

Cognitive Grammar & Signed Languages

Lecture 5

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Today's topics

- ❖ Hand and face constructions as modifiers and complements
- ❖ Metaphor in signed languages
- ❖ Metonymy in signed languages

Intensification: Reprise

*Attributive signs in Argentine Sign Language (LSA):
State verbs or adjectives?*

Rocío Martínez
CONICET and UBA



The Problem

- ❖ State signs are always glossed with the copula, suggesting that they are always verbs:
 - ❖ TO-BE-BLUE, TO-BE-INTERESTING, TO-BE-THIN, TO-BE-YOUNG, TO-BE-SHY

The Problem

- ❖ Predicative function:
 - ❖ WOMAN TO-BE-SHY
Tr: *The woman is shy.*
- ❖ Attributive function:
 - ❖ WOMAN TO-BE-SHY GO(p) HOME
Tr: *The shy woman went home.*

Cognitive Grammar Solution

- ❖ The state verb class in LSA has an adjectival nature and, as a consequence, must be considered symbolic structures whose semantic pole designate an [ATEMPORAL RELATION].

Cognitive Grammar Solution

Verb Sign	Attributive Sign
LOVE	IN-LOVE
BREAK	TO-BE-BROKEN
TO-MAKE-SOMETHING-UNTIDY	UNTIDY

Cognitive Grammar Solution

+Prototypical  **-Prototypical**

Most stable

Temporal stability

Least stable

Simple

Complex

+Concrete

-Concrete

TREE BIG GREEN DANGEROUS MIND-BLOWING IN-LOVE BROKEN BROKE

Intensification: Reprise

- ❖ **Intensification** in Argentine Sign Language (Rocío Martinez)
- ❖ “An initial detention, tense and long, with the non marked realization of the verb. Then the movement of the sign is made quickly, with non manual features, and ends with a final tensed detention” (Massone y Machado, 1994: 133).
- ❖ 22% of the Attributive signs in the corpus are intensified.

What question does this raise?

...To be discussed tomorrow

Hand and Face Constructions

- ❖ Properties of hands vs. faces
- ❖ Hands are privileged across all signed languages for the coding of lexical morphemes
 - ❖ lexical morphemes are rarely coded with facial markers (*but see Dively 2001, “Signs without hands”*)
- ❖ Hands are phonologically autonomous

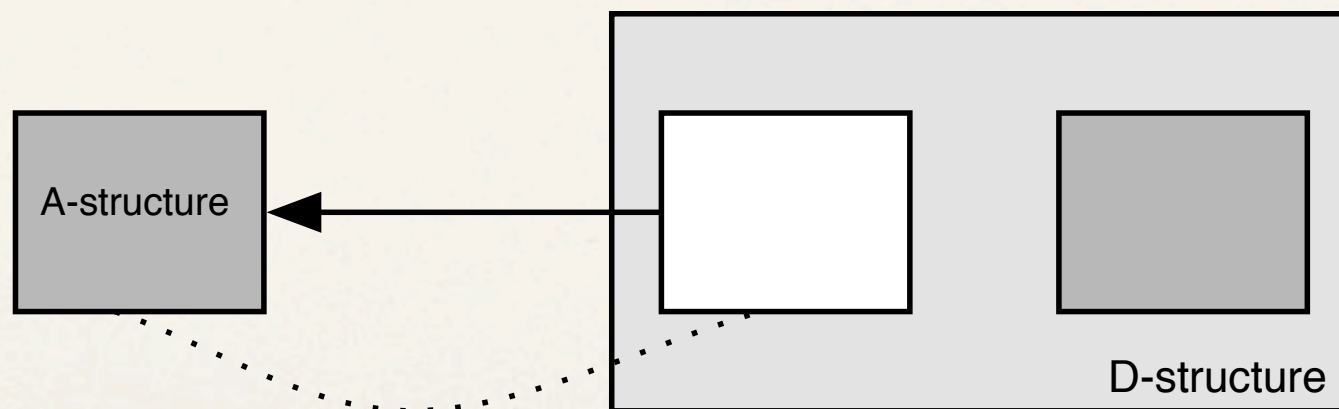
Hand and face constructions

- ❖ Facial markers are commonly analyzed as bound morphemes
 - ❖ Facial markers are phonologically dependent
 - ❖ This relation is even reflected in our glossing conventions:

<u>q</u>	<u>wh</u>	<u>cond</u>
MAN HOME	MAN WHERE	TOMORROW RAIN

Autonomy and Dependence

- ❖ “One structure, D, is dependent on the other, A, to the extent that A constitutes an elaboration of a salient substructure within D” (Langacker 1987)
- ❖ A **dependent structure** makes internal reference to a schematically characterized **autonomous structure**

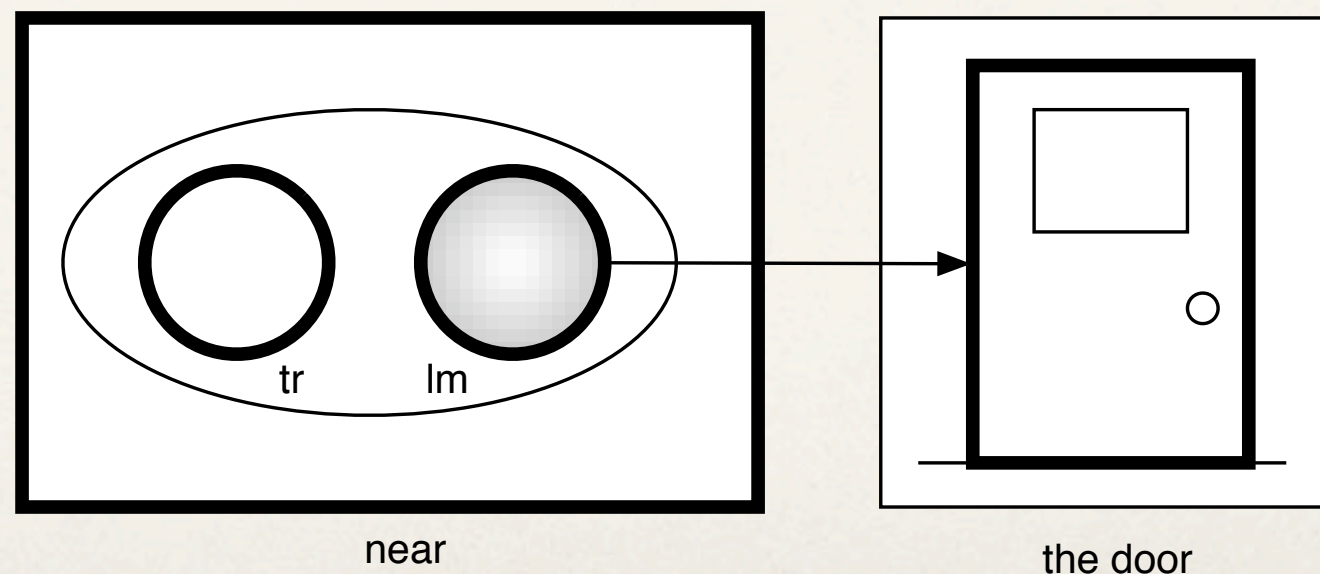


A/D Asymmetry

- ❖ Stems and Affixes: Stem is autonomous, whereas an affix intrinsically makes reference to a stem
- ❖ A / D asymmetry and phonological pole: distinction between **things** and **relationships**. We can conceptualize a thing (*rock, table, door*) in and of itself, without invoking its relationship to other things
- ❖ By contrast, we cannot conceptualize a spatial relation (such as *near, under*) without to some extent, **even if schematically**, invoking the entities that participate in the relationship

A/D Asymmetry

- ❖ Consider *near the door*
- ❖ Component and composite structures
- ❖ The component structure *near* is dependent with respect to the more autonomous component *the door*



Profile Determinance

- ❖ It is typical in constructions for the composite semantic structure to profile the same entity as one of the component structures
- ❖ *jar lid*: the composite structure profiles the same entity as *lid*: a *jar lid* is a kind of lid, not a kind of jar; *near the door*: profiles a relationship
- ❖ The component structure that “bequeathes” its profile to the composite structure is called the **profile determinant**
- ❖ Profile determinant is roughly equivalent to what is traditionally called a **head**

Modifiers and complements

- ❖ Modifier vs. complement status depends on two determinations
 - ❖ which component in a construction is autonomous and which is dependent
 - ❖ which component is profile determinant* of the composite structure
 - *a component structure whose profile is inherited by the composite structure
- ❖ Head is the component that serves as the profile determinant

Modifiers and complements

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier

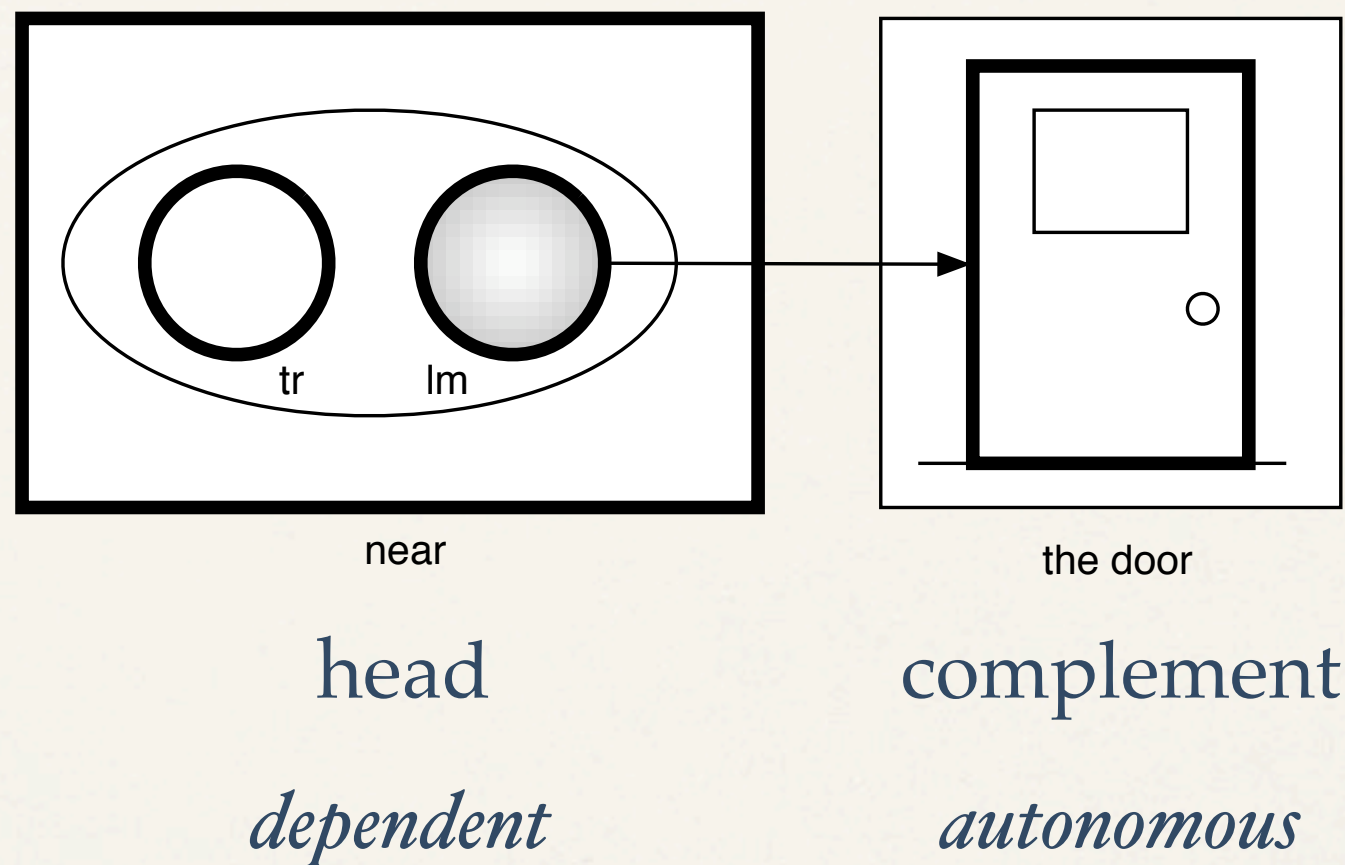
Head-complement

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier

Head-modifier

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier

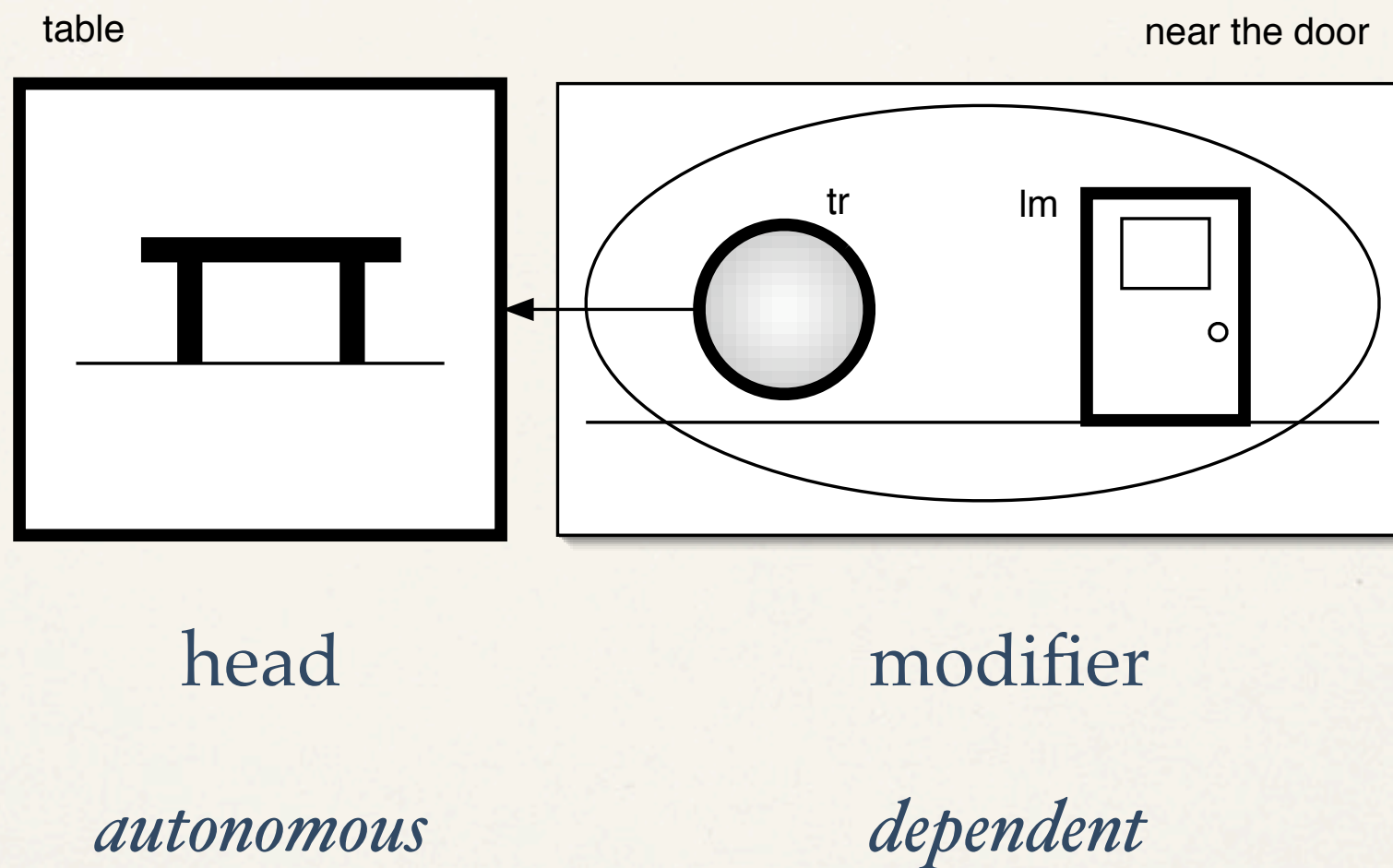
- ❖ A *complement* is a component structure which *elaborates* a salient substructure of its head.



Modifiers and complements

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier

- ❖ A *modifier* is a component structure a salient substructure of which is *elaborated* by the head



Modifiers and complements

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier

ASL hand-face constructions

- ❖ [DRIVE]-th 'drive recklessly'
 - ❖ 'drive' = hands
 - ❖ 'recklessly' = face
- ❖ Composite structure profiles a process
- ❖ 'drive' = profile determinant = Head
- ❖ 'Drive' = autonomous, 'carelessly' = dependent
- ❖ Head-modifier construction

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head <i>'drive'</i> = hands	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier <i>'carelessly'</i> = face

ASL hand-face constructions

- ❖ [HUNGRY]-y / n 'Are you hungry?'
 - ❖ 'hungry' = hands
 - ❖ y / n = face
- ❖ Composite structure profiles a question
 - ❖ y / n = profile determinant = Head
 - ❖ Head-complement construction

	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head <i>'y/n' = face</i>
not PD	Complement <i>'hungry' = hands</i>	Modifier

One Step Further

- ❖ Modifier / complement constructions and hand / face iconicity
- ❖ **If** we accept that the hands are phonologically autonomous and the face is phonologically dependent ... then

SEMANTIC POLE	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head <i>'drive'</i> = hands phonologically autonomous	Head
not PD	Complement	Modifier <i>'carelessly'</i> = face phonologically dependent

The diagram illustrates the relationship between semantic poles and phonological dependencies. Red arrows indicate the following paths:

- From the **SEMANTIC POLE** header to the **autonomous** and **dependent** headers.
- From the **PD** header to the **Head** (autonomous) cell.
- From the **not PD** header to the **Modifier** (phonologically dependent) cell.

SEMANTIC POLE	autonomous	dependent
PD	Head	Head <i>'y/n' = face</i> phonologically dependent
not PD	Complement <i>'hungry' = hands</i> phonologically autonomous	Modifier

A/D asymmetry iconicity

- ❖ If this is true, then we have an iconic relationship between the semantic and the phonological poles: autonomous semantic structures are realized as autonomous phonological structures, and dependent semantic structures are realized as dependent phonological structures.

Metaphor and Metonymy

Metaphor in ASL

- ❖ Phyllis Wilcox, *Metaphor in American Sign Language* (2001)
- ❖ Spatialization metaphors in ASL
 - ❖ POSITIVE IS UP
 - ❖ HAPPY, EXCITED
 - ❖ NEGATIVE IS DOWN
 - ❖ DEPRESSED, LOUSY, BAD

Metaphor and time in ASL

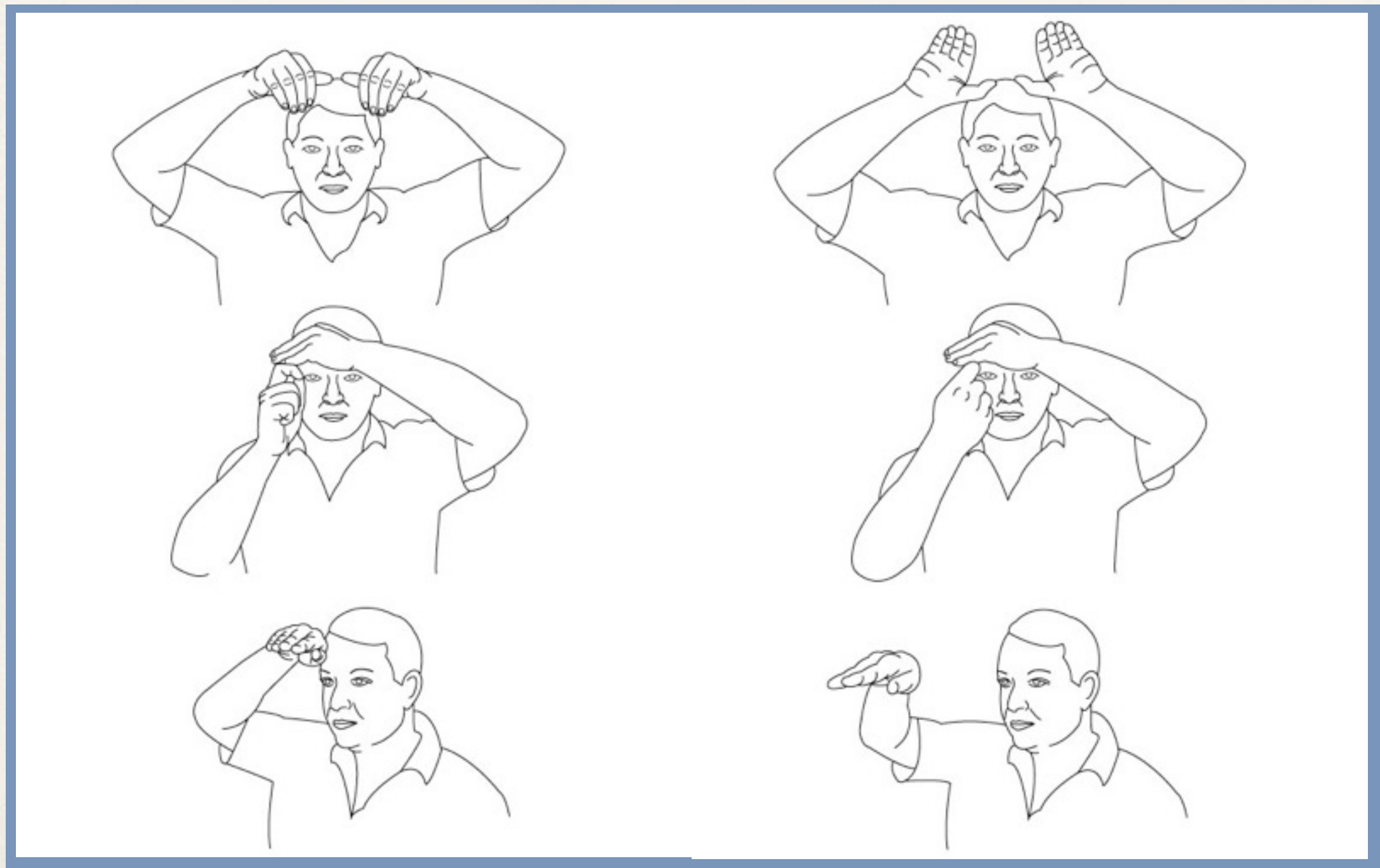
- ❖ Front-back spatialization metaphor: the future is ahead of us, the past is behind us, current time is where we are located
 - ❖ TOMORROW, NEXT-YEAR, NEXT-WEEK
 - ❖ YESTERDAY, LAST-YEAR, LAST-WEEK, RECENTLY
 - ❖ NOW

IDEAS ARE OBJECTS Metaphor

- ❖ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS SUBJECT TO PHYSICAL FORCE
- ❖ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE MANIPULATED OR PLACED
- ❖ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE GRASPED
- ❖ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS TO BE CAREFULLY SELECTED

P. Wilcox Metaphor in American Sign Language (2001)

MIND IS A CONTAINER Metaphor



Metonymy in signed languages

- ❖ Data from American Sign Language (ASL) and Catalan Sign Language (LSC)
- ❖ **Prototypical characteristic for whole entity:** *bird, horse, cow*
- ❖ **Action for instrument:** *typewriter, toothbrush, oar*

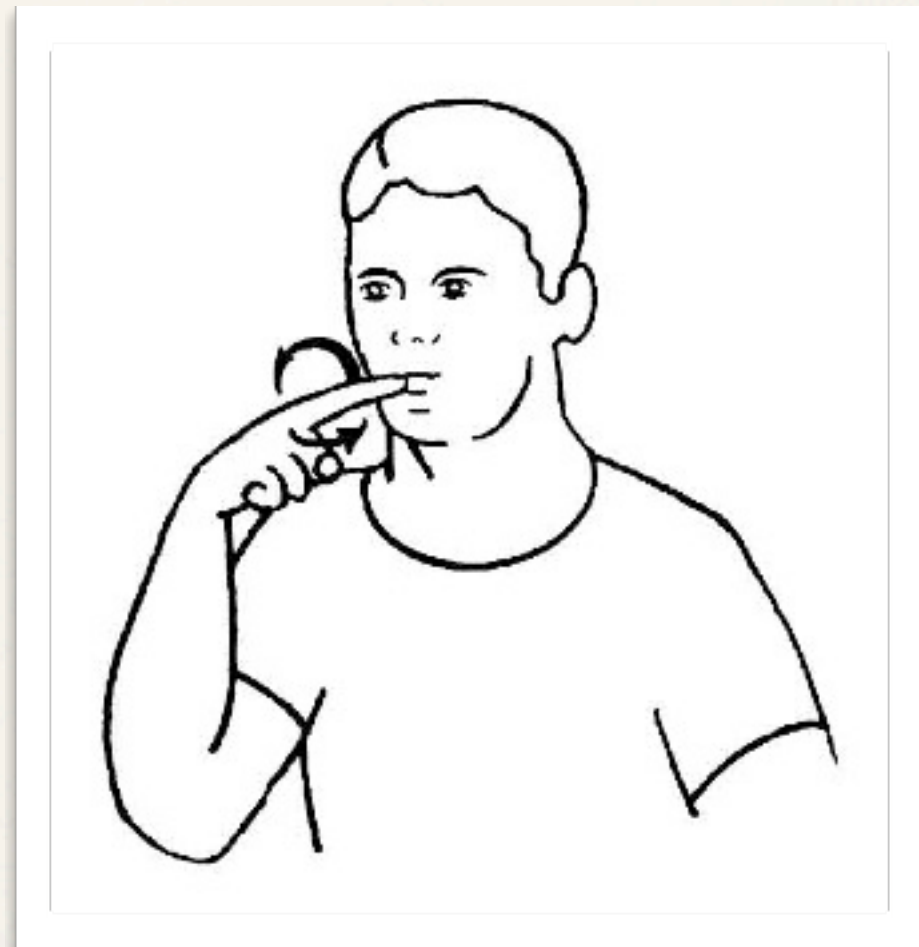
Wilcox, S., Wilcox, P., & Jarque, M. J. (2003). Mappings in conceptual space: Metonymy, metaphor, and iconicity in two signed languages. *Jezikoslovlje*, 4.1, 139-156

- ❖ **Prototypical action for activity:** In LSC, the signs DRINK- BEER, DRINK-BRANDY, DRINK-RUM-AND-COKE use specific handshapes representing interaction with a container of a specific, prototypical shape, as well as movements characteristic of drinking from these containers.

- ❖ **Salient characteristic of a specific person for general quality:** the LSC sign CHARLIE-CHAPLIN is a compound that iconically depicts Chaplin's mustache and the movement of holding a cane and moving it in circles as Chaplin did. HITLER (the sign iconically depicts Hitler's characteristic mustache) for "bad" or "evil". DALI (depicting Dali's characteristic moustache) for "crazy". JESUS-CHRIST for "suffering person"

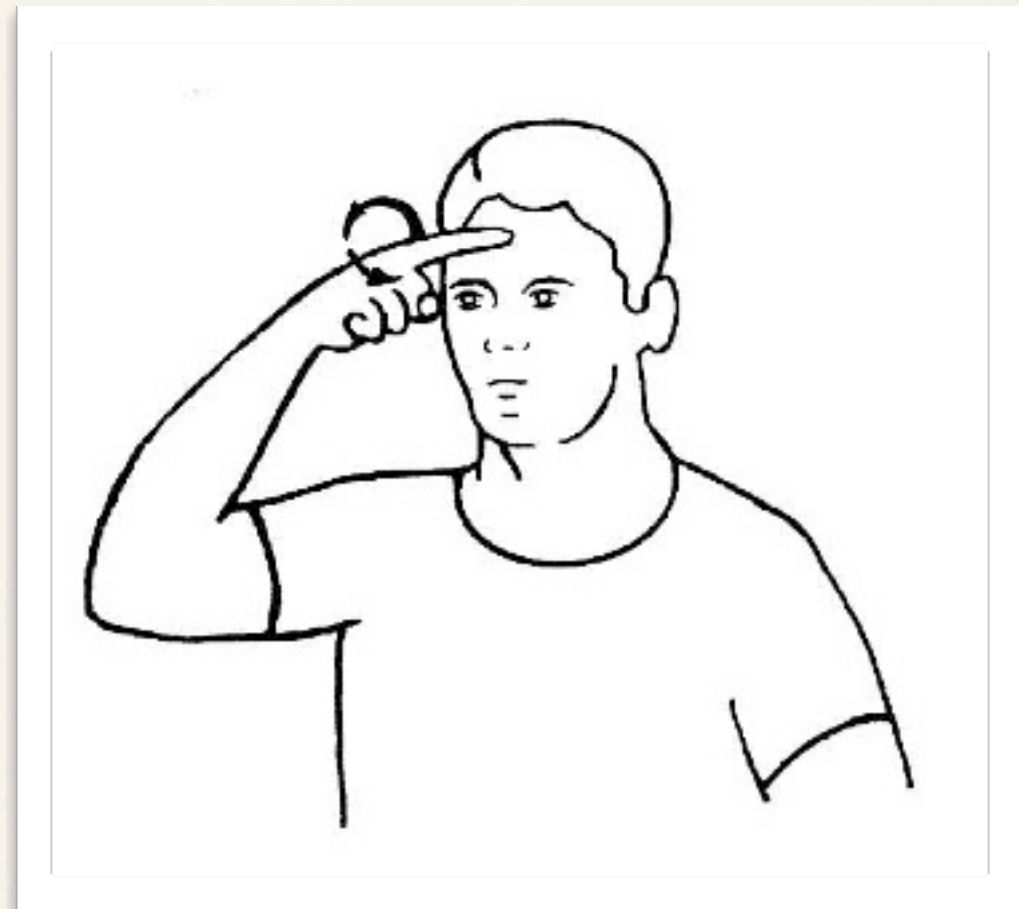
Metaphor & metonymy interaction

- ❖ SAY is metonymic because the circling movements stand for the breath emanating from the speaker's mouth. The exhaled air is metonymically extended to stand for the speech produced by the person.



Metaphor & metonymy interaction

- ❖ THINK-HEARING: complex combination of metonymy and metaphor.



Metaphor & metonymy in LSC

- ❖ **Metaphor:** IDEAS ARE LIQUID
- ❖ **Metonymy:** STRAW > HANDS > ARM > PERSON ACQUIRING THOUGHTS

Wilcox, S., Wilcox, P., & Jarque, M. J. (2003). Mappings in conceptual space: Metonymy, metaphor, and iconicity in two signed languages. *Jezikoslovlje*, 4.1, 139-156