

Story Transcripts
(all stories transcribed by David Herman)

Transcription conventions (adapted from Tannen 1993 and Ochs et al. 1992):

- ... represents a measurable pause, more than 0.1 seconds
- .. represents a slight break in timing
- . indicates sentence-final intonation
- , indicates clause-final intonation (“more to come”)
- Syllables with ~ were spoken with heightened pitch
- Syllables with ^ were spoken with heightened loudness
- Words and syllables transcribed with ALL CAPITALS were emphatically lengthened speech productions
- [indicates overlap between different speakers’ utterances
- = indicates an utterance continued across another speaker’s overlapping utterance
- // enclose transcriptions that are not certain
- () enclose nonverbal forms of expression, e.g. laughter unaccompanied by words
- % symbols enclose words uttered as part of a laugh token, i.e., with a laughing quality of voice
- (()) enclose interpolated commentary
- { } enclose descriptions of gestural productions accompanying speaker’s verbal utterances, with terms in SMALL CAPS indicating the gestural function(s) instantiated, + indicating where a single gesture is interpreted as blending several communicative functions, and ? indicating uncertainty about coding choices

Story 1: Rufus. This story was elicited during an interview that occurred at the home of the informants, LB and JB, in Robeson County, North Carolina, on 5 March 1994. LB and JB are Native Americans, a 70-year-old Lumbee female and a 75-year-old Lumbee male, respectively. NSE and KMP are fieldworkers. The other participant in the interview, AD, is a prominent member of the Lumbee community who regularly accompanied the research team during fieldwork.

- LB: (a) And my ^brother...he got killed
 (b) but anyway...I’m a tell you..honey I seen him in the night
 (c) sure as if it had just been in the daytime
- NSE: (d) Yeah.
 (e) Now my bedroom was..windows is right ^there,
 (f) two double windows.
 (g) And I seen him when he come up ^standing
 (h) just as pretty as I ever seen him in my LIFE
 (i) a-standing there.
 (j) And uh..as I went to say to him “^Look”
 (k) I..I said to him I says.. “^Look
 (l) It..it’s Rufus.”
 (m) When I did he ^turned.
 (n) And I got up ^off of the bed
 (o) to see if I could see him go down the little sidewalk
 (p) and turn and go that way=
 [
- NSE: (q) Right.
- LB: (r) =but I didn’t see him no more.

NSE: (s) Umm.
 LB: (t) The time I SPOKE that was it.
 NSE: (u) Umm.
 KM: (v) Um.
 LB: (w) Well now and that was..
 (x) he was just as pretty as ever I saw.
 NSE: (y) Um hm.
 KM: (z) Amazing.

Story 2: *UFO or the Devil.* Interview with MW, a 41-year-old African American female, recorded on 7/02/02. The interview was recorded around 3 p.m. in Texana, NC, in Cherokee County. FW: CM (another fieldworker, RC, was also present).

MW: (1) But you know ^what~
 CM: (2) What~
 MW: (3) ...One time..my best girlfriend.
 (4) Somethin got after us.
 MW: (5) You know=
 []
 CM: (6) Um hm.
 MW: (7) =you hear about these ^UFO things=
 []
 CM: (8) Right.
 MW: (9) =and stuff like that.
 CM: (10) Right.
 MW: (11) Now we really ^did have this experience.
 CM: (12) Okay.
 MW: (13) ...We were good FOR..she would..stay at my house
 (14) till it got so dark that she was scared to go ^home.
 CM: (15) Yeah.
 MW: (16) So she would..see if I could spend the ^night with her.
 CM: (17) Right.
 MW: (18) And that ^way..that was our plan.
 (19) Or..I'd do the same.
 (20) Stay at ^her house real late
 (21) 'cause if I could spend the night.
 []
 CM: (22) Right.
 MW: (23) Sometimes yes, sometimes ^no.
 (24) But if ^one couldn't they'd let the ^other one
 (25) 'cause the other one so scared to go by they self.
 CM: (26) Right.
 []
 MW: (27) You know, whatever.
 (28) We was ^friends like that.
 CM: (29) Right.
 MW: (30) So ^one day..Renee wanted to spend the night with ^me.
 (31) So she called her ^grandmother,
 (32) grandmother said ^no..
 (33) bring your ass ^home.

(34) Then she's scared
(35) she's cryin and stuff,
(36) and then..she wants me to spend the night ^with her.
(37) My mother say I can't spend the night..that night either
(38) 'cause..this or that what^ever.

CM: (39) Right.

MW: (40) So then my mom says.. "But you can walk her half ^way."

CM: (41) Right.

MW: (42) ^Half ^way~ Shit. Time I walk her half ^way..

[

CM: (43) Yeah.

(44) I'm in the ^darkest part.

CM: (45) Right, right.

[

MW: (46) While she goin on,
(47) Then I'm gonna have to come ^back.

CM: (48) Right.

MW: (49) You know neither one of us ^together
(50) I ain't cr..I ain't

[

CM: (51) Right

MW: (52) ((inaudible))
(53) And she ((inaudible)) you need to call her mom back
(54) and ^beg her to let her spend the ^night.
(55) And her granny still wouldn't ^do it.

CM: (56) Um.

MW: (57) So ^then..my friend decide to beg ^my mom.
(58) "Oh she's just devastated..please, please."
(59) So my mom would..let me spend the night=

[

CM: (60) Uh huh.

MW: (61) =with her.
(62) So that's why I say..UFO or the devil got after our ^black asses,
(63) for showing out.
(64) I don't know what was it
(65) we walkin up the ^hill,
(66) this ^way, comin up through here.

CM: (67) Yeah.

MW: (68) And..I'm like on ^this side and Renee's right here.
(69) And we ^walkin
(70) and I look over the ^back,
(71) and I see this.. ^BIG ^BALL.
(72) It's ^glowin..
(73) and it's ^orange.
(74) And I'm just like..
(75) "nah..you know just..nah it ain't nothin," you know.
(76) And I'm still ^walkin, you know.
(77) Then I look back over my side ^again,
(78) and it has ^risen up.
(79) And I'm like "SHIT!"..you know.
(80) So but ^Renee..I still ain't say nothin to her

(81) and I'm not sure she see it or ^not.
 (82) So I'm still not ^sayin anything.
 (83) We just ^walkin.
 (84) Then I look over the back ^again
 (85) and I don't see it.
 (86) Then I'm like "well, you know."
 (87) But then..for some reason I feel some heat or somethin other
 (88) and I look ^back
 (89) me and Renee did at the same time
 (90) it's right ^behind us.
 (91) We like..we were scared and..
 (92) "Aaahhh!" you know=
 [

CM: (93) (laughs)
 MW: (94) =at the same time.
 (95) So we take off ^runnin as ^fast as we can.
 (96) And we still lookin ^back
 (97) and every time we look back it's with us.
 (98) It's just a-bouncin behind us
 (99) it's NOT touchin the ^ground.
 (100) It's bouncin in the ^air.
 (101) It's like this..behind us
 (102) as we ^run.
 (103) We run ^all the way to her grandmother's
 (104) and we ^open the door
 (105) and we just fall out in the floor,
 (106) and we're cryin and we screamin
 (107) and we just can't ^BREATHE.
 (108) We that ^scared.
 (109) "What's ^wrong with you all" you know
 (111) and we ^tell them..you know..what had ^happened.
 (112) And then her grandmother tell us
 (113) it's some mineral.. this or that
 (114) they just form
 (115) bah bah ^bah ^bah
 (116) and..the way we ^ran..it's the ^heat
 (117) and..you know..Bullshit.
 (118) You know..but so I never knew in my ^life..about that
 (119) but we didn't ^do that anymore.

CM: (120) Right.
 MW: (121) When dark goddamn came
 (122) my ass was at ^home.
 CM: (123) Yeah.
 MW: (124) And so..about a ^year ago,
 (125) ^Renee..well I don't know when she told her ^cousin
 (126) but she had told her cousin
 (127) which is now about 23 or 24 now.

CM: (128) Yeah.
 MW: (129) So the girl ^asked me about it one day.
 (130) "Mary, Renee ^said..
 (131) that y'all were walkin up the hill"

(132) the minute she said that
 (133) I ^knew what she was fixin to say.
 CM: (134) Right.
 MW: (135) I said "It happened."
 (136) And I told her ^word by word
 (137) everything that went down=
 [

CM: (138) Right.
 MW: (139) =and I was just like..she said "Well that's what Renee ^said."
 (140) I said "It happened."
 (141) Okay so...but I.. still over the ^years
 (142) now that I'm ^grown,
 (143) You know I walk up and down the ^road..
 [

CM: (144) Right.
 MW: (145) and don't think nothing ^of it.
 (146) But the other night..I was ^so spooked
 (147) I don't know ^why.
 (148) I was sittin here with Evon.
 (149) Shoulda kept my ass ^here.

CM: (150) Yeah.
 MW: (151) I didn't want to ^stay here,
 (152) 'cause like I said some time I just feel like I got to ^GO.
 (153) You know I was..just had to go
 (154) I felt like my sister /knew me/

CM: (155) Yeah
 MW: (156) /and partyin with her/
 (157) she might had a beer,
 (158) or I just wanted to ((inaudible))
 (159) But just some reason I wanted ^her.

CM: (160) Right.
 MW: (161) And so..on my way down the ^hill..
 (162) I caught that ^thought..for some reason about that.
 [

CM: (163) Yeah.
 MW: (164) I got real ^eerie.
 (165) But I wasn't gonna turn around and come ^back you know
 (166) I'm just gonna go on to the path where I would have wanted to.

CM: (167) Right.
 MW: (168) And then I'm ^walkin,..
 (169) and lightnin bugs are ^lightnin,..
 (170) and I'm ^looking over here in the ^woods,..
 (171) I'm ^lookin ^behind me
 (172) I mean..the..felt like something's with me the whole way ^down.

CM: (173) Yeah.
 MW: (174) And the..the ^eeriness never left.
 (175) It just kept /there/
 (176) And when the ^eeriness left me
 (177) I started..I found myself singin church songs.

CM: (178) Um hm.
 MW: (179) And..I ^did I just started singin church songs

- (180) and then the eeriness ^left me.
 (181) And then..but when I .. slipped my black ass around that corner
 (182) where the ^light and the ^houses were.
 (183) “Yea!” you know.
 (184) And then I knocked on my stepson ^door.
 (185) And I told him..I said “Damon, you know..
 (186) this hill, this and ^that
 (187) and I..I never be ^scared.”
 (188) And I..I don’t know what he said “Why.”
 (189) But unless it was ‘cause I was thinkin about what had ^happened.
 CM: (190) Yeah.
 []
 MW: (191) I just had the most..^eeriest feelin all the way off of this hill.
 (192) And I said “I ended up singin ^church songs you know
 (193) and that’s the only way I made it ^through here.”
 (194) And he started laughin
 (195) he said “Well, what you been ^smoking~
 (196) What you been ^drinkin~ (laughs)
 (197) What you been ^taking~ (laughs)
 (198) What you been doin.”
 (199) No ^drugs.
 CM: (200) Yeah.
 MW: (201) No ^alcohol.
 (202) Absolutely ^nothin.
 (203) I said “unless I’m havin ^WITHDRAWALS or somethin ” (laughs loudly and claps hands)
 []
 CM: Yeah.
 MW: (204) But I hadn’t had ^any
 []
 CM: (205) Yeah.
 MW: (206) “Might be”..I said “might be havin some ^WITHDRAWAL or somethin” you know
 CM: (207) (laughs)
 MW: (208) But ^no..I haven’t had ^anything ((inaudible))
 CM: (209) Wow.. that is weird.
 MW: (210) It ^is weird.

Stories 3 – 7: Story transcripts that include information about the storytellers’ gestures

Story 3: *Chet and Tom*

- (a) Yeah, um...
 (b) this is Chet and Tom old place.
 {As JB says *this*, he points with his right finger, arm fully extended and facing away from the camera: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC + BEAT}
 (c) This is the /old place/ where they used to farm.
 (d) From all this land,
 {As he says *all*, JB points with a sweeping motion of his right hand and arm, rotating his torso and turning his back to the camera: GROUNDED DEICTIC}
 (e) from all this way

- (f) and...that would be the old ^HOUSE
 {As JB says *that*, he points with his right index finger in the direction away from the camera, arm fully extended: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC}
- (g) that last bush in the back is the old cistern.
 {As he refers to the bush, and while still pointing, JB iconically traces the shape of a bush in the distance: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC + ICONIC; further, when JB mentions the cistern, still pointing, his gesture iconically represents the shape of the cistern, creating a similarly “blended space” but with different input spaces (Fauconnier 1994; Fauconnier and Turner 2002): GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- (h) But up in ^there is where the old brick house used to be,
 {As JB says *there*, still pointing, his finger traces a circular motion, creating yet another blend: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- (i) and they tore it down ((inaudible))
- (j) It was a while back.
- (k) But the.. reason why they call it Chet and Tom’s place is because..
 {In explaining the name of the place, with an open hand JB gestures loosely toward the area he’s just described: BEAT + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC}
- (l) Tom was the farmer~
 {As he produces this utterance, JB points with his right index finger; here the gestural beat reinforces the use of rising intonation to mark the differentiation of Tom’s and Chet’s roles and identities: BEAT + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (m) and Chet was the black guy who used to help him.
 {JB points with his index finger to the same region within the interactional gesture space, though now with a circular motion; that motion may constitute a metaphoric that indicates the formerly symbiotic relationship between these two characters in the narrative being told: BEAT + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + METAPHORIC?}
- (n) This one sp..particular day,
 {JB produces again points with his right index finger: BEAT }
- (o) They got..um arguin.. fussin.. fightin.
 {Beginning with the word *arguing*, JB begins producing beats with his open-palmed hand, each beat marking a new participle in the sequence: 3 BEATS}
- (p) Wasn’t nobody out here to ^stop ‘em,
 {JB produces a “slicing gesture” with his hand, palm facing the ground, as he shakes his head to mark the negative proposition: BEAT + METAPHORIC? (with hand); indicator of MODALITY (with head movement)}
- (q) And they were throwin’ hoes,
 {Here JB makes an open-handed gesture with his right index finger slightly extended and pointing toward the area in which the conflict occurred: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC + BEAT}
- (r) and draggin’ each other behind the ^WAGON and what not.
- (s) And basically they ^killed ‘emselves,
 {When he says *basically*, JB produces a beat with an open hand and slightly extended index finger; another beat is produced in the same way after *killed*: 2 BEATS}
- (t) right here on the same ^farm,
 {JB points back toward the location of the farm with an open right hand: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(1) DEICTIC}
- (u) /wh..where/ old Chet and Tom place.
 {Here JB points again, gesturing with his entire hand toward the site of the farm: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD (1) DEICTIC}
- (v) And a certain time of the ^YEAR,
 {As JB says *certain*, he opens both hands outwards in front of his body: BEAT + METAPHORIC?; also, JB flexes the fingers of both hands after emphatically producing the word *year*: BEAT}

- (w) no matter where you at in Hyde County,
 {As JB says *where*, he swings his left arm around behind him, rotating his torso toward the camera, thereby demarcating Chet and Tom's place from the rest of Hyde Co. as a surrounding/containing environment: BEAT + EXTENDED DEICTIC}
- (x) you see lights up in the ^air.
 {As JB says *see*, he gestures with his right hand toward the sky, rotating his torso up and away from the camera, and momentarily glancing up into the sky: BEAT + ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (y) They go up
 {Uses both hands to represent a motion upward into the sky: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (z) they fight
 {Slaps his hands together and interlaces fingers to emulate a struggle: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (aa) and they fall down,
 {JB drops his arms and hands to his sides: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (bb) and they go back up and fight ^again
 {JB raises his arms and makes the same fighting motion as at line z: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (cc) and they fall down,
 {Again drops his arms and hands to his sides: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (dd) and they bright as ^day.
 {Bends both arms at the elbows, palms up, hands opening wider when he emphatically produces the word *day*: BEAT + METAPHORIC?}
- (ee) But um..you got to be out at a certain time of year,
 {JB produces the same gesture he did at line (dd), interlacing his fingers momentarily after he says *year*: BEAT + METAPHORIC?}
- (ff) /most likely/ the ^fall of the year.
 {In concert with the emphatically pronounced word *fall* JB moves his left hand downward and away from his body: BEAT}
- ((inaudible))
 {Raises right hand in the direction of the sky over Chet and Tom's place: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (gg) No matter how far you come over here and ^look,
 {As JB says *far*, he produces a pointing gesture, accomplished by sweeping his left hand across his body away from the camera toward Chet and Tom's place: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC. Further as JB says *look*, he nods his head in an apparent mimicking of the act of looking: ICONIC}
- (hh) you come right here where the place is ^at,
 {As JB says *place*, with both hands held close to the front of his body, he moves them in the direction of Chet and Tom's place, making a quick downturning motion of both hands as he produces this utterance: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (ii) you will think they're fightin way over there.
 {JB rotates his torso back around and faces in direction to the right of the camera, pointing with his left arm fully extended: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (jj) And by the time you go around the ^ridge way to go over ^there,
 {When JB mentions the ridge, with his right arm he indicates a vector leading to the right of the camera: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC. Also, when JB says *there*, he uses his left index finger to point: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (kk) they fightin over here.
 {JB spins his torso back around, his back again to the camera, pointing toward Chet and Tom's place with his right arm: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}

- (ll) And if you go to the ^ridge,
 {JB turns his torso and faces to the left of the camera, punctuating the word *ridge* with a gesture of his left hand in an open position: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (mm) you'll think they're over there
 {JB uses his right hand, in the open position, to make a pointing motion when he says *there*: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (nn) like in Gull Rock or Nebraska
 {When JB mentions the place name *Gull Rock*, he waves his right hand while it is still making the pointing gesture described in line mm, as if to indicate a point farther away on a distal-proximal axis: EXTENDED DEICTIC + BEAT. Similarly, JB makes another waving/pointing motion after mentioning *Nebraska*: EXTENDED DEICTIC + BEAT}
- (oo) So you really can't ^pinpoint..exactly where they ^at,
 {As JB says *So* he raises his left arm, hand with palm up: BEAT. As he says *pinpoint*, JB produces the same gesture he made at line v, timing his hand motions to the two syllables in *pinpoint*: METAPHORIC + BEAT}
- (pp) but..come ^here,
 {JB points with his open right hand toward the locus of Chet and Tom's place: GROUNDED DEICTIC}
- (qq) and that's where they be fightin
 (rr) over in this area here.
 {During JB's production of lines qq and rr he waves his right arm through that portion of the sky where Chet and Tom can be seen fighting: ICONIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD(2) DEICTIC}
- (ss) They fight for a ^while,
 {JB opens both hands, palms up and away from his body, in a kind of "shrug" gesture: ICONIC}
- (tt) then they go back down.
 {JB drops his hands and arms back down: ICONIC}
- (uu) And you won't see 'em no more till next year.
 {JB lifts his hands up again, but not as high, in a partial repetition of the shrug gesture: BEAT? + ICONIC??}
- (vv) But you gotta be at the right time and the right place.
 {JB uses his left hand to produce beat gestures when mentioning the right time and right place, continuing to produce beats with that hand till the end of the transcribed portion of this interaction: 6 BEATS}
- (ww) When..in the middle of the night
 (xx) to catch 'em fightin and carryin on.

Examples of On- and Off-site Storytelling by Two Narrators

Off-site storytelling by JTH and PF

Story 4: *Ghost Dogs*

(told by JTH, from Graham County, NC; 44 lines (i.e., clauses))

This story was told off-site during an interview recorded in January, 2002, in JTH's mother's house in Robbinsville, NC (Graham County); however, the railroad grade mentioned in the interview is in or near Robbinsville, the setting of the current interaction. P2 and P3 (Participants 2 and 3) are sitting with JTH during the interaction (to JTH's left and right, respectively); JTH directs his gaze at them at different points during his telling of the story, and exchanges words with P2 as he attempts to launch his story in lines (a) – (s). Further, JTH's mother and sister are in the next room, and at times

during the interaction (though not during the telling of this particular story) JTH calls out to them for confirmation of events he is describing, specific points he is making, etc.

((As the story begins, JTH sits with his hands crossed over his lap. He nods his head by way of accentuating nothing and two dogs in line (a), and three dogs in line (b), and then again during the production of line (c): 4 BEATS. He does not begin gesturing with his hands until line (m).

Compare the gestural strategies of PF in Green Wood: PF likewise sits with his hands in his laps, his fingers usually interlaced, as the “base” position from which he initiates gestural productions, and to which he returns periodically between his use of speech-accompanying gestures.))

- JTH: (a) Well I never seen ^nothin’..except TWO DOGS.
 (b) Uh.^three dogs.
 (c) Seen that one time
 (d) and they wasn’t real
 {JTH shakes head when he says wasn’t real: MODALITY INDICATOR (EX)}
 (e) I don’t think I ever seen ‘em.
 {nods head when he says ever seen ‘em: MODALITY INDICATOR (EX)}
 (f) Never seen nothin’ /after/ dark.
 {JTH shakes head during production of line (f), and continues shaking it after his utterance is completed: MODALITY INDICATOR (EX)}
- P2: (g) ((P2 says what sounds like “It could’ve been a hallucination”; the rest of his contribution is inaudible))
- JTH: (h) Well I sure seen ‘em.
 {JTH nods head after completing the utterance in line (h): MODALITY INDICATOR (EP)}
- P2: (i) ((Another inaudible contribution by P2))
- JTH: (j) Well I don’t know if they was
 {JTH shakes head during production of line (j): MODALITY INDICATOR (EP); nods slightly as P2 produces line (k): marker of UPTAKE of P2’s utterance}
- P2: (k) [((inaudible)) You see ‘em but they may not be ((inaudible))]
- JTH: (l) [Yeah, I know
 what you mean
 {nods head as he utters line (l): marker of UPTAKE of P2’s utterance}
- (m) Oh that was as real-lookin’ as that ^table there.
 {as he says that table, JTH points with right hand to the table located in local gesture space: GROUNDED DEICTIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- P2: (n) Yeah.
- JTH: (o) I was goin’ up the ol’ RAILROAD
 {As he produces line (o), JTH rotates his head to a position left of camera, making eye contact with P3, another participant in the interaction, and points over his left shoulder with his right hand, to a position at about 1 o’clock relative to the camera angle: EXTENDED DEICTIC. JTH keeps his hand in this pointing position over the course of uttering both lines (o) and (q)—signalling his continued interest in taking/beginning a turn here—until launching the story: CONTINUATION marker}
- [
- P2: (p) ((inaudible))
- JTH: (q) I was goin’ up the ol’ RAILROAD GRADE.
 {as he says grade he makes a linear motion with his extended pointing finger, moving the finger out from his body, i.e., a back-to-front motion: EXTENDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- P2: (r) ((inaudible))

- JTH: (s) Well I ^seen ‘em.
 {JTH nods his head again as he produces this utterance: MODALITY INDICATOR (EP)}
- (t) THREE RED DOGS the SAME size and the SAME color
 {JTH lifts both hands from his lap, palms facing one another, at the beginning of utterance (t), dropping them and relifting them in concert with his utterance of the words dog, size, and color: 3 BEATS + 3 METANARRATIVE DEICTICS}
- (u) and their tails come behind
 {As JTH produces this utterance, he changes his hand shape, no longer holding his hand with palms flattened and facing one another in front of his body, but rather using his index fingers first to indicate where the tails are relative to the dogs’ bodies and then, in line (v), to iconically mimic the shape of the dogs’ tails: STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- (v) and rolled up in a curl.
- (w) Three in a perfect row
 {As he produces line (w), JTH’s head and torso lean to right and he produces a slicing gesture three times with his right hand, palm flattened out and facing to the left, in three different places in the space in front of his body, as if marking off three increments on a scale. He makes the gestures in a left to right direction, with the last-indicated of the three dogs occupying a position farthest from the center of his body: 3 METANARRATIVE DEICTICS + 3 STORYWORLD DEICTICS}
- (x) and I’d walk along up the old railroad
 {As he produces line (x) JTH points his entire right hand, all the fingers equally extended, forward into space in a vector extending directly in front of him in a linear path through space, from his body outward. He maintains this gesture in place, then moves his entire hand by bending his wrist, moving the hand first upward and then bringing the hand down to the position it was in before. This phase of the gesture functions as a BEAT marking the initiation of the topic broached in line (y); JTH’s hand returns to its initial position when he says stop: STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC + BEAT}
- (y) and uh..I’d stop
- (z) I had two budweisers
 {As he says two budweisers, JTH moves both hands downward to his hips or pockets, indicating where he kept the budweisers at the time: ICONIC}
- (aa) I’d..feel me one
 {As he says feel me one, JTH moves his right hand upward toward his mouth: ICONIC}
- (bb) and I’d stand there and drink it.
 {As he says stand there, JTH flexes his wrist and tilts his right hand back toward him, mimicking the motion of tilting a can of beer toward his mouth. He keeps his hand in that position as he produces lines (bb-gg), nodding his head to accentuate the word stop in line (cc) and using torso rotations and alterations of head position to perform perform in lines (bb-hh), while his hand remains in “drinking position”: ICONIC (with hand) + BEAT (with head nod)}
- (cc) I’d ^stop.. when I done that
- (dd) and.. they would all at the SAME TIME turn around
 {As he says they would all, JTH begins rotating his torso to the left, so that his back is turned to the camera, his right arm still raised in drinking position. He remains in this position for the duration of lines (dd-ee): ICONIC}
- (ee) and look at me.
- (ff) All three heads,..they all turned back,
 {As he says all three heads, JTH rotates his head briefly to the right, his torso still turned away from the camera, making eye contact with P2. Then he faces away again and begins rotating his torso back toward the camera as he initiates the utterance they all turned back: ICONIC}
- (gg) and they stood there

- (hh) when I'd start walkin'
 {JTH nods his head and tilts torso forward and down, holding his right hand in same extended position it was in line (x) and (y), though he now angles it downward when he says start walkin': BEAT + ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (ii) on they'd go.
 {JTH makes three rhythmic motions with his open right hand, timing the motion with his utterance of the words on they'd go, and lifting his hand above the level of his head as he finishes producing line (ii): BEAT + ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (jj) But when I'd stop,
 {JTH holds both hands out in front of his torso, again about 18 inches apart, but this time with his left hand lower than his right hand. He moves the hands downward in time with his utterance of the word stop: BEAT}
- (kk) they'd all turn around and look at me again.
 {With his hands still in the same position, JTH again rotates his torso slightly to the left and away from camera. This a reduced version of (= anaphoric reference to) the gesture performed in lines (dd-ee): ICONIC }
- (ll) We got nearly to the INDIAN SCHOOL HOUSE
 {As he says Indian school house, JTH's left hand returns to a position in his lap and he points downward with the index finger of his right hand: STORYWORLD DEICTIC + EXTENDED DEICTIC + BEAT}
- (mm) and there's a ^laurel thicket.
 {As he says laurel thicket, JTH opens his right hand and makes a sweeping motion with it across his body, from left to right, with his palm facing outward and to the right. Here JTH refers both to the configuration of the storyworld and to his own temporally indexed experience within that narrated environment: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (nn) They just all three went down through that ^thicket
 {As he says just all three, he pulls his right hand back toward his body and then over the course of uttering line (nn) sketches with his right hand a sweeping, curvilinear motion in front of and away from his body; i.e., he makes semi-circle that begins at his solar plexus and then traces an arc to the left and then back to the right. In contrast with the gesture used in (mm) to indicate the extent and placement of the laurel thicket, in this instance JTH's palm faces the left side of his body. Further, the arc suggests movement along a vertical as well as horizontal axis; JTH moves his hand downward when producing the word down and then back up so that his hand ends up at about the level of his forehead when he says thicket: STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- (oo) and was gone.
 {JTH flicks his open right hand slightly as he produces the word gone: BEAT}
- (pp) And..it was just as real as looking at ^you.
 {Having dropped his hand briefly to his lap JTH lifts it again and points to P3 when he says looking at you; he also rotates his torso to the right, in the direction of P3, when he produces this gesture: GROUNDED DEICTIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (qq) So I don't know what that was
 {As he produces lines (qq) and (rr), JTH leans back in the chair, his hands now in a resting position on his hips}
- (rr) unless it was DT's ((= delerium tremens)) they call it.

Story 5: *Green Wood*

(told by PF, from Haywood Co., NC; 56 lines)

This story was told off-site during an interview recorded in November, 2000, on PF's family's land near Waynesville, NC (Haywood County). The area in which the interview

is conducted is called Allen's Creek; hence the school mentioned in PF's story is part of this same area and is situated near the interview site (as was the railroad grade in Ghost Dogs. All utterances are by PF.

((With this story being one in a sequence of narratives told during the videotaped interview, PF raises both hands and holds them about 12 inches apart as he produces line (a), the gesture functioning in part as a beat to mark a new topic within the ongoing interaction: BEAT. Then he returns his hands to their interlocked position in his lap, the resting or "base" position to which he returns repeatedly after performing gestures; cf. Ghost Dogs above))

- (a) But I was up there at the uh..Allen's Creek School
 (b) it just went through the FOURTH GRADE.
 {PF moves his left hand, palm down, from right to left across his body, tracing a distance of about 12 inches, as he says fourth grade: METAPHORIC}
- (c) And uh..we was out for.. ^recess up there one uh..^Friday afternoon.
 {PF's interlocked fingers move slightly when he produces the word recess; also tilts head to the right slightly when he produces the word Friday: 2 BEATS}
- (d) And about uh..it was..it was afternoon recess
 {As he says afternoon recess, PF holds both hands out from his body, palms down, then brings his hands back near their original position in his lap: BEAT}
- (e) and this big black car came up behind the schoolhouse
 {As he says this big black car, PF begins to make a slicing motion with his left hand, tracing a vector that leads from a position behind him to one located at about 10 o'clock from the position he is facing; his hand moves upward as well as forward, mapping a vector that moves away from his body as he traces the car's path: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (f) and drove right up into this guy's..yard.
 {As PF produces line (f), he lowers his left hand slight and reproduces the last portion of his previous gesture, his hand coming to rest palm down, exactly parallel with the ground, and at about forehead level: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (g) And..it attracted everybody's attention
 {PF returns his hands to his lap as he produces this gesture, making a slight motion with his fingers as he produces the word attention: BEAT}
- (h) 'cause it was ^rare to see a car go up in ^front of the school house
 {As he says rare P lifts his right hand from his lap and moves it slightly to the right, then when he says in front of the school house he traces a vector leading from back to front on the right side of his body. Here PF refers both to the big black car and to what any car in would do, in general, in the narrated world: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (i) let alone % ^behind the school house%
 {When he says behind the school house PF again moves his left hand, this time with his left index finger extended in a loose pointing gesture, from behind his body to the same end-point indicated during the production of this gesture in lines (e-f). Again, PF refers both to the big black car and to what any car in would do, in general, in the narrated world: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (j) because the main road's in ^front of the school house.
 {As he produces line (j) PF moves his right hand out from his body, this time with the index finger extended, and indicates a direction lying at about 2 o'clock from the position he is facing: ICONIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (k) So.. we stopped all the playin'
 {As he says we stopped all the playin' PF pulls his hands apart so that they are momentarily separated by about 18 inches, then returns them to his lap: BEAT}
- (l) just watched what was goin' on

- {PF interlaces his fingers in his lap again}
- (m) and these guys got out
- (n) and raised the trunk of the car
 {PF here uses his left hand to emulate the motion of hands raising the trunk of a car; again he performs this gesture on the left side of his body, so that the gesture also has a locational, pointing function: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (o) and they got out a big sledgehammer
 {PF returns his hands to his lap in an interlocked position during the production of line (o)}
- (p) and they.. busted a big hole right through the guy's ^wall.
 {With the word busted PF raises his left arm off his lap, holds it with palm facing the camera, then makes a sweeping motion, with all fingers extended, across his body from right to left, ending with the hand at about 11 o'clock relative to the position he is facing: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + BEAT}
- (q) And..they went in there
- (r) and they got these.. 5-gallon buckets
 {PF returns his hand briefly to his lap, then lifts them both up and pulls them slightly apart as he says 5-gallon buckets: BEAT + ICONIC}
- (s) and started uh..dippin' up his uh.. mash and all that stuff
 {When he says started, PF mimics the act of dipping a bucket into a liquid: ICONIC; he holds his hands roughly in the same position, but repositions them when he says the word mash: ICONIC + BEAT}
- (t) and pouring it down the %^bank in front of the house%.
 {As he says pouring it down, PF moves both hands in concert across his body, from left to right, mimicking the act of pouring out the buckets full of moonshine; he leaves his hands in that position till the end of line (u): ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (u) %The guy had%..had a ^still in %there%
- (v) And so..he's making liquor.
 {PF returns his hands to an interlocked position in his lap; they remain in that position until line z}
- (w) And so..we all stood there
- (x) and watched that..
- (y) Mr. McCracken's..happened to look out the door
 {When he says look out the door, PF turns his head slightly to the right and gazes in that direction, then returns his gaze to previous position: ICONIC}
- (z) he was the principal of the school.
 {PF pulls his hands apart when he says principal: BEAT}
- (aa) He looked out and saw /all that/
- (bb) he rang the bell right quick
 {As he says rang the bell, PF frms a bell-ringing gesture with his right hand, mimicking four pulls on the bell: 4 ICONICS}
- (cc) and we all uh..tore into the schoolhouse.
 {When PF says we all but before he says tore, he performs a slicing gesture with this left hand, palm held down, moving it to the left and outward from this body, then returning it to his lap and interlacing his fingers in his hands again: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (dd) So on ^Monday ^morning..the..the school just had uh..had ^four rooms..
 {After he says monday morning, PF raises his left hand from his lap and holds it just below shoulder level with hand open and palm down: BEAT. He spreads the fingers wider and moves hand slightly to his right when he says four rooms: BEAT + ICONIC}
- (ee) but the..the third and fourth grade was in the ^same room
 {As he produces the first token of the and then again when says third and fourth PF moves his left hand up and down slightly: 2 BEATS. He also retracts his fingers slightly toward the end of line (ee): ICONIC}
- (ff) and then.. they had uh..a ^folding ^door,

- {When says then PF uses his left thumb to indicate another region of storyworld space, behind and to the left of him: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + BEAT; as he says they had, he opens out his hand, palm facing the camera, and moves it back and forth along a path directly in front of his body, as if mimicking the operation of a folding door: ICONIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (gg) and then uh..had a..the ^first graders over ^there
{When he says then PF again uses his thumb to indicate a different segment or zone of space in the storyworld behind him and to his left: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + BEAT. He holds his thumb in that position until he says first graders, at which time he accentuates the gesture by repointing the thumb in same direction: BEAT + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (hh) and the..the second graders over on the other side
{When he produces the first token of the PF points with his left index finger to a position situated at about 11 o'clock from the position he is currently facing: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC; he then scratches his head and repoints his left index finger in the same direction when he picks back up with the utterance in the second half of line (hh): METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (ii) and had a ^lunch room.
{This time using a more open-handed point, involving both his index and middle fingers, PF points in the direction of 10 o'clock when he says lunch room: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + BEAT}
- (jj) And so uh..on Monday morning they always opened that.. folding doors
{As he begins line (jj), PF returns his left hand to a position closer to his body, but does not return it to his lap. Instead he traces the path of the folding doors, this time using a looser hand gesture versus the flattened-hand gesture he used in line (ff): ICONIC + METANARRATIVE DEICTIC}
- (kk) and up front had a little ol'..and the first grade had a little ol' ^stage there..
{When he says up front PF points with his open hand to a direction in the vicinity of the one he indicated for the lunch room in line (ii): METANARRATIVE DEICTIC; further, as he says stage he holds his hand out flat, palm down, and elevates it by about six inches, mimicking the elevation of the stage: ICONIC}
- (ll) And Mr. McCracken'd get up on that
{As he says Mr. McCracken PF pulls his hands apart in front of his torso: BEAT + ICONIC}
- (mm) and he'd open up his big ol' Bible
{PF mimics the opening of a large bible, pulling his hands apart and moving them downward: ICONIC}
- (nn) and he'd read us a little bit..uh of the Bible
{PF reproduces the same gesture used in mm, but with slightly diminished amplitude: ICONIC + BEAT; then returns hands to interlocked position in his lap}
- (oo) and..he'd tell a story
{As he says tell a story PF holds his hands loosely apart, palms upward, in front of him; he moves them slightly downward as he produces the word tell: BEAT + ICONIC}
- (pp) that uh..taught some sort of moral or ethical lesson you know.
{PF makes the same downward motion with his hands, which are in the same position as they are in (oo), when he produces the words moral and ethical: 2 BEATS. He then returns hands to an interlaced position in his lap}
- (qq) So this day..this Monday morning he says, you know said
{PF lifts his hands briefly and pulls them apart when he says this day: BEAT; he then returns them to an interlocked position in lap; they will remain in this position, with only slight movements until the end of line (zz)}
- (rr) "It's a shame..you kids had to witness what you did last Friday."
(ss) Said "You saw a man uh..get arrested."
(tt) And..they did
(uu) they took him out and put him in the car
(vv) /handcuffed/ put him in the car.

- (ww) He said “You saw man get arrested
 (xx) goin’ be tried
 (yy) goin’ to be sent to ^prison..for doing something wrong.”
 (zz) Says “Can any of you.. people tell me in here what the man was doin’ wrong?”
 (aaa) And so everybody’s just %real quiet.%
 {As he says everbody’s, PF pulls his hands apart momentarily, then returns them to their former position in his lap: BEAT + ICONIC}
 (bbb) This little hand went over there..
 {raises right hand, mimicking child’s raising of his hand, then returns to former position in his lap: ICONIC}
 (ccc) /He went/ “Yes son.”
 {PF points with left index finger at a position slightly to his left, mimicking Mr. McCracken’s calling on the boy to speak, then hands return to former position in his lap: ICONIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
 (ddd) “Well..Gramma said it was ‘cause Grandpa was using green wood.” ((laughter))
- ((N.B. Green wood, when burning, would tend to give off more smoke than dry wood, and hence be a more visible sign of a still in operation.))

On-site storytelling by JTH and PF

Story 6: *Bicycle Wreck*

(story told by JTH, from Graham Co., NC; 20 lines)

This story was told on location in Snowbird, NC, during an interview recorded in May, 2002. All utterances (except the interviewer’s laugh between lines (s) and (t)) are by JTH.

- (a) Talking about bicycles,
 (b) my first cousin lives right down there.
 {As he says my first cousin JTH points to a location to the left of the camera, his head and torso at approximately a 45-degree angle to the camera. He drops his hand to waist level again after he completes the utterance in line (b): GROUNDED DEICTIC}
 (c) We was about...about 12 years old.
 {JTH nods his head forward, down, and to the left as he says about 12 years old: BEAT}
 (d) And his brother was in the service,
 (e) and they bought Chad and Vance a ^Shelby bicycle
 {JTH nods his head slightly when he says the name Chad: BEAT}
 (f) that was the name of it Shelby
 (g) for Christmas...((3.5 second pause))
 {JTH nods again when he produces the word Christmas: BEAT}
 (h) We rode it ALL day
 {As he produces the words we rode it, JTH lifts his right arm, the index of his right hand extended to form a pointing gesture, and moves his hand and arm downward in front of him, the pointing gesture extended beyond the camera frame. As he produces the words up the highway in line (i) he moves what can be inferred to be his still-extended finger to indicate further progression along the vector (a distal-proximal axis) indicated by his point: GROUNDED DEICTIC + EXTENDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC}
 (i) /we took time about it/ up the highway
 {JTH makes a circular motion with his outstretched hand and pointing finger as he produces the (inaudible) first part of line (i): STORYWORLD DEICTIC + EXTENDED DEICTIC+ ICONIC}

- (j) and I brought it right up here..
 {As he produces line (j), JTH rotates his torso and head to the right, turning away from the camera; his outstretched right arm with extended index finger points to a position situated at a nearly exactly 90-degree angle to the front part of JTH's body. In other word, his point indicates a vector situated at about 3 o'clock vis-à-vis the position JTH is currently facing: EXTENDED DEICTIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (k) and the road was gravel
 {While producing lines (k) and (l), JTH rotates his head back to its original position, prior to line (j); but his right arm and extended right index finger remain outstretched, his turning torso having caused a slight change in the absolute position to which his finger is pointing: EXTENDED DEICTIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC}
- (l) and that was about 4:30 to 5:00 in the evening.
- (m) It lasted ^one day.
 {As he produces line (m), JTH holds up the index finger of his left hand, his right hand and right index finger remaining outstretched in the same general direction; as he says one day he moves his left hand and index finger outward from his body and downward in space: EXTENDED DEICTIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC (with right hand); METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + BEAT (with left hand)}
- (n) I come through here ^a-flyin'
 {As he produces line (n), JTH's left arm is now down by his side (and out of the camera frame), while he sweeps his outstretched right arm and right index finger from right to left, tracing a vector that runs parallel with the road next to which he, the camera, and interviewer are currently positioned: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC}
- (o) and it.. got to shimmyin' right down there at that house with me,
 {As he produces line (o), his extended right arm and pointing right index finger remain stationary, indicating the end-point of the imaginary vector he has used the gesture to trace in line (n). Further, as he produces the words right down there at that house JTH tilts his head (and looks) to the right and then restores it to an upright position (and returns his gaze to its previous position), using that gesture to specify where exactly in the local environment the house in question is located and thus where the "shimmying" of the bike took place: GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC + ICONIC (with right hand); GROUNDED DEICTIC + STORYWORLD DEICTIC (with head movements and position of gaze)}
- (p) it was just UPSIDE DOWN
 {As he produces line (p), JTH steps back from the camera slightly and begins mimicking a tumbling, end-over-end form of motion with both hands: ICONIC}
- (q) it tore that thing..
 {As he produces line (q) JTH holds both hands out in front of him, about 24 inches apart, the palm of his left hand facing downward and that of his right hand facing the camera; he moves his hands toward one another, apparently metaphorically indicating movement toward an adequate account of what occurred as well as the path of motion followed by the bicycle itself: METAPHORIC? + ICONIC}
- (r) it was wantin' to..the wheel's just like that.
 {As he produces line (r), he makes a flapping motion with his open right hand, the palm facing the camera, indicating the wobble or "shimmy" of the bicycle's wheel: ICONIC}
- (s) And we demolished that thing in one day.
 {As he produces (s) JTH raises both hands, held loosely open, and then moves them both downward to his hips in concert as he says the word demolished. At the same he tilts his head slightly back and up, his chin elevated from its angle in previous utterances: BEAT + indicator of STORY COMPLETION?}
- ((Interviewer laughs))
- (t) Yeah Vernon said I'll never buy a^nother.
 {JTH shakes his head as produces the first part of line (u), and nods during the production of the word another: markers of MODALITY (EX), transposed with JTH's verbal productions in this instance}

Story 7: *Rock Building*

(Story told by JTH, from Haywood County, NC; 9 lines)

This story was told on-site just after the interview (in November, 2000) in which PF told the off-site story about “Green Wood.” After that interview, the interviewer and PF moved inside the store where fruit grown on the family land was sold. There, PF narrated the family’s earlier experiences of growing fruit and storing it in the old stone building one of whose walls is visible from within the fruit store.

(a) This uh..I don’t know whether you can see it or not

{As he says “this,” PF points toward the stone wall of the “rock building” toward which the camera pans: GROUNDED DEICTIC. His hand then traces, as he says “I don’t know whether you can see it or not,” the position of the old structure relative to the current building, while still indicating the direction in which the building is currently located: ICONIC.}

(b) but the old ROCK BUILDING ^here..was built ^around..uh...probably right around 1930

{PF again uses a pointing gesture, moving his pointing finger from right to left and then back from left to right to indicate the surface of the wall in general rather than a particular part of it: GROUNDED DEICTIC}

(c) something like that.

(d) And uh..we stored uh..like potatoes and ^apples in it,

{As line (d) begins, PF points with his left index finger toward toward the old rock building. He then opens out the other fingers of his left hand while still pointing in the direction of the wall, referring now to locations and activities situated in the past. Further, he punctuates the words “potatoes” and “apples” with rhythmically timed gestures: GROUNDED DEICTIC + 2 STORYWORLD DEICTICS + 2 BEATS}

(e) and it had an up^stairs to it

{As he says “upstairs,” PF uses a point to indicate the spatial position of the upstairs relative to the ground floor of the old rock building. This point, which also refers to the stone wall seen on camera, is anchored both in the storyworld and in the environment accessible in the here and now: METANARRATIVE DEICTIC + GROUNDED DEICTIC}

(f) where we kept.. I guess a kind of a ^shop

{PF makes circular motions with both hands while producing the pause and hedged construction in line (f); he also punctuates the word “shop” with a rhythmically timed gesture: METAPHORIC + BEAT}

(g) where we did all our..uh..uh..carpentry work

{During the pauses in line (g), PF uses the same circular motions with both hands that he used in line (f), again marking the phrase “carpentry work” with a rhythmically timed gesture: METAPHORIC + BEAT}

(h) or ^repairing..uh.. three-bushel crates and all that /thing/ of stuff

{As he articulates “repairing” in the next line, PF’s hand motions change from broad, sweeping motions to more narrowly circumscribed movements, iconically reproducing the performance of a task requiring manual dexterity. PF then returns to the broader, more sweeping motions that he uses prior to describing the carpentry and other repair work: ICONIC + 2 METAPHORICS}

(i) the ca [kə].. container with ^apples in it.

{PF produces further sweeping motions with both hands when he mentions the container: METAPHORIC}