storytelling though it was mainly boasting stories about himself, and Daniel Boone, because he settled Western North Carolina. While in Ireland, we visited the

Monreagh house, and one of the men who worked there told me about Davy Crockett's family being from the Ulster Plantation in Ireland. This connects Appalachia to Ireland in an obvious way.

I took for granted growing up here, learning everything the way I did. I learned what I know about our history from various events and stories heard from family and community members. Textbooks did not contain the heroism of Bonnie Kate and John Sevier and Hollywood couldn't do their further love story justice, so I relied on the stories I heard. Another story that affects the way we still predict the weather, at least in my family, revolves around the woolly worm.

* * * *

If you travel to Banner Elk, North Carolina during the third weekend in October, you'd scarce be able to get into the one-light town. It becomes overrun and overcrowded with people traveling to race their worms. The Woolly worm festival began as a small community festival honoring the weather-predicting worm and has grown into a monstrous event. Craft booths fill the schoolyard and in the far corner, a board is set up with strings. People are lined up in front of the board with their worms at the bottom. As Mr. Woolly Worm calls the start of the race, the people release their worms until they are holding tight to the string and then the coaxing begins to have the worm shimmy up the string to the top. The winner can expect a large cash prize and the honor of having their worm predict the weather. The legend behind this little critter surrounds the dark and light rings and the woolliness of the worm. The 13 segments of the woolly worm body represent the 13 weeks of winter. The different colors, whether black or brown, signify different weather patterns. Another popular method is by seeing how woolly the worm is. The woolier the worm signifies the colder the winter.

My grandfather had built a cabin not far from Banner Elk in western North Carolina, and my family spent a lot of time up there while I was growing up. I remember my grandmother, Nan, taking me on walks through the woods. There was one trail I particularly loved because the path traveled right along the edge of a lake. Walking through there, we would find numerous mushrooms, and being a child and very tactile, I always wanted to pick them.

“It is terribly bad to pick a mushroom,” Nan scolded as she knelt down to point out a closer look at the tiny umbrellas growing from the earth. “Gnomes live under mushrooms, you see, and if you pick them, you will destroy their homes.”

I stayed down for awhile, looking closely to see if I could see them, but Nan explained how “gnomes are fearful of humans because of the destruction we have caused to their homes. They hide all over the woods when they here us coming.” She gestured around the trail we were walking and I scurried off to see if I could find a gnome. Nan stayed back, hugging herself and breathing deeply. I imagine she was smelling gnome cookies or other fantastical things that I could not see. After that I was always incredibly careful not to destroy their homes. Nan always helped me look for the gnomes, knowing that if we found one, I would try to take one home with me. The little creatures fascinated me, and I begged for stories about them. She also told me about water nymphs and fairies that used the lily pads to travel across the pond and make friends with the frogs. I always took acorns and tried to create my own little people, but they never came to life. Nan said I didn’t have their caps, or hats, on tight enough to bring them to life but my childlike strength couldn’t force them on hard enough.

* * * *

I grew up in the same house my mother did after she and my dad bought the house from my grandparents. I slept in the room my mother had when she was little, and one night while going to bed, she told me about a dream she had when she was little.

“I saw three caves in the back of our neighborhood,” she began as she gestured out the window. “One cave had a healthy horse that had plenty to eat but stayed in the cave all the time. The second cave had a sick horse that didn’t have enough to eat and was very close to dying. The last cave had a bear fast asleep in it.” I immediately began imagining these caves, dark and dank, full of odd smells from the various animals and scary sounds entering the caves from the nightlife outside of them.

“I woke up the next morning convinced the caves were real, and I needed to help the sick horse. I went to our neighbor, who was a veterinarian, and told him about my dream and how I needed to help the sick horse. He decided to appease me, although he was leery at first, so he and your grandfather and me as a child went to the back of the neighborhood to find the three caves. They were there in the valley of the hill just like in my dream!” she exclaimed, her excitement filling the room and the story.

“The vet went into the first cave and found the healthy horse just like I said. He brought it out, determined to find the owner of the horse. My father walked into another cave and found the bear fast asleep, but he lit out of there faster than he could think about for fear the bear might wake up.” So far, two of the three caves had exactly what my mother had dreamed.

“So the vet walked into the last cave and found the sick horse so near to death. He walked the horse out and vowed to find who did that to the horse.” As she finished telling me her dream, I began to think about my own dreams, and if mine could have the same power as my mother’s dreams. I was convinced, lying in my bed and hearing her speak, that my mother was

magical. My mom had saved the horse's life and brought a bad man to justice because of her dream. I'm still convinced her dreams hold some sort of power.

* * * *

I did not understand nature or the preservation of nature at such a young age. My grandmother did though, and she used the stories about the gnomes and the fairies to make me stop and think about the way I treated the world around me. The narrative paradigm suggested using historical and situational stories in order to induce morality and make sense of the world around us, as well as provide coherence (Fisher, 1984), similar to Karpman (1968), who noted using fairytales to teach children a lesson. Nan's stories used historical fantasy of other worldly beings as well as the situation of me traipsing through the woods to induce the morality of nature preservation and allowed me the chance to understand the world in a different way. The stories Nan told me also allowed my grandmother and me to share the meaning of mushrooms. We viewed them and created a symbolic meaning to a fungus, but it connected the two of us and brought us closer (Mead, 1900). I also thought through this story (Bochner, 1997). By evaluating nature preservation through this story Nan told me, I became motivated and analyzed the world around me. I evaluated the type of person I was becoming through this story, and I was motivated to not tear down gnome homes.

My mother's story about her dream and the real caves does not make sense of the world. It does not teach anything, but it is still part of the oral traditional mode of storytelling because it connected me to the world around me (Sobol, 1992). It connected my mother and me. The visual, verbal, and the vocal all worked together to connect me to the story (Lwin, 2010). My mother knew that I knew the visual of the back of my neighborhood. I enjoyed playing back there, and she used her verbal of the storytelling and the vocal with changes in her voice to soothe me and

connect me to what happened in the story. Similar to the Scots-Irish roots of traditionalism, familialism, neighborliness, and love of home place, as discussed by Halan (1977), this story displayed my mother imparting these values and roots on me. I better understood and connected to me family and hometown, specifically my neighborhood, after hearing about my mother's own experience in the neighborhood.

* * * *

Growing up so close to Jonesborough, Tennessee, I was shocked that I had never been to the International Storytelling Festival. I'd visited the storytelling center in Jonesborough, and even heard the famous Donald Davis tell stories when I was in fourth grade on a class field trip. I remember he came out after his performance and every fourth grader around me wanted an autograph. He said he would sign one of our books that we had all promptly bought to read more of his tales, although nothing could beat the live performance. We all excitedly waited for one of us to be chosen, and at last, he sauntered over through the crowd of children to me. He said he would sign my book if I let him touch my hair, which didn't bother me at all because most people just touched it without asking. After he felt around in my hair for a few moments, he politely signed my book, and we all boarded the bus for home.

After living here my whole life, it was time I visited the festival. So the first weekend in October, as it is held this time every year, my grandmother and I got up early on Friday morning and headed out to the festival. While driving the 35 minutes it would take to get from Elizabethton to Jonesborough, my grandmother, Nan, told me about the other times she had been to the festival. She went one year with several of her friends, and she told me about her friend, Mrs. Belle, your best image of a southern lady. Mrs. Belle loved the storytelling festival, and if you went with her, you did not need to worry about where you would go or what tellers you

would hear because she would have it all mapped out days before the event. She directed Nan and her other friends to the best tellers, and she was right. Another time, Nan came to the festival with my uncle. They heard Donald Davis, and both of them loved him greatly. They also heard Bill Lepp, and Nan was certain we would need to hear him on our outing.

After coming to the schoolyard and parking, we boarded the bus with the other festivalgoers to get to the downtown area where the tents for storytelling were set up. The small downtown area could not support the number of cars involved with the attendance of the festival, so buses were provided to get everyone safely to downtown, as it was a fairly far piece to walk. The clientele of the festival ranged from young children with parents to older generations. Because it was a Friday morning, it was predominately older clientele or younger children as everyone else was at school or work. We had mapped out where we wanted to go and who we wanted to see the night before so we were ready. We marched past several others into the courthouse tent as it was called on the map. We had arrived early in order to get good seats, sauntered up to the front of the tent and sat in the front row; however, we were situated over to far stage left so we had to turn our heads to see the stage. We were ready for our first teller, Bill Lepp. The tellers were listed as two per hour, speaking for 30 minutes each. After Bill Lepp, we would hear from Geraldine Buckley.

As we waited, I glanced around at our fellow festivalgoers. Everyone donned various colored quilt swatches. These would be the tickets of admittance into the festival. Nan and I had green quilt swatches, meaning we had tickets for Friday's festivities, and the yellow, blue, and orange ones signified different tickets. Similar to the way a quilt is constructed piece by piece, the stories we would hear are created the same way. Beside me to my left sat a small boy, maybe four or five, and his father. The father was trying to teach the boy, Jack as his father kept calling

him, how to whittle and carve. The father kept asking Jack what he should carve next, and Jack would excitedly tell his father which body part to carve. As the man finished, he had a perfectly formed old looking man that would have fit beautifully into the most intricately carved manger scene around. Another woman behind me knit with bright bluish turquoise yarn. A woman hollers at a man across the way as old friends who haven't seen each other since the festival the year before reunite and catch up on the past year. Another man wears a train conductor hat that looks authentic. He may have worked on the railways due to the dingy nature of his hat, stained with coal, sweat and years gone by. There are maybe 750 to 1,000 people crammed into the large tent, shoulder to shoulder waiting on the tellers. The autumn air is warm for this time of year, reaching up into the 80s. It smells of coffee, pumpkins, leaves, and sweat.

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After a short introduction of Bill Lepp as the "king of little things," the Southern preacher comes to the stage. He jokes about being a preacher and being so good at lying. His stories are mainly tall tales that start out very believable, but the farther down the rabbit hole he takes you, the more you realize this couldn't be true. He tells a funny story of a bewitched car and a policeman and how he got out of a ticket. He resembles Jeff Foxworthy with his skinny, lanky stature, blue jeans, white t-shirt, red baseball cap, and mustache. Throughout his performance, he mainly keeps his hands in his pockets with the exception of a few hand gestures. He didn't use notes and could have been making up the story as he went along for all anyone knew. He kept the group in stitches of laughter with his commentary about blue-collar fondue, or nachos and cheese. As he wrapped up his story, the crowd erupted in roars of laughter and applause. I began to feel sorry for the tellers who would follow him. (Note: Due to the wishes and notes in the program from the storytelling festival, I cannot retell the stories of the

professional tellers due to copyright restrictions. That is one thing you must experience for yourself.)

* * * *

Geraldine Buckley was an Englishwoman and strongly resembled Dr. Puddle. She didn't have the same hilarious, free nature of Dr. Puddle though, and I instantly wished for Dr. Puddle instead of Mrs. Buckley. She told a story about teaching prisoners how to write. A predominant theme that emerged with the storytellers of the festival throughout the day was religion. There was one Jewish storyteller who told a traditional Yiddish tale, but the rest centered on Christian themes. Many of the tellers were or still are preachers or missionaries. After Mrs. Buckley wrapped up her prison story, there was a 30-minute break, and as the introducer came to introduce the next set of storytellers, a train came and interrupted him.

The train lasted awhile, and finally the introducer just spoke over it to introduce Tim Lowry. A shorter man, maybe 5'7" or 5'8" came to the stage donning a seersucker suit and a bow tie. He looked like the Southern gentlemen of a fairy tale crossed with Colonel Sanders. He had a goatee of blondish red hair sprouting on his face and curly blond hair atop his head. As he spoke, the Colonel Sanders image erupted in my brain again for his accent was not the usual twang you find in southern Appalachia. It sounded more from South Carolina or Georgia. He told a story about his old school teacher who kept things hidden in her bosom. He caused more laughter than Bill Lepp. At some point in everyone's life, they either have been southern or wish they could have been, and he drew that out of the audience with every word. The audience could either strongly relate to his story or wish they had been raised in a small southern town like he had been. He then told a traditional bedtime story about a mother sheep, her children, and the wolf that tried to eat them. The first time he told the story, he used his voice, but the second time

he told it, he only used a kazoo. With the kazoo being played and the way he played it, everyone could still make out the action in the story. Not many people can tell a story with no words and just kazoo noises, but somehow he accomplished this and gained the respect and attention of the people in the tent in the process.

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The religious stories included aspects of cultural storytelling (Carey, 2009). Religion is a large communal aspect of Appalachian life. The stories told regarding religion discussed how most children feel while sitting through a church service, knowing they should listen, but daydreaming instead. Carey discussed the ritualistic prominence of culture and the religious stories draw from that.

The kazoo performance was nonverbal as no words were used to communicate; however, the performance aspect was astounding. Burke (1923) posited that the pentad could be used to determine motivations surrounding performance. When dealing with nonverbal performance, such as with the kazoo story, the context was presented verbally, then transcribed into nonverbal musical performance. Because of the context being explained prior with verbals, the nonverbal were easily understood.

* * * *

After a lunch break, Nan and I went to our favorite storyteller and the only one I had ever heard, Mr. Donald Davis. The oldest storyteller I had seen yet, he wore glasses, a bowtie, a yellow shirt, and khakis. His gray hair lay bare in the subdued sunlight of the white tent. He spoke with the Appalachian accent I remembered and reminded me of the good homeboys of Appalachia. As he began to speak, the crowd hushed in reverence. He told a story about moving into a new house and various hilarious events that happened between him and his neighbor, an

older man who seemed to dislike the young Donald Davis. His large hands helped with the telling of his stories. His gestures seemed larger than life because of those hands. He punched the story with a funny jokeish note, and the crowd seemed to think the story was over, but that is the beauty of Donald Davis as a storyteller. He won't just end the story with a funny note. He wants you to think about the story. He wants you to think about yourself and your relation to the story. So Nan and I knew something more was coming. He ended the story on a somber note, giving the moral of the story as even when we are young and unaware, we affect those around us, and the people we think are annoyed with us as we are young may find a connection with us that is too painful for them to face yet. The morality and the way he ends his story makes him the hero and favorite of the festival that he is.

Nan and I decided we had time for one more set of stories and ventured out of the courthouse tent for the first time that day. We wondered over to the Market St. tent and heard Bill Lepp and Tim Lowry one last time. We then walked to the storytelling center before going home. We saw books written by the storytellers we heard and some from other people we didn't know yet. We saw Donald Davis's book on Jack tales. They are quite popular in our area of the world. I also saw books on the connections between the Scots-Irish and the Appalachian people. I knew I was headed in the right direction with this paper because others had noted how historically we were connected. I found Nan in the children's section looking for books for the other grandchildren. We boarded the bus, got in our car, and headed the 30 minutes back to Elizabethton.

While I cannot retell a story from the festival, I can discuss the performative aspects of these tellers in order to connect their performances of storytelling with the research. These tellers

all called upon the visual, verbal, and vocal in order to display their stories more effectively (Lwin, 2010, Nadeau, 2003). They also all entertained rather than lecture or teach (Lwin, 2010). They employed restored behaviors because the venue where the stories were told required practice and a more formal performance than sitting around a campfire retelling a story (Schechner, 2013). The setting drove and motivated the way in which the tellers interacted with the audience (Burke, 1945). The setting of the fall festival atmosphere motivated the act of storytelling and drove the agency of the agents, tellers and the hearers, to experience the stories with the setting and other agents (Burke, 1945). Because they were elevated on a stage, a fifth wall was in place disconnecting the teller from the audience. The tellers then needed to speak louder, or use more robust hand gestures to connect the audience to their stories. At the heart of the storytelling festival performances was the aesthetic appeal (Pelias & VanOosting, 1987). The setting of fall with the big white tents covering a small, Southern town while a train whistled past in the distance all added to the Southern tellers stories along with their intense Appalachian accents and clothing choices. The Southern Appalachian tellers looked as if they had marched off the train in 1950 dressed in their Sunday best in order to impress a young lady or gentleman. This aesthetic and visual appeal surrounding them only strengthened their verbalized stories and connection with the audience.

Storytelling and Performance in Appalachia

Throughout the storytelling festival evidence of the narrative paradigm erupted. Fisher (1984) noted storytelling as a means to make sense of everyday life and a way to rhetorically perform these stories. The stories described by McLean are often personal narratives, which were presented by Tim Lowry, Donald Davis, and Geraldine Buckley. Davis's story presented a moral dilemma that strongly resonated with himself and therefore pulled a resonating moral dilemma

out of the audience, like Bochner (1997) noted in through blending a personal narrative of a personal self and presentation of self given to others. Schechner's (2013) idea of restored behaviors being "physical or verbal actions that are not-for-the-first time" or rehearsed. The presentation of stories from homo narrans allows people to communicate and build their cultures through storytelling (Schechner, 2013). The visual, vocal, and verbal are all employed in the festival setting as well as the use of the pentad involving the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose to present a story (Burke, 1945; Lwin, 2010). The pentad works as a guideline for the storytellers to present their stories in an organized manner.

The stories I grew up with in Appalachia present the rich tradition of oral history. Various other tales are presented either in classrooms in Appalachia or through family members presenting stories and histories to others as a way to teach a lesson or learn more about an area's culture. From the tale of Bonnie Kate and John Sevier, I learned what was expected of an Appalachian woman. We were expected to work outside of the fence and do what we could to save ourselves such as pour hot water on incoming enemies. I understood the world around me and my culture based on the stories I had heard. I also heard fairy tales similar to those I heard in Ireland from my childhood. This showcases the close relationship that the tradition still maintains in the various cultures studied here.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The stories told and the performance of telling them contains a common thread throughout the studies in Ireland, Scotland, and Appalachia. Many of the stories are the same, involving traditions, family tales, fairy tales, and historical tales. The roots of the Appalachian people from the Scots-Irish produced similar stories and similar experiences. The ways and venues of the performances are also similar. Scotland's storytelling center held noticeable ties to the Jonesborough International Storytelling Center including the paraphernalia sold and the events that took place, such as books about Scotland, Ireland, and Appalachia and history books connecting the areas. At the International Storytelling Festival the tellers gathered on a stage and introduced mostly familial and historical tales while the daily events in Edinburgh revolved around fairy tales and historical tales.

Storytelling is an important indicator of identity for the people studied as evidenced by the storytelling centers and the emphasis placed on storytelling in everyday life. While these links allow for cultural connections, they also display performance similarities and commonalities across identities. By displaying how our stories are culturally connected, the commonalities between individuals can also be accomplished. Similarly, the turn towards the nostalgic and the various storytelling events and centers across Ireland, Scotland, and Appalachia display the prominence of performing stories in these cultures. As performance studies expand in academia, evaluating the storytelling practices across historically connected cultures allows for deeper research into the performances by delving into the cultures.

In Ireland, I heard stories from Harry and Seamus about their personal identities. Bochner (1997) argued for stories having the power to connect people. While this theory was not

applicable with all stories, Harry's and Seamus's personal narratives connected me to them and their love lives while my mother's story connected me to her, our house, and our neighborhood. These stories constructed meaning about the world while connecting the storyteller and the story hearer. Mead's (1900) symbolic interactionism theory discussed using stories in order to create meaning and understand the surrounding world. Bochner (1997), Mead (1900), and Fisher (1984) all evaluated stories through creating meaning and allowing for analysis of our world but each theory is applicable to different situations and stories.

Fisher's (1984) narrative paradigm similarly discussed using stories to make meaning of the world but adding that the audience should distinguish if there is a moral to be learned and whether or not to adhere to that moral. Nan's story about gnomes included a moral inducement, and I, in turn, began to understand nature conservation and the need to protect our world. The story simultaneously created meaning and constructed morality. In our common lexicon we talk about "the moral of the story." Stories, narratives, and morals are intimately linked (Bochner, 2002; Cheney, 1989; Richardson, 1990). White (1980) argues, "Where, in any account of reality narrativity is present, we can be sure that morality or a moralizing impulse is present too" (p. 26). As can be seen, evaluating these stories individually and cross-culturally, we can see the cultural, performative, and moral impetus of narrative can be connected and supported.

The Scottish stories were primarily historical or traditional stories, whether told by Dr. Puddle or at the Scottish Storytelling Center. These stories often emerged as more formally performative, involving restored behaviors and being viewed as aesthetic (Pelias & VanOosting, 1987; Schechner, 2013). The idea of performing stories to construct identity and culture is not new; however, the evaluation of a connection across the cultures is fully supported here. Also by evaluating performances of storytelling, we can expand the scope of performance studies.

Similarly, the International Storytelling Festival presented stories on various stages around Jonesborough, drawing in the aesthetic and the performance keys of visual, verbal, and vocal. Burke's (1945) dramatism theory, while discussing the nature of all human interaction as being performance and drama, and driven by motivation, presented the connection of the storytellers in the festival and venue settings drawing from motivations for their stories. The tellers in the formal performances attempted to entertain the audience, drawing forth a more aesthetic performance, while the stories told by Nan, my mother, Liam, Harry, Seamus, and Dr. Puddle were all used to motivate and provide an avenue of connection.

During my specific travels, Ireland and Appalachia presented more personal stories than Scotland. Culturally, I connected more with the Irish and Appalachian people as well, which could have played into my ability to collect stories. Harry and Seamus, being the first people I met in a pub, began telling me stories without requiring much information from me. The stories they told were personal, as was Tom O'Henry's story about his brother, and my mother's story about her childhood. Liam's story was more historical and fantastical, similar to the Sycamore Shoals Park Ranger's story of Bonnie Kate and Fort Watauga and Nan's story about the gnomes. In Scotland, Dr. Puddle's and Hilde's stories were primarily historical tales about Vikings and ancient ruins. Dr. Puddle entertained a few of us with stories about her childhood and various methods of finding a husband, which could be classified as historical, traditional, and personal. In the public performance, the motivations were clearly for entertainment. The stories accomplished this through the aesthetic aspects of performative storytelling. However, in intimate storytelling instances, the motivation shifted towards forming a closer bond and connection between the hearer, teller, or scene. Sobol's (1992) types of storytelling were

evidenced in both public and intimate storytelling settings. Performance is evidenced in each setting through the presentation of culture, identity, and history.

When evaluating the Irish, Scottish, and Appalachian stories and storytelling events, more similarities emerge than differences. One key difference found emerged as the willingness to share stories. While in Ireland, I merely walked into a pub and met Harry and Seamus. People were much more willing to tell me stories and talk to me, which could be connected to my predominant Irish “look” as they called it. In Scotland, I sat in a pub for a few hours, asking various people questions and attempting to engage in conversation, and was met with the response that if I wanted to know about storytelling or hear stories, I would need to visit the Scottish Storytelling Center in Edinburgh. The people in Appalachia presented an array of stories, many that I heard during my years spent living in Appalachia. Due to the amount of time and my life of growing up and being Appalachian, I received more stories and more willingness to present me with stories.

What can be drawn from the observations and participations of this researcher is a solid foundation for arguing there are connections between Ireland, Scotland, and Appalachia in terms of their storytelling practices and performances. The use of storytelling is made popular on a daily basis as well as celebrated at larger festivals. The history and immigration of the Scots-Irish people also connects Ireland and Scotland to Appalachia, and the tradition of storytelling maintained continuity, also receiving an explosion and turn back to the roots of storytelling during a renaissance period for the performance style. Storytelling is used to not only determine identity as a means of retelling events of one’s own life, but also as a way to make sense of the world around us. As a communication form, it binds identity to performance and presents a unified cultural experience. Culturally, the idea of performing stories and sharing stories

emerged in various ways. Scotland and Appalachia connected with the storytelling centers and the festivals designed for storytelling performance as entertainment and aesthetic performance in urban areas. The motivation for storytelling is entertainment. In Ireland, Scotland, and Appalachia, a desire to connect the audience with the area, the people, the culture, and the stories all emerged as motivations. Burke (1945) cultivated the idea of dramatism, action needing motivation, and all interactions as performance, and this emerged as a theme across the stories told and the nature of the tellings, whether it was formal or informal with personal, historical, or fantastical tales. Culturally constructed performances of stories connected the audience with whatever the teller defined as the motivation.

Limitations

As with all ethnographic projects there are a number of limitations that impacted this research. First, the study is limited by factors including time and travel constraints. Due to the nature of a study abroad trip travelling and studying with other students, I lacked complete freedom to travel independently. Similarly, time was limited to May and June for Ireland and Scotland although both countries have their respective storytelling festivals during other parts of the year. Due to time constraints, I felt disconnected to Scotland, or less connected than I was to Appalachia and Ireland, which may have influenced the study. As an ethnographer, it is difficult to completely remove your personality from the study, and the study will be affected by the lens through which the ethnographer views the world. The Appalachian study was less limited, however, my experiences from growing up in East Tennessee played into the nature of the research. Also, being an insider in the community, the research differed from my experiences in the communities in which I was an outsider. The study was also limited by not obtaining permission to retell a story from the festival in Appalachia; I was unaware consent was

warranted for republication of stories performed at the festival. Performed identities become important to the performer but also tie in and bring together cultures. Irish, Scottish, and Appalachian storytelling in the various aspects explored here showcased that, and will continue to be an important communal, cultural, identity-driven aspect of performing stories. My age and hair color also made people more likely and willing to speak with me in Scotland and Ireland than other researchers may experience. My age may have played into the number of men who were willing to tell me a story.

Future Directions

There are a number of future directions for researching stories, storytelling, and storytelling festivals. Future studies could focus specifically and exclusively on storytelling festivals, rather than on the variety of storytelling festivals, personal stories, and narrated tour stories as researched here. Likewise, a future project could examine only one type of story: historical, tall tale, personal, etc. Similarly, a focus on storytelling as presented to a mass public as opposed to this study showcasing all forms of storytelling in a specific location would be useful. Likewise, one could examine stories exclusively through the lens of “the moral of the story” or what the story attempts to teach us about living the good life as a good person. Finally, the uses of performance for educational purposes and as training tools to teach historical and fairy tales could drive another study.

All cultures have stories, and this same study could be undertaken with various cultures that share historical connections similar to the Scots-Irish and the Appalachian cultures; as well as with other theories such as speech act theory or through performance ethnography. This study encompassed performance, culture, and stories while another study could break these apart, focus on the individuals, and examine more deeply the connections between Ireland, Scotland,

and Appalachia in order to determine whether they are merely historically or the connection goes deeper. While this study focused on performances of storytelling, an evaluation of Scottish, Irish, and Appalachian theatre or dance performances may be accomplished to distinguish cultural similarities as well as enforce performance theory.

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VITA

ANNALEE TULL

- Education: Public Schools, Elizabethton Tennessee
B.A. Dance and Media Studies, Radford University, Radford,
Virginia 2011
M.A. Professional Communication, East Tennessee State
University, Johnson City, Tennessee 2014
- Professional Experience: Adjunct Professor and Choreographer, Emory and Henry College:
Emory, Virginia, 2012-Present
Graduate Assistant, East Tennessee State University, Department
of Communication, 2012-2014
Dance teacher and Choreographer, Watts Dance Studio;
Elizabethton, Tennessee, 2003-Present
- Presentations: Tull, A. (2014, April). Cultivation Analysis and Conflict
Resolution in Relationships: A quantitative study. Paper
presented at the 84th Annual Southern States Communication
Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Tull, A. (2012). *Flying High, Sinking Low: A critical analysis of
ABC's "Pan Am"*. Paper presented at The Appalachian
Research Symposium, Johnson City, TN.
- Honors and Awards: Golden Key International Honor Society
Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society
Omicron Delta Kappa National Leadership Honor Society
Dean's List, Radford University, Radford, Virginia
Highlander Scholar Program, Radford University, Radford,
Virginia