

# From emblems to grammar:

Gestural contributions to an emerging sign language in Mexico

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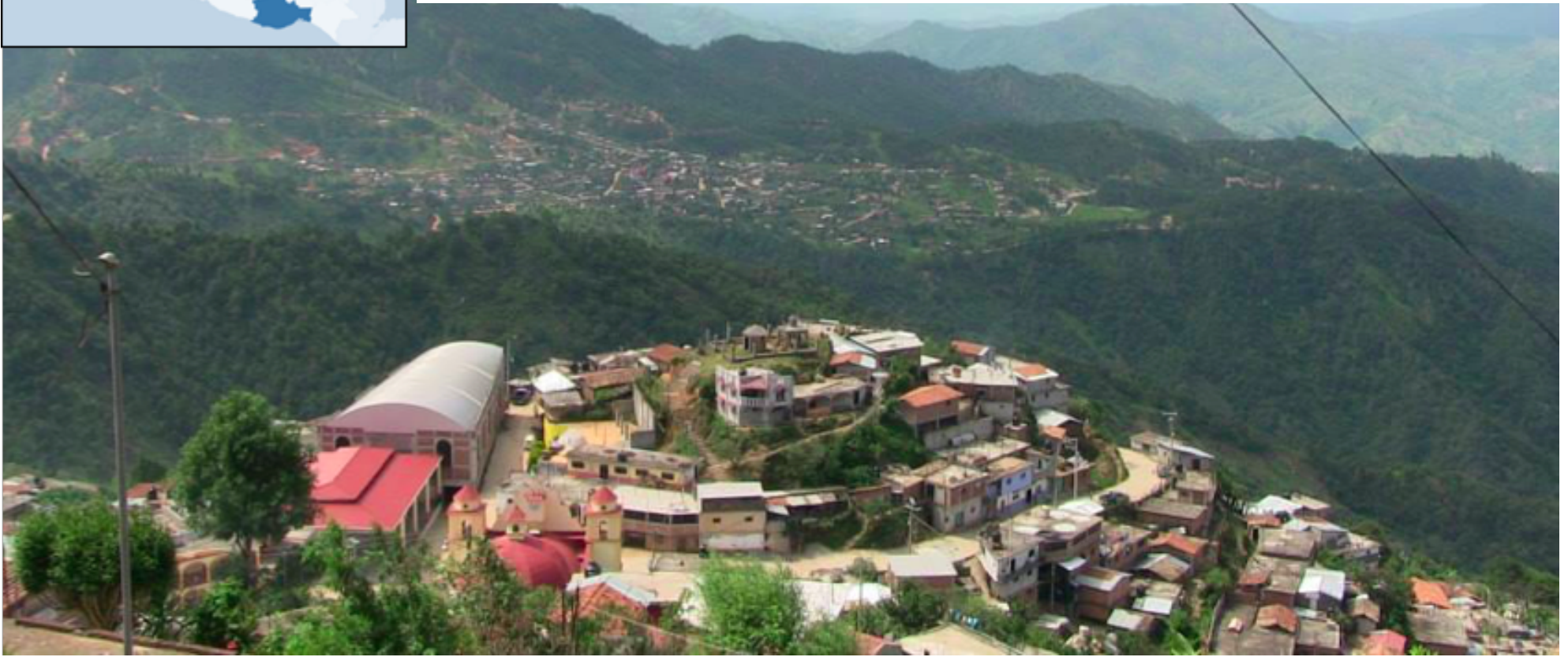
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# Gestures as a source for emerging sign languages



# Gestures as a source for emerging sign languages

- Language ecology as a broad approach for our study
- Gesturers and signers in the same ecology share manual forms and visual-manual practices
- How do signers adapt these forms and practices to create a fully visual-manual language?





*Field site*



*3 Studies*

*Gestural Analogues*

## Field Site: San Juan Quiahije



### San Juan Quiahije Municipality

- Two villages
- Combined pop. ~3600 (INEGI, 2015)

### Spoken languages

- SJQ Chatino (E. Cruz, 2011; H. Cruz, 2014)
- Mexican Spanish

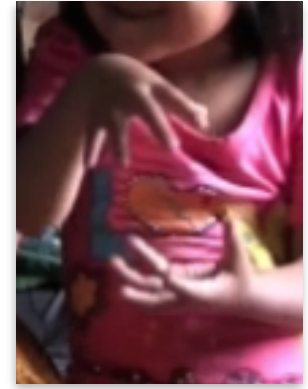
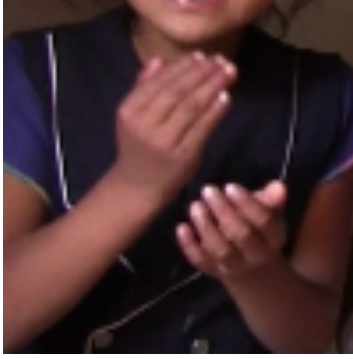


# Field Site: San Juan Quiahije

11 deaf people — 0.3% of the population

- San Juan Quiahije Chatino Sign Language: a constellation of emerging family signed languages in six families (Hou, 2016)





What are the form-meaning mappings of hearing non-signers (majority of population)?

Do signers adapt the form-meaning mappings as they create a fully visual-manual language?

***Gestural Analogues:*** manual forms shared by deaf and hearing signers in the same communicative ecology

# 3 Studies of Gestural Analogues in San Juan Quiahije



## 1. Animal Size-and-Shape Specifiers

*Hou (in press)*

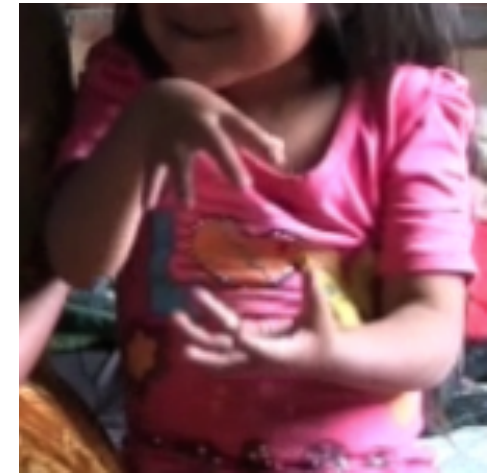




# 1. Animal size-and-shape specifiers: Overview

Measure the height of animals by:

- delimiting the distance between the human hand and the real-world ground
- delimiting the distance between the two human hands



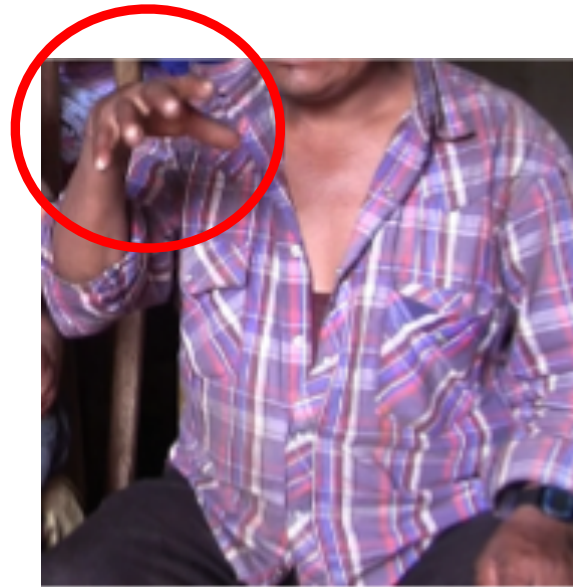
A common Mesoamerican strategy!

(Foster & Ospina, 1948; Meo Zilio & Mejía, 1980, Shuman, 1980; Fox Tree, 2010)

# 1. Animal size-and-shape specifiers: Overview

Birds and mammals distinguished by palm orientation of dom. hand

- **Birds:** palm represents top of head
- **Mammals:** ulnar side of hand represents back of the neck



# 1. Animal size-and-shape specifiers: Research Question

*How do the deaf SJQCSL signers incorporate the animal size-and-shape specifiers into their lexicon?*



# 1. Animal size-and-shape specifiers: Methods

**Elicitation:** 20 animal stimuli in a larger lexical elicitation task

**Participants:** deaf and hearing signers from six families

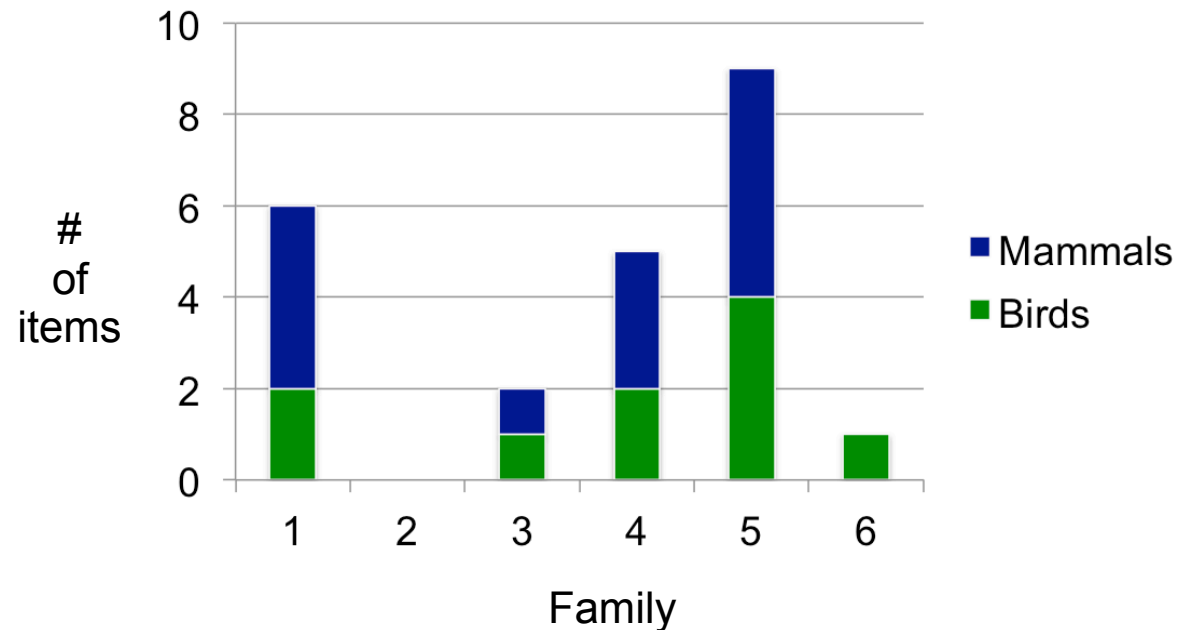


# 1. Animal size-and-shape specifiers: Results

25% of the responses ( $n = 90$ ) have gestural analogues

The overlap varies across the six signing families

Variation in whether the families used specifiers for different animal items



# 1. Animal Size-and-Shape specifiers: Summary

- Animal size-and-shape specifiers contribute to each family's lexicon
- The variation of the overlap suggests that the influence of this group of gestures is not uniform in the families' vocabularies

# 3 Studies of Gestural Analogues in San Juan Quiahije



## 1. Animal Size-and-Shape Specifiers

*Hou, in press*

## 2. Indicating Gestures

*Mesh, 2017*



## 2. Indicating Gestures: Overview

Two clear extremes for indicating gestures

- **Promimal:** low, unextended arm, 1-HS
- **Distal:** high, extended arm, B-HS





# 2. Indicating Gestures: Overview

Elbow Height



Handshape



Arm Extension

## 2. Indicating Gestures: Research Questions

1. Do indicating gestures systematically mark target distance with all three formation features

- for hearing nonsigners?
- for deaf signers?

2. Are deaf signers adapting features of the indicating system?

## 2. Indicating Gestures: Dataset

Filmed local environment interviews (Kita 2001)



## 2. Indicating Gestures: Dataset

Filmed local environment interviews (Kita 2001)

- 29 hearing participants
- Six hr., 30 min. of footage
- 873 IGs
- 2 deaf participants
- 31.5 min. of footage
- 222 Indicating signs



## 2. Indicating Gestures: Results



## 2. Indicating Gestures: Results

**Elbow Height**



- Community conventions for modulating the **height** of indicating gestures are shared across speakers and signers

## 2. Indicating Gestures: Results

**Elbow Height**



**Arm Extension**



**Handshape**



- Other community conventions for indicating gesture forms are not shared

## 2. Indicating Gestures: Results



- Signers don't simply omit features of the larger system: they replace them



## 2. Indicating Gestures: Summary

- Only some practices for meaningful modulation of pointing are shared between gesturers and signers
- Where signers diverge from the larger community pattern, they replace features rather than simply omitting them

# 3 Studies of Gestural Analogues in San Juan Quiahije



## 1. Animal Size-and-Shape Specifiers

*Hou (in press)*

## 2. Pointing Constructions

*Mesh (2017)*



## 3. Negative Emblems

*Mesh & Hou (forthcoming)*



### 3. Negative Emblems: Overview



### 3. Negative Emblems: Research Questions

1. What are the form-meaning mappings for negative emblems

- For hearing nonsigners?
- For deaf signers?

2. Are signers adapting the form-meaning mappings of negative emblems?

3. Do deaf signers differ from hearing signers in their adaptations?

### 3. Negative Emblems: Dataset



5 hours and 20 minutes of video recorded spontaneous conversation

- 472 tokens of negative emblems



A general survey of 14 conventional gestures, including 5 negative emblems

### 3. Negative Emblems: *Mixed methods*



Identification of the function of each negative emblem: **denial**, **rejection**, or **non-existence**



Preliminary qualitative analysis of survey responses about meaning of negative emblems

### 3. Negative Emblems: Results from survey



The majority of hearing people recognize these three forms as negatives for denial, rejection, or non-existence

### 3. Negative Emblems: Results from survey

The majority of hearing people recognize the PALM-UP form as lack of knowledge and the DEAD form to mean, dead





### 3. Negative Emblems: Results from conversational data

For all hearing non-signer form-meaning mappings,

deaf and hearing signers largely exhibit the same mappings



### 3. Negative Emblems: Results

Deaf signers alone showed evidence of creating new form-meaning mappings for two emblems

DEAD



### 3. Negative Emblems: Results

Deaf signers alone showed evidence of creating new form-meaning mappings for two emblems

PALM-UP



### 3. Negative Emblems: Summary

- Clear overlap between form-meaning mappings in negative emblems among hearing gesturers and deaf & hearing signers
- The overlap facilitates communication between deaf and hearing users in a language ecology with highly shared context
  - Deaf signers however adapt two of the negatives, DEAD and PALM-UP, broadening the meaning of their gestural analogues

# Gestures as a source for emerging sign languages

Creators of sign languages do not merely “borrow” gestural practices from the surrounding community:

- They are recipients *and* agents of a cultural transmission process
- They modify the gesturing practices they receive, in ways that are evident when signers and gesturers are systematically compared

Thank you!

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