EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO MULTI-MODALITY AND TO LANGUAGE VARIATION (AFLiCo 5)
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Multi-modalité
Dynamic multi-modal emotional signalling in conflict talk

Emotional dimensions of language use have so far been grossly neglected in linguistic analyses. Only recently, has the affective turn also begun to affect linguistics (e.g., Pepin 2008; Wilce 2009). By engaging with this emerging research focus, this paper aims to demonstrate dynamic processes of multi-modal emotional signalling in aggressive and defensive communicative moves in conflict talk (Langlotz & Locher 2012; Muntigl & Turnbull 1998; Grimshaw 1990).

The study is grounded in interpersonal pragmatics (Locher & Graham 2010) and the notion of ‘relational work’ (Locher 2008). Relational work considers relationships as dynamic constructs that emerge through interaction in situated contexts and relative to social norms. In order to work upon one another, the communicative partners are applying semiotic ‘tools’. Thus the interlocutors depend on processes of multi-modal signalling that are distributed over dynamic action-sequences to mediate the discursive construction of relational meaning and action upon each other. In line with this idea, the main aim of the paper is to show that the communicative impact of speech acts in conflict talk (see also Guerrero & La Valley 2006) can only be appropriately theorized when considering the dynamic build-up of their emotional force through multi-modal emotional signals.

To scrutinize the dynamics of multi-modal emotional signalling in conflict episodes, the paper employs Clark's (1996) socio-cognitive theory of communicative signalling. According to this framework, interactors do not merely encode meanings into symbolic units but rather engage in complex processes of multi-modal signalling for describing, indexing, and demonstrating their stances to one another. Moreover, the creation of meaning is modeled in terms of joint actions in which the speaker and the listener simultaneously play active roles. In line with this model and the idea of relational work, the paper scrutinizes emotional signals in conflict talk as complex, composite structures, which emerge in dynamic processes of emotional signalling (see also Goodwin et al. 2002; Matoesian 2005).

The paper presents an apparatus for analysing dynamic multi-modal emotional signalling in line with Clark's theory. On the basis of the ELAN (Language Archiving Technology) transcription system, the proposed tool integrates existing coding schemes for facial (Ekman & Friesen 1978), vocal (Reber 2012), verbal (Fiehler 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin 1989; Schwarz-Friesel 2007) and bodily (Streeck 2009) affect cues. However, the present method extends these frameworks in three respects. First, emotional cues are coded on all levels instead of only concentrating on one communicative modality. This makes it possible to analyse how emotional cues interact to form complex composite signals. Second, the framework goes beyond the static representation of emotional displays to account for their dynamics. Third, it considers the simultaneous communicative actions of both the producers and the recipients within dynamic sequences of interaction.

The apparatus is demonstrated on the basis of tele-mediated data from American films and TV series. Although such data is naturally-occurring in the sense of not being produced for research, it is not spontaneous in the sense of a substitute for authentic ‘real-life’ scenes that are depicted (Alvarez-Pereyre 2011). It thus reflects fictional, constructed and highly stylized forms of emotional display. However, due to this stylized and clearly depicted nature, the tele-mediated emotional displays provide a useful test-ground for the proposed theoretical and analytical apparatus.

Keywords: Emotion, conflict talk, relational work, dynamic multi-modal signalling, tele-mediated conversations

References:
The dynamic interplay of cognitive operations: metaphor and metonymy in multimodal use

This presentation surveys the role of metaphor and metonymy in the construction of meaning in multimodal contexts through the study of some examples from printed advertising. Within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, metaphor and metonymy are acknowledged as central to human thought (cf. Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Additional support for the importance of both tropes is provided by the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2008, 2011; Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009). Within the LCM, metaphors and metonymies are considered constraining factors beyond lexical description. These generalizations stem from the application of the equipollence hypothesis, a methodological assumption according to which already attested linguistic processes in one domain of linguistic enquiry may also be (at least partially) active in other domains (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007).

It is thus logical to expect that metaphor and metonymy may also interact in significant ways in non-verbal communication. In this respect, there is a significant body of research on multimodal data evidencing the pervasiveness of both tropes in the visual realm (Forceville 1996, 2009a, 2009b), although their complex patterns of interaction still remains as a fairly unexplored research area.

In this presentation we analyze multimodal instances of (1) metonymic complexes, i.e. the interaction of several metonymies (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007), where one of the terms is rendered in three different modes (verbal, visual and audial). We may thus assume that the notion of metonymic composite (Pérez-Sobrino 2012) adds complexity to the current account of multimodal metonymy, which has been approached so far as a metonymic mapping across non-verbally cued domains (Forceville 2009b). The second multimodal complex, (2) multimodal metaphorical amalgam, refers to the principled integration of two metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2011) whose domains are cued in different modes (Forceville 2009a).

This study also shows the necessity to further develop conventional cognitive-linguistic approaches to metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, in an application of the equipollence hypothesis in a reverse way, the results show that the
exploration of non-verbal data not only parallels but also enhances our knowledge of verbal communication.

KEYWORDS: multimodal metaphor, multimodal metonymy, metonymic composite, metaphoric amalgam, advertising.

REFERENCES


Abstract

Adding gesture to spoken instruction makes those instructions more effective. The question I ask here is which gestures specifically. This study investigated the impact that gesture has in the classroom by placing focus on the type of gesture use that is beneficial to the child. In addition, focus is placed on which gestures, specifically, have the most impact in the classroom. This investigation describes an empirical study which provides insight into the challenges and limitations faced by researchers, when conducting an investigation under natural-environmental settings, compared to data which would be gathered under elicited circumstances. Foundation phase teachers were observed during mathematics lessons. Teachers were not told what they should or should not be doing, and conducted their lessons as per usual routine. The responses given by the children were also observed as a reference for substantiation. A few of the learners were asked to re-teach one of the lessons facilitated to them. Results show that gesture which accompanies verbal instruction improves children’s learning and these gestures are furthermore unconsciously performed by both teacher and learner. This study shows that a multi-modal educational approach, provides a strong pedagogical effect on learning.
Pointing gestures in sign language: Variations, interpretations and recognition

1 Variability in sign language

Variability appears in communication development over three steps: conception, enunciation and perception.

Conception results in the mental space of the speaker which contains relevant information [2] and guides him to perform his speech and to organize entities and their relations. Sign language discourses handle illustrative and non-illustrative intents [1]. Both engenders variations in discourse enunciation. For example, the signer may or may not use facial expressions to perform actions. Sign language is multi channel. So, during the generation of utterance, there are many possibilities of gesture combinations for illustrative production such as entity referencement [5], [3]. The signing space represents the interpretations of perceived gestures. It’s composed of entities attached to the discourse. The spoigning space arrangement is variable because of its dimensionality.

In our study, we are interested in pointing gesture recognition despite the variations of their production. Particularly, we are focused on the analysis of manual and non-manual pointing gestures performed towards localized entities as defined by [1]. Thus, we need to model pointing gesture production and their interaction with the signing space.

On the other side, we recognized that there are problems of movement perception due to
the capture environment. we noticed that gaze orientation, which plays an important role in sign language understanding [4], is difficult to perceive. Thus, we tried to make a pseudo model of pointing gestures which don’t consider gaze information.

2 Case study : Pointing gesture

Our analysis is composed of delays variation and spatial position measurement of pointing gestures done by hands, head and gaze fixations.

Temporal analysis aims to build a model of pointing gestures that takes into account delay variations. By means of 5 minutes annotated videos, we extract the most frequent pointing gesture which is performed by the shoulders, head and gazes fixation. Analyzed gestures are performed towards different zones. There is a common delay between movements beginning. It’s about 400 milliseconds. In order to test this combination, a corresponding pattern filter is applied to a set of videos. Then, to make a pseudo-model of pointing gesture, we applied a modified pattern filter composed of only head and shoulder movements. By comparing the two detections results, we conclude that system detection should include both methods to get optimal performance and precision.

By means of geometrical analysis applied on three dimensional corpus, we measure distances between entities and hand positions, then between hand positions and face orientations. Measures show that manual pointing gestures have the same behavior when are towards the same entity and present varied behavior (less predictable) when are towards two entities. Head orientation has different behaviors whether they concern one or more entities. We conclude that there is a spatial relation between entities positions and the behavior of manual gestures which point towards them.

Temporal and spatial analysis shows that, despite of gestures variations in sign language, making an efficient method of manual and/or non-manual pointing gesture recognition is possible by formalizing gestures variations.
References


The submitted presentation explores narrative capacities in oral and written production among French children aged between 9-11 year old, schooled in 4th and 5th year of primary school. Both oral narratives and written narratives do not solely rely on linguistic production. However, the semiotics of oral narrative behavior is quite distinct from that of the written narrative text. The speaker’s narrative may be described on three auditory (linguistic + prosodic) and visual (gestural) dimensions whereas the narrative text only holds on two visual dimensions: that of the linguistic content and that of its paralinguistic (punctuation) dimension. The complete investigation of the differences between oral and written narratives requires a close look at the specific import of the non linguistic semiotic systems used in the two modes.

In line with previous work on multimodality in communication and in the perspective of renewing the reflection on language teaching and learning, we designed a comparative study based on a data collection of elicited oral and written narratives produced by the same subjects. 46 children aged 9 to 11 years had to narrate from a short animated video clip first in the oral modality, and second in the writing modality. Every child’s linguistic abilities were assessed using Khomsi’s ELO (Evaluation du Langage Oral) linguistic task. The two oral and written sets of narratives were later transcribed and annotated on several dimensions: syntax, narrative content and cohesion, the pragmatics of narration, co-speech gesture and written text punctuation, using a multi-track annotation grid.

The quantitative analysis of the data revealed an effect of the oral/writing modality on syntax, discourse cohesion and the pragmatics of narration. It also revealed a strong correlation between linguistic abilities and narrative multimodal performance in both modalities. The qualitative analysis of the data showed that children were found to produce more detailed narratives and to add more comments when they recount in the oral mode compared to the writing mode, and that co-speech gesture played a crucial part in the process. In other words, the gesture channel provides additional information that is not encoded in the spoken verbal narrative. Nor is it present in the corresponding written narrative, due to the semiotic limitations of punctuation. These results offer a new and exciting view of narrative abilities in children aged 9 to 11 years. A semiotic and multimodal approach brings to light sharp differences between modes that one should consider from a developmental point of view as well as from an educational one. The presentation discusses these theoretical and practical implications.


We present the main results out of a study on the development of bimodal communication in young French children aged from 18 to 42 months. Previous work on communication means used by young Italian and American children during the transition from the one-word-utterance stage to the two-words-utterance stage showed that gesture and bimodal gesture+word combination played their part in early language acquisition (Capirci et al., 1996; Goldin-Meadow & Butcher, 2000).

The present study was designed to document the developmental changes that occur in verbal, gesture and bimodal communication means used by young children who have French as a mother language. It was also designed to investigate whether the gesture+speech system that emerges within the second year of life develops, and how it develops as the child gains new linguistic abilities and starts producing two clauses utterances that will help him express the simple scripts he extracts from his everyday experience. In other words, our study tries to trace changes, from the use of the symbolic gesture that replaces a word at an early stage, to the use of the co-speech gesture that plays a representational or pragmatic functions at a later stage of language development.

154 video recorded sessions were collected, each 11mn session involving a child at play with an adult and a house game set (triadic situation). All the data was transcribed and annotated for words, vocal utterance, gesture, bimodal utterance, other manual actions, and context.

First, our results confirm the developmental changes put up by the Italian and American studies: the production of communicative gestures and the emergence of gesture-word combinations both precede the production of two-words speech in young children. Second, they point to a more general developmental scheme, with the [gesture + x words] combination always preceding the upcoming of the [x + 1 words] verbal utterance. This general scheme holds in children older than two years and adds strength to the view that gesture production announces new verbal behaviour and plainly participates to language development. Third, the very first use of gesture as a co-speech device show in longer n clauses utterance which the child produces to express the simple scripts that emerge from interaction with the adult in a triadic situation. These results are discussed in line with developmental and psycholinguistic issues such as the measuring of language abilities and language development during preschool years and over.

A bilingual child’s multimodal path into negation

As discussed by Spitz (1957), first negative constructions seem to take over from early gestures of rejection and avoidance (Clark 1978). For Kendon (2002), in many cultures, gestures of negation are the ritualization of spontaneous actions. Guidetti (2005) argues that gestures of agreement and refusal are the first symbolic gestures (aside from pointing) used by children. The study of the expression of negation in longitudinal data of adult-child conversations is therefore a privileged locus for a multimodal approach to language acquisition. However, tracing the transitions or complementarities between actions and gestures, and between gestures and verbalized expressions in very young children, and understanding the function of each modality can be quite complex.

In the case of bilingual language acquisition, the necessity to enter two languages at once might have an influence on the management of the visual-gestural and the auditory modalities. The synchronization of gestures and verbal production, the number of gestures used and the length of the “pre-linguistic” period might be different from monolingual children.

In order to tackle these issues, we analyze the longitudinal data of Antoine, a bilingual French/Italian child living in France, and recorded once a month for an hour with his Italian mother and once a month with his French father between the ages of 1;5 and 3;5, in comparison to 4 monolingual children during the same age period. Negation in French and Italian is expressed by a similar adverb (non/no) at the beginning of acquisition but the syntax of negative utterances used a little later on differs between the languages. Our preliminary analyses show that there is a clear dominance of corporal-gestural negation at the beginning of the data. First forms of negation correspond to refusals expressed by avoidance, gestures of rejection, and/or headshakes. The child’s gestures form a clear micro-system with a form-function pairing to express acceptance, requests and refusals. Next, around 2;0, negation is expressed by a simultaneous use of gestures and verbal productions first in French, then in Italian with very creative combinations of the two languages such as manon (ma in Italian meaning but and non in French meaning no) accompanied with gestures. Finally, around 2;6, the verbal modality becomes clearly dominant.

The comparison with the four monolingual children shows that Antoine uses the gestural modality more frequently and for a longer period of time due to a combination of several factors:

- In his bilingual environment, gestures of negation are culturally the same in French and in Italian and are used both by his mother and his father. They might be a stable element to seize in his input and put into use efficiently in all circumstances.
- His 4-year-old brother is a very talkative little boy and invades the whole sound environment. Antoine might resort to gesture in order to communicate without interference.

Gesture might therefore have a compensatory function for that little boy. It is a wonderful resource to communicate efficiently in his specific environment during his multimodal, multilingual entry into language.
Vers l'utilisation de plusieurs techniques explicatives en interaction

Cadre théorique
Dans un enseignement réfléchi du lexique, l’enseignant a une multitude de techniques mises à sa disposition (ou non) pour présenter la langue. Dans cette communication, nous traiterons plus précisément :
- de l’association de différentes techniques explicatives successives (explication orale puis explication gestuelle, explication orale puis explication par présentation d’un support écrit, etc.)
- ou de multimodalité pour décrire l’association simultanée de différents supports explicatifs utilisés lors d’une interaction.


Cependant, nous n’oublions pas que tout enseignement a pour finalité l’apprentissage. Et nous nous demanderons si ces associations de techniques facilitent ou non les processus de mémorisation, sachant qu’ils participent à l’apprentissage (Mayer & Moreno, 1998; Sweller, 1994, 2003 ; Tricot, 1998).

Nos résultats laissent entrevoir que certains enseignants mobilisent leur corps et leur voix à des fins explicatives mais que le lien de cause à effet entre l’explication multimodale et la compréhension/rétention du lexique n’est pas si évidente.

Expérimentation
Nous avons observé et filmé des cours de français langue étrangère et seconde (2 enseignants) et des cours de français langue maternelle (5 professeurs) où nous avons proposé de travailler sur 3 textes issus de Bel-Ami de Maupassant. Durant chaque séance, les enseignants ont dû expliquer les mots de vocabulaire difficiles rencontrés (des miasmes, de boni, un hussard, etc.). Ce sont ces explications en interaction que nous avons recueillies et étudiées plus spécifiquement. Nous avons ainsi identifié quels enseignants utilisaient la multimodalité pour expliquer, comment ils l’utilisaient et dans quelle(s) circonstance(s). Notre communication traitera également les résultats obtenus au travers du degré de compréhension des apprenants.

Bibliographie
Early adjective use and language grammaticization: Two longitudinal case studies in French and English.

The order in which syntactic categories are acquired remains a recurring question in the literature. According to some, lexical items are first learned due to their easy cognitive access (Clark 1993, Tomasello 1992). For others, functional elements emerge very early on (Bloom’s prepositions, 1974; Braine’s “ pivots”, 1963), thereby reflecting Piaget’s (1936) sensory-motor stages, wherein objects and events start being connected prior to object permanence achievement. In the present study, those premises were tested on two longitudinal corpora of one French-speaking (Paris Corpus, CoLaJe, Morgenstern 2009) and one English-speaking child (CHILDES, MacWhinney 2000) spontaneously interacting with their parents. The ages at which the main categories appeared were measured, and their evolution was retraced until age four. We used lexical adjectives as a prism to conduct fine-grained analyses and better understand how language develops and grammaticizes during that period. This adult-oriented typology does not mean that infants are conscious of such categories, based on conventions that are still estranged to them. It is merely a tool used to describe and analyze complex child-specific codes, which are built on various axes (segmental, extra and suprasegmental), notably during the transition to two-word speech (Goldin-Meadow 1998).

The first words identified in both corpora are nouns (90%) and verbs (10%) around age one, supporting the lexical-biased hypothesis. Adjectives emerge a few months later, in French and English (1;4). Their development in terms of types and tokens is quite moderate as compared to that of other parts-of-speech. This may be surprising if we consider that additional properties could be expected to help disambiguate new nouns. To understand this apparent unbalance, the possible influence of child-directed speech was weighed and some significant properties were scanned, such as syntactic diversity, co-occurring noun-type variety and adjective frequency. In addition, within child-speech, each adjective was coded for its pragmatic and semantic features (following Dixon’s 1977 taxonomy) to see whether these might be linked to their order of emergence, and to their high or low frequency. The results show close matches with the input, as well as unexpected similarities between the two children. Although word classes and the constructions they are in are language-specific, our data rather suggest a similar path of development across languages.

References


Aspect marking and co-speech gesture: 
a multi-modal corpus study

This study is part of a multi-modal, corpus-based project examining the domains of morphosyntax, co-speech gesture, and intonation to investigate how higher-order notions such as aspect in event conceptualization are integrated and synchronized during speech. It has long been established that in signed languages, the path, shape, and cadence of gesture are used iconically to express aspect (Klima and Bellugi 1979, Wilcox 2004, Sweetser 2009). This study investigates whether the same types of grammatical movements are present in co-speech gesture. Gesture has frequently been used to investigate the effects of linguistic features on event construal (Duncan 2002; Bergen/Wheeler 2010; Parrill, Bergen & Lichtenstein, in press). However, these studies are behavioural and used stimuli marked only for grammatical aspect. Here, I investigate the co-occurrence of gesture and aspectual cues in speech in naturalistic, face-to-face interaction.

The corpus consists of video footage of dyadic conversation from public domain broadcasting for which transcripts are available. It has been annotated for a wide range of aspctual markings: lexical/Aktionsart; adverbs and particles, as in (1); non-finite participles such as nominalizations as in (2); and semi-auxiliaries. I focus on three semi-auxiliaries: start (3-4), stop (5) and keep (6-7). The first two belong to Frawley’s (1992) phase aspects – inceptive and terminative – and keep is a force-dynamic ‘honorary auxiliary’ (Talmy 2000). Results support the view that aspect is reliably and consistently marked in co-speech gesture; e.g. in 23 instances of the continuative auxiliary keep/keep on, 17 were correlated with a clearly distinguishable gesture phrase with the stroke marking the aspect auxiliary. For start, 92% of spoken instances corresponded with gesture that indicated aspect, e.g. the boundedness of a phase aspect was indicated in the stroke onset.

According to Kendon (2004:126), the part of the speech unit that the gesture phrase is related to “depends on how the utterance is being fashioned.” Thus, mapping the fine-grained TAM (tense/aspect/modality) system of English onto the indeterminate system of gesture, where aspect can be – but is not always – marked in the GP, is a complex endeavor. In this study, for example, the remaining 6 of the 23 instances of keep as the semi-auxiliary presented no gestural correlate. However, if gesture is non-essential or context dependent, does this weaken the evidence that speech and gesture are two parts of one cognitive system? This study uses naturalistic data to investigate a broader spectrum of aspectual linguistic cues than has been examined to date. It grapples with the integration of the fine-grained time course of gesture, morphosyntactic, and intonational cues, with higher order conceptual and linguistic notions such as TAM. Robust correlations would suggest that the notion of construction (Goldberg 1995, 2006) should be extended from speech to include gestural and intonational components.

Data

(1) You couldn’t have people opening up banks in their garage
(2) This is about getting jobs for the American people
(3) … have the federal government take over health care and start mandating to the providers across America
(4) We’re starting to see gains in math and science.
(5) That’s what we have to do, is change their mind so they stop pursuing nuclear weapons,
(6) They keep misquoting him, but let me tell you about the Mitt Romney I know.
(7) All of these things suggested, I think, to the Iranian mullahs that, hey, you know, we can keep on pushing along here; we can keep talks going on, but we’re just going to keep on spinning centrifuges
“…to get those companies back on their feet, so they could start hiring more people”

“Stop talking about how you care about people”

Gesture trajectory: hand moves in full circular trajectory twice

Gesture trajectory: iterative downbeat with abrupt end

References


Analysis of mechanisms increasing coherence in live report within the framework of the event-indexing model of message understanding: a proposal of a model of television broadcast coherence

The presentation will describe a model of coherence of a multimodal message – the live report – within the framework of the event-indexing model (EIM) of message comprehension (Zwaan, Langston & Graesser, 1995; Zwaan & Radvansky, 1998). This approach distinguishes two dimensions of coherence: the synchronic (between modalities) and the diachronic (between subsequent parts of a message). It may enable research involving comparison of coherence level between different types of multimodal messages and making predictions about the impact of coherence level modification on the processing of a message. The model is suited for analysis of coherence from both the receiver's and the author's perspective.

According to EIM every message consists of events – minimal elements defined (for a text) as phrase or occurrence of new verb or (for a film) as one shot. Every event is indexed with the value of 5 (or 6) dimensions: time, space, protagonists and objects (which may be divided into 2 dimensions), causation and intentionality (Zwaan & Radvansky, 1998; Zacks, Speer, & Reynolds, 2009). The coherence of a message is defined as the mean continuity of indexes between adjacent events (on the synchronic and the diachronic dimension). The more coherent the message is, the more coherent will be the situation model – the mental representation of the content of the text in the working memory of a viewer (receiver).

The most important for the coherence of a message as a whole are the events that constitute boundaries between subsequent parts of the message. To allow extraction of such events the model was extended with textual architecture model (TAM) (Pascual & Virbel, 1996) that describes text punctuation (division of a text into textual objects: paragraphs, sections, chapters...) and enables its impact on message processing (Lemarié, Lorch, Eyrolle & Virbel, 2008). To account for multimodality in live reports TAM had to be extended by adding the notion of visual object (shots, scenes...).

Literature:

Key words: coherence, event-indexing model, multimodal message, situation model, television transmission
Accounting for Multimodality in Construction Grammar

This paper focuses on the question to what extent the notion of ‘construction’, which is generally defined as the symbolic pairing of form and meaning, seems fit to include not just verbal but also non-verbal phenomena like gesture, speech, gaze etc. into an encompassing multimodal account of Construction Grammar. This broader perspective is in line with earlier appeals (Deppermann 2006, Östman & Fried 2005) to extend Construction Grammar into the realm of the pragmatics of spoken discourse, especially however with more recent empirical studies, which advocate the identification and analysis of genuinely multimodal constructions (Turner & Steen 2012; Zima 2012). "The different modalities of a communicative act are not simply redundant, but provide new aspects of meaning that a multimodal analysis can uncover. (...) To understand human communication, we must develop a new facility for understanding the grammar of multimodal meaning construction.” Turner & Steen (2012: 16-17).

In the present paper, we systematize a series of ongoing corpus-based analyses of various communicative patterns (modal particles, turn taking events, intersubjective deictics, interactional alignment sequences), in which verbal constructions, gestures as well as gaze patterns co-occur as part of what may be labeled ‘multimodal constructions’. In the light of these empirical observations of multimodal patterns, this paper presents a critical reflection on certain principles and assumptions of Construction Grammar, which hitherto have been interpreted solely in terms of the symbolic pairing of verbal aspects of form and meaning. Some of the issues to be discussed, are the following:

- The possible distribution of what is commonly labeled ‘the’ formal pole of a symbolic pairing over different modalities such as verbal structures, gesture, speech, gaze etc.
- The issue of temporal discrepancy between the formal and semantic realization of a (multimodal) construction. This is the case, for example, with modal particles, which on the verbal level make a punctual appearance as a small lexical unit, whereas their meaning scopes over the entire utterance, in which they are used.
- To what extent can interactional patterns across turns, as apparent in turn-taking mechanisms or sequences of multimodal alignment, be described as multimodal constructions?
- To what extent does multimodal layering provide (counter)evidence for the principle of redundancy in Construction Grammar?

Observations and questions like these challenge our currently undisputed view on such fundamental aspects like the range and internal structure of symbolic ‘pairings’ that make up constructions. Can we even maintain our worn-out concept of ‘pairing’ of form and meaning, as if only one (type of) form and one meaning were involved? With this paper, we take part in a recently initiated discussion, which aims at critically optimizing Construction Grammar in order to be able to cope with multimodal phenomena in an accurate way.

References


gestes co-verbaux
On Gesture and Aspect

Gestures can be seen as a system integrated with speech. In fact, many studies have suggested that this relation is deeper, concerning language itself. We report two studies designed to investigate the relation between the semantic distinctions pertaining to lexical aspect and gestural behavior. The first study investigates how the way informants choose lexical aspect in their narrations in Spanish influences the way they gesture, making their movements dynamically more complex, iterative or punctual, and how these characteristics impact the time of gesture strokes. In the second study, informants are shown a set of stimuli to make a narration out of them. These stimuli are intended to elicit the use of lexical items which interact with lexical aspect modifying it (e.g. trata de perseguirlo vs. y lo sigue y lo persigue), and so have an impact on the synchrony of gesture strokes and verbs. We conclude that the claim that gestures and speech work as an integrated system holds at least at the aspectual level, and that this relation could reveal the psychological reality of grammatical distinctions linguists work with.
Interactional aspects of the co-occurrence of modal particles and gestures in German

In the vein of the growing consciousness that there is more to communication than just its verbal side, an increasing number of scholars have been dealing with the functions of gesture and its interaction with speech. Indeed, gesturing is a way of enriching and/or clarifying the message passed on verbally. Just like words, gestures can contribute to the message at both the propositional and the pragmatic or (inter)subjective level. In this respect, certain “interactive gestures” (Bavelas et al. 1992) do show interesting parallels with modal particles, which also serve interactive or interactional goals (Werner 2010). Although several scholars (e.g. Werner 2010 and Schulz 2012) have indicated that analyzing the interaction of modal particles with gestures can lead to interesting results and shed new light on the meaning of the particles, this field is still largely virgin territory.

The goal of this study is to explore this side of the interaction of modal particles and gestures. On the basis of examples from two video corpora (debates in the Austrian Parliament and television discussions; about 20 hours of recordings in total), the question will be raised to what extent gestures and modal particles serve the same interactional goals. The focus will be on two clusters of modal particles, viz. the ones establishing or marking a relation with the context (denn, eigentlich), on the one hand, and the ones which are usually said to mark that the content of the clause they occur in can be considered true, known, evident, or plausible (ja, doch, eben, einfach, halt), on the other hand (cp. Thurmair 1989). These particles all have an intersubjective side, in that they take into account the position of the interlocutor (common ground, easiness of understanding, expected reaction...). The main goal of the study is to investigate to what extent and in which ways modal particles and co-speech gestures work together in conveying these intersubjective and interactional meanings.

References
The functions of pointing gestures in hearing children from one to four: from pre-linguistic buds to the blossoming of multimodal communication skills

Among the conventional gestures which appear early in children’s development, pointing is observed between 9 and 12 months, shortly before first words. For Clark (1978), the first vocal demonstratives used by children follow pointing as children shift rather fluidly from pre-linguistic to linguistic communication in a sequence of stages from pointing to deictics and lexical words.

According to this perspective, pointing corresponds to a transition in the course of acquisition and facilitates access to combinations and early syntax (Bates et al. 1977). However, gestural communication does not totally disappear with the emergence of vocal productions (Marcos 1998). Furthermore it is still largely used by adults themselves in combination with vocal productions (Guidetti 1998).

This paper explores the evolution and fate of pointing gestures in two longitudinal follow-ups of French speaking children between 11 months and 4 years old and their caretakers. Our analyses of the data show that vocal and gestural modalities are associated and complement each other from the very onset of pointing. We categorized all pointing gestures of the children and the adults in order to analyze their functions from their “pre-linguistic” to their co-verbal uses. At first, pointing gestures are produced in isolation. At around one year old, they begin to be complemented with vocal productions with proto-imperative and proto-declarative functions. Around 1;06, pointing gestures are produced with clear deictics and nouns. The verbal productions simultaneous to pointing then become more and more complex: first with predicates, then the production of whole utterances.

The two children use more pointing gestures when their MLU is below 2.5, but they still produce an important number of pointing gestures at four when their MLU is above 5. Interestingly enough, they enter a different stage around 3;06-4;0 when the functions of their pointing gestures become more and more diverse. These particular functions are similar to those used by the adults but we also found some creative specific uses. By the age of 4;0, their pointing gestures are integrated in fluid co-verbal gesturing. Pointing can follow the rhythmic variation of their prosody: gestures and vocal productions are linked with great subtlety. The two children demonstrate excellent mastery of the location, the orientation, the motion of their pointing gestures, which enables them to mark subtle differentiation of their functions. Their gestures illustrate, specify and reinforce the meanings of their vocal productions.

Pointing gestures are therefore still functional and continue to enhance the blossoming of their communication skills. They are part of an intersubjective multimodal communicative system in which it is more and more complex to tease apart gestures from speech and which needs to be described with a broadened definition of what we call “language” (McNeill, 1992).

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L1-L2 Convergence and Intra-Language Variation in Cross-linguistic and Cross-modal Expression of Manner of Motion

Native speakers show systematic variation in a range of linguistic domains as a function of a variety of sociolinguistic variables. Using two language pairings in three typologically different languages, the current study examines language variation in expression of Manner of motion, which appears to arise from the psycholinguistic process of convergence between the L1 and L2.

Construal of motion is an area of substantial crosslinguistic difference (Slobin, 1996; Talmy, 1991). Satellite-framed languages, such as English, typically lexicalize trajectories or Path of motion in adverbials, e.g. *up*, and ways in which protagonists move or Manner of motion in verbs, e.g. *roll*, and frequently mention both elements explicitly in speech. Verb-framed languages, such as Japanese, often lexicalize Path in main verbs and Manner in adverbials or subordinated verbs and frequently omit Manner from speech. McNeill (2001) has claimed that gestural depiction of motion exhibits similar typological differences, such that speakers of satellite-framed languages may not gesture about Manner when the information is present in speech in order to background its significance in discourse and speakers of verb-framed languages may depict Manner in gesture when the information is absent from speech to foreground its significance. We explore cross-linguistic and cross-modal expression of Manner of motion further, focusing on differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers in satellite-framed (English) and verb-framed (Japanese) languages, but also a third category proposed by Slobin (2004), of equipollently-framed languages (Mandarin Chinese).

Narrative descriptions of motion were elicited from monolingual Mandarin-Chinese (n=12), English (n=11), and Japanese speakers (n=12), along with two groups of late bilinguals in first (L1) and second (L2) languages: native Mandarin-Chinese (n=12) and native Japanese (n=13) users of English, both matched on L2 English proficiency (CEFR B, independent-user level). Narratives were coded for the distribution of Manner and Path information across modalities, focusing on the extent to which gesture highlighted or added semantic information about Manner and Path.

Preliminary analyses revealed both between- and within-language differences in gestural highlighting of semantic information. First, a baseline difference was found among monolingual speakers in the extent to which Manner was encoded in speech, but only Path was highlighted in accompanying gestures along the following continuum: Mandarin > English > Japanese. Second, bilingual Mandarin-English and Japanese-English speakers patterned roughly midway between the respective source and target languages in their L2 but also in their L1.

These results support inter-typological differences between the three languages in speech but also in gesture and suggest a bidirectional, cross-linguistic transfer account for bilingual production, with simultaneous effects of different L1s, Mandarin and Japanese, on a common L2, English, but also effects of the common L2 on each of the L1s. We discuss possibilities for a language-specific convergence between the L1 and L2 in the distribution of information across modalities in motion event construal, which may yield intra-language variation in native Mandarin and Japanese production.
How degree of verbal interaction affects the communication of static locative information

This paper investigates how the degree of verbal interaction between speakers affects the use of gesture to express locative information. In doing so, it becomes one of only a few studies to investigate how speakers gesture when encoding location; most previous studies on gesture and space have concentrated on motion events (e.g. Kita & Özyürek, 2003; McNeill, 2000). As far as work on static location is concerned, Tutton (2010, forthcoming) has shown that English speakers use gesture to express directional information that complements the semantics of directionally non-specific items: for example, a hand gesture out to the left when encoding location with next to (note that next to does not specify left or right directional information). Yet Tutton’s study, which drew on a small sample of speakers (10 English-speaking pairs), focused on a particular type of communicative context: conversational partners were physically co-present, had visual access to one another and the designated addressee was restricted to providing backchannel responses. However, a speaker’s use of language and gesture is sensitive to variables in communicative context, one of which is the type of verbal feedback that a speaker receives from an addressee (Brennan et al., 2010; Holler & Wilkin, 2011). The study presented here takes this variable into account by systematically varying the degree of verbal interaction between speakers and addressees. In doing so, it goes beyond Tutton’s earlier work and adds new insight into how speakers use gesture to express locative information. 108 native speakers of English were recruited and divided into 54 pairs. These pairs were distributed across 3 conditions: i) free interaction, ii) restricted interaction (backchannel responses and simple non-verbal responses only), and iii) no interaction (the addressee viewed the speaker's descriptions on a television in an adjacent room). In each pair there was a 'describer' and an 'addressee'. The describer had the task of describing the location of a cartoon character, Wally, in three pictures from the book series Where's Wally. Following each description, the addressee was presented with a paper copy of the picture without Wally on it and asked to mark where they thought Wally was located, based on the speaker’s description. Data were transcribed verbatim and coded in ELAN.

The analysis presented in this paper targets the following questions. Following Tutton (2010, forthcoming) do speakers use gesture to express directional information that complements the semantics of spatial prepositions (i.e. next to, across)? If so, is this true irrespective of the degree of verbal interaction a speaker has with their addressee? How, if at all, does the variable of verbal interaction affect such a use of gesture? The data analysis is currently ongoing and the results will be known shortly. Due to the exploratory nature of our analysis, the findings will provide answers to a range of questions about the multi-modal communication of locative information that, up until the present, have remained unanswered.
References


Characterizing clause structure has always been a major theme in linguistic research. Many characterizations are based on two types of contrasts: predicates and their arguments. Predicates are canonically verbs and the noun phrases inherently associated with them are known as arguments (cf. Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). In Cognitive Grammar these contrasts are captured by the fact that verbs, as process types, are conceptually dependent structures that presuppose participants. Primary participants are called trajectors and secondary participants are called landmarks; both are often designated with nominals. Accordingly, a clause in Cognitive Grammar is a complex symbolic construction that designates a process elaborated by its participants (Langacker, 1987; Taylor, 2003).

While there seems to be little debate about the presence of clauses in the world’s spoken languages, this grammatical construct has been harder to identify and analyze in the world’s signed languages (Crasborn, 2007; Johnston, Vermeerbergen, Schembri, & Leeson, 2007). One of the main complicating issues is the presence and integration of gesture in signed language discourse and how this gesture influences and participates in clause structure. This study explores this issue by attempting a clause structure analysis on a group of clause-level utterances that contain depicting signs in Auslan (the signed language used in Australia). Depicting signs are targeted here, because they are instances of partly-lexical signs—composites of gestural and lexical components.

The data for this study comes from a set of Auslan narratives and conversations produced by 45 signers from across Australia. In total, 1,918 depicting signs in 1,492 clauses-level utterances were examined. The study directly addresses whether a traditional clause analysis is appropriate for these utterances. To do this, the utterances were examined for possible predicate-argument relations. Then, the utterances containing depicting signs were further examined for trajector/landmark alignment and whether these relationships were overtly expressed with signs.

First, findings show that depicting signs often function as verbs and as the predicates of clause-level utterances. Second, the patterns of predicate-argument relations expressed by these utterances largely resemble those that do not contain depicting signs, indicating that at this level of analysis depicting signs function similar to other fully lexical signs. However, depicting signs may diverge from more conventionalized signs in regards to conceptual content and trajector/landmark alignment. While many possible one- and two-participant depicting verbs were identified, many instances proved too ambiguous to make a hypothesis.

These ambiguous cases are used to demonstrate that a traditional clause analysis may not always be a useful construct in analyses of signed language grammar. The gestural aspects of a signed language utterance may be enough to elaborate a particular predication, and thus, conventionalized linguistic expressions are not always needed. Moreover, construal of an utterance's predication may not be indicated by the grammar, leaving it up to the addressee to effect a construal. These findings show the work gesture does in signed language discourse and emphasizes the need for gesture to be considered in any analysis of a signed language grammar.

Word count: 490


The main goal of this paper is the analysis of 30 6-year old children’s French multimodal language production during “how” explanations. In order to study the development of explanation abilities, we take into account both gestures and talk (e.g., Colletta, , 2009; Cosnier, 1996, 2004; Graziano, 2010; Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992, 2000). Children’s multimodal language productions were analyzed by focusing on two units: linguistic markers of formulation and gestures (Candéa, 2000). The experimentation was divided into three phases. In phase 1, a child-instructor played a game (a numbers game or a spatial game). In phase 2, the child-instructor explained the game he played to a peer. In phase 3, the child-learner played the game under the watch of the child-instructor. The two last phases were carried out in one of two conditions: the two children were either face-to-face or separated by a curtain. Each child-instructor played the two games (condition of the explanandum); one half of the children did their explaining in the visibility condition and the other half in the no visibility condition (condition of visibility). The two game explanations were separated by one week. The present study focuses on phase 2.

One of the ways to apprehend multimodality is to consider gesture as an “early step in the production process” (Colletta, 2007:21). In this view, gesture has a role in message conceptualization (McNeill, 1992, 2000, 2002; Kita, 2000). This view of multimodality corresponds to the Interface Hypothesis, inspired by McNeill’s Growth Point Theory (1992, 2000, 2002) and by work by McNeill and Duncan (2000), where both language production and comprehension are considered as multimodal. According to this hypothesis, gestures as well as language help in the development of thought (Kita, 2000). This model, which is in line with Levelt’s (1989) language production model, emphasizes the importance of the context of production, the environment, the communicative situation — all aspects that influence gestures and verbal forms of linguistic production.

In the present study, we focus on both the linguistic markers of formulation and gestures in “how” explanations of 6-year-old children. Our main goal is to analyze these two units within a multimodal perspective. To this end, we have coded all co-verbal gestures and all linguistic markers of formulation in children’s multimodal language production to see: (a) if co-verbal gestures and the linguistic markers of formulation are correlated or not; (b) if co-verbal gestures and the linguistic markers of formulation varied according to three factors: type of game explained (spatiality and numbers game), visibility (face-to-face or no visibility) and the session of the explanation (explanation done during the first week or explanation done during the second week).

According to initial observations, it seems that co-verbal gestures and the linguistic markers of formulation are correlated: when there are high numbers of gestures in an explanation, there are high numbers of linguistic markers of formulation. We expect that the linguistic markers of formulation will vary according to the different factors, as we have seen that gestures do. Quantitative analyses are in progress.

References


The physics and dynamics of grammar: building the case for « co-grammatical gesticulation »

This paper explores the relation between gestural action and the production of grammatical forms and meanings in speech. The claim is made that grammar is co-articulated verbally and gesturally, and best conceived as a kind of performance, with speakers-movers-cognizers acting out construals and processes. We propose calling grammar-based or grammar-related gestures « co-grammatical gestures ».

At first sight, the ontological status of « co-grammatical gestures » seems highly questionable. There seems to be no systematic correspondence between gestural and grammatical forms. The freedom and interpersonal variation that characterize gestural expression appear to be deeply at odds with the normative rules and standardized patterns that define grammar. As a result, language scholars overwhelmingly ignore or deny the existence of anything resembling a grammar-gesture nexus, and are likely to discard the very notion of « co-grammatical gesticulation » as absurd or self-contradictory. Yet, many of the notions and processes open to gestural expression, identified by Calbris (1989, 2011) are relevant to grammar: person; time-reference (location, anteriority, posteriority, duration); inception, termination, continuation, repetition, unboundedness (all of which are clearly aspectual); causality and inference; hypothesis; comparison; quantification; assertion; negation... Although « co-grammatical gestures » are never named as such by Calbris, her « semiotic analysis » of gesture may be used as a basis for mapping out areas where movements co-articulate and co-realize grammatical processes.

We present here the preliminary stage of a corpus-based investigation of co-grammatical gesticulation in English and French. We focus on the gestures that are overtly synchronized with grammatical morphemes (e.g. now-gestures; however-gestures; whole-gestures) or syntactic processes (e.g. positive or negative assertion, coordination, approximation, epistemic modality; comparison). We willingly use « random » or « anecdotal » evidence to perform a series of preliminary micro-analyses. As we proceed, we identify relevant semiotic and functional dimensions, ideational and interpersonal properties. We also attempt to assess the place and importance of co-grammatical gesticulation in connected speech, through a more systematic study of our visual corpus (see below). We close with remarks on the need to reconsider grammar a kind of symbolic action – a perspective that combines the cognitive and enactive paradigms.

Corpus (currently under study)

- French : French, Belgian and Canadian writers (collected video interviews by Mollat Bookstores, Bordeaux, France)
- English : Web.2. conference (selected videos) – Entourage roundables (X 5).

References

langues signées
A fundamental difference between signed and spoken languages is that in signed languages the signer uses the three dimensional space in front of him/her (signing space) and his/her own body for reference and cohesion. According to recent studies of signed languages (e.g. Liddell, 2003; Liddell, Vogt-Svendsen & Bergman, 2007; Nilsson, 2010; Dudis, 2011; Ferrara, 2011; Thumann, 2011) such linguistic tools make use of the conceptual blending process (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).

Optimal use of signing space is dependent on the signer’s knowledge of what s/he is going to talk about. In a simultaneous interpreting situation, both the content and the structure of the discourse become known to the interpreter only gradually. Thus, it is difficult for an interpreter working simultaneously into a signed language to know how to best structure the discourse, as there is no way s/he can know exactly what the speaker will say next. To date, there are only a few studies regarding use of signing space in simultaneously interpreted signed language (see, however, e.g. Frasu, 2007; Nicodemus, 2009; Armstrong, 2011; Goswell, 2011).

In the present study, Swedish Sign Language (SSL) interpreters have been filmed when interpreting from spoken Swedish into SSL. Both interpreters whose first language is SSL (L1 interpreters) and those who are second language learners of SSL (L2 interpreters) have been recorded. Their signed language production is studied using a model based in Conceptual Blending Theory, and mainly analyzing use of Real Space Blending (Liddell, 2003), focusing on how they use signing space and their body to mark the discourse structure. Does the interpreting situation make interpreters use fewer of the linguistic tools available, or use them differently than in spontaneously produced SSL (as described in e.g. Bergman, 2007; Nilsson, 2010; Sikström, 2011)?

The unexpected findings of a preliminary analysis indicate striking differences both in how and how much the recorded L1 and L2 interpreters use their body, especially regarding the use of movements of the upper body. In this presentation, I will show how the L1 interpreters structure the discourse content using buoys and tokens (Liddell, 2003) in a highly visual interplay with body movements. Buoys and tokens are combined with e.g. sideway movements and rotations of the upper body, thereby marking the structure of the discourse. The L1 interpreters move their upper body in a manner that gives a relaxed and natural impression, frequently e.g. raising their shoulders as part of sign production. Despite finding out the discourse content only gradually, and while already rendering their interpretation of what has been said so far, they manage to produce signed discourse that is strikingly similar to spontaneously produced SSL discourse. In comparison, as we will see, the L2 interpreters generally move their upper body less, and they use fewer buoys and tokens. Their use of directions in signing space to indicate e.g. contrast and/or comparisons is more stereotypical, and their body movements do not reflect the structure of the discourse to the same extent.

References:


Une recherche doctorale portant sur les modalités d’expression des valeurs de temps a été menée dans un corpus de langue des signes composé de 21 heures d’enregistrement, représentant 18 locuteurs (10 hommes, 8 femmes) âgés entre 21 et 66 ans et offrant un aperçu de différents genres discursifs (narrations, dialogues semi-dirigés, interviews et descriptions).


Un relevé systématique des marques de temps a été opéré dans l’ensemble du corpus. Ont été considérés comme « marques » (à différents degrés de pertinence et de saillance) tous les éléments lexicaux ou grammaticaux exprimés par un ou plusieurs articulateurs (les deux mains, les mouvements de la tête, des épaules et du buste, l’expression du visage et la direction du regard) et permettant la construction de références temporelles. Outre les constats quantitatifs que ce relevé a permis de poser (le nombre d’occurrences particulièrement élevé de certains signes comme AVANT2 ou FIN1 dans l’ensemble des données de dialogues et d’interviews, la quasi absence de marque dans les contextes narratifs, etc.) l’analyse qualitative a mis au jour plusieurs spécificités du système de référenciation temporelle de la LS étudiée. A titre d’exemples, nous pouvons mentionner la valeur tantôt lexicale tantôt grammaticale de certains signes comme FUTUR1 et l’utilisation de balises spatiotemporelles (Liddell 2007, Vogt-Svendsen and Bergman 2007). Ce sont ces balises que cette soumission propose de détailler. Il s’agit du maintien (le plus souvent à la main dominée) d’une configuration « index » ou « main plate » qui ancre un point de repère temporel pendant que la main dominante introduit de nouvelles références situées relativement à ce repère. La durée de ce maintien est variable. Certaines occurrences ne se déploient pas au-delà de la réalisation d’un seul signe lexical tandis que d’autres se prolongent durant une portion de discours beaucoup plus longue et peuvent se succéder les unes aux autres (en prenant des valeurs distinctes) et faisant apparaître ce que l’on peut qualifier de « chaîne référentielle complexe ».

1 La langue signée étudiée est tenue anonyme pour l’évaluation de la soumission.
2 L’annotation des données a été réalisée dans le programme ELAN.
3 Par convention, les gloses sont transrites en petites majuscules. Les petits numéros permettent de distinguer des signes dont les mots français choisis pour les gloses sont identiques. Ainsi, AVANT1, AVANT2, AVANT3 glosent des signes distincts.
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Sparkling or still? Flemish native and non-native signers from 3 generations and the productive lexicon.

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A number of sign language linguists discern two different manifestations of sign language structure and/or use, i.e., a form which makes maximal use of the possibilities offered by the visual-gestural modality (e.g. iconicity, use of space, simultaneity) and a form more resembling oral language non-iconic sequential organisation. Examples are Cuxac (1996, 2000)’s “dire en montrant” versus “dire sans montrer”; Cogill-Koez (2000a and 2000b)’s “systems of schematic visual representation” versus “the linguistic mode” and Vermeerbergen (2006)’s “de l’eau pétillante” (sparkling water) versus “de l’eau plate” (still water).

Concomitant with these two manifestations is the idea that “de l’eau plate” makes more use of the established lexicon, whereas “de l’eau pétillante” makes more use of what can be called productive lexicon. In the Flemish Deaf community it is generally assumed that “better” signers use more resources that reflect “de l’eau pétillante” and “weaker” signers more “de l’eau plate”. Moreover, due to societal developments in Flanders (mainly an overwhelming majority of mainstreaming among the younger deaf generation) it is generally expected that the amount of “productive lexicon” is diminishing in the sign language use of young deaf people.

Hypotheses

In this paper we wanted to investigate two hypotheses:

1. Older generations of deaf VGT signers use relatively more resources from the productive lexicon and younger generations rely more on the established lexicon.
2. Native signers (since they are supposedly better signers) use relatively more resources from the productive lexicon and non-native signers rely more on the established lexicon.

Methodology

The selection of data can have a major impact on research results (Van Herreweghe & Vermeerbergen 2012). Because we wanted to make sure that the participants would have ample opportunity to “dire en montrant” we made use of a picture story retelling of The Horse Story (Hickmann 2003). For the analysis, we used the following categories: established lexical signs, productive signs - including depicting signs and constructed action -, gesture and a combination of these (based on Cormier et al., under review, Johnston & Schembri 2007). We then calculated their percentages in each of the stories.

Participants

In Flanders a new corpus project has been started up in 2012. The aim is to collect data from 120 participants in different age groups from all over Flanders. Since it is not possible to analyse the data from all of these participants yet, we have selected a subset of participants for this study belonging to three generations in the following age groups: +70, 40-50, 18-25. Stories of 12 participants were analysed, i.e. within each generation 2 native signers and 2 non-native signers.

Results

Results show there are many interpersonal differences, both with respect to age and nativeness but there are also some indications that the difference between native signers and non-native signers is more important than the difference between generations. It would seem
that native signers rely more on the established lexicon than non-native signers, contrary to what is assumed in the Flemish Deaf community, but in line with previous research by Heyerick (2006). Clearly these results need to be corroborated in follow-up research using a larger corpus.

An interesting spin-off of the research is that it has given the researchers the opportunity to think about how to deal with productive lexicon in transcription and annotation of sign language corpus data, an issue which is as yet still unresolved (cf. Sallandre & Garcia, in press).

References


La délexicalisation comme défigement, source de variation et de création lexicale en langue des signes française (LSF)

(Français et LSF)

Etayant l’hypothèse d’un continuum lexique-grammaire dans les langues, les phénomènes de « figement », la gradualité qui les caractérise et leur rôle dans le changement linguistique sont au cœur de très nombreux travaux et débats descriptifs et théoriques pour les langues vocales —LV— (e.g Brinton & Traugott 2005, Prévost 2007) et, dans une moindre mesure, pour les langues des signes —LS— (Johnston & Schembri 2010, Johnston & Ferrara 2012). Le phénomène symétrique de défigement est, lui, décrit comme ayant une portée moindre sur le changement linguistique, relevant d’une intention ludique i-e d’une démarche plus contrôlée et, à ce titre, circonscrit à certains domaines ou genres discursifs, tels la presse, la publicité, l’humour (e.g Rastier 1997, Lecler 2007, Bolly 2012). Nous proposerons une typologie (qualitative et quantitative) des procédés de formation des nouvelles unités lexicales en langue des signes française (LSF) qui mettra en évidence le rôle, à l’origine de nombre d’entre elles, de phénomènes discursifs de délexicalisation dont nous montrerons en quoi ils peuvent être assimilés à des défigements.

Notre étude se fonde sur l’analyse de 500 unités lexicales de LSF récemment émergées et/ou en voie de stabilisation, extraites (avec leurs variantes) sous la supervision de deux locuteurs sourds d’un corpus de dialogues entre adultes sourds de 18 à 60 ans, originaires de 4 régions de France (57 entretiens, 106 h de discours, Auteur 1 et Auteur 2 2012). Parallèlement, l’analyse en unités de sens d’extraits longs de ces corpus (± 1h annotée sous ELAN) permet de saisir in vivo des occurrences de variation intra-signes lexicales communes à divers locuteurs, la structure des signes modifiés s’avérant identique à celle d’unités récemment stabilisées dont on peut ainsi présumer de la genèse.

Nos analyses s’inscrivent dans le cadre, cognitivo-fonctionnaliste, du « modèle sémiologique » (e.g Cuxac 2000), qui identifie deux types majeurs d’unités en LS, unités toujours polycomponentielles : les ‘unités lexématiques’ —UL— (« frozen signs » ou « fully-lexicalized signs » dans la littérature) et les ‘unités de transfert’ (UT). Les UT, recouvrant à la fois les « classifiers constructions » et les « constructed actions » (entre autres terminologies) décrites dans la littérature sur les LS, y sont décrites comme ressortissant d’un nombre restreint de structures linguistiques qui autorisent une modalité particulière du dire, le « dire en montrant ». Dans ce cadre descriptif, la délexicalisation, très fréquente dans le discours, s’analyse en termes de bascule dans cette autre modalité du dire, formellement marquée par la direction du regard, porté sur le signe. Ce passage au dire en montrant, en actualisant le signe comme forme, permet une variation de l’UL selon une sémiOSE du continu qui ouvre un potentiel spécifique, fondé sur le visuel, de créativité à la fois sémantique et formelle.

On suggèrera finalement que l’intégration structurelle et fonctionnelle dans les LS des moyens de dire en montrant fait du ‘défigement’ de leurs signes lexicaux, unités toujours complexes, un vecteur non pas circonscrit mais structurant du changement dans ces langues.
Références


Variation inter et intra-locuteurs dans la réalisation de la structure argumentale en LSF

La description de la réalisation des arguments des unités prédicatives en langues signées accorde souvent la priorité aux énoncés construits à l'aide de signes lexicaux, c'est-à-dire des unités stabilisées – "established signs" chez (Johnston & Schembri, 2007) – au point qu'elles sont décrites dans des dictionnaires de langue des signes : voir (Kegl, 1990) pour une typologie des verbes de l'ASL, (Morgan et al., 2006) pour une étude de l'acquisition de la morphologie verbale en BSL, ou encore (Amblard & Voisin, 2008) pour une approche générationnelle de la syntaxe en LSF. En complément de ces unités lexicalisées, les « unités de transfert » (UT) dont (Cuxac, 2000) propose une typologie, ne sont que peu étudiées du point de vue des modes de réalisation de leurs arguments, en raison notamment de leur grande productivité et de la diversité de leurs réalisations.

(Cuxac, 2000) accorde à ces UT un statut linguistique à part entière, fondé sur une théorie de l'iconicité, une grammaire spatiale, et surtout une visée plus ou moins illustrative au niveau discursif. Le caractère central de ces unités a été démontré tant chez des adultes signant en LSF (Sallandre, 2003), que chez des locuteurs sourds brésiliens isolés (Fusellier-Souza, 2004) ou encore des enfants en cours d'acquisition de la LSF (Jacob, 2007). À l'instar des unités lexicalisées, elles permettent d'exprimer aussi bien des objets concrets qu'abstraits, ainsi que des états et des événements, associés à un réseau dense de relations actancielles. Ces structures semblent également participer de la création lexicale et de l'évolution linguistique ; elles incitent même à repenser certaines distinctions traditionnelles (ex. : verbes de mouvement versus de manière) grâce à leur caractère massivement multi-paramétrique (tous les articulateurs peuvent se trouver investis d'un rôle signifiant), ainsi que le montrent les premières observations réalisées sur le corpus Creagest, un corpus de référence pour la LSF (Balvet et al., 2010) et (Garcia et al., 2012).

Nous proposons donc d'étudier dans quelle mesure la structure argumentale est le lieu d'une variation inter-individuelle et intra-individuelle dans le nombre et le type d'arguments réalisés, l'ordre des constituant, ou les modes de réalisation des arguments, en fonction des différentes structures disponibles en LSF. Ce faisant, nous cherchons à déterminer si la structure argumentale est préservée, ou bien aménagée en fonction des structures choisies par les locuteurs, en comparant aussi bien la réalisation d'une même unité par plusieurs locuteurs, que la diversité des réalisations chez un même locuteur. Dans cette optique, nous proposons de relever en corpus les occurrences d'une même construction ditransitive, en l'occurrence un verbe directionnel de transfert de propriété (ex. : APPORTER THÈME RÉCIPIENT), par le biais respectivement d'unités lexicalisées, d'unités mixtes (semi-transferts) et d'unités de transfert (transferts personnels et transferts situationnels). En effet, cette catégorie de verbes présente des contraintes micro-syntaxiques telles que la réalisation des arguments est associée à des marques explicites : pointages, zone de l'espace de signation ou encore reprise d'un argument (i.e. THÈME) par une configuration manuelle canonique et iconique (proforme). Nous nous appuierons sur les récits sur images enregistrés au cours des projets LS-Colin (Cuxac et al., 2002) et Creagest (op. cit.), afin de déterminer dans quelle mesure la structure argumentale de l'unité prédicative est préservée, ou adaptée en fonction du degré de lexicalisation de l'unité sélectionnée, et plus largement de la visée illustrative adoptée par le locuteur. Ce travail descriptif en corpus vise ainsi à identifier les modes de réalisation des arguments d'un type d'unité prédicative, dans une optique tant théorique (typologie contrastive LSF/français), qu'appliquée (aide à l'annotation de corpus de LSF, élaboration de dictionnaires de et en LSF, génération automatique d'énoncés signés).
Références bibliographiques


Titre : Repérage automatique de pointages en LSQ et pour la gestualité coverbale, approches par la configuration et par la structure.


Plusieurs questions se posent quant au repérage automatique de ces éléments indexicaux, entre autres celles de la segmentation, de la variation et de la différentiation des formes, tant sur le plan formel que fonctionnel. Le problème que nous abordons ici est celui de la segmentation de ces unités indexicales. Dans la mesure où ces signes sont déterminants pour la structure des LS, peut-on les isoler en unités discrètes et repérer automatiquement les variantes de forme ?

Notre objectif est de montrer comment, à partir de données biomécaniques issues d’un corpus élicité constitué de phrases et de récits en ASL, en LSF et en LSQ, et à l’aide de critères formels portant sur la configuration manuelle (index en extension/autres doigts en flexion), sur le mouvement (absence de rotation, oscillation, accélération, etc.) et sur les variations de l’angle basé sur les marqueurs situés sur l’index et celui sur la protrusion du radius —côté latéral du poignet—, nous avons réussi à encoder le repérage automatique des occurrences formelles de cette variante.

Nous montrerons que le markerset retenu, combiné aux critères biomécaniques nous permettent une reconnaissance automatique du pointé sans faux positifs (signes incorrectement identifiés comme des pointés). Nous discuterons également du problème de la segmentation des suites de pointés (index tendu orienté vers un locus, suivi de la même forme orientée vers un autre locus), et du fait que les critères relevant de la seule forme de la main ne suffisent par à l’identification fonctionnelle du pointage.

Les résultats de cette segmentation automatique seront discutés en regard de la modélisation théorique proposée par Boutet et al. (2011), qui s’appuie sur un arbre de décision différenciant trois paramètres 1/l’alignement (ou non) d’au moins trois segments adjacents distaux (les phalanges et au-delà des métacarpes), 2/ la présence ou non du mouvement sur des articulateurs alignés et enfin 3/ la direction du mouvement ou du vecteur par rapport à l’alignement. Ces paramètres distinguent une typologie de pointages indépendante de la configuration et des autres signes présentant un alignement transitoire d’articulateurs. Nous proposerons, entre autres, une deuxième phase de segmentation, incluant le repérage des autres variantes du signe POINTÉ (main ouverte, main fermée et pouce décollé, etc.). Nous donnons quelques résultats permettant de comprendre les relations de discrimination et de spécification des deux approches designated pour les LS, d’une part, et pour la gestualité, d’autre part.
Bibliographie


“linguistique de corpus”
Modality in spoken Brazilian Portuguese: corpus-based empirical methodology

Modality in speech can be taken to be the conceptualizer’s evaluation of an uttered locutive material, anchored in a communicative situation. It is usually codified by different morphosyntactic and lexical indexes that express the speaker’s degree of certainty or commitment towards a given locution. This paper explores the linguistic realization of modality through the analysis of a Brazilian Portuguese (BP) spontaneous speech corpus.

The corpus compilation architecture took into account the utterance - the reference unit in speech, as it is proposed in the Language Into Act Theory (CRESTI, 2000). The C-ORAL-BRASIL (RASO, MELLO, 2012) comprises the fifth branch of the C-ORAL-ROM (CRESTI; MONEGLIA, 2005), and it is, therefore, prosodically segmented into utterances and tone units, brings speech to text alignment through the software WinPitch (MARTIN, 2000) — allowing the examination of sound, spectrogram and text at the same time.

Our sample for this study is a subcorpus of the informal half of C-ORAL-BRASIL composed by 20 texts: dialogic (7), monologic (7) and conversational (6), divided into private and public, in a total of approximately 30,000 words. Our study was based on empirical methodology that privileged the induction of analytical categories from data observation. Firstly, modal indexes were manually identified and validated through the comparison of results from different annotators. At a second stage of the study, an experimental test was devised to disambiguate modal meanings. In it the same locutory material was recorded through the performance of different illocutions and attitudinal prosodies. Afterwards perception tests were carried in order to verify categorical judgments. Our study shows that modality categorization is not impacted by prosody; however, there is a strong correlation effect associating certain modality, illocution and attitude typologies.

Another issue explored here is how to distinguish different levels of modality construal from the point of view of a conceptualizer. This is necessary as we have observed that there are primary, secondary and even tertiary conceptualizations of modality in speech data. We found occurrences of different speakers’ roles in modalized speech events, as follows: (i) a primary conceptualizer’s (the speaker) epistemic judgment - the most frequent conceptualization type in our data; (ii) speaker’s evaluation of a possible epistemic judgment of a tertiary conceptualizer; (iii) speaker who reports an epistemic judgment of a third party because he shares that same information. We could observe three different degrees of participation of the speaker in the make up of the evaluation of what is being said, which brings us to try to state modality through a conceptualizer’s detachment typology scale. Thus, in addition to a semantic typology for modality, it is necessary that other levels of analysis, such as the conceptualizer’s stance, be added to a modality theory informed by empirical data. The consequences of this addition are manifold, not least, they impact formal annotation of modal categories in speech corpora.

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Manner and Path: evidence from a multilingual corpus

Ever since Talmy (1991) formulated the distinction between path- and satellite-framed languages, there has been a considerable amount of comparative research into the coding of motion (see, for instance, the papers in Hickmann and Robert 2006). Comparative studies raise the question of the validity of the tertium comparationis against which the languages in question are being compared. In comparative research into the ways in which languages encode motion events, the tertium comparationis has often taken the form of events in a picture book (such as the Frog story: see Berman & Slobin 1994) or in short video snippets, which are subject to oral descriptions by participants in the experiment. The availability of multilingual translation corpora, such as the Oslo Multilingual Corpus, allows us access to a different sort of tertium comparationis, where expressions in a source language serve as grounds for the comparison of their translations into two other languages.

In this paper I present the results of a comparative study of English and French translations of Norwegian predications of motion events containing three path prepositions, mellom (between), over (over/across) and gjennom (through). What the two sets of translated items have in common is the fact that they are both translations of the same source items, which may be viewed as prompts to which the translators respond, much in the manner of the participants in laboratory experiments. An important difference is that the translators are not aware that their expressions will be subject to linguistic, or indeed any, analysis.

All tokens of the three Norwegian prepositions in the Oslo Multilingual Corpus were classified semantically and the motion tokens were extracted manually. The Norwegian originals were then set aside and comparisons drawn between the English and French renderings of the various meanings. One point that should be made about the data is that Norwegian is a satellite-framed language like English but unlike French. In fact, this may not be of any great consequence for the results of the investigation if Slobin (2006:79) is correct in claiming that “in translations [...] manner salience follows patterns of the target, rather than source language” (though note that Cappelle 2011 professes disagreement).

The results point to substantial differences between the two languages, with English conforming by and large to the satellite-framed type. The results for French are much less clear, with the picture resembling more the sort of typological hybrid described by Kopecka (2006:97) than a rigid path-framed type. Hickmann, Taranne & Bonnet (2009:707) maintain that “although mixed, contemporary French is primarily verb-framed with a reduced secondary satellite-framed subsystem”. While my data are generally in line with this conclusion, the picture varies somewhat according to the different path types, ‘betweenness’, ‘overness’ and ‘throughness’.

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Acquisition: Manner and Path in French and English child language. *Journal of Child Language*. 36, 705-741


Les langues sources des apprenants, le polonais et le turc, et la langue cible, le français, se caractérisent par des propriétés différentes. Le turc et le polonais s’opposent au français dans la mesure où les deux premières sont traditionnellement classées comme langues à satellites et le français comme une langue à cadrage verbal (cf. Talmy 2000, Kopecka 2006, Slobin 2006). Cependant, on observe également des variations à l’intérieur de la classe même des langues à satellites, le polonais et le turc.

Nous analysons des séquences narratives où les apprenants et les locuteurs natifs des trois langues (groupes de contrôle) doivent encoder deux types de situations. Le premier consiste à des scènes où un personnage effectue un déplacement volontaire selon différentes manières et trajectoires (mouvement volontaire). Dans le deuxième type de situations, il s’agit d’exprimer un mouvement où un personnage agit sur un autre personnage, ce qui conduit à un déplacement de celui-ci (mouvement provoqué). Nos analyses des productions des locuteurs natifs montrent que l’encodage des mêmes situations varie selon les langues. En ce qui concerne le mouvement volontaire, les francophones le codent de préférence par un verbe exprimant la trajectoire et un Sprép qui complète l’information de la trajectoire. En polonais, le verbe exprime la manière et deux types de satellites (le préfixe du verbe et le Sprép) la trajectoire. En turc, le mouvement neutre est exprimé dans le verbe tandis que la trajectoire est exprimée dans différents types de satellites dont les affixes des noms constituent une particularité de cette langue. En ce qui concerne, la scène qui présente un mouvement provoqué, elle est présentée tantôt comme mouvement volontaire, tantôt comme mouvement provoqué. Les francophones contrairement aux turcs et aux polonais, privilégient l’encodage de cette scène où chaque personnage effectue un déplacement volontaire, ce qui relève de la préférence pour des verbes encodant la trajectoire, la manière n’étant pas exprimée.

Les productions des apprenants reflètent à la fois l’influence du système du codage propre aux langues sources et celui qui provient de la langue cible. Ainsi, par exemple les apprenants polonophones tendent à exprimer la scène du mouvement provoqué comme en polonais dans une structure causative mais à l’aide des verbes encodant uniquement la trajectoire qui sont typiques des moyens linguistiques disponibles en français (langue à cadrage verbal).

Cette contribution permet donc à la fois de montrer les différences translinguistiques dans l’encodage du déplacement en polonais, turc et français, et le rôle que ces différences jouent en acquisition d’une L2 par les apprenants adultes.
Références bibliographiques


The metaphors of the Belgian political crisis.
Exploring the circulation of metaphors from the parties' manifestos to citizens' talks

Since 2007 Belgium has been at the brink of implosion, going through an unprecedented political and institutional crisis, which has however come to an end in December 2011. This crisis can partly be explained by the diverging views of the country's two main communities on the functioning and the future of the federal state. In this presentation, we seek to assess to what extent this deep political crisis can be explained on the metaphorical level by analysing the use of conceptual metaphors in different types of political discourse for the period 2007-2010.

While politics constitutes an abstract and complex domain of experience in which metaphors play a prominent role (Lakoff 2002, De Landtsheer 2009, Semino 2008), little attention has been paid to the use of conceptual metaphors in actual political discourse (see AUTHOR 2012, De Landtsheer 2009, Koller 2009, L'Hôte & Lemmens 2009 for some examples). In this contribution we propose to study political conceptual metaphors in two types of corpora, which have traditionally been left out of the analysis, namely political party manifestos on the one hand and – ordinary – citizens' talks on the other.

Our first research goal is to identify the conceptual metaphors that the main Flemish (Groen!, SP.a, CD&V, Open VLD, N-VA, Vlaams Belang) and Walloon (Ecolo, PS, CDH, MR) political parties developed in their manifestos and to study their level of circularity, that is to say their influence on the other parties. This leads us to determine which were the dominant metaphors of the campaign leading to the two last federal elections (2007 and 2010). To further the analysis, we explore citizens' talks, which were collected during two citizen panels on Belgian federalism, and evaluate to what extent these dominant metaphors determined citizens' perception and comprehension of the Belgian political situation.

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Refus et la négation : L’émersongence de l’acte de langage.  
Analyse de la production de réponses non verbales chez l’enfant entre 18 mois à 3 ans.

Parler une langue ou communiquer avec des gestes signifie adapter un comportement déterminé par des règles complexes dans une situation de communication donnée. A chaque fois que le langage n’est pas transparent, les capacités pragmatiques et les éléments non verbaux doivent être mis en œuvre afin que le succès de la communication soit assuré.

Dans notre cadre de recherche, d’une part nous empruntons différents éléments de la perspective anglo-saxonne dans le sens de la finalité pragmatique, et d’autre part, nous mélangeons des courants anglo-saxons et français pour notre approche de la gestualité et de l’acquisition du langage.


L’étude du développement du langage n’est pas seulement une étude de règles de la structure grammaticale, mais aussi l’étude de l’utilisation de la communication, notamment multimodale, y compris chez l’enfant. On peut dire qu’apprendre à parler est une acquisition et un développement. L’enfant acquiert le système du langage dans un contexte cognitif et social. Il développe différentes stratégies communicatives verbales et non verbales pendant cette acquisition.

Le point central de cette observation est la capacité de l’enfant d’adapter ces moyens à la situation et à son interlocuteur. Cette recherche analyse chez l’enfant entre dix-huit mois et trois ans la production des gestes de refus et de différents types de négation (nier, s’opposer, dénier). Nous sommes intéressées par l’observation de ce geste pour comprendre à quel moment le refus et la négation émergent pour renforcer, préciser, complémerter ou devenir, en certains cas, un acte de langage à part entière. Nous sommes intéressés d’observer dans les réponses des enfants à quel moment la négation non verbale fait son apparition pendant une interaction adulte-enfant, notamment comme réponse aux actes directifs et assertifs produits par une adulte pendant une interaction. En rapport aux actes de langage nous prenons en compte dans les réponses négatives non verbales la force illocutoire et le contenu propositionnel. Pour ce faire nous travaillons une méthodologie transversale, nous comparons la production de réponses de quatre enfants âgés entre 18 mois et trois ans. Nous travaillons avec le programme ELAN et les données sont analysées de manière qualitative et quantitative.
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Persistence and intra-individual variation: the variable usage of completive aspect markers in two urban sign language varieties of Indonesia.

This paper investigates the factors that influence the usage of variants of the completive aspect marker in two urban sign language varieties. The investigation is based on a corpus of spontaneous, conversational data from 40 sign language users in the cities of Solo (Java) and Makassar (Sulawesi). The completive aspect is frequently realised in both sign language varieties, perhaps due to its cultural significance in Indonesia (Kaswanti Purwo 2011). Around 300 tokens have been identified and coded from three hours of data.

Four forms occur frequently in the corpus that appear to be functionally equivalent in expressing the completive aspect. These are best analysed as lexical variants of a single variable, which is referred to here as SUDAH. ("Sudah", an Indonesian word, ‘usually indicates that an action has occurred or that a state has been achieved’, Sneddon 2010:204.)

- **SUDAH-1** is articulated with a quick change in hand orientation created by a twist of the wrist, where the exact orientations are underspecified.
- **SUDAH-2** is the most frequent variant, and involves a slower twist of the wrist in the opposite direction to SUDAH-1, finishing palm-up.
- **SUDAH-3** is a phonologically distinct form requiring a forward movement.
- **SUDAH-4** has grammaticalised from a polysemous sign with meanings including ‘good’, ‘safe’ and ‘ready’.

Tokens were coded for three social variables (location, age, sex of the signer) and three linguistic variables: syntactic position, previous realisation of the variable, narrative advancement function. Multivariate analysis indicates that all of these variables are significant, with the exception of location. One of the variants (SUDAH-1) shows a preference for a pre-predicate slot, while another (SUDAH-2) is used less by older signers and more by men than women.

Interestingly, the previous realisation of the variable is a significant predictor of all but one variant (p<0.01) – but is this evidence of intra-individual variation, or persistence (Szmrecsanyi 2005)? There is qualitative evidence of both phenomena in the data. In some dialogues, signers use the same variant regardless of the one(s) used by their interlocutor (persistence) – as in (1), a conversation between Jayeng and Muhammad from Solo. In other cases, signers switch from one variant to another (see (2) from Makassar).

(1)  
**Jayeng:** PT:PRO1=SUDAH-1 PT:PRO1 MEET PT:PRO1 CHATTING YAHOO-MESSENGER  
‘I met [him], we chatted on Yahoo Messenger’.

**Muhammad:** SUDAH-2 MEET SUDAH-2  
‘Have you already met him [in person]?’

**Jayeng:** PT:PRO1 CHATTING=SUDAH-3 reciprocal KNOW PT:PRO-1=SUDAH-1  
‘I have already chatted with him, we already know each other’.

(2)  
**SUDAH-1** WEDDING-RING MARRY SUDAH-3  
‘[We will] already have married…’

I present the findings of further quantitative analysis that seeks to differentiate between persistence and intra-individual variation by examining previous realisations of the variable by the same signer and by the interlocutor(s) in a previous turn. The aim is to obtain a more detailed picture of how signers might select variants of the completive aspect marker. Possible reasons for intra-individual variation are also discussed, including phonological conditioning and accommodation.

(References are on page 2.)
References
To what extent does the input influence the acquisition of the Present Perfect?

The Present Perfect (PP) is a grammatical combination with temporal, semantic and pragmatic properties. Surprisingly enough, it is progressively acquired and understood between the ages of 1 and 5 despite this complexity (Wagner, 1997; Weist, 2002). American English speakers seem to prefer the simple past to the PP, which might indicate that it is not very productive anymore in American oral English (Cromer, 1968; Nussbaum & Narremore, 1975; Slobin, 1994). However, there are still interesting numbers of occurrences in the data of the most linguistically advanced American children (Providence data) and even more in the densest British longitudinal acquisition data in the CHILDES database (Thomas). The study of the emergence and the development of the PP in British English can help us better understand the nature of this construction and the reasons why it is still enduring both in child and adult language.

In a previous study, we used the British longitudinal corpus called ‘Thomas’ to study the acquisition of the PP in context (Lieven, E., Salomo, D. & Tomasello, M., 2009). The methodology and the coding of the data are mainly inspired from the CoLaJe project (Morgenstern, 2007) that combines qualitative and quantitative analyses. The study of the data led to several findings:

- From 2;8, the morpho-syntax and the phonetics stabilise and HAVE is even used at the expense of DO;
- the semantic values quickly diversify but only two semantic values are broadly used by Thomas (result and experience) among the four semantic values (result, experience, persistent situation, recent past) defined by Comrie (1976);
- the expression of possession (HAVE GOT) that we decided to include in our study cannot be disregarded as it represents around 30% of the occurrences at each age;
- three pragmatic functions stand out: commenting on an event (resultative value), sharing an experience (very frequent at 3) and negotiating the topic (very frequent at 4 although experience is still present).

In this presentation, we focus on the relation between the child’s development of the various uses of the PP and his interlocutors’ handling of the PP in the input (Brown 1973; Shirai & Andersen, 1995; Parisse & Morgenstern 2012). We examine the number of PP occurrences in the input and their distribution in relation to the child’s own productions. Indeed, the recurrence of certain lexical verbs can be a clue to understand the first productions of the child and a way to determine the role of the input in the child’s mastering of the form. In 80 occurrences (extracted from each period of six months from 2 to 5), the expression of possession (HAVE GOT) largely prevails with 57 occurrences followed by the verbs SEE, BE and DO (7 occurrences for each) used to convey an experiential meaning. The analyses will be extended to a larger number of occurrences in the input and closely compared to the child’s output. If the lexical meanings of the verbs are important, the pragmatic functions they serve might be even more decisive in the child’s acquisition of the PP. The input offers syntactic,
semantic and pragmatic patterns that provide a framework for the child’s own productions of the PP.

**Keywords**: Language acquisition, verbal aspect, Present Perfect, input, corpus-based approach.

**References**


I think and it seems: A corpus cognitive approach to stance-taking and social status in an online bulletin board

This study examines the epistemic mental predicate construction I think and the evidential predicate construction it seems in rhythmic gymnastics bulletin board conversations. It employs the Cognitive Linguistic analytical framework and corpus-driven quantitative methodology to examine the expression of stance relative to the extra-linguistic dimension of social hierarchy (rank). The study demonstrates that, despite the democracy and social freedom on Internet communication, social hierarchy and its linguistic expression is transmuted to virtual societies.

The expression of intersubjective stance is at once one of the most common and complex functions of language. Natural interactive language is indisputably characterized by varied and complex epistemic and evidential expressions, which are constantly chosen to convince one’s interlocutors of a given construal of the world. In Functional Linguistics (Biber & Finegan 1989, Aijmer 1998, Scheibman 2002 Kärkkäinen 2003, Hunston & Thompson 2003, Martin & White 2005, Englebretson 2007), work has sought to understand the structures used in the expression of stance. However, these approaches have largely focused on discourse function at the expense of conceptual representation. This study advances our understanding of the phenomenon in two ways. Firstly, it employs a conceptual analysis, especially construal and grounding (Langacker 1990, Brisard 2002), in order to explore the multidimensionality of linguistic expressions. Secondly, it employs a quantitative corpus-driven method, multifactorial usage-feature analysis (Geeraerts et al. 1994, Gries 2003, Divjak 2010, Glynn forthcoming) to systematically map the formal and conceptual structures involved.

The data for the study are extracted from an online rhythmic gymnastics bulletin board. The study benefits from the dialogic and conversational style of the medium, where the exchange of views and opinions is a prominent feature (Claridge 2007). The members of the board are seen as having formed a virtual community that is characterized by social and linguistic variation. Therefore, we have divided the users into three ranks in terms of activity (number of posts) and status (e.g., moderators) in the community. The sample consists of around 8000 messages, with their immediate context, extracted from the posts of 12 members. Extracted postings are restricted to native speakers of British or Australian English in order to control for regional variation. All instances of epistemic I think and evidential it seems are annotated for a range of formal, semantic and extra-linguistic features, operationalizing the lexical profile of the two constructions in question. The quantitative treatment of the results of the feature analysis permits the use of both exploratory (multiple correspondence analysis) and confirmatory (ordinal logistic regression) statistical analyses.

The multifactorial analysis implemented in our study will help explore the multidimensionality of linguistic structuring and consequently test our hypothesis that bulletin board users on a higher rank are more likely to use assertive epistemic and evidential mental predicates to express speaker stance than members on a lower rank.

Keywords: stance, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, multivariate statistics
References


Dutch *laat staan* and French *encore moins*: Constructional effects

Marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor’s (FKO, 1988) seminal paper on construction grammar, this paper explores various non-compositional effects of the commonest expressions corresponding to *let alone* in Dutch and French: *laat staan* (lit. ‘let stand’) and *encore moins* (lit. ‘still less’), respectively, the latter alternating with the expression *encore plus* (lit. ‘still more’) in affirmative contexts:

(1)  
   a. I can’t walk *let alone* run. → nl: *laat staan*; fr: *encore moins*  
   b. I struggle to walk *let alone* run. → nl: *laat staan*; fr: *encore plus*

Drawing extensively on data systematically gathered from corpora (*CGN, DPC, GlossaNet, Linguee, Valibel*), the web, and sound recordings, we show that these expressions exhibit language-specific idiosyncrasies and must be stored along with detailed knowledge about (i) the syntactic properties of their possible grammatical environments, (ii) the semantico-pragmatic (including information-structural) effects they trigger at clause level and (iii) the prosody of the constituent they occur in.

Syntactically, *laat staan* is often followed by the complementizer *dat* (‘that’) in spoken Dutch, even when there is no subordinating conjunction in the first conjunct, which renders difficult its analysis (provided by FKO for *let alone*) as a kind of coordinating conjunction. We further found support for Verhagen and Foolen’s (2003) and Janssen and Van der Leek’s (2009) observation that the phrase/clause preceding *laat staan* need not be explicitly or even implicitly negative, a possibility which also exists for *let alone*.

Regarding interpretation, we question FKO’s suggestion (1988: 519) that the context then should provide a proposition whose truth the speaker denies or whose level of informativeness the speaker disagrees with. Evidence for non-compositional semantics was also found for French (*let*) *encore moins*, specifically in cases where it is used after *jamais* (‘never’) and/or *personne* (‘nobody’) in the first conjunct:

(2) *Dans ma vie, je n’ai jamais attaqué personne, encore moins Pepe et encore moins hier* (www)  
   ‘I’ve never attacked anyone in my life, still less Grandpa, and still less yesterday’

Such logically incoherent but common examples can be understood as making use of a conventionalized rhetorical device expressing that a situation’s actualization is unimaginable, even in a counterfactual world. Moreover, *encore moins* may occur after a conjunct which contains a (merely) conceptually negative element, such as *difficile* ‘difficult’, rather than an explicit marker of negation:

(3) *Difficile à croire, encore moins à prouver!* (www)  
   (lit.) ‘Hard to believe, still less to prove!’

In such contexts, one would have reasonably expected *encore plus*. Apparently, *encore moins* gets extended by some language users as a negative polarity scalar operator, encroaching (à la Himmelmann 2004) on the usage domain of *encore plus* after syntactically positive but semantically negative contexts. We suggest this may partly be due to the higher relative frequency of *encore moins* compared to *encore plus*, as confirmed by their use as translation equivalents of *let alone* in Linguee (a 4:1 ratio).

Prosodically, *laat staan* and *(en)core moins* have a L+H* contour and are expected to occur in distinct intonation patterns correlating with information structure.  

(500 words)
References


Analytic Causatives in Mandarin Chinese:
A Usage-based Collocational Analysis

Why this topic?
There are three reasons. First, a thematic reason: causal events and their linguistic construal are one of the recurrent topics for worldwide linguists, e.g. English causal verbs (Wolff, Song and Driscoll 2002), Dutch causatives doen and laten (Authors 2009, Levshina 2011). Second, a lingual reason: it’s widely accepted that Mandarin Chinese has developed from a synthetic language to an analytic one. Therefore, analytic causative constructions become the main way of expressing causation in contemporary Chinese. Third, a methodological reason: the usage-based multivariate model of causality defined in our study on Dutch causatives (2009) shows that (both lexical and semantic) collocations with the causative lexemes play a significant role in distinguishing them. This model now needs to be tested cross-linguistically.

What to study?
Within the general framework, our current research investigates seven mono-morphemic analytic causatives in Mandarin Chinese, shì, líng, ràng, jiào1, jiào2, gēi and yào. We address the questions as follows: 1) is collocation a factor of significance, which influences the choice between the seven causatives? 2) Among structural, lexical, semantic and conceptual collocations, which sort of collocation has the optimal effect size? Or can we order them in accordance with their impact on the differentiation of our lexemes? 3) Do any of them have interactions with one another? How do they interact? 4) Besides the effected predicate V2 in causative constructions as studied by Authors (2009), what other collocations can we bring in to identify the (dis)similarities between Chinese analytic causatives, such as modal verbs preceding our target?

What steps to take?
Applying a quantitative method to a large, lectorially diverse corpus of non-elicited language use (“Lect” is a cover term for all types of language varieties, like dialects, regiolects, sociolects, registers and so on.), we extract our data from the UCLA Chinese Corpus, which has one million tokens collected from written Chinese during the year 2000-2005 and can be found at the following link: http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/corpus/UCLA/. We start from an investigation into whether in our dataset there is any kind of fixation at play in the link between V2 and the causative. We implement our analysis in the R project, use statistical tests to establish significance, and look at effect size. Then we check the interaction of collocation parameters through logistic regression analysis. To answer the fourth research question, we run the model with other collocates to gauge their effect.

What results to expect?
The results are expected to show the collocational behavior of seven analytic causatives in Chinese, their preference and variation. Being part of our ongoing project, this study may serve in its turn as a comparison or contrast with the analysis of Dutch causatives.
References:


(One reference is omitted for anonymous review.)
Conceptualisation and Representation of FEMINITY on Wikipedia

A corpus-driven quantitative study

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This study undertakes a quantitative and usage-based Cognitive Linguistic investigation into the representation and conceptualisation of FEMINITY on English Wikipedia. Contemporary information media are changing fundamentally and the place of Wikipedia in the new media space is important, not only because of its influence, but because of its radically different communicative role to traditional media. Unlike news press, the cinema industry or television, the information disseminated by Wikipedia is produced by the audience and this is done with little or no control over content. That Wikipedia is as balanced and well composed as it is could be argued to be testimony to common sense and good will of humanity. However, little socio-cultural research has been done on exactly what kind of picture is emerging on Wikipedia. This study seeks to address this issue.

The analysis focuses on five lexemes ladylike, feminine, girlish, girly and womanly. 100 occurrences of each are extracted from a ‘dump file’ containing all current articles on English Wikipedia, as of 01-01-2012. Since Wikipedia is produced by users from all over the world, the data are made up of what is termed ‘international English’ (Seidhlofer 2001, Brutt-Griffler 2002). The analysis draws on the theoretical work for language evidence for cultural models such as that presented by Wierzbicka (1985) and Lakoff (1987). The sample is treated with multifactorial usage-feature analysis (Geeraerts et al. 1994, Gries 2003, Glynn forthc.). The features considered have been chosen on the basis of their likelihood to contain information on user-influenced usage of the lexemes; e.g. what type of referent the lexeme is used to refer to, the axiology of the usage and commonly occurring collocations. Furthermore, the topic of the article in which the lexeme is found is also taken into consideration. The results of the usage-feature analysis are then treated with multivariate statistics to identify and confirm patterns in the representation and the conceptual structure this is argued to represent.

The expected results of this study will show the contributing users’ different representations, relative to theme and lexeme, of FEMINITY on English Wikipedia. This in turn will provide socio-cultural information on the representation of gender on a medium with no major control over user-contributed content. The representation of FEMINITY and gender in general is a likely source of subjective and culturally influenced use of language, therefore, on a medium striving for objectivity, this particular conceptualisation is likely to provide interesting results.

Keywords: conceptual analysis, femininity, Wikipedia, multivariate statistics, corpus linguistics

References
Frame of Reference Choice in Spatial Descriptions in French and English

Abstract

This presentation explores the variation in the use of frames of reference in French and English spatial descriptions. Based on elicited data, the work presented here evaluates cross-linguistic differences already discussed in the literature (e.g. Levinson 2003, Pederson et al. 1998). From these elicited picture descriptions by native speakers of French and English, spatial expressions were annotated as either absolute (i.e., based on an external feature of the environment), intrinsic (based on the intrinsic properties of the reference object) or relative (based on a specific viewpoint), following Stephen Levinson's definition (Pederson et al., 1998; Levinson, 2003; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006).

Taking into account different description strategies (gaze tours, driving tours and survey perspective; see Tversky, Taylor and Mainwaring, 1997, Levelt, 1996), we compare the distribution of the use of each frame of reference. The results of the study showed no statistically significant differences between French and English in this distribution. The speakers also used the strategies in similar proportion (mainly gaze tours, consistent with the nature of the stimuli). The data suggested that the order of description had an impact on frame of reference choice: describing the picture in a seemingly random order seemed to make participants rely more on their own point of view, thereby encouraging the use of the relative frame of reference; whereas describing the picture in a circular gaze tour seemed favour the description of the objects' spatial relationships to each other, encouraging the use of the intrinsic frame of reference. To investigate this hypothesis further, we did a second experiment in which the strategy was controlled via different visual set-ups.

The influence of order of description was not confirmed by this second experiment. Rather, the corpus analysis points to a different type of variation: that of the size of the Figure (the located object). Because of the characteristics of the experiment set-up, speakers' descriptions in both languages were of various length, and that difference in length had an effect on the amount of detail included in the descriptions. While in the shorter descriptions, participants concentrated mostly on locating bigger, more salient objects, in the longer descriptions, speakers took more time to add detail, thus including smaller objects. Larger, free-standing objects are not located in the same way as smaller, contained or supported objects: the former favour the relative system while the latter favour the intrinsic. Indeed, bigger objects (e.g. a bed, a door, etc.) are often located with regards to the whole picture, with participants using relative spatial expressions such as "at the top of the picture" or "on the left of the room", whereas smaller objects (e.g. shoes, groceries, etc.) are located with regards to their container or support object, with speakers using intrinsic spatial expressions such as "inside the box" or "on the back of the chair".

In sum, our study confirms that French and English are sufficiently similar in their use of reference frames. Strikingly, our data showed that there is a correlation between the size of the Figure and the reference frame that is being used.

Word count: 505 words excluding references

Key words: spatial language, frames of reference, description strategies
REFERENCES


Construing social emotions in English and Polish: A quantitative corpus-driven approach to SHAME

The present study is a corpus-driven quantitative analysis of SHAME from a contrastive perspective. It reveals how this socially rich emotion concept is construed in British English, American English, and Polish. The concept is operationalized through the following lexemes instantiating it – ashamed, embarrassed for English, and zawstydzony (‘ashamed’), zażenowany (‘embarrassed’) for Polish. Their actual usage is examined along formal, semantic and sociolinguistic parameters. It is assumed that patterns of language use are indicative of an underlying conceptual and social structure (Glynn 2010a, 2010b).

The analysis of actual language use across many communicative situations gives us an insight into the social dimension of language and cognition. SHAME, originating from the subject’s sensitivity to others’ actual or potential criticism, is a truly social emotion (Wierzbicka 1999). It integrates the speaker’s internal and external perspectives on a given situation. Wierzbicka’s results serve as a basis of this usage-based study, upon which the intersubjective facets of the concept are elucidated.

The method of corpus-driven semantic analysis entails the meticulous manual annotation for usage-features of large numbers of examples. In this study, 300 occurrences per each lexeme per language, accompanied by a broad co(n)text are extracted from the BNC, COCA, NKJP. All the 1800 examples are tagged for a wide range of formal (e.g. grammatical form, person, type of object; predicative vs. attributive use of the adjective; modality; tense; aspect), and socio-semantic (e.g. cause of shame emotion; reaction; symptoms; speaker’s engagement; attitude; topic; situation; register; dialect) variables. This detailed feature-analysis reveals the conceptual structure of the lexemes, their interrelations, the constructions they enter and construction-dependent meanings as well as their socio-cultural construals. The data are treated with multivariate exploratory and confirmatory statistics, in the form of Correspondence Analysis and Logistic Regression Analysis, respectively. These methods enable the author to identify verifiable patterns of language use and the intersubjective conceptual profiles of SHAME emerging in the three communities.

Among the interesting socio-cultural results, it is demonstrated that the SHAME concept has culture-specific profiles: in British English it is associated with abstract phenomena such as one’s past, self-identity or insecurities; in American English it has to do with the bodily dimension of appearance, clothes, sexuality; in Polish, in turn, it has a much wider scope, being, in particular, correlated with human physicality, sexuality, family, origin.

Key words: emotions, (inter)subjectivity, corpus-driven, quantitative, contrastive

Selected References


Where does the truth lie? A multi-factorial analysis of truths and deception

Keywords: multi-factorial analysis, truth, deception, spoken English.

This study explores the linguistic patterns of truthful and deceptive statements in spoken American English in order to define how they differ. Four main principles underlie our research:

1- We treat spoken data only (most past studies were carried on written material).
2- The spoken data was elicited during a non-stressful and natural environment which consisted of a game.
3- The study is an “intra-subject” study. Deception patterns are often treated as absolute or universals, i.e. “inter-subject”. One of our goals is to determine whether the patterns proper to truth and deception are identical in each of the nine recorded subjects or not.
4- The study is a feature-driven, bottom-up analysis. In the existing literature, the truth/deception distinction is often made by establishing general and admitted functions of deception (e.g., being persuasive, being narrative, etc) to then deduce linguistic features that should be relevant of these functions. The present study, in contrast, starts from observations of repeatedly co-occurring linguistic features which could be gathered into different groups according to their strength of co-occurrence. Each of these groups can then be labeled with a function, depending on the linguistic features in contains. The method used to establish these functions is a Factor Analysis: in the transcribed recordings each word was coded as part of a truthful or deceptive statement, according to a list of more than 70 features, such as past tense, pause length, pronouns, etc.

The first step of the Factor Analysis was to compute the “correlation strength” between each feature and the other features of the list, regardless of whether they belong to a truth or a lie. These results lead to four groups of repeatedly co-occurring features. Each of these groups, called a Dimension, can then be labeled with a Function.

The second step is where the truth/deception distinction is made. The truthful and deceptive statements of each of the nine subjects were placed along each of the four Dimensions (which gives 18 groups of statements to be placed). This reveals to what extent each group of statements differs from the average value of the data “as a whole”.

A group of statements that contains either many or none of the linguistic features of a given Function is then said as “marked” by respectively the positive pole or the negative pole of this Function; a group of statements that contains as many of the linguistic features of a given Function as the data “as a whole” is considered “unmarked” by this function. This technique has the advantage to give equal weight to repeated occurrences and repeated non-occurrences.

The position of each group of statements along each Dimension can tell us if truthful and deceptive statements differ at all in they linguistic patterns and to what extent. For example, the first analysis shows that each subject’s utterances are indeed located in different locations in the multi-factorial space depending on whether they are truthful or deceptive.
References


Think about and its near-synonyms in Polish: A corpus-driven perspective

The present paper is a quantitative, corpus-driven study of the Polish mental verb construction *myśleć o* + LOC (‘think about’) and its prefixed near-synonymous constructions *rozmyślać o* + LOC / *rozmyślać nad* + INSTR (‘ponder over’) and *zamyślać się nad* + INSTR (‘ponder over’).

The aim is to establish the semasiological structure of the predicate-based constructions in question and the onomasiological relations holding between them relative to a range of semantic-pragmatic and morpho-syntactic variables. The semantic-pragmatic variables include object semantics, adverb semantics, positive/negative evaluation of the object of thought, importance to speaker, time of reference of the object of thought, and topic. The morpho-syntactic variables are aspect, tense, mood, person, number, subject form and object form. It is hypothesized that there will be a difference between the constructions especially in the evaluation and importance of the object of thought as well as in the time referred to, with *myśleć o* being relatively neutral.

The constructions can be understood as designating a mental process of “mulling over” (Fortescue 2001: 31). Their scope extends over a period of time, during which the agent is immersed in the mental process to varying degrees of intensity. The construction *myśleć o* is the most neutral in this regard, simply indicating a mental activity of considering something. The prefixes *roz*- and *za*- do not alter this basic meaning of *myśleć*, but add to the duration and intensity of the process (Przybylska 2002: 271; Dickey m.s.; Tabakowska 2003: 166ff.).

The methodology adopted for the study is quantitative and corpus-driven within the Cognitive Linguistics framework (Geeraerts et al. 1994). It is assumed that contextualized patterns of language use are indicative of language structure, which, in turn, reveals conceptual structure. The intra-lexical and inter-lexical organization of the constructions under investigation is, therefore, established through intricate analysis of “usage-features” (Glynn 2009), which, subjected to subsequent statistical modeling, determine “behavioral profiles” (Gries & Divjak 2009) of the constructions. 200 instances of each construction were extracted from the National Corpus of the Polish Language and coded manually for the semantic-pragmatic and syntactic variables listed above. Thus prepared, the results of this analysis were then submitted to exploratory and confirmatory statistics in the form of Correspondence Analysis (Glynn 2012) and Logistic Regression Analysis (Speelman 2012). The former technique establishes patterns of use for the constructions, the latter determines the statistical significance and descriptive accuracy of the analysis.

The results reveal that, contrary to our hypothesis, it is *rozmyślać o*, rather than the morphologically simpler construction, *myśleć o*, that is the most schematic and general in terms of its semantic profile. This is an interesting finding that requires
further investigation. The analysis also shows that three of the constructions can be distinguished along the conceptual dimensions of object semantics, speaker attitude, and importance: *rozmyślać nad* and *zamyślać się nad* are both associated with more abstract objects of thought and neutral speaker attitude and importance; *myśleć o*, in turn, correlates with more concrete objects of thought, positive attitude and high importance to the speaker.

**References**


Intersubjective impersonals

In this paper, I will offer a corpus-driven analysis of impersonal constructions, focusing on two strategies which allow for keeping the agent rather vague or, altogether, off stage in Spanish, namely the indefinite pronoun *uno* (‘one’) (1) and the reflexive impersonal construction with *se* (2). I will offer a detailed account of factors that influence this alternation of impersonal constructions. On the basis of this analysis, I will argue for describing the difference in terms of intersubjectivity (based on Benveniste 1966, Lyons 1994, Traugott 2003).

1. El problema *es querer* reconocer que *uno* es celoso.
   ‘The problem is want to recognize that one is jealous’.

2. *Qué bien* *se ve* por aquí.
   ‘How well one see from over here’.

The difference between the impersonal construction with *se* and the indefinite pronoun *uno* ‘one’ has principally been attributed to two factors. On the one hand, pronominal verbs, which already imply a clitic form from the *se* paradigm, cannot receive an impersonal reading through the use of *se*. From a purely formal perspective, a subject *uno* is then the only way for them to acquire an impersonal reading. Since alternation is not then possible for these verbs, they will be excluded from the analysis. On the other hand, from a semantic-pragmatic perspective, *uno* is traditionally considered a strategy that includes the speaker, as opposed to *se* (see among others Gómez Torrego 1992). Counter examples may be found, though, such as (3). In addition, constructions with *se* frequently allow for speaker involvement. These two factors force us to look for a more satisfactory explanation of the alternation between *uno* and *se*-constructions.

3. Si *uno* decide *ser* adicto, es su problema.
   ‘If one decides to become an addict, it’s his problem’. (uttered by a non-addict journalist)

The hypothesis that the semantic-pragmatic difference between both constructions can be accurately described in terms of intersubjective effect, will be tested through the (manual) analysis of a 250 examples sample of each construction, taken from the CORLEC corpus. Multivariate statistics are employed to investigate the results of this manual analysis. Among others the following factors are taken into account: genre/register, tense, aspect, the presence of a specific person reference form in the discursive context or of scope restriction through adjuncts, and the presence of modal auxiliaries.

I will show that a clustering of factors points to the *uno* construction being a more intersubjective strategy and the *se*-construction a more neutral one. In addition, corpus-driven analysis permits the identification of the importance of each factor in the choice for one of these constructions.

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CORLEC, Corpus del Español centro-peninsular, directed by Professor Francisco Marcos Marín in the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
Libros.


The present work interpreted the verbal inflection errors in the speech of a Brazilian child (M) from 1;6 years old to 3;06 by the interactionist theorization developed by De Lemos. Regular and irregular verbs were focused. Many authors run over Latin to recuperate the evolution of a verbal item in the language. It was verified the division among the conjugations, in the past existed between the first conjugation and the other -formed by joining the second and third conjugations. The fact is that the descriptions treated language as a product and not as a process, what is in question in language acquisition. Important works in verbal inflection acquisiton in the literature were related. Then, two studies about Portuguese verbal inflection were presented: Figueira (2003, 2008) and Perroni-Simões; Stoel-Gamon, C. (1977). So, it's possible to trace a parallel from inflections errors found in child's speech and the others found by these investigators. The errors in the child's speech indicated the dominance of second and/or third conjugation class. However, responding just about the prevelance of one of the conjugation classes was to treat the question partially, because the language acquisition process is also a subjectivity process, where the subject and language form an unity. The changes (linguistics and subjectives) that occur in the language acquisition process are changes in a structure, which appears: the other, the language, and the subject himself. It was verified in the M's speech that divergent verbal forms came from the other's speech to her; what was interpreted as being the first position of the child in the structure, marked by the dominance of the child's speech dependence to the other's speech. In the second position, characterized by the dominance of language's movement in the child's speech, errors were also found in M's speech. It was observed the movement of linguistics chains that in a parallelistic game, has given support to changes in the child's speech towards the verbal paradigm construction. The collision against fragments in the child's speech permitted her displacement in the structure, from the first to the second position in language acquisition process. In several ways, verbal inflection errors conceded to the investigator the privilege of seeing the language acquisition process as a language variation process.

References:
Semantics of Single and Multiple Early Motion Event Expressions in French and English

Even the earliest motion event expressions follow specific patterns of expression of path and manner in accordance with the typological characteristics of the language in which they are expressed (e.g., Hickmann, 2009; Slobin et al., 2008). McCune (2008) found that many of these expressions also include meanings of recurrence and/or reversibility in time and/or space, universal aspects of sensorimotor cognition. The current research addresses typological variability and cognitive/semantic similarity in French and English from the perspective of Talmy's motion event framework, including attention to the “macro-event” concept (2000, vol. 2, p. 215) for framing interpretation of successive motion events, reflecting the temporal aspect of spatial dynamics.

Transcripts of naturalistic speech of 16 children – four English, four French at 24 and 36 months were analyzed for semantic overlap and variation in motion event expression across languages. Expressions of negation, iteration and reversibility are also studied.

Despite the differences in the choice of surface elements (Talmy, 2000), through which underlying semantics are expressed, speakers of both languages chose to talk about similar spatial and temporal relationships taking place in their environment, often using semantically identical verbs and expressions, providing evidence of common temporal and spatial understanding.

Like Ninio (1999) we find verbs, associated with the personal domain and indexical expressions (almost identical in both languages). As Hickmann (e.g. 2009, 2010) found, English and French speakers differed in their choice of verbs versus satellites to express various path meanings, with English speakers showing preference for satellites, and French speakers showing preference for verb-framed meanings. In terms of manner participants from both languages at both ages produced very little manner of motion meanings and information was mostly encoded in verbs.

The data provide evidence for a striking semantic similarity between French and English expressions of reversibility and iteration at both ages, with more than 25% of the meanings being semantically identical. The meanings of reversibility and iteration are generally expressed thorough verbs and adverbs, implying extension or recurrence of an event in productions such as casser/brake (used in both languages), clean off, wipe off, wake up and oublier (‘forget’), guerir (‘heal’), allumer (‘switch’), laver (‘wash’) or in cases where the emphasis is on successive events, such as encoding of turn taking (in both languages). In terms of negation the French and the English speaking children produced also similar expressions: allgone, no, no more and pas (‘no’). While the production of reversibility and iteration expressions progressed from 24 to 36 months in both English and French, including a wider range of meanings, interest in negation decreased from 24 to 36 months. Comparison with the range of meanings, produced at the single-word stage of language development suggests continuity across age. The study furthers the understanding of the development of typologically determined expressions at 24 and 36 months, converging with other findings in the field, and revealing the connection with an earlier stage of language development, particularly with respect to meanings of reversibility, iteration and negation.
References:


Both genres of spontaneous ordinary conversation and political debate are favourite loci for the qualitative multimodal analysis of interaction, albeit in a wide variety of traditions. An interesting, less-studied hybrid of these two genres is ethical discussion, where participants keep taking stances, in a cooperative process of deliberation towards ethical consensus, to decide on the preferred basis for human action (Habermas, 1992).

Taking stance (stating opinions, articulating knowledge and affect, affiliating or disaffiliating) conversants often literally take up a position: apart from speech, they also rely on bodily movements. As a dynamically co-constructed, intersubjective process, multimodal stancetaking involves the negotiation of self- and other- expectations and counter-expectations, extremely interesting as such because the variety of their multimodal expressions has not yet been fully explored (see Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2004 for a semantic-pragmatic approach).

This phenomenon is investigated in a 2h40min corpus of semi-guided discussions about contemporary environmental issues between 9 pairs of native speakers of British English, recorded in 2011. The corpus is transcribed in utterance units (clauses separated by pauses, turn-taking, full restarts) whose silent components are also taken into account (e.g. “so...” immediately followed by a shrug: one unit). Utterance units are coded in ELAN for dimensions of affective stance, epistemic stance and evaluation – expectation being part of the latter (10% of the data is coded by a second annotator for increased reliability). All utterances coded for dimensions of expectation are analysed qualitatively to identify its potential multimodal markers, with careful attention to contexts of use (Kendon 2004).

Establishing stable correspondences between bodily movements and semantic-pragmatic values would be too hasty. Yet, interesting patterns recur across the 18 participants in expressing (un-)expectedness. Participants can use of course, actually and in fact (cf. Smith & Jucker 2000), though with no clear gestural correlates. For expectedness, the interpersonal particle just (Aijmer, 2000) and the evidential adverb obviously are often combined with components of shrugging (shoulder lift, head tilt and/or palm up open hand, cf. Streeck 2009), with clear nuances of obviousness or logical necessity. For unexpectedness, the evaluator interesting, can be used with raised eyebrows. The communicative role of these movements is unmistakeable from the way they are timed with speech and taken up by the interlocutor.

Interestingly, the attitudinal dimension can be undetectable in the words and present at other levels only. For instance, a participant seems to present new information as extraordinary in “there’s been people camping there since last November”, with a rising tone and raised eyebrows on “last November”, as her interlocutor seems to take this up as unexpected, with a similar rising tone and raised eyebrows, on replying “permanently?”.

The corpus seems to indicate that (i) marking expectedness is often intertwined with marking affect, which reasserts the multifunctionality of both gestures and discourse markers. (ii) The intensity of affect could be a possible motivation for the varied use of semiotic channels in attitudinal contexts, with more affect expressed when more channels than the verbal are involved.


Développement des relations entre formes et fonctions dans le système verbal de l’enfant

Pour apprendre à parler, l’enfant doit en particulier apprendre à lier les formes langagières qu’il entend et qu’il produit avec leurs valeurs (ou leurs fonctions) sémantiques et pragmatiques. Cette opération est particulièrement abstraite et demande en particulier de faire des liens entre des valeurs non-langagières (perception de l’environnement, de l’interaction, de la situation, etc.) et les formes du langage. Ces liens sont complexes car ils n’associent pas simplement les formes d’un côté et les fonctions de l’autre. Au contraire, dans toute situation langagière on voit se créer des associations comprenant en nombre variable à la fois des liens langagiers et des liens non-langagiers, le nombre et la nature des liens n’étant pas fixé à l’avance. L’enfant doit donc apprendre à identifier des éléments de son environnement (en particulier lors des interactions langagières), à les catégoriser, et à les associer entre eux.

Nous avons cherché à suivre ce processus lors de l’acquisition de la notion de temps chez l’enfant dans la production de ses premiers mots jusqu’à l’âge de 4 ans et demi. La notion de temps, en dehors de son intérêt intrinsèque en tant que propriété fondamentale des langues humaines, est particulièrement intéressante pour comprendre le développement de la relation forme-fonction car il s’agit d’une notion abstraite qui ne peut s’expliquer simplement par la découverte d’associations entre un mot et un objet physique du monde. Cette notion n’est explicitée qu’à travers le langage et il est difficile si ce n’est impossible d’imaginer le temps hors langage.

Nous avons pour ce travail codé toutes les productions faisant référence au temps chez deux enfants de 1 an 6 mois à 4 ans 6 mois (suivis une fois tous les 3 mois environ : 11 et 13 enregistrements de 1 heure par enfant). Nous avons ainsi obtenu environ 2500 énoncés codés par enfant, chaque énoncé étant codé sur des critères de forme et de fonction (temps grammatical du verbe, nombre d’argument, aspect lexical, aspect grammatical, mode, déconnection, personne). Pour ce travail, nous nous sommes focalisés sur ces 7 critères sur lesquels nous avons réalisé des Analyses de Correspondances Multiples (ACM), de manière globale et de manière développementale.

L’ACM est une analyse statistique descriptive qui nous permet de comprendre comment tous les critères de codage que nous avons choisis jouent ensemble pour progressivement constituer une catégorisation fine des événements langagiers comprenant des critères fonctionnels et formels. On constate en particulier qu’on trouve des potentialités d’expression du passé et du futur chez l’enfant même très jeune. En effet, l’adulte peut être amené à interpréter l’enfant comme faisant faire référence au passé ou au futur sans qu’il ait déjà à sa disposition des formes verbales du passé et du futur. De telles situations ne sont pas rares dans les interactions adulte-enfant. Progressivement, les relations entre ces potentialités et le raffinement des formes langagières permettront à l’enfant de stabiliser l’organisation de ses productions, dans une interrelatation mutuelle entre toutes les valeurs linguistiques et non-linguistiques qui lui sont accessibles.
"linguistique cognitive"
The impersonal value of French middle constructions.

This presentation argues that the “passive middle” (Kemmer 1993: 206) constructions illustrated in (1) and (2) are impersonal because i) they defocus the agent of the profiled process, and ii) that process has a degree of generality which makes it available to a generalized conceptualizer (Langacker 2009). These constructions only constitute a small section of the French “middle domain” (Kemmer 1993: 15). In particular, the “spontaneous event” constructions (Kemmer 1993: 206) illustrated in (3) and (4) are left out because they do not possess the degree of generality to satisfy the second condition.

The analysis examines the differences between the two types of constructions as well as the precise conditions under which middles becomes impersonal. It shows that spontaneous events are highly specific because they describe a process restricted to a particular place and time, between clearly delineated participants, and that specificity restricts its availability to its immediate witnesses. On the other hand, the process profiled by the impersonal middles become progressively more general if the circumstances responsible for its realization can be identified as stable, so that future occurrences can be predicted with confidence, and hence available to everyone. More precisely, middle constructions are more likely to have impersonal value when their subject bears some “responsibility” for the occurrence of the profiled process. This pragmatic feature plays a critical role in the reliability and predictability of the profiled process because it neutralizes the characteristics specific to individual agents.

Because the subject’s responsibility for the occurrence of the profiled process is a gradual process, the impersonal status of middle constructions also needs to be evaluated along a continuum. However, two specific environments can be identified where middles can unquestionably be called impersonal. These two patterns constitute stable constructional islands because they contain a specific set of semantic / pragmatic features, and can thus be reliably distinguished from the other middles. In the first one illustrated in (1), the profiled process is definitional of the entity the subject codes in the sense that it is completely incorporated in what it means for that entity to be what it is. In the second constructional cluster, the profiled process is also completely predictable because its occurrence is required by a set of social norms or conventions. In this construction illustrated in (2), the predicate pertains to the precise way in which things should be done by the agent of the activity the predicate profiles. Because social norming applies to everyone, the occurrence of the profiled process is available to any conceptualizer, and the construction can rightfully be called impersonal.

The analysis developed in this presentation argues against the structural separation of the two constructions [“neutres” and “moyennes” in Ruwet (1972), Zribi Hertz (1982) among others], and complements the typological account of Kemmer (1993) by making explicit the relation between spontaneous events, middle passives and impersonal constructions. It also contributes to a global understanding of impersonals in French (Achard 2010) and cross-linguistically (Malchukov and Siewierska 2011).
Il note que le pain sans levain est cuit sur des plaques de tôle et ressemble à de la galette ou aux crêpes de carnaval, que le saucisson d'Arles se fait avec de la viande de mulet. (Durry, MJ. Gérard de Nerval et le mythe: 82)

‘He notes that yeast free bread is cooked on flat metal sheets and resembles biscuits or the pancakes of carnival time; that the sausage from Arles is made with mule meat.’

“L'apéritif se prend obligatoirement sur la terrasse du Continental, à même le trottoir ”, raconte Lucien Bodard dans l'Humiliation…(Le Monde)

‘Drinks before meals have to be taken on the Continental’s patio, right on the sidewalk” Lucien Bodard tells us in the Humiliation.’

At this moment, someone knocked softly, and as if awaken from a dream Joseph shouted: - Come in! The door then opened to let in an old black woman dressed in black with a white apron around her waist that reached down to her feet.’

Olivier shivered in the middle of this blind and hostile world. The sound of a pine cone falling or a dry branch falling made him jump like a small hare.”

References


Is the way we construct and express the emotional event influenced by the language we speak? Typological differences in the experiencer's conceptualization in French and Spanish

ABSTRACT

The work presented here, which is based on the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics, provides a characterization and a classification of the different types of prototypical experiencers that take part in the emotional event in French (L1) and Spanish (L1). More precisely, it offers a classification of the different types of emotional experiencers based on the kind of syntactic construction in which they appear (secondary-predicate, copulative, intransitive, middle or transitive constructions), and on the grammatical function that codifies them (subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.). The classification that we propose relies mostly on two criteria: the level of prominence with which the experiencer is represented, and the level of participation in the emotional event with which it is conceptualized.

This classification was realized thanks to an ad-hoc discursive corpus created for the analysis of the conceptual and linguistic resources related to the expression of the change of emotion event in Spanish (L1 and L2) and French (L1). It was inspired by the corpus used by Cadierno (2004) to analyze motion events through a typological approach.

Based on the thinking for speaking theory (Slobin: 1996), we will then describe the results of a comparative analysis that we made between French and Spanish. We discovered some differences in the way of representing the experiencer of the emotional event in both languages and notably, a lower level of dynamicity and of participation of the French experiencer. These results are in line with the Spanish tendency of codifying the experiencer of mental process (cognition, perception, emotion) with a high level of participation in the process (Martínez Linares: 1998).

KEYWORDS: Construal, experiencer, emotion, cognitive linguistics, typology.

REFERENCES


Analogy and (conceptual) persistence in the development of constructional networks

Key-words: grammaticalization - analogy - (conceptual) persistence - binominal quantifiers - constructional network

The aim is to reconsider the role of frequency, analogical thinking and conceptual persistence in grammaticalization processes. I will argue that the development of binominal quantifiers can best be captured by a constructional network account (Traugott 2008; Trousdale 2010): the highly frequent and prototypical montón de N2 ‘heap of N2’ paved the way for the spontaneous association of the binominal pattern with the expression of quantity, and attracted, or at least speeded up, the rise of other binominal quantifiers.

Quantifying nominals (QN) display a quantitative potential next to the original lexical meaning, as they designate containers (brazilada ‘armful’), configurations (montón ‘heap’) or collective entities (hatajo ‘herd’). When QNs are followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by de indicating the mass, they are considered binominal quantifiers (un montón de dinero ‘a pile of money’). The binominal quantifier construction is generally considered as a locus of grammaticalization (Brems 2010): within the binominal syntagm, the QN (or N1) which constitutes the head of the quantifying construction ([una pila de libros] ‘[a pile] of books’), gets reanalysed as quantifying the mass designated by N2 ([una pila de] años) ‘[a pile of] years’).

The latter reanalysis is often presented as part of a grammaticalization chain: [pre-partitive use > (expanded) partitive use > degree modifier use > free degree adjunct use] (Traugott 2008: 228). However, this schema abstracts away from the individual QNs’ histories. First, only few instances are observed where Spanish QNs end up as free degree adjuncts. Second, several QNs seem to have skipped the productive pre-grammaticalization stage and immediately serve a quantifying function when showing up in the binominal construction, e.g. letanía ‘litany’, aluvión ‘avalanche’ (Author: 2012). Further, the suggested pathway of change does not do full justice to the role played by analogy and conceptual persistence.

The force of analogical thinking is observed not only in the extension towards new (and semantically similar) QNs in the N1 slot, but also in the extension towards new N2-collocates which tend to cluster around particular semantic domains. Further, the N2-clusters are related to the QN’s source semantics (e.g., quantifying letanía de only quantifies over N2s referring to parts of speech). Conceptual persistence plays a role not only in the morphosyntactic persistence (or synchronic compositionality) of the binominal construction, but also in the productivity of the binominal phrase to express either quantity or quality assessment.

The data were extracted from two on-line corpora and contain spoken as well as written, formal as well as informal, synchronic as well as diachronic data. For ten QNs – i.e. alud ‘avalanche’, aluvión ‘flood’, barbaridad ‘barbarity’, hatajo ‘herd’, letanía ‘litany’, mar ‘sea’, montón ‘heap’, pila ‘pile’, racimo ‘bunch’ and tropel ‘mob’– exhaustive samples were extracted from the synchronic and diachronic on-line corpora CREA and CORDE.
References


Author. 2012.
Relative pronoun alternation after preposition in Spanish: grounding (el que) vs. typifying construal (que)

In restrictive relative clauses [RC] with immediate antecedent and introduced by the prepositions a ‘to’, con ‘with’, de ‘of’, en ‘in’ (and to a lesser extent por ‘by’ and sobre ‘on’) the relative pronoun el que ‘the which’ alternates with the simple que pronoun, without the definite article form. The aim of the paper is to analyze what motivates this alternation. The Spanish reference grammar GDLE stipulates that simple que ‘which’ requires the antecedent to be formally definite and referentially specific (Brucart 1999: 494), e.g. (1, 2). In practice, however, it also occurs after indefinite, nonspecific antecedents (3), indefinite specific ones (4, 5), and definite nonspecific ones (6).

[1] S. ha relatado [...] las sevicias a que le sometieron sus interrogadores de los servicios secretos. ‘S. narrated [...] the brutalities to which his interrogators of the secret services submitted him’

[2] [...] las revelaciones de que habla y en que consiste esta poesía tienen dos fuentes específicas ‘[...] the revelations of which talks and in which consists this poetry have two specific sources’

[3] ¿A quién no le gustaría estar en un lugar en que pudieran ser ellos mismos? ‘Who would not like to be in a place in which they could be themselves?’

[4] la Guardia Civil condujo los novillos hasta un lugar en que fue posible sacarlos de la calzada. ‘the Civil Guard conducted the steers to a place in which it was possible to get them out of the roadway.’

[5] Buscó un papel y algo con que escribir. ‘He looked for a paper and something to write.’

[6] cuando llegue el día en que nadie le crea, lo más seguro es que no encuentre habitación donde alojarse. ‘when the day comes (in) that nobody believes you, you most certainly won’t find a room to stay.’

I will argue that the presence of the definite article form (el que) does not depend on the antecedent’s form or referential status. My hypothesis is that the alternation is a matter of construal and hinges on the choice between an experientially grounded instantiation (el que) vs. a schematic, type-level reading (que): while el que foregrounds the experiential base of the RC predication, que integrates a structurally conceived event that appears as inherent to ‘world structure’ and transcends personal experience. This hypothesis predicts that que will rather be found in (i) concise, defining statements, (ii) with inanimate antecedents, (iii) space-building head predicates (e.g. ‘search’, ‘find’, ‘need’, ‘want’), and existential and presentational ones (‘have’, ‘remain’, ‘lack’); (iv) potentiality markers (e.g. modals (pudieran (3), posible (4)), infinitive (escribir (5)), subjunctive (llegue (6))); (v) negative polarity (nadie (6)). The el que pronoun, on the other hand, is expected to rather pattern with (i) more elaborate, often preterit contexts, (ii) animate antecedents, (iii) action and behavior head predicates, (iv) non-modalized event structures, (v) easily yielding some contrastive focus.

Both CREA and Corpus del Español (Davies) will serve as data sources.

CREA Corpus de referencia del español actual. http://www.rae.es

Brucart, José M.ª 1999. La estructura del sintagma nominal: Las oraciones de relativo. GDLE Capítulo 7, 395-522.
Variations in Self-reference in mother-child interactions

According to Elizabeth Bates, the grammar of our natural languages is so permeated with personal reference that their acquisition requires self-awareness. Scientists may therefore use their observations on the acquisition of person markers in order to understand the emergence of self-awareness and identity in children (Bates, 1990: 165). English and French speaking children do not always use adult standard forms (I / je or moi-je) to refer to self as grammatical subject. In their verbal productions about themselves (as agents, experiencers or themes...) they could omit the subject, use a filler syllable during a period of transition or later use their name, 2nd, or 3rd person pronouns as well as 1st person pronouns. The use of non-standard forms is part of each child’s specific pathway into language. Some forms could be considered as proto-forms, others as marks of the child’s creativity with unconventional form-function pairings in the appropriation of the adult system. As shown by Budwig (1995) and Author 1 (2006) each form is usually associated to a particular function in context. In order to retrace how children acquire the linguistic system, we can try to tease apart what is due to what they borrow from adult language and what they recreate on their own. It is therefore particularly interesting to focus on the various forms of self-reference used in their first productions and to relate them to reference to self and other in their input.

Children assimilate the representations of themselves and of others that adults use in their verbal productions and reformulate them in their own discourse. The non standard forms uses are a window unto this assimilation process. It is therefore particularly interesting to study their forms of self-reference, which enable them to express their own positioning in dialogue, and to focus on the temporary pronominal reversals some children typically produce during their third year for a few months.

In this paper we present an overview of the forms used as subject first person reference by Léonard, a French little boy, from 1;08 to 3;03 (Paris corpus), Naima, an American little girl from age 1;6 to 3;06 (Providence corpus) and their mothers. We will then study the children’s use of their name and third person pronouns to refer to themselves (Author 1 2011, Author 2 2012; Demuth 2011), and relate them to their mother’s use of third person reference to refer to themselves and their child. The analysis of the conditions under which these reversals appear and disappear can shed some light on how children are able to differentiate their own self from the other and to construct their identity.

All the situations that enable the child to enter language as apprentice-speaker are given in their interactions with more experienced language users. As they take up and replay the scripts they have participated in again and again, they can internalize (Vygotsky, 1934) and appropriate these forms in order to become fully responsible for their own speech.
Metaphoricity as multimodal interactivity: Another look at ‘metaphoric gesture’

Fundamental differences between written and spoken language (Chafe 1994, Linell 2005, Kravchenko 2010) have been scarcely considered in relation to metaphor. Often it is assumed, at least tacitly, that metaphorical expressions in spoken discourse are the same phenomena as metaphors in written texts. This “written language bias” even extends to research on metaphoric gestures in discourse situations, in which gestures are frequently expected to represent or manifest pre-existing internal cognitive metaphorical mappings (McNeill 1992, 2005, 2008; Chui 2011; Cienki 2008) in the line of thought developed within conceptual metaphor theory.

In this talk however, we would like to challenge these assumptions and furthermore offer a new way to look at the relationship between metaphor, gesture, cognition and action in social interaction. We will do this by 1) advancing a philosophical alternative to the problematic 'window' metaphor that haunts both metaphor and gesture research, taking these as external expressions of hidden internal processes, by 2) presenting an analysis of real life data showing how metaphoricity as a multi-modal phenomenon can be analyzed as embedded in the coordination of actions, attention and emotional value in the ongoing discourse, and by 3) discussing the implications of these new findings for the future of metaphor research.

Following recent leads from enactive cognition (Di Paolo and Froese 2010), interactivity (Thibault 2011, Steffensen 2012), and ecological gesture research (Kendon 2004, 2012; Streeck 2009), we begin with the idea that gesturing and speaking are two forms of linguistically articulating movement (high-order cognition); they are two aspects of the dynamic coordinating activity that is languaging. The best route to a gesture-inclusive theory of language is not a one-brain psycholinguistic processing model but a radically different way of understanding (spoken) language in the first place – as inter-bodily activity coordinating action and sense-making in a dynamic interaction system. Accordingly, we recommend a method of metaphor analysis that maintains curiosity and sensitivity to the interactive nature of metaphoric meaning-making in spoken discourse (Gibbs and Cameron 2008), with a special focus on multimodality. We analyze metaphoricity as a specialized mode of human interactivity originating form first-order languaging, understood as whole body sense-making, but at the same time constrained by socio-
cultural second-order language structures (Thibault 2011). The analyses are based on video recordings from a Danish kindergarten portraying a so-called emotion talk between the children and the caretakers. The recordings are subsequently transcribed to allow for a multimodal analysis that strives to capture the fine-grained details of the vocal and inter-bodily activities in which the metaphoricality arises.

Our interdisciplinary collaboration in this project shows that a new way of thinking about language and meaning-construction is both empirically observable and philosophically grounded. Our blended approach allows us to ask and answer hard questions about abstract meaning-making via gesturing and sense making in interaction. While CMT and traditional embodied cognitive linguistic approaches can explain some background and contextual aspects of meaning-making, a dynamic and distributed take on metaphoric languaging offers the needed explanatory tools for cases of abstract meaning-construction in real-life discourse.
A multimodal and corpus-based approach to children’s expression of refusal and rejection

Before they acquire and develop language, children first refuse and reject with their bodies. The development of the various semiotic means to express refusal and rejection in longitudinal data of adult-child conversation provides a relevant domain for combining multimodal and multi-level analyses.

As discussed by Bloom (1970) and later Choi (1988), rejection and refusal are negative functions which appear very early in children’s productions. First productions of refusal and rejection in children’s development are usually considered unconscious (Spitz, 1957) and therefore mainly conveyed by actions and motions of avoidance (Clark, 1978), but as children grow older they tend to use symbolic means to express negation (Guidetti, 2005). Spitz shows that this transition starts at around fifteen months, when children stop using actions or physiological refusals - such as pushing an object away or avoiding food with their bodies – and replace them with symbolic gestures like head-shakes through a process of ritualisation of spontaneous actions (Kendon, 2002). However, tracing the transitions from action to gesture and then from gesture to verbal production is quite complex since rejection and refusal can be signalled nonverbally (Horn, 2001).

To map these transitions, I analysed all the actions, gestures, vocalisations and verbal productions of two French-speaking and two English-speaking monolingual children filmed for one hour a month between ten months and four years old, along with those of their adult interlocutors. This study was conducted from a multimodal and constructivist theoretical perspective. A specific coding system was developed combining the use of Excel, CLAN and ELAN with video data and transcriptions to analyse the children’s refusals and rejections according to context in dialogue.

Results show that the four children first use actions to express refusals and rejections but not all of them replace this modality with gestures during their second year and even when their speech has become complex, they continue using actions alone and in combination with speech. When refusals and rejections are verbalised, their expression often takes the form of a no or non and does not require a complex syntactic realisation, which could reflect the primitive status of those two negative functions.

These findings show that the expression of refusal and rejection depends on the situation and on individual differences, such as children’s preference for one modality over the other, or their desire to refuse or reject a specific object. This study also addresses the status given to actions, as well as how they are later coded syntactically in child and adult speech. It is especially notable that the modality of action — typically replaced over the course of development by the more symbolic modalities of gesture and language — continues to be used for expressing refusal and rejection even into adulthood. This continuity suggests that these negative functions may be embodied to a greater degree than others. Children’s use of different modalities to refuse is an ideal domain for examining the relation between action and cognitive development and provides further support for embodied approaches to language development.
References:


Magnitude Estimation: can it do something for your pragmatics?

The aim of this article, whose title echoes that of Featherston (2005), "Magnitude estimation and what it can do for your syntax: some wh-constraints in German", aims to check whether the Magnitude Estimation protocol can provide relevant information for studies within the discourse pragmatics field. At a time when researchers feel the need for more reliable acceptability judgments to avoid unreliable, biased introspective data (see e.g. Schütze 1996, Bard et al. 1996) and are searching for more scientific, objective means for data evaluation (speeded grammaticality judgments, Likert n-point scales), this article aims to see whether the Magnitude Estimation protocol, which has its origins in psychophysics (Stevens 1957) but has also been used in phonology (e.g. Grosjean 1977, Green 1987, Toner & Emanuel 1989) and syntax (e.g. Keller & Alexopoulou 2005, Hoffman 2007, Bard et al. 1996, Keller & Asudeh 2001), can also be used for acceptability judgments in discourse pragmatics, which relies heavily on "negative" data, that is apragmatic data (labeled '#'), as evidence for definitions of discourse functions and constraints. The case studies retained for this pilot experiment are based on Birner & Ward's (1998) data on non-canonical word order, specifically topicalization phenomena (1), and on Loock's (2010, 2012) definition of the "fame effect" as a constraint governing the choice between a nominal appositive and an appositive relative clause (2). By comparing introspective judgments performed by the authors of these studies with judgments obtained thanks to Magnitude Estimation, we discuss the relevance of such a protocol for pragmatic acceptability judgments, which are more subtle and thus more open to debate than judgments based on the (un-)grammaticality of linguistic data (Ariel 2008).

(1)  
   a. Customer: Can I get a bagel?  
      Waitress: No, sorry. We're out of bagels. A bran muffin I can give you.
   b. Customer: What kind of breakfast baked goods do you have?  
      Waitress: #A bran muffin I can give you.

(2)  
   a. Some expected Barack Obama, the president of the United States, to reduce emissions.
   b. #Some expected Barack Obama, who is the president of the United States, to appoint a completely new economic team so as to implement another New Deal.


Loock, R. 2010. The "Fame Effect" or How the syntactic choices of writers can be explained by their assumptions about their addressees' states of knowledge: the case of relevance-oriented, non-restrictive noun modifiers. Discours 7. [http://discours.revues.org/8027]


As: An instance of semantic change and subjectivity

Abstract

According to Langacker, one of the most subtle notions of Cognitive Grammar, and apparently one of the most difficult to grasp and apply is that of subjectivity. It is, however, essential to the proper characterization of semantic and grammatical structure and its importance is more and more recognized among the linguistic community. So far, it has been applied to verbs (Langacker 1990, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2006; Traugott 1989, 1995; Sanders and Spooren 1996, 1997; Cornillie 2006), to prepositions, conjunctions and discourse markers (Langacker 1990, 1998, 1999, 2006; Traugott 1995, 1999), to adjectives, adverbs and intensifiers (Athanasiadou 2006, 2007a,b; Breban 2006; Maat 2006) to conditionals (Akatsuka 1997; Nikiforidou and Katis 2000), to syntax (Company 2006; Verhagen 1995, 2001, 2006), to name just a few studies.

The aim of this study is to investigate the development of the Modern Greek particle as, originally deriving from the imperative form áphes of the Ancient Greek verb aphíēmi ‘send away, let go of, let, leave, allow’ is a highly polysemous category in Modern Greek with meanings as diverse as the expression of permission, suggestion, wish, concession and conditionality. Interestingly, while some of these meanings occur as meanings of a single word or morpheme in other languages too (e.g., English may and let) the Modern Greek as is perhaps unique in combining all senses in a single polysemous grammatical category with a complex structure. Previous accounts (e.g. Nikiforidou 1992, 1996) have characterised the development of as as a typical case of grammaticalization exhibiting all semantic, syntactic and phonological properties typical of the process. In this context, in describing the semantic structure of the category, reference is made to cognitive mechanisms like metaphor and metonymy. In other words, it is suggested that metaphor and metonymy (whose importance as descriptive and explanatory tools, both in synchronic semantics and historical change, have received much attention) are clearly involved in the semantic development of the Greek particle.

In this paper an attempt will be made to suggest that the polysemy of as is also due to subjectivity. More specifically, it will be suggested that the development of as from meanings such as suggestion and permission to wish, concession and hypotheticality may be seen as representing moves towards greater subjectivity. The framework I will be based on is Langacker’s account of subjectivity and, in particular, his 1999 view of subjectivity in which there is attenuation in the degree of the control exerted by the subject. Put another way, the semantic extensions of as may be argued to illustrate the attenuation of subject control, in that the locus of potency is no longer identified with the subject. Following Langacker, I will show that attenuation does not occur automatically, in a single step. It is a gradual, diachronic process that occurs in small steps, along parameters such as status, focus, domain and locus of activity or potency. Although this is not a diachronic analysis, I will argue that the senses presented as representing progressive degrees of attenuation correspond to the actual order of diachronic development as established by previous accounts (e.g., Nikiforidou 1996).

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Nikiforidou, K. (1996). Modern Greek ας: A case study in grammaticalization and


Spatial opposition, visual accessibility and contrast: an experiment with Estonian demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions that help to define the referent to an addressee in a linguistic or physical context. The use of demonstratives can be divided into exophoric (situational use) and endophoric (textual use) reference (Halliday & Hasan 1976). The research of Estonian demonstratives has so far focussed on endophoric reference of demonstratives. According to Pajusalu (2006, 2009) there are two demonstrative pronouns possible in Standard Estonian: *see* (this) and *too* (that), but the use of distal *too* is not that common and it is used mostly in South-Estonia. So far exophoric usage of Estonian demonstratives has received little or no research attention for authors’ knowledge.

This study focuses on Standard Estonian demonstratives in situational context and on factors that affect the choice of demonstratives. The aim of the study is to clarify whether the exophoric use of distal *too* is consistent and which factors influence the choice of demonstrative pronouns.

Based on example of experiments in Indo-European languages (Coventry et al 2008, Piwek et al 2008), experimental approach to study exophoric demonstratives was chosen, as it allows to create controlled environment and makes it easier to determine the affective factors associated with demonstrative selection. The choice of stimuli was based on earlier research (e.g. Diessel 1999, 2006, Jarbou 2010) and included spatial opposition, visual accessibility and contrast. Two participants – the instructor and the builder – take part of the experiment with the objective to build three different sculptures out of Lego blocks on a basis of ready built models. Only the instructor is allowed to see the model and only the builder is allowed to take the blocks from the table. The experiment tests the hypotheses that choice between demonstratives is affected by a) the location of the referent; b) visual saliency of the referent and c) the need to make a distinction of two same kind of referents at the same place.

Preliminary results of the experiment show that spatial opposition plays a crucial role on the choice of demonstratives. Pronoun *see* is chosen for proximal objects and pronoun *too* for distal objects. Visual saliency of the referents affects the pronoun choice – participants tend to use proximal demonstrative pronoun *see* (even if the referent is distant), rather than pronoun *too*, and distal or proximal demonstrative proadverb (depending on the location of the referent) to indicate the location. Participants use proximal *see* and pronoun *teine* (other) to contrast the referents. The study provides evidence that experimental approach proves to be effective for studying spatial demonstratives also in Finno-Ugric languages and it provides linguistic data for comparison of spatial demonstrative use between different language groups.
References


Linking verbal and non-verbal alignment. A time-based analysis.

This paper builds on existing research on gestural and linguistic alignment on the one hand, and ties in with recent methodological innovations in representing the temporal dynamics of interaction on the other hand. Using a multimodal corpus that is transcribed and annotated for hand gestures, intonation and eye gaze, we show the complex interplay between two multimodal layers (the linguistic and gestural) as it is plotted on the time axis.

The focus of this paper is on the interactional phenomenon of copying behaviour, i.e. the re-use of linguistic and non-linguistic elements that other interlocutors have used before in a conversation. This process of synchronisation has been described by many theoretical frameworks and consequently has been labelled many different terms such as interactive alignment (Pickering & Garrod 2004, 2006), conceptual pact (Brennan & Clark 1996), resonance (Du Bois 2011) or mimicry (Kimbara 2006). What we add to these existing accounts, is a fine-grained and corpus based description of the temporal dynamicity of the phenomenon. This added value is apparent in at least three respects:

(i) The interaction between the lexical and gestural level is crucial in this paper. So far, multimodal studies of alignment have mainly focussed on the phenomenon layer per layer (Hadelich & Crocker 2006, Holler & Wilkin 2011, Roche et al. 2009, Howes et al. 2010). Our approach and data set enable an integrated account that maximally allows for the multimodal ‘depth’ of analysis, i.e. we show the interaction and trade-off between the different multimodal layers.

(ii) Next to our focus on different multimodal layers we further split out each layer into several levels of analysis. For the linguistic layer, this means that we will not only be studying lexical items but also other units such as noun phrases and larger constructions. In the gestural layer, we treat hand gestures not as holistic units but consider them inherently multidimensional, i.e. each gesture is analysed as a combination of features such as handedness, hand shape, finger orientation, palm orientation, place in the gesture space, etc. This allows for a more precise measuring of exactly which factors or dimensions, at both the linguistic and gestural level, align.

(iii) Thanks to very detailed time-aligned annotations, it is possible to compute and visualise the temporal relations between discourse events very accurately. As demonstrated by Richardson & Dale (2005) and Shokley et al. (2009), recurrence analysis can serve as an efficient method for analysing gaze coordination in face-to-face conversation. Techniques like cross-recurrence analysis, however, apply to other behavioural domains as well. We will demonstrate this for the linguistic and gestural level, hence offering a detailed plotting of alignment phenomena as discourse unfolds.

Summing up, we bring together the three points above in a fine-grained analysis of interactive alignment, in which we incorporate not only different multimodal layers (i) and levels of analysis (ii), but also the interplay and temporal relations (iii) between these alignment events. The general results show a picture of convergence, i.e. when studying the multimodal layers separately, the further into a conversation, the more interlocutors seem to align. However, analysing the interplay between the detailed time-aligned annotations at different levels, shows a much more complex picture.


The acquisition of determiners in French and German: Crosslinguistic variation in prosodic and lexical influences

Abstract

In recent years, the acquisition of nominal determiners was examined in several crosslinguistic comparative studies which relied on the typological contrast between certain Romance and Germanic languages in order to predict -- and find -- an earlier development of determiners for Romance languages (Lleó & Demuth, 1999; Kupisch, 2007; Guasti, De Lange, Gavarro & Caprin, 2008; Rozendaal & Baker, 2008; Bassano, Maillochon, Korecky-Kröll, Van Dijk, Laaha, Dressler & Van Geert, 2011). For explaining this crosslinguistic variation, prosodic and lexical-semantic properties are among the most determinant factors, although their specific effects across languages still remain unclear.

The present contribution compares the development of determiner use in two children acquiring French and Austrian German. Following previous studies on French (Bassano, Maillochon & Mottet, 2008), we analyse the role of prosodic factors of noun length and the role of lexical-semantic factors in animacy. We examine the hypotheses that noun length and animacy effects could contribute to the earlier emergence of determiners in the French than in the Austrian child, due to the strong differences opposing the two languages in this matter. With both children, longitudinal spontaneous speech data were collected from the onset of language until age 3;0. Coding (of child speech and child-directed speech) was performed on monthly production samples, with respect to determiner use, noun length (monosyllabic, disyllabic, multisyllabic) and lexical classes of nouns (common animate, common inanimate, proper nouns).

As expected, determiners emerged earlier in the French child than in the Austrian child. Yet, both showed strong explosion in determiner use, raising to the adult level before 2;6. Confirming previous results, strong noun length and animacy effects were observed in the French child. Monosyllabic nouns were produced with determiner significantly more frequently than disyllabic nouns, and inanimate than animate nouns (which were more frequently bare nouns). As these effects did not occur in the Austrian child, they are language-dependent. We discuss the extent to which they reflect typological or specific language differences in the prosodic and lexical-semantic domains. In regard to
prosody, we argue that French children are influenced by a preference for a binary foot combined with the French preference for an iambic pattern (wS), a configuration which favours the early emergence of determiners (or prenominal fillers) with monosyllabic nouns. This configuration is not presented by German, which prefers trochaic patterns. In regard to animacy, we argue that animacy effects are supported by determiner use configurations in French, which has relatively clear associations between determiner use and inanimate rather than animate nouns, on the one hand, and between animacy and absence of determiners, on the other. This is not the case in German, in particular because of general absence of determiners with inanimate mass nouns. These findings support the claim that prosodic and lexical-semantic properties of languages influence determiner acquisition, which is favoured by noun length and animacy effects in French rather than in German.


Romance conversions from a comparative cognitive perspective

Cognitive approaches to the phenomenon of conversion, understood as the use of one morphological form in different word categories, e.g. to kiss – kiss, have so far mainly dealt with English examples, whereas there are hardly any cognitive accounts for conversion in Romance languages. The latter, however, are characterized by a much richer inflectional morphology than English.

My presentation will try to fill this gap by discussing to what extent the existing cognitive descriptions (e.g. those that adhere to the Langackerian tradition as Twardzisz 1997, metonymy-based approaches as Dirven 1999 and Schmid 2005 as well as approaches based on category underspecification as Farrell 2001), are suited to account for a type of verb-noun-conversion in French, Italian and Spanish that does not exist in English: the so-called nominalized infinitive (NI), as e.g. It. nuotare, ‘to swim’ -> nuotare\_n ‘the swimming’ (syntactic type) and Fr. dire\_v ‘to say’ -> dire\_n ‘statement, declaration’ (lexicalized type). In both cases the whole word form, i.e. the verbal stem with the inflectional morpheme (e.g. It. -are, Fr. -re) is converted.

I will show that the afore-mentioned approaches are only partly suited to describe the Romance NIs from a cognitive perspective due to certain differences between English and the Romance languages. Farrell’s (2001) account of category underspecification e.g. fails because in the case of NIs the conversion base is always categorically specified due to the presence of the infinitival morpheme. Langackerian and metonymy-based theories do not provide a sufficient description of conversion, as they account for only one of the two NI types exemplified above: Whereas e.g. according to Schmid’s (2005) approach lexicalized NIs such as Fr. dire\_n could indeed be explained metonymically (in this case ACTION for RESULT), it cannot be applied to syntactic NIs such as It. nuotare\_n, which doesn’t stand in a metonymic relation to its verbal base, but is rather semantically identical to the latter.

In view of these findings, I will provide a unified cognitive description of the Romance NI based on the analysis of corpora occurrences. It will be shown that syntactic NIs (e.g. It. nuotare\_n ‘the swimming’), in contrast to English deverbal nominals such as kiss, focalize the internal dynamics of the event expressed by the verb (Gaeta 2003: 112), whereas the lexicalized NIs have undergone a bounding process that involves the highlighting of varying components of the verbal event and a concretization to different degrees (cf. Fr. rire\(s\)_\_n ‘action(s) of laughing’, Fr. dire\_n ‘dialect’ and It. vestire ‘clothes’) and are thus more similar to English abstract deverbal nominals. It will also be discussed from a comparative point of view if there are semantic differences between lexicalized NIs on the one and overt nominalizations (e.g. En. movement, lt. organizzazione ‘organisation’) as well as those obtained by conversion (e.g. En. move, kiss, Fr. demande ‘question’) on the other hand.

I will attach to the view that in order to account for the interlingual differences described here all nominalizations can be assigned to different places on a verb-noun-continuum (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, Gaeta 2002) on the basis of their individual semantic and morpho-syntactic properties.

References


Evidentiality in English - a contrastive and multimodal approach

According to Aikhenvald (2004), one fourth of the world languages use obligatory evidential constructions to specify the mode of access to information. The study of Tibetan, which possesses a particularly rich evidential system, can shed light on the under-investigated notion of evidentiality in English. The English language does not express evidentiality grammatically, but the pre-linguistic processing of information is an essential cognitive domain and undoubtedly has an influence on English speakers' choice of words and multimodal expression. This study, based on the researcher's first-hand knowledge of the two languages and a contrastive corpus, will present the typological differences between Tibetan and English related to the notion of evidentiality. It will also give an account of the different grammatical, lexical and multimodal tools the English language possesses in order to translate evidential particles.

The corpus was specially collected for this study at Tibet University (Tibet, P.R.C.) and Cambridge University (United Kingdom) and the same methodology was adopted for the two languages. Ten pairs of native speakers asked each other questions involving different modes of access to information. These questions were designed to elicit a great number of evidential markers and addressed distant and recent memories, second-hand information, opinions, emotional stories and dreams. The corpus also includes three activities: inferring what some mysterious pictures represent, identifying sounds and describing a story told in a comic strip. The use of the video enabled the researcher to analyse gestures. Other methods - such as acceptability questionnaires and the investigation of larger corpora - were used to supplement the analysis of this contrastive corpus.

There are three basic modes of access to information for which Tibetan has specialized particles: direct, inferential and verbal (Tournadre, 2008). Different English constructions for the expression of each evidential branch will be assessed through the scope of the fine distinctions offered by Tibetan grammar. Concerning direct perception, cognitive semantics and mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1994; Iksoo Kwon, 2012) will help us see the difference between the use of a verbal ending in Tibetan and a perception verb in English (Whitt, 2010). As for the expression of inference, the corpus revealed the different uses of a great number of markers the English language possesses - modals like epistemic must, adverbs like apparently, the present perfect, the periphrastic construction be going to, perception verbs like to see or to sound, cognition verbs like to guess and discourse markers like oh. The notions of induction, deduction, epistemic modality, mirativity and subjectivity proved particularly relevant to distinguish those markers. Finally, verbal access to information can be rendered in English by the phrase I heard, the adverb apparently and the different uses of reported speech and free indirect style, as well as by different intonation patterns and gestures (Montserrat Gonzalez et al., 2012). This study will offer an analysis of the articulation between those different modes of expression, as well as their connection to knowledge processing.


Montserrat Gonzalez et al. (2012) *Evidentiality and Epistemicity in a Multimodal Reporting Task* (presentation at Discourse and Modality symposium, Lund)


Tournadre, Nicolas (2008) *Arguments against the Concept of ‘Conjunct’/‘Disjunct’ in Tibetan* (CNRS, Paris)

Italian \textit{perquisa} from a cognitive perspective

Italian verb-noun pairs such as \textit{sostare}\textsubscript{V} ‘stop, rest’ – \textit{sosta}\textsubscript{N} ‘stop, short break’ have so far been explained in mainly two opposing ways: conversion and suffixification. Whereas the conversion account (e.g. Thornton 2004:516-520) perfectly manages to explain instances such as \textit{sostare}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{sosta}\textsubscript{N} by stem conversion (stem = root + theme vowel; the nominal ending \textit{–a} is the verbal theme vowel reanalysed as feminine nominal marker), it cannot convincingly account for irregular verb-noun pairs, such as \textit{be(ve)re}\textsubscript{V} ‘drink’ – \textit{beva}\textsubscript{N} ‘tasting of wine, taste of wine’ or \textit{perquisire}\textsubscript{V} ‘search’ – \textit{perquisa}\textsubscript{N} (‘house’ search (law’), in which the nominal ending \textit{–a} does not correspond to the verbal theme vowel. In contrast, if \textit{–a} is a derivational suffix, such formal irregularities can, in principle, perfectly be dealt with. However, existing suffixation approaches (e.g. Scalise 1994:271-275) have so far failed in defining the common semantics of the potential derivational suffix (that is not always the same as e.g. in \textit{beva} above; cf. It. \textit{minestrare} ‘serve a liquid dish’ – \textit{minestra}\textsubscript{N} ‘soup’; *‘serving of a liquid dish’). In sum, both the conversion and the suffixation explanation cover a wide range of data, but cannot handle the irregular instances.

The main concern of this contribution is to show that irregular instances among these verb-noun pairs cannot be explained without the background of gestalt principles such as similarity and contrast. Bearing this in mind, it will be argued that, from a theoretical perspective, a combination of network-based (e.g. Bybee 1985, Blank 1997) and exemplar-based approaches (e.g. Bybee 2010) to word-formation can fruitfully account for these irregularities.

To this end, it will first be shown how diachronically independent word-formation mechanisms (\textit{sostare}\textsubscript{V} \textgreater{} \textit{sosta}\textsubscript{N} vs. \textit{classificazione}\textsubscript{N} ‘classification’ \textgreater{} \textit{classifica}\textsubscript{N} ‘classification’) merged, due to their similar formal outputs and respective loss of productivity, into one and the same synchronic pattern (\textit{Xare}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{XA}\textsubscript{N}; Thornton 2004:519; for other examples of collision, cf. Gaeta 2010). Second, it will be argued that once this synchronic relation between \textit{Xare}\textsubscript{V} and \textit{X}\textsubscript{A}\textsuperscript{N} is established, the word pairs form a common exemplar cluster (in the sense of Bybee 2010). The formal and semantic similarity of \textit{sostare}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{sosta}\textsubscript{N} and \textit{classificare}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{classifica}\textsubscript{N} to other long existing but morphologically isolated word pairs such as \textit{be(ve)re}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{beva}\textsubscript{N} allows then for the integration of the latter into the cluster. Once these similar but not identical word pairs are united in the same cluster, network relations among them, such as e.g. recurrent contrasts and newly perceived similarities may lead to the emergence of a new morphological pattern (Bybee 2010:22), i.e. lead to the reanalysis of (a subgroup of) the exemplars: those nouns that resemble each other in ending in \textit{–a} and having an action reading are perceived as suffixed nouns (\textit{–a} being the suffix).

The neologism \textit{perquisa} strongly speaks in favor of such an analysis. Interestingly, it has been coined in prisoner slang; prisoners are exposed to a larger amount of exemplars of \textit{Xare}\textsubscript{V} – \textit{X}\textsubscript{A}\textsuperscript{N} pairs, because they are very common in administrative and legal language (Thornton 2004:520).

\textbf{References:}


Abstract

Prepositional polysemy has been widely researched by cognitive linguists and thus various theories and principles have been invoked to account for the polysemy network of prepositions, such as radial categories (Lakoff 1987) and Principled Polysemy (Tyler and Evans 2001, 2003). These models have played an important role in work on polysemous forms, among which are prepositions. Using a systematic methodology, Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003) establish a wide semantic network of spatial prepositions, by determining a proto-scene and several distinct senses which are derived by means of image schema transformation and/or metaphorical extension.

The present paper presents an analysis of the polysemy of the Arabic preposition khilal ‘through’ on the basis of Tyler and Evans’ Principle Polysemy. The study also includes a revision of Tyler and Evans’ (2003, 2004) semantic analysis of the English preposition through. Thus, the aims of the paper are: (1) developing a semantic network of the Arabic preposition khilal ‘through’; (2) investigating the viability of the cognitive model of Tyler and Evans’ Principle Polysemy; (3) comparing and contrasting the semantic networks of khilal and through in terms of their proto-scenes and the distinct senses associated with each, which might reveal interesting results valid for research in linguistic typology.

Results show that the prototypical scenes of the spatial prepositions, the English through and the Arabic khilal are similar – a spatial relation of a Trajector (TR) traversing a bounded Landmark (LM) with an entrance point and exit point. Furthermore, khilal shows certain similarities with regard to the metaphorical senses associated with it in comparison to through. However, certain differences are found between the two equivalent prepositions, probably due to distinct linguistic, social and cultural aspects associated with the two languages concerned, English and Arabic, and their speakers.

Key words:

Polysemy; Semantic network; Image schema; Proto-scene; Distinct senses

References


TITLE: Conceptual metaphors in the olfactory domain: a negative perspective?

ABSTRACT:

The aim of this article is to explore the negative perspective anchored in conceptual metaphors related to olfaction. The evolution of metaphorical theory, from mapping (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) to blending (Fauconnier & Turner 1998, Grady 1999) will serve our purposes to envisage a negative filter when it comes to metaphors in the olfactory domain. From a conceptual approach to an integrational orientation (Gréa 2001), our objective is to show how one theory relies on another in a specific domain to highlight the negative construction of metaphors in olfaction.

The study of the linguistic expression of smell is pertinent for two reasons. On the one hand, in studies dedicated to the senses and metaphor, olfaction has often been left aside in favour of other senses such as the visual or auditory domains (Berlin & Kay 1969). On the other hand, a linguistic analysis of olfaction has shown a certain prominence of metaphors (Rindisbacher 1992, Resche-Rigon 2000), relative to the small proportion of specific terms. The lexicon of the sense of smell is very limited (Sperber 1975, David 2002) and seems to need metaphors to express properly all aspects of olfaction. To demonstrate this prominence, both domains, source domain (SMELL IS WATER) and target domain (SUSPICION IS OLFACTION) of the conceptual metaphor, will be looked at. The study of several metaphors (be in bad odour, smell a rat, etc.) will give a better understanding of the metaphorical process in olfaction. From established conceptual mappings (Sweetser 1990, Ibarretxe-Antunano 1999) pertaining to smell (BAD CHARACTERISTICS IS BAD SMELL, DETECTION OF BAD CHARACTERISTICS IS BAD SMELL, SUSPICION IS OLFACTION, GUESS IS OLFACTION, INVESTIGATION IS OLFACTION), the blending theory will enable more accurate projections between different domains.

The question of negation in olfactory conceptual metaphors seems rooted in the perception of olfaction (Le Guérer 2002). The sense of smell has long been defined in terms of primitiveness, approximation, subjectivity, emotion. The under-representation of smell throughout the centuries is echoed in its last-and-least position as the “fifth sense”. The paucity of olfactory terms in speech is a good illustration of smell’s status as a minor sense in history. If smell tends to be oriented to the negative (Boisson 1997) what can be said about metaphors in the sense of smell? Do olfactory metaphors always embody negation? What sort of negation (Ducrot 1984, Nolke 1992, Moeschler 1992, Schulz 2002) is then conveyed through metaphor? How does negation operate in metaphors? From an obviously negative semantic perspective (smell something fishy, smell trouble, smell danger, smell a rat, sniff around, be a stinker, etc.) to a negative syntactic pattern, negation in olfactory metaphors will be stressed through the elaboration of negative concepts (DANGER IS OLFACTION, SUSPICION IS OLFACTION, DISLIKE IS OLFACTION, REJECTION IS OLFACTION).

KEY-WORDS: BLENDING, MAPPING, METAPHOR, NEGATION, OLFACTION

CORPORA: COCA, BNC
BIBLIOGRAPHY:


Towards a better understanding of the relationships between different types of data: Comparing online, offline, and corpus-based measures of entrenchment

More and more linguists seem to endorse methodological pluralism (cf. Gilquin & Gries 2009). This is an important development, since the combination of different kinds of data may contribute in significant ways to a more comprehensive understanding of language and language use. It also gives rise to tricky questions that require further investigation and debate (see, for example, Arppe et al. 2010), one essential question being: Do we understand the relationships between different kinds of evidence well enough to compare them and to interpret the findings? Making such comparisons and drawing conclusions is not as straightforward as it may seem. Differences between the results of different methods do not necessarily invalidate the findings of either method. And conversely, converging evidence does not necessarily mean that the measures reflect the same underlying cognitive processes and structures.

Our study aims to contribute to a better understanding of these matters by comparing corpus data and various types of experimental data collected in different tasks, using the same stimuli and to a large extent the same participants. We focus in this study on the entrenchment of multiword units. Cognitive linguists often assume a fairly linear link between corpus frequency and degree of cognitive routinization or entrenchment, but the evidence for this is not unproblematic. A serious limitation of studies into entrenchment of multiword units (e.g. Arnon & Snider 2010) is the fact that they pay little attention to differences between individual speakers and between different types of tasks. As they relate average scores from a single experiment to corpus-based measures, they provide little information on the degree of variation across speakers and across tasks. Given that different experiments tap into different aspects of linguistic behaviour and knowledge, there are likely to be intra-individual differences across tasks and varying degrees of inter-individual variation.

We will report initial results from our study in which we collect data on entrenchment through four tasks that differ in the type of language behaviour they elicit: production (anticipation task), reception (eye tracking task), reproduction (recall task), and evaluation (judgment task). For each task we determine the degree of individual variation. In addition, we compare the outcomes of the different experiments and we investigate the degree to which they match corpus data. The results thus yield a more complete picture of the concept of entrenchment and its operationalisations, and, more generally, more insight into the relationships between different types of data.


The Resultative Constructions with Occasional Transitive Verbs in the English and Russian Languages.

The research attempts to study the resultative constructions with occasional transitive verbs in the English and Russian languages from the perspective of Cognitive and construction grammar. The examples of the structures of this kind are the following sentences in English and Russian respectively: *They laughed him out of the room*; Родители поступили меня в университет (‘My parents made me accepted to the university’). These are the constructions of a close type, the ones with the rigid predicate-argument structure and stable syntactic-semantic parameters. They are also called movement causation or caused motion constructions, as they render cause-consequence relations: the situation rendered with the help of the predicative expression containing the finite verb is the cause for the change of location (or condition) of its object, which is rendered on the surface level by contracted/curtailed sentential complement. The predicates of the structures under analysis are intransitive verbs which, when placed in such a context, become transitive. The aim of the research is to reveal linguistic and cognitive factors allowing the use of the above mentioned constructions in both languages. It suggests the description of lexical, grammatical characteristics of these constructions, the conceptual basis and mechanism for their formation. It also defines the semantic structure of such sentences as well as that of a verb performing the role of their main predicate. The results of the research showed that movement causation meaning of these constructions does not appear unless the verbs are placed in such a context. So, as it can be concluded, the sentences of this type possess special compositional or integral type of meaning. Following the idea of linguistic conceptualization of interaction of linguistic units, best developed by Mental Spaces Theory and Conceptual Integration Theory, the constructions in question can be treated as linguistic conceptualization of two cognitive entities at once, representing a row of events in their cause-effect connection and thus forming a new integral conceptual structure, that is a blend of two input spaces, one of a verb and the other of a satellite. This new integral structure is formally represented in the language by the structure similar to a simple sentence with a phrasal verb.

References:
Multimodal turn-taking in dialogue: on the interplay of eye gaze, speech and gesture

This paper ties in with two recent developments in cognitive linguistics. First, there is a growing interest in explicitly incorporating **dialogicity** in the analysis of linguistic usage events (Verhagen 2005, Fried & Östman 2005, Du Bois 2011). Second, there is an increased awareness that usage-based models in linguistics need to adopt a **multimodal** perspective (Mittelberg 2007, Sweetser 2007, Cienki & Müller 2008). Combining the dialogic and multimodal strand, this paper focuses on **eye gaze behaviour** as one specific visual modality that plays a crucial role in the **management of interactional discourse**, next to and in tight coordination with other communication channels such as speech and gesture. The study of eye gaze, based on data collected by eye-tracking systems, may be instructive of:

(i) cognitive processes on the part of an individual processing a textual or visual stimulus (cf. Rayner 1998)
(ii) communicative strategies on the part of both speakers and hearers (e.g. directing and cueing attention using gaze, Lachat et al. 2012; Bailly et al. 2010).

The recent development of unobtrusive eye tracking technology allows for the systematic study of eye gaze patterns in face-to-face communication: multiple participants’ gaze behaviour can be tracked simultaneously, providing a wealth of data from both **speakers and listeners acting in coordination** (e.g. Clark & Gergle 2011). However, existing studies on the role of eye gaze as an instrument in conversational turn management (i.e. for turn taking, holding the floor, etc.), based on eye tracking data, suffer from specific methodological or other restrictions:

- only one of the participants was tracked (e.g. Jokinen 2010; Gullberg & Kita 2009), thus losing valuable information on coordinated gaze behaviour (e.g. mutual gaze, cf. Richardson et al. 2007, 2009; Raidt et al. 2007)
- the function of eye gaze is not systematically studied in relation to other interactive meaning making cues, such as speech and gesture (e.g. Jokinen 2010)

In our study we aim to overcome these limitations and present a full-fledged **multimodal account of turn management**, focusing on co-occurrence patterns across different modalities. As an empirical basis, we used the **InSight Interaction Corpus** (Authors, 2012), a multimodal video corpus consisting of targeted and free-range dyadic interactions, with head-mounted scene cameras and eye-trackers providing a unique ‘speaker-internal’ perspective on the conversation (see attached file for a picture of the recording configuration).

The analysis focuses on three specific strategies of turn management, viz. **turn giving, turn taking and turn holding**. The results are indicative of a systematic interplay between eye gaze, speech and gesture in turn management. We focus on specific interactional chunk of both verbal and non-verbal form features that contribute to the establishment of a discourse function. Adopting insights from non-reductionist usage-based models and from Interactional Linguistics, we propose an account of turn management strategies in terms of **multimodal discourse constructions** (comparable to Fried & Östman 2005), which can be defined as recurrent patterns in the physical co-occurrence, functional trade-off and interactive set-up of multiple modes of representation in face-to-face settings.
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Static and dynamic events in modern Greek: a typological perspective

The cognitive system humans use to compute and specify spatial relations has long been thought as universal, deeply built into the neurocognition of our species (Burgess et al. 1999; Fodor 2001). In the domain of motion and spatial location, however, recent cross-linguistic research has started showing that spatial language varies significantly across languages and plays an important role in structuring the fundamental domain of spatial thought (Evans & Levinson 2009; Majid et al. 2004; Slobin 1996; Hickmann 2009). Such variability is realized with spatial semantic elements mapped across the languages of the world in very different ways onto lexical and syntactic structures. According to Talmy’s (2000) cognitive linguistics, the conceptualization of a spatial setting (static or dynamic) integrates a series of conceptual components: a conceptual core which specifies the localization of a Figure with respect to a Ground, and a core schema that links the Association function with the Ground. According to this framework languages conceptually map the core schema differently: Verb-framed languages (e.g., French) lexicalize it in the verb (i.e. Path of motion/localization), whereas Satellite-framed languages (e.g., Dutch) express it in constituents that stand in a sister position to the verb (satellites) lexicalizing manner of localization or manner of motion in the verb. Lemmens (2002) underlines this variability in the realm of static events and image-schemata, emphasizing cross-linguistic differences in conceptualization: Verb-framed languages put more grammatical and lexical emphasis in the description of the Ground (i.e., French speakers use neutral verbs like être, exister ‘to be/ to exist’ in locative phrases focusing on the existential relation the Figure has with the Ground) whereas Satellite-framed languages do it to a lesser extent rather focusing on the Manner the figure is located into space (i.e. Dutch speakers are compelled to use one of the three cardinal posture verbs to sit, to lie and to stand in order to consider aspects that pertain to the orientation, the shape, or the functional position of the located Figure) (but see Caroll et al. 2012 and Kopecka 2004). However, some languages are harder to classify into binary categories, rather presenting intermediate systems with double typological strategies (cf. typological continua proposed by Slobin 2004 and Lemmens 2005), such as Greek – a language that shows parallel verb- and satellite-framed constructions (existential and posture/causative location verbs for static events; lexicalization of Manner and/or Path for dynamic events – cf. Papadimitraki in preparation; Soroli 2012). The present comparative study investigates experimentally how speakers of typologically different languages (English, French and Greek) perform a variety of production tasks implying static and dynamic stimuli, with special focus to parallel systems of conflation through a systematic analysis of the use of posture verbs and spatial prepositions. The findings show that typological properties of languages can have an impact on how speakers encode spatial information in static and dynamic contexts and that speakers’ performance do not necessarily follow traditional binary classifications. This paper opens new perspectives for spatial conceptualization and contributes more generally to the discussion for a unified typological framework in the domain.

Keywords: spatial language, location, motion events, Greek, typology, posture and motion verbs, production

References


Pour une sémantique schématique de la transitivité : critique, au regard des données empiriques, de la notion de transitivité prototypique

Dans cette communication, je discute de la notion de transitivité prototypique, qui depuis les articles de Lakoff (1977) et Hopper et Thompson (1980), fait l'objet d'un certain consensus en linguistique. Très brièvement, la transitivité prototypique se définit par :

- la participation d'un sujet agent
- la participation d'un objet dont le référent change d'état.

Le scénario inhérent à la transitivité prototypique est donc celui dans lequel un agent X fait subir un procès à un « patient » Y, ce patient Y changeant d'état, passant ainsi :
- d'un état 1 à un état 2 : Paul a cuit la pintade
- d'un état 0 à un état 1 : Paul a construit son mobilhome lui-même
- d'un état 1 à un état 0 : Paul a cassé sa voiture

Le prototype est une représentation « physique » de la scène ; cette représentation est censée être associée à la structure grammaticale « GN1 V GN2 », et doit se concevoir en termes de degrés. Tout cas s'écartant du prototype est déclaré déviant. On peut reprendre les propos, toujours d'actualité, de Givon (1980:97) :

« The prototype of a transitive verb […] involves a physical, discernible change in the state of its patient object. One may measure « the degree of prototypicality » […] partially in terms of the degree to which the change in the object is physical, obvious, concrete, accessible to observation, etc. ».

Pour Croft (1990 : 60) par exemple, les verbes typiquement transitifs sont les verbes d’ingestion, de manipulation, de création d’objets, de mouvement.

Il semble y avoir deux raisons centrales pour lesquelles les linguistes accordent une importance à la transitivité sémantique prototypique :

- la validité de la notion de prototype, comme centre organisateur de la catégorisation ;
- la nécessité de déterminer une conception heuristiquement et méthodologiquement pertinente, afin d'aborder des questions de typologie.

La seconde raison me semble justifiée et légitime (par ex. Lazard 2008), à condition que la norme méthodologique ne vienne pas se substituer à une représentation générale des langues : les configurations linguistiques ne s'organisent évidemment pas selon les nécessités d'investigation des linguistes.

La première raison me semble plus problématique ; elle a déjà d'ailleurs fait l'objet d'un examen critique : d'abord chez les initiateurs mêmes de cette conception de la transitivité, Thompson et Hopper (2001), qui reviennent sur cette définition prototypique en reconnaissant que le discours conversationnel spontané, dans lequel les rapports intersubjectifs fondamentaux sont d'ordre psychologique et communicationnel, comprend un taux particulièrement bas de constructions transitives prototypiques. Puis, chez d'autres auteurs, comme V. Vázquez Rozas (2007) qui confirme l'analyse de Thompson et Hopper : la majorité des occurrences verbales transitives concernent la perception (voir, regarder, entendre...), la volition (vouloir, désirer...), l'appréciation (aimer). Une autre étude (Legallois et François 2011) menée sur un corpus de conversation en français, mettait en évidence l'emploi statistiquement fréquent des verbes support, très peu représentatifs de la classe des verbes fondamentalement transitifs (prendre le café, prendre le bus, faire les poubelles, faire un blocage, faire des études, etc.). L'analyse empirique menée pour cette communication, montre le même type de phénomène. Se pose donc le problème du rapport entre « prototypicité » et usage : les scénarii prototypiques n'étant pas les plus fréquents (les plus « en usage »), doit-on encore leur conférer une importance cruciale dans la description sémantique de la transitivité ? Autrement dit, se peut-il que les exemplaires déterminés par l'usage, ne soient pas
Sans nécessairement nier la notion de prototypicité, mon propos est de concevoir une définition intensionnelle de la construction transitive, en optant pour une démarche sémasiologique plutôt qu'onomasiologique (qui caractérise, selon moi, la démarche prototypique). Dans cette optique (qui est aussi celle de Le Guern 2003), la langue se montre indépendante de toute dimension sémantique - spatiale, temporelle, notionnelle :

« une logique intensionnelle se caractérise d’abord par le fait que, contrairement aux logiques extensionnelles, elle n’est pas liée à un univers donné... La notion d’objet est étrangère à une perspective purement intensionnelle : la logique intensionnelle considère des places d’objets, jamais des objets » (M. Le Guern 2003 :16-17).

Cela implique que les dimensions agentives, par exemple, relèvent de la conceptualisation du référent, et non de la représentation linguistique stricte. La notion d'intensionnalité défendue ici n'est nullement, paradoxalement, en contradiction avec une approche cognitive ; bien au contraire, elle s'appuie sur le processus de schématicité que les cognitivistes appliquent volontiers à la forme (par exemple le schéma ditransitif), mais beaucoup plus rarement à la signification (la primauté du spatial ou du physique sur les autres domaines) : la dimension intensionnelle des définitions est *abstraite* de l'usage. Aussi, je montrerai qu'il est possible d’élaborer une signification du schéma GN1 V GN2 qui puisse s'appliquer à l'ensemble des réalisations transitives – ou, si on veut, à l'ensemble des classes de verbes transitifs. Cette schématisation sémantique s'inspire du formalisme proposé par la sémiotique narrative (cf. Legallois (2012a) et Legallois (2012b) pour une application à la construction ditransitive dative du français) et de la distinction entre énoncés de « faire » et énoncés d'« état ». La signification de la construction transitive peut alors être notée « X faire être Y ».

Cette définition demande évidemment quelques explications : « être Y » fait référence au résultat du passage de Y d'un état antérieur (éventuellement un non état) à un nouvel état. La notion d'état se profile sur des fonds de types différents : physique, psychologique, perceptuel, spatial, ontologique.

Ainsi, dans toutes les occurrences GN1 V GN2 transitives (ce qui exclut donc certains emplois comme ceux avec objet locatif dans une configuration stative - *la maison jouxte l'Office de Tourisme* ; ou dynamique : *Paul fuit la ville*), il existe un rapport entre l'actant X et l'actant Y, tel que X agit de façon à ce que Y passe d'un état a à un état b. Par exemple :

- dans les emplois physiques dits prototypiques, on a le passage « ontologique » ou existentiel d'un état 0 à un état 1, ou d'un état 1 à un état 0, d'où l'idée de création ou de destruction de Y (*ils ont construit / démoli le nouveau lotissement*) ;
- dans les emplois avec changement d'état (d'un état 1 à un état 2 ), on a une manifestation, de l'existence de Y sous un autre état : *on a changé le bébé, elle a démarré la voiture* ;
- dans d'autres emplois, l'état de Y est changé par rapport à un état initial : « accroissement / prospérité / valorisation : *ils vont augmenter la TVA, elle materner ses enfants* ; le changement peut être dévalorisant : *le patronat exploite les travailleurs*. Le changement peut aussi être spatial (l'état est alors une position) : *il m'a bousculé / poussé* ;
- d'autres emplois sont plus complexes, tels que ceux dans lesquels Y, d'un état disjonctif avec X, passe d'un état étroitement lié à X : ainsi, les emplois avec verbes de perception, de cognition : *je vois la mer, je touche du bois, j’apprends le violon* – dans lesquels Y devient un objet existant dans la sphère (perceptuelle, cognitive) de X, ou un objet n'existant plus : *j'ai oublié le nom de cette rue*. Dans cette catégorie, figurent également les exemples tels que *prendre un verre, toucher le RSA* où il s'agit de faire que Y passe de non-existant à existant dans la « sphère » de X ; cette sphère peut être affective : Roméo aime / déteste Juliette ;
- enfin, il faut prendre en compte les cas dans lesquels X est l'origine (volontaire ou non) d'un nouvel état psychologique de Y : *étonner ses parents, séduire un garçon, émouvoir son tonton.*
Dans les deux derniers cas, se construit véritablement la subjectivité de X, grâce à son rapport avec Y.

Les cinq cas sont donnés ici pour éclairer la démonstration ; en fait, dans chaque cas, la signification « X faire (Y être) » est toujours mobilisée, sans que l'on n'ait besoin d'évoquer un prototype, ou une déviance par rapport à ce prototype. Les verbes, le contexte, la conceptualisation des actants viennent enrichir le scénario fondamental.

Cette détermination ne doit pas occulter le fait que les scénarii contraires sont également compatibles, puisqu'on identifie des cas qui répondent au sémantisme « X faire Y continuer à être » : conserver son capital, maintenir la pression, garder son calme, garder le prisonnier. Comme beaucoup de constructions grammaticales, GN1 V GN2 est « énantiosémique » ( cf. Legallois à par.), c'est-à-dire que lui sont inhérentes deux significations contraires.

Ainsi, la transitivité prototype s'applique aux cas où le scénario « X faire être Y » est le plus facilement « représentable » par les locuteurs, le plus facilement accessible à l'imagination. Cette facilité est certes importante, mais ne doit pas constituer, selon moi, un critère à privilégier dans le sémantisme de la construction transitive : les données empiriques de cette étude se fonde sur une analyse collostructionnelle (A. Stefanowitsch A. et S. Gries 2003) des emplois de la construction transitive dans le corpus de conversations Discours sur la ville - Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000 (CFPP2000) ; ces données révèlent la rareté des cas prototypiques.

La communication proposée a donc comme objectif de questionner la place de la transitivité prototypique face aux données empiriques, et de proposer une signification fondamentale présente dans tous les cas où se manifeste la structure transitive.

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Spatial Representations of Abstract Verbs: Experimental Evidence for Image-Schematic Directions of Verbs

Background: One of the central ideas in cognitive linguistics is that language is embodied. According to the embodied experience hypothesis the human way of speaking (partially) arises from the body’s physiology (the way we are and experience the physical world). Gibbs (2005: 67) has insisted that it is inevitable to study how people imaginatively use aspects of their phenomenal experience to structure abstract concepts for understanding how embodiment provides the grounding for perception. Similarly to other research work within this field, the present paper proceeds from the assumption that image schemas affect metalinguistic judgements. Experiments described, for instance, in Spivey et al. (2005) and Richardson et al. (2001) provide empirical evidence for the psychological reality of the spatial and image-schematic underpinnings of language. These studies find a substantial coherence across subjects to the imagistic aspects of their linguistic representation.

Aims: Similarly to the experiments described in Spivey et al. (2005), Richardson et al. (2001) and Metteyard & Vigliocco (2009) we are asking the question whether speakers attribute a direction to abstract verbs and if yes, what is the nature of the correlations between a verb and an image schematic direction attributed to it. It is hypothesised that there is widespread agreement between the judgements provided by different speakers (cf Richardson et al. 2001, Spivey et al. 2005) and that these judgements are motivated by the principles of embodiment as well as the metaphoric mappings from the domain of concrete embodied experience to the abstract. In order to answer our research question and validate the hypotheses, a metalinguistic experiment is designed to test whether there exists a similar substantial coherence across speakers of Estonian as to the imagistic aspects of their representation of abstract verbs as found by, for example, Richardson et al. (2001) for speakers of English. The aim is, therefore, to provide cross-linguistic data and to compare whether this coherence holds not only across the speakers of the same language but across speakers of different languages, i.e. how much universality and/or culture-specificity there is in the spatial representations of abstract verbs.

Results and significance: The results of a pilot study conducted with 47 Estonian verbs carrying an abstract meaning where the participants were asked to rank four directions (up, down, left, right) for each verb indicate that there are systematic correlations between verbs and the directions chosen by the speakers. The results show, for example, that orientational metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) were systematically used for the directions of abstract verbs – verbs with a positive meaning (armuma ‘fall in love’, julgema ‘dare’, meeldima ‘like’) had an higher average score for up and to the right directions (GOOD/HAPPY IS UP), while verbs with a negative meaning (kannatama ‘suffer’, jätma ‘leave’, vihkama ‘hate’) had an higher average score for down and to the left directions (BAD/SAD IS DOWN). This paper examines these issues further by discussing the results of a different metalinguistic experiment conducted with Estonian abstract verbs and contributes thus to the general discussion about the essence of abstract language use (especially in relation to the embodiment thesis) by providing cross-linguistic evidence.

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À travers de? A diachronic analysis of the French preposition de in combination with à travers and au travers.

Spatial phrases lend themselves particularly well to empirical diachronic studies that focus on grammaticalisation mechanisms. These expressions are widespread in language and “necessary to conceptualizing various semantic domains, in particular abstract domains” (Herskovits 1986). Furthermore, they provide a valuable research area thanks to their complex functioning, multitude of meanings and diversity of roles. For French, a great number of spatial prepositions, especially static ones, have formed the subject of thorough semantic descriptions. By contrast, studies dealing in detail with intrinsically dynamic prepositions are very rare (Stosic 2002). In addition, simple expressions have been more fully analysed than complex ones.

When analysing the set of expressions containing French travers and Italian traverso (meaning both ‘through’), I observed that more combinatory possibilities existed in the past than in Modern French. One example is the use of the preposition de (‘of/from’), whose combination with au travers or à travers was possible, while neither au travers in its prepositional function nor à travers de exist in Modern French anymore. Indeed, these two analytic (or complex) prepositions (that can behave as adverbial or adjectival expressions as well) were subjected to a grammaticalisation process, in that they became ever more frozen. In addition, their respective semantics have come to diverge during their evolution in time, which explains why they were often used as (and considered to be) synonyms, whereas this does no longer seem to be the case today (cf. Dominicy and Martin 2005; Martin and Dominicy 2001).

In this contribution, I attempt to examine how the use of the preposition de in combination with à travers and au travers (meaning both ‘way through/ across’) has evolved; I use a large corpus, obtained from the Frantext database, that contains examples for the period between 1500 and 1899. Answers will be provided to the following questions: When did the combinatory freedom of de disappear? What semantic consequences did this phenomenon entail? Why did à travers become significantly more frequent than au travers de from the 18th Century on?

This contribution is part of a wider research project that aims at providing a complete diachronic-semantic description of all the uses of the nearly unexplored spatial phrases containing French travers and Italian traverso. It belongs to the research tradition of historical semantics of Romance languages, and combines diachronic semantics with cognitive methods.
References


Les expressions météorologiques constituent un domaine particulièrement fertile pour l’étude de la variation, aussi bien intra- qu’interlinguistique. Ainsi, pour exprimer le temps qu’il fait on peut utiliser des verbes impersonnels (1), des noms météorologiques avec un verbe existentiel (2), de mouvement (3) ou de position (4), ou encore des constructions copulatives impersonnelles (5) :

(1) français : *Il pleut*, néerlandais : *Het onweert* litt. il orage
(2) français : *Il y a du brouillard*, anglais : *There was a storm*
(3) russe : *Idët dož’d* litt. va pluie
(4) russe : *Stoit tuman* litt. est-debout brouillard, néerlandais : *Er hangt mist* litt. il pend du brouillard
(5) russe : *Bylo tumanno* litt. était brouillardeux, anglais : *It was foggy*

Si Erikson *et al.* (2010) ont proposé une typologie descriptive d’un grand nombre de langues à partir des constructions utilisées pour exprimer la précipitation et la température, à notre connaissance, personne n’a réellement examiné la logique dans le choix de ces structures ni son caractère potentiellement systématique. Notre contribution souhaite combler cette lacune dans le cadre des travaux de Talmy (2000), qui, à partir d’une analyse de verbes de mouvement, distingue entre les langues à cadrage verbal, comme le français, et les langues à cadrage satellitaire, comme l’anglais, le néerlandais et le russe. Lemmens (2005) a montré que cette analyse vaut également pour les verbes de localisation. Etant donné que pour exprimer des événements météorologiques les différentes langues recourent tant à des verbes de mouvement (le russe) comme à des verbes de localisation (le néerlandais), nous nous demandons dans quelle mesure cette classification permet également d’expliquer la variation formelle dans l’encodage des phénomènes météorologiques en anglais, français, néerlandais et en russe. En outre, notre étude vise à examiner le lien cognitif entre existence et mouvement.

Dans ce but, nous examinons les différentes structures utilisées dans les quatre langues en question pour exprimer les phénomènes météorologiques différents à partir d’une analyse empirique basée sur de larges corpus monolingues (*British National Corpus*, *Frantext*, *38 Miljoen Woorden Corpus*, *Russian National Corpus*). Puisque ces phénomènes sont complexes (cf. Auteur1), nous avons retenu pour l’étude deux événements (orage, tonnerre), deux états (gel, chaleur), deux substances (rosée, verglas) et quatre phénomènes se trouvant entre ces trois pôles (brouillard, pluie, neige et vent).

D’une manière générale, la classification binaire ne semble pas s’appliquer telle quelle au domaine météorologique, trois groupes différents pouvant être distingués : (1) le néerlandais, (2) le russe, qui, bien que différemment, encodent la différence conceptuelle entre événement, état et substance par le choix de verbes (V de mouvement, localisation verticale, horizontale), et (3) le français et l’anglais, traditionnellement opposés dans la classification de Talmy, qui se rapprochent par un comportement très semblable qui opère une distinction entre les trois concepts à partir de modifications aspectuelles et temporelles de structures existentielles et copulatives, traditionnellement considérées comme statiques. Aussi, nous semble-t-il difficile de postuler une différence cognitive dans le choix de structures exprimant l’existence ou le mouvement dans le cas des phénomènes météorologiques.
Références


Mots clé

variation linguistique, météo, mouvement, localisation, existence, corpus
The English gerund and its Spanish equivalents show different levels of conceptualization when carrying out a contrastive study. In our contrastive study the starting point is the English gerund. There are two areas of difficulty when analyzing the English gerund.

In the first place, there are specific –ing forms that are difficult to classify as gerunds or as participles: the so-called half-gerunds, according to the terminology of Duffley (2006). In particular, physical perception verbs can appear followed by a Noun Phrase (NP) plus an –ing form. This construction (“NP + -ing form”) has been generally interpreted as two separate constituents (Dirven, 1989; Langacker, 1991) and this implies that the –ing form functions as a participle. Nevertheless, we claim that there is an alternative interpretation: the “NP + -ing form” can be interpreted as a single constituent (Borgonovo, 1996) and this involves an –ing form functioning as a gerund. We support this hypothesis based on the cognitive resemblance of physical and cognitive verbs. Traditionally, the –ing form combined with cognitive perception verbs has been interpreted as a gerund. Due to their cognitive resemblance, we argue that the –ing form with physical and cognitive verbs must have the same interpretations (gerundial and participial).

Secondly, the characterization of the English gerund based on tense and aspect criteria (i.e. simultaneity/imperfectivity respectively) is not valid because the English gerund shows all the temporal and aspectual possibilities. We claim that it seems necessary to include a cognitive characterization of the English gerund to establish its meaning in a coherent way.

We have adopted a cognitive approach because, on the one hand, the cognitive characterization of the English gerund makes it possible to establish a valid characterization of this category as an abstract entity with an eventive reading (Langacker, 2008; Duffley, 2003 and 2006); and, on the other hand, it provides an explanation of equivalence between the English gerund and its Spanish equivalents based on their different levels of conceptualization. In addition, parallel corpora have proven to be extremely useful to test our hypothesis.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the conceptualization of the Spanish equivalents in relation to the English gerund from a cognitive point of view; particularly, in the English construction we are concerned with [physical perception verb + NP + English gerund].

As for the contrastive study, the English gerund has a great variety of equivalents and these equivalents, in turn, propose a different way to conceptualize the event described by the English gerund (Verhaert, 2006). According to our corpus, the syntactic expressions of the Spanish equivalents are: i) nominal forms; ii) a complement clause with "that" and iii) also a substantive or an NP. All these syntactic expressions, firstly,
represent different degrees of equivalence and, secondly, they reflect, in general, different ways of exploiting the eventive reading of the English gerund.

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Sociolinguistic convergence at nursery school: when sociolinguistics meets ethological methodology

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that linguistic uses are closely related to social relationships and interactions between individuals. This has been established in adults and adolescents (Beaulieu & Cichocki, 2002; Cheshire, 1982; Eckert, 2000; Milroy, 1987; Russell, 1982) but developmental studies in children are lacking. Thus, we aimed to study whether peers influence the acquisition of social dialects in young children and how.

We conducted a one-year longitudinal follow-up of a group of 11 French-speaking children in nursery school (mean age at period 1: 4;7, mean age at period 2: 5;7). Different types of data were collected. First, we have recorded linguistic productions in two different settings: story telling with an unknown adult and in conversation among the peers. More specifically, we studied the uses of 3 sociolinguistic variables in French that have been well described in adults and teenagers: the optional liaison (Armstrong, 2001; Ashby, 1981; Durand & Lyche, 2008), the optional deletion of /R/ in post-consonantal final position and in the expression parce que (Armstrong, 2001; Laks, 1977), the optional deletion of /l/ in the clitic pronouns ils(s) and elle(s) (Armstrong, 1996; Laks, 1980). Secondly, we collected data about the network of social relationships within the group using both an observation method of ethology and a sociometric approach. Finally, we carried out an acceptability judgment task, focusing on the evaluation of sociolinguistic variants.

The results show that after a year of frequenting each other at school, children sociolinguistic uses converge when they talk within the peer group. Away from the group, in story telling setting, no such convergence appears. In order to provide explanations to the sociolinguistic convergence, we put children uses in perspective with i) the frequency of their interactions, ii) their friendship ties, iii) their evaluation of variants, iv) the teacher’s sociolinguistic uses. We find that children who interact more frequently adopt similar sociolinguistic uses, whereas other factors have no influence. This result suggests that school-going children show more homogenous uses of sociolinguistic variables through reciprocal influence during daily interactions.

References

On the production of English prosody by French speakers

Keywords: English, French speakers, L2 acquisition, prosody, comparative experiment.

Abstract

French and English have very different phonological structures. Their prosodic structures in particular differ considerably, which is why many French learners of English as a foreign language (abbreviated EFL) often fail to be properly understood by native English speakers. While many linguists contend that the suprasegmental – prosodic – aspects of L2 English have a greater role to play in intelligibility and communication than segments – individual sounds – do (e.g., Birdsong, 2003, Mennen, 2006, Tortel, 2009), “few studies support this belief” (Derwing & Munro, 2005: 386), and almost none involves French EFL learners.

This talk will first offer a contrastive analysis of the French and English structures, both at the level of the segmental differences and the suprasegmental differences. Then, starting from the hypothesis that suprasegments (basically, stress, rhythm, and intonation) have more importance than segments in the comprehension of a message, a pilot experiment bringing empirical evidence of the roles that those two aspects play in the acquisition of L2 English by French speakers will be presented. The objective was to compare two groups of linguistically-inexperienced learners – one who received a training based on English segments, and one who focused on prosody – in order to determine whether prosody indeed has a greater impact on the production skills of French speakers, and therefore is more essential to the success of communication.

The results of the experiment showed that both groups improved after the trainings, and both groups had equal levels of English pronunciation after their respective trainings. Yet, further research is needed, and a similar ongoing comparative study will be introduced.

References


Something’s gotta go, something’s gotta give: Odia light verb constructions

This paper deals with two frequent so-called light verb constructions in Odia, an Indo-Aryan language, spoken predominantly in Odisha, an eastern state in India. These light verbs occur in asymmetric complex predicates (V-v, for short), combining a main verb and a fully or partially bleached ‘light’ verb, where the main verb carries the lexical semantic information. The sequence as a whole determines the argument structure; the TAM marking occurs on the light verb. Although both verbs in the V-v sequences are form-identical with a main verb in the language, the second one is a light verb because of its semantic and grammatical bleaching. The verbs cannot change their position, except occasionally in poetic language. They are always spelled as one single word.

The light verbs that occur in Odia as second element in V-v constructions can be grouped according to their original lexical semantic value as follows:

2. STATIVE verbs: bas ‘sit’, rah ‘stay’
3. TRANSFER verbs: de ‘give’, ne ‘take’

Obviously, these verbs cannot co-occur randomly with any verb, but show clear semantic constraints.

This paper focuses on the constructions with the light verbs – jaa ‘go’ and – de ‘give’ that are the two most common ones. As we will show, these verbs sometimes do and sometimes do not contribute to the argument structure of the V-v sequence, contrary to what Butt (2005) suggests for (the related language) Hindi. There can be complete bleaching of the semantic content, e.g.

(1) se bhaa-taka khaa-i de-l-aa
  he rice -QUAN eat-CONJ-give-PAST 3rd sg
  ‘He ate up the whole rice.’

Or there is partial bleaching of the semantic content, when the light verb influences argument structure and theta roles, as in (2), with ditransitive argument structure and (3), illustrating intransitive argument structure:

(2)a. baapaa mopain goTe saaikel kiN-i-de-l-e
    father I-for a bicycle buy-CONJ-give-PAST 3rd sg
    ‘Father bought a bicycle for me.’

    b. *baapaa goTe saaikel kiN-i-de-l-e
       father a bicycle buy-CONJ-give-PAST 3rd sg
       ‘Father bought a bicycle.’

(3) moTopi-Taa taLe paD-i-jaa-i-ch-i
    my-cap-CL down fall-CONJ-go-PERF-Aux- 3rd sg
    ‘My cap has fallen down/on the ground.’

In (3), jaa ‘go’ denotes ‘away’ or a ‘change of state’, and can still be related to its original lexical meaning and argument structure.

Our analysis of the Odia light verbs jaa ‘go’ and de ‘give’ will proceed via three different comparisons:

1. The use of a single verb will be compared to a V-v construction, which reveals how the latter indicates completion or at least telicity (Depraetere, 1995);
2. Comparing the uses of the two most productive light verbs -jaa and -de reveals that the two select different verbs in which transitivity plays an important role
3. The light verb construction will be compared to other aspectual markers, in particular the causative marker –aa--; this reveals how the language offers different ways to conceptualise different layers of causation in a causative event.
As we show, these light verbs, form-identical to main verbs, often differ in argument structure from that of a main verb. Their semantic bleaching, that is, the loss of the argument selection properties indicate their grammaticalization status. Unlike other Indo-Aryan languages, like Hindi, where the contribution of light verb has often been characterized via aspectual terms such as perfectivity (Hook 1991, Singh 1994), Odia light verbs contribute to telicity and indicate the completion of the event yet also interact with causative construals.

References


A Comparative Analysis of Some Differences in the Use of the ‘Future’ Tense in English and French

A general tense theory can only be valid if it not only covers many tense phenomena in one language but it also works for more than one language. The tense theory proposed by Wada (2001a) qualifies as such because by using data gathered from novels and corpus and data collected based on native speaker’s grammaticality judgments, it has explained, with cognitive principles, both a number of tense phenomena in English (Wada 2009, 2010a) and comparisons with tense phenomena in other languages, such as Japanese (Wada 2001b), German (Wada 2002), and Dutch (Wada 2010b). Therefore, the theory has the potential to be extended to comparisons between the English will-future and French simple future.

The two ‘future’ tenses are used differently in temporal clauses (When he arrives, I’ll leave vs. Quand il arrivera, je m’en irai), indirect speech complements with future time reference (Yesterday he predicted that it’ll be nice out tomorrow vs. *Hieril a prévu qu’il fera beau demain), conditional clauses with future time reference (If the play will be cancelled, let’s not go vs. *Si la pièce de théâtre sera annulée, n’y allons pas), independent clauses with present-time adverbials (*Jean partira maintenant vs. I will leave now), and independent clauses with an inference to a present situation (That’ll be the postman vs. Ce sera le facteur (the decline of this use in standard French)). Although these phenomena are pointed out in grammar books (e.g. Judge and Healey 1983, Price 19864) and monographs (e.g. Fleischmen 1982, Jones 1996), they converge on the essential points of when (not) to use the ‘future’ tenses. To provide an empirical support for the phenomena, I also use data gathered based on introspective grammatical judgments (this is necessary especially when to gather unacceptable sentences) as well as data collected from authentic novels and corpus. While these phenomena are well-known, there is still a need for a systematic account of them in a general tense model using cognitive principles.

Therefore, basing on Wada’s theory, I propose that the English will-future constitutes a ‘construction’ whose tense structure (schematic semantic structure) consists of tense information from both the modal will (a finite form) and the bare infinitive, whereas the French simple future is a ‘construction’ whose tense structure consists only of tense information from a finite form with future inflection. It will be shown that in both constructions, whereas grounding (e.g. Brisard 2002) causes their construal to be based on speech time (the ground), their differences in tense structure systematically affect the differences in usage between the two constructions. Langacker’s (1991, 2008) epistemic model with the time-line model by itself cannot explain the differences in question because it only says that the future is related to the projected reality (cf. Achard 2002). Celle (2005) also attributes such differences to differences of the semantic structures represented by will + infinitive and future
inflection, but it is not based on a general tense theory. Therefore, our model is a better candidate for explaining the tense phenomena from a cognitive viewpoint. (500 words)

References

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Universally, children begin language with single words, varying by part of speech across languages. However, the same meanings expressing movement and change are at first conveyed in each language (English: Smiley & Huttenlocher, 1995; Estonian, Vihman, 1999; French, Leopold, 1939; Korean, Bowerman & Choi, 1991). McCune (2008) proposed that single dynamic event words accord well with both a Piagetian interpretation of cognition and with motion event semantics. In theory, children’s single words include a larger sense of meaning. For example, more, said when a cookie has been eaten, points forward in time to a possible additional cookie, including both the sense of “cookie” and the temporal aspect of the potential transition. Sentences require combining words to convey both entity and change in grammatical relation.

In English such dynamic event words as open, stuck, allgone refer to figure/ground relationships (identified by Talmy (e.g., 2000) within motion event semantics) and rely on the underlying cognition described by Piaget. When analyzed as constituents of motion event meaning these and other dynamic event words also refer to space in relation to the child’s body (Vertical Space: up, down or Deictic Space: here); the spatial relationships between entities (Figure/Ground) and potentially reversible change over time (Iteration and Conjunction: more; Negation: no, uhoh).

**Problem: Do the motion event meanings of the single word period predict meanings expressed in the earliest sentences?**

Dynamic event word and verb use was examined in seven English-learning children video-recorded monthly from 14 to 24 months. Age of multiword onset ranged from 17-23 months and MLU at 24 months from 1.50 - 3.88, mean 56 combinations produced.

**Results:** Dynamic event words comprised (70%) of single word predicates, few verbs occurred, and those accompanied child action. Combinations continued these meanings with general purpose verbs (e.g., put, go, do, make; 59%) and dynamic event words (26%). More complex verbs, e.g., walk vs go, (15%) were limited in use to single typical situations accompanying child action or occurred in unanalyzed phrases.

**Conclusion:** Why are “ordinary” verbs so sparse in some languages at the beginning? We claim that early cognitive motion event understanding, filtered through the semantics of the ambient language, forms the basis for initial predication. In English, a satellite-framed language, first true verbs “bootstrap” on dynamic event word meanings, opening the door to more complex verbs and their syntactic patterns. In verb-framed languages (e.g., French, Korean) children begin with single verbs for meanings comparable to those in English, but at first limit verb use in sentences to the motion event meanings we describe. In earliest sentences English-learning, children rely on such verbs as “do”, “make”, “find”, “come” and “go” because these express a dawning sense of self activity in relation to established semantic relationships. Their use may facilitate further syntactic and semantic steps. Broader single verb use in other languages may predict a different path to early sentences.


Super mais alors super intéressant! Reduplicative coordination constructions with an emphatic meaning in (spoken) French and Dutch

French and Dutch share a construction in which an element X occurs in a reduplicative coordination pattern: \([X \text{ mais } X']\) (lit. 'X but then X') in French and \([X \text{ maar dan ook } X']\) (lit. 'X but then also X') in Dutch (for Dutch, see Hoeksema (2001) and Cappelle (2012)). In both languages, this pattern can be used to put emphasis on X:

1. \(\text{je ne comprends pas les la W/ les Wallons mais alors pas-du-tout (Valibel) 'I do not understand the Walloons but then really not}\)

2. \(\text{wij hebben alles maar dan ook alles gedaan om die mensen goed te begeleiden (... (CGN, shortened) 'We have done everything but then also everything to guide these people appropriately'}

Since these patterns combine a fixed sequence (\(\text{mais alors / maar dan ook}\)) with a variable element X (a (universal) quantifier, a degree adverb, an adjective, etc.) and since their emphatic meaning is not (entirely) predictable from their components, they seem to act like constructional idioms in the Construction Grammar sense (Croft & Cruse 2004, Goldberg 2006, Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013). These constructions should then clearly be distinguished from other instances of the sequences \(\text{mais alors and maar dan ook}\) with a true compositional (contrastive + consequential) meaning ('but then (also)'):

3. \(\text{Pour éviter de souffrir, on ne doit pas aimer, mais alors on souffre de ne pas aimer (web) 'To avoid suffering, one should not love, but then one suffers from the lack of love'}\)

The parallel between the French construction and its Dutch counterpart, however, is not as perfect as it at first sight might seem to be. For instance, the construction \([X \text{ mais } X']\) cannot only be used to emphasize X, but can also focus on a specific subtype of X, as in (4). In this case, the sequence \(\text{mais alors}\) cannot be translated by Dutch \(\text{maar dan ook}\), but corresponds to \(\text{maar dan wel}\) (lit. 'but then well').

4. \(\text{lui il a: édifié aussi une ville mais alors une ville d'acier (...) (Valibel) 'he also built a city, but then a city of steel'}\)

Hence, the question rises if in French, and possibly also in Dutch, different (sub)constructions should be distinguished, each with specific semantic-pragmatic effects. This question should not only be addressed at the semantic, but also at the formal level. Our corpus study, mainly based on the databases Valibel for spoken French and Corpus Gesproken Nederlands for spoken Dutch, indicates, for instance, that X1 and X2 are often not entirely identical (5) and that the (Dutch) construction allows prefixes to be separated from their stems (6). Moreover, since the correct interpretation of our corpus examples in many cases largely depends on the intonation pattern, we will also have a close look at the prosodical properties of the constructions.

5. \(\text{euh j'étais très à l'aise mais alors vraiment à l'aise / (Valibel) 'I was very relaxed but then really relaxed'}\)
In sum, the present paper describes in more detail the extent to which the \([X \text{ mais alors } X]\) and the \([X \text{ maar dan ook } X]\) patterns are comparable and how they can be described from a constructional point of view, showing how they present a network of related yet different subconstructions each with their own syntactic, prosodic and semantic-pragmatic properties.

**References**


**Corpora**

CGN (Corpus Gesproken Nederlands): http://lands.let.kun.nl/cgn/

Modal verbs from a construction grammar perspective

In this paper, we will look at some aspects of meaning of modal verbs from a construction grammar perspective. Boogaart (2009) quite rightly points out that the following are among the questions to be addressed by a theory of modal meaning:

1. What exactly are the meanings communicated by specific modals and in terms of what features should/can they be defined?
2. How can the fact that the different uses of a modal have a common denominator (e.g. possibility) (mono-semey) be reconciled with the fact the categories of meaning (e.g. epistemic possibility, ability, permission, etc.) are real and exhibit diachronic (or metaphorical (Sweetser 1990)) links (polysemy)?
3. How do elements of meaning linked to effects of illocutionary force fit into a general theory of modal meaning?

Boogaart (2009) argues that polysemy and mono-semy approaches can each handle some of the questions, but not all, and points to a constructional way out of the problems. While Boogaart tries to capture the meaning of the modal verbs as such in constructional terms, we will especially deal with the third question: we will show that construction grammar is particularly suited to account for meanings that are typically said to arise at the truly pragmatic level. After presenting an outline of an answer to the first and the second questions (based on xxx (2011), xxx (ms)), we will list some constructions with modal verbs and show how, in empirical work, they are sometimes listed as ‘meanings in context’ without being embedded in an explanatory framework (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum et al 2002) ; sometimes they constitute separate categories of meaning (e.g. Facchinetti 2002 (‘dynamic implication’), Collins 2009), with the potential danger of a proliferation of categories (cf. question 1).

We will give examples of constructions with ‘will’, ‘shall’, ‘can’, and ‘may’ whose meaning cannot be adequately captured in a compositional approach but whose semantics fall out of the unit/syntactic environment in which they are used. A first set of constructions is embedded in an interrogative context (‘shall I…’, ‘may I…’, ‘will you…’, ‘won’t you…’, ‘can you …’, ‘can’t you …’); a second set derives from lexical co-occurrence (‘if you will’ (Liberman 2011), ‘… can’t have helped (matters/ …)’, ‘why can’t you just…?’ ‘you can forget about…’, ‘may well + stative verb’, ‘may there be…’).

The data analysis is based on the ICE-Gb corpus, the BNC and COCA.


xxx. 2011 .


POLITICS IS RELIGION in British political discourse

While conceptual metaphors play a crucial role in political discourse (Lakoff 2002, Semino 2008), they are also highly relevant to the conceptualisation of the target domain of POLITICS, for which source domains vary from THEATRE and BUSINESS to WAR and SPORTS, to RELIGION (Semino & Masci 1996). Focusing on British discourse, Charteris-Black (2004) argues that POLITICS IS RELIGION is a recent evolution from post-war politics. However, most of these claims have not yet been substantiated with sufficient empirical and quantitative data.

This is what I propose to do, with the study of an extensive corpus of new Labour, Conservative and pre-1994 Labour texts. I use the online tool WMatrix (Rayson, 2009) to provide a detailed analysis of the linguistic realisations of the metaphor and establish its statistical significance in the data. I argue that a detailed analysis of the tokens included in the semantic concept “Religion and the supernatural”, based on Pragglejaz’s MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), can provide an accurate estimation of the proportion of POLITICS IS RELIGION in each corpora under scrutiny.

A qualitative analysis of the metaphor in my data points to two distinct subgroups formalised as (i) DESIRABLE POLITICS IS BIBLICAL RELIGION and (ii) UNDESIRABLE POLITICS IS NON-CHRISTIAN/ORGANIZED RELIGION. In both cases, the gravity associated with the source domain of religion is relied upon, either to enhance the legitimacy and ethos of the speaker, or to criticise opponents. Mappings between source and target domains also allow the speaker to rank conviction over facts and rationality in political choices. Quantitative results for POLITICS IS RELIGION suggest a decrease in the use of the metaphor and in the diversity of its realisations overtime, which I argue has to be understood from a more abstract perspective, relying on larger metaphorical categories for the target domain of politics.

References
Use of posture verbs “sit”, “stand”, “hang” and “lie” in Estonian.

The present paper looks at how four most common positional verbs in Estonian are used to describe a specific set of spatial scene.

Many languages use simple copula utterances to refer to the position of a Figure. For example in English we say The bottle is on the table. At the same time a lot of languages use an alternative set of posture verbs and positionals to express the verbal component of locative statements. In Dutch there is a set of posture verbs one must use referring to the object’s position, for example Laptop sits on the table (Lemmens 2012). Another example comes from the Papuan language Yélî Dnye which uses a set of three verbs “sit”, “stand” and “hang”. There is no copula to replace the posture verb. One must know which verb to use and there is an algorithm based on physical properties. (Ameka & Levinson 2007)

In Estonian, like in English, there is a potential set of positional verbs. To clarify how widespread these are when referring to inanimate objects a production task was carried out. Four most common positional verbs in Estonian were chosen – istuma “sit”, lebama “lie”, rippuma “hang” and seisma “stand”. The task consisted of 30 pictures illustrating different spatial scenes. The pictures were taken from the Topological Relation Picture Series (TRPS), the Picture Series for Positional Verbs (PSPV), from the Internet and self-made photographs were also used. The experiment was carried out with 30 native speakers of Estonian. They were asked to write down the verb describing the location of the Figure.

Hypotheses were made as to which verb the participants would use to describe a specific set of spatial scene. The experiment confirmed that participants use the posture verbs sit and hang as a first choice when referring to the position of the Figure. Overall, the use of posture verbs lie and stand was less frequent. At the same time, the verb stand was used more frequently when referring to a Figure whose vertical axis was clearly longer than the horizontal axis, as, for example, with a spatial scene where a bottle is standing on a table. This indicates that like in many other languages the use of Estonian posture verbs depends on physical properties. The use of the verb also depended on the Ground – copula was preferred referring to an object in a container such as a basket and a posture verb was used when referring to an object on a level Ground like a table. Verb sit was used more frequently when
referring to an inanimate object with properties of an animate object such as a doll or a teddy bear. In case the object is upside down copula or adverbial construction is preferred.

Based on the findings of the production task we can assume that there is a potential system of posture verbs in Estonian which are used as a component of locative statements.

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The usage basis of verb valency: Evidence from a language comprehension experiment

This paper is concerned with the cognitive representation of verbs in the mental lexicon, i.e., the amount of linguistic information that speakers store with verbs in long-term memory. It is commonly acknowledged that the cognitive representation of a verb must make reference to a set of arguments to be syntactically realized, traditionally called the valency of the verb. However, most verbs can occur with more than one set of arguments. For example, the verb sell is most frequently used with two arguments (a seller and some goods, e.g., He sold his books), but a third argument can also be added (e.g., a buyer: He sold his books to me). In so-called projectionist approaches (e.g., Pinker 1989), it is assumed that different valency patterns of a verb correspond to different lexical entries. In constructional approaches, verbs are combined with argument structure constructions (Goldberg 1995), which may select only a subset of the valency of the verb for overt realization, or conversely, may contribute arguments by themselves; consequently, verbs can \textit{a priori} be stored with only one valency, with the other valency patterns being generated via combination with constructions. In this paper, I take issue with both of these extreme positions and instead argue that the range of valency patterns stored with a verb is directly related to that verb's usage. Following Langacker (2009), I suggest that repeated use of a verb in a construction leads to the entrenchment of the corresponding valency pattern with that verb, which as a result comes to be associated directly with the verb, and not arrived at via the combination of a verb and a construction.

To test this hypothesis, I devised an incremental reading experiment based on the sentence maze paradigm (Forster 2010), in which subjects were successively presented with many pairs of words and had to decide as quickly as possible which word formed a grammatical sequence with their previous selections. The experiment measures the relative cognitive accessibility of different valency patterns for three English verbs (buy, pay, sell) by testing which kind of third argument is most easily integrated by participants when they are presented with one of these verbs followed by a direct object. For example, the sentence Kim bought a camera may be continued either with a ‘money’ argument (e.g., for €50), or a ‘seller’ argument (e.g., from the store); hence, the experiment determines which of the two valency patterns (either <buyer, goods, money> or <buyer, goods, seller>) is more cognitively accessible for the verb buy, by measuring differences in the integration time of the preposition (for vs. from).

The results of the experiments are then compared with corpus data extracted from the BNC and several corpora of American English. It is shown that the frequency of a verb in a particular syntactic environment correlates with the cognitive accessibility of the corresponding valency pattern for that verb, suggesting that the cognitive representation of valency patterns is related to usage. These findings support the hypothesis of the usage basis of valency.

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Teasing apart near-synonymous constructions with targeted learning: a tale of corpus linguistics, causality, and statistics

Collocation-based cognitive semantics customarily builds upon collocational distributions to differentiate between near-synonyms with multifactorial techniques (Geeraerts, 2010: 264). In this paper, we introduce a method known as targeted learning (van der Laan & Rose, 2011) to quantify the proximity between near-synonyms taking linguistic and extralinguistic factors into account. Based on semiparametric statistics, the method typically applies when one is interested in $\Psi(P_0)$, a small-dimensional parameter from a high-dimensional distribution $P_0$. Targeted learning consists in (i) estimating $P_0$ with an initial estimator $P_{0n}$, and (ii) targeting $\Psi(P_0)$, by iteratively fluctuating $P_{kn}$ into $P_{k+1}$ in a series of appropriate directions. The final targeted estimator (TMLE) is $\Psi(P_{K_n})$, where $K_n$ is a well-chosen number of iterations. The TMLE is considered ‘double-robust’ because, under mild assumptions, the TMLE consistently estimates $\Psi(P_0)$ whenever at least one of two high-dimensional features of $P_0$ are consistently estimated. Typically, such features are two regression functions (Speelman, to appear; Speelman & Geeraerts, 2010; Glynn, 2010). Under additional assumptions, the TMLE satisfies a central limit theorem. This allows building confidence intervals and testing.

We use targeted learning to capture context-related sense relations between two near-synonyms: quite and rather. We restrict our investigation to the contexts where they are used as degree modifiers of adjectives in the BNC (XML Edition). Although quite and rather are generally treated as near-synonymous lexemes (Allerton, 1987; Paradis, 1997, 2001), our study advances upon previous research by treating them as near-synonymous constructions (Goldberg, 2009). We investigate the co-occurrence of intensifiers and adjectives in the context of the syntactic patterns where they occur. More specifically, we examine the pre-adjectival vs. pre-determiner positions of the intensifiers (1), and the predicative vs. attributive positions of their collocating adjectives (2):

(1) a. a quite different way.
   b. quite a different way.

(2) a. the game was quite good.
   b. that was quite a good game.

We also take into account contextual factors such as text mode (‘spoken’ vs. ‘written’) and text type (‘news’, ‘fiction’, ‘conversation’, etc.)

Central to our approach is the notion of causality. We posit a counterfactual causal model where a speaker who is asked to verbalize a sentence that includes either one quite-construction or one rather-construction first
conceptualizes two sentences simultaneously, one with the quite-construction and the other with the rather-construction, and then chooses one at random. Among the many relevant ways of measuring the causal effect of quite/rather on the associated syntactic pattern, we choose to compare the mean frequency of quite to that of rather in pre-adjectival position. This gives us our causal parameter. We then derive its statistical counterpart \( \Psi \). Under a randomization assumption, it coincides with the causal parameter, but it is well-defined and interpretable beyond the causal model. We show how to estimate \( \Psi(P_0) \) based on the BNC and we briefly sketch the statistical properties of the TMLE. Next, we illustrate these properties with simulations. Finally, we quantify the proximity between quite and rather.


Spatial language in blind children: Learning to express motion and location without vision

Little is known about how lack of vision may impact spatial representations in blind children, such as their ability to express location and motion in language. According to available studies of blind children (e.g. Mills 1983, 1993; Landau & Gleitman 1985, 1997), although some delay is observed in their acquisition of spatial prepositions (e.g. with changes in egocentered/allocentered reference frames), they follow the same developmental sequence as sighted children, who acquire topological relations before projective ones, along the vertical axis before the sagittal axis, and at first with intrinsically oriented entities (e.g. Bowerman 1996; Johnston 1988). Despite current debates on the linguistic representation of motion, this topic has remained unexplored in the blind. Research among sighted children suggests an effect of event type in the development of motion expressions in several languages (e.g. vertical motion before boundary crossing), as well the crucial role of verbs in the encoding of spatial information, such as Path in verb-famed languages, resulting in major crosslinguistic differences at all ages, e.g. in French vs. Germanic languages (Choi & Bowerman 1991; Hickmann et al. 2009, 2011; Slobin 2004; Talmy 2000).

This study examines how blind and sighted French children produce and comprehend prepositions expressing spatial relations (IN, ON, UNDER, ABOVE, LEFT, RIGHT, BETWEEN, IN FRONT OF, BEHIND) and motion verbs lexicalizing Paths (UP, DOWN, INTO, OUT OF) in several age groups (five, seven, eight, ten years). It includes children who are congenitally blind or have lost vision before 12 months with no associated handicap (six per age) and same-aged typically developing sighted children (20 per age). Children performed four tasks: placing an entity in a particular location (Put X on Y); verbally locating it (Where is X?); miming descriptions of motion (Il monte ‘He is ascending’); describing such events (e.g. She wants to go to bed [top floor of doll house] and there are stairs, so what must she do?).

Production and comprehension of spatial prepositions was similar in blind and sighted children with dans, sur, sous, entre (‘in, on, under, between’). However, group differences also occurred: the blind outperformed the sighted with gauche/droite (‘left/right’) and en-dessous/en-dessus (‘below/above’), but performed less well with devant/derrière (‘in front of/behind’), showing particular difficulties with derrière when entities were not intrinsically oriented. With motion events, blind children performed less well than sighted children with all tested paths, although they did better with verbs expressing vertical motion (monter/descendre ‘ascend/descend’) than with boundary crossings (entrer/sortir ‘enter/exit’), which were difficult even at 10 years of age.

In conclusion, regardless of access to vision, children follow similar progressions when acquiring spatial language. However, the blind also encounter difficulties with some spatial relations and with motion expressions, indicating the central role of vision for the processing of some crucial features (orientation, boundaries). These results are discussed in light of current debates about the relation between language and cognition across languages, with particular attention to the implications of different modalities (visual, tactile, auditory) for the development of cognitive and communicative capacities.

References


event types in the expression of motion across child languages: English, French, German, Chinese.


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Non-actual motion (sentences) in Swedish and French

Sentences such as (1) have been discussed for over 20 years in cognitive linguistics, in terms of “virtual motion” (Talmy 1983), “subjective motion” (Langacker 1987; Matsumoto 1996), “fictive motion” (Talmy 2000) and “abstract motion” (Matlock 2010).

(1) The mountain range goes from Canada to Mexico.

It is commonly believed that their meaning and use can be explained by the popular notion “mental simulation”. We question this belief, and argue that it is problematic both conceptually and empirically. We make a clear distinction between non-actual motion (experiences), referring to a set of related but distinct processes of perception and imagination, and non-actual motion (NAM) sentences, which are motivated by such experiences. Relying on concepts developed within phenomenology (e.g. Merleau-Ponty 1962), we distinguish three such structures of experience: (i) the (en)active nature of perception, (ii) the dynamic relation between intention and intentional object, and (iii) re-active imagination. Further, we argue that each one of these is highlighted in the respective analyses of Talmy, Langacker and Matlock. In contrast, we propose that NAM-sentences are a “hybrid” phenomenon, motivated by multiple experiential factors, as well as constrained by linguistic conventions.

To test this empirically, we devised an elicitation tool consisting of 38 pictures drawn by a professional artist. 24 of these were intended to elicit NAM-descriptions, 12 were controls, showing static locative relations, and 2 were used for training. Crucially, the 24 target pictures conformed to a 2x2 design, with half showing trajectors (e.g. roads) that afford human motion, and half showing extended trajectors (e.g. fences) that do not; crossed with these, half showed the trajector extended across the picture, distally, and half showed it extending to the position where the observer would be positioned if “within” the picture. We conducted a study in which 15 Swedish and 13 French speakers were asked to describe the pictures in one sentence. We predicted that all picture types would elicit NAM-sentences, but that the pictures which combined the aspects Afford-motion and Non-distal, would have the highest proportion, since these in effect combined several motivations, while the other types of pictures targeted one or the other motivation more selectively: e.g. the distal category gave more opportunity for “visual scanning”.

The results were supportive of both predictions: all picture types elicited NAM-sentences, with a higher proportion for Swedish (53.3%) than French (35%). Also, in both languages, the combination Afford+Non-distal evoked most NAM-sentences such as (2) and (3). This was especially pronounced in French: 48% as opposed to ca. 30% for the other three types.

(2) En bilväg kommer ut ur en tunnel.
“A road comes out of a tunnel.”

(3) C’est une sortie de tunnel qui débouche sur une route qui s’enva ver la campagne.
“This is the exit of a tunnel which opens onto a road going toward the country.”

In sum our approach, based on a combination of phenomenological analysis and empirical research, offers new insights into the complex nature of non-actual motion.

References


ABSTRACT AFLICO

Conceptualizing the Italian “futuro” in nominal predications: a corpus-based exploration

Thinking and talking about the future are a central capacity in human understanding and planning, for anticipating scenarios about what will or could happen (Bishop and Strong 2010). Linguistic reference to the future appears in contexts of use in which “making meaning of the future” is at stake (Dunmire 2011): future talk has both a conceptual side for expressing intentions and predictions (Dahl 2000), and a series of grammatical categories and constructions for doing so. The focus of Italian and constructional research on grammar and aspect of the future as a conceptual category has largely been focusing on verbal predication (Berghs 2010, Hilpert 2008, Bertinotti 1991), i.e. on inflectionally marked future tenses (Dahl and Velupillai 2011) and periphrastic verb constructions (Fleischman 1982) for rendering the future. In this context, the Italian (verbal) future has clearly been studied less than the grammar of past tenses, due to a low degree in morphological complexity (Renzi and Salvi 1991), and, even from a functional point of view, nominal structures have been largely ignored (Proudfoot 2005). In this talk, we concentrate on nominal predications in the conceptualization of the Italian future (Bittner 2005). As a first step, we explore and analyze grammatical structures surrounding a nominal core *(il/un)* futuro.

We adopt a constructional, usage-based perspective, using Langacker’s extended epistemic model as a semantic template for treating the conceptual status of futurity apart from its (verbal or) nominal morphosyntactical realization (Sambre 2012). Based on a full account of the nominal attestation of the noun *futuro* in the Italian *La Repubblica* media corpus (Baroni et al. 2004) we dispose of about 3000 contextualized uses of nominal futurity. We will describe one subtype, where a future THING appears in constructional assemblies with an atemporal relation expressed by the adjectives in adjectival noun phrases (1), or as (2) an adjectival predicate following a copulative (summary) verb, as in

(1) NP [NOUN *(il/un futuro* | English: the/a future) ADJECTIVE *(prevedibile, stabile, possibile, tecnologico, politico*, etc. | English: *anticipated, stable, possible, technological, political*, etc.).

(2) SUBJ NP [NOUN *il futuro*] COPULATIVE VERB [*è, sembra, rischia di essere*, etc. | English translation: *is, seems, threatens to be*, etc.]* PRED ADJECTIVE *[(roseo, buio, incerto, incoraggiante, sgombro di ostacoli*, etc. | English translation: *rosy, dark, uncertain, encouraging, free from obstacles*, etc.].

Our results are twofold. First, we classify the adjectives surrounding *(il/un futuro* along the axes of time (e.g. imminent or remote, Bybee et al. 1994: 98-103), modality (uncertain, possible) and evaluation (rosy, dark), possibly amongst others dimensions (Tucker 1998). Adding this evaluative layer (Bednarek 2008, Martin and White 2005, Hunston 2011) in a usage-based, discursive approach, may enrich Langacker’s epistemic model, dominated by a temporal and modal perspective. Additionally we show evidence of some some more complex compositional patterns in which the bounded (and positively or negatively evaluated) area of the nominal future is integrated in and coherently contrasted with other (often process-driven) temporal zones, building the nexus of the future’s otherness with respect to our representations of a different present or past.
References


Lexicalization of aspect-causative interaction of Gurenɛ posture verbs

Keywords: posture verbs, Gurenɛ, lexicalization patterns, aspect, inchoative, agentive

Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of Gurenɛ (Gur, Niger-Congo) dynamic and static posture verbs, pointing out how the language deviates from the lexicalization patterns mentioned by Talmy (2000, 2007). He observes that cross-linguistically there are three dominant lexicalization patterns of aspect-causative types: stative (being in a state), inchoative (entering into a state), and agentive (putting into a state). Some languages, like English, take the stative to be basic from which the inchoative and agentive are derived (e.g., *lie* > *lie down* > *lay*); other languages, like French, take the agentive as their base form (e.g., *coucher* (*lay*) > *se coucher* (*REFL lay*) > *être couché* (*be laid*)).

In Gurenɛ, posture verbs lexicalize these three aspect-causative types in two different ways. We show that in Gurenɛ, the three basic posture verbs lexicalize the stative via the verb roots: *gã* ‘be in a lying posture’, *zĩ* ‘be in sitting posture’, and *ze’* ‘be in a standing posture’, as illustrated in (1)-(3).

(1) Bia la zĩ la suŋɔ la zuo
   child DEF sit.STAT FOC mat DEF head
   ‘The child is sitting down on the mat.’ (i.e., stative, be in a sitting posture)

(2) Bia la gã la suŋɔ la puan
   child DEF lie.STAT FOC mat DEF inside
   ‘The child is lying down on the mat.’ (i.e., stative, be in a lying posture)

(3) Budaa la ze’ la tiŋa
    man DEF stand.STAT FOC ground
    ‘The man is standing on the ground.’ (i.e., stative, be in a standing posture)

Gurenɛ uses verb morphology (using the suffix *-re*) to derive the other two dynamic verb forms from this base but they are neutral to the inchoative and agentive distinctions. Instead, it is the construction type that they participate in which is crucial to determining these two aspectual notions. In other words, the opposition between static and dynamic is marked morphologically, that between inchoative and agentive is marked constructionally. This aspectual behaviour of Gurenɛ posture verbs appears not to have been reported in the typological literature on posture and location verbs.

In examples (4)-(9), the posture verbs are ‘dynamic’ (a term used by Newman 2002, 2009) and occur either in an intransitive construction to express the inchoative where the entities have entered or assumed a posture state by themselves (see (4), (6), (8)) or in a transitive construction (agentive), where one entity puts another entity into a posture state as in (5), (7), and (9). Observe that the same verb form, derived from the stative verb, is used in both.
This research builds on previous studies on the typology of posture, positional and locative verbs (see Lemmens (2002, 2005); (Newman 2002, 2009); Ameka & Levinson (2007), Schaefer & Egbokhare (2005)). The data for this paper comes from a documentary corpus of natural texts such as folktale genre, spontaneous speech, and elicited data on positional stimuli collected during eight months fieldwork in the language community in Ghana. The recorded and transcribed narrative data has been archived at the Endangered Languages Archives (ELAR) at SOAS, London.
of the Annual Meeting of the Berkely Linguistic Society, eds. T. Cover Rebecca and Yuni Kim.


Cultural representations and semantic connections through the model of temperature terms in Wolof

The topic of this communication is a reflection about the influence of the temperature perception on the linguistic representations of temperature shared by an African ethnic group, the Wolof people. With this end, this study will analyze the linguistic units referring to a temperature in Wolof from a semantic viewpoint. Such an approach will mostly concern the conceptual organization of these units, the particular semantic behaviors that they may involve as well as the polysemous or metaphorical connections in which they can occur.

The temperature perception is a universal phenomenon. Nevertheless, the linguistic and cognitive representation of this concept depends on its experimentation. That is why what is warm for a French man is not what is warm for an Eskimo or a Wolof of Africa. Actually, what is relevant with this kind of experience is the variation of temperature; and it is the apprehension of this variation which introduces what Hensel (1981) called the thermal comfort. Consequently, the cultural and linguistic representations of temperature have to correlate with the thermal comfort (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Rakhilina, 2006). Based on this claim, this paper intends to study the semantic organization of the lexical units referring to a temperature in Wolof. Wolof is an Atlantic language spoken in Senegal, a tropical country sited on the west of the African Continent.

In order to understand how this muggy environment can affect the Wolof language, the survey suggests studying the meaning of the temperature items regarding to the perceptive modalities – cold vs. hot, tactile vs. non-tactile, nature of the entity (body, object, air)... – as well as their syntactic repartition (noun vs. adjective-verb). In this way, this study intends to analyze how Wolof reflects the cutting of the semantic domain of temperature. Then, on the basis of examples taken from other languages (French, Swedish, Russian), this study will propose to compare the Wolof scale of temperatures cross linguistically. Lastly, the conceptual domains associated with the notion of temperature (on the basis of metaphorical or polysemous processes) will be also taken in account in order to observe the connotative values which are assigned to the different degrees of temperature.

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