

Two Types of Narrative Patterns (with examples from Englishes)



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******this paper is dedicated to the genius and human generosity of
prof. dr. Jan Blommaert and his legacy******

Abstract

When we think of narrative as a mode of thought and as the cultural dimension of narration, we can observe poetic patterning running through most narrative, from myths to anecdotal conversation: lines, verses, stanzas and acts. Lines are demarcated by line initial and/or line final particles, shifts in tense and aspect, parallelism and so on. In this paper, I investigate two types of patterning beyond the grammatical level: relations of 3 and 5, and relations of 2 and 4. I argue that most English and English-based languages and creoles deploy relations of 2 and 4, except when variation in acceleration, stress etc. is intended. Finally I take a tentative look at patterning of gender, and especially how relations of 2 and 4 are at work in turns with male protagonists. The intention of this research is to show that implicit patterning signals implicit but often important issues otherwise neglected by qualitative content analysis in narrative studies.

1. Introduction

In a rather obscure lecture, delivered in 1982 at the Oregon conference for Salish languages, where husband Dell Hymes and a young Robert Moore were present, Virginia Hymes discusses what she calls “a Sahaptin narrative device”. Dell had just published, with much acclaim, the monumental “In Vain I tried to tell you” (1981), a collection of his finest pieces on *ethnopoetics*, and the new and exciting discipline was thriving among colleagues and students. Virginia taught courses in Philadelphia and investigated with her students the narrative patterning in mostly English conversation and performance while Dell was Dean at the Graduate School of Education. They spent their summers in Oregon, collecting myths and tales with the Warm Springs Sahaptin peoples. Dell discovered relations of 3s and 5s in Chinookan while Ginny found similar relations in Sahaptin.

However, once back in Philadelphia in 1981, after a long summer of fieldwork, Virginia “was able, in a new course, *Ways of Speaking*, to examine a range of English verbal performances which had been recorded by members of the class, all folklore students.” (V. Hymes 1982: 2) At first Virginia found similar patterns in English as in Sahaptin: “Linguistic devices analogous to those used by Sahaptin narrators to achieve this kind of organization were used in the English narratives we looked at” (V. Hymes 1982:3). In later research, the Hymes’ discover patterns of two and fours in English narratives and see three and fives as exceptional.

In this paper I investigate these two types of patterning beyond the grammatical level: relations of 3 and 5, and relations of 2 and 4. My hypothesis is that most English and English-based languages and creoles deploy relations of 2 and 4, except when variation in, acceleration, stress etc. is intended. Finally I take a look at gendered patterning in Englishes, and especially how relations of 2 and 4, and 3 and 5, are at work across turns. I want to convince you in this paper that implicit patterning signals implicit but often important issues otherwise neglected by qualitative content analysis in narrative studies.

2. Two types of narrative patterns

Let us return to the first paper in which one of the Hymes’ signals the patterning of English texts. Virginia Hymes completes the above quote by adding that “[we looked at] parallel patterning grouping lines into verses; use of line initial particles such as “well”, “so”, and “and” to indicate different levels of organization, switching of tense, aspect and/or mood to mark divisions into verses or stanzas; cohesion of these verb categories within units marked by particles and use of time words or phrases in first lines of stanza” (V. Hymes 1982:3). As the topic of this paper will not focus on the exact devices which structure lines, but on bigger patterns that reveal implicit meaning, I will now give an overview of where ethnopoetic pattern research on English has gone since Ginny’s original 1982 paper.

Hymes 1991: Leona's story

In a 1991 article, "Ethnopoetics and sociolinguistics", re-published in the 1996 seminal book on language, voice and narrative inequality, Hymes re-analyzes three stories by African-American children (Hymes 1996). In this article, it is the first time since 1982 he explicitly refers back to Virginia Hymes' work on English: "Work has also been done with narratives in American English, as in the work of Virginia Hymes with the Appalachian stories of Charlotte Ross, and related work of students from the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania, although much of it is unpublished" (Hymes 1996:166). And a bit further Hymes claims that "...ethnopoetics has discovered a universal aspect of language use, one that may be essential to the analysis of discourse" (Hymes 1996:166).

Perhaps, before we delve in a re-analysis of the story, in order to show its patterning, it may be good to rehearse what Hymes sees as the 'elementary principles of ethnopoetic analysis (1996:166-167):

“1. Performed oral narratives are organized in terms of lines, and groups of lines (not in terms of sentences and paragraphs.

2. The relations between lines and groups of lines are based on the general principle of poetic organization called equivalence [i.e. the use of 'similarities' and 'differences' in languages, JVDA]. Equivalence may involve any feature of language. Features that count to constitute lines are well known: stress, tonal accent, syllable, initial consonant (alliteration), and such forms of equivalence are commonly called metrical [i.e. they have to do with 'poetic meter': the organization of rhyme schemes, stanza organization etc., JVDA]. Lines of whatever length may also be treated as equivalent in terms of the various forms of rhyme, tone group or intonation contour, initial particles, recurrent syntactic pattern, consistency of contrast of grammatical feature, such as tense or aspect.

3. Sequences of equivalent units commonly constitute sets and do so in terms of a few patterned numbers. Sets of two and four are commonly found together in many traditions, as are sets of three and five in others. Where one of these sets is the unmarked pattern, the other pattern may serve to mark emphasis and intensification (...). In both the unmarked and marked cases the formative principle is that of arousal and satisfaction of expectation (...)

4. Texts are not ordinarily constituted according to a fixed length or fixed sequence of units. Rather, each performance of a narrative may differ from each other, responsive to context and varying intention. The patterning of a text as a whole is an emergent configuration (...)

5. Variations and transformations in narratives appear to involve a small number of dimensions, which may prove universal as elements in a model of the mind of the narrator. (...)"

In the above, we see that Hymes clearly refers to two dimensions of narratives, shown by implicit form, a *universal one* and a *particular one*: a *universal one* in terms of aesthetic ordering as a function of language; a *particular one* in terms of local traditions of narration. And a bit below, he once again refers to the universal aspect of this implicit organization (so also in Englishes), when he says that "(w)e are only at the beginning of what can be learned, but enough has come to be known to indicate that these principles of narrative performance are not limited to any language (...) but rather appear to be universally human" (Hymes 1996:167).

Let us now move closer to our subject, Englishes, and take a look at the story Hymes analyzed in this paper, namely Leona's story, a seven-year old African-American girl first appearing in a study on the practice of sharing time in Boston classrooms by Sarah Michaels (1983). During sharing time, children are expected to come forward and share an experience with the rest of the class and the teacher. We enter a second-grade classroom in Boston during sharing time and Leona is taking the floor. I now immediately give Hymes' ethnopoetic transcript of the story instead of the prose version (with my additions, accolades and explanations) as our purpose here is not to show how an ethnopoetic transcript works (see Hymes 1996 and certainly Van der Aa 2012 for an explanation) but to show the numbered patterning in AAVE. Here we go.

On George Washington's BIRTHDAY	1	a	onset	A	
I'm <u>goin'</u>	2	b			ONSET Regular of 2 / 4
Ice/	3				
My grandmother/ pattern	4				
We never um/	5	c			
Haven't seen her since a long <u>time</u> /	6				
and/...	7	d	outcome		
<u>she</u> lives <u>nEA</u> r us/	8				
And/...	9	e			
<u>she</u> /	10				
and she's <u>gonna</u> /	11				
I'm <u>gonna</u> spend the night over her house/	12	f			
and/...	13	a	onset	B	
<u>every</u> <u>wEE</u> kend/	14				ONGOING 3 / 5 "arousal"
<u>she</u> comes to take me/	15	b			
<u>like</u> on Saturdays and Sundays/	16	c	ongoing		
<u>awAY</u> /	17	d	outcome		
<u>from</u> <u>hO</u> me/	18				
and I spend the night over her house./	19	e			
and one day I spoiled her dinner/	20	a	onset	C	
... um and we was having <u>UM</u> /	21	b			OUTCOME 3 / 5 "satisfying expectation"
we was/um	22				
<u>she</u> paid ten dollars	23	c	ongoing		
and I got eggs/...	24	d			
and stuff	25				
and I didn't eat everything//	26	e	outcome		

Now what can we make of all this? First a few preliminary remarks.

1. Hymes' numbering of verses, groups of lines and lines is similar to mine and at least one other person who checked this. So we came to the same understanding like Hymes with a blind test. Hymes claims in the conclusion that "(w)hen intonation and time expression markers are taken as consistent indicators of lines throughout, the organization of the story is found to use patterning based on relations of three and five". This is however not true of the first verse, which uses an organization of two and four.
2. Hymes has developed a profile for the story, which I incorporated (with my own additions) in the ethnopoetic transcript above.

As the story consists of three narrated segments, verses A, B and C, it is likely to have the pattern of onset-ongoing-outcome. Here we can follow Hymes who says "(...) the outcome C is the fact that 'one day I spoiled her dinner'. It stands as completion to an onset A (...), and as a continuation B" (Hymes 1996:181). This is, I think, true and points also to the fact that an implication appears to be 'even so I spend the night over her house'. The three-fold pattern arouses and satisfies audience expectations as humorous and funny in the Burkean sense (1968) and therefore deviates from the regular pattern of twos and fours in the first verse A, a fact which Hymes ignores or not recognizes .

In the first verse A Leona starts with a time marker, 'On George Washington's birthday', which she also does at the beginning of verses B ('every weekend') and C ('one day'). Using time expressions to mark the start of a new segment "(...) is common in oral traditions" (Hymes 1996:177). The first verse has six groups of lines (which Hymes here mistakenly, I think, calls verses, see e.g. the length and demarcation of groups of lines in Hymes 1996: 172), three signaling the onset and three signaling the outcome. Within the onset, we see a verb of motion in the internal ongoing part (line 2). The outcome is that grandma lives near us and that we're going to visit her soon. The initial verb of motion 'gonna' is amplified by the multiplication of 'gonna' in lines 11 and 12 with the juxtaposition of 'she' and 'I'. We see an acceleration towards the end of A, which signals an excitement crescendo, culminating in the pattern change in B. The acceleration is signaled by out-of-breath hesitations, quick successions, false starts and the like.

Verse B continues here, and as arousal starts to kick in, the pattern changes from two and fours to three and fives. Other signaling of arousal includes the amplification and stress (see chapter 3 on variation) on 'weekend' and 'away from home' as well as the multiplication of 'I spend the night over at her house', clearly something very exciting for the young Leona. The whole of verse B is ongoing in the totality of verses and is replenished with habituals such as 'like on Saturdays and Sundays', 'every weekend', and so on.

Verse C is the outcome of the story, aimed at satisfying the auditors, so the teacher and fellow class mates, and is announced with the funny anecdote 'one day I spoiled her dinner', which is also the onset of this verse. She then tells the little anecdote in

the ongoing part and finishes with the outcome “I didn’t even eat anything”. The arousal and expectation satisfaction in verses B and C change the regular pattern of two and fours to three and fives. Finally, Hymes confirms this arousal of expectation (so next to the Burkean theory we also have Hymesian evidence for it). Let’s take a closer look at it. Hymes claims that

“(w)hen the story is considered in the light of the likely inference that ‘every weekend’ had once been the case, then ceased to be so, B appears to figure as both onset and outcome in an implied longer sequence. B figures as onset (past) of a continuation C that had as outcome an end to ‘every weekend’ (negation of B). In short, BC(-B). That negation has had a continuation A, however, that arouses expectation of reinstatement of the initial state future B.

In other words, when the story is turned upside down, and we can do this, due to its differing time elements in the story; we start to see that B is its pivotal point, and that the concentration of expressive details suggests that “this protean central [verse, JVDA] B is the story’s expressive peak (Hymes 1996:182). Therefore, it is here that the pattern number also changes from two and four to three and five. Here we see that AAVE, as other Englishes, carries a pattern number of two and four. It is important to pay close attention to such signaling, as changed pattern numbers can “bring out more of what was there”. (Hymes 1996: 182).

Hymes 1998: John L.’s story

In a 1998 article by Hymes, “When is oral narrative poetry?”, we find more evidence for our claim that AAVE, as one of the world’s Englishes, contains pattern numbers and relations of twos and fours in its spoken narrative. In this article we encounter the Labovian John L., “a narrator highly regarded among the African-American young men with whom Labov worked” (Hymes 1998:481; Labov 1972:358-9 and passim). I present it here as an ethnopoetic transcript, partially found in Hymes with my own additions:

Interviewer: What was the most important fight 1

that you remember

STORY BEGINNING...

one that sticks in your mind... 2

John L.: Well, one was with a girl 3

Like I was a kid, you know, 4

And she was the baddest girl, 5

the baddest girl in the neighborhood. 6

If you didn't bring her candy to school, 7

she would punch you in the mouth; 8

And you had to kiss her when she'd tell you. 9

This girl was only about 12 years old, man, 10

but she was a killer. 11

She didn't take no junk; 12

She whupped all her brothers. 13

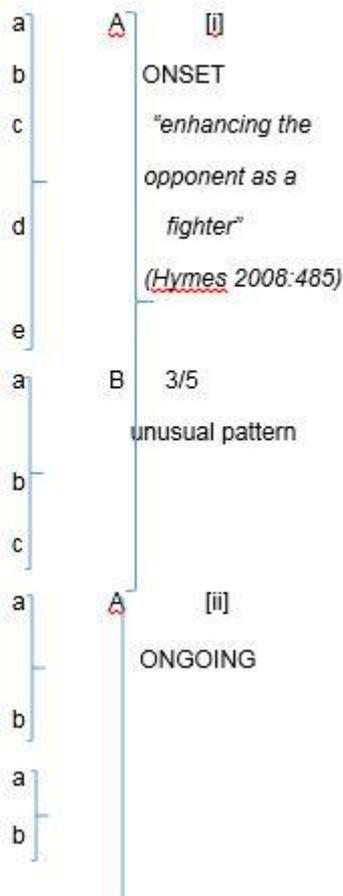
And I came to school one day, 14

and I didn't have no money. 15

My ma wouldn't give me no money. 16

And I played hookies one day. 17

[She] put something on me. 18



I played hookies, man,	19	a		
<u>so</u> I said, you know,	20	b		
I'm not <u>gonna</u> play hookies no more	21			
'cause I don't <u>wanna</u> get a whupping.	22			
So I go to school	23	a	A	[iii]
<u>and</u> this girl says, "Where's the candy?"	24	b		OUTCOME
I said, "I don't have it."	25	a	B	"John's resolve
She says, <u>powww!</u>	26	b		with mother +
So I <u>says</u> to myself,	27	a	C	"victory in fight"
"There's <u>gonna</u> be times my mother won't give me money	28			(Hymes 1998:465)
<u>because</u> a poor family	29			
And I can't take this all, you know,	30			2/4
<u>every</u> time she don't give me any money."	31			
So I say,	32	b		
"Well, I just <u>gotta</u> fight this girl.	33			
She <u>gonna hafta</u> whup me.	34			
I hope she don' whup me."	35			
And I hit the girl, <u>powww!</u>	36	a	D	
<u>and</u> I put something on it.	37	b		
I win the fight.	38	c		Here is John's victory
That was one of the most important	39	a	E	So 3/5

Note: I follow Hymes in this ethnopoetic transcripts, except for some minor changes (such as leaving out the interviewer of the story transcript, otherwise observing the correct pattern numbers would be impossible) and some additions (such as the accolades, arrows and their explanations).

Legend

- 1 line number
- a group of lines
- A verse
- i stanza

So what does this AAVE story tell us about pattern numbers and patterned relations?
 To recap, in earlier AAVE stories, e.g. the one told by Leona, we see twos and fours

as primary relations in regular speech, and threes and fives in terms of variation (see also below) when there is an emotion involved, intensification and acceleration, gender, a performative aspect such as arousal and satisfying expectations (see also subchapter 3 for more on gender variation). In John L.'s story, which is a story elicited by an interviewer, we see three stanzas of unequal length, analyzed in terms of its line and verse properties by Hymes (2008:483-5) so we won't go into much detail concerning that here. *These stanzas* a patterning of three, so rather unusual for AAVE. However, given the fact that this is a performative story within the scope of an interview with lots of accelerations and spectacular events (typical of so-called 'fight stories', see also Labov 1972), a deviant relation would be understandable. *At verse level*, we see a similar structure, except for the first stanza A which contains two verses (Hymes argues for three, but the first one is the question of the interviewer, which for the purposes of structural analysis in this paper, I leave out here). So how can we explain that the first stanza contains a relation of two and four at verse level and not one of three and five? The answer lies in the fact that stanzas and verses here are doubled and thus form relations of two. Even though both stanzas and verses are three, together they are six, so a relation of two and fours as six is seen as three times two. As Hymes argues: "Six is in fact found, but as a grouping of three sets of two (1998:485).

Groups of lines often represent one particular thought, a time indication or a direct quote. In this story, we see in the groups of lines, the pivotal element for understanding the changing structure of John L.'s story in terms of patterned relations. The first verse iA contains five groups of lines, whereas the second iB three. This unusual pattern embraces the story, as verses iiiD and iiiE also contain relations of three and five: iiiD contains three groups of lines and iiiE one. One can occur with both relations of two and four and three and five, and is therefore neutral in terms of patterning. Hymes does not mention one, although he himself has produced ethnopoetic transcripts in which one is saliently present at all organizational levels. He does say though (2008:485), that "two and three seem to be the minimal bases which could provide a variety of perceptible and manageable sequences and effects".

When we observe that verses iA, iB, iiiD and iiiE, which have relations of threes and fives, enclose the other verses, which have relations of twos and fours (e.g. iiA has

three times two, so six as we discussed above, groups of lines; and iiiA, B and C each have two groups of lines), we can assume that the middle of the story seems to be told in the usual patterning for AAVE and the story ends are exceptional. This structural observation indeed is rewarding, if we compare it to the content produced in those verses. Let us first start with the contents of iA and iB. “In sum, the story begins by enhancing the opponent as a fighter” (Hymes 2008:485); so we can understand why this would be an unusual patterns. Other pointers to this deviant pattern would be the onset of arousal signaled by rhyme and repetition, e.g. ‘baddest...baddest’ in line 5 and ‘she...she’ in lines 12-13. When we observe the contents of iiiD and iiiE, we see that the story “ends with victory in a fight against her, but John’s resolve to fight has his mother (and the poverty of his family, JVDA) at its heart” (Hymes 2008:485). So we see that the end of the story goes in a crescendo by heavy repetition and multiplication of verb structure, e.g. “And I hit” in line 36 followed by “And I put” in line 37. Also the statement “I win the fight” stands in prefinal line of the story as its unusual outcome. There is much more to say about the story, but let’s resume for the purpose of this paper. Leona and John L. both express themselves in African-American vernacular English (or AAVE for short) and do rarely code-switch. In this rather homogenous sociolinguistic environment, it is pretty straightforward to observe change in pattern numbers as a change in relations, both in the structure of the story as well as its contents. Change in pattern from traditional (functional) speaking to unusual patternedness usually occurs in the context of stress, acceleration or gender and is further explained under subchapter 3. Let us now take a look what happens when Sierra Leone krio (for which a pattern number is not yet known) is interchangeably produced alongside resources from AAVE, standard English and others. But first we need to turn to the last article the Hymes’ produced in their lifetime as we need to take one more important element on board.

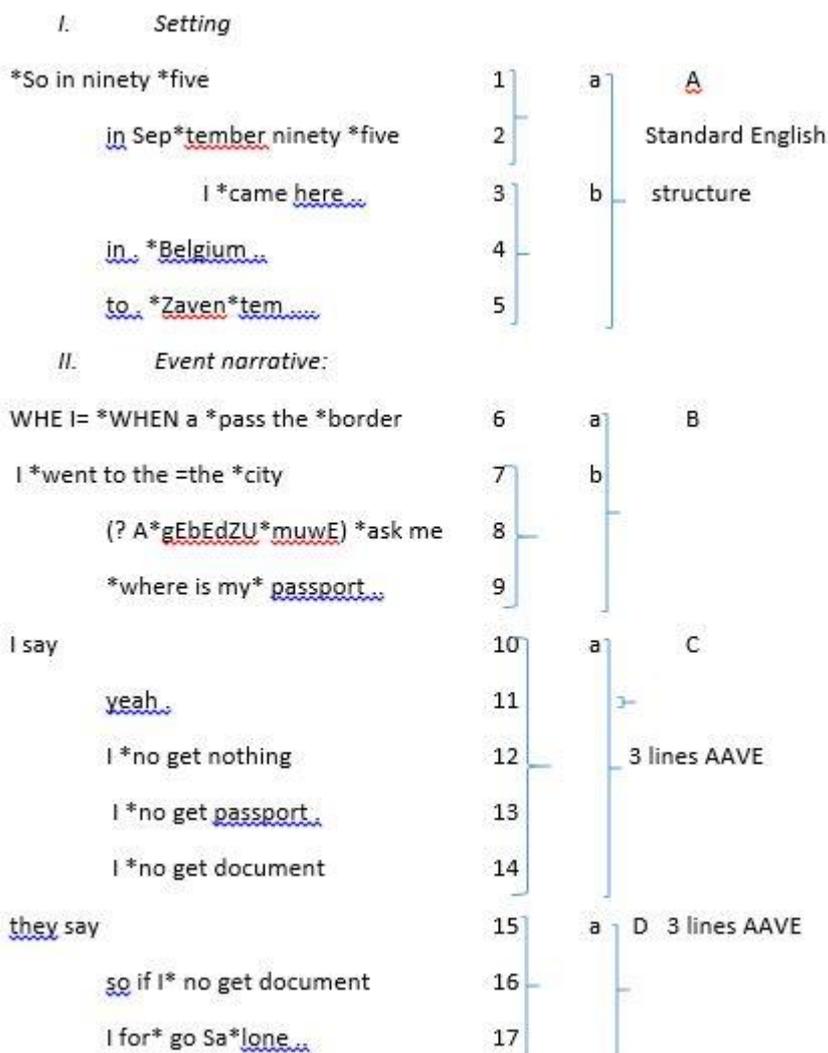
Maryns & Blommaert 2001: A story from Sierra Leone

Jan Blommaert and Katrijn Maryns did something quite extraordinary. They managed to gain access to asylum seekers’ narratives through involving themselves in the asylum procedure, thereby collecting unique stories within the scope of the

real asylum interview. Also, during a fieldwork project they collected interviews of African asylum seekers already residing in Belgium. One of these narratives is that of a Sierra Leonean asylum seeker, whose linguistic repertoire “is best defined as a continuum of ‘Englishes’, ranging from hypercorrected English to full Krio (Sierra Leone creole).” (Maryns & Blommaert 2001: 62). Their way of working and presenting the transcript is ethnopoetic. Their aim is to show (Maryns & Blommaert 2001: 62):

1. how narration is organized along a continuum of linguistic and narrative cues (such as an intricate play of codes, intonation, rhythm, images, autostereotypes, etc.);
2. how these cues correlate with more general narrative patterns (viz. thematic, epistemic and affective variation in the narrative) and in this way add up to the narration;
3. how all this leads to narratives that are almost completely indexical: the entire act of narrating (blending linguistic and narrative variation) indexes delicate shifts in speaker identities and voice.

For the purposes of this paper, we present the Blommaertian ethnopoetic transcript here, again with my additions and (some minor) corrections. The short extract “is from an interview with a young West African male asylum seeker (...) It is useful to indicate at this point that the speaker claims to be a Sierra Leonian refugee, but that his identity as a Sierra Leonian (as with so many other Africans) was a matter of dispute (...) The extract is taken from a long monolog in which the interviewee tells the story of his escape from Sierra Leone to the interviewer” (Maryns & Blommaert 2001:67).



<i>III. Commentary</i>			
<u>But</u> *see	18	a	E KRIO
de are for *no go Sa*lone	19	}	
Sa*lone de were (i) there bo*KU::	20		
*everybody de *die	21	}	
<u>so</u> de all for *stay here	22		b
<i>IV. Coda</i>			
I *went to *talk	23	a	F
I ex*plained to *them. <u>what</u> is *happen	24	}	
<u>and</u> I say *yeah	25		
<u>what</u> I ex*plain to *them is *not *so *clear	26		
*so I for go again to =to *talk	27	a	H
(? b2 *may) I sa*bi say	28	}	
<u>what</u> *there they *tell *them	29		
is *always that they *tell *them	30		
<i>V. Post-Coda</i>			
<u>but</u> yeah	31		

Before we go into an in-depth analysis of this magnificent find in relation to pattern numbers, we will first consider what Maryns and Blommaert (2001: 69) have initially found concerning the internal organization of the narrative. We do need to take on board some of its findings later on:

The nine verses are ethnopoetically marked by means of initial discourse markers such as ‘so’ or ‘but’, pauses, pitch differences and so forth, and degrees of internal patterning of the various units are marked by means of discourse markers (e.g., ‘and’) or style shifts (shifts into reported speech, parallelisms and so forth). They can in turn be organized into thematic units on the basis of episode patterns (e.g., in the setting, the event narrative and the refrain) and argumentative cohesion (e.g., in the commentary).

I first want to correct that I observe only seven verses, although I agree with its demarcations. Verse E is divided into two verses in Maryns & Blommaert, a decision they make on the basis of the initial marker “so” but my argument is that the progressive Krio marker ‘de’ in line 22 strongly resonates and rhymes internally with

the progressive in line 20, and thus forms a verse unity. I also disagree on the fact that the fourth stanza is a refrain instead of a coda, in which the outcome of the story is discussed (stanzas F and G). The coda in the Maryn & Blommaert version is a post-coda I believe, much like the final heavy note amplifying the rest of the musical piece, or poem in this case.

Having said that, we can now start our analysis of the internal patterned relations of the narrative. Let us start from the outset and look at the number of verses. In total the poem contains four stanzas and seven verses, if we don't take into account the status of post-coda V, as also an anacrusis would not be taken into account. Typical anacrusis would be interview questions, laughter, and so on. The four stanzas point to the story as a whole. Perhaps this has to do with the fieldwork setting of the story, which was away from the pressing frame of the quickly proceeding Q&A asylum interview. As the story points to seven verses we have Hymesian evidence that "seven is found ceremonially, e.g. the number of required drums in a ceremony), but not as a regularly repeated basis for verbal organization. The quite unique pattern number of seven can point to a variation on twos and fours (although at this point we are still unsure of Krio's pattern number) or because it is ceremonial, it can signal something unusual. Let us keep this in mind. At the outset, we can also say that the story's lexicon is mostly consisting of English, Krio and French words, and the grammar and underlying structure a combination of AAVE and Krio features. This is confirmed by Maryns and Blommaert in their discussion of the word BoKU, a Krio word for 'very much' (analogous with the French 'beaucoup') (Maryns & Blommaert 2001: 71). So we get the following basic scheme concerning linguistic resources and pattern numbers:

Lexicon=> French (2/4), Standard English (2/4), Krio (?)

Structure=> Krio (?), AAVE (2/4)

Let us delve deeper. If we take a look at verse level and what is there, we find that five out of seven verses have two groups of lines, and that two verses have one group of lines, in casu coincide with the verse. Above we have seen that one is neutral, so that it can vary or be contingent with the other verses. This remains to be seen. But if we assume that the majority of verses has two as a pattern number, that there are four stanzas (or scenes as Maryns & Blommaert say and as Hymes would

probably say), that the structure of the narrative is largely Krio and to some extent AAVE (but let's investigate that separately), and that the story is of a highly emotional nature, we can assume that two and fours are an unusual pattern here; and that thus Krio consists of main relations of three and fives. Further investigation is of course needed but this can be considered, also in the light of the Hymesian findings above, as rather strong evidence.

Krio, as an English-based creole language then consists of a pattern number of three and five in our evidence-supported assumption. Let us compare this to another English-based creole from Jamaica. I have found a non-ethnopoetically transcribed story by a Jamaican deportee, published in 2012 (Golash-Boza) and it goes like this. I have conducted the ethnopoetic analysis myself.

<i>i. Setting (onset)</i>				
I was charged for attempted murder.	1	a	}	A setting
This is some of the things	2	b		
I hate to talk about. ...	3			
It's just an unfortunate situation,	4	c	}	regular pattern
<u>you nuh</u> .	5			
I'm to be blamed of some of it	6	d	}	2/4
Because the company or whatever. ...	7			
I might have caused certain things. ...	8			
<i>ii. Event (ongoing)</i>				
I spent 26 years ...	9	a	}	B
<u>half</u> of my life was gone. ...	10			
When everyone is locked up they always say	11	b	}	'emotional'
" <u>oh</u> I didn't do it". You <u>nuh</u> , it's a common joke. 12	12			
But ... for a person who actually is there	13	c	}	unusual pattern
<u>and</u> haven't done anything	14			
<u>it's</u> not no joking matter. ...	15			
<i>iii. Commentary (outcome)</i>				
Probably I don't explain myself properly	16	a	}	C STRUCTURE OF RESIGNATION= outcome
<u>just</u> to let someone really understand...	17			
<u>it's</u> just painful for me. ...	18			
Well I'll talk about it.	19			
But you <u>nuh</u>	20	b	}	2/4
I just say	21			
<u>it's</u> like, here we go again.	22			

In this narrative, we see three stanzas of varying length, with the pattern of two and fours (onset and outcome) enclose a second stanza with a pattern of three and fives. This can mean two things: either the stanza is unusual, or the two enclosing stanzas are unusual. If we take a look at the content of the story, we see a Jamaican deportee who after an incarceration of 26 years in the United States was deported back to Jamaica, and who looks back on the events. In the beginning there is an onset in which the setting is explained, then a more emotional ongoing part about the incarcerated time, marked by the sadness of being imprisoned innocently while half a life is gone, finished by an outcome of resignation, in which the deportee reflects on his period abroad. Given the emotional load and arousal in the second stanza, I am inclined to say that in Jamaican Creole English, two and fours seem to be the usual pattern, whereas three and fives a rather unusual one, reserved for arousal, stress and acceleration. In the third stanza finally, we can probably perceive 'a structure of indignation', much like other structures we have found in Englishes. Its pattern number here would be 2/4 in a constellation of three stanzas where it would be the final one. (see also Van der Aa 2020 where a 'structure of indignation' is found of which is said, "a *structure of feeling* (Williams 1979) in threes and fives, and thus deviating from its regular pattern of twos and fours."; here it is the other way round).

Let's then take a look at the AAVE bits in the story of the Sierra Leonean man. Lines 12-14 in C (a) are an AAVE negation of the form 'no + verb imperative' which is repeated three times. The unusual pattern of three plus the repetition signal stress and emotion surrounding the fact of not having the necessary paperwork to enter Belgium. In lines 15-17 in D (a) we find a similar pattern of three lines in which stress and emotion play a main role, as not having the right documents means a return to Sierra Leone.

On the basis of the Jamaican evidence and the story as a whole, we can suspect that Krio has relations of three and five, but the evidence is not strong enough to make a sure claim. More research is warranted.

Blommaert 2006: Fatoumata's story

As said above, Blommaert doesn't stop at interviewing asylum seekers at home; Maryns & Blommaert also collected stories from within the asylum procedure, in order to show other 'truths' than the one the asylum commissar may be looking for. In the following sequence, we meet Fatoumata, a young female refugee from Sierra Leone, who "(...) failed to produce dates, place names, descriptions of people and objects in her story, and consequently her application for asylum was denied because of the lack of 'factual' substance and consistency, all of which, to be sure, is seen in terms of the particular ideology of meaning sketched above" (Blommaert 2006:187). In the ethnopoetic transcript below, I show Blommaert's (annotated and corrected by myself) engagement with "ethnopoetic patterning as implicit, indexical meaning". (Blommaert 2006: 187) Here we enter in the episode of her arrival in Belgium: "The ship docks in Antwerp harbor and Fatoumata is told to leave the ship. She has no idea where she is, and this is how she narrates the extreme sensory confusion and disorientation that marks that experience." (Blommaert 2006: 187)

<p>at that time ... <u>xxx</u> I see people <u>they</u> put me inside of the boat <u>then</u> I have to come down <u>when</u> I come down I see a lot of people ... <u>p</u> people they were (standing) I don't know <u>what</u> . <u>they</u> were waiting for ... <u>and</u> I now saw people walk into <u>it</u> ... I <u>xx</u> I was walking again <u>walking</u> again . I saw <u>them</u> . <u>they</u> stand <u>some</u> of them still walking <u>then</u> I stand <u>you</u> know ... <u>now</u> they still are . <u>urm</u> people coming <u>then</u> people was running inside <u>now</u> they <u>they</u> enter inside too ... <u>there</u> <u>there</u> was coming <u>then</u> people was going out of the bus ... <u>and</u> then . <u>xx</u> inside .. <u>and</u> I have to <u>xxxxx</u> <u>but</u> there's no . <u>people</u> inside that place .. <u>xxxxxxx</u> <u>so</u> .. <u>it</u> was <u>xxxxxxxxxxxxx</u> <u>and</u> I have to . <u>stay</u> <u>xx</u> I don't know <u>xxxxxxx</u> <u>so</u> then I sleep <u>xxxxxxxxxxxxx</u> <u>then</u> I saw a <u>xxxxxxx</u></p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>a</td><td>A</td><td>ONSET</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td></td><td></td><td>'vaguely seeing''</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>a</td><td>B</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td></td><td></td><td>2/4</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td></td><td></td><td>but pattern of 3:</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>b</td><td></td><td>onset of devastation</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>c</td><td></td><td>'seeing PEOPLE'</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>a</td><td>C</td><td>(police)</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>b</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>13</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>14</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>15</td><td>a</td><td>D</td><td>ONGOING</td></tr> <tr><td>16</td><td></td><td></td><td>'filmic account'</td></tr> <tr><td>17</td><td>b</td><td></td><td>(Blommaert 2006:188)</td></tr> <tr><td>18</td><td>c</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>d</td><td></td><td>3/5 and 7</td></tr> <tr><td>20</td><td>e</td><td></td><td>'ceremonial'</td></tr> <tr><td>21</td><td>f</td><td></td><td>ongoing of devastation</td></tr> <tr><td>22</td><td>g</td><td>=></td><td>structure of devastation</td></tr> <tr><td>23</td><td>a</td><td>E</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>24</td><td></td><td></td><td>OUTCOME</td></tr> <tr><td>25</td><td></td><td></td><td>'sleeping'(forgetting)</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>a</td><td>F</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>27</td><td>b</td><td></td><td>2/4</td></tr> <tr><td>28</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>29</td><td>a</td><td>G</td><td></td></tr> </table>	1	a	A	ONSET	2				3				4			'vaguely seeing''	5	a	B		6			2/4	7			but pattern of 3:	8	b		onset of devastation	9	c		'seeing PEOPLE'	10	a	C	(police)	11				12	b			13				14				15	a	D	ONGOING	16			'filmic account'	17	b		(Blommaert 2006:188)	18	c			19	d		3/5 and 7	20	e		'ceremonial'	21	f		ongoing of devastation	22	g	=>	structure of devastation	23	a	E		24			OUTCOME	25			'sleeping'(forgetting)	26	a	F		27	b		2/4	28				29	a	G	
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Let us take on board Blommaert's observation (2006:188), with which I agree and which we need for our ongoing discussion. He says that

“(w)e see seven verses of unequal length and structure. Verse (1) is the framing event: she is told to leave the ship by the people who took her on board. Verses (2), (3) and (4) provide an account of the extreme confusion she experiences when she gets off board. Verses (5), (6) and (7) provide microscopic accounts of subsequent events, and note the structural parallelism between (5) and (6) (three lines, starting with ‘and’, ending with ‘so’ and with a complication in the middle line).

Indeed, as we saw in the previous story from a Sierra Leonean refugee, this story also carries seven verse, which Hymes describes as a ceremonial number (see above, *ibid.*). The middle verse D also contains seven groups of lines, of which the middle ongoing group of lines is so central to two things: first to the story itself, ‘they enter inside’, as well as to a particular structure of feeling, a structure of devastation, seen also in rape stories (see Moenandar & Van der Aa *frth.*). Moreover, this particular verse has a pattern of three and fives, where the onset and outcome are patterned in two and fours, with the exception of verse B, which has a three and five pattern number. In this verse Fatoumata sees the police officers standing there for the first time, before they ‘enter’. We can call this pivotal verse (which is also the middle of the onset) also the onset of devastation, which knows its culmination in verse D obviously. What we take on board of this short analysis is that, although the person is not speaking in Krio, there may be evidence here for the fact that Krio is an underlying structure here which steers the story towards patterning of twos and fours, which a structure of devastation bringing on patterns of threes and fives. It can also be the case that because Fatoumata is using a maximal effort to use Standard English, that the patterning is mainly in twos and fours (see above) but that when entering into an emotional structure in verse D, more familiar Krio patterns take prior to Standard English. More evidence needs to be collected.

Van der Aa, da Silveira Duarte, Moenandar 2020: A teacher's story (The Nosebleed)

In a recent article (2020) I analyze, together with da Silveira Duarte and Moenandar, a teacher's story with regards to two Syrian children in her classroom. She is Dutch but the interview is conducted in English. So we get evidence of Dutch English

patterning here. The story is about a nosebleed which one of the children has incurred and the teacher doesn't understand what he or she is saying. Here goes.

R: Well, one disadvantage that I noticed has to do with **the young Syrian kindergartners**.

I. Onset: Setting + title "The nosebleed"

One of them had a nosebleed once,	1	a	onset	A regular 2/4
and you just try then to find out from that child=> <i>dismay onset</i>	2	b/c	interlock	
what has happened.	3	d	outcome	

II. Ongoing (verbs of motion)

So, I really had absolutely no clue => <i>ongoing dismay</i>	4	a	onset	B VERBS OF EMOTION (-ING) arousal
what was going on,	5			
the child wasn't crying or anything.	6			
it just had a nosebleed . (<i>middle word of the story</i>)	7	b	ongoing	3/5
it had its hands full of blood	8			
and it came walking towards me	9			
saying "Miss, miss, miss" [imitates the child's accent]	10	c	outcome	

III. Outcome

I thought	11	a	onset	C satisfying
"Yeah, sure, right [pauses].	12			
Well, let's just clean it up " => <i>central observation</i>	13	b	ongoing	expectation
but for the rest,	14			
there's not a lot you can do. => <i>schrijnend!!!!</i> (o) <i>Total dismay</i>	15	c	outcome	3/5

For the sake of our argument I am rehashing the analysis from that paper here:

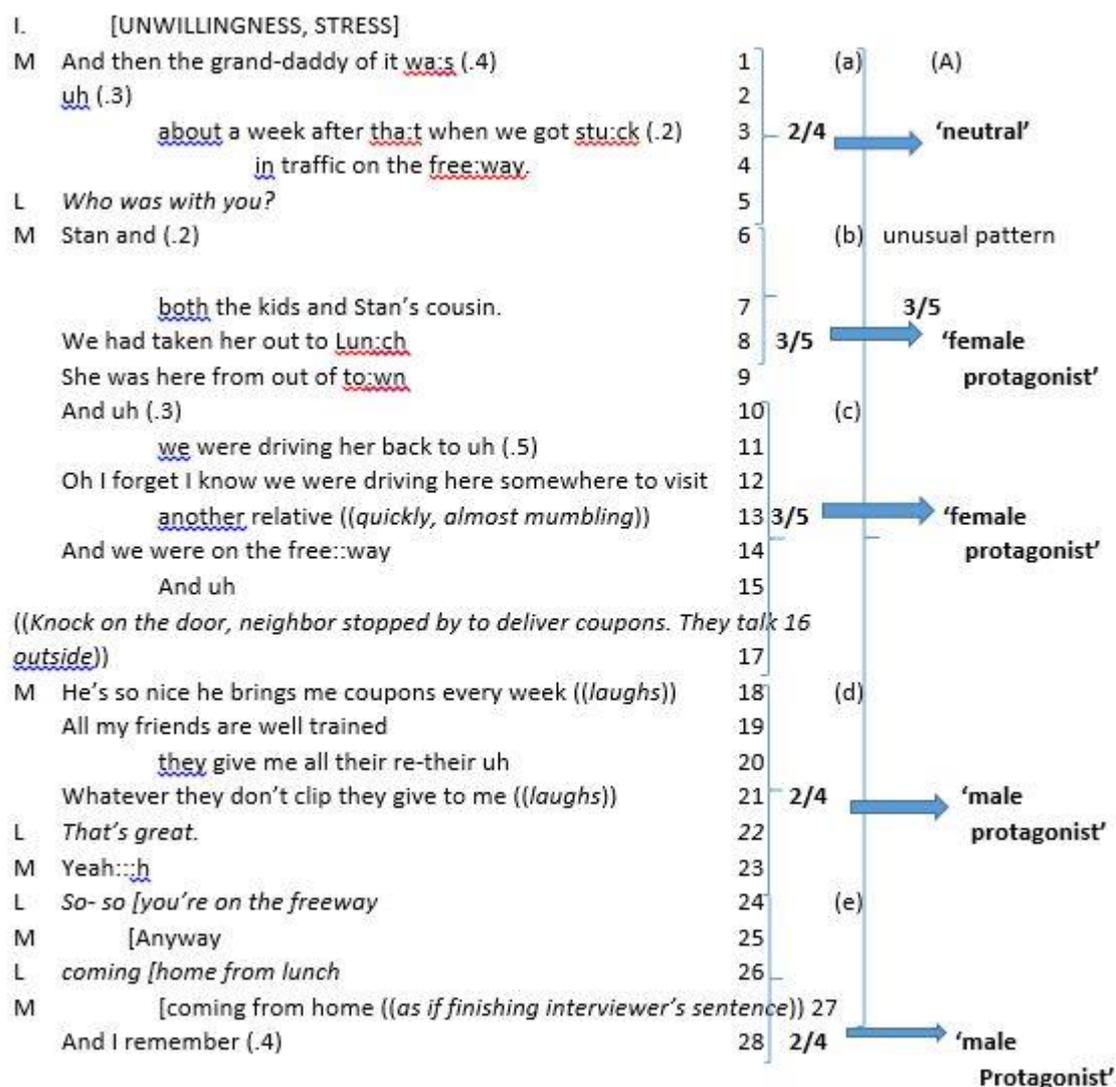
The structure of three verses in a narrative is quite unusual in English (but see Hymes 1996 with a rebuttal from Van der Aa 2020), as most narratives have pattern numbers having to do with twos and fours (so e.g. two or four verses, two or four stanzas, two or four lines etc., or any multiplication of two). However, Burke (1968: 124, 217) learns us that in storytelling there is "(a)n arousing and fulfillment of desires" or the creation of an appetite in the mind of the auditor, and the adequate satisfying of that appetite." In this case, the teacher is telling the story to one of our interviewers, wanting to make it interesting and therefore varies in verse form. Another reason why there is a 3/5 structure and not a 2/4 structure as usual in English, is because the teacher is becoming increasingly emotional about the fact that she cannot help the children because she cannot understand them.

So what we see is that the unusual pattern of three and fives is related to an ongoing dismay, building up from the first verse onwards. Let us take this on board for our upcoming analysis on variation.

3. Gendered variation

Let us finish this short overview with the Hymes' final publication, which was the reanalysis of one of Capps' and Ochs' stories on agoraphobia. Meg "(...)suffers from agoraphobia, and constructs narratives that justify her behavior to herself" (Hymes & Hymes 542). We here, together with the Hymes', "take up a narrative shaped first of all by a narrator interacting with herself" (Hymes & Hymes 2002:541). In the article they analyse a story called 'Big Mama', which Meg is telling in some collaboration with the persons present in the house. The Hymes' stress the fact, for some reason, that the collaboration (through the interaction) somehow did not disturb the storytelling, and that Meg "(...) maintain(s) coherent form" (Hymes & Hymes 2002:543). This ideology of storytelling, in which turn-taking is considered as interruptive, has been largely critiqued by so-called 'small stories research' (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008 and associates; and myself in subchapter 4) but for the purposes of our analysis we won't interrupt.

Below is given the first stanza of the verse (*my additions and corrections*), including turn-takings by L. and a knock on the door. We need to take on board Robert Moore's model of turn-taking in ethnopoetics in order to fully represent the ethnopoetic transcript (Moore 2013).



What we see is that in this story, whenever a male protagonist takes the stage (the friend at the door) and whenever a female protagonist is central (Stan's cousin) the patterned relations change and vary between 2 and 4, and 3 and 5. This is also true for the rest of the story, and even though the Hymes', in the scope of this article, do not pay much attention to it, it is certainly occurring multiple times in the Big Mama narrative.

All in all, variation across acceleration, gender, time, speed, stress and a multiple of other actors provoke changed patternedness, along with changes in real time and space that sometimes have less significant consequences, such as the ongoing frustration of the girlfriend with her boyfriend's attitude concerning Frisian, but sometimes consequences of injury (the nosebleed) or even life and death (Fatoumata's story). So only by acknowledging implicit pattern and seeing through

Hymes' sometimes megalomaniac claims, close attention to detailed patterning can mean the world both for us analysts and our partners in the field.

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