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**POINT OF VIEW IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: A
COMPARISON OF BRITISH SIGN LANGUAGE AND
SPOKEN ENGLISH**

HELEN EARIS

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

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I, Helen Earis, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed.....

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ABSTRACT

Expressing the point of view of a character and marking changes in point of view (POV) are key aspects of narrative discourse. The concept of POV has been discussed in the literature in various contexts, including deixis, logophoricity and subjectivity. A variety of linguistic and non-linguistic devices are used to indicate a particular POV, including nominal and pronominal reference, and facial expressions and intonation. Spoken languages can mark changes in POV using strategies such as direct and indirect discourse, the former coupled with optional paralinguistic cues such as intonation, whereas signed languages can mark changes in POV in a unique way using referential shift. Referential shift is a common device in sign language narrative discourse, where the signer 'becomes' a referent by taking on one or more attributes of that referent, such as facial expression and/or body position (Loew, 1984). Within a referential shift construction, verbs and pronouns which are marked for first person refer to the referent being portrayed rather than the signer.

This study examines how point of view is marked in three fables, each told by native users of British Sign Language (BSL) and native speakers of English, and explores how the strategies used by signers and speakers can be explained by theories of conceptual spaces, such as that suggested by Liddell (2003a) for signed languages and Ehlich (1979, 1985) for spoken languages.

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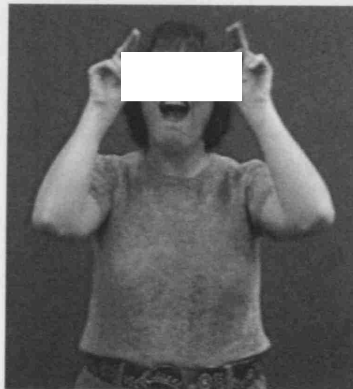
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GLOSSING CONVENTIONS FOR BSL

Although various notation systems have been devised for representing signs in written form, such as SignWriting and HamNoSys, there is currently no widely used system for notating signs on paper. Instead, 'glossing' is often used, where the meaning of a sign is written using a word or words from a spoken language. In the following chapters, examples from BSL will be glossed using English words, word for sign, where necessary. It is important to note that glossing should not be confused with translation. A translation is where the meaning of the signs is translated into grammatical English, whereas glossing provides the literal meaning of each individual sign in the order in which it is produced. Translations will also be provided with examples where appropriate.

According to convention, glosses are written here in capital letters. Where more than one word is needed to convey the meaning of a BSL sign, these are joined by hyphens. An example of a gloss is shown in Figure 1.1. The meaning of this sign is glossed using the English word 'hare'.



HARE

Figure 1.1: Example of glossing a BSL sign

Figure 1.2 shows an example of glossing where more than one English word is needed to convey the meaning of the BSL sign.



SOME-DISTANCE-AWAY

Figure 1.2: Example of glossing a BSL sign with more than one English word

The only exception to this rule of providing the literal meaning of a sign in English is pronouns, which are not glossed as I or YOU etc., but as either PRO-1st (for first person pronouns) and PRO-non1st (for non-first person pronouns).

Finally, in the data discussed in this thesis, there are some stretches of signed discourse used in the examples that cannot be notated using English word equivalents. These include sections where the signer mimics an action of a character. These are notated using (g-) (for gesture), sometimes followed by the ‘meaning’ of the gesture in quotation marks, e.g. (g-) “well”.¹ An example is shown in Figure 1.3 below.



(g-) “disbelief”

Figure 1.3: Notating depictions of character actions with no English word equivalent

¹ This notation is taken from transcription conventions devised by Nonhebel, Crasborn and van der Kooij (2004) for the ECHO corpus and used by Woll, Sutton-Spence and Waters (2004) in notating the BSL data for this corpus. It should be noted that providing the ‘meaning’ of a ‘gesture’ in this way is not as straightforward as it may seem; it can be difficult to provide an exact equivalent.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Narratives are a pervasive feature of human interaction and involve the representation of real or fictional events communicated from one or more perspectives, or points of view (Prince, 2003; Toolan 2001). The majority of the literature on narrative discourse focuses on spoken language narrative discourse, both written and spoken, but narratives are also an important part of signed languages.² However, there is comparatively little research on narrative discourse in signed languages, and the majority of the existing literature focuses on specific aspects, such as the use of eye gaze (e.g. Metzger, 1998), or the development of narrative discourse in deaf children (e.g. Rathmann, Mann & Morgan, 2007). Furthermore, although research has been undertaken on cross-modal similarities and differences between spoken and signed language narrative discourse (e.g. Rayman, 1999), there is little further research, particularly in regard to the way in which point of view is marked.

Expressing the point of view from which a story is being told and marking changes in point of view are key elements of narrative discourse in both spoken and signed languages. Spoken languages can mark changes in point of view using strategies such as direct and indirect reported speech (Coulmas, 1986), coupled with optional non-verbal and paralinguistic cues, such as gesture (McNeill, 1992) and intonation (Schleef, 2003; Wennerstrom, 2001). It has also been suggested that spoken languages have a third type of reported speech used primarily in literary narratives and known variously as *verschleierte Rede* ('veiled speech'), free indirect style and represented speech; utterances of this type are phrased from the point of view of the

² The term 'signed language' refers to the natural signed languages used by the deaf communities in their respective countries, rather than artificially constructed sign systems such as the Paget-Gorman Sign System (PGSS) or Sign Supported English (SSE) which are primarily used in education to assist deaf children in learning English. Originally regarded as little more than idiosyncratic forms of gesture, scholarly interest in signed languages has grown rapidly in recent years (e.g. Emmorey, 2002; Johnston & Schembri, 2007). Natural signed languages, such as British Sign Language (BSL), are languages in their own right and distinct from the spoken languages that surround them. Furthermore, in countries where the spoken language of the surrounding community is the same, such as English in the United Kingdom and the USA, the sign languages used in those communities are distinct from each other: British Sign Language (BSL) is used in the United Kingdom and American Sign Language (ASL) in the USA.

narrator, but the content reflects the character's speech, thought or perception (Coulmas, 1986).

In signed languages, it is claimed that changes in point of view can be marked using referential shift, also known as role shift, role play, shifting reference and constructed action/constructed dialogue (e.g. Emmorey & Reilly, 1995; Lillo-Martin, 1995; Loew, 1984).³ Referential shift is a common device in sign language narrative discourse, where the signer 'becomes' a referent by taking on one or more attributes of that referent, such as facial expression and/or body position (Loew, 1984). Within a referential shift construction, verbs and pronouns which are marked for first person refer to the referent being portrayed rather than the signer. Referential shift is most commonly marked by changes in non-manual features such as eye gaze or body position (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993). Of all the linguistic devices that convey a change in point of view in spoken languages, direct discourse appears to be the most similar to referential shift (Poulin & Miller, 1995). However, some suggest that different types of referential shift can be used in different linguistic situations. Engberg-Pedersen (1993), for example, suggests that referential shift can be used not only to represent the dialogue of a referent other than the speaker, but also to achieve an effect similar to that of represented speech and thought in spoken languages, e.g. using a combination of a shift in body position and the use of facial expressions.

Referential shift essentially entails a shift in the deictic centre (the I-here-now) from the signer to the referent being portrayed using referential shift. In sign linguistics, such shifts in the deictic centre are typically considered in terms of what happens to the signer and how referential shift is achieved. However, in spoken language narrative theory, a number of researchers consider a shift in the deictic centre to be a mutual process between speaker and addressee. It has been suggested that the deictic centre of both speaker and addressee can shift from that of the

³ In this thesis, the terms referential shift and constructed action/dialogue will be used to refer to this device. Referential shift is used for general descriptions of the device, as in this chapter, but in some cases it will be necessary to distinguish between constructed action and constructed dialogue (see also Chapter 2, section 2.5 for an explanation of these terms), particularly when comparing BSL to spoken English. Constructed action and constructed dialogue are thus also used to refer to comparative devices in spoken English in this thesis.

speaker and addressee's presence in the 'real' world to that of a character in a narrative, enabling different points of view to be understood (Ehlich, 1979; Segal, 1995). The concept of deixis is central to the notion of point of view. Deictic utterances, such as *I*, *you* or *there* cannot be fully understood without knowing the context of utterance. The three deictic words *I*, *here* and *now* are the primary markers of what is referred to as the 'deictic centre' or 'origo' (Bühler, 1934; Fillmore, 1971; Ehlich, 1979). Perhaps the most obvious way in which the deictic centre can be shifted in narrative discourse is in direct discourse where pronouns may refer not to the actual physical speaker of the utterance but to another person.

Ehlich (1979) suggests that such shifts in spoken languages are underpinned by the use of conceptual spaces, and that both speaker and addressee must occupy the same conceptual space in order for a stretch of discourse to be understood and communicated successfully. These conceptual spaces include the actual physical space surrounding the interlocutors, known as situative space (*Sprechzeitraum*) and imaginary space (*Vorstellungsraum*) used in narrative discourse. This is an interesting parallel to signed languages, where Liddell (2003a) (following Fauconnier, 1985, 1997) has also used the notion of conceptual spaces to explain the use of referential shift, particularly the way in which certain signs can be directed towards absent or present referents within space. Liddell (2003a) suggests that signers can make use of different types of space, including real and surrogate space. Real space is the physical space surrounding the signer and surrogates are life-sized conceptualisations of a referent, e.g. a particular character within an imaginary space surrounding the signer (surrogate space). Signers can address surrogates in the same way they would sign to a present referent, and signers themselves can also become a surrogate. Real space can also form a 'blend' with other spaces, including surrogate space, in which elements from various spaces merge together to form a blended space. Liddell (2003a) suggests that pronouns and other signs can be used within a blended space in the way they would normally be used in real space.

1.2. Research questions and hypotheses

This thesis aims to address two main research questions arising from the literature on narratives in both signed and spoken languages. Firstly, it aims to examine the strategies used in British Sign Language (BSL) and spoken English to mark point of view in narrative discourse, and to examine the similarities and differences between these two languages. Secondly, it will explore how such strategies can be explained using the theories of conceptual spaces suggested for both spoken and signed languages, specifically those postulated by Ehlich (1979) and Liddell (2003a).

Two main hypotheses will be tested in this thesis. Firstly, as the few previous studies narrative discourse in signed and spoken languages have found that signers tend to tell stories from a first person perspective, but speakers prefer a third person's (narrator) perspective (e.g. Marentette & Nicoladis, 2008; Rayman, 1999), it is hypothesised that this will also occur in the BSL and spoken English data examined in this thesis. The use of referential shift (body position, facial expression and the use of eye gaze) to depict characters is well documented for signed languages (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993). However, Rayman (1999) and Marentette and Nicoladis (2008) suggest that although spoken language users can draw on gestural resources and facial expressions to achieve similar effects, they rarely do so. The second hypothesis for this thesis is thus that the spoken English users will use little gesture or facial expressions to depict characters.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis and an overview of the research questions to be explored in this thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature on point of view in spoken and signed languages, starting with an overview of reference in both modalities. The chapter then moves on to the theoretical analyses of reference and point of view in spoken and signed languages. More specifically, the concept of deixis and its links to theories of conceptual spaces is explored in both modalities. Reference and point of view in spoken language narrative discourse is then discussed, particularly direct and

indirect discourse, represented speech and deictic shift. Other markers of point of view in spoken language narrative discourse are also discussed, including co-speech gesture, vocal prosodic elements and verbs of psychological state. This is followed by a section on reference and point of view in signed language narrative discourse, which explores the phenomenon of referential shift in more detail.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology for this thesis, including data collection methods and coding of the data. The chapter begins with an overview of the European Cultural Heritage Online (ECHO) corpus for signed language, which provided the BSL narrative data used in this thesis (see <http://www.let.kun.nl/sign-lang/echo/index.html>). An explanation of the data collection methods employed by Woll et al. (2004) in collecting the narratives that formed part of the BSL data for the ECHO corpus is given. Data collection methods for the spoken English data collected specifically for this thesis are then outlined, followed by an overview of the computer programme used for annotating both the spoken English and BSL data. The annotation of the BSL data by Woll et al. (2004) and some observations about the coding and perceived limitations of this coding procedure are then outlined in detail. Some observations and possible difficulties concerning the coding of the spoken English data collected for this thesis are then discussed. Observations concerning both the BSL and spoken English data are then examined, before a detailed overview of the coding procedure for the spoken English data is given.

Chapter 4 discusses in detail the results obtained for both spoken English and BSL from one story, 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. An overview of the discourse structure of each interpretation of this story into BSL and spoken English is given using flow charts. Point of view across all the narratives is then discussed, including the types of point of view used by each storyteller (e.g. narrator, character) and the amount of time spent telling the story from each point of view. The elements used to express each particular point of view are then discussed, such as reference to characters using nouns and pronouns, as well as the use of eye gaze and other elements such as facial expression and head and body movements. The use and frequency of lexical items denoting mental state and communication (e.g. psych verbs) are then

outlined, followed by an analysis of the use of co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic elements in the spoken English narratives.

Chapter 5 compares the findings for ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ in Chapter 4 with two further stories, ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ and ‘The Dog and the Bone’. This chapter follows a similar structure to Chapter 4 and compares point of view across all narratives of all three stories first of all, followed by a comparison of reference to characters using nouns and pronouns. Eye gaze across all three stories is then compared, followed by a comparison of lexical items to denote mental state and communication. Comparison of elements that occur only in spoken English, i.e. co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic elements, are then analysed.

Chapter 6 returns to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 and applies them to the results obtained in Chapters 4 and 5. A summary and discussion of the strategies used to mark point of view in both the BSL and spoken English data are given first of all, and these put into the context of previous studies of narrative discourse and point of view outlined in Chapter 2. This is followed by a discussion of the data in terms of the theories of conceptual spaces related to point of view proposed by Liddell (2003a) for signed languages and Ehlich (1979) for spoken languages. This chapter then compares the theories of conceptual spaces for both spoken and signed languages and examines whether it is possible to have one theory of conceptual spaces for both modalities.

Chapter 7 discusses some methodological concerns and perceived limitations of the data and its analysis before overall conclusions are drawn and directions for future research explored.

Appendix 1 gives the original text of the Aesop’s fables used in this thesis and **Appendix 2** gives the shortened summaries of these fables that were provided to both the BSL and spoken English participants. **Appendix 3** displays all the flow charts showing the discourse structure of each narrative of each story. **Appendix 4** provides the tables showing time spent by each participant telling the story from each particular point of view (role) in each of their narratives.

1.4. Summary

This chapter gives an overall outline of the research questions and structure of the thesis. The following chapters will discuss the methodology, data and research questions in detail, starting with an overview of the current literature on point of view and narrative discourse in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2 - POINT OF VIEW IN SPOKEN AND SIGNED LANGUAGES

2.1. Introduction to reference and point of view

Point of view is the perspective from which an utterance or stretch of discourse is told. Everyday discourse is normally uttered from the speaker or signer's perspective, but there are occasions when a speaker or signer may wish to express an utterance from a different point of view. In narrative discourse, the portrayal of another's point of view is a frequent occurrence and can be a key way of ensuring story cohesion (e.g. Herman, Jahn and Ryan 2005; Simpson, 1993).

The literature on point of view describes a number of different strategies for marking point of view in both spoken and signed languages, including deictic expressions. Deixis is the name given to those expressions whose meaning is derived from the context of utterance, such as the spoken English pronouns *I* and *you*, or the indexic (pointing) signs which function as pronouns in signed languages (Lyons, 1977; Meier, 1990). Unlike other (symbolic) words, such as *book* or *table*, deictic expressions cannot be understood unless the context of utterance is known. Other strategies linked with the marking of point of view include non-verbal and paralinguistic cues in spoken languages, and the use of so-called referential shift in signed languages. Referential shift is where the signer imitates a referent, i.e. tells a section of discourse as if they were that referent, or takes on the characteristics of a referent. It is often signalled by a change in eye gaze or body position (Engberg-Pedersen, 1993; Loew, 1984).

This chapter gives an overview of the literature concerning point of view in both spoken and signed languages. Initially the primary ways in which speakers and signers refer to themselves and other discourse participants will be discussed, followed by a detailed discussion of the main theories of reference and point of view in both modalities. Finally, narrative discourse is discussed in relation to reference and point of view.

2.2. Reference in spoken languages

The way in which interlocutors refer to entities to denote specific points of view in spoken language discourse varies from language to language (Fasold and Connor-Linton, 2006). Referents can be identified using nouns and pronouns and these can be, but are not always, marked for the grammatical categories of person, number and gender. English has a three-way person distinction between speaker (e.g. *I*), addressee (e.g. *you*) and a third person category (e.g. *he, she, it*), and a two-way number distinction of singular (one entity) and plural (more than one entity). English pronouns can mark for person, number, case (nominative, accusative, possessive, reflexive, etc.) and gender in the third person singular form.⁴ Table 2.1 shows the basic personal pronouns in the nominative and accusative cases.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Subjective	Objective	Subjective	Objective
1 st	I	me	we	us
2 nd	you	you	you	you
3 rd	he/she/it	him/her/it	they	them

Table 2.1: English personal pronouns in nominative and accusative cases

Pronouns in English are frequently used in discourse unlike other languages such as Japanese, where pronouns exist but are rarely used (e.g. Clancy & Slobin, 1986). Japanese verbs also do not inflect for person. Instead, entities to which a speaker refers are generally inferred from the context of utterance. In other languages, particularly those with a rich system of inflection, pronouns can be omitted completely; in Spanish, for example, it is possible to identify some characteristics of the referent from the form of the verb alone, such as person or gender. The conjugation of the verb *pregunter* (to ask) in the present tense is shown below; the verbal endings match the subject of the sentence:

(yo) pregunto

I ask

(tú) preguntas

you ask

⁴ This is the only lexical category in which case marking is present in modern English. Other languages have a much richer nominal case system, such as German or Finnish.

<i>(él/ella) pregunta</i>	<i>he/she asks</i>
<i>(nosotros, -as) preguntamos</i>	<i>we ask</i>
<i>(vosotros, -as) preguntáis</i>	<i>you ask</i>
<i>(ellos/ella) preguntan</i>	<i>they ask</i>

Example 2a: Conjugation of the verb *preguntar* (to ask)

English, on the other hand, is to be considered a weakly inflecting language. Although an English verb must agree in person and number with its subject, verbal inflection in English is generally limited to the third person singular, as the conjugation of the English verb *to ask* above shows.⁵

Nouns in English, both common and proper, can also be used to refer to specific referents. Common nouns often occur with determiners but the type of determiner used depends on whether the noun is a count or mass noun. A singular count noun must have a determiner. Determiners can be definite or indefinite articles (e.g. *the books, a book*), as well as quantifiers and numerals. Nouns in English mark for (plural) number by adding the suffix *-s* or *-es* to the noun e.g. *books*. Mass nouns, on the other hand, such as *water* and *laughter* cannot combine with the indefinite article, numerals or quantifiers.

2.3. Reference in signed languages

In this section, reference in signed languages will be discussed. A considerable number of different signed languages have been identified around the world and research has shown that while these do differ, minimal differences have been identified in the pronominal systems of the signed languages studied to date (McBurney, 2002). For this reason, this section covers reference not only in BSL but also in other signed languages.

In sign languages, referents can also be identified using pronouns, nouns and some verbs. Pronouns are signs that point to the entity being described; in general,

⁵ Languages also vary in the way they mark number; while English makes a two-way distinction, other languages distinguish dual and trial forms, such as Slovenian which has a distinct dual form (Fasold & Connor-Linton, 2006). The word classes which can be marked for number also vary from language to language.

singular pronouns consist of an extended index finger with the other fingers closed, like pointing gestures employed by non-signers. For example, to refer to himself, the signer will point to himself, to refer to the addressee, the signer will point in the direction of the person concerned. To signal a non-addressed person, a signer will point to the location of the referent if he/she is present. If the referent is not present, the signer will set up a location within the signing space for that referent which may be either motivated in some way (e.g. pointing to a chair where the referent sat) or it may be arbitrary. This location will then be associated with that person (or entity) for the remainder of the discourse or until the signer explicitly changes the association. Signers can then point to that location to refer back to that person or object at any point during the discourse. This ‘pointing’ to a referent or object is a process usually referred to as the literal ‘indexing’ of referents and signs which point in this way are referred to as indexic signs (Cormier, 2002; Friedman, 1975).⁶

Indexic signs include, but are not limited to, singular pronouns. Plural pronouns can also be indexic in nature. In BSL, for example, there is a dual pronoun and a set of number-incorporated pronouns which index the locations of the respective number of referents. The dual pronoun TWO-OF-US consists of a handshape with the index and middle finger extended,⁷ whereas the number-incorporated pronouns involve replacing the index handshape with a numeral handshape, e.g. the handshapes used for the numerals 3, 4 or 5, changing the orientation of the palm (down to up) and adding a small circular movement (McBurney, 2002). The dual pronoun indexes the location of two referents, whereas the number-incorporated pronouns index a general location for the respective group of referents (Cormier, 2002).⁸

Indexic signs can also occur in noun phrases. In signed languages such as ASL and BSL, a noun phrase can consist of either a lexical noun alone, e.g. SCHOOL, BOY, etc., or a lexical noun plus an indexic sign (Valli and Lucas, 2000). The signer

⁶ It is important to note that ‘index’ in this sense is not the same as the ‘index’ referred to in Peircean analyses of semiotic systems (e.g. Peirce, 1931-58) but rather literal pointing.

⁷ At the phonological level, individual signs are composed of a particular handshape, movement, location and orientation; these are the four primary parameters of a sign, but there can be others. Changes in these phonemic elements may occur during the articulation of a sign; an individual sign can, for example, remain in one location or it may involve movement from one location in the signing space to another.

⁸ There has been some debate on whether signed languages have a three person pronominal system as found in spoken languages. See section 2.4.2 for further discussion.

points to a location in the signing space before or after the noun; as with a pronoun, this location then becomes associated with that particular entity and remains so until the end of the discourse or until the signer explicitly changes the association. Such indexic signs function as determiners and can help to maintain reference to a specific entity throughout the discourse. In noun phrases (NPs) containing determiners, there may be just one determiner that occurs before or after the noun, or sometimes two determiners are used, one before and one after the noun (Neidle, Kegl, MacLaughlin, Bahan & Lee, 2000).

Verbs can be directed towards these locations indexed for referents and thus may show agreement for person, but not all verbs can be modified in this way. Padden (1988) argues for a three-way typological distinction of verbs in signed languages depending on how they use space: plain, agreeing and spatial.⁹ In signed languages such as BSL and ASL, plain verbs are often, but not always, made using a location on the body (body-anchored) and do not agree with subject or object, e.g. THINK-ABOUT or UNDERSTAND (see Figure 2.1 for an example of THINK-ABOUT).¹⁰ Instead, any information about person and number must be marked separately with these verbs, e.g. by using pronouns. Plain verbs can, however, be modified for aspect, manner and intensification (Johnston & Schembri, 2007).

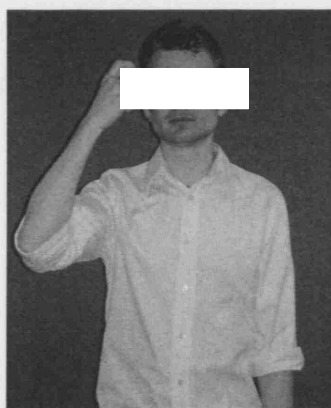


Figure 2.1: Example of the plain verb THINK-ABOUT

⁹ There is some debate in the literature about how to classify verbs in signed languages, and whether a clear distinction can be made between spatial and agreeing verbs in particular (e.g. Johnston & Schembri, 2007; Liddell, 2003a). This will be discussed further in section 2.4.2.

¹⁰ Neidle et al. (2000) argue that non-manual agreement (using eye gaze) can occur with plain verbs. They suggest that eye gaze in both plain and agreeing verbs can be directed towards locations associated with referents. However, evidence from Thompson, Emmorey and Kluender's (2006) eye-tracking study disputes this, suggesting that eye gaze in plain verbs is not directed towards locations associated with referents (see also section 2.4.2).

In contrast, both spatial and agreeing verbs can be directed from one point in the signing space to another. Spatial verbs allow the signer to represent real-world locative relationships, e.g. the representation of a book being put on a shelf as shown in Figure 2.2. Spatial verbs cannot be modified to show person, but they can be modified to show manner and aspect.

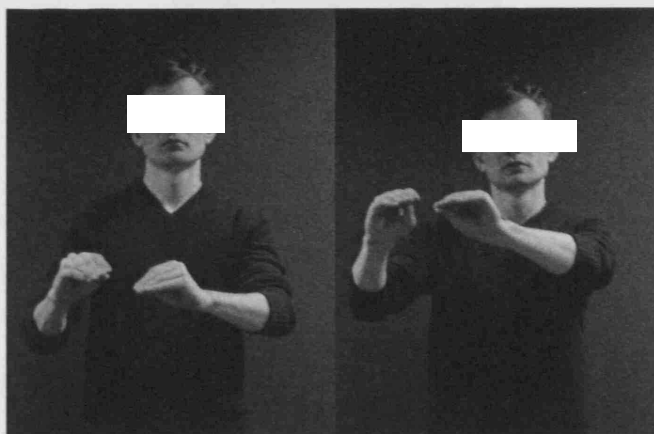


Figure 2.2: Example of a spatial verb

Another way in which referents can be depicted in the signing space is through a subset of spatial verbs known as classifier constructions.^{11,12} Signers give the lexical noun sign for a referent first, e.g. HARE, MAN and may then use a classifier construction to depict the location or movement of that referent within the signing space. An example of a classifier construction is shown in Figure 2.3; this shows the flat handshape that can be used to depict a car.

¹¹ There is some debate about the nomenclature and the phonological, morphological and syntactic components which make up these type of signs. Variously known as classifiers, classifier signs, classifier predicates, spatial-locative predicates, polycomponential signs, polymorphemic verbs of motion and location and depicting verbs (cf. Schembri, 2003), some consider these signs to consist of discrete morphemes, whereas others suggest that they contain gestural elements. See section 2.4.2 for further discussion of the gestural argument.

¹² Although the term 'classifier' is also used for spoken languages, what is referred to here are the constructions used in signed languages to denote movement of a referent or locative relationships between referents.

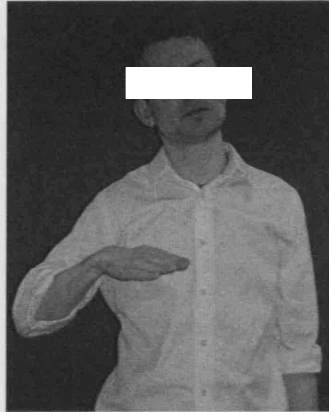


Figure 2.3: Example of a classifier construction

Various types of classifier handshapes have been posited, including entity, handling and size and shape specifiers (e.g. Johnston & Schembri, 2007). Entity handshapes often resemble the shape of the object being depicted, e.g. the vehicle handshape shown in Figure 2.3. Handling classifiers show how an object is handled, e.g. holding a bag, or turning a key, and size and shape specifiers (SASS) outline an object's size or shape.

Agreeing verbs, also known as indicating verbs (Liddell, 2003a), are marked for person, and can also be marked for number. In the case of these verbs, the starting point of the sign marks the subject, and the end point the object, as shown in Figure 2.4.



Figure 2.4: Example of the agreeing verb ASK meaning 'I ask you'

Agreeing verbs can also be marked for number to show dual, trial and plural forms. With dual forms, the path of movement (from starting point to finishing point) is generally executed twice, one movement for each referent. Likewise, trial forms of

agreeing verbs have three movements, one for each referent. The most common plural markings are the multiple and the exhaustive (Klima & Bellugi, 1979). Multiple inflection is where the movement path of the verb sweeps in a horizontal arc as shown in Figure 2.5; this signifies that multiple referents are being addressed collectively.

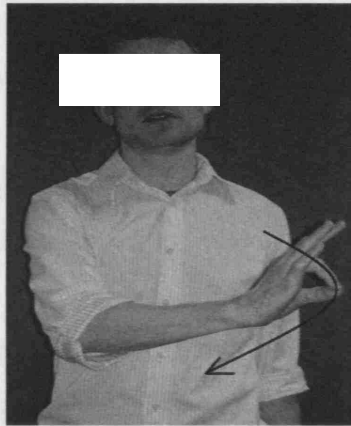


Figure 2.5: Example of multiple inflection with ASK meaning 'I ask you all'

Exhaustive inflection involves short repetitions of the verb movement path along a horizontal arc and signals that the same action is being addressed to many different referents. An example of exhaustive inflection can be seen in Figure 2.6.



Figure 2.6: Example of exhaustive inflection meaning 'I ask each of you'

2.4. Theoretical analyses of reference and point of view

In both spoken and signed languages, those primary markers of point of view whose meaning is derived from the context of utterance are considered deictic. The term 'deixis' comes from a Greek word meaning 'pointing' or 'indicating' (Lyons,

1977). This is indicative of the function that deictic elements have in discourse; they serve to ‘point’ to or ‘indicate’ some object, location or entity known to discourse participants, such as the spoken English pronouns *I* or *you*, or deictic locatives and demonstratives (*this*, *that*, etc.), and the pronouns PRO-1st or PRO-non1st in BSL. Such elements cannot be understood fully unless the context of utterance is known. For example, if someone says the following sentence, there is no way of knowing which car is being referred to or who the addressee is unless the context of utterance is known: *Do you see that car over there?*

In signed languages, this ‘pointing’ is not figurative, but literal. Deixis in signed languages is largely based on indexing, where signers can index entities and locations by pointing in the direction of the physical (or fictional) entity or location (see section 2.3 for an explanation of indexic signs). This section discusses the theoretical analyses of deictic elements in both the spoken and signed language literature.

2.4.1. Spoken Languages

Deixis has been a focus for many disciplines, including linguistics, philosophy/semiotics, logic and cognitive science. Deictic expressions have been termed variously as deictics/deixis (e.g. Ehlich, 1979; Fillmore, 1997; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977), indexical expressions, as derived from Peirce’s (1931-58) notion of an index (e.g. Bar-Hillel, 1954; Burks, 1949) shifters (e.g. Jakobson, 1957/1971; Jespersen, 1922), and egocentric particulars (e.g. Reichenbach, 1947/1980; Russell, 1940). The concept of deixis is one that poses many questions in these disciplines with regard to key issues concerning meaning and understanding, and has been the subject of extensive debate for many decades.

Central to the linguistic study of deixis is the work of Karl Bühler, who considered language to be made up of signs organised in two fields.¹³ A field is the visual field in which discourse participants are located and concerns what can be perceived by discourse participants involved in the speech situation. Bühler (1934) differentiated

¹³ The word ‘sign’ here does not refer to the manual signs used in signed languages, but rather to the semiotic concept of ‘sign’, such as that suggested by Peirce (1931-58) or Saussure (1983).

between 'representing' or 'naming' (symbolic) signs, organised in a symbolic field, and 'pointing' (deictic) signs, organised in a deictic field. The word 'table', for example, is considered a symbolic sign as its content is separate from that of the context of utterance, but words such as 'here' are considered deictic signs because they act as a guide to discourse participants and are intrinsically linked to the context of utterance. In other words, 'table' can have the same meaning in each context it is used, whereas words such as 'I' and 'here' may not have the same referent/refer to the same location each time they are used. Bühler (1934) particularly emphasised the importance of analysing language not just in terms of the linguistic properties of individual signs, but also by considering the situational context of utterance as an intrinsic part of language.

The deictic field has a central point, the origo. The origo consists of the three deictic words 'here', 'now' and 'I' and these function as the simplest markers of time, place and person. This I-here-now orientation is a subjective co-ordinate system in which all conscious beings are anchored, and which serves as the centre of deictic reference. Bühler (1934) distinguished three types of deixis: *demonstratio ad oculus* (deixis as used in everyday discourse), *anaphora* (the anaphoric use of deictic words, e.g. *that* or *this*, which according to Bühler can be used deictically or anaphorically) and *Deixis am Phantasma* (imagination-oriented deixis, where deictic elements are used in fictional situations).

Since Bühler's (1934) seminal work on the theory of language, further work on deixis has dealt primarily with the grammatical markers of deixis in various languages, e.g. Jakobson (1957/1971) Fillmore (1971, 1997) and Wunderlich (1971), who expanded Bühler's concept of deixis and emphasised the importance of the situational context of utterance. The fundamental types of deixis stem from this origo. The three deictic words 'I', 'here' and 'now' are the primary deictic markers, and the three traditional deictic categories are thus person, place and time (Levinson, 1983).¹⁴ Central to person deixis is the notion of participant roles in discourse (Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977), and languages differ in whether these are marked overtly or are grammaticised. Languages also differ in which characteristics

¹⁴ See also section 2.2 for a brief overview of the grammatical category of person.

can be conveyed through deictic expression. Hoffman (1997) suggests deictic elements encoding participant roles can convey information not only about communicative roles, but also the number of people present in the discourse situation and the relationship of discourse participants to each other (e.g. relatives vs. strangers), as well as the gender and social status of discourse participants.

Time deixis can be expressed in language using temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases, as well as through tense (Hoffman, 1997). Time deictic expressions concern the encoding of temporal points relative to the time of utterance, such as the English adverbs *now* and *yesterday* (Levinson, 1983). Spatial deixis, on the other hand, concerns the encoding of spatial points relative to the place of utterance, e.g. the English words *here* and *there* (Levinson, 1983). The existence of further categories of deixis has also been suggested. Fillmore (1971, 1997) and Lyons (1977), for example, distinguish social deixis and discourse deixis; social deixis reflects social relationships between discourse participants (e.g. honorifics in languages such as Japanese), whereas discourse deictic elements provide ways for a discourse participant to refer to a section of ongoing discourse (Fillmore, 1971). Cross-linguistic studies of person, space and time deixis have also been undertaken, most notably Anderson and Keenan (1985).

Although Bühler talks about the use of deixis in contexts other than the current location and time of interlocutors (e.g. Deixis am Phantasma), most theories of deixis, e.g. Fillmore (1971, 1997) do not consider the use of deixis, in, e.g. narratives or written texts. Ehlich (1979, 1983), however, builds on Bühler's ideas that deixis can be used in situations other than the current location and time of the interlocutors. Ehlich (1979, 1982, 1983) views deixis in terms of its function within language, and as a mutual process between speaker and addressee. In 'traditional' concepts of deixis, the hearer is often seen as a relatively passive 'receiver' of the speaker's speech act and his role is often neglected (Cornish, 1999; Ehlich, 1982).

Ehlich's (1982) proposition is that although a speech act is instigated by a speaker by executing a series of activities, the hearer in turn also needs to execute a series of reconstructive procedures in order to determine what the speaker has meant.

Thus a speech act is composed of meaning and understanding (Ehlich, 1982). In order for the utterance to be understood by the hearer, the speaker needs to bring the hearer's attention into harmony with his own, i.e. focus the hearer's attention on the object he is referring to. Deictic elements help the speaker to focus the hearer's attention on objects, people and the time or place of the speech situation, not as isolated elements but as part of the speech situation as a whole. In Ehlich's terms, deictic elements should be understood as a specific (psycholinguistic) procedure in the course of the speaker's efforts to make himself understood to his addressee (the hearer). By procedure, Ehlich (1982) refers to a linguistic instrument for achieving focusing of the hearer's attention towards a specific item which is part of the respective space. The deictic procedure is performed by means of deictic expressions (Ehlich, 1979, 1982). This kind of focusing of attention is also mentioned by Hanks (2005), who refers to it as shifting the attention focus of the addressee.

In order for the addressee to understand which objects the speaker is referring to, both speaker and addressee must share the same space. This space can be the current physical space shared by the interlocutors, which Ehlich (1983) terms *situative space* (*Sprechzeitraum*). The deictic procedure can also be applied to a variety of potential deictic spaces or domains (*Verweisräume*) rather than just *situative space*. Ehlich distinguishes four spaces in all; these are shown in Table 2.2 below.¹⁵

¹⁵ Some researchers distinguish further deictic spaces within this framework, e.g. Redder's (1990) 'knowledge space' (*Wissensraum*).

Deictic space	Deictic elements	Type of deixis
Situative space	Situative elements (objects, people, time/place, etc. directly present in speech situation)	SITUATIVE DEIXIS
Imaginative space	Imagined entities	IMAGINATIVE DEIXIS
Discourse space	Things referred to/about to be said by speaker	DISCOURSE DEIXIS
Text space ^{16,17}	Previous/following elements of text	TEXT DEIXIS

Table 2.2: Types of spaces and deixis according to Ehlich

Ehlich's theory is based on Bühler's field theory of language, where linguistic elements are categorised into fields according to their function. Bühler's theory had only two fields: the deictic field and the symbolic field. Ehlich contends that if a language is being looked at in terms of its functionality, these two fields alone are not sufficient to cover all the linguistic elements in a language. To this end, Ehlich distinguishes a further three linguistic fields: the operative field, expeditive field and expressive field, each of which has a corresponding procedure that enables the speaker to convey his intentions to the hearer (see Table 2.3).

¹⁶ A 'text' refers to the retaining or 'storage' (*Speicherung*) of a speaker's utterance over and above the direct speech situation. This so-called 'storing' of an utterance can take place in various ways. The writing down of an utterance is the most obvious and important way this can be done, but not the only way; a 'text' is not limited to written documents. Utterances can also be stored in other ways, e.g. in a community that has an oral but no written form of language, utterances can be stored in the collective memory of the group or are retained by an 'appointed' person within that group. In certain tribes, for example, this may be a shaman or a storyteller (Ehlich, 1979, 426 ff.). Some have suggested that signed languages are 'oral' in this sense, in that they are passed down from generation to generation and have no written form (e.g. Peters, 2000). In addition, utterances can now also be 'stored' using modern technology such as audio and video recorders.

¹⁷ Text and discourse space may appear to overlap given that texts can also be oral (see footnote 16). Discourse deixis refers to the exchange of dialogue between interlocutors. Speaker and hearer can refer to elements that have previously been discussed or which are about to be discussed. This is similar to situative space except elements referred to are not physically present; they are elements of the dialogue. Text deixis, on the other hand, is characterised by its removal from the speech situation.

Field	Procedure
Deictic Field	deictic procedure
Symbolic Field	symbolic procedure
Operative Field	operative procedure (incl. phoric procedures)
Expeditive Field	expeditive procedure
Expressive Field	expressive procedure

Table 2.3: Types of fields and procedures according to Ehlich

The symbolic procedure is used when the speaker names or identifies an object or fact. The operative field is perhaps the most important of the remaining three fields; the operative procedure contains essential (grammatical) information for the handling of language such as articles, case endings, etc. The expeditive procedure is when the speaker interferes in the communicative activities of the hearer, e.g. by interjections or by using the imperative. The expressive procedure refers to the fact that the speaker can convey to the hearer his attitude to something by, e.g. intonation.

On the basis of this functional analysis between fields, Ehlich (1982) differs from other researchers in which elements he considers to be deictic. More specifically, while most researchers consider third person pronouns to be deictic, he suggests that they are anaphoric because they can refocus the addressee's attention on an element within the respective shared space. This refocusing is part of what Ehlich terms a 'phoric procedure' and differs from the deictic procedure in that it refocuses attention on an element previously introduced into the discourse.

2.4.2. Signed languages

The main ways in which referents can be identified in signed languages were outlined in section 2.3. From this, it can be seen that person deixis in signed languages is mainly indexical in nature. Signed languages, like spoken languages, can also express the central deictic categories of space and time. Space deixis is conveyed using lexical adverbs such as **HERE** and **THERE**, and time deixis using lexical signs such as **NOW** and **YESTERDAY** (Johnston & Schembri, 2007).

However, it is person deixis and its associated use of indexing that is of most interest with regard to reference.

Friedman (1975) and Klima and Bellugi (1979) suggest that the basic deictic contrasts for the grammatical category of person in signed languages involve a threefold distinction: pointing to self, to addressee and non-addressed third person. In signed conversations, they claim that signer and addressee normally stand opposite each other, thus a second person pronoun is normally directed along a midline. If it is assumed that this is the movement which all second person pronouns take, any pointing signs directed off the midline could be identified as third person pronouns. However, given that signers can point anywhere within the signing space, this would mean that there were a potentially unlimited number of locations which could be used to refer to a non-addressed person. Furthermore, signer and addressee do not invariably stand opposite each other and a pointing sign directed towards an addressee can also lie off the midline (Meier, 1990). For these reasons, Meier (1990) distinguishes between first and non-first person in ASL, suggesting there is little evidence for a grammatical contrast between second and third person. Many sign linguists now follow this distinction, including Engberg-Pedersen (2003) and Rathmann and Mathur (2002).

This debate highlights a central issue in the signed language literature: that of whether or not there are specific grammatically-encoded spatial and referential locations (*loci*) in the signing space towards which directional signs such as pronouns and agreeing verbs are consistently directed, and whether this constitutes agreement in the case of verbs. Many have posited morphemic/phonological explanations for the directional aspects of such signs, such as Meir (2002), who suggests that agreeing and spatial verbs contain directional morphemes denoting the movement path of the verb, and Janis (1995), who suggests that spatial *loci* are agreement markers that are either locative or non-locative morphemes and are associated with the nouns which function as the verb's arguments. Others have suggested that non-manual features can mark verb agreement with subject and

object.¹⁸ Bahan (1996), for example, suggests that head tilts can mark subject and eye gaze can mark object, and Neidle et al. (2000) claimed that eye gaze is directed towards locations associated with referents in both agreeing and plain verbs. While others, such as Thompson et al. (2006) have also claimed that eye gaze can mark agreement, they dispute that it is used as a marker with both plain and agreeing verbs. Instead, Thompson et al.'s (2006) study suggested that eye gaze is used in ASL to mark syntactic and locative objects in agreeing and spatial verbs respectively, but eye gaze with plain verbs was not directed towards locations associated with referents.

Some disagree with the notion of grammatically-encoded referential or spatial locations within signing space, most notably Liddell (1992, 1995, 2003a) who suggests that the directionality of such signs is gestural rather than linguistic. Liddell (2003a) argues that if there were specific referential loci for specific referents, e.g. for a non-addressed participant, all signs referring to this non-addressed participant would need to be directed towards that specific locus for non-addressed participants. However, this is not the case; not all directional signs referring to non-addressed participants are directed towards the same locus. Thus Liddell (2003a) contends that the directionality of these signs cannot be explained by the theory of grammatically-encoded loci. Moreover, some linguists have pointed out that it is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between plain, and particularly agreeing and spatial verbs (e.g. Bos, 1990; Engberg-Pedersen, 1993). Although Padden (1988) suggests that spatial and agreeing verbs can be distinguished on the basis of whether they form a process of agreement with arguments (agreeing verbs) or show the location of referents (spatial verbs), others have suggested that the distinction between these two types is not clear cut, e.g. Engberg-Pedersen (1993) for Danish Sign Language.

The issue of verb types and whether or not verb directionality constitutes a grammatical process of agreement is intrinsically linked to the analysis of the use of space in signed languages. Some view the signing space as composed of two

¹⁸ Signed languages also make use of non-manual features such as eye gaze, head tilts and eyebrow movements. Such non-manual features can be used affectively or grammatically. See section 2.5.2.1 for further discussion of non-manual features.

distinct types of space, topographic and syntactic (e.g. Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Syntactic space is the type of space which makes use of the referential loci described above. Topographic space allows the representation of real-world events or locative relations in space, e.g. through the use of classifier predicates. Emmorey, Tverksy and Taylor (2000) suggest topographic space can be used in two formats: viewer space, the space in front of the signer, and diagrammatic space, where the signer takes a bird's eye view of the signing space from above.

Some have questioned a division of the signing space into topographic and syntactic space; Engberg-Pedersen (1993), for example, argues that rather than having two distinct types of space, there may be a continuum between using space to express locative relationships on the one hand and semantic relationships on the other hand. Emmorey (2002) suggests that the signing space has two functions (referential and topographic) rather than types, whereas Liddell (2003a) presents a different analysis of the signing space to support his claim that the directionality of pronouns and agreeing verbs is gestural.

Liddell (2003a) uses mental space theory to explain the directionality of signs such as pronouns and agreeing verbs. Mental space theory was first conceived of by Fauconnier (1985) and provides an account for the cognitive mechanisms that underlie the construction and understanding of meaning in language. Mental spaces are “conceptual structures constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action; they contain elements and are structured by frames and cognitive models” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003, p. 102). Liddell (2003a) distinguishes four main types of mental space: real, surrogate, token and depicting space. Real space is the current physical space surrounding the signer, the real-world space where attention can be directed towards salient entities and objects.

In real space, the location towards which pronouns and verb agreement is directed is dependent on the physical location of the referent, and thus must be gestural. If there were one single locus grammatically encoded for reference to, e.g. a non-addressed participant, all signs referring to non-addressed participants would be directed towards that locus. Moreover, there are a potentially unlimited number of

locations in which a potential referent can be located. This means that the directionality of such signs cannot be associated with discrete morphemic units because there would have to be an unlimited number of morphemes (Liddell, 2003a).

In real space, pronouns and agreeing verbs are directed towards present referents. If the referent is not present, however, or if indexical non-first person pronouns are used to maintain reference (see also section 2.3), directional signs are directed towards what Liddell (2003a) terms tokens or surrogates. These are three-dimensional areas of space that act as substitute referents. Whereas tokens have no physical resemblance to the entities they are associated with, surrogates are life-sized conceptualisations of referents (see section 2.5.2.2 for further discussion of surrogates in narrative discourse). Tokens inhabit token space, and surrogates surrogate space. These spaces can be 'blended' with real space so that the physical space available to the signer can be combined with token space, allowing the signer to refer to entities in both spaces.

Liddell (2003a) also distinguishes depicting verbs and depicting space. Depicting verbs are essentially classifier constructions and can signify presence of an entity at a place, movements or actions of objects and shape or extent of an object (see also section 2.3). For Liddell, such signs can form part of a blended depicting space. Elements from real space (the signer's hands and arms) are blended with the event being depicted (e.g. a car which is parked) to form a depicting blend where the signer's hands come to represent the event being depicted. Some analyses of classifier constructions suggest that the location and direction of these constructions is morphemic, e.g. Supalla (1986), who suggests that classifier handshapes combine with different types of movement morphemes (such as morphemes showing manner of movement or path of movement). However, Liddell (2003b) suggests that, like pronouns and directional verbs, depicting verbs contain both gradient and categorical elements. He suggests that depicting verbs are fixed lexical verbs whose location is gestural but whose movement forms part of the lexical verb.

Okrent (2002) also discusses the morpheme versus gesture question in signed languages and suggests that objections to Liddell's (2003a) theories may be based on a misunderstanding of what gesture is and where gesture can be used in language. She argues for a modality-free notion of gesture informed by McNeill's (1992) work (see also section 2.5.1.3.1). In her view, conventionalisation of forms plays an important role in determining what is linguistic and what is not linguistic. In the case of the morpheme vs. gesture argument in signed language research, she argues that the difference between the arguments lies not in whether forms are conventionalised or not, but where the 'site' of conventionalisation is, i.e. in the criteria used to distinguish linguistic forms from gestural forms. For Liddell (2003a), the location towards which directional signs are directed is not conventionalised and is thus gestural. However, others, such as Janis (1995) and Rathmann & Mathur (2002), argue that the act of pointing is restricted in a conventionalised way and is thus morphemic in nature (Okrent, 2002). Thus the difference lies not in conventionalisation, but the level, or 'site' of the conventionalisation (conventionalisation of location versus conventionalisation of the way in which the pointing act is executed). Okrent (2002) argues that restrictions on the way in which pointing is carried out does not necessarily imply that it must be linguistic, citing the example of what she terms 'vocal gestures' in spoken language. This is where a gesture can be overlaid on the linguistic channel, e.g. *it took a loooooong time* as opposed to *it took a long time*, similar to the exaggerated 'performance features' in narratives (Wolfson, 1982) discussed in section 2.5.1.3.2. There are restrictions on the way that gesture can be combined in the vocal channel, e.g. one cannot say *it took a lllllong time*. If the directionality of pointing verbs is considered to be linguistic, then similar cases in spoken languages, such as vocal gestures, must also be considered linguistic.

2.5. Reference and point of view in narrative discourse

The devices used for referring to objects and entities described in section 2.4 above can also be used in narrative discourse. Narrative discourse is an account of a single event or chain of events, either real or imaginary. Narratives, or stories, can be based on real events, can be made up spontaneously, or based on mythology or folk tales and other stories which may have been handed down through generations. In

terms of deixis, narratives are particularly interesting because a central characteristic of narrative discourse is that utterances are often expressed from the point of view of someone other than the speaker or signer, e.g. that of a character. The deictic centre, or Bühler's *I-here-now* origo, normally refers to that of the speaker. However, some have observed that this centre can 'shift' so that the *I-here-now* refers to someone other than the speaker (e.g. Ehlich 1983; Segal, 1995). This section outlines strategies used by speakers and signers to signal that the deictic centre refers not to the speaker or signer, but to another referent, as well as other potential markers of point of view such as co-speech gesture.

2.5.1. Point of view and reference in spoken language narrative discourse

Spoken language users can use strategies such as direct and indirect discourse to mark different points of view; these are discussed in the following.

2.5.1.1. Direct and indirect discourse

In spoken languages, speakers can convey the utterances of others by using direct and indirect discourse.¹⁹ In direct discourse, the speaker gives a (presumably) verbatim account of what another speaker has said, whereas in indirect discourse, the speaker adapts what another speaker has said and relates it from his own point of view. Examples of the two types can be seen below:

Direct discourse:

You know, John told Lucy, "I don't think the weather will be good today"

Indirect discourse:

John told Lucy that the weather won't be good today.

Example 2b: Examples of direct and indirect discourse

In linguistic terms, direct and indirect speech can be signalled in different ways across languages. Devices used to indicate whether an utterance is direct or indirect

¹⁹ Direct discourse is also known as direct speech or direct quotation, and indirect discourse as indirect speech or indirect quotation.

discourse include tense, mood and word order (Coulmas, 1986). Anderson and Keenan (1985) describe such changes (or ‘shifts’) as ‘relativised deixis’. For example, in English, moving from direct to indirect discourse often involves a back-shifting of tense from present to past, and the use of complementisers (see Example 2d).

Direct speech:

He said, “I am happy”

Indirect speech:

He said that he was happy.

Example 2c: Direct and indirect speech in English

In other languages, such as German, indirect discourse can be signalled by the use of the subjunctive as well as a back-shifting in tense.

Direct speech:

Er sagt: “Ich bin glücklich”.

He said, “I am happy”.

Indirect speech (in the subjunctive):

Er sagte, er sei glücklich.

He said he was happy.

Example 2d: Direct and indirect speech in German

In some languages, the relativisation of deixis takes the form of logophoricity (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). Logophoricity denotes the use of morphological or syntactic markers, such as logophoric pronouns, which are used to refer to a person whose speech or thought is being reported (Crystal, 2003; Huang, 2000). Logophoric marking occurs particularly in West African languages such as Ewe, Dogon, Yoruba, Kera and Gatanga and can take the form of pronouns or verbal affixes (cf. Clements, 1975; Culy, 1994; Curnow, 2002; Huang, 2000). An example of logophoric marking in Ewe can be seen in Example 2e below. Both sentences

have the same translation, but the first sentence contains a normal third person singular pronoun (3SG), whereas the second contains a logophoric pronoun (LOG). This means that in the second sentence, the verb's argument is coreferential with the speaker, which is not the case in the first sentence with the normal third person singular pronoun.

Kofi be e-dzo (Ewe)
 Kofi say 3SG-leave
 'Kofi said that he/she left'

Kofi be yè-dzo
 Kofi say LOG-leave
 'Kofi said that he left'

(Examples from Clements, 1975, p. 142)

Example 2e: Logophoric pronouns in Ewe

2.5.1.2. Deictic shift and represented speech and thought

In indirect speech, although the utterance may be deictically relativised, the centre of deictic reference remains that of the speaker of the utterance. In direct speech, the situation is somewhat different. An utterance containing direct speech will normally start with the speaker's point of view and then shift to another's point of view. An example of this is shown below.

SPEAKER a__SPEAKER b __
He said, "I am happy".

Example 2f: Example of direct speech

This kind of shift is commonplace in narrative discourse. The deictic coordinates of the speaker become those of the quoted speaker and interpreted as such (Hanks, 2005). Shifting the deictic centre in narration is mentioned by Bühler (1934), who terms the use of deixis in contexts such as fictional narration *Deixis am Phantasma* (imaginary deixis), and the shift in the deictic centre as 'displacement' (*Versetzung*). However, it does not always involve direct discourse. In fictional narration, there is a type of narration where the deictic centre remains that of the storyteller (as in indirect discourse), but the listener or reader is still able to

somehow place themselves in the narrative or the shoes of a character and experience that character's thoughts, feelings or perceptions. In other words, the boundaries between direct and indirect discourse can become blurred (Banfield, 1982). Banfield (1982) cites the following example to illustrate this paradox more clearly:

Mrs Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself. For Lucy had her work cut out for her. The doors would be taken off their hinges; Rumpelmayer's men were coming. And then, thought Clarissa Dalloway, what a morning – fresh as if issued to children on a beach. What a lark! What a plunge! For so it had always seemed to her when, with a little squeak of the hinges, which she could hear now, she had burst open the French windows and plunged at Bourton into the open air.

(Woolf 1925/2000, p.1)

Banfield (1982) suggests that despite technically being told from the narrator's point of view, this passage clearly allows the reader to experience Mrs Dalloway's feelings. The utterances *thought Clarissa Dalloway* and *so it had always seemed to her* place the reader in Mrs Dalloway's shoes. One of the earliest discussions of this phenomenon is Tobler (1894/1902), who described it as a mixture of direct and indirect speech. Kalepky (1899) termed it *verschleierte Rede* (veiled speech) and Bally (1912) as *style indirect libre* (free indirect style). Others, such as Lorck (1921) suggested that *style indirect libre* was too close to the notion of indirect discourse, and suggested *erlebte Rede* (experienced speech). Jespersen (1924) coined the term 'represented speech' for this phenomenon, arguing that 'experienced' speech was not experienced, but rather represented by the author. Volshinov (1929) preferred the more neutral term *uneigentlich direkte Rede* or quasi-direct speech/discourse, while Hernadi (1972) uses 'substitutionary narration', arguing that the narrator replaces his words with those of a character, or with a character's thoughts or perceptions. Banfield (1978, 1982) expands the term 'represented speech' to 'represented speech and thought', thereby encompassing the possibility that both thoughts and speech of a character can be conveyed.

Represented speech and thought appears to share the characteristics of indirect discourse, but the introductory tag clause associated with indirect discourse is often omitted (e.g. *he said that...*, *he thought that...*) and time deixis referring to the

location and time of the characters is used (Banfield, 1978). There is also the issue of how to resolve a storyteller's underlying presence in represented speech and thought. Some subscribe to what is known as a 'dual voice perspective', where the underlying storyteller (narrator) is signalled by the use of pronominal (third person) reference and the character signalled by the use of other (expressive) features such as verbs of inner state (Fludernik, 1993). Others, such as Banfield (1982) consider represented speech and thought to be non-narrated (narrator-less) and representative of only one self/subjectivity. Represented speech and thought is generally considered a phenomenon that occurs primarily in literary narratives, but some have suggested it can also occur in oral narratives, e.g. Fludernik (1993).

Ehlich (1983) also mentions a shift in the deictic centre in narrative discourse, but emphasises the role of the addressee in this process. In his analysis of Eichendorff's poetry (1983), for example, he discusses the use of the deictic procedure in terms of the "literary landscape" (*literarische Landschaft*). Ehlich (1983) suggests that the author of a narrative creates an imaginative space (*Vorstellungsraum*). In order for the reader to fully understand a narrative text, he must share this deictic space by creating his own version of the imaginary space from what is being described by the author. Imaginary space is similar to situative space in that there is a deictic centre, but that centre does not correspond to the I-here-now of the 'real world', i.e. the situative space (*Sprechzeitraum*). The deictic centre in imaginary space is shifted to that of the author or the characters in the narrative. If the reader shares the author's perspective, the author can then use deictic expressions and procedures to focus the reader's attention on something within the imaginary deictic space in the same way as a speaker would orientate a listener's attention in situative space.

Ehlich (1983) also suggests that there are paradeictic expressions which are neither symbolic nor deictic but overlap both the deictic and symbolic fields, such as *einmal* (once), *nahe* (near), *ferne* (far), *hören* (to hear). These are words that indicate where/when the action is taking place or that the character is experiencing something, but which are not overtly deictic. They require the reader to transpose himself into the origo of the character but do not require that the reader is oriented to that particular aspect by use of a deictic procedure. Paradeictic words act like

deictic words in that they serve as an alignment of perspective with the reader; by using, e.g. verbs that describe inner states, the author gives the reader more information about the character's perspective.

Segal (1995) and Galbraith (1995) propose a similar theory, which they refer to as the Deictic Shift Theory (DST). They suggest that when reading a novel or any kind of narrative fiction, readers (or listeners) are able not only to experience characters' thoughts and feelings as they experience them, but also to create a mental picture of the story's characters and the world they inhabit. Proponents of DST suggest that in narrative, both the author and reader's deictic centre (I-here-now) can shift from its location in the real physical world to a location within a mental model or space that represents the world of the narrative. Hence a reader of a novel shifts their deictic centre from I (the reader) – here (the place at which the novel is being read) – now (the time at which the novel is being read) to a location within what Segal (1995) terms the 'story world', where the I-here-now can be either a cognitive structure containing elements of a particular time and place within this story world, or a cognitive structure within the subjective space of the character in question. DST contends that it would be difficult to understand narrative fiction properly without doing this. As Segal (1995) suggests:

When one reads a narrative as it is meant to be read, he/she is often required to take a cognitive stance within the world of the narrative; a location within this world serves as the centre from which sentences are to be interpreted. In particular, deictic terms such as here and now refer to the conceptual location and is thus the deictic centre.

(Segal, 1995, p. 15)

Events and other aspects of a narrative are often explained without explicit mention of to whom, where, when and what they belong. Thus if there is an established deictic centre that is centred in the story world, the reader is able to correctly localise these story aspects where they belong (Segal, 1995).

Some suggest that the notion of the deictic centre is more complex than a simple I-here-now that can be shifted to an imagined world. Fricke (2002, 2007), for example, examines the way in which speakers give and understand directions to places. She argues that there can be several deictic centres. The speaker has the primary deictic centre, but secondary deictic centres can be allocated and shifted to

other entities, either real or imagined. Moreover, she suggests that the verbal and gestural levels of communication can imply that two different deictic centres are in operation at the same time. For example, she suggests that verbal information can be given from the point of view of the addressee (e.g. *the museum should be to your right*), but gestural information from the point of view of the speaker. In the example above, the speaker might gesture to his own right, but not to the addressee's right.

2.5.1.3. Other markers of point of view: non-verbal and paralinguistic

Aside from direct and indirect discourse, and represented speech and thought, storytellers can use other means to mark points of view in narratives. A common trait of narrative discourse is the use of gesture when describing a character's actions, or the use of different vocal pitches for different characters (e.g. Cassell & McNeill, 1991; Wennerstrom, 2001). An outline of the literature surrounding gesture and vocal prosodic elements is given in the following sections.

2.5.1.3.1. Gesture

Speakers frequently gesture when they talk, whether in narrative or everyday discourse. Gestures are generally movements of the hands and arms and are closely linked to the speech itself (Cassell & McNeill, 1991). Gestures can be conventionalised or non-conventionalised: for example, the thumbs-up gesture is a widespread gesture meaning 'good' in the English-speaking world, but other gestures, such as those which naturally accompany the rhythm of speech, do not contain meaning in this way. A number of different ways of classifying gestures have been proposed (e.g. Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Kendon, 1980), the most widely used of which is McNeill (1992). McNeill (1992) recognises four major types of gesture: iconic, metaphoric, beat and deictic, as well as other gesture types such as emblems, cohesives and Butterworths.

Iconic gestures are closely related to the content of speech; they depict scenes being described in the speech, e.g. an event such as a horse jumping over a fence could be shown by moving the right hand in an arc over a stationary left hand. In narratives, iconic gestures can show the point of view from which a speaker is telling an event,

e.g. whether he is pretending to be the character, or whether he is depicting the actions of others from his own point of view. Metaphoric gestures are similar to iconics in that they also depict images, but rather than depicting concrete events, they depict abstract concepts and serve to help the speaker explain these concepts to the addressee(s). Beat gestures are, in McNeill's terms, the most insignificant looking but the most revealing because they can reveal how the speaker constructs a narrative. They are gestures which accompany the rhythm of speech and often consist of short movements of the hands up or downwards, and unlike iconics, their physical form tends to stay the same regardless of the content of the speech. In narratives, beat gestures coincide with the introduction of new information, e.g. the introduction of a new character, or when the speaker wishes to indicate that a particular word or phrase is significant to the story as a whole (Cassell & McNeill, 1991).

Deictics are pointing gestures which depict a person or object in the current physical space, or in narratives can be used to depict (fictional) referents or objects within narrative discourse. Cassell and McNeill (1991) suggest that there are two uses of deictic gestures in narratives. Firstly, to refer to present objects surrounding the speaker, and secondly to refer to imagined objects. These imagined objects (such as participants or participant events) are called 'discourse entities' and can help story cohesion. Deictic gestures directed towards these entities are termed abstract pointing (Cassell & McNeill, 1991). Emblems are those conventionalised gestures like the thumbs-up gesture and differ from culture to culture. Cohesives are gestures which help to relate one part of the discourse to another, whereas Butterworths are those gestures that speakers make when they cannot recall a word or phrase.

2.5.1.3.2. Prosody

The term prosody refers to those features of spoken languages which cannot easily be divided into discrete segments (suprasegmentals) and occur over longer stretches of speech, such as stress, tone and intonation (Clark, Yallop & Fletcher 2007). Prosodic features can help to indicate sociolinguistic information about the speaker (e.g. age, region, gender), or the type of utterance (e.g. question or statement) as

well as a speaker's feelings. In other words, they can be a mixture of the non-linguistic (a speaker's vocal characteristics as defined by, e.g. vocal tract length), linguistic (intonation for questions/statements, or the given lexical stress of a word) or paralinguistic (expression of a speaker's emotions, e.g. nervousness). The main phonetic correlates of the prosodic features stress, tone and intonation are pitch, duration and loudness (Clark, Yallop & Fletcher, 2007).

Wennerstrom (2001) suggests that prosodic features can be 'intensified' in discourse genres such as narrative. By intensification, Wennerstrom (2001) refers to the use of higher than usual pitch with key words, lengthening of vowels, use of pauses or increase in vocal volume at important points in the narrative. This is linked to the idea that oral narratives are essentially performances in which storytellers use a variety of devices to make the story more vivid for the audience (Toolan, 2001). Wolfson (1982) terms these devices 'performance features'; these include the use of exaggerated prosodic features. Several studies have noted the particular importance of volume and pitch in oral narratives in signalling elements of the story that are particularly important (e.g. Selting, 1994; Wennerstrom, 2001).

2.5.1.4. Other markers of point of view: verbs of psychological state

Verbs of psychological state, also known as psych verbs or experiencer verbs, are verbs which express an inner state such as *to frighten* or *to love*. Psych verbs often, but do not always, describe the inner state of the subject. Rather, they describe the inner state of an experiencer, hence the alternative term experiencer verb. A distinction is often made between experiencer-subject and experiencer-object constructions (Chung, 1998; Crystal, 2003), e.g.:

Experiencer-subject:

The girl fears the rattle snake

Experiencer-object:

The rattle snake frightens the boy

(Examples from Chung, 1998, p. 1)

Example 2g: Examples of psych verbs

Psych verbs typically take two arguments, the experiencer and the stimulus (Levin, 1993). The stimulus, or theme, is the object of the mental state or the target of the emotion (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Levin, 1993). Levin (1993) groups psych verbs in English into four classes, two transitive and two intransitive. The transitive verbs are classed according to whether they are experiencer-subject or experiencer-object constructions; Levin (1993) terms these the *admire* and *amuse* verbs respectively. The intransitive psych verbs take prepositional phrase complements are split into two classes depending on whether the experiencer is the subject or the experiencer is expressed as the object of the preposition that heads the prepositional phrase complement; these are called the *marvel* and the *appeal* verbs respectively. Examples from each class are shown in Table 2.4.

Admire	Amuse	Marvel	Appeal
<i>favour</i>	<i>spellbind</i>	<i>bother (about)</i>	<i>grate (on)</i>
<i>idolise</i>	<i>enchant</i>	<i>delight (in)</i>	<i>appeal (to)</i>
<i>respect</i>	<i>encourage</i>	<i>ache (from)</i>	<i>niggle (at)</i>

Table 2.4: Examples of psych verbs in English

In narrative, psych verbs are of particular importance in represented speech and thought (see also section 2.5.1.2) to denote a character's inner thoughts, feelings or perceptions.

2.5.2. Reference and point of view in signed language narrative discourse

In signed languages, changes in point of view are primarily signalled by the use of referential shift, briefly described in section 2.1. Referential shift is a common device in sign language discourse, particularly in narrative, and is where the signer imitates one of the characters in the narrative by adopting, e.g. the facial expression and/or body position of that character. Referential shift results in a change in reference for pronouns and verbs and is most commonly marked by changes in non-manual features such as eye gaze or body position (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993; Loew, 1984). Referential shift has been analysed from various theoretical viewpoints, including generative frameworks (Aarons, Bahan, Kegl & Neidle, 1994) and cognitive grammar (Liddell, 2003a) and has been referred to by various

different names in the literature, including role shifting (Lentz, 1986; Padden, 1986), role play (Loew, 1984), shifting reference (Lillo-Martin, 1995), referential shift (Emmorey & Reilly, 1995) and constructed action (Metzger, 1995). This section outlines firstly what is meant by non-manual features in signed language discourse and then discusses referential shift and its main theoretical analyses.

2.5.2.1. Non-manual features

Non-manual features in signed languages include head movements (e.g. head shaking, nodding), eyebrow movements (raising or lowering), changes in eye aperture (narrowing, closing, blinking, etc.), mouth movements (e.g. opening, closing, stretching), cheek movements (e.g. puffing air out), and changes in shoulder and body position (e.g. moving forwards, leaning backwards). Non-manual features can be used grammatically or for affect.²⁰ For example, raised eyebrows are used grammatically to signal that a question is being asked, rather like a rising pitch in spoken languages. Raised eyebrows can also be used to mark affect, e.g. in an expression of surprise. Some have suggested the use of facial expression and head movements is the signed language equivalent of prosody, e.g. Johnston (1989), Sandler (1999) and Nespor and Sandler (1999).

2.5.2.2. Referential shift

Engberg-Pedersen (1993, 1995) distinguishes three ways in which referential shift in Danish Sign Language can be signalled: shifted reference, shifted attribution of expressive elements and shifted locus. Shifted reference is when the signer uses directional signs such as pronouns and verbs in the normal way but from another person's point of view. For example, if the signer was talking about what his brother did during his holidays, he could switch from talking about him in the third person to talking in the first person; the pronoun would thus then refer to the brother and not to the signer. Shifted attribution of expressive elements refers to instances where the signer takes on the facial expressions or the body position/posture of another person/character, i.e. expresses the feelings of that

²⁰ Non-manual features can also be used phonologically or morphologically. The mouthing 'um', for example, functions as a phonological parameter of the lexical sign TRUE.

person/character (Engberg-Pedersen, 1993).²¹ Finally, shifted locus is where the signer uses what Engberg-Pedersen terms the ‘sender locus’ (the signer’s own location) to refer to someone other than himself, i.e. the sender locus temporarily becomes the locus of another person; this can be signified by a change in eye gaze or body position/posture. An example of this would be if the signer alternates between looking left and looking right to represent two different participants in a conversation.

In Danish Sign Language, all three types can occur in reported speech, and often co-occur. However, only shifted locus and shifted attribution of expressive elements can occur in represented thought and represented action;²² shifted reference is confined to reported speech. The three types of referential shift that Engberg-Pedersen (1993) distinguishes may occur in various combinations or individually; however, if they do occur in combination, it is not necessarily the case that they can be attributed to the same referent. A signer could, for example, use shifted locus for one referent but also use facial expressions to express the emotions of a different referent at the same time (Engberg-Pedersen, 1993).

Referential shift has also been discussed from a syntactic point of view, e.g. Lillo-Martin (1995), Aarons et al. (1994) and Lee, Neidle, MacLaughlin, Bahan and Kegl (1997). Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006) liken referential shift to the use of logophoric pronouns in spoken languages (see also section 2.5.1.1). Lillo-Martin (1995) and Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006) suggest it is possible for the ASL first person pronoun (an indexical sign: see also section 2.3) to become a logophoric pronoun, specifically in cases where it appears within a section of discourse under referential shift with what she terms a complement taking ‘point of view predicate’ (POV).

²¹ Engberg-Pedersen (1993) suggests that this can be rather subjective; expressive elements used as part of a shifted attribution may be the signer’s interpretation of what the character/person is feeling, rather than an accurate portrayal. This is a sentiment echoed in Tannen’s (1986) and Liddell and Metzger’s (1998) notion of ‘constructed action’ and ‘constructed dialogue’ (see below).

²² Engberg-Pedersen (1993) refers to “represented thought” and “represented action”, where shifted attribution of expressive elements can occur without shifted reference, i.e. can be narrated in the third person but still lend an insight into a character’s thoughts and feelings. This is a parallel to represented speech and thought in spoken languages (see section 2.5.1.2).

The POV predicate, which consists of a subject and clausal complement, functions in a similar way to the verbs used with logophoric pronouns in spoken languages; the pronoun used within the embedded clause must be co-referential with the matrix subject. According to Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006), when first person pronouns in ASL are used within the complement clause, they become logophoric and do not mark reference to first person in the usual way but refer instead to the matrix subject. In addition, the subject of the POV predicate does not need to be overtly marked by a lexical sign because the signer's body position often (but not always) shifts to indicate the person being referred to (Lillo-Martin, 1995). Shifted reference introduced by the POV predicate can be maintained across more than one instance of discourse (Lillo-Martin, 1995). Lillo-Martin (1995) suggests this shifted reference is similar to the colloquial usage of the word "like" in English, e.g. *He was like, "I'm not doing that"*.

Lillo-Martin provides evidence from different types of constructions to support her claim including reflexives and verb phrase ellipsis. According to Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006), ASL allows a reflexive pronoun in an embedded subject position to be co-referential with a noun phrase in a higher clause; however, the reflexive pronoun may only be bound by an element in the next highest clause (Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006). Lillo-Martin (1995) and Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006) further suggest that reflexive pronouns can, in certain circumstances, follow a POV predicate, appearing in the embedded subject position of the complement clause. Given that pronouns within the complement clause of the POV predicate must be co-referential with the matrix subject, and reflexive pronouns in embedded subject position must be co-referential with elements from the next highest clause, it follows that a reflexive pronoun used following a POV predicate will be co-referential with the matrix subject. If the reflexive pronoun were further embedded, it could not be co-referential with the matrix clause as it could not be bound by an element more than one clause up. For Sandler and Lillo-Martin, this is evidence that the POV predicate takes an embedded clause that is co-referential with the matrix clause. They cite two ASL examples to prove this point (see Example 2h). In these examples, <POV> indicates the onset and end of the POV predicate. A translation is provided below each example.

- < PO V >
1. GOVERNOR PO V SELF PAY TAX HIGH
The governor's like, "I pay high taxes"

- < PO V >
2. GOVERNOR PO V WORKER FEEL SELF PAY TAX HIGH
The governor's like, "The worker thinks he pays high taxes"

(From Sandler and Lillo-Martin, 2006 p. 386)

Example 2h: Examples of the POV predicate in ASL

In the first example, the reflexive pronoun refers to the matrix subject as it appears in the embedded subject position, but in the second example, the reflexive is further embedded. It is therefore not co-referential with the matrix clause as this is not the next highest clause. Instead, SELF is co-referential with WORKER (Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006).

Lee et al. (1997) disagree with Lillo-Martin's analysis of referential shift as being embedded under the verb. Instead, Lee et al. (1997) examine one type of referential shift in ASL, namely the direct speech construction which contains an overt verb of saying, and suggest that it is comprised of two syntactically separate but logically related clauses. They show that the distribution of adverbs is different in indirect and direct speech constructions. They claim that adverbs normally appear in the clause-final position in ASL, hence if the direct speech (referential shift) construction were a single clause, adverbs should appear after the reported speech clause and the verb SAY, but this does not occur. Indeed, an adverb can occur between the verb of saying and the direct speech clause (Lee et al., 1997). For Lee et al. (1997), there is a clear clause boundary between the overt verb of saying and the reported speech clause as shown in Examples 2i-2j. In these examples, the reported speech clause is marked using rs with a line over the clause itself (rs). A translation is provided below each example.

The adverb in ASL can appear in clause-final position as part of the reported speech clause:

- _____rs
1. JOHN SAY MARY BUY BOOK YESTERDAY
John said that Mary bought a book yesterday

The adverb can also appear between the overt verb of saying and the reported speech clause:

- _____rs
2. JOHN SAY YESTERDAY MARY BUY BOOK
John said yesterday: "Mary bought a book"

Examples 2i-2j: Reported speech clauses in ASL according to Lee et al. (1997)

However, an occurrence of the adverb after the reported speech clause would be ungrammatical, as in Example 2k below.

- _____rs
1. *JOHN SAY MARY BUY BOOK YESTERDAY
(From Lee et al., 1997, p. 30)

Example 2k: Adverb after reported speech clause according to Lee et al. (1997)

Lee et al. (1997) suggest this evidence implies that the reported speech clause is a separate clause rather than a complement of SAY.

Another syntactic view of referential shift is taken by Kegl (1985) and Aarons et al. (1994) for ASL. Aarons et al. (1994) discuss the agreement node (AGR), which is present in all main clauses and is where features such as person and number are generated (Aarons et al., 1994). The AGR node is activated even if agreement is not overtly marked by lexical means. Under this analysis, Aarons et al. (1994) suggest that subject-verb agreement occurs in all ASL verbs, even so-called plain verbs, which have traditionally been seen as non-agreeing verbs.

In terms of referential shift, Aarons et al. (1994) postulate that there are two ways of creating 'empathy' with a person/object/character other than the signer. Firstly, they claim that there is an element other than the AGR node that may further specify the nature of the relationship between the subject and the verb, namely the so-called Role Prominence Marker (RPM) first suggested by Kegl (1985). The RPM is an optional marker and indicates the grammatical subject of the sentence as the person/personified animate/inanimate object from whose point of view the utterance is being told (Aarons et al., 1994).

Another approach to referential shift is that of Liddell (1995, 2003a) who analyses it in terms of the theories of mental spaces mentioned in section 2.4.2. Liddell (1995, 2003a) suggests that referential shift involves the use of surrogate space. Surrogates are life-sized imaginary referents which can exist almost anywhere in the signing space. Directional signs can be used in surrogate space in exactly the same way they are used in real space; the only difference is the referents towards which signs are directed are imagined/conceptual rather than physically present. Surrogate space can blend with real space to create a surrogate blend, where the physically present signer can blend his own face and torso with that of, e.g. a character in a narrative. Eye gaze and directionality are an important part of understanding this blend as they help the addressee to create the blend "that exists in the mind of the signer" (Liddell, 2003a, p. 154). The use of surrogate space is particularly important in narratives, where the signer signals which space is being used by configuration of the head and body; for example, a shift in body position is typically used to show that a blended surrogate space is active (Liddell, 2003a).

Liddell (2003a) and Liddell and Metzger (1998) use the terms 'constructed action' and 'constructed dialogue' for referential shift. The term 'constructed dialogue' was first coined by Tannen (1986) and is essentially direct or indirect discourse. However, Tannen (1986) alleges a re-enactment of another's words cannot be an exact copy of what was said, but is rather constructed based on the original utterance. Similarly, constructed action is a reconstruction of another's, e.g. a character's actions. Liddell (2003a) and Metzger (1995) describe how storytellers can use constructed action in ASL to depict characters' actions, thoughts or

feelings. Liddell (2003a) also discusses the use of constructed action in spoken English. In spoken languages, iconic gestures can be used to depict characters' actions (see also section 2.5.1.3.1 for explanation of the different types of gestures). These are similar to the constructed action used in signed languages (Liddell, 2003a).

In other approaches to referential shift, the iconic nature of referential shift in depicting characters thoughts and feelings is key. Taub's (2001) views are similar to Liddell's in that she describes referential shift as an iconic resource that creates a mapping of imagined space onto the signing space. Cuxac (2000) and Sallandre (2003) also view referential shift in terms of iconicity. They suggest that referential shift is part of a system of complex, or highly, iconic constructions (*structures de grand iconicité*). They claim that signers using these *structures* use transfer operations (*transferts*) to convey information. The three types of *transferts* are transfers of form and size (*transferts de taille et/ou de forme*), transfers of situation (*transferts situationnels*) and transfers of person (*transferts personnels*). Transfers of person are the equivalent of referential shift in this model, where the signer imitates a character. Transfers of situation are where the signer describes locative and spatial relationships between referents or objects, and transfers of form are where some aspect of an object's shape or form is depicted.

2.6. Cross-modal studies of narrative discourse

While little comparative research has been done in narrative discourse, particularly between BSL and spoken English, there are some cross-modal studies of narrative discourse between other signed languages and spoken English. Rayman (1999), for example, looked in detail at 'The Tortoise and the Hare' fable in ASL and spoken English, told by native ASL signers and native English users. She found that the main difference between the ASL and spoken English narratives was the perspectives used by each storyteller. The ASL storytellers favoured a character's perspective, whereas the spoken English users preferred the narrator's perspective. In addition, the spoken English users rarely used facial expressions to depict character's thoughts and feelings, contrary to the ASL users. Only one spoken English storyteller, an actress, used facial expression in a remotely similar way. In

addition, the ASL storytellers depicted events in the story in a much more detailed manner than the spoken English storytellers, e.g. by indicating the manner of characters' movements.

The relatively less frequent use of expressive elements in spoken language storytelling has also been mentioned in other comparative studies. For example, Marentette, Tuck, Nicoladis and Pika (2004) and Marentette and Nicoladis (2008) suggest that ASL storytellers use more 'embodied gestures' (constructed action) in comparison to spoken English users. In addition, ASL storytellers tend to tell stories from a first person perspective and also tell longer stories, which correlates with Rayman's (1999) findings.

2.7. Summary

This chapter has discussed the current literature on reference in signed and spoken languages in general, as well as point of view in narrative discourse. The following chapter describes the methodology undertaken for this thesis.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This study was undertaken using BSL data from the ECHO corpus for sign languages and the same method was used in collecting data from two native English speakers. The methods and annotation of the data are described in the following sections.

3.2. Data collection

3.2.1. ECHO corpus

The ECHO (European Cultural Heritage Online: <http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/home>) corpus for sign languages is part of a larger European Union initiative to create a network of research institutes, archives and libraries, and provide a space on the internet for these institutes to publish and share corpora and knowledge. Data provided as part of this project is licensed under a Creative Commons License, free to access and available online to any interested parties, with the aim of promoting research and cooperation across Europe.

The initial phase of the ECHO project concentrated on five case studies in fields such as the history of art, history of science, language studies and cultural and social anthropology. The linguistics case study, entitled 'Language as cultural heritage: a pilot project with sign languages', provides a corpus of data from four sign languages: German Sign Language (DGS), Swedish Sign Language (SSL), Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT) and British Sign Language (BSL). The corpus for these sign languages consists of a variety of video recordings of native signers undertaking different tasks, such as telling stories and poems and being interviewed.

One aspect of this corpus involved asking users of SSL, NGT and BSL to tell their own versions of five well-known fables: 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf', 'The Dog and his Reflection', 'The Lion and the Mouse', 'The Tortoise and the Hare', and 'The

Two Friends and the Bear', while being filmed. This study uses the video data elicited from the BSL users in the ECHO corpus.²³

3.2.2. BSL data

The video data for the BSL section of the ECHO corpus was collected by a team of researchers at City University (London) and the University of Bristol (Woll et al., 2004). Information regarding the way in which data collection was undertaken was obtained from Dafydd Waters, the researcher who filmed and coded the BSL data for the ECHO project.

The two participants in this project, CN and PS (referred to hereafter as B1 and B2 respectively), are both deaf and native BSL users. They were chosen for the ECHO project because they are well known for their storytelling abilities within the deaf community; both have extensive experience in BSL storytelling. They were each provided with a short written summary of each story one week prior to being filmed (see Appendix 2 for these summaries).²⁴ The participants were asked to use this time to read these summaries through and prepare their own versions of the fables based on the summaries. Both participants were requested not to translate the stories verbatim into BSL but rather to tell the fables in their own way. No time restrictions were given to the storytellers but each signed story is approximately five minutes in length.

The stories were recorded using one digital video camera directed at the upper body. Both participants were asked to stand whilst telling their stories. After recording, the video files were fed into ELAN for coding. In addition, a second video file was created using a video editing programme called Autodesk Cleaner; this enabled a second video file to be produced that focuses in on the participant's face in order to facilitate the coding of the details of facial expression within the BSL data.

²³ This video data and accompanying annotations can be downloaded from http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser?openpath=MPI84302%23, using the ECHO project's own browser. Instructions on how to download the data files are given here: <http://www.let.kun.nl/sign-lang/echo/index.html?http&&www.let.kun.nl/sign-lang/echo/data.html>

²⁴ Summaries kindly provided by Dafydd Waters.

The data collected as part of the ECHO corpus was also catalogued using metadata. Metadata are information about the linguistic data, such as the date and location of the recording and details about participants and elicitation methods (Crasborn & Hanke, 2003). The ECHO corpus uses the IMDI standard for cataloguing metadata; IMDI stands for the ISLE (International Standard for Language Engineering) Metadata Initiative and is one of the most detailed proposals for a set of metadata descriptions for linguistic corpora (Crasborn & Hanke, 2003). IMDI consists of three different sets of metadata: session, catalogue and lexicon metadata. Each of these describes different information about the linguistic data; session metadata describe the different combinations of media and linguistic annotation files within the corpus, catalogue metadata describe more abstract data, such as information about elicitation methods and participants, and lexicon metadata describe the lexicons in the corpus (Crasborn & Hanke, 2003). While some session metadata is available for the BSL data in the ECHO corpus, very little catalogue data is available. This means that very little background information is available on the participants and thus there were limitations in matching these participants with participants in the English section of this study for criteria such as age and social and educational background.

3.2.3. English data collection

The first step in data collection for English was to undertake pilot studies to see if the methods used for collecting the BSL data could be successfully applied to English. The data elicited from three pilot participants, JE, HK and CG, showed that these methods could be successfully used with speakers of English. However, these individuals had little or no experience of storytelling and were somewhat hesitant and not always very expressive, particularly CG. In the ECHO project both B1 and B2 were chosen for their known storytelling abilities, and in order for the data to be as comparable as possible between the two groups it was decided to match the level of storytelling experience across participants and thus also use experienced storytellers for the English data.

After extensive web-based research, it became apparent that there are a number of storytelling clubs across the United Kingdom. After contacting a number of these

with little success, a storytelling centre based in Edinburgh was found; this centre, the Scottish Storytelling Centre, has a detailed directory of contact details and background information for storytellers who have extensive storytelling experience. A number of individual storytellers were approached through this directory and two native English speakers, GA and BA, recruited for this study. Both GA and BA (referred to hereafter as E1 and E2 respectively) have many years' experience of storytelling to a wide range of audiences. They were told that this study would be looking at storytelling in general, but not the explicit aims so as not to influence the way in which they told the stories.

As with the BSL users, each of the participants was given the same short written summaries of the fables one week prior to being filmed, and all were asked to use this time to prepare their own versions of the fables based on these written summaries. Although no time limit was placed on the participants, each English story was approximately five minutes in length. The stories for this study were recorded in the Scottish Storytelling Centre's library in Edinburgh using a single digital camera (Sony DCR-HC24E). After informed and written consent was obtained, the participant stood in a well-lit room approximately two metres from a video camera secured to a tripod. The framing was designed to show the head and upper body including both arms, so that both facial expressions and arm movements could be readily identified.

The video data was recorded directly onto a 60-minute Mini DV cassette and the data subsequently transferred to an Intel-based MacBook running Mac OSX 10.4. The Mac OS programme iMovie was used for the data transfer and the video data files saved in .dv format on the computer's hard disk and also archived onto a Lacie external hard drive. Whilst, as mentioned above, a second video file (a close up of the face area) was created for the each of the BSL stories, the technical software and support to do this was not available for the English data. However, it was possible to overcome this limitation to some degree by using existing software within Mac OS called Universal Access, which allows a user to magnify portions of the screen. Participants' faces were magnified using this tool, which facilitated coding fine details of the face, such as the eyes.

3.3. Data coding: ELAN programme

All the data for this study has been transcribed using ELAN (Eudico Linguistic Annotator), an annotation programme which was developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in the Netherlands for the analysis of speech, sign language and gesture. ELAN allows the playback of multiple video and/or audio data simultaneously with time-aligned annotations, and users can create and edit annotations for these data. The programme is freely available to researchers via the internet at <http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/tools/elan> and an online manual is available. In addition, new versions are regularly provided via the internet. A screenshot of the ELAN interface from the BSL data can be seen below:

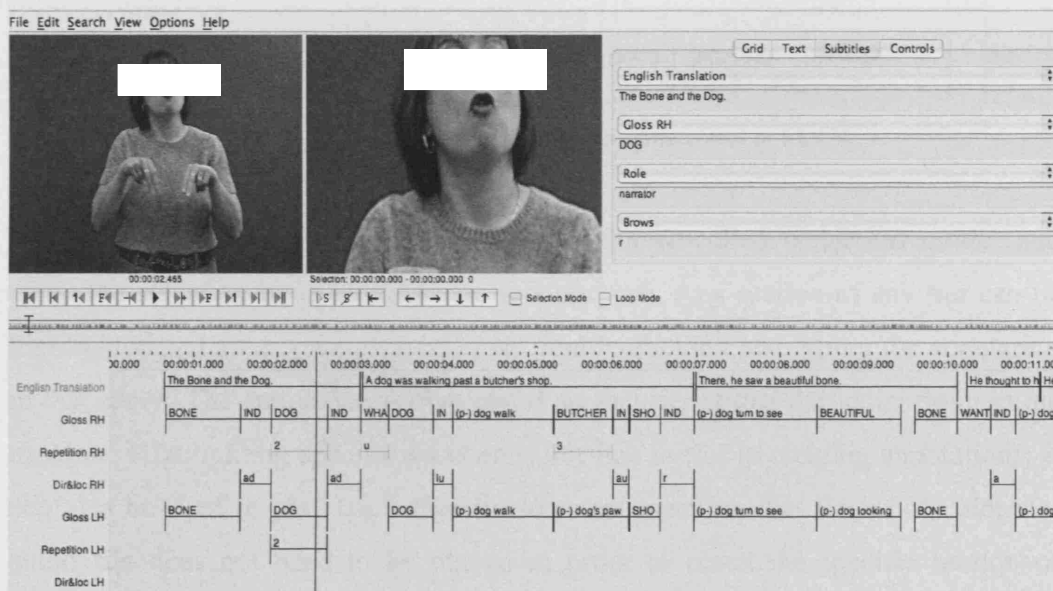


Figure 3.1: Screenshot of the ELAN interface from Woll et al. (2004) (Woll et al., 2004)²⁵

As well as allowing video and audio files to be played back at normal speed, there are a number of controls that enable users to reduce or increase speed of playback and also to increase or decrease the audio volume within the programme itself. As the video/audio files play, a line scrolls across the screen within the annotation window to enable the audio, video and analysis to be accurately synchronised. Data entered into the programme are annotated using 'tiers'; a tier is a set of annotations that share the same characteristics (Nonhebel et al., 2004) such as English translations (see Figure 3.2). ELAN allows for unlimited user-specifiable tiers,

²⁵ All figures in sections 3.1-3.6 containing screenshots of ELAN are taken from Woll et al. (2004)

meaning that video and/or audio data can be annotated for multiple linguistic features.

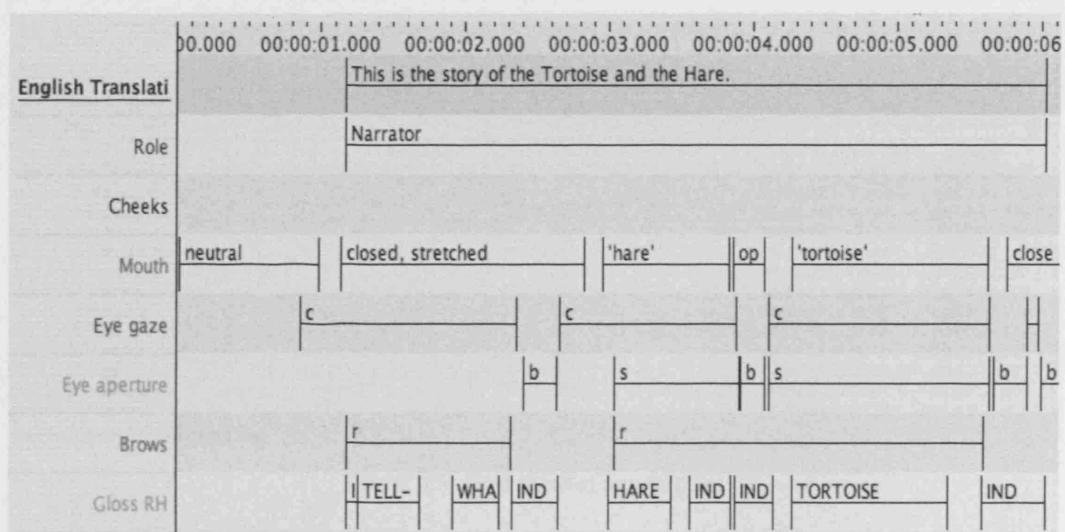


Figure 3.2: A sample of tiers and their annotations in ELAN

Annotations themselves are created in ELAN's so-called 'selection mode' and using the selection tools available for this purpose. Any section of any tier can be highlighted and an annotation created by double-clicking and typing the annotation in that space. The annotation is then saved on that tier at that particular point in the timeline. Highlighting specific sections is not just useful in creating annotations; it can also be used to play back specific sections, meaning that the whole video or audio file does not need to be played in order to reach the specific section of interest. ELAN enables quite precise highlighting of sections; users can use selection buttons to fast forward or rewind by one frame or by one second at a time. Looped playback of sections, where a particular section is repeated automatically, can also be enabled.

Annotations can be viewed in a number of ways. An overall view of all tiers and annotations is provided by the main screen in ELAN (see above), where the order of tiers can be reorganised by clicking on the name of a specific tier and dragging it up or down to the desired place. Figures 3.3-3.5 show the different ways in which annotations can be viewed, namely grid, text or subtitle form. Grid and text views show the complete set of annotations for one tier; any tier can be selected for

viewing in this way. Grid view provides a detailed overview of each annotation, with begin time, end time and duration, whereas text view shows the complete set of annotations with no other information, as shown in Figures 3.3 and 3.4.

Nr	Annotation	Begin Time	End Time	Duration
1	Narrator	00:00:00...	00:00...	00:00:21.970
2	Narrator/Hare	00:00:22...	00:00...	00:00:04.720
3	Narrator	00:00:26...	00:00...	00:00:03.690
4	Hare	00:00:30...	00:00...	00:00:05.469
5	Narrator/Hare	00:00:36...	00:00...	00:00:00.740
6	Hare	00:00:36...	00:00...	00:00:02.240
7	Narrator	00:00:41...	00:00...	00:00:00.990
8	Tortoise	00:00:43...	00:00...	00:00:07.192
9	Hare	00:00:50...	00:00...	00:00:02.242
10	Tortoise	00:00:53...	00:00...	00:00:03.222
11	Hare	00:00:56...	00:01...	00:00:17.966
12	Narrator	00:01:15...	00:01...	00:00:01.020
13	Tortoise	00:01:16...	00:01...	00:00:24.710

Selection: 00:00:00.010 - 00:00:03.950 3940

Figure 3.3: Grid view of annotations

Narrator · Narrator/Hare · Narrator · Hare · Narrator/Hare · Hare · Narrator · Tortoise · Hare · Tortoise · Hare · Narrator · Tortoise · Narrator · narrator/Mrs Fox · Narrator · Narrator/Tortoise · Narrator/Hare · Hare · Narrator · Narrator/Hare · Hare · Narrator/Hare · Narrator · Narrator/Hare · Hare · Narrator · Narrator/Hare? · Narrator ·

Selection: 00:00:00.100 - 00:00:22.070 21970

Figure 3.4: Text view of annotations

Subtitle view allows the user to view more than one tier at a time, but only one annotation at a time (see Figure 3.5).

Role
Narrator
English
friends
Brows
r
Eye gaze
p

Selection: 00:00:06.660 - 00:00:10.010 3350

Figure 3.5: Subtitle view of annotations

Each overall set of tiers and annotations is saved in a programme-specific transcription (.eaf) file which is created and linked automatically to video and/or audio data when video or audio data is first opened in ELAN. Both transcription files and individual sets of annotations can be exported in various formats, such as HTML or tab-delimited text; transcription files of various formats can also be imported and merged with existing ELAN transcription files.

3.4. Coding of BSL data

The BSL data used in this study were transcribed by the team who collected the data for the ECHO corpus (Woll et al., 2004) and annotated in accordance with Nonhebel et al.'s (2004) sign language transcription conventions for the ECHO project. The BSL data were coded with fourteen different tiers, including gloss (a rough word-for-sign English translation), repetition, direction and spatial location, head, eyebrows, eye aperture, eye gaze, mouth, cheeks, role and full English translation. Not all of these tiers are relevant to the study of how point of view is marked, thus only the relevant tiers will be discussed in the following sections, namely the gloss, eye gaze, role and English translation tiers. A table detailing all the values used in coding the BSL data and their definitions is at the end of this section.

3.4.1. Description of tiers and basic annotation conventions

3.4.1.1. Gloss tiers

Glossing is a common way of transcribing signs based on their meaning and involves giving roughly a word-for-sign English translation. In the ECHO data, there is a tier for right hand gloss and a tier for left hand gloss. If a one-handed sign was produced with the right or the left hand, the according gloss was added to the respective tier. If a sign was produced by both hands, the gloss was added to both the right and left hand gloss tiers (see Figure 3.6).

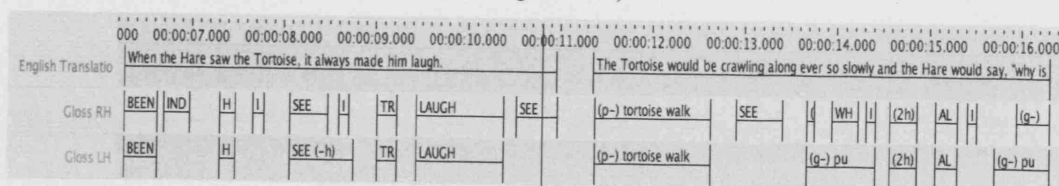


Figure 3.6: Example of the gloss tiers

3.4.1.2. Eye gaze

Eye gaze, the direction in which the signer looks, can also be annotated, with values including left, right, upwards and downwards. An example of this tier is shown in Figure 3.7. The complete range of values used in coding these data can be seen in Table 3.1.

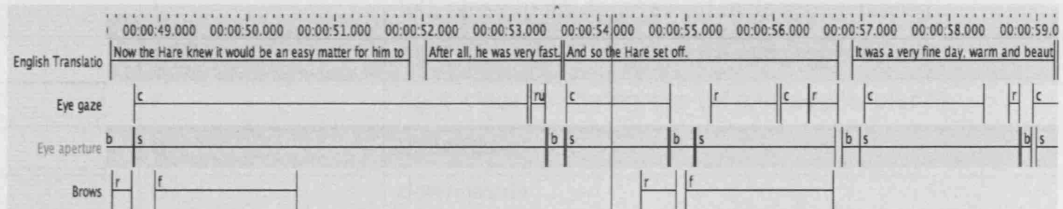


Figure 3.7: Example of the eye tier

3.4.1.3. Role tier

The role tier depicts the point of view from which the story is being told, i.e. when the participant takes on the role of a particular character during the narrative (referential shift). When no referential shift is being used, the tier is coded using the default value of narrator. In the BSL data, three types of roles are coded: narrator, character, and a narrator/character mix (where there are elements of both narration and some elements of referential shift). An example of this tier is shown in Figure 3.8.

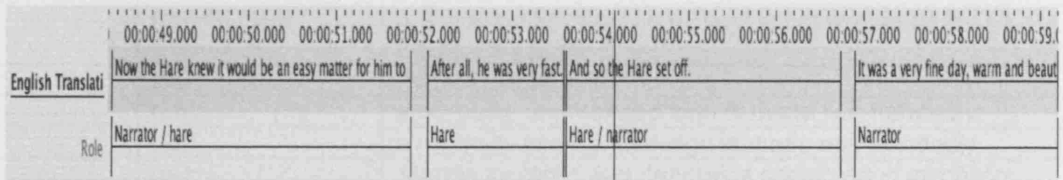


Figure 3.8: Example of the role tier

3.4.1.4. Translation tier

This provides a full translation of the BSL into English, rather than the more literal word-for-sign translation used for the gloss tiers. Figure 3.9 shows a section of coding for English translation.

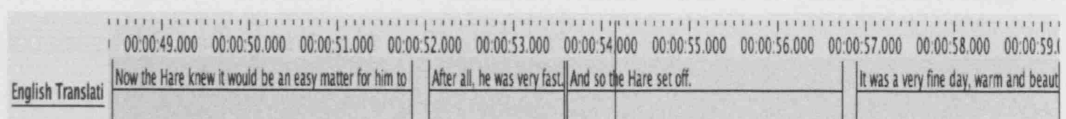


Figure 3.9: Example of the translation tier

3.4.1.5. Tier values for BSL data

The values used in coding the BSL data are shown in Table 3.1.

Tier	Value	Explanation	
Eye gaze	l-90	left, close to 90 degrees (of midsagittal plane)	
	l	left, close to 45 degrees (of midsagittal plane)	
	r-90	right, close to 90 degrees (of midsagittal plane)	
	r	right, close to 45 degrees (of midsagittal plane)	
	u	upwards	
	d	downwards	
	lh	to the left hand	
	rh	to the right hand	
	bh	to both hands	
	p	towards a person present	
	c	towards the camera	
	Eye aperture	b	(eye aperture) blink
	Role	Narrator	section told from the perspective of the participant
Character		section told from the perspective of a character	
Narrator/Character		section told from the perspective of both narrator (participant) and character	
Gloss RH/LH	GLOSS	gloss of individual signs are indicated using the rough word-for-sign equivalent in English. A sign for 'boy' would thus be glossed as BOY following the convention of writing glosses in capital letters.	
	(fs-) GLOSS	A fingerspelled word, e.g. 'boy' is not written as B-O-Y but as (fs-) BOY	
	IND	Pointing sign, index	
	(2h)	a normally one-handed sign is made two-handedly	
	(1h)	a normally two-handed sign is made one-handedly	
	(p-)	Stands for 'poly' and denotes a construction involving many meaning components such as a classifier	
	(-h)	identifies a final hold of the sign	
	(g-)	a gesture, e.g. (g-) pu means palms up	

Table 3.1: Tier values used in coding BSL data

3.5. Observations of the BSL coding and English video data

In order to decide if the coding produced as part of the ECHO corpus was usable for this current study and also to determine which tiers should be used in coding the spoken English data, there are a number of observations to be made concerning the existing BSL coding and spoken English video data.

3.5.1. BSL coding

The overall quality of the videos was good and the signing could be easily understood. The point of view from which the story was coded by Woll et al. (2004) using three categories, namely narrator, character and combined narrator/character. Narrator/character roles contain elements of both narrator and character's points of view. For the most part, Woll et al.'s (2004) coding for role is consistent, with a change in role being coded only when the point of view changes (e.g. when direct discourse is used). However, some of the coding was done in a different way, particularly for B1. In B1's narratives, at least one role token was coded for each English sentence within the translation tier rather than according to the BSL glosses. This meant that in some cases, one role token has been coded for each translated English sentence, even when the type of role did not change across these sentence boundaries. An example of this is shown in Figure 3.10, where two tokens of narrator role have been coded for each translated English sentence. However, it is clear when watching the signing that the type of role does not change across these two utterances and should be coded using one role token, not two. If the coding in Figure 3.10 were used to analyse the number of roles or changes in role throughout one story, this would lead to false results for two reasons. Firstly, the number of individual roles would be higher than if such sections were coded as one role and secondly, it would mean that coding for role was not consistent across all the BSL narratives.

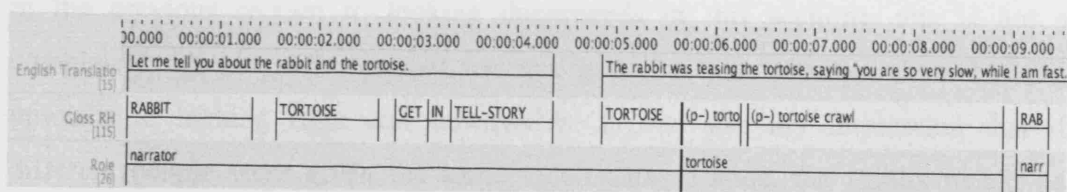


Figure 3.10: Example of coding according to English utterances

For the majority of the BSL data, role has been coded by Woll et al. (2004) according to the BSL gloss, not the English translation. An example of this is shown in Figure 3.11.

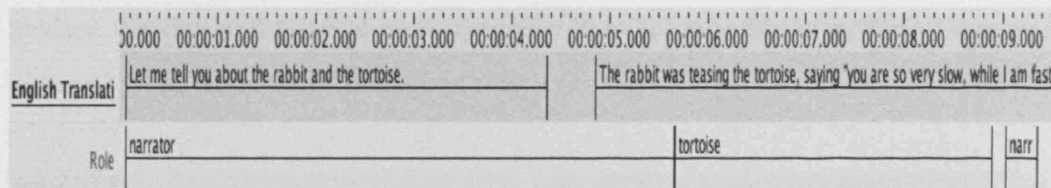


Figure 3.11: Example of the coding according to changes in point of view

All the role coding was re-checked and recoded where appropriate. In addition, there were a few instances where the type of role used was felt to be incorrect; these were also changed. This recoding was checked by a deaf native signer who has experience with ELAN, and who agreed with all the changes that had been made.

The view of the face using the second video window – which is focused on the face area – was reasonably clear, apart from the fact that the eye movements were difficult to see clearly even with this magnified view. At times the complex eye movements coded in ELAN for those particular sections of data were not completely clear. An example of this is shown in Figure 3.12 below: the video window shows the section of the video where the red timeline is located. Although the eye movement is coded as *rd* (right, looking downwards), it is almost impossible to see the actual eye gaze even in the second, magnified, video clip, and this applies to the whole of this section (highlighted in blue in the figure below). Although it is possible to infer that the signer is looking right and downwards when her head position is taken into account (her head position changes from looking up in the previous section to looking downwards in this section), this is not a completely reliable indicator that her eye gaze has also changed from looking upwards to looking right and downwards. It was also my impression that if different people were given the same video data to code, the results would be variable and the coding would take a very long time. A simpler way of coding eye movement would thus be needed for the English data. The possibility of adding a second tier for simplified eye gaze movement in the BSL data was also considered, e.g. coding for eye gaze straight ahead (towards camera) or not straight ahead. However, this is not necessary for the BSL data as eye gaze towards camera has already been coded and, furthermore, the other eye gaze movements provide an indicator as to when eye gaze is not towards the camera. It was thus decided to

analyse the first and last eye gaze in each role to see whether direction of eye gaze changed when there was a change in role.



Figure 3.12: Example of the difficulties in coding eye gaze

3.5.2. English data observations

A number of observations were made regarding the spoken English data. The overall quality of the video data for the spoken English data was good, and hand, head and facial movements could be easily seen. However, eye movements were again difficult to interpret. As with the BSL data, the stories could be divided into different roles according to duration and using the same values of narrator, character and narrator/character.

In addition, certain of the BSL tier values would be redundant in coding the English data, such as the gloss tiers. There were also elements present in the spoken English data that were not present in the BSL tiers, including creative use of prosodic/intonational elements such as pitch, duration and loudness for emphasis, to display a character's emotions or using a particular tone of voice to denote a particular character. Due to my deafness the speech was at times difficult for me to understand and thus I recruited a hearing person to help with the coding of these

prosodic elements, as well as the English transcription. The spoken English storytellers used a considerable amount of co-speech gesture which would also need to be coded.

3.5.3. Observations in both sets of data

Some observations were relevant to both sets of data. Firstly, it is possible that a change in body and/or head position could be used to mark a change in point of view (e.g. McClave, 2000; Sandler, 1999). Therefore, the possibility of adding further tiers for head and body position had to be considered. Although the participants for both the English and the BSL data were asked to stand whilst telling their stories, the spoken English participants moved around a great deal more than the BSL participants, who tended to stay in one position throughout their stories and just move the upper body. The spoken English participants tended to walk around the space and move their upper bodies much more. This had no effect on the quality of the English video data as the space in which they moved around was always within the camera range. In the end, a tier for body position was not added as body movements used in the English data were not consistent and coding such movements would have been difficult. It would be possible to draw up a list of categories for coding head and body movements, but these would have to be simplified and would thus be difficult to code. The same applies to head movements. Although the coding for the BSL data contains a tier for head movements, only nods, shakes and tilts are coded, but no other head movements or direction of head movements. In spoken English, head movements, like body movements, were again not consistent.

Secondly, both sets of data contain information within individual tiers that might be useful in the study of how point of view is represented in both languages, such as pronouns and lexical items denoting mental state (see also section 3.6.2.3). Again, the possibility of adding further tiers for such elements had to be considered. However, such elements are contained within existing tiers, such as the gloss and English transcription tiers, and thus additional tiers were not strictly necessary. Furthermore, ELAN has a search function, meaning that elements such as first

person pronouns could easily be searched for and total numbers calculated if necessary.

After listening to and looking at the English data, and bearing in mind the above considerations, the following procedure and method for coding the English data was undertaken.

3.6. Coding of English data

3.6.1. Creation of tiers

The video data for each of the spoken English stories was loaded in ELAN and linked to a new .eaf annotation file. Before adding new tiers, a linguistic type has to be defined for the programme; this was defined as English, and new tiers were then added using the programme's tier editing console. It was then possible to input annotations for these tiers.

As many of the tiers used for the BSL data as possible were created for the English data in order to facilitate a direct comparison of the data. Three tiers were exactly the same as for the BSL data, namely the eye tiers and role tiers. A screenshot of the overall coding for one of the English stories is shown in Figure 3.13.

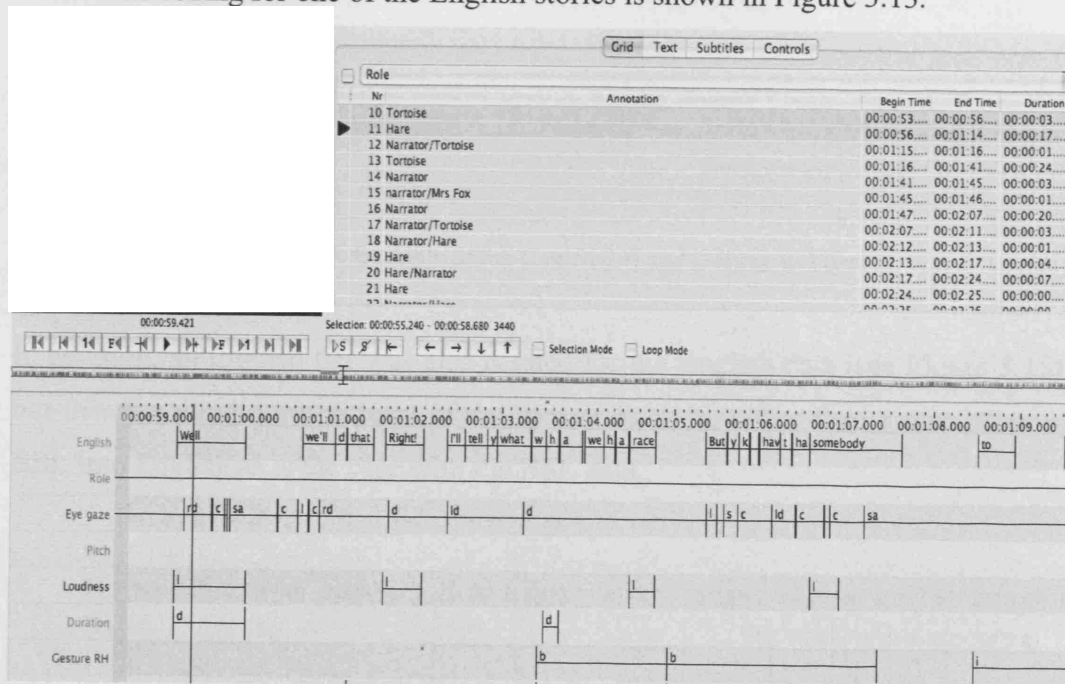


Figure 3.13: A section of E1's narrative of The Tortoise and the Hare fable

3.6.1.1. Applicability of existing tiers

Not all the tiers used for the BSL data were applicable to the spoken English data. As English is a spoken language, it was not necessary to have gloss tiers providing a word-for-sign gloss as with the BSL data.

3.6.1.2. Modifications to existing tiers

Spoken language users naturally gesture while they talk (e.g. McNeill, 1992; Kendon, 2004). Thus although the gloss tiers were not applicable to the English data, two tiers for the left and right hands were added for these data in order to code the kinds of manual gestures each speaker used. Data was coded using McNeill's (1992) gesture classification. McNeill's (1992) classification consists of four main types of co-speech gesture: iconics, metaphoric, beats and deictics (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2.3.1 for a detailed discussion of these). Iconic gestures (denoted by *i*) were coded whenever a speaker depicted an action or aspects of a character, e.g. a character running. A metaphoric gesture (denoted by *m*) was coded whenever a speaker used gestures to help explain an abstract concept. Beat gestures (denoted by *b*) were coded for each instance of a meaningless gesture which accompanied the rhythm of the speech, and deictic, or pointing, gestures (denoted by *d*) coded each time the speaker used a pointing gesture. Figure 3.14 below shows an example of the left and right hand gesture tiers.

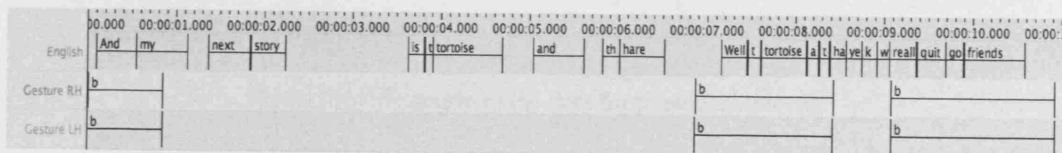


Figure 3.14: Example of the Gesture LH and Gesture RH tiers

In addition, an English tier was also created for the English data (see Figure 3.15), but this is a direct written form of the spoken English, rather than a translation of BSL into English as is the case with the BSL data.

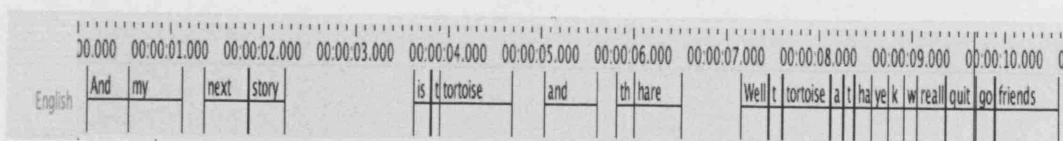


Figure 3.15: Example of the English transcription tier

3.6.1.3. Creation of additional modality-specific tiers

As English is a spoken language, additional tiers for prosodic elements were added. Prosody in spoken languages is as important for conveying changes in meaning as non-manual features in sign language. The main prosodic features of spoken language are tone, stress and intonation, the phonetic correlates of which are pitch, loudness and duration. These elements often co-occurred in the English data and/or overlapped with each other; it was thus decided to create three additional tiers for pitch, loudness and duration, rather than just one tier (see Figure 3.16). The coding values for these tiers were, however, kept simple. Loudness and duration were marked using the values *l* and *d* respectively. These elements were coded whenever the speaker's voice differed from what was typical for that speaker, e.g. loudness when a word was spoken noticeably louder than was typical for that speaker, and duration when a word or phrase was a noticeably longer or shorter length than normal. Pitch was again coded whenever the pitch of the speaker's voice differed noticeably from what was typical for that speaker. Changes in pitch were coded for high or low pitch (*hp*, *lp*), rising pitch (*rp*) or falling pitch (*fp*).

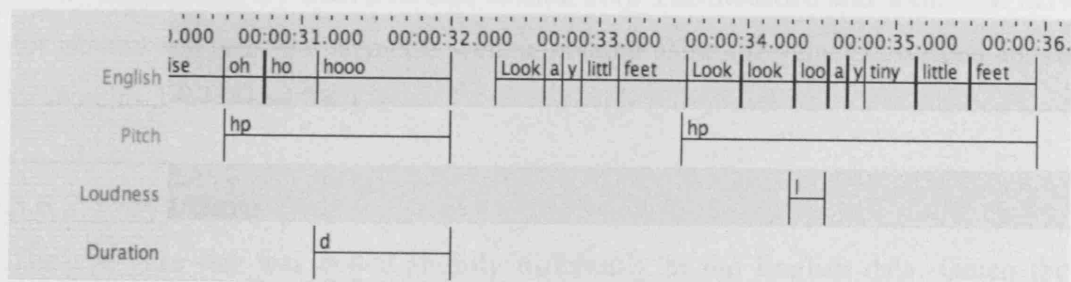


Figure 3.16: Example of the tiers for prosodic elements

To summarise, a complete list of all the tiers used for both sets of data can be seen in Table 3.2 below:

BSL tiers	English tiers
Eye gaze	Eye gaze
Eye aperture	Eye aperture
Role	Role
English translation	English transcription
Gloss RH	Gesture RH
Gloss LH	Gesture LH
	Pitch
	Loudness
	Duration

Table 3.2: List of tiers in both sets of data

3.6.2. Annotation procedure for English data

Annotations were created for the English data using the procedure described in section 3.6.1. Whilst most of the annotations were done by myself, two hearing people were recruited to help with the English transcription and pitch, loudness and duration tiers. Annotations for the role and eye gaze tiers were undertaken using the same values as for the BSL data (see section 3.4). The modified and additional tiers for gesture and prosodic elements were annotated using the values described above in sections 3.6.1.2 and 3.6.1.3.

3.6.2.1. Eye Gaze

The eye gaze tier was coded slightly differently in the English data. Given the difficulties with eye gaze mentioned in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, eye gaze was only coded for the beginning and end of each role using the same values as for the BSL data.

3.6.2.2. Role

The role tier in the English data was coded using the same values as in the BSL data (narrator, character, narrator/character). These were defined primarily according to the type of pronouns used in a given section. If the participant used third person pronouns referring to the characters in the story or first person pronouns referring to him/herself, the role was coded as narrator. If the participant used first person pronouns referring to a character in the story within a direct

quotation, role was coded as the respective character. An example of this is the following sentence from 'The Tortoise and the Hare' with E1, where 'I' refers to the tortoise and 'she' refers to the character Mrs. Fox: "*I think she will be very fair*". In passages such as these, it was clear to whom each pronoun referred as there were a number of other cues which marked the point of view, such as the use of iconic gestures or an introductory phrase, e.g. *The tortoise said, "I think she will be very fair"*.

There were also some sections where the participants used third person pronouns to refer to the characters in the story not using direct quotation but other elements such as the participant's facial expression, intonation or gestures indicated that the participant was at least partially viewing the scene from the perspective of a character. In these cases, role was coded as narrator/character. Figure 3.17 below shows an example of this: the participant in this case is telling the story using third person pronouns, i.e. from the perspective of the narrator, but is also portraying the hare's perspective by using eye aperture and other elements to indicate that the hare is asleep.

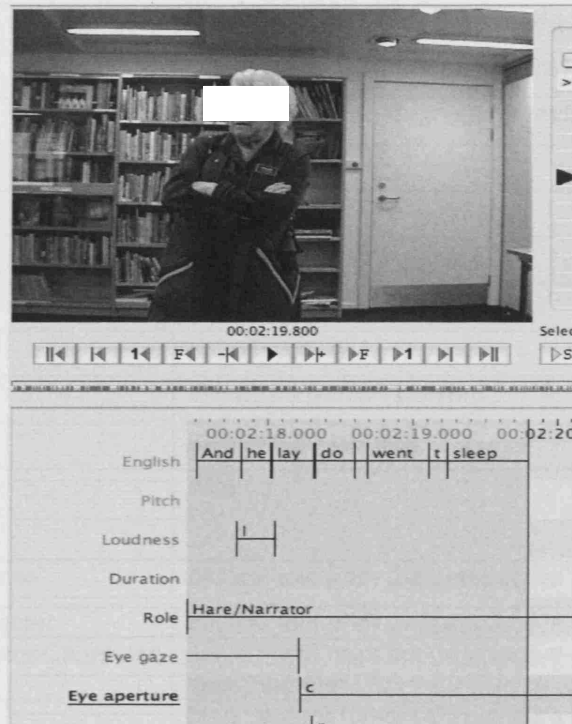


Figure 3.17: Example of coding for narrator/character

3.6.2.3. Lexical items denoting mental state

Words denoting mental state can be used to underline the point of view from which an utterance is being expressed; these may allow an addressee to put themselves into the shoes of a character. The frequency of these items were calculated using ELAN's search function rather than creating a separate tier. However, it is still necessary to discuss how these lexical items were coded. Lexical items denoting mental state were classified according to Levin (1993), and include lexical items denoting psychological state, such as *(to) admire*, *(to) shock*, and words of perception (*see*) that can give an insight into a character's thoughts or feelings. In addition lexical items denoting communication (*say*) were also examined as these often precede direct discourse in spoken English, as in *He said, "I wanted to go out tonight"*.

3.6.2.4. Tier values used for spoken English data

The tier values used for coding the spoken English data are shown in Table 3.3.

Tier	Value	Explanation
Eye gaze	r-90	right, close to 90 degrees (of midsagittal plane)
	r	right, close to 45 degrees (of midsagittal plane)
	u	upwards
	d	downwards
	lh	to the left hand
	rh	to the right hand
	Bh	to both hands
	p	towards a person present
	c	towards the camera
Eye aperture	b	blink
Role	Narrator	section told from the perspective of the participant
	Character	section told from the perspective of a character
	Narrator/Character	section told from the perspective of both participant and character
	b	beat gesture (co-speech gesture that coincides with the rhythmic action of speech)
	d	deictic gestures (pointing at someone/an object)
Gesture RH/LH	m	metaphoric gesture (depicts an image but of an abstract concept)
	l	iconic gesture (depicts the scene being described in speech)
	hp	high pitch (where pitch differs noticeably from speaker's normal pitch)
	lp	low pitch
Pitch	rp	rising pitch
	fp	falling pitch
	l	a word or syllable sounds louder than what is typical for that speaker, e.g. if emphasis is being placed on a particular word
	d	the duration of a word is longer than what is typical for that speaker, e.g. it took a <i>looong</i> time
Loudness		
Duration		

Table 3.3: Tier values used for coding of spoken English data

3.6.2.5. Validation of coding

A second coder was instructed in how to use ELAN and the values being used for each of the tiers and asked to code 2 minutes of one story in order to see whether the coding done for the English data accurately and consistently followed the system outlined above. Coding done by this person resulted in the same coding at the same points in the story for each tier, except for a few slight differences in overall duration of some annotations; some annotations were a few milliseconds longer or shorter than my annotations. However, given that the overall actual

coding was the same, this provided some validation of the coding undertaken for the English data.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology for this thesis, including data collection, the use of the ECHO corpus and coding of the data. Various difficulties with the data coding were outlined, e.g. role, eye gaze and head and body movements, and where appropriate explanations given as to how these were dealt with. The following two chapters describe the results obtained. Chapter 4 discusses one story in detail 'The Tortoise and the Hare', and Chapter 5 compares and contrasts the results obtained in Chapter 4 with two further stories 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone'.

CHAPTER 4 – POINT OF VIEW IN ‘THE TORTOISE AND THE HARE’

4.1. Introduction and Aims

The aim of this chapter is to undertake a detailed analysis of one story, ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, told in BSL and English. Two narratives from each language are analysed, in order to see how point of view is marked in both languages. The results from this detailed examination of a single complex story should elucidate similarities and differences between the BSL and spoken English narratives and also provide some indication of differences between storytellers in each language. The information will then be used in Chapter 5 as the basis for a comparative analysis of further stories of differing structures.

4.2. Analysis of point of view in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’

In order to compare how point of view is marked in BSL and spoken English in this story, the first element to compare is role, as this forms the basis for analysing other elements that may help to mark point of view, such as eye gaze.

4.2.1. Role

As described in Chapter 3, in both the BSL and spoken English stories, three types of role were coded: narrator, character/narrator and character. In order to look at the actual sequence of roles and thus the overall discourse structure of the story, a ‘flow chart’ graphic representation has been created whereby each role type that occurs in the story is represented by a box in the sequence in which it occurs. Each box contains the role, as well as the duration of that role. This kind of representation allows flexibility, as not only can timings be shown for each role, but the individual elements that occur during each role can also be added (e.g. head movements, gestures etc). Figures 4.1-4.4 below are the flow charts for the sequence of roles that occur in the BSL and spoken English narratives of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’.

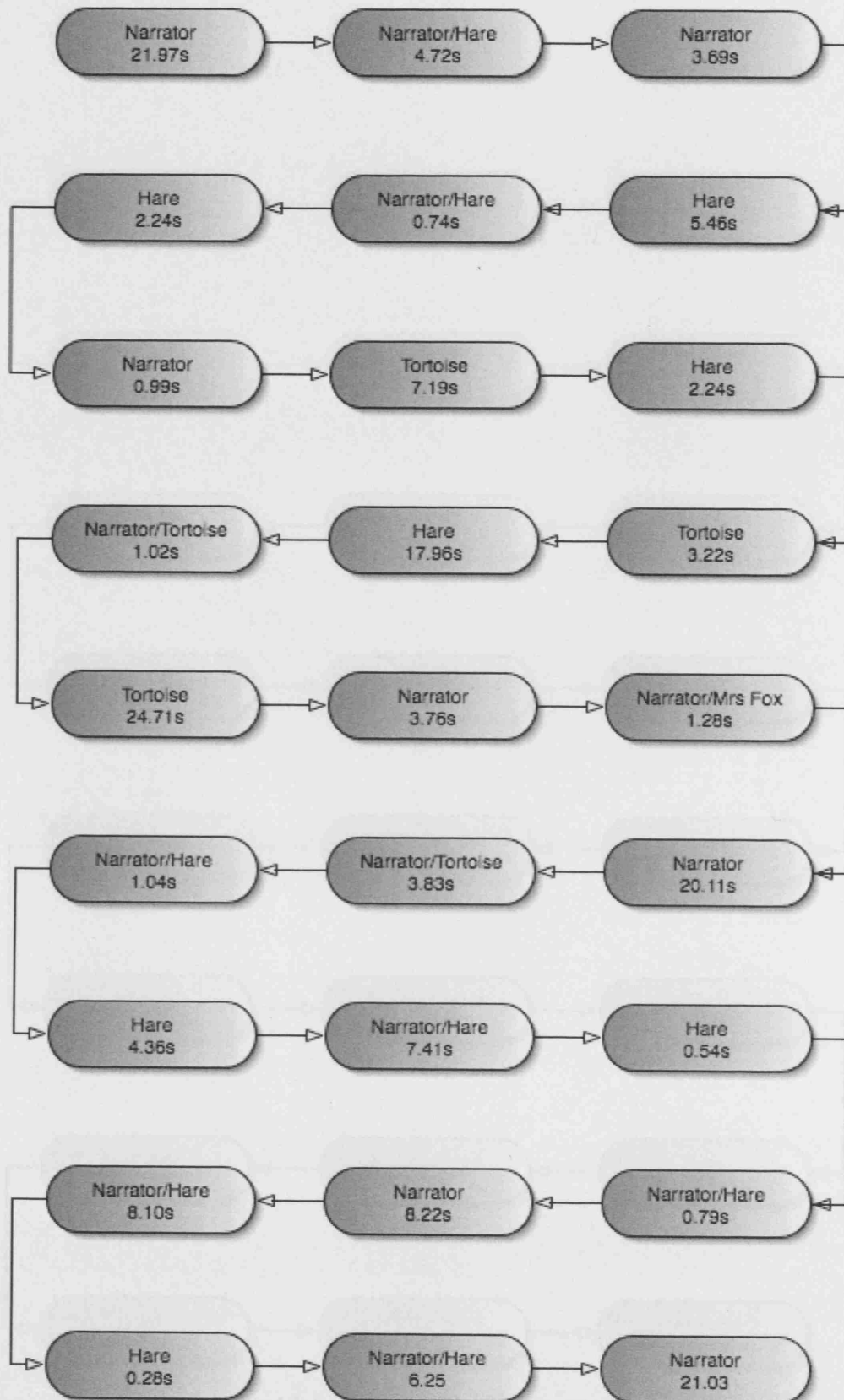


Figure 4.1: Sequence of Role Types used by E1

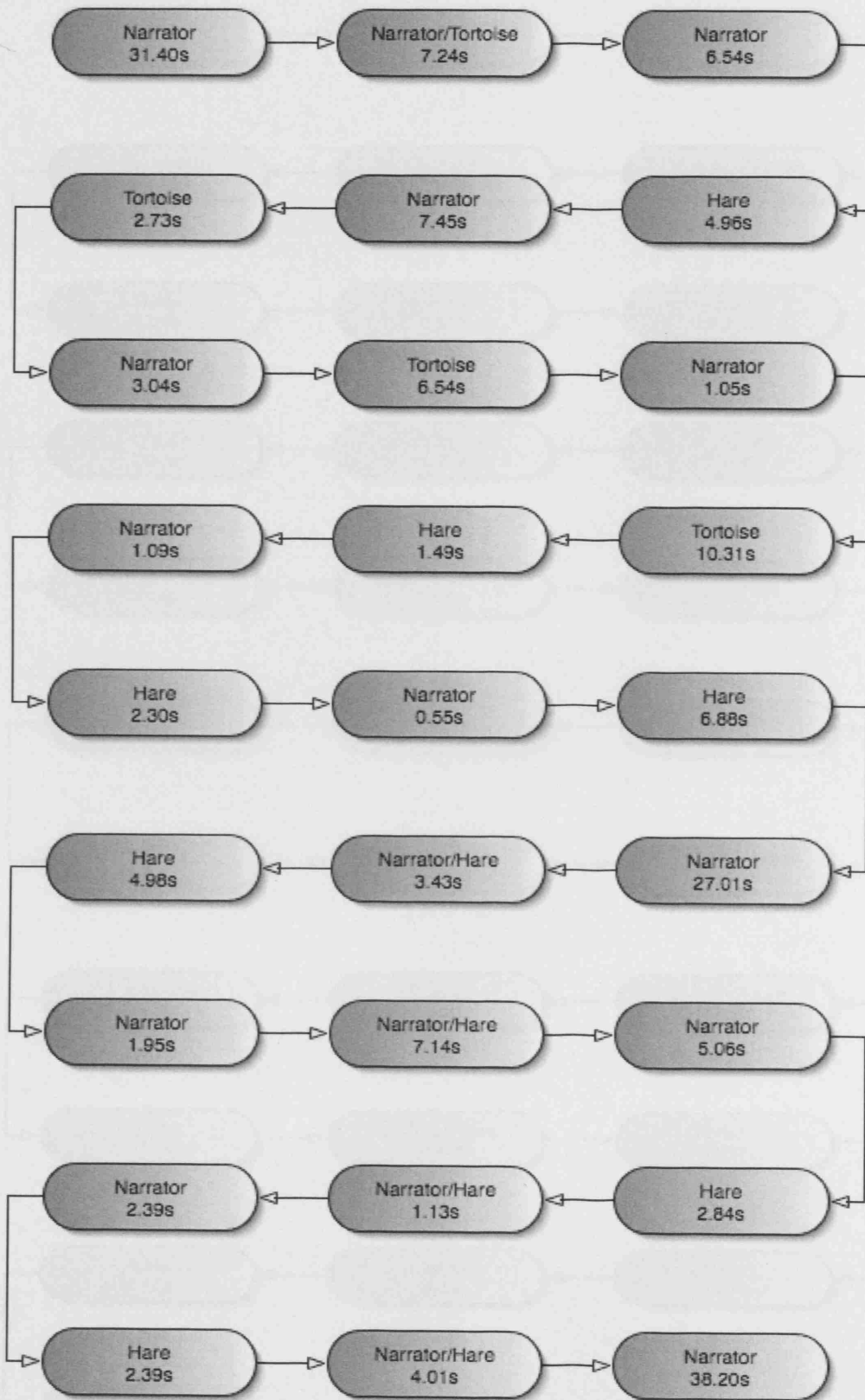


Figure 4.2: Sequence of Role Types used by E2

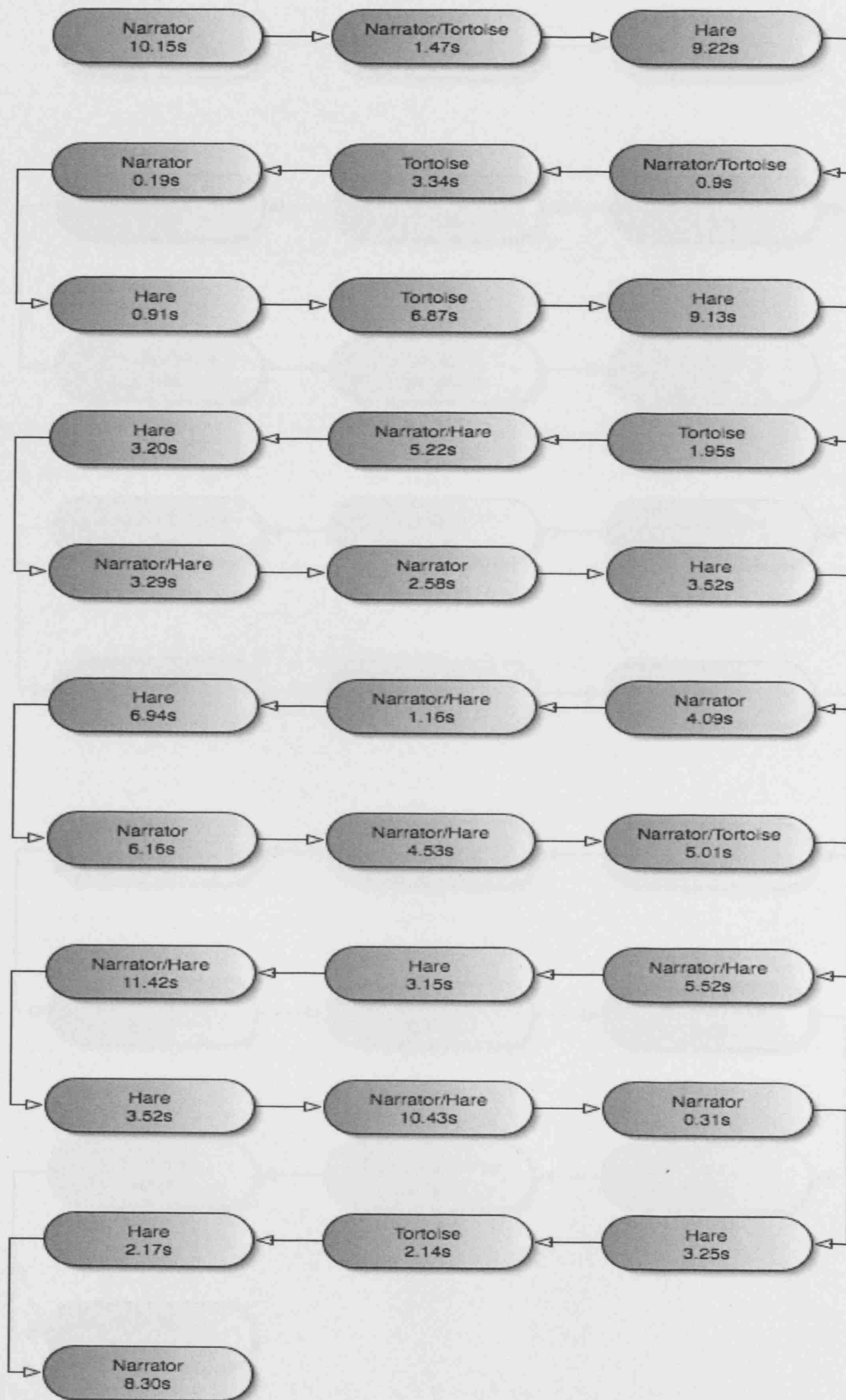


Figure 4.3: Sequence of Role Types used by B1

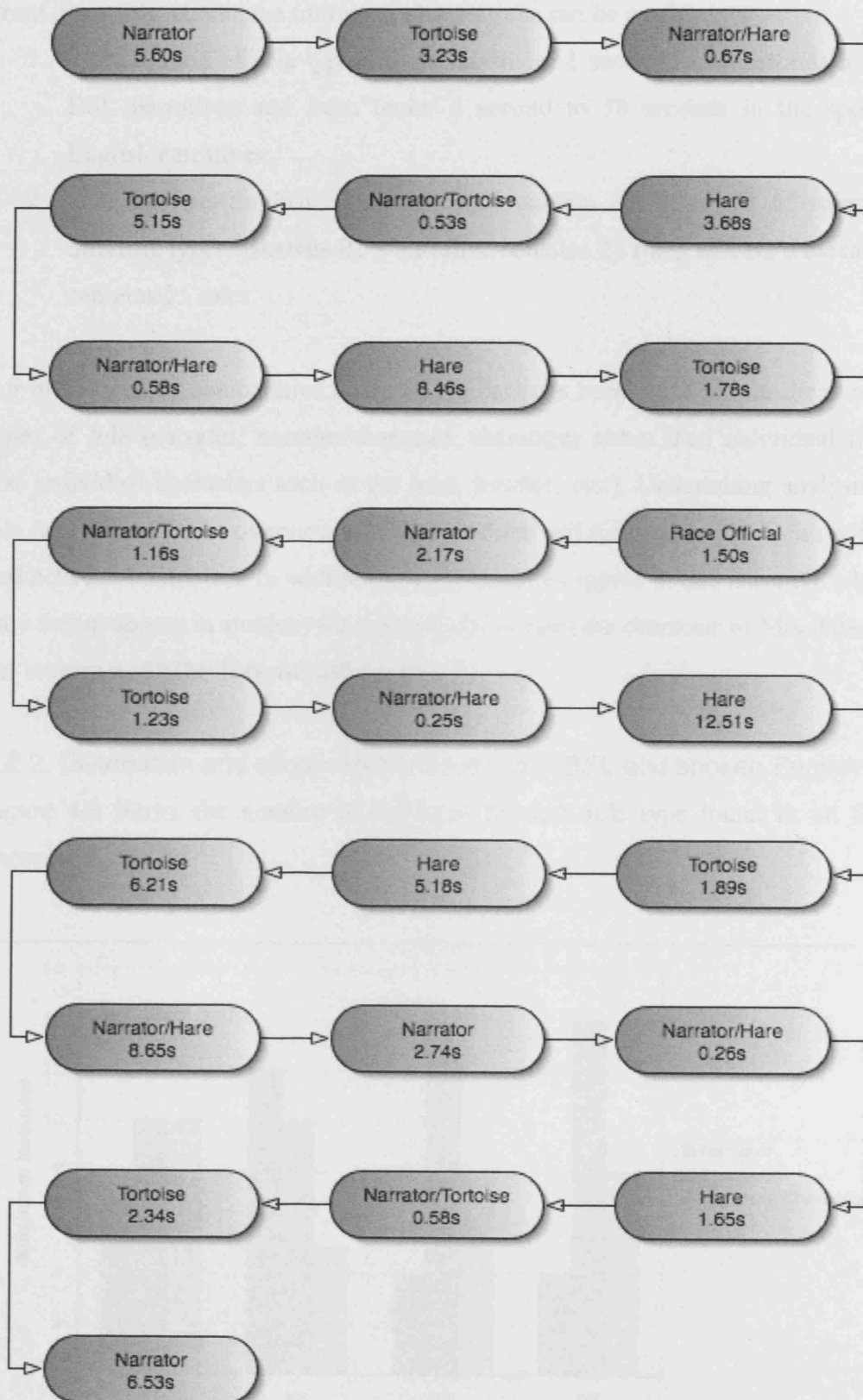


Figure 4.4: Sequence of Role Types used by B2

From these flow charts, the following observations can be made:

1. The duration of role types vary from under 1 second to 10 seconds in the BSL narratives and from under 1 second to 38 seconds in the spoken English narratives.
2. Both spoken English narratives both contain 27 instances of roles of differing types, whereas B1's narrative contains 31 roles, and B2's narrative contains 25 roles.

For more detailed comparative analysis, the data has been reduced into the overall types of role (narrator, narrator/character, character) rather than individual roles (i.e. individual characters such as the hare, tortoise, etc.). Undertaking analysis in this way allows for an overview of the similarities and differences used both within and between modalities. In addition, some characters appear in one narrative where they do not appear in another; for example, E1 creates the character of Mrs. Fox for her narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'.

4.2.2. Distribution and sequence of role types in BSL and spoken English

Figure 4.5 shows the number of instances of each role type found in all four narratives.

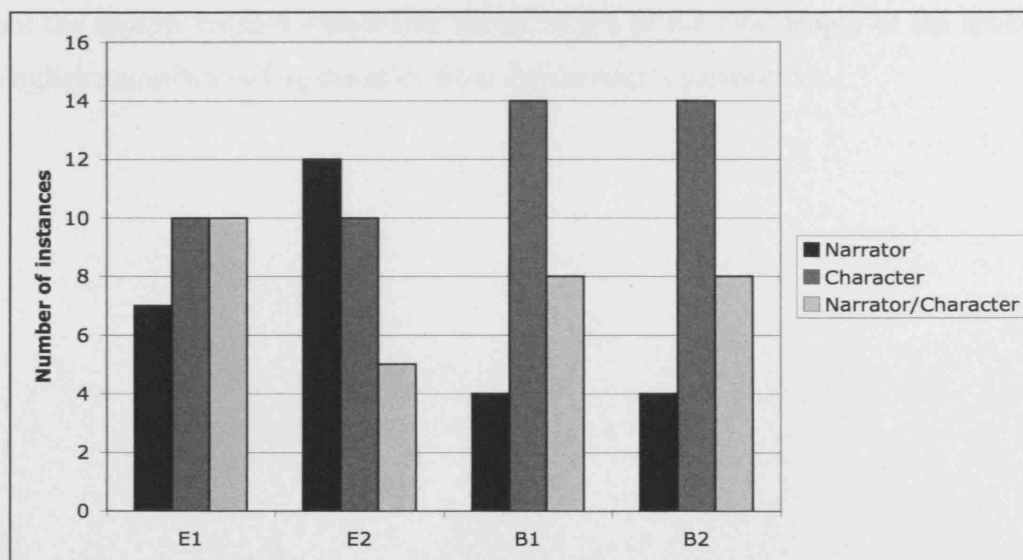


Figure 4.5: Number of instances of role types present in both the BSL and spoken English narratives

This shows that the BSL narratives contain similar number of instances of each role type, whereas the English narratives show some variation. Both spoken English narratives contain an equal number of character roles. However, E2's narrative contains more narrator roles than E1's narrative, and E1's narrative contains more narrator/character roles than E2's narrative. Character roles are the predominant role types in both BSL narratives, whereas the English narratives show differences in which role types are predominant. For E1, character and narrator/character roles are the predominant role types, whereas narrator and character roles occur more often in E2's narrative.

Another way to look at this set of data is to relate it to the timing of each role. Tables 4.1 to 4.4 below give the raw data. The timings listed under each role type are listed in the temporal sequence in which they occur for that role type; this is not, however, indicative of the discourse structure overall as seen in the flow charts above. From these tables, it is clear that that the relative timings of the individual roles vary considerably. This is particularly marked in narrator roles in all four narratives; the BSL storytellers spend a combined total of 48.82s in narrator roles in their narratives, whereas the spoken English storytellers spend a combined total of 205.50s in narrator roles. In other words, the BSL storytellers spend 21.8% of the total length of the BSL narratives telling the story from the narrator's perspective, but the spoken English storytellers spend 54.8% of the total length of the spoken English narratives telling the story from the narrator's perspective.

The Tortoise and the Hare: E1							
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator / Tortoise	Narrator/ Hare	Narrator / Mrs. Fox	Grand Total
First	21.97	7.19	5.46	1.02	4.27	1.28	
Second	3.69	3.22	2.24	3.83	0.74		
Third	0.99	24.71	2.24		1.04		
Fourth	3.76		17.96		7.41		
Fifth	20.11		4.36		0.79		
Sixth	8.22		0.54		8.10		
Seventh	21.03		0.28		6.25		
Eighth							
Ninth							
Tenth							
Time (seconds)	79.77	35.12	33.08	1.02	29.05	1.28	179.32
Percentage	44.48%	19.59%	18.45%	0.57%	16.20%	0.71%	100%

The Tortoise and the Hare: E2						
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator/ Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Grand Totals
First	31.40	2.73	4.96	7.14	7.24	
Second	6.54	6.54	1.49	1.13		
Third	7.45	10.31	2.30	4.01		
Fourth	3.04		6.88	3.43		
Fifth	1.05		4.98			
Sixth	1.09		2.84			
Seventh	0.55		2.39			
Eighth	27.01					
Ninth	1.95					
Tenth	5.06					
Eleventh	2.39					
Twelfth	38.20					
Time (seconds)	125.73	19.58	25.84	15.71	7.24	194.10
Percentage	64.78%	10.09%	13.31%	8.09%	3.73%	100%

Tables 4.1 and 4.2: Timing data for spoken English narratives

The Tortoise and the Hare: B1							
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Narrator/ Hare	Narrator/ Mrs. Fox	Grand Totals
First	10.15	3.34	9.22	1.47	5.22		
Second	0.19	6.87	0.91	0.9	3.29		
Third	2.58	1.95	9.13	5.01	1.16		
Fourth	4.09	2.14	3.20		4.53		
Fifth	6.16		3.52		5.52		
Sixth	0.31		6.94		11.42		
Seventh	8.30		3.15		10.43		
Eighth			3.52				
Ninth			3.25				
Tenth			2.17				
Time (seconds)	31.78	14.30	45.01	7.38	41.57	0	140.04
Percentage	22.69%	10.21%	32.14%	5.27%	29.69%	0	100%

The Tortoise and the Hare: B2							
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Race Official	Narrator/ Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Grand Totals
First	5.60	3.23	3.68	1.50	0.67	0.53	
Second	2.17	5.15	8.46		0.58	1.16	
Third	2.74	1.78	12.51		0.25	0.58	
Fourth	6.53	1.23	5.18		8.65		
Fifth		1.89	1.65		0.26		
Sixth		6.21					
Seventh		2.34					
Eighth							
Ninth							
Tenth							
Time (seconds)	17.04	21.83	31.48	1.50	10.41	2.27	84.53
Percentage	20.15%	25.83%	37.24%	1.77%	12.32%	2.69%	100%

Tables 4.3 and 4.4: Timing data for the BSL narratives

Figure 4.6 below shows the time each storyteller spends in each role type. Although Figure 4.5 suggests that a higher number of character roles are used in the BSL narratives, it can be seen here that all four storytellers spend roughly the same amount of time in character roles, with E1 spending the most amount of time in such roles compared to the other three participants. Moreover, a similar amount of time is spent in narrator/character roles by three of the storytellers, with the exception of B2, who spends less than 20s in such roles.

However, such results may be misleading because the combined overall duration each storyteller spends in each role is different (179s for E1, 194s for E2, 140s for B1 and 84s for B2). If the data are normalised into percentage of time spent in each role type, this produces different results to those shown above in Figure 4.7. It can be seen that the English storytellers do in fact spend a greater percentage of time in narrator roles (44.48% for E1 and 64.78% for E2 compared to 22.69% and 18.53% for B1 and B2). In addition, the BSL storytellers spend a greater percentage of time in character roles than the English storytellers (42.35% for B1 and 76.91% for B2 compared to 38.04% for E1 and 23.4% for E2).

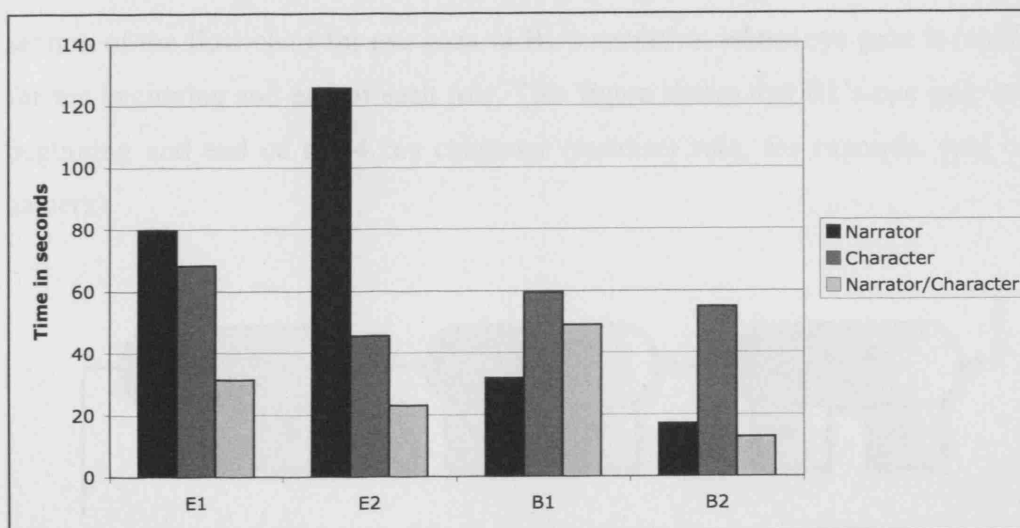


Figure 4.6: Time spent in each role type

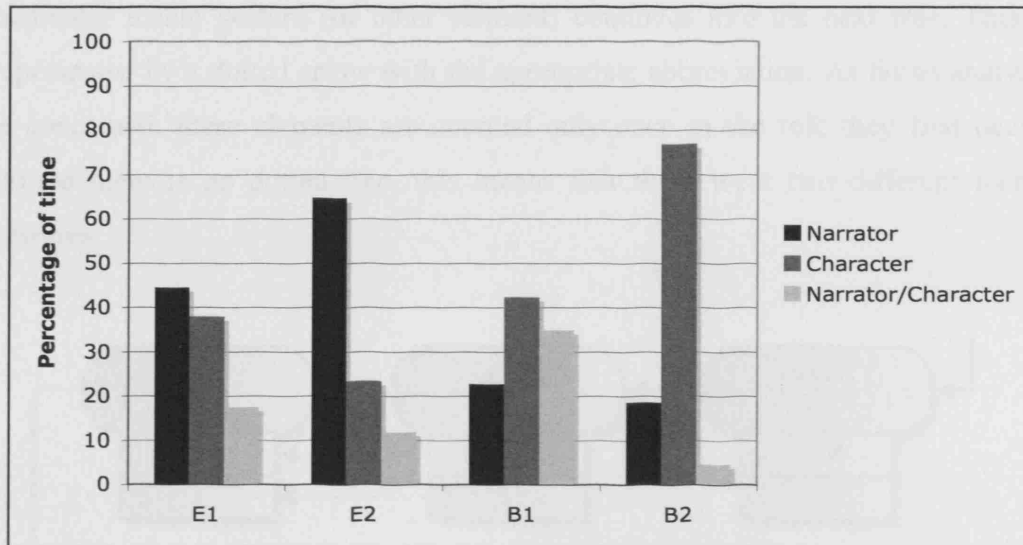


Figure 4.7: Percentage of time spent in each role type

4.3. Elements used to express point of view

The following section looks at the various elements that may be used in individual roles to help express the point of view of that character. In order to clearly demonstrate these features, the flow chart devised above to depict role has been modified. A box has been added below each role box in which the incidence of each feature is recorded. An example of this is seen in Figure 4.8, which shows a section of the flow chart for eye gaze in B1's narrative, where eye gaze is recorded for the beginning and end of each role. This figure shows that B1's eye gaze at the beginning and end of the 4.26s character (tortoise) role, for example, was *c* (to camera).

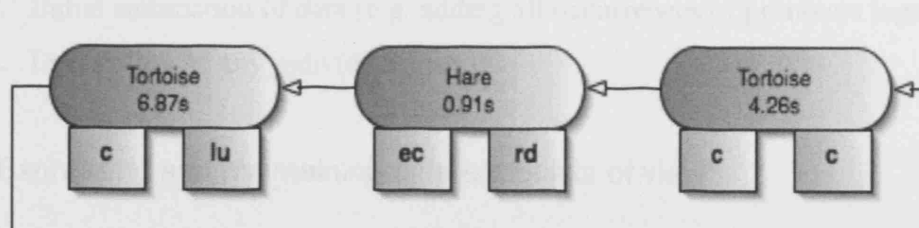


Figure 4.8: Section of a role flow chart

Occasionally, an element flows across several roles, such as in Figure 4.9. This figure shows a section of the flow chart for co-speech gestures in E1's narrative, where an iconic gesture (represented by the letter *i*) continues from a narrator/character role to a character role. This means the same token of that

particular iconic gesture (or other element) continues into the next role. This is represented by a dotted arrow with the appropriate abbreviation. As far as analysis is concerned, these elements are counted only once in the role they first occur. Where there is no dotted line, this means that there were two different iconic gestures.

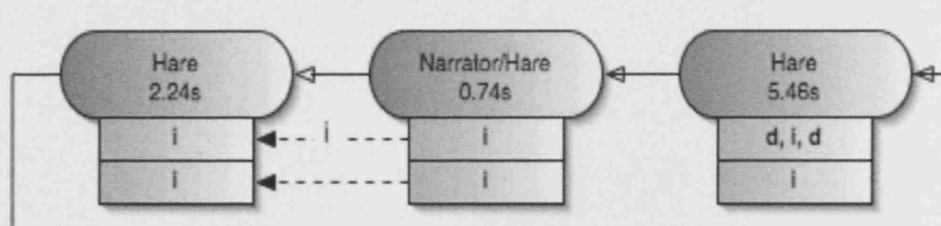


Figure 4.9: Continuation of elements across role boundaries

In all the subsequent analyses, the following common format will be used to make comparisons easier:

1. A flow chart of the role structure with the relevant features represented (as described above).
2. Brief observations from the flow charts.
3. Data grouped by role type: narrator, character and narrator/character
4. A table provided with raw data and timings.
5. A simple graphical description using bar charts.
6. Numbers and percentages of occurrence of the element in the data.
7. Initial summation of data (e.g. adding all occurrences of pronouns together)
8. Description of any individual features

4.4. Expressing and maintaining different points of view

4.4.1. Pronouns

Figures 4.10-4.13 below are the flow charts for role with incident boxes showing each pronoun used in both the BSL and spoken English narratives. Plural pronouns are denoted by the letters *pl* in brackets after the respective pronoun. The pronouns in these data have been analysed for reference to speaker/signer, addressee and non-

addressed participants. There is some debate in the signed language literature as to whether the labels first, second and third person can be used for signed languages (e.g. Meier, 1990); this debate is detailed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.2. However, for the sake of convenience, these labels are used here in order to facilitate comparison between the two languages.

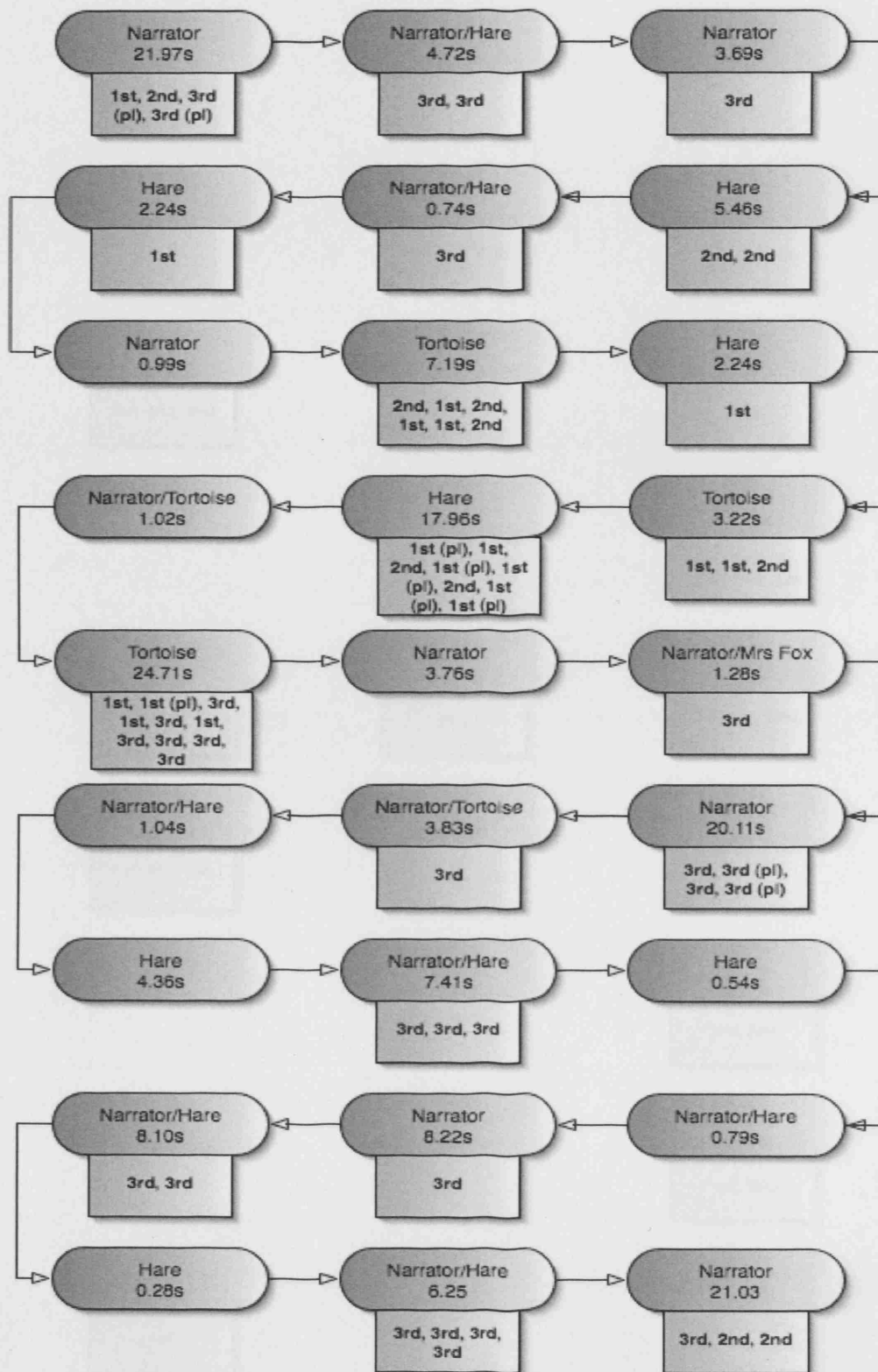


Figure 4.10: Pronouns used by E1

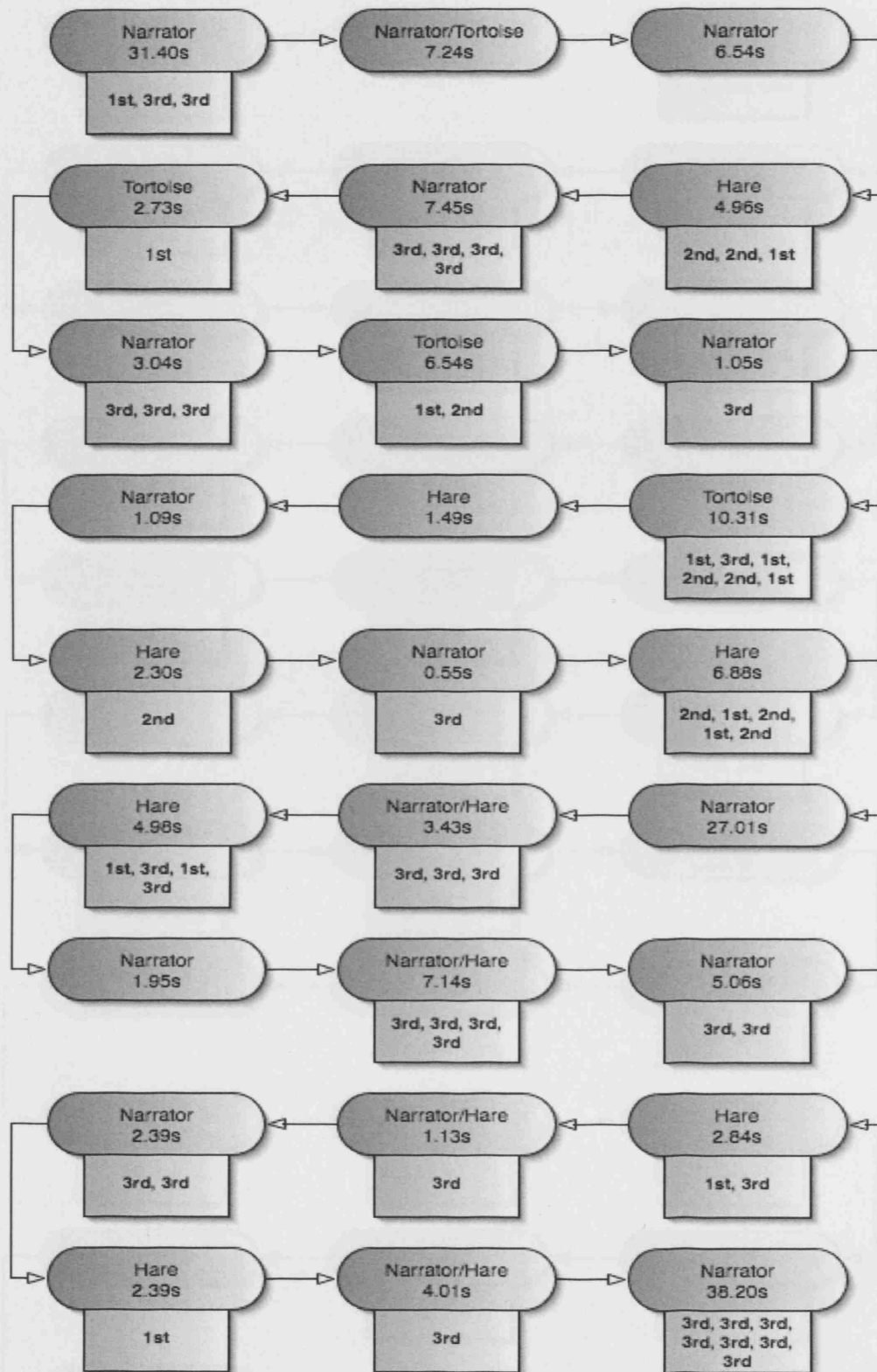


Figure 4.11: Pronouns used by E2

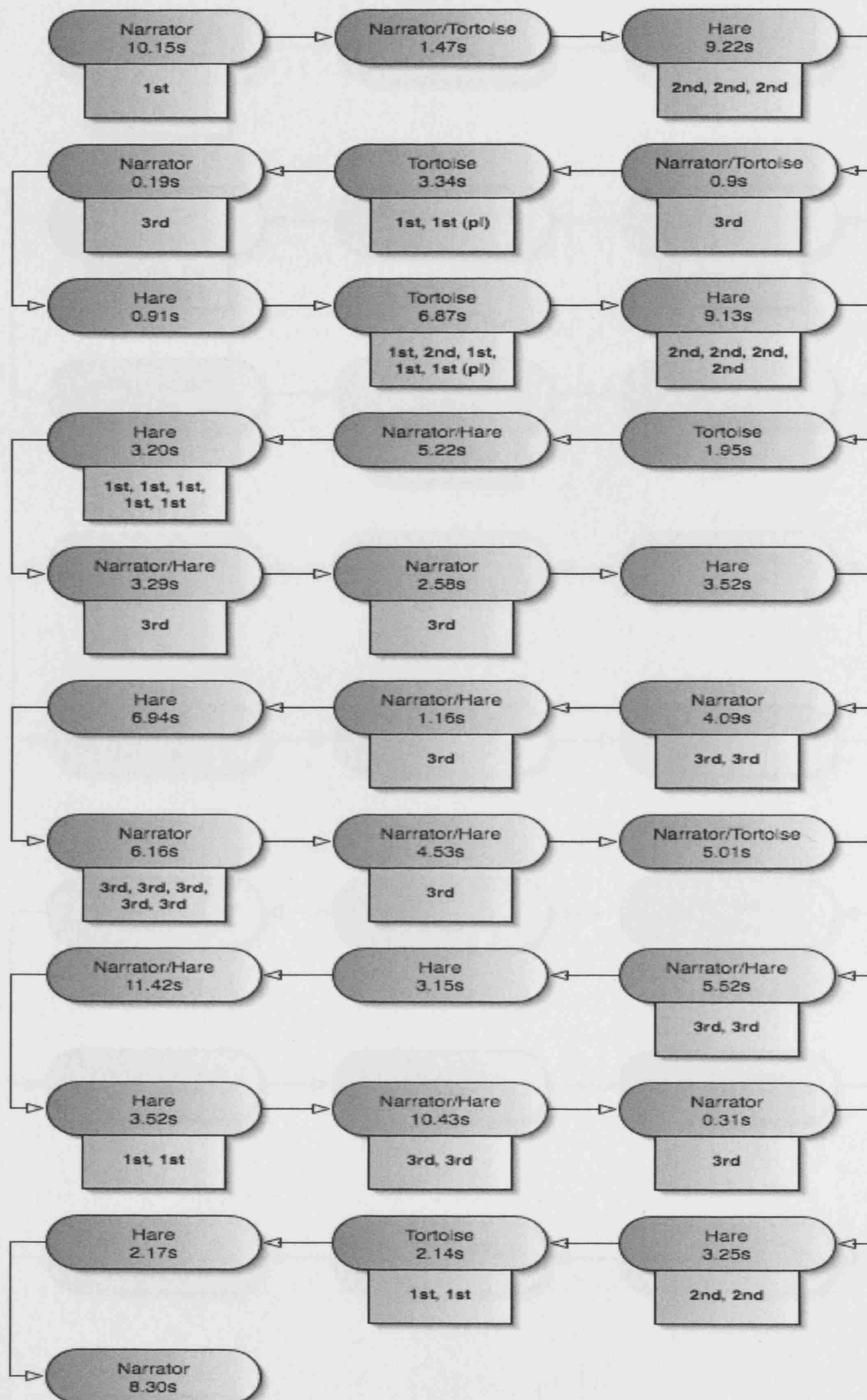


Figure 4.12: Pronouns used by B1

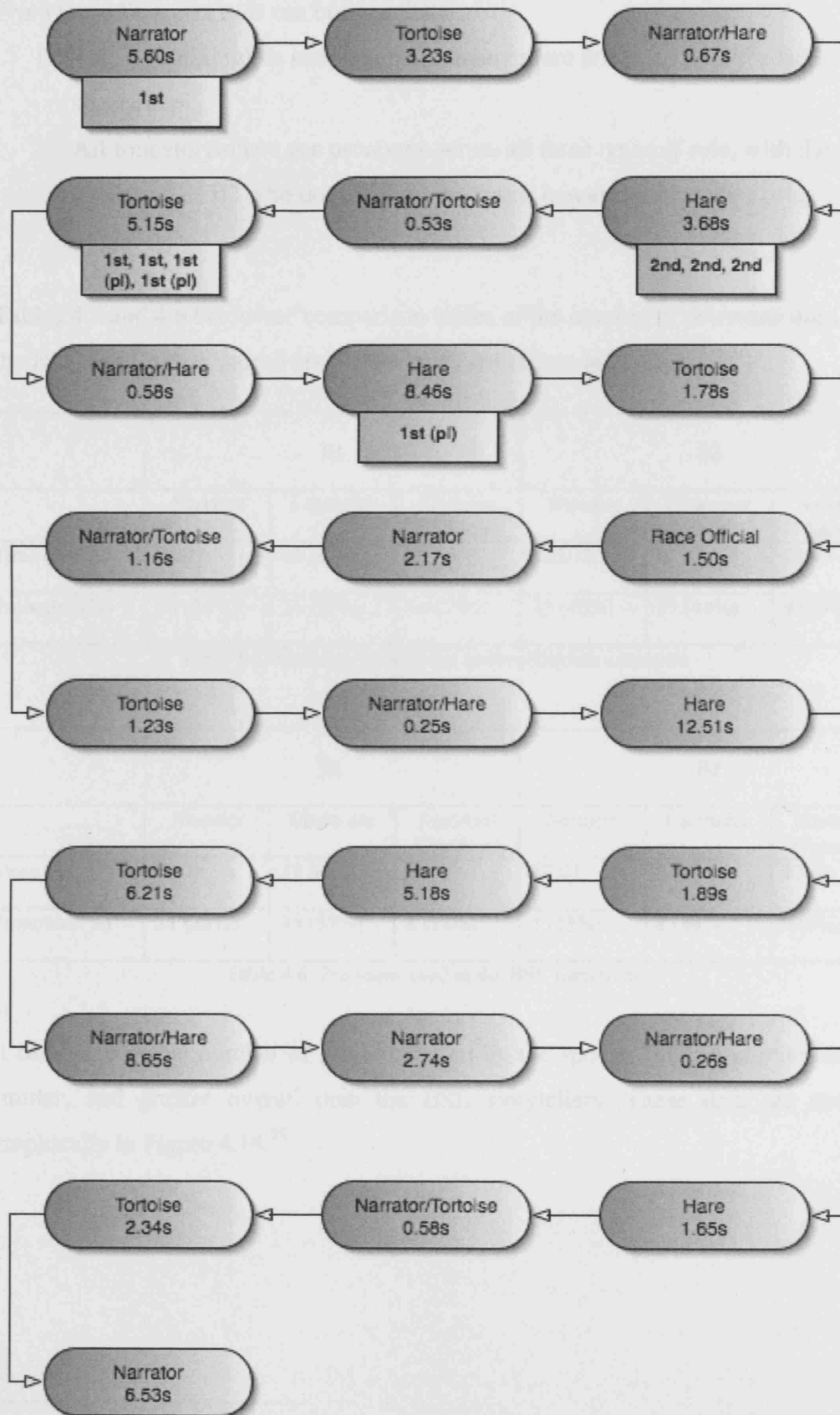


Figure 4.13: Pronouns used by B2

From these flow charts, it can be seen that:

1. The spoken English storytellers use many more pronouns than the BSL storytellers.
2. All four storytellers use pronouns across all three types of role, with the exception of B2 who does not use pronouns in narrator/character roles.

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 below are comparison tables of the number of pronouns used in the BSL and English narratives. Percentages are shown in brackets.

	E1			E2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	79.77	68.20	31.35	125.73	45.42	22.95
Pronouns (%)	13 (27%)	31 (50%)	14 (23%)	23 (40%)	25 (44%)	9 (16%)

Table 4.5: Pronouns used in the spoken English narratives

	B1			B2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	31.78	59.31	48.95	17.04	54.81	12.68
Pronouns (%)	11 (25%)	25 (57%)	8 (18%)	1 (11%)	8 (89%)	0 (0%)

Table 4.6: Pronouns used in the BSL narratives

It can be seen that number of pronouns used by the spoken English storytellers is similar, and greater overall than the BSL storytellers. These data are shown graphically in Figure 4.14.²⁶

²⁶ It should be noted that there are typological differences between BSL and English which may account for some of the differences seen in the number of pronouns used by storytellers in both languages: BSL is a subject drop language, whereas English is not; this has also been noted for other signed languages including ASL (Wulf, Dudis, Bayley & Lucas, 2002).

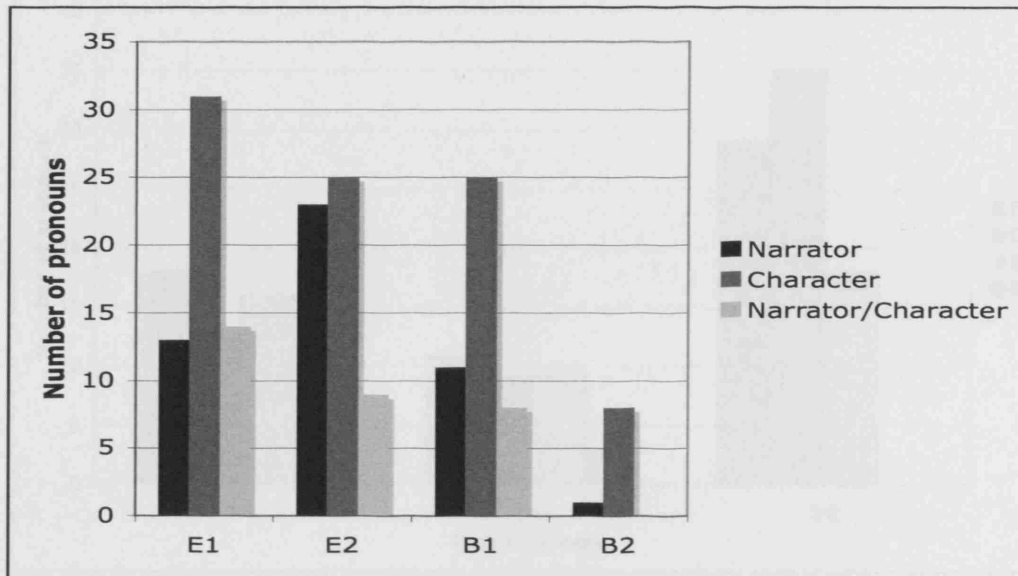


Figure 4.14: Pronouns used in the BSL and spoken English narratives

From this graph, it can be seen that there are individual differences across narratives in each language: E1, for example uses more pronouns in character roles than E2, and B1 also uses more pronouns in character roles than B2. These graphs do not take into account that the duration of the narrative varies, thus the results could be misleading as a narrative of longer duration could contain more pronouns. However, if we compare E1 and E2, the duration of time spent in all three role types combined is just under 20s shorter for E1 than E2, yet the overall number of pronouns used in both narratives is similar: E1 uses 58 pronouns compared to 57 in E2's narrative. This suggests that the duration of the narrative is not necessarily of particular importance in determining the number of pronouns used throughout a narrative. Despite individual differences between narratives, the overall trend in the use of pronouns is clear: the spoken English storytellers use more pronouns in their narratives than the BSL storytellers.

It is also important to compare the person values of pronouns used across BSL and spoken English to see whether point of view is maintained using particular person values, e.g. third person pronouns in spoken English. Figure 4.15 shows the distribution of first, second and third person pronouns in all four narratives.

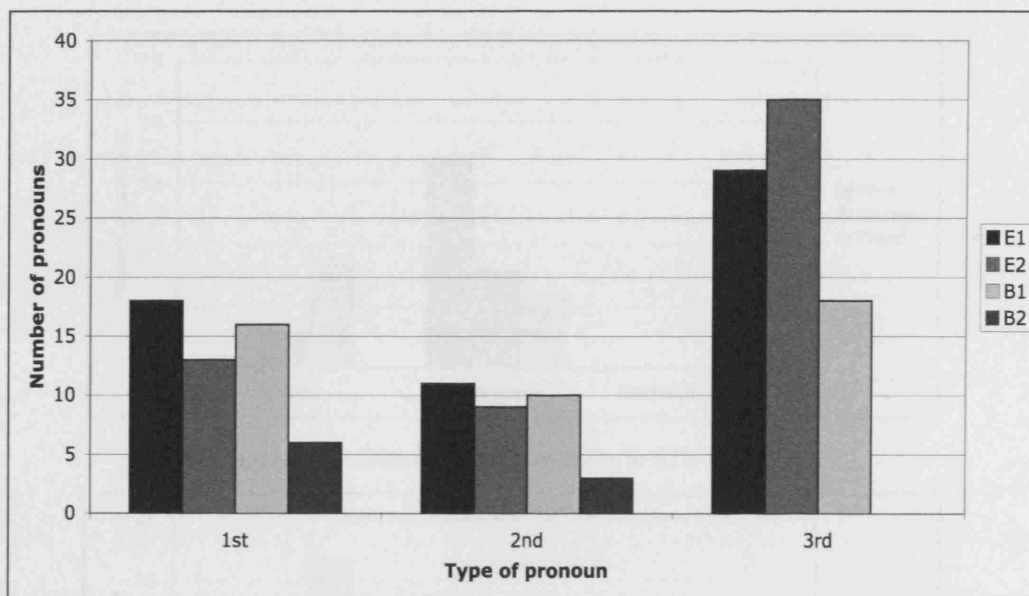


Figure 4.15: Distribution of first, second and third person pronouns

This graph shows that first and second person pronouns are more or less equally distributed across E1, E2 and B1. In contrast, B2 uses far fewer pronouns than B1. Third person pronouns are used only in the spoken English narratives and in B1's narrative. It is also important to compare the number of first, second and third person pronouns used in each role type across BSL and spoken English, as these are key to the point of view being portrayed. First, second and third person pronouns can have different referents in different role types; this is shown in Table 4.7. For example, first person pronouns used in narrator roles refer to the storyteller himself, whereas first person pronouns used in character roles refer to the character. The distribution of first, second and third person pronouns in all four narratives can be seen in Figures 4.16-4.19.

	Narrator	Character	Narrator/Character
1st person pronoun refers to:	Narrator	Character (from whose point of view story is being told)	Narrator
2nd person pronoun refers to:	Audience/Addressee	Character (addressee)	Audience/Addressee
3rd person pronoun refers to:	Any character	Character (third party)	The character being depicted in that role

Table 4.7: Referents for pronouns in each role type

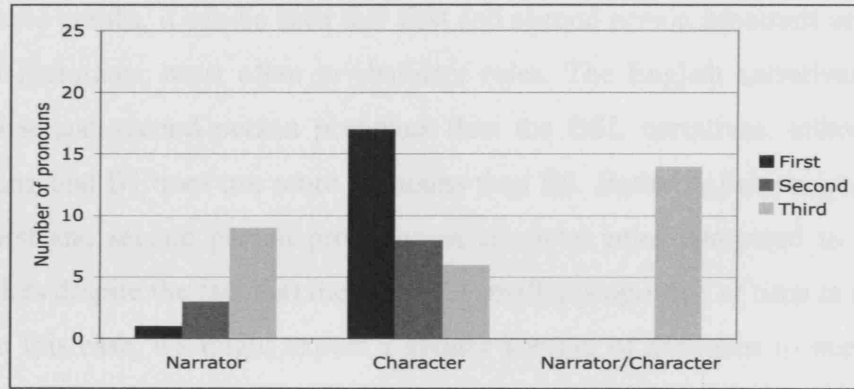


Figure 4.16: Distribution of pronouns in E1's narrative

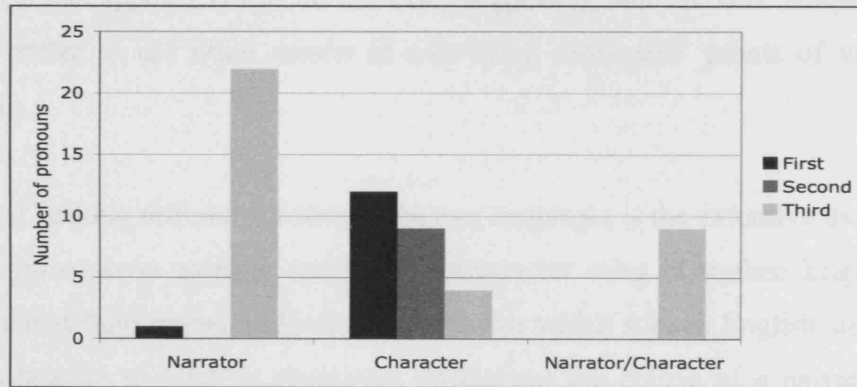


Figure 4.17: Distribution of pronouns in E2's narrative

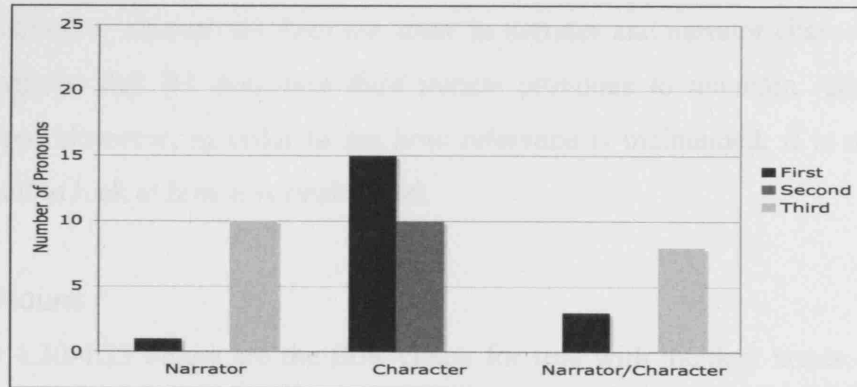


Figure 4.18: Distribution of pronouns in B1's narrative

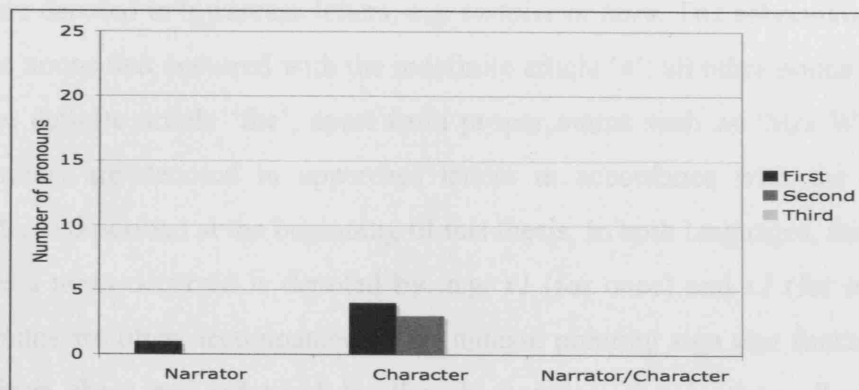


Figure 4.19: Distribution of pronouns in B2's narrative

From these graphs, it can be seen that first and second person pronouns are used in all four narratives, most often in character roles. The English narratives contain more first and second person pronouns than the BSL narratives, although it is interesting that B1 does use more pronouns than B2. Both English storytellers use more first and second person pronouns in character roles compared to the BSL storytellers despite the fact that they spend a smaller proportion of time in character roles; in this case, we might expect a greater number of pronouns to occur in the BSL narratives simply because the time spent in character roles is greater. However, this appears not to be the case, suggesting that the BSL storytellers do indeed prefer to use other means of conveying characters' points of view than pronouns.

The most striking difference between the two languages is the extensive use of third person pronouns in narrator and narrator/character roles in spoken English; this suggests that third person pronouns are a device which spoken English storytellers rely on heavily to refer to characters throughout the course of a narrative. The situation appears to be different in BSL. B2 does not use any third person pronouns in his narrative, whereas B1 does use some in narrator and narrator/character roles. This suggests that B1 also uses third person pronouns to maintain reference to characters. However, in order to see how reference is maintained, it is necessary first of all to look at how it is established.

4.4.2. Nouns

Figures 4.20-4.23 below are the flow charts for role with incident boxes denoting each instance of a token of a noun referring to a character. For spoken English, nouns are denoted in lowercase letters, e.g. *tortoise* or *hare*. The abbreviation *indef.* refers to nouns that occurred with the indefinite article 'a'; all other nouns occurred with the definite article 'the', apart from proper nouns such as 'Mrs Wolf'. For BSL, nouns are denoted in uppercase letters in accordance with the glossing conventions described at the beginning of this thesis. In both languages, the number of times a noun occurred is denoted by, e.g. *x1* (for once) and *x2* (for twice). In BSL, nouns are often accompanied by an indexical pointing sign that functions as a determiner; these are indicated by the abbreviation *Det* in these flow charts.

Sometimes two determiners are used in an NP, one before the noun sign, and one after (see also section 4.4.3). Where this occurs, it is also indicated in the flow charts by, e.g. *Det HARE Det*.

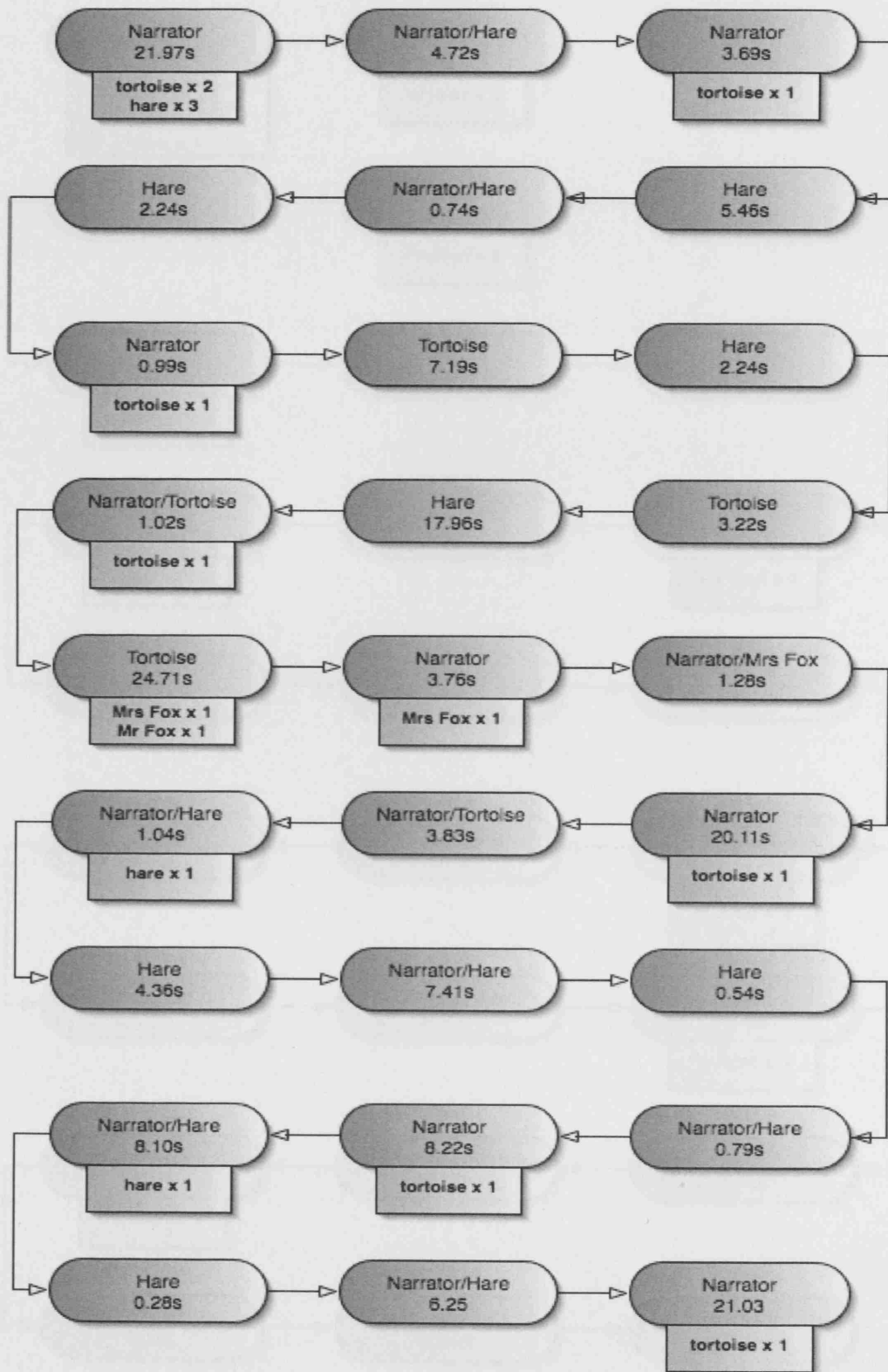


Figure 4.20: Nouns in E1's narrative

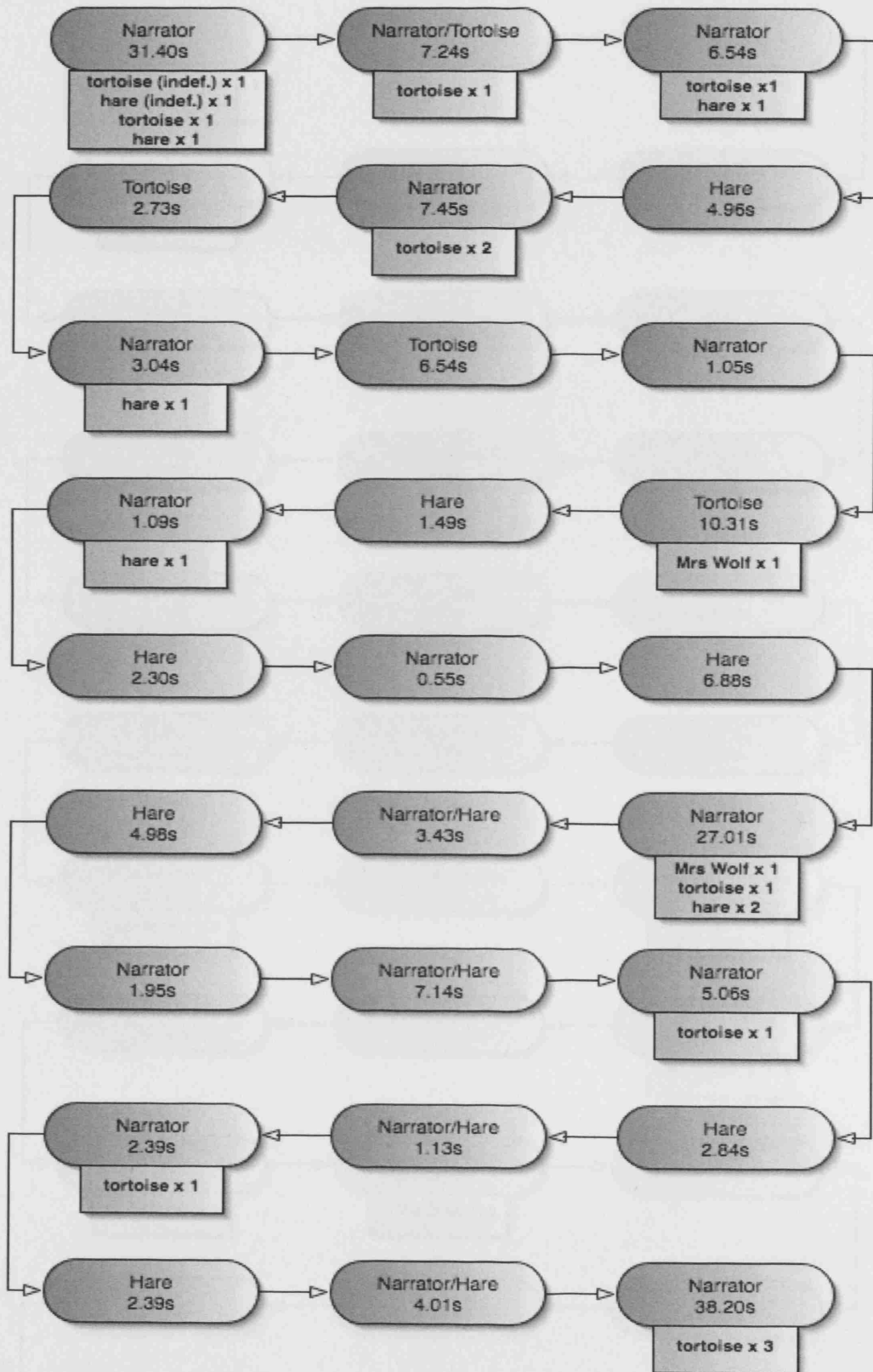


Figure 4.21: Nouns in E2's narrative

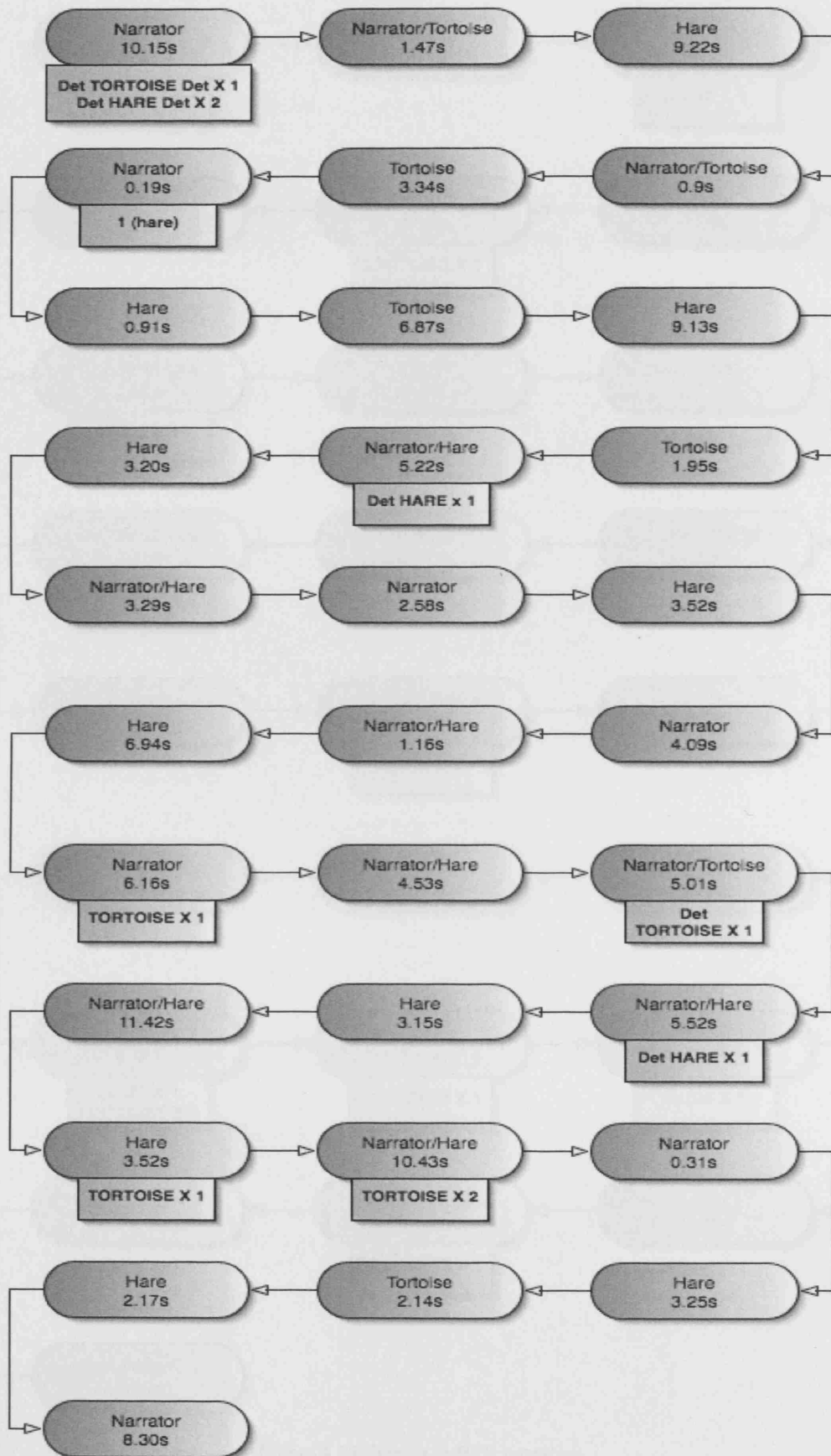


Figure 4.22: Nouns in B1's narrative

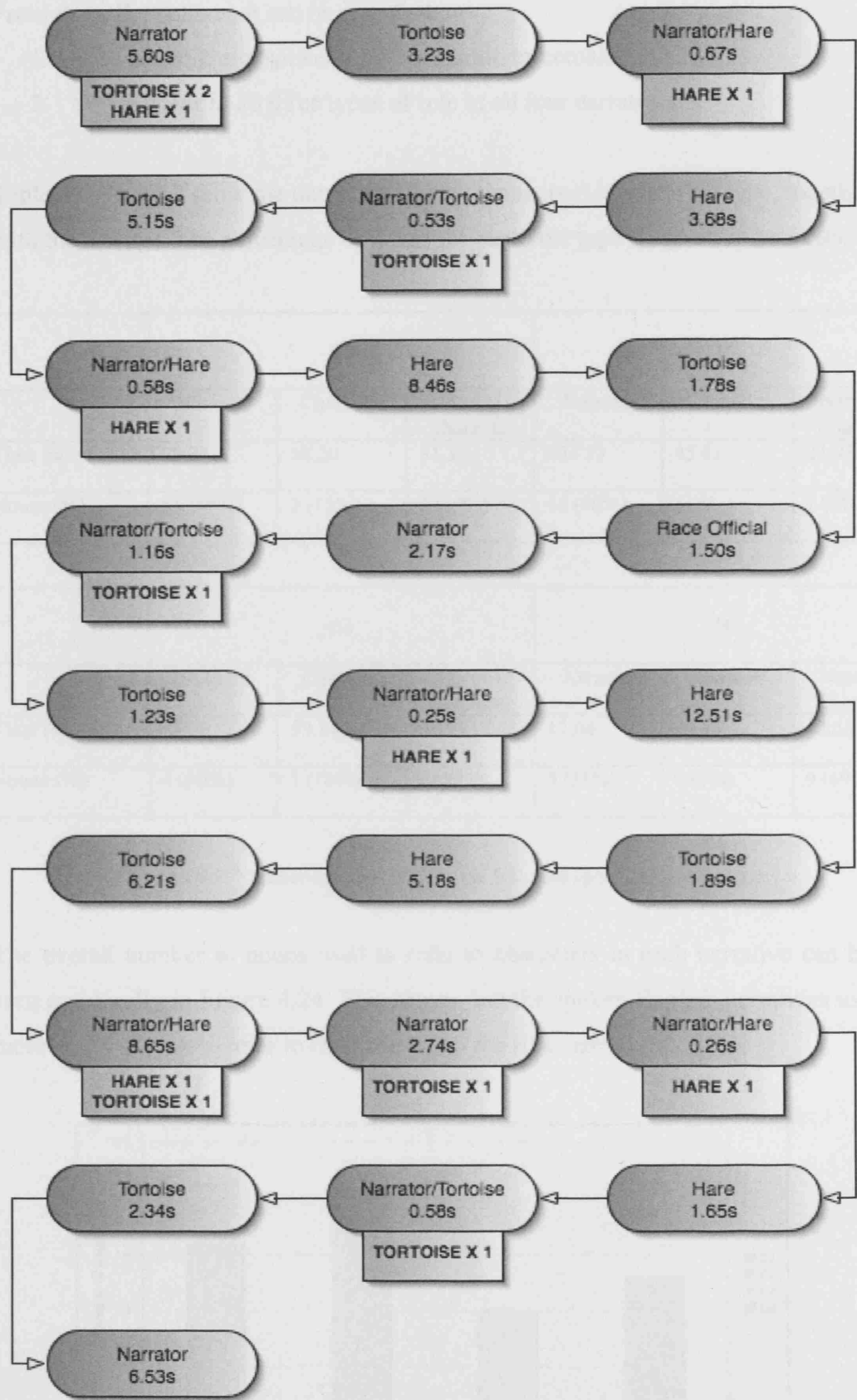


Figure 4.23: Nouns in B2's narrative

From these flow charts, it can be seen that:

1. Both the BSL and spoken English narratives contain nouns.
2. Nouns occur in all three types of role in all four narratives.

Tables 4.8 and 4.9 show the number of noun tokens used in each role type, together with the timings. The percentage of nouns for each role type is shown in brackets.

	E1			E2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	79.77	68.20	31.35	125.73	45.42	22.95
Nouns (%)	11 (69%)	2 (12%)	3 (19%)	19 (90%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)

	B1			B2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	31.78	59.31	48.95	17.04	54.18	12.68
Nouns (%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	5 (50%)	4 (31%)	0 (0%)	9 (69%)

Tables 4.8 and 4.9: Number of nouns used in the BSL and spoken English narratives

The overall number of nouns used to refer to characters in each narrative can be seen graphically in Figure 4.24. This shows that the spoken English narratives use more nouns overall to refer to characters than the BSL narratives.

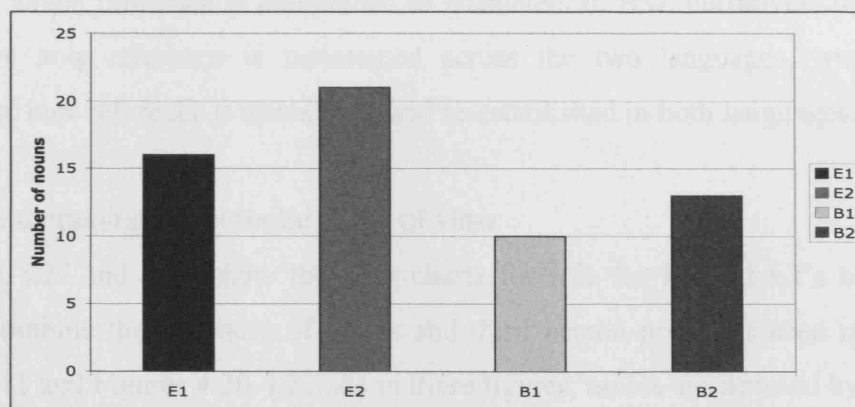


Figure 4.24: Overall number of nouns used in each narrative

Figure 4.25 shows the number of nouns that occur in each role type. The spoken English storytellers use more nouns to refer to characters in narrator roles, whereas the BSL storytellers use more nouns to refer to characters in narrator/character roles, particularly B2. All four storytellers use a similar number of nouns in character roles.

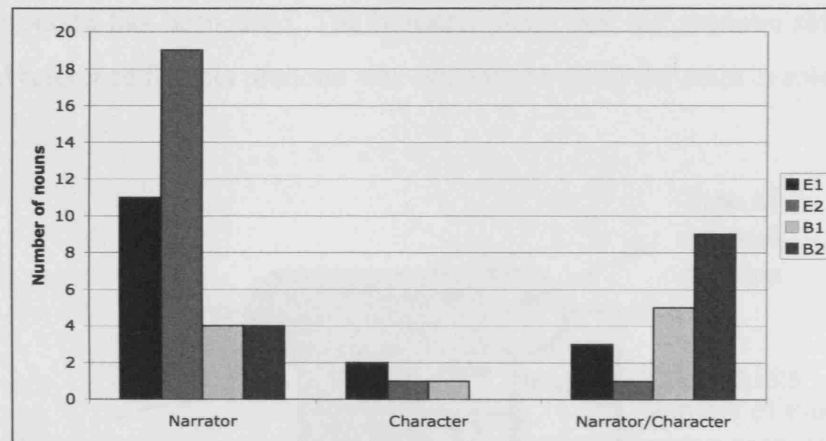


Figure 4.25: Number of nouns used in each role type

The greatest difference across the two languages is in the number of nouns used in spoken English, particularly in narrator roles; this suggests that nouns, like pronouns, are a device used by the spoken English storytellers to maintain reference to characters throughout the narrative. In spoken English, both in narrative and everyday discourse, third person pronouns are normally used in combination with nouns to maintain reference, as third person pronouns refer back to noun phrases previously mentioned in the discourse. The comparatively lower usage of nouns in the BSL narratives suggests that nouns and third person pronouns are not the main way in which reference is maintained to characters in BSL narratives. In order to compare how reference is maintained across the two languages, we need to compare how reference is established and re-established in both languages.

4.4.3 Maintaining a particular point of view

Figures 4.27 and 4.28 show the flow charts for role for E1 and E2's narratives. They combine the instances of nouns and third person pronouns seen in Figures 4.10-4.11 and Figures 4.20-4.21. As in these figures, nouns are denoted by *tortoise*, *hare*, *Mr Fox* and *Mrs Fox*, with the number of occurrences shown by *x I* (occurs

once) or $x 2$ (occurs twice). The boxes above these show the occurrences of third person pronouns throughout the story. In addition, the character to which the pronoun refers is shown in brackets (e.g. hare, tortoise, etc.), along with the role in which reference was established for that pronoun. Each role is numbered using a circle with the appropriate number. An example of this is shown in Figure 4.26 below. In this role, a narrator role, one noun (referring to the tortoise) and one third person pronoun has been used. The brackets show that the pronoun refers to the hare, and reference for this pronoun was established using the noun in role 1.

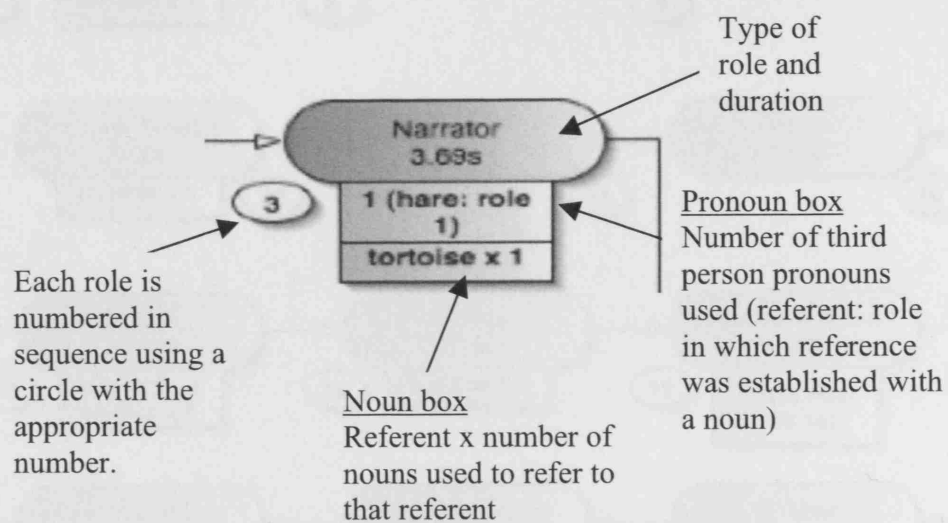


Figure 4.26: Section of role flow chart showing how maintenance of reference is represented

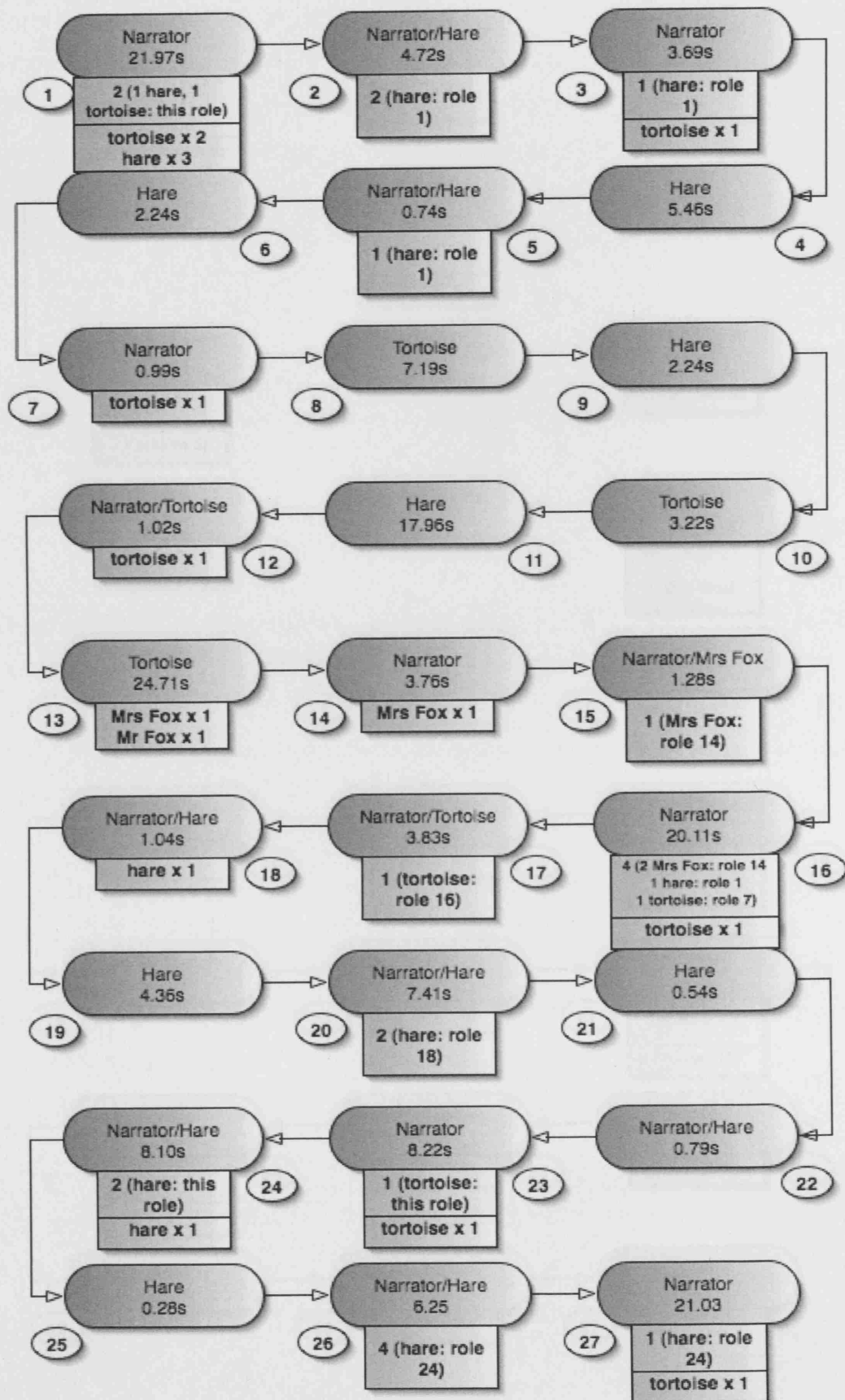


Figure 4.27: Maintenance of reference in E1's narrative

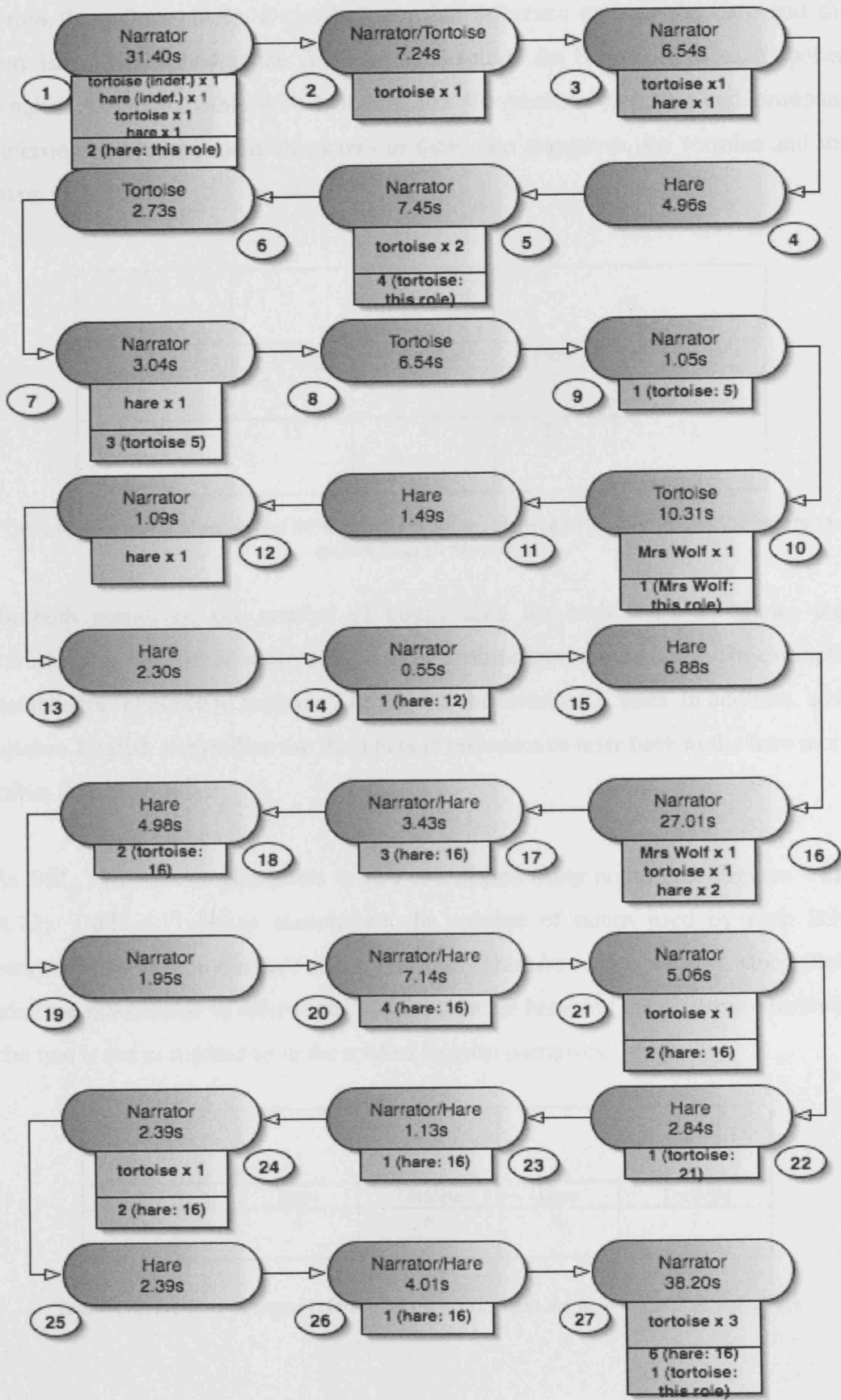


Figure 4.28: Maintenance of reference in E2's narrative

From these flow charts, it can be seen that reference to both the hare and the tortoise is established in the first (narrator) role at the beginning of each spoken English narrative. Table 4.10 below shows the number of nouns and pronouns referring to the two main characters in these two narratives, the tortoise and the hare:

	E1		E2	
	Hare	Tortoise	Hare	Tortoise
Nouns	5	8	7	12
Third person pronouns	15	4	24	12

Table 4.10: Number of nouns and third person pronouns referring to the tortoise and the hare in the spoken English narratives

In both narratives, the number of nouns used for each character shows that reference is established more often for the tortoise than the hare. E2, for example, establishes reference to the hare 7 times, and the tortoise 12 times. In addition, both spoken English storytellers use third person pronouns to refer back to the hare more often than the tortoise.

In BSL, reference to characters is also established using nouns (see Figures 4.22-4.23). Table 4.11 below summarises the number of nouns used by each BSL storyteller to refer to the hare and the tortoise. This shows that the BSL storytellers also use more nouns to refer to the tortoise than the hare, but the difference between the two is not as marked as in the spoken English narratives.

	B1		B2	
	Hare	Tortoise	Hare	Tortoise
Nouns	4	6	6	7

Table 4.11: Number of nouns referring to the tortoise and the hare in the BSL narratives

Figures 4.22-4.23 also show that some of the noun signs in the BSL data are accompanied by indexic pointing signs that function as determiners. Indexing is a device commonly used in signed languages whereby the signer points to a location in the signing space while discussing a person or object; this location then becomes associated with that person or object and remains so until the end of the discourse or until the signer explicitly changes that association. To maintain reference to a specific entity, signers can direct indexic signs towards the location associated with that entity. In these data, indexic signs functioning as determiners and third person pronouns occurred only in B1's narrative. Figure 4.29 shows the nouns and third person pronouns used by B1 to refer to the hare and the tortoise and is laid out in the same format as Figures 4.27-4.28 above.

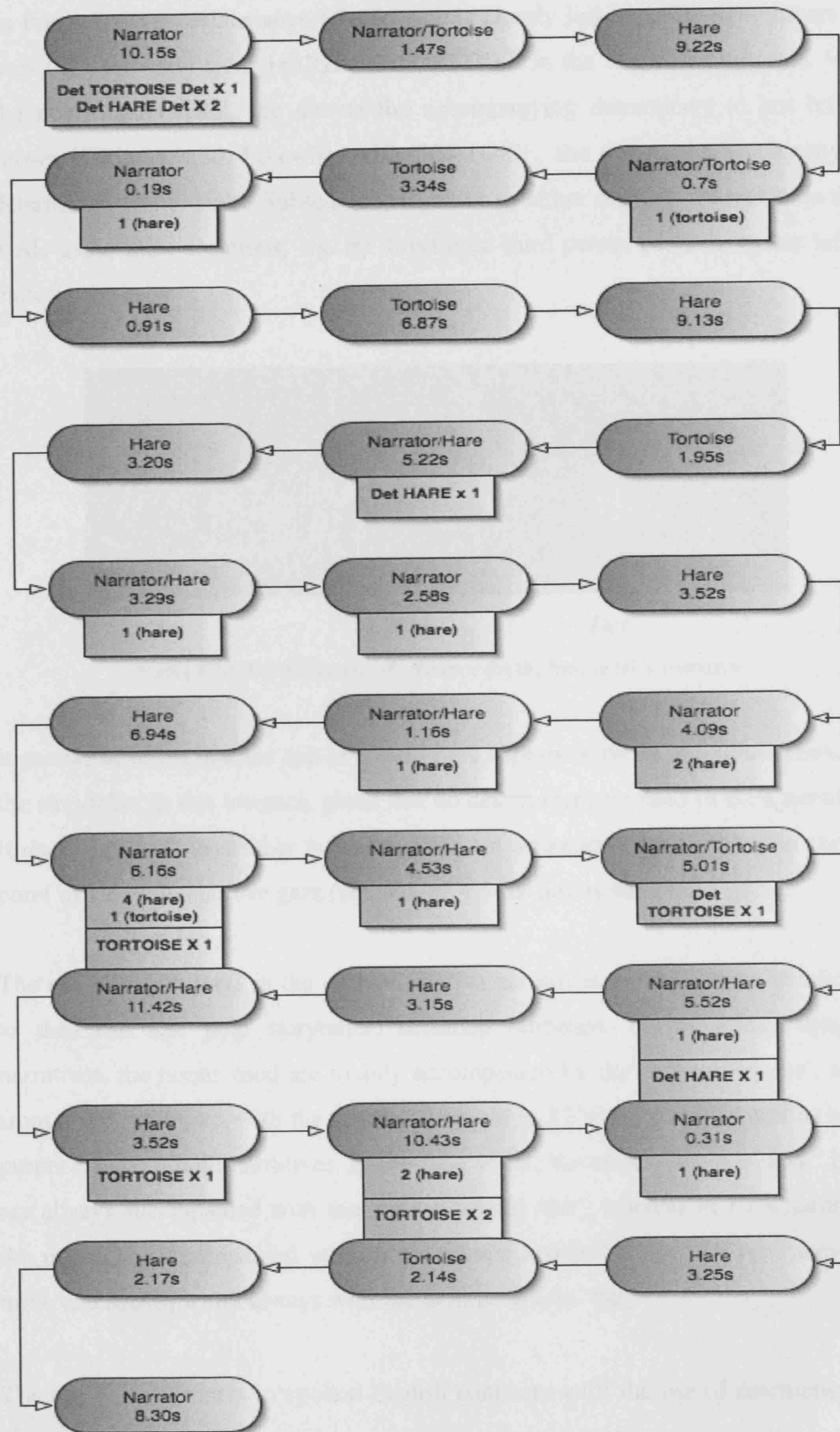


Figure 4.29: Maintenance of reference in B1's narrative

In this narrative, maintenance of reference is closely linked to the determiners B1 uses with the noun signs HARE and TORTOISE in the first (narrator) role. With the noun sign HARE, she directs the accompanying determiners to her left as shown in Figure 4.30. Likewise, with TORTOISE, she directs the accompanying determiners to her right. Subsequent reference to either of these characters is then made using these locations, e.g. by directing a third person pronoun to her left to indicate the hare.



Figure 4.30: Establishment of reference for the hare in B1's narrative

It should be noted that the use of determiners appears to be an individual choice of the storyteller in this instance, given that no determiners are used in B2's narrative. It may be that B2 uses other factors to maintain reference to characters and convey point of view, such as eye gaze (see section 4.5 for discussion of eye gaze).

The use of determiners in the spoken English narratives should also be mentioned as they can also help storytellers maintain reference. In the spoken English narratives, the nouns used are mainly accompanied by the determiner 'the', aside from a few examples with the indefinite article in E2's narrative, as well as some proper nouns in both narratives. In the case of E1, the nouns 'tortoise' and 'hare' are always accompanied with the definite article 'the', whereas in E2's narrative, the nouns are accompanied with the indefinite article 'a' the first time they are used, and subsequently always with the definite article 'the'.

The use of determiners in spoken English contrasts with the use of determiners in BSL. In spoken English, singular common nouns must always have a determiner, but this is not the case in BSL. Although this is not a modality difference, it is a

syntactic difference between the two languages and important to point out because the choice of determiner in spoken English can, for example, show the level of importance which a storyteller attaches to a character or whether he assumes that his audience know the story or not. In E2's narrative, the use of the indefinite article with the nouns 'tortoise' and 'hare' the first time they are used suggests that E2 assumes that the characters are not known to the audience prior to his telling the story. He then maintains reference using the definite article as it is obvious to the audience which hare and tortoise are being referred to. E1 uses the definite article from the outset and thus there is no need for her to use indefinite articles at all. It is possible that she chooses to use the indefinite article to set up reference because she assumes her audience will already be familiar with the story and thus with the characters.

Comparing the BSL data with the spoken English narratives above shows that the main difference between the two modalities is that, overall, the spoken English storytellers establish nominal reference more frequently than the BSL storytellers. In all four narratives, storytellers use nouns (and third person pronouns in spoken English) to establish reference from the narrator's point of view only in narrator and narrator/character roles, although nouns are also used in character roles where characters refer to other characters.

4.5. Eye Gaze

Although the previous sections of this chapter analyse data in terms of occurrences per type of role, eye gaze data cannot be analysed in this way. Given the problems with coding eye gaze as outlined in the methodology section (see Chapter 3, sections 3.5 and 3.6.2.1), it is not possible to conclusively analyse the direction of eye gaze being used (right, left, etc.) throughout the individual roles without using specialist eye tracking equipment. In order to get over this problem, only the first and last eye gaze for each role is analysed. This allows any change in role accompanied by a change in eye gaze to be ascertained.

Figures 4.31-4.34 are the flow charts for role with incident boxes containing the tokens of eye gaze direction used in each role. Each eye gaze direction is denoted

by a letter: *c* (to camera), *d* (down), *l* (left), *u* (up), *a* (ahead). Combinations of these are possible, e.g. *rd* (right, down). The eye aperture *ec* (eyes closed) has also been included here as it occurred at the beginning or end of a role a number of times in both the BSL and English narratives. In addition, eye gaze in both narratives sometimes overlapped role boundaries. Where this occurred, the next eye gaze that occurred in that role has also been included, provided it occurred within one second of the role boundary, e.g. *c, d* means that the *c* eye gaze from the previous role has continued into the next role, but the eye gaze in that next role has changed within one second of the role changing. This is counted as an eye gaze change because the previous eye gaze overlaps only slightly into the new role; the new eye gaze change in these circumstances occurs almost immediately and it would therefore be misleading to suggest that there is no eye gaze change in such cases.

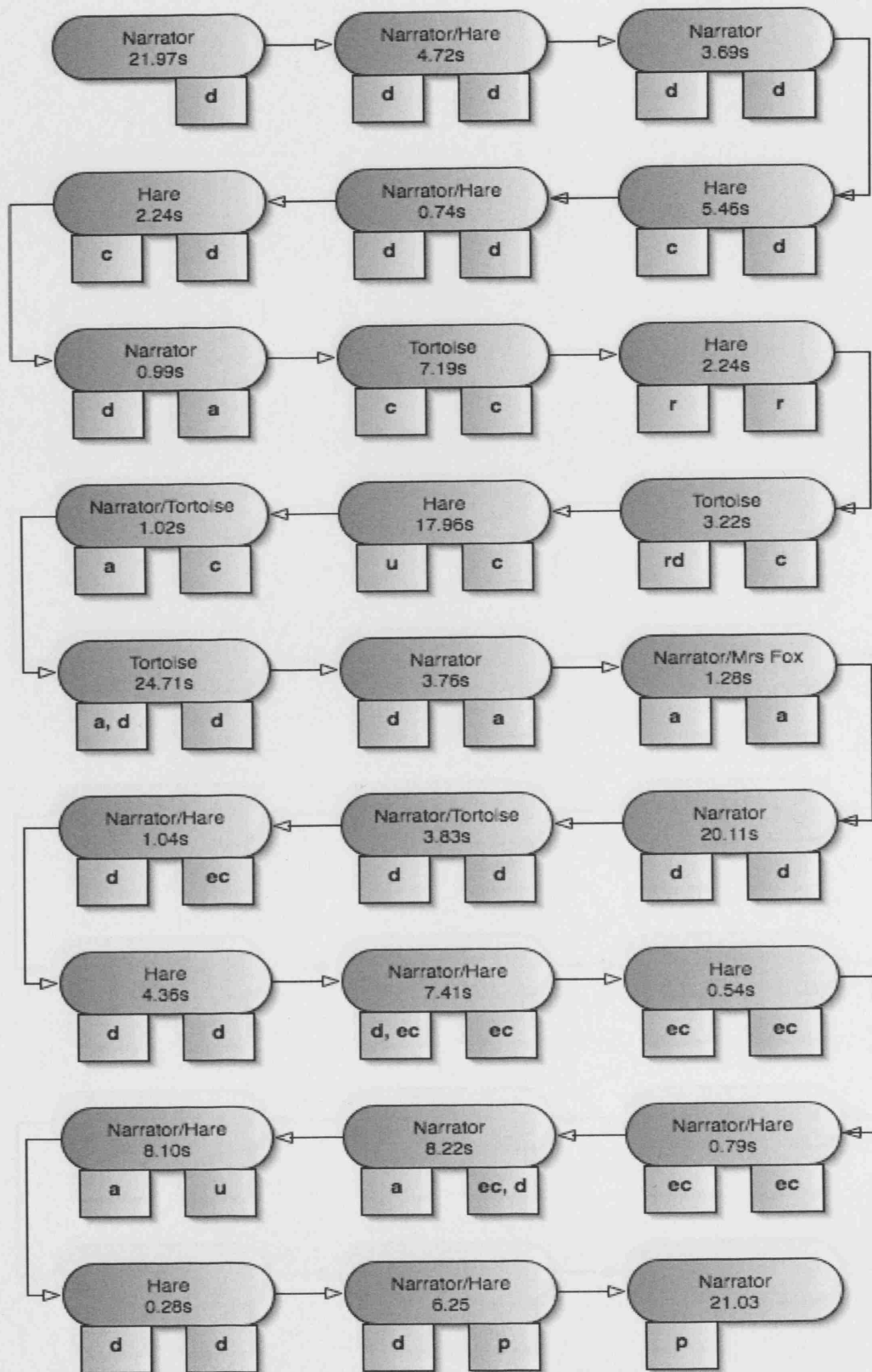


Figure 4.31: Eye Gaze in E1's narrative

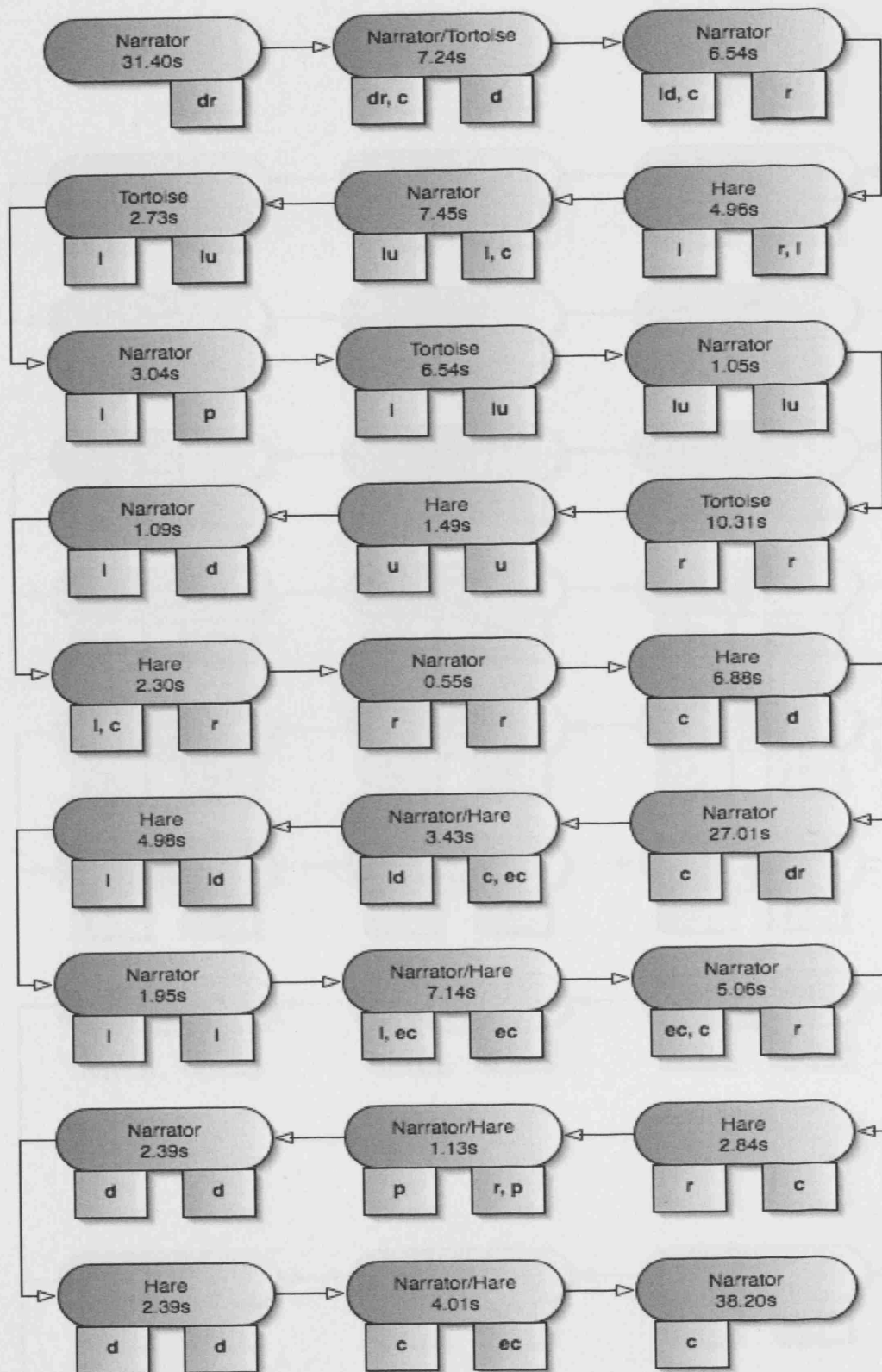


Figure 4.32: Eye Gaze in E2's narrative

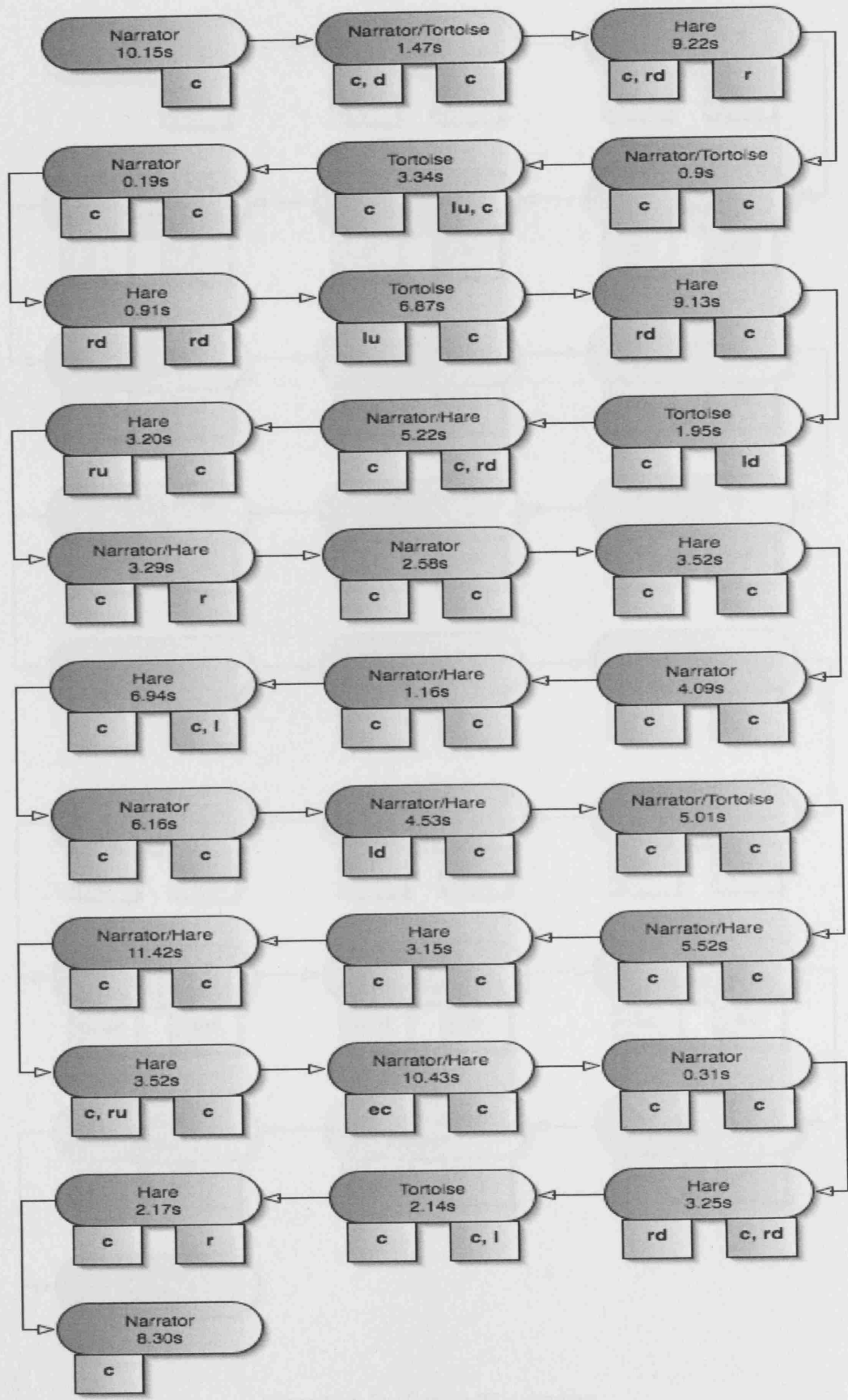


Figure 4.33: Eye Gaze in B1's narrative

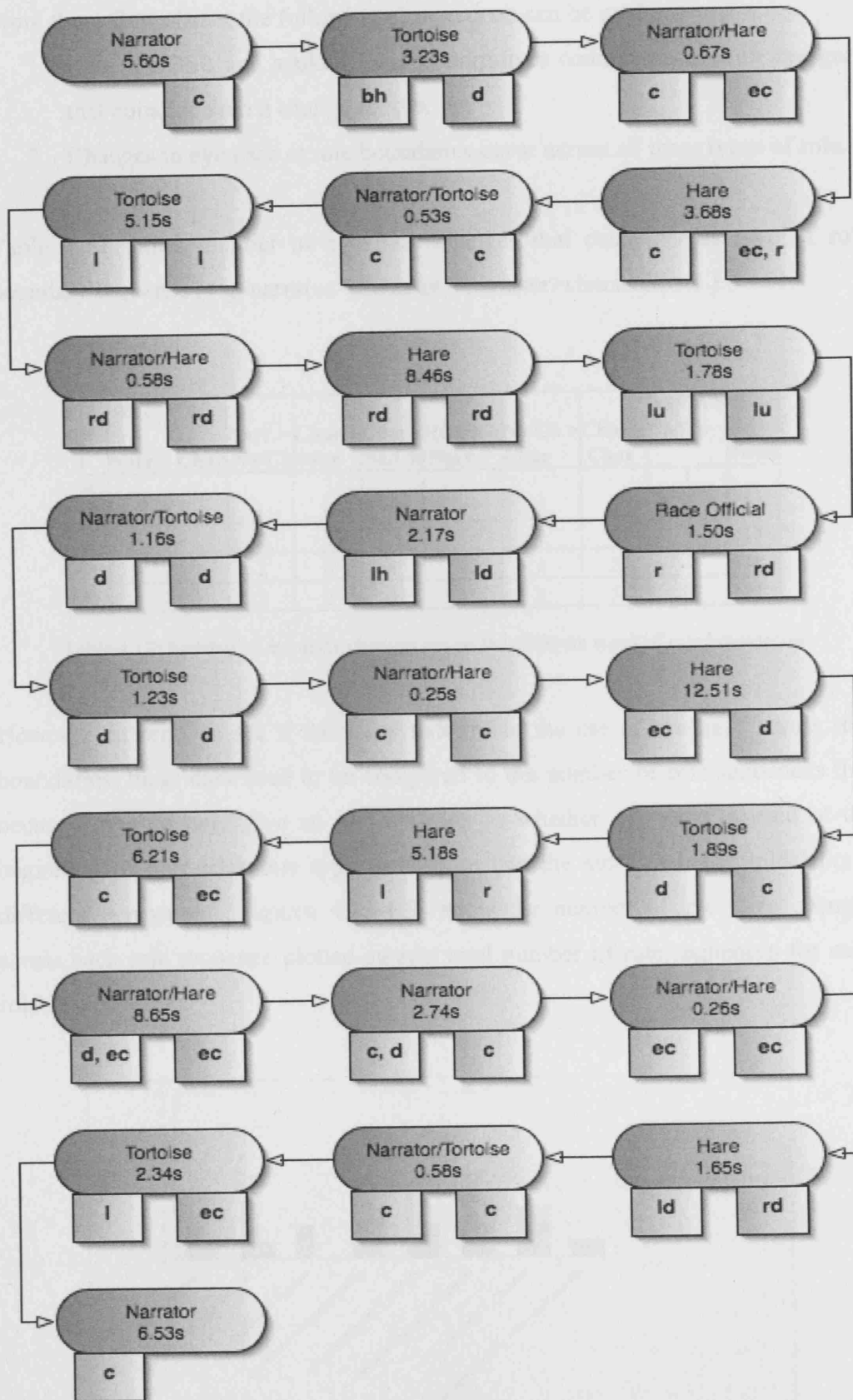


Figure 4.34: Eye Gaze in B2's narrative

From these flow charts, the following observations can be made:

1. Both the BSL and spoken English narratives contain changes in eye gaze that coincide with a change in role.
2. Changes in eye gaze at role boundaries occur across all three types of role.

Table 4.12 shows number of eye gaze changes that occur across type of role boundary sequence (e.g. narrator>character, character>character, etc.).

	Narr > Char	Narr > Char Na/Ch	Char > Char Na/Ch	Na/Ch > Na/Ch Narr	Na/Ch > Char Char	Char > Char	Na/Ch > Na/Ch	Total	
E1	1	1	0	3	2	2	3	13	
E2	5	2	3	2	4	1	1	0	18
B1	2	2	0	4	1	3	5	1	18
B2	1	2	2	5	1	5	5	0	21

Table 4.12: Number of eye gaze changes across the different types of role boundaries

However, in order to see if there any patterns in the use of eye gaze across role boundaries, these data need to be compared to the number of role sequences that occur. Doing so may give an indication as to whether eye gaze is used at the beginning of particular role types to denote that the story is being told from a different perspective. Figures 4.35-4.38 show the number of eye gaze changes across each role sequence plotted against total number of role sequences for each role sequence.

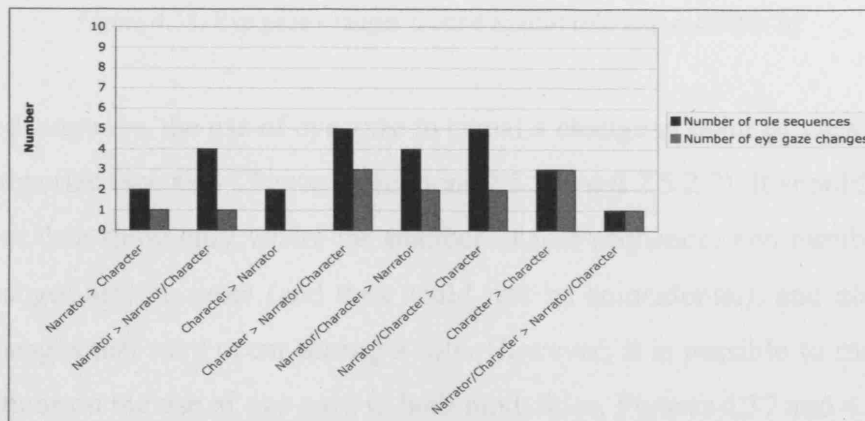


Figure 4.35: Eye gaze changes plotted against role sequences for E1

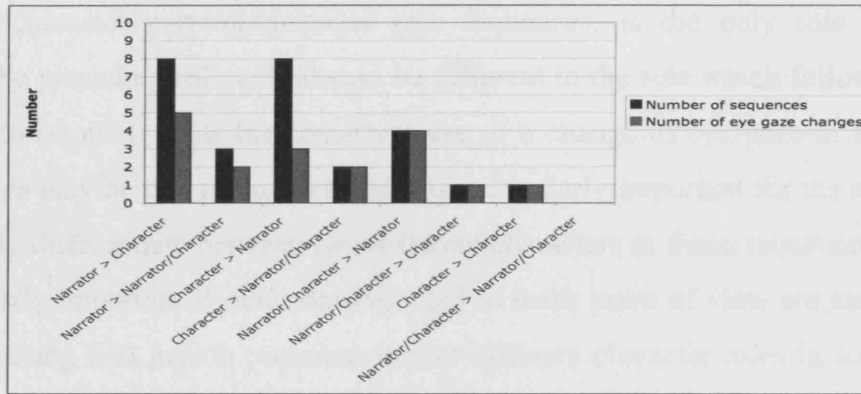


Figure 4.36: Eye gaze changes plotted against role sequences for E2

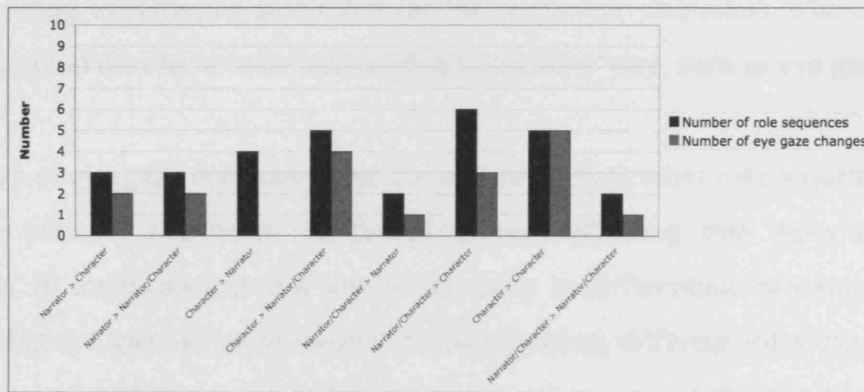


Figure 4.37: Eye gaze changes plotted against role sequences for B1

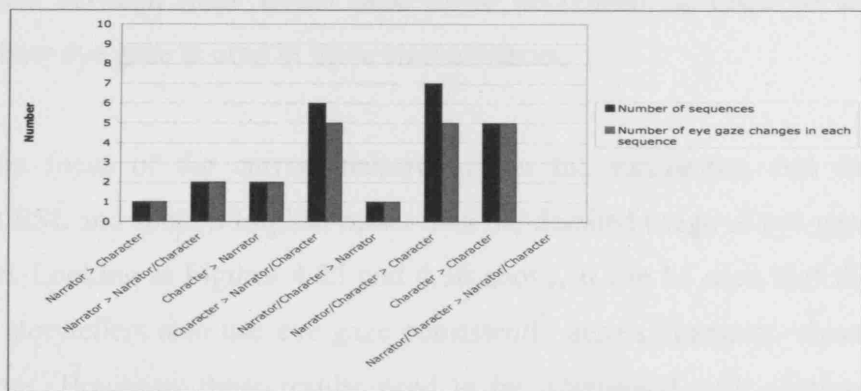


Figure 4.38: Eye gaze changes plotted against role sequences for B2

In signed language, the use of eye gaze to signal a change in point of view has been widely reported (see also Chapter 2, sections 2.5.2.1 and 2.5.2.2). It should be noted that these data show only where the number of role sequences and number of eye gaze changes are the same (and thus could just be coincidental), and also do not show changes that may occur during a role. However, it is possible to make some observations on the use of eye gaze in both modalities. Figures 4.37 and 4.38 above show that a change in eye gaze occurs over each character>character role boundary in both BSL narratives. This role sequence, along with

narrator/character>narrator/character role sequences, is the only role sequence where the preceding role will always be different to the role which follows it (e.g. hare>tortoise etc.). Thus the consistent use of a change in eye gaze in these role sequences may be due to the fact that it is particularly important for the storyteller to clearly differentiate between two different characters in these sequences. This is particularly important if other devices used to mark point of view are ambiguous, such as using first person pronouns in two different character roles in succession. The first person pronouns would be the same indexical sign in both character roles, both pointing towards the storyteller (as the respective character). The change in referent would thus have to be indicated in some other way, such as eye gaze.

A change in eye gaze does not occur consistently across other role sequences. This may be partially dependent on preceding and following role types and their referents. In some cases, it may not be necessary to differentiate between different roles using eye gaze as other means of distinguishing different roles can be used, e.g. pronouns and/or nouns. A detailed cross-comparison of the use of eye gaze within and between roles would need to be undertaken in order to understand exactly how eye gaze is used in these circumstances.

The main focus of the current research is on the similarities and differences between BSL and spoken English rather than the detailed usage of eye gaze in each language. Looking at Figures 4.35 and 4.36 above, it can be seen that the spoken English storytellers also use eye gaze consistently across character>character role boundaries. However, these results need to be interpreted with caution for two reasons. Firstly, the numbers of eye gaze changes, particularly for E2, are very small and it is thus difficult to draw general conclusions. Secondly, the use of eye gaze in these BSL data, particularly in these character>character sequences, appears to be closely linked to the use of locations within the signing space.

In B1's narrative, the use of eye gaze is closely linked to the storyteller's use of determiners; as mentioned previously, she sets up two locations in space at the beginning of the story using an NP (indexical sign + noun), one for the hare and one for the tortoise. The location for the hare is to the signer's left and upwards, and the

location for the tortoise to the signer's right and downwards. In roles containing direct discourse (constructed dialogue) between the hare and the tortoise, eye gaze is directed towards these locations to show that the hare is addressing the tortoise or vice versa. In B1's narrative there are five character>character role sequences, and direct discourse occurs in four of the six roles involved in these sequences (roles 7-10: hare>tortoise>hare>tortoise). Figure 4.33 shows that both the hare roles involved in this sequence contain eye gaze to the right and downwards, commensurate with the hare addressing the tortoise. Both tortoise roles contain eye gaze to the left and upwards, commensurate with the tortoise addressing the hare. The same occurs in B2's narrative. Although B2 does not set up locations for the tortoise and the hare using indexic signs, he also directs his eye gaze towards the right and downwards when portraying the hare addressing the tortoise, and to the left and upwards when portraying the tortoise addressing the hare.

Although the raw data still only show that the use of left and right eye gaze coincide with the change in role, observation of the video data shows that this is not a coincidence. Both signers are using eye gaze to help differentiate between different character roles in these sequences. An example of this is shown in Figure 4.39, where both BSL storytellers are in character (hare) roles and portraying the hare talking to the tortoise; both are using an indexic pointing sign (in this case, a second person pronoun) to address the tortoise, and both are looking downwards and to their right.



Figure 4.39: Use of eye gaze in addressing characters

This example also highlights that it is not just eye gaze that is important in differentiating characters, but also the use of non-manual features such as facial

expression and body position (see also section 4.6). Here, both storytellers have adopted the facial expression, head position and body position of the hare. In character>character sequences that do not contain constructed dialogue, eye gaze can be used as part of the overall portrayal of a character. An example of the affective use of eye gaze outside constructed dialogue (i.e. within constructed action) can be seen in Figure 4.40.

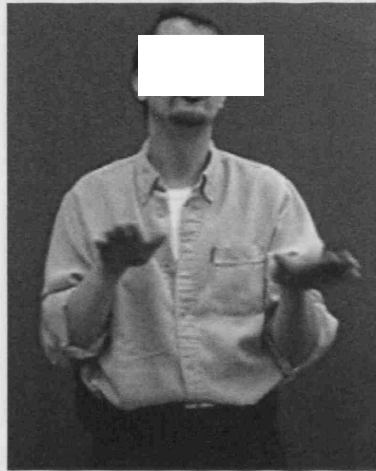


Figure 4.40: Use of eye gaze as part of constructed action in B2's narrative

As mentioned previously, a change in eye gaze also coincided with a change in role in the character>character role sequences in the spoken English narratives. However, the spoken English storytellers do not use space to the same extent as the BSL storytellers do, and do not use a particular eye gaze direction consistently to denote that a particular character is being addressed. Roles 8-10 in E1's narrative, for example, all contain constructed dialogue between the tortoise and the hare. However, in these roles, eye gaze is directed mainly towards the camera, and any changes in eye gaze direction are arbitrary. Neither spoken English storyteller uses a particular eye gaze direction in constructed dialogue to show, e.g. the hare addressing the tortoise.

It is not possible from these data to say that eye gaze never marks a change in point of view in spoken English without analysing further data. However, it does appear from these preliminary investigations that eye gaze may not be a marker of change in point of view in spoken English in the way that it can be in similar role

sequences in the BSL data. However, like BSL, eye gaze is used in the spoken English narratives as part of the overall portrayal of a character in constructed action. In E1's narrative, for example, eye gaze is used when the storyteller is portraying the hare speaking to the tortoise about the small size of the tortoise's feet in comparison to the hare's large feet (see Figure 4.41). She directs her eye gaze downwards as if looking at the tortoise's feet.



Figure 4.41: Use of eye gaze as part of constructed action in E1's narrative

However, the fact remains that the English storytellers do not make as much use of the space surrounding them as the BSL storytellers do. Usage of space in the way shown above is not consistent; the speaker in Figure 4.41, for example, does not consistently use this particular location to refer to the tortoise throughout the discourse. Similarly, E2 uses the space around him to map out the locations of the hare and the tortoise at the beginning of the race, and directs his eye gaze downwards to refer to the hare and tortoise in turn (see Figure 4.42). He sets up the hare on his right, and the tortoise on his left and directs his gaze towards his left and right at the appropriate juncture in that role.

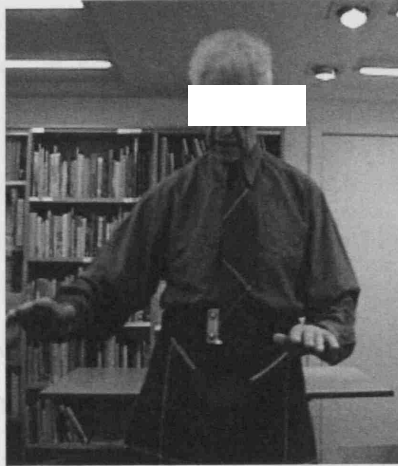


Figure 4.42: Eye gaze in E2's narrative

Again, these locations are not used subsequently to refer to the tortoise and the hare. It should also be noted that in both these examples, the eye gaze is accompanied by (deictic) gestures and prosodic elements (a change in pitch in E1's narrative, and changes in loudness in E2's narrative) which help the storyteller to underline the perspective being portrayed. The use of these affective elements (co-speech gesture, vocal prosodic elements, eye gaze) in this case are not necessary in spoken English, but enrich the story. In the BSL narratives, on the other hand, eye gaze appears to be used more consistently. Referring back to section 4.4.3, it appears that eye gaze may be particularly important for B2 as he does not set up the signing space or use determiners in the same way that B1 does, but because of his consistent usage of eye gaze, it is still clear which character he is portraying at any one time.

4.6. Usage of other elements to denote point of view in both languages

Eye gaze in both BSL narratives is consistently accompanied with a change in body position and/or head position towards the location associated with the respective character; this can be seen in Figure 4.39, where both signers orient their bodies towards the right and both their heads are tilted downwards. Head and body position in the BSL narratives thus appear to be closely related to the use of space and also to eye gaze; head and body movements are consistently directed towards the locations associated with specific characters. Head and body movements also occur in the spoken English narratives, but because locations within the speaker's physical space have not been set up for individual characters, neither speaker

orients him/herself consistently towards a particular location to denote a particular character. Although the English storytellers do not need to refer back to spatial locations associated with referents because they have other devices to track referents, such as pronouns, this is not to say that head and body position have no function in the spoken English narratives. While head and body positions may not denote a specific point of view in spoken English, a shift in head and/or body position could theoretically be used to mark a change in point of view. In roles 9-10 in E1's narrative, for example, the storyteller clearly changes head and body position between the end of role 9 (hare) and role 10 (tortoise), as seen in Figure 4.43.

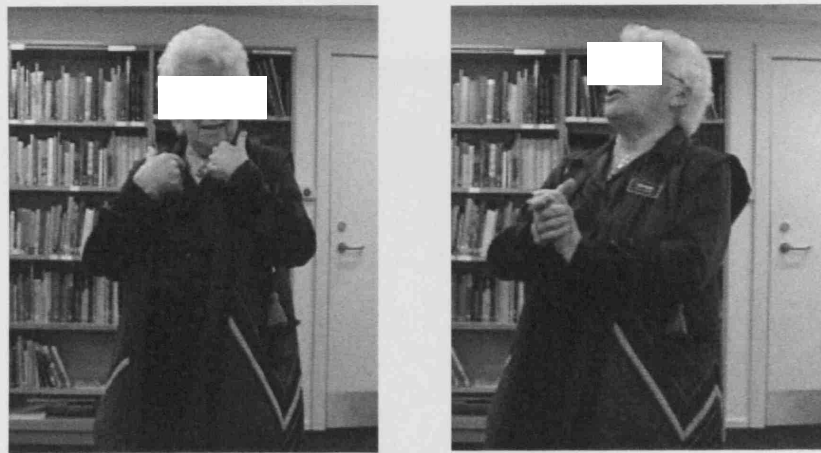


Figure 4.43: Change in head and body position in English from role 9 to role 10

It is interesting to note that a change in head and/or body position occurs in all character>character role changes in both spoken English narratives. Such changes are used when other means, such as pronouns, are not sufficient to differentiate between two different characters, similar to the use of eye gaze in BSL. However, the number of instances of character>character sequences is very low in both spoken English narratives. In addition, the changes in head and/or body position are not changes directed towards a specific location, unlike in BSL.

Moreover, changes in head and body position are not used consistently throughout either spoken English narrative, suggesting that this is not one of the primary ways in which point of view is marked in spoken English. Moreover, it is difficult to compare the usage of head and body position across the datasets: firstly for the

reasons outlined in the methodology regarding the difficulties of coding body position in both the spoken English and BSL data, and secondly because head and body movements can be used both for both grammatical and affective purposes in BSL, while this is not the case in spoken English, making it difficult to compare usage of these elements across modalities.

The same applies to other elements which may also help to mark a change in point of view, such as facial expression. Facial expression in either modality can be used to denote a character's thoughts or feelings, such as in Figure 4.44 below from E1's narrative, where the storyteller is portraying the hare ridiculing the tortoise's claim that he can beat the hare in a race.



Figure 4.44: Example of the use of facial expression in E1's narrative

Facial expressions in BSL can be used both grammatically (e.g. a questioning facial expression with raised eyebrows signalling that the signer is asking a question) and for affect to denote a character's thoughts or feelings, such as that shown in Figure 4.40. However, observation of the data shows that there are remarkable similarities between the affective facial expressions used by the spoken English storytellers with those used for the same purpose by the BSL storytellers. Contrast the following example from B1's narrative with Figure 4.44. Like E1, B1 is portraying the hare ridiculing the tortoise's claim that he can beat the hare in a race.



Figure 4.45: Affective facial expression in B1's narrative

4.7. Lexical items denoting mental state and communication

Lexical items that denote mental state can be used to underline the point of view from which an utterance is being expressed (see also Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.4). Similarly, verbs of communication can also be used to introduce direct discourse, particularly in spoken English. Figures 4.46-4.49 are the flow charts for role with incident boxes denoting each occurrence of any of these lexical items in all four narratives. The flow chart for role is shown below with incident boxes denoting each occurrence of any of these words. The letters denote the type of word: *psy* for items of psychological state, *per* for items of perception and *c* for items denoting communication. The number of occurrences of each type of lexical item is shown using *x 1* (for once) or *x 2* (for twice).

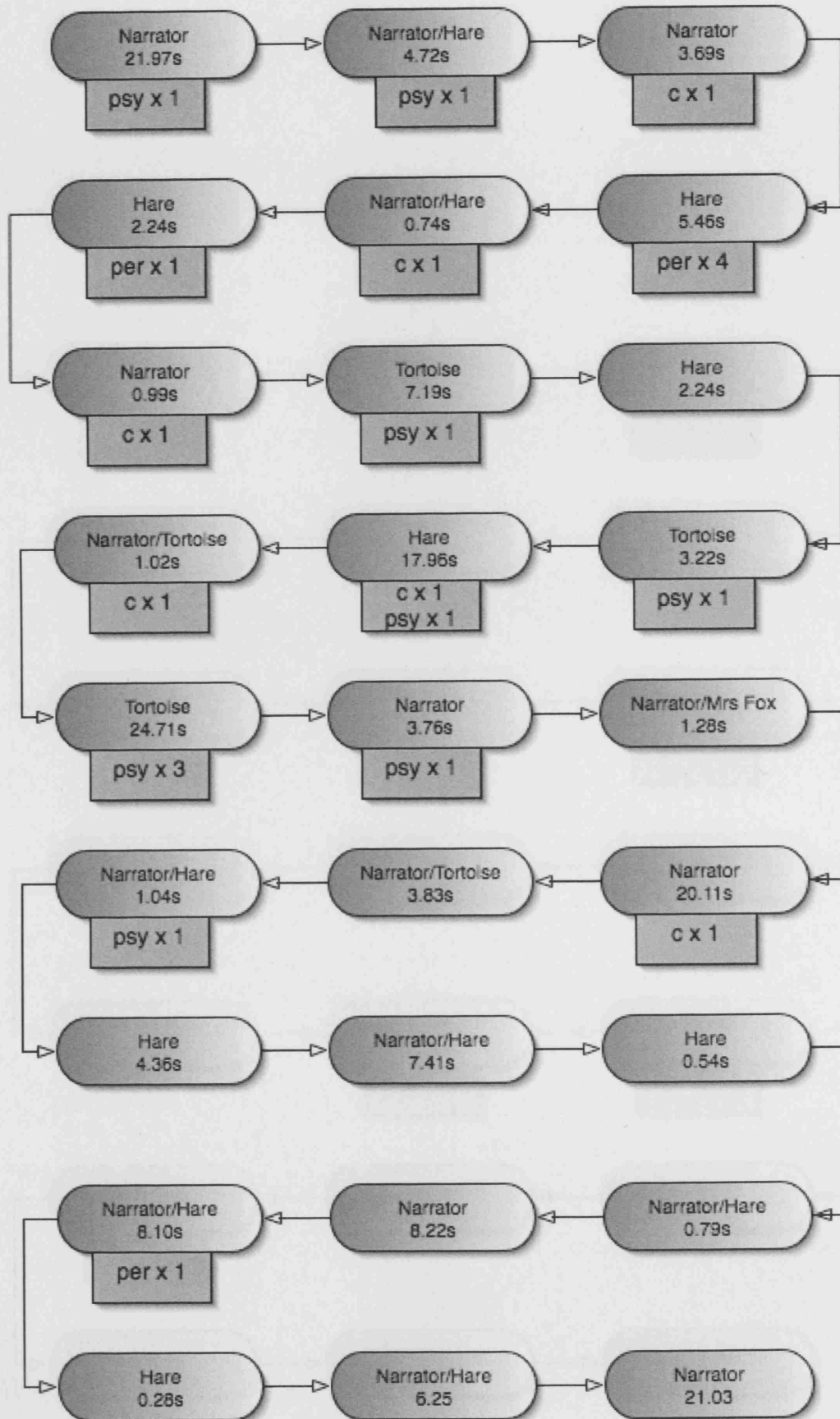


Figure 4.46: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in E1's narrative

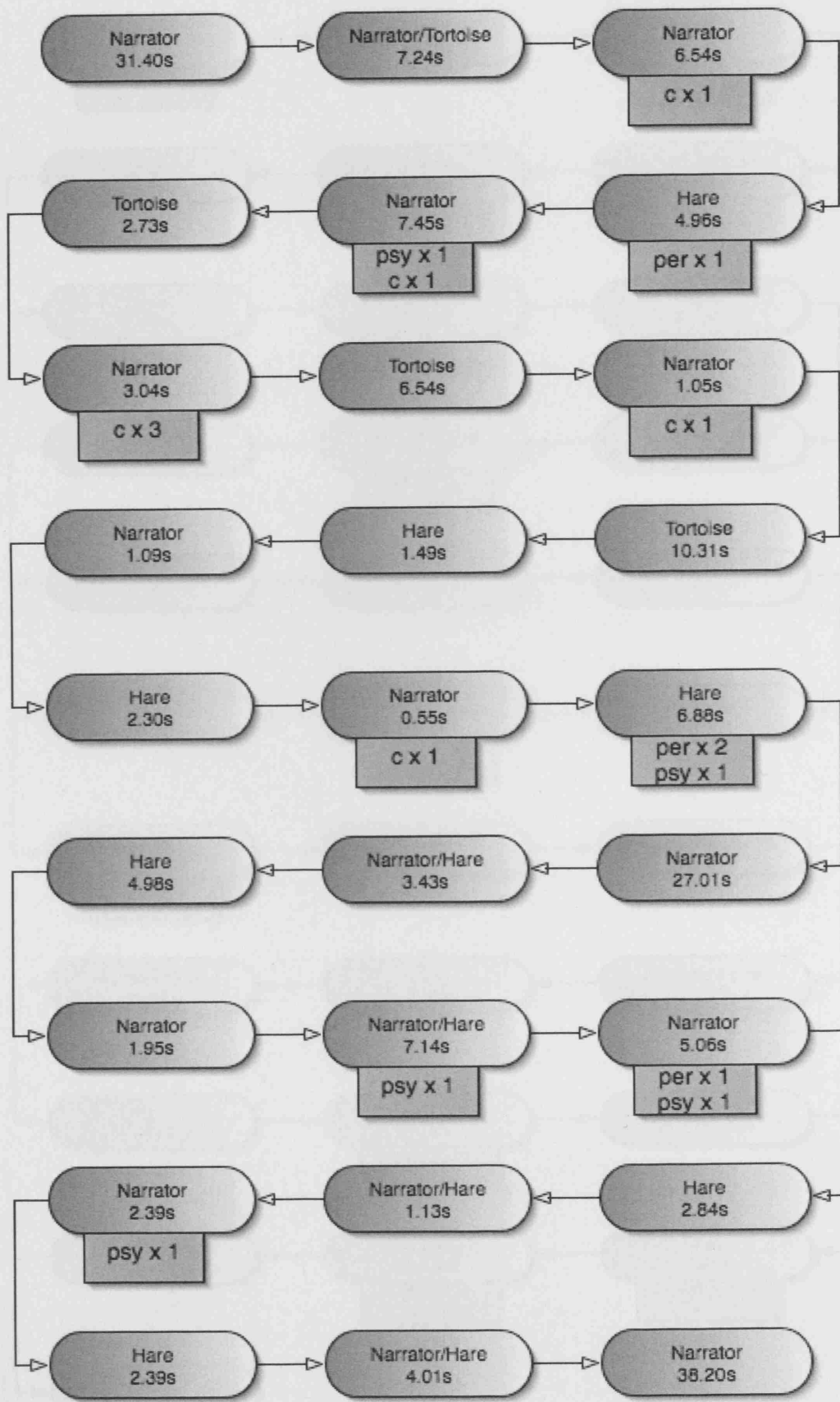


Figure 4.47: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in E2's narrative

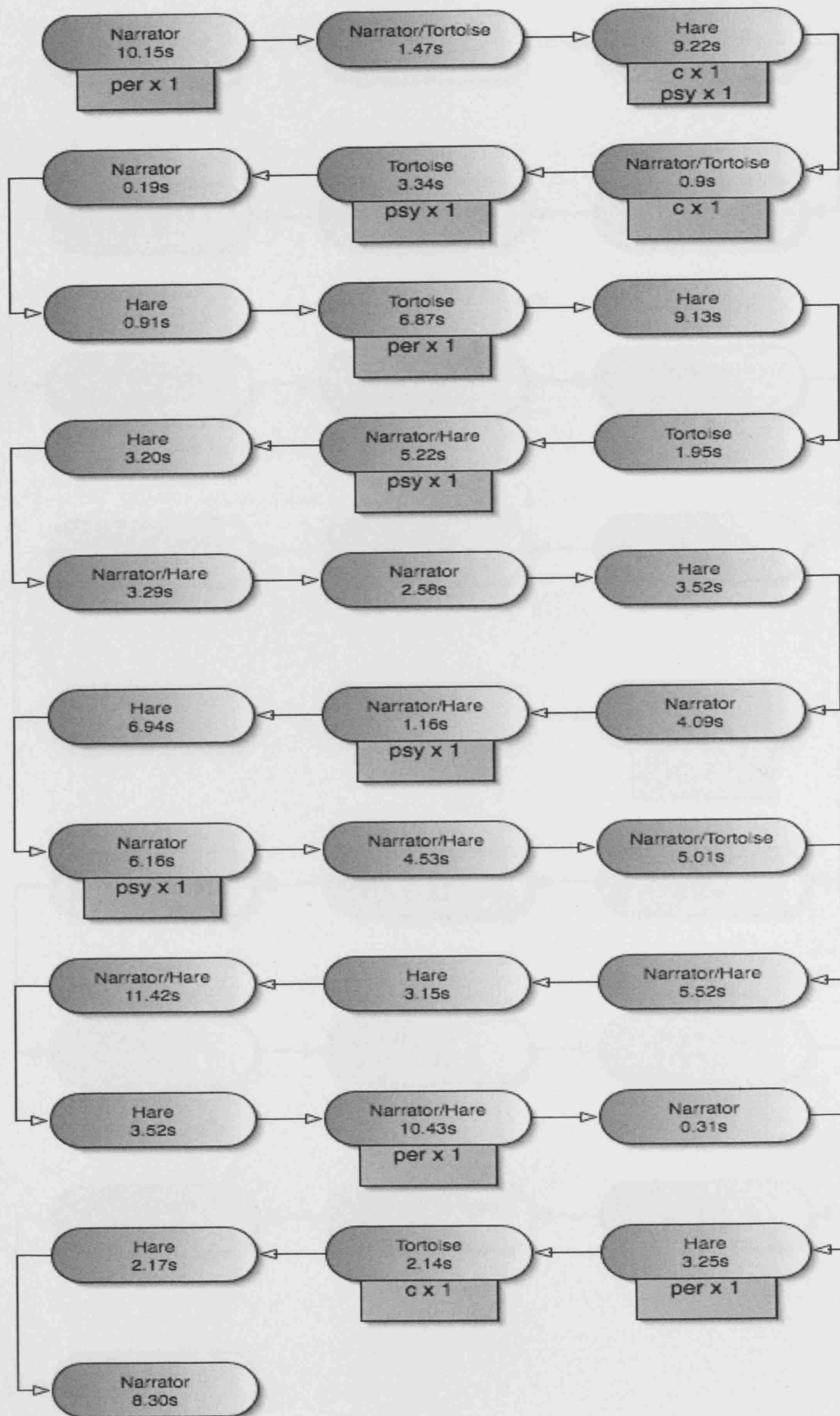


Figure 4.48: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in B1's narrative

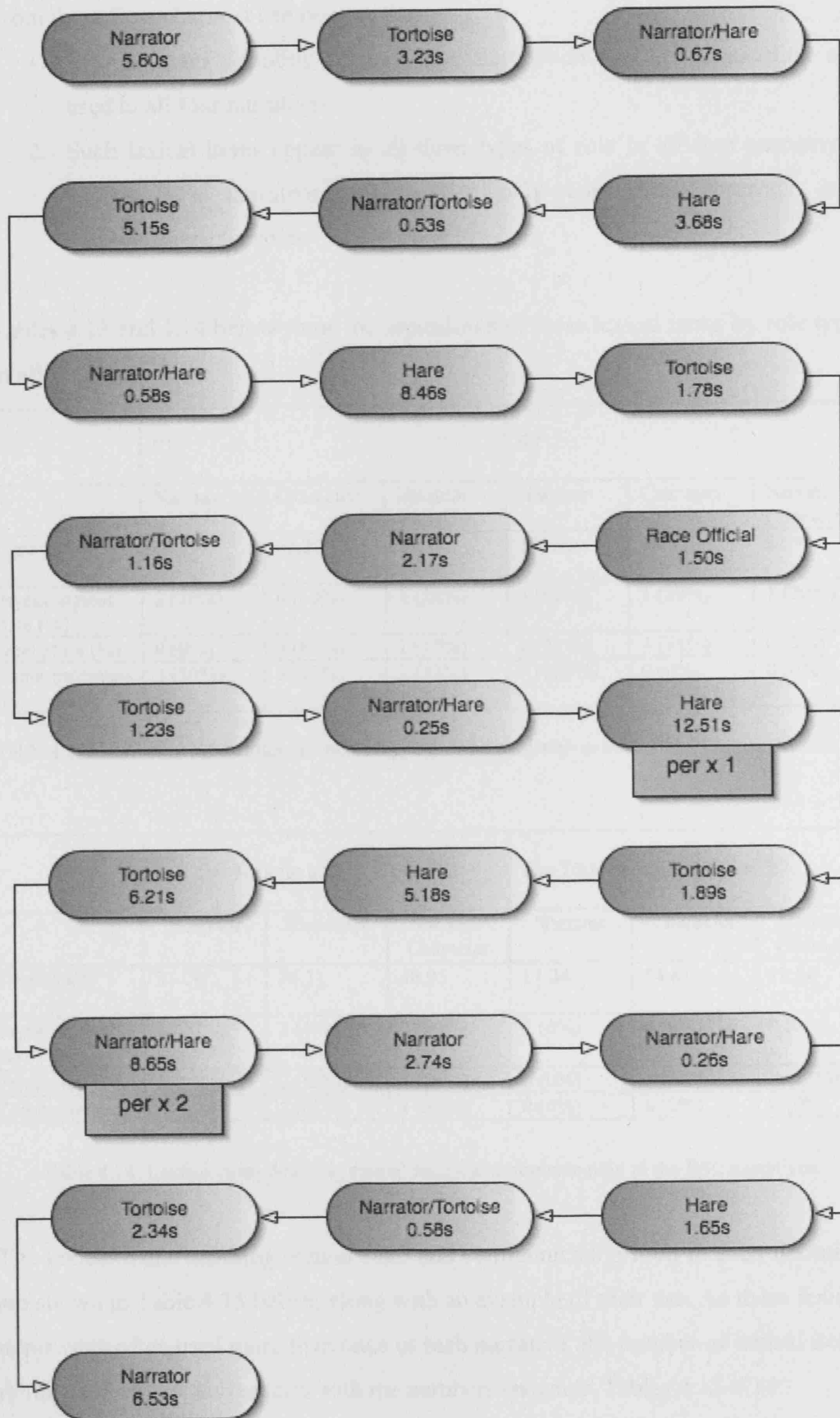


Figure 4.49: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in B2's narrative

From these flow charts, it can be seen that:

1. Lexical items denoting mental state, perception and communication are used in all four narratives.
2. Such lexical items appear in all three types of role in all four narratives, except B2's narrative, where they only appear in character and narrator/character roles.

Tables 4.13 and 4.14 below show the breakdown of these lexical items by role type in all four narratives.

	E1			E2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	79.77	68.20	31.35	125.73	45.42	22.95
Psychological state (%)	2 (20%)	6 (60%)	2 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)
Perception (%)	0 (0%)	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)
Communication (%)	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	2 (33%)	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 4.13: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in the spoken English narratives

	The Tortoise and The Hare: B1			The Tortoise and The Hare: B2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	31.78	59.31	48.95	17.04	54.81	12.68
Psychological state	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Perception	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)
Communication	0 (0%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 4.14: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in the BSL narratives

The lexical items denoting mental state and communication used in each narrative are shown in Table 4.15 below, along with an example of their use. As these lexical items were often used more than once in each narrative, the number of lexical items in this table do not correspond with the numbers shown in Tables 4.13-4.14.

	Psychological state	Perception	Communication
E1	know, admire, think e.g. <i>The hare was always admiring his big feet</i>	look e.g. <i>The hare said, "look at your tiny little feet!"</i>	say e.g. <i>The tortoise said, "I think I could beat you in a race"</i>
E2	think, enjoy e.g. <i>He thought, "well, I'd better not let him get too far"</i>	look, see e.g. <i>The next time he looked up, the tortoise had gone half of the way</i>	say e.g. <i>He said, "I'm fed up of being criticised by you!"</i>
B1	want, know, think e.g. PRO-1st KNOW TRUE EASY PRO-1st WIN PRO-1st FIRST PRO-1st (Engl. translation: <i>Now the hare knew it would be easy matter for him to win</i>)	see e.g. PRO-non1st BEEN PRO-non1st HARE PRO-non1st SEE PRO-non1st TRUE LAUGH (Engl. translation: <i>When the hare saw the tortoise, it always made him laugh</i>)	tell e.g. PRO-1st BEEN PRO-1st TELL (Engl. translation: <i>"Well I told you so, said the tortoise"</i>)
B2		look, see e.g. (p-) stunned rabbit SEE PRO-non1st TORTOISE ARRIVE FINISH (<i>He then turned to see the tortoise almost crossing the finish line ahead of him</i>)	

Table 4.15: Examples of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

Figure 4.50 shows the data from Tables 4.13-4.14 graphically. From this graph, it can be seen that the spoken English narratives contain the highest number of instances of such lexical items.

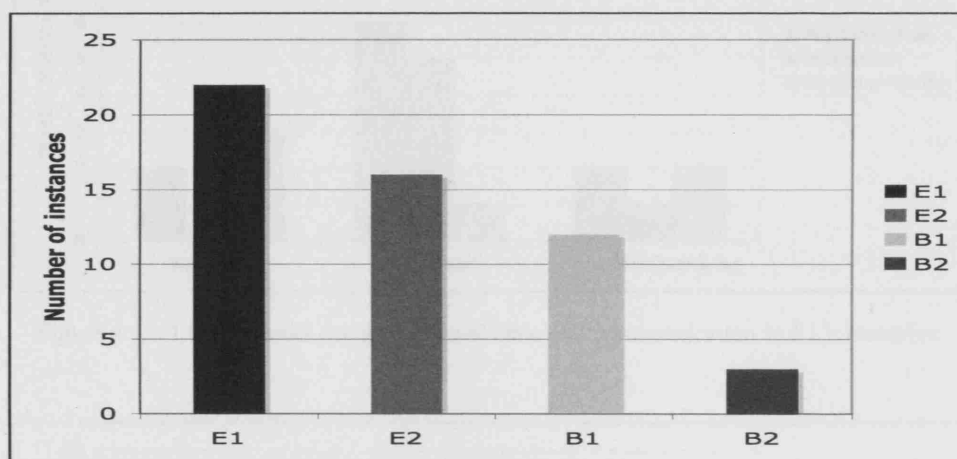


Figure 4.50: Number of instances of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

As the number of roles in each narrative are different, Figure 4.52 shows the overall percentage of different types of lexical items used in all four narratives. It can be seen that, in these data, the BSL narratives contain a higher percentage of perceptual items in comparison to the English narratives, but the English narratives contain a higher number of communication items.

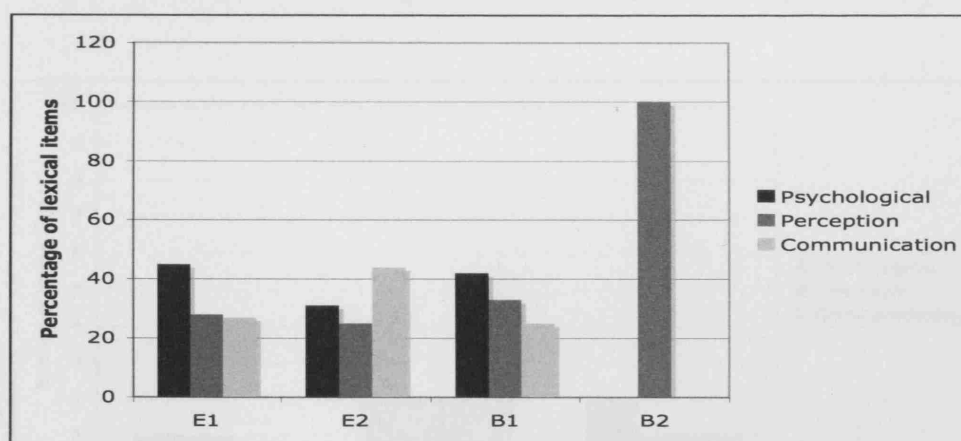


Figure 4.51: Percentage of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

The relationship between lexical items and role types in each narrative is shown in Figures 4.52-4.55.

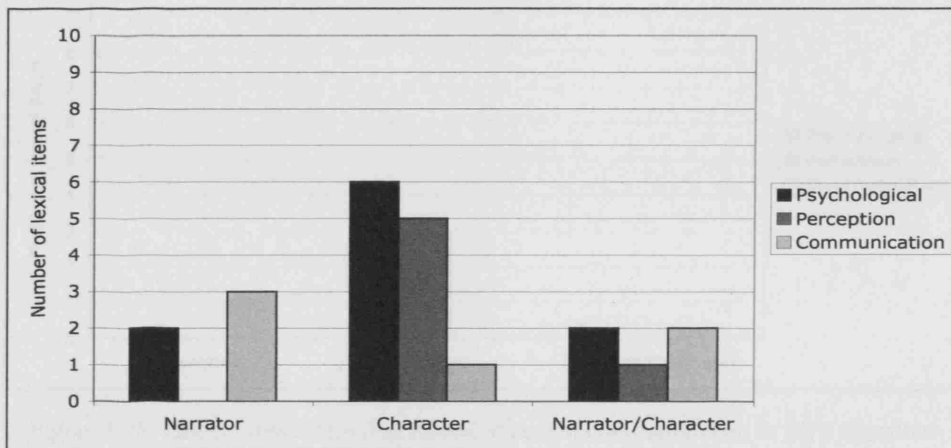


Figure 4.52: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in E1's narrative

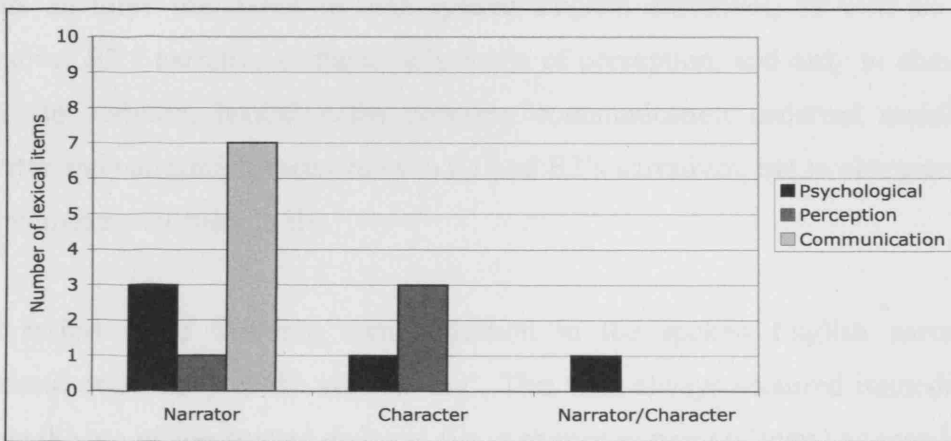


Figure 4.53: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in E2's narrative

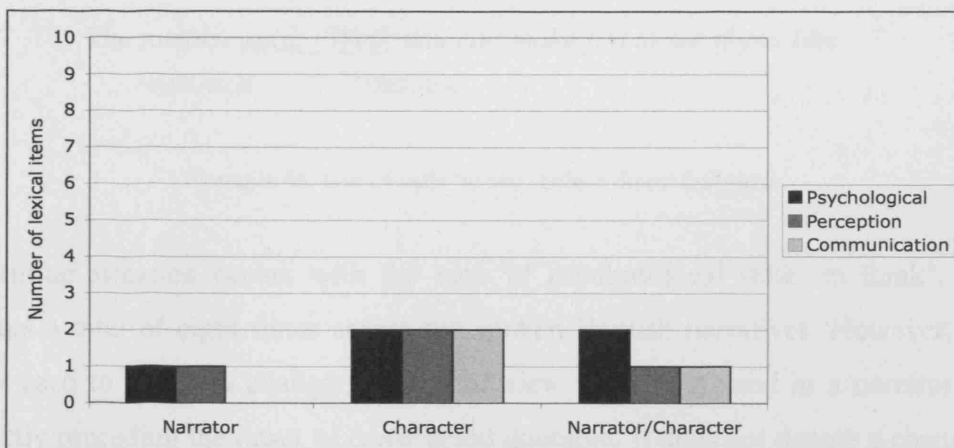


Figure 4.54: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in B1's narrative

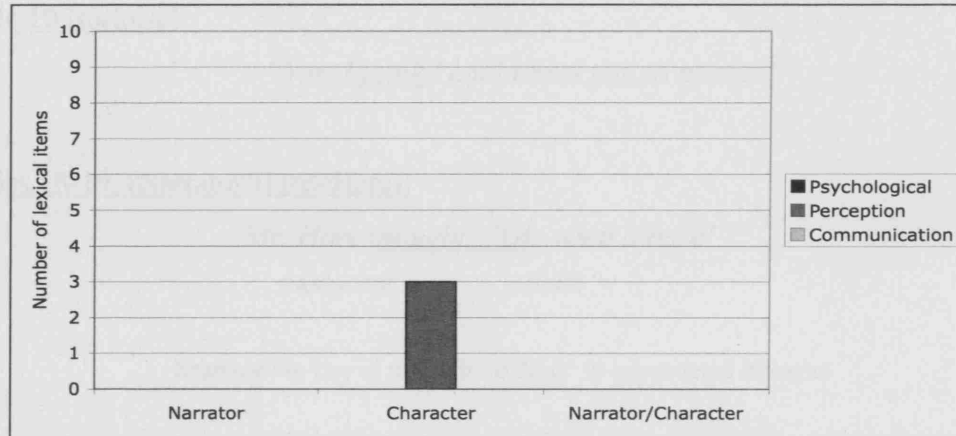


Figure 4.55: Lexical items denoting mental state and communication in B2's narrative

These graphs show that lexical items denoting psychological state are distributed across all three role types in both spoken English narratives, as well as B1's narrative. B2's narrative contains only items of perception, and only in character roles. In addition, lexical items denoting communication occurred mainly in narrator and narrator/character roles in E1 and E2's narratives, but in character and narrator/character roles in B1.

The lexical items denoting communication in the spoken English narratives consisted exclusively of the verb 'to say'. This verb always occurred immediately before the use of constructed dialogue (i.e. a change in point of view) as seen in the following section from roles 7-8 (narrator>tortoise) in E1:

The tortoise said, "Well, you can make fun of me if you like..."

NARRATOR TORTOISE

Example 4a: Use of verb 'to say' before direct discourse

A similar situation occurs with the verb of psychological state 'to think'. This occurs a total of eight times across the spoken English narratives. However, it is only used to denote a change in point of view when it is used in a narrator role directly preceding the onset of constructed dialogue. It does not denote a change in point of view when used in a character role containing constructed dialogue. Contrast the following roles from E1 which use the verb 'to think':

Role 10 (tortoise):

“Yes, I think I could beat you in a race!”

Roles 18-19 (Narrator/Hare>Hare):

Mr. Hare thought, “Oh, what a bore!”

NARRATOR

HARE

Example 4b: Use of the verb ‘to think’ in constructed dialogue

Not all passages containing constructed dialogue in the spoken English narratives are preceded by one of these verbs; only the constructed dialogue passages which are preceded by a narrator role are introduced in this way. Constructed dialogue also occurs in character>character sequences in both narratives, but these are all marked using other means. All the character>character sequences in this story were marked with a change in head and/or body position, as well as a change in pitch or loudness. All other verbs of psychological state and perception found in the spoken English narratives, such as ‘to know’ or ‘to admire’ are not used in this way; they are used either within narrator role or as part of a character’s constructed dialogue, but not to signal a change in point of view. Where they do appear, they appear alongside other markers of point of view, such as the use of first or third person pronouns, for example.

The BSL narratives contain fewer lexical items of mental state overall, particularly those denoting communication. The lexical items denoting communication are the verbs SAY and TELL. Like spoken English, these items can be used in narrator and narrator/character roles to introduce constructed dialogue in a character role. An example of this from B1’s narrative is shown below. The verb SAY is used in a narrator/tortoise role immediately preceding a tortoise role containing constructed dialogue. The narrator/tortoise role is denoted by *n/t*, and the onset of the tortoise role is denoted by a *t*. The English translation is shown below the BSL gloss.

n/t _____ t

Gloss: IND SAY HANG-ON IND WAIT WE-TWO LET'S SEE BET IND

Translation: *The tortoise said, "Now hang on a minute, why don't we make a bet?"*

Example 4c: Use of the verb SAY to introduce a change in point of view

This example is accompanied by a shift in head position at the onset of the tortoise role, as shown in Figure 4.56. The first picture shows the storyteller using an index sign (third person pronoun) directed towards the location established for the tortoise, followed by the verb SAY before starting the section of direct discourse. The verb SAY is accompanied by a shift in head position to the signer's left to indicate that the tortoise is addressing the hare.



IND

SAY

Figure 4.56: Use of SAY in B1's narrative to mark the onset of constructed dialogue

Lexical items denoting psychological state and perception are also used in the BSL narratives, particularly items denoting perception in character roles. The most common lexical item denoting perception in BSL is the verb SEE. Items such as these also do not appear to be used to mark a particular point of view.

In summary, lexical items denoting mental state in both the BSL and English narratives are generally accompanied by other markers of point of view, such as pronouns. However, it appears that certain verbs, such as *say* in spoken English and SAY in BSL can be used to mark a change in point of view from a narrator or narrator/character to a character role. Moreover, this appears to occur more often in the spoken English narratives.

4.8. Elements that occur only in the spoken English narratives

Co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic elements were only coded for in the spoken English data. This is because English is a spoken language which makes use of the hands for gestural rather than linguistic purposes. As it is a vocal language, speakers also make use of the voice by varying pitch or duration of sounds. Neither of these is applicable to the BSL data and so the following section deals only with the English data. The issue of whether and to what extent signers gesture is an issue under much debate within the field of sign linguistics (e.g. Emmorey, 1999; Liddell 2003a) (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). However, for the purposes of this dissertation, only gestures that co-occur with speech will be looked at, although any parallels between spoken and signed data in this respect will be discussed in this section.

4.8.1 Co-speech gestures

Figures 4.57 and 4.58 are the flow charts for role in E1 and E2's narratives with incident boxes denoting each instance of beat (*b*), iconic (*i*), metaphoric (*m*) and deictic (*d*) gestures in the right hand (top box) and left hand (bottom box). Beat gestures are meaningless gestures that accompany the rhythm of speech and iconic gestures are those which are closely related to the content of speech; they can be used to, e.g. map out a scene being described. Metaphoric gestures, on the other hand, depict abstract ideas or concepts rather than the concrete events or objects mapped out by iconic gestures. Finally, deictic gestures are generally pointing gestures which point to people or objects. The dotted lines indicate whether a particular token of gesture continues over a role boundary (see also Figure 4.9 for an explanation of this).

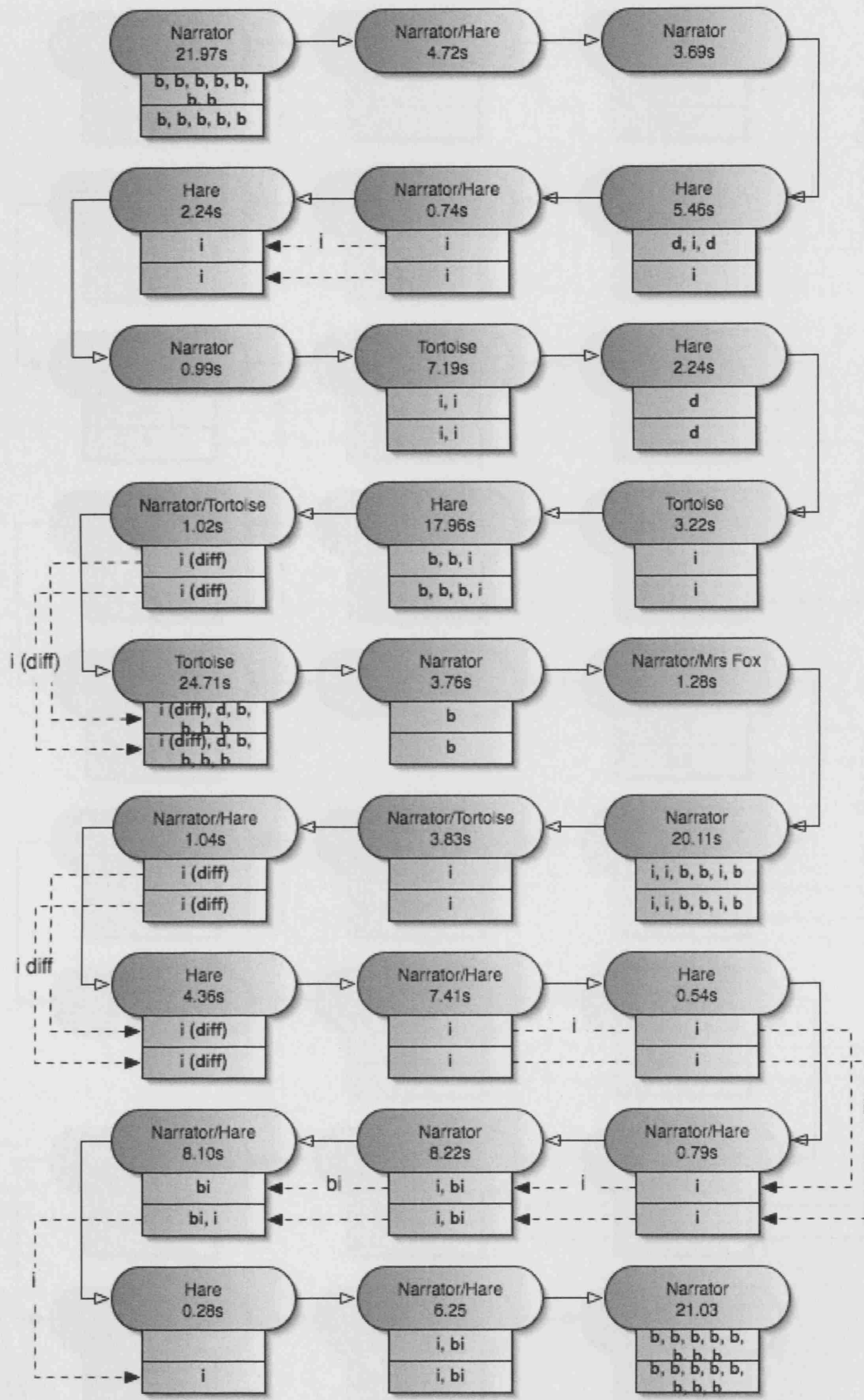


Figure 4.57: Gesture in E1's narrative

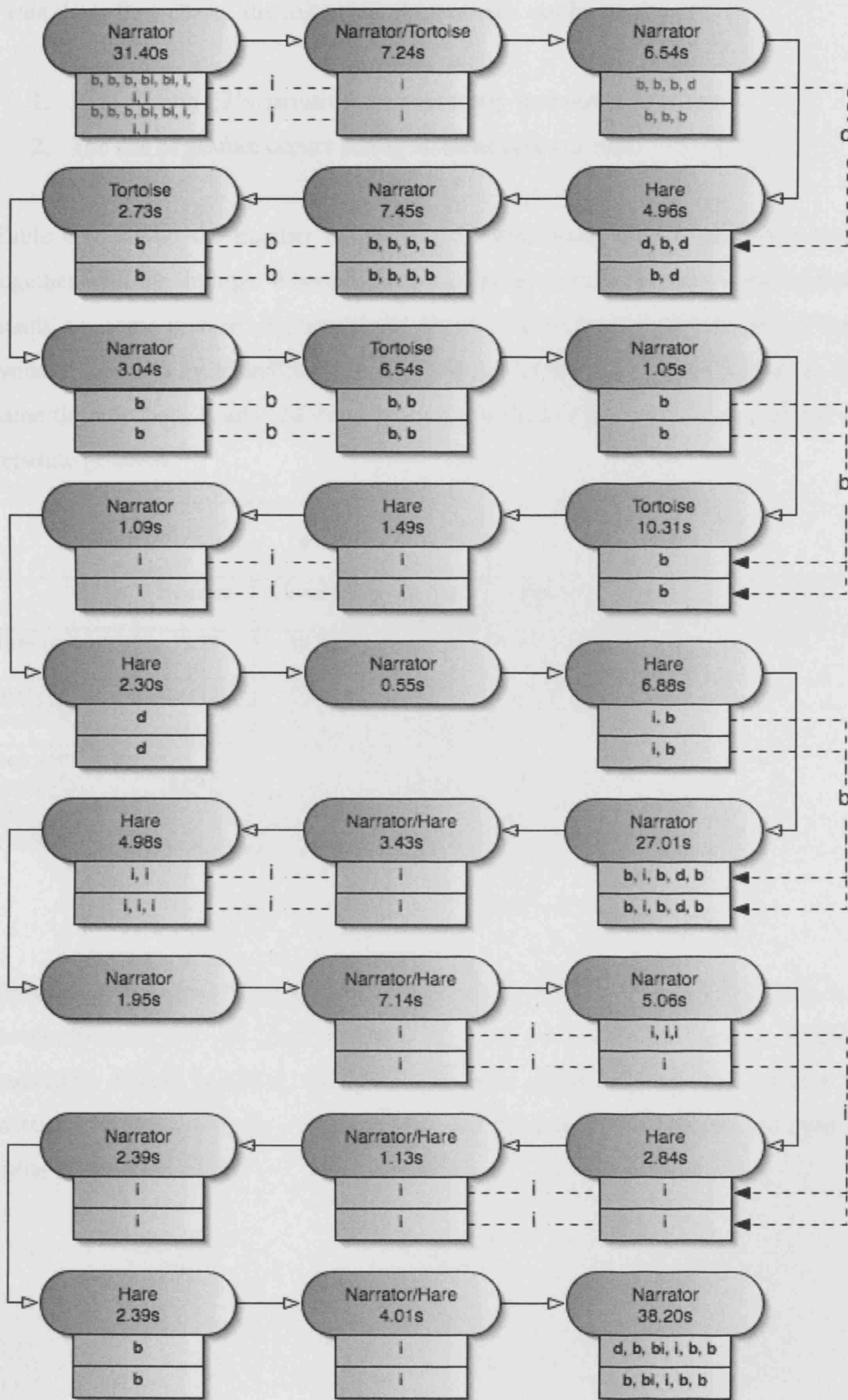


Figure 4.58: Gesture in E2's narrative

From these flow charts, the following observations can be made:

1. Both E1 and E2's narratives contain many instances of gesture.
2. The use of gesture occurs across all three types of role.

Table 4.16 shows the number of gestures for each hand used in each role type, together with the timings. Where the same gestures occur at the same time on both hands, i.e. same gesture type/handshape, these have been counted once, rather than twice, in order to avoid inflated results. However, if different gestures occur at the same time on both hands (different gesture type/handshape), these are counted as separate gestures.

	E1			E2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	79.77	68.20	31.35	125.73	45.42	22.95
Beat (%)	19 (73)	7 (27)	0 (0)	17 (81)	4 (19)	0
Iconic (%)	3 (20)	5 (33)	7 (47)	8 (53)	4 (27)	3 (20)
Beat and Iconic (%)	1 (50)	0	1 (50)	3 (100)	0	0
Deictic (%)	0	4 (100)	0	3 (100)	0	0
Metaphoric	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.16: Gestures in E1 and E2's narratives

These data are shown graphically in Figure 4.59 and it can be seen that beat and iconic gestures are the most frequent type of gesture in the spoken English narratives. Deictic gestures also occur in both narratives, but the number of instances of these gestures is much lower, and no metaphoric gestures are used in either narrative.

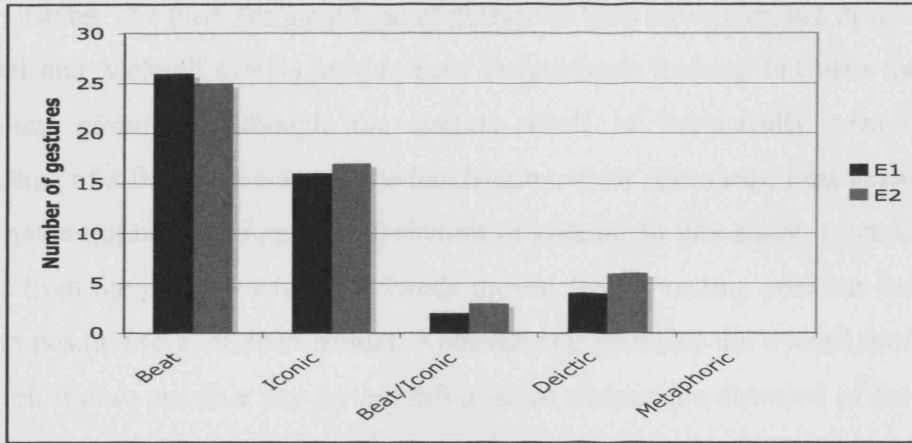


Figure 4.59: Number of gestures in E1 and E2's narrative

Figures 4.60 and 4.61 show that beat gestures occur primarily in narrator roles, whereas iconic gestures occur in all three types of role. Deictic gestures occur in character roles in both narratives.

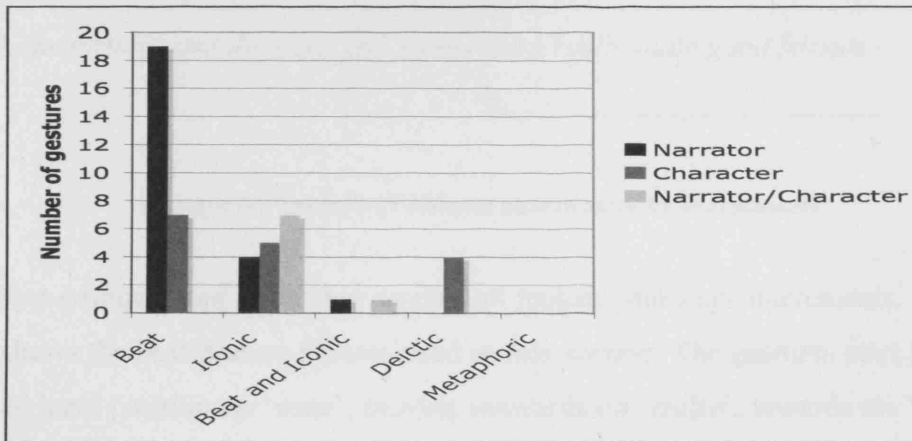


Figure 4.60: Number of gestures in each role type in E1's narrative

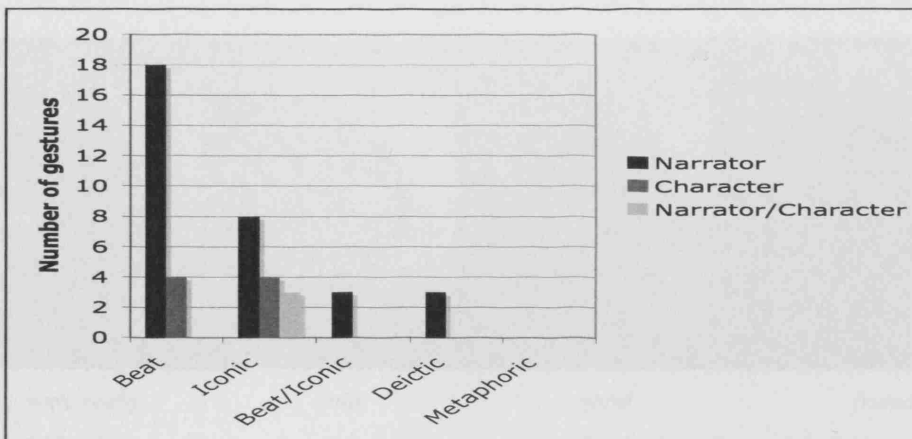


Figure 4.61: Number of gestures in each role type in E2's narrative

Beat gestures, the most frequent type of gesture in both narratives, are described by Cassell and McNeill (1991) as the most insignificant looking but also the most revealing gestures. Although the gesture itself is intrinsically meaningless, consisting of a flick or a wave of the hands upwards or sideways, beat gestures, as their name implies, accompany the rhythm of speech. In this study, gestures were coded from the point at which the hands moved from a resting position back to a resting position (e.g. clasped hands). Although this provides the overall number of gestures, it does not give any further information such as the direction of the hands between the two resting points. For example, E1 uses a number of beat gesture phrases in one section at the beginning of her narrative (see Example 4d). The section of dialogue accompanied by beat gestures is shown using b (for beat) to indicate where the beat gestures start and a line showing which words are accompanied by the gestures.

NARRATOR _____
[Well, the tortoise and the hare, you know] were really quite good friends.
 b _____

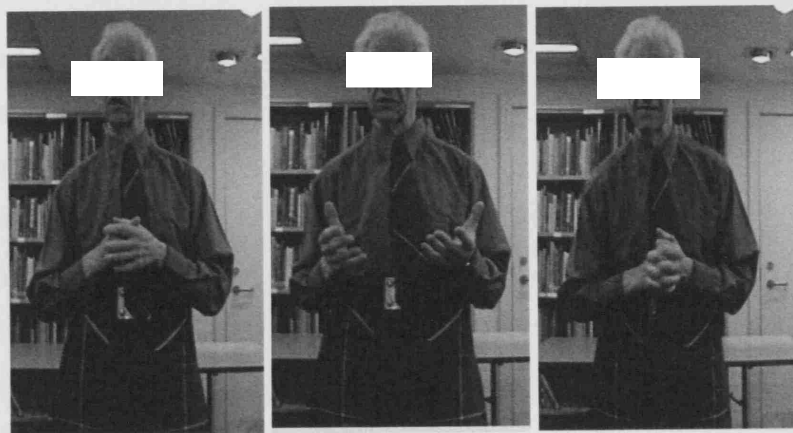
Example 4d: Example of dialogue accompanied by beat gestures

The beat gestures used in the last section all include sideways movements. Figure 4.62 shows the beat gesture phrases used in this section. The gestures start from a clasped hand position on 'were', moving outwards on 'really', inwards on 'quite', outwards again on 'good' and further outwards on 'friends'.



Figure 4.62: The use of beat gestural phrases to accompany the rhythm of speech in E1's narrative

Beat gestures are not continuously used throughout the narrative in these data; this is perhaps because they are used only where a storyteller wishes to emphasise a particular section that he considers to be particularly important. For example, Figure 4.63 illustrates the use of a beat gesture in E2's narrative. The use of a beat gesture here coincides with vocal emphasis (loudness) on the word 'tortoise'. The storyteller's hands remain clasped until he reaches the word 'tortoise'; at this juncture, his hands move outwards for the duration of this word, and then come to rest again in the clasped position at the end of the word.



My second story for today is about a tortoise and a hare

Figure 4.63: The use of a beat gesture for emphasis in E2's narrative

Figures 4.57 and 4.58 show that it is unusual for the type of gesture to change at a role boundary, and in fact such gestures often continue across role boundaries. However, there are occasional examples where the gesture type does change across a role boundary. For example, in roles 3-4 in E2's narrative (narrator>hare), there is a switch from beat gestures to deictic gestures over the role boundary, before the storyteller returns to using beat gestures (see Example 4e). Again, the onset of each gesture is shown using the letter b (for beat), or d (for deictic) and a line indicating which words are accompanied by these gestures.

NARRATOR

Now the hare unfortunately made a fool of the tortoise time and time again and

b _____ b _____ b _____

HARE

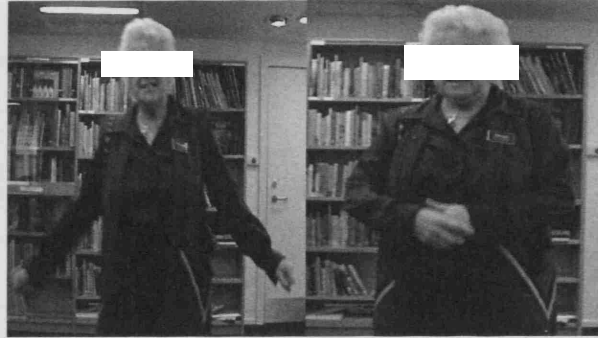
said: "Oh you're awful slow and you're awful cumbersome..."

d _____ b _____

Example 4e: Change in gesture type at a role boundary

There is an interesting parallel in the English narratives with the use of deictic gestures to point to fictional characters and indexic signs in the BSL narratives. In E1's narrative, Figure 4.41 is an example of the use of a deictic gesture. Although the spoken English storytellers do not make associations between referents and specific locations in space, they still appear on occasion to use the space in front of them using remarkably similar movements to achieve similar functions. Both illustrations of the deictic gestures being discussed here occur with the second person pronoun 'you' (singular) and are analogous to the indexic signs used for pronominal reference in the BSL narratives (see Figure 4.39 for examples of this). However, the fundamental difference between the two is that deictic gestures are not required in the spoken English narratives as the information is also conveyed using the pronoun and not the deictic gesture alone, whereas in BSL the indexic sign in such cases is the pronoun.

Example 4e shows that beat gestures are also used in character roles. There is, however, a difference between using beat gestures in narrator roles and beat gestures in character roles. In both narratives, all such beat gestures occurring in character roles are associated with constructed dialogue and resemble the use of beat gestures commonly used in everyday conversational discourse. Beat gestures in narrator and character roles appear to have an additional function. For example, in E1's narrative, beat gestures are used at the beginning of role 1 to introduce the first two sentences (see Figure 4.64):



And my next story is the tortoise and the hare.



Well, the tortoise and the hare, ye know, were really quite good friends.

Figure 4.64: Use of beat gestures at the beginning of utterances

Both gestures consist of an outward movement sideways before returning to a resting position, and both start with the initial word at the beginning of the sentence. Interestingly, they also coincide with the prosodic element loudness on the first word of each sentence. Used in this way, they give an insight into the structure of the story by indicating when a new sentence or section has started. Beat gestures used in character roles in these data do not appear to have this function, although it is possible that they could have this function if the character himself was acting as narrator.

Both storytellers use iconic gestures to explain or reinforce concepts or actions. E2, for example, describes how fast the hare is (*flighty and fast, fast as lightning*). During this description, the storyteller uses gesture to reinforce his description (see Figure 4.65), moving his hands away from his body quickly to signify the hare moving fast.

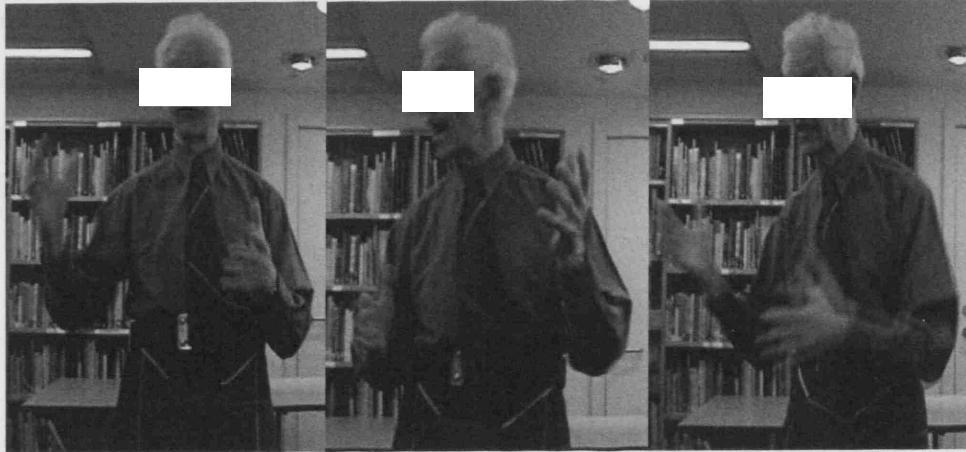
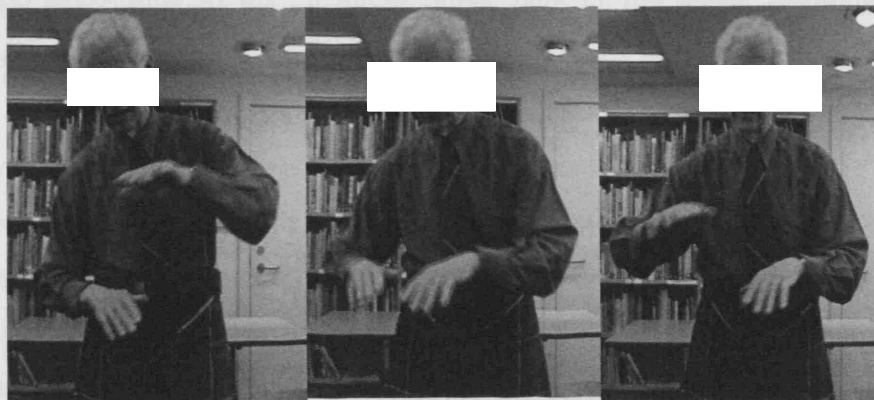


Figure 4.65: Use of iconic gestures in E2 to depict the hare

This gesture contrasts in both speed and nature with the iconic gesture used in the following section of this utterance to depict the tortoise's slowness (see Figure 4.66). Figure 4.66 shows E2 demonstrating how slowly the tortoise has to move in comparison to the hare. He uses gestures during the underlined section to emphasise how, and how slowly, the tortoise moves, by moving his hands alternately up and down as if imitating the tortoise padding along. As in Figure 4.65, the use of gesture here also coincided with the use of vocal prosodic elements; the gestures depicting the tortoise (Figure 4.66) were accompanied with a fall in pitch, whereas a rise in pitch accompanied the gestures shown in Figure 4.65.



The hare, flighty and fast, fast as lightning. And it's because he had great long legs. And he could leap huge lengths, distances, whereas the poor old tortoise had to just toddle along like this

Figure 4.66: The use of iconic gestures in E2's narrative to depict the tortoise

Some of the iconic gestures used in the English narratives bear remarkable similarities to the constructed action sections in the BSL narratives. In B2's narrative, for example, there is a section (see Figure 4.67) where the storyteller depicts the tortoise moving in a similar way to E2 in Figure 4.66.



Figure 4.67: Depiction of the tortoise in B2's narrative

Not all character and narrator/character roles in the spoken English narratives involved visual depiction of (aspects of) characters, unlike character and narrator/character roles in BSL. However, all the iconic gestures used in character and narrator/character roles in spoken English involved some form of character depiction. Such character depictions in spoken English act more as a complement to the vocal description of the character rather than as the actual depiction of the character as in BSL.

Neither storyteller used metaphoric gestures in their narratives. This may be due to a number of reasons. Metaphoric gestures are used to explain abstract concepts, and this story does not contain abstract concepts, but instead deals with concrete concepts. This is perhaps why we find a high level of iconic, rather than metaphoric, gestures in these narratives.

In summary, gestures are used widely but not continuously throughout both narratives. Furthermore, it also appears that no one particular type of gesture occurs consistently in one particular type of role; gestures, like pronouns (see Table 4.7) can be used in different roles, i.e. from different points of view. This suggests that

the primary function of gesture is not to mark a change in point of view but rather to underline the perspective from which a story is being told, as well as allow the storyteller to place emphasis on certain sections or points which he considers particularly important.

4.8.2. Vocal prosodic elements: pitch, loudness and duration

Figures 4.68 and 4.69 show the flow charts for role with incident boxes denoting each occurrence where pitch, duration and loudness of individual words or phrases differed noticeably from what was 'normal' for that speaker. Duration is denoted by *d*, loudness by *l* and pitch by *hp* for high pitch, *lp* for low pitch, *rp* for rising pitch and *fp* for falling pitch. Multiple instances of any of these in one role indicate that the storytellers are using duration, pitch or loudness with more than one word. Where there was a particularly high number of instances of a particular element, this has been denoted with a *x* plus however many times it occurred, e.g. *x 14*.

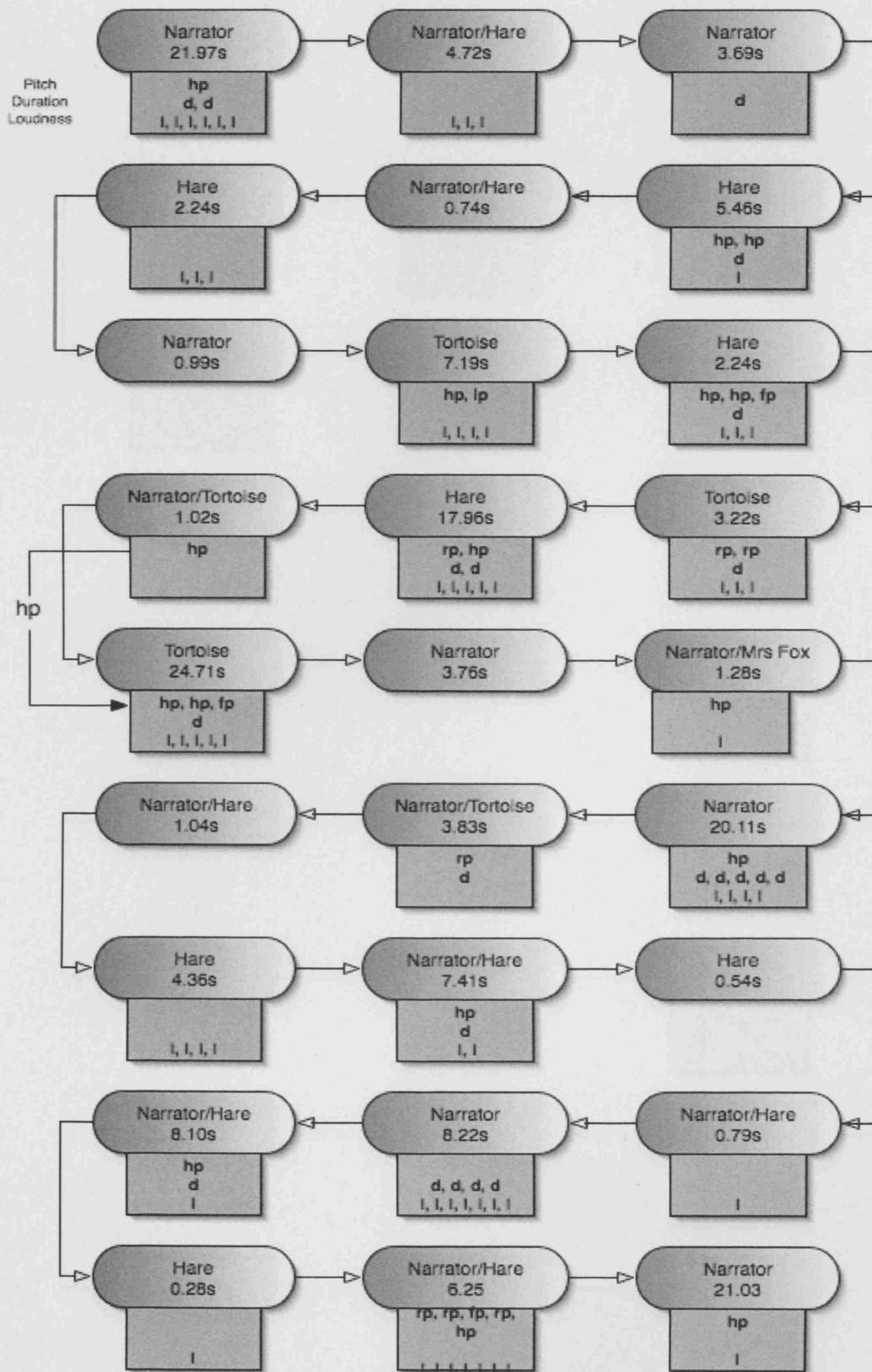


Figure 4.68: Prosodic elements in E1's narrative

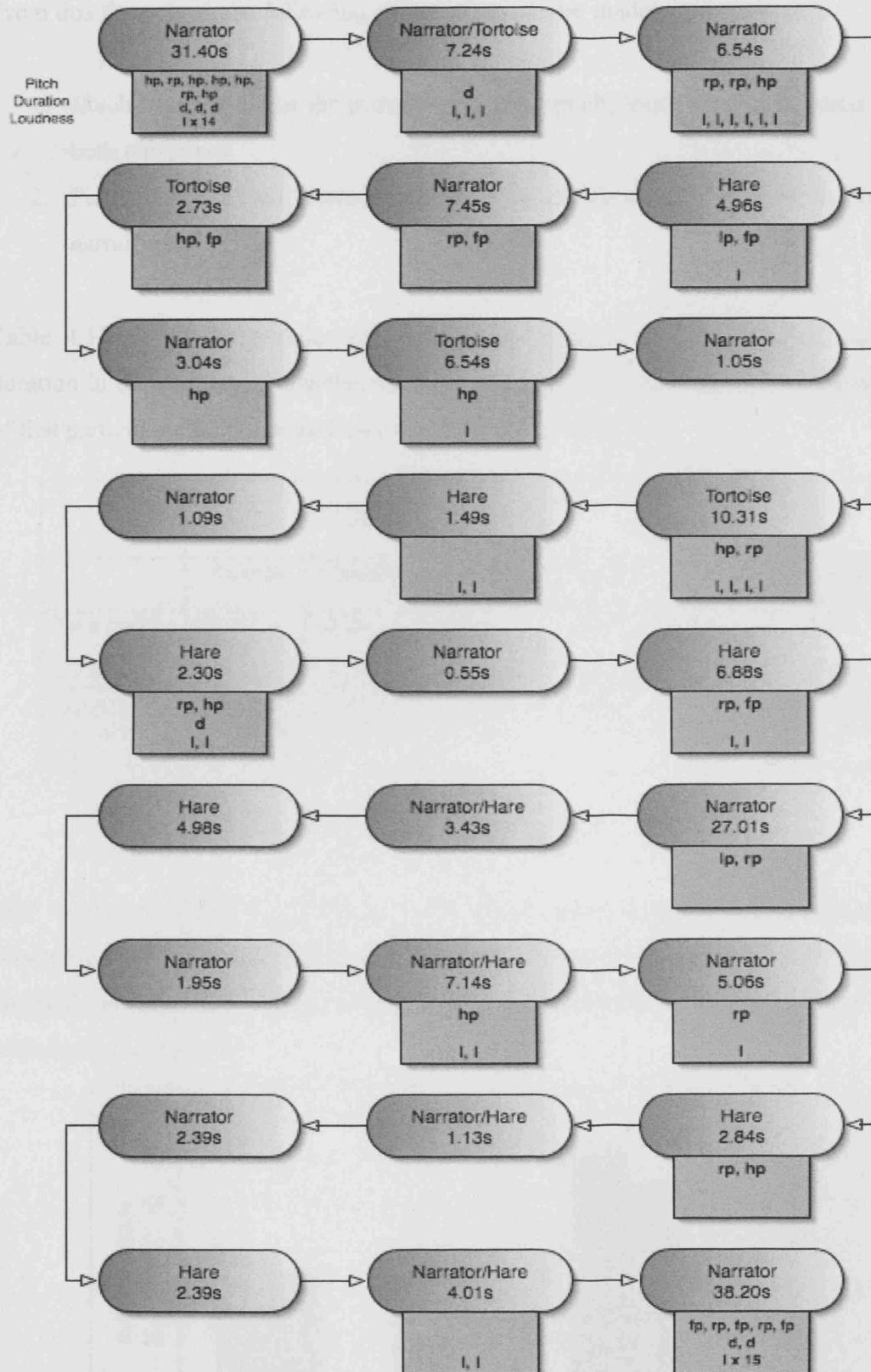


Figure 4.69: Prosodic elements in E2's narrative

From this flow chart, the following observations can be made:

1. Much use is made of the prosodic elements pitch, loudness and duration in both narratives.
2. Pitch, duration and loudness are used in all three types of role in both narratives.

Table 4.17 shows the number of instances of changes in pitch, loudness and duration in each role type, together with the timings. The percentage of occurrence of that particular element in each role type is shown in brackets.

	E1			E2		
	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character	Narrator	Character	Narrator/ Character
Time (secs)	79.77	68.20	31.35	125.73	48.85	19.52
Pitch (%)	3 (12%)	13 (50%)	10 (38%)	21 (60%)	13 (37%)	1 (3%)
Duration(%)	12 (57%)	6 (29%)	3 (14%)	5 (72%)	1 (14%)	1 (14%)
Loudness (%)	18 (29%)	29 (47%)	15 (24%)	36 (65%)	12 (22%)	7 (13%)

Table 4.17: Vocal prosodic elements

This is shown graphically in Figure 4.70. Both spoken English storytellers use changes in loudness more than changes in pitch or duration. E1 makes more use of duration elements than E2, but both storytellers use a similar amount of changes in pitch in their narratives.

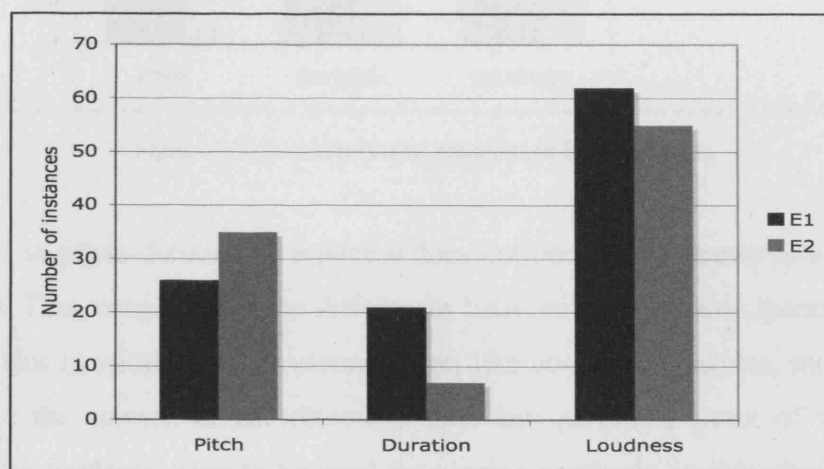


Figure 4.70: Vocal prosodic elements in the spoken English narratives

If these data are looked at as the percentage of pitch, duration and loudness for each role type (see Figures 4.71 and 4.72), it can be seen that E1 uses changes in pitch and loudness predominantly in character roles and changes in duration mainly in narrator roles. E2, however, uses changes in pitch, duration and loudness predominantly in narrator roles.

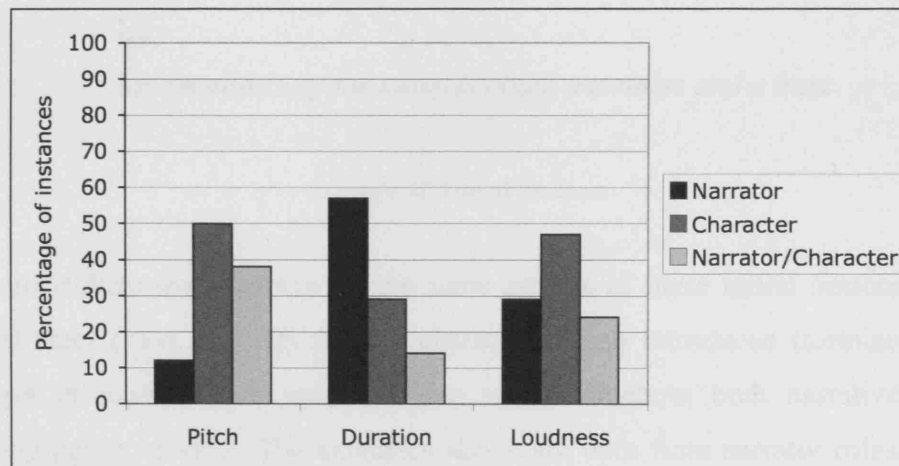


Figure 4.71: Vocal prosodic elements in E1's narrative

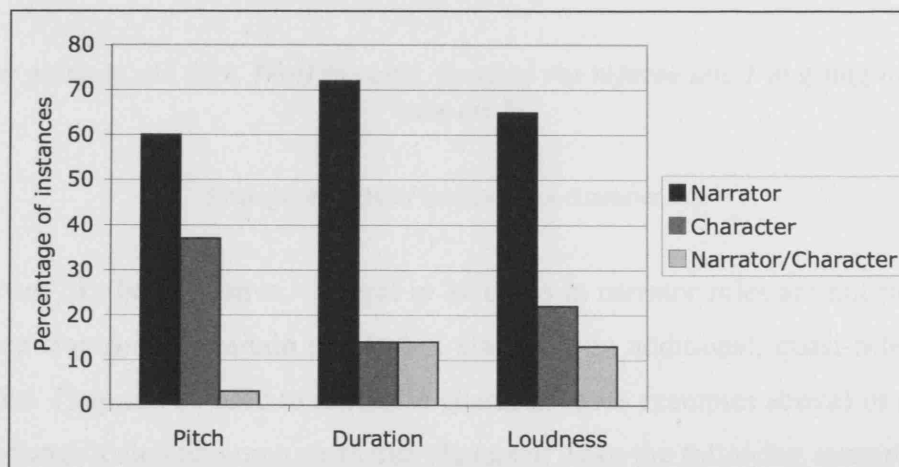


Figure 4.72: Vocal prosodic elements in E2's narrative

A change in pitch, duration or loudness does not occur consistently in a particular role type. This, coupled with the differences between the two participants, suggests that changes in vocal prosodic elements are, like co-speech gestures, more closely related to the content of the discourse than any particular point of view type. Changes in loudness seem to be used for placing emphasis on important points in

the story. Take the following examples from the initial sentences of E1 and E2's narratives. The words in bold signify where a change in loudness occurs:

E1:

*And my **next** story is the **tortoise** and the **hare**.*

E2:

*My **second** story for today is about a **tortoise** and a **hare**.*

Example 4f: Use of loudness

Both storytellers use loudness on the same aspects of these initial sentences: the type of story (next, second) and the characters being introduced (tortoise, hare). Changes in loudness are used in same way throughout both narratives from differing points of view. The examples above are both from narrator roles. When changes in loudness are used in character roles, they can also be used to place emphasis on aspects of the story, as seen in this example from E2:

*"I'm going to ask Mrs. **Wolf** to come along as the **referee** and I'm going to take **you on**."*

Example 4g: Use of loudness in a character role

However, like beat gestures, changes in loudness in narrator roles are not just used to place emphasis on certain points, but also have an additional, quasi-referential, function. They can be used to introduce characters (see examples above) or refocus the audience's attention on a particular character. Take the following example from E2 (role 3):

*And he could leap huge lengths, distances, whereas the **poor, old** tortoise had to just toddle along like this, very, **very** slowly. Now the **hare** unfortunately made a fool of the tortoise...*

Example 4h: Use of loudness in a narrator role

The storyteller starts by talking about the hare, then the tortoise. When he returns to talking about the hare, he places emphasis on the word ‘hare’ to refocus the audience’s attention on this character.

Changes in duration of words or phrases more closely reflect the content of the discourse than any other prosodic element. In both narratives, the storytellers alter the duration of words or phrases when describing the movement of characters. E1, for example, slows her speech down when describing the tortoise moving down the course. Example 4i below shows changes in duration marked in bold.

*“Mr Tortoise moved **on** and **on** and **on** and **on** until **he** was **almost** **there**.”*



Example 4i: Use of duration in E1’s narrative

She starts by speaking slowly to emphasise how slowly the tortoise moves, but speeds up the closer the tortoise gets to the finish line. E2 also uses duration in this way, as seen in Example 4j.

*“By the time he woke, the tortoise was just about to cross the finish line. So, **he** got **up** **as** **fast** **as** **he** **could**...”*



Example 4j: Use of duration in E2’s narrative

In previous sections, the storyteller has described how the hare fell asleep while the tortoise carried on with the race. The example above shows how the hare panics when he sees the tortoise about to win the race. The storyteller here speaks faster as he describes the hare getting up as fast as he can to try and win the race before the tortoise crosses the finish line.

Changes in duration of individual words or phrases can also be used to mark the beginning of utterances, particularly in E1’s narrative. E1 sometimes uses a longer duration for a word at the beginning of a sentence to emphasise that this is a new

section. The example below is from roles 2-3 and the point at which the storyteller uses a change in duration to mark a new sentence is marked in bold:

*And the hare was always admiring his big feet and how fast he could run. **And** he would be always saying to the tortoise...*

Example 4k: Use of duration in E1's narrative

It should be pointed out that changes in duration in both narratives often coincide with changes in loudness and the use of gesture, particularly beat gestures. All three elements can either be used in combination, or alone to mark particular points of emphasis (see also Chapter 6, section 6.2.3.3).

Changes in pitch are particularly interesting from a referential point of view. In storytelling, storytellers sometimes adopt different voices for different characters, e.g. a higher pitched voice for a younger character contrasting with a lower pitched voice for an older character. If changes in pitch are used this way in these narratives, it could be said that a storyteller can use a change in pitch to mark a change in point of view. Both storytellers here use pitch extensively in narrator and character roles. However, the use of pitch in both narratives needs to be looked at more closely before it can be seen whether or not it is used to mark a change in point of view.

In narrator and narrator/character roles, a change in pitch appears to have a similar function to a change in loudness or duration: it can be used to place emphasis on a certain point, often coinciding with a change in loudness at the same time. In her narrative, E1 uses a change in pitch and loudness on the word 'all' (see Example 4l).

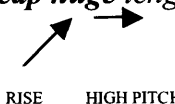
*"But they were like **all** good buddies..."*

Example 4l: Change in pitch and loudness in E1's narrative

In E2's narrative, a change in pitch was also used when describing certain actions such as 'to leap'. Example 4m shows how the storyteller uses a rise in pitch on the

word ‘leap’ and a higher pitch on the word ‘huge’. The rise in pitch on ‘leap’ underlines the meaning of the word itself.

*“And he could **leap huge** lengths, distances...”*



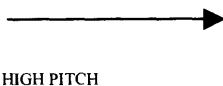
The diagram shows two arrows pointing to the words 'leap' and 'huge' in the sentence. The arrow under 'leap' is labeled 'RISE' and the arrow under 'huge' is labeled 'HIGH PITCH'.

Example 4m: Use of a change in pitch with certain actions

In character roles, a change in pitch appears to be used slightly differently. All the changes in pitch in character roles in these narratives were used in constructed dialogue. In both narratives, the storytellers used a change in pitch to signify the use of constructed dialogue by characters (see Example 4n).

E1 (tortoise->hare):


*“But I think I could beat you. **What? Beat me?**”*



The diagram shows a horizontal arrow pointing to the right, positioned below the words 'What? Beat me?' in the sentence. Below the arrow is the label 'HIGH PITCH'.

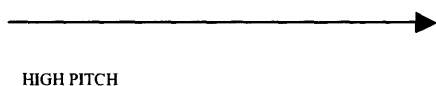
E2 (hare):

*“And the next time he looked, the tortoise had gone half of the way so he **thought,***



The diagram shows a diagonal arrow pointing up and to the right, positioned below the word 'thought,' in the sentence. Below the arrow is the label 'RISE'.

“Well, I’d better not let him get too far.”



The diagram shows a horizontal arrow pointing to the right, positioned below the entire sentence. Below the arrow is the label 'HIGH PITCH'.

Example 4n: Use of changes in pitch in character roles

However, a change in pitch was not consistently used in this way each time there was a section containing constructed dialogue. While the ‘default’ pitch used for imitation of characters was a high pitch in both narratives, both storytellers sometimes used a lower pitch for the tortoise and a contrasting higher pitch for the hare. This lower pitch was never used for the hare. This suggests that a change in pitch could theoretically be used to mark a change in point of view. However, while

the use of a change in pitch was used in character roles in these narratives to mark characters' speech, it was not used consistently in all character roles, nor was it consistently used to mark a change between different characters.

To summarise, the function of vocal prosodic elements in these narratives appears to be primarily for emphasis. Changes in loudness and pitch both have quasi-referential functions but neither are consistently used to refer to specific characters or differentiate between different points of view. Moreover, changes in the vocal prosodic elements examined here often co-occur not only with each other, but also with gestures. Despite the fact that vocal prosodic elements are not consistently used to mark a change in point of view, they can help to underline the point of view from which a story is being told. A change in pitch can indicate constructed dialogue, whereas changes in loudness tend to indicate that the story is being told from a narrator's point of view.

4.9. Conclusions

Although it is possible to draw many conclusions from this dataset, it has to be remembered that only four storytellers' narratives have been examined. More data would be needed to determine if these results are representative of BSL and spoken English. It should also be borne in mind that the usage of all the individual elements analysed in this section is dependent on the context in which they are used. While it is not possible to examine the context in which each individual element is used in each role, it is possible to look at overall occurrences of individual elements and their co-occurrences with the different types of role. A more complex cross-analysis to determine all the interrelationships within the data set will need other larger studies. However, despite these limitations it is possible to draw some general conclusions about which individual elements are more likely to appear in which role, and which elements are used to mark a change in point of view.

Both spoken English narratives are told primarily from the narrator's point of view, and use nouns linked with third person pronouns to maintain reference to characters. A change in point of view from a narrator to character role can be

marked by a change from third person pronouns to first or second person pronouns. While nouns are also used to refer to characters in both BSL narratives, only B1 uses indexic signs functioning as third person pronouns to maintain reference. B2 does not use indexic signs in this way. Instead, it appears that eye gaze, sometimes coupled with head movement and/or shifts in the upper body, is a primary marker of a change in point of view in both BSL narratives. Although closely linked to the use of indexic signs in B1's narrative, eye gaze is used in a similar way by B2. Like B1, B2 sets up specific locations for each character, but using eye gaze rather than determiners. This does not happen in the same consistent way in either spoken English narrative. This suggests that eye gaze in spoken English is similar to the use of third person pronouns in BSL: they can be, but are not always, used.

Both spoken English and BSL use verbs of mental state. Aside from specific verbs in spoken English and BSL (e.g. 'to say' and SAY), verbs of mental state do not denote a specific point of view or mark a change in point of view in either modality with this story. In spoken English, gesture and vocal prosodic features are also used, but again these do not consistently mark a change in point of view although they can be used to underline the perspective from which the story is being told.

In summary, although the narratives exhibit individual differences, these data suggest that the fundamental markers of point of view in spoken English are nouns and pronouns, whereas the main marker of point of view in BSL is eye gaze. In order to ascertain whether or not these findings are consistent across different stories, further narratives need to be analysed in a similar fashion. In particular, analysing stories with different structures, such as those with more or fewer characters, will allow us to see whether the findings in this section are similar across all narratives, or whether the structure of the story itself affects the way in which point of view is marked. Chapter 5 will therefore discuss two further stories, 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' and compare and contrast these with the story analysed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - COMPARISON OF POINT OF VIEW IN 'THE TORTOISE AND THE HARE' WITH FURTHER STORIES

5.1. Introduction and Aims

The detailed analysis in Chapter 4 showed that there were considerable differences between the BSL and spoken English narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. The aim of this chapter is to compare and contrast the findings in Chapter 4 with two further stories, 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' in order to see whether the similarities and differences found in Chapter 4 are replicated in these stories (see Appendices 1 and 2 for these stories). These stories were chosen because of their varying structure and number of characters (see also Chapter 7, section 7.1.2). This chapter will use similar analytical techniques to Chapter 4, but 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' will not be discussed in as much detail as 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. Instead, the emphasis will be on aspects that can be compared and contrasted.

5.2. Comparison of Role

For 'The Tortoise and the Hare' flow charts of the discourse structure were devised for each narrative, and these charts were used as the basis for the analysis of timings of roles and frequencies of elements such as pronouns. Similar flow charts have been constructed for the new stories and these can be seen in Appendix 3 (Figures 5-8 are the flow charts for the sequence of roles that occur in the BSL and spoken English narratives of 'The Two Friends and the Bear', and Figures 9-12 the flow charts for 'The Dog and the Bone'). In Figures 5.1-5.3, considerable variation is seen in the number of instances of role types and distribution of role sequences, not only between different narratives of the same story in the same language, but also between languages, and between different stories.

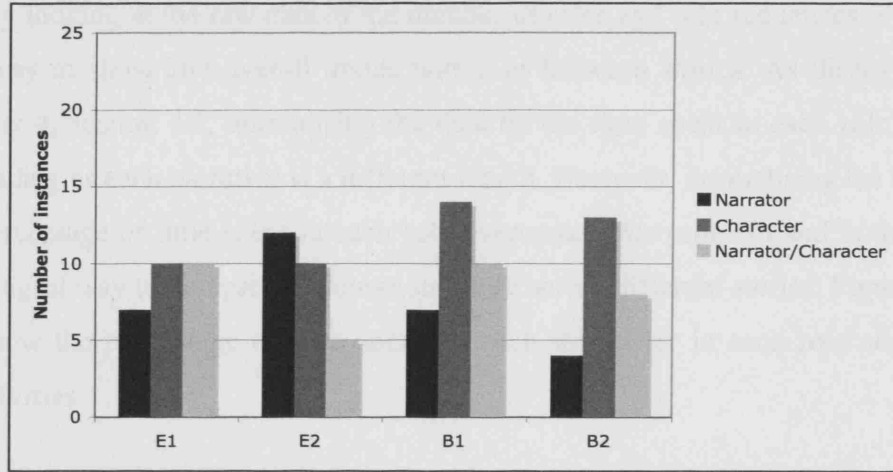


Figure 5.1: Number of instances of role types present in the BSL and spoken English narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

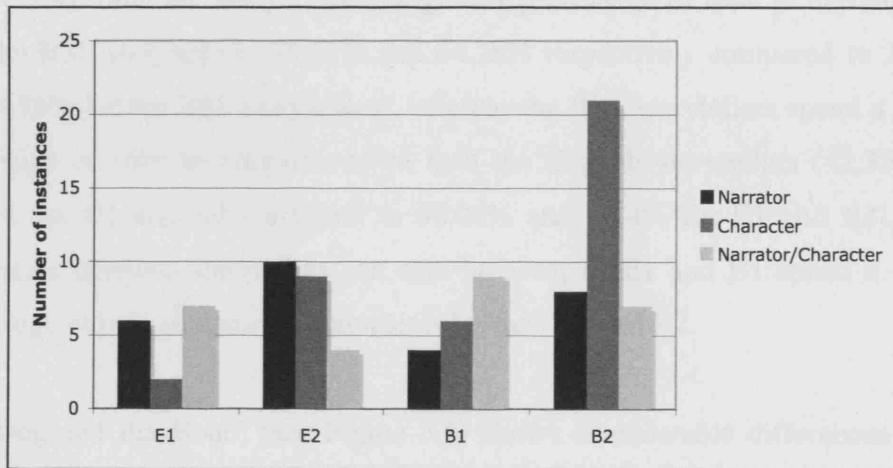


Figure 5.2: Number of instances of role types present in the BSL and spoken English narratives of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

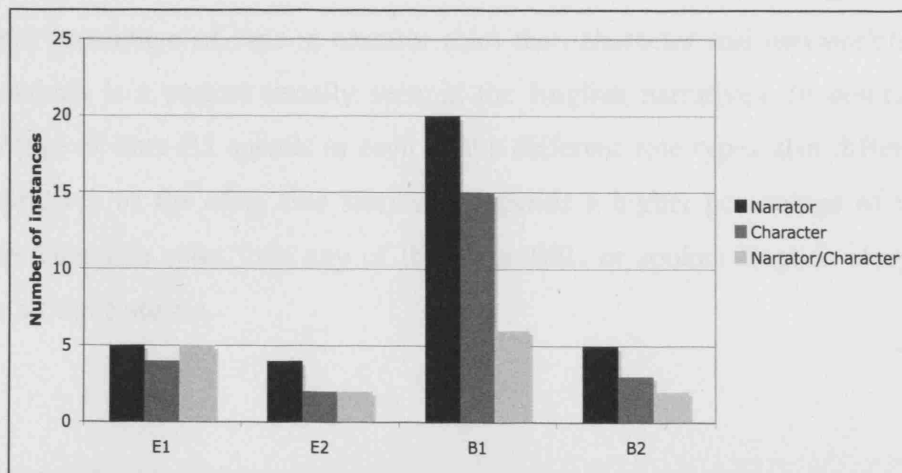


Figure 5.3: Number of instances of role types present in the BSL and spoken English narratives of 'The Dog and the Bone'

Simply looking at the raw data of the number of roles and role sequences is not the best way to show any overall trends within or between stories. As discovered in Chapter 4, section 4.2, normalising the data by the time spent in each role can be misleading as each narrative is a different length. However, normalising the data by the percentage of time spent in each role overcomes this problem and is the most meaningful way to compare discourse structure across different stories. Figures 5.4-5.6 show the percentage of time spent by each storyteller in each role across all three stories.

The percentage of time spent in each role type in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' (see Figure 5.5) is very similar to those shown for 'The Tortoise and the Hare' (Figure 5.4). Both E1 and E2 spend a greater percentage of time in narrator roles than the BSL storytellers (44.48% and 64.78% respectively compared to 22.69% and 18.53% for the BSL storytellers), whereas the BSL storytellers spend a greater percentage of time in character roles than the English storytellers (42.35% and 76.91% for B1 and B2 compared to 38.04% and 23.4% for E1 and E2). Some differences between storytellers can also be seen, as E1 and B1 spend a greater percentage of time in narrator/character roles than E2 and B2.

'The Dog and the Bone' (see Figure 5.6) shows considerable differences to the other stories, particularly in the BSL narratives. As in the other stories, both spoken English storytellers again spend a higher percentage of time in narrator roles compared to character or narrator/character roles. However, in this story, B1 spends a higher percentage of time in narrator roles than character and narrator/character roles, which is a pattern usually seen in the English narratives. In contrast, the percentage of time B2 spends in each of the different role types also differs from his narratives of the other two stories; he spends a higher percentage of time in narrator/character roles than any of the other BSL or spoken English storytellers across all three stories.

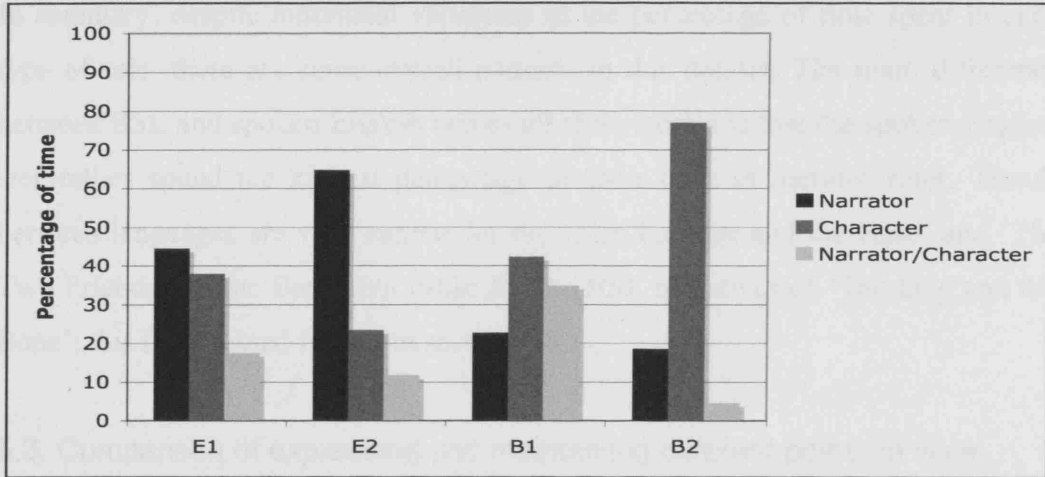


Figure 5.4: Percentage of time spent in each role type in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

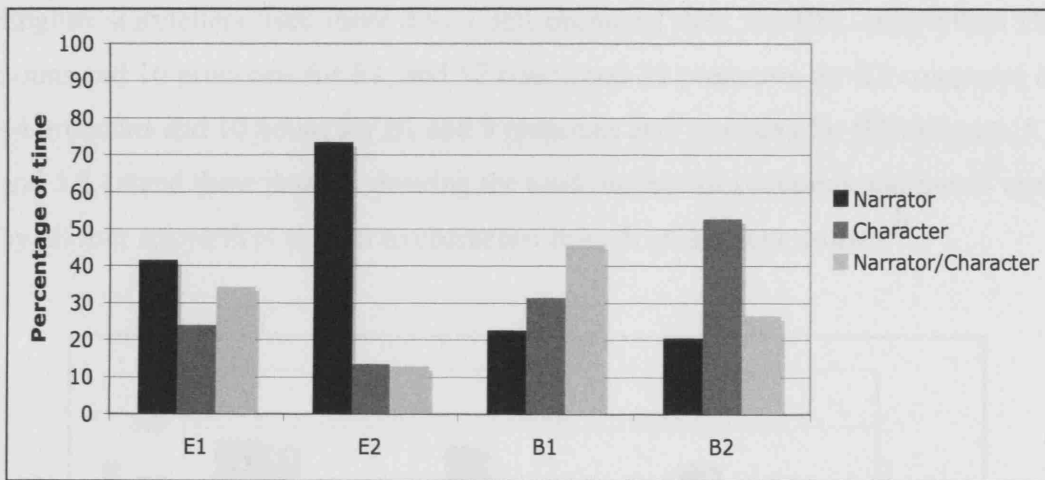


Figure 5.5: Percentage of time spent in each role type in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

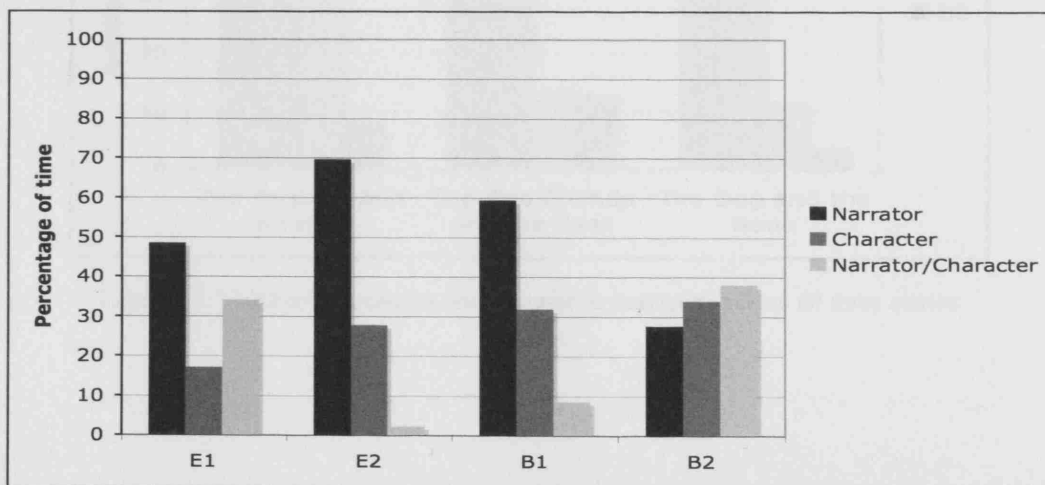


Figure 5.6: Percentage of time spent in each role type in 'The Dog and the Bone'

In summary, despite individual variations in the percentage of time spent in each type of role, there are some overall patterns in this dataset. The main difference between BSL and spoken English across all three stories is that the spoken English storytellers spend the highest percentage of their time in narrator roles. Trends between languages are very similar for the ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ and ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, but differ for the BSL narratives of ‘The Dog and the Bone’; this is discussed further in section 5.8.

5.3. Comparison of expressing and maintaining different points of view

Chapter 4, section 4.4, analyses the use of nouns and pronouns that refer to characters in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. In this story, it was found that the English storytellers used more nouns and pronouns than the BSL storytellers (58 nouns and 16 pronouns for E1, and 57 nouns and 21 pronouns for E2 compared to 44 pronouns and 10 nouns for B1 and 9 pronouns and 13 nouns for B2). Figures 5.7 and 5.8 extend these data by showing the total number of pronouns and nouns used by all four storytellers to refer to characters in each of the three stories.²⁷

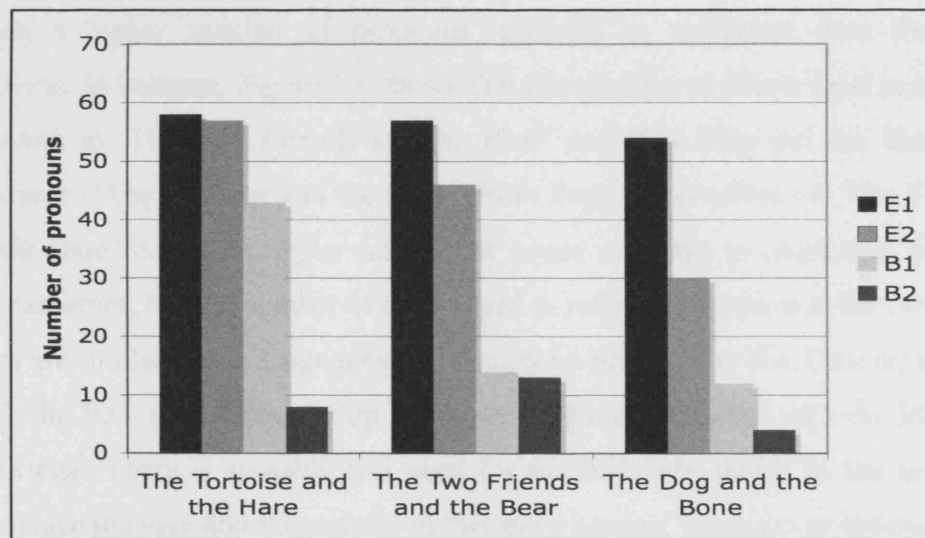


Figure 5.7: Number of pronouns used to refer to characters across all three stories

²⁷ Note that the scales for these two figures are different, which may give a false impression that similar numbers of nouns and pronouns are used overall. However, this representation allows the actual numbers for each narrative to be clearly seen.

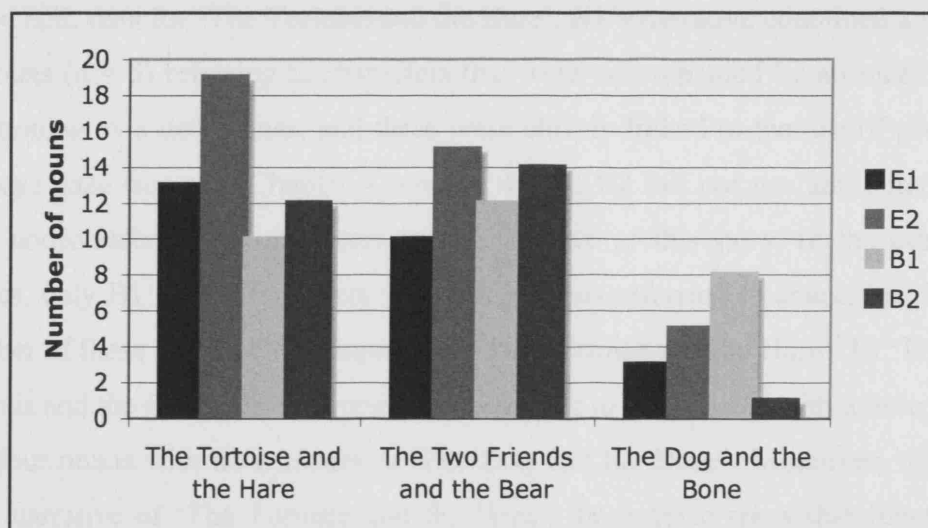


Figure 5.8: Number of nouns used to refer to characters across all three stories

Figure 5.7 shows that the number of pronouns used to refer to characters is always higher in the spoken English narratives for each of the three stories. The ratio of pronouns between spoken English and BSL is approximately 1 to 2 in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', 1 to 4 in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 1 to 6 in 'The Dog and the Bone'. Despite individual differences, all the spoken English narratives contain a higher number of pronouns referring to characters than the BSL narratives. In contrast, Figure 5.8 shows that the number of nouns used to refer to characters in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' are different to 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. Both English narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' contain a higher number of nouns referring to characters than the BSL narratives, but the number of nouns used to refer to characters in the other two stories are similar across languages. This might be because in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the BSL storytellers set up locations in space associated with the hare and the tortoise. There is arguably less need for the BSL storytellers to use nouns to reintroduce the hare and the tortoise in this story because eye gaze or indexic signs directed towards these locations indicate that the hare or tortoise is being addressed or referred to. The spoken English storytellers do not use space in this way and thus use nouns more often to reintroduce the hare and tortoise (see also Chapter 4, sections 4.4.3 and 4.5 for a more detailed description, as well as Chapter 6, section 6.2.3.1 for discussion of this).

In the BSL data for ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, B1’s narrative contained a number of nouns ($n = 5$) referring to characters that were accompanied by an indexical sign functioning as a determiner, and these were closely linked to the use of pronouns and eye gaze (see also Chapter 4, section 4.4.3). B2 did not use any determiners with nouns referring to characters in his narrative of this story. In the other two stories, only B1 uses determiners with some nouns referring to characters, but the number of these is very low compared to ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. In ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, B1 uses one noun referring to a character with a determiner, and four nouns with determiners in ‘The Dog and the Bone’. Moreover, unlike in B1’s narrative of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, the indexical signs that function as determiners in the other stories do not pick out specific locations for different characters, which are then used to refer back to these characters throughout the discourse. The reasons for this will be discussed in more detail in section 5.8.

In the spoken English data, all the nouns ($n = 70$ across all three stories) are accompanied by a determiner. In ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, the majority of nouns were accompanied by the definite article ‘the’ (100% in E1’s narrative and 90.4% in E2’s narrative). In E1’s narrative of ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, 70% of the nouns used to refer to characters are accompanied by the definite article ‘the’, the remaining being accompanied by the indefinite article ‘a’ and quantifiers such as numbers, e.g. ‘two travellers’. In E2’s narrative of this story, 60% are accompanied by the indefinite article ‘the’, 26% by the demonstratives ‘this’ and ‘that’, and the remainder by cardinal numbers (‘two travellers’) and indefinite articles (‘a bear’). ‘The Dog and the Bone’ exhibits somewhat different patterns. In E1’s narrative of this story, nouns are accompanied by the indefinite article ‘a’, and in E2’s narrative by the indefinite article ‘a’, the demonstrative ‘this’ and the indefinite article ‘the’. Using the indefinite article with nouns throughout a story would be unusual for spoken English users. However, in this case, E2 used only five nouns overall, each of which were used to establish rather than maintain reference. Two nouns were used to establish reference to the dog at the beginning of the story, two to establish reference to the dog’s reflection, and one when the dog realised that he had been foolish in thinking that the reflection in the river was not his own reflection (*he realised that he had been a very greedy dog*).

The data obtained from the three stories combined suggest that nouns are important in both languages for establishing reference to characters. Contrary to the results obtained from 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the spoken English storytellers do not consistently use more nouns than the BSL storytellers. Variations in the number of nouns used may be dependent on other factors, such as the number of characters in a story, or the way in which reference is maintained to characters.

In Chapter 4, it was found that spoken English uses third person pronouns to maintain reference to characters previously established using nouns. While they did occur in B1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare', they did not occur in B2's narrative, suggesting that BSL can use third person pronouns to maintain reference to characters, but unlike spoken English, their usage is not obligatory. Instead, the BSL storytellers made use of eye gaze and locations within the signing space to maintain reference to characters (see also Chapter 4, section 4.4.3).

Figure 5.7 shows that the spoken English narratives also use more pronouns than the BSL narratives, but it does not show which person values are used. Figures 5.9-5.11 show the breakdown of first, second and third person pronouns in each story across BSL and spoken English.²⁸

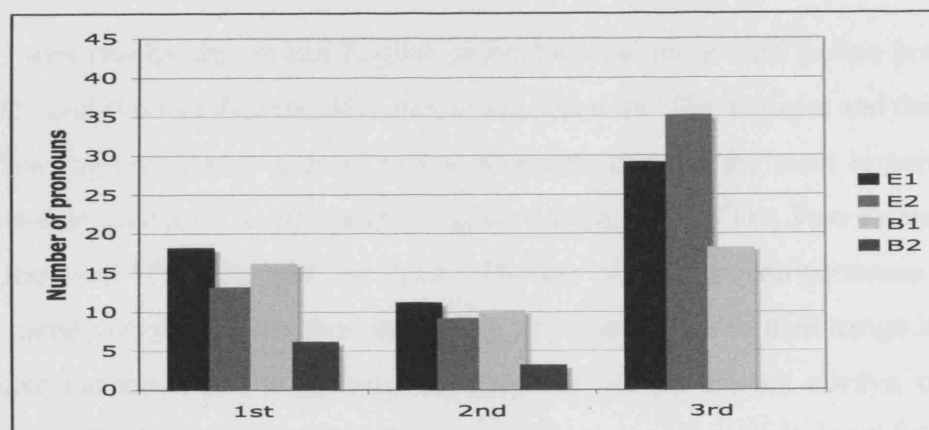


Figure 5.9: Number of first, second and third person pronouns used in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

²⁸ As in Chapter 4, the pronouns in these data have been analysed for reference to speaker/signer, addressee and non-addressed participants. There is some debate in the signed language literature as to whether the labels first, second and third person can be used for signed languages; this debate is detailed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.2. However, for the sake of convenience, these labels are used here in order to facilitate comparison between the two languages.

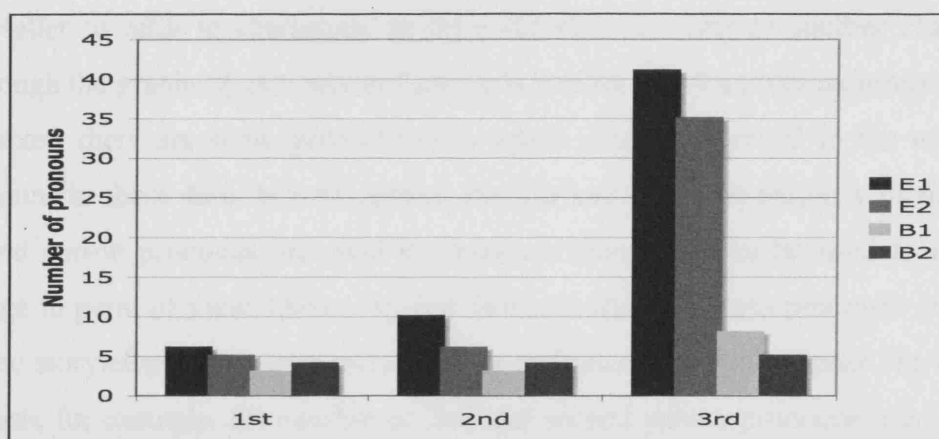


Figure 5.10: Number of first, second and third person pronouns used in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

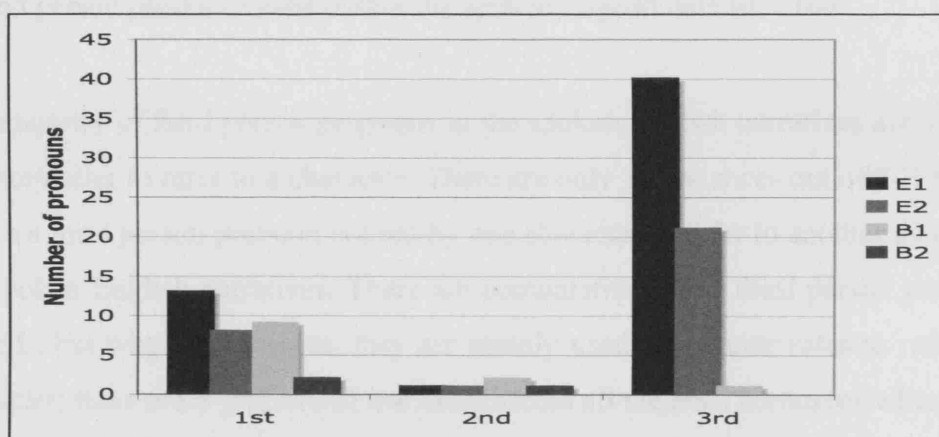


Figure 5.11: Number of first, second and third person pronouns used in 'The Dog and the Bone'

In all three stories, the spoken English storytellers use more third person pronouns to refer to characters than the BSL storytellers. As with 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the data suggests that it is third person pronouns that are the most important in maintaining reference in the spoken English narratives of 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone'. The use of third person pronouns in the BSL narratives of the latter two stories appear to be similar to their usage in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', suggesting that they can be, but are not always, used to maintain reference to characters in BSL.

It is also important to note differences in the use of pronouns. As referenced in Table 4.7 in Chapter 4, first person pronouns in both languages can be used to refer to the narrator or to a character. Second person pronouns can be used to refer to another character or to the audience, and third person pronouns can be used by the

storyteller to refer to characters, or by a character to refer to another character. Although the graphs above only include each occurrence of a pronoun referring to a character, there are some general trends which can be observed in the usage of pronouns in these data. In both spoken English and BSL, the majority of first and second person pronouns are used in character roles, and can be used to mark a change in point of view. Only very few first and second person pronouns are used by the storyteller in narrator roles to refer to himself or the audience. In spoken English, for example, the number of first and second person pronouns used in this way total 6 instances across both spoken English narratives of 'The Two Friends and the Bear', which is comparatively low compared to the total number of first and second person pronouns used within the spoken English data ($n = 16$).

The majority of third person pronouns in the spoken English narratives are used by the storyteller to refer to a character. There are only 13 instances out of 201 (6.5%) where a third person pronoun is used by one character to refer to another therein all the spoken English narratives. There are comparatively few third person pronouns in BSL, but where they occur, they are mainly used in narrator roles to refer to a character; there are 5 (out of 32) instances across all the BSL narratives where third person pronouns are used by one character to refer to another (i.e. in character roles). Thus in both BSL and spoken English third person pronouns are used predominantly by the storyteller to maintain reference to characters, but much more often in spoken English. Furthermore, they are used in all the spoken English narratives, but not in all the BSL narratives.

5.4. Comparison of eye gaze

For 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the first and last eye gaze in each role was analysed in each role, primarily to see whether a change in eye gaze was used across role boundaries to mark a change in point of view. This produced a number of interesting results. Firstly, it showed that the BSL storytellers used eye gaze to differentiate between the different characters. In both BSL narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare', characters were associated with distinct locations in the signing space. The hare was associated with a location to the left of the signer, whereas the tortoise was associated with a location to the right of the signer. Both

signers directed their eye gaze towards these locations throughout the story when in one character role and portraying that character looking at or addressing the other character. For example, if the hare was talking to the tortoise, the signer would look to his or her right and downwards (to the location associated with the tortoise) to show this. Similarly, if the tortoise was looking at the hare, the signer would look to his or her right and upwards to depict this. Indexic signs functioning as third person pronouns directed to these locations were also sometimes accompanied with eye gaze directed towards these locations; in this case, 7% of B1's indexic signs functioning as third person pronouns were accompanied with eye gaze directed towards locations associated with characters.

Secondly, it showed that eye gaze does not appear to be a marker of a change in point of view in the spoken English narratives. Neither storyteller systematically used eye gaze to denote a particular point of view in the same way that the BSL storytellers did. Thirdly, the analysis of eye gaze in this story underlined the difficulty in analysing eye gaze across narrative discourse as a whole without the use of specialised eye tracking equipment. As well as seeing whether a change in eye gaze was used across a change in role, the secondary objective of analysing eye gaze in this way was to try and simplify its coding and analysis. This did produce interesting results, particularly for the character>character role sequences, where a change in eye gaze consistently occurred over a change in role boundary in all four narratives in both BSL and spoken English.

Theoretically it is possible to analyse the character>character role sequences across further stories in both BSL and spoken English in order to see whether this was also the case in other stories. This may give an indication as to whether eye gaze is consistently used in either language to differentiate between two characters or not. However, there are also a number of problems with this method of analysing eye gaze. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5, this method does not take into consideration that eye gaze may change during a role, and not just at the beginning and end of a particular role. Furthermore, it does not make allowances for those instances where eye gaze is not used to mark a change in point of view, but rather as part of an overall affective facial expression used to show a character's thoughts

and feelings; some examples of these were discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.6. Finally, it could not be applied to those stories which do not contain character>character role sequences. Stories which do contain these sequences often do not contain a particularly high number of them, making it difficult to draw any sort of formal conclusion about the use of eye gaze.

Given the interesting results that arose from the analysis of eye gaze in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, it would be interesting to compare how eye gaze is used in further stories as it may be that the structure of certain stories, e.g. the number of characters affects the way in which eye gaze is used. The use of eye gaze in all the narratives of the ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ and ‘The Dog and the Bone’ will be discussed in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2. However, given the problems with coding and analysis of eye gaze outlined in Chapter 3, section 3.5 and Chapter 4, section 4.5, these sections are descriptive rather than quantitative discussion of the use of eye gaze in these stories.

5.4.1. Eye gaze in ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’

In this story, there are three main characters (the two friends and the bear). Neither of the BSL storytellers sets up distinct locations for all three characters and uses them to systematically refer to characters throughout the discourse. However, changes in eye gaze are used in the BSL narratives of ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ to differentiate between different characters at different points in the discourse.

B1 directs her eye gaze mainly to camera but uses changes in eye gaze direction to mark different points of view, both between and within roles.²⁹ For example, in the second role in the story (a narrator/two friends role), she alternates her eye gaze direction between to camera and to the right. When her eye gaze is directed towards her right, she is portraying the story from the point of view of the two friends. In this role, the two friends are represented as one but the presence of both is implied. An example of this can be seen in Figure 5.12.

²⁹ See Chapter 3, section 3.4.1.4 for the different eye gaze directions coded for in the data.



SHOCK

SEE

BEAR

Eye gaze: to camera

left

to camera



(p-) bear approach

PANIC

left

to camera

left

Translation: [The pair were walking and chatting] when suddenly they were shocked to see a bear approach. Both men panicked [...]

Figure 5.12: Use of alternating eye gaze to mark differing points of view in B1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

Unlike in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', this location to the left of the signer is not consistently used for the friends' perception of the bear throughout the whole discourse. Later in the story, the storyteller directs her eye gaze downwards to signify the story is being told from the bear's point of view (see Figure 5.13). The downward eye gaze signifies the bear looking down on one of the friends who is lying on the ground. This friend is playing dead to try and escape from the bear.



Figure 5.13: Example of different eye gaze direction used to denote bear's point of view in B1's narrative

B2 uses eye gaze in a similar way to B1 in his narrative of this story. For example, he changes his eye gaze direction from to camera to upwards when portraying the two friends confronted by the bear; this is shown in Figure 5.14. The eye gaze is directed upwards because the bear is perceived to be much larger and taller than the two friends. This role is a character role which is preceded by another character role.

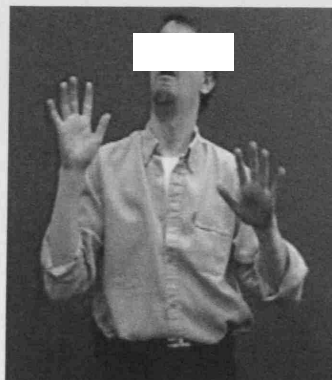


Figure 5.14: Use of eye gaze as part of a character (two friends) role in B2's narrative

This example shows that B2 uses eye gaze changes to differentiate between two characters. While B2, like B1, does not consistently use one location throughout the story for each character, there are sections of this story where he does use eye gaze consistently to differentiate between two characters. For example, at the end of the story, there is a section of constructed dialogue between the two friends. In this section, the two friends discuss what the bear said to the first friend. When depicting the second friend talking to the first friend, B2 directs his eye gaze to his

right, and when depicting the first friend talking to the second friend, he directs his gaze to his left. The use of these eye gaze directions is shown in Figure 5.15.



Figure 5.15: B2's use of eye gaze in the differentiation of characters in constructed dialogue

It is interesting to note that there is a certain degree of similarity in the use of eye gaze by the spoken English storytellers in their narratives of this story. Both English storytellers, for example, direct their eye gaze downward in the same manner as in Figure 5.13 at the same point in the story (where the bear is sniffing the friend lying on the ground). The eye gaze is directed downwards because the bear is standing over the friend who is lying on the ground in front of the bear. Figure 5.16 shows an example of this from E1's narrative.

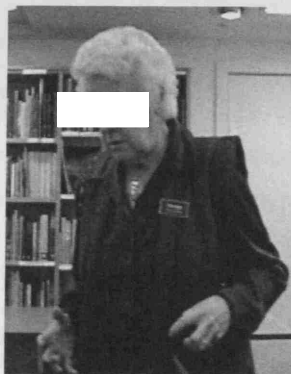


Figure 5.16: Example of eye gaze directed downwards to depict the bear in E1's narrative

While at the outset some of the direction of eye gaze used in the BSL and spoken English narratives may appear to be similar, e.g. the downward gaze denoting the bear looking at the friend lying on the ground, neither spoken English storyteller uses eye gaze as a marker of a change in point of view. Neither of the spoken English storytellers uses eye gaze in the way it is used by B2 in Figure 5.15, to

differentiate between two characters. Eye gaze in both spoken English narratives of this story is used as part of the overall depiction of a character. Aside from the few examples where eye gaze is used as part of the depiction of a particular character in this story, both storytellers direct their gaze to camera or just direct their eye gaze randomly towards various points in the room where the stories were filmed.

5.4.2. Eye gaze in 'The Dog and the Bone'

Usage of eye gaze in this story is similar to the trends observed for 'The Two Friends and the Bear'. In both BSL narratives, the majority of eye gaze is to camera. As there is only one main character, there are no character>character sequences in this story, thus eye gaze is not used here to differentiate between two different characters. However, B1 does use eye gaze to differentiate between the dog and the dog's reflection when the dog is looking at his reflection in the water. This is shown in Figure 5.17.



Dog looking at reflection Dog's reflection looking back at dog

Figure 5.17: Use of eye gaze in B1's narrative to differentiate between dog and dog's reflection

This does not happen in B2's narrative, where the storyteller differentiates between the dog and the dog's reflection by using classifier constructions to depict two dogs looking at each other; this is shown in Figure 5.18. In this section of discourse, B2's eye gaze is consistently directed downwards and to the left while depicting the dog.



Figure 5.18: Depiction of dog looking at his reflection in B2's narrative

Neither spoken English storyteller uses eye gaze in the same manner as B1 in Figure 5.18. As in 'The Two Friends and the Bear', eye gaze is used as part of a depiction of a character, but not to mark a change in point of view. Figure 5.19, for example, shows E1 directing her eye gaze downwards when depicting the dog looking at his reflection in the pond.

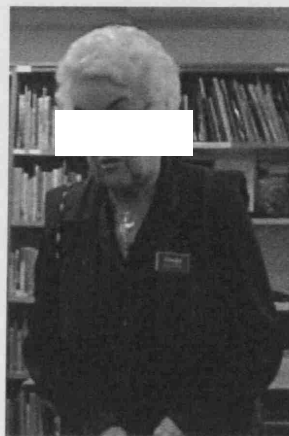


Figure 5.19: E1 directing her eye gaze downwards while depicting dog looking at his reflection

While this may appear similar to the eye gaze used by the BSL storytellers, the difference is that E1 does not consistently and continuously direct her eye gaze downwards while depicting the dog looking at his reflection. Moreover, she does not use eye gaze to depict the two dogs looking at each other in the same way as B1. With E2, eye gaze is not used in this way. E2 mainly directs his eye gaze to camera, as shown in Figure 5.20, and otherwise randomly directs his eye gaze around the room.



Figure 5.20: Example of E2's predominant use of eye gaze to camera

5.5. Comparison of other elements to denote point of view

Section 4.6 in Chapter 4 discusses the use of other elements to mark point of view in both modalities. In the BSL narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare', changes in body and/or head position often accompanied changes in the direction of eye gaze towards the specific locations associated with the main characters. These served to further emphasise the difference between the two main characters, particularly in direct discourse. In the other stories, the BSL storytellers do not set up different locations in this way for each of the characters, but head and body movements are still used as part of the overall depiction of individual characters. In B1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear', for example, she uses a change in head and body position when talking about the bear looking at the man on the ground (see Figure 5.21). In the first picture she is looking towards the camera, and her head and body are facing forwards as she signs the noun BEAR. In the second picture, she is depicting the bear looking down towards the ground, and her eye gaze is directed downwards, while her head and body are tilted downwards.



Figure 5.21: Use of change in head and body position in B1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

Head and body movements were also used in the English narratives of all three stories in a similar way as part of overall depiction of characters. Contrast Figure 5.21 with Figure 5.16; E1 uses a similar downward gaze and shift in body position to denote the bear looking at the friend lying on the ground.

Section 4.6 in Chapter 4 also highlighted the importance of facial expressions in both modalities to depict characters' thoughts or feelings. Facial expressions were used only occasionally in the spoken English narratives of all three stories, but most often in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. In contrast, both BSL storytellers often used facial expressions in their narratives of all three stories, and most often in character and narrator/character roles to complement their overall depiction of individual characters (see Figure 5.21 for one example of this).

5.6. Comparison of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

Chapter 4, section 4.7, discusses the use of lexical items denoting mental state, perception and communication in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. In this story, it was found that lexical items denoting psychological state and perception in both BSL and spoken English were not used to mark a change in point of view.

Figure 5.22 shows the total number of lexical items of mental state, perception and communication across all four narratives of each story. Figures 5.23-5.25 show the breakdown of these figures into lexical items denoting psychological state, perception and communication. Overall, few lexical items were found in any of the narratives of these stories. However, when compared to BSL the overall number of

lexical items was always higher in the English narratives. Moreover, this relationship was also present for all the subdivisions of items denoting mental state other than for perception in 'The Dog and the Bone'. The numbers of each type of lexical item (psychological state, perception and communication) varied not only between storytellers, but also between the different types of roles with no one particular type of lexical item being used consistently in a particular role type in either spoken English or BSL. This again suggests that these lexical items are not used as a device to mark a particular point of view either by the spoken English or BSL storytellers. The lexical items used in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' were the same items as used in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' (see Table 4.15 for examples of these); no new lexical items were found. This indicates that storytellers use a limited range of lexical items denoting mental state and communication.

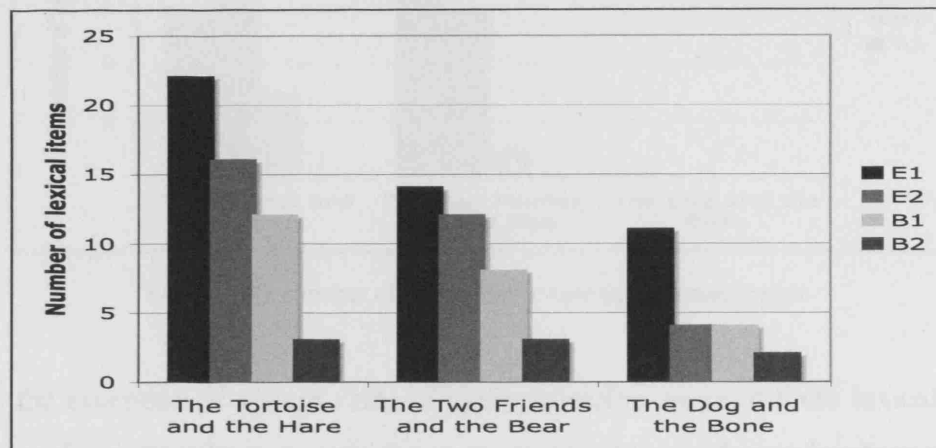


Figure 5.22: Total number of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

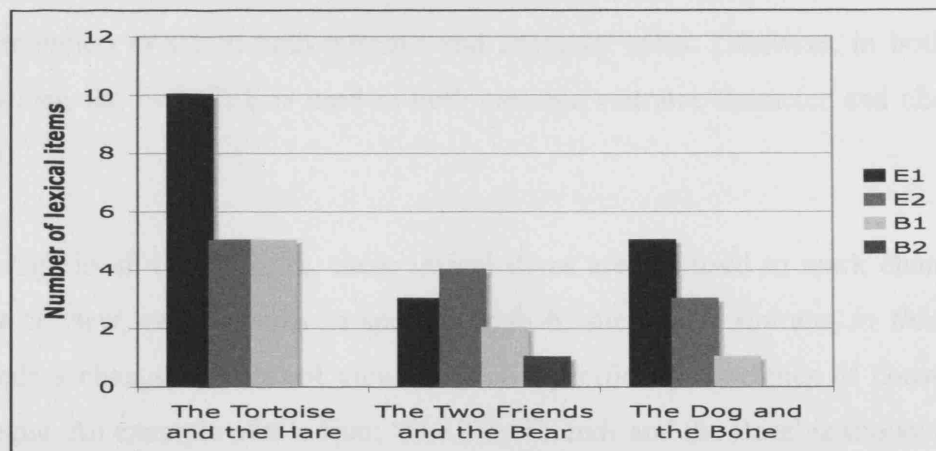


Figure 5.23: Number of lexical items denoting psychological state

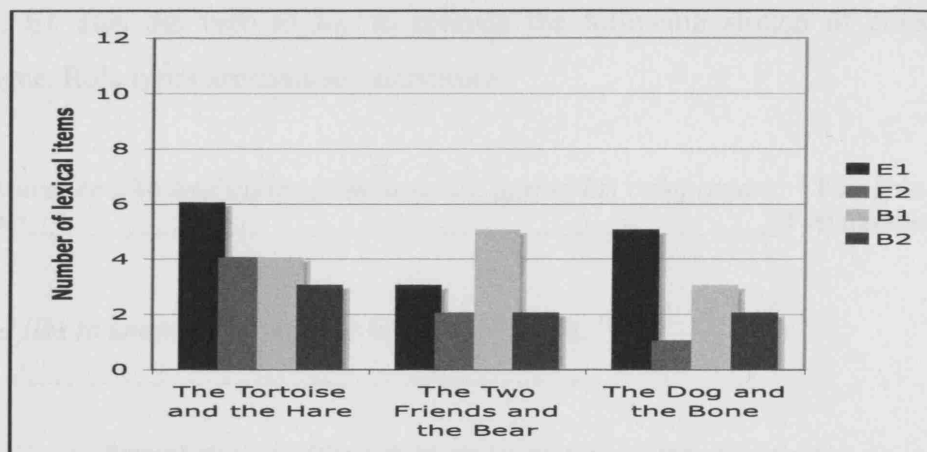


Figure 5.24: Number of lexical items denoting perception

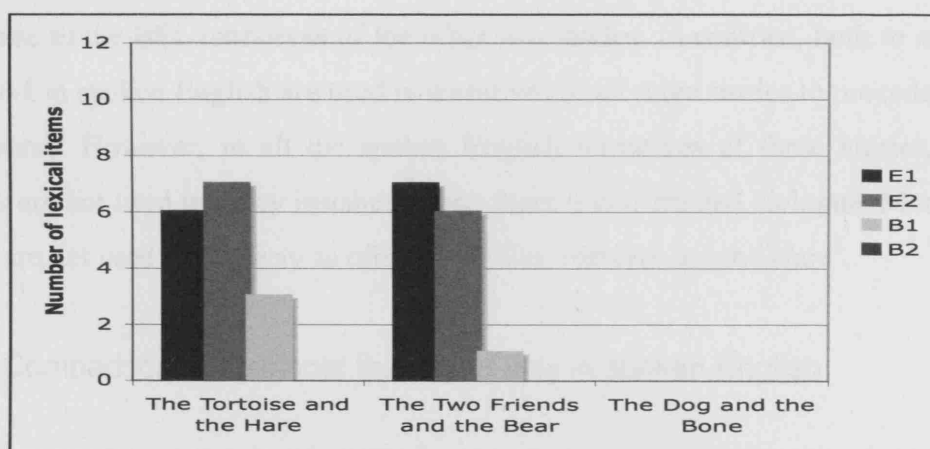


Figure 5.25: Number of lexical items denoting communication

With the exception of certain verbs of communication, none of these lexical items were used consistently in a particular type of role, either within or between stories. In E1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear', for example, she uses the verb of perception *to see* in both narrator and character roles. Likewise, in both BSL narratives, the verb SEE is used in both narrator, narrator/character and character roles.

Although in all three stories, these lexical items are not used to mark changes in point of view, certain verbs in spoken English, such as *to say* and *to think*, can precede a change in point of view, or more specifically, stretches of constructed dialogue. An example of this from 'The Two Friends and the Bear' is shown below.

Here, E1 uses the verb *to say* to precede the following stretch of constructed dialogue. Role types are marked underneath.

The traveller who had gone up the tree, he said to his companion, “You know, I
Narrator _____ First traveller _____

would like to know what the bear had to say to you.”

Example 5a: Use of the verb ‘to say’ to precede constructed dialogue

While SAY in BSL is used in this way in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, this is not the case in the BSL narratives of the other two stories. In contrast, both *to say* and *to think* in spoken English are used in narratives of all three stories to precede direct discourse. However, in all the spoken English narratives of these stories, these verbs are not used in every instance where there is constructed dialogue. Moreover, they are not used in this way as often as in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’.

5.7. Comparison of elements that occur only in spoken English

5.7.1. Co-speech gestures

In Chapter 4, the spoken English narratives of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ were analysed for beat, iconic, metaphoric and deictic gestures (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.1.2 for a reminder of how these were coded). In this story, beat gestures were the most common gestures in both narratives. The figures below are the number of instances and equivalent percentages of all types of gesture across all the stories and show that beat and iconic gestures are the most common types of gesture. Beat gestures account for between 40 and 80% of gestures in E1 and between 32 and 45% in E2, while the equivalent percentages for iconic gestures are 20 to 40% and 28 and 68% respectively. With the exception of E1’s narrative of ‘The Dog and the Bone’, beat gestures were more common than iconic gestures in all the narratives.

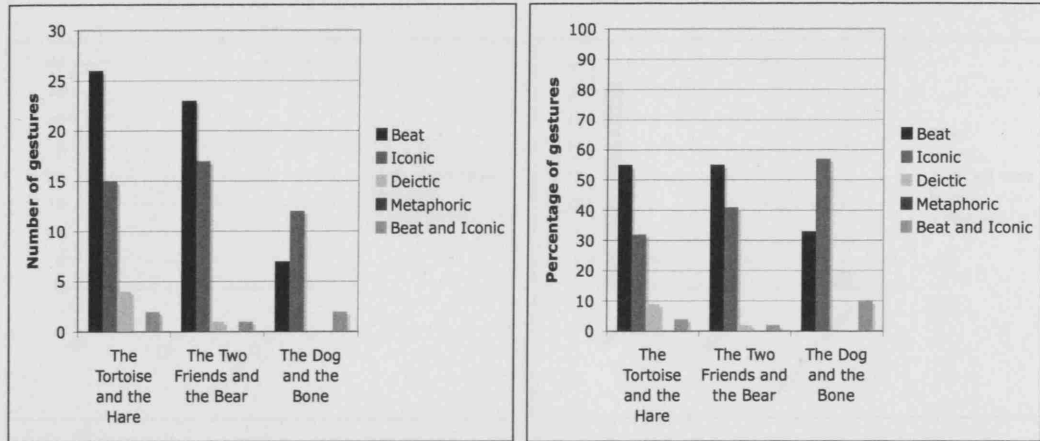


Figure 5.26-5.27: Absolute numbers and percentage of each gesture type in E1's narratives

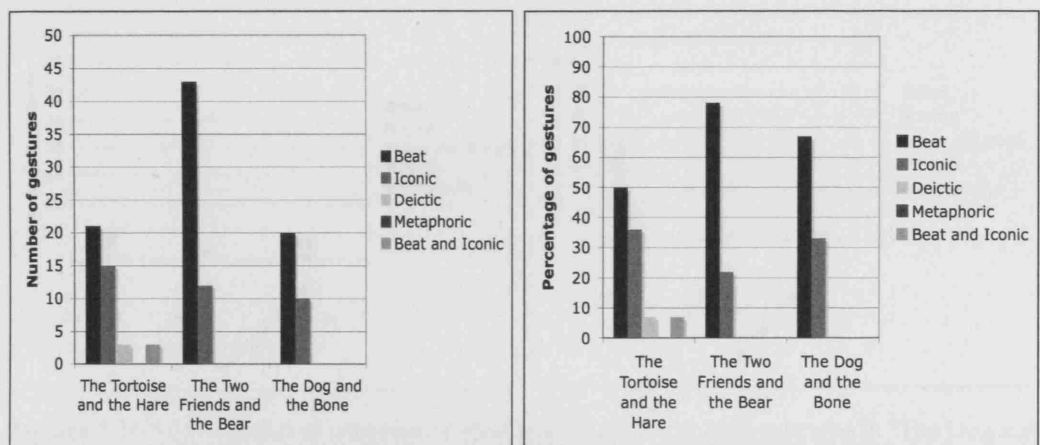
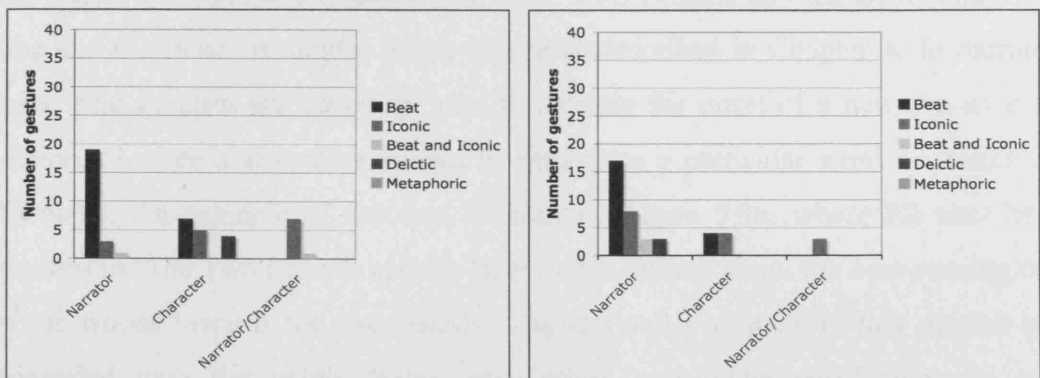
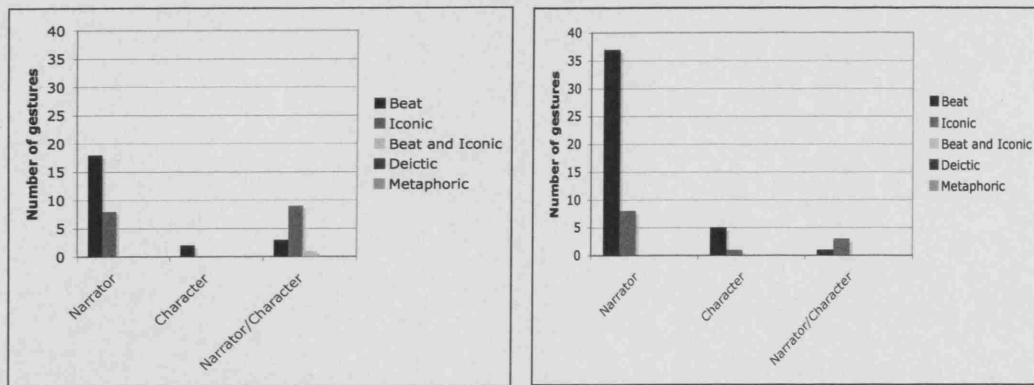


Figure 5.28-5.29: Absolute numbers and percentage of each gesture type in E2's narratives

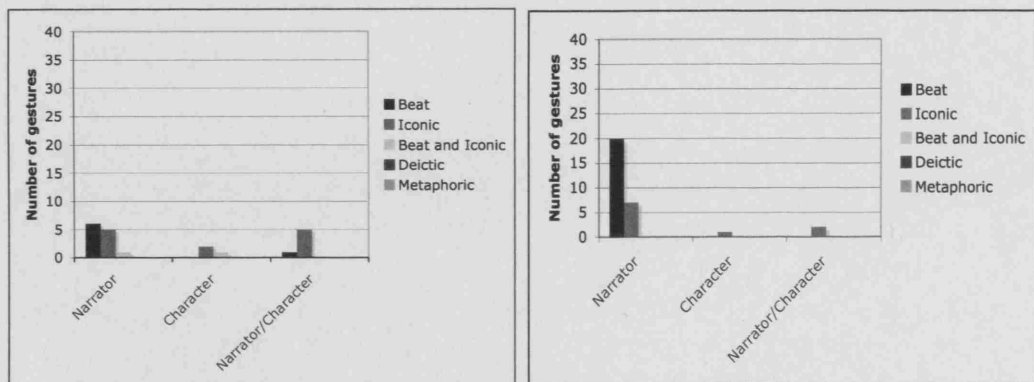
As each type of gesture can occur in each of the three role types, Figures 5.30-5.35 show the number of instances of each type of gesture found in each type of role. In each set of graphs, E1's data is in the graph on the left hand side, and E2's data can be found in the graph on the right hand side.



Figures 5.30-5.31: Number of instances of each type of gesture in each role type in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'



Figures 5.32-5.33: Number of instances of each type of gesture in each role type in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'



Figures 5.34-5.35: Number of instances of each type of gesture in each role type in 'The Dog and the Bone'

These graphs show that in narrator roles, the tokens of beat gestures are highest, and in narrator and character roles iconic gestures are highest, although in three instances the absolute numbers of iconic gestures are higher in the narrator roles. There are very few instances of deictic gestures overall, and no instances of metaphoric gestures in any of the narratives.

The use of beat and iconic gestures in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone' is similar to the examples described in Chapter 4. In narrator roles, beat gestures are generally used to indicate the onset of a new sentence or section, or when a storyteller wishes to emphasise a particular word or stretch of discourse. An example of this can be seen in Figure 5.36, where E2 uses beat gestures in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' when talking about the bear coming out of the woods towards the two friends. The storyteller's hands in this section are orientated with the palms facing each other, and make small upwards and

downwards movements throughout this section. The upwards arrows underneath the text denote where the hands move upwards.

Role type: NARRATOR _____

From out of the woods came a brown bear and it was absolutely enormous.

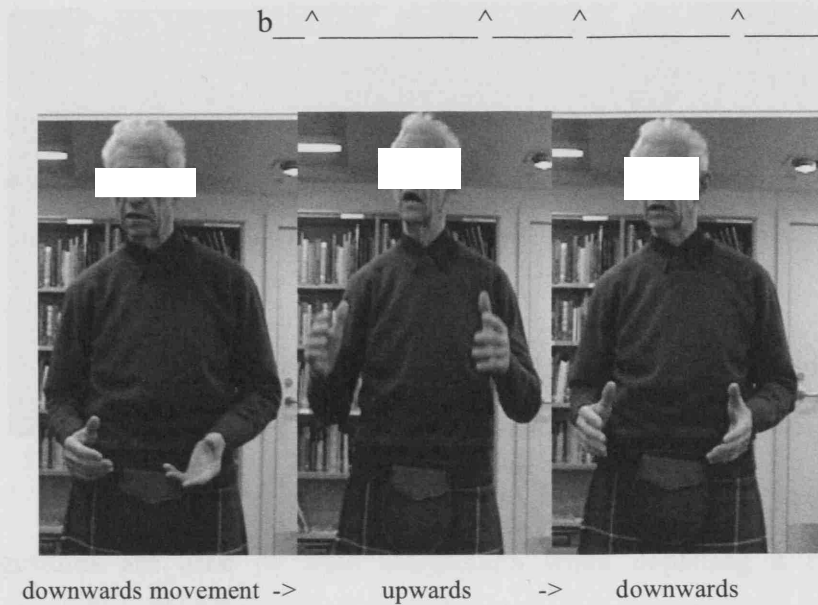


Figure 5.36: Use of beat gestures in E2's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

As noted for similar sections in Chapter 4, beat gestures in these data often coincide with the prosodic element loudness. This suggests that these storytellers make use of gesture (and vocal prosodic elements) to emphasise particularly important sections of discourse. In this particular story, the bear coming out of the woods towards the travellers is the main event in this story, and is something which the storyteller needs to emphasise as being important.

E2 also uses beat gestures in character roles to place emphasis on certain words, but these are used from the character's point of view, not the storyteller's. For example, beat gestures in the final character (dog) role of 'The Dog and the Bone' when the dog is talking to himself about how greedy he has been (see Figure 5.37). Each of these beat gestures involves the hands being moved outwards and returning to a clasped hand position.

Role type: CHARACTER

*“I’ve proven to myself that greed, selfishness, pigheadedness never does anybody
any good.”*

b _____ b _____ b _____

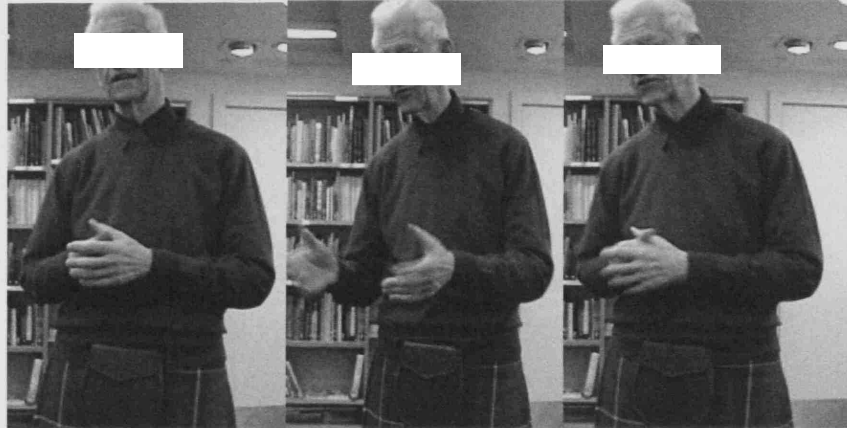


Figure 5.37: E2's use of beat gestures in a character role

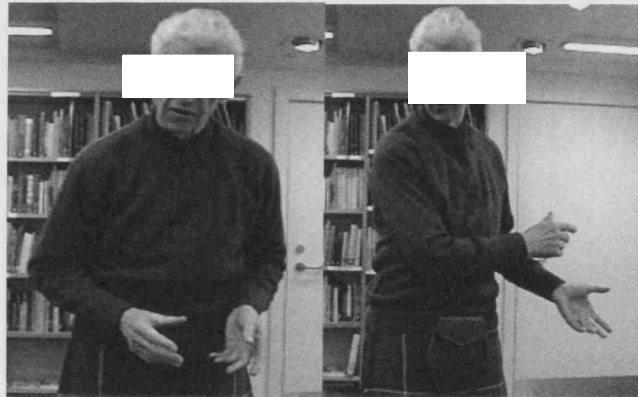
Iconic gestures are used by both storytellers when depicting a character or character's actions in character and narrator/character roles. An example of this is shown in Figure 5.38 from 'The Two Friends and the Bear'. Here, E1 depicts the bear sniffing at the friend lying on the ground. Her hands represent the bear's claws.



Figure 5.38: Iconic gesture used in E1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

Iconic gestures are also used in narrator roles in all three stories. In narrator roles, such gestures are used to reinforce a concept or action being undertaken. One such example is shown in Figure 5.39, where E2 describes how the bear moves away

from the friend after deciding that she does not want to eat him. The storyteller uses an iconic gesture which indicates the bear has moved away in another direction.



...the bear, having gone back into the wood...

Figure 5.39: Iconic gesture used in a narrator role

The use of iconic gestures in character and narrator/character roles in all three stories, where the storyteller takes on some aspect of the character, is an interesting parallel to the depiction of characters in BSL. However, not all the character and narrator/character roles in the spoken English narratives contain iconic gestures depicting characters. In contrast, all the character and narrator/character roles in BSL contain some form of character depiction.

Chapter 4 describes the use of deictic gestures in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. No such gestures are used in the remaining two stories. Reasons for this, as well as the lack of metaphoric gestures in all the stories, will be discussed in section 5.8.

5.7.2. Vocal prosodic elements

Figures 5.40-5.41 show the overall percentage of the vocal prosodic elements pitch, duration and loudness present in each of the narratives (see Chapter 3, sections 3.6.1.2 and 3.6.1.3. for how these elements were coded).

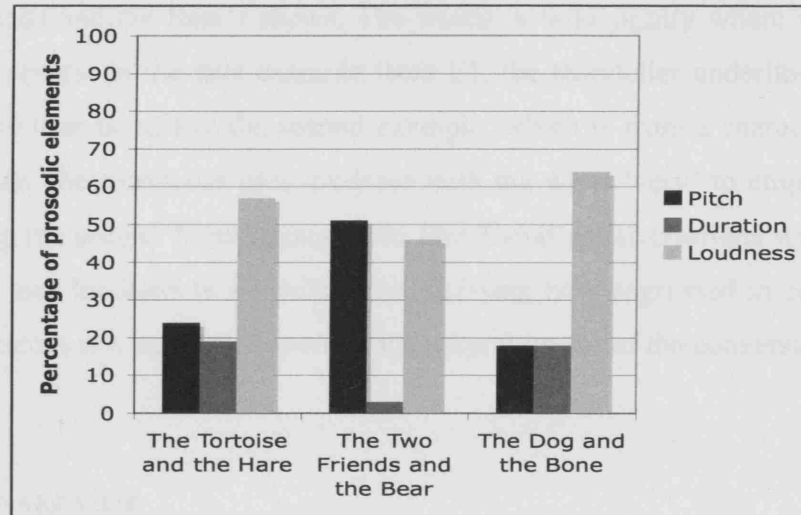


Figure 5.40: Percentage of prosodic elements in E1's narratives

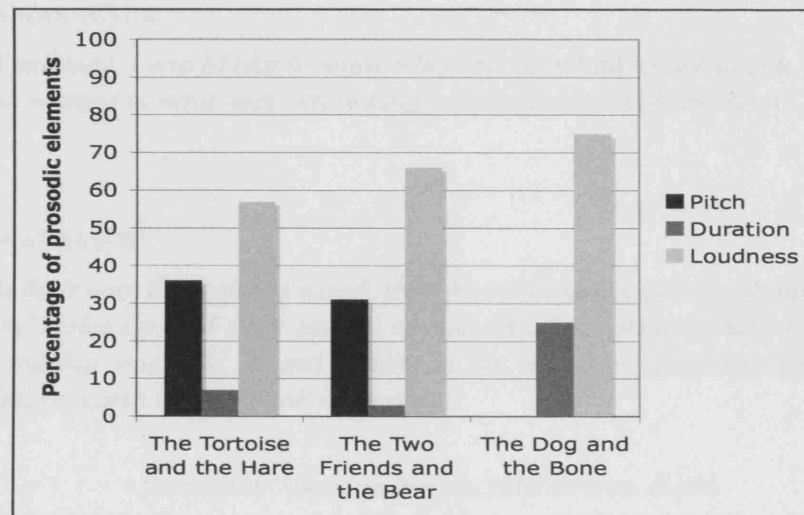


Figure 5.41: Percentage of prosodic elements in E2's narratives

These graphs show that loudness is the predominant prosodic element in most of E1 and E2's narratives. In addition, there are differences in which prosodic elements each storyteller uses for each story.

In Chapter 4, it was found that loudness was used in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' mainly to emphasise particular points in the discourse, or to introduce the main characters at the start of the story. In the other two stories, loudness is not used at the beginning of any of the narratives when characters are being introduced for the first time. However, loudness is used by both storytellers in all three types of role to place emphasis on important words or parts of the story, as Example 5b (from 'The

Two Friends and the Bear’) shows. The words in bold signify where a change in loudness occurs. In the first example from E1, the storyteller underlines just how hungry the bear is, and in the second example, which is from a character (second friend) role, the storyteller uses loudness with the word ‘very’ to emphasise how interesting the second friend thought the first friend’s conversations with the bear were. E2 uses loudness in a similar way, stressing how engrossed in conversation the two friends are, and how important the subject matter of the conversation is.

E1:

Role type: NARRATOR

*The bear was **very, very** hungry*

Role type: CHARACTER

*“You know, I would like to know what the bear had to say to you because you seemed to have **very** interesting conversations with the bear”*

E2:

Role type: NARRATOR

*On their way through the wood, they thought **very** seriously about and talked **very** seriously and **very** openly to one another about what real and true friendship was, and lo and behold in the middle of this **very deep** subject, what on earth do you think happened?*

Example 5b: Use of loudness in different types of role

In this story and ‘The Dog and the Bone’, there are very few examples of the use of duration compared to ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. E2, for example, uses duration in two places in ‘The Dog and the Bone’. In the first example (Example 5c), he uses a shorter than normal duration for the word ‘flash’. This is part of the simile ‘quick as a flash’, and the shortened duration of the word flash is intended to emphasise how quickly the dog grabs the meat.

Role type: NARRATOR

And one day, he was passing by a butcher's shop and a piece of prime meat slipped from the table down onto the ground, and quick as a flash, this greedy dog snatched it up.

Example 5c: Use of shortened duration in E2's narrative

In the second example (Example 5d), E2 uses a longer than normal duration for the word 'far', to stress that how foolish the dog thinks he has been:

Role type: CHARACTER

"I've been very foolish, I've had far too strong an opinion of myself."

Example 5d: Use of lengthened duration in E2's narrative

In 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the prosodic element pitch was used differently in narrator and character roles. In narrator and narrator/character roles, it was used in much the same way as loudness and duration: to place emphasis on an important word or certain point in the story. This also occurs in the other two stories, as the following examples from show. In the first example (Example 5e), which is from 'The Two Friends and the Bear', E2 uses a change in pitch on the word 'dangerous' to stress how dangerous the forest is. The second example is from E1's narrative of 'The Dog and the Bone'. Here, she uses pitch to underline how greedy the dog has been. The arrows underneath indicate that whether the direction of the pitch change (high or low):

Role type: NARRATOR

And they were travelling through a forest, a dangerous forest too.

Role type: NARRATOR

He realised that he had been a very greedy dog.

Example 5e: Use of changes in pitch in E2's narrative

It is interesting to note that in both narratives of ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, changes to a lower pitch are often, but not always, used for negative concepts and changes to a higher pitch for positive concepts. The examples above show falls in pitch for negative concepts. In E1’s narrative of this story, she uses a higher pitch for the positive word ‘beautiful’ (see Example 5f).

Role type: NARRATOR

“They were walking along and it was a beautiful day”

Example 5f: Use of higher pitch for positive concepts

Similarly, both storytellers use lower pitches when describing that something is located low down, and higher pitches when describing that something is high up, such as the traveller climbing up the tree. This is shown in the following examples:

E1:

Role type: NARRATOR

There was a lovely river down below

E2:

Role type: NARRATOR

He went very very high up the tree

Example 5g: Use of higher and lower pitches for high and low locations

Different pitches were sometimes used for different characters in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, mainly in constructed dialogue. This does not happen in the other two stories. In ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, there is very little constructed dialogue, and in ‘The Dog and the Bone’, there is only one main character, thus there is limited scope for constructed dialogue.

5.8. Summary of findings across all three stories

Despite the documented individual differences between storytellers in the same language, there are considerable differences between the ways in which point of view is marked in BSL and spoken English. The English storytellers consistently spend the greatest percentage of their time in narrator roles across all three stories, whereas the BSL storytellers spend a greater percentage of time in character roles. There is one exception to this: the pattern of percentage of time spent in each role type in the BSL narratives of 'The Dog and the Bone' is different to the previous stories. In this story, B1's narrative is more similar to the spoken English narratives of all three stories than the other BSL narratives, and B2 spends a higher percentage of time in narrator/character roles than in any of his previous narratives, or indeed of any of the narratives by the other three storytellers in both BSL and spoken English. It is interesting to note that these stories are the two which contain the greatest number of characters (see Appendix 1 for story summaries). The story that does not follow these patterns, 'The Dog and the Bone', is the one which has the least number of characters. It is possible that the number of characters affects the way in which a story is told in BSL, but not in spoken English.

In both modalities, reference to characters can be made using nouns and pronouns. A similar number of first and second person pronouns are used in both modalities, and when used in character roles, these can function as a marker of change in point of view. Likewise, a similar number of nouns are used to establish reference to characters in both languages. The main difference between the two languages lies in the maintenance of reference to characters.

In spoken English, the way in which reference to characters is established and maintained remains consistent across all the narratives of each story. Nouns and third person pronouns are always used to establish and maintain reference in these data. In BSL, reference to characters is also established using nouns, but referring back to characters previously established in the discourse varies between the stories and between the storytellers. In 'The Tortoise and the Hare', B1 uses determiners combined with nouns to set up specific locations in the signing space that are associated with each main character. She then uses indexical signs functioning as

third person pronouns directed towards these locations to refer back to each character throughout the discourse. The use of indexic signs for this purpose does not occur in B2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' or in the BSL narratives of the other two stories. Instead, constructed action can be used to maintain reference in these stories. Reference is established using an NP, which can then be followed by constructed action depicting the referent of that NP. Constructed action involves depicting different characters using non-manual features, such as facial expression, a change in head position or the use of eye gaze.

Eye gaze is particularly important in the BSL narratives. As mentioned above, in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', B1 sets up locations within the signing space for the hare (to her left) and the tortoise (to her right) using indexic signs functioning as determiners. B2 also sets up locations for the hare to his left and tortoise to his right for this story. However, he does not use indexic signs to set these locations up. Rather, he sets up these locations using eye gaze direction. These locations are set up as part of constructed dialogue when one character is addressing the other. For example, when B2 portrays the hare addressing the tortoise, he looks to his right and downwards. This location is then associated with the tortoise for the rest of the story. Directing eye gaze towards locations in the signing space associated with particular characters does not occur to the same extent in the BSL narratives of the other two stories. However, consistent use of particular eye gaze directions does occur in sections containing constructed dialogue, e.g. between the two friends in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' (see Figure 5.15). This suggests that eye gaze is used primarily to distinguish which character is being addressed in constructed dialogue. The use of eye gaze to consistently mark a particular point of view in this way does not occur in the spoken English narratives. However, eye gaze can be used as part of constructed action depicting various characters, e.g. the bear looking down in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'. This also occurs in the BSL narratives of all three stories.

The reasons for the more consistent use of specific locations associated with characters in the signing space in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' compared to the other two stories may be due to the different structure of the stories. In 'The Tortoise and

the Hare', the hare and tortoise often engage in direct discourse, whereas the characters in the other two stories rarely do this. This may be the reason why both BSL storytellers choose to differentiate clearly between the two characters throughout this story, but only in selected stretches of the remaining two stories.

Lexical items denoting mental state are not used in either language to mark a particular point of view or a change in point of view. Some lexical items denoting mental state (the verbs 'to say' and 'to think' in spoken English and SAY in BSL) are used to precede some, but not all, stretches of constructed dialogue in both BSL and particularly spoken English. However, these again occur most often in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' which contains the most constructed dialogue of the three stories. Use of such lexical items in the other stories is much lower in the spoken English narratives, and non-existent in the BSL narratives.

In spoken English, co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic elements are used in all three stories. Beat and iconic gestures are the most common type of gesture in all the narratives, with beat gestures and vocal prosodic elements being used primarily for emphasis of a particular word or concept. Iconic gestures are used in narrator roles to reinforce a particular action taking place (see Figure 5.39), or in character roles to depict a particular character (see Figure 5.38). With the exception of a few deictic gestures in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', there are no deictic or metaphoric gestures in any of the narratives of the three stories. The reason for the lack of metaphoric gestures is probably due to the fact that these are stories which describe concrete actions rather than abstract ones. Metaphoric gestures are used where a speaker wishes to explain an abstract concept.

The use of iconic gestures in character and narrator/character roles, and their similarities to character depictions in BSL, have been highlighted in both this chapter and Chapter 4. However, unlike character depictions in BSL, iconic gestures are not consistently used in character and narrator/character roles in the spoken English data. This suggests that gesture can be an important complement to spoken English storytelling, but is not obligatory. Likewise, facial expressions and

changes in head and body positions are often used in BSL as part of overall character depictions, but rarely in spoken English.

In conclusion, the spoken English storytellers appear to have consistent ways of marking point of view and referring to characters regardless of the story, number of characters or storyteller. There are individual differences between the two storytellers in this dataset, but both consistently tell stories mainly from a narrator's point of view, and use nouns coupled with third person pronouns to refer to characters. A change in point of view can be marked by the use of first and second person pronouns, and gestures and vocal prosodic elements can also play an important part.

In the BSL data, stories are predominantly, but not consistently, told from a character's point of view. Changes in point of view can also be marked using first and second person pronouns as in spoken English, but also using eye gaze and nouns coupled with determiners, as well as third person pronouns, as described in earlier sections of this chapter. Facial expression and a shift in head or body position can also be used to depict different points of view. The choice of which devices to use to mark a change in point of view in this dataset varies between storytellers and between stories, and sometimes a mixture of all of these elements are used in one story. This suggests that BSL is more flexible than spoken English in which devices can mark a particular point of view; choice of which device to use may be dependent on the story, e.g. how much direct discourse is used, or the preferences of the individual storyteller.

CHAPTER 6 - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS: POINT OF VIEW AND CONCEPTUAL SPACES

6.1. Introduction

In keeping with the research questions outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.2, the aim of this thesis is twofold: first to ascertain how point of view is expressed and maintained in BSL and spoken English narratives and how changes in point of view are marked, and second how these changes in point of view can be explained, particularly with respect to theories of conceptual spaces. In order to discuss the first of these questions, the results of the data analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 will be summarised and put into the context of previous studies with particular emphasis on how the data in this thesis adds to our current knowledge. Secondly, this chapter will explore how the conceptual space theories outlined in Chapter 2 can be applied to these data.

6.2. How point of view is marked in BSL and spoken English narrative discourse

6.2.1. Point of view and role

As discussed in Chapter 2, point of view is defined as the perspective from which an utterance or stretch of discourse is told. In narrative discourse, storytellers often tell a stretch of discourse from their own perspective (as a narrator), or a character's perspective (e.g. Cassell & McNeill, 1991; Simpson, 1993). In this study, the data were analysed and segmented into these perspectives ('roles'). In addition, there were several places where the perspective from which the story was being told was a mixture of narrator and character elements. Thus overall, the data were examined for three roles, or points of view: narrator, character and narrator/character.

Each of these types deserves more discussion, starting with narrator roles. In this thesis, two terms have been used: 'narrator' and 'storyteller'. These terms essentially share the same definition, and are often used interchangeably but have been kept distinct in this thesis. Here, a 'storyteller' refers to the physical person (participant) telling the story, whereas 'narrator' refers to a perspective from which

the story is being told. The narrator's perspective is often synonymous with the storyteller's perspective, such as when a storyteller is recounting his or her real-life experiences. However, when telling fictional stories, it is not necessarily the case that 'narrator' is synonymous with 'storyteller', particularly in literary narratives. A storyteller can take on the perspective of a fictional narrator whose views and opinions are not necessarily the same as his own (Herman et al., 2005).

Telling a story from a character's perspective in the spoken English data examined in this thesis always involved the use of constructed dialogue, sometimes coupled with other cues depicting characters' actions, e.g. co-speech gesture. This was not always the case in character roles in BSL, where telling the story from a character's perspective involved either constructed dialogue or depiction of a character's actions. This distinction between constructed dialogue (direct discourse) and constructed action (depiction of actions) in signed languages has been noted by several investigators, including Engberg-Pedersen (1993), Johnston and Schembri (2007) and Liddell and Metzger (1998). It would be possible to have constructed action in character roles in spoken English, e.g. with the use of iconic gestures to depict a character's actions. However, this did not occur in these data. Instead, the character roles in spoken English all consisted of constructed dialogue.

Combined narrator/character roles are particularly interesting in both modalities. In spoken English, these roles do include examples of constructed action. In such roles in spoken English, the story is told primarily from the narrator's point of view; this is shown through the use of third person pronouns to refer to characters, but both storytellers used iconic gestures, facial expressions and changes in body position in these roles to depict characters' actions. Iconic gestures depicting characters' actions were the primary way in which this was achieved. This is remarkably similar to the use of constructed action in BSL and analogous to the shifted attribution of expressive elements and shifted locus described by Engberg-Pedersen (1993) for Danish Sign Language.

Engberg-Pedersen (1993) also suggests that shifted attribution of expressive elements and shifted locus are the signed language equivalent of represented speech

and thought in spoken languages (transferred into represented action and thought for signed languages). Represented speech and thought is where a particular stretch of narrative discourse is told primarily from a narrator's perspective, but which also imparts a character's thoughts and feelings by using, e.g. psych verbs. It is a well-documented phenomenon in narrative research, particularly in regard to literary narratives (e.g. Banfield 1978, 1982; Jespersen, 1924) (see also Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.2). Moreover, very few lexical items denoting mental state, which are arguably the 'hallmarks' of represented speech and thought in written language, are used in these data to represent a character's thoughts, feelings or perceptions. This is perhaps because the information is conveyed gesturally in a similar fashion to constructed action in BSL. Where there is no paralinguistic means of expression, i.e. in the written text, representation of a character's feelings and perceptions must be conveyed in other ways.

In addition, these data provide further support for a distinction between constructed dialogue and constructed action in both BSL and spoken English. Some have suggested that direct discourse in spoken languages is the equivalent to referential shift in signed languages. However, these data suggest that direct discourse in spoken languages is only one of the equivalents of referential shift in signed languages, and storytellers in both languages are also able to convey thoughts and perceptions of characters, not just their utterances (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993). This cross-modal ability to convey characters' thoughts and perceptions in remarkably similar ways using constructed action is very relevant to the debate surrounding language and gesture in both modalities.

In spoken languages, there has long been an interest in gesture, particularly in recent years (e.g. Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 2000). Gesture is traditionally thought of as paralinguistic and separate to speech, and indeed sometimes primitive, dispensable and not worthy of further study (e.g. McNeill, 1992, 2005). More recently, the in-depth study of gesture has suggested that gesture and speech are very closely connected, with gestures following the phrasing and rhythm of speech, or the semantic content of speech (Cassell and McNeill, 1991). Some have suggested that gestures are also used in signed languages (e.g. Emmorey, 1999;

Kendon, 2004), and that blends of gestural and linguistic elements may be used in directional signs and classifier constructions (e.g. Liddell, 2003a). Furthermore, many have noted the similarities between the strategies used by signers to, e.g. depict motion of referents with the gestures used by spoken language users to describe the same events (e.g. Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992; Schembri, Jones & Burnham, 2005). The similarities observed in these data between the two modalities support the view that gestures are an integral part of language regardless of modality and can enrich narratives. As Kendon (2004) and Rayman (1999) suggest, there are a range of expressive devices that both signers and speakers can draw on, and when gesture is used in both modalities, the strategies used can be similar.

It is also important to note that any discussion of gesture is of course dependent on how gesture is defined, and how the boundary between what is linguistic and what is gestural is defined. Signed languages have historically been considered gestural systems with no grammar (Stokoe, 1960; Liddell, 2003a) and many researchers have thus avoided the use of the term gesture in connection with signed languages in order to emphasise that signed languages are languages in their own right. However, some researchers, such as Emmorey (1999) and Liddell (2003a), have suggested that gestural elements do play a part in signed languages (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.2), but this claim is somewhat controversial (e.g. Meier, 2002; Aronoff, Meir & Sandler, 2005). Part of the problem with claiming that gestural elements are present in signed languages is that the term gesture can encompass many meanings and its use can be misunderstood (Johnston & Schembri, 2007). For these reasons, Kendon (2004, 2008) has suggested abandoning the term 'gesture' and favouring 'kinesic expressions' or 'visible action' instead, as these are terms not associated with the debate on gesture in signed languages, or with what elements should be considered linguistic or paralinguistic.

6.2.2. Variability in role types and usage

The percentage of time spent in each role type in each BSL and spoken English narrative was examined in Chapters 4 and 5. Both spoken English participants consistently preferred the narrator's point of view across all three stories, while the

BSL participants preferred to tell stories from a character or narrator/character's viewpoint. This suggests that BSL and spoken English users may differ in their preferred choice of perspective in narrative discourse. However, there are some important points to note.

Firstly, although these data provide some evidence, more data would be needed to conclude that the preferred choice of perspectives is typical of the majority of BSL or spoken English users. In this study, there were two participants for each language, all of whom were experienced storytellers (see also Chapter 3, sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). The pilot studies undertaken for this thesis demonstrated that the spoken English users with less experience of storytelling did not use as much gesture or as many vocal prosodic elements when telling stories, and their stories also tended to be shorter. In other words, those with less or no experience in storytelling told stories in a less expressive way with no constructed action or constructed dialogue. No pilot studies were undertaken for the BSL users as the BSL data was taken from the ECHO corpus, thus it is not possible to say whether there might be a difference between stories told by those with experience of storytelling in BSL compared to those who have little or no experience. However this would be an interesting topic for future research (see also Chapter 7, section 7.1.5).

Secondly, the results in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that there is some degree of variability between participants and particularly across stories in the percentage of time spent in each role type. Thirdly, there was some degree of variability in the BSL data, which was particularly evident in 'The Dog and the Bone'. B1 preferred character and narrator/character perspectives in both 'The Tortoise and the Hare' and 'The Two Friends and the Bear' respectively, but in 'The Dog and the Bone' she favoured a narrator perspective. B2 also showed variability in 'The Dog and the Bone', favouring narrator/character perspectives, whereas he favoured character perspectives in the other two stories.

It is interesting to note that this variability is found in 'The Dog and the Bone', which contains only one main character. The other two stories both contain two (or

more) main characters. This suggests that the number of characters may have an effect on the perspective from which a story is told in BSL, but not in spoken English, where the storytellers always preferred the narrator's perspective. Furthermore, the variability shown in the use of the different perspectives in the BSL narratives of the three stories indicates that BSL is more flexible in the structuring of narrative discourse.

6.2.3. Devices used to mark point of view

6.2.3.1. Establishment and maintenance of reference to characters, and the use of eye gaze

Both spoken English and BSL storytellers consistently used noun phrases to establish reference to a character before taking on the perspective of that character. The spoken English storytellers used a higher number of nouns referring to characters in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', but not in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' or 'The Dog and the Bone'. The number of nouns used to refer to characters in the latter two stories is similar across the two languages (see Chapter 5, section 5.3). This may be due to story structure. In 'The Tortoise and the Hare', the emphasis is on contrasting the tortoise with the hare, and depicting the various interactions between these two characters. In BSL, differentiation between these two characters is achieved in both narratives by setting up areas of the signing space associated with each character. Indexic signs (determiners or third person pronouns) and/or eye gaze are then directed towards these areas to denote that a particular character is being referred to (within narrator roles) or addressed (within character roles). Thus there is arguably less need to refer to characters using nouns in this story. This is not true of the spoken English narratives of 'The Tortoise and the Hare', where speakers do not set up the space around them in this way or systematically use eye gaze to denote reference to or the addressing of particular characters.

In the BSL narratives of the 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and 'The Dog and the Bone', neither BSL storyteller sets up particular locations in the signing space for each character except when portraying constructed dialogue (e.g. in B2's narrative

of ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’: see Chapter 5, section 5.4.1, particularly Figure 5.15). Setting up locations in constructed dialogue in this way allows referential cohesion and eliminates any ambiguity in who is addressing whom. The point of view from which a story is being told can also be made clear through the use of constructed action, which is often (but not always) preceded or accompanied by a noun referring to the subject of that constructed action. Therefore, in the BSL narratives of these stories, there is a greater need for storytellers to use nouns to refer to characters because using eye gaze or indexic signs directed towards certain areas of space linked with specific characters is not used consistently throughout the stories. This might be due to the content of the stories: ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ centres around a competition between the tortoise and the hare, and there is much more interaction between these two characters than in the other two stories (see also Appendix 2). The comparatively less frequent use of locations associated with characters in ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ and ‘The Dog and the Bone’ might also explain why the spoken English storytellers use more nouns in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ than the BSL storytellers, but all four storytellers use a similar number in the remaining two stories. When not using locations associated with characters, the BSL storytellers need to differentiate between characters in some other way and in these data they use noun phrases to do this.

As well as nouns, both the spoken English and BSL storytellers use pronouns to refer to characters. The spoken English storytellers consistently use a greater number of pronouns than the BSL storytellers (see Figure 5.7). This is particularly evident with the third person pronouns used in narrator and narrator/character roles to refer back to characters previously established using noun phrases. The use of third person pronouns in spoken English can sometimes lead to ambiguity (e.g. Bhat, 2007), particularly in narratives where there is more than one character, whereas in signed languages such as BSL it is possible to refer unambiguously to multiple non-first person referents (Sandler and Lillo-Martin, 2006). This is because signers can establish different locations for referents in space and the number of these locations is theoretically unlimited. It is, however, possible for English speakers to differentiate between different characters using gender, i.e. *he* versus *she*, to make it clear to which character they are referring. However, this is

only possible for up to three referents as there are only three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter).

In these data, both spoken English storytellers used the feminine personal pronoun to refer to the referee in 'The Tortoise and the Hare', but both used the masculine third person pronoun for the two main characters, the tortoise and the hare. Reference to these characters was, however, unambiguous because the third person pronouns referring to either the hare or the tortoise generally referred to the most recently mentioned NP (93% of third person pronouns in E1's narrative and 94% in E2's narrative). There were, however, some cases where the third person pronoun did not refer to the most recently mentioned NP (2 out of 29 third person pronouns in E1's narrative and 3 out of 35 pronouns in E2's narrative), but it was still clear to which character the third person pronoun was referring from the context. One example of this is from E2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare':

By the time he woke, the tortoise was just about to cross the line. So he got up as fast as he could and he bounced as fast as he could down the race course.

Example 6a: Use of third person pronouns in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

The third person pronouns in this section all refer to the hare. From the written text, it appears that the third person pronouns could be referring to either the hare or the tortoise. However, the iconic gestures used in this section make it clear that it is the hare that is just waking up and seeing the tortoise cross the finish line. In addition, the utterances preceding this one all centre around the hare as the leading character, and the tortoise as the secondary character who is continuing to run the race in the background. This shows that contextual cues can also play an important part in determining which character is being referred to.

In the other two stories, a similar situation occurred. In 'The Two Friends and the Bear', the masculine third person pronoun was used by both storytellers to refer to both friends. Again, it was clear which character was being referred to from the NPs preceding the stretches containing these third person pronouns. The other main

character, the bear, was differentiated from the two friends using different genders. E1 used the feminine third person pronoun to refer to the bear, whereas E2 used the neuter pronoun *it*. In 'The Dog and the Bone' both storytellers again favoured the masculine third person pronoun. For the most part, there was no need to differentiate between different characters as there is only one main character in this story. In the section where the dog is looking at his reflection, both storytellers used the neuter pronoun *it* for the dog's reflection to differentiate between the dog and its reflection.

Third person pronouns were used in the BSL narratives (e.g. B1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare') but not invariably. This is linked to the point made in section 6.2.2 about flexibility in the choice of perspectives used in different stories in BSL. It suggests that, like choice of perspectives, BSL storytellers have a range of devices they can choose from to refer to and denote different characters, and that there is a degree of flexibility in which devices can be used. This is not the case with spoken English, where in the absence of a noun within a noun phrase, third person pronouns are generally obligatory. Moreover, those elements of BSL which can be used to denote different characters, such as associating characters with specific areas of space, or the use of eye gaze and indexic signs directed towards these locations, are not used in the same systematic way in spoken English.

The use of eye gaze observed in the BSL data, particularly in stretches of direct discourse, is commensurate with what has been described in the literature. Engberg-Pedersen (1993), for example, describes this use of eye gaze as being part of a shifted attribution of expressive elements. However, eye gaze is not only used systematically to denote one character addressing another, but is also used as part of constructed action in depicting a character's overall demeanour. An example of this is shown in Figure 5.13 from 'The Two Friends and the Bear', where B1 is telling the story from the bear's point of view. She is looking downwards to depict the bear looking at the friend lying on the ground. This downwards gaze is not consistently used for the bear throughout this story, but only in this section. It forms part of the overall depiction of the bear in this instance.

There are some examples of eye gaze use in the spoken English data which bear remarkable similarities to the use of eye gaze in the BSL data. Figure 4.41 from ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, for example, shows E1 directing her eye gaze downwards when portraying the hare speaking to the tortoise. The downwards direction denotes the hare looking down at the tortoise who is smaller than him. This also occurs in the BSL data, where both BSL storytellers direct their eye gaze downwards when portraying the hare talking to the tortoise (see Figure 4.39). Although this usage is similar in both the BSL and spoken English data, the difference between the two languages is that eye gaze in spoken English is not used systematically or consistently in this story. Eye gaze directed downwards is not used in every hare role where the hare is engaged in direct discourse with the tortoise in the spoken English data, but it is systematically used in the BSL data. Moreover, the direction of eye gaze in the spoken English data is also inconsistent. In the BSL data, a location for the tortoise was established for both storytellers to their right and downward. When portraying the hare addressing the tortoise, they consistently direct their gaze towards this location. In the spoken English data, when the storytellers direct eye gaze towards the tortoise, the direction of eye gaze is different in each instance it is used. It is sometimes directed downwards and to the speaker’s right, sometimes downwards (and straight ahead) and sometimes downwards and to the speaker’s left. In other words, while eye gaze is directed downwards, there is no consistency as to whether it is directed to the left, right or straight ahead.

This is the same for the other two stories. It was noted in Chapter 5 that in ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ and ‘The Dog and the Bone’ the BSL storytellers did not use eye gaze in the same way as in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. However, when eye gaze was used to differentiate between two characters in direct discourse, it was used consistently. Figure 5.15 from B2’s narrative of ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ mentioned above is a good example of this. B2 directs his eye gaze towards his left when portraying the first friend addressing the second friend, and towards his right when portraying the second friend addressing the first friend. These eye gaze directions are used consistently in this section to make it clear when one friend

is addressing another. This kind of consistency is not found in the spoken English data.³⁰

6.2.3.2. Use of head movements, facial expressions and body positions

Depicting a character in BSL does not just involve the use of eye gaze, but also head and body movements and facial expressions. All of these are an important part of constructed action. Changes in head and body positions in particular have been noted as one of the primary indicators of the onset of constructed action (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993; Loew, 1984; Poulin & Miller, 1995). In the data from the current study, a change in head and body position was often used to denote the onset of constructed action. Furthermore, it often coincided with the use of eye gaze to depict a character's overall demeanour and when portraying direct discourse between two characters, as shown in Figure 5.21.

Facial expressions were often used for affect as part of constructed action. In B2's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear', for example, he uses a facial expression of surprise/shock when portraying one of the friends watching the bear coming towards him. Head movements and facial expressions can be used both grammatically and for affect in BSL. Although some have suggested that changes in facial expressions and eye gaze etc. can give syntactic information, others have noted that it is not yet clear which non-manual features are obligatory with which syntactic structures (Deuchar, 1984; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006). This suggests it may be difficult to definitely count a particular facial expression as affective or grammatical. For this reason, it was difficult to give any form of numerical data for the use of affective facial expressions in these data.

However, the main emphasis here is on comparison of BSL and spoken English. As with eye gaze, head movements, facial expressions and changes in body positions are also used in the spoken English data, but only occasionally. Unlike BSL, these

³⁰ However, both spoken English storytellers had much less experience in telling stories to camera than the BSL storytellers. It is possible that because of this lack of experience the spoken English participants did not deliver the story to camera in exactly the same way they would have delivered it to a real person. This may account for the differences in the use of eye gaze patterns in the spoken English narratives versus the BSL narratives (see also Chapter 7, section 7.1.6 for discussion of this).

eye gaze changes and head movements are not a consistent part of the narrative discourse, but they can be similar to those found in the BSL data. In ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, for example, E1’s head and body position changed in each character>character role sequence. These changes in head positions coincided with direct discourse, and it is possible that the storyteller was using a change in head position to more clearly differentiate between the two characters engaged in direct discourse. This is consistent with McClave (2000), who suggests that head movements can be used for a variety of functions in spoken languages, including as markers of direct discourse. McClave (2000) also draws this parallel between the use of head movements in spoken languages and referential shift in signed languages.

6.2.3.3. Co-speech gesture, vocal prosodic elements, and the use of lexical items denoting mental state and communication

The use of lexical items denoting mental state in both languages is particularly interesting as these are closely linked to the idea of represented speech and thought, particularly in the spoken language literature (e.g. Banfield, 1982). Lexical items denoting mental state (also known as psych verbs, or verbs of psychological state: see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.4) did not occur often in either the BSL or spoken English narratives in this study. As mentioned in section 6.2.1, this suggests that psych verbs might be primarily a feature of the written language.³¹ In these data, represented action and thought are conveyed by elements such as facial expression (as part of constructed action) in BSL, and by facial expression and iconic gestures in spoken English.

Prosodic elements and other types of gestures are also used in the spoken English data examined in this thesis. Beats and loudness were the most common type of prosodic element and gesture across all three stories; this correlates with what has been observed in previous literature on gesture in narrative discourse, particularly Kendon (2004) and Cassell and McNeill (1991) for gesture, and Wennerstrom (2001) for prosody. In addition, changes in loudness often coincided with beat

³¹ This is not to say that psych verbs are never used in oral narratives. The use of psych verbs is also dependent on the content of a narrative and the register used, as well as the modality in which it is conveyed (i.e. written, signed, spoken, etc.).

gestures, which is similar to what has been found in studies on audiovisual prosody. For example, Kendon (1980) and Hadar, Steiner and Rose (1983) have noted that visual cues such as head movements (see also section 6.2.3.2) coincide with prosodic elements in spoken languages. In these data, prosodic elements were primarily used to underline the importance of certain words or phrases, often in conjunction with each other and particularly in narrator and narrator/character roles. Pitch was also used to underline the importance of words or phrases, and interestingly the pitch used corresponded in some places with whether a concept was positive or negative. A higher pitch was used for some positive concepts (e.g. beautiful) and lower pitch for negative concepts (e.g. dangerous) (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.2). This association of high or up with positive concepts and down or low with negative concepts is a common metaphor in our culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and there are some interesting parallels in signed languages. Taub (2001) notes that many signs denoting positive concepts have an upwards movement, and many denoting negative concepts have a downwards movement. Duration was rarely used, but again this sometimes coincided with what was happening in the story, particularly the movements of characters. In 'The Tortoise and the Hare', for example, both storytellers speak slower when describing how slowly the tortoise moves (see Chapter 4, section 4.8.2). These elements would thus appear to be acting iconically. In terms of duration and pitch, they appear to be literally iconic, corresponding to the event (slow or fast-paced action) occurring in the story.

The few deictic gestures that were used in these narratives are also strikingly similar to the indexic signs used by the BSL storytellers. In 'The Tortoise and the Hare', for example, when portraying the hare addressing the tortoise, E1 uses a deictic gesture pointing towards the location associated with the tortoise that is similar to the second person pronouns employed by the BSL storytellers to refer to the tortoise (see Figure 4.41). However, deictic gestures are not used every time the hare addresses the tortoise in E1's narrative. The deictic gesture here is essentially superfluous information. In other words, the storyteller is already using second person pronouns to refer to the tortoise in this section and so the deictic gesture is not required. However, it does give extra information as to the tortoise's potential

location in relation to the hare at that particular point in the story. It is an interesting parallel to make because some suggest the use of pointing (indexic) signs in signed languages contain gestural elements. Liddell (2003a) suggests that indexic signs are both symbolic and indexic (see also section Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). That is, while the physical form of the indexic sign remains the same in each instance it is used (a pointing handshape), the directionality of indexic signs is not the same in each instance it is used. Moreover, there are a potentially unlimited number of locations towards which an indexic sign can be directed. It is because of this that Liddell (2003a) suggests that the directionality of such signs is gestural and influenced by the context in which it is used. A number of factors may influence the use of indexic signs, including the physical presence of referents and their location, or the perceived location of a character, for example. This is similar to the pointing gestures employed by spoken language users (e.g. Kendon & Versante 2003; McNeill, Cassell & Levy 1993). In these data, the directionality of the pointing gestures employed by the spoken English storytellers appears to be influenced by the perceived location of characters within the story world.

The similarities between iconic gestures in the spoken English data and constructed action in the BSL data have already been mentioned above. Metaphoric manual gestures, which are gestures that help the speaker explain some sort of abstract concept, were not used in any of the spoken English narratives. This might be because these stories do not contain abstract concepts, with the possible exception of the moral at the end of each story (see Appendix 2). However, according to Okrent's (2002) idea of a modality-free notion of gesture, it could be suggested that some of the creative use of prosodic elements in the spoken English data (i.e. the use of different pitches associated with positive or negative concepts) were metaphoric vocal gestures.

6.3. Summary

These data suggest that the BSL storytellers make use of a wider range of resources than the spoken English storytellers in the way they mark point of view. The BSL storytellers generally prefer telling stories from characters' points of view, but this is not consistently the case. The spoken English storytellers, on the other hand,

consistently tell stories mainly from the narrator's point of view. Furthermore, the BSL storytellers vary in the devices they use for marking point of view and referring to characters: they can use pronouns or nouns (with or without determiners) to differing degrees. They can also use other devices, such as eye gaze, to show the point of view from which the story is being told (e.g. one character addressing another). The spoken English storytellers are more consistent in this respect, consistently using primarily nouns and determiners and also pronouns to refer to characters and mark point of view. This raises some interesting questions about the syntactic structure of BSL. Although lexical signs and simultaneous non-manual features can be used to communicate, constructed action appears to be a very important element of storytelling in signed narratives. Quinto-Pozos (2007a, 2007b) raises the question of whether constructed action can be considered obligatory in signed languages, what elicits constructed action in certain contexts, and whether or not constructed action is linguistic or gestural. He suggests that the use of constructed action may be obligatory in some contexts and that signed language users appear to prefer the use of constructed action over other resources that could be used to depict the same actions, e.g. classifier constructions. This is a relatively unexplored area in signed language research, but one that needs further investigation.

Rayman (1999) suggests that signers and speakers draw on different resources in the construction of narratives, and that signers have a richer range of resources to draw upon when presenting visual events or action. These data provide some evidence to support these claims, in that the BSL storytellers have a range of resources at their disposal and there appears to be some degree of flexibility in which resources they can use. This is not the case in spoken English, where narratives are consistently told in a particular way (from the narrator viewpoint, using third person pronouns etc.). However, the use of co-speech gesture and vocal prosodic elements indicates that there are some resources that speakers can draw on and use creatively, and which can be used in a similar way to BSL.

These elements are particularly relevant for the cross-linguistic study of spoken and signed languages. In the spoken English data, iconic gestures and their use in

constructed dialogue and constructed action with facial expressions and head movements often bear particularly striking similarities to referential shift in the BSL data. This suggests that cross-linguistic comparison of spoken and signed data should include the analysis of co-speech gesture and vocal prosodic elements. This is a view also taken by various other researchers, including Liddell and Metzger (1998) and Vermeerbergen and Demey (2007), who suggest that the comparison of signed language with spoken language should mean spoken language plus co-speech gesture.

6.4. Theories of conceptual spaces

Chapter 2 discussed the current literature on point of view in spoken and signed languages. In both the spoken and signed language literature, theories of conceptual spaces have been mentioned, most notably Liddell (2003a) for signed languages and Ehlich (1979) for spoken languages. Both these theories attempt to provide a basis for understanding the way in which different points of view are marked. These theories will be examined in this section and applied to the results obtained in this study for BSL and spoken English.

6.5. Mental space theory

The idea of mental spaces and blending underlying construction of discourse and meaning was first developed by Fauconnier (1985, 1997) for spoken languages. Liddell (2003a) has adapted this theory for signed languages, suggesting that there are four main types of spaces which a signer can make use of to convey different points of view: real, surrogate and token and depicting spaces.³² Real space is the physical space surrounding the signer and can be blended with surrogate, token and depicting spaces in different ways (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.2 and 2.5.2.2 for a detailed description of these). For example, surrogates, which are used within surrogate space, are three-dimensional areas of space that take on the characteristics of a referent, e.g. a person or an animal. Signs can be directed towards surrogates in the same way as if the referent was physically present.

³² Fauconnier (1997) does not mention these particular types of space, and instead describes how elements from various input spaces can result in emergent blended spaces. Liddell (2003a) follows this but distinguishes specific types of input spaces (real, surrogate, token and depicting).

6.5.1. Application of Liddell's theories to the BSL data

In each of BSL narratives of the three stories, real space is the actual physical space surrounding the signer, containing the signer and video camera in front of which the signers tell their stories. The camera essentially takes the place of an addressee; a signer would normally stand opposite in the same way.

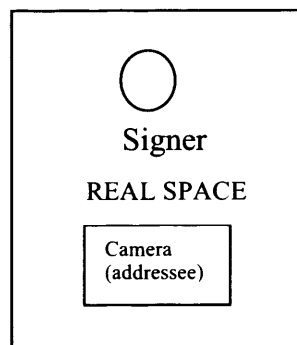


Figure 6.1: Depiction of real space

Both signers treated the camera as an addressee. Eye gaze was directed towards the camera when not directed towards locations associated with characters. This is consistent with how signers would normally behave with a real addressee. Both signers favoured telling their stories from characters' points of view, suggesting that a large number of surrogate blends are used in these data.

In all three stories, both BSL participants become surrogates at some point during their narratives. An example from B2's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear' is shown in Figure 6.2. This shows the signer imitate the bear; in other words, he adopts the facial expressions of the bear and uses his upper body as though he were the bear. The gloss for the section of discourse containing this depiction and its translation are shown underneath.



Gloss: (p-) bear display paws

Translation: [As they were hiking along, a bear suddenly rose up before them], displaying its great paws.

Figure 6.2: B2 as a surrogate in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

The mental conceptualisation underlying this depiction is a blended surrogate space. Physically present elements from real space, i.e. B2's face and upper body have merged with the conceptualisation of the event (the bear approaching the two friends in the forest) to form a new mental space, the blended surrogate space.³³ This blended space contains elements of B2 from real space merged with the bear from the event space. A pictorial depiction of this blend can be seen in Figure 6.3. Each rectangular box represents a space. The upper two boxes represent real space and the event space, and the dotted lines show which elements of these two spaces merge in the resulting blended surrogate space.

³³ Liddell (2003a) terms the spaces providing information to the resulting surrogate blend as 'input spaces', and the conceptualisations of story events 'event space'. Event space in this sense is analogous to the idea of a 'story world' suggested by Segal (1995) and Galbraith (1995) which refers to the world and landscape inhabited by characters in a story (see also Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.2). In this particular example, the 'event space' is the space containing the bear, which includes elements already set up in the story, such as the presence of the two friends, as well as the forest that the two friends are walking through when they encounter the bear.

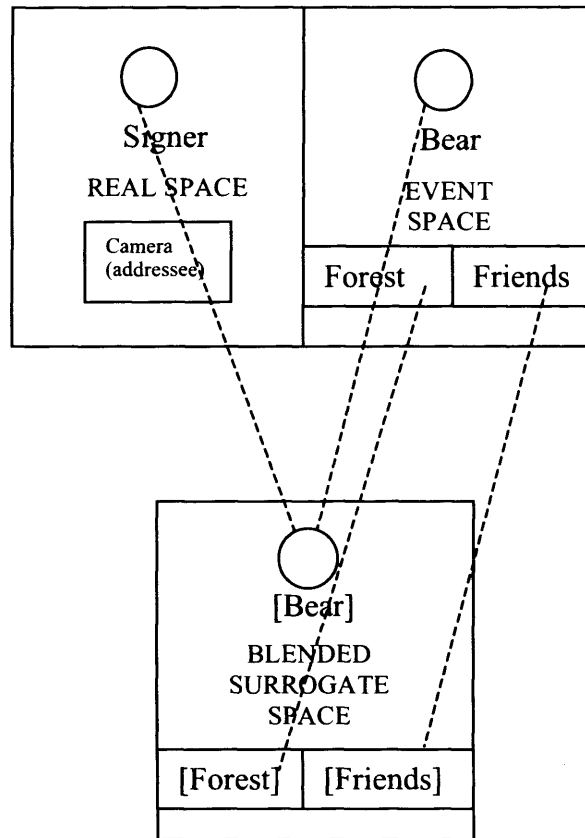


Figure 6.3: Example of a blended surrogate space with signer as surrogate³⁴

It can be seen that the resulting blended surrogate space in Figure 6.3 contains elements of B2 from real space and the bear from event space. This results in the conceptualisation of the bear from event space being mapped onto B2 in the blend. Although the signer is still physically present in the blend, an addressee will understand that the signer's face and upper body have 'become' those of the [bear].³⁵ Other elements from the event space are also transferred into the blend, namely those elements which make up the story landscape, such as the forest and the friends whom the bear approaches in the forest. The camera as addressee, which is part of real space, is not transferred to the blended space because this is not a salient part of the blended space in this instance.

This example of a blended space where the signer becomes a surrogate is an example based on constructed action. However, blended spaces are also used in

³⁴ It should be noted that the locations of the forest and friends in the input and blended space in this figure does not represent their actual location within the signing space, i.e. the forest is not set up on the signer's right-hand side.

³⁵ The bear in the blended surrogate space is referred to here as [bear] using brackets to distinguish this from the bear in the event space following Liddell (2003a).

these data with constructed dialogue. This is a more complex interaction of elements from the input spaces, as not only does the signer once again become a surrogate, but he/she also directs signs towards a fictional character, i.e. another surrogate. Figure 6.4 shows B1 telling ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ story from the hare’s perspective and portraying the hare talking to the tortoise. Again, the gloss and English translation for this section are provided underneath. The English translation in the brackets has been provided for the purposes of background information.



g (-pu) WHY YOU YOURS ALWAYS YOU g (-pu)

[The tortoise would be crawling along slowly and the hare would say,] “Why is it always the same with you?”

Figure 6.4: Example of signer as surrogate addressing another surrogate

Again, real and event spaces act as the input spaces, as shown in Figure 6.5. Real space contains the signer (B1) and the camera as addressee as in Figure 6.3. Event space contains the hare and the tortoise. Figure 6.4 shows that the signer is directing her signs to her right hand side and downwards; the position of the box representing the tortoise is thus located to the hare’s right in the event space to reflect this. From these two input spaces, a blended surrogate space is created whereby the hare is a blend of elements from real space and the event space. In other words, B1 is partly projected into the blend: her face and upper body become those of the hare. The tortoise, on the other hand, is projected from event space into the blended space as a surrogate in its own right. The tortoise does not exist in real space, only in the event space and resulting blended space. Similarly, the addressee exists in real space, but not in the blended space.

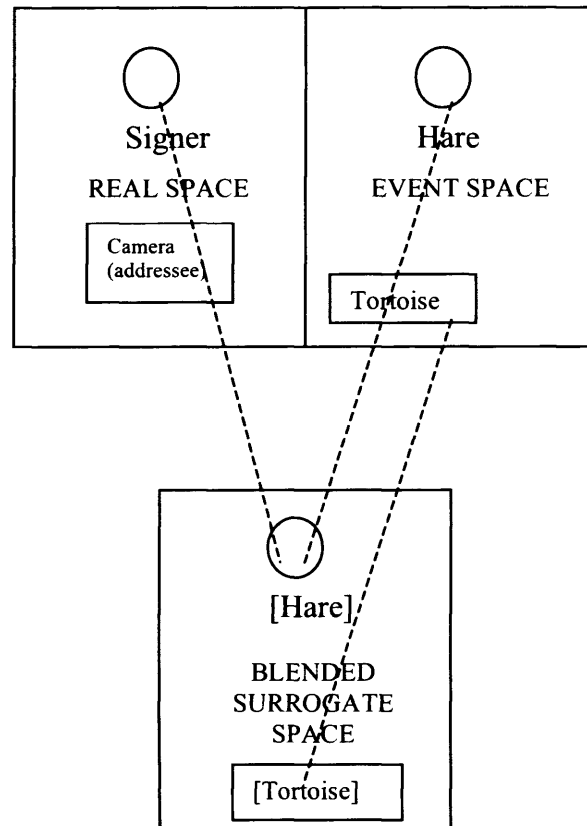


Figure 6.5: Example of signer as surrogate addressing another surrogate

From this example, it can be seen that blended surrogate spaces can contain more than one surrogate. The number of surrogates that can be employed by signers is potentially unlimited; however, in these data, the number of surrogates used is typically restricted to a maximum of two or three in a blend. Having more than three surrogates in a blend is likely to become confusing for an addressee. Furthermore, surrogates can exist anywhere within the signing space. B1 places the [tortoise] surrogate to her right-hand side, but both B1 and B2 place surrogates in different places in each of their narratives of the three stories. Where surrogates are placed within a blended surrogate space may be dependent on a number of factors. For example, it can be motivated by the perceived heights of surrogates. In ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’, the tortoise is perceived to be smaller than the hare and thus the [tortoise] surrogate is placed below the signer’s torso, as opposed to placing it, e.g. straight ahead of the [hare], and is closely linked to the use of token space in both B1 and B2’s narratives (see Figure 6.9 below). The location of the [tortoise] on the signer (or [hare])’s right-hand side appears to be arbitrary in this case. The [tortoise] could just as easily have been placed on the signer’s left-hand side and

this would not have changed the perception of the [tortoise] in any way. While the choice of right versus left-hand locations for surrogates in these stories appears to be arbitrary, this is not to say that the choice of left versus right is always arbitrary. There may be other signed narratives where placing a surrogate to the right versus the left hand side is motivated by specific factors, e.g. establishing a surrogate for a driver and a passenger in a right-hand drive car.

In ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’ and ‘The Dog and the Bone’, placement of surrogates is highly dependent on the current event space or story world being mapped out by the signer. The context of the story determines where surrogates are placed. For example, in ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’, both BSL storytellers use a surrogate blend in the section of the story which portrays the first friend telling the second friend to come down from the tree where he was hiding. This blend contains elements of real space (the signer) and event space (containing the two friends and the tree) mapped onto the blended surrogate space as shown in Figure 6.6.

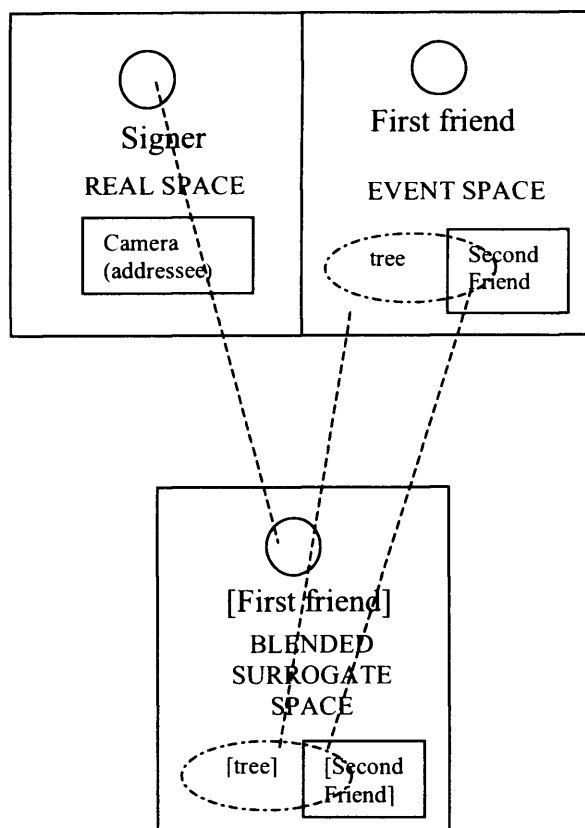


Figure 6.6: Input spaces and blended space in ‘The Two Friends and the Bear’

In both BSL narratives of this story, the signers located the friend up the tree to their left. This placement is reflected in Figure 6.6. In the story, once the friend has descended the tree he goes to stand opposite the first friend. Conceptually, this means that the [second friend] surrogate has moved within the event space to opposite the [first friend] as shown in Figure 6.7. The tree is no longer part of the blended space as it is not relevant to the current conceptualisation of the story.

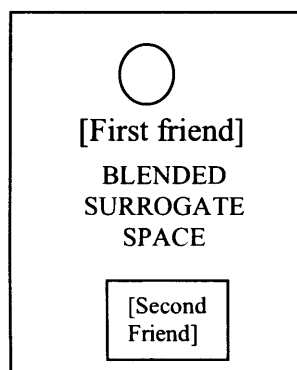


Figure 6.7: Placement of surrogates within a blended surrogate space

These two figures demonstrate that surrogates can be placed anywhere in the signing space but placement is dependent on the current event space. Furthermore, signers can set surrogates up at any point in the discourse. In some cases, particularly 'The Tortoise and the Hare', placement of surrogates in the narrative may remain fairly constant throughout the discourse. In this story, both signers place the tortoise surrogate to their right and downwards, and the hare surrogate to their left and upwards.

Figures 6.2-6.7 have shown how surrogates can be placed in the signing space and also how signers can become surrogates. Partial mappings of surrogates onto signers also occurs. Figure 6.8, for example shows an example from B2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. This example shows the signer as the [hare] surrogate looking down at the [tortoise] surrogate. The signer's head and facial expression of those of the [hare] but he is using both arms to sign RABBIT. This is a partial mapping because the lexical sign RABBIT is not being signed by the [hare], but the signer (as narrator). The signer's hands and arms are part of real

space, but he is using a surrogate blend at the same time to portray the character he is signing about.



Figure 6.8: Example of partial mapping of surrogate in B2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

Placement of surrogates can be determined using tokens within a blended token space. As mentioned earlier, tokens are, like surrogates, three-dimensional areas of space. They differ in two main respects to surrogates. Firstly, tokens cannot take on the physical attributes of a character like surrogates can. Instead, tokens represent objects or entities to which the signer can then refer using, e.g. an indexic sign. These tokens blend with real space to form a blended token space. Secondly, unlike blended surrogate space, the signer cannot be projected into a blended token space.

Chapter 4 describes B1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare', and how she sets up the locations of the hare and tortoise using indexic signs functioning as determiners. In conceptual terms, she is establishing tokens for each of these entities within the signing space which can then be used to refer to these entities. The real signing space surrounding the signer blends with these tokens to form a blended token space as shown in Figure 6.9.

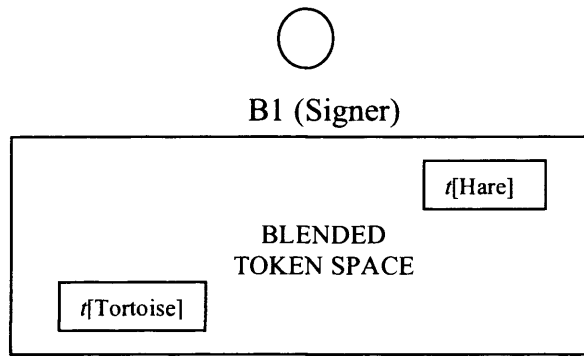


Figure 6.9: Blended token space in B1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'³⁶

This figure shows the blended token space ahead of B1. The tokens representing the tortoise and the hare are denoted in brackets and with a *t* (denoting 'token') to distinguish these from the [hare] and [tortoise] surrogates in Figure 6.5. Once such tokens are established, they can be used throughout the discourse to refer to the hare and tortoise. Furthermore, these locations established in blended token space are also used for surrogate placement later in the story. This is shown in Figure 6.5, where the [tortoise] surrogate occupies the same location as the *t*[tortoise] token in Figure 6.8. As noted in Chapter 4, these locations are also used by B2 for the [hare] and [tortoise] surrogates. However, he does not establish these locations using tokens. Instead, he introduces surrogates into the discourse at the appropriate juncture, and the placement of these surrogates remains fairly constant throughout.

As with surrogates, a potentially unlimited number of tokens can be set up in a blended token space ahead of the signer. In these data, however, token space was only used to a great extent in B1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' and sporadically throughout the remaining BSL narratives of each of the three stories. Instead, blended surrogate spaces were far more common in both BSL narratives of the three stories, and nearly always involved the signer being projected into the blend.

Surrogate and token space blends are, however, not the only way in which events in the story can be depicted. Signers often use classifier constructions (see also

³⁶ Unlike Figure 6.3, where the placement of the surrogates in the schematic representation did not reflect where they were placed in the signing space, Figure 6.9 reflects the actual placement of the tokens within the signing space. The *t*[hare] is placed to the signer's left (and upwards) and the *t*[tortoise] is placed to the signer's right (and downwards).

Chapter 2, sections 2.3 and 2.4.2) to topographically depict an action or state, e.g. a man walking, or a car moving up a hill. Such constructions were also used in these data to depict events unfolding in the stories and are part of what Liddell (2003a) terms depicting blends. These are, like surrogate and token blends, blends that incorporate elements of real space. Unlike tokens, however, depicting blends can give an idea of the form or shape of an entity being described, and also its location in relation to other entities.³⁷ In contrast to surrogates, depicting blends contain a topographical realisation of an action or state, whereas surrogates are life-sized copies of a referent. An example of an action being depicted is shown in Figure 6.10. This is from B2's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear' and depicts the second friend deserting the first friend and running up a tree to hide from the bear. The signer's left arm represents the tree, and his right arm the second friend running up the tree. The first picture on the left shows the friend halfway up the tree, and the second picture shows the friend at the top of the tree.



Figure 6.10: B2 depicting an action in 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

Conceptually, real space and the event space blend to form a blended depicting space. The real space input contains the signer and addressee as shown in previous figures, e.g. Figure 6.5. The event space that maps onto the resulting depicting blend can be seen in Figure 6.11, and contains the two friends, the bear and the tree. The action [second friend racing up tree], which is being depicted in Figure 6.10, is shown in Figure 6.11 by the arrow leading from the second friend up the tree.

³⁷ Liddell (2003a) terms these depicting verbs. They are also known as classifier constructions (see Chapter 2, sections 2.3 and 2.4.2 for a detailed explanation of these).

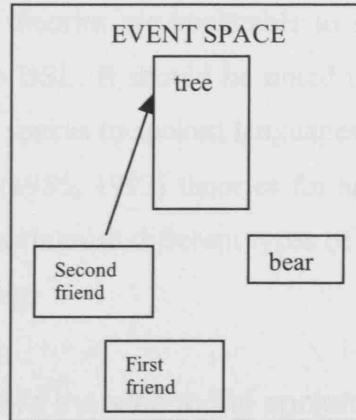


Figure 6.11: Event space for the action depicted in Figure 6.10

The signer's hands and arms depicting this action blend with the [second friend racing up tree] action from the event space to form a depicting blend. This kind of blend often occurs in these data, and can also combine with surrogate blends simultaneously to show different aspects of an event being portrayed. For example, B2 demonstrates how the second friend panics once he has reached the top of the tree. This involves the signer becoming a [second friend] surrogate and his face and upper body being projected into the surrogate blend. Meanwhile, the signer's left hand and arm are still depicting the location of the tree topographically; this is shown in Figure 6.12 below. The left hand and arm are still part of the depicting blend described above. In this way, the signer can maintain the topographic location of the second friend as well as portraying the second friend's emotions.



Figure 6.12: Depicting and surrogate blend in B2's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'.

It can be seen that Liddell's (2003a) account can easily be applied to the BSL data. The next section will apply Liddell's (2003a) theories to the spoken English data in

order to see whether these theories are applicable to spoken English, or whether they can only be applied to BSL. It should be noted that there is a precedent for applying theories of mental spaces to spoken languages; Liddell's (2003a) theories are based on Fauconnier's (1985, 1997) theories for spoken languages. However, Liddell's (2003a) theories distinguish different types of mental spaces, namely real, surrogate, token and depicting.

6.5.2. Application of Liddell's theories to the spoken English data

As in the BSL narratives, real space in the spoken English narratives consists of the speaker and camera functioning as addressee, as shown in Figure 6.13. Stories told from the narrator's perspective use this space, and the addressee must construct a mental picture of the story world from what is being said by the narrator.

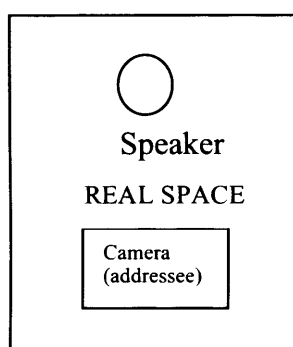


Figure 6.13: Real space in the spoken English narratives

Liddell (2003a) suggests that surrogate blends can also occur in spoken languages, as does MacGregor (2004), who applies Liddell's (2003a) account of blending and conceptual spaces to some spoken English data. This is particularly evident where speakers use constructed dialogue. For example, E1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' contains a number of stretches of constructed dialogue where E1 takes on the perspective of, e.g. the hare talking to the tortoise. One example of this is shown in Example 6b below. This is from E1's narrative is where the tortoise is telling the hare he can beat him in the race.

The tortoise said, "Well you can make fun of me if you like, but I think I could beat you".

Example 6b: Excerpt of constructed dialogue from E1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

The initial phrase indicates to the addressee that the speaker is about to tell the next piece of dialogue from the tortoise’s perspective. This section of dialogue is not part of the surrogate blend, but the sentence that follows it is. The sentence that begins “*Well, you can make fun...*” has two input spaces. One of the input spaces is the real space containing the speaker and addressee (camera), and there is also an event space containing the hare and tortoise. Elements from both these input spaces blend together to form a blended surrogate space as shown in Figure 6.14.

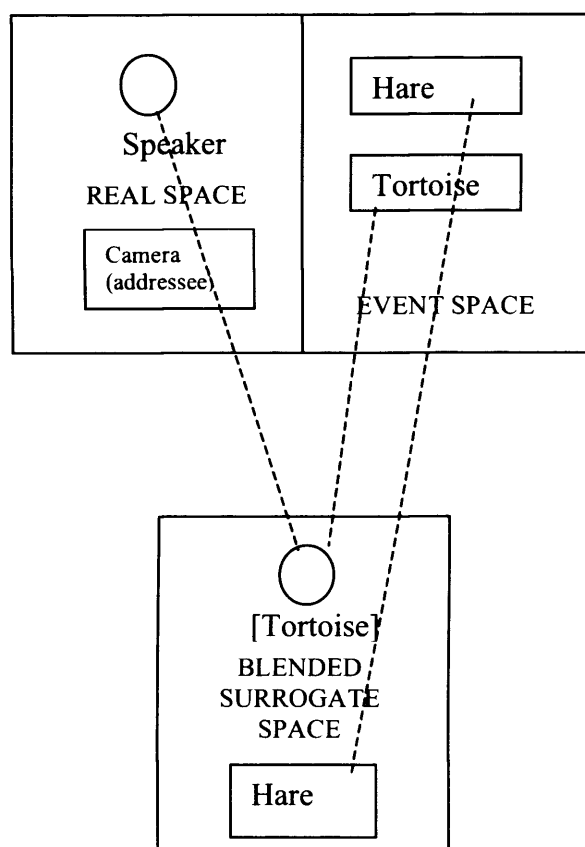


Figure 6.14: Surrogate blend in E1’s narrative of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’³⁸

Within this blended space, the gestures and vocal prosodic elements used by the speaker are understood as being those of the [tortoise] surrogate. Furthermore, the speaker has created a separate [hare] surrogate within the blended space to which the utterance is addressed. However, there are some differences between the surrogates created by the spoken English storytellers and those created by the BSL

³⁸ Liddell (2003a) also describes ‘semantic’ space, where he shows the semantic structure of these blends (e.g. the trajector and landmark). This has not been included here because the main interest here is how different points of view can be explained using conceptual spaces, not the semantic structure of these utterances.

storytellers. When surrogate blends are used in the BSL data, the BSL storytellers consistently direct signs and eye gaze towards these surrogates as if they were actually physically present in the same room, as they would to a present addressee. This is not the case with the spoken English storytellers. The spoken English storytellers do not consistently talk to the imagined surrogates as if they were present in the room with them. Although the presence of constructed dialogue makes it clear in both the BSL and spoken English narratives that a surrogate has been created, the BSL storytellers make the surrogate a much more immediate entity. They can give clues as to the size and location of the surrogate within the blend, e.g. by directing signs downwards to indicate that surrogate is smaller than they are, or by directing signs towards a particular location to indicate where the surrogate is (see also Figure 6.5).³⁹

The spoken English storytellers, on the other hand, do not achieve such a detailed depiction in their surrogate blends. While they could theoretically indicate the imagined size or location of a surrogate by, e.g. looking up or down, in practice this rarely happened in these data. If it did occur, it did not occur consistently. One example from these data is in E1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' where the signer becomes a [hare] surrogate and is making fun of the tortoise's tiny feet, saying:

"Look at your little feet! Look, look, look at your tiny little feet!"

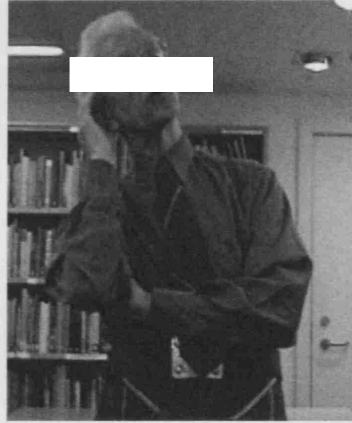
Example 6c: Example of constructed action used with deictic gestures in E1's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

There are four imperatives using the word 'look' in this sentence. The first is accompanied by a deictic gesture pointing to the [tortoise] surrogate's feet. This gesture is directed downwards and to the speaker's right. However, the following imperatives are accompanied by a deictic gesture still pointing at the supposed [tortoise] surrogate's feet but this time the deictic gesture is directed downward and

³⁹ This can be either in relation to the signer or the signer as surrogate. In a real space blend containing a surrogate, the signer can indicate that the location or size of a surrogate is by directing signs towards a particular area of space, e.g. if the surrogate is a child, signs can be directed downwards to show that the child is smaller than the signer (or signer as surrogate).

to the speaker's left. There is nothing in the words to suggest that the imagined location of the tortoise has changed over the course of this sentence. Instead, this suggests that surrogates used in the spoken English narratives are not treated as spatial entities in quite the same way as they are by the BSL storytellers. While they are still life-sized entities conceived of as being present in the space surrounding a speaker, there is often no indication as to the placement of these surrogates in space or their characteristics. It is up to the addressee to interpret the surrogate blend and imagine the placement and location of the surrogates based on their current knowledge of the story world and also their pragmatic knowledge of the characteristics of the entities being discussed, e.g. they would already know that one entity might be bigger than another and would be likely to look down when addressing that other entity.

Constructed action in the spoken English data may also employ the use of surrogate blends. However, in the spoken English data, constructed action (i.e. the use of iconic gestures depicting some aspect of a character) never occurs on its own, but always in conjunction with speech. This presents no problem in applying the idea of surrogates to these data if the iconic gestures are accompanying constructed dialogue. This is because if the speaker's voice is projected into the surrogate blend, it would ordinarily be understood as being the voice of the surrogate. However, in the instances where the spoken English storytellers use constructed action, their face, hands and arms typically 'become' those of a character while the storyteller's voice remains that of the storyteller (as narrator). Liddell (2003a) suggests that such situations in spoken language involve partial blends of the speaker and the surrogate. The surrogate is blended onto the speaker, but it is only a partial blend because the words being spoken are not those of the surrogate (unlike in constructed dialogue), but remain those of the narrator. An example of this is shown in Figure 6.15. This example is from E2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' and shows the storyteller narrating the story from his own point of view while adopting certain characteristics of a character. Here, he is showing how the hare falls asleep in the middle of the race with the tortoise. His right arm and facial expressions are those of the hare and depict the hare sleeping.

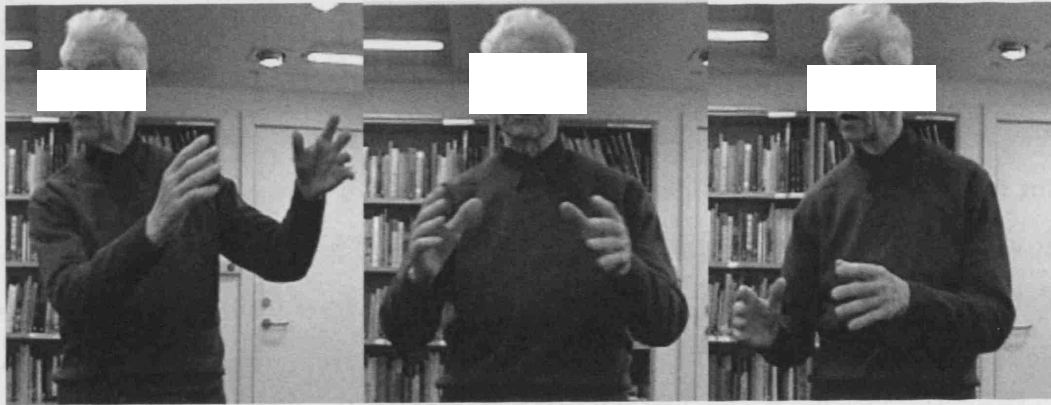


And this time, he lay back just a wee bit too far, and he fell asleep.

Figure 6.15: Example of mixture of narrator and character elements in E2's narrative of 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

In this example, elements of the hare from the story world have been mapped onto real space. This allows the storyteller to simultaneously tell the story and depict the action being described. This is similar to the partial mapping of a surrogate blend described for BSL in section 6.5.1 (see Figure 6.8).

Although spoken English users do not use classifier constructions, it would theoretically be possible for depicting blends to occur in spoken English. Kendon (2004) suggests that there are similarities between the classifier constructions used to show motion, location and size and shape of entities in signed languages, and the use of some gestures in spoken languages. Kendon (2004) points out that speakers use gestures which, e.g. depict the way an object is handled, or show how an object is positioned, such as using flat hands to outline the shape of a box. Very few examples of this occurred in these spoken English data, although there were some. In E2's narrative of 'The Dog and the Bone', for example, he describes how the bone falls from the table onto the floor and is then picked up by the dog. To do so, he uses flat hands moving from one location to another as shown in Figure 6.16 below.



A piece of prime meat slipped from the table down on to the ground

Figure 6.16: Example of co-speech gestures similar to classifier constructions in signed languages

In terms of conceptual spaces, it could be argued that this is a depicting blend. The speaker's hands depict the meat falling from the table onto the ground. They are a strategy used to represent what is happening to a particular object in the story world. Johnston and Schembri (2007) and Kendon (2004) suggest the use of classifier constructions in signed languages are regularisations of the gestures for representation strategies. However, classifier constructions are used much more consistently and systematically by signers than the gestures used by speakers to represent objects in a similar way (Schembri et al., 2005).

6.6. Summary

In summary, Liddell's (2003a) account can be applied to both signed and spoken data. However, there are some differences between signed and spoken language. Firstly, the use of surrogate blends differs in the BSL and spoken English narratives. As mentioned in section 6.5.2, the BSL storytellers can give addressees information about the size and/or location of surrogates within the blended surrogate space, whereas this does not happen consistently in the spoken English narratives. Instead, with spoken language narratives, the addressee has to create a mental picture of the placement and attributes of a surrogate. This is an important point to make with regard to spoken language theories of deixis in narrative and will be discussed further in section 6.8.

Secondly, the BSL storytellers appear to consistently employ a greater variety of blended spaces (real, token, depicting, surrogate and partial mappings of surrogate blends), whereas the spoken English storytellers employ real space and (partial) surrogate blends, as well as possible depicting blends. This underlines the main findings in Chapters 4 and 5: BSL storytellers are more variable in the way that they tell stories and in which strategies they employ, whereas the spoken English storytellers are more consistent in the way they tell stories. The spoken English storytellers tell stories primarily from a narrator's perspective using real space and partial mappings of surrogates, whereas the BSL storytellers prefer a character's perspective and employ the use of more surrogate and depicting blends.

Liddell's work, however, is not the only theory of conceptual spaces which can be applied to narratives. Ehlich (1979) also proposes a similar theory of conceptual spaces for spoken languages (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.1. for a detailed explanation of this theory). Following a brief summary of Ehlich's (1979) theories in the following section, these theories will be applied to the BSL and spoken English data.

6.7. Ehlich's theories

Ehlich's (1979) theories of conceptual spaces for spoken languages centre around the notion of deixis. Ehlich (1979) distinguishes a number of conceptual spaces, including situative space (*Sprechzeitraum*), which is analogous to Liddell's (2003a) idea of real space, imaginative space (*Vorstellungsraum*), discourse space (*Diskursraum*) and text space (*Textraum*). In each of these spaces deictic expressions are used as part of a so-called deictic procedure (*deiktische Prozedur*), which is a psycholinguistic procedure that allows the speaker to focus the hearer's attention on something within that particular space. The speaker can also use other procedures within these spaces to convey information to the hearer. These include phoric procedures, where the speaker re-focuses the hearer's attention on something that has previously been mentioned in the discourse, and expressive procedures which convey a speaker's attitude to something, e.g. by using intonation (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 for a detailed explanation of Ehlich's theories).

The primary conceptual space involved in narrative discourse is imaginative space. Ehlich suggests that the deictic centre of the situative space can shift to that of the imaginative space, but the nature of this shift or indeed the deictic centre itself is not fully discussed. Bühler (1934), from whose research Ehlich's ideas are in part derived, considers the deictic centre to be the origin of a coordinate system. It is only with reference to this centre, or origin, that deictic utterances can be understood. This centre is typically associated with the *I*, *here* and *now* of the speaker of the utterance. However, in narrative discourse, Ehlich (1985) speaks not only of the individual deictic centre of the reader, but also of the more general deictic centre of the imaginative space. This can lead to some confusion over what exactly is meant by the deictic centre in connection with narrative discourse, especially as Bühler (1934) appears to assume one deictic centre for each dimension in which deictic utterances are used, i.e. *demonstratio ad oculus*, *Deixis am Phantasma* (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 for an explanation of these types).⁴⁰ Segal (1995), whose theories are also based on Bühler, also discusses both the deictic centre of the 'story world' (analogous to Ehlich's imaginative space) and how the individual deictic centres of the narrator and addressee (audience/reader) can be shifted in narrative; this is the crux of the Deictic Shift Theory (see also Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.2). This will be explored more in the following section.

6.7.1. Application of Ehlich's theories of conceptual spaces to the data

In imaginative space, the deictic centre of the speaker can shift from situative space to that of the story world. By occupying the imaginative space, the speaker is able to build up the landscape of the story world and introduce characters. Figure 6.17 shows an example of a shift in the deictic centre from situative to imaginative space in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. The black dots represent the deictic centre with three branches for the primary markers of this centre (the *I*, *here* and *now*), and the two large circles represent situative and imaginative space. In situative space, the *I* refers to the speaker and his location and time in the real physical world. When the speaker's deictic centre is shifted to the imaginative space of 'The Tortoise and the Hare' story (represented by the dashed arrow), the *I* still refers to the speaker, but to the speaker as narrator of the story, the *here* becomes associated with the place

⁴⁰ Fricke (2003) also raises this point.

where the tortoise and hare undertake their race, and the *now* becomes the day the race takes place.

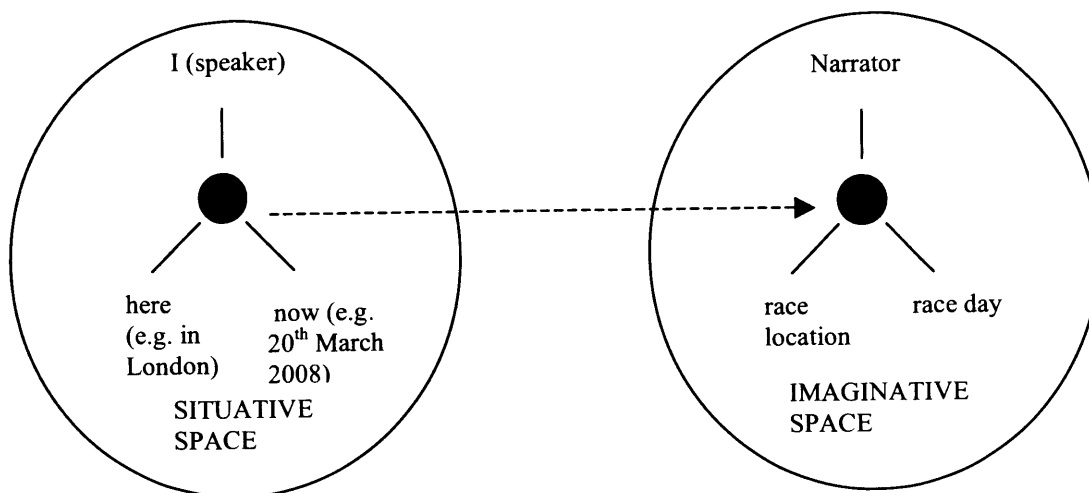


Figure 6.17: Example of shift in deictic centre from situative to imaginative space in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’

From this figure, it can be seen that the speaker projects himself into the imaginative space and adopts the *here* and *now* of the story world. Segal (1995) suggests that these (the *here* and *now*) are the most important markers of the deictic centre in the story world. Essentially, what Ehlich (1985) and Segal (1995) term the deictic centre of the imaginative space or the story world is the *here* and *now* of the story. When the speaker shifts his deictic centre to the imaginative space, he sets up these markers and adopts them as his own.⁴¹ In this sense, the deictic centre of the story world and the deictic centre of the speaker are essentially one and the same.

The crux of Ehlich’s (1979) theory is that the addressee is also required to occupy the same conceptual space in order to understand the information the speaker is conveying. This implies that the addressee must also shift his deictic centre to the imaginative space. In shifting his deictic centre to the imaginative space, the addressee becomes the narrator’s audience and shares the same *here* and *now* as the narrator; this is shown in Figure 6.18 example of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’ as in Figure 6.17 above.

⁴¹ Segal (1995) suggests the speaker ‘projects’ an image of himself to a location within the story world. This suggests that the speaker knows he remains within situative space but is able to project himself into an imaginative space. This idea is similar to Liddell’s notion of blending real and surrogate space. Ehlich does not discuss whether situative and imaginative space blend in this way.

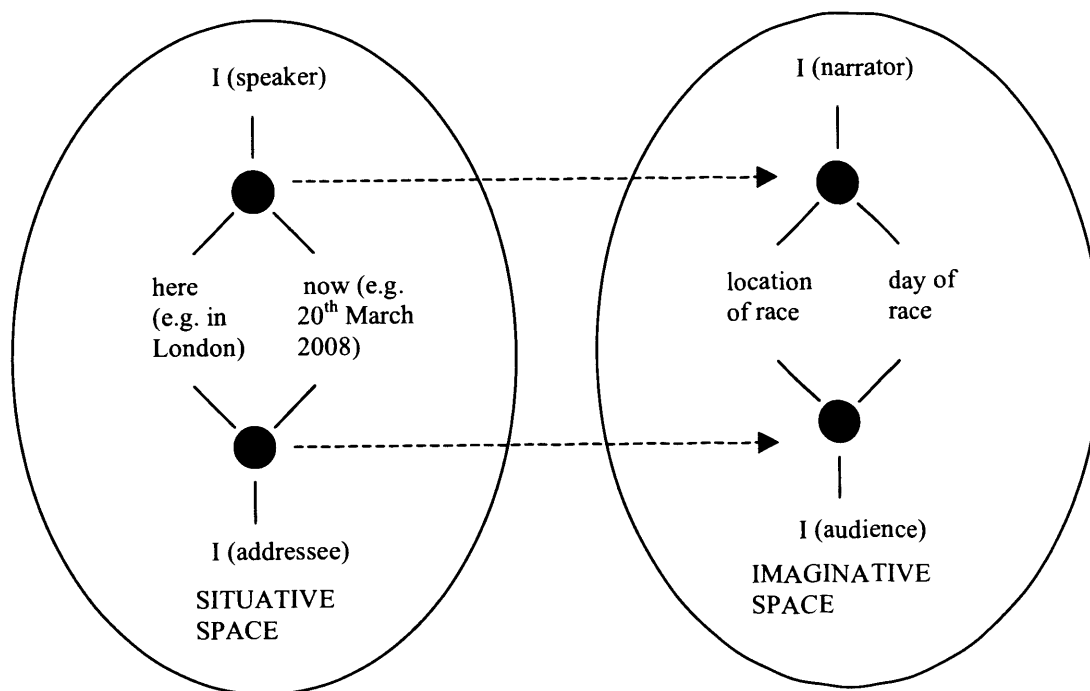


Figure 6.18: Example of shift in deictic centre of addressee to imaginative space in 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

This conception of the shift in the addressee's deictic centre is in line with Ehlich's ideas of the deictic procedure as a procedure of 'reconstruction'. In Ehlich's terms, the addressee is required to construct his own narrative of the story world based on the information provided by the narrator. Crucially, this narrative is constructed from the addressee's own point of view. In other words, he has reconstructed the story world for himself.

The deictic centre of the imaginative space and interlocutors does not remain fixed in any of the narratives looked at in this thesis, rather the time and location (*here* and *now*) of the imaginative space and the interlocutors can change throughout the story. For example, in 'The Dog and the Bone', the dog in the story world is at first located in front of a butcher's shop where he steals a bone, but later on he is located at the edge of a river where he sees his own reflection (see also Appendix 2 for summaries of these stories). Ehlich (1985) suggests that in literary narratives it is possible for the addressee to modify (or shift) his deictic centre whenever the author modifies information about the story world. This is shown schematically in

Figure 6.19. Although this idea applies primarily to literary narratives, the same can easily be applied to the spoken English narratives examined in this thesis.

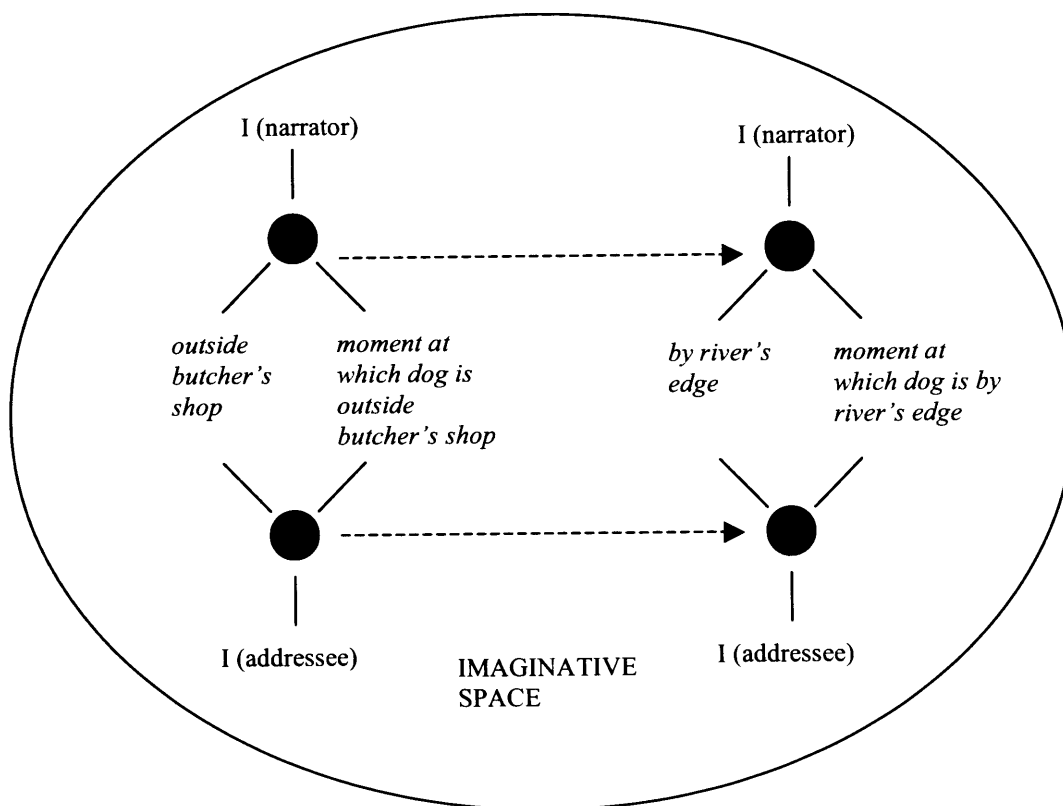


Figure 6.19: Shifts in the deictic centre within the imaginative space

In this example only the *here* and *now* markers have shifted. However, the use of constructed dialogue in these data suggest that the storyteller is not just able to change the time and location of the story world, but he can also use deictic shifting as a device to tell a story from another point of view. In constructed dialogue, the deictic centre of the speaker of the utterance becomes that of the character uttering the words. Using the example of 'The Dog and the Bone' again, E2 uses constructed dialogue at the end of the story when the dog realises how foolish he has been not to realise that he was looking at his own reflection in the river, and not that of a rival dog with a bigger bone (see Example 6d below).

And would you believe it, the dog in the reflection had a much bigger piece of meat in its mouth than the bit that he had and being just the kind of dog that he was, he made a snatch for the bigger piece of meat and of course immediately he did so the piece of meat that he had in his mouth dropped down into the river and was quickly taken away with the tide. Suddenly this dog thought to himself "I've been very foolish, I've had far too strong an opinion of myself. Not only have I lost a lovely meal but in actual fact I've

proven to myself that greed, selfishness, pigheadedness never does anybody any good."

Example 6d: Example of dialogue containing a shift in the deictic centre

In this example, the deictic centre of the speaker is shifted in the section beginning *I've been very foolish...* as shown in Figure 6.20 below. The *here* and *now* remain the same throughout, but the *I* is shifted. All utterances are then understood by the addressee – provided the addressee shares the imaginative space - as the dog's utterances rather than the narrator's.

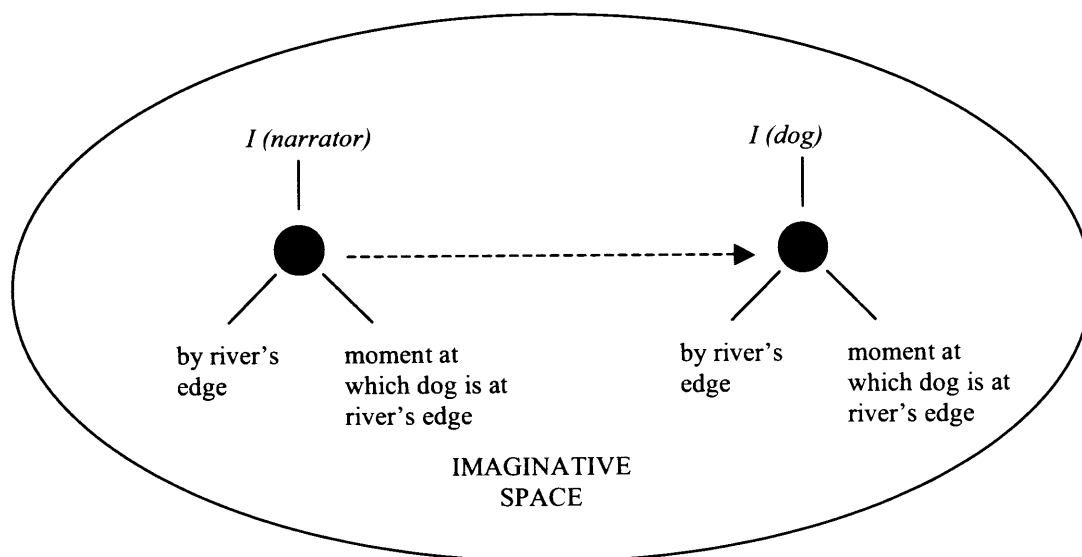
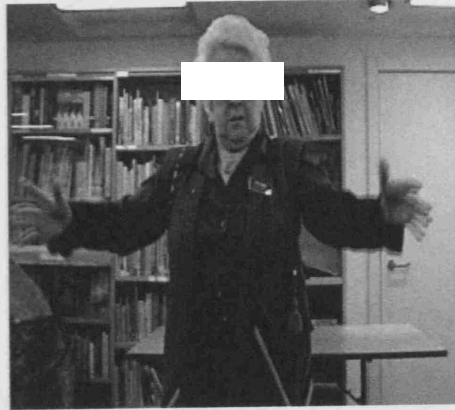


Figure 6.20: Shift in the deictic centre of the narrator in 'The Dog and the Bone'

It is particularly interesting to discuss the notion of shifts in the deictic centre with regard to the use of constructed action in the spoken English data. In these data, iconic gestures depicting some aspect of a character are used primarily in narrator/character roles, sometimes combined with other expressive features such as affective facial expressions. An example of this is where E1 uses outstretched arms and a fierce facial expression in 'The Two Friends and the Bear' to portray the bear approaching the two friends as shown in Figure 6.21.



And in front of them was a grizzly bear

Figure 6.21: Use of constructed action in E1's narrative of 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

If the use of iconic gestures and facial expression is disregarded, the deictic centre of the storyteller in this example remains that of the narrator, as shown in Figure 6.22 below.

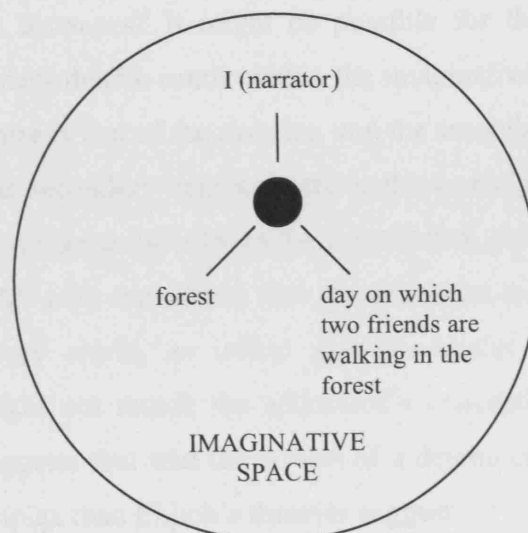


Figure 6.22: Deictic centre of storyteller in Figure 6.21

However, if the iconic gestures are looked at in isolation (without the co-occurring speech), it could be argued that the deictic centre is that of the character being portrayed, as shown in Figure 6.23. In both these examples, the *here* and *now* markers remain the same, but the *I* marker changes.

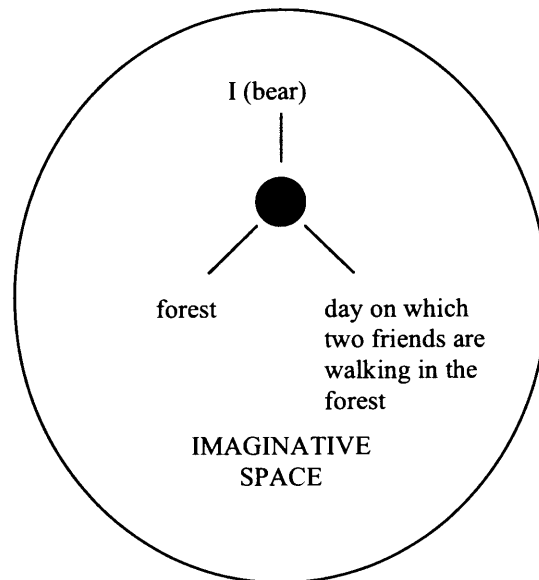


Figure 6.23: Deictic centre when iconic gestures are used

The fact that these iconic gestures are co-speech gestures raises an interesting question for narrator/character roles: what happens to the deictic centre of the storyteller in such instances? It might be possible for the storyteller to have a primary and secondary deictic centre within the imaginative space. In this case, the primary deictic centre is that of the narrator, and the secondary that of the character. The character is the secondary deictic centre as the iconic gestures being used here could not be easily understood without the information given by the narrator. This is somewhat at odds with the notion that the addressee must reconstruct his own version of the story world, as iconic gestures impart information about the characters that might not match the addressee's conception of such characters. Furthermore, it suggests that the notion of a deictic centre in the imaginative centre is more complex than Ehlich's theories suggest.

The idea of a primary and secondary deictic centre is borrowed from Fricke (2002, 2007). Fricke suggests that the deictic centre is a more complex notion than the usual speaker-related deictic centre many theories of deixis discuss. While not discussing narrative discourse explicitly, she suggests that the use of gesture in local deictic situations, such as giving directions, can often imply that more than one deictic centre is active. Furthermore, a deictic centre can be allocated to imagined or directly perceptible entities other than the speaker, such as other people, objects and creatures. This is the only discussion of deixis to consider the use of co-speech gesture in depth, aside from parallels drawn by, e.g. Bühler (1934)

with the ‘pointing’ nature of deictic utterances and how these can be accompanied with (or even replaced by) deictic gestures.

In these data, both spoken English storytellers use deictic gestures to point to characters within the space surrounding them. Deictic gestures used to refer to objects or referents not physically present are termed ‘abstract deixis’ by Cassell and McNeill (1991), and their usage suggests that storyteller and addressee must share some form of imaginative space in order to understand them fully. In Ehlich’s terms, these would be considered deictic procedures as they focus the addressee’s attention on something within a space shared by speaker and addressee. However, the use of gesture in this way means that the addressee has to incorporate the deictic gestures into his own version of the story world. It could be argued that with the use of deictic and other co-speech gestures, the storyteller becomes more involved in the addressee’s construction of the story world than would be the case in literary narratives.

The use of constructed action and deictic gestures and the impact these can have on the construction of the imaginative space is particularly relevant to the discussion of signed languages. In signed language narrative, the deictic centre of the story world can shift just as it does in spoken language narratives. Figures 6.17 and 6.18 apply to the BSL narratives examined in this thesis in the same way as the spoken English narratives,⁴² and the same dilemma concerning the deictic centre is posed by the use of character depiction in narrator/character roles. The BSL storytellers use a number of devices to indicate point of view as discussed in sections 6.2-6.4, one of which is the setting up of different locations associated with different characters, particularly in ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’. These locations can be used to refer to different characters using an indexical sign (functioning as a determiner in combination with a noun, or as a pronoun) similar to the deictic gestures used in spoken languages. In signed language narrative, placement and direction of signs is important for understanding the narrative discourse, and the addressee must constantly be aware of where signs and eye gaze are being directed. An example of this is shown in Figure 6.24 below. In B1’s narrative of ‘The Tortoise and the

⁴² The only change required would be substituting the *I* (*speaker*) for *I* (*signer*).

Hare’, she sets up locations for the tortoise and the hare at the beginning of the discourse and then uses these throughout the discourse to make reference to these characters or indicate that they are being addressed. To recap, the location for the hare is to the signer’s left and upwards, and the location for the tortoise is to the signer’s right and downwards. Figure 6.24 is a bird’s eye view of the imaginative space in this narrative. The signer is denoted by the white circle and the two areas of the signing space representing the hare and tortoise are denoted by the striped circles.

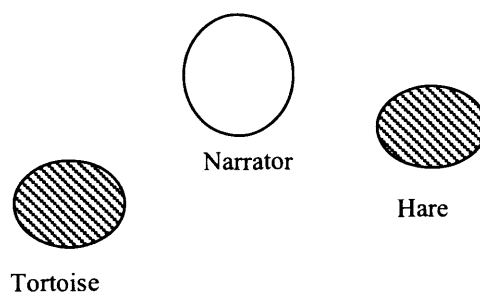


Figure 6.24: Example of the imaginative space in B1’s narrative of ‘The Tortoise and the Hare’

In order for the addressee to understand which character is being referred to by the storyteller, or which character is being addressed in a surrogate blend (e.g. hare talking to the tortoise), he must keep the locations associated with these characters in mind. In this sense, it could be argued that the construction of the imaginative space in signed language narrative becomes much more of a mutual process of cooperation between storyteller and addressee than in spoken language narrative. This applies even when the storytellers do not use specific locations associated with different characters. Although the spoken English storytellers use facial expressions and iconic gestures (i.e. constructed action) that give the addressee some indication of a character’s thoughts, feelings or actions, constructed action is used more, and more consistently, in the BSL narratives. This suggests that the spoken English storytellers sometimes become more involved in the addressee’s construction of the imaginative space, but not as systematically as the BSL storytellers.

In order to understand the use of deictic and iconic gestures in the spoken English narratives, and locations associated with characters and constructed action in the BSL narratives, it is obvious that both storyteller and addressee must still share the

same space. The question is whether this is the imaginative space or situative space, or elements of the imaginative space blended onto situative space. For example, the act of pointing itself is a physical act; the speaker's arm moves outward from the speaker or signer's body. This is clearly a part of situative space. However, in both modalities it can focus the addressee's attention on an element not present in the situative space. Ehlich does not mention whether imaginative space can be blended with situative space, thus a new conception of Ehlich's imaginative space which takes into account the use of such co-speech gestures (iconic and deictic) is perhaps needed. It appears that this might require some form of blending of situative and imaginative space analogous to that suggested by Fauconnier (1997) and Liddell (2003a). Wrobel (2005), who examines Ehlich's theory in connection with German Sign Language (DGS), also suggests a similar idea, that elements of imaginative space may be used in situative space. However, she discusses this idea only briefly and does not apply Ehlich's theory to DGS in great detail, or in connection with narrative discourse.

6.7.2. Observations on the use of deictic and phoric procedures

It is also interesting to look more closely at the use of the deictic and phoric procedures, particularly in relation to the BSL data. Deictic and phoric procedures have been discussed in this chapter in general terms as part of their application within the imaginative space. These procedures enable the storyteller to focus or refocus an addressee's attention on some element within the shared conceptual space. In spoken languages, the deictic procedure can be accompanied by a deictic gesture similar to the indexic sign used by signed language users. As indexic signs can be used flexibly as, e.g. determiners or pronouns, it could be argued that in these BSL data, the storytellers have more ways of focusing and refocusing an addressee's attention on an element within the shared conceptual space.

In Ehlich's terms, the indexic signs used in these BSL data could constitute either deictic or phoric procedures. For example, an indexic sign used to refer to an addressee (e.g. hare addressing the tortoise) would constitute a deictic procedure, whereas an indexic sign used by the narrator to refer to the hare (a third person pronoun) would be a phoric procedure because the hare has already been introduced

into the discourse, and the signer is merely refocusing the addressee's attention on that entity by pointing at the location associated with that entity. This is an interesting point to make in regard to the first/non-first person distinction posited for signed language pronouns. In Ehlich's terms, a distinction should be made between first and second person pronouns versus third person pronouns as there is a functional difference between them. This is an interesting asymmetry with claims about person in the signed language literature, where a distinction is made between first and non-first person, not first and second versus third (e.g. Meier, 1990). This is because, other than first person, there is no fixed location towards which indexic signs functioning as pronouns are directed. Pronouns referring to non-addressed participants, for example, can be located anywhere within the signing space. If signed language pronouns are viewed in terms of Ehlich's theory, there might be an argument for a functional distinction between first and second versus third person pronouns (focusing versus refocusing attention). However, as the first versus non-first distinction in signed languages is made on the basis of form rather than function, this does not address other issues surrounding pronouns in signed languages, such as whether the pointing involved is gestural or linguistic (see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.2).

Indexic signs functioning as determiners could be either deictic or phoric procedures. Determiners are used with a noun, generally one before the noun and/or one following the noun. A determiner used before the noun focuses the addressee's attention on a new entity which is then introduced by the noun; this would constitute a deictic procedure. However, a determiner following the noun might be considered a phoric procedure as it refocuses the addressee's attention on the entity (and location of the entity) that has just been introduced. This distinction between pre- and postnominal indexic signs is consistent with the difference noted by MacLaughlin (1997). She suggests that the indexic sign preceding a noun is a determiner, but an indexic sign following a noun is a locative adverbial meaning here/there. This is because the postnominal indexic sign contains information about the referent's spatial location (Neidle et al., 2000).

These were not the only ways in which an addressee's attention were focused and refocused in the BSL data. Eye gaze was also important in some of these narratives, being used to accompany the directionality of the indexical signs, as part of a character's overall depiction, or directed towards locations associated with a character when engaged in direct discourse with that character. It could be suggested that the use of eye gaze in the BSL data also focuses or refocuses the addressee's attention on a particular entity. For example, B2 looks upward and to the left when portraying the tortoise talking to the hare. It could be said that this eye gaze focuses the addressee's attention on the tortoise by indicating that it is the tortoise who is speaking. As the location for the hare has already been established, it could be said that eye gaze in this instance also refocuses the addressee's attention on the hare. Eye gaze, however, is not used to 'refer' to the character, as it only ever represents the patient or addressee, not the subject or speaker. Therefore the use of eye gaze is not a deictic or phoric procedure, but it can be used to bring characters (back) to the addressee's attention.

Similarly, the spoken English users used vocal prosodic elements to focus an addressee's attention on some element within the story. By using, e.g. loudness to emphasise particular words such as tortoise and hare in a sentence such as "*this story is about a tortoise and a hare*", it is possible for the storyteller to focus an addressee's attention on elements which he or she considers important. Again, it could not be said that these are deictic or phoric procedures, but merely that there are other means of focusing and refocusing attention than deictic and phoric procedures.

6.8. Summary

The application of Ehlich's theories to the data has raised some important issues. Firstly, it shows the importance of co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic cues and how the use of deictic and iconic gestures in the spoken English narratives may influence the addressee's construction of the story world. Secondly, it shows that the concept of the imaginative space may need to be modified to take signed language narrative, as well as the use of co-speech gesture, into account. In literary narratives or spoken language narratives containing no co-speech gestures, the

addressee's or reader's construction of the story world is, as mentioned in section 6.8, based primarily on the addressee's own mental picture of the story world derived from the information given by the speaker. With the use of gesture, particularly deictic and iconic gestures, the storyteller becomes more involved in the addressee's construction of the story world. This is particularly important as far as the BSL narratives are concerned. With signed language narratives, it could be argued that the storyteller arguably plays an even greater and more involved role in the addressee's construction of the story world. The importance of considering co-speech gesture, as well as signed language in general, in theories of deixis, also provides some evidence towards Vermeerbergen and Demey's (2007) assertion that true cross-linguistic analysis of spoken and signed languages must involve the analysis of co-speech gestures in spoken languages. Thirdly, it shows that the notion of the deictic centre may be more complex than most theories of deixis suggest. Rather than the typical speaker-centric deictic centre, it may be possible to have primary and secondary deictic centres, with a different deictic centre for the verbal and gestural levels, as suggested by Fricke (2002, 2007).

Ehlich's idea of the imaginative space suggests that the storyteller uses, e.g. deictic and phoric procedures to guide the addressee in reconstructing the imaginative space in his own mind. However, with signed language narrative, and when co-speech gestures are used, the imaginative space and procedures used within this space become less of a process of reconstruction. Instead, the imaginative space is created using elements from situative space (e.g. the storyteller's hands/arms) which represent or point to elements within the story world. This suggests that elements from imaginative space can be blended with situative space, similar to Liddell's (2003a) theory of mental spaces.

6.9. Conclusions: Theories of conceptual spaces compared

Despite differing theoretical backgrounds, there are some interesting similarities in Ehlich and Fauconnier/Liddell's theories. For example, both Ehlich and Liddell's theories consider the role of the addressee in discourse and how the addressee constructs the story world. This is important because many theories of deixis and point of view do not consider the role of the addressee, focusing instead on the

speaker's deictic centre (Fricke, 2007). Ehlich treats the addressee as sharing the imaginative space in narrative discourse, while Liddell suggests an addressee creates mental conceptualisations of the discourse based on evidence provided by the signer of a particular blend, but is not himself part of this blend. The elements provided as part of the blend, e.g. directionality of a sign, or use of constructed action, can be used by the addressee to construct the blend that exists in the mind of the signer. In this way, Liddell's theories can be used to explain how addressees incorporate the use of co-speech gestures into their construction of the story world. It is interesting to note that incorporating the use of co-speech gestures, as well as signed language narratives, into Ehlich's concept of the imaginative space may force a re-interpretation of this space that is similar to Liddell's notion of blended spaces. Moreover, both theories highlight how an addressee's perception of the story world is different in spoken languages to signed languages, particularly where no co-speech gesture is used for spoken languages, in which case the addressee must create his own mental picture of the story world.

Furthermore, both Ehlich and Liddell consider speech situations located in discourse situations other than the current perceptible situation, i.e. narrative discourse, which is again something that many theories of deixis fail to do (e.g. Fillmore 1971, 1997). Both theories also discuss the idea of a deictic shift from the physical space to an imaginary one, and shifts within the imaginary space. However, their approaches are slightly different. Liddell (2003a) discusses the approach to deictic utterances taken by Jakobson (1971) who called them 'shifters', a term which characterises their 'shifting' nature from one referent to another depending on the context. Liddell argues that a shift in referent is not due to any particular shifting properties of the deictic utterances themselves, but is rather a conceptual shift within a blended space. Any deictic utterances used within a blended space are used in the normal way, but the meaning of these utterances is derived from the conceptual shift made evident by the use of a particular blended space. Ehlich's (1979, 1985) concept of a deictic shift, however, is closely tied to the notion of a deictic centre and deictic procedures that can be applied in different spaces. Deictic procedures used within the imaginative space guide the addressee's

attention to deictic objects within that space rather than the use of a particular blend making a shift evident to the addressee.

This difference can also be attributed in part to the differing theoretical assumptions of Ehlich and Liddell about language. Ehlich's theories are rooted in a functional pragmatic approach to discourse, which takes mental actions involved in discourse as well as interactions between interlocutors into account (e.g. Ehlich & Wagner, 1995). Functional pragmatics is a theory of pragmatics that combines elements of speech act theory with aspects of a cognitive approach to language. It suggests that linguistic structures should be analysed in terms of their usage in interactions rather than as an independent system of rules. Liddell's theories, on the other hand, are based on mental space theory and cognitive grammar, following Fauconnier (1985, 1997) and Langacker (1987), and attempt to explain how meaning is constructed. Mental space theory provides an explanation for the conceptual underpinnings of language. It is thus not surprising that Liddell's (2003a) theories of mental spaces focus more on differing types of space, and how they can be blended, whereas Ehlich focuses more on the function of language structures in communicative interactions.

In conclusion, the application of Ehlich and Liddell's theories show that it is possible to apply theories of conceptual spaces to both spoken and signed narrative discourse, and both provide interesting ideas as to how speakers and signers and addressees can construct and understand narrative discourse. Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces in particular can be easily applied to both modalities, and Liddell's (2003a) account of various different types of mental spaces (real, surrogate, token, etc.) is a particularly interesting way in which to compare spoken and signed narrative discourse, particularly where the spoken narratives contain co-speech gestures, both verbal and corporal. Furthermore, Liddell's theory also provides an explanation for the different patterns seen between the spoken English and the BSL data in Chapters 4 and 5. The consistency in point of view in the spoken English narratives can be explained by the use of more real and partial mappings of surrogate blends, whereas the flexibility and variety shown in the BSL narratives is

explained by the use of a greater variety of different blends, including token, surrogate and depicting blends.

6.10. Summary

This chapter has shown that theories of conceptual spaces can provide an explanation for the processes underlying the construction of the story world in both spoken and signed narratives. The following chapter discusses some observations concerning the methodology and analysis of the data, before drawing overall conclusions and discussing directions for future research.

CHAPTER 7 - OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this chapter, some considerations concerning the methodology and results will be discussed first of all. Overall conclusions will then be drawn and directions for future research discussed.

7.1. Considerations concerning methodology and results

7.1.1. Preparation of narrative versus translation of story summary

For the ECHO corpus, short written summaries of each story were given in advance to the BSL participants to allow them to prepare for their narratives and this methodology was replicated for the spoken English participants in this study. It should be noted that using a written summary meant that the native BSL signers had to undertake some degree of translation from written English to BSL, whereas the spoken English users did not. However, all of the storytellers had to remember the content of the story and then tell it from memory, rather than the spoken English storytellers simply reading aloud from a given script. Other methodologies could have been used, such as showing these fables to participants in video form or visually, e.g. in cartoon form, which would have eliminated the need for translation. It would also have been possible to ask participants for fables or stories they remembered from their childhood and find some that were in common with all the participants. This would eliminate the need for any kind of stimulus in the form of written summaries or cartoons.

In summary, observing the videos on the ECHO corpus suggested that the use of written English summaries for the BSL participants had not affected the overall results obtained because, as the narratives themselves show, both participants very clearly understood the written summaries. Moreover, the methodology used in this thesis is a good methodology for cross-linguistic research as it allows both signers and spoken language users to prepare their own narratives of a story.

7.1.2. Choice of stories to analyse

For the ECHO corpus, five stories were recorded in BSL, with each story being interpreted by two separate storytellers (i.e. ten potential datasets). Each of these stories has a different structure varying from a complex structure involving a number of characters (e.g. ‘The Tortoise and The Hare’) to a simpler story with only one main character (e.g. ‘The Dog and The Bone’). In the current study, all five of these stories were also interpreted by two spoken English storytellers. The quantity of data produced by this methodology was extremely large and in order to decide how many stories should be analysed in this way statistical advice had to be sought.⁴³ As far as quantitative data was concerned, it became apparent that it was very difficult to accurately power a study such as this as no previous studies were available for comparison. However, it was clear that even the analysis of all five stories, although providing a large amount of overall data, would not provide enough data points for each numeric component (e.g. number of instances of roles etc.) to enable detailed and reliable statistical analysis to be undertaken. After these discussions, the initial approach was to look at one story with multiple characters (‘The Tortoise and The Hare’) in great detail using a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, and to use these data to determine the obvious elements used to mark of point of view across the two languages and also establish how much consistency there was between the participants in each language. The results obtained from this showed that the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis yielded a number of interesting results. However, further stories would need to be analysed in order to see if these findings were consistent across participants even when telling different stories. To this end, it was decided to analyse two other contrasting stories: one with only one main character (‘The Dog and The Bone’) and one with three main characters (‘The Two Friends and the Bear’) in order to see if the initial detailed analysis varied with story type and number of characters, and also to provide more information regarding trends between participants.

Approaching the data in this way allowed comparisons to be drawn not only across languages, but also across participants and different stories. The comparative

⁴³ Thanks to Gordon Craig at UCL for his advice.

analysis showed that there are greater differences between participants and stories in the BSL data than in the spoken English data. In summary, approaching the data in this way with a mixture of qualitative and quantitative analysis has provided interesting results and could be used to examine further stories told by more participants (see also section 7.3). This would then enable quantitative comparison using statistical analyses.

7.1.3. Considerations with coding of data

Chapter 3 outlines a number of considerations with the coding of data in ELAN. Firstly, the way role was coded in the original BSL data from the ECHO dataset (Woll et al., 2004) was inconsistent. In some of the stories, one role token was coded according to each English utterance on the translation tier, whereas in other stories, roles were coded based on the actual changes in point of view, such as the use of first person pronouns or constructed action, and not on the English translation (see Chapter 3, section 3.5.1). In order to overcome this limitation, the role coding was checked and recoded for the purposes of the current study according to the signed utterances, and not the translation tier (see Chapter 3, section 3.5.1). The other problematic area with regard to coding of the data was eye gaze. Although the original BSL data were already coded for eye gaze, observing the videos showed that at times these annotations may have been inaccurate. There were many instances when eye gaze was not easy to ascertain either because of the position of the head or because the eyelids were partially closed. This problem was even greater in the spoken English data where there was no dedicated video close up of the head, although it was possible to overcome this to some extent by using the accessibility options in Mac OS X (see also Chapter 3). As noted in Chapter 3, these difficulties were partially overcome by coding eye gaze only at the start and end of each role in order to see whether eye gaze changed across roles, and eye gaze in this way was examined in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' in Chapter 4. However, there is one primary limitation with this way of analysing eye gaze, namely that it does not allow for the possibility of eye gaze changes occurring within roles and thus an overview of the use of eye gaze cannot be given. These limitations were outlined briefly in Chapter 4 and eye gaze was discussed both qualitatively and quantitatively. For the remaining two stories, it was decided that

the best course of action was to analyse eye gaze purely descriptively (see Chapter 5, section 5.4) as it was considered that this would give a better overview of the use of eye gaze across all the stories. Analysing eye gaze in this way provided interesting results on how eye gaze is used in these stories, particularly by the BSL storytellers. This problem with eye gaze could be further explored in future studies by using some of the techniques now available to automatically track eye movements. Although this would not solve where to look for eye gaze changes in relation to analysing point of view, it would help with the difficulty in seeing eye gaze directions on video data. The use of eye-tracking software could provide interesting and robust information about the full importance of eye gaze in marking point of view (see also section 7.3).

7.1.4. Choice of qualitative versus quantitative methods

Previous research on signed and spoken narrative discourse has relied more on qualitative rather than quantitative methods. An example particularly relevant to this thesis is that of Rayman (1999), who provided much useful data on the description of narrative discourse in ASL and spoken English in the fable 'The Tortoise and the Hare', but who did not use numeric data. In this thesis, the data have been described quantitatively where possible. Certain linguistic elements, such as pronouns, lend themselves to numerical analysis; this widens the analytical possibilities and allows some of the techniques and graphical displays that are commonly employed in the natural and biological sciences to be used. In order to facilitate this type of analysis a new method of graphically representing individual roles in a story was devised; these were termed 'role flow charts'. These charts, seen in Chapter 4 and Appendix 3 provide the flexibility for visually representing the discourse structure of a story in terms of different points of view (narrator, character, etc.). In addition, the flow charts can be used to show the occurrence of a particular element within a role, e.g. gesture or pronouns. This technique may be of value in analysing discourse in other future studies.

Although this type of quantitative analysis allows parameters from individual stories to be compared across languages and participants, caution is necessary for analysis across stories and storytellers. The possibility of undertaking this type of

analysis was considered. For example, the frequency of the different role types across the stories would theoretically have been informative if trends across stories had been similar. However, Chapters 4 and 5 show that the trends across stories and participants are not always similar for all data fields. Thus collating data across three stories would have produced misleading results. For example, averaging the times that B1 spends in each type of role would suggest that she spent most time in narrator roles. In reality, this was only the case in 'The Dog and the Bone' while in 'The Tortoise and the Hare' and 'The Two Friends and the Bear', B1 spends a higher proportion of time in character and narrator/character roles respectively. Furthermore, as the main focus of this thesis is to compare narrative discourse in BSL and spoken English, it is necessary to assess the consistency of trends in storytelling across participants and stories at the same time. This is in order to see whether the trends (e.g. percentage of time spent in a particular role type, systematic use of eye gaze directed towards locations associated with characters etc.) are consistent within each modality across different participants and stories. If there were consistent use of particular devices in either modality across different stories and participants, this would suggest that there may be a conventionalised modality-specific (and perhaps non-negotiable) way of structuring a narrative in either language.⁴⁴ Variability in these trends in either language might indicate that other factors can influence the way in which a story is told - e.g. the number of characters or the events in a story - and may indicate that there is some degree of flexibility in the way stories can be structured.

7.1.5. Comparison of 'experienced' storytellers versus 'typical' language users

As this research uses the ECHO corpus, where storytellers were chosen because of their known storytelling abilities, an observational pilot study was undertaken with English speakers to see if there were obvious differences associated with varying levels of experience in storytelling. The English storytellers with less storytelling experience told stories in a different way to those with more experience. Their

⁴⁴ The systematic use of constructed action in signed language narratives could be an example of this. Although signers have other resources at their disposal, e.g. classifier constructions to depict an event within the story world, Quinto-Pozos (2007a, 2007b) suggests constructed action is often preferred, if not obligatory in some contexts.

stories were always a great deal shorter and told as if they were simply reading from a text, even though they were not. They were generally delivered with little feeling or emotion which was manifested by the use of much less co-speech gesture and fewer prosodic elements.⁴⁵ These observations suggested that in spoken English, the way in which a story is told is particularly dependent on storytelling experience and thus if a valid comparison is to be made with BSL then experienced English storytellers should be employed. However, it should be realised that the results found in Chapters 4 and 5 for spoken English do not necessarily reflect how ‘typical’ users of spoken English would tell the story.

As the BSL data was taken from the ECHO corpus, no pilot studies were undertaken for these data and thus it is not possible to say whether the level of storytelling experience also has an effect in BSL, but this would be an interesting topic for future research. In addition, it should also be noted that it is difficult to say what is ‘typical’ for BSL users as only a small proportion of deaf people grow up in deaf families using BSL as their native language. The majority of deaf children are born to hearing families and may or may not BSL as their native language, or learn it later in life. Whether background has an impact on storytelling skills is unclear but worthy of further investigation (see also section 7.3)

7.1.6. Considerations regarding videoing participants

The methodology employed in the ECHO corpus was to video the BSL participants telling their stories to camera rather than a physical addressee/audience. For consistency, the same methodology was used to record the spoken English participants. This proved to be extremely important. Many researchers in spoken language narratives might choose to record only the audio data for spoken languages, but results from studies on gesture, such as Cassell and McNeill (1991), Gullberg (2006), Loehr (2004) and Melinger and Levelt (2004), have shown that it is extremely important to record the visual data as well as the audio data. This is

⁴⁵ Marentette and Nicoladis (2008) found a similar difference between spoken language users and signers in storytelling tasks. In addition, Rayman (1999) noted that only one storyteller used facial expressions to the same extent as the signers in her study; this storyteller was an actress and arguably more experienced in performing than the other participants (see also Chapter 2, section 2.6).

because co-speech gestures can play such an important role in how the addressee understands the narrative discourse.⁴⁶

The camera is, however, a passive audience. Storytelling is not usually undertaken in such a way as it is an inherently two-way process between the storyteller and his audience (e.g. Herman et al, 2005). This interaction can influence the storytelling process; the audience's reaction to something can shape the way in which a story is told. This is an important point to make in connection with the theories of conceptual spaces discussed in Chapter 6, (sections 6.5-6.10), particularly Ehlich's theories of there being a mutual exchange of knowledge between speaker and addressee. If the storyteller judges that the audience does not fully understand the story world, it is possible that he or she could reiterate deictic procedures, or in Liddell's case use different blends to reinforce a particular aspect of the story world.

It is also important to note here that the BSL storytellers had more experience in telling stories to camera than the spoken English participants. However, despite their lack of experience, neither spoken English storyteller seemed to have difficulty in telling stories to the camera. As mentioned in Chapter 6, section 6.2.3.1, it is possible that the spoken English storytellers' lack of experience in telling stories to camera influenced some aspects of their narratives, such as the use of eye gaze. This might account for the considerable differences in the use of eye gaze in the spoken English narratives versus the BSL narratives. However, even if the spoken English storytellers told their stories to a real audience, it is still doubtful whether they would use eye gaze in the same systematic way as the BSL storytellers because they have other ways of showing which characters are being talked about or referred to, such as nouns and pronouns. On the other hand, it is

⁴⁶ The fact that spoken language participants are aware of whether they are being videoed or whether only the audio data is being recorded may also have an impact on the way stories are told. It is possible that participants may choose to use more vocal prosodic elements if they know only the audio data is being recorded (much like stories told on the radio), and more co-speech gesture if they know that stories are being videoed. However, pilot tests suggested that experience in storytelling had more impact on the way a story is told (use of more co-speech gesture etc. in experienced storytellers compared to those with little or no experience) than knowledge of how the story is being recorded.

possible that there would be much more eye contact with the addressee(s) than was the case in these data.

7.2. Overall conclusions

A number of overall conclusions can be drawn from this study. Firstly, the data from BSL and spoken English storytellers in this study suggest that the BSL storytellers are more variable than the spoken English storytellers in the way in which they mark point of view. As predicted in the hypotheses (see Chapter 1, section 1.2), the spoken English storytellers consistently tell stories primarily from the narrator's point of view across all their narratives of the three stories. The BSL storytellers, on the other hand, prefer telling stories from the character's point of view. In addition, these data indicate that BSL storytellers have more devices for marking point of view than the spoken English storytellers, e.g. eye gaze (see also Chapter 6, sections 6.2-6.4) and that these devices can be employed in a flexible manner. The spoken English storytellers, on the other hand, consistently use nouns and pronouns as their primary means of marking point of view, indicating that the ways in which spoken English storytellers can mark point of view may be less flexible than in BSL. This provides support to Rayman's (1999) claim that signers make use of a wide range of resources when constructing narrative discourse.

Secondly, although it was hypothesised that the spoken English participants would use few gestures and facial expressions to depict characters, this proved not to be the case in these data. Both spoken English storytellers used vocal prosodic elements and co-speech gestures in a creative way to make the narrative discourse richer. Both of these have similarities to devices used in the BSL narratives. According to Okrent's (2002) modality-free notion of gesture, some instances of the vocal prosodic elements used in these data could be considered vocal gestures, e.g. the metaphoric use of a higher pitch than normal when describing a positive concept (see also Chapter 6, section 6.2.3.3). This is parallel to the use of metaphor in signed languages, where many signs denoting positive concepts have upwards movements (Taub, 2001) and consistent with Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who point out the association between high or up and positive concepts, as well as low or down and negative concepts. Co-speech gestures, particularly the use of iconic

and deictic gestures, bear remarkable similarities to the use of constructed action in the BSL data (see also section 6.2.3.3). This suggests, as Liddell and Metzger (1998) and Vermeerbergen and Demey (2007) argue, that it is extremely important to include co-speech gesture in cross-linguistic analyses of spoken and signed language.

The analysis of co-speech gesture is not just important for cross-linguistic analysis. As pointed out in section 7.1.6, many researchers might choose to record only the audio data for spoken language narrative, and not the visual data. The recording of visual data for this thesis has shown just how important co-speech gestures are in narrative discourse (e.g. Cassell & McNeill, 1991; McNeill, 1992). Moreover, they can influence an addressee's conception of the story world, providing extra information on the location or placement of characters within the story world (see also sections 6.5-6.10).

This study also shows that theories of conceptual spaces can provide insights into how a narrative can be constructed and understood. Liddell's theories show that the spoken English storytellers use more real-space blends, whereas the BSL narratives contain more surrogate blends. Ehlich's theories have similarities to Liddell's, but do not take into account the use of co-speech gesture. However, they do highlight that there are differences in the way a narrative is perceived by a spoken language addressee when no visual information is available to when co-speech gestures are used. Liddell's theories can be applied easily to both spoken and signed language narratives, and take into account the use of co-speech gestures. As hypothesised, this indicates that it is possible to apply one theory of conceptual spaces to both spoken and signed languages. Moreover, this theory provides some insights into the different types of spaces and blends used in spoken and signed language narratives.

As there has been little previous detailed cross-linguistic analysis of narrative discourse in spoken and signed language, apart from Rayman (1999), the findings in this thesis are intended to be a basis on which further cross-modal research in narrative discourse can be undertaken. In addition, most research into the use of constructed action and referential shift in signed languages has been in signed

languages other than BSL. This thesis provides some insights specifically into BSL narrative discourse and shows how findings for the use of constructed action and constructed dialogue in BSL are similar to findings for other signed languages (e.g. Engberg-Pedersen, 1993; Rayman, 1999).

Furthermore, despite some considerations regarding the methodology and coding as outlined in section 7.1, this thesis shows how much interesting data can be obtained from a relatively small dataset using this methodology and mixture of qualitative and quantitative analysis. This suggests that there is a great deal of potential for future work based on this thesis. Suggestions for future research will be discussed in the following section (section 7.3).

Finally, this study provides evidence that human communication (both signed and spoken) should be seen as a multi-channel activity (Liddell & Metzger, 1998; Vermeerbergen & Demey, 2007), i.e. multimodal. Both signers and speakers can draw on a number of resources in the production of narrative discourse, including co-speech gestures for spoken languages and constructed action for signed languages. The study of language should take into account the use of all the different channels or resources available in both modalities.

7.3. Directions for future research

The first step for any future research would be to analyse more stories told by a greater number of storytellers in both BSL and spoken English. This would show whether the trends observed in this dataset are consistent across different storytellers and different stories. It would also be interesting to see whether different methodologies lead to different results, e.g. whether the use of cartoons rather than written summaries to elicit narratives has an effect on the way in which point of view is marked. The stories recorded in this thesis were all told to camera. However, different audiences can have an effect on the way in which a story is told, and storytellers may use different registers for different audiences (e.g. children versus adults, or formal versus informal situations). Comparing any differences in use of, e.g. constructed action in stories told to different audiences would be extremely worthwhile, particularly in signed languages, where there have been few

studies addressing the effect of register on language production. Moreover, those studies which have examined register (e.g. Quinto-Pozos, Mehta and Reynolds, 2006; Zimmer, 1989) have found interesting differences in the use of constructed action in different situations, further suggesting that this is a highly interesting area for future research.

As this thesis has examined narratives told by ‘experienced’ storytellers (see also section 7.1.5), it would also be informative to analyse narratives told by ‘typical’ storytellers in both languages. For this thesis, pilot studies were undertaken with spoken English users which showed marked differences in the use of co-speech gestures and vocal prosodic elements compared to the ‘experienced’ storytellers. It is not clear whether the same differences might be found between ‘experienced’ and ‘typical’ users of BSL as no pilot studies were undertaken for the BSL data examined in this thesis. In addition, given that signers’ backgrounds can vary (see section 7.1.5), it would also be interesting to compare stories told by native signers (from both deaf and hearing families) and non-native signers.

The various elements analysed as part of point of view, e.g. eye gaze and vocal prosodic elements, could also be analysed in greater detail. Each of these elements has the potential to be a study in its own right. Eye gaze in particular can be analysed using dedicated eye-tracking software, and this has been done for signed languages in relation to questions surrounding verb agreement (e.g. Thompson et al., 2006). The use of eye-tracking software could be useful for the analysis of referent tracking in signed language narrative discourse and overcome the difficulties posed by analysing eye gaze using video as outlined in Chapter 3. Similarly, vocal prosodic elements can be analysed instrumentally, e.g. using software to extract fundamental frequencies and pitch contour. This would be a useful way of measuring what is ‘normal’ for a particular speaker and how they use vocal prosodic elements creatively.

Finally, the study of point of view in narrative discourse as undertaken in this thesis could be extended to further signed and spoken languages. This would show how

similar or different the trends observed in BSL and spoken English are to other signed and spoken languages.

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APPENDIX 1 – ORIGINAL VERSION OF FABLES

All the fables in this Appendix are taken from Aesop (1996).

The Tortoise and the Hare

A hare once ridiculed the short feet and slow pace of the tortoise. But the tortoise laughed and replied “Though you may be as swift as the wind, I’ll beat you in a race”. “All right”, said the hare, “you’ll soon live to regret those words”. So they agreed that the fox would choose the course and fix the goal. On the day appointed for the race, the tortoise started crawling at his usual steady pace without stopping a solitary moment. Of course, the hare soon left the tortoise far behind. Once he reached the midway mark, he began to nibble some juicy grass and amuse himself in different ways. Since the day was warm, he thought he would take a little nap in a shady spot. Even if the tortoise might pass him while he slept, he was confident that he could easily overtake him again before he reached the goal. Meanwhile, the unwavering tortoise plodded on straight toward the goal. When the hare finally awoke, he was surprised to find that the tortoise was nowhere to be seen, and headed for the finish line as fast as he could. However, he dashed across the line only to see that the tortoise had crossed it before him and was comfortably resting and waiting for his arrival.

Slow and steady wins the race.

The Dog and the Bone

A dog had stolen a piece of meat out of a butcher shop and was crossing a river on his way home when he saw his own shadow reflected in the water below. Thinking it was another dog with another piece of meat, he became intent on capturing the other piece as well. Once he snapped at the treasure below, however, he dropped the prize he was carrying and thus lost everything he had.

Grasp at the shadow and you will lose the substance.

The Travellers and the Bear

Two Friends were travelling on the same road together when they encountered a bear. Without thinking about his companion, one of the travellers, a nimble fellow, climbed up a tree in great fear and hid himself. The other realised that he had no chance to fight the bear single-handedly, so he threw himself on the ground and pretended to be dead, for he had heard that bears will never touch a dead body. As he lay there, the bear came up to his head, and sniffed his nose, ears, and heart, but the man remained still and held his breath. Finally, the bear was convinced that he was dead and walked away. When the bear was out of sight, the man in the tree came down and asked what it was the bear had whispered to him, for he had observed that the bear had put his mouth close to his friend's ear. "It was no great secret", the other replied. "He merely told me to watch out for the company I keep and not to trust people who abandon their friends in difficult times".

Adversity tests the sincerity of friends.

APPENDIX 2 – SHORTENED SUMMARY OF FABLES

The Boy Who Cried 'Wolf'

There was a boy tending the sheep who would continually go up to the embankment and shout, "Help, there's a wolf!" The farmers would all come running only to find out that what the boy said was not true. Then one day there really was a wolf, but when the boy shouted they didn't believe him and no one came to his aid. The whole flock was eaten by the wolf.

The story shows that this is how liars are rewarded: even if they tell the truth, no one believes them.

The Dog and the Bone

A dog seized some meat from the butcher shop and ran away with it until he came to a river. When the dog was crossing the river, he saw the reflection of the meat in the water, and it seemed much larger than the meat he was carrying. He dropped his own piece of meat in order to try to snatch at the reflection. When the reflection disappeared, the dog went to grab the meat he had dropped but he was not able to find it anywhere, since a passing raven had immediately snatched the meat and gobbled it up. The dog lamented his sorry condition and said, "Woe is me! I foolishly abandoned what I had in order to grab hold of a phantom, and thus I ended up losing both the phantom and what I had to begin with."

This fable is about greedy people who grasp at more than they need.

The Lion and the Mouse

Some field-mice were playing in the woods where a lion was sleeping, when one of the mice accidentally ran over the lion. The lion woke up and immediately grabbed the wretched little mouse with his paw. The mouse begged for mercy, since he had not meant to do the lion any harm. The lion decided that to kill such a tiny creature would be a cause for reproach rather than glory, so he forgave the mouse and let him go. A few days later the lion fell into a pit and was trapped. He started to roar

and when the mouse heard him, he came running. Recognising the lion in the trap, the mouse said to him, "I have not forgotten the kindness that you showed me!" The mouse then began to gnaw at the cords binding the lion, cutting through the strands and undoing the clever ingenuity of the hunter's art. The mouse was thus able to restore the lion to the woods, setting him free from his captivity.

Let no one dare to harm even the smallest among us.

The Tortoise and the Hare

The hare laughed at the tortoise's feet but the tortoise declared, "I will beat you in a race!" The hare replied, "Those are just words. Race with me, and you will see! Who will mark out the track and serve as our umpire?" "The fox," replied the tortoise, "since she is honest and highly intelligent." When the time for the race had been decided upon, the tortoise did not delay, but immediately took off down the race-course. The hare, however, lay down to take a nap, confident in the speed of his feet. Then, when the hare eventually made his way to the finish line, he found that the tortoise had already won.

Slow and steady wins the race.

The Two Friends and the Bear

A man was travelling together with his friend along a narrow road through unknown mountains and winding valleys. He felt safe because he and his friend could combine forces to fight whatever danger Fortune might put in their way. As they were travelling along discussing various subjects, a bear suddenly confronted them in the middle of the road. One of the men ran straight for a tree and grabbed at a branch in order to suspend his trembling body in the foliage. The other man stood stock still and then fell to the ground on purpose, pretending to be dead. The wild beast immediately ran up to him, eager to seize her victim. With her curved bear claws, she lifted the wretched man up off the ground, but since his limbs had grown stiff and frozen with fear (for the usual warmth of life had left his body) the bear concluded that he was nothing but a rotting corpse. Thus, despite her hunger,

the bear abandoned the man and went away to her den. The men gradually began to relax and started up their conversation again. The man who had only just now fled in fear was feeling far too sure of himself and he said to his companion, "Tell me, my friend, what did that bear say to you while you were lying there shaking? She must have told you many things in that lengthy private conversation." The other man replied, "Indeed she gave me some quite important advice including, alas, one particular command that I cannot afford to forget: 'Do not be too quick to resume your fellowship with that other man, in case you fall once again into the clutches of another wild beast.'"

Be careful to know who your true friends really are.

APPENDIX 3: FLOW CHARTS FOR EACH NARRATIVE

Flow charts for Story 1: 'The Tortoise and the Hare'

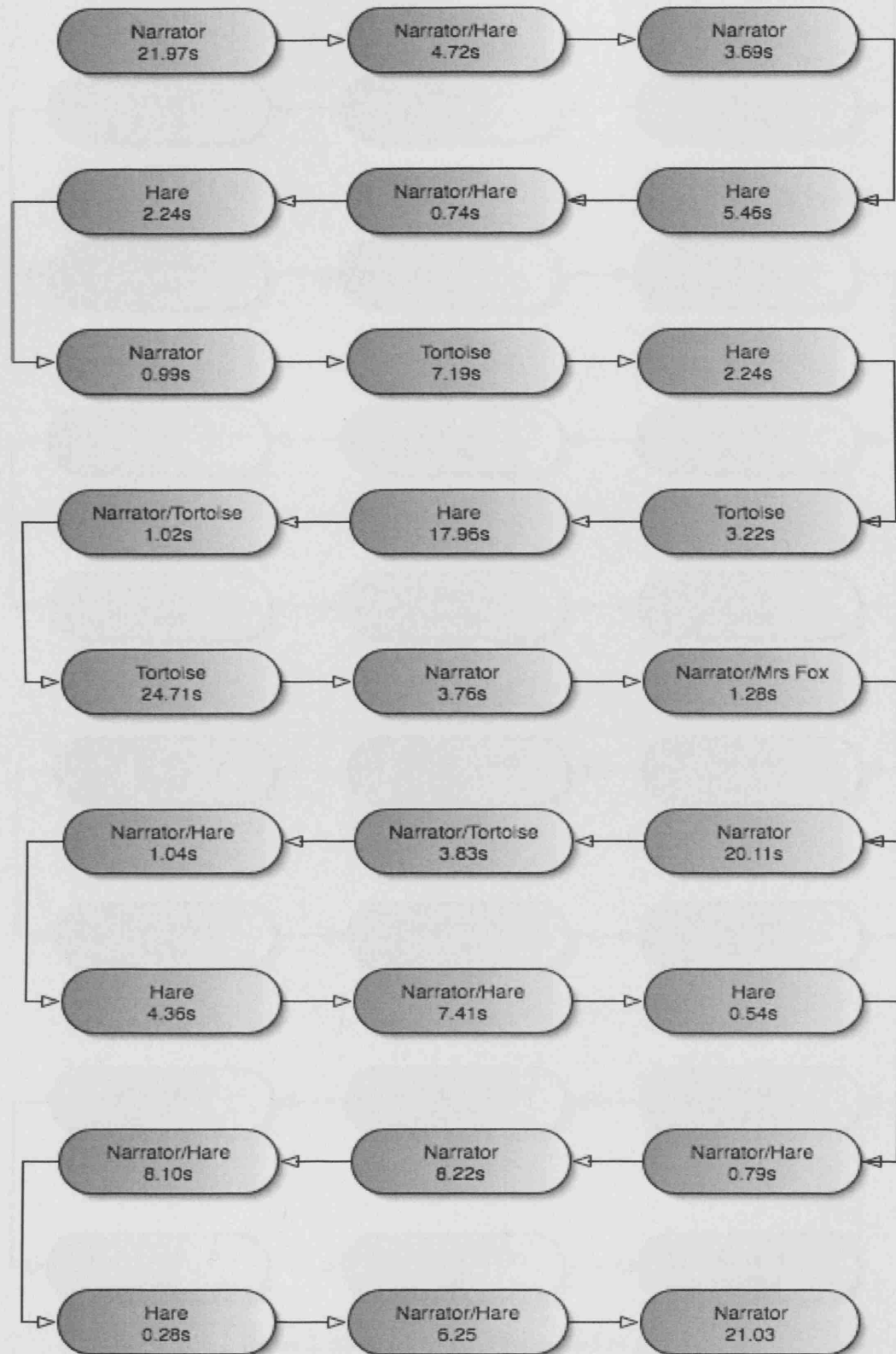


Figure 1: Sequence of Role Types used by E1

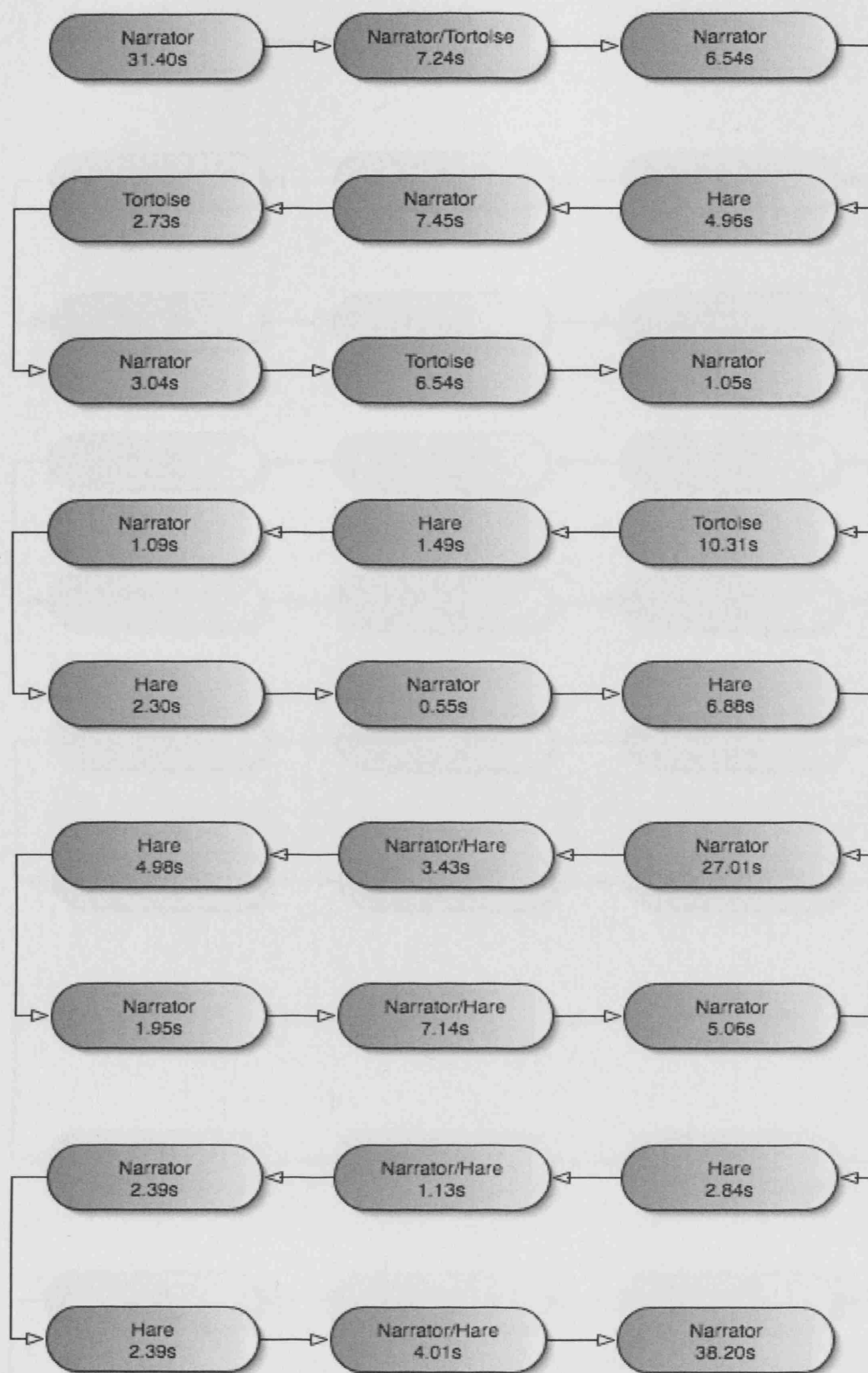


Figure 2: Sequence of Role Types used by E2

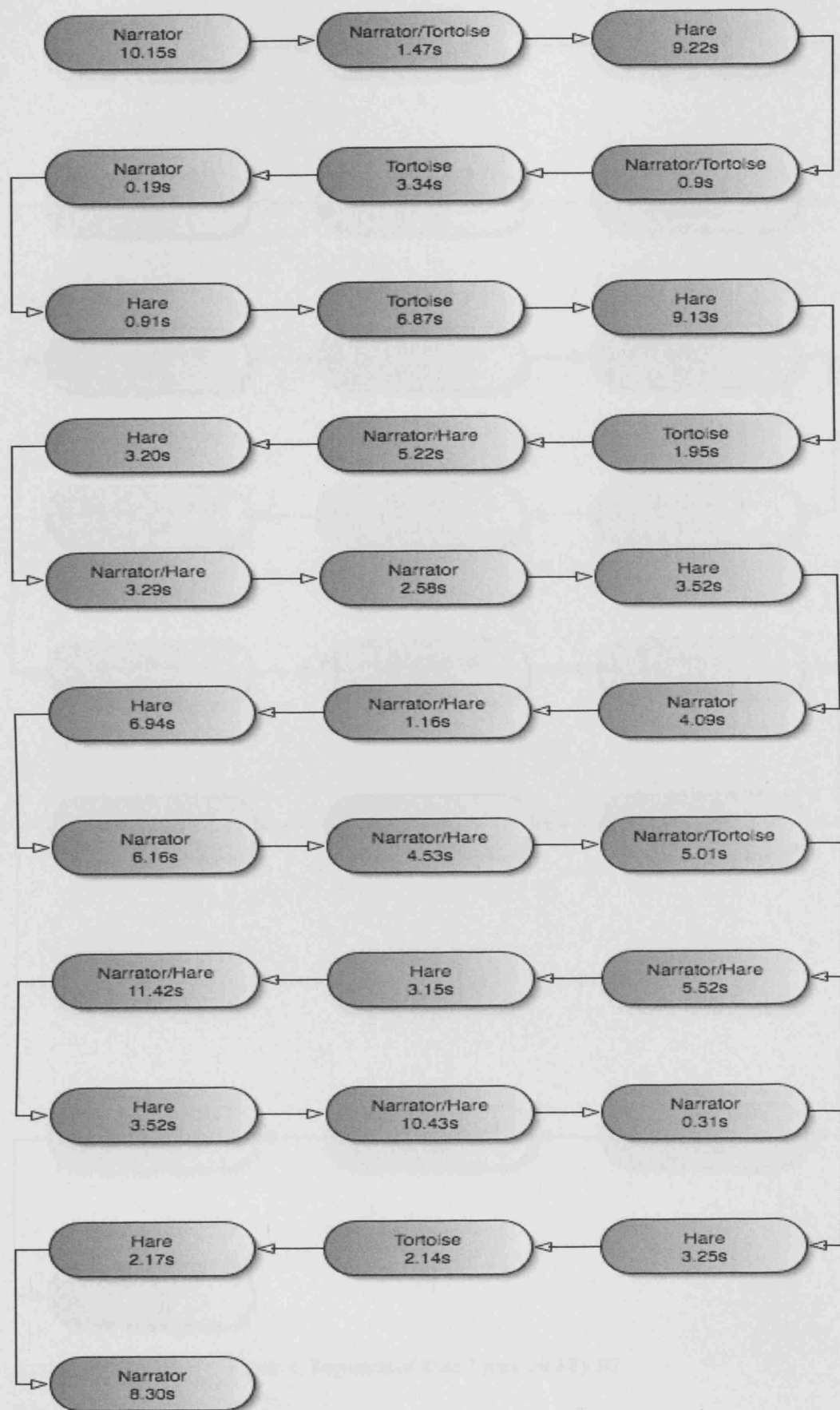


Figure 3: Sequence of Role Types used by B1

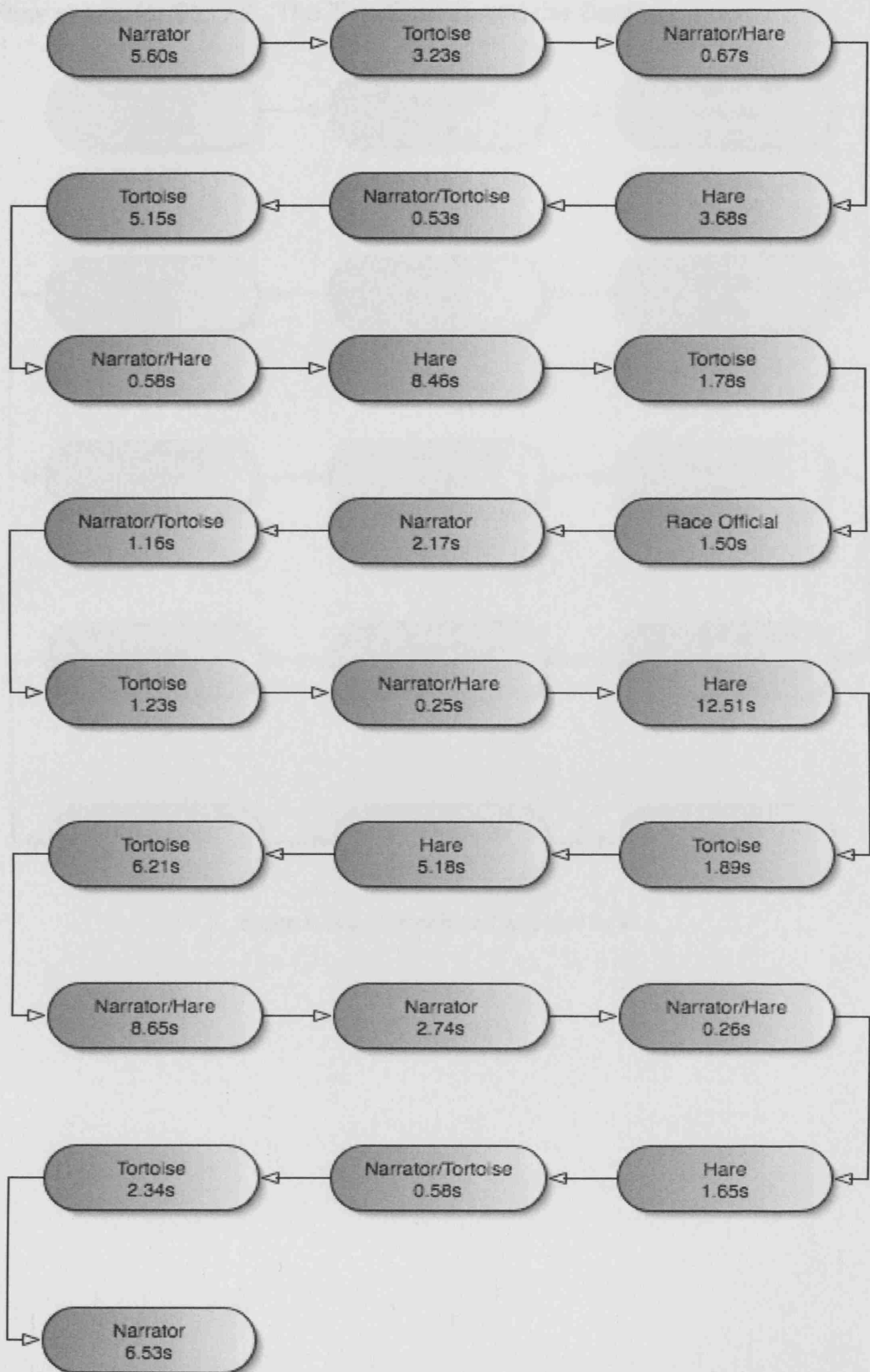


Figure 4: Sequence of Role Types used by B2

Flow charts for Story 2: 'The Two Friends and the Bear'

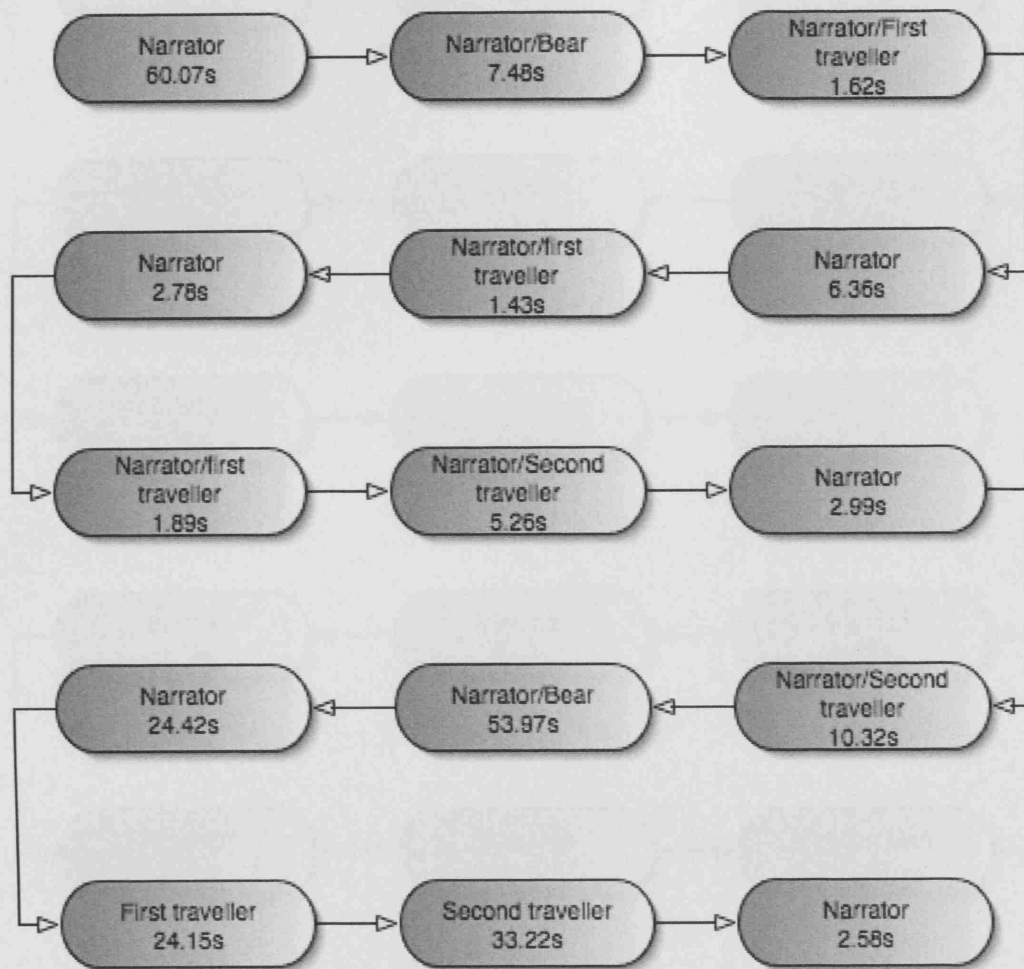


Figure 5: Sequence of Role Types used by E1

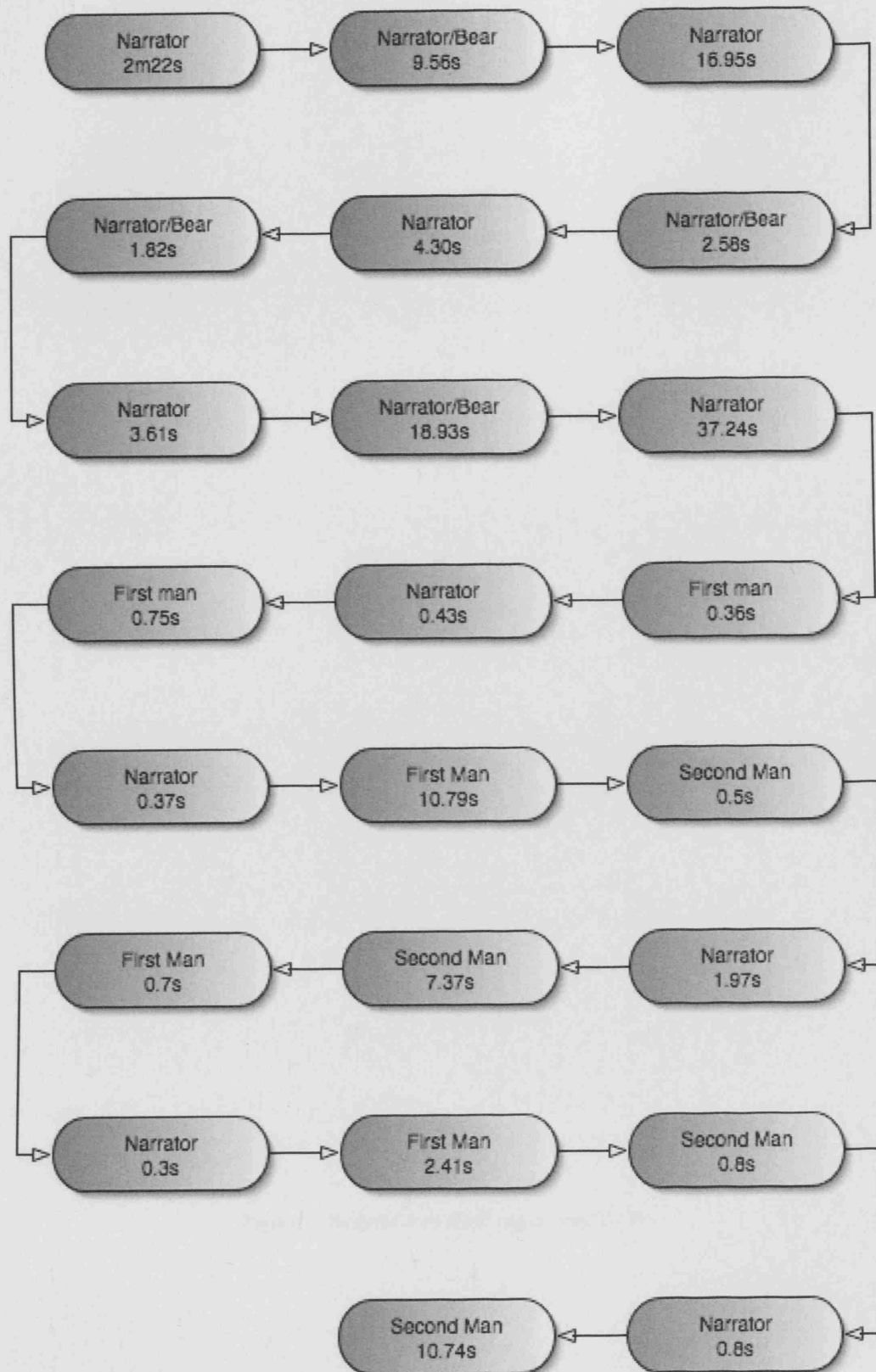


Figure 6: Sequence of Role Types used by E2

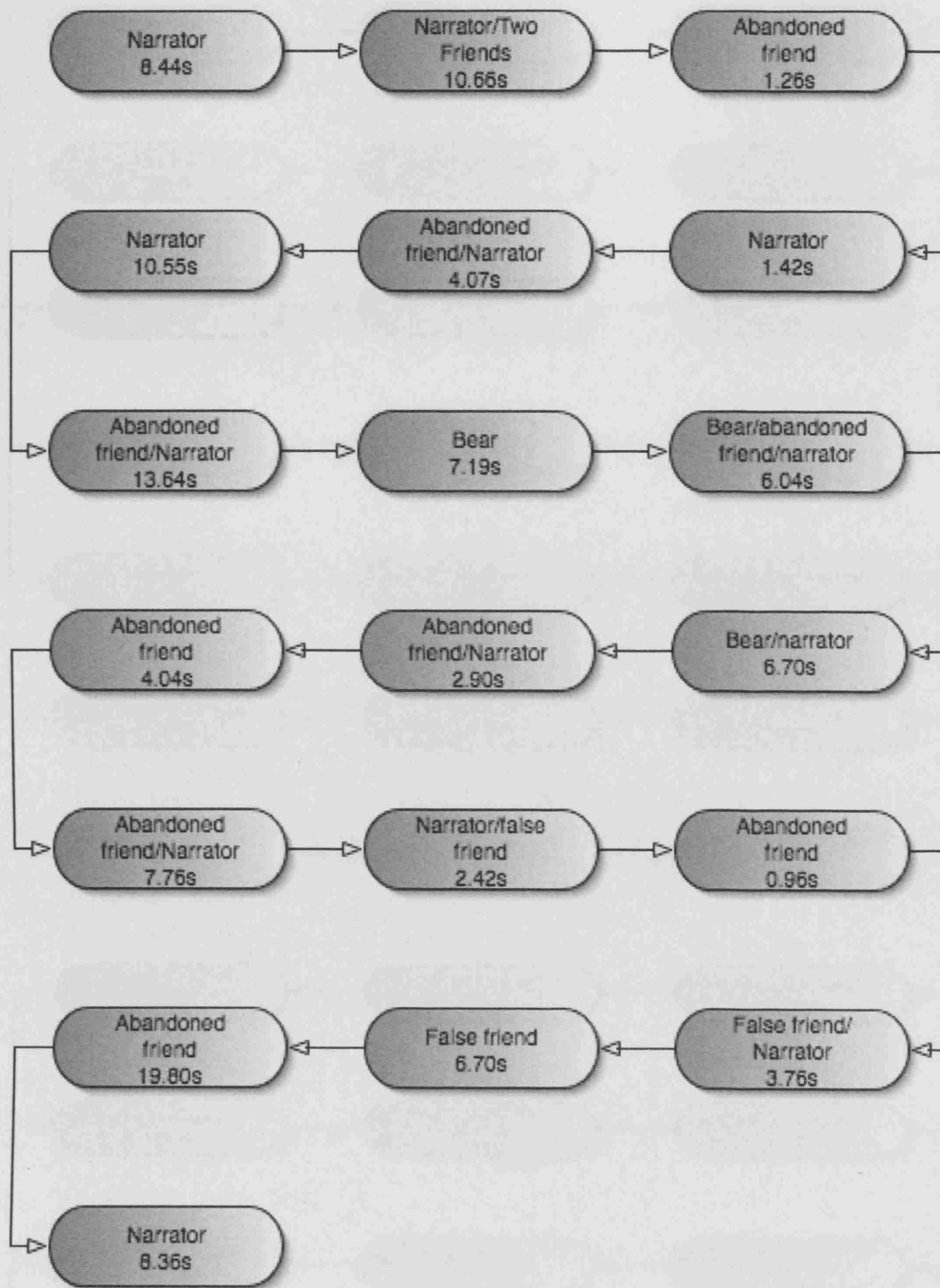


Figure 7: Sequence of Role Types used by B1

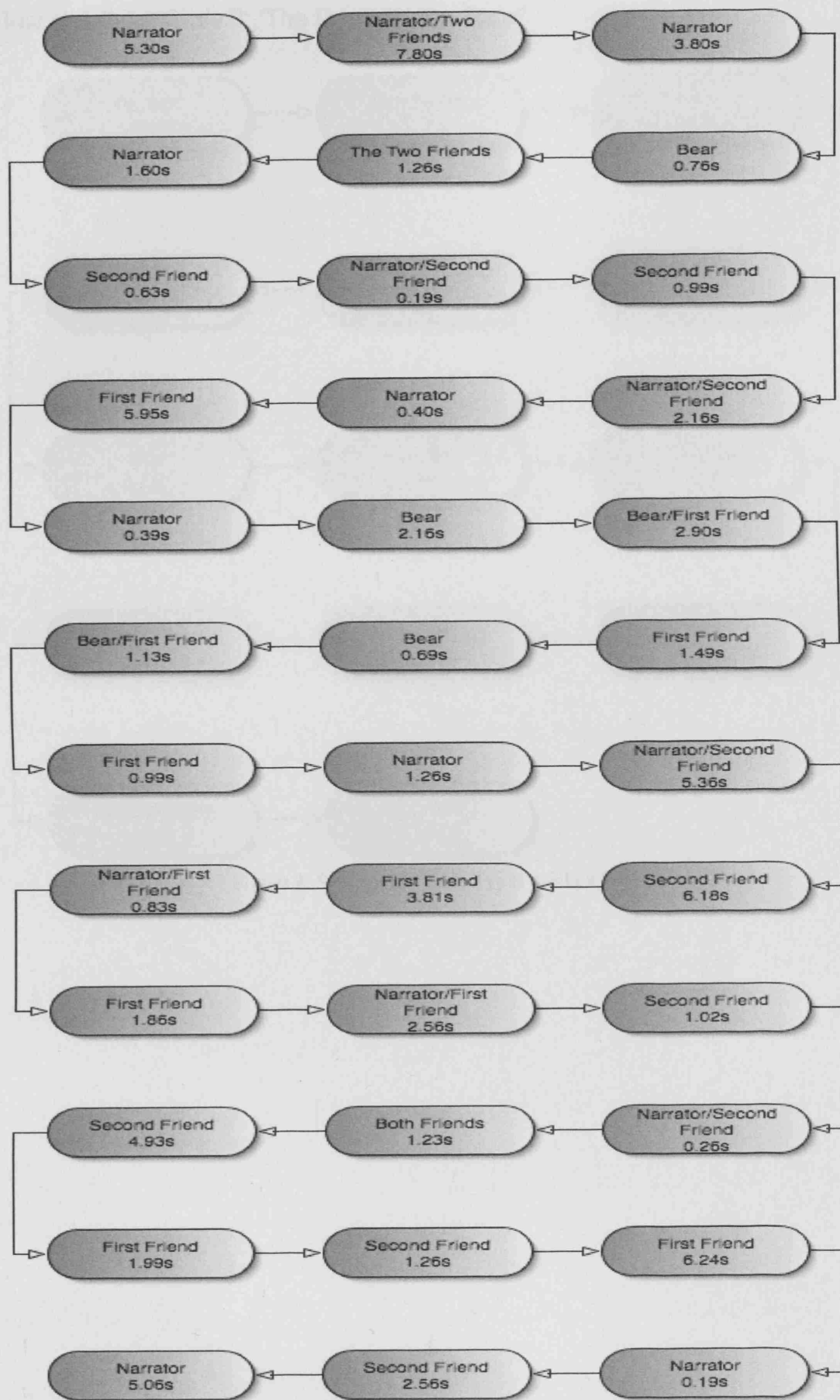


Figure 8: Sequence of Role Types used by B2

Flow charts for Story 3: 'The Dog and the Bone'

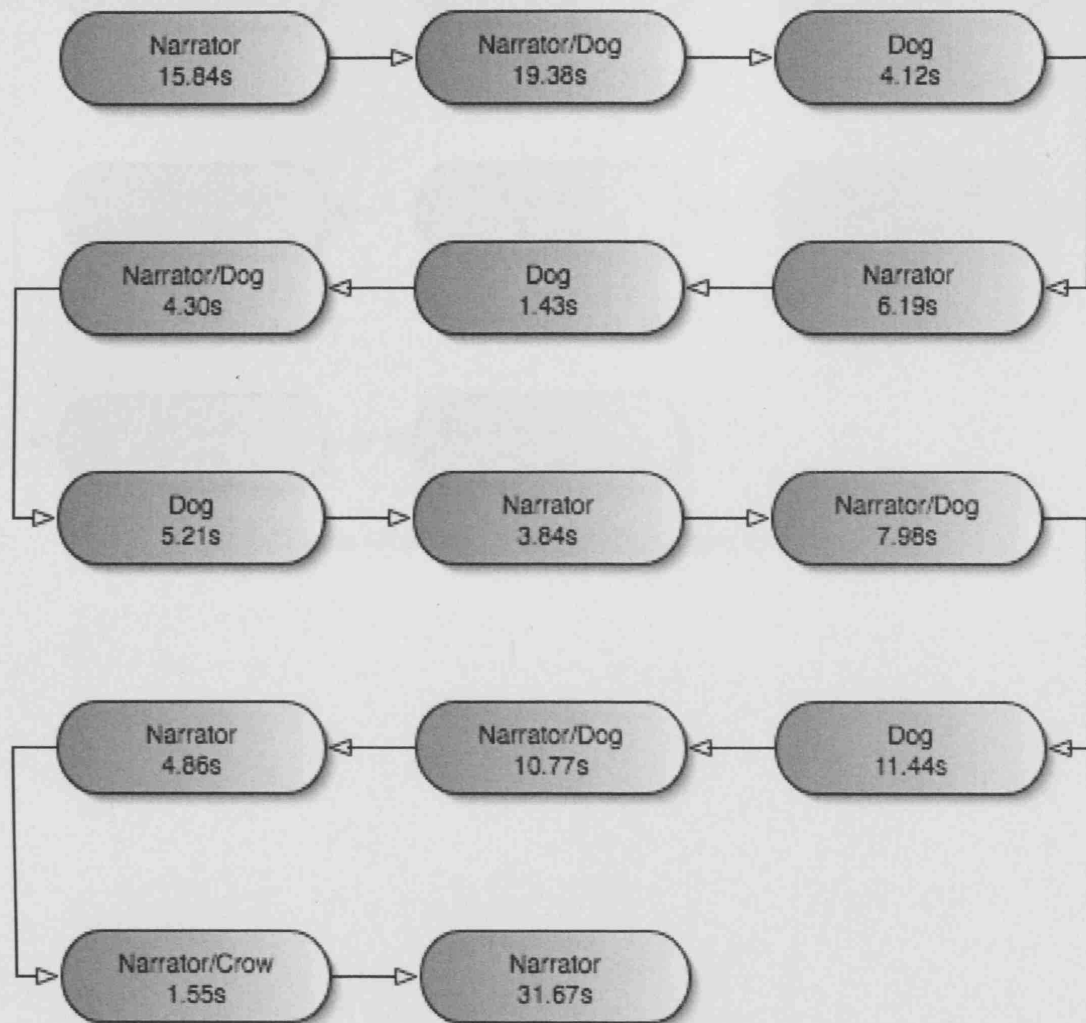


Figure 9: Sequence of Role Types used by E1

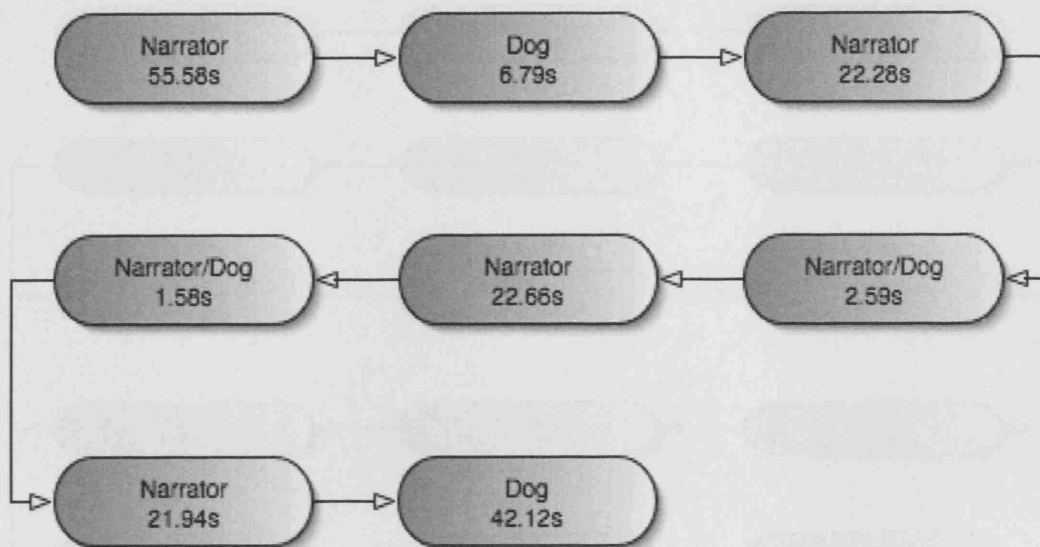


Figure 10: Sequence of Role Types used by E2

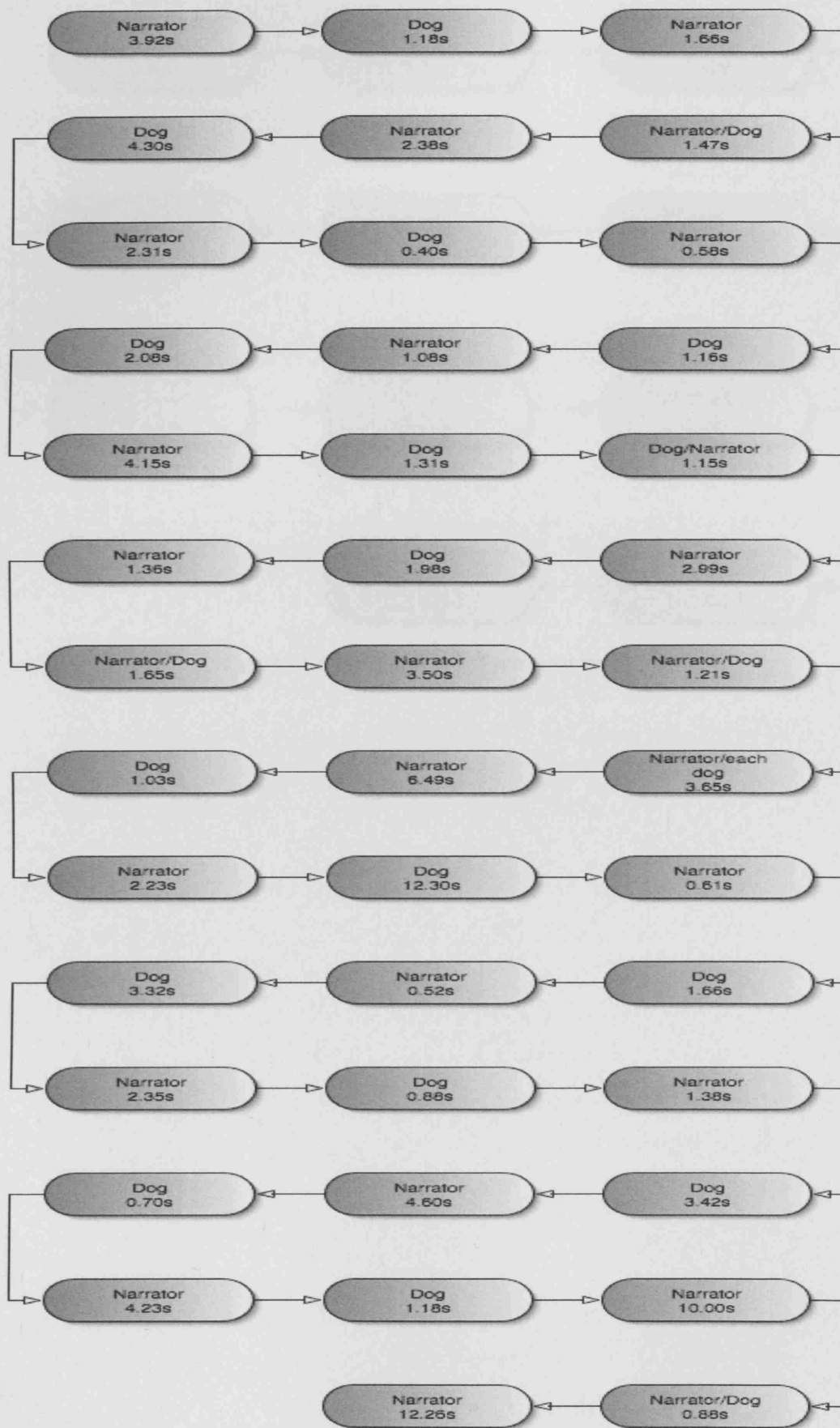


Figure 11: Sequence of Role Types used by B1

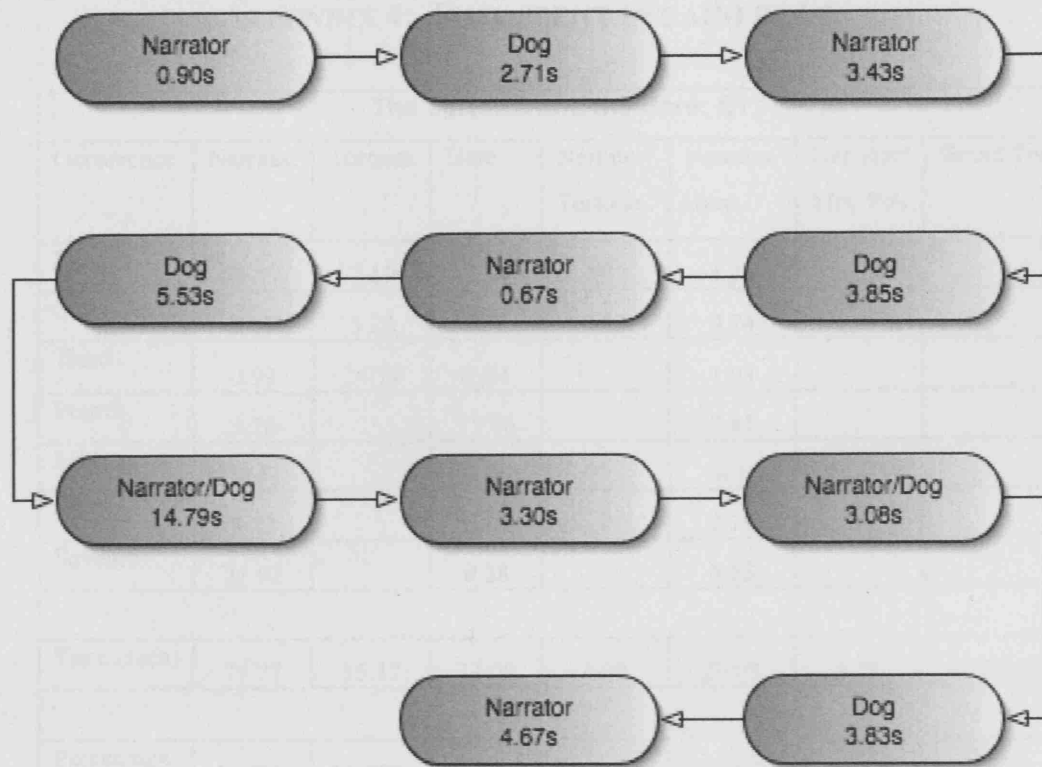


Figure 12: Sequence of Role Types used by B2

APPENDIX 4: TIME SPENT IN EACH ROLE

The Tortoise and the Hare: E1							
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Narrator/ Hare	Narrator/ Mrs. Fox	Grand Total
First	21.97	7.19	2.24	1.02	4.27	1.28	
Second	3.69	3.22	5.46	3.83	0.74		
Third	0.99	24.71	2.24		1.04		
Fourth	3.76		17.96		7.41		
Fifth	20.11		4.36		8.1		
Sixth	8.22		0.54		0.79		
Seventh	21.03		0.28		6.25		
Time (secs)	79.77	35.12	33.08	1.02	29.05	1.28	179.32
Percentage	44.48%	19.59%	18.45%	0.57%	16.20%	0.71%	100%

The Tortoise and the Hare: E2						
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Narrator/ Hare	Grand Total
First	31.40	2.73	4.96	7.24	7.14	
Second	6.54	6.54	1.49		1.13	
Third	7.45	10.31	2.30		4.01	
Fourth	3.04		6.88		3.43	
Fifth	1.05		4.98			
Sixth	1.09		2.84			
Seventh	0.55		2.39			
Eighth	27.01					
Ninth	1.95					
Tenth	5.06					
Eleventh	2.39					
Twelfth	38.20					
Time (secs)	125.73	19.58	25.84	7.24	15.71	179.32
Percentage	64.78%	10.09%	13.31%	3.73%	8.09%	100%

The Tortoise and the Hare: B1						
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narrator/ Tortoise	Narrator/ Hare	Grand Total
First	10.15	4.26	9.22	1.47	6.86	
Second	2.58	6.87	0.91	5.01	3.29	
Third	4.09	1.95	9.13		4.53	
Fourth	8.3	2.33	1.55		2.85	
Fifth			3.52		11.42	
Sixth			14.27		10.46	
Seventh			5.82			
Eighth			3.52			
Ninth			3.35			
Tenth			2.17			
Time (secs)	25.12	15.41	40.53	6.48	39.41	126.95
Percentage	19.79%	12.14%	31.93%	5.10%	31.04%	100%

The Tortoise and the Hare: B2							
Occurrence	Narrator	Tortoise	Hare	Narr/ Tortoise	Narr/Hare	Race Official	Grand Total
First	5.60	3.23	3.69	0.53	0.32	0.96	
Second	1.59	5.16	8.46	1.16	0.32		
Third	1.80	1.59	12.34	0.52	0.26		
Fourth	5.76	1.23	4.72		0.26		
Fifth		1.89	8.36		0.26		
Sixth		5.87	1.66		10.46		
Seventh		2.06					
Time (secs)	14.75	21.03	39.23	2.21	1.42	0.96	79.6
Percentage	18.53%	26.42%	49.28%	2.78%	1.78%	1.21%	100%

The Two Friends and the Bear: E1							
Occurrence	Narrator	First Traveller	Second Traveller	Narrator/ First Traveller	Narrator/ Second Traveller	Narrator/ Bear	Grand Total
First	60.07	24.15	33.22	1.62	5.26	7.48	
Second	6.36			1.43	10.32	53.97	
Third	2.78			1.89			
Fourth	2.99						
Fifth	24.42						
Sixth	2.58						
Time (secs)	99.20	24.15	33.22	4.94	15.58	61.45	238.54
Percentage	41.59%	10.12%	13.93%	2.07%	6.53%	25.76%	100%

The Two Friends and the Bear: E2							
Occurrence	Narrator	First Man	Second Man	Narrator/ First Man	Narrator/ Second Man	Narrator/ Bear	Grand Total
First	120.22	0.36	0.5			9.56	
Second	16.95	0.75	7.37			2.58	
Third	4.30	10.79	0.8			1.82	
Fourth	3.61	0.7	10.74			18.93	
Fifth	37.24	2.41					
Sixth	0.43						
Seventh	0.37						
Eighth	1.97						
Ninth	0.3						
Tenth	0.8						
Time (secs)	186.19	15.01	19.41			32.89	253.5
Percentage	73.45%	5.92%	7.66%			12.97%	100%

The Two Friends and the Bear: B1										
Occurrence	Narr	AF	Bear	FF	Narr/ Two Friends	Narr/ AF	Narr/ Bear	Narr/ Bear/ AF	Narr /FF	Grand Total
First	8.44	1.26	7.19	6.70	10.66	4.07	6.70	6.04	2.42	
Second	1.42	4.04				13.64			3.76	
Third	10.55	0.96				2.90				
Fourth	8.36	19.80				7.76				
Time (secs)	28.77	26.06	7.19	6.70	10.66	28.37	6.70	6.04	6.18	126. 6
Percentage	22.71 %	20.57%	5.68 %	5.29%	8.42%	22.39%	5.29%	4.77%	4.88 %	100 %

Key: AF = Abandoned Friend
FF = False Friend

The Two Friends and the Bear: B2										
Occurrence	Narrator	Bear	First Friend	Second Friend	Both Friends	Narrator/ First Friend	Narrator/ Second Friend	Narrator/ Both friends	Bear/ First Friend	Grand Total
First	5.30	0.76	5.95	0.63	1.26	0.83	0.19	7.80	2.90	
Second	3.80	2.16	1.49	0.99	1.23	2.56	2.16		1.13	
Third	1.60	0.69	0.99	6.18			5.36			
Fourth	0.40		3.81	1.02			0.26			
Fifth	0.39		1.86	5.15						
Sixth	1.26		1.99	1.26						
Seventh	0.19		6.24	2.56						
Eighth	5.06									
Time (secs)	18.0	3.61	22.33	17.57	2.49	3.37	7.97	7.80	4.03	87.19
Percentage	20.64%	4.14%	25.61%	20.15%	2.86%	3.89%	9.14%	8.95%	4.62%	100%

The Dog and the Bone: E1					
Occurrence	Narrator	Dog	Narrator/ Dog	Narrator/ Crow	Grand Total
First	15.84	4.12	19.38	1.55	
Second	6.19	1.43	4.30		
Third	3.84	5.21	7.98		
Fourth	4.86	11.44	10.77		
Fifth	31.67				
Time (secs)	62.4	22.20	42.43	1.55	128.58
Percentage	48.53%	17.27%	32.99%	1.21%	100%

The Dog and the Bone: E2				
Occurrence	Narrator	Dog	Narrator/ Dog	Grand Total
First	55.58	6.79	2.59	
Second	22.28	42.12	1.58	
Third	22.66			
Fourth	21.94			
Fifth				
Time (secs)	122.46	48.91	4.17	175.54
Percentage	69.76%	27.86%	2.38%	100%

The Dog and the Bone: B1					
Occurrence	Narrator	Dog	Narrator/ Dog	Narrator/ each dog	Grand Total
First	3.92	1.18	1.47	3.65	
Second	1.66	4.30	1.15		
Third	2.38	0.40	1.65		
Fourth	2.31	1.16	1.21		
Fifth	0.58	2.08	0.88		
Sixth	1.08	1.31			
Seventh	4.15	1.98			
Eighth	2.99	1.03			
Ninth	1.36	12.30			
Tenth	3.50	1.66			
Eleventh	6.49	3.32			
Twelfth	2.23	0.88			
Thirteenth	0.61	3.42			
Fourteenth	0.52	0.70			
Fifteenth	2.35	1.18			
Sixteenth	1.38				
Seventeenth	4.60				
Eighteenth	4.23				
Nineteenth	10.00				
Twentieth	12.26				
Time (secs)	68.6	36.9	6.36	3.65	115.51
Percentage	59.39%	31.95%	5.51%	3.15%	100%

The Dog the Bone: B2				
Occurrence	Narrator	Dog	Narrator/ Dog	Grand Total
First	0.90	2.71	14.79	
Second	3.43	3.85	3.08	
Third	0.67	5.53		
Fourth	3.30	3.83		
Fifth	4.67			
Time (secs)	12.97	15.92	27.87	46.76
Percentage	27.74%	34.04%	38.22%	100%