

Associated Motion Elicitation Kit

This elicitation kit aims at studying associated motion systems (henceforth AM). The kit consists of:

- a visual stimulus, the *AM storybook*, described in details in (§2);
- instructions how to use the storybook (§3);
- a questionnaire designed to express feedback on the kit (§4);
- suggestions for glossing the AM morphemes (§5);
- a basic bibliography on AM (§6).

Section §1 first discusses the multiple goals of the kit.

1. Objectives

Pictures and video stimuli are useful to investigate specific semantic domains and/or grammatical categories, especially for comparative work. The AM storybook was specifically conceived to elicit AM morphemes, i.e. morphemes which encode a back-grounded motion to a main action. This is the reason why all the pictures illustrate main actions that occur within a journey – e.g. checking the rifle before leaving, waving to the family while leaving, greeting friends while walking, etc.

Analyzing the data collected with the AM stimulus should:

- (a) result in a better understanding of the semantic features of each AM morpheme and of the system as a whole (inventory)
- (b) permit to investigate the discourse use of the morphemes;
- (c) allow comparison across consultants – according to their age, gender and level of fluency ;
- (d) help crosslinguistic comparisons, also in terms of inventories and discourse use.

1.1. Investigating the semantic features

According to the currently available descriptions of AM systems (see the, the following parameters may play a role:

- temporal relation to the main action (motion event is prior, simultaneous or subsequent);
- moving argument (subject, object or non core argument);
- ground target feature (new, topic, permanent, unstable, transitional);
- path / directionality (motion away/towards a point of reference, distributed over space, up/downward);
- manner (hurried or unspecified);
- aspectual realization (imperfective or punctual main action);
- relation between the action and the motion (uniqueness or plurality of action related to the motion, or purpose/intentionality).

This list of parameters served as a basis to conceive the stimulus. The storybook takes into account all these parameters and contrast most of them – e.g. losing fruits on one’s way (atelic

action) vs. throwing a piece of meat to the vultures on one’s way (telic action). See Table 1 for the list of the concepts targeted at with each scene.

The stimulus should thus permit to investigate the whole range of semantic features that could be part of the system in the language under study. For example, are *atelic* vs *telic* actions while moving distinguished or encoded with a single morpheme? Is ‘subsequent motion’ part of the system or is the AM system restricted to prior (and simultaneous) motion?

1.2. Discourse use

The stimulus also aims at investigating the AM system of a language in terms of discourse use. For example, how systematic is the use of AM morphemes, e.g. is prior motion more systematically expressed than subsequent motion, how main path verbs (e.g. ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘move towards’, ‘leave’, etc.) and their ‘corresponding’ AM morphemes are used?

1.3. Variation across consultants

The comparison of data collected with distinct consultants may reveal differences in terms of inventories and discourse use. Wilkins (1991:229) noticed that AM morphemes are difficult to acquire, as they are mastered later by speakers acquiring the language and may not be mastered at all by non-fluent ones. Collecting data with a wide array of consultants may give interesting clues in the domains of language acquisition or language loss/decay. AM inventories as well as frequency of the individual morpheme may vary from one consultant to the other.

Working with a large variety of speakers is therefore of primary importance for this task (see below for more details about the ‘ideal’ number and range of consultants).

1.4. Cross-linguistic variation

The data collected with the same stimulus in distinct languages should facilitate cross-linguistic comparison between AM systems, again in terms of inventories and discourse use.

Remarks:

Complementary, more spontaneous data should complement the data collected with the stimulus. It is highly recommended to collect hunter and travel stories from the same consultants, as is suggested in the instructions (§3).

2. The visual stimulus: the AM storybook

The AM storybook consists of 22 line drawings. The main character is an Ese Ejja who went hunting and underwent a series of subevents. Each of the 22 scenes drawn represents a main action, than can be perceived in the background of a journey. This means that each scene has been conceived to be potentially described using at least one type of AM morpheme reported so far in one language at least (see annotated bibliography). Table 1 lists the 22 drawings. The first column briefly summarizes the scene, while the second column mentions the various AM concepts targeted at – the main action / main verb is written in lower case while the AM morpheme is in small caps.

Remark: This is important for the researcher to be aware of the distinct main events and subevents and of the AM concepts targeted at. In Task 1 described below, the researcher should be able to point at or emphasize the events and the motion(s) associated to them, so as to make sure that the consultant is aware of them and will be able to identify them if this is relevant for his version of the story.

Table 1 : Detailed event account and AM morphemes expected

		AM morpheme(s) expected
1	A man is getting ready to go hunting, checking his rifle	check rifle BEFORE LEAVING (HOME)
2	He leaves his home with his rifle; he waves at his wife & baby who are at the door, the boy is holding back the dog who wants to follow his master	wave & GO AWAY (FROM HOME) (the boy) holds the dog back AT Z’S DEPARTURE (the dog) wants to go AT Z’S DEPARTURE
3	He walks past a field in which a couple is working and they wave at each other.	wave / say hi PAST (A NEW PLACE)
4	He finds some fruits and collects them.	collect (telic + pluriaction) WHEN GOING
5	He loses fruits on his way because his bag has a hole.	lose (atelic + pluriaction) WHEN GOING
6	He is walking, is hot and tired (other possible reading: he chases flies or mosquitoes)	‘be hot/tired’ WHEN GOING
7	He goes down to a river and drinks / refreshes himself / fills his water sack.	GO DOWNWARD & drink drink / refresh oneself WHILE STOPPING TRANSITORY (NEW PLACE)
8	He walks again and feels much better.	be happy WHEN RESTARTING A JOURNEY AFTER A SHORT STOP
9	He hears capybaras.	(the man) hear O (the capybaras) COMING TOWARD A (the capybaras) hear O (the man) COMING TOWARD A
10	He shoots one capybara out of three. The other two run away in the opposite direction.	shoot O (the capybara) COMING TOWARD A see / miss O (the capybaras) GOING TOWARD A
11	He puts the capybara into his bag (but it is too big) and goes back home.	load AND RETURN HOME
12	Vultures try to get some pieces of meat / attack him on his way.	be attacked WHILE RETURNING HOME attack WHILE Z’S MOVING
13	He disembowels the capybara and throws the guts to the vultures so that they eat it & leave him in peace.	disembowel/throw/ WHILE RETURNING / WHILE STOPPING (AT A NEW PLACE)
14	He goes back (down) to the river to refresh / drink; he sees a baby monkey.	refresh / drink WHILE RETURNING HOME / WHILE STOPPING SHORTLY (AT A KNOWN PLACE)
15	He captures the baby monkey; the monkey’s mother witnesses the scene.	capture WHILE RETURNING HOME / WHILE STOPPING SHORTLY (AT A KNOWN PLACE) / BEFORE RETURNING HOME
16	He passes by the field of the same couple, who are interested in exchanging some meat against bananas	wave / say hi PAST BACK (KNOWN PLACE)
17	His child runs towards him as he is arriving; the monkey’s mother (crying/hiding) has followed him.	- (Mother Monkey) hide/cry WHILE FOLLOWING Z - run towards Z AT Z’S ARRIVAL
18	He ties the monkey with his rifle still on the shoulder (= WHEN ARRIVING); the neighbor / woman working in the field brings banana to ex-	- tie WHEN ARRIVING - bring banana AT Z’S ARRIVAL - COME MOMENTARILY TO A PLACE TO bring/exchange

	change them for meat.	banana / give X AT ARRIVING somewhere AND RETURN
19	The neighbour / woman working in the field leaves the house / goes back home with meat exchanged for bananas	- COME TO exchange X - exchange X and LEAVE/RETURN
20	The wife cooks the animal; the children play around with their father & the monkey; the monkey mother is looking through the window.	- cook X BROUGHT
21	The family sleeps at night, and the monkey’s mother sets him free	- COME TO free X
22	They both run back into the forest smiling? / while eating banana	- run / steal banana + GO FOR GOOD

The table serves two aims:

- to make the researcher aware of the various scenes which can be associated to motion (and to which type of motion), so that he can highlight the multiple (sub)events to his consultant (when they go through the story together);
- to guide the researcher in elicitation, as a way to highlight possible subtle differences between AM morphemes. The researcher could for example check the adequateness of an AM morpheme with a specific scene – provided the researcher already knows about the paradigm.

Note that an effort was made to make the story as ecologically valid as possible, in order for the consultants to identify most easily each of the events. The drawings were realized by Antoine Desnoyers, who is an illustrator and who already had exposure to the Ese Ejja and their environment. He took into account that such techniques as ‘shot-countershot’ (in which viewpoint changes from one participant to another) may be not spontaneously understood by ‘non-Western’ consultants, who are not familiar with line drawings. He therefore favored a linear ‘links from right’ reading – which is however not neutral either.

People unfamiliar with Western modes of representation may however still encounter difficulties in considering isolated drawings as meaningful world representations, and/or understanding that a story made of several line drawings is actually a story and not, for example, a succession of isolated pictures (see here again Wilkins (1991, 217) who mentions the aerial view of events in the Arrernte drawings). The instructions given below may represent solutions to these issues, especially Instruction 1 where the researcher and the consultant go through and discuss the story together.

The researcher should make sure that the consultant does not feel uncomfortable while completing any of the tasks. If such situations should arise, researchers are encouraged to experiment the stimulus with other speakers more familiar with a storybook.

3. Protocol

The entire experience consists of five instructions, completed by the same consultant. The five distinct instructions aim at facilitating the investigation of the inventory and discourse use of AM morphemes.

Instruction 1 – ‘Here is a hunting story’: Discovering the story with the researcher

Leafing through the story and discussing it aims at making sure that the story is effectively understood as a story, with a journey in background. First, the consultant is told the following: ‘Here is a hunting story’ – in order to have the consultant focus on the hunter rather than on any other character of the story. The researcher will explain the consultant that:

- they will first go through the story together;
- he (the consultant) will later be asked to tell this hunting story in a day or two to another native speaker, who will not see the book.

They will then start to leaf through the book: the consultant should describe what he thinks is going on, while the researcher should pay attention to what the consultant describes and understands. In case some salient characters and actions of Table 1 (e.g. the Mother Monkey following her captured son & the hunter) are not mentioned by the consultant, the researcher should highlight their presence and their actions. Any question from the consultant can be answered.

This task does not require another native speaker to be present, though more than one consultant could be present and participate.

This first task can be recorded, though it is not of primary importance. However, recording the comments and questions of the consultants could be of interest, as it may show when AM start being used – if they ever are. The consultant is indeed likely to use very few AM morphemes, as the journey of the characters are not known in advance, and no spatio-temporal landmark can therefore be set and encoded into AM morphemes. Hence, the actions are unlikely to be situated with regard to motion, at least not with regard to forthcoming motions.

In case the researcher is interested in deictic, this task can however be a good tool to investigate the use of gestures when pointing, as the consultant is likely to point to distinct characters – in which case a filming the whole process would be of importance.

Instruction 2: Re-telling the story with an itinerary in mind

The second version is collected only once both the researcher and the consultant have conducted Instruction 1, i.e. leafed through and discussed the story. The story will be told to a native speaker who does not know the story already, and who will not see the book. If the consultant prefers retelling the story without the book, he can, though some details of the story may be missed. On the other hand, telling the story without the book may result in a more spontaneous narration, which may include in turn more AM.

Note that if the speakers tend to be quite descriptive (“there is a tree, a house, etc”) you may try to redirect him saying ‘What is going on now?’ so as to make sure he concentrates on the story rather than on the pictures.

This second task preferably takes place the day following the first task. This will lessen the influence of the researcher’s words / way of seeing the story.

Instruction 3: How did the speaker like it?

This third step is of importance for future stimuli – or even for improving this one. The researcher must ask how the consultant felt about the whole experience and how he liked it (see Questions 12/13 in the Questionnaire).

The next two instructions are suggestions; the researcher may not follow them.

Instruction 4: Telling a complementary similar story

Discussion following the ‘experience’ may include the following questions:

- Did the story remind you of a personal experience, or that of a friend?
- (or) Could you tell me your last/best hunting/fishing trip, or a typical day of hunting / fishing, or your last travel?

Besides obtaining more spontaneous data, the interest of such complementary data is to compare the relative frequency use of AM morphemes when the itinerary is maybe better conceptualized / known by the speaker.

Instruction 5: The Pear Film

Finally, the researcher may use the famous ‘Pear Film’ (www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm). The ‘Pear Film’ may be first seen, and then told by various people one after the other. The Pear Film has one main advantage: as there is no ‘real’ home as reference point, it will hopefully highlight which morphemes are not exclusively associated to homes, but are associated to a more general reference point established in any journey.

General remarks:

All the tasks need not be performed the same day. Instruction 1 to 3 (leaf through the story with the consultant, have him retell the story and ask him about his feeling with regard to the stimulus) have priority over the other instructions in case the researcher is short of time. Recording the story in French lasted about half an hour with a speaker educated in western countries.

In order to record a coherent story, the speaker must tell the story to a native speaker who does not know already the story. This is very important, because you won’t give as much details to someone who already the story.

Ideal number and range of speakers:

As mentioned earlier, this stimulus should investigate variation across speakers. Ideally, 8 speakers will perform the tasks: 2 elders (male/female), 2 adults (male/female), 2 teenagers (male/female) and 2 children. However, fieldwork reality may make this request impossible. Recording one person of each age group would be the minimum (given that there are speakers of each age group).

Video:

Note that filming the consultant while he tells the story allows capturing specific gestures associated to the spatial information articulated, especially those associated to AM morphemes.

4. How to cite the stimulus and the kit

Vuillermet, Marine, and Antoine Desnoyers. 2013 ms. “A hunting story ~ Yendo a cazar: A visual stimulus for eliciting constructions that associate motion with other events.” Department of Linguistics, UC Berkeley.

Vuillermet, Marine. 2013. “Associated Motion Elicitation Kit. (Version 7)” Department of Linguistics, UC Berkeley.

5. General bibliography

(Guillaume 2016) (Vuillermet 2012; Vuillermet 2013) (Koch 1984; Wilkins 1991; Rose 2015) (O’Connor 2007) (Tunbridge 1988) (Guillaume 2013) (Guillaume in press)

Guillaume, Antoine. in press. Sistemas complejos de movimiento asociado en las lenguas de las familias Tacana y Pano: perspectivas descriptiva, comparativa y tipológica. In Antoine Guillaume & Valenzuela (eds.), *Estudios sincrónicos y diacrónicos sobre lenguas Pano y Takana: fonología, morfología y sintaxis*. (Amerindia).

Guillaume, Antoine. 2013. Reconstructing the category of “associated motion” in Tacanan languages (Amazonian Bolivia and Peru). In Ritsuko Kikusawa & Lawrence A. Reid (eds.), *Historical Linguistics 2011: Selected papers from the 20th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Guillaume, Antoine. 2016. Associated motion in South America: typological and areal perspectives. *Linguistic Typology* 20(1). 81–177.

Koch, Harold. 1984. The category of “associated motion” in Kaytej. *Language in Central Australia* 1. 23–34.

O’Connor, Loretta. 2007. *Motion, transfer and transformation: the grammar of change in lowland Chontal*. (Studies in Language Companion Series v. 95). Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub.

Rose, Françoise. 2015. Associated motion in Mojeño Trinitario: Some typological considerations. *Folia Linguistica* 49(1). doi:10.1515/flin-2015-0004. <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/flin.2015.49.issue-1/flin-2015-0004/flin-2015-0004.xml> (2 December, 2016).

Tunbridge, Dorothy. 1988. Affixes of motion and direction in Adnyamathanha. In Peter Austin (ed.), *Complex Sentences Constructions in Australian Languages*, vol. 15, 267–283. (Typological Studies in Language). John Benjamins.

Vuillermet, Marine. 2012. Une typologie en cheminement : Contribution de l’ese ejja à l’étude du mouvement associé. In Caroline Imbert & Nathalie Vallée (eds.), *LIDIL*, 79–100. Grenoble.

Vuillermet, Marine. 2013. Dónde, cuándo, y con quién ocurren acciones: El movimiento asociado en ese ejja. In Ana María Ospina (ed.), *Expresión de nociones espaciales en lenguas amazónicas*, 33–53. Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia e Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Wilkins, David P. 1991. The Semantics, Pragmatics and Diachronic Development of “Associated Motion” in Mparntwe Arrernte. *Buffalo Papers in Linguistics*. 207–257.

5. Gloss suggested

6. Questionnaire

The following questionnaire aims at improving this particular stimulus and possibly forthcoming ones. The researcher’s and the consultant’s feedback are both of great importance.

1. First name / Last name of the researcher:
2. Name and family of the language studied:
3. Number and (approximate) age of consultants with whom the stimulus was used:
4. Average time spent with each consultant and range (from xx mn to xx mn):
5. Did the stimulus help to collect AM morphemes?
6. If yes, which AM morphemes (please give the list and give glosed examples)? Does the list correspond to the exhaustive AM paradigm (please mention the ones not collected via the stimulus)?
7. If not, (do you have an idea) why?
8. Did you collect other interesting data not linked to AM morphemes? If yes, what kind?
9. Do you already have an idea / hints of what your data may capture about language command, language decay, and variation across speakers?
10. Did you feel comfortable using this stimulus?
11. Were the two distinct instructions useful, i.e. did they result in different types of data?
12. Did the consultants feel comfortable using this stimulus?
13. How did the consultants react on seeing it and using it? (e.g. they encountered difficulties, e.g. did not recognize characters or specific parts of the drawings, they had fun, they wanted to have their own copy, etc.)
14. Have you ever used another stimulus / other stimuli? If yes, could you briefly describe which one it was / they were (name of the stimulus + its designers + its main aim) and compare one or two main specificities (ideally their main plus and minuses)
15. Do you have suggestions to improve this stimulus? What would you suggest for future stimulus?

16. Do you have suggestions to improve the elicitation kit?

17. Please fill the table below to rate the ‘Associated Motion’ stimulus (1=very good, 5=very bad)

	Rate (1-5)	Comments
Goal achievement (Collecting AM morphemes)		
Ease of use (from the researcher’s point of view)		
Ease of use (from the consultant’s point of view)		
Usefulness of the two instructions		
Data collection (not only AM morphemes)		
Average time per consultant		Range: from ___ mn to ___ mn
Interest of the annotated bibliography		

Acknowledgement

This work would greatly benefited from the help of my sponsor Lev Michael, and from thought-provoking discussions in our reading group ‘Directionals and Associated Motion’. I owe special thanks to Jessica Cleary-Kemp and Dan Slobin in designing the instructions.

Contact :

marinevui@yahoo.com

toinov.desnoyers@gmail.com

Sites :

www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm

www.marinevuillermet.com

www.antoinedesnoyers.com

www.toinov.net