

Evaluation Schema in the Sendong Survivors' Narratives

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Abstract

The conversational/everyday story is the least studied of the two primary forms of narratives: literary and conversational/every day. Though there are some studies on the schemas or elements comprising conversational narratives, most of these are from Western perspectives. To address this gap, this paper determines the types and features of the evaluation schema reflected in the oral narratives of personal experience of the typhoon Sendong (Washi) survivors in the barangays of Sta. Filomena, Hinaplanon, and Santiago of Iligan City, Philippines. Forty informants (40) were asked to orally tell their Sendong experiences, and audio-recorded interviews were transcribed. The narrative clauses were coded using Labov and Waletzky's six narrative schema model as the main framework highlighting the evaluation schemas of these narratives. Results showed that there were two general types of evaluation schemas in the Sendong narratives: the external evaluation and the embedded/internal evaluation. It is also revealed in the study that evaluation schemas can also be categorized based on content. These typologies include individual evaluation, collective evaluation (which could be inclusive or exclusive), outsider's evaluation, and the "you" evaluation. The study concludes that the presence of these culture-specific types of evaluation (other than the individual evaluation) reflects the collectivistic culture of the Filipinos, that of focusing more on the "we" than the "I" as depicted in the evaluative comments of the Sendong survivors in this study.

Keywords: *Labov and Waletzky's narrative model, narratives, narratives of personal experience, narrative evaluation*

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Introduction

Based on the 2016 World Risk Index, the Philippines ranks third among countries with an extremely high disaster risk percentage of 26.70% (World Risk Report, 2016). This is also supported by the findings of the Global Climate Risk Index of 2017, which lists the Philippines as one of the top five countries most affected by extreme weather catastrophes in terms of fatalities and economic losses (Kreft, Eckstein, & Melchior, 2016). This simply indicates that the Philippines is one of the global hotspots which is most vulnerable to tragic calamities.

Typhoon *Sendong*, also known as Washi, hit the Philippines on December 16, 2011. It was one of the strongest typhoons, devastating the northern part of Mindanao, particularly Iligan City, and Cagayan de Oro City. Many lives were lost and even got missing while houses and other infrastructures were mostly wiped out by the strong flood. Despite this, a few people were fortunate enough to survive the catastrophic tragedy.

There have already been existing studies on typhoon *Sendong*. However, the majority of them focus on the sociological aspects (e.g. Yucada, et al., 2013; Bracamonte, et al., 2014; Escalante, et al., 2012; Ponce, et al., 2014; Labadisos, et al., 2014) while others focus on its management and economic impacts e.g., Borja, et al., 2014) as well as environmental impacts (e.g., Franta, et al., 2016). This paper, on the other hand, used a linguistic approach to study the oral narratives of the *Sendong* survivors, particularly those who were from the three worst-hit barangays in Iligan City. It specifically investigates the evaluation schemas in the survivors' personal narratives, the less studied type of narratives.

In Labov and Waletzky's (1967) six narrative schema model, a fully formed narrative must have the six narrative schemas: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. These schemas are commonly in hierarchical order. Of the six, Labov puts more emphasis on the evaluation. This urged the researcher to focus the discussion on the evaluation schemas in the narratives of the *Sendong* survivors in Iligan City. McCabe and Bliss (2003) define evaluation as the subjective importance of an event for a speaker and thus, a good narrative is one where the narrator can deliver certain interpretations about the facts and an appraisal of the main characters. Labov (1972) in his later study even considers evaluation as "perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause" (p.366) while Toolan (2001) labels it as the "pre-eminent constituent" (p.156). Later studies by Labov show that the evaluation schema, which is usually situated before the resolution schema, is both a distinct structural unit and a micro-level mechanism applicable to the entire narrative. In other words, it permeates the whole narrative.

Using Labov and Waletzky's model as a framework, this paper focuses on identifying and describing the evaluation schema and its types as reflected in the oral narratives of the *Sendong* survivors in the worst-hit *puroks* of Barangay Santiago, Sta. Filomena, and

Hinaplanon in Iligan City. The findings of this study are significant since there is a dearth of research in the field of conversational or everyday narratives, particularly on narratives of personal experiences.

Review of Literature Review

Defining Narratology and Narratives

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) claim that narratology is one of the very significant approaches to studying narrative as a text type. As pointed out by Fludernik (2009), narratology as the study of narrative as a genre aims “to describe the constant variables and combinations typical of narrative and to clarify how the characteristics of narrative texts connect with the framework of theoretical models (typologies)”(p.8). Generally, the narratologists’ assumption is that the definitional criteria of narrative are universally applicable and that narrative can be theorized as such. Basically, the object of the study is the story, a series of temporally and causally ordered events.

According to Pradl (1984), narratology refers to the structuralist’s study of narrative. The structuralist aims at investigating how recurrent elements, themes, and patterns yield a set of universals that determine the makeup of a story. The ultimate goal of such analysis is to move from a taxonomy of elements to an understanding of how these elements are arranged in actual narratives, fictitious and real. Narratology grew from the linguistic work of Ferdinand de Saussure who initiated "structuralism," the study of systems or structures as independent from meanings, which gave rise to the field of semiotics. Additionally, Roman Jakobson and the Russian Formalists also influenced the study of narrative by pointing out that literary language is different from the ordinary language. In this paper, the ordinary language employed in the narratives of the *Sendong* survivors was explored to determine the repetitive patterns to describe the evaluation schema and identify its types.

In doing narratology, Franzosi (1998) points out that narrative analysis of the text helps to bring not only the linguistic properties of the story but also a great deal of sociology hidden behind the text(in this case, oral personal experiences about typhoon *Sendong*). This is because narratives are loaded with not just sociological but also cultural information. Thus, this study identifies the structures, particularly the types of evaluation schema in the *Sendong* narratives, and describes their functions, which may have socio-cultural underpinnings.

Moreover, Labov and Waletzky (1967) define narrative as “any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture” (p.21), a distinguishing feature of narratives that creates a link between the sequence of events and the clauses that describe them. This technical definition is limiting in the sense that it mainly focuses on the formal elements which comprise the narrative. With regards to the structure, Labov claims that, in his article *Oral Narratives of Personal Experience*, the order of narrative clauses matches the order of

events as they occurred. This means that an ideal narrative starts with an *abstract, orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda*. This is Labov and Waletzky's six narrative schema model. In this paper, however, focuses only on one schema, the evaluation schema, which is believed to be the most important schema among them. Liebliech, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) define narratives as stories that "are usually constructed around a core facts or life events, yet allow a wide periphery for the freedom of individuality and creativity in selection, addition to, emphasis on, and interpretation of these remembered facts" (p.8). This definition focuses on the story and the narrator.

Finally, the definition which has a great impact on this study is that of Webster and Mertova (2007). They claim that a narrative is a repository of human experience through the "construction and reconstruction of personal stories" (p.1). As it presents complex issues, the analysis should move beyond the structural elements that make up a story into the "underlying insights and assumption that the story illustrates" (p.4). As pointed out by Gimenez (2010), Webster and Mertova are able to provide a new analytical perspective in the field of narrative research which is grounded on the critical events within narratives. These critical events are those incidents that reveal 'a change of understanding in worldview by the storyteller' (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 73). Both Liebliech et al. (1998) and Webster and Mertova (2007) are significant studies because they aim to reconcile the two prominent methods (Aristotle and Labov and Waletzky) in the study of narrative. They serve as one of the frameworks in this research, which aims not only to identify the structural features of the evaluation schemas in the narratives of *Sendong* survivors but also the cultural implications of some of these features.

Labov and Waletzky's Six Narrative Schema Model

Many scholars, notably linguists, regard William Labov and Joshua Waletzky's narrative schema model as one of the most influential and insightful models that provides a clear functional examination of the schematic structure of oral narratives of personal experience. Both developed a framework for narrative form and narrative function, which has been generally regarded as a universal description of a basic narrative. That is why it is the main framework used in this paper.

In 1967, Labov and Waletzky developed a model that focuses on narratives of personal experiences. Their corpus came from the personal narratives of the minority groups in New York (from the African-American and Hispanic communities). During those days, formalism was the trend which was why they focus on uncovering the narrative's structural model. However, they were also interested in studying the functional element of the narrative and that is for 'recapitulating experience' (Bamberg, 1997). They believed that to have a better understanding of narratives, examining the relationship between their internal structure –the elements or schemas comprising a narrative – and their function is significant so that "it will be possible to relate the formal properties of narrative to their functions" (Labov & Waletzky,

1967, p.12).

Moreover, Labov and Waletzky (1967 in Gimenez, 2010) identified the narrative clause as the fundamental element of the model. These narrative clauses are sequentially ordered which means that a change in their order would change the whole narrative. For instance, if the sequencing of “I fell in love with Paula. My wife left me” is changed, it is already an entirely different story and not the same as the original one. But still, only very elementary narratives are exclusively built on these narrative clauses; “free” and “restricted” clauses are needed as well. As mentioned by Gimenez (2010), Labov and Waletzky recognize three types of clauses in a narrative: free clauses, co-ordinate clauses, and restricted clauses. Specifically, the free clauses can be moved without disrupting the match between the clause and the event sequence, and are normally used to provide background information about a central action or situation in the narrative. On the other hand, the coordinate clauses are those which can have various complex relations to the narrative sequence. Lastly, the restricted clauses are those which are less fixed to the sequence than a narrative clause, but less free to be displaced than a free clause.

Furthermore, both had discovered that narrative clauses can accomplish six various functions, creating one of the most influential models for analyzing personal narratives. These six narrative functions or schemas, also labeled as the narrative syntax, include abstract, orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda.

Specifically, the abstract is the initial clause that signals the beginning of the story and gives some ideas on what the story is about. The orientation, on the other hand, provides data on the participants in the action and their initial behavior as well as the time and place of events in the narrative. The complication or the skeleton plot is the sequential clause that reports the next event in response to a possible question: *Then what happened?* This is where the temporal junctures, “a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered” are typically located (Labov, 1972, p. 360). As mentioned by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), the complicating action embodies the narrative’s skeleton or main body, that is, the fundamental events around which the story revolves. While the resolution offers an answer to the question: *What finally happened?* and provides a hint that the narrative is about to end, the evaluation tells what and how the narrator feels about the event (see section 2.3. for details about this schema). Lastly, the coda brings the narrative to an end or signals that the story has finished (Lambrou, 2005 & Andrews et al., 2008).

According to Labov and Waletzky’s description of the fully-formed condition of narratives, the notion of the well-formedness equates with a narrative having all six schemas in the order presented by them. In short, all these schemas must be in proper order to have a well-formed narrative. In this study, the focus of discussion is on the evaluation schema alone

The Evaluation Schema

As pointed out by McCabe and Bliss (2003), the evaluation in a narrative story refers to the subjective importance of an event for a speaker. It is essential because it provides the listener information about how and what the speaker feels about the event, thus it has interpersonal implications. However, in this study of *Sendong* narratives, evaluation refers not only to the narrator's but also to other characters' feelings about the event as viewed by the narrator himself/herself. In addition, evaluation may also encompass the narrator's assessment of the situation or condition where (s)he is into. Thus, a speaker may be viewed as aloof and cold without his/her evaluation. In addition, Sacks (1989, in Labov, 1972) claims that the evaluation substantiates why the narrative has a larger part of a conversational time than most turnoff talks, which entails an extended return of talk to the narrator until it is done. To put it simply, the evaluation makes the point of the story clear, suggests why it is worth being told and tells why the story is of interest. Hence, evaluation answers the question: *So what? Why was it worth telling?*

The evaluation, according to Labov and Waletzky, is usually situated before the resolution schema, thus helping to identify the latter. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) believe that the absence of evaluation in a story makes the story a plain sequence of events that is pointless. On the contrary, a good narrative is one where the narrator is able to deliver certain interpretations of the facts and an appraisal of the main characters. That is the reason why evaluation is more predominant in stories of personal experience than in stories of events vicariously experienced by the narrator. Labov (1972) in his later study even considers evaluation as "perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause" (p.366) while Toolan (2001) labels it as the "pre-eminent constituent" (p.156). And these are the reasons why it is the focus of this paper.

More specifically, Labov (in De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012) identifies two ways of assessing the event: embedded/internal evaluation and external evaluation. This general categorization is also what is utilized by Tannen (as cited in De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). External evaluation, according to Tannen, is an evaluation that is done outside the story frame or outside the narrative. In simpler terms, it is a direct commentary on the events that happen in the story. In this kind of evaluation, the informant momentarily stops the narration to comment on the experience. On the contrary, the evaluation is said to be embedded or internal when the assessment is found inside the narrative. This kind of evaluation takes place when the informant:

1. quotes what he/she was thinking at the moment of the events;
2. quotes his/her words to someone else in the story;
3. introduces a 3rd person/character who evaluates the action, quoting that character's words;

4. uses evaluative action, reporting actions that reveal emotions without the use of speech; and
5. uses evaluative devices described by Mason (2008) as those “specific syntactic and phonological features which are used deliberately by the narrator to hold his/her hearer’s attention, to indicate the point of the narrative, and to involve the hearer in the telling of it” (pp.34-35), which include:

5.1. Intensifiers

- i. used to enhance a specific event; are added onto the basic narrative syntax without affecting the basic form of the verb phrase; and
- ii. include gestures, expressive phonology, quantifiers, repetition, or ritual utterances.

5.2. Comparators

- i. contrast what happened with what could have happened thus moving away from the actual events to consider possibilities;
- ii. can occur in the main verb of the narrative; and
- iii. include negatives, modals, futurity, hypothetical sentences, questions, and comparative and superlative phrases.

5.3. Correlatives

- i. bring together two events that occurred by conjoining them in a single independent clause; and
- ii. include simultaneity of occurrence of actions (e.g. *while; be + V-ing*), double appositives (*a knife, a dagger*), and double attributes (*a wet, cold day*).

5.4. Explicatives

- i. suspend the narrative action to go back or forward in time; and
- ii. are embedded clauses appended to the main clause, introduced by markers such as *while, though, since, because, that*.

Peterson and McCabe’s (1983, in McCabe & Bliss, 2003) types of internal evaluation are very much alike those of Labov. These include onomatopoeia, stress, negatives, internal emotional states, and causal explanation are also very similar. The first two (onomatopoeia and stress) can be categorized under Labov’s intensifiers, the third one (negatives) as comparators, and the last one is equivalent to explicatives. For Labov, only those communicatively skilled narrators can creatively embed internal evaluation into the

complicating action because the act is extremely intricate (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

Labov and Waletzky's model is very influential because it has incorporated the affective, subjective, emotive, and experiential components of a narrative, by claiming that evaluation is not only a distinct structural unit but also a micro-level mechanism applicable to the entire narrative. Thus, as pointed out by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), evaluation provides various linguistic means which enable a series of events to be expressed and identified as being reportable or narratable. They add that there have already been studies on evaluation that investigate not only how emotions are expressed but also the use of semiotic choices. This only shows that the evaluation schema of the narrative alone is a good subject for research.

A remarkable study that made use of the Labovian approach is that of Lambrou. She conducted a study on the *Story Patterns in Oral Narratives: A Variationist Critique of Labov and Waletzky's Model of Narrative Schemas* in 2005 which questions the universality of Labov and Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) narrative model. This study investigated the correlation between the variations in oral personal narratives of the Greek Cypriot community members in London at a schematic level (i.e., which schemas are present and how they combine to structure the narrated experience) with aspects of a person's culture. One of the relevant findings is that there is an additional schema frequently appearing and that is *post evaluation*, which suggests that "culture is a variable in relation to narrative structure, as are more specific individual and social factors including age and gender.

The existence of this additional narrative schema, as emphasized by Lambrou, provides further compelling evidence of cultural storytelling practices and adds to the argument that a single model of narratives is not able to represent the broad range of narrative forms beyond Labov & Waletzky's informants. Lambrou then proposed a variationist model of narrative grammar which combines not only the core but also the optional and culturally variant features of the narratives, believing that cultural models of oral storytelling are very much in existence. Lambrou's study has a significant impact on this paper as it tries to investigate other narrative features, if possible those culture-specific ones, particularly concerning those of the evaluation schema, not covered in the Labovian paradigm. More specifically, this paper supports Lambrou's idea that there are still other culturally relevant narrative schemas or elements, other than those pointed out by Labov and Waletzky, which need to be uncovered.

Localizing Tragedy: Studies About Typhoon Sendong

Before the onslaught of typhoon *Sendong*, the northern part of Mindanao, especially Iligan City, had not been susceptible to typhoons. That is why people were really terrified by the great devastation it had caused. In fact, some researchers have been made in relation to it. However, most of the studies are conducted using the sociological perspectives (Viloria,

Mamon, Escuadra, Anaya, & Landong, 2012; Bracamonte, Embornas, Ponce, Mendoza, & Vilorio, 2014; Escalante, N. Jr., Alegre, Budlong, Deuda, & Macarambon, 2012; Lamoste, Patoy, & Solon, 2012; Ponce, Colance, Landong, & Manda, 2014) while few are on the environmental positioning (Franta, Quiaoit, Lo, & Narisma, 2016) and management perspective (Borja, Roxas, Narido, & Galido, 2014). In contrast, this study on *Sendong* employs the narratological approach in treating the *Sendong* narratives as data. The discussions are mainly anchored on the information shared by the survivors through oral narration.

A more related *Sendong* researches to this present study are the works of Yucada, Bation, Sumatra and Santos (2013), Gervacio (2014), and Labadisos, Ponce, Aguado, Arsoler, Navales, and Pagente (2014). In Yucada's et al. (2013) study entitled *Kwentong Baha, Maria Cacao and Tambyiong*, the researchers gathered fifty-two (52) stories related to new myths and those re-emerging myths during typhoon *Sendong*, particularly about Maria Cacao and Tambyiong. The study was able to reconstruct the hearsays and rumors regarding these two mythic characters. The study revealed that the stories about them are not just "kwentong bayan" passed on by word of mouth. The researchers were able to uncover the mystery behind the narratives by identifying the common elements found in the stories which are the presence of a dog, a boat or a ship, and a banana tree. Lastly, the study revealed that the dominant message that these stories depict is about Mother Nature.

In 2014, Gervacio made a research entitled *Sandosenang Sendong: Ang Talinghaga ng Pagwasak at Pagbuo*. The study's primary aim is to create twelve (12) literary works that are inspired and/or influenced by typhoon *Sendong* experiences. As a result, Gervacio was able to come up with eight (8) "maikling kwento" or short stories, two (2) plays, one (1) "dagli", and one (1) poem. One of his interesting conclusions is that an experience or thought knows no particular genre to be expressed, that is, the *Sendong* experiences can be expressed in any literary genre such as short story, play, and even poem. Another one is that writing can be therapeutic if not cathartic, which means that creating literary compositions using *Sendong* experiences can provide emotional and psychological relief from a tragic or traumatic experience.

Another notable study conducted in relation to *Sendong* is that of Labadisos, et al. in 2014. The study *Life in the Aftermath of Typhoon: The Case of the Muslim Maranao Victims in Iligan City, Philippines* examines the experiences of the 35 *Sendong* survivors in Brgy. Mandulog before, during, and months after their stay in the evacuation center. Particularly, their economic, health and sanitation, spiritual/religious, social, and emotional conditions were determined through a researcher-designed interview guide. Wilcoxon tied ranks test of differences was then used for quantitative data analysis while the thematic approach for qualitative data.

The findings reveal that before *Sendong*, the people in the said barangay lived a

comfortable life. Unfortunately, a lot of them were affected when *Sendong* struck the place. Houses and farms were devastated, there was a food shortage, and they had to stay in the crowded evacuation centers. Psychological problems are also observable in the survivors because of their traumatic experiences. The study also shows that months after the typhoon, some were relocated and resettled. Life, for them, seems to be back to normal yet their emotional scars remained. Finally, Parson's functional, specifically, AGIL (adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency) approach supports the finding that the lost equilibrium can be re-attained by the community in the wake of the disaster.

This study differs from those above-mentioned studies as this one employs the narratological lens in analyzing the narratives of the *Sendong* survivors to identify and describe the types of evaluation schemas found in their orally shared experiences.

Methodology

This paper is qualitative or descriptive in nature. It investigates the evaluation schema found in the survivors' personal narratives about typhoon *Sendong* which hit Iligan City on December 16, 2011. Specifically, this study characterizes this evaluative component and identifies its various types.

This study involved forty (40) informants from the various worst-hit *puroks* of the three barangays of Iligan City. All of them were *Sendong* survivors aging twenty-one to thirty-one years old, considering the reminiscence bump theory which states that the experience more memorable to people were those which occurred most especially when they were fifteen (15) to twenty-five (25) years old. Additionally, all of them signed the informed consent form as proof that they agreed to be part of the study.

To gather the narratives, a guided one-on-one interview technique that involved asking minimal questions and encouraging continuous narration was employed. Specifically, the participants were asked to narrate what happened before, during, and after the typhoon *Sendong*. The oral narration was then audio-recorded. After gathering the target number of narratives, verbatim transcription of the recorded interviews was then conducted.

Once the transcripts were ready, the narrative clauses of each narrative were identified and coded using Labov and Waletzky's six schemas which are abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. After this, the focus was then on the evaluation schema. Its features were described and its types or classifications determined. The classification of evaluation according to the structure is based on Tannen's (in Mason, 2008) two general categories which refer to how the evaluation is injected into the narratives. It is an *external evaluation* if the evaluation is done outside the story frame. In other words, the informant momentarily stops his/her narration to comment on the experience he/she is narrating. On the other hand, it is an *embedded* or *internal evaluation* if the assessment is

found inside the narration. This can be detected by the presence of some linguistic cues such as the use of quotations, as well as the use of evaluative actions and evaluative devices (Mason, 2008). On the other hand, the categorization of evaluation according to content is based on who is making the assessment: the informant himself/herself, the other character in the narrative, and so on.

Results and Discussions

Types and Features of Evaluation Schemas in the Sendong Narratives

In this study, the evaluation schema does not only deliver information about how and what the speaker feels about the event, as what has been indicated in Labov's narrative model. It refers not only to the informants' but also to other characters' feelings, during and even after the events, as viewed by the informants themselves. As expected, evaluation is very much evident in the *Sendong* narratives. Just like Labov's finding, it does not only function as a distinct structural component but also as a sub-component that pervades the whole narrative.

In this study of the *Sendong* narratives, the evaluative clauses are classified based on structure and content. Based on structure, the study adapts Tannen's (1982) two general classifications: *external* and *embedded/internal evaluation*. Based on content, it is found that the evaluative components can be categorized as *individual evaluation*, *collective evaluation*, *outsider's evaluation*, and the "you" evaluation. These types based on contents are said to be culture-specific as these are not found in Labov and Waletzky's narrative model or in Tannen's classifications of evaluation. *Figure 1.* presents these types of evaluation found in the *Sendong* narratives.

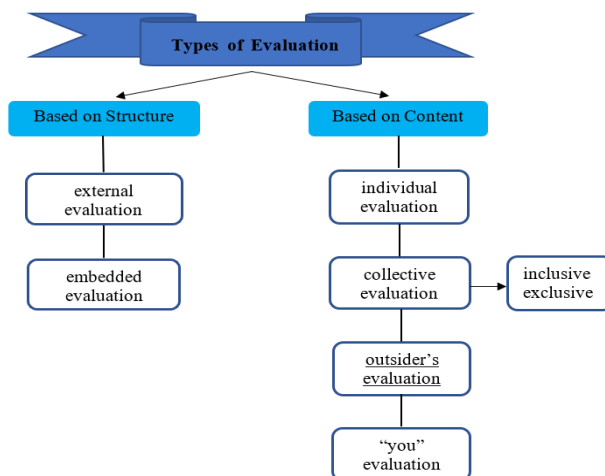


Figure 1. Types of Evaluation in the *Sendong* Narratives

*Types Based on Structure***Table 1.** Occurrence of external and embedded evaluations in the forty narratives.

Type of Evaluation based on Structure	Occurrence
External Evaluation	40 (100%)
Embedded Evaluation	36 (90%)

Table 1. shows that both *external* and *embedded evaluations* are widespread in the *Sendong* narratives, with all the 40 narratives containing *external evaluation* (100%), and 36 (36) having *embedded evaluations* (90%), as shown in the excerpts below. Note that translations of the Sebuano language are enclosed in brackets. (Code: INF-informant; RSC-researcher; Em- embedded evaluation; Ex- external evaluation).

Embedded Evaluation:

- CA INF: Kay ang kuan daw kuno Santiago mag-tsunami daw
kuno mag-tsunami.
[They said that there's a tsunami in Santiago, a tsunami.]
- Em Di nangakuyawan na sad mi.
[And so we were frightened again.]

Narrative 21 Excerpt, Female Informant, Hinaplanon

External Evaluation:

- O INF: Dayon kuan man mi kabuok gaeskwela ato, tulo.
[And then there were seven of us who were schooling.]
- RSC: Mm.
- Ex INF: Hilak na karon (pointing to her mother who was lying on the sofa
while we were having the conversation)
[She will cry now]
- RSC: (slight smile)
- INF : kay nakuhaan gyud mi'g isa.
[because we lost one in our family.]

Narrative 4 Excerpt, Female Informant, Sta. Filomena

In the excerpts from Narrative 21, the evaluation is *embedded* since the informant makes her assessment of the situation or expresses her and her companions' feelings while she is narrating the story. The evaluation is thus part of the narrative. This is in contrast with the evaluation found in the excerpt from Narrative 4 where the informant temporarily stops her giving of orientation schemas to comment about the event. In other words, her assessment is done outside the story frame, thus an *external evaluation*.

There are also certain cases wherein the evaluation is embedded in the complicating action. In other words, a narrative clause functions both as an evaluation and a complicating action. In the excerpts from Narrative 4, two clauses act as both *embedded evaluations* and *complicating actions*. The key phrases in the clauses *natingala na lang mi* [we were wondering] suggest that the said clauses have *evaluative functions*. Both clauses are also *complicating actions* in the sense that they denote actions that happened during the event.

Clauses functioning as Em/CA

<u>Em/CA</u>	INF:	Kay pagbrownout, brownout anang alas dose, natingala mi nga naa nay tubig. [When it blacked out at 12 midnight, we were wondering that there was water already.]
<u>CA</u>		Pag-abri namo sa amoang jalousie kay kuan dako man to among balay. [When we opened our jalousie because our house was big]
	RSC:	Mm. Mm.
<u>Em/CA</u>	INF:	Natingala na lang mi kay ang mga tawo kay niingon na man nga, “Panggawas na mo kay dako na ang tubig!” [We were wondering because people were telling, “Get out ‘coz the water is already big!”]

Narrative 4 Excerpt, Female Informant, Sta. Filomena

Types of evaluations based on content

Furthermore, the researcher found out that evaluations can also be classified based on content, on who is giving the assessment. The first one is called *individual evaluation*, which happens when the assessment is done by the informant himself/herself. The usual linguistic indicator of this type of evaluation is the use of the Sebuano first-person pronouns such as *akong*, *ko*, and *nako*. That is why it is also called first-person singular evaluation. However, it is important to note that one should not depend on the categorization of the evaluation on the linguistic indicators alone because these indicators are just cues and not the sole basis in the categorization. The following are examples of clauses containing *individual evaluation*.

Individual Evaluation (without linguistic indicator):

1. Normal sa evacuation guot jud. (Narrative 30)
[It’s normal in the evacuation to be too crowded.]
2. Aw okay na lang.
[Aw, it’s okay.]

Tubig, tubig gyuy number 1 nga problema. (Narrative 3)
 [Water, water is the number 1 problem.]

Individual Evaluation (with linguistic indicator):

1. Ah nakahilak *ko* ato oy. (Narrative 15)
 [Ah, I really cried that time.]
2. Mura'g *akong* hunahuna tibuok gyud kalibutan nitab-nidat-ug sa akoo.
 (Narrative 5)
 [I felt like the whole world fell upon me.]

The second type of evaluation according to content is a *collective evaluation* or first-person plural evaluation. In this type, the evaluation is done by both the informant and the other characters in the narrative. This collective evaluation can also either be inclusive or exclusive. This is because unlike the English language's first-person plural *we* which is inclusive, Sebuano's first-person plural pronouns are categorized into two: inclusive (e.g., *ato*, *nato*, *kita*, etc.) and exclusive (e.g., *amo*, *namo*, *kami*, etc.).

Particularly, *inclusive collective evaluation* happens when the listener is included in the evaluation. The first set of examples of collective evaluation that follow presents *inclusive collective evaluations* signaled by the Sebuano first-person plural pronouns such as *ta*, *atong*, *nato*, and *tay*. These personal pronouns connote inclusivity. In other words, the listener is considered to be part of the evaluation. In contrast, *exclusive collective evaluation* takes place when the evaluation is done collectively, but without including the listener. This type of collective evaluation is exemplified in the second set of collective evaluation samples. The linguistic cues that commonly signal this type include the Sebuano first-person plural pronouns *among*, *amoang*, *mi*, *namo*, and *namong* which suggest exclusivity. These are highlighted in the narrative clauses that follow.

Collective Evaluation/1st person plural (exclusive):

1. Pero grabe pud *namong* kuan ato oy hilak kay wala na *mi* balay. (Narrative 22)
 [But *we* really cried hard that time because *we* did not have a home anymore.]
2. Ang sitwasyon *namo* grabe kaayo. (Narrative 36)
 [Our situation was really hard.]

Collective Evaluation/1st person plural (inclusive):

1. Madawat man *nato* kay wa man *tay* choice.
 [We can accept it because *we* don't have a choice.]
 Mao lagi balik-balik ang *atong* makaon. (Narrative 26)
 [As expected, *we* eat the same food over and over.]

2. Pero pasalamat *ta* kay gitagaan pa *ta* 'g higayon sa Ginoo nga mabuhi ning kalibutana. (Narrative 28)

[But *we* are thankful because *we* are given a chance by God to live in this world.]

The third type of evaluation under content is the *outsider's evaluation* or the third-person evaluation which arises when the evaluation is done by the other characters in the narrative, as observed by the informant. In other words, the informant notices the evaluation given by the other characters in the narrative and reported or included this in his/her narration of the events. That is why it is called *outsider's evaluation*. The common linguistic cues in this type of evaluation include Sebuano third-person pronouns such as *siya*, *sila*, *niya*, *nila*, and *iyang*.

Outsider's Evaluation/3rd person:

1. Abi gani *nila* 'g gabinuang ra ko. (Narrative 22)

[*They* thought I was just joking.]

2. Ana gud *sila* mura ko'g nabuang ato ma'am kay muhilak ko nga mukatawa. (Narrative 5)

[*They* said I became somewhat insane that time, ma'am, because I would be crying while laughing.]

Finally, the last type of evaluation under content is the "*you*" evaluation or the second person evaluation. From the term itself, the evaluation is done by the informant using the "*you*" viewpoint instead of the "*I*" viewpoint. But why do people sometimes use this kind of evaluation when it is a fact that the use of the second-person pronouns is prohibited especially in academic and formal writing? According to Melissa Tydell, a content consultant, the use of *you* in writing allows the readers to experience the story as if it is their own. In the *Sendong* narratives, the use of *you* particularly in the informant's evaluation gives the listeners a sense of urgency that they are part of the actions. It is as if the listener is obliged to put himself/herself in the scenario to get a better glimpse of what the informant feels and thinks during those situations. The following are examples of "*you*" evaluations taken from some *Sendong* narratives. The Sebuano second person pronouns are italicized for emphasis.

"You" Evaluation/2nd Person

1. Ah makahunahuna lagi *ka* anang katong kaagi ng Noe sa una, nga tanang hayop....(Narrative 25)

[Ah, *you* can really remember Noah's time before when all the animals....]

2. Alert na lang jud *ka* kung kuan. (Narrative 23)

[*You* should be alert always.]

The collectivistic culture of the Filipinos is evidently reflected in the types of evaluation according to content, where the evaluation is not done by the informant alone (individual evaluation) but also by other people in his/her narrative (collective evaluation, outsider's evaluation, "you" evaluation). This means that the opinion of others matters to the informants that even if they are asked about their own personal experiences, they cannot help but include other people. This may imply that the Filipinos, as represented by the informants in this study, are indeed collectivistic and value the "we" more than the "I". These culture-specific features uncovered in the *Sendong* narratives are not found in Labov and Waletzky's model and even in Tannen's type of evaluation. This finding, however, corroborates with that Lambrou's variationist model of narrative grammar that forwards the idea of the cultural model of oral storytelling, emphasizing the presence of optional and culturally variant features of the narratives.

Based on the results, one can say that Labov's evaluation schema is present in the narratives of personal experiences of the survivors of typhoon *Sendong*. But in this case, it is not just about the narrator's assessment about the events since it includes other characters' evaluation of the situation as observed by the narrator himself/herself. In other words, the informants value the other character's feelings and observations about the incident that they even include these in their own narratives. This finding is reflective of the Filipino people having a collectivistic culture, which give emphasis on group solidarity and relationship.

In addition, the evaluation schema in the *Sendong* narratives is both a macro-component (a schema, just like orientation, complicating action, and the like) as well as a subcomponent thriving all over the whole narrative. Its permeability all throughout the narratives only proves that these narratives contain a series of events that are reportable or narratable. Thus, the personal experiences of the *Sendong* survivors are worthy to be shared and studied. It can also be taken as an indication that the informants give importance to their roles as storytellers. By providing substantive evaluative materials in the whole narrative, the listener is expected to be entertained, satisfied, and contented with their stories of personal experiences, which leads to a good relationship between the two of them. In this case, storytelling or narration is regarded not only as a pure recounting and sharing of tragic personal experience alone but also of building personal, interactional, and social bonding, between the informant and the researcher, and sometimes including the other audience present during the interview.

Finally, the types of evaluation according to structure entails that the informants are skilled communicators since they were able to use particular evaluations and embed these into the complicating action schema. Its types according to content also suggest that the informants, who belong to a collectivistic culture, give importance not only to their own evaluation but also to other people's assessment by incorporating these in their own narratives.

Conclusion

This paper focuses on the less studied area of narratives: conversational or everyday narratives which include personal experience narratives. Specifically, it explores the evaluation schema identified by Labov and Waletzky as the most important of the five schemas. More particularly, it presents the types and features of evaluation schemas in the narratives of personal experiences of *Sendong* survivors.

Labov and Waletzky's six narrative schema model is a well-known and widely accepted universal description of a basic narrative. Though findings are comparable to those of Labov and Waletzky's narrative model specifically on its evaluation schema, it is worth highlighting that this paper has uncovered specific types of evaluation schemas that showcase Filipino culture. And these are the most significant contribution of this paper to the existing bodies of literature on conversational narratives. This only implies that, while narrative elements have universal features, we must also examine those that are culture-specific because they can reveal more about the informants and their community or culture. Finally, this paper has illustrated how narrative structures can be studied to reveal cultural features, combining structural analysis with thematic/cultural analysis.

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