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Juan Diego Cabrera

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Abstract

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Keywords

narrative analysis, polarization analysis, gossip, reputation management

Disciplines

Arts and Humanities

The Language of Reputation and Scandal:
Translations of Lived Experiences in Spanish, English, and Spanglish Oral Narratives

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to understand a framework for the structure of oral narratives that operate in different languages, cultures, and topics as translations of lived experiences. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish, and Spanglish in North and Latin America about gossip and scandal. Oral personal narratives are translations of lived experiences—coded information that negotiate, build, or destroy credibility, relationships, or the self; they manage reputations. This examination is framed under Labovian narrative analysis and the pragmatic implications on the management of reputation in narratives about gossip and scandal are addressed.

Keywords: narrative analysis, polarization analysis, gossip, reputation management

INTRODUCTION

The primary focus of this project is the interaction and relationship between narrative topic and narrative structure.[1] This research is divided into two parts that aim to explain narratives as translations of lived experiences to formal and social structures. The first part consists of a reduction of narratives to formal structures and its analysis and implications on the universality of oral storytelling. The second part examines the social structures that these narratives create through the management reputation.

This study aims to understand and reveal structures, patterns, and connections in our minds of how we tell stories that have happened to us and why we feel compelled to tell them. How do these narratives that we have told ourselves and others influence the way we perceive other people and interact with each other? How does the translation of information from lived experiences into narratives change how we understand these narratives with every retelling, with every re-hearing? After a thorough explanation of what constitutes a personal narrative and why gossip and scandal is the topic of choice in this study, I will present questions pertinent to the foci of this research. To establish a framework for these questions, a thorough understanding of narrative structure and an introduction on how to approach the management of reputation in narratives is crucial.

LYING, TELLING, AND THE NARRATIVE SELF

A fundamental question that arises is based on the subjectivity of narratives, meaning that narrators can bend reality for their purposes—they can lie. In oral personal narratives, though, this does not seem to be the default case. Labov (2013) assumes that "…speakers do not lie," but he also acknowledges that "Speakers do fabricate and prevaricate, but not habitually" (p. 37). He says

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[1] Considerations for a cross-linguistic examination of narrative analysis are addressed in the Discussions section.

that there are three basic arguments for analyzing narratives in this way. Labov (2013) presents the following:

> 1. Lying is difficult: it may require a readjustment of the entire series of events to be sure that it is consistent.
>
> 2. Lying is dangerous: one never knows when other witnesses or other accidents will bring the inconsistency to light, with consequent loss of credibility and damage to the speaker's reputation.
>
> 3. Lying is unnecessary: there are many other more effective ways to transform events to achieve the desired results. (p. 37)

Thus, for this study, I will also assume that the participants did not lie since they have no stake in doing so.

By choosing narratives about gossip and scandal the narrator must have opinions, judgements, and residual feelings about the happenings in those narratives. In order for a narrative to be tellable, "… the narrator must remember the most reportable event in some form if he or she proposes to tell something about it" (Labov 2013, p. 39). The act of remembering can also be a point of focus when considering the tellability of a narrative. Ochs and Capps (1997) have noted that remembering is subjective (p. 83), and Labov (2013) also suggests that a manipulation of remembered events can lead to a form of "self-serving deception" (p. 40). There might be some distortion of remembered events, but as Ochs and Capps (1997) also state, "Remembering, then, is an authenticating act: Rememberers publicly claim to have brought to conscious awareness a state, event, or condition that is real in their eyes; they believe it to be true" (p. 84). Then, with narratives about gossip, they start to enter the dark side of tellability, mainly "…the more strange (salacious, frightening) an event… is, the more tellable the story becomes… but the less tellable it

becomes… due to potential transgressions of taboos" (Norrick 2005, p. 327). This, as Norrick (2005) says, might recall Grice's maxim of quantity where "speakers seek to make their contributions to a conversation as informative as possible, without making them too informative" (p. 237). Narratives about gossip are very intimate because they report events about broken bonds, and remembering these intimate events and the emotions associated with these experiences create highly tellable and highly reportable narratives.

Finally, the self in narratives is indeed created and defined by the kinds of narratives we tell. Ochs and Capps (1997) state that "We come to define ourselves as we grapple with our own and others' ambiguous emotions and events… The tension between certainty and doubt drives narrative activity in pursuit of an authentic remembered self" (p. 88). Labov (2013) proposes five different narrative selves that play a role in presenting the narrator as a moral person, and these selves are:

1. The self as author of the narrative,

2. The self as actor in the narrative

3. The self as seen by others

4. The self as generalized other

5. The self in whose interest the story is told (p. 40-42).

The final self is especially of interest for the second portion of this study, because it contributes to the polarization of agents in narratives through the management of reputation. It is at first thought that this self is primarily focused on praising themselves while blaming the antagonists, but this does not seem to always be the case—some are "… not in the interest of the narrative self to maximize that conflict, but rather to reduce it" (Labov 2013, p. 41). In order to convey a particular identity, the narrator chooses a personal experience, then they choose how to relate that experience,

and finally they decide which details to highlight (Norrick 2005, p. 328). The psychological impacts of reputation narratives on the narrative selves demonstrate how we recreate our realities through narratives.[2] The creation of narrative selves are translations of our mental states during these events.

For the rest of this introduction, I will first present required features for personal narratives.[3] Secondly, I will introduce what kind of framework can be produced to analyze polarization in Reputation Narratives[4] by highlighting different aspects of gossip and the management of reputation.

<div align="center">WHAT IS A PERSONAL NARRATIVE?</div>

A narrative, as informally defined by Labov and Waletzky (from here on L&W, 1967) will be the departure point of defining a personal narrative. L&W (1967) defined a narrative as "…one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred" (p. 20). Although not explicitly stated, I have defined a personal narrative with three crucial features based on the informal one previously stated. These features required in a personal narrative are based on *personal experience*, the *egocentric principle*, and *temporal juncture*.

The first feature of a personal narrative defined in this study is based on a narrative of *personal experience*. Just a recapitulation of events does not constitute a narrative, as L&W (1967) note, "…a narrative which contains an orientation, complicating action and result is not a complete narrative… Such a narrative lacks significance: it has no point" (p. 33). The difference between a personal narrative and a story of vicarious experience is that the latter lacks evaluation[5] or opinions

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[2] The psychological impacts of gossip on the self will be discussed in the Why Gossip and Scandal? section.
[3] Based on the Labovian model of Narrative Analysis (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 2013)
[4] Based on dichotomies developed from Labov's concept of Praise and Blame (Labov 2013, pp.35-36)
[5] Evaluations will be discussed in the Narrative Elements section.

about the events in the narrative. For the purposes of this research, I was only concerned with narratives of *personal experience*. The second feature of a personal narrative is that they are told through the *egocentric principle*. This principle is such that "Oral narratives of personal experience present information to the audience in the same order that it was originally presented to the protagonist" (Labov 2013, p. 20). Not only does the narrative require evaluation of the events, but the events must be told sequentially as the narrator perceived them. Finally, the third feature of *temporal juncture* structurally defines the *egocentric principle*. Narrators use *temporal juncture* to order their events as they perceived them. Meaning that "A narrative matches the order of independent clauses with the order of the original events referred to" (Labov 2013, p. 15). We represent experiences through independent clauses that within the whole structure of clauses cannot be moved without changing the meaning of the narrative. An example of this is the difference between:

I hit him.

He hit me.

vs

He hit me.

I hit him. (Labov 2013, p. 15)

The former two independent clauses do not mean the same thing as the latter two. From this, careful analysis of narratives through *temporal juncture* has allowed the present research to be possible. These three features are how I have defined a personal narrative, and from here only those that have these features will be analyzed.

Synthesizing these features to strictly define a personal narrative allows for a consistent unit that becomes structurally the same for all narratives of personal experience. With only these

features, the structure of narratives can then be assessed as L&W (1967) first analyzed them and how Labov (2013) has later developed narrative analysis.

WHY GOSSIP AND SCANDAL?

The focus of the second part of this research is to investigate how narratives are translations of lived experiences that create social structures. This focus is aimed at the changing of the parameter of topic because not all narratives are on the same subject. Labov (2013) notes that "All narratives, including those dealing with the danger of death, will be organized around the most reportable event" (p. 23). The most reportable events in his narratives were centered on danger and death: Danger Narratives, but the second portion of this study covers narratives on gossip and scandal: Reputation Narratives. Gossip and reputation studies are layered with multiple dimensions of complexity about social structures as well as how this act of talking about people motivates different behaviors. Taking this into account presents various avenues in which to analyze narratives surrounding gossip, of which the evolution, the social function, and the psychological impacts of gossip and scandal on the self are the focus.

The evolution of gossip has been viewed as a replacement of grooming as seen in primates and from this we are able to talk about a range of different topics. Based on previous studies, most of what we do with language is talk about social topics (Dunbar and Dunbar 1998, p. 123)—it is also about the management of reputations. Dunbar and Dunbar's (1998) suggestion is that "… language evolved to facilitate bonding of social groups… by permitting the exchange of socially relevant information" (p. 123). Dunbar (2004) also notes that language "… allows us to keep track of what is going on within our social networks as well as using it to service those relationships" (p. 102).

Along with this evolutionary perspective of gossip, studies on the social function of gossip also add to why narratives on gossip are so intriguing. Studies done in experimental pragmatics

aid in the furthering of the interdisciplinary study of narrative analysis. The social function of gossip is "… because [people] need information. In the quest for filling the gap between knowing and not knowing, gossip can provide information that the formal network of communication cannot" (Chua 2014, p. 65). The psychological need for it does in fact manage the reputations of others; socially motivated behavior to gossip disseminates information about a person or group of people. Many pragmatic studies have found that gossip has connections to power structures (Kurland 2000), punishment and promoting cooperative behavior (dos Santos et al. 2010), personal experience and reciprocity in cooperative behavior (Molleman 2013), generosity and reputation in economic games (Piazza 2008), strategic investment in reputation with known and unknown party identities (Semmann et al. 2004), and reputation building and trustworthiness (Sommerfeld 2008). These studies suggest the social functions of gossip are ways to manage the reputations of the self and others and to build networks of trust and cooperative behavior. The social function of gossip can even extend to more generalizable mechanisms of trust, such as smile reciprocity between genuine smiles and polite smiles, of which the latter has been suggested to show negative social responses (Heerey 2013). The different connections made about how pragmatic studies can elucidate the social function of gossip as well as how they can affect our behaviors is important to note.

The psychological impacts of these reputation narratives on the self are important to consider as well. Our construction of reality is based on multiple dimensions, but the way "… we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings [is] mainly in the form of narrative—stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing, and so on" (Bruner 1991, p. 4). Bruner (1991) also notes that narratives "… are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and "narrative necessity" rather than by empirical verification and logical

requiredness…" (p. 4). The construction of the self, or our understanding of ourselves in narratives, "… takes place each time an individual talks about their life" (Fischer and Goblirsch 2006). As noted previously with the social function of gossip, the psychological mechanisms operative in gossip deal with deliberate propaganda to ruin someone's reputation, emotional catharsis, enhancement of self-image and the social self, and can even lead to the creation of solidarity within a group (Stirling 1955). Gossip as information management has already been stressed, but another perspective suggests that gossip is based on self-interest which indirectly affects the community (Paine 1967, p. 281). As for narratives of personal experience, they are a components of our life story which are about events that have formed who the person is which "…make a point about the speaker, not about the way the world is…" (Linde 1986, p. 198).

The purpose of this portion of the study is to construct a framework for analyzing the polarization of social structures in narratives. By using narratives of gossip and scandal, the management of reputation can be examined under a context of polarization away from or integration towards a social relationship illustrated in these narratives.

INVESTIGATION

For this research nine participants were interviewed and voice recorded. The nine participants form three groups with three individuals in each group based on language backgrounds: native English speakers, native Spanish speakers, and Spanish-English bilinguals with different degrees of language dominance. For the Narrative Analysis portion of this study all fourteen narratives (four Danger, nine Reputation) were used, and for the Polarization Analysis portion only Reputation Narratives (nine) were used.

The interviews were conducted in various settings (office rooms, living room areas, and the like) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Samborondón, Ecuador. These interviews were

recorded by two interviewers,[6] and the participants were not given a time limit for each narrative. There were 18 total recorded narratives based on the interview questions, but only 14 interviews were analyzed.[7] The participants were told to speak freely and no questions were asked as to not interrupt narrative flow.[8] Participants were encouraged to speak in whichever language they felt most comfortable as well as using more than one language, and they were prompted with a variation of the following questions, reproduced in Table 2 (in each language):

	ENGLISH	SPANGLISH	SPANISH
DANGER	Can you tell me about a time you were in great danger?	Can you tell me cuando estuvo in great danger?	¿Me puede contar cuando estuvo en un gran peligro?
REPUTATION	Can you tell me about a time when someone talked badly about you or tried to ruin your reputation?	Me puede contar when someone habló mal de ti or tried to ruin your reputation?	¿Me puede contar cuando alguien hablo mal de usted o trato de arruinar su reputación?

Table 1: Interview Questions (variations)

The motivations for these specific questions are based on previous work done with narratives on death (Labov 2013), but also on the research done on gossip and scandal (as will later be expounded upon). Variations of the questions were used so that conversation could ease into these narratives.

As previously mentioned, the questions from this research aim to consider both Narrative Analysis and Polarization Analysis. In the Narrative Analysis portion, the framework has already

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[6] Loss of recording material prompted a need for a second interviewer to interview participants abroad in Ecuador, interview procedures were kept consistent.
[7] Two English narratives on danger were excluded because they did not successfully answer the question. Two Spanish narratives on danger were excluded because they either did not meet Labov's requirements for personal narratives or they did not recount a narrative about their own lived experiences.
[8] Questions were asked for one narrative, but the following conversation was not included to keep the interview procedures consistent.

been developed, but other considerations not found in L&W's (1967) or Labov's (2013) work will be examined. Such considerations are the following:

a. Is there regularity in the distribution of Narrative Elements?

b. Is there a Narrative Element that dominates over others?

c. Where do Evaluations fall? And is this consistent with a universal narrative structure?

From this analysis of narrative structure, what can be said about the content of the polarization in a narrative? I have developed a way to assess the management of reputation using Labov's (2013) assignment of praise and blame as the departure point (pp. 35-36). With the expansion of this polarization framework my objective is to understand polarization as a way that narrators manage the reputation of the agents in their narratives. The considerations under review in this research are as follows:

a. How can Polarization Analysis be represented?

b. What does Polarization Analysis suggest?

c. How can visualization aid the representation of polarization in narrative?

These considerations will be prefaced by an outline of the approaches used to analyze the interviews so that a more coherent analysis can be made. From there, a discussion about the results as well as further research will be addressed.

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

The general purpose of this research is to further investigate narrative structure proposed by L&W (1967) and further research contributing to Labovian narrative analysis (Labov 2013) by changing parameters such as those of language and topic to observe a change in structure. As previously stated, the focus of this project is on the topic change as it relates to narrative structure

and analysis. Although the current framework structure seems maximally optimal and pragmatic, there have been some debates about whether people recount narratives in the same way. Some doubt a universal narrative structure and propose that narratives could diverge from the Labovian model of narratives (Bennett 1986). As Bennett (1986) has observed, "Rather than relating a unique event, speakers may opt to describe a typical happening… they may tell their story in circular fashion… they may leave it untidily open-ended… they may give a disproportionately large amount of their story to describing circumstances and contexts." (417) The narratives she observed served more for expository purposes rather than that of recapitulating past experiences and evaluating those experiences. This, though, suggests that the distribution of Narrative Elements could differ within the Labovian framework. Based on the change in the parameter of topic, there could be a dominance of a Narrative Element over others or the distributions of Narrative Elements could change.

NARRATIVE ELEMENTS

Narrative analysis can be presented with the template as illustrated by Figure 1.[9] Figure 1 displays the structure proposed by L&W which refers to Narrative Elements and their relative orderings in the narrative (the arrow as the starting point at the Orientation and the flow moves clockwise).

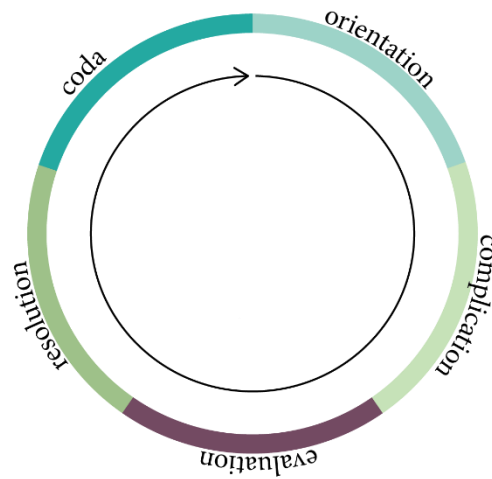[9] As adapted from Labov and Waletzky (1967, p. 41)

Figure 1: L&W Narrative Structure

To begin, each Narrative Element pictured above will be briefly defined based on its function in the narrative and then the relational ordering will be clarified. Below is a chart defining the functions of each Narrative Element in the Labovian framework:

Narrative Element[10]		Function in Narrative
O	(ORIENTATION)	Orients the listener to person, place, time and behavioral context; formally a group of free clauses that precede the Complication[11]
C	COMPLICATION	Clauses that make up the main events of the narrative, mainly the problem
E	EVALUATION	When the narrator delineates from the series of events to express opinions; where the Complication has reached its climax, the point between Complication and Resolution; formally defined as a suspension of action
R	RESOLUTION	The narrative sequence after the Evaluation
CODA	(CODA)	Returns the narrative perspective to the present

Table 2: L&W Narrative Structure

---

[10] Narrative Elements with parentheses are optional
[11] "some free clauses with these functions can occur in other positions" (32)

The ordering of Narrative Elements is exemplified by the following:

(Orientation) → Complication → Evaluation → Resolution → (Coda)

Orientation and Coda Narrative Elements (as noted in Table 2) are optional while Complication, Evaluation, and Resolution Narrative Elements are obligatory. Although this ordering seems rigid, Orientation and Evaluation clauses can be scattered throughout the narrative. The main Narrative Element, the Evaluation, is what structurally defines the Resolution and marks its separation with the Complication.

CLAUSAL APPROACH

All interviews were transcribed and reviewed for semantic and comprehension concerns.[12] From there each narrative was separated into identifiable clauses, methods for analysis follow Table 2:

Judgment Types	Examples[13]
Clausal Boundaries at conjunctions	O: *I don't know, like three or four weeks* O: *and the relationship ended pretty poorly*
Semantic Boundaries at Evaluation breaks	O: *and the relationship ended pretty poorly* E: *I was not pleased,* C: *but he was just angry at me*
at logical segmentation	O: *So I was in high school* O: *I was seeing someone for a very short amount of time* O: *I don't know, like three or four weeks*
at Narrative Element breaks	E: *I was not pleased,* O: *but he was just angry at me* C: *so he started talking behind my back—*

Table 3: Examples of Clausal Analysis Methods Used

To further explain the process of separating clauses into classes, those classes being the Narrative Elements, an example of a narrative is given as Table 4.

---

[12] Concerns include fillers, false starts, and incomplete thoughts—all concerns with using running speech data.

[13] All examples taken from English Reputation Narrative E-E.

	CLAUSES	CLASS
a	So in high school	O
b	I was seeing someone for a very short amount of time,	O
c	I don't know, like three or four weeks	O
d	and the relationship ended pretty poorly.	O
e	I was not pleased	E
f	but he was just angry at me,	C
g	so he started talking behind my back—	C
h	talking shit about my family and stuff,	C
i	which I was not happy about	E
j	but everyone he tried to talk about me behind my back was people on the same team that we were all on	R
k	so everyone knew me pretty well and had known me for a long time	E
l	and they knew he was just lying and just, kind of, just lashing out	R
m	so that painted him a very negative portrayal	E
n	and I really didn't say anything during that period	R
o	so people tended to view me like a calm, rational person	E
p	and yeah… he tried to ruin what people thought of me on the team that I was very close with,	CODA
q	which was kind of idiotic—	E
r	not a very good idea,	E
s	but it's ok.	CODA
t	It's over now.	CODA

Table 4: Example of Narrative Using Method for Clausal Analysis

Although these are mostly informal guidelines, separating clauses in this way works to efficiently divide a narrative into clauses that fit with the classes of Narrative Elements that L&W developed. This kind of method is not completely consistent as L&W point out for some clauses (L&W 1967, p. 32-33), but they do suggest a flexible methodology that can become systematic that can also adapt to unexpected narrative variation. This approach was used for all Danger and Reputation narratives.[14]

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The first consideration under the Narrative Framework of this study is about regularity in the distribution of Narrative Elements. The distributions of Narrative Elements in Danger and Reputation Narratives can be analyzed together in Figures 2 and 3.[15]

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[14] Spanish and Spanglish narratives were analyzed in the same way.

[15] Narratives with asterisks (*) are composites of their narrative episodes, meaning that some narratives were split into narratives and for the present considerations composites of these episodes were analyzed.
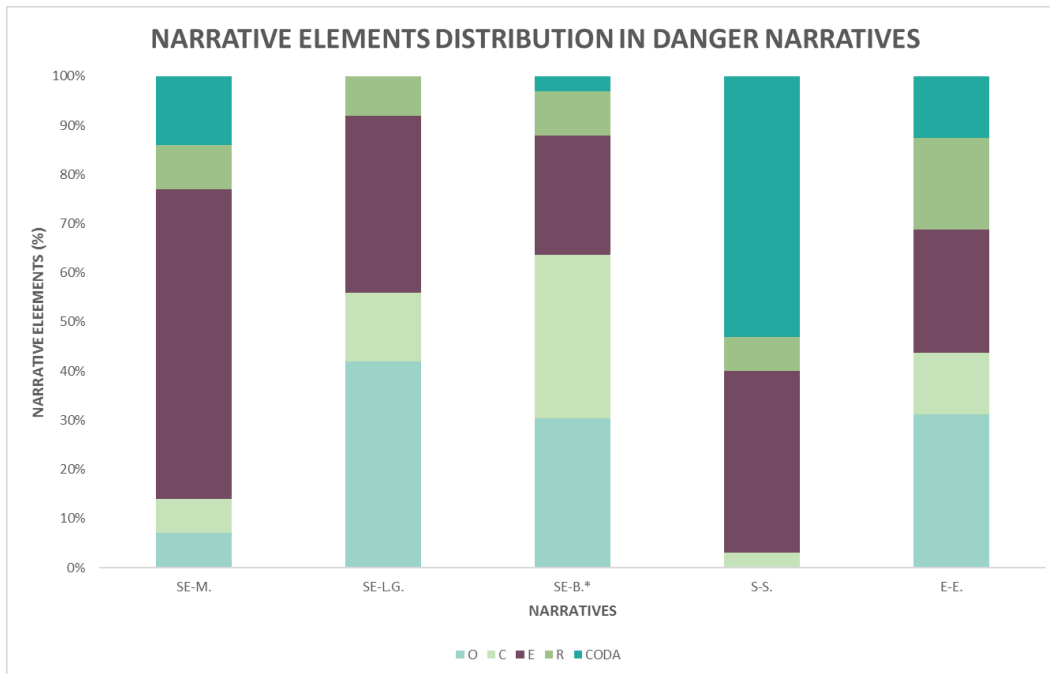
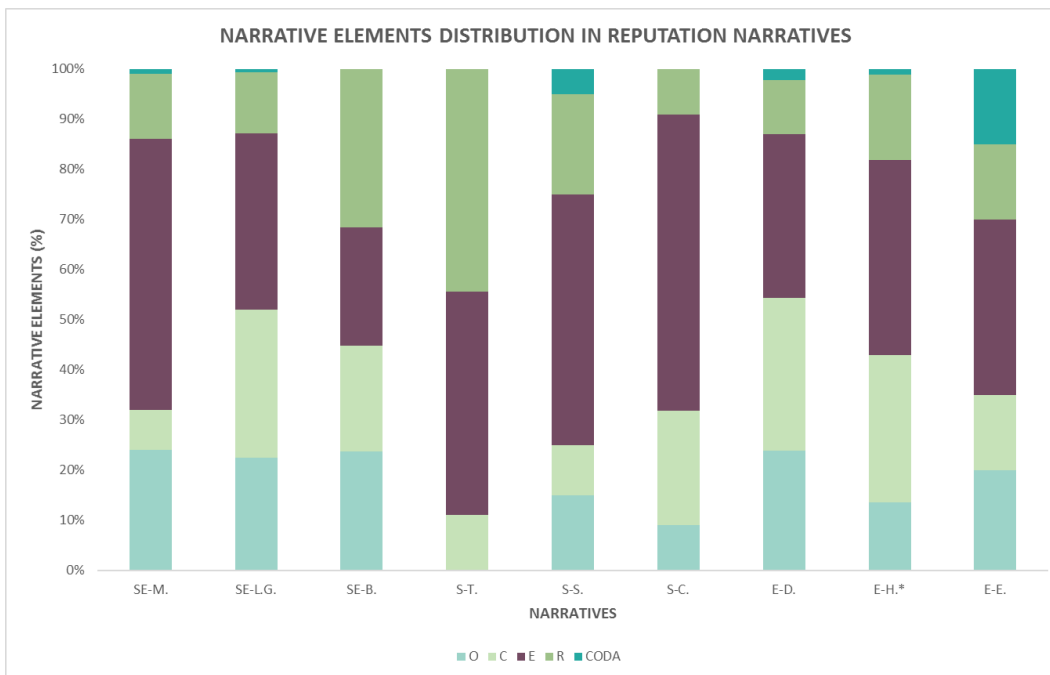*Figure 2: Distributions in Danger Narratives*

Figure 3: Distributions in Reputation Narratives

From these figures, there does not seem to be regularity in the distribution of these Narrative Elements. Individual stylistics seems to be the factor contributing to the variation in distribution. Speakers might emphasize different Narrative Elements based on narrative type, but there does not seem to be a trend that shows this.

The next question posed was about the dominance of a Narrative Element over others. Figure 4 is a graphical representation of the averaged distributions of Narrative Elements by narrative type. Based on Bennet's analysis of narratives on the supernatural experiences people have lived through, she suggests that the Orientation is of importance mainly in those narratives because they are expository narratives meant to have detailed descriptions of what happened to increase credibility—to be believed (p. 417). This also seems to be the case in Danger Narratives, which can be argued for because setting the stage for an out-of-the-ordinary occurrence could be of importance to the narrator—they want to set the stage for the danger to come.
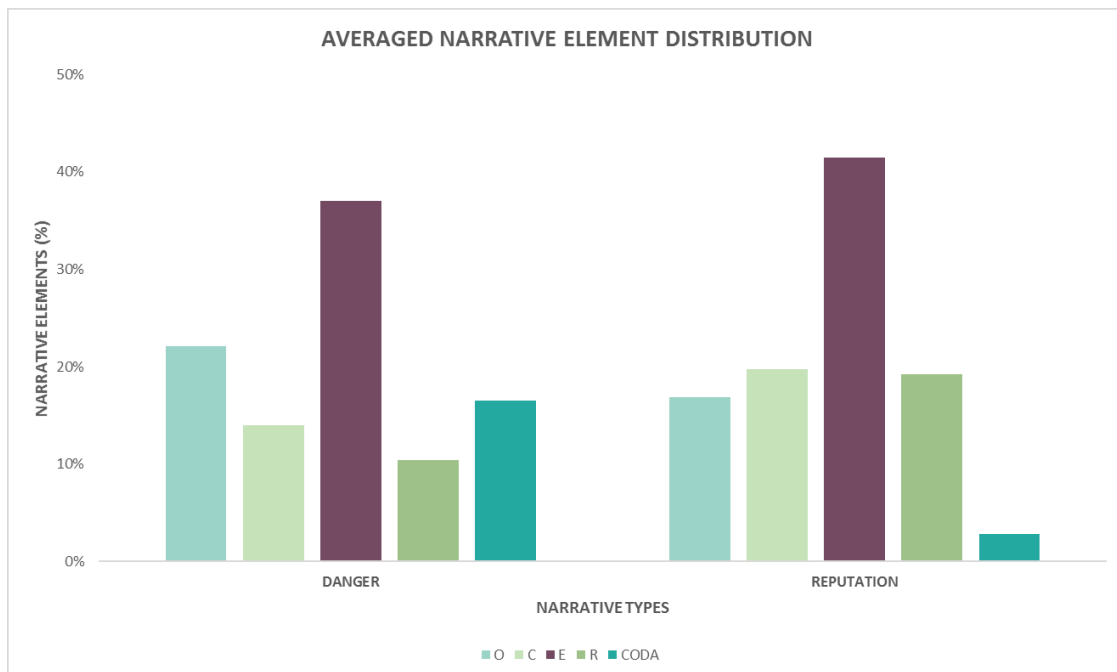

Figure 4: Averaged Distributions

As for the dominance of a Narrative Element, Evaluations make up most of these narratives. Narratives of personal experience require Evaluations, as previously noted. Since the sample size is small, it cannot be concluded that other Narrative Elements are emphasized over others. The data could suggest that Orientations and Codas are more prevalent in Danger Narratives, while Complications and Resolution Narrative Elements are emphasized in Reputation Narratives.

Finally, with this prevalence in Evaluations, where do they fall within narratives? And is their placement consistent with Labov's narrative analysis across languages? Most narratives follow the structure of Figure 5, where Evaluations separate Complications and Resolutions. They may be present in other places in the narrative as previously noted, but this happens across the languages in this study (as shown in Figures 5,6 and 7).
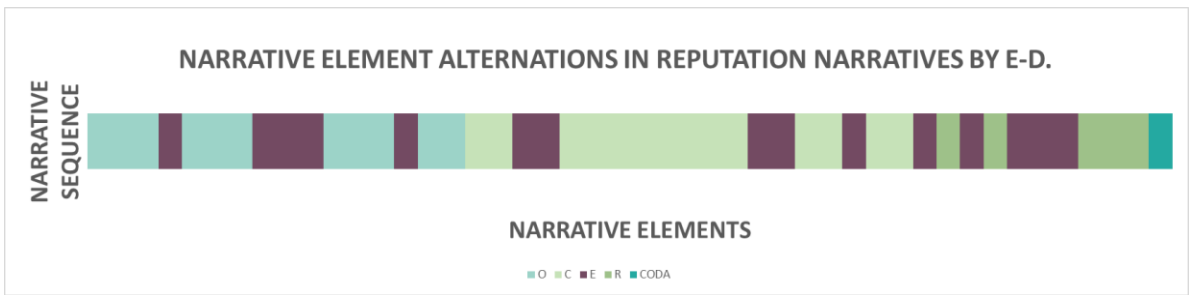
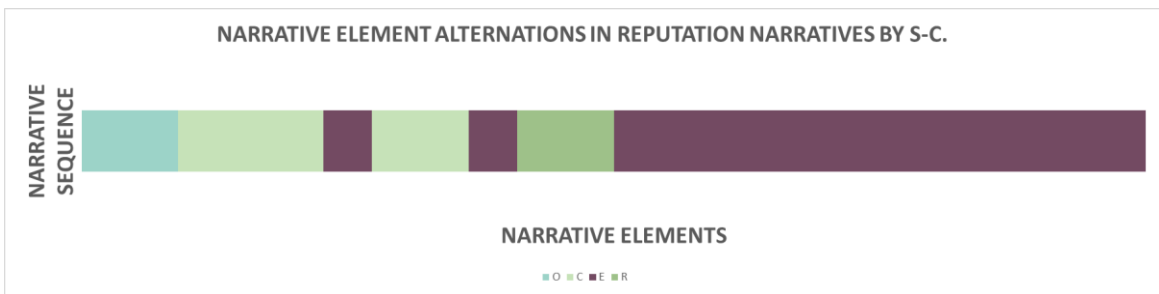*Figure 5: Example of English Narrative Consistent with Labovian Model*

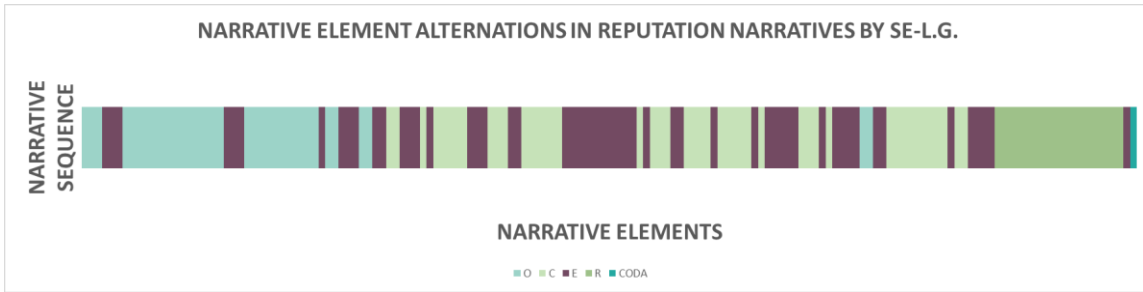*Figure 6: Example of Spanish Narrative Consistent with Labovian Model*

Figure 7: Example of Spanglish Narrative Consistent with Labovian Model

Although this is not always the case, the argument for deviations, like in Figures 8 and 9, is that there are many Evaluations that lead up to the switch between Complication and Resolution. This is consistent with Evaluation clauses being suspensions of action—strings of Evaluation clauses will prompt the Resolution.
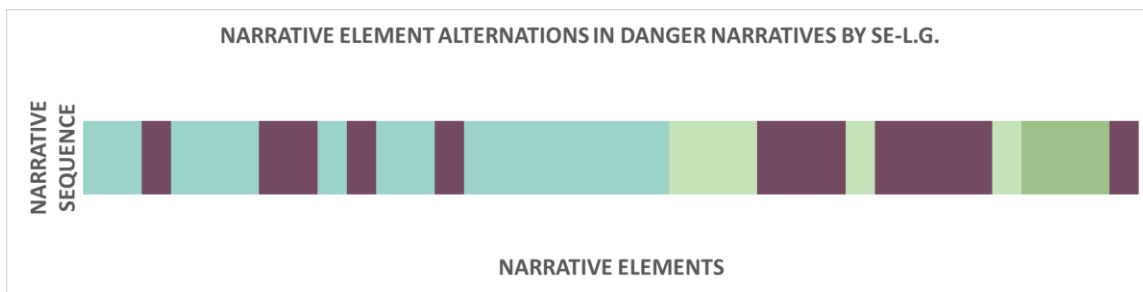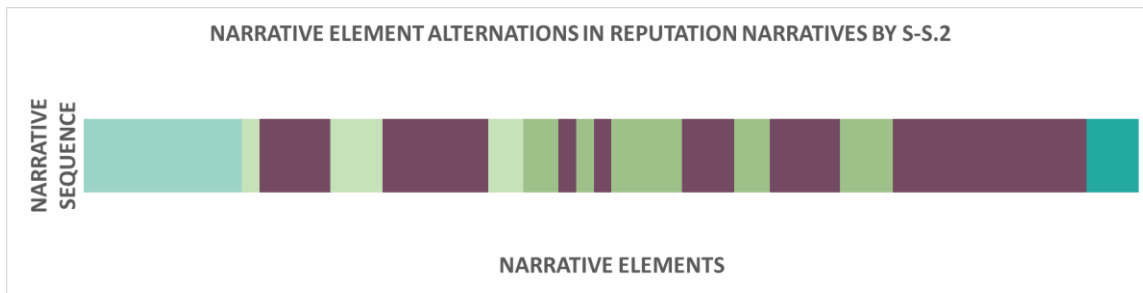
Figures 8, 9: Exceptions to Labovian Model

These results are only initial attempts to understand how narratives can be analyzed within the structural framework by focusing on other aspects in this framework. This is all to further a

framework for a universal way that we recount events as narratives. Reducing narrative to a framework and analyzing its components can lead to further insights in other areas of study.

POLARIZATION FRAMEWORK

The primary focus of this section is to develop a framework for polarization in Reputation Narratives. Using Labov's (2013) concept of the assignment of praise and blame and using pragmatics, mainly deixis, creates a methodology that can be extended to narrative analysis. This framework uses the assignment of praise and blame as a dichotomy as a departure point to establish a system of polarization [+pol] and integration [–pol]. This establishes a way to analyze how narrators use this "praise and blame" dichotomy to manage their reputations as well as those who have gossiped about them. Visualizing the expressions with a [±pol] framework along with the previous narrative framework can also lead to different ways of analyzing narrative data.

DIMENSIONS OF POLARIZATION

The two most prominent themes along a "praise and blame" dichotomy framework are based on healing and forgiveness as "praise" and hurting and rejection as "blame". Labov (2013) notes that some narratives serve to polarize protagonist from antagonist, "… demonstrating that the protagonist is an active agent for the implementation of community norms, while the antagonist consistently violates these norms," while also considering that "[s]ome narratives are integrative, minimizing and obscuring the assignment of blame" (p. 35). Healing and hurting as a dichotomy presents expressions of recovery and expressions of pain, and forgiveness and rejection as a dichotomy expresses sentiments of pardon and resentment. Expressions of healing and forgiveness integrate [–pol] while expressions of hurting and rejection polarize [+pol] a narrative. These dimensions not only assign feelings to these situations and agents, but they also tell the listener about the actions and reactions they took when these events occurred. They tell the listener what

steps they took after a bad break up, or how they coped with being ostracized. Examples for each

expression type are as follows in Table 5:

Dichotomies	Examples
[+heal]	But *things got straight'n out* at the end[16]
[–heal]	Si me *dolía*, pues—[17]
	Well, it did *hurt* me
[+forgive]	Ya las habia *perdonado*—[18]
	I had already *forgiven* them
[–forgive]	"And sadly, *I learned not to trust people a hundred percent*"[19]

Table 5: Examples of Dichotomies Expressions

Along with the praise and blame model, pragmatics can also prove useful to analyze an

implicit technique of managing reputations in narratives. Two levels of polarization can be

established: a more salient level which includes the concepts related to a praise and blame

dichotomy, and a second more subtle level that deals with deixis. Deixis is "… the phenomenon

whereby features of context of utterance or speech event are encoded by lexical and/or grammatical

means…" (Huang 2014, p. 169). The assumption made in this study is that the use of the deictic

phrases of concern are perceived less saliently than those under the "praise and blame"

dichotomies.

This research focuses on deictic expressions that convey a difference between the

protagonist and the antagonist (person deixis) as well as those that express emotional distance

(emotional deixis). Person deixis is "… concerned with the identification of the interlocutors or

participant roles in a speech event" (Huang 2014, p. 174). This examination will concentrate on

the use of personal pronouns in narratives, such (general) examples are: first, second, and third

person pronouns. More specific considerations are based on the [±pol] model, where first person

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[16] From Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-M.
[17] From Spanish Reputation Narrative S-S.
[18] From Spanish Reputation Narrative S-S.
[19] From Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-M.

and third person singular pronouns in a clause contribute to polarization. Another more nuanced deictic unit that produces polarization in narratives is the second person, or "you" but the quotative form, because they are based on dialogue within the narrative.[20] For [–pol] or integrative personal pronouns the third person plural was the main unit as well as the second person "you" but through the impersonal use.[21]

The second use of deictic information that is addressed is emotional deixis that is concerned with distance from the deictic center (Huang 2014, p. 219). The expressions used in this research are based on proximate and distal deictic expressions using *that/those* and *this/these* which convey emotional distance and empathy, respectively. Thus, *that/those* convey polarization [+pol] while *this/these* convey integration [–pol]. Another assumption that must be made is one that supposes that almost every use of these deictic expressions of emotion conveys the previously stated emotional contexts. Arguments for a semantically unique and context-dependent use of emotional deictic expressions have been discussed. This is because "[e]motive demonstratives require a demonstrative determiner because their descriptive content is relativized to a non-default situation and the use of a non-default situation must be marked" (Wolter 2006, p. 85). Thus, to systematize the data, it is assumed that distal and proximate demonstratives convey emotional distance and proximity, respectively. Another consideration to be accounted for is that if a language lacks these demonstratives then this analysis does not hold. For now, the current research only considers English, Spanish, and the intermediate Spanglish of which all have the necessary demonstratives. Examples of these emotional deictic expressions are presented in Table 6:

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[20] "then *you're* really not like companions or partners like I thought *you* were" (from Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-L.G.)

[21] "she's like your friend, right." (from Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-L.G.)

Deixis	Examples
[+person]	... *I* was not a threat to *her* at all [22]
[−person]	but I don't know why *we* were crying[23]
[+emotional]	Y me dio mucha pena porque entre *esas* personas había una persona [24]
	And it was a shame because among *those* people there was one person
[−emotional]	I was an intern in *this* company [25]

Table 6: Examples of Deictic Expressions

SEMANTIC APPROACH

Along with the transcription in the Clausal Analysis previously outlined, the polarization

analysis was also annotated for each the dichotomies and deixis contributing to polarization and

integration in narratives. A coherent organization of what polarizes and integrates a narrative is

presented in Table 7:

	DICHOTOMIES		DEIXIS	
	[±FORGIVE]	**[±HEAL]**	**[±PERSON]**	**[±EMOTIONAL]**
POLARIZATION [+POL]	REJECTION [−FORGIVE]	HURTING [−HEAL]	"I vs THEY" YOU (QUOTATIVE) [+PERSON]	THAT/THOSE [+EMOTIONAL]
INTEGRATION [−POL]	FORGIVENESS [+FORGIVE]	HEALING [+HEAL]	WE YOU (IMPERSONAL) [−PERSON]	THIS/THESE [−EMOTIONAL]

Table 7: Polarization Framework

The use of a [±pol] scale is helpful to understand these techniques to give a binary account that

can be formally observed. As a binary system, the analysis can simplify the complexity of how

narrators manage the reputations of agents in the narrative. Although this reductive system might

leave out the complexity of the information conveyed to listeners of the narratives, this method

creates structure much like the Narrative Framework delineated above. For now, the method for

separating expressions with [±pol] content is to use the Clausal Analysis as a measure to segment

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[22] From Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-M.
[23] From Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-L.G.
[24] From Spanish Reputation Narrative S-S.
[25] From Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-M.

the narrative and from there analyze the semantic meaning of the clauses using the Polarization Framework. If clauses express the [±heal]/[±forgive] dichotomies or the [±person]/[±emotional] deictic expressions, then they are semantically tagged. This is shown in Table 8:

	CLAUSES	CLASS	H	F	D.P	D.E
a	**Si. Cuando me paso eso** Yes. When that happened to me	C				–E
b	**sentí mucho coraje, rabia, frustración** I felt a lot of anger, rage, frustration	E	–H			
c	**y aclare las cosas,** and I cleared things up	R	+H			
d	**pero me aleje inmediatamente de esas personas.** But I immediately stayed away from those people	R		–F		–E
e	**Me ayudo una terapia que estaba haciendo psicológica,** The psychological therapy that I was doing was helping me	R	+H			
f	**pero me sentí con mucho coraje y mucha ira.** But I felt a lot of anger and a lot of wrath	E	–H			
g	**Si se llenó de odio mi corazón de buena manera** My heart really did fill up with hate	E	–H			
h	**y lo mejor para mí fue alejarme.** And the best thing for me was to distance myself	E		–F		
i	**Ya después de algunos meses pudimos hablar y aclarar las cosas.** Then later after a few months we could talk and clear things up	R	+H		+P	

Table 8: Example of Narrative Using Method for Semantic Analysis

Although this framework is less systematic than the Narrative Analysis framework, it is sufficient to understand the overall intentions of the narrator when managing the reputations of the actors in the narrative. As the Polarization Analysis will show, these results are significant as an indication of the speakers views towards themselves and the antagonists in their narratives.

POLARIZATION ANALYSIS

From this framework, the management of reputations in the narrative can be analyzed through Polarization Analysis. To represent this analysis, examples of narratives (Figures 10-17) show the number of clauses that were polarizing or integrative for each dimension considered in this study.[26]
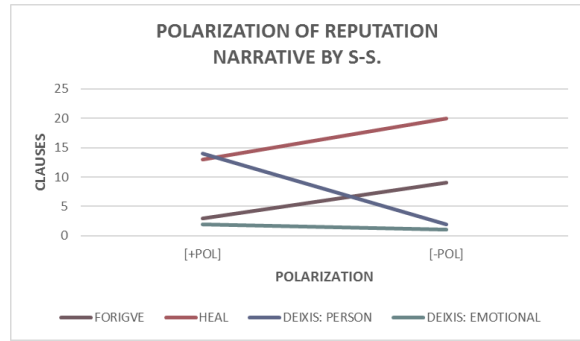

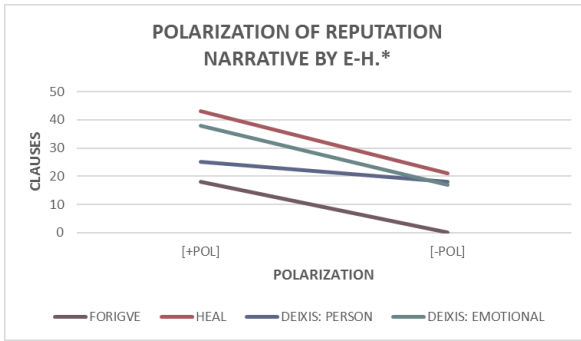[26] Some figures repeated, and labeled with as a new figure.
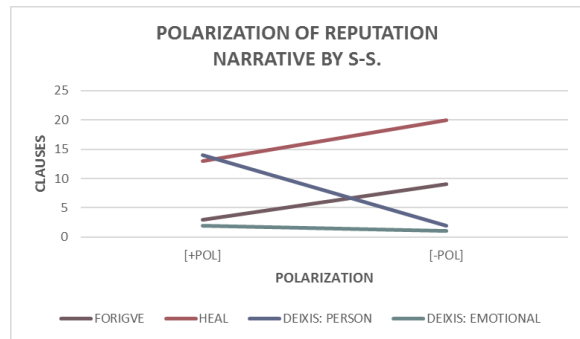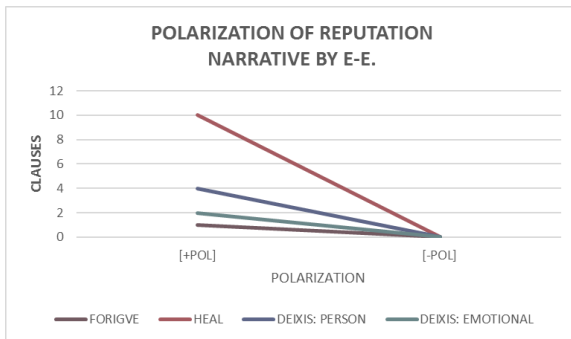
Figure 10,11: Example Narratives of [±heal]
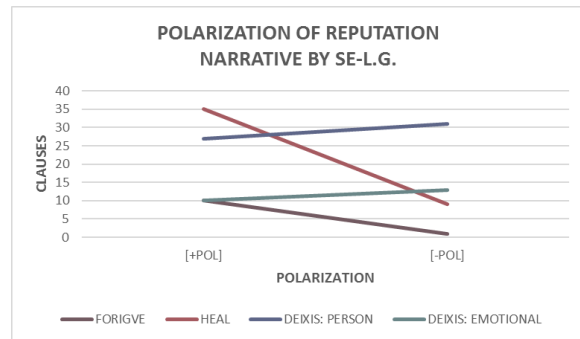

Figure 12, 13: Example Narratives of [±forgive]

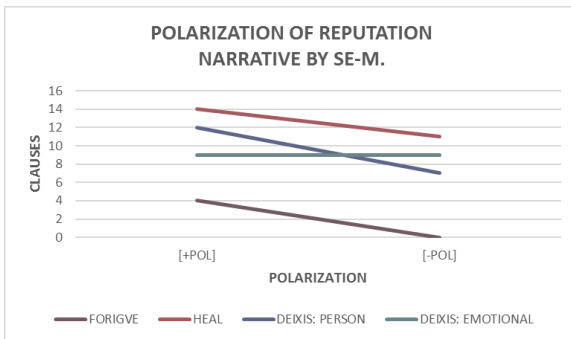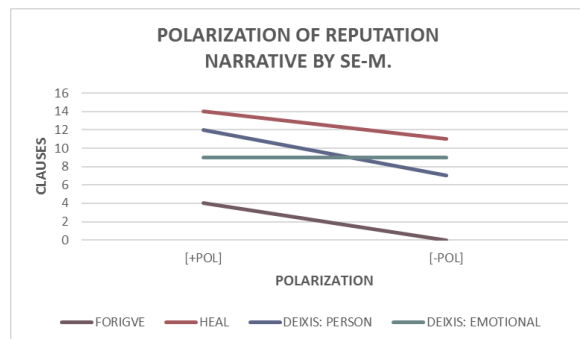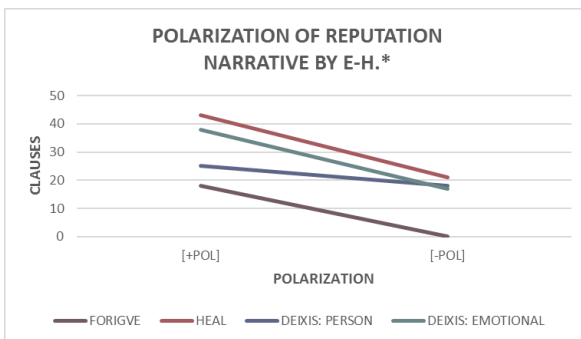*Figure 14,15: Example Narratives of [±person]*

Figure 16,17: Example Narratives of [±emotional]

These graphs show that there are many combinations to polarizing and integrative content in Reputation Narratives. More integrative narratives reduced damaging the antagonist's reputation while polarizing narratives aimed to harm the reputation of those that betrayed the narrator. Reducing damaging expressions can be clearly seen in Spanish Reputation Narrative by S-S. (Figures 11 [+heal] & 13 [+forgive]) while the narrative with the most damage to the antagonist's reputation is portrayed in English Narrative by E-E (Figure 12). There are various aspects that can be taken from the selected narratives that lead to an effective analysis of polarization in Reputation Narratives.

The last consideration for Polarization Analysis is based on how visualization can create new ways to analyze narratives. L&W (1967) used visual methods to understand the complexity of narratives (p. 26), such a visualization is portrayed by Figure 18.
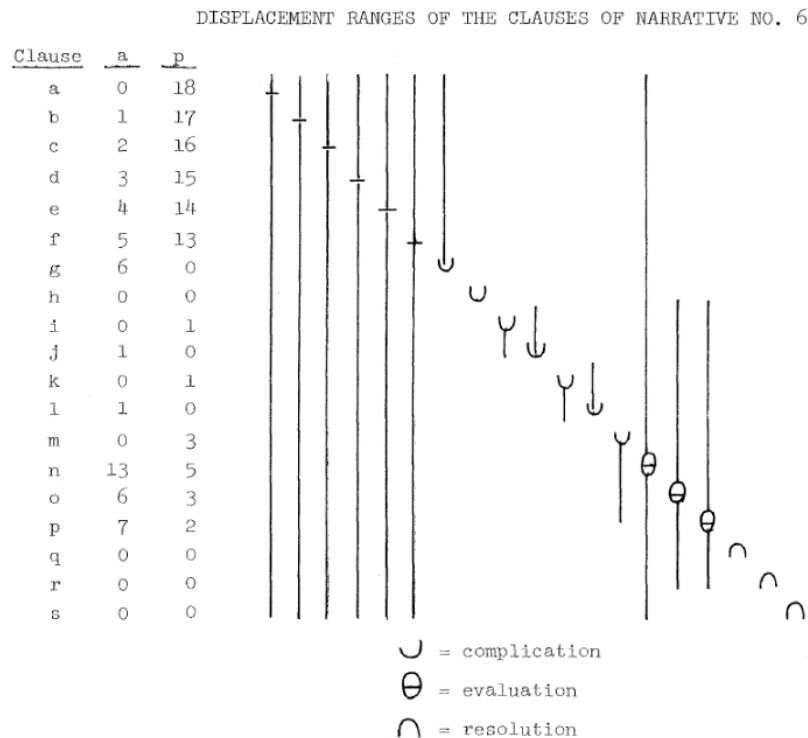

Figure 18: L&W Narrative Visualization

Using this visualization as a platform to further develop visualizations for Polarizations Analysis, this study considers the combination of Figure 1 with Figure 19 to produce a model as noted by Figure 20. Combining these frameworks give greater insights as to how to approach Narrative Analysis along with Polarization Analysis.
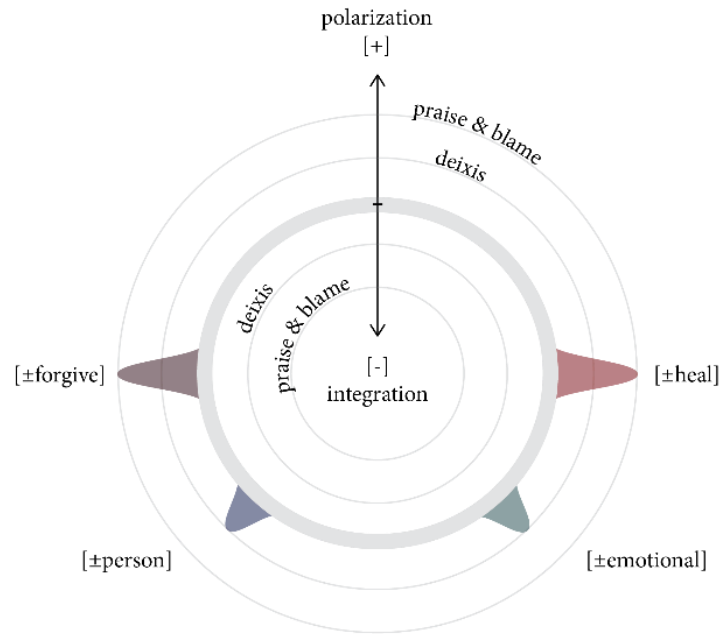

Figure 19: Visualization of Polarization Framework

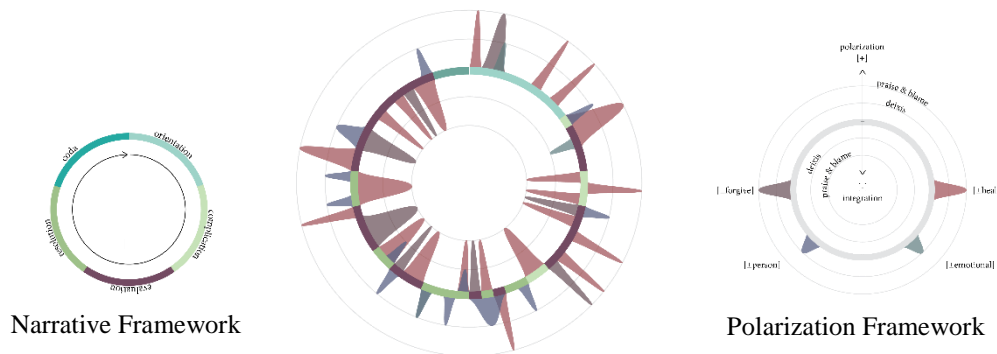Narrative Framework   Polarization Framework

Figure 20: Combining Narrative and Polarization Frameworks

With the production of these visualizations, narrative data can be analyzed in a new way. Figures 21-23 exemplify the effectiveness of being able to look at data in this way. From the L&W visualization to the one developed for this research, narrative analysis can be aided by using visualization as a technique to study other facets of narratives that allow for rich and complex findings. With these visualizations, Spanish Reputation Narrative by S-S. can be clearly seen to be an integrating narrative while English Reputation Narrative by E-E. is a polarizing one. For the Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-L.G. it can be said that the complexity of the narrative shows that the narrator attempted to reduce the damage to the reputations of those who betrayed them while also damaging their reputation in the process.
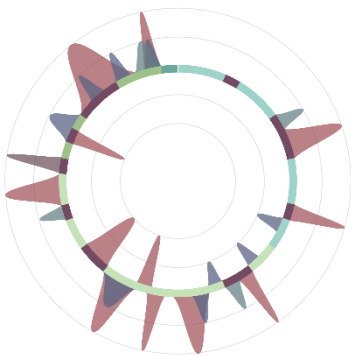

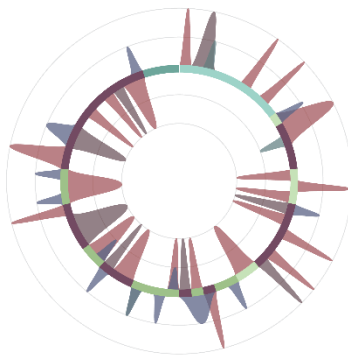*Figure 21: Polarization of English Reputation Narrative E-E.*

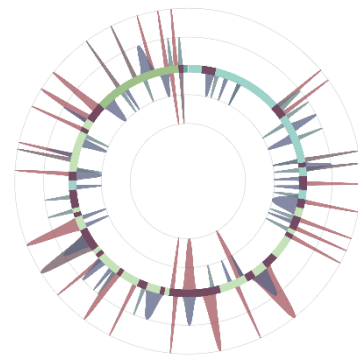*Figure 22: Polarization of Spanish Reputation Narrative S-S.*

Figure 23: Polarization of Spanglish Reputation Narrative SE-L.G.

Further adjustments to the Polarization Framework as well as development of Polarization Analysis could lead to more complex insights into other techniques that narrators use to manage the reputations of agents in narratives.

DISCUSSION

NARRATIVES AS TRANSLATIONS OF LIVED EXPERIENCES

The background in this research was thoroughly explained for clarity, and the frameworks were used and developed to understand how narratives are translations of lived experiences. From the creation of mental structures to narratives and narratives to the creation of social structures, this research has focused on how these different structures relate to our lived experiences.

The mental representations of our experiences follow a certain structure that can be further analyzed to see variation within it. This study has attempted to show that there could be some other considerations within Labov's structure that could be explored. Although the structure is a rigid representation of narratives, it could hold the key to a universal framework that everyone follows when telling a story. The variation within this structure produces a myriad of different possibilities that allows us to translate our lived experiences into coherent recognizable units.

The social structures that we manage with the narratives we tell influence us to behave according to our past experiences. Narratives as a way of reputation management also allows us to learn and live vicariously through the narrator, and with their influence, we learn about those who are trustworthy and those who are not. Being able to communicate this kind of social information creates a network of people that are connected by narratives. We share a translated experience of living, learning from our own lives but also living through the lives of others.

FURTHER RESEARCH

For further research, cross-linguistic and interdisciplinary studies can inform the field of narrative analysis. Although the sample size of this study is not sufficient to make broader associations of how people construct narratives, it certainly points in the direction of enriching narrative studies. With this research, cross-linguistic studies can be done to investigate and

understand a broader framework for oral personal narratives in multi-lingual communities. Interdisciplinary work can expand narrative analysis to encompass broader fields of knowledge such as neuroscience or neuroeconomics.

This research was initially an attempt to analyze narrative in different languages, but because of limitations of the research and the sample size, it was not possible to give a coherent or conclusive presentation of results. This was only an initial attempt to further research towards a common structure of narrative. Code switching within the narrative could be analyzed to understand how people who are bilingual construct their narratives or how they use both languages in the same narrative. Frameworks could be developed by using research on code switching (Poplack 1978,1980; Jalil 2009) to investigate how clausal analysis can include the alternations of language switching and whether switching is marked by different Narrative Elements. Other languages completely different from English and Spanish can also be investigated like Quechua, which is particularly interesting because of its evidentiality marking (Faller 2002). Quechua grammatically makes the difference between:

Direct Evidence	(I know)	It rained yesterday	(because I experienced it)
Inference	(I think)	It rained yesterday	(because the ground is still wet)
Reported Evidence (Hearsay)	(They say)	It rained yesterday	(because that is what I heard)

Table 9: Quechua Evidentiality Marking (English)

Recording narratives from communities that value oral narrative telling could enrich the field which could add more complexity and textures to narrative analysis.

The literature on narrative analysis is rich with interdisciplinary work of which this study has considered. The structure, as proposed by Labov (2006), in the pre-construction of a narrative, suggests that we construct narratives in reverse order—from most reportable event backwards to an unexplained event (p. 39). Other research in causal thinking and the importance of memorable

events in narratives have been conducted to show network representations of these processes in our minds (Trabasso and Broek, 1985; Trabasso and Sperry, 1985). Studies have also been produced on the overall sociolinguistic survey of different groups that can be studied, such as groups separated by age, gender, and socioeconomic status (Smith 2006). More investigations have also been produced about the dimensions of narratives, such as those of tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance, which show the great degree of dimensionality and the complexity of structures that lie in narratives (Ochs 2004).

The interdisciplinary research gathered in this study suggests that this type of work can be done with other facets of human life—such different considerations include exploring different topics based on human behavior and experience that can influence the distributions of Narrative Elements in narratives of personal experience. More languages and cultures can be used to investigate differences in structure based on the Labovian model. Investigating the different ways in which parameters can be changed and combined will supplement the field of narrative analysis. Finally, developing different frameworks for visualizing or understanding narratives can create new methods for the field of narrative analysis.

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