



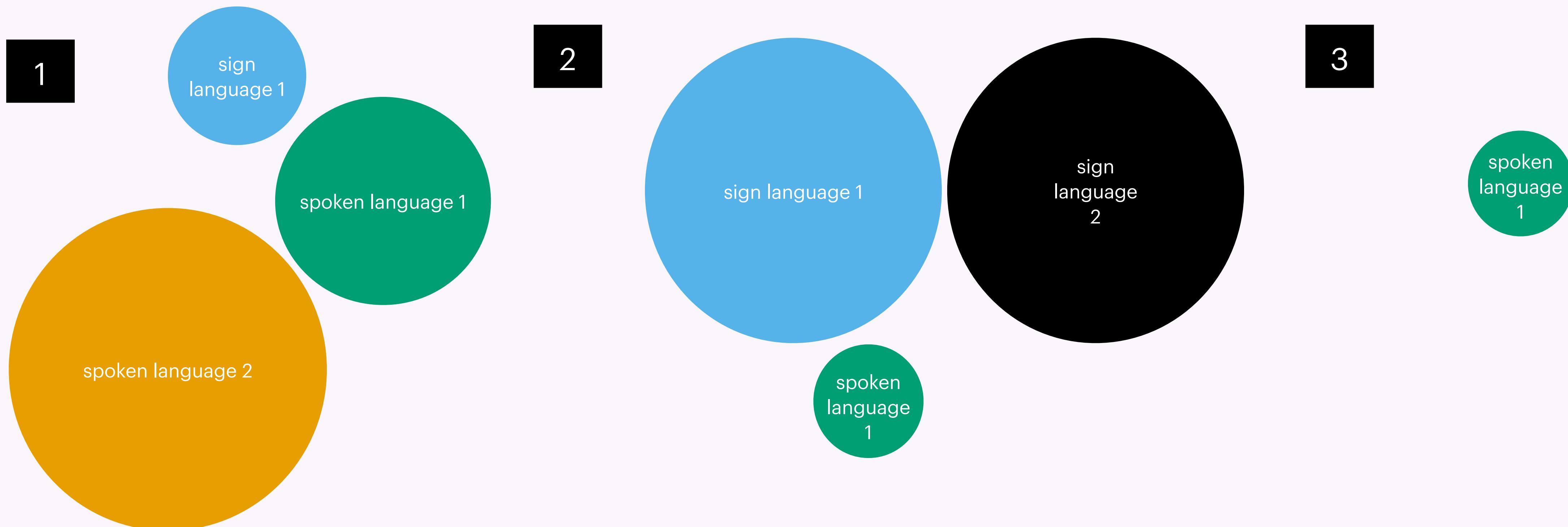
Language contact & attitudes to mouthing among deaf and hard-of-hearing users of ASL in the United States

Felicia Bisnath | Høgskulen på Vestlandet
SiLC Seminar (April 2025)

DHH language acquisition is heterogeneous

(Hall & De Anda 2021 and references within)

- varying levels of access to spoken and sign language during childhood



Sign language users have multimodal multilingual semiotic repertoires

(Gumperz 1972; Kusters et al. 2017)

pictures

writing

letter shapes
spelling

gestures

face
hands
body

speech

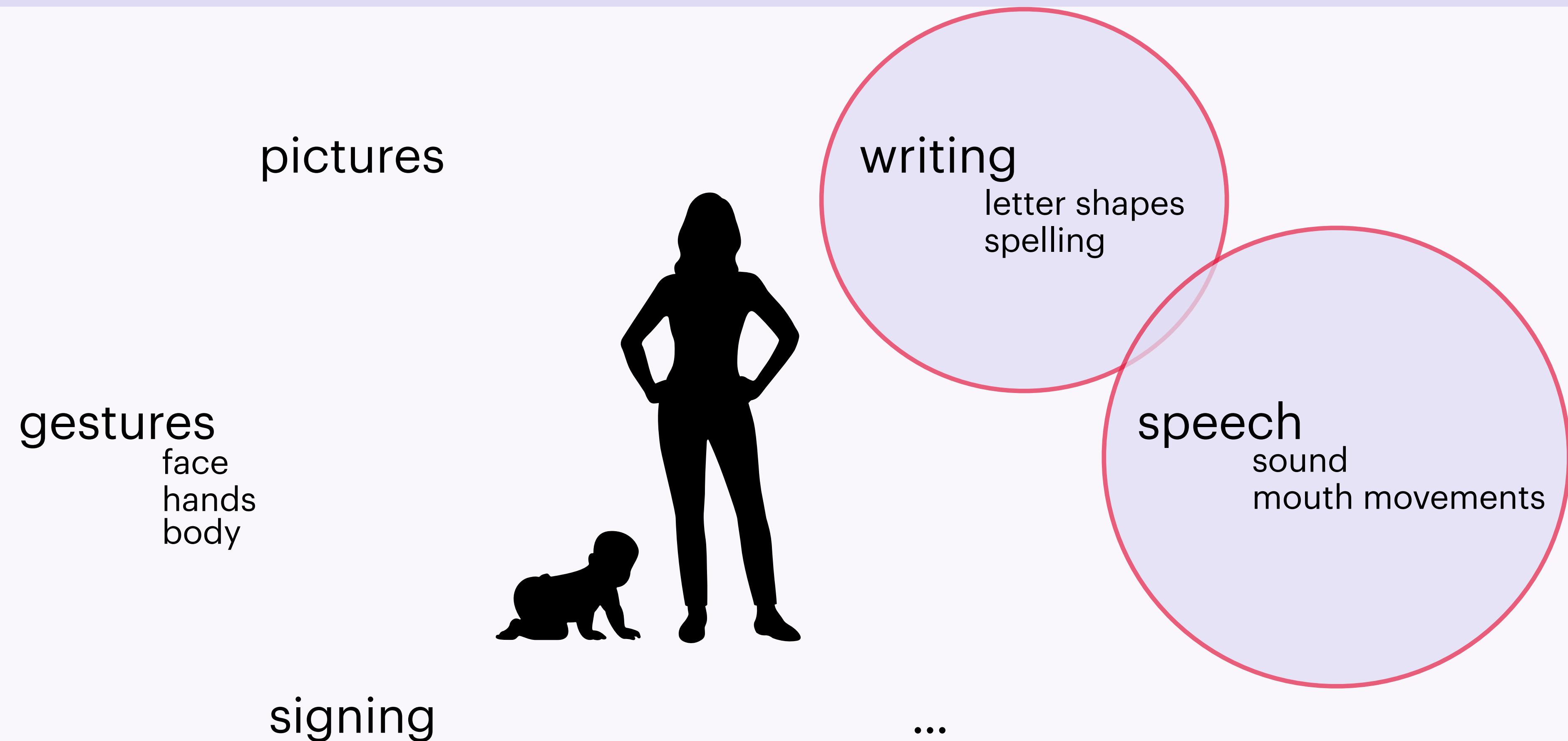
sound
mouth movements

signing

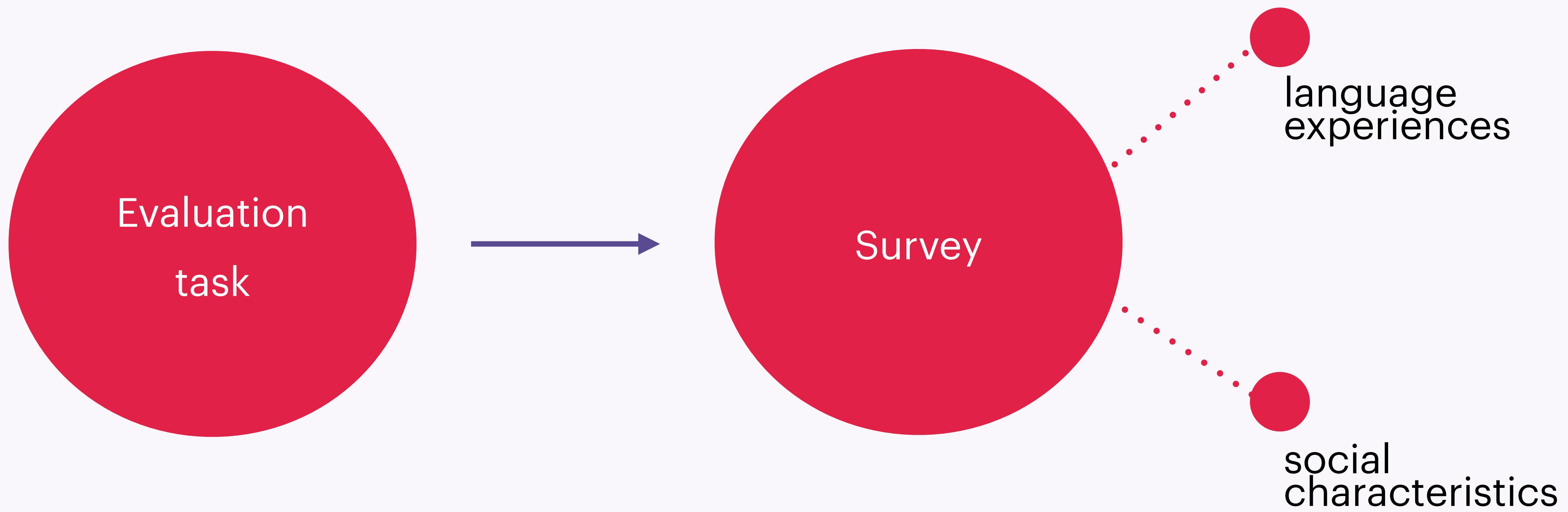


...

Language users view different semiotic resources as having different levels of prestige



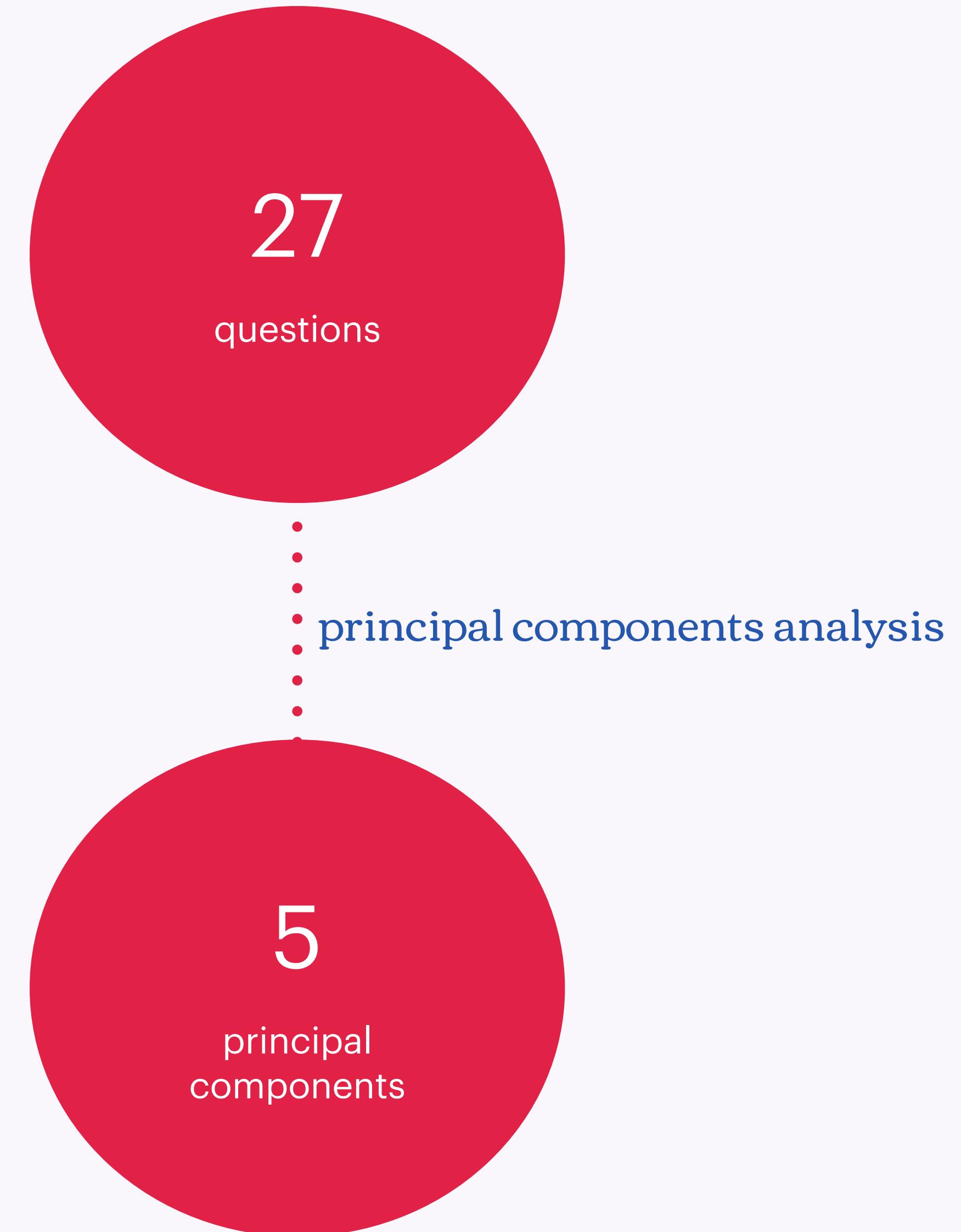
Method Overview



**(ASL-English) Language
contact among ASL
users in the United
States**

Characterising language experience

- Frequency of use of ASL, English and ASL-English mixing at 3 time periods (0-100 scale):
 - Before school
 - During school
 - In a typical week



The most variation is occurring along these dimensions

Principal Components Analysis (72% variance, rotated)

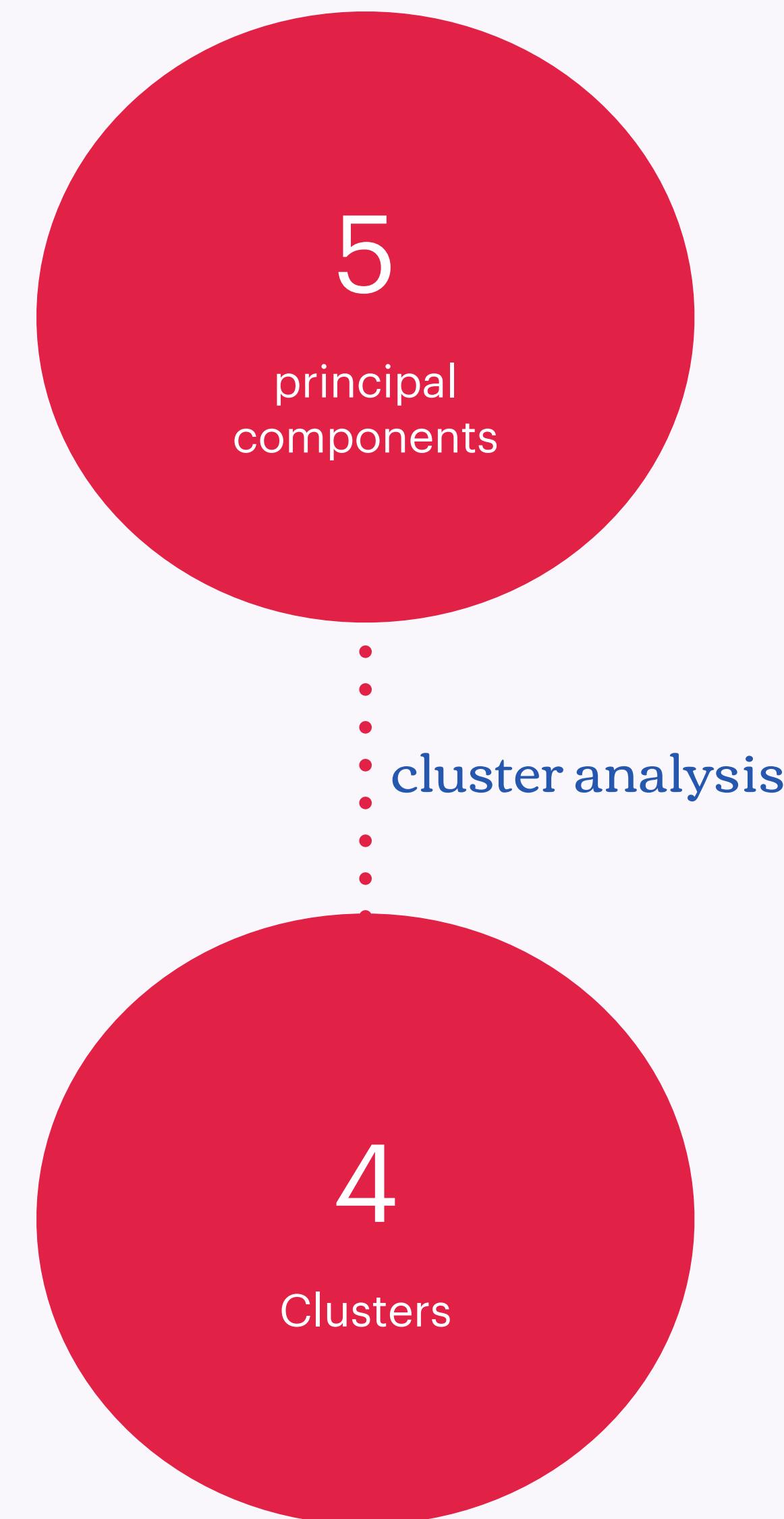
- [PC1] WRITTEN ENG INPUT + OUTPUT
- [PC2] SPOKEN ENG INPUT
- [PC3] ASL-ENG MIXING INPUT + OUTPUT
- [PC4] ASL INPUT + OUTPUT BEFORE SCHOOL
- [PC5] SPOKEN ENG OUTPUT

decreasing percentage of variance
i.e. signers vary most on PC1



Emergent approach to categorising signers

- Hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis
(*distance=Pearson, linkage=average, k=4*)
- 269 participants after outlier removal
(Mahalanobis distance)



Native signer is an ideology in sign language linguistics

(Birkeland et al. 2024)

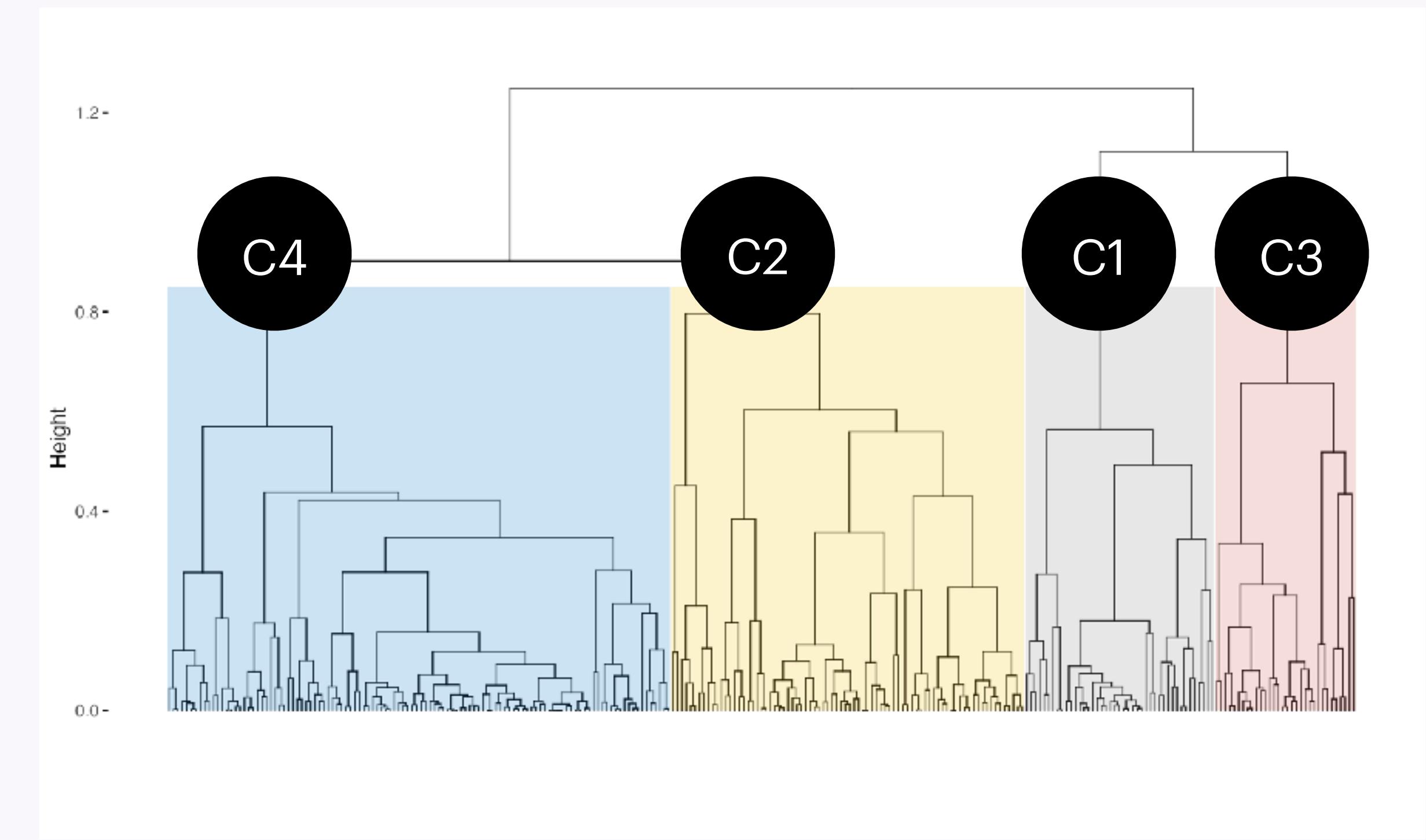
- Nativeness is a shibboleth of legitimacy in sign language linguistics
- Native signers are inconsistently defined but definitions typically require:
 - at least one deaf parent
 - early sign language acquisition, but the actual value of “early” varies broadly (Zorzi et al. 2022)

Heterogeneity in DHH language experience is washed out by native vs. non-native

Cluster Evaluation

Internal Metrics

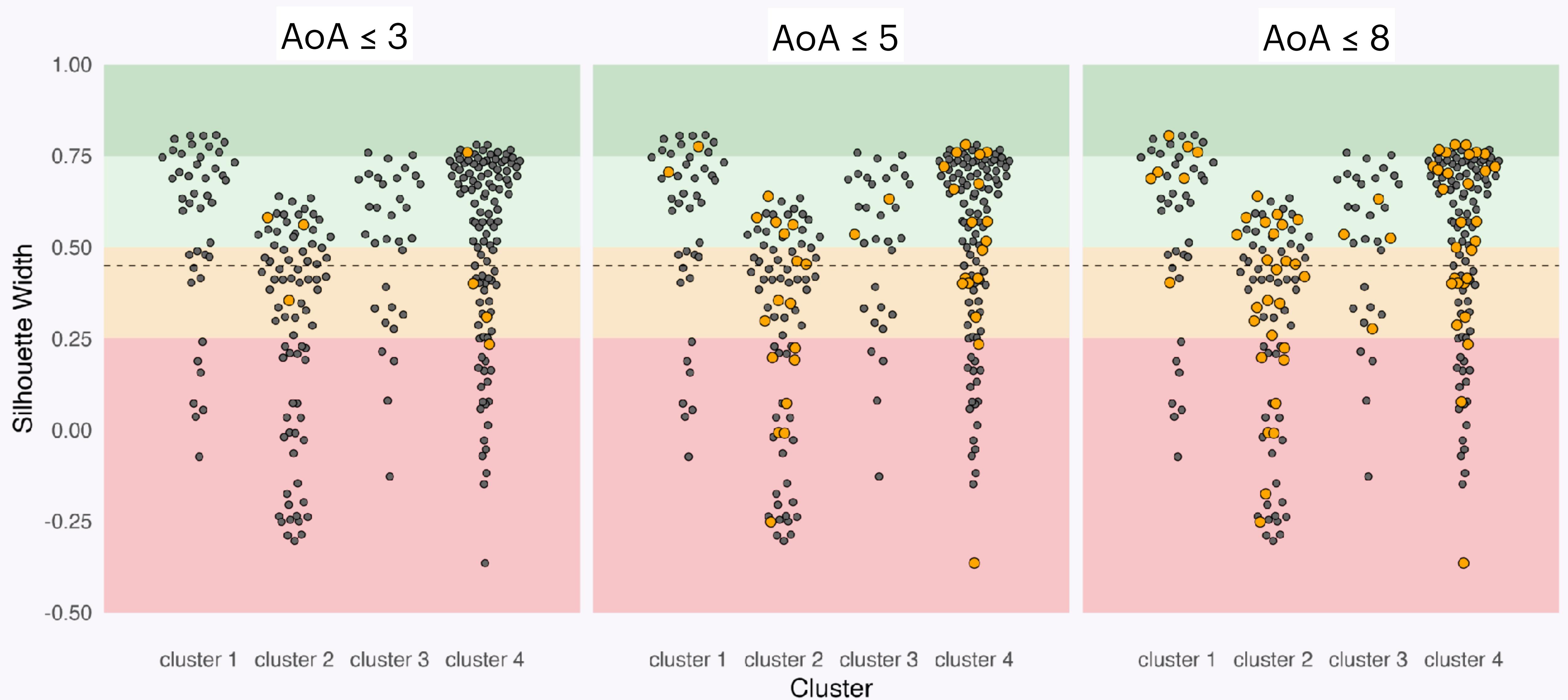
- Cophenetic coefficient **0.70** 
- how well the cluster solution preserves the structure of the original data
- Dunn's Index **0.02** 
- how compact clusters are
- sensitive to clusters of different sizes
- Average silhouette width **0.42** 
- similarity of cluster members to each other and difference from members of other clusters



Clusters/Language experience types

269 participants, outliers removed

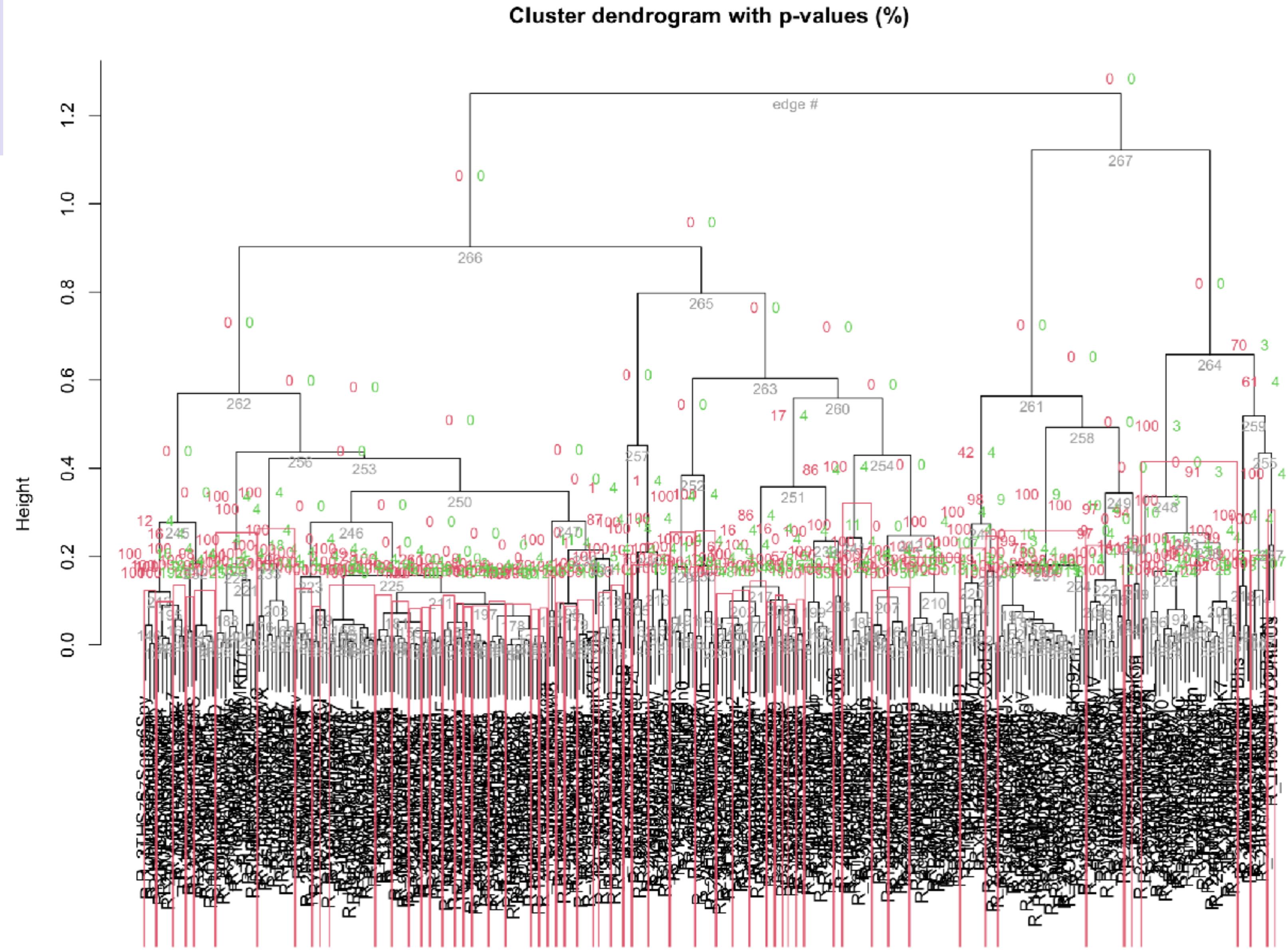




“Native” signers (●) have different language experiences &
pattern with “non-native” (○) signers

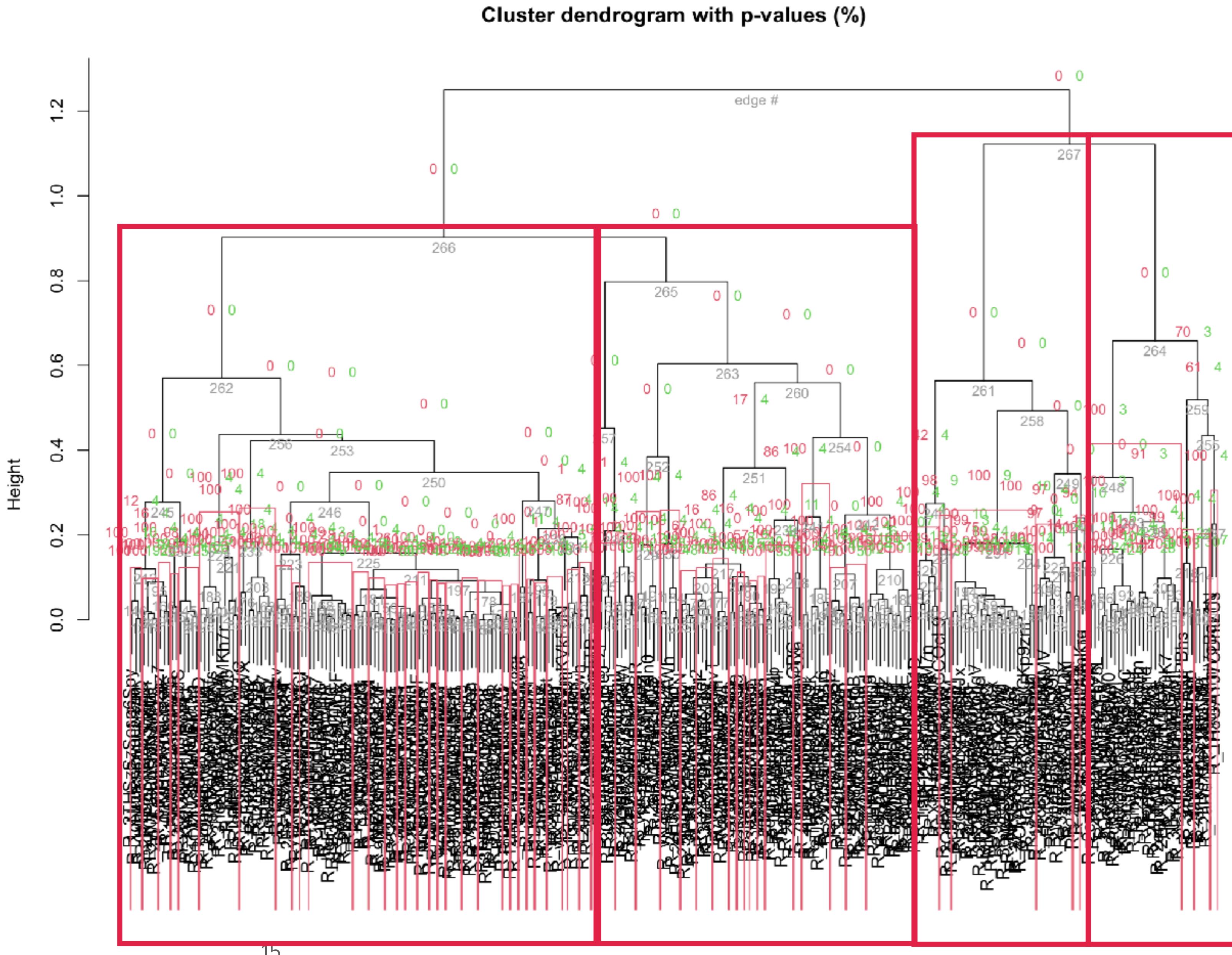
Clustering with p-values

- `pvclust` (Suzuki et al. 2019)
 - Red rectangles mark clusters that likely exist (do not arise from sampling error) and may be reliably observed if we increase the number of observations



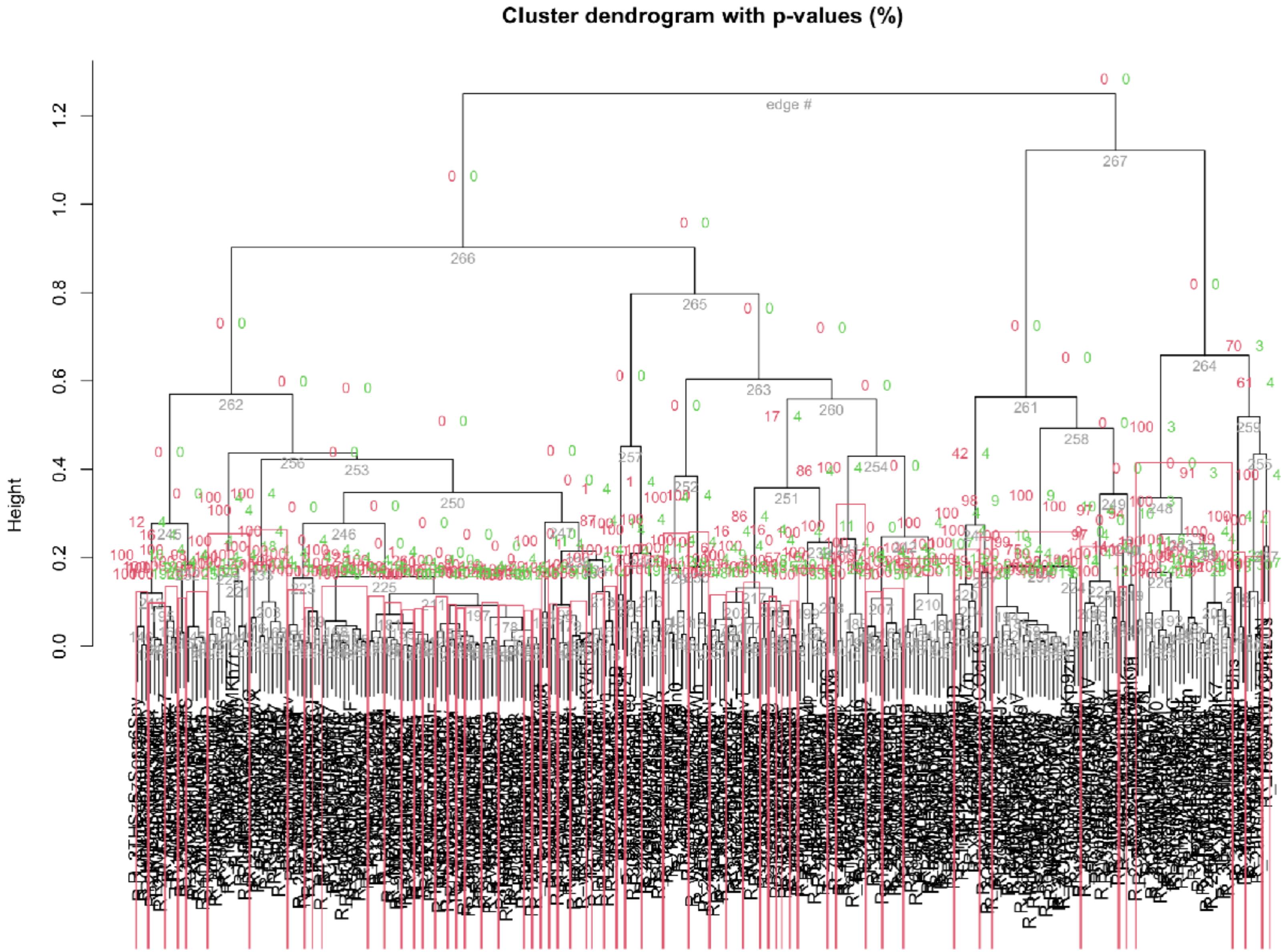
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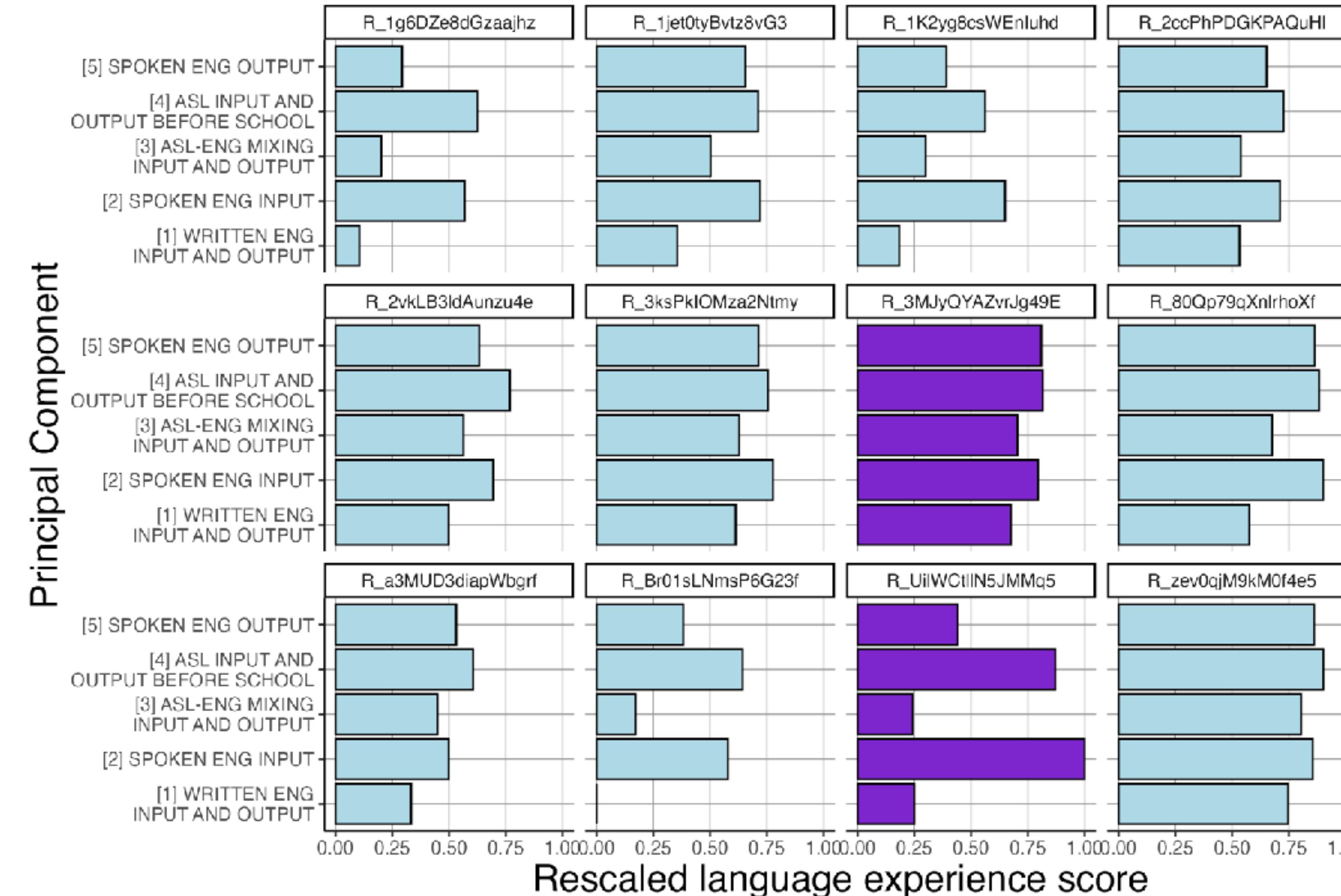
Clustering with p-values

- It seems like the evidence is better for many smaller clusters
 - 56 reliable clusters from 269-member sample
 - 5 have at least 10 participants
 - many have 2 participants



Signers classified as native still pattern with those classified as non-native (AoA by 5)

Native classification in cluster 42



Native classification ■ native □ nonnative

**Exploring variation in
attitudes
to Mouthing in ASL**

Mouthing

Mouth patterns accompanying signing that resemble spoken language words

Associated with spoken language practices and hearing

deaf-hearing interactions
(Nadolske & Rosenstock 2007; cf. Lucas & Valli 1991)

oralist educational practices
(Lucas et al. 2015)



Attitudes
to mouthing
vary

(Davis 1989; Nadolske & Rosenstock 2007; Hill 2012)

Attitudes vary
based on social
characteristics of
evaluators

(Regan 2021; Fuse et al. 2024)

Research Question

Based on Hill (2012)

How do social characteristics correlate with attitudes to English mouthing in ASL?

1. aesthetics of signing



PURE



BEAUTIFUL



SMOOTH

2. signer identity



VERY (CULTURALLY)
DEAF



DEAF COMMUNITY
LEADER

Research Question

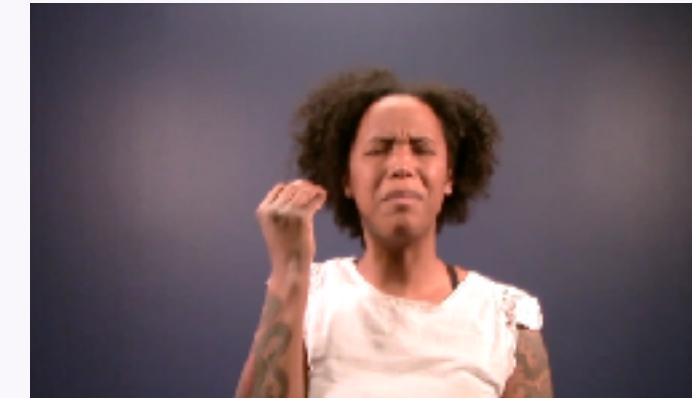
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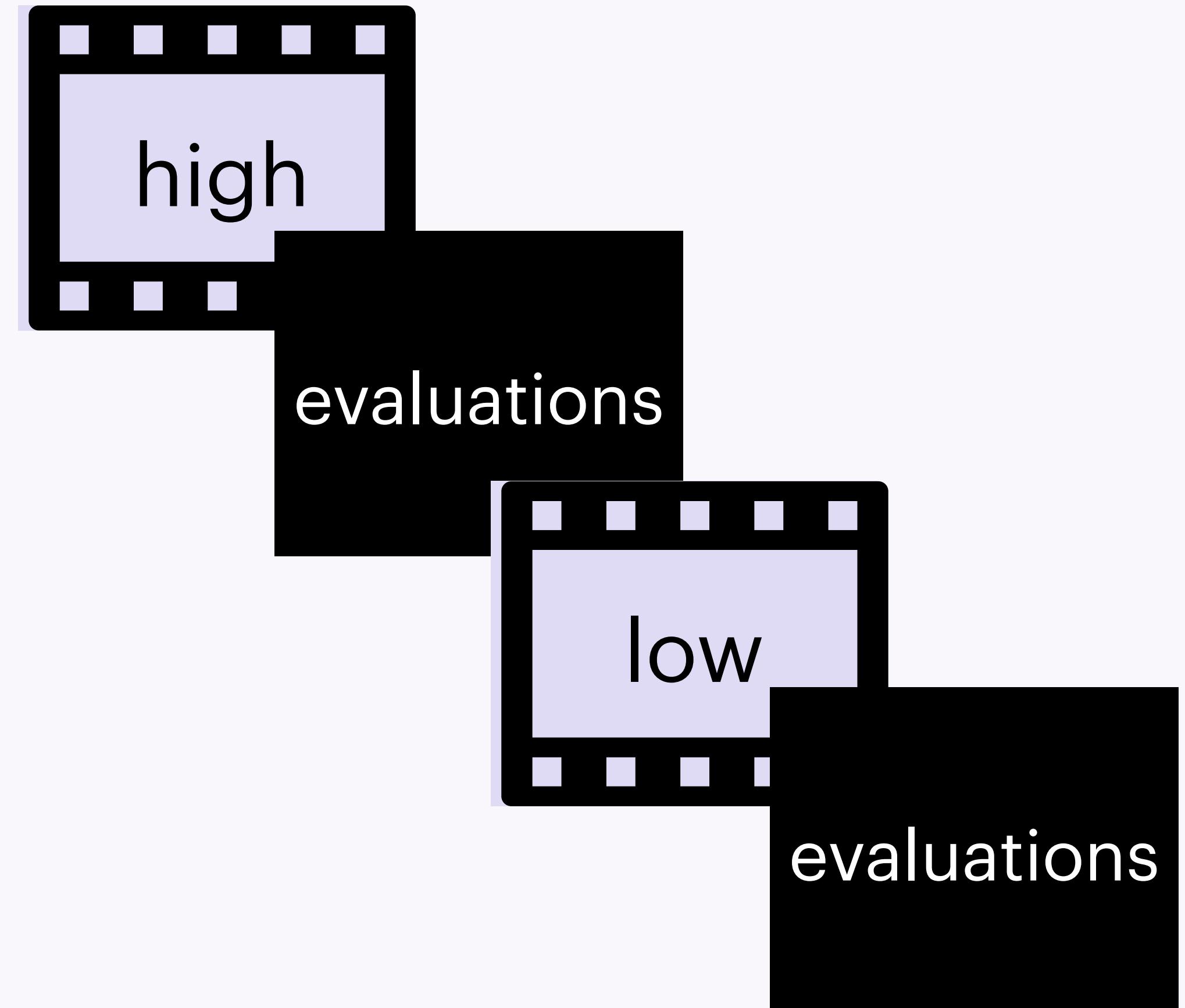
Social Characteristics

1. Age*
2. Age-of-acquisition of ASL*
3. Gender identity
4. Deaf identity
5. Ethnic identity
6. Highest degree
7. Growing up with deaf family
8. Region
9. Schooling
10. Experience with ASL, English and ASL-English mixing principal components*

*continuous variable

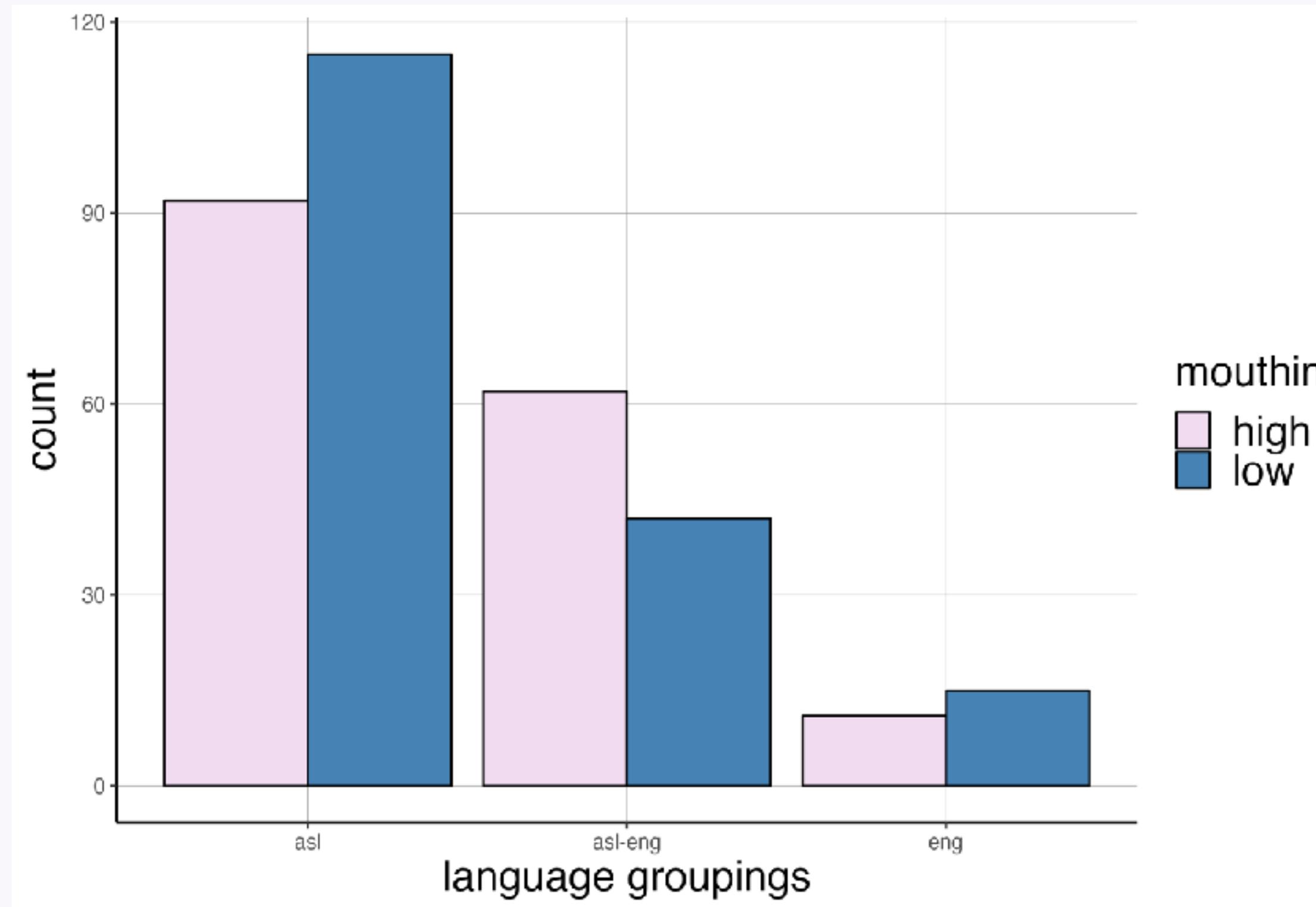
Adapted Matched Guise Task

- **Genre:** informational, semi-formal
- **Mouthing:** high, low
- **Counterbalanced** for signer, topic, and order across 8 lists
- Online



Low mouthing is associated with ASL & high mouthing with ASL-English mixing

Mouthing category and language label are not independent ($\chi^2 = 6.87$, $df = 2$, $p\text{-value} = .03$)



	observed		expected	
	high	low	high	low
asl	92	115	101	106
asl+eng	62	42	51	53
eng	11	15	13	13

Analysis

134 participants

In R Studio

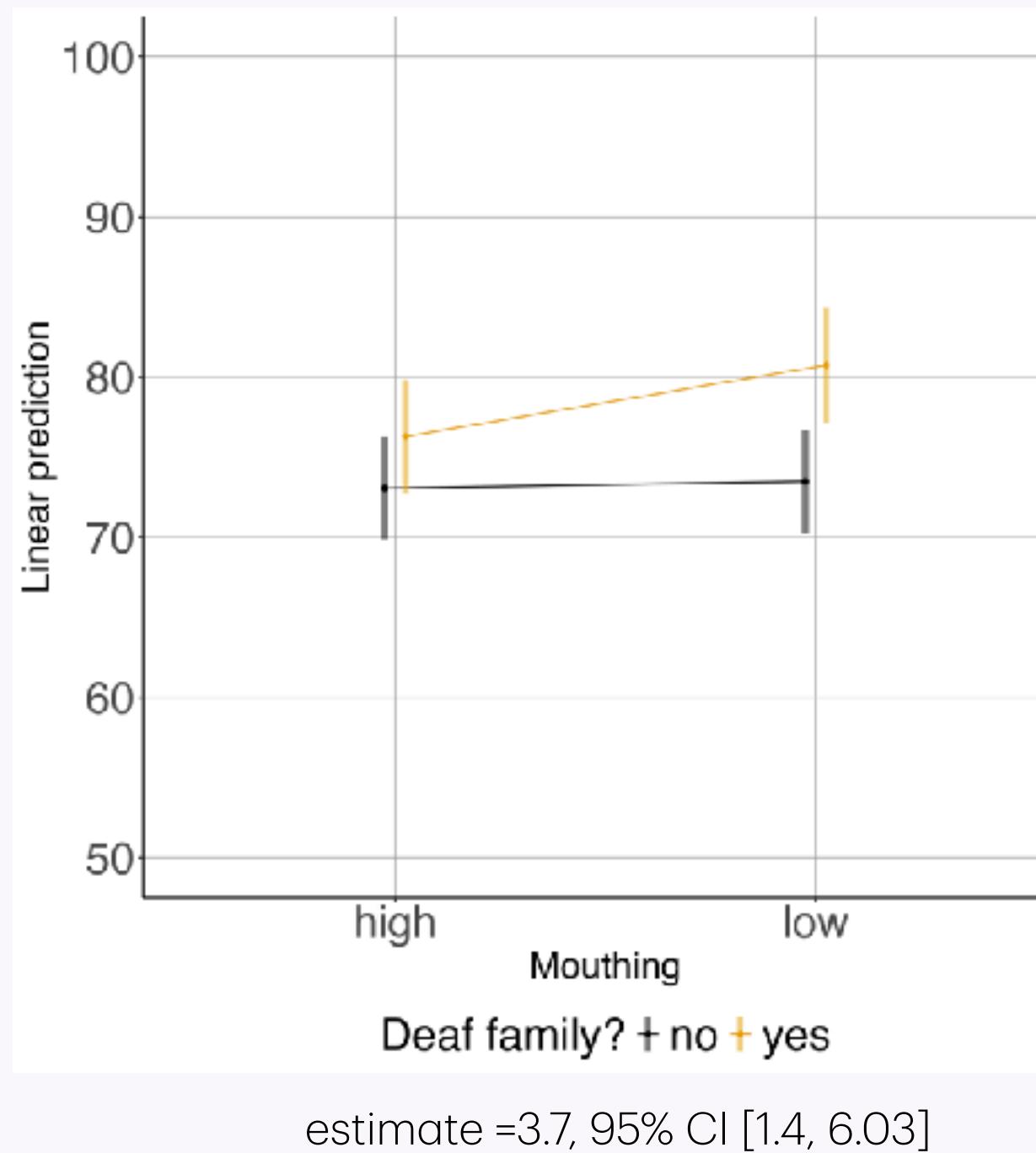
Separate robust mixed effect models for **each** social characteristic with `robustlmm` (Koller 2016)

Bootstrapping for confidence intervals with `confintROB` (Mason et al. 2024)

```
rating ~ mouthing*social_characteristic +  
      (1 | list) + (1 | list:participant)
```

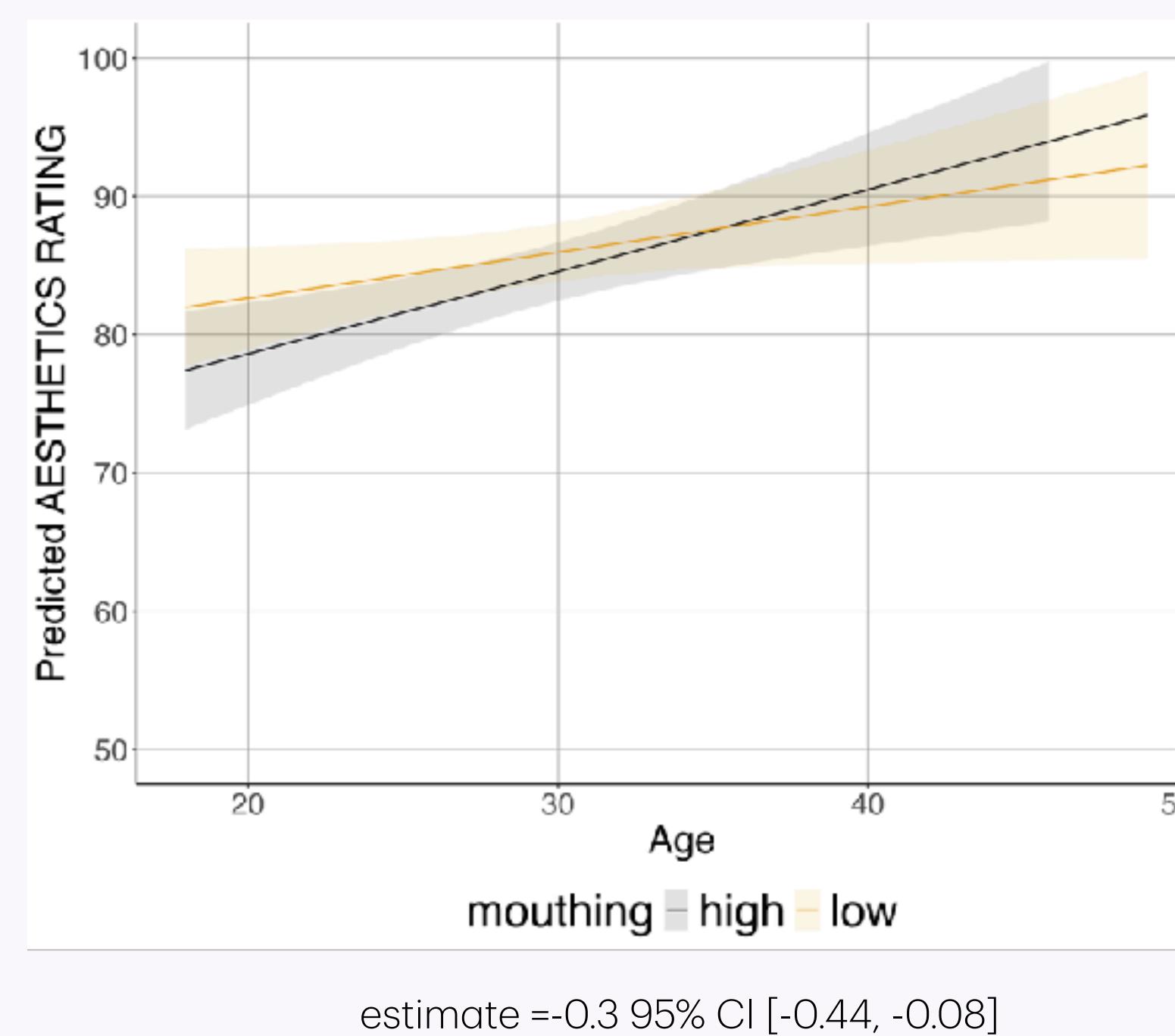
Evaluation of signing aesthetics

DEAF FAMILY



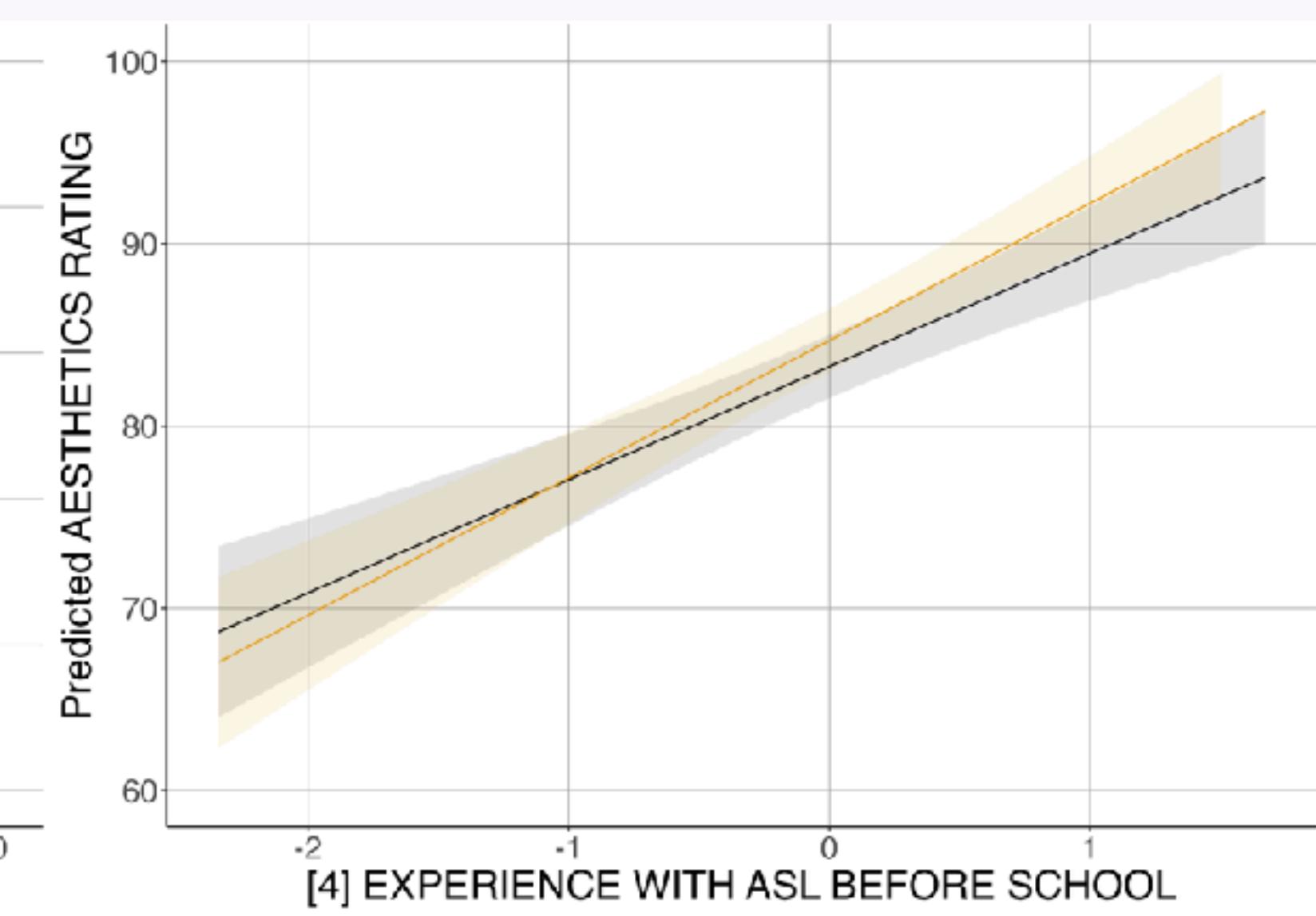
Signers with deaf family rate low mouthing higher than signers without

AGE



As age increases, rating of high mouthing increases

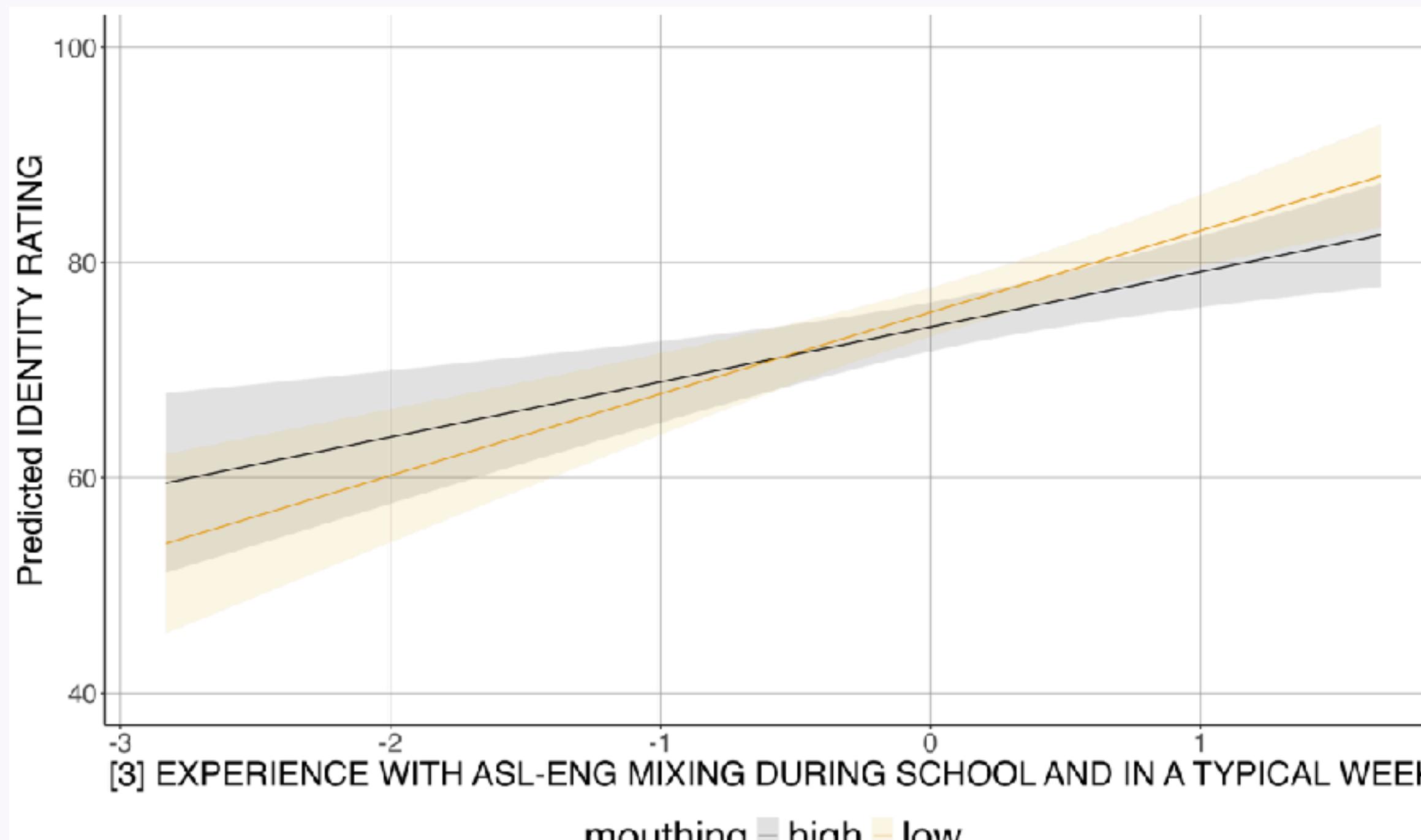
ASL BEFORE SCHOOL



As experience with ASL before school increases, rating of low mouthing increases

Evaluation of deaf identity

ASL-ENGLISH MIXING



estimate 2.5, 95% CI [0.29, 4.66]

The more experience with ASL-English mixing reported,
the higher the rating of low mouthing

Takeaways

- A data-driven bottom-up (but not atheoretical!), semiotic repertoires approach identified 4 types of language experience among ASL users in the US
- Show that **nativeness** as a theoretical construct in sign language linguistics is not useful by showing that signers classified as native and non-native report similar language experience

Takeaways

- Signers with different social characteristics have different attitudes to mouthing correlating with DEAF FAMILY, AGE, ASL USE BEFORE SCHOOL, and ASL-ENGLISH MIXING
- Other social characteristics likely relevant but need to be measured at another level of granularity → **holistic characterisation is a next step** (e.g. Hall & DeAnda 2020)
- Sign language researchers should aim to **characterise the social characteristics and language experience of participants more explicitly, accurately and holistically** to understand sign language use



Savithry Namboodiripad



Joseph C. Hill



Sonya Carter



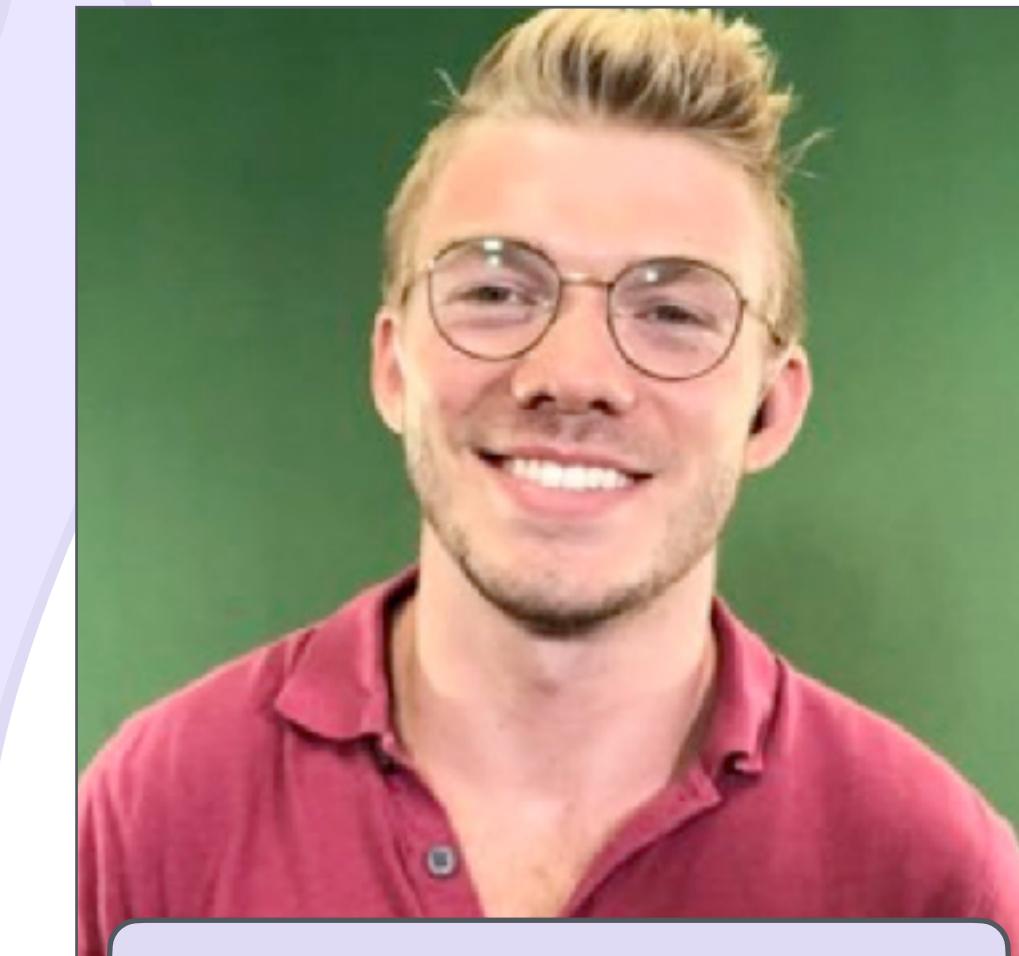
Corrine Occhino



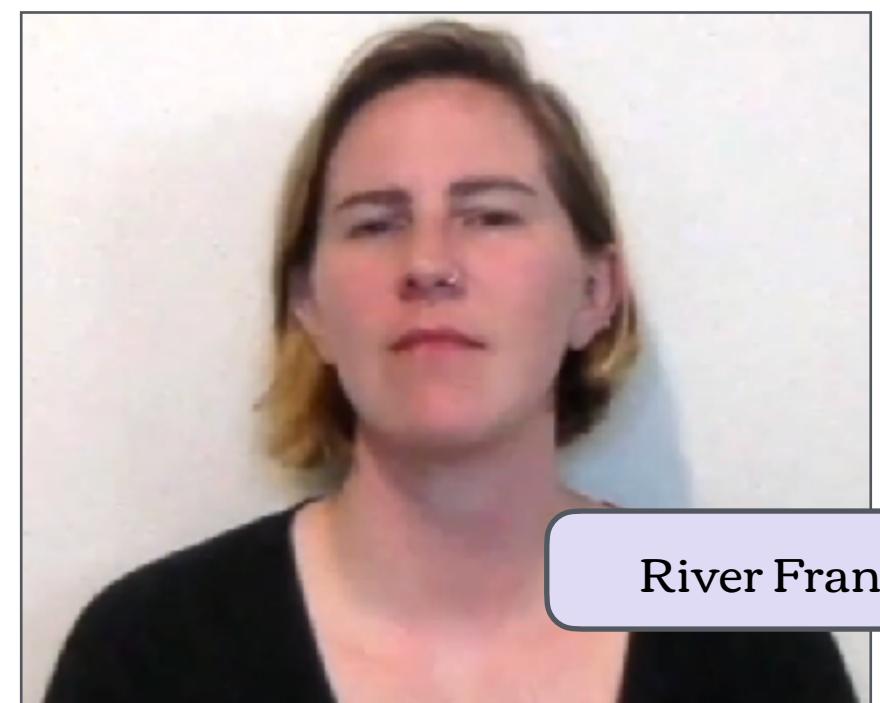
Patrice Beddar



Barbra A. Meek



Brennan Terhune-Cotter



River Frank

Dissertation committee

Deaf collaborators

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More on this project

Dissertation

University of Michigan

[https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/
handle/2027.42/196097](https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/196097)



<https://osf.io/truqk/>

Dissertation Abstract

In *Sign Language & Linguistics*

<https://doi.org/10.1075/sll.00091.bis>

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Cluster Analysis Participants

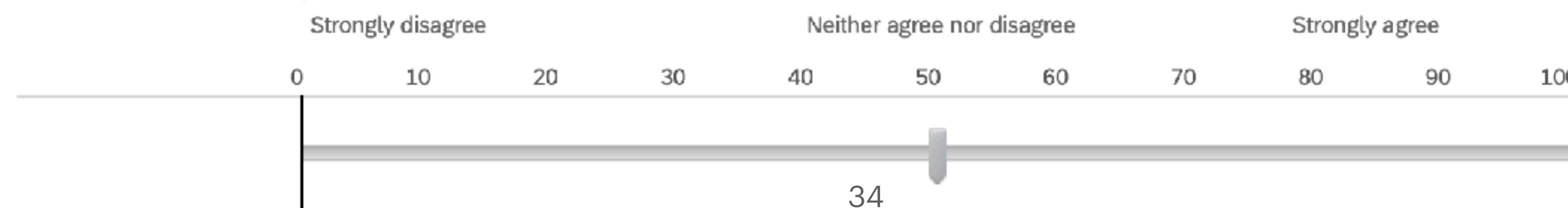
n=269

Characteristic	Description
DEAF IDENTITY	deaf only (46.1%), hard-of-hearing (34.2%), both (11.5%), missing (8.2%)
DEAF FAMILY	yes (46.1%), no (53.9%)
HIGHEST DEGREE	bachelor (49.1%), high school diploma (38.3%), advanced (11.5%), missing (1.1%)
GENDER	male (61.7%), female (36.8%), non-binary/third (1.5%)
REGION	south (27.1%), midwest (24.5%), west (23.8%), northeast (21.2%), missing (3.3%)
ETHNIC IDENTITY	white (47.9%), Black/African American (42.3%), Asian (1.9%), American Indian/Alaska Native (0.7%), other (7.2%)
AGE	Mean = 29.8, SD = 6.3
AOA	Mean = 8.9, SD = 4.8

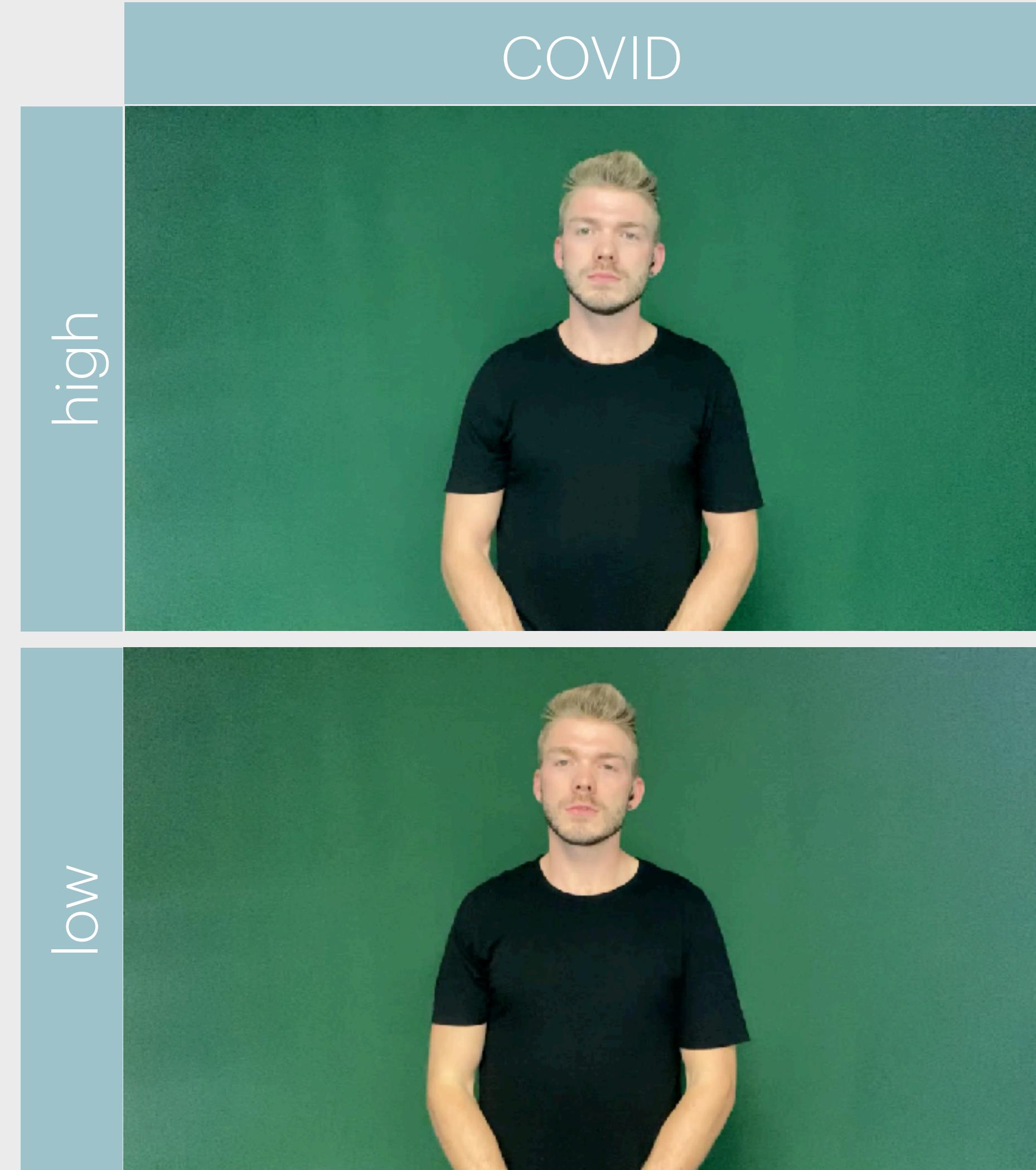
Example question



The signing in the video you just saw looks beautiful. How much do you agree?

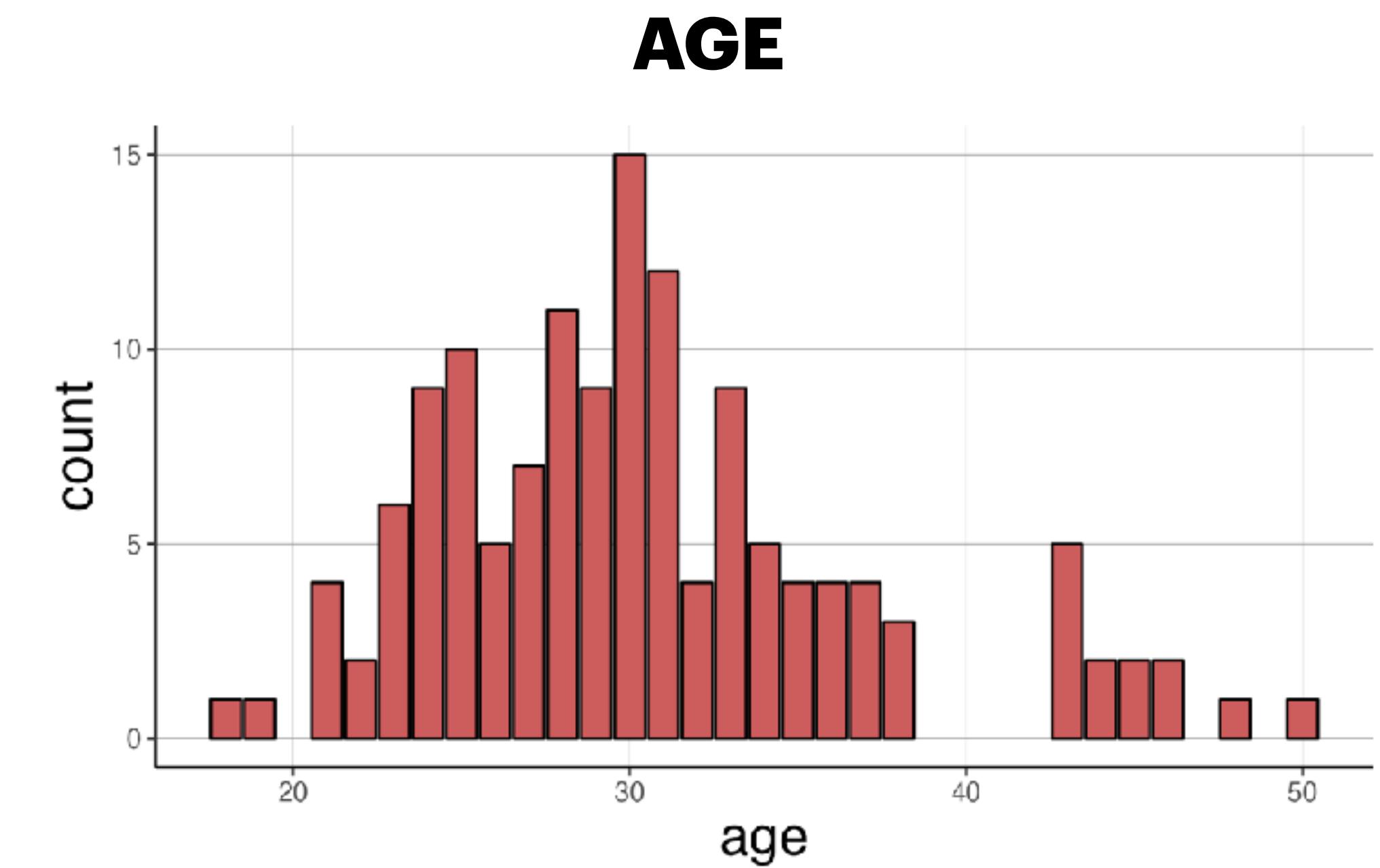
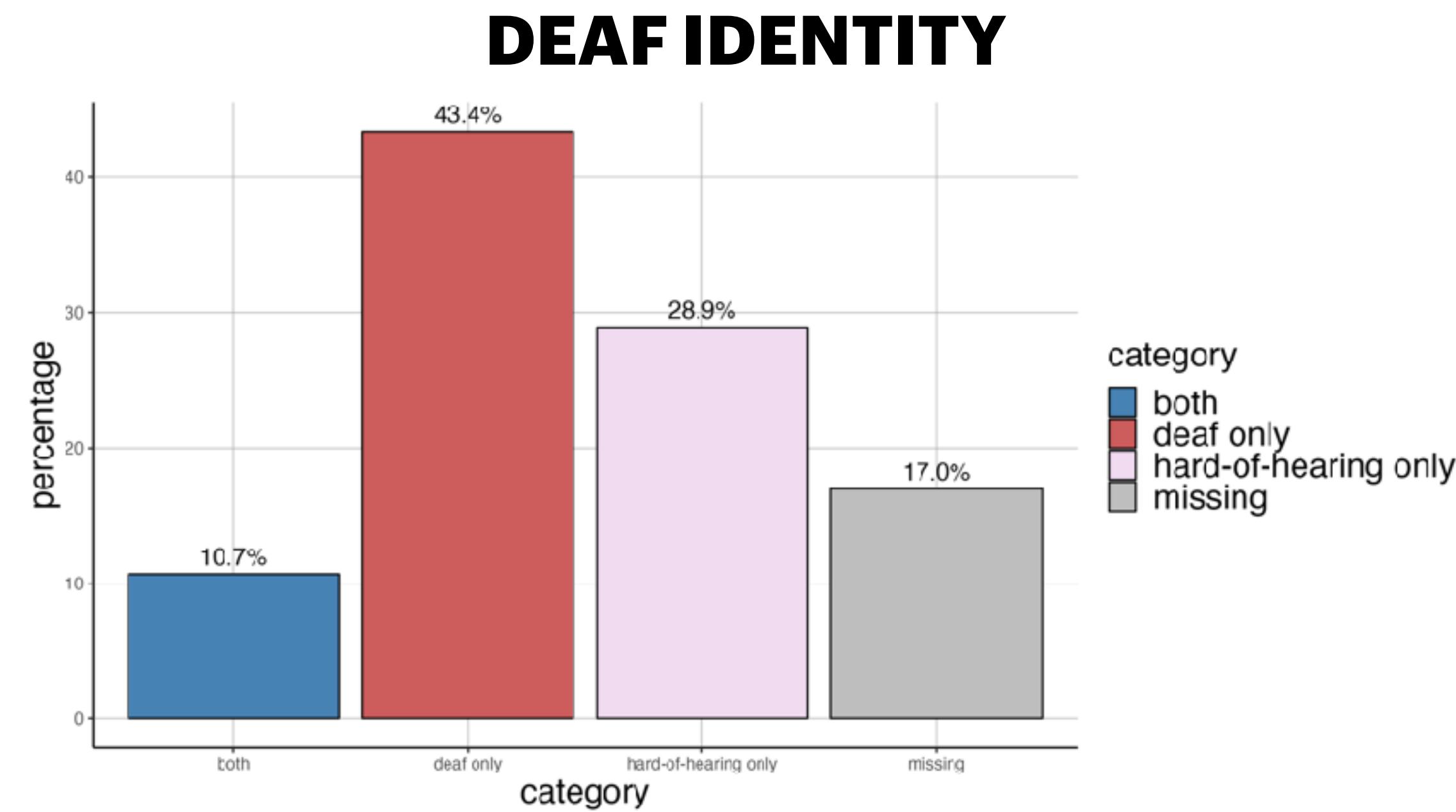


Evaluation of mouthing task Stimuli



MGT Participants

N = 134, Exclusion criteria: Did not know signers producing stimuli



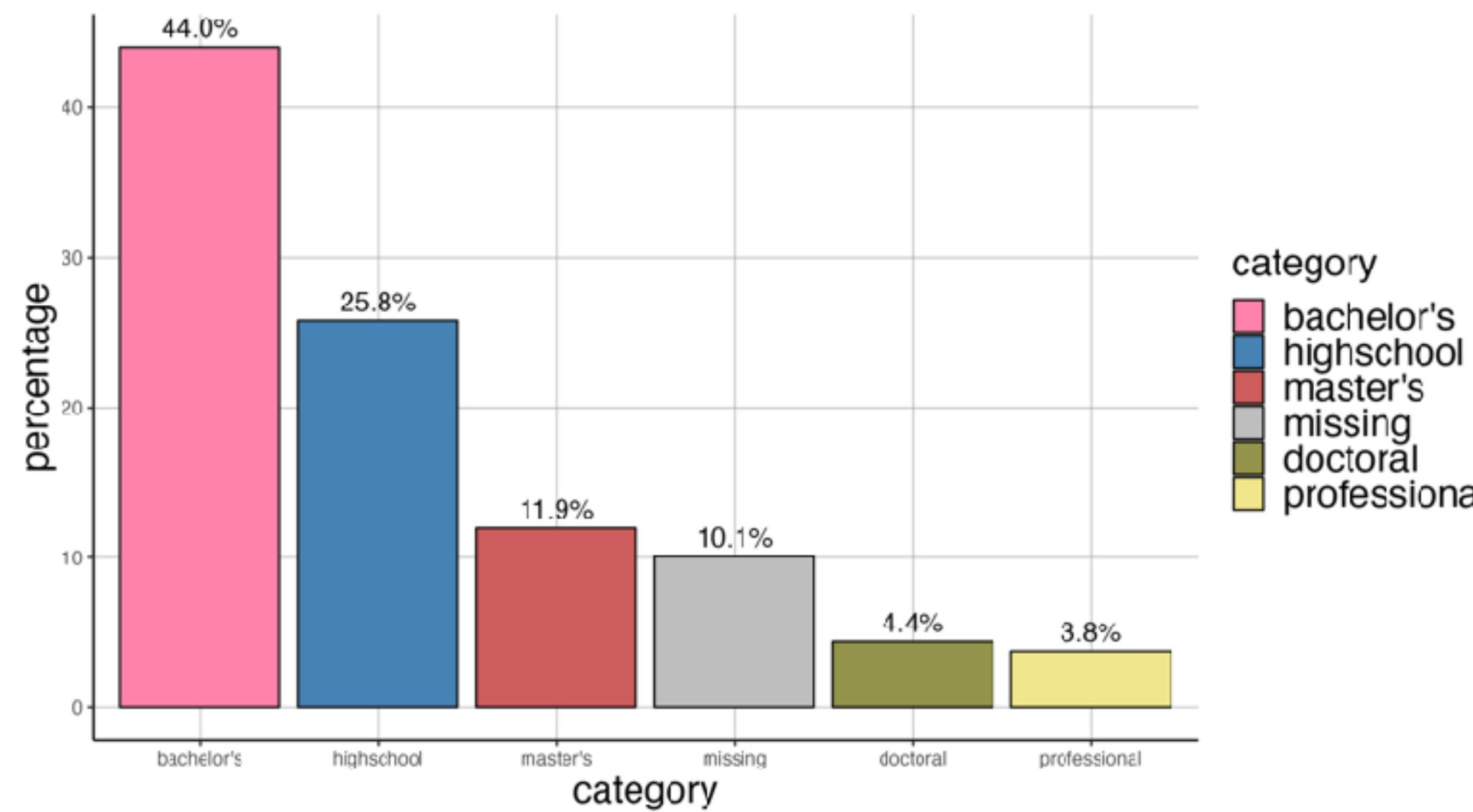
mainly identifying as deaf and hard-of-hearing

36

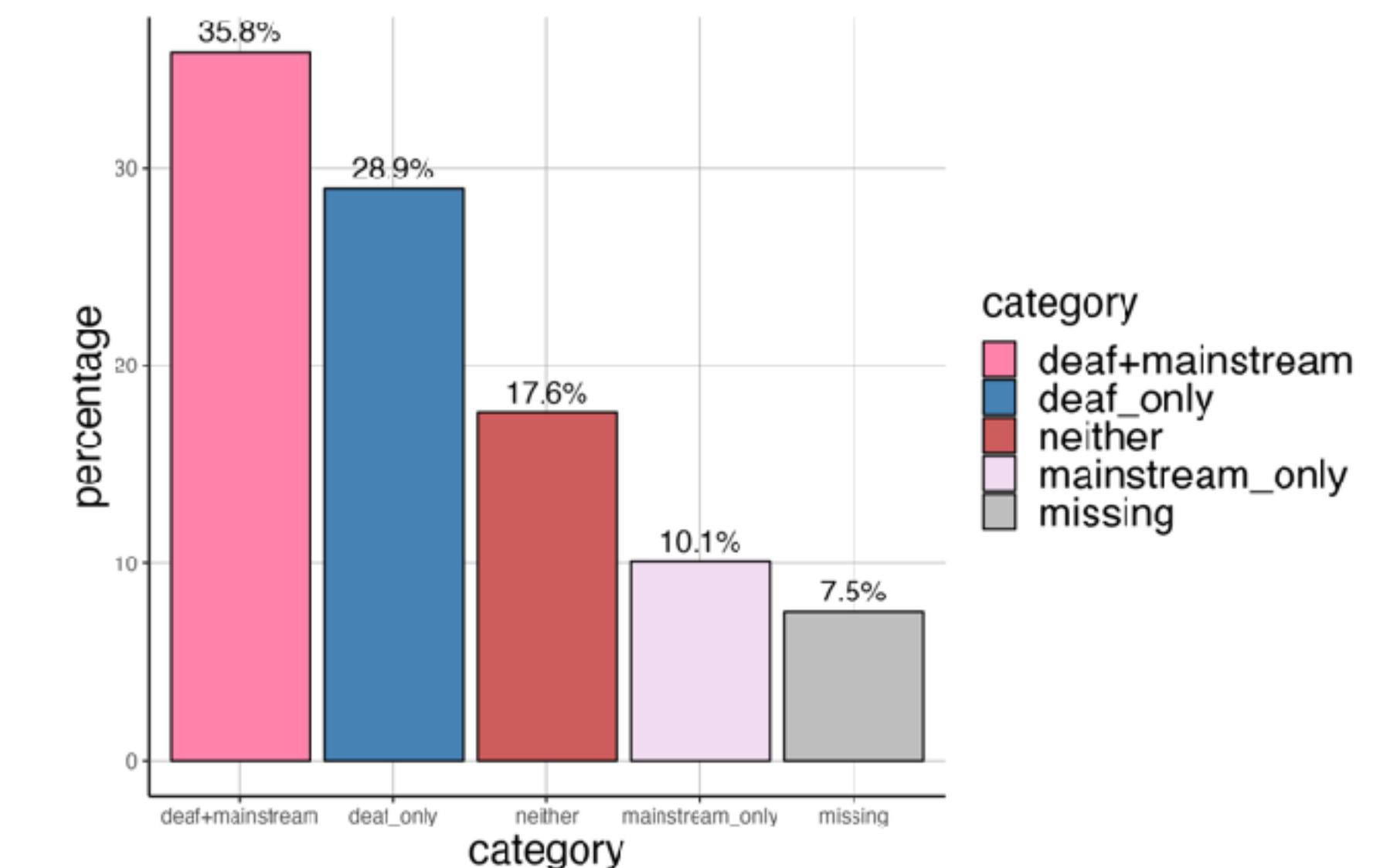
most between 20 and 40

MGT Participants

HIGHEST DEGREE



SCHOOLING

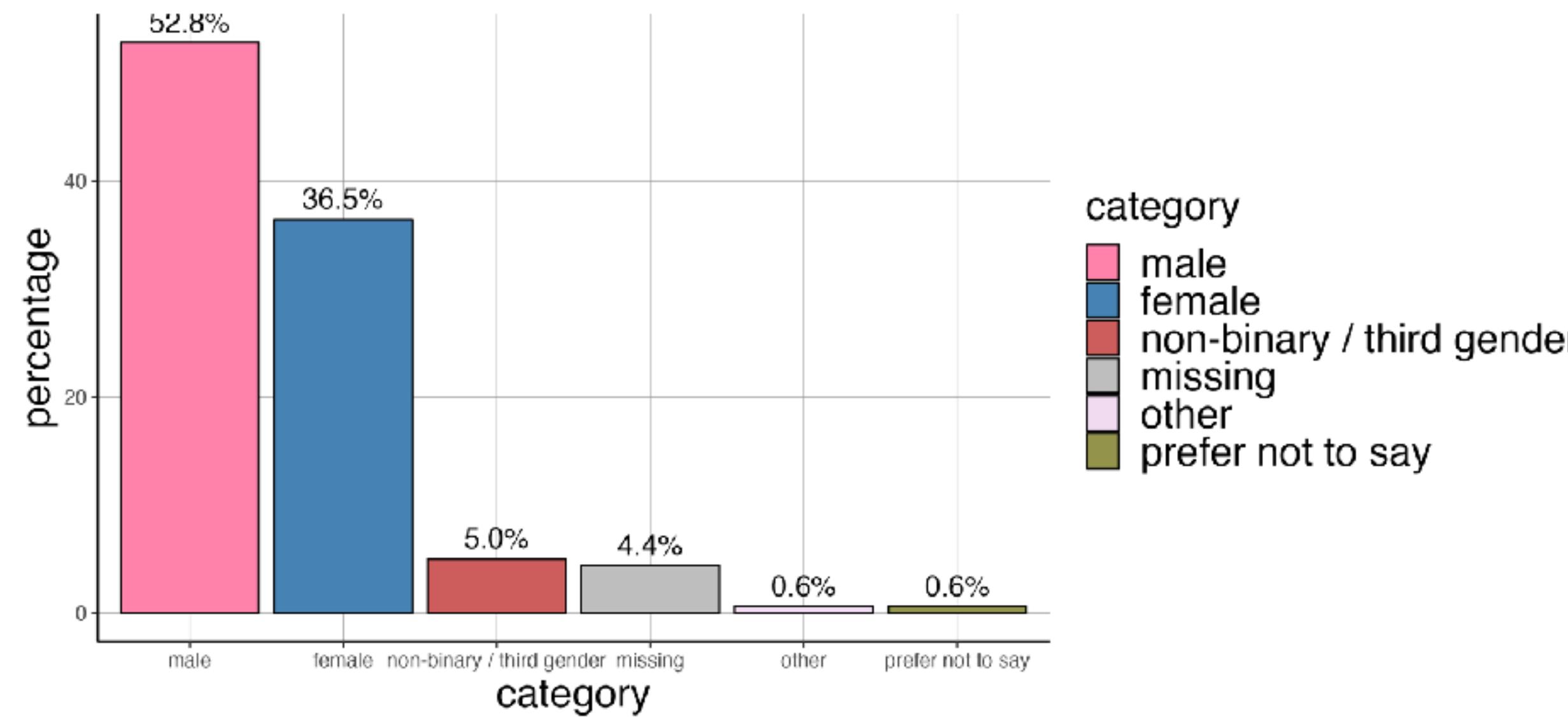


mainly Bachelor's degree and high school diploma

most went to deaf+mainstream schools
or deaf only schools

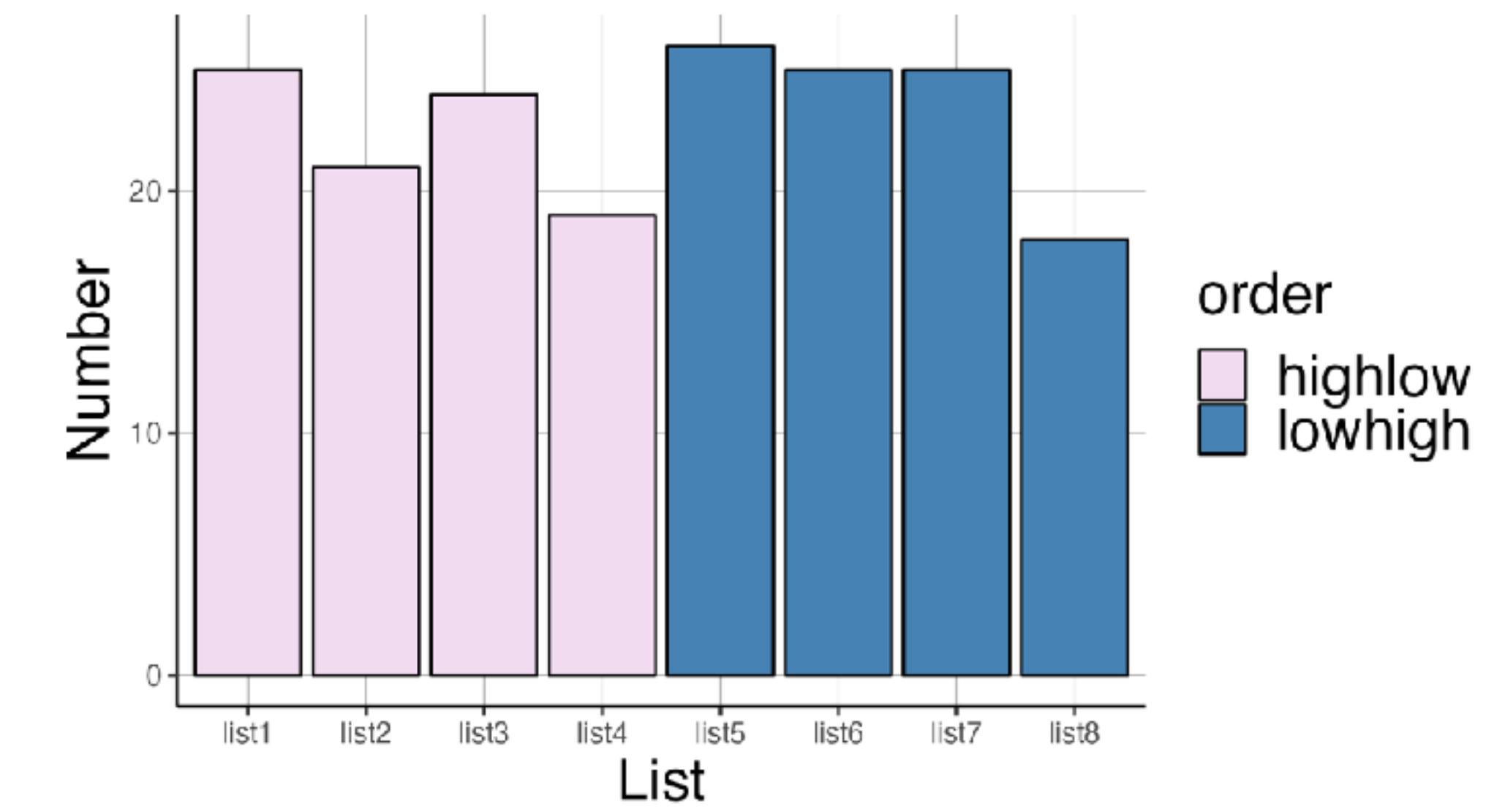
MGT Participants

GENDER



primarily male-identifying

LIST DISTRIBUTION



generally evenly distributed

Attitudes to mouthing vary



not part of
“real” ASL
(Nadolske & Rosenstock 2007)

mouthing “too much”,
annoying, noticeable
mouthing is a negative
of Mixed signing
(Hill 2012)



English-ASL
interpreters perceived
by deaf signers
as using mouthing
appropriately
(Davis 1989)

“nice and clear”,
appropriate
(Hill 2012)

People with different social characteristics have different attitudes to the same phenomena

- **More educated** people rate Russian- and Southern American-accented English **higher for intelligibility, comprehensibility and accentedness** than those with less education (Fuse et al. 2024)
- **More educated** people rate [ch] in Andalusian Spanish as more **indicative of higher socioeconomic level and urbanness** than people with less education (Regan 2021)