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Structural Narratology In Romanian Sign Language Personal Experience Narratives

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STRUCTURAL NARRATOLOGY IN ROMANIAN SIGN LANGUAGE PERSONAL
EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Dordt College, 2008

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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This thesis, submitted by Jessica Sohre in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the School of Graduate Studies of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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Date July 31, 2017

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANSR	Asociatia Nationala a Surzilor din Romania (National Association of the Deaf from Romania)
ASL	American Sign Language
HP	Historical Present
LMGR	Limbajul Mimico-Gestural Romanesc (The Romanian Mime-Gesture Language)
LSR	Romanian Sign Language
RST	Represented Speech and Thought
SASS	Size and Shape Specifiers

ABSTRACT

The primary focus of this paper is to examine how personal experience narratives in Romanian Sign Language (LSR) compare to previous research in structural narratology in spoken languages and in American Sign Language (ASL). One main area of comparison is the differences and similarities in the type of information found in structural narrative categories as described by Labov and Waletzky (1967), Labov (1972), Brewer (1984), Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) and Mulrooney (2009). The second main area of comparison is the grammatical devices that correlate to certain categories, in particular, using Liddell's (2003) concepts of surrogate, depicting verb and token blends.

The methodology of this study uses a combination of pause data (Gee & Kegl 1983, Wilson 1996, Mulrooney 2009) and information type within clauses to divide the text up into smaller sections and identify narrative categories. The analysis further identifies the locations of surrogate, depicting verb and token blends in relation to those narrative categories.

The findings of this analysis show that LSR narratives reflect the Labovian structural narrative categories of abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. The only significant exceptions are the lack of an evaluation category and the climax in the resolution instead of the complicating action category. In terms of grammatical devices, LSR narratives reflect ASL narratives in that most blends occur in the complicating action section. In general, LSR narratives do not include blends in the abstract or the coda, only non-action blends in the orientation, action blends in the event and evaluation lines in the complicating action, and mainly surrogate blends in the event lines in the resolution.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this thesis is to present an analysis of narrative structure in personal experience narratives in Romanian Sign Language (LSR) and to describe patterns of grammatical devices in relation to this structure, particularly where surrogate, depicting verb, and token blends occur in relation to the narrative structure categories. This study is modeled on previous work in structural narratology, such as Labov & Waletzky (1967), Brewer (1984), and Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), who have contributed greatly to defining and establishing typical structural categories that are found in narratives. These categories are abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. This study builds on the structural narratology work in American Sign Language (ASL) narratives by Wilson (1996) and Mulrooney (2009), particularly analyzing how the types of grammatical devices discussed in these studies are used in LSR narratives for comparison.

The main questions that will be answered in this thesis are as follows:

1. What are the structural narrative categories found in LSR personal experience narratives?
2. How do they compare to the structural narrative categories documented in other spoken language and signed language studies?
3. What are the linguistic devices in LSR that correlate to these narrative categories?
4. How do the grammatical device correlations in LSR compare to those in previous ASL research?

The purpose of this chapter is to give introductory information on LSR, as well as describe the data corpus. Chapter 2 provides summaries of the previous work on structural narratology as well as grammatical devices that have been found in spoken languages that correlate to the categories. Chapter 3 explains Mental Space Theory, which is the basis for describing the primary linguistic devices that are found to correlate to signed language structural categories. Chapter 4 explains the methodology of the study. Chapter 5 provides the analysis in the LSR personal experience narratives. Finally, Chapter 6 covers the implications of this analysis and looks at areas for future research.

1.1 Language background

Romanian Sign Language is used among the Deaf population in Romania as well as among Romanian Deaf who have emigrated. This language is also referred to as Limbajul Mimico-Gestural Romanesc (LMGR), which translates into English as “the Romanian Mime-Gesture Language”. While this is the title used in official publications, such as dictionaries (Limbajul Mimico-Gestural Romanesc 2013, Dictionar Limbaj Mimico Gestural 2015), the Deaf dispute this because of the implication that a language of mime and gesture is not a true language. Out of respect to the Deaf community and the authenticity of their language as a true sign language, I will be using the term Romanian Sign Language and the abbreviation LSR (Limbajul Semnelor Romanesc) in this paper.

The European Union of the Deaf state that the number of Deaf sign language users in Romania is 24,601 (2013), however, they do not cite a source. On the other hand, the National Association of the Deaf from Romania (Asociatia Nationala a Surzilor din Romania, ANSR, 2015), cite that as of June 30, 2015, the registered number of people with a hearing disability in Romania was 23,000 . However, not all who are registered with a hearing disability use sign

language. These people typically have an audiological loss that comes as age increases. Thus, the number of LSR users in Romania is probably less than the 23,000 reported on June 30, 2015. However, considering that many Romanian Deaf have emigrated to find better jobs, this still may be a reasonable estimate of the number of LSR users worldwide.

Romania is located in southeastern Europe, and has a history of changing borders, a fact which has contributed to the current distribution of dialects. Romania began with the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and after World War I, gained the territory of Transylvania. (The World Factbook: Romania). See Figure 1 for the location of these regions.

Figure 1 Map of Romania¹



Today Romania has nine regions; however these three historical ones define the primary geographic dialects of Romanian Sign Language. According to survey work done by Eberle, Eberle, Cuceuan and Cuceuan (2015:7), Romanian Deaf participants indicate that there are three distinct dialects in LSR correlating with the three historical regions, however they also claim that

¹ (Cepleanu 2015)

the language variation is not enough to make communication difficult. Through Eberle's et al.'s research from wordlists taken from these different regions, they discovered that the sign language variation in the Transylvania region is indeed substantially different from the historic Wallachian and Moldovian regions, while the difference between the remaining two is not as pronounced (2015: 9,10). They also find that LSR appears to be unique to Romania and unrelated to sign languages in bordering countries (2015: 7). Due to the dialectal differences and the increasing movement of the Deaf community throughout the country, an official group of Romanian Deaf leaders has been formed in order to standardize the signs used in LSR and to work with the government in order to gain official recognition (personal knowledge).

Romania has organizations that recognize and support Deaf rights, the largest of which is ANSR, as mentioned above. ANSR is referred to by the Deaf as a "club", and it is through this club that information is given to the Deaf from the government about their rights. This club also provides support for their daily living, such as interpreting services, and promotes Deaf culture and education, providing many opportunities for Deaf to meet whether simply for gatherings, celebrations, or even workshops (2012).

1.2 Data

The data for my research is taken from public YouTube and Facebook videos posted by native signers of LSR. The corpus includes four personal experience narratives, ranging from 3.20-6.51 minutes (76 to 221 lines), told by three different signers, with one of the signers posting two videos. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to them as Narrator A, B, and C. All of the signers are from the Transylvania region in Romania. Narrators A and B are from the same city, Oradea, while Narrator C is from Satu Mare, a city further north in the region. These narratives are selected because of their accessibility. Narrators A and B tell stories about their

respective personal conversion experience to Christianity. Narrator B tells a second story about how he gained a driver's license. Narrator's C's narrative is a combination of 5 narrative episodes that describe his experiences growing up Deaf and also how he received his sign name. Further metadata concerning the narrators and the videos as well as summaries of the narratives are in Appendix B.

In order to analyze the narrative structure, I downloaded each video and used the program ELAN (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, 2017) to gloss, annotate, and analyze the text, including both manual signs and non-manual elements, such as eye-gaze, body shifts, and mouth morphemes. The annotation displays the sentence and clause structure, as well as pauses and other intonation markers, such as a lean forward to mark the end of a sentence or eye-blinks. The URL to ELAN files that contain the English gloss, literal translation, and free translation is found also in Appendix B. Further discussion of the methodology will be addressed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

2.1 Structural narratology

The modern analysis of narratives is based on the work of Vladimir Propp, a Russian linguist who in 1928 through his book *Morphology of the Folktale* proposes a common set of themes in myths and folktales. These themes outline the sequence of the myth, such as the stage in which initial harmony is established, the point at which a lack or misfortune appears, the quest or sending away of the protagonist, the testing of the protagonist, the reward, and others. Since then, research has continued in analyzing structure within written narratives, but it was not applied to spoken personal experience narratives until Labov and Waletzky's (1967) groundbreaking work via interviews with English speakers of various ethnicities and ages from New York, Martha's Vineyard, and other locations. Their study is the first to propose macrostructures in narrative, suggesting that chunks of the story perform certain functions.

Labov and Waletzky propose a definition of a narrative as “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred” (1967: 20). In other words, if the story is told in a way that does not follow the timeline of the original event, then it is not a narrative. Narratives may be as short as two clauses following the temporal order, which are termed *narrative clauses*, or they may be much longer and well-developed. In the longer narratives, Labov and Waletzky notice that there are what they term as *free clauses*: clauses containing background information, evaluations, etc, that do not

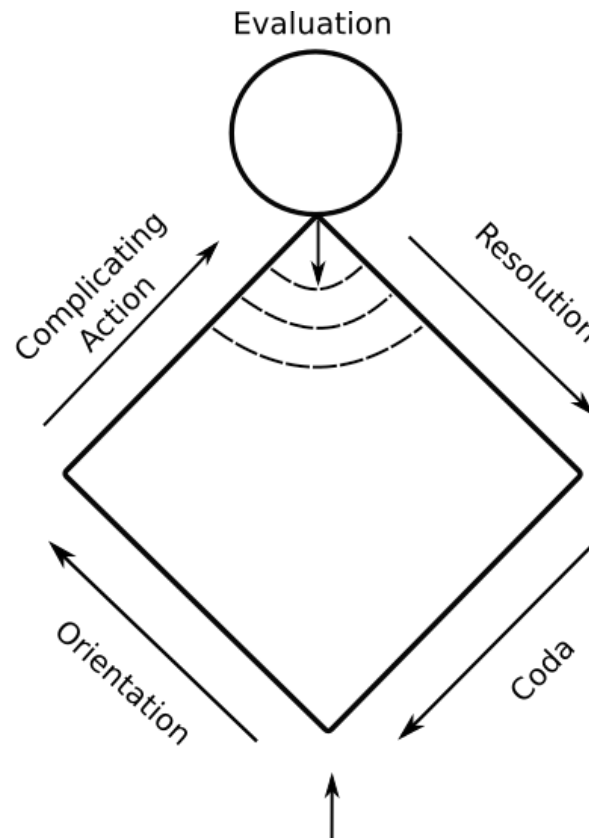
have an effect on the timeline regardless of where they occur in the narrative. Although both narrative and free clauses are found throughout the entire narrative, each tends to cluster in certain areas, creating chunks with a similar information type, which Labov and Waletzky call structural categories. Based on this analysis, they propose an overall structure to a narrative, which became slightly altered in Labov's later (1972) work and is, thus, often referred to as Labov's narrative structure.

According to Labov and Waletzky, narrative structure consists of the categories *abstract*, *orientation*, *complication*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda*, which are claimed to occur in this order although not all narratives contain every category. The abstract consists of a few free clauses summarizing the whole story, and usually communicates the point of the story. The Orientation serves to identify important scene-setting features of the story, answering questions such as who, what, where, and when. This gives a general background for the audience, setting up the stage for the events to come. Free clauses containing orientation information can also be found in other sections in the narrative (1967: 32). The complication, or complicating actions, are a series of narrative clauses (clauses describing events) that lead up to a climax, essentially answering the question, "what happened next?". This is where the majority of the narrative clauses are found. The evaluation section involves non-narrative clauses, which contribute to communicating the point of the narrative, giving evidence as to why this story is being told. Labov and Waletzky propose that before stating the resolution, the author tends to emphasize the climax by suspending the action with evaluative clauses. The resolution section conveys to the audience what finally happened, or in other words, how the complicating action finally is resolved. The coda returns the audience and the author to the present. This is done through clauses that end the sequence of complicating actions, and can also include the repercussions of those events, or other observations from the speaker.

In his later 1972 work, Labov proposes that evaluation clauses occur throughout the narrative, not only in a specific chunk before the resolution. Labov also explains that in addition to finding evaluative clauses throughout other structural sections (*external evaluation*), there is also *internal evaluation*, which uses any deviation from the basic clausal structure in order to bring prominence to certain concepts (1972: 378). An example of external evaluation is when the narrator or participants within the narrative directly make comments or actions that communicate the importance of the story. For example, a narrator can stop the action flow to state, “I was not sure if I was going to live or not,” or, “I was so frightened.” Reported speech is another form of commenting that constitutes an embedded external evaluation, as in the examples, “I said to my sister, ‘This is great!’” or, “The waiter exclaimed, ‘I’ve never seen anything like it’” (1972: 372). Even reported actions that do not contribute to the flow of the event line are classified by Labov as external evaluation. For example, he cites a text in which the narrator mentions how the passengers on the flight were using prayer beads in order to express the tension of the moment (1972: 374). Internal evaluation, on the other hand, uses mainly grammatical devices to highlight areas of the story. Labov comments on the use of four different devices that express internal evaluation: intensifiers, comparators, correlatives, and explications. Examples of some of these include repetition, quantifiers, expressive phonology in which a syllable is carried out longer, gestures, and other devices.

Labov (1972: 369) uses the following diagram in Figure 2 to represent how evaluation is a separate category (the circle) but that evaluation phrases can “penetrate” throughout the other ordered structural categories as well. Although Labov does not specifically state that evaluation clauses do not occur in the orientation or coda, this diagram suggests they mainly are interspersed in the complicating action and resolution sections (see the dotted lines).

Figure 2 Labov's structural categories highlighting the evaluation section and phrases²



Brewer (1984) expands Labov's concept of narrative categories based on broader cross-cultural research. Whereas Labov and Waletzky's original research focuses only on personal narratives in the African American inner city culture, Brewer looks at folktales and other narratives across cultures, such as the Zunis, Clackamas, Limba, and Khaling. He proposes that the main structural categories of an oral narrative are an opening, setting, characters, events, resolution, epilogue, closing, and narrator. This last category of narrator is similar to Labov's external evaluation comments, but instead of constituting a section they are simply narrator intrusions throughout the story. Brewer's setting and characters categories are also analogous to Labov's orientation category. Within these categories, he finds that there are certain phrase

² (Labov 1972: 369)

conventions that are different in each respective culture (1984:18). Brewer cites Thompson (1977: 457) as giving an example of an opening convention, such as “once upon a time”. Other differences from Labov’s categories are that Brewer mentions that not all stories contain climaxes, or perhaps contain a counterexample instead of a resolution (1984: 24). Epilogues are similar to evaluation, as they make meta-comments on the stories, explanations, or have a moral, but can also include summaries or additional information about participants. Lastly, Brewer describes a closing as being somewhat different than a coda in that there are many conventionalized ways to finish end the story, such as “they lived happily ever after” (1977: 457).

Labov and Waletzky’s findings, along with Brewer’s, have been synthesized by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), who also draw on Longacre (1996). These works keep the category labels from Labov and Waletzky, but they broaden the definition of the categories, as illustrated in Table 1. For example, in addition to Labov’s original definition of the abstract as a short summary of the story, Dooley and Levinsohn include a title or an initial expression. Furthermore, they echo Brewer’s findings that some stories do not contain a typical climax or happy ending in the resolution section, rather some sort of affirmation of a worldview (2001: 105). In their resolution section, they include (as optional) a denouement, which, following Longacre (1996: 35) involves events that “loosen up” or continue to lead towards a final outcome. Dooley and Levinsohn’s final category, the coda, combines Brewer’s epilogue and closing information with Labov’s coda category. Due to the inclusiveness of Dooley and Levinsohn’s (2001) synthesis of Labov and Brewer, my analysis will also follow these broader definitions of the narrative categories, unless otherwise noted.

Table 1 Comparison of Labov’s (1972), Brewer’s (1984), and Dooley & Levinsohn’s (2001) structural categories³

	Labov (1972)	Brewer (1984)	Dooley & Levinsohn (2001)
Abstract	- short summary of the story - communicates the point of the story	Opening - conventionalized phrases	- same - a title - an initial expression
Orientation	- person, place, time, the activity or situation (answers the questions of who/ what/ where/ when)	Setting - time and place Characters - protagonists, villains	- same - other circumstances
Complicating Action	- series of clauses describing events that lead up to the climax or result - further orientation phrases - evaluative phrases	Events - same, but climaxes not required	- same
Evaluation	- contribute to communicating the point of the narrative - can be either external (direct comments from the narrator) or internal (attitudes, aspects)	Narrator - not a section, but there are certain formulas a narrator must follow in order to intrude in on the story and make evaluative comments	- possibly, but more likely to have such comments throughout the narrative

³ If the title of a section is different, I put that in bold in the appropriate box. Also, when the information of the category from a later linguist is the same as the previous linguist, I include the word “same”. If there are any changes or new descriptions of what could be included in that category, that is listed.

<i>Table 1 cont'd</i>			
Resolution	- what finally happened - how is the complicating action resolved	- same - counterexample	- same - not necessarily a happy ending, can be an affirmation of a world view - denouement
		Epilogue - meta-comments on the stories - explanations - morals - summaries - additional information about participants	- same, but included in the Coda
Coda	-returns the audience to the present time	Closing - same - different conventionalized phrases	- same

2.2 Grammatical devices correlating with narrative categories

In addition to establishing the six types of narrative categories, another significant contribution of Labov's work is the claim that specific grammatical devices pattern with these structural categories (1972: 355, 364). Labov notes that past progressive verbs are found mainly in the orientation section in his study of oral personal narrative experiences in AAVE, African American Vernacular English (1972: 355). Since the purpose of the orientation section is to set up the scene that is currently occurring at the time of the narrative, using past progressive verbs makes sense since they communicate this type of information (1972: 364).

Another syntactic device that correlates to Labovian categories is the historical present (abbreviated as HP), which is the use of the present tense to refer to past events. Analyzing 73 oral narratives, Deborah Schiffrin (1981) demonstrates that the use of the HP is found primarily

in the complicating action section. In her data, the historical present is never used in the abstract, evaluation clauses, or coda. In the orientation section, only nine verbs out of 268 verbs are HP, while in the complicating action section 381 out of 1288 are HP (1981: 51). Also noteworthy is that Schiffrin finds that 63% of all of the verbs introducing direct quotes are in the historical present, while only 5% of all verbs introducing indirect quotes are HP (1981: 58). An example of HP used in a direct quote would be as follows, “My neighbor came to my door, and he *says* ‘Your dog is in my yard!’”. The verb “came” is in past tense, but the verb “says” is in present tense, although it is understood that this happened in the past. Schiffrin states that when the narrator utilizes direct quotes, it is so that “the audience can appreciate for itself the authenticity of the evaluation” (1981: 59). She further claims that using the historical present in introducing the direct quotes highlights this evaluation by causing the events to become even more immediate. Schiffrin concludes that the cognitive effect of this device is engagement of the audience so that they can interpret the experience for themselves.

Direct speech has also been analyzed as a linguistic device correlating to the complicating action category. Using an oral narrative in Ganabingu, a language found in Australia, Stirling (2010) finds that instead of what Labov reported (that direct speech is mainly an evaluative device), direct speech is often used to portray main events (2010: 9). She follows Mushin (2001), who demonstrates that when the reported speaker of the direct speech is a participant in the story and the direct speech words are deictically centered with the participants, then “the speech act itself is analyzable as an event in the story world” (2001: 113). Levinsohn (2012: 70) also

recognizes that speech events can indeed be theme-line events if they are introduced with discourse markers or other linguistic devices just like non-speech theme-line events.⁴

Represented speech or thought (RST) has also been found to correlate only with the complicating action sections, as Verstreete (2011) discovers in personal experience narratives of the Umpithamu language in Australia. RST is never found in the resolution section, only in the non-final or attempted resolutions, which are considered complicating events, since they drive the narrative forward. Other times, the RST follows a description of an event, and instead of simply conveying evaluative information, it signals what the main issue of the narrative will be (2011: 507).

The studies discussed in this section demonstrate that, cross-linguistically, there is a correlation between the grammatical devices in a narrative and the type of structural category they are found in. In summary, past progressive verbs have been found to correlate with the orientation section, historical present verb tense with the complicating action section, and direct speech/RST in either the complicating action section as main events or as an evaluative device.

2.3 Structural narratology in sign languages

Structural narratology work done in sign languages begins with Wilson's (1996) analysis, which demonstrates that a single personal-experience narrative in ASL reflects Labovian categories. Wilson finds that while this ASL story does include many of the Labovian categories, it does not contain an abstract in Labov's narrow sense of a summary (1996: 160). Wilson does not mention a resolution section in the story, but she does note that there is a coda.

⁴ Levinsohn defines theme-line as events that constitute foreground information. Non-events and events that are marked as secondary importance are what constitute the background information (2012: 68).

Another major contribution Wilson makes is utilizing Gee and Kegl's (1983) work in order to find where the natural breaks occur in between sections. Gee and Kegl divide two ASL narratives using lines and stanzas, such as often used in poetry, and analyze the pause data. They find that the larger pauses tend to follow the intuitive divisions that are established according to information types (1983: 247, 255). Wilson proposes a detailed definition of a pause for her work, which is "an interval in which the handshape of the previous sign is no longer held, but the handshape of the next sign has not begun to be formed; hands may or may not be in the signer's lap. In addition, during this interval the signer has no marked facial expression or non-manual signal" (1996: 166).⁵ She also finds that these pauses only sometimes match the intuitive distinctions in the text (1996: 167), and so other boundary markers such as discourse markers and interaction with an interlocutor play a role in dividing the sections (1996: 173, 174).

Wilson's analysis also finds specific grammatical devices that correlate to the Labovian categories. For example, the orientation section in her data contains clauses where the verb is inflected in the progressive aspect, just as Labov documents (1972: 364). She also states that most of the story is complicating action, and that while there were some clear external evaluative clauses throughout the narrative, there were also many internal evaluations using devices such as aspectual inflection. For example, Wilson demonstrates that the aspectual iterative inflection functions as an evaluative force in a sentence from her narrative. Here, a sign depicting tobacco spit going through a window is repeated multiple times, which represents the iterative aspect in ASL. This signed depiction of tobacco spit follows the sign, BE-EXTREMELY-SKILLED-AT. Since the narrator has stepped back and provided a clear external evaluation of the skill of the

⁵ Bahan & Supalla (1995) also demonstrate that pauses along with eye-gaze are very important in distinguishing the boundaries of sections in narratives.

boy who is spitting tobacco out of the school window, Wilson claims that the following sign repeated multiple times is an internal evaluation of the student's skill, essentially emphasizing it. In English, Wilson translates it as "He got it [the tobacco spit] through *every* time" (1996:161, brackets mine).

Other internal evaluation devices present in Wilson's ASL story are ones related to what she calls the phonology of ASL, which consists of gesture, pantomime, and other non-manual behaviors. She cites Metzger (1995) who coins these devices as *constructed action*. Metzger adapts Tannen's (1989) concept of *constructed dialogue* in spoken languages to replace *role shift* (Sandler & Lillo-Martin 2006: 379-389), which conveys actions and direct quotes in sign languages. Tannen's (1989) constructed dialogue refers to the idea that direct quotes are not actually a word-for-word copy of the speech act, but rather a construction of what the narrator remembers and even the narrator's own evaluation of the speech, usually found para-linguistically in tone or other devices (1989: 104-105, 132). Using this idea, Metzger states that role shifts involving actions in narratives are also not direct copies either, but a construction of the original actions. As an example of constructed action, Wilson shows where the narrator in her story, instead of using lexical signs, chooses to pantomime the action: "This is evaluation: Rather than just relating a sequence of events, it departs from unmarked ASL structure to increase the dramatic force of events" (1996: 163). Wilson also finds that constructed dialogue serves as an evaluative device along with suprasegmental facial expressions.

Mulrooney (2009) furthers the application of structural narratology in sign language personal experience narratives through modifying the typical Labovian categories in order to better reflect what she found in her data. Using 12 different personal narrative stories in ASL, Mulrooney proposes the categories of introduction, background, main events, explication, reflection, and

conclusion in place of Labov and Waletzky's abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda.

In introduction sections in Mulrooney's data, she finds that her narrators use a phrase or clause to mark the beginning of a new narrative, secure the floor if the story is being told among a group of people, and introduce the topic, participants and setting. Mulrooney does not find any summaries of the story, thus she entitles this section an introduction instead of an abstract. She also finds foreshadowing information in this section, expressed via a sign such as FUNNY to describe the mood of the upcoming event (2009:78). Mulrooney's background section is similar to the orientation section, as she claims, "its primary function is to orient the addressee, providing basic information such as the topic, the participants in the event, and where the event took place" (2009: 146). She notes that sometimes this repeats information from the introduction, while other times it expands on and includes other information that is necessary for the audience to understand before beginning the action section (2009: 84). Instead of a complicating action category, Mulrooney states that the ASL texts have a main event category, since the complicating action section as defined by Labov and Waletzky must lead to a climax, which she does not always find in her data. Instead, she finds that when there is a climax, it varies in its location, even sometimes occurring at the beginning of the main event section. Thus, Mulrooney does not include a resolution section, but instead, shows how the main events section includes a pattern of relating a narrative event and then an elaboration, repeating this pairing until the following section begins. Mulrooney also replaces the Labovian evaluation category with two new categories: explication and reflection. An explication section expounds upon or clarifies with extra details one of the narrative events, and a reflection section contains the narrator's perspective on the events. Lastly, Mulrooney notes that the narrator concludes the story by letting the audience know that it is finished. Mulrooney does not state whether this brings the

audience back to the immediate environment or not, which is what Labov and Waletzky state is the purpose of the coda.

Like Labov and Waletzky, who notice that not all narratives contain all six sections, Mulrooney also finds that not all of her narratives contain all six of her categories. All of them do include an introduction, main-event, and conclusion; background, explication, and reflection are not always present. To see the comparison of Mulrooney's categories with Dooley and Levinsohn's categories used in this thesis, please see

Table 2.

Table 2 Comparison of Labov's (1972) and Mulrooney's (2009) structural categories

	Labov's (1972) model (as expanded by Dooley & Levinsohn)	Mulrooney (2009)
Abstract	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - short summary of the story - communicates the point of the story - conventionalized phrases - a title - an initial expression 	<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - secure the floor - introduce topic, participants, setting - possible foreshadowing
Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - person, place, time, the activity or situation (answers the questions of who/ what/ where/ when) - other circumstances 	<p>Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - same⁶ - topic - other critical information relevant to the story
Complicating Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - series of clauses describing events that lead up to the climax or result - further orientation phrases - evaluative phrases 	<p>Main Events</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pattern of events and elaboration - climax may be missing or at the beginning
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - may or may not be a separate section - contribute to communicating the point of the narrative - can be either external (direct comments from the narrator) or internal (attitudes, aspects) 	<p>Explication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - clarifies one of the events <p>Reflection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - narrator's perspective on the events
Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what finally happened - how is the complicating action resolved - can be a counterexample or non-typical ending - denouement 	(none)
Coda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - returns the audience to the present time - conventionalized phrases - can include an Epilogue: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meta-comments on the stories • Explanations • Morals • Summaries • Additional information about characters 	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - let the audience know that the narrative is finished

⁶ Mulrooney claims that the setting and participant information can be repeated in this section (2009:84).

Mulrooney also analyzes sign language grammatical devices and their correlation to certain categories. However, instead of using terminology like that used by Wilson, she chooses to use Liddell's (2003) description of these linguistic devices, which is based on Mental Space Theory by Fauconnier (1994, 1997). Further description of these devices and the theory behind them are presented in Chapter 3, as well as more details concerning the correlations she found. However, a short summary will be given here. Mulrooney analyzes three different linguistic devices: *surrogate* blend, *depicting verb* blend, and *token* blend. A surrogate blend (2003: 152) occurs when the narrator becomes a participant in the narrative, acting or speaking as if the narrator is the participant (this includes the structures commonly known as *constructed action/dialogue* or *role shift*). A depicting verb blend (2003: 261) is when the narrator uses certain handshapes that encode lexical meaning as well as an action or movement (commonly known as *classifier constructions*, particularly *size and shape specifiers* and *entity classifiers*). A token blend (2003: 190) happens when a certain entity or idea is set up in signing space, which can be referred to later with deictics (also known as *referential loci*). In general, Mulrooney finds that there are very few blends in the introduction, explication, or conclusion categories. The background section includes some surrogate and token blends, but mostly the blends occur in the main event section. Mulrooney notes that there is a repeating pattern in the main event section; first an event is described, then elaboration on that event is given, then the following event, and then another elaboration. Mulrooney states that the three type of blends typically occur in the elaboration lines, instead of the event lines (2009: 128). She also demonstrates how reflection sections typically only include surrogate blends, as the information in this section is based on emotion (2009: 136).

In summary, the development of structural narratology in ASL narratives begins with Wilson's analysis of a single ASL story, which follows a similar pattern to Labovian

macrostructure categories. Her analysis also includes the linguistic correlation of the progressive verb aspect inflection to the orientation section, and internal evaluative devices of iterative inflection, construction dialogue, and constructed action. Building on this, Mulrooney creates her own macrostructure categories, similar to the Labovian proposal, but also with major differences such as not having resolution or evaluation sections, and adding explication and reflection. Mulrooney also uses Liddell's blended Mental Space Theory in order to distinguish grammar devices (surrogate, depicting verb, and token blends), which correlate to certain sections.

CHAPTER 3

GRAMMATICAL DEVICES IN SIGN LANGUAGES

3.1 Mental Space Theory applied to grammatical devices of sign languages

As is noted in the previous chapter, much of Mulrooney's work depends on Liddell's (2003) ideas of surrogate and depicting blends, which use facial expressions and gestures to encode meaning in a vibrant and vivid way, as well as token blends, which introduce participants. Liddell calls these devices *blends*, due to his use of Mental Space Theory as proposed by Fauconnier (1994, 1997) and his associate Turner in their work together (1996). Therefore a description of Liddell's application of Mental Space Theory to sign languages is in order.

According to Fauconnier, *mental spaces* are conceptualizations created by linguistic and para-linguistic input (1997: 39). Multiple conceptualizations can be manipulated in order to better process ideas. When two or more mental spaces are blended, the blend takes certain features from the respective input spaces and creates a new emergent structure with those specific characteristics. Fauconnier uses an example of the "philosopher's conversation", in which a philosophy professor creates a world where he and Kant hold a conversation about certain ideas. This blended world is not physically possible, but it is completely understandable

as the audience blends certain characteristics from the input spaces of the author Kant and his thoughts and the professor and his own thoughts into the frame of a debate (1996: 4).⁷

Sometimes one of these input spaces comes from *real-space*, or in other words, the conceptualization of the immediate surroundings (2003: 82). For example, in the phrase “Hand me that apple”, one needs to have a mental representation of the immediate environment in order to understand and respond to the phrase. The real-space would then include an apple and the location of the speaker’s hand. Liddell states that the mental space then is *grounded* in real-space, since it requires having a concept of the real apple and pointing hand in order to understand the encoded meaning.

An example of using real-space in a blend occurs when another mental space is mapped onto to the real-space, such as when naval admirals use maps and models to discuss plans and tactics (2003: 146-147). In this blend, one of the input spaces is the conceptualization of naval strategies, including the ocean, surrounding islands, ship locations, etc. This is not grounded because it is impossible to have all of the ocean, surrounding islands and ship locations in one’s immediate environment. Instead, when naval admirals discuss plans it typically occurs in a room with a map and models. The map and models in real-space are the other input space. This includes the areas of paint on the map, the top of the table, and the models. Characteristics from these two input spaces are then blended together to create a world where the admirals can move the models on the table and understand that this is the plan for the real-life ships. Thus, an admiral can point to a model ship *a* and discuss the supplies on that particular ship referring to the real-space ship, not the model. However, the admiral could also point to the same model ship

⁷ It is important to note that only certain characteristics are taken from each input space in order to form this new world. For example, the fact that Kant is dead it not taken into the blended space (Liddell 2003: 142).


a and state that it needs to be repainted (referring to the model). In order to represent the blended concept of ship *a*, Liddell brackets items with vertical bars: |ship *a*| (2003: 148). In this paper, I will also identify blended entities using this notation.

3.2 Real-space blends in sign languages

3.2.1 *Surrogate blends*

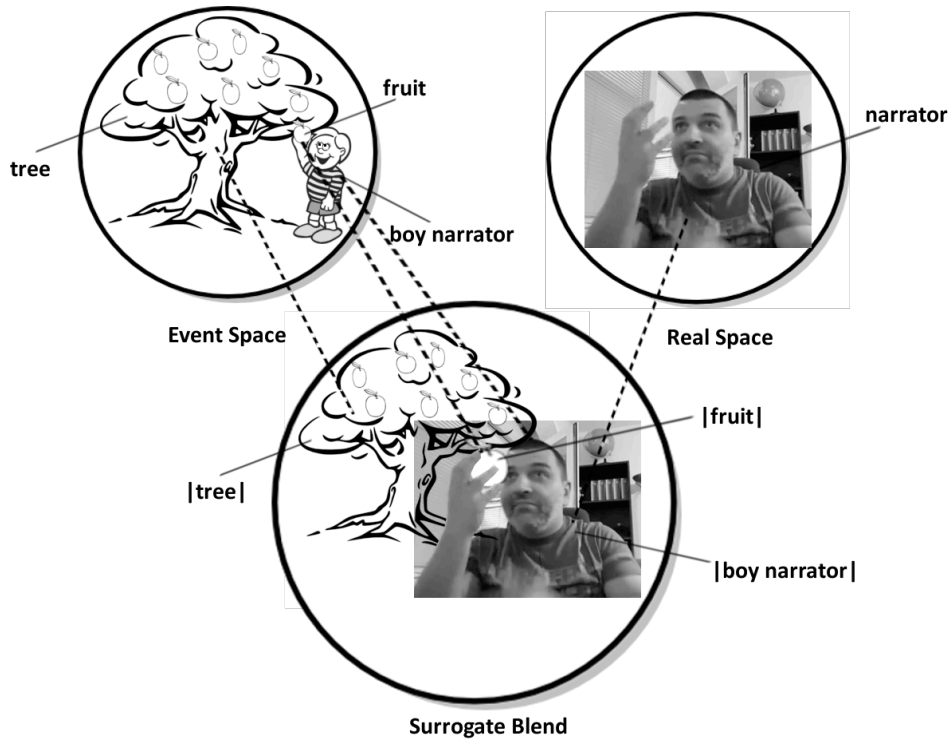
Liddell introduces surrogate blends as real-space blends, which map the conceptualization of a participant (otherwise known as characters) in the narrative onto the narrator's body. Using the input space of the concept of a certain participant, as well as the immediate surroundings of a speaker's hands, face, arms, and body, a blend occurs where the narrator becomes a new participant, and his or her movements are understood to reflect those of the participant. Thus, the signer becomes surrogate |participant *a*|. Other researchers commonly refer to this phenomenon as *role shift* or *constructed action* (although not all surrogate blends would be considered constructed action). More than just a participant being mapped onto the narrator, surrogates are also part of *surrogate space*. Liddell explains that surrogate space (2003: 152) is where multiple participants and items can be mapped into the surrounding space of the signer. For example, in Example 1, the narrator is telling a story about himself as a little boy sneaking behind the walls of a church in order to pick and enjoy the fruit from the fruit trees there. Here, the narrator becomes the surrogate |boy narrator|, and in the surrogate space, there is a fruit tree and the fruit that he is able to manipulate, creating |fruit tree| and |fruit|.

Example 1⁸


S:PICK-FRUIT
“I picked fruit.”

A diagram representing the blends is pictures in Figure 3:





Figure 3 Diagram of a surrogate blend



⁸ Notation conventions can be found in Appendix A.

Surrogate blends can be partitioned. This means that part of the signer’s body can be in a surrogate blend, while the other part of the signer’s body can carry on another linguistic expression. An example of this occurs in Example 2, where Narrator A says, “No one gave me a response.” Notice that while Narrator uses lexical signs WHAT RESPOND-1SG ZERO, his face carries a distressed expression. This facial expression is considered a surrogate since the narrator’s face is becoming what |young narrator|’s face had been to show how |young narrator| felt about that incident. He is not saying, for example, “right now I am upset that no one gave me a response at that time.” Instead, he is showing how distressed he was that no one gave him a response during this point in the narrative. Hence, the surrogate blend is an emotional facial expression, but would not normally be considered constructed action.



Example 2

			
<u>Exp:distress</u> WHAT	<u>Exp:distress</u> RESPOND-1SG	<u>Exp:distress</u> ZERO	
“No one gave me a response.”			

In addition to communicating constructed action and emotional expression in partitioned blends, surrogate blends are used to convey constructed dialogue. An example that includes constructed dialogue is found in a narrative on the topic of how the narrator got his driver’s license, despite the many difficulties that were presented by legislation and the police at the time against the Deaf driving. The dialogue occurs between the police and the narrator, who describes what happens when they came to his door to demand his driver’s license back. He starts the

scene by stating that the police came to his door. The next line is shown in Example 3, where the narrator switches to surrogate [young narrator], as seen by his facial expression and his eye-gaze as well as turning his face and body (slightly) the right. As [young narrator], he repeats that the police came to him, and then he asks them, “What?” He does not need to give a speech orientator since his facial features are the same as someone who asks a wh-question word. Since he is not looking at the audience, but rather towards where he has set up the police to be, it is understood that he is asking the police why they have arrived. This is constructed dialogue since in the real situation, he probably did not sign simply WHAT with the facial marker since the hearing police would not have understood that. Instead, either an interpreter came with the police, gestures were utilized, or pen and paper were used to write out the communication. In this sense, we see how the narrator is constructing the dialogue to represent what happened and insert his own feelings and evaluations upon what is being communicated for the purpose of telling this story.


Example 3

	
<p><u>Eg:L</u> <u>Bd:slightL</u> <u>Fxp:worry</u> R-COME-1SG</p>	<p><u>Eg:L</u> <u>Bd:L</u> <u>WHQ</u> WHAT</p>
<p>So they come to me, and I ask them, “What do you want?”</p>	

After this line, he shifts his eye-gaze, face, and body towards the left as seen in Example 4. By using this shift, he has now created the surrogate [police]. His eye-gaze is also angling

downwards, which can refer to authority instead of actual height differences. Also note that he does not say how many policemen are present. This also points to construction of speech since it is assumed that these thoughts are attributed to the police officers (or even an interpreter) that were present at the time. The following example shows the position of the surrogate of |police|, in the first phrase that they are communicating to the |younger narrator|.

Example 4


<u>Eg:LR</u> <u>Bd:R</u> <u>Fxp:remorse</u> SORRY
“We’re so sorry”

The police continue to say (English free-translation), “The (government) director for the handicapped has ordered that you are prohibited from driving.” The narrator then shifts again into |younger narrator| by moving his body and eye-gaze to face the right and changing his facial expression, responds by asking “Why?”, then continues to say that there is no proof that he has ever been in a car accident. This is seen in Example 5.

Example 5



The conversation continues between the police and the narrator until the narrator is forced to hand over his driver’s license.






3.2.2 *Depicting verb blends*

Depicting verb blends are another type of blend that Liddell describes. Liddell states that these blends are verbs that “encode meanings related to actions and states” (2003: 261). What makes this a blend is that the verb carries a lexical meaning as well as certain aspects of an action or state-of-being. Liddell proposes that the handshape carries a lexical meaning, such as vehicle, flat (object), or person. This is one input space. The other input space comes from the trajectory of the sign or other such movements, which depict meaning such as the path of a car or the shape of a bowl. Liddell also states that depicting verbs can be described in three categories. The first category is “the presence of an entity at a place” (2003: 262), which traditionally has been referred to by the term *entity classifier*. In this category, the entity classifier does not represent a movement, but rather a stative verb, which in ASL is encoded in the sign as a short

downward movement to the location where it is present. The second category is “the shape and extent of a surface or the extent of a linear arrangement of individual entities” (2003: 262). These are commonly referred to as *size and shape specifiers* (henceforth *SASS*) or an entity classifier representing an arrangement.⁹ The third category is “movements or actions” (2003: 262). These encompass entity classifiers to represent movements and *handling classifiers*, where handshapes and movements reflect the handling of an object instead of directly representing the object (2003: 206). The LSR data does not contain any examples of the first category, but it does contain categories two and three.

An example of the second category is when the narrator in Example 6 demonstrates how many people are gathered in a large circle during a meeting. The hand shape with the spread fingers carries the meaning of “many-people-in-a-line”. The movement of the hands tracing opposing circles depicts the location. Together, the meaning encoded is all of the people standing in a large circle.

Example 6

				
DV2:many.people.in.a.line				
“There were many people sitting in a circle.”				

Example 7 contains a physical description of a surface: a wall in a certain area of real-space, which later is referred to when he is able to sign that a ball flies over it, or that |young narrator|

⁹ These are attributive verbs.

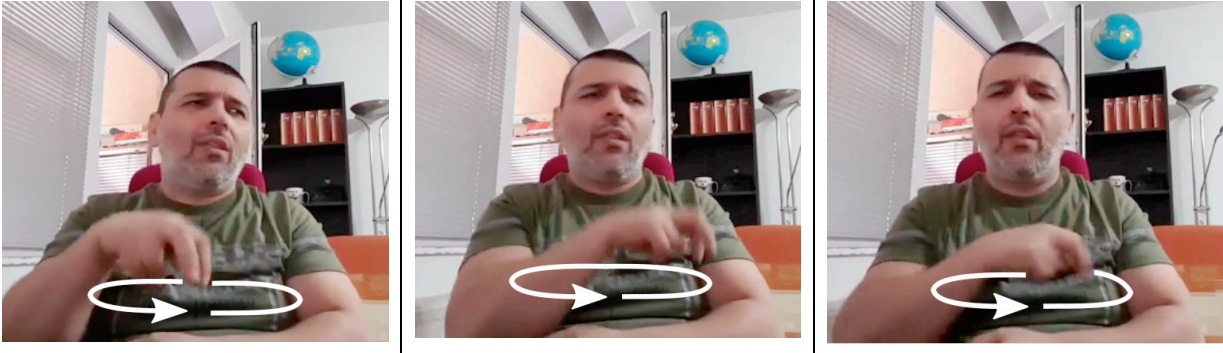
goes through the gate past it. Here he describes the shape of this object – the fence/wall – as flat and tall.

Example 7


DV2:flat.broad.surface.extend.to
“There was a tall wall over in this area.”


The third category covers verbs that depict action or movement, such as the movement of an entity classifier. For example, in LSR, two fingers with the tips orientated downward represents a biped. This is one of the input spaces. The second input space is the path of the hand, in this case, a circular movement, as seen in Example 8. This creates the depicting verb blend of a biped moving in a circle. In this example there is also a surrogate blend partitioned on the narrator’s face, which expresses the emotion of concern. Previously in the sentence, the narrator signed MOTHER, which thus creates the sentence, “My mother paced with concern.”

Example 8


DV3:biped
“My mother paced with concern.”

Another type of classifier that the third category of depicting verb blends covers is handling classifiers. For example, Example 9 shows Narrator C portraying bringing a soccer ball back to his friends. As a depicting verb blend, one of the input spaces is considered the handshape (which here represents the way a soccer ball is held by a child) and the other input space is the movement from the past-event (the movement of bringing the ball back).

Example 9


DV3:ball.bring.back
“I brought the ball back.”

3.2.3 Token blends

One last blend that patterns with structural narrative categories is what Liddell terms token blends. Token blends occur when the narrator in real-space points to and then designates a certain space as representing an entity, location, or even idea which can be referred back to with a deictic in the future. Traditionally this position in signing space has been referred to as a *referential locus*. A simple example of this occurs in Example 10, where a narrator sets up a token space by pointing to the left area of the signing space and signs COUNTRY afterwards. The space towards the left of the narrator now is the blended entity |country|. He then signs the verb LEAVE, which is directional, meaning that the start and ending locations of the sign can vary depending on where in space the narrator has set up different locations. Here, we see that LEAVE ends in the left area of the signing space, right where the narrator had previously referred to a country. This clause’s total encoded meaning is “I left to go to a different country.” The space towards the left of the narrator is the blended entity |country|.

Example 10

		
IX-L	COUNTRY	LEAVE-L
“I left to go to a different country.”		

Another example occurs when the narrator in another story creates a token blend |Vasile|, the name of a childhood friend, towards the right signing space, as seen in Example 11. The picture glossed VASILE is Vasile’s sign name.

Example 11

	
IX-R	VASILE
"Vasile,"	



Now the narrator can refer to that area in later sentences without needing to state VASILE. In Example 12, the narrator talks about his (Vasile's) father by signing FATHER, and then afterwards the possessive sign in the area of |Vasile|.

Example 12

		
FATHER		3SG.POSS-R
"his father"		

In another sentence, shown in Example 13, the narrator is able to efficiently state that Vasile was in eighth grade while he was in seventh, simply by signing the number eight in the token blend area |Vasile| and the number seven in the space right in front of himself.

Example 13

	
8-R	7-C
“He was in 8 ⁿ grade, and I was in 7 th .”	

This section has described the nature of surrogate, depicting verb, and token blends. In the next section I will return to Mulrooney’s analysis, which shows patterns between these blends and certain narrative structural categories.

3.3 Blends correlating with structural narrative categories in ASL

Mulrooney (2009) finds that the three types of blends Liddell describes in ASL (surrogate, depicting verb, and token) correlate with specific structural categories in the ASL narratives that she analyzed. She states that the introduction, background, and explication sections contain mostly factual information, and thus contain mostly lexical signs instead of blends. However, in the main-events section blends are frequently used, particularly the surrogate and depicting verb blends, as they provide demonstrations and details of the events that are reported. Surrogate blends are also the only blend used in the reflection section, which Mulrooney states is due to the fact that this section communicates the narrator’s emotion about the event (2009: 136). She concludes that use of these blends “brought the past events to the immediate environment. The concreteness of these blends is what allows an addressee to become ‘involved’ in the narrative because they, in essence, see a bit of the past event” (2009: 153-155). This is very similar to

Schiffirin's claim concerning the use of the historical present verb tense that using this tense, especially along with direct quotations, brings the events into the immediate environment. This encourages the audience to engage and interpret for themselves the meaning of the events (1981:59).

Mulrooney also finds that certain combinations of blends and lexical signs are used to convey specific types of information. For example, in order to describe the movement of a person, 54% of the time the narrators use lexical signs with surrogate blends. In constructed dialogue, this same combination of lexical signs with surrogate blends occurs 66% of the time. But when narrators convey factual information or provide explanations, 69% is done with only lexical signs (2009: 153). In regards to token blends, she finds that they are a common feature in the introduction section (2009: 55-56). Recall that in Mulrooney's definition of the introduction section, in addition to the topic being communicated, that participants and setting can also be identified. Since introducing important entities such as participants and place is done in sign languages by giving them a token blend, it follows that most of these introductions should happen in the introduction or background section. To this point, it is unclear how Mulrooney counted the ASL token blends, i.e. if she only counted them when they were introduced or when they were also referred to later in the narrative, much like how a pronoun would be used. Since the importance of tracking token blends is to see if they correlate to the introduction or orientation sections where the main entities are introduced, I count the token blends only when they are first introduced.

Just as Mulrooney analyzes the narrative structural categories and compares these types of blends with the structural categories, my analysis will be giving particular attention to these categories of blends and their distribution patterns throughout the different structural categories. I also use Liddell's terminology in tracking LSR grammatical devices so that the results can be

compared to Mulrooney's data in ASL. In addition, I will be looking at the imperfective verb aspect as relating to the orientation categories or orientation lines in the complicating action section, just as Wilson analyzes.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In order to determine the structural categories in the LSR narratives, I consider both the type of information that the line is conveying as well as pause data that signal boundaries between text units. I consider each published video as a full text, just as a book is considered a full text, and I consider each clause to constitute a line. Within these texts, I use pause data, much like Gee & Kegl (1983), Wilson (1996), and Mulrooney (2009), in order to separate the major boundaries between the structural narrative categories. In general, the longer pauses correlate with the categorical boundaries. However, just as Wilson finds that this did not always match with the type of information communicated, so there are also some cases in the LSR data where the pauses do not exactly line up with the information type. When there are discrepancies, I defer to the type of information that is conveyed as well as any other grammatical devices that correlate to a certain category in order to make the boundaries. These cases will be discussed in each corresponding structural narrative category.

The pauses vary greatly in length depending on the narrator's style, ranging from .201 to 2.838 seconds. Narrator A tends to prefer smaller pauses with an average of .316 seconds, while Narrator C tends to use larger pauses with an average of .964 seconds. The pauses typically include extended eye-blinks, closed eyes, eye-gaze shift, hands neutral (or folded), and head or body movements. For example, in Narrator A's break between the abstract and orientation sections, there is a pause of .396 seconds, where his eye-gaze looks down, his head is down, and his hands are folded together. In cases where there is not a clear break, a hold in a sign that is not

inflected for emphasis or repetition provides enough of an indication for a boundary in addition to the differences in informational type groupings.

After determining sections in the text on the basis of pause data, I compare this with the natural groupings based on information type. Since Labov's original categories have been well-researched, I used Dooley and Levinsohn's expanded versions of them: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. My data also matches these categories better than those Mulrooney proposes, as will be explained in Chapter 5.

For the abstract, orientation, and coda sections, the pause data and the boundaries based on information type coincide clearly. The complicating action, evaluation, and resolution sections are more difficult to parse, as the breaks do not as clearly line up with the type of information typically communicated in these categories. As stated previously, narrative (event) clauses can be interspersed with free clauses communicating orientation and/or evaluative information. Thus I charted each narrative section according to the type of information communicated in each line. I also marked in the column with the line numbers where there was a pause or hold. Moreover, this facilitated comparison to Mulrooney's sections of main event, explication, and reflection to see if explication or reflection information tends to congregate together. An example of this chart from Narrator A's narrative can be found in Table 3.

Table 3 Chart outlining clause information type

	Event	Orientation	Evaluation
6.		1SG HAPPINESS NOTHING “I not happy at all”	
7.		R-TEACH-1SG NOTHING “Nobody taught me anything”	
8.	<u>Eg:D-L</u> <u>Mm:BR</u> 1SG GROW.UP S:abrupt.stop.shock “When I was a child, all of a sudden, something shocking happened!”		
neutral hand .417 sec			
9.	MOTHER 1SG.POSS DIE “My mother died”		
		39 YEAR “At 39 years old.”	
10.		1SG IS YEAR 12 YEAR “I was 12 years old.”	
11.			<u>Fxp:distress</u> <u>S:searching.wonder</u> 1SG ”WHAT-FOR?+++” “I distressingly wondered, ‘why did this happen?’”

These charts were created for each one of the narratives to allow for patterns to be seen clearly, and to provide evidence for the analysis of LSR structural categories as discussed in the following chapter. They also allow for counting of Liddell’s analysis of ASL grammatical devices in order to better compare the correlation of these devices in the LSR data with Mulrooney’s ASL data.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

The analysis of the structural narrative categories in LSR and the correlating linguistic devices is divided into five sections, one for each of the narrative categories except for evaluation, which is not a distinct section present in the LSR narratives. In regards to each category I will describe the scope of variation in my texts related to the type of information found in that category, the types of grammatical devices present or absent in the specific category, and I will discuss comparing the findings in LSR to those in spoken languages and ASL as previously discussed by authors such as Labov and Mulrooney.

5.1 Abstract

As discussed in Chapter 2, the abstract section consists of phrases that open the narrative. This includes information such as a title, a conventionalized initial expression, the point of the story, a summary of the story, or the topic. In the four LSR narratives, the abstract information included is the topic, personal introduction, greeting, justification for telling the story, and foreshadowing evaluation. The use of justification in this section has not been discussed by the previous literature concerning information found in the abstract section.

The abstract sections end with pauses ranging from .396 to 1.007 seconds, and include two cases of unusual breaks. One of those breaks is repeating the ending sign multiple times until the narrator is ready to start the orientation section, and the second is a hold that is non-inflectional.

5.1.1 Information and organization of the abstract

Narrator B's abstract section in his driver's license story is the shortest abstract of all of the narratives. He simply states DRIVER LICENSE, and then proceeds directly into the orientation. He does not include a pause to indicate a break, however, he does continuously repeat the last sign in the topic phrase, which is LICENSE, while he mouths the Romanian word twice, along with multiple eye blinks. In Narrator's B's personal conversion story, he gives a personal introduction by stating his name, then signs SET-ASIDE. Afterwards he states the topic STORY LIFE and then proceeds into the orientation. Narrator A also follows this pattern by giving a personal introduction, also including where he is from. However, instead of giving this information before the topic, he provides it after the topic, which is: LIFE 1SG.POSS HOW DIFFERENT.THINGS. It is interesting to note that in these two stories, which are posted publicly on YouTube, a personal introduction is given, suggesting that the medium of the storytelling plays a role in determining the structural elements. In a group where everyone is already known, this information would not be needed. However, in a public arena, this separate personal introduction is needed, as well as the narrative-related abstract section including an introduction to the story itself. In regards to Narrator B's shortest abstract, which does not include personal information, perhaps it is because he had already given his identifying information in the previous video.

Narrator C provides a longer abstract section for his entire video, which includes multiple narrative episodes. In this section, which consists of 41.913 seconds (as compared to less than 15.715 seconds for the other three), he begins with a greeting and gives a justification for the narrative, which is that he had received a certain challenge. He also explains that he has two different Facebook pages, and from his second page, someone had given him a different challenge, but that the one he will be addressing in this video is to talk about his life growing up.

He also provides a foreshadowing evaluation in this section by saying that it will be an interesting story. Here we see that he provides the major topics for his story as well as the motive for sharing, but he does not give a personal introduction. Since his Facebook page already has his personal information listed, it makes sense that he does not provide this in the video itself.

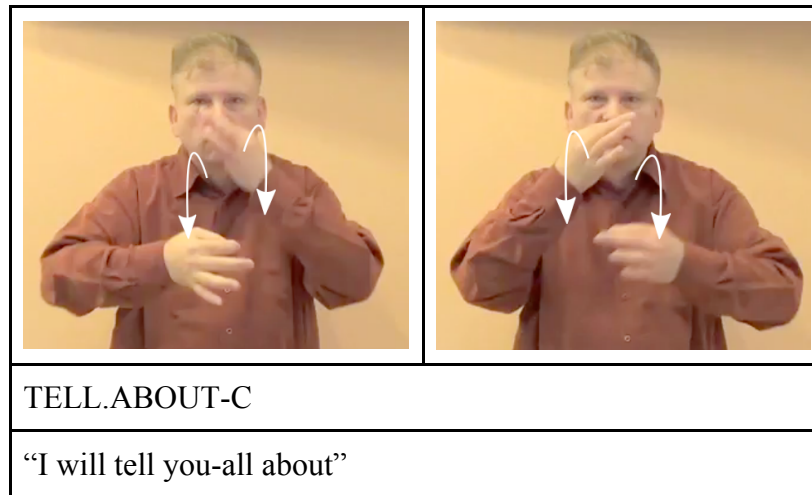
Narrator C's large narrative consists of smaller episodes instead of one long narrative. These shorter episodes fit into the overall theme and purpose of the larger context of the video, much like chapters within a book as compared to a short-story. In this case, two of the embedded narratives do also include their own abstracts. In his first episode, which follows a larger break from his major abstract section, he states THIS LIFE 1SG.POSS GROW.UP ("This is my life growing up"), then proceeds to tell the story of how he became Deaf. In this case, the abstract includes topic information. In his second episode, it is difficult to determine if in fact there is an abstract, or simply orientation. There are not any pauses to distinguish a separate abstract, such as in Episode 1, and the information in this span of the text reflects orientation information instead of abstract information. The third episode contains an abstract stating the topic and giving evaluative information: NAUGHTY SOCCER WAR ("We were very naughty when we played soccer matches"). This short narrative tells the story of how as children they would pretend that they were just playing soccer, but in reality, they would deliberately kick the ball over the fence into the church's yard so that they could pick fruit from the trees there. Episode 4 and Episode 5 do not have clear abstracts, due to the locations of the pauses and the type of information conveyed in the statements that begin the episode.

5.1.2 Grammatical devices in the abstract

The information in the abstract is communicated mainly via lexical signs without the use of blends. The only blends found in this section are token blends used by two out of the three narrators. Narrator A only includes one token blend referring to the audience in the sign

TELL.ABOUT-C (“I tell you-all about”), as seen in Example 14. I consider this a token blend since the narrator is associating the space in front of him as where the audience would be, although he is signing to a camera. Since the audience is not physically present, that space in front of him is a token blend.

Example 14



Narrator C uses three token blends in his large abstract section. One of these also refers to the audience, while the others set up space to refer to the different Facebook pages. In his small abstracts to refer to each episode, he does not use any token blends or other blends.

5.1.3 Discussion

These findings largely reflect the information found in the abstract description by Dooley and Levinsohn. The exception is the added information of justification by Narrator C. This type of information is also not included in Mulrooney’s category of introduction, which is even broader than Dooley and Levinsohn’s category of abstract. While Mulrooney found that her introductions also included information regarding the participants and setting (2009: 81), the LSR stories did not, except for personal information. In summary, the LSR abstracts include personal information if not included on the platform used to share the story, or if not already shared in a

previous story, as well as the topic of the narrative. In one narrative, an evaluative statement is also included, although this typically is not found in a narrative until the complicating action section.

In regards to linguistic devices utilized in the abstract section, my findings are similar to Mulrooney's introduction section in her ASL stories. In these short sections, which do not convey any information concerning action, no surrogate or depicting verb blends are used in ASL or LSR stories. However, Mulrooney does find that token blends are introduced three times in 21 lines. In the LSR data, token blends are introduced four times in 32 lines.

5.2 Orientation

As described in section 2.1, orientation sections include background information that refers to the setting (time and place) and the participants in the narrative, essentially providing answers to the major questions of who, what, where, and when. Other information concerning the beginning circumstances of the narrative also occurs in this section. The information in the orientation sections of the four LSR narratives matches the type of information expected. Narrator C also includes evaluation information, although that has not been discussed by previous linguists to pertain to the orientation section.

The orientation sections end with pauses ranging from .201 to 1.188. In three narratives, the line containing the inciting moment that begins the complicating action category actually occurs before the pause. Changes in grammatical devices also suggest including the line before the pause as part of the complicating action. For example, in Narrator C's Episode 3, he utilizes three depicting verb blends from category 3, which depict movement, in order to start the action of kicking the soccer ball over the wall before a pause of .990 seconds. Since these depicting verbs do not carry imperfective aspect and there are no other instances of depicting verb category

3 blends in the orientation section, I still analyze this line as being part of the complicating action section. Thus, a major pause that separates one section from the next may not necessarily occur at the exact boundary between the sections. There is also one instance where no pause data is present in order to provide the boundary between the orientation and complicating action section, and instead the change from imperfective aspect on the verb to simple tense and the addition of a surrogate blend provides the distinction. In Narrator C's Episode 4, after four lines of orientation information there is a pause of .693, but after this pause there is still 5 more lines of evaluation and orientation (along with imperfective aspect) information before the inciting moment. Since the other complicating actions all begin with an inciting moment, I analyze the beginning of the complicating action with this line instead of at the pause in the middle of orientation information.

5.2.1 Information and organization of the orientation

Narrator A's orientation section introduces participants indirectly, stating that his family was Catholic while he was growing up. The "when" is answered that it is while he was growing up. The rest of the information included elaboration of the "who" concerning himself, as the main participant. In this sense, it describes the personal and mental circumstances that he is in at the start of the narrative. Specifically, he states that he had no happiness, that he did not know God at all, and that no one taught him about God.

The orientation section of Narrator B's personal conversion story mainly contains information concerning the setting for the story. He describes an area where he grew up, in a village in a hilly area, and a cemetery. He also provides information about his mental circumstances, as the main participant in the narrative, stating that he knew the area well all-over, but he had no idea what the crosses over the graves meant. Again, the "when" is included in the lines where he states 1SG GROW.UP. Narrator B's story about his driver's license contains less information about a setting, but rather the circumstances in which he tries to first

get his driver's license. Here, he mainly states that he did many different activities, and practiced driving around a lot, but it was very hard.

All of Narrator C's short narrative episodes contain orientation sections. In Episode 1, he provides information about when and who, stating that he was partially hearing growing up, until he was four years old. Here we see him introduce himself as a young participant separately from the overall introduction's personal information about himself as narrator. He also provides an evaluation before he begins his first event, stating that he will never forget what happened. In Episode 2, he provides extensive information about a new participant, a classmate of his, which leads up to the complicating action of how this new participant gave him his first sign name. He also includes evaluative information in this episode's orientation section concerning his classmate and their relationship. In Episode 3, he describes the setting, where they played soccer, and again gives some evaluative information, 1SG FASCINATED, before the main event. Episode 4 also includes information about the setting and time: he states that it was when he began technical school in a new city, where he was for four years. He also gives evaluative information by stating and demonstrating how the signing at the new school was very different, and how he had to learn that new signing. In this case the use of imperfective aspect on the verbs supports the analysis of this information as background information necessary for understanding the main event, which is when he learned a specific new sign. Episode 5 contains a unique situation where the narrator describes his previous multiple sign names before he received his final one. Since his sign names are based on personal characteristics, each time he receives a new sign name he provides orientation information that is essential to understanding that new sign name. This pattern continues throughout this episode.

5.2.2 *Grammatical devices in the orientation*

The orientation sections include linguistic devices of surrogate, depicting verb, and token blends, as well as imperfective aspect marking on some of the verbs. All of the narrators utilize token blends and imperfective aspect; however, only Narrator C utilizes depicting verbs. Narrator B uses two surrogate blends in the orientation section of his driver's license narrative, and Narrator C uses a surrogate blend in demonstrating his reaction to the new signing in Episode 4.

Token blends are used often in order to set-up the scene and introduce participants or an element in the scene. For example, Narrator B sets up the space to his right as the location of the cemetery, and all of the crosses on the graves. In the next phrase, he refers back to that area and signs MEANING? NOT.KNOW, "I did not know what those graves and crosses meant".


Imperfective aspect is utilized on some of the verbs mainly in stating what the narrator used to do, i.e. habitual aspect. LSR linguistically codes imperfective aspect by repeating the verb. LSR does not have a documented distinction linguistically between habitual and progressive aspect, instead, that is determined by context. An example of this is in Narrator B's driver's license story: 1SG DO.ACTIVITIES+++, (see Example 15) 1SG.POSS DRIVE+++. "I did multiple activities and (practiced) driving around a lot". Another example is in Narrator C's Episode 4 where he states, 1SG R-TAKE.IN.INFORMATION-*{head}*+++, HOW+++ "I was learning a lot and figuring it out (the new sign language)".

Example 15


<u>Fxp:determination</u> DO.ACTIVITIES+++
“With determination, I did activities.”



Narrator C incorporates the second category of depicting verb blends into the orientation section in order to describe significant features of a place and a participant, not to describe an action. For example, the setting described includes the wall previously depicted as being flat and tall in Example 7 as well as a depiction of where the fruit trees were in relation to it. The participant information described with a depicting verb is the hair of his classmate, as seen in Example 16. This proves to be important information as it is due to his teasing of his classmate’s sign name based on his fanned-out hair that his classmate gave Narrator C his own first sign name.

Example 16


DV2:hair-fan-out-in-front-of-forehead
“His hair fanned out in the front of his forehead.”

Both Narrator C and Narrator B utilize surrogate blends to express an emotion in the orientation category. Narrator C creates a surrogate blend of |young narrator| to express his feeling of overwhelming confusion at the new signing. Narrator B in his driver’s license story utilizes a surrogate blend to express the emotion of determination over the lexical phrase 1SG DO.ACTIVITIES+++ , 1SG.POSS DRIVE+++. Here, in Example 17, he creates a blend of |young narrator| on his face through pursing the lips, expressing his feelings of determination, while stating lexically the past habitual events. The purpose of the surrogate blend is to portray difficulty in his personal circumstances as part of the setting for the complicating action events.

Example 17

	
<u>Fxp:determination</u> DO.ACTIVITIES+++	<u>Fxp:determination</u> DRIVE+++
With determination, I did activities.	With determination, I drove around.

5.2.3 Discussion

In general, the orientation sections in LSR narratives reflect the typical information that is described by Dooley and Levinsohn for orientation sections as well as by Mulrooney for background sections in ASL stories. One difference is that Mulrooney included topic in her background section (equivalent to the orientation section). None of the LSR stories include a topic statement, as these were found in the abstract sections. Another major difference is that

Narrator C incorporates evaluative information in the orientation section. Note that this narrator also is the only one who includes foreshadowing evaluative information in the abstract section. While it is possible to analyze this occurrence as unique to Narrator C, Mulrooney's ASL data does show that there is also evaluative information in the background sections, although she does not specifically discuss this formally (2009: 57, 91). In summary, the information included in the orientation section involves setting up the scene and the participants, as well as giving basic circumstance information that is needed in order to understand the story to come. This is specifically highlighted in the personal conversion stories from Narrator's A and B. In these cases, the crucial information about their mental state alerts the audience to the problem that will be resolved in the story.

Linguistic devices found in the orientation section of the LSR narratives are also similar to those found in the ASL stories Mulrooney analyzed. Mulrooney's ASL data contained a token blend density¹⁰ of 14% and a depicting verb blend density of 12% (2009: 95-96). The LSR data in total included a token blend density of 20% and a depicting verb blend density of 13%. Depicting verb blends are used to describe physical qualities of an object or surface (category 2), or an action (category 3). In this section, depicting verbs only described physical qualities, which correlates well with the goal of this section as providing only background information, not main events. Surrogate blends, on the other hand, were more prominent in Mulrooney's data (18%) than in the LSR data (7%). She states that these blends were typically found after a lexical phrase, and that this pattern of a lexical phrase plus a phrase containing blends is repeated throughout the background section (2009: 92). I did not find that pattern in the LSR data, which could also contribute to the lesser amount of surrogate blends. Another reason why the LSR data

¹⁰ Blend density is the ratio of number of blends to the number of lines.

contains fewer blends is because the sections are shorter than Mulrooney's ASL background sections; while the ASL sections range from 6-20 lines, the LSR sections range from 2-16 (average of 4-5 lines).

Concerning verb aspect, comparatively LSR utilizes habitual imperfective aspect while Wilson discovered progressive imperfect aspect in the orientation section of her ASL narrative. In the LSR narratives, habitual imperfective aspect occurs 10 times in the 46 lines. (Mulrooney does not include imperfective aspect as a feature to be analyzed in her study.)

5.3 Complicating Action

Recall that the complicating action section is the main body of the narrative, providing events that cause the audience to wonder "What happens next?" In some cases a climax is reached, but not always. In between the major events, there is often evaluative information or further background information to clarify and elaborate. Evaluative information consists of clauses (external) or grammatical devices (internal) that contribute to communicating the point of the narrative. Each complicating action section in the LSR narratives varies greatly in the patterns of complicating action and evaluative information. Two of the complicating action sections, those in Narrator B's driver's license narrative and in the multiple episodes of Narrator C's narrative concerning childhood events, contain more prototypical events based on actions. However, two other narratives, the personal conversion experiences from Narrator A and Narrator B, are more difficult to analyze based on stereotypical events as they were emotional journeys, with the changes in the young narrator's emotional state driving the story forward. Finally, all of the large narratives contain climaxes, but they are found in the resolution section. The resolution is separated from the complicating action section and is described in greater detail in Section 5.4.

The complicating action sections are divided from the resolution sections with a series of pauses and short clauses. The pauses range from .258 to 1.843 seconds. Narrator A's and Narrator B's driver's license narratives utilizing two pauses with one to three clauses in between, while the longest series of pauses is Narrator B's personal conversion experience narrative that contained four pauses each with one clause in between. The type of information that the clauses contain is discussed in the following section.

5.3.1 Information and organization of the complicating action

Narrator A's complicating action section begins with an inciting moment that causes the young narrator to feel unhappy: his mother's death. After this event, there are other events where the young narrator tries to find happiness, however, none of them truly give him satisfaction. In this narrative, it is difficult to parse the main events from the evaluative information, as much of his reaction to the events appears to be external evaluation. Statements such as, "I was upset", "I was broken-hearted", "I wondered to myself, 'Why did this happen?'" would all typically fall in the category of external evaluative information. However, in this narrative, sometimes these lines precipitate other events or further reactions. For example, Narrator A lexically states (with a surrogate blend communicating distress on his face), "1SG MAD BROKEN.HEARTED"; right after this, he uses surrogate blends to demonstrate how his father tried to comfort him. Since the fact that his heart is broken precipitates the need for his father's comfort, I analyze it as an emotional event: "This broke my heart". Therefore his emotional state constitutes a complicating action event, albeit an emotional one. Narrator A continues his story with further events of how he attempts to find happiness, such as leaving the country. After his last attempt, there are five lines of external evaluative information expounding on how none of these attempts brought him joy. In this case, it could be analyzed that there is an evaluative section, as Labov and Waletzky originally note before the resolution; however, there is no pause data at the beginning of these

evaluative clauses, only afterwards. After the first pause of .265 seconds, Narrator A uses 3 clauses to relate evaluative, orientation, and event information, before ending the complicating section with another pause of .297 seconds.

In Narrator B's personal conversion story, the complicating action section is shorter (23 lines as compared to Narrator A's 41 lines) and involves two primary events accompanied by further background information either before or after the events, followed by his emotional reaction (mainly negative). These emotional reactions are encoded in two external evaluative sections, each four lines; however, the linguistic devices used in these sections vary. There is not an overly large evaluative section before the end of this section. Instead, within and encompassing three lines relating the passage of time, Narrator B uses four pauses ranging from .258 to .460 seconds to slow down the narrative and create a larger break before beginning the resolution section, which contains the climax.

Narrator B's driver's license story is much longer and involves many events, but is unique compared to the other narratives' complicating action sections since it is particularly driven by constructed dialogues. For example, one of the first developments in the story is communicated by the constructed speech of a doctor who tells the young narrator that he is unable to drive because the narrator is not able to hear. The young narrator responds by repeating this speech to the Deaf club. After a few lines where their surprise reaction is portrayed via surrogate blends and it is lexically communicated that they, together with the young narrator, go to the commissioner's office, a conversation ensues between all three parties in which the young narrator is finally granted a driver's license. Further complicating events, such as his license being taken away, are also portrayed through constructed dialogue. There is a large break before he arrives at the climax of his story, which also provides a resolution to the situation, but in a non-typical way. This will be further discussed in the resolution section, 4.4. Most external

evaluation information is communicated in short sections of one to two lines each. There is a grouping of five lines all communicating external evaluation, but instead of occurring right before the resolution section it is in the middle of the complicating action section. Also, further background information is interspersed as needed without a major pattern in this section.

Narrator C's six shorter episodes all involve complicating actions interspersed with evaluation and further orientation information. Episode 1 contains events and constructed speech that communicate how the narrator as a child is discovered to have lost his hearing. Episode 2 contains only two events, with external evaluation comments in between. No further orientation information is found in this section; however, Episode 2's orientation section is quite long (17 lines) as compared to the complicating action section (7 lines). Episode 3's complicating action section is similar in structure to Episode 1, containing events and constructed speech as well as evaluation and background information to tell the story of how as children they used a soccer ball to steal fruit. Episode 4 contains one major event where the narrator discovers a new sign at school, then there is an external evaluation section of five lines before the last event in which he learned the meaning of the sign. Episode 5's complicating action begins with how the Deaf first see a physical characteristic of the narrator and create a sign name. The following complicating actions are based on new features or actions of the narrator from which the Deaf then create new sign names. Episode 5 follows the structure of the larger narratives, which have a longer break pausing the action before the resolution section. After the last false sign name before the narrator's real one, there is an external evaluation section of 13 lines, one large pause of 1.843 sec, a line stating he finished school, and then another large pause of 1.233 seconds. After this, he begins the final climactic episode where his final sign name is given, which I analyze as being in the resolution section.

5.3.2 *Linguistic devices in the complicating action*

The combined complicating action sections utilize the largest blend density of surrogate, depicting verb and token blends throughout the entire story: 87%. Of the blends in this section, 69% occur in the event lines. The most used blend of all the blends is the surrogate blend at 63%.

Surrogate blends in the complicating action section are used to convey both event and evaluative information, but never orientation information. In many instances, the event and evaluative information are conveyed simultaneously since surrogate blends can be partitioned, with part of the surrogate blend occurring on the face, and lexical signs or depicting verb blends being communicated on the hands. Thus, while the complicating event is described via the hands, the surrogate blend on the face communicates the emotion. In this sense, it matches Labov's description of internal evaluation being communicated through other grammatical devices. This type of surrogate blend, with the face communicating the emotional expression, consists of 26% of all surrogate blends.

The rest of the surrogate blends occur in constructed action and constructed speech, with constructed speech being utilized the most, at 54% out of all of the surrogate blends. Most of these blends occur in the event lines, particularly the constructed speech; however, there still is a substantial amount in the evaluative lines. In fact, in Narrator A's narrative, the surrogate blends are roughly equally proportioned throughout the event and the evaluation lines (12 versus 13), and 60% of the surrogate blends used for constructed speech occur in the evaluation. However, since Narrator B's driver's license story mainly utilizes constructed dialogue to communicate the actions, this affects the total percentages, so much so that, out of the total 121 lines that were the events for all of the sections, 99 of those utilized surrogate blends (81%). The types of information that they portray (emotion, action, or speech) are also present in both the event and evaluation information lines. See Table 4 for detailed number of instances and blend density.

Table 4 Distribution of surrogate blend subtypes across information types in the complicating action category

	Event (121 lines)	Evaluation (78 lines)	Totals
Emotional Expression	24 (20%)	14 (18%)	38
Constructed Action	14 (12%)	15 (19%)	29
Constructed Speech	61 (50%)	18 (23%)	79
Totals	99	47	

Depicting verbs are also used in the complicating action section, with a blend density of 10% overall. While these types of blends are not used proportionately as often as in the orientation section (13%), there are more instances of them overall in this section than in the orientation section. The type of information that they convey is mostly physical movement. Out of the 22 depicting verb blends, 17 (77%) are used to depict action. They are also mainly in the event lines instead of being used to portray evaluative information. It is also interesting to note that in two scenarios, the movement is in orientation lines. These two cases involved movement to set up the scene. For example, in Narrator C's Episode 5 story about him receiving different sign names, one of the sign names is based on how he danced. He sets up the dance scene by describing the place where most of the Deaf would go, using a depicting verb to communicate "DV3:many-go-there". See Table 5 for the total numbers of depicting verb blends present in clauses of different information types.

Table 5 Distribution of depicting verb categories across information types in the complicating action category

	Event	Orientation	Evaluation	Total
DV2: physical description	2	2	1	5
DV3: movement	15	2		17
Total	17	4	1	22

New token blends are also introduced in this section. A total of 32 new token blends are used, which is more than the nine token blends introduced in the orientation section. However, in regards to blend density, there is a smaller percentage of token blends used in the complicating action section than the orientation section (14% as opposed to 20%). One large difference, however, is that in the complicating action section they are mainly used in the event lines, instead of in orientation phrases, as is seen in Table 6.¹¹

Table 6 Distribution of token blends across information types in the complicating action category

	Event	Orientation	Evaluation	Total
Token blends	22	8	2	32

An example of how token blends are introduced in event lines is in Example 18. This line is “I planned out how to escape communism”. This is an event clause, but a token blend is introduced here when the eye-gaze looking towards the left at the same time that COMMUNISM is signed.

¹¹ There could also be a difference in how token blends for main participants are introduced as opposed to secondary participants. I did not investigate this carefully, but it could be that main participants are introduced in the orientation category, while secondary participants are introduced as needed in the complicating action category.

Thus, in the sign HOW where the eye-gaze is towards the left, it is understood that it is referring to the token blend of COMMUNISM.

Example 18

		
PLAN	<u>Eg:R</u> COMMUNISM	<u>Eg:R</u> HOW++
“I planned out how to escape communism.”		

Lastly, the imperfective verb aspect also appears in the complicating action section, but only in six instances. One of those occurs in an orientation line, one is in an evaluation line, and three are in event lines. In terms of density, this amount of use is negligible in comparison to the orientation section (10 instances in 46 lines).

5.3.3 Discussion

In summary, information in the complicating action sections of the LSR narratives reflects the typical information found in other studies in regards to the complicating action section. Mainly, there is a sequence of events leading up to a climax. However, unlike the traditional climax being located in the complicating action section, these LSR narratives have a large pause or slowing down of information with multiple pauses before the final event that contains the climax, which places the climax in the resolution section. Only Narrator C's shorter narrative episodes do not follow this pattern. Instead, they involve shorter sequences of events, one of

which concludes the action for the episode. In comparison to Mulrooney's analysis of ASL narratives, LSR narratives generally do not have the repeating pattern of event plus an elaboration. Instead, the LSR data sometimes has many events succeeding one another before elaboration in the form of external evaluative lines occurs. An example of an event followed directly by elaboration occurs in Narrator A's story. He begins with the event: 1SG ESCAPE-L COUNTRY ESCAPE-L "I escaped to a different country!" Immediately afterwards he provides elaboration on this event; he expresses how he joyfully left everything and sees many new and exciting things, then he states how wonderful it is and now he will receive joy and happiness. However, patterns like this do not generally repeat in LSR data. Orientation information also is inserted as needed throughout the complicating action events. Interestingly, the complicating action section of Narrator A and Narrator C's 5th episode both contain a large number of lines (five and 13 respectively), conveying external evaluative information, which is like what Labov and Waletzky first found in their data; however, the LSR data did not include breaks to distinguish these as separate sections.

The complicating action section has the highest blend density of all the sections, at 87% (200 blends in 229 total lines of complicating action in all the texts). Most of them, 69%, are used in the main events, while 25% are found in the evaluation lines, and only 6% were in the orientation lines. Since surrogate blends generally are used for constructed action and speech, it follows that they would be the most numerous in this section, with constructed speech constituting about half of all of the surrogate blends. This correlates with the findings of Verstraete (2011) that constructed speech is most found in the main events, or complicating action section. Also, the third category of depicting verb blends, which describe movement, are the most used in this section out of the total number of depicting verb blends (17 out of 22), and 15 of those are used in the event line. In total, 116 lines out of 121 main event lines are

communicated utilizing a surrogate or depicting verb blend (96%). While this is quite a large percentage, so is the percentage of these blends in the evaluation lines (62%), as displayed in Table 7.

Table 7 Distribution of surrogate and depicting verb blends across information types in the complicating action category

	Event	Orientation	Evaluation
Surrogate	99	0	47
Depicting Verb	17	4	1
Total	116 (96%)	4 (11%)	48 (62%)
Total Lines	121	37	78

Comparing the blend density in the LSR complicating event sections to those found in Mulrooney’s main event section (2009: 137), LSR has a higher density of surrogate blends (63% to 43%), but a lower density of depicting verb blends (10% to 15%). However, the difference in the depicting verb blends is minimal, only 5%. The difference in the blend density could be attributed to the fact that most of the surrogate blends from the LSR came from one story, Narrator B’s driver’s license story, and that perhaps with a larger corpus of narratives, the percentage might be more similar to Mulrooney’s data. Another consideration is that Mulrooney included the climax, if there is one, in the complicating action section, which in the LSR data, is in a separate section. If the lines and blends in the complicating action and resolution categories were combined, this would affect the percentages and the comparison.

One other surprising fact is the number of new token blends that are found in the complicating action section, 23, which is the highest number out of all of the token blends throughout the entire narrative (30). As previously discussed, token blends introduce entities, which is the information goal of the orientation section. It would seem to follow that the highest

amount of token blends would be used in the orientation section. However, that is not the case. Due to the length of these narratives, it is plausible that as new participants, places, and ideas enter the narrative, new token blends are needed. Yet, looking at token blend density, the orientation section is still higher, at 20%, compared to 14% in the complicating action section. Thus there still is a preference for clustering of token blends in the orientation section. Mulrooney’s data has an even lower density of token blends in her main events section, only 6%, although it also has the highest absolute number of token blends at 32 (2009: 137).

Table 8 shows a comparison of the blend densities of all of the narrative structural categories discussed thus far.

Table 8 Comparison of types of blends in the abstract, orientation, and complicating action categories

	Surrogate	Depicting Verb	Token	Total Blends	Total Lines
Abstract	0	0	4 (12%)	4 (12%)	32
Orientation	3 (7%)	6 (13%)	9 (20%)	18 (39%)	46
Complicating Action	146 (63%)	22 (10%)	32 (14%)	200 (87%)	229

5.4 Resolution

The three large LSR narratives and Narrator C’s Episode 5 carry a clear resolution section, each of which occurs after a significant pause as described in detail previously in 4.3.1. In general, a resolution section contains information that explains what finally happened and how the complicating action is resolved. The resolution can seem counterintuitive based on the culture, or it could also include a denouement (a winding down of events). The LSR data reflects these types of information, but also includes the climax, unlike the Labovian resolution section.

Three out of the four resolution categories in the LSR texts end with pauses ranging from .207 to 1.682 seconds. Narrator B's driver's license narrative is the only narrative that does not have a pause separating it from the complicating action section, however, the type of information and lack of grammatical devices utilized in the complicating action section distinguish this chunk of lines as a resolution section.

5.4.1 Information and organization of the resolution

After the pauses that end the complicating action section as described above, Narrator A relates the final event in which his search for joy and happiness is resolved through conversion to Christianity. After this climax, there is a denouement, where events occur in his life as a new Christian, but without any major problem or lack that needs to be resolved. This resolution section is also interspersed with further evaluation and orientation information, usually occurring after the event that is described.

Narrator B's resolution section in his personal conversion narrative occurs after a series of lines and pauses which slow down the action and represent the passage of time. After this, he begins a scene where he also finds resolution to his initial problem of not understanding what the crosses in the graveyard mean. He includes an embedded narrative in this section, and also an embedded exhortation. The embedded narrative gives a brief account of the life and death of Jesus, and the exhortation is given to those watching the video to be careful about what will happen if they do not believe. There are also large sections of evaluative information, where he explains his own thoughts as to how he decided to convert. This resolution section does not have a denouement.

Narrator B's driver's license narrative also includes a section with multiple pauses and some repetition that create a break in the story. After this break, Narrator B communicates an event; however, the event itself does not bring resolution. In this event, the club meets again with the

government officials, but are still unable to secure the driver's licenses. This is different from the final resolving events in the other narratives that occur immediately after the break. Yet, after this event, the young narrator prays a much different prayer than what occurred before the break. Before the break, his prayer expresses frustration. After the final event the young narrator prays again, this time, with confidence asking God to help the club to win. After this prayer, he signs GOOD, then TIME.CONTINUING WIN. The following lines describe different activities that the Deaf had to perform to ultimately receive their driver's license, and they utilize verbs that typically occur in non-event lines and are in the imperfective aspect. While it may seem counterintuitive, this evidence supports an analysis that the resolution is the prayer and statement of winning instead of an active event, and the lines that follow constitute a denouement. Note that evaluative information is also interspersed in this section.

Narrator C's shorter episodes typically do not contain a resolution section, although there are short pauses and sentences that conclude the topic for that episode. For example, in the first episode where he tells how he became Deaf, he concludes by stating that they found a Deaf school for him, that he was there for seven years. However, Episode 5, which is also the episode where he finally receives his sign name as well as the last episode before his final epilogue and coda, does include a fairly clear resolution section, broken off from the rest of the story by some larger pauses (1.843, 1.233). In between these two pauses are clauses that mark the passage of time. After the 1.233 break, he includes some further orientation information as well as the final scene where the Deaf from the club give him his father's sign name. Lastly, he provides some evaluative information which relates how that happened and how he felt about it.

Narrator C also has a section of 26 lines at the end of the entire narrative, in which he gives some general information following the narrative episodes. It does not include a major event, thus I do not analyze it as a separate episode. There is also a preceding pause of .593 seconds, as

well as a slightly new topic, thus it does not seem to fit as the ending of the fifth episode. This also does not include a denouement, as he does not talk about events that occurred after the major climax. Instead, it seems to be summarizing material, making some statements on the different types of sign languages that he had encountered through his years growing-up. Hence, it seems to be best described as an instance of Brewer's category of epilogue, which has summaries and meta-comments as types of information included. A pause of 2.838 signals the end of this section and the beginning of the coda for the entire video narrative.

5.4.2 Grammatical devices in the resolution

In the resolution section, surrogate blend density is 45%, and 80% of those blends are found in the climactic event (46 out of 57). Just as the amount of action decreases after the climactic event, so does the number of surrogate blends used to communicate constructed action and speech. Also noticeable is the difference in the amount of blends between the climactic event and the denouements. Three narratives also a denouement, in which secondary events can happen. However, the denouements only use twelve blends total (one of which is a depicting verb blend, category 3), six in the event lines, and six in the evaluation lines. See Table 9 for the distribution of surrogate blends throughout the climax and denouements in relevance to the type of information line. Thus, while the climax still utilizes blends in the event lines, the denouements do so sparingly.

Table 9 Distribution of surrogate blend subtypes across information types in the resolution category

	Event	Evaluation/ Orientation	Total
Climax	39	7	46
Emotion	1	0	1
Constructed Action	10	6	16
Constructed Speech	28	1	29
Denouement	5	6	11
Emotion	2	3	5
Constructed Action	3	2	5
Constructed Speech	0	1	1
Totals	44	13	57

Regarding token blends, there are 13 new blends in this section, five of which occurred in the denouement, and three of those from Narrator A's story, in which he continues for 26 lines concerning the rest of his life after his conversion. Again this demonstrates that as the action decreases and fewer new participants and places are introduced, the number of new token blends also decreases.

5.4.3 Discussion

One of the interesting aspects of this analysis is the presence of constructed speech in the resolution, as Verstraete (2011) finds that it is only in the complicating action section that constructed speech is found. However, it could be because the LSR narrative divides the complicating action and resolution section differently. If, for example, the climax or final event were to be included in the complicating action section instead, then the constructed speech

patterns would be similar to Verstraete's data. However, the large breaks make it clear that in the LSR data the climax is indeed in a separate section from the complicating action category.

In comparison to ASL narratives as analyzed by Mulrooney, the LSR data is very different. Mulrooney's analysis of the ASL stories does not discuss a separate resolution section, but instead includes explication and reflection sections. In the LSR data, lines communicating these specific types of information are found, but only in clauses, not grouped together or separated by grammatical devices. Mulrooney's explication section contains information that expands upon a major event already told and or explains it (2009: 133). An example of an explanation in the LSR narratives occurs in sentences such as, "I was a year behind him (classmate) in school even though we were the same age because I became deaf later" (Narrator C, line 73-74). Reflection sections contain information on how the narrator felt about the events (2009:140). An example of a reflection statement in LSR narrative would be, "Wow, God blessed that" (Narrator A, line 72). Again, although this type of information is present, it is spread throughout the narrative and does not pattern after main events such as Mulrooney describes (2009: 129). Moreover, in the 12 ASL narratives that Mulrooney analyzes, she does not find large breaks to distinguish a resolution section from the rest of the narrative. However, the four LSR narratives do include breaks that provide natural boundaries for this section.

Also interesting to note is that Narrator C includes an epilogue section for his entire video. However, the other narratives are also told as one whole with one topic, whereas Narrator C shares short narrative episodes to create a long video addressing two topics, one being how he received his sign name, and the other to talk about his life growing-up. Perhaps it is this difference that leads to his including a section that ties the previous episodes together before he finishes the video.

In regards to grammatical devices, the blend density of the resolution category cannot be compared with Mulrooney's, since she does not include a resolution section. However, in comparison to the other structural narrative sections of LSR narratives, the blend density is lower in this section, just as the action is also slowing down in the event lines. A summary of the blend density from the abstract to the resolution section is seen in Table 10.

Table 10 Comparison of types of blends in the abstract, orientation, complicating action and resolution categories

	Surrogate	Depicting Verb	Token	Total Blends	Total Lines
Abstract	0	0	4 (12%)	4 (12%)	32
Orientation	3 (7%)	6 (13%)	9 (20%)	18 (39%)	46
Complicating Action	146 (63.31%)	22 (10%)	32 (14%)	200 (87%)	229
Resolution	57 (44%)	1 (<1%)	13 (10%)	71 (55%)	129

5.5 Coda

In this section, the narrator brings the audience back to the present and gives closing remarks that indicate the end of the narrative. All of the four LSR narratives include a coda, as well as four of the shorter episodes from Narrator C's video.

The videos end after the coda in the large narratives, but for Narrator C's narrative episodes, pause data confirms the end of one narrative and the beginning of another. In this sense, the pauses that end the codas in these shorter episodes range from .495 to .891 seconds.

5.5.1 Information and organization of the coda

Narrator A's coda section contains evaluative information and a conventionalized phrase that is typically used to close prayers: "In the name of Jesus". The evaluative information is a statement including a reflection on the narrator's life.

Narrator B's coda in his personal conversion story is the shortest, consisting of two lines which say, "Thank you for watching me. Bye." In his driver's license story, however, the coda is longer and includes further evaluative information, mainly reflecting on how he was able to succeed in getting his driver's license. He concludes the video by applauding himself as he walks off the screen.

Four of Narrator C's individual episodes have single or multiple lines that bring the audience back to the present, or at least to the scope of the overall story. For example, in Episode 1, he concludes at the end of arriving at the Deaf school, that he did not have a sign name. Also, in Episode 3, he gives evaluative information via reflection: VERY NAUGHTY, FINE, VERY NICE, MEMORY "We were very naughty, but it was fine. It was very nice. A good memory." Narrator C also includes a coda for his entire video, which occurs after a long pause of 2.838 seconds. Here he concludes that's what his life was like growing up. He also thanks those who gave him the challenge, states that he will not give the challenge to someone else, and wishes everyone a great day.

5.5.2 Grammatical devices in the coda

In these short sections, a total of 39 lines from all of the narratives together, no blends are used, except for referring back to three token blends previously introduced.

5.5.3 *Discussion*

The information and linguistic devices found in the coda sections of the LSR narratives match Mulrooney's (2009) findings of her conclusion sections in the ASL narratives in their purpose, as both bring the story to an end. She does not describe her codas, however, to include evaluative information, which some of the LSR ones do (12 lines or 30% out of all the coda lines). In one case, there is the use of a conventionalized phrase to end the narrative, similar to Brewer's (1984) findings. It is interesting to note, moreover, that two out of the four LSR videos end in a leave-taking phrase. This has not been mentioned in any previous literature and could be due to the nature of a video being posted online instead of a story being told in conversation or to an audience. In regards to linguistic devices, Mulrooney does not state if there are any in the conclusion. In the LSR data as well, the information is conveyed mainly via lexical signs without the use of new linguistic blends.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 Structural narrative categories in signed languages

One of the goals of my thesis is to discover the structural narrative categories found in LSR personal experience narratives. In regards to answering this question, this analysis has shown that all of the LSR narratives include an abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, and coda.

The second question is to compare these findings to the structural narrative categories documented in previous spoken and signed language studies. In regards to this question, I find that the LSR data followed the spoken language categories more closely than the categories proposed by Mulrooney (2009) for ASL. In order to compare them as a summary, please see the chart in Table 11. Most sections reflect similar information, but there are some noticeable differences.

Table 11 Comparison of Labov's (1972) model, Mulrooney's (2009), and LSR structural categories

	Labov's (1972) model (as expanded by Dooley & Levinsohn)	Mulrooney (2009)	LSR Narratives
Abstract	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - short summary of the story - communicates the point of the story - conventionalized phrases - a title - an initial expression 	<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - secure the floor - introduce topic, participants, setting - possible foreshadowing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - topic - personal introduction - greeting - justification for telling the story - foreshadowing evaluation
Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - person, place, time, the activity or situation (answers the questions of who/ what/ where/ when) - other circumstances 	<p>Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - aforementioned - topic - other critical information relevant to the story 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - setting (time and place) - participants - beginning circumstances - possible evaluation
Complicating Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - series of clauses describing events that may or may not lead up to the climax or result - further orientation phrases - evaluative phrases 	<p>Main Events</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pattern of events and elaboration - climax may be missing or at the beginning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - events that lead to a climax or resolution - further orientation information as needed - evaluative information throughout
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - may or may not be a separate section - contribute to communicating the point of the narrative - can be either external (direct comments from the narrator) or internal (attitudes, aspects) 	<p>Explication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - clarifies one of the events <p>Reflection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - narrator's perspective on the events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not normally a separate section, although multiple lines of evaluation can appear without breaks as boundaries - more likely found in separate lines (typically external) or simultaneously (typically internal) - while includes explication and reflection phrases, does not have separate sections
Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what finally happened - how is the complicating action resolved - can be a counterexample or non-typical ending - denouement 	(none)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - climax or final action - resolves the story, but may be in a non-typical fashion - denouement

<i>Table 11 cont'd</i>			
Coda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - returns the audience to the present time - conventionalized phrases - Epilogue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - meta-comments on the stories - explanations - morals - summaries - additional information about participants 	Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - concludes the story - conventionalized phrases - epilogue can be included - returns the audience to the present time - concluding evaluative phrases - leave-taking phrases

One important observation is that the LSR categories better reflect the Dooley and Levinsohn inclusive categories instead of Mulrooney's ASL categories. However, there is one difference between the LSR and Labovian categories: in LSR the climax occurs in the resolution instead of the complicating action category. A major difference from Mulrooney's data is that the LSR's complicating action section does not reflect a pattern of event plus elaboration, nor separate sections of explication and reflection.

Another significant difference is that the LSR categories contain some extra information that is not included in the spoken language categories in previous studies. Both the ASL and the LSR narratives include foreshadowing evaluation in the abstract. LSR also includes some extra information that seems to be relevant to the medium of communication, mainly YouTube and Facebook. This information includes personal introductions, greetings, and justification for telling the story in the abstract, and leave-taking phrases in the coda.

6.2 Grammatical devices of blends correlating with structural narrative categories

The third question that this analysis answers is: What are the linguistic devices in LSR that correlate to these narrative categories? The graph in Table 12 shows the major correlations between the six categories and the three types of blends discussed in the analysis. The

percentages in the graph represent the blend density, or the number of blends compared to the number of lines. This demonstrates which types of blends the LSR narrators prefer to convey information that was specific to each category.

Table 12 Comparison of types of blends in all structural categories

	Surrogate	Depicting Verb	Token	Total Blends	Total Lines
Abstract	0	0	4 (12%)	4 (12%)	32
Orientation	3 (7%)	6 (13%)	9 (20%)	18 (39%)	46
Complicating Action	146 (63.31%)	22 (10%)	32 (14%)	200 (87%)	229
Resolution	57 (44%)	1 (<1%)	13 (10%)	71 (55%)	129
Coda	0	0	0	0 (0%)	39
Totals	204	30	58	292	481

One important finding is that the category with the highest blend density is the complicating action category. This is also the section with the most action being communicated. Although it is somewhat difficult to compare Mulrooney’s structural narrative sections with the LSR structural narrative sections due to the informational differences, in the main event (complicating action) section Mulrooney also found more blends as compared to the introduction and background. She claims that using these blends brings the past events into the immediate environment and engages the audience further (2009:153-155), just as Schiffrin claims is the purpose of the use of the historical present tense (1981: 59). The correlation of the most action communicated and the highest number of blends in the complicating action section in LSR would further support this claim. This also follows for the resolution section, as it also contains some action information in the climax. The resolution section has the second highest number of blends, although most of these are surrogate blends. Also, in the resolution second the blends mainly occur in the event

lines, not the evaluation lines. This seems to highlight the climax, since in the complicating action section the blends are used in both the event and evaluation lines. The blend density of the event and evaluation lines in both the complicating action and resolution categories can be compared in Table 13:

Table 13 Distribution of combined surrogate and depicting verb blends across information types in the complicating action and resolution categories

	Event lines	Evaluation Lines
Complicating Action	96% (116 out of 121)	61% (48 out of 78)
Resolution	65% (45 out of 69)	26% (13 out of 50)

Also confirming the above claims by Mulroony and Schiffrin is the finding that narrative categories that do not contain event information, such as the abstract, orientation, and coda, utilize the lowest number of blends. Moreover, the blends that are used are ones that mainly communicate non-action information. For example, the orientation category utilizes mainly token blends to introduce new entities and depicting verb category 2 blends to describe physical attributes.

6.3 Areas for further research

The fact that the LSR narrative structure more closely fit the patterns previously noted for spoken languages instead of the ones in ASL provides an interesting backdrop for further research into other sign languages. While signed languages would be expected to pattern more closely to each other than spoken languages, this data suggests a different pattern. However, this LSR data only includes four narratives, and one of those is unique in including shorter narrative episodes. Further research on a larger corpus of data is important in determining the true overall

current pattern of LSR narratives as well as the blend densities. Of course, similar work is also needed in other sign languages to see if they are more like ASL or LSR.

Further research on the different methods of introducing token blends could also be relevant to structural narratology. Instead of simply counting when the token blends are introduced, it could be that the manner in which they are introduced correlates more to certain categories. Although I did not research this carefully, it could be that using a deictic to introduce a token blend correlates more with the orientation category than the complicating action category. Furthermore, the use of this type of blend could also distinguish major versus secondary participants, and in which categories those tend to be introduced.

Lastly, another area for future research concerns differences between a personal experience narrative that is based on emotional progression instead of typical physical events. This was one of the difficulties I encountered in determining if a clause was actually event or evaluation information. Further research on other types of emotional progression personal experience narratives bring insight on whether there are any patterns that differ between texts with typical physical events and texts with emotional events.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

CAR	A single uppercase English word is equal to a single LSR sign.
PICK.FRUIT	Uppercase English words connected by periods also represent a single sign.
V-A-L-I	Uppercase letters separated by hyphens indicate fingerspelling.
1SG	First person singular deictic (pointing to signer's chest)
R	Right area signing space
L	Left area signing space
C	Center area signing space
IX	Any deictic, usually accompanied by a spatial referent letter such R or L to indicate where in signing space the deictic is referring.
POSS	Possessive, typically accompanied by a participant reference and a spatial referent letter. For example, 3SG.POSS-R refers to a third person singular referent in the right spatial area.
R-COME-C	Letters connected to a word via hyphens indicate the directionality of a sign. The first letter indicates where the sign started, and the last letter indicates where the sign ends.
DRIVE+++	The symbol + means that the sign has been repeated.
ACCEPT-{heart}	If the end of a directional sign correlates with a certain part of the body, then that body part is listed in brackets {}.
DV2:	Depicting verb category 2; what follows the colon is the description of the sign.
DV3:	Depicting verb category 3; what follows the colon is the description of the sign.
S:	Surrogate; what follows the colon is the description of the gesture.
<u>Eg:R</u> PLAN	Non-manual morphemes, particularly those that occur on the face, are annotated above the co-occurring sign, and underlined. The appropriate abbreviation indicates the facial feature, followed by a colon and a spatial referent letter to indicate location or movement. Here, Eg refers to eye-gaze.

<u>Hd:R</u>	Head direction
<u>Bd:R</u>	Body direction
<u>Mm:</u>	Mouth morpheme
<u>Mm:BR</u>	BR represents vibrating lips.
<u>Eg:DR</u>	D stands for Down (L is already used for Left, so Lower is not an option) so in this example, it would be the signing space in the lower right.
<u>Eg:UR</u>	U stands for Upper. In this example, it would be the signing space in the upper right.
<u>Exp:upset</u>	Fxp represents facial expression. When the non-manual morphemes do not indicate syntactic information but emotional information, that is indicated with this abbreviation followed by the emotion they are conveying.
<u>WHQ</u>	This represents the non-manual morpheme that includes the eyebrows and mouth to express a word-question, such as who, what, where, why, when, or how.

APPENDIX B

VIDEO AND NARRATOR METADATA AND SUMMARIES

Narrator	City	Narrative Title	Length	Date of posting	URL for original video
A: Laci Bortos	Oradea	Personal Conversion	3.20	Jan 9, 2017	http://youtu.be/VC2R8Ji38IY\
B: Bai Bola	Oradea	Personal Conversion	3.42	Jan 9, 2017	http://youtu.be/ A kfyMNN7E\
		Driver's License	4.44	Jan 9, 2017	http://youtu.be/CKVc5jnB5D4\
C: Ianoși	Satu Mare	Life Growing Up	6.51	July 5, 2016	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008738013850&hc_ref=OTHER&fref=nf&pnref=story

URL for ELAN files:

(Annotations containing an English gloss, literal translation, and free translation for each video)

<https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/70623>

Summaries:

1. Narrator A Personal Conversion

Narrator A starts his narrative by sharing how when he was growing up his family was Catholic and no one told him much about God. When he was 12 years old, his mother passed away, and it broke his heart. He suffered because of this, and tried to search for answers and happiness but could not find any. When he was 18, he left Romania, which at that time was communist, because he thought being in another country would bring him happiness and joy. However, it did not. He came back to Romania, and at that time a missionary had arrived and began evangelizing. The narrator finally found happiness and satisfaction in accepting Jesus into his heart. Afterwards, he shared about his newfound faith with others, and began helping in the church.

He got married and had two kids. He went to Hungary for 5 years to work with DOOR. He returned to Romania to settle here with his family. He closes with evaluative thankful comments.

2. Narrator B Personal Conversion

Narrator B shares how he grew up in a small village in a hilly area, and he heard the bells of the a procession leading up to a large cross at the top of one hill. He had no idea what that meant or what the crosses in the graveyards meant. He discusses how he grew up, went through schooling, got married, had children, and what it was like during the communist times. He specifically points out that there was no information about Jesus being shared with the Deaf. After communism went away, he says that missionaries came, and while he was watching them, he found out that the cross was for the forgiveness of sins, and after continuing to ask about them, he found out about Jesus's life and death, which he relates in an embedded narrative. After this he says that he finally understands, and accepted Jesus into his heart. He then gives an exhortation to those watching the video to find out information about Jesus by asking Deaf Christians. He finishes with some evaluative phrases on the importance of becoming a Christian.

3. Narrator B Driver's License

Narrator B shares how he worked hard to have the skills to be able to receive his driver's license with the help of the Deaf club, but that regardless of his efforts, the doctor would not approve him to drive because he could not hear. The narrator tells this to the club and together they have an official meeting with their own equivalent of the DMV (Department of Motor Vehicles), where the narrator explains how he would handle not being able to hear a police car or an ambulance. The DMV then approves, and he receives his driver's license. He has it for about 12 years until suddenly the police come to his door and take it away on the grounds of new rules prohibiting Deaf driving. The narrator again goes to the club and together they have another meeting with the DMV, however, this one was unsuccessful in getting the driver's license back. The narrator is broken hearted and prays a prayer expressing his frustration. After 7 months, more Deaf people have their driver's license taken away, and again the club meetings with the DMV to ask why this was

happening. After a long discussion again no solution was found. However, the narrator prays again a prayer asking for supernatural help, and after this pray he states that they won. He relates how this meant that he and other Deaf could now be tested for their actual hearing, and those who were roughly hard-of-hearing were able to receive their driver's licenses back. He closes with evaluative comments and a thankful prayer.

4. Narrator C Life Growing Up

Narrator C begins his video by stating that he had received a challenge, and that he would go ahead and respond to this, which is to tell of his life growing up. He gives some further information about how he had received this challenge, and then goes into his first narrative episode.

His first episode describes how when he was about 4 years old, he was sick and had pain in his ears, but that he actually did not lose his hearing until a little later. He had to switch schools to start going to a Deaf school instead of the hearing school. He finishes this episode by stating that he did not have a sign name.

After some non-narrative comments, he begins his second episode, in which he describes how he received his first sign name. He gives a lot of background about a friend of his, and then states that it was this friend who teased him and called Narrator C by his father's name, but adding the sign POTATOES to it.

He then begins his third episode, in which he talks about how he and his classmates were naughty when they played soccer. He describes how they would purposely kick the ball over a guarding wall so that they would have an excuse to go into the property of the Reformed Church to pick fruit from the trees. Even though he was the only one who had the courage to go to the priest and ask for permission to enter,

the other Deaf found a way to climb up over the wall so that they could get the fruit and the ball. He ends this episode with some evaluative comments.

The fourth episode is about learning new signs. He states that after their equivalent of elementary and middle school he went to technical school, which had a much different style of signing. He had to learn quite a few new signs, and gives an example with the sign PO! He states how he learned this actually meant WHAT.HAPPENED. He relates that there were many new signs like this he had to learn. After a few more non-narrative comments, he begins his final episode.

In the fifth and final episode Narrator C receives multiple temporary sign names until he arrives at his final one. One of the beginning sign names was due to his hair style, which had large bangs. Another sign name was based off of his abilities to dance. A fourth sign name came from his favorite sport, karate. He then relates how none of the Deaf individuals or groups who gave him these sign names could agree all together on one final sign name. These sign names were all given to him at his technical school. After he graduated, he began going to the Deaf club. There, people knew his father, and so began using his father's sign name in order to refer to him as well. That sign name stuck. Narrator C gives some evaluative comments about this final sign name, and then ends the episode by saying that even when his father passed away, his still kept the sign name.

After this he then gives an epilogue where he explains the three different types of signing that he was exposed to, and how new signs keep on appearing and changing the language. He closes with stating that he was happy to receive this challenge, but that he will not be giving it to anyone else, and wishes everyone a good day.