

# Motivation in Two-Handed Signs: A Cross-Linguistic Investigation of Word Forms



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## Introduction

Two-handed signs are subject to formal constraints<sup>[1]</sup> and can change over time<sup>[2]</sup> or under certain phonological and morphological conditions<sup>[3]</sup>.

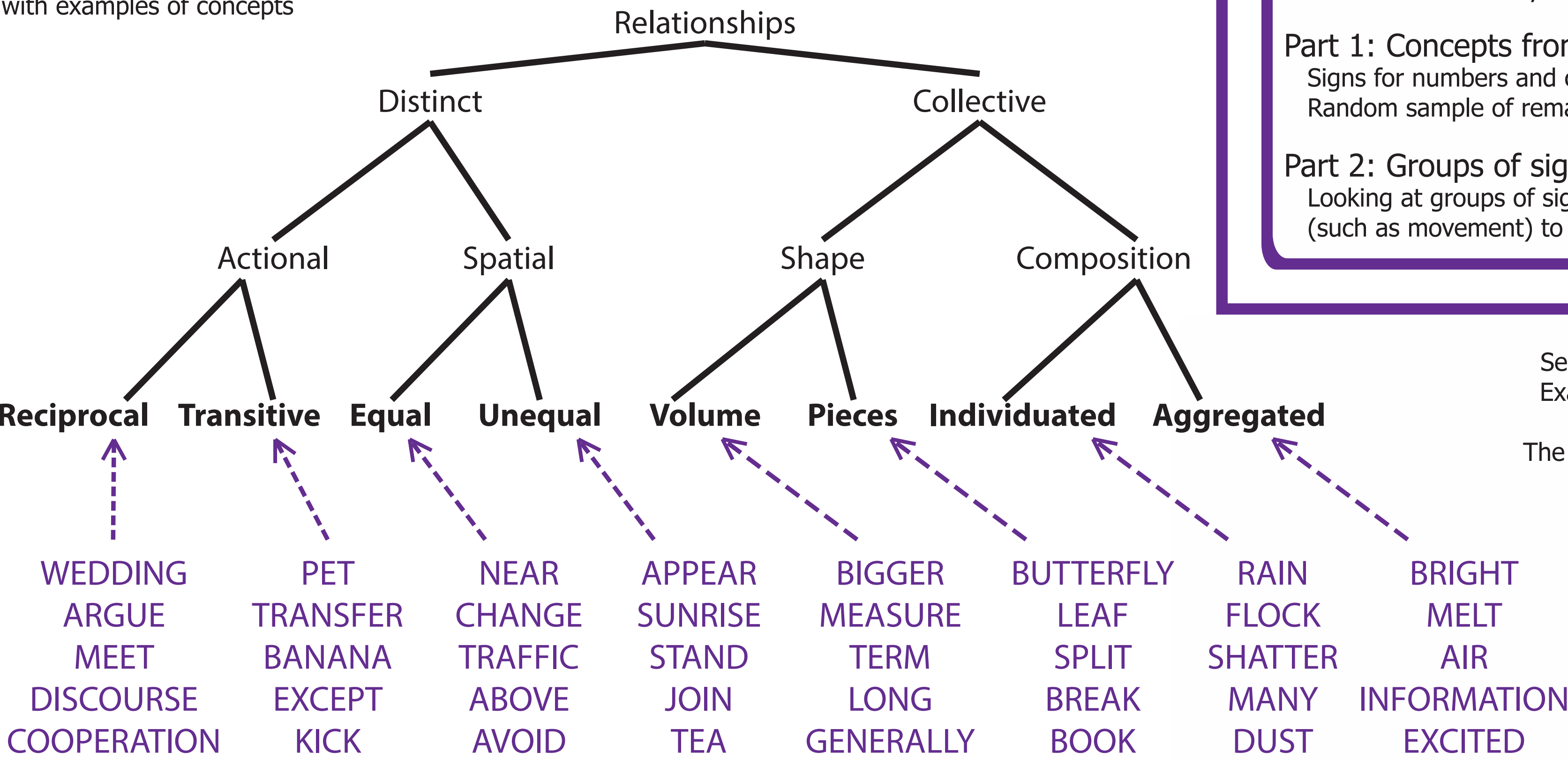
Is the underlying division between one- and two-handed signs totally arbitrary?

## Main Questions

- 1) How can meaning predict whether a sign will be two-handed?
- 2) What meanings recur among two-handed signs, across languages?

## Part 2: Two-Handed Signs Encode Relationship Types

Semantic features mapped to two-handed signs across languages, with examples of concepts



**Example mapping:** In the ASL sign **MEET**, the two hands each represent how distinct entities act in a **reciprocal** relationship.

## Data and Methodology

Three dictionaries and Deaf native consultants:  
**American SL**<sup>[4]</sup>, **Israeli SL**<sup>[5]</sup>, & **Swedish SL**<sup>[6]</sup>

Part 1: Concepts from ECHO Swadesh list<sup>[7]</sup>  
Signs for numbers and country names removed  
Random sample of remaining signs selected for testing

Part 2: Groups of signs from each language  
Looking at groups of signs with shared phonological features (such as movement) to identify recurring semantic mappings

Semantic **features** are listed in **bold**.  
Example **concepts** are listed in **purple**.

The more salient a semantic **feature** is for a given **concept**, the more likely that sign is to be two-handed.

However, we hypothesize that languages can vary as to which **features** are relevant to encode a **concept**...

and we suggest that the semantic **features** themselves are what recur among two-handed signs across languages.

It is not simply concepts, but salient sensory images and semantic features associated with concepts, that foster two-handed signs.

**EMPTY** looks different in ISL, SSL, and ASL, but each language uses two hands: one to represent a surface or container, and the other to highlight that it is bare



ISL EMPTY



SSL EMPTY<sup>[6]</sup>



ASL EMPTY<sup>[14]</sup>

## Discussion and Conclusions

Looking at groups of two-handed signs, we identified recurring mappings:

The two hands are frequently used to show:

- Participants in an event
- Spatial configurations
- Physical dimensions
- Internal composition

Certain meanings drive two-handedness

Meaning is not deterministic, however:

- two fingers instead of two hands
- the body instead of a flat hand
- languages can vary arbitrarily

Meaning is ONE of the factors that can influence whether a sign will be two-handed

Predictions about tendencies can only be validated via cross-linguistic comparison<sup>[8]</sup>

Consistent with a growing body of research:

The sign modality shows how a lexicon arises on the basis of **iconicity**, and moreover how semantics are codified in linguistic structure<sup>[9,10,11]</sup>

Therefore, it is important to look at **patterns of iconicity** within and across languages, rather than only in individual forms<sup>[12,13]</sup>

The arrangement and interaction of the hands encodes the asymmetrical spatial relationship

## Future Directions

Currently testing hypotheses in a new village sign language, Al-Sayyid Bedouin SL<sup>[10]</sup>

Extending our dataset to include non-Western, non-urban sign languages, for a more complete picture and to further refine our hypotheses

Extending our hypotheses by looking at the relationship between classifiers and lexical signs, as well as patterns for one-handed lexical signs

## Appendix: More on Semantic Features

We chose to uniquely label the terminal nodes in our tree, but these nodes could be replaced with sets of binary features:

We are currently evaluating the relative benefits/drawbacks of these two notational systems.

See handout for additional information about the definitions and criteria used for semantic features

Reciprocal: [+distinct, -spatial, +symmetrical]  
Transitive: [+distinct, -spatial, -symmetrical]  
Equal: [+distinct, +spatial, +symmetrical]  
Unequal: [+distinct, +spatial, -symmetrical]  
Volume: [-distinct, +shape, -separate]  
Pieces: [-distinct, +shape, +separate]  
Individuated: [-distinct, -shape, +separate]  
Aggregated: [-distinct, -shape, -separate]

## References

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