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FICTIVITY IN FICTION: VISUAL PATH CONSTRUAL AND VIEWPOINT

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FICTIVITY IN FICTION: VISUAL PATH CONSTRUAL AND VIEWPOINT

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FICTIVITY IN FICTION: VISUAL PATH CONSTRUAL AND VIEWPOINT

EDELVAIS BRIGIDA CALDEIRA

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*I've seen a Dying Eye
Run round and round a Room
In search of Something – as it seemed –
Then Cloudier become –
And then – obscure with Fog –
And then – be soldered down
Without disclosing what it be
'Twere blessed to have seen –*

Emily Dickinson, poem 547

ABSTRACT

The notion of fictivity is fundamental for thought and language, whose theoretical construct encompasses a variety of instances, such as *fictive entity*, *fictive motion*, *fictive change* and *fictive speech acts* (LANGACKER, 1999; ROCHA, 2012, 2013). Regarding fictive motion, the assumption is that the conceptualizer construes a stationary entity as moving along a path, through a process of mental scanning, e.g., *That mountain range goes from Mexico to Canada* (LANGACKER, 1986, 1999; TALMY, 2000). From that perspective, the present work aimed at identifying and establishing patterns of path configuration in visual expressions that combine a motion verb and the noun EYE, such as *my eyes wandered*, in literary texts. In addition, we attempted to relate such patterns to the creation of viewpoint in the narratives. In order to carry out this research, a specific corpus containing 30 novels from the nineteenth century, written originally in English, and collected from a public domain website (<https://www.gutenberg.org/>) was built. The corpus was, then, uploaded to the online tool for linguistic analysis Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu>), which helped generate lists of verbs, provide concordance lines, as well as create random samples for analysis. A sample of ten percent of all the occurrences was analyzed. Such amount was considered sufficient to meet the objectives of the present work. The findings demonstrated that both the semantics of the motion verbs and the path configuration specified by the prepositions and adverbials can influence the formation of a narrative *viewpoint* as well as the way in which the reader construes the narrative. Besides, the results showed that not only fictive motion, but also other cognitive phenomena such as metonymy and *compression* operate in the conceptualization of the visual constructions. Finally, this work has contributed to demonstrate how Cognitive Linguistics can benefit from the Literary field and vice-versa.

Keywords: Cognitive Linguistics. Fictive motion. Viewpoint. Fiction. Visual Construal.

RESUMO

O conceito de fictividade apresenta-se como fundamental para o pensamento e a linguagem, sendo que seu escopo teórico abrange uma variedade de instâncias, tais como *entidade fictiva*, *movimento fictivo*, *mudança fictiva* e *atos de fala fictivos* (LANGACKER, 1999; ROCHA, 2012, 2013). Com relação ao movimento fictivo, considera-se a premissa de que o conceptualizador interpreta (*construes*) uma entidade estática como estando em movimento por uma trajetória, a partir de um processo de escaneamento mental, como no exemplo, “Aquela montanha vai do México ao Canadá” (*That mountain range goes from Mexico to Canada*) (LANGACKER, 1999; TALMY, 2000). A partir dessa perspectiva, a presente pesquisa tem como objetivo identificar e estabelecer padrões de configuração de trajetória nas expressões visuais em textos literários, na língua inglesa, com o propósito de relacionar esses padrões à construção de *viewpoint* na narrativa. As expressões, que são objeto desse estudo contém um verbo de movimento e o lema EYE, por exemplo, *my eyes wandered*. A fim de alcançar o objetivo proposto, um corpus específico, contendo 30 romances do século XIX e escritos originalmente na língua inglesa, foi construído. Para manipulação dos dados, o software *sketch engine* foi utilizado. Essa ferramenta de análise linguística auxiliou na criação de listas de verbos, no fornecimento de linhas de concordância e na exibição da distribuição das ocorrências no corpus. Os resultados demonstraram que tanto a semântica dos verbos de movimento, quanto as configurações de trajetória, especificadas pelas preposições e locuções adverbiais, podem influenciar a criação de *viewpoint* narrativo e a forma pela qual o leitor interpreta a narrativa. Além disso, os resultados mostraram que, além do fenômeno de movimento fictivo, outros processos cognitivos, com metonímia e *compression* atuam para a conceptualização das construções de descrição da visão. Finalmente, o trabalho contribuiu no sentido de demonstrar como a pesquisa em Linguística Cognitiva pode se beneficiar do escopo da teoria literária e vice-versa.

Palavras-chave: Linguística Cognitiva. Movimento Fictivo. Viewpoint. Ficção. *Construal* visual.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CL	Cognitive Linguistics
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
FoR	Frame of Reference
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Models
REM	Rapid Eye Movement
FE	Frame Element
BNC	British National Corpus
DS	Dynamic Source
ST	Static Target

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INTRODUCTION

When I glanced down in the direction of the murmur, my eye, traversing the hall-front, caught a light kindling in a window: it reminded me that I was late, and I hurried on."

(*Jane Eyre*, Charlotte Brontë)

Vision and motion are basic domains of human experience. Due to the centrality of motion in our bodily experiences in the world, we can conceptualize static entities as if they were moving. The cognitive phenomenon that enables us to think and talk about static scenes as motion events, such as *The fence goes from the plateau to the valley* and *The road goes along the coast*, is referred to as fictive motion¹. The term fictive motion was coined by Talmy (2000), whose work on motion events involves the participation of four components: Figure, Motion, Path and Ground. Talmy (2000, p. 312) defines Figure as "a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue". As for the Ground, it is defined as "a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized" (TALMY, 2000, p. 312). In Talmy's typology, vision is also considered a type of fictive motion due to our conceptualization of the *line of sight* as an entity that moves in a trajectory (path) that has a starting (source) and an ending point (goal). In vision, the Figure component corresponds to the perceiver, or the Experiencer, and the Ground is the perceived entity, or the Experienced. As for visual path, it is regarded as the trajectory of a mental simulated motion of the Figure² with reference to the Ground.

Based on these premises of fictive motion, the present research investigated visual motion events, specifically visual descriptions in fictional narratives containing a motion verb and the noun EYE. Our assumption is that structures such as *my eye traversing the hall front* create distinct viewpoints from those containing an agentive verb for vision, as in *I looked at the hall front*, for example. Our approach to viewpoint corresponds to the notion proposed by Dancygier (2012, 2014, 2017), who defines it as

¹ Fictive motion is also known as virtual motion (TALMY, 1983), abstract motion (LANGACKER, 1987) and subjective motion (MATSUMOTO, 1996).

² The Figure in the visual expressions we analyzed refers to the line of sight that is conceptualized as one's visual perception.

a cognitive phenomenon that “does not necessarily rely on a viewing subject, so that it is not necessarily ‘someone’s’ point of view” (DANCYGIER, 2012, p. 61). Rather, viewpoint is a conceptual structure, accounted as an inherent element of human communication, and that can be expressed through our linguistic choices. From that perspective, “even in a basic act of spoken communication one constantly operates in a network of viewpoint dimensions” (DANCYGIER, 2012, p. 61). As a part of this network, we may include the experience of spatial events, which involves aspects such as path information (source – trajectory – goal), manner of motion and direction. Since motion verbs can encode manner (e.g., ROLL) or direction (e.g., RAISE), the notions of manner and directionality are crucial for the present analysis, because the direction of sight, as well as the manner encoded by the motion verbs, has a straight correlation with viewpoint phenomena.

Besides, the distinction between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages is fundamental for the present analysis, as we intend to account for the verbs as well as the satellites that code path information outside the verbs. An account of the distinction between these two patterns of language is provided as follows: in verb-framed languages, the verb encodes path of motion while manner of motion can be informed by an adverbial or another verb (e.g., exit flying); in satellite-framed languages, on the other hand, manner is encoded by the verb and a satellite encodes path (e.g., fly out) (TALMY, 1985, 2000; SLOBIN, 2004). Whereas path information in English is more commonly provided by the satellites (TALMY, 2000), i.e., the prepositions and adverbials, some verbs like *raise*, *fall* and *follow* lexicalize a path and/or the direction, which in vision designates the orientation of the line of sight. As for the notion of direction, it is determined by one of the axes of a frame of reference³ (ZLATEV, 2007).

In that regard, it is argued that the emergence of viewpoint in narratives is also determined by the grammatical (and lexical) choices that express these aspects of spatial

³ Frame of reference is defined by Tommasi and Laeng (2012, p. 572) as “a system of special coordinates that allows an individual to establish her/his orientation with respect to the surrounding environment”. Examples of how frames of reference operate in determining direction are provided by Zlatev (2007, p. 332): The plane is flying that way (FoR: viewpoint-centered); The plane is flying north (FoR: geocentric); The plane is flying towards the North Pole (FoR: object-centered).

events. Compare the two examples provided by Talmy (2000, p. 69), in which two different viewpoints can be established due to the linguistic choices:

- a. The lunchroom door slowly opened and two men walked in.
- b. Two men slowly opened the lunchroom door and walked in.

The two viewpoints created by the sentences (a) and (b) relate to the location from which we imagine (or construe) the narrated events. On the one hand, the lack of a specified agent in sentence (a) indicates that the scene is construed from the interior of the room. On the other hand, sentence (b) specifies the agent (*two men*) responsible for opening the door and who moved from the outside to the inside of the room. In that case, the viewpoint is changed to the exterior of the room. This distinction in viewpoint as a consequence of the change in grammatical structure is explained by Talmy (2000) in terms of whether the initiator of an event is visible or not. As Evans (2006, p. 197) explains, “what comes first in the sentence (the subject) corresponds to what is viewed first by the speaker/narrator, and this provides us with clues for reconstructing the perspective point”. Drawing from that perspective, we argue that the motion verbs used for vision, analyzed in the present research, might specify distinct ways in which visual perception occurs, depending on their semantics or the path configuration established by these verbs. In other words, the verbs that describe our body movement in the world, such as *raise*, *lift*, *wander*, *fall*, etc., are also used fictively to describe our visual experiences. As a consequence, the emergent viewpoint is a mental *alignment* that can be expressed by any participants of a narrative through means of linguistic choices (DANCYGIER, 2012).

With regard to the corpus compiled for this analysis, it is composed by novels that were published in the nineteenth century. The choice for the specified period is due to the importance given to the visual sense in artistic work of that time, including linguistic practices. To demonstrate the ubiquity of vision in ordinary language, and culture as a whole, Jay (1993, p. 125) included twenty-one visual metaphors⁴, even “dead” ones, in the introductory paragraph of his book *Downcast Eyes – The Denigration of Vision in*

⁴ The term *visual metaphors* used by Jay (1993) refers to the conventional understanding of metaphor as a literary, poetic device with the purpose to cause a rhetorical effect. Such view of metaphor is different from that proposed by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), discussed in section 1.1.

Twentieth-Century French Thought. As he says, many of these visual metaphors are “embedded in words that no longer seem directly dependent on them”. For instance, the word *vigilant* comes from the Latin word *vigilare* and means to watch. Consider the paragraph:

Even a rapid glance at the language we commonly use will demonstrate the ubiquity of visual metaphors. If we actively focus our attention on them, vigilantly keeping an eye out for those deeply embedded as well as those on the surface, we can gain an illuminating insight into the complex mirroring of perception and language. Depending, of course, on one's outlook or point of view, the prevalence of such metaphors will be accounted an obstacle or an aid to our knowledge of reality. It is, however, no idle speculation or figment of imagination to claim that if blinded to their importance, we will damage our ability to inspect the world outside and introspect the world within. And our prospects for escaping their thrall, if indeed that is even a foreseeable goal, will be greatly dimmed. In lieu of an exhaustive survey of such metaphors, whose scope is far too broad to allow an easy synopsis, this opening paragraph should suggest how ineluctable the modality of the visual actually is, at least in our linguistic practice. I hope by now that you, *optique lecteur*, can see what I mean. (JAY, 1993, p. 125)

The abundance of visual references in the former paragraph emphasizes the prominence given to vision in language in general, but the nineteenth century was particularly considered one of “the most visual periods of western culture” (SYIPHER, 1971, p. 74). Such notion was developed based on the assumption that regards the superiority of vision over the other senses (JAY, 1993). Indeed, in his comprehensive discussion on the importance of visual metaphors in language, Jay (1993) points out that the eye function cannot be accomplished without being constantly in motion. Even in our sleep, the eye continues to move in rapid movement, known as REM (Rapid Eye Movement). The relationship between vision and motion is an issue that has drawn scholars’ attention due to the similarities in terms of syntactic and semantic structure in the two domains. Verbs and expressions that we use to describe visual perception in English are used in a similar way as the ones used to talk about motion verbs (GISBORNE, 2010; SLOBIN, 2009). The verb GLANCE, for example, is used in a type of structure that could naturally be used for the verb WALK:

- 1) *I glanced down in the direction of the murmur.*
- 2) *I walked down in the direction of the murmur.*

Likewise, the visual expressions that combine a motion verb and a visual noun are believed to be grounded in our embodied experience of physical path. The visual paths specified by “down” and “in the direction of”, illustrated by the epigraph in this introductory chapter, depict the human capacity to construe and linguistically represent scenes, in which the physical occurrence of movement does not actually happen. According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), we produce and process language through mentally simulating the events we describe. They state that

the same parts of the brain are activated (though not identically activated) in imagining or describing a situation as would be involved in perceiving and experiencing such a situation. This *embodied* view of meaning – that meaning is made of the same stuff as bodily experience – challenges the idea of language and thought as abstract. And this theory of meaning offers a context for reassessing the role and mechanisms of figurative language, seeing them as part of language rather than as decorative additions.

Dancygier & Sweetser’s view on figurative language regards it as pervasive in everyday usage and does not confine its boundaries to language structures thought to provide literary texts with “special esthetic value” (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014). In that sense, rhetorical devices, such as metaphor and metonymy, began to be considered cognitive processes, which also motivate figurative language. Indeed, instances of figurative language that involve the conceptualization of vision as an entity that moves through a path has been approached by cognitive theorists, mainly within the scope of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, due to the pervasiveness of linguistic structures that use verbs of vision (e.g., *look* and *see*) to refer to other domains of experience. Lakoff (1995), for instance, suggested that metaphorical instances such as *my eyes picked out every detail of the pattern* are motivated by the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING, which allows us to think and talk about vision in terms of motion. As a cognitive phenomenon, conceptual metaphor allows us to understand abstract entities, such as *time*, in terms of concrete ones, such as *space*. Indeed, *time* and *space* belong to different domains and what licenses the understanding of one domain (SOURCE) in terms of the other domain (TARGET) is the mapping process of specific structures that belong to the two domains. From that standpoint, metaphor is pervasive in everyday language and is, more importantly, acknowledged as a matter of thought as well.

Conceptual metaphor, however, cannot solely explain the motivations that underlie the linguistic uses we propose to analyze in the present research, as these expressions also

present a metonymical relationship. The noun EYE is used in the expressions as a vehicle that represents one's visual perception of a scene or an object. That is, the noun EYE provides a mental access to other frames⁵ such as PERCEPTION, MIND or even THOUGHT. Besides metonymy, we ground our study on the fictive motion framework, as previously mentioned, so that we can account for the various elements involved in the spatial dimension, such as path, manner of motion and directionality.

Although the relationship between vision and motion has already been studied before (GRUBER, 1967; TALMY, 2000; SLOBIN, 2009; CIFUENTES-FÉREZ, 2014), none of the approaches has tackled the implications of viewpoint creation derived from linguistic choices involving fictive motion, particularly those relative to visual perception in fictional narrative. In that way, our work reinforces the crucial role of fictive motion as a cognitive phenomenon in thought and language and shows how this phenomenon can be responsible for creating viewpoint. Thus, due to a theoretical motivation, we justify the importance of the present research as contributing to the studies of viewpoint, particularly research that associates linguistic forms to viewpoint creation. Among the relevant work on viewpoint as a conceptual phenomenon, we underline Dancygier (2012, 2017), Dancygier and Sweetser (2012, 2014), Sweetser (2017), Van Krieken (2016).

Having described the theoretical foundation for this dissertation, we have established two main objectives for this work:

1. To find out how visual descriptions that combine a motion verb and the noun EYE influence viewpoint emergence in fictional narratives.

Related to this first main objective, we seek to achieve the following specific objectives:

- a. To categorize the motion verbs in terms of their semantics.
- b. To identify patterns of path and directionality that can be lexicalized by the motion verbs and that can also be coded by prepositions and adverbials.

⁵ The Frame Semantics theory (FILLMORE, 1982) is discussed in section 1.3.

As for the second main objective, it is as follows:

2. To verify how the viewpoint built from these types of visual description contributes to meaning construction in the fictional narratives.

Associated with the second main objective, we list the following specific objectives:

- a. To analyze the motion verb frame structures that are evoked in the conceptualization of visual perception.
- b. To analyze the metonymic role of EYE in the visual constructions.
- c. To analyze the role of fictive motion concerning path and direction in the narrated visual events.
- d. To analyze the mechanism of compression involved in the linguistic markers of viewpoint profiled by the visual expressions analyzed.

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, we addressed the following research questions:

- i. How do visual descriptions composed by a motion verb and the noun EYE influence viewpoint building in narratives?
- ii. How does viewpoint built from these choices of visual descriptions contribute to meaning construction in the fictional narratives?
- iii. What is the role of cognitive mechanisms such as fictive motion, metonymy and compression, associated with the visual expressions, in meaning construal of the narratives?

The present study is guided by the following hypotheses: 1) the different motion verbs and path configurations profiled by visual expressions containing a motion verb and the noun EYE may indicate different ways of construing a visual perception and, consequently, may give rise to distinct viewpoints in the narratives; and 2) besides fictive motion, the possible cognitive mechanisms that motivate viewpoint emergence through the fictive uses of vision analyzed in the present research are metonymy and compression.

The proposed structure for this dissertation is organized, as follows: in chapter 1, the literature review providing the most relevant theoretical discussions within the broader framework of Cognitive Linguistics is presented. The main issues developed refer to the central role of conceptual mechanisms operating in meaning construal, such as the role of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy in the ubiquity of the vision apparatus in figurative language; the notion of Frame for meaning construction; and the importance of Fictivity phenomena for visual description. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the discussion of the traditional notion of viewpoint in Literature. Chapter 3 introduces the notion of conceptual viewpoint and provides an overview of the most relevant research on this topic, which includes cognitive theorists' approaches on viewpoint and perspective, such as Langacker (1994) and Talmy (2000); the approach taken by cognitive stylistics studies on viewpoint in narratives; and the notion of viewpoint compression, which is crucial in analyzing narratives. Next, in chapter 4, the methodological choices are discussed providing details regarding the corpus characterization as well as the procedures related to sample collection, instruments of analysis and analytical categories. In chapter 5, the findings are presented and analyzed and in chapter 6 we discuss the relationship between the patterns found and the viewpoint phenomenon. Finally, in chapter 6 we conclude by summarizing the results of the present research and our assumptions regarding the findings. We also establish the possible contributions to both the fields of Cognitive Semantics as well as Literature.

CHAPTER 1: COGNITIVE MECHANISMS IN MEANING CONSTRUAL

Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is an approach to language investigation, which emerged in the 1980s and has since then inspired a vast amount of research, which includes groundbreaking theories, such as General Fictivity (TALMY, 2000); Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980; GRADY, 1997; LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1999), Frame Semantics (FILLMORE, 1971), Image Schema (JOHNSON, 1987; MANDLER, 1992, 1996, 2004), Categorization (ROSCH, 1975, 1977, 1978), Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) (LAKOFF, 1987), Mental Spaces Theory (FAUCONNIER, 1985, 1994, 1997); Cognitive Grammar (LANGACKER, 1987, 1991) and Construction Grammar (GOLDBERG, 1995).

All these theories have emphasized the symbolic and usage-based nature of language. The symbolic thesis states that linguistic units comprise a form-meaning pairings. (LANGACKER, 1987). According to Langacker (2008, p. 5) “a symbol is the pairing between a semantic structure and a phonological structure”. This view of language challenges other approaches of language, which separate syntax from lexicon and semantics and claim that syntax is an autonomous module of language. (LANGACKER, 2008). Moreover, Cognitive Linguistics adopts a usage-based perspective, as linguistic units emerge from intended contexts of use, that is, from a *usage event*, which is defined by Langacker (1987, p. 66) as “a symbolic expression assembled by a speaker in a particular set of circumstances for a particular purpose”.

Finding support in other cognitive sciences, for example, Philosophy, Psychology and Neurosciences, CL establishes that our bodily experiences play a fundamental role in mind functioning. According to Croft and Cruse (2004), the main guiding principles of CL establish that 1) *language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty*; 2) *grammar is conceptualization*; and 3) *knowledge of language emerges from language use*. These principles represent hypotheses that contradict those that guided the dominant language approaches at the time, namely generative grammar (syntax approach) and truth-conditional (logical) semantics (CROFT and CRUSE, 2004). The first principle, for instance, stands against the notion that language is an autonomous module in our mind since language production involves other general cognitive mechanisms such as memory, attention, perception and categorization. The second principle argues in favor

of conceptualization as “a major aspect of human cognitive ability” (CROFT and CRUSE, 2004, p. 2). Further, it is our embodied experience in the world that gives rise to our conceptual system, a notion that defies the idea of the truth-conditional semantics, “in which a semantic metalanguage is evaluated in terms of truth and falsity relative to the world” (CROFT and CRUSE, 2004, p. 1). Finally, the third principle refers to the encyclopedic nature of meaning, which is constructed through communicative needs. From that perspective, the meaning of a word can only be accessed given the context of communication (EVANS, 2007). An example is the word *safe* in the sentences a) the child is safe; b) the beach is safe; c) the shovel is safe (FAUCONNIER and TURNER, 2002). In these sentences the meaning of *safe* changes depending on the other linguistic components it is used with. As discussed by Evans (2007, p. 9), *safe* does not have a fixed meaning that is assigned to *child*, *beach* and *shovel*. In a, for instance, we should interpret the sentence in a way that “the child will not come to any harm”, whereas in b and c the otherwise interpretation is that of the *beach* being not dangerous for the child and the *shovel* not being able to inflict harm to the child (EVANS, 2007, p. 8).

A key concept in Cognitive Linguistics is the notion of *meaning construal*. Verhagen (2007, p. 48) defines construal as “the cover term that has come to be used for different ways of viewing a particular situation”. The distinct ways in which languages provide reference to things is exemplified by Langaker (1990, p. 61) in:

A speaker who accurately observes the spatial distribution of certain stars can describe them in many distinct fashions: as a constellation, as a cluster of stars, as specks of light in the sky, etc. Such expressions are semantically distinct; they reflect the speaker’s alternate construals of the scene, each compatible with its objectively given properties.

Construal is claimed to operate among several dimensions, including in the Figure/Ground distinctions, in Profile/Base distinctions and levels of granularity. In addition, construal operations can be classified in terms of Specificity, Prominence, Perspective and Dynamicity (LANGACKER, 2007). Construal then refers to the possible alternate ways of cognitively conceptualize experiences and to linguistically represent them by choosing to profile one entity over another.

Having provided the basic principles of cognitive linguistics, in this chapter we review the most relevant theoretical perspectives that apply to and support the discussion and argumentation regarding the present research. Specifically, we draw from the cognitive theories involving the phenomenon of fictive motion, metonymy, and viewpoint to guide our analysis. In addition to these, we also point out how conceptual metaphor has approached the seeing sense as well as its contribution to establishing the motivation for figurative uses of visual description.

An important issue involving conceptual metaphor refers to its relationship with the general fictivity framework. In this regard, we follow Talmy (2000) who claims that metaphor may function as a category within the general fictivity theoretical model. While general fictivity would apply to both visual and linguistic representations and, consequently, might be considered a superordinate category, conceptual metaphor concepts and terms would only apply to language. As Talmy (2000, p. 168) explains,

[fictive theory] is constructed to encompass cognitive systems in general rather than just to apply to language. Consider, for example, a subject viewing a round and narrow-gapped C-like figure. In terms of general fictivity, the subject will likely see a C at the concrete level of palpability – its factive representation. Concurrently for the same figure, she will sense a complete circle at the semiabstract level of palpability – its fictive representation. She will experience the former representation as more veridical and the latter one as less so, and may experience a degree of discrepancy between the two representations. This, then, is the way that the framework of general fictivity would characterize the Gestalt phenomenon of closure.

Although the basis of this analysis is the fictive model, we should point out the contributions of conceptual metaphor for language conceptualization, specifically figurative uses related to vision. However, along with the contributions provided by metaphor theorists, it is also relevant to state some of the controversies that have emerged by such theoretical path. Among the most controversial issues is the one involving mappings, as there have been conflicting proposals on what constitutes the source and target domains, not only for metaphors related to seeing, but for conceptual metaphors discussion in general. Besides, the multiple metaphor labels for the seeing sense, proposed by different authors, adds to metaphor theorists' difficulty in establishing a theoretical model that could explain the problematic issues related to mappings.

1.1 Vision in conceptual metaphor theory

Our approach to visual metaphors should account for the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, broadly discussed in the Cognitive Linguistic field of research. Prior to the publication of *Metaphors we live by* (LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980), metaphor had been traditionally treated as a literary device, a rhetorical strategy, employed to make texts more appealing to their target audience. Lakoff and Johnson's work was a turning point to how metaphor came to be understood primarily as a conceptual device, pervasive in everyday language and thought, i.e., we think metaphorically and talk about abstract concepts in terms of metaphor. Instead of being a figure of speech, conceptual metaphor, regarded as a cognitive structure, emerges in everyday language use through the mappings between two domains: a source – physical, concrete – and a target – abstract – domain. Metaphor mapping is unidirectional, i.e., conceptual structure is projected from the source to the target domain and not the other way around.

The ways structures are mapped from one domain to another has also become a crucial matter among scholars. That is because many questions have been raised specifically on how mappings occur and which structures are mapped. Specifically, the questions raised refer to which processes are involved in metaphor mapping and how much of a source domain is mapped onto the target domain. The notion of domain, per se, is a controversial one. According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014, p. 17), the notion of domain, in the context of conceptual metaphor mappings, is understood as “a chunk of conceptual matter, whose structure is projected or receives the projection of another domain”. According to the authors, such view of a domain poses a problem in establishing its content or limits without ambiguity, as it can range from a broad concept, such as *Cognition*, to an intermediary one, such as *Education*, or even a narrow concept, such as *Tests*. These authors argue that some scholars prefer to refer to metaphor mappings as “mappings between frames”. The concept of frame is discussed in the next section. Following these authors' premises, we also rely on the notion of frame to describe patterns of visual perception.

Under the scope of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the visual sense has also been an object of study in language by many scholars, including Lakoff (1990, 1993, 1999). As

previously mentioned, visual metaphors play a fundamental role in language. Mostly, vision has always been associated to intellect and emotions. Sweetser (1992, p. 38) claimed that “vision is connected with intellection because it is our primary source of objective data about the world” and that “direct visual evidence is considered the strongest and most reliable source of data”. Thus, besides Lakoff, other metaphor theorists have researched the role of vision in language like Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2019), who provides a list of the perception-related metaphors studied cross-linguistically. For vision, the author presents the following list:

- UNDERSTANDING / KNOWING IS SEEING
- FORESEEING IS SEEING
- AN AID TO KNOWING IS A LIGHT SOURCE
- IMPEDIMENTS TO KNOWLEDGE ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO VISION
- KNOWING FROM A ‘PERSPECTIVE’ IS SEEING FROM A POINT OF VIEW
- IMAGINING IS SEEING
- CONSIDERING IS SEEING
- STUDYING / EXAMINING IS SEEING
- FINDING OUT IS SEEING
- MAKING SURE IS SEEING
- HAVING A RELATIONSHIP IS SEEING SOMEBODY
- MEETING WITH SOMEBODY IS SEEING SOMEBODY
- PAYING A VISIT IS SEEING SOMEBODY
- ESCORTING IS SEEING
- GETTING ON BADLY WITH SOMEBODY IS BEING UNABLE TO SEE
- TAKING CARE IS SEEING / LOOKING AFTER
- DECEPTION IS PURPOSEFULLY IMPEDING VISION
- WITNESSING IS SEEING
- SUFFERING IS SEEING
- OBEYING IS SEEING
- REFRAINING IS SEEING
- BEING INVOLVED IS HAVING TO SEE
- COMMUNICATING IS SHOWING
- DOMAIN OF CONTROL IS RANGE OF VISION
- PAYING ATTENTION IS LOOKING AT

(Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2019, p. 47-48)

When we consider all these conceptual metaphors, it is possible to notice that what they have in common is the fact that they regard vision as a trigger for mind processes. Moreover, this list signals to the variety of domains involved in these metaphors, such as the domain of emotion (SUFFERING IS SEEING), or the domain of reasoning (UNDERSTANDING/ KNOWING IS SEEING or FINDING OUT IS SEEING). This rather comprehensive list also highlights the growing interest among scholars on vision-related metaphors, due to its abundant usage in language. However, according to Ibarretxe-Antunano's (2019), whose corpus comprised English, Spanish and Basque languages, these listed metaphors are not distributed equally across languages, as demonstrated by the results of her study. Regarding visual attention direction, a metaphor of vision that is of particular interest is SEEING IS TOUCHING (LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1999).

In *Philosophy in the Flesh*, one of the Metaphors discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) is SEEING IS TOUCHING. In this metaphor, the authors claim, we conceptualize the eyes "as limbs that extend outward in a direction" and that "the touching of objects by the limbs corresponds to the seeing of objects through the eyes". According to them, what is mapped is the "physical movement of our fingers" onto "motion in vision". To illustrate such mapping, Lakoff (1992) provides the following examples:

- My eyes picked out every detail of the pattern.
- He ran his eyes over the walls.
- He couldn't take his eyes off of her.
- Their eyes met.
- His eyes are glued to the tv.

(LAKOFF, 1993, p. 243)

The examples show that metaphor is a conceptual structure which allows us to think and talk about visual perception in terms of physical motion. That means that visual perception is conceptualized as if the EYES are able to move around and touch things the way our limbs and bodies do. The knowledge contained in the frames of TOUCHING (source domain) and SEEING (target domain) would occur in the following way:

Source: Limbs can be directed.

Target: Vision can be directed.

Source: A limb can go in only one direction at a time.

Target: Vision can go in only one direction at a time.

Source: Limbs can extend from the body to other objects.

Target: Vision can move from the body to other objects.

Source: Tactile perception occurs when a limb touches an object.

Target: Visual perception occurs when the eye-gaze touches an object.

Source: Limbs can pick out objects.

Target: Vision can pick out objects.

(LAKOFF, 1995, p. 144)

A point made by Lakoff (1995) is that metaphors, although being conceptual in nature, contain linguistic correlates, as in the case of *my eyes picked out every detail of the pattern*, which allows us to understand SEEING in terms of TOUCHING. However, in the example sentence “I see the bay”, there is no indication of it being metaphorical. It is only by the addition of a prepositional phrase indicating path, i.e., the preposition *from*, that one realizes the conceptual metaphor:

*From my office, I can see the bay.*⁶

In our view, however, the motivation for this example would be better explained by fictive motion, as the prepositional phrase added to “I can see the bay” indicates that the perceiver’s gaze needs to traverse a fictive path that starts in the office and goes in direction to the bay.

⁶ This example sentence, as explained by Lakoff (1995, p. 133), was brought to him by Charles Fillmore in a discussion about the semantic issue associated to the two parts of the sentence, that according to them could be explained through the conceptual metaphor framework.

Another way to conceptualize vision is in terms of the perceived entity moving in direction to the perceiver (EXPERIENCER, in Talmy's [2000] terms) and reaching his/her eyes. Such would be the case for the following examples, provided by Lakoff (1995, p. 135):

- The view blew me away.
- The view knocks me over.
- The mountain peeked at me through the fog.

For this type of conceptualization, the author suggests the metaphor in operation is PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION, which would also be the case for other sensorial domains, such as hearing and smelling:

- *The noise came through the walls.*
- *The aroma of garlic hit me as I walked into the restaurant.*

Lakoff refers to the existence of the two metaphors (SEEING IS TOUCHING and PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION) being motivated by a duality in the mappings, which also occurs with the passage of time conceptualization in terms of moving in space. In that metaphor, time can be conceptualized as a moving entity (*Christmas is coming up on us*) or as if someone is moving through time (*We're coming up on Christmas*⁷). Likewise, Talmy (2000) refers to this duality under the framework of fictive motion (discussed in the present research in section 4) and claims that it's possible to have the Experiencer as Source, as in *Even a casual passerby can see the old wallpaper through the paint*, or the Experienced as Source, illustrated by *The old wallpaper shows through the paint even to a casual passerby*. In this specific case of sensory path for vision, the conceptualization is possible by "alternatives of lexicalization":

among the nonagentive vision verbs in English, *see* is lexicalized to take the Experiencer as subject and the Experienced as direct object, thereby promoting the interpretation of the Experiencer as Source. But *show* is lexicalized to take the Experienced as subject and can take the Experiencer as the object of the preposition *to*, thereby promoting the interpretation of the Experienced as Source. (TALMY, 2000, p. 116)

⁷ These examples are from Lakoff (1995, p. 139)

Despite the existence of the two possibilities in conceptualizing sensorial paths, Talmy (2000) claims that, regarding visual path, the Experiencer as Source is generally favored in English.

When it comes to other sensory paths, for instance hearing and smelling, Lakoff (1995) argues that the mapping in the SEEING IS TOUCHING metaphor does not establish the same directability of limbs onto the directability of these two senses (hearing and smelling), as it happens with vision. According to him, we can perceive sounds and smells “from all directions at once”, meaning that “hearing and smell are not directed the same way vision is” (LAKOFF, 1995, p. 137). Thus, in view of the duality in the visual path conceptualization mentioned earlier, as well as the difference in perceiving by the other senses, in terms of directability, Lakoff (1995, p. 139) proposes that PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION and PERCEIVING IS TOUCHING should be accounted “as special cases of a more general metaphor PERCEPTION IS CONTACT BETWEEN PERCEIVER AND PERCEIVED.”

After reexamining Lakoff’s examples, Sullivan and Jiang (2013) argued against his proposal of the metaphor PERCEPTION IS CONTACT BETWEEN PERCEIVER AND PERCEIVED and provided further examples from English and Chinese. Their claim is that PERCEPTION is not the target domain in Lakoff’s proposed metaphors, and that it is, in fact, either THINKING or EMOTION. Sullivan and Jiang (2013) argue that “most of Lakoff’s examples of the PERCEIVING IS TOUCHING subcase of PERCEPTION IS CONTACT can instead be attributed to THINKING IS MOVING/ OBJECT MANIPULATION”, due to the fact that it “involves an active perceiver who is also a THINKER” (SULLIVAN and JIANG, 2013, p. 199). Likewise, Sullivan and Jiang (2013) argue against Lakoff’s examples, such as *The view blew me away*, of the PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION subcase, because instances like these should be attributed to EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES. The scholars argue that

whereas THINKING IS MOVING/ OBJECT MANIPULATION involves an active PERCEIVER, EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES instead tend to involve a mobile PERCEIVED, and a PERCEIVER who does not “move” towards the PERCEIVED. In fact, in English, the cause of the emotion always “moves towards” the experiencer. Metaphorically, the PHYSICAL FORCE affects the experiencer. Sentences may be active or passive, but the

experiencer is always “moved” and never instigates the “movement”.
(SULLIVAN and JIANG, 2013, p. 196-197)

Therefore, Sullivan and Jiang (2013) suggest a recategorization of Lakoff’s metaphors to THINKING IS MOVING/OBJECT MANIPULATION, and EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES. They claim that these are more useful to favor broader generalizations. Indeed, regardless of the domain labels to represent the metaphors for visual perception, we argue in favor of other cognitive phenomena to be accounted as conceptual motivations for figurative uses to describe vision. Metonymy, for instance, plays an important role in the construal of visual path that is composed of a motion verb and the noun EYE, as the noun EYE is used to represent not only the “eye’s owner”, but also their mind, reasoning and emotions. Thus, in what follows, we discuss the relevant issues raised by cognitive scholars regarding the concept of metonymy and its importance for motivating the structures analyzed in the present research.

1.2 Metonymy

In its traditional view, metonymy was regarded as a figure of speech and used as a rhetoric device in the same way metaphor used to be. Such traditional view of metonymy involves the relationship of two entities by means of “proximity” or “contiguity” (KÖVECSES and RADDEN, 1998). However, Cognitive Linguistics has extended this traditional view in several ways. One aspect that is emphasized by cognitive theorists is that metonymy is not just a relationship between words, but it is a relationship between concepts. In that sense, “we do not use one name for another, but we perform an elaborated mental operation to access mental entities through certain others” (KÖVECSES and RADDEN, 1998, p. 39). Drawing from this perspective, we consider metonymy to be fundamental in language construal and that it plays a crucial role in establishing motivations for the linguistic uses analyzed in the present work.

The importance of metonymy and its role in cognitive analysis of language can be verified by a growing number of studies (BARCELONA, 2015; KÖVECSES and RADDEN, 1998; DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014) which, in turn, have raised different and sometimes controversial issues concerning this cognitive process. The referential function of metonymy and the nature of mappings are examples of aspects of metonymy that have been tackled by scholars. Both metaphor and metonymy comprise

a *vehicle* and a *target*, but in metonymy the vehicle stands for the target (*B for A*), whereas in metaphor we understand the target in terms of the vehicle (*A is B*) (EVANS & GREEN, 2006). While conceptual metaphor involves mapping between two domains, metonymy is said to operate within the same domain. Thus, the vehicle in metonymy functions as a trigger for a particular target. Borrowing from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) example, in *the ham sandwich is waiting for his check*, the metonymic relationship is explained by the conceptual "proximity". In this case, the vehicle (*the ham sandwich*) and the target (*the customer*) belong to the same domain, namely, the CAFÉ domain (EVANS & GREEN, 2006). The conceptual proximity can be established, then, with respect to our cognitive ability to associate conceptual structures within the same domain. Our knowledge of the RESTAURANT or CAFÉ includes the fact that a customer orders items of food and drink and we can associate the *customer* with the customer's order.

From that perspective, metonymy plays a crucial role in the construal of the visual descriptions analyzed in the present work, as the EXPERIENCER is associated with the part of the body that is accounted as the primary source of perceiving the world and reasoning about it, namely the eyes. Thus, the noun EYE can be regarded as metonymic for an individual's visual perception due to the proximity of conceptual structures between the BODY and PERCEPTUAL domains. If we consider that the eyes are our primary source to access the things in the world, then the 'contiguity' factor is established by our human experience of relating vision to other cognitive processes, such as thinking, remembering, acquiring knowledge, etc.

Though it was not our intention to address all the aspects that involves metonymy, we have attempted to provide an overview of how much this cognitive mechanism can influence the construal of language, specifically the occurrences with visual descriptions that combine the noun EYE and a motion verb. That being the case, we provide some distinct but complementary accounts of metonymy that some scholars have offered since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have pointed out the conceptual nature of metonymy.

Following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) view of metonymy and its implication in language construal, Kövecses and Radden (1998) also argued against the traditional account of metonymy by providing a cognitivist analysis, in which they attempted to

identify the realms of metonymic occurrences. They also proposed to shed light on the nature of conceptual relationships and the principles underlying mappings in such occurrences. In doing so, they started by offering their own definition of metonymy:

Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM. (KÖVECSES & RADDEN, 1998. p. 39)

By assuming a cognitivist perspective in our analysis, Kövecses and Radden's (1998) definition of metonymy is an attractive one as it argues in favor of metonymy being a *cognitive process* and that it is a relationship between *conceptual entities* within the same domain. Moreover, the authors refer to the relationship between the conceptual entities as happening in terms of *mental access* instead of a mapping process, which indicates the fact that “metonymy provides a ‘route’ of access for a particular target within a single domain” (EVANS & GREEN, 2006, p. 321).

However, as discussed earlier in section 1.1, the term domain is a problematic one since it can be ambiguous or pose difficulties in establishing limits for what is within a certain domain. For that reason, and although Kövecses and Radden's (1998) work has been considered a development in defining metonymy as a conceptual mechanism and in providing some theoretical basis for its operation, other scholars have further contributed to building such theoretical basis. One of these scholars is Barcelona (2015), who also developed his own definition of metonymy, even though he claimed it was not sufficient to cover all the controversial elements concerning the topic. In his terms,

metonymy is an asymmetric mapping of a conceptual entity, the source, onto another conceptual entity, the target. Source and target are in the same frame and their roles are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated. (BARCELONA, 2015, p. 146-147)

Similarly to Kövecses and Radden (1998), Barcelona (2005) puts forward the claim that metonymy is a cognitive phenomenon through which a conceptual entity is accessed by another in a mental process. However, instead of considering this mental process to happen within a domain of experience, Barcelona (2015) adopts the notion of *frame*, which we addressed in section 1.3. The reason for doing so is that he considers *domain* to be an ambiguous term that can be used in two senses, a “taxonomic” and a

“functional” one. To illustrate that fact, Barcelona refers to Radden and Dirven (2007, p. 9-10), who discuss how the term *car* can have both senses. As *car* belongs to the *means of transport* taxonomy, as there can be prototypical and peripheral cars (taxonomic sense), but we still refer to specific functional uses of car parts, depending on their pragmatic usage (functional sense). Asking someone to either *wash* the car or to *hoover* the car, for instance, would allow us to access different parts of a car, the body or the interior of a car, respectively.

The terms “taxonomic” and “functional” domains seem to correspond to Dancygier and Sweetser’s (2014) division of metonymy, namely *Categorical* and *Frame metonymy*. They define the former as a type of relationship that “consists of the smaller category standing for the larger one, or the larger category taking on the label of the (salient) subcategory – or vice-versa” (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p.101). As for the latter, it is a kind of relationship that takes place between parts of the same frame. According to these scholars, frame metonymy designates the usage of one element of a frame being used to refer to “the frame as a whole or to other associated elements of the frame” and that one important kind of frame metonymy is the *part-whole* metonymy (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p.101). They exemplify such cases with *the White House* being used to refer to the US government and *the Crown* being used to refer to the British monarchy. It should be highlighted that in these examples for part-whole metonymy, the part of the frame we choose indicates which elements of the whole frame we refer to, although the choice is not random. Likewise, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 36) claim that

when we say that we need some good heads on the project, we are using "good heads" to refer to "intelligent people." The point is not just to use a part (head) to stand for a whole (person) but rather to pick out a particular characteristic of the person, namely, intelligence, which is associated with the head.

This is particularly relevant for the present analysis, as the use of the noun EYE (part) does not only provide access to a person (whole), but to a person’s perception, attention or even thoughts. Thus, the vehicle EYE is an access *route* to the target PERCEPTION. For the vehicle EYE to access the target PERCEPTION, it is fundamental that they are linked pragmatically within the HUMAN BODY frame. This is another relevant issue Barcelona (2005) calls attention to when questioning the “contiguity” criterion for

metonymy. Drawing from Fauconnier (1997), the scholar argues that this link refers to a “pragmatic function”, which is

a privileged conceptual link in our long-term memory between the roles of metonymic source and target within the corresponding frame: CAUSE-EFFECT, PRODUCER-PRODUCT, AGENT-ACTION, CONDITION-RESULT, AGENT-INSTRUMENT, THING-REPRESENTATION, etc. (BARCELONA, 2005, p. 140)

Regarding the metonymic typology, different criteria can give rise to a variety of types. Barcelona (2005) lists some of these criteria: type of pragmatic function; generality; and prototypicality. The criterion of pragmatic function allows for a) WHOLE FOR PART metonymies (e.g., GEOGRAPHICAL UNIT FOR SALIENT PART); b) PART FOR WHOLE metonymies (e.g., SALIENT BODY PART FOR PERSON CATEGORY); and c) PART FOR PART metonymies (e.g., PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT). As for the generality criterion, it allows for metonymies to be arranged according to different levels of hierarchy. For instance, PART FOR WHOLE being at the generic level, while more specific levels of description have SALIENT BODY PART FOR PERSON CATEGORY at a high level and BRAIN FOR INTELLIGENT PERSON at low level. Finally, the prototypicality criterion involves “metonymies with an individual entity or a group (not a class or category) of individual entities as target” (Barcelona, 2015, p. 150-151).

Besides Barcelona (2005), other scholars relied on different characterizations of metonymy types. Kövecses and Radden (1998, p. 41), for example, discuss the ontological realms of metonymy and distinguish them into three types at the semiotic level, namely the realms of thought, symbol and referent. The conceptual relationship within these realms may give rise to metonymy and they can present a diversity of types. Whereas this extensive list of metonymy types is relevant, many scholars agree that it cannot be exhausted. Thus, Kövecses and Radden (1998, p. 49) offer two configurations within which metonymy types can be integrated: 1) whole ICM and its parts; and 2) parts of an ICM. For the purpose of the present analysis, we rely on the first configuration, which is described as involving a PART-WHOLE relationship.

Finally, a crucial aspect of metonymy is its viewpoint nature. That means that the part of the frame chosen (vehicle) to indicate the whole (target) may depend on the speaker’s understanding of that specific frame. According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), both

categorial and frame metonymy can be viewpointed. They argue that in categorial metonymy, the decision of what represents a central/major category and its metonymic label will depend on how we understand that category, that is, our own viewpoint on the category. As per frame metonymy, the authors also claim that it is highly dependent on “shared frame structure, which is also culture specific” (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p. 124). Thus, not only our cognitive functioning but also our cultural background is responsible for the metonymic patterns we use.

In summary, we base our analysis on the assumption that metonymy is a cognitive phenomenon that is viewpointed in nature, and whose occurrence is determined by the mappings of two conceptual entities (source and target) within a frame. To further clarify the concept of frame, the following section offers an overview of some aspects related to this cognitive construct.

1.3 Frame semantics and its role in cognitive reasoning

We rely on the notion of frame to refer to the schematic and conceptual structures that are evoked in the construal of language, especially the figurative language analyzed in the present research. The concept of frames was developed by Charles Fillmore to indicate a knowledge system, which is organized in a certain way that to access the meaning of a word it is necessary to understand the whole *scenario* to which that word is associated (FILLMORE, 1982, p. 111). The author explains:

By the term frame I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available.

If we consider the frame MARRIAGE, exemplified by Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), we realize that the word *husband* would only be understood in the context of such frame, which also includes other words, like *wife*, *in-laws*, *divorce*, etc. According to the authors, these words are roles in the frame of MARRIAGE that “are filled by different individuals”, which is the case with complex frames such as Marriage (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p. 18).

Frame roles are also referred to by Sullivan (2013) as *frame elements*. The term frame element has been used by the project FrameNet⁸ to designate the expressions relative to the predicates evoked by each frame. The FrameNet project defines a frame element (FE) as *a frame-specific defined semantic role that is the basic unit of a frame*. To illustrate how frame elements relate roles to fillers, Sullivan (2013, p. 18-19) discusses the frame EXERCISING and the elements that it involves:

- a person with a body (an exerciser)
- effortful movement of the body (means)
- strengthening or otherwise improving the body (the purpose of the effortful movement)

Sullivan argues that whenever the verb *exercise* is used by a speaker, all these elements are essential in the understanding of the meaning of *exercise* by a hearer. All these elements can be specified by items which would fill the roles in that frame. If we consider the sentence *Marc exercised his biceps with weights to improve muscle tone*, an example given by Sullivan (2013, p. 19), the correspondence between frame roles and fillers are as follows:

Exerciser		Part of the body	Means	Purpose
<i>Marc</i>	<i>exercised</i>	<i>his biceps</i>	<i>with weights</i>	<i>to improve muscle tone</i>

According to Sullivan (2013, p. 18), what the FrameNet project does is to make available on their website for public access a compilation of “frames that underlie words, and the elements and relations constituting these frames, based on the expression of these frame elements in the British National Corpus (BNC)”.

In the FrameNet project, words for vision, be it a noun or a verb, either belong to the *Perception Active* frame (look) or to the *Perception Experience* frame (see). Concerning the characterization of these frames, the *Perception Active* frame entails the intentionality of the *perceivers* when directing their attention to an entity or phenomenon with the objective of having a perceptual experience. In turn, the words

⁸ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>

pertaining to the *Perception Experience* frame demonstrate that the perceivers' perceptual experiences are not necessarily intentional. Consequently, the perceivers belonging to this frame are called *Perceiver Passive*. For the frame *Perception Active*, the corresponding Frame Elements are as follows:

- a. *Perceiver agentive*: the entity that has the perceptual experience.
- b. *Phenomenon*: the entity to which the Perceiver directs his/her attention.
- c. *Body part*: sensory organ used by the Perceiver to have the perceptual experience.
- d. *Direction*: indicates the path of the Perceiver's attention during the experience.
- e. *Depictive*: FE that provides information about the Phenomenon's "state" during the perceptual experience
- f. *Duration*: it expresses the duration of time the Perception takes place.
- g. *Expected entity*: FE that provides information about the Perceiver's hopes, fears and expectations, regarding the Phenomenon.
- h. *Ground*: it is the perceptual background against which the Phenomenon is experienced.
- i. *Location of protagonist*: it identifies the position of the Perceiver during the act of perception.
- j. *Manner*: it describes the how the Phenomenon is being experienced.
- k. *Means*: it refers to instruments, tools or methods used by the perceivers.
- l. *Obscuring medium*: it is the medium through which the Phenomenon can be perceived. (It implies a movement of the Phenomenon: *I eavesdropped on them through the wall.*)
- m. *Place*: the general location where the perception occurs.
- n. *Purpose*: it describes what the Perceiver is trying to accomplish by directing their attention to the Phenomenon.
- o. *State*: it describes the location, activity, or other characteristic of the Phenomenon.
- p. *Time*: when the Perception occurs.

Source: https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Perception_active

The range of possible frame elements encompassed in vision description is extensive. However, some are more frequent than others, being the most common perceiver, phenomenon, ground, direction, manner and duration, as shown by the example *Mina gazed at him fixedly for a few minutes* (*Dracula*, Bram Stoker), where “Mina” is the perceiver, “him” is the phenomenon, “fixedly” corresponds to manner and “for a few minutes” to the duration of the visual event.

It should be pointed out that some frame elements are more relevant and, therefore, more frequently profiled, such as the perceiver and the phenomenon (the perceived entity). That is, these are roles, which are more frequently fulfilled with ‘specific values’ of the entity that perceives and the object that is perceived. Other information regarding the frame of visual perception, such as the ways something is perceived (manner), the body part used (the eyes) or the duration of the perceiving experience is only given upon the communicative context requirements.

Regarding metaphorical mappings, frames allow for more specificity in terms of conceptual information than domains do. Drawing from Sullivan (2103), Kövecses (2017) explains that “the BODY domain can be seen as being elaborated by several distinct frames, such as PERCEPTION, INGESTION, and EXERCISING” and that these frames account for metaphorical expressions such as *I see what you mean* (PERCEPTION), *digest an idea* (INGESTION), and *a mental exercise* (EXERCISING) (SULLIVAN, 2013). Likewise, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014, p. 19) argue that mappings involve schematicity levels that are better clarified by the concept of frame. Such claim can be validated when we consider the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, which maps the domain of *vision* onto the domain of *understanding*. In both domains, various aspects can be observed depending on the metaphorical expression used. As Dancygier and Sweetser (2014, p. 19) point out, in the metaphorical expression *He saw my point right away*, the aspect involved in the mapping is the person’s ability to see that corresponds to their ability to understand, whereas in the expression *The argument was clear*, the person achieves understanding only through the use of a medium.

Another point made by Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) regarding the importance of frames in meaning construal is their relation to viewpoint, a cognitive phenomenon also tackled in this research. One example the authors provide refers to the semantic content

that proper names display from their extended uses. To illustrate such fact, they say that in the sentence *This MA is my Everest!*, the word *Everest*, indicating Mount Everest, specifies the frame which evokes the knowledge that it is the highest mountain in the world and to get to the top of it requires a lot of effort. Thus, reaching the top of Everest is an achievement. In addition, the use of the genitive *my* indicates the speaker's viewpoint of the frame, that is, for him/her, being able to finish his/her MA. Another example the authors provide is the frame of restaurant, when the customer evaluates the restaurant service by saying *We ate out last night. The service was awful*. In such case, the frame RESTAURANT is evoked by the expression *ate out* and the sentence *the service was awful* shows the customer's viewpoint, instead of the waiter's viewpoint, for example (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p. 20-21).

In sum, the concept of frame, as well as its relation to viewpoint is shown to be crucial in the construal of not only literal but also figurative meaning. Our claim, then, is that not only the frames evoked in the VISION and the BODY domains are crucial in this analysis, but also the frames evoked in the domain of motion, as we also investigate the semantic contribution of verbs of motion in meaning construal of visual description. Finally, we argue that frames play an important role in fictive motion as well. Specifically, in the visual expressions we analyze in the present work, various aspects of the frame of motion are mapped onto the frame of perception. For instance, the verb FOLLOW specifies aspects of a frame that involves the physical motion of an entity moving in the same direction of another and being positioned behind such entity. In the expression *my eyes followed him*, even if an actual motion never happens, the line of sight moves in the same direction of another entity and that element of tracing the same route is in the frame structure of FOLLOW. What is mapped, therefore, are aspects related to the inherent manner of moving, which in the case of FOLLOW, means some epistemic contiguity between two entities moving in the same direction.

From the perspective of fictive motion, then, we conceptualize entities as moving when, in fact, there is no motion happening. Such notion meets our proposal to investigate the motivation for linguistic structures that contain a motion verb and a noun for vision. Thus, in what follows, we discuss the concept of fictivity as well as its relevance in cognition and language.

1.4 Fictivity

1.4.1 Fictivity as a cognitive phenomenon

The fictivity phenomenon has been characterized as a “virtual representation” of a blended structure in the like manner of metaphorization and blending processes. Moreover, fictivity is assumed to be an essential part of cognition that is manifested in language, through which non-veridical scenes are construed by the conceptualizer as a way of mentally accessing veridical ones (PASCUAL, 2006). Due to its significance in language and thought, fictivity has attracted a lot of attention in the field of cognitive sciences in recent years.

The scope of fictivity theory is broad and its different instances have been investigated by cognitivists such as Langacker (1986, 1987, 1999, 2008), Talmy (2000) and Pascual (2006), among others. As pointed out by Rocha (2012), fictivity theory encompasses the study of *fictive entity* (TALMY, 1996, 2000; FAUCONNIER, 1994, 1997; LANGACKER, 1999, 2008), *fictive motion* (LANGACKER, 1987, 1991, 2008; MATSUMOTO, 1996a; TALMY, 1996, 2000; MATLOCK, 2001; MATLOCK et al, 2004), *fictive change* (MATSUMOTO, 1996b; FAUCONNIER, 1994) and *fictive speech acts* (LANGACKER, 1999, 2008).

Regarding *fictive entity*, it relates to the use of instances in generic statements, not referring to any specific individual. Langacker (1999, p. 78) illustrates *fictive entity* with the sentence *Serpents seldom seem sincere*, and claims that “as a generic statement, it makes no direct reference to any specific individual or event in actuality”. As per *fictive motion*, also known as *virtual motion*, *abstract motion* or *subjective motion* (LANGACKER, 1999), a stationary entity is construed as moving along a path by means of a process called by Langacker (1999) of *mental scanning*, like in the example *That mountain range goes from Mexico to Canada*⁹. In this regard, Talmy (2000) makes a distinction between fictive versus factive motion. With respect to *fictive change*, no actual change takes place, however, the conceptualizer construes the scene as if it has actually happened, e.g., *The fridge became bigger after we removed everything from*

⁹ Langacker (1999, p. 82)

*inside of it*¹⁰. Finally, *fictive speech acts* are regarded as “fictivity at the level of illocutionary force” (LANGACKER, 1999, p. 90). The use of irony (*That was a brilliant move [in response to something obviously stupid]*¹¹) or rhetorical questions (*Who needs that car?*¹²) are examples of this type of fictivity, being the latter referred to by Pascual (2003) as *fictive interaction* (ROCHA, 2012).

A crucial point discussed by Langacker (1999) concerning the study of fictivity, is the distinction between “actuality” and “reality”. As Langacker (1999, p. 78) states, “the actual/virtual contrast can be drawn for any kind of global ‘world’, whether it be ‘real world’ (the default) or a derivative one, like the imagined world of a myth or a novel”. In view of such a statement, an entity such as a unicorn might be said to be fictional, but not necessarily fictive. In the example *Adam ate an apple*, Langacker (1999, p. 78) claims that this is a “direct description of an actual, though mythical, event”. Thus, such event is said to be actual, factive, however, not real.

The distinction between the terms fictive and fiction is crucial once our corpus is made up of fictional material. What we account as fictive relates to a situation in which our cognition conceptualizes the same event in the world (be it a fictional world or not) as less veridical or as more veridical. Drawing from Talmy (1996, 2000), Rocha (2012) states that this scholar does not suggest that the fictive representations, construed as less veridical, are objectively real or external and that the factive representations are objectively unreal, as the word fictitious would imply. Thus, in fiction, particularly in the novels that composed the corpus of our analysis, the pretended reality created for the purpose of literary work displays the actual representation of events, though not real, and these actual representations can be fictive or not.

1.4.2 Fictive motion

Talmy (2000) deepens the discussion of general fictivity by stating that between language and the visual perception there are discrepancies and similarities. As we have mentioned earlier, this means that the construal of an entity might be represented as more or less veridical; if more veridical, the representation of the entity is factive, if less

¹⁰ Rocha (2012, p. 115). Minha tradução.

¹¹ Found in Langacker (1999, p. 90)

¹² Langacker (1999, p. 90)

veridical, the representation is fictive. In his example of fictive motion *This fence goes from the plateau to the valley*, Talmy (2000) argues that we visually perceive the fence as stationary (factive representation) whereas we conceptualize it as moving (fictive representation). These discrepant representations (factive and fictive) are distinguished in some dimensions, such as “state of occurrence”, “state of change”, and “state of motion”, as shown by the table:

Table 1: Dimensions of factive/fictive representation

Dimensions	More veridical	Less veridical
State of occurrence <i>E.g.: My sister arrives next week.</i>	Factive presence	Fictive absence
State of change <i>E.g.: His newspaper column grew longer every week.</i>	Factive stasis	Fictive change
State of motion <i>E.g.: This highway goes from Mexico to Canada.</i>	Factive stationariness	Fictive motion

Elaborated by the author (examples are from Langacker, 1999, p. 93, 86 and 82, from top to bottom)

In such dimensions, Talmy (2000) claims that “state of occurrence” involves a more veridical representation of factive presence and a less veridical representation of fictive absence, or vice-versa; in “state of change” more veridicality is represented by factive stasis and less veridicality by fictive change, or vice-versa; as per “state of motion”, it has factive stationariness as the more veridical representation and fictive motion as the less veridical or vice-versa. In his work, Talmy (2000) mostly focus on the association of fictive motion and factive stationariness and proposes a typology for general fictivity, which encompasses the following categories: Emanation (Orientation paths [Prospect paths, Alignment paths, Demonstrative paths, Targeting paths, Line of Sight] / Radiation paths / Shadow paths / Sensory paths); Pattern paths, Frame-Relative Motion, Advent paths (Site Arrival, Site Manifestation); Access paths; Coextension paths. These categories are thoroughly discussed by the author and also adopted by different scholars in their analysis of fictivity.

As stated earlier, fictive motion involves the construal of a static scene as a dynamic one (KÖVECSES, 2015). In the sentence *The road is winding through the valley*, we conceptualize *road* as a moving entity, while in fact it is not; it is then an example of fictive motion. Although it might be argued that the illustrating sentence may be seen as a metaphor, Kövecses (2015) claims that it would be a reverse case in the correspondences between the source and target domains. As Kövecses (2015, p. 18) states,

in a metaphoric interpretation, it could be suggested that an objective static situation is viewed metaphorically in terms of the dynamic cognitive process that occurs during conceptualizing it. Using the dynamic cognitive process of tracking the path of a mover along a static path to conceptualize a static scene renders the static situation in a dynamic way. However, this interpretation is fairly unlikely because it would call for a reversal of the typical direction of source-to-target mappings (from concrete source to abstract target). The emerging metaphor would have to be a static concrete (objective) situation (target) being conceptualized as a dynamic abstract (subjective) situation (an internal cognitive operation), which is unlikely to be the case.

Thus, following Kövecses' (2015, p. 25) analysis, a representation of mappings between the source domain (DS=Dynamic Source) and target domain (ST=Static Target) would be as follows:

DS road	→	ST road
DS valley	→	ST valley
DS through	→	ST through
DS motion	→	?
DS moving entity	→	?

The analysis poses the problem of not providing the “motion” as well as the moving entity in the target domain, leaving the mappings incomplete (KÖVECSES, 2015). In that case, the sentence would not account for the established criteria used to characterize conceptual metaphors.

We believe, though, that diverse and concurrent cognitive processes are understood to be part of conceptual motivation that influences language in a broad way. Some of these cognitive processes, such as conceptual metaphor and fictive motion underpinned a considerable number of studies which attempted to establish the motivation for

linguistic structures. For instance, Caldeira and Oliveira (2018) argued that the conceptualization of non-veridical representations of fictive motion in an utterance, such as *His views on the case only came out when he makes a ruling*, may be motivated by distinctive cognitive processes that license the multi-word verb *come out* to operate as a communication vehicle, namely the CONTAINER schema and the CONDUIT METAPHOR. The authors explain:

The mind, conceptualized as a container, holds ideas, beliefs and concepts stored inside it. Once the stored content needs to be passed on to others, it is conceptualized as an object and put into words that move from the inside (private domain) to the outside (public domain). The verb combination *come out*, then, is the metaphorical vehicle used to instantiate the mappings from one domain (concrete – source domain) to the other (abstract – target). (CALDEIRA & OLIVEIRA, 2013, p. 295)

From that perspective, we argue that distinct cognitive processes, such as metonymy, operate together and give rise to instances of fictive motion in the manner specified by the figurative structures we analyze in this work. As discussed earlier, metonymy is involved in occurrences where the noun EYE is used to represent human perception (see section 1.2). When EYE is used in the Subject position (e.g., *my eyes wandered*), these metonymic uses not only represent visual perception, but also the individual whose perception is referred to. Because EYE is occupying the Subject position, a question that could be raised is whether EYE can be conceptualized as an agent, in terms of intentionality, volition or responsibility regarding the seeing event.

According to Cruse (1973) the term *agentive* varies considerably among scholars. The disagreement is not only in relation to what the term *agentive* implies, but also in regards to which nouns and verbs are agentive or not. Examples of different approaches to the concept of agentivity, provided by Cruse (1973) include “agentive case”, employed by Fillmore (1968); “agentive verbs”, used by Gruber (1967); and “agentive nouns”, talked of by Lyons and others (CRUSE, 1973, p. 11). Among the most relevant definitions of an agent, we highlight the ones provided by Givón (2001) and Lyons (1977). Givón (2001, p. 107) claims that an agent is “the participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears the responsibility for it”. As for Lyons (1977, p. 483), he defines an agent as “any entity that is capable of operating upon other entities, effecting some change in their properties or their location”. Although we recognize that these definitions of the term agent can certainly be

employed elsewhere, we argue in favor of a definition of agent that is grounded in the Cognitive Linguistics framework. We believe that in the figurative instances from our corpus, such as *my eyes wandered*, for example, the *eyes* are not “operating upon other entities”, rather the eyes are changing their own location by fictively traversing a path. Thus, we rely on a definition of an agent that closely approximates to the one discussed in Nishimura (1993, p. 496), for examples like *A stone broke the window* and *Poison killed Jane*.

Human beings must make creative use of the limited conceptualizing devices with which they are equipped by their languages and other cognitive systems in order to structure and understand ever increasing novel situations, either actual or hypothetical. Consequently, semantic structures must now and again be applied to situations for which they were not originally meant (i.e., non-paradigm situations). This is where rhetoric (such as metaphor) as a means of creative cognition comes in. Key concepts in cognitive grammar, such as prototype and typicality condition, also fit in here. Thus, in this particular case, what is involved is "personification" in a properly expanded sense.

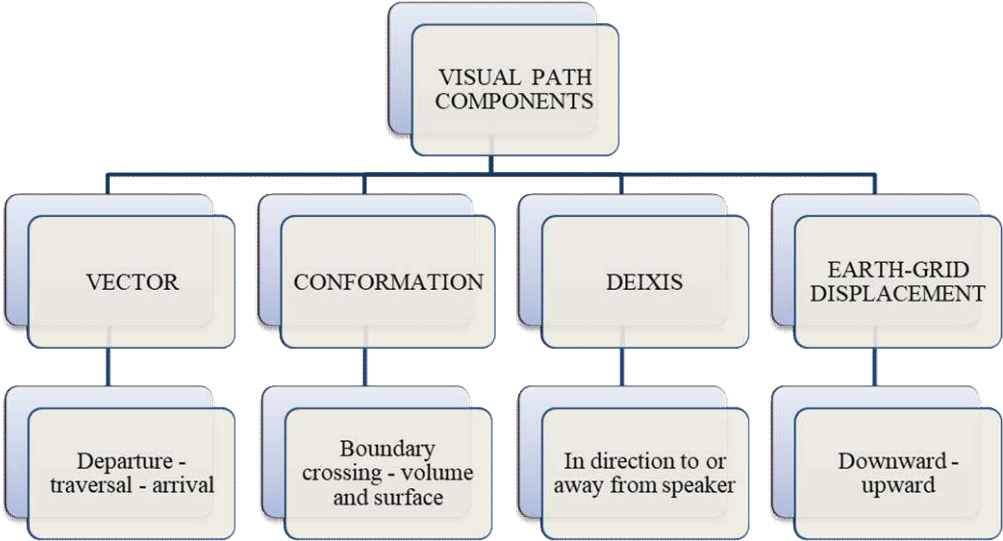
Thus, Nishimura (1993, p. 496) argues that the Subjects *A stone* and *Poison*, in the former examples, can be “conceptualized as Agent in spite of its failure to meet such typicality conditions as animateness and intentionality”. In the case of our data, where EYE is the Subject, we argue that it is the fictive motion phenomenon that enables our conceptualization of EYE, metonymically representing an individual’s visual perception, as an agent. Such conceptualization is possible, because EYE is construed as if the line of sight traveled from the EXPERIENCER to the EXPERIENCED. Therefore, we consider the noun EYE as a possible agent when it fulfills the Subject slot. Consequently, we should account for the differences in aspects related to intentionality and volition since, as we previously argued, it can indicate distinct viewpoints. This discussion was tackled in the analysis chapter.

Concerning the theoretical constructs within the fictive motion framework, in the next section we provide an account of how the notions of path and direction can be approached and applied to the analysis of the occurrences from our corpus. On one hand, we consider the path information provided by the prepositions and adverbials that indicates source, trajectory or goal of the fictive motion event. On the other hand, some of the motion verbs can lexicalize direction (e.g., raise and fall) and that information is also relevant in depicting the visual experience and, consequently, profiling specific viewpoints.

1.4.3 Path and ground properties

To systematize the studies of path across languages, Talmy (2000) proposed four types of path configurations, Vector, Conformation, Deixis and Earth-grid displacement. Figure 1 displays these path configurations and what they comprise:

Figure 1: Visual path properties configurations



Elaborated by the author

In English, the visual path components encompassed by each of these categories are shown in table below.

Table 2: Relevant visual path components

VECTOR	MOVE TO, MOVE FROM, MOVE FROM-TO, MOVE VIA, MOVE ALONG, MOVE ALENGTH
CONFORMATION	INTO, OUT OF, ACROSS, THROUGH
DEIXIS	‘TOWARD THE SPEAKER’ and ‘IN A DIRECTION OTHER THAN TOWARD THE SPEAKER’ (Talmy, 2000d, p. 56)
EARTH-GRID DISPLACEMENT	UP-DOWN, OVER, NORTH-SOUTH-EAST-WEST, and other absolute, earth-based coordinates Talmy, 2000b, pp. 201-203).

From Slobin (2009, p. 210-211)

Later, Slobin (2009) applied this categorization to the studies of visual path. Quoting from Talmy (2000), Slobin (2009) explains that “the Vector comprises the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figural schema can execute with respect to a Ground schema”. As per the Conformation component, Slobin (2009, p. 211) claims that “the relevant Conformations for visual paths are found in the geometry of enclosures, lines, and planes—that is, the configurations that are involved in boundary-crossing”. In other words, the Conformation category corresponds to the geometry of a volume and a surface. Zlatev (2007) argues that Conformation can be compared to the notion of *region*, which is a spatial configuration that is defined relative to the Ground. Thus, the Conformation *into*, for instance, combines *region* information (e.g., INTERIOR) with path information (e.g., END) (ZLATEV, 2007, p. 362). As for Deixis category, path is described in reference to the speaker and the Earth-grid Displacement component “relates path directedness to earth-based geometry” (SLOBIN, 2009, p. 211). The analysis of visual path based on these categories serves the purpose of demonstrating how vision is described in terms of complexity, that is, if more than one Ground is expressed in the occurrences from the data. Additionally, the analysis of path configuration can also provide the information of which component is the most frequent in expressing visual perception in fiction.

Slobin (2009) discusses the relations between paths of motion and paths of vision in a crosslinguistic analysis involving two verb-framed languages (Spanish and Turkish) and two satellite-framed languages (English and Russian). Such categorization of languages, i.e., verb-framed and satellite-framed, was proposed by Talmy (1985, 1991) and refers to how path is preferably encoded by a particular language. A verb-framed language usually has path encoded by the main verb, whereas in satellite-framed languages, path is encoded by elements other than the verb, such as particles. For instance, in the sentence *He swam across the lake*, path is encoded by the particle “across” while the verb expresses the manner of motion. In that case, the English language falls into the satellite framing categorization. In Portuguese, however, the same sentence (*Ele atravessou o lago nadando* = *He crossed the lake swimming*) the verb encodes path (atransessar = to cross) and the manner is encoded by a participle (swimming = nadando), which makes Portuguese a verb-framed language, according to Talmy’s categorization.

From that perspective, Sobin's study attempts to find out whether the tendency of satellite-framed languages to provide more elaborated path descriptions than verb-framed languages holds true in the domain of visual paths. Relying on previous work (BERMAN & SLOBIN, 1994; SLOBIN, 1996b, 1997), Slobin (2009) argues that there are language-specific differences when both adults and children talk about manner and path events in oral and written narratives. Moreover, the author claims that both satellite and verb-framed languages do not show "specialized verbs" to encode visual path the way it happens to refer to physical path. Instead, speakers of both types of languages make use of verbs of looking combined with a path expression, such as particles or directional adverbs. In other words, verbs that encode physical path such as 'enter' or 'exit', 'ascend' or 'descend', do not have counterparts in the encoding of visual path. In terms of visual complexity, i.e., the number of ground elements used to describe the path, Slobin (2009) argues that speakers of a satellite-framed language such as English are able to associate multiple path elements with a motion verb for physical motion, which does not occur with verb-framed languages such as Spanish. An example provided by the author is taken from the English novel Anaya (1972, p. 9-10):

I run out the kitchen door, past the animal pens, towards Jason's house.

In this sentence, *out*, *past* and *towards* identify path, while the verb specifies the manner of motion. According to Slobin (2009), the Spanish translation requires three different path verbs and the prepositions associated with each verb. In Portuguese, the same number of verbs would be also required. Compare:

Table 3: Verb-framed x Satellite-frame examples of path complexity

English original	Spanish and Portuguese translations
<i>I ran <u>out</u> the kitchen door,</i>	<i>Sali por la puerta de la cocina</i> (Spanish) <i>Sai pela porta da cozinha</i> (Portuguese) (= I exited the kitchen through the door)
<i><u>past</u> the animal pens,</i>	<i>pasé por los corrales</i> <i>Passei pelos currais</i> (Portuguese) (= passed by the animal pens)
<i><u>towards</u> Jason's house</i>	<i>y mi dirigí a casa de Jason</i> <i>e me dirigi à casa de Jason</i> (Portuguese) (= and directed myself to Jason's house)

(Adapted from Slobin, 2009, p. 204)

However, as the author claims, this path configuration pattern for physical motion does not exist for visual motion. One reason for that might be the fact that one's gaze does not physically cross any boundaries to get to other locations. The author explains:

when I look into another room, my gaze is still anchored at my eyes, and has not left me and achieved a new state of containment on the other side of the threshold. But if my dog goes into that room, he is no longer here at my side, but there, having crossed the boundary. That is, boundary-crossing is a change of state event for physical motion, but not for visual motion. (SLOBIN, 2009, p. 205)

In that case, there would be no reason to suspect that both types of languages, verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, would differ in terms of describing visual path. However, the author concludes that regarding visual path complexity, the two verb-framed languages analyzed, Spanish and Turkish, use fewer path elements to specify visual path. The possible motivation for that might be the transfer of “conceptual patterns from the domain of physical motion to the domain of fictive motion” (SLOBIN, 2009, p. 219).

While Slobin (2009) focused only on the verb LOOK and its equivalents in the other three languages, Spanish, Russian and Turkish, Cifuentes-Férez (2014) examines 112 visual events found in the English novel, *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, written by J. K. Rowling, and its translation in Spanish. The mentioned visual events comprise not only verbs, but also other linguistic structures to describe vision, including nominal expressions, such as *to throw/cast a look*. The main objective of the paper was to verify if the lexicalization patterns for physical path are transferred into the domain of vision in both languages. Her work also accounts for the manner of vision information, as well as for the linguistic features used to encode path and manner. To examine path complexity, Cifuentes-Férez's (2014) work based her analysis on Slobin's (2009) “combinatorial possibilities” for the languages analyzed, who in turn relied on Talmy's Path and Ground possibilities (TALMY, 2000, 2003). In this respect, Slobin's (2009) findings were:

Table 4: Degrees of path complexity – Slobin’s work (2009)

Path complexity	Example	Language Type
Vector + 1 Ground 1 Conformation + 1 Ground 1 Deictic + 1 Ground Vector FROM-TO + 2 Grounds	look from X look through X look behind X look from X to Y	Verb-framed Satellite-framed
1 Earth-grid + 1 Ground 2 Conformations + 1 Ground 2 Conformations + 2 Grounds 1 Earth-grid + 1 Conformation + 1 Ground 1 Conformation + 1 Deictic + 1 Ground	look up/down at X look out into X look past X into Y look down into X look out from behind X	Only Satellite-framed

Adapted from Cifuentes-Férez (2014, p. 7-8)

As per Cifuentes-Férez’s (2014) analysis of path complexity for English and Spanish, she provides the following results from her corpus:

Table 5: Degrees of path complexity – Cifuentes-Férez’s work (2014)

Path complexity		
1 path + 1 Ground	1 Vector + 1 Ground 1 Conformation + 1 Ground 1 Earth-grid + 1 Ground	Spa (1) Eng (12) / Spa (9) Eng (1)
2 paths + 1 Ground	1 Earth-grid + 1 Conformation + 1 Ground 1 Deixis + 1 Conformation + 1 Ground	Eng (2) Eng (1)
2 paths + 2 Grounds	Vector FROM-TO + 2 Grounds 2 Conformations + 2 Grounds	Eng (4) Eng (1)
3 path + 1 Ground	2 Deictic elements + 1 Vector + 1 Ground	Eng (1)
3 path + 3 Grounds	Vectors FROM-TO-TO + 3 Perceived Entities	Eng (1)

Adapted from Cifuentes-Férez’s (2014)

The first column shows the combinations of path and ground found in the author’s corpus. The second column specifies which types of path properties were found, based on Talmy’s (2000) typology. Finally, column 3 provides the information about the quantity of occurrences for each category per language type, English or Spanish.

The author concludes that there are some crosslinguistic differences between the two languages regarding manner of vision. The Spanish translation provides less information about manner of vision. Cifuentes-Férez (2014) observed that when path

and manner can be inferred from the context, they are omitted in the Spanish text, whereas English provides richer details about them.

Both Slobin's (2008) and Cifuentes-Férez's (2014) findings have advanced in showing how different languages encode visual path. Our research relies on their assumptions to further investigate visual path in expressions containing a motion verb and the visual noun EYE. Besides path, we consider other elements in the fictive motion trajectory, such as the manner and the direction of motion, which might contribute for viewpoint building in literary texts. Thus, in what follows, we approach how motion verbs have been categorized in terms of manner of motion and directionality, as we believe this categorization broadens the theoretical scope of motion verbs, in terms of the core meaning inherent of such verbs.

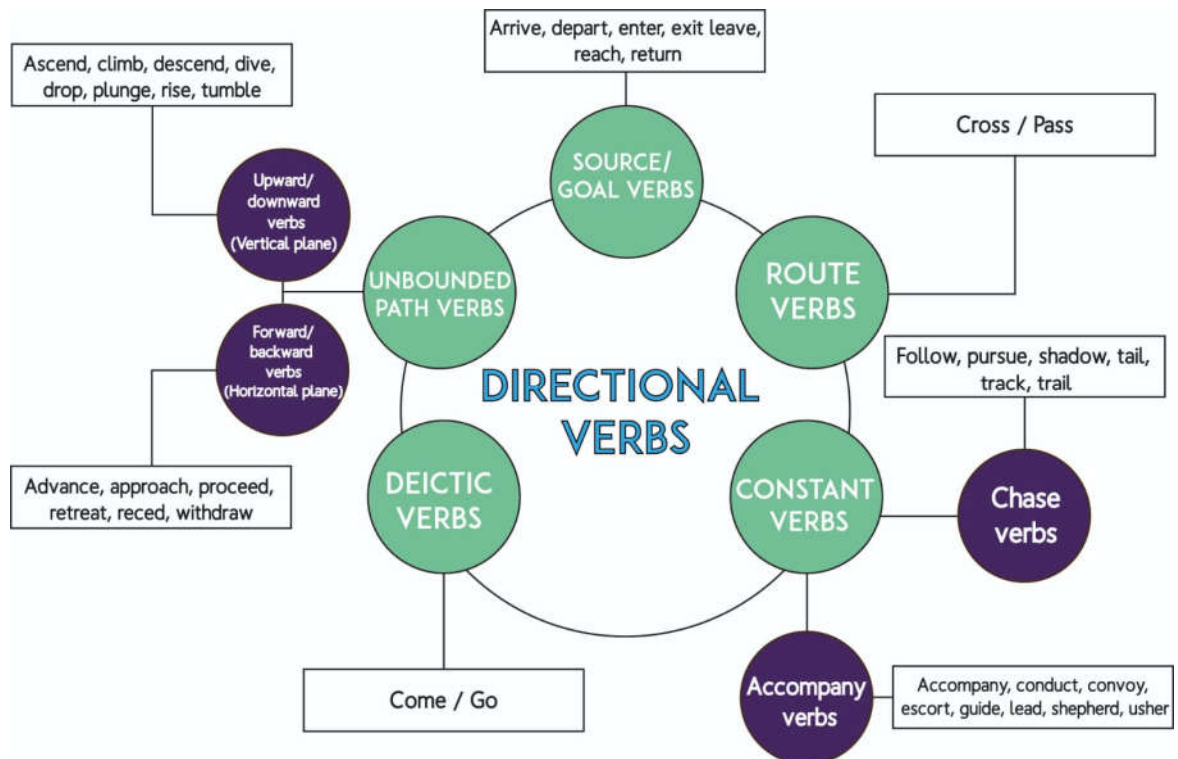
1.4.4 Manner and directionality in motion verbs

A comprehensive study on “verbs in fictive motion” was carried out by Walinski (2018), who distinguishes motion verbs between two classes, the ones that conflate directionality and the ones whose semantics determines a manner of motion. The author draws from Levin and Rappaport Hovav's (1991, 1992, 2006, 2013, 2014) extensive work on verb meanings. According to these authors “verb meanings can be systematically categorized as manner or result, with directionality counting as the result for motion verbs” (WALINSKI, 2018, p. 151). These result verbs specify “scalar changes” that are structured in two ways: two-point scales and multiple point scales. Walinski (2018, p. 152) explains that “a scale is a set of degrees or points ordered on a particular dimension. The dimension represents an attribute of an argument of the verb and the degrees indicate the possible values of the attribute”. Manner of motion verbs, on the other hand, do not specify scalar changes.

For his analysis of fictive motion verbs, Walinski (2018) subdivides them into two groups: directional motion verbs and manner of motion verbs. Figure 2 shows the subcategories of directional verbs and the verbs that illustrate them. With respect to these groups of verbs, Walinski (2018) states that they differ in relation to the scalar-valued attributes associated with them. The group labeled source/goal verbs, for example, is associated with two-point scale, while the group of unbounded path verbs

should be regarded as multiple-point scale. As for the route verbs, they are not associated to any scalar change. The group of constant verbs is defined by the author as specifying a “stable spatial relation between two moving objects” (WALINSKI, 2018, p. 166). Finally, the deictic verbs can be construed by relying on “the location relative to participants of the communicative act.” (WALINSKI, 2018, p. 168). The author claims, however, that the manner of motion is not specified in any of these verbs.

Figure 2: Directional verbs

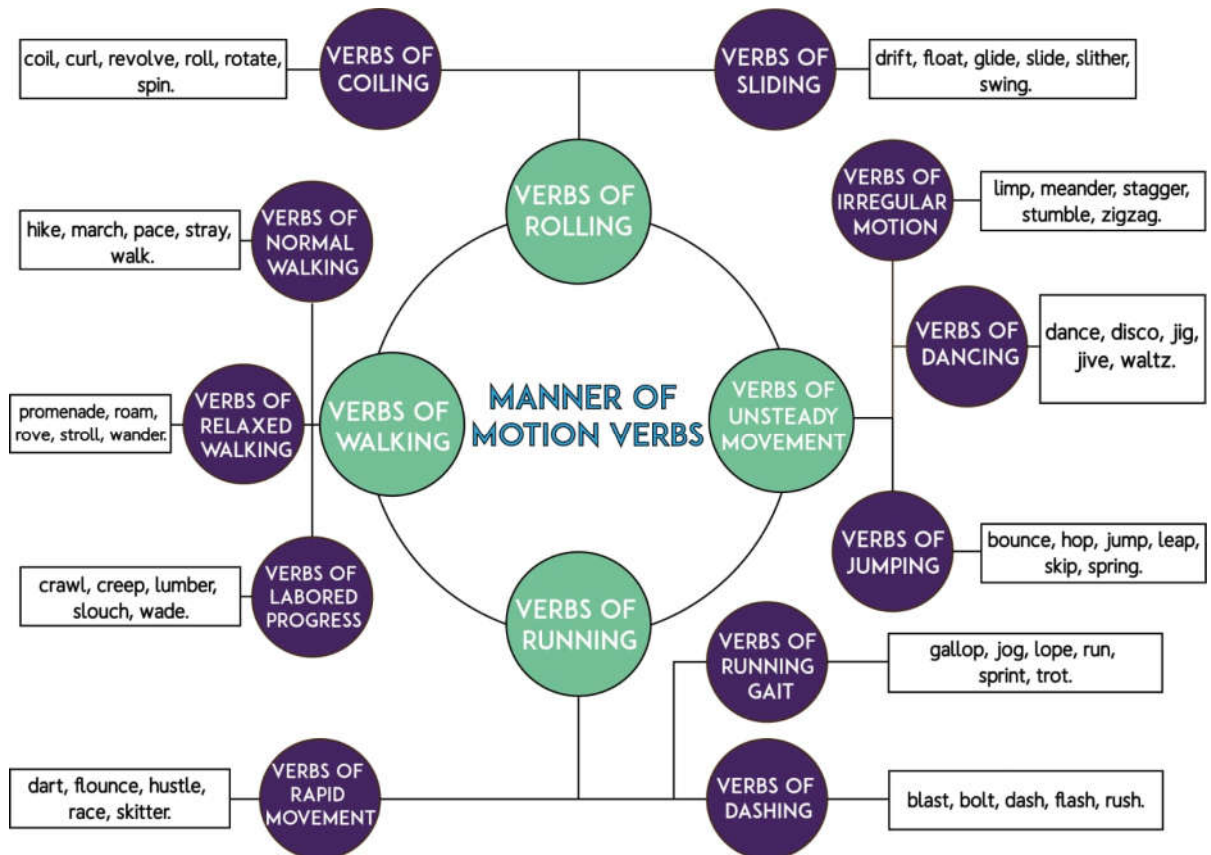


Elaborated by the author, based on (Walinski, 2018)

For his analysis of manner of motion verbs, Walinski (2018) proposed the categories of manner of motion verbs, as demonstrated in Figure 3. Such classification of manner of motion verbs was based on Levin (1993) and served the purposes of Walinski’s (2018) analysis, in spite of the author’s claim that it needs sub-categorization, due to empirical findings of other major clusters of some of these verbs, such as running and walking (WALINSKI, 2018; SLOBIN, 2014).

Like Walinski (2018), we also follow Levin (1993) in attempting to categorize the verbs used in the description of vision. In the categorization proposed by Levin (1993), the English verbs are grouped according to the semantic characteristics and syntactic behavior these verbs have in common.

Figure 3: Manner of Motion Verbs



Elaborated by the author, based on (Walinski, 2018)

Levin (1993) assumes that “the behavior of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning” (LEVIN, 1993, p. 1). Thus, the author divides her work in two parts, being part I dedicated to the discussion of diathesis alternations, that is, a verbal alternation in which a verb allows for more than one representation of its argument structure and for different types of transitivity to express different perspectives of the same event in the world (CANÇADO & AMARAL, 2016, p. 69). Levin (1993) illustrates such change, among other examples, with the pair of sentences a) *The farmer loaded apples into the*

cart and b) *The farmer loaded the cart with apples*. She explains that while speakers accept both uses of the verb *load* in (a) and (b) with the *locative alternation*, they also agree on a change of meaning associated with the change of arguments: while in (b) “the cart” is construed as full, in (a) there is no such construal. As for part II, which is particularly relevant for the present study, Levin (1993) describes the classes of verbs in English that present a shared pattern regarding their syntactic and semantic property. Although our analysis does not intend to account for alternation diathesis of the verbs used in visual description, it is fundamental that these verbs should be categorized as directional or manner of motion verbs so as to investigate their relation to viewpoint creation depending on their core meaning. The previously given examples – (a) and (b) – also show how the locative alternation is influenced by a cognitive viewpoint since in (a) the speaker choice to profile apples only suggests that something was being put in the cart. As for (b), the speaker’s choice to profile the cart provides the viewpoint that the cart was full with the apples. In that manner, the motion verbs that are used in visual description need to be verified in terms of how their shared meaning and semantic behavior contribute to viewpoint building. We argue that the contribution of the directionality and manner of the motion verbs cannot be neglected, as they might indicate ways in which visual perception occurs. If we consider the motion verb STAGGER in the sentence “The footpath staggers from the bar to the outhouse”, it is possible to say that it is associated to a way of walking that a person who had been drinking would move, that is, walking “erratically, zigzagging back and forth, and maybe even stumbling or falling down” (MATLOCK, 2004b, p. 232). The verb STAGGER in this sentence, then, would be associated to the curving shape of the path. Likewise, when a verb such as WANDER is used to express vision, as in *His eyes wandered*, it might indicate ways visual perception happens regarding the speed of processing events, purpose of looking at something, and others.

Because one of the purposes of the present work is to establish a relationship between patterns of path and directionality in fictive motion of visual expressions and viewpoint building in XIX century novels, the next section is intended to provide a dialog between viewpoint from the Cognitive Linguistics perspective and literary viewpoint, as well as a discussion of possible ways in which cognitive viewpoint could be applied to the analysis of Literature.

CHAPTER 2: COGNITIVE APPROACHES TO LITERATURE

On our approach to Literature it is necessary to discuss a concept of narrative that should encompass a cognitive view, considering the nature of our analyzes. That being the case, we draw from Mar and Oatley (2008), whose perspective on narratives is that they should be defined by their content and the way we interact with such content. According to Mar and Oatley (2008), the stories narrated in fiction allow for people to cognitively simulate a social world with which they interact, by developing a model of mental representation. It is our mental representation that enables readers to understand *spatial relations, goal-based intentions, and other types of inferences*. Regarding the models of mental representation that people develop to gain access to characters' minds, Mar and Oatley (2008, p. 175) also claim that

people form models of the minds of those with whom they interact. This modeling allows people a way to infer other people's mental states, to which they have no direct access, allowing insight into behavior (U. Frith & Frith, 2001) and how that behavior may have an impact on our own lives. In literature, and to some extent in ordinary life, a mental model of this kind is known as character. It is a simulation that allows us to know what another might be wanting, thinking, and feeling.

Mental simulation is a key element in construing narrated events, particularly instances of fictive motion, such as the visual constructions that are the object of this study. In fictive motion events the mental simulation is also referred to as mental scanning (LANGACKER, 1999). In the various occurrences with a motion verb and the noun EYE in our corpus, the conceptualization of the described path involves a mental scan of the path in question and in doing so, all points in space that form that path are mentally evoked (LANGACKER, 1999). Additionally, mental simulation that results from specific linguistic forms specifies diverse viewpoints. Consider the example from Talmy (2000) in *She sat in the rocker near her bed and looked out the window. How lovely the sky was!* According to Talmy (2000, p. 68-69), the use of *she* creates a viewpoint in which we mentally access the scene by being positioned inside the room, looking at the woman, whereas the use of the *how* construction expressing a subjective experience, creates a different viewpoint, one that allows us to mentally simulate that we see through her eyes.

Such cognitive view of narratives is in accordance with Dancygier's approach (2012), who speculates as to whether a story should be regarded as a mental, linguistic or cultural construct. In her book *The Language of Stories*, the author discusses the nature of stories and narratives and focus on the meaning constructing aspect of storytelling. In doing so, Dancygier (2012) relies on two cognitive theories of language analysis: mental spaces and blending. In such cases, meaning is assumed to emerge from the use of "formal signals" and that narratives are understood by the "emergence, construction, and negotiation of meaning through specific language choices" (DANCYGIER, 2012, p. 5).

In order to illustrate how a cognitive approach to analyzing literary work might be an effective tool to explain figurative language in prose, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014, p. 196) provide an excerpt taken from a travel book entitled *Hunting Mister Heartbreak*, by Jonathan Raban, arguing that there is as much figurative language in prose as there is in poetry:

The trees that had been skeletal and grey the day before were coming into leaf this morning... The harder I stepped on the gas, the faster I could make things grow. I made the first magnolia burst suddenly into flower, woke the first snake from hibernation... At the rate I was going, it would be fall by Tuesday morning. (Hunting Mister Heartbreak, Jonathan Raban)

It is argued by Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) that none of the actions narrated in the excerpt would have been possible to be executed and that the language used should be understood as figurative. Thus, the construal relates to change (in perception), instead of motion. The authors explain:

The fragment relies on a rather elaborate and innovative blend. The narrator is describing his impressions while driving down from New York City to Alabama; he is going south and observing the changes in the appearance of nature. While it is still wintry and gray up north, it is green and spring-like in the south. But because the transition is gradual and in fact correlated with the motion of the car caused by pressing the gas pedal, the blend constructed in the text attributes causation to the driver via the *The X-er the Y-er Comparative Correlative Construction* (Fillmore et al. 1988). (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p. 201)

The cognitive and experiential aspect pointed out by the authors emphasizes the notion of "language as reflection of embodied cognition" (EVANS & GREEN, 2006, p. 64). By making use of figurative language, the narrative resembles the language of poetry

and, in doing so, its focus is not on facts, but experience (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2014, p. 202), that is, the change in scenery (or emotion) that the character perceives. In addition, the authors claim that metaphoric mappings might be taking place in this event description, such as CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT and CHANGE IS MOTION.

Among the research done on the investigation of literary work from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is the one carried out by Popova (2002). On relying on conceptual metaphors to demonstrate how meaning construal is structured in a predictable and conventional way, Popova (2002) searched to “establish the general principles that guide the metaphoric structuring of *The Figure in the Carpet*”. The approach set out by the author in her analysis is within the scope of Cognitive Stylistics, a research field that integrates Literature, Linguistics and cognition. Semino and Culpeper (2002, p. 9), argue that Cognitive Stylistics “combines the kind of explicit, rigorous and detailed linguistic analysis of literary texts that is typical of the stylistics tradition with a systematic and theoretically informed consideration of the cognitive structures and processes that underlie the production and reception of language.”

A cognitive stylistic approach was also adopted by Elena Semino (2002) in order to account for the notion of mind style in narrative fiction, a phenomenon that concerns “how language reflects the particular conceptual structures and cognitive habits that characterize an individual’s world view” (SEMINO, 2002, p. 95). By relying on the framework of schema theory, cognitive metaphor theory and blending theory, Semino’s (2002) analysis comprises a discussion on the mind styles of two characters, Louis de Bernieres’s Captain Corelli’s Mandolin, and of the male protagonist in John Fowles’s *The Collector*. The author argues that the theories she relied on “have considerable explanatory power, and can be used to provide clear, systematic and cognitively plausible accounts of the linguistic construction of mind style in narrative fiction” (SEMINO, 2002, p. 119). In other words, linguistic choices and patterns in texts should be accounted as one variable to provide readers with access to the minds of fictional characters. Such choices and patterns reflect cognitive reasoning, which leads to meaning construal in fictional texts by the readers. As Semino (2007, p. 201) concludes, it is the processing of such linguistic choices that allows readers to “construct and monitor the functioning of these minds as we read a story or novel”.

The choice of linguistic forms in narratives is also addressed by Dancygier (2017), in a study dedicated to analyzing viewpoint phenomena in multimodal communication. The author argues that, although viewpoint is a broad category, one way to approach it is showing that linguistic constructions and grammar forms represent viewpoint configurations. Therefore, she relies on the Mental Space framework and provides examples of linguistic forms to show that viewpoint in discourse has many levels. These multiple viewpoints, however, create a network that demands a cohesive structure, represented by a higher viewpoint level that the author calls Discourse Viewpoint Level. In her analysis of linguistic choices that participate in this viewpoint network she includes articles and demonstratives in persuasive discourse; genitive and experiential viewpoint; and first-person pronoun and sarcasm.

As seen, all the theoretical frameworks previously mentioned, such as Mental Space, Blending and Conceptual Metaphor are examples of analytical tools that have been applied to stylistics studies. They all have demonstrated how literary texts, be it prose or poetry, can profit from the contribution of concepts primarily developed for language analysis. The present research regards fictivity and viewpoint phenomena as cognitive mechanisms that can also add to the understanding of how we construe meaning in fictional literature. As we approach the viewpoint phenomenon from a cognitive perspective, it is necessary to point out how viewpoint is considered in a traditional literary perspective and our own assumption of a cognitive viewpoint, which we provide in the following section.

CHAPTER 3: VIEWPOINT IN DISCOURSE: LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC APPROACHES

This section is devoted to discussing viewpoint within the literary and linguistic framework. Though the present research relies on the Cognitive Linguistic perspective of viewpoint, an account of viewpoint from the perspective of Literature is essential since the analysis is carried out on a literary corpus, composed by novels.

3.1 Viewpoint from a literary perspective

Neary (2014, p. 175) states that, in Literature, viewpoint specifies “the angle of ‘telling’ of a narrative act – that is, the perspective from which events and/or thoughts are related.” According to this author, an issue that is central in the discussion of narrative viewpoint refers to the distinction between “who tells” and “who sees” (NEARY, 2014, p. 176). Thus, studies on the notion of viewpoint in the literary field has traditionally been related to types of narration. The use of the term itself is controversial and is used by many scholars in alternative ways (MACINTYRE, 2006). Genette (1980), for example, prefers the term *focalization* and subcategorizes it into three types, *zero focalization*, *internal focalization* and *external focalization*. MacIntyre (2006) argues that while zero focalization is not evidenced in Genette’s work (1980), his distinction between internal and external focalization on the other hand was properly explained. These notions are also approached by Van Krieken (2016) in her analysis of viewpoint in news narrative:

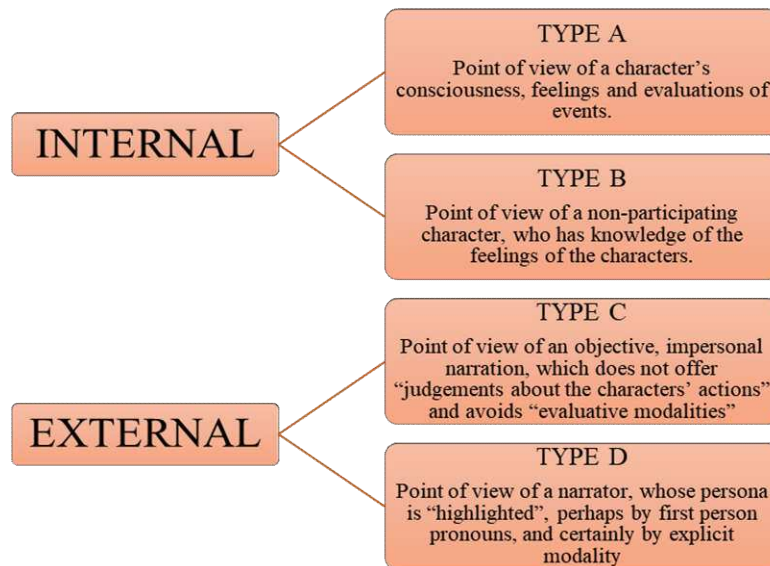
A story can be narrated, first, from the external viewpoint of the narrator, in which case readers are presented with the actions and utterances of the character but remain in ignorance about the character’s inner life. This mode resembles the way in which we perceive others in the real world: we can see what they do and hear what they say, but we are unaware of what goes on in their minds. Second, a story can be narrated from an internal viewpoint, in which case readers are presented not only with the actions and utterances of the character, but also with that character’s thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. In this mode, the narrative events are related through the eyes and mind of the character. (VAN KRIEKEN, 2006, p. 15-16)

According to MacIntyre (2006, p. 55), the internal and external types of narration were first discussed by Uspensky (1973), who related internal narration to “the ‘subjective viewpoint’ of a particular character or characters”; as for the external narration, it is

referred to as “the type of omniscient narration that purports to be objective, and seemingly includes narratorial comment on the characters and actions described”. Such a distinction between internal and external narration has an impact on the creation of different viewpoints (MACINTYRE, 2006).

The categories of internal and external narration were further broadened by Fowler (1996), who subdivides internal narration into types A and B, and external narration into types C and D. A summary of how they were characterized is shown as follows:

Figure 4: Narration types



Elaborated by the author, based on Fowler (1996)

As Neary (2014) explains, type A has a high level of subjectivity and because it provides access to a character’s consciousness, a first-person narrator is predominant in such types of narratives. As for type B, thoughts and feelings of a character are still provided, but it is done by a third-person narrator, defined by Fowler (1996) as an “omniscient author”. Regarding type C, it is accounted as “the most impersonal and ‘objective’ form of third-person narration” and, consequently, in this type of narrative the author’s voice is constantly rejected (NEARY, 2014, p. 180). Finally, in type D narration, the author pretends not to have “access to the internal states of the characters”, and in doing so, uses verbs such as “seemed” and “appeared”, as well as

adverbs of manner, such as evidently, apparently and perhaps (MACINTYRE, 2006, p. 25).

This taxonomy, according to MacIntyre (2006), poses a few problems, being one of them the subtle difference in types C and D narration. In addition, Fowler's (1996) taxonomy does not consider other types of narration, such as second-person narration, which, in turn, does not account for the viewpoint variety in narratives. Also, these categories seem to suggest that types of narrators are constant in a narrative, which, according to MacIntyre (2006, p. 29) is misleading since types of narration "may change from sentence to sentence". In view of such problems, MacIntyre (2006) argues that the creation of "point of view effects" may not be better explained through types of narrator categories.

Therefore, a better understanding of the complexity and interweaving of viewpoints in narratives should also account for a complementary linguistic framework. Van krieken (2016, p. 19-20) points out that

in recent years, cognitive approaches to narratives have been concerned with questions of how people understand narratives, how they mentally represent narrative worlds, and how narrative processing is guided by linguistic features (e.g., Herman, 2009; Bernaerts, De Geest, Herman, & Vervaeck, 2013). Cognitive linguistic conceptions of viewpoint are central to these approaches as they help explain how the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint both adds to the construction of narrative realities and guides the reader's cognitive representation of these realities.

On that account, we provide in the next section a discussion regarding how viewpoint phenomenon is approached from a cognitive linguistic approach.

3.2 Viewpoint as a conceptual mechanism of construal

When discussing the idealized cognitive model¹³ of SEEING in his book entitled *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*, Lakoff (1990, p. 129) stated that "different people, looking upon a situation, will notice different things". Through this statement, Lakoff (1990) meant that the construal of a viewed scene may depend on humans' knowledge and experiences in the world. Although the scholar was not addressing the notion of

¹³ Coined by Lakoff (1987), Idealized Cognitive Models – ICM – is defined as structures that organize our knowledge.

viewpoint, his assertion points to the pervasive role of each individual's point of view and perspective in cognition and language. As Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) point out, we experience visual scenes and situations specifically from a distinct point rather than any other. Therefore, human cognition is not only grounded in bodily experiences, but they are inherently viewpointed. The authors argue that

viewpoint is far more pervasive in human cognition and language than has been recognized – no matter what the content of our perception, cognition, or linguistic expression, the content is never independent of viewpoint, and viewpoint expression is a crucial and constant job of human communication. (DANCYGIER & SWEETSER, 2012).

The importance of viewpoint and perspective for meaning construction has also been addressed by Langacker (1987, 1991) and Talmy (2000). Perspective, in Langacker's terms, include *orientation* and *vantage point*, which operate in the construal of a particular scene. *Orientation* relates to “the point from which something is represented” and *vantage point* refers to “the resulting representation of objects or scenes from that point” (VAN KRIEKEN, 2014, p. 18). Talmy (2000), on the other hand, approaches viewpoint within the “schematic systems” framework. He characterizes the phenomenon as a system that “establishes a conceptual perspective point from which the entity is cognitively regarded” (TALMY, 2000, p. 68). Six categories are said to constitute this system:

- Perspectival location
- Perspectival distance
- Perspectival mode
 - Sequentializing
 - Synopticizing
- Direction of viewing

Perspectival location indicates the position of a perspective point and the viewed scene. Deictic elements play a crucial role in establishing the speaker's viewpoint, such as *come* and *go*. Talmy (2000) claims that the grammatical and lexical elements chosen to describe a scene specify distinct viewpoints, as illustrated by the piece of narrative: *She sat in the rocker near her bed and looked out the window. How lovely the sky was!* discussed earlier in which the third person pronoun and objective description provide

two different viewpoints, one in which the listener/reader is somewhere in the room observing the sitting woman and the other which shifts the listener/reader's viewpoint to the woman's visual perception.

The second category, perspectival distance, refers to the distance between a perspective point and the entity observed, which can be regarded as being distal, medial and proximal. As per perspective mode, the third category, the perspective point is defined as stationary or moving, and it is correlated to the second category in that the stationary perspective point is aligned with the distal and the moving perspective point with the proximal one. In addition, perspectival mode is subdivided in two modes: synoptic (a stationary distal perspective point with global scope of attention) and sequential (a moving proximal perspective point with local scope of attention). Finally, direction of viewing category is characterized by "the conceptual possibility of "sighting" in a particular direction from an established perspective point, thereby attending to one or another particular portion of the temporal configuration in reference", as in the sentence *I shopped at the store before I went home*, "and of shifting the direction of this sighting to another portion of a temporal configuration", exemplified by *After I shopped at the store, I went home* (TALMY, 2000, p. 72).

Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) also point out to the pervasiveness of viewpoint in language since, within a sentence for example, stances such as time, location and deictic elements lead to specific viewpoint meanings. Sweetser (2012), enumerates some linguistic viewpoint markers, which include:

- Reference to where the Speaker and Addressee are assumed to be and what they are thought of as being able to see, be able to reach, and so on (*here, there, this, that, next door*).
E.g.: *For me, I watch **here** in the room and in Miss Lucy's old room all night, and I myself search for what may be.* (*Dracula*, Bram Stoker)
- Reference to when the Speaker and Addressee are assumed to be (*now, then, tomorrow, last year*)
E.g.: *These eyes of mine look into the very eye that is even **now** beholding him.* (*Moby Dick*, Herman Melville)

- Reference to what the Speaker and Addressee are assumed to know, think, presuppose, and be able to calculate mentally about whatever mental space is involved (e.g., determiners [*a, the*]; pronouns [formal x informal]; connectives [*if x when*]; presuppositional lexical items [stop]).

E.g: *He turned his eyes on Mr. Jagers **whenever** he raised them from the table, and was as dry and distant to me **as if** there were twin Wemmicks, and this was the wrong one.* (*Great expectations*, Charles Dickens)

- Reference to what the Speaker and Addressee feel about the contents of the relevant spaces – how they evaluate them affectively, culturally, and so on. (e.g., framing [*thrifty x stingy*]; affective markers [*hopefully x maybe*].

E.g.: *When the prisoner came on board, he noticed that my father," turning her eyes **lovingly** to him as he stood beside her.* (*A tale of two cities*, Charles Dickens)¹⁴

(SWEETSER, 2012)

Sweetser (2012) argues that these linguistic viewpoint markers are just part of a long list of how experiences can be represented in language and build viewpoint. In fact, as she points out, “viewpoint is marked by just about anything that builds a particular individual’s mental space construal in ways specific to that individual’s cognitive and perceptual access” (SWEETSER, 2012, p. 7).

Viewpoint, as a cognitive phenomenon, has also been applied in the analysis of drama and prose. McIntire (2006), in his book *Point of View in Plays*, relies on the cognitive stylistics framework to offer a comprehensive overview on different approaches to viewpoint in drama and prose. Drawing from authors such as Chatman (1978) and Uspensky (1973), McIntire (2006) distinguishes viewpoint between literal and figurative viewpoints, or perceptual and conceptual viewpoints, respectively. By perceptual viewpoint, McIntire (2006, p. 46) means “an optical viewpoint”, illustrated by an extract taken from Umberto Eco’s *The Island of the Day Before*, which narrates what Roberto, the main character, can see through the use of the visual verb “glimpse”.

¹⁴ Examples are from our corpus.

He staggered to the other side of the ship and glimpsed, but distant this time, almost on the line of the horizon, the peaks of another mass, defined also by two promontories. (Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before*, p. 3)

McIntire (2006) points out that time also plays a role on viewpoint creation since what the character sees in the reported extract would not be the same on another day, depending on the position of his ship. His conclusion is that perceptual viewpoint would emerge from “a particular spatio-temporal location”. On the other hand, conceptual viewpoint is the manifestation of an individual’s “ideology, beliefs, attitudes or way of thinking” (MCINTIRE, 2006, p. 47). To exemplify how conceptual viewpoint is manifested in language, he discusses the following extract from *All Quiet on the Western Front*:

The front is a cage in which we must await fearfully whatever may happen. We lie under the network of arching shells and live in a suspense of uncertainty. (*All Quiet on the Western Front*, p. 70)

The excerpt shows the German soldier’s attitude towards his experience on the front line of the First World War, which is compared metaphorically to animals living in a “cage”. According to McIntire (2006), the use of “fearfully” and “negative connotations of the word *cage*” describes what the character’s feelings are rather than describing what he physically sees.

Viewpoint can also be accounted as a local or a global phenomenon – “specific to a scene or organizing the text as a whole” – that is, viewpoint operates in lower levels and higher levels of discourse (DANCYGIER & VANDELANOTTE, 2016, p. 14). Local and global viewpoint are organized in a hierarchical order forming a viewpoint network, whose final cohesion can be explained by the mechanism of viewpoint compression (DANCYGIER & VANDELANOTTE, 2016). Viewpoint compression is defined by Dancygier (2012, p. 40) as “an integration mechanism which allows lower-level viewpoint to contribute to the higher level”.

The notion of compression was introduced within the theory of Conceptual Integration or Blending (FAUCONNIER & TURNER, 2002). It refers to the process of “reducing complexity to human scale” so that we can conceptualize an event in a new and creative way (EVANS & GREEN, 2006). An example of compression provided by Evans and

Green (2006) is the way we think about the creation of the world and evolution in one day scale, so that we can understand the length of time humans appeared on Earth. This process of reducing complexity to human scale is connected to a set of relations responsible for matchings in a blend and called by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) as vital relations. These vital relations encompass the notions of Time, Space, Representation, Change, Role-Value, analogy, Disanalogy, Part-Whole and Cause-Effect. Regarding viewpoint compression in narratives, it is this cognitive mechanism that allows for global viewpoint construction. As Dancygier (2017, p. 5) claims,

the compression mechanism works through all levels of narrative structure, yielding the novel's complete story. The effects of compression may include creating a cohesive timeline, establishing cross-narrative identities, justifying the behavior of various characters, etc. These compressions are viewpoint-driven.

To illustrate how viewpoint compression works, let us consider again the excerpt shown in chapter 2, discussed in Dancygier (2012, p. 104-105):

The trees that had been skeletal and grey the day before were coming into leaf this morning... The harder I stepped on the gas, the faster I could make things grow. I made the first magnolia burst suddenly into flower, woke the first snake from hibernation... At the rate I was going, it would be fall by Tuesday morning. (Hunting Mister Heartbreak, p. 112)

The narrator, while on trip to the south of the country, compares the passage of a day's time with the transition of two seasons of the year, due to his perception of the environment changes. Such phenomena may be described as visual compression (DANCYGIER, 2012), as the narrator's visual perception triggers his conceptualization of time passage, as a consequence of the changes visualized while travelling.

In summary, viewpoint is recognized as a broad and complex phenomenon, whose investigation encompasses a variety of multimodal and discursive domains in which this phenomenon is observed, such as fiction, news narratives, gestures and sign language, etc. (see DANCYGIER, 2016). For the purpose of our analysis, we regard viewpoint as a conceptual mechanism which helps in the construal of figurative language, particularly the fictive motion structures used for visual description in narratives. Its emergence can be signaled by the linguistic choices established by the motion verbs semantics and the prepositions and adverbials that specify the path configurations. Thus,

viewpoint is, regardless of its complexity, an important device for meaning construal. As Dancygier (2016, p. 287) points out,

the term ‘viewpoint’ can refer to very different linguistic phenomena, which include (but are not limited to) lexis, grammar, and specific constructions. This might raise the question whether the concept of viewpoint is too broad to be useful at all. Our answer is that it is useful, precisely because it allows us, as analysts, to capture complex linguistic choices.

Drawing from this perspective, we approach viewpoint in fictional narratives as a tool that contributes to meaning construction. In particular, the linguistic choices we analyze in narratives are expressed by the fictive motion occurrences in visual description. Based on the theoretical framework that guided the present study, in the next section we present the methodological choices and analytical procedures we developed to achieve the earlier stated research goals.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the introductory chapter of the present work, we have established two general objectives for our research: 1) to find out how visual descriptions that combine a motion verb and the noun EYE influence viewpoint emergence in fictional narrative; and 2) to verify how the viewpoint built from these types of visual description contributes to meaning construction in these narratives. In order to achieve these goals, we attempted to establish a dialog between two areas of research, namely Cognitive Linguistics and Literature. Thus, we relied on empirical data, more specifically novels from the nineteenth century, to investigate the fictive instances of visual description and their relation to viewpoint emergence in this context of language use. The data was collected from a corpus that contained thirty novels written originally in English. We assume that the number of novels which composed the corpus was sufficient to provide a sample that allows for generalizations. In this chapter, we described the steps taken for compiling the corpus and for getting the sample for analysis. After that, we proceeded with the description of the analytical procedures.

4.1 Corpus characterization

The novels were taken from the online book catalog available on the project Gutenberg website¹⁵, a digital library whose books are in the public domain. Additionally, all exemplars collected were published in the nineteenth century, a period that coincides with an increasing advance in technology regarding optical devices (CALÉ & DI BELLO, 2010). According to Jay (1993, p. 125), the technological innovations of the nineteenth century allowed people to have new visual experiences and such fact had a “remarkable impact of rapid urbanization on the visual experience of everyday life”, which, in turn, influenced Art, Culture and Literature. As a consequence of that change, Literature in the Victorian age showed a pervasive use of visual experiences, in his terms, represented linguistically as visual metaphors:

The nineteenth century was among the most visual periods of Western culture, the most given to ideals of observation – a spectator-view shared by novelists, painters, scientists and, to an extent, by poets, who became

¹⁵ <https://www.gutenberg.org>

'visionary', although poetic vision did not always mean observation. (Wylie Sypher, 1971, p. 74)

Regarding the literary work chosen for this study, the reason for including these specific novels in the corpus was twofold: first, these novels were available for public domain and second, they can be considered as representative of this period, whose authors were extensively the object of literary studies. For instance, the books written by Jane Austen, a British female writer, are claimed to have influenced not only the literary scenario of the past centuries but have also been able to influence people's attitudes towards women, marriage and education (HARPER, 2020).

Table 6 shows the information of the novels that make up the corpus, including titles, authors and year of publication.

Table 6: Novels that compose the Corpus

NOVEL	AUTHOR	YEAR
1. A Tale of two cities	Charles Dickens	1859
2. Adventures of Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain	1884
3. Alice in Wonderland	Lewis Carroll	1865
4. David Copperfield	Charles Dickens	1850
5. Dracula	Bram Stoker	1897
6. Emma	Jane Austen	1815
7. Frankenstein	Mary Shelley	1818
8. Great Expectations	Charles Dickens	1861
9. Hard Times	Charles Dickens	1854
10. Jane Eyre	Charlotte Brontë	1847
11. Little Women	Louisa May Alcott	1868/69
12. Moby Dick	Herman Melville	1851
13. Oliver Twist	Charles Dickens	1837
14. Persuasion	Jane Austen	1818
15. Pride and Prejudice	Jane Austen	1818
16. Roughing It	Mark Twain	1872
17. Sense and Sensibility	Jane Austen	1813
18. Silas Marner – The Weaver of Raveloe	George Eliot	1861
19. The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain	1876
20. The House of the Seven Gables	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1851
21. The Island of Doctor Moreau	H. G. Wells	1896
22. The Picture of Dorian Gray	Oscar Wilde	1890
23. The Portrait of a Lady	Henry James	1881
24. The Prince and the Pauper	Mark Twain	1881
25. The Scarlet Letter	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1850
26. The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	Robert L. Stevenson	1886
27. The Time Machine	H. G. Wells	1895

28. The turn of the screw	Henry James	1898
29. Treasure Island	Robert L. Stevenson	1883
30. Wuthering Heights	Emily Brontë	1847

Elaborated by the author

As previously mentioned, the amount of data collected is believed to fulfill the criteria of representativeness, as it may provide a sufficient variety of data that is likely to be enough to generalize possible findings. Moreover, our primary focus is on a qualitative analysis of the sample, although we take into consideration the quantitative aspect of the data selection, as well as the fact that some verbs are more frequently used in visual description than others.

In order to manage the Corpus previously described, the tool for linguistic analysis Sketch Engine¹⁶ was used, due to its user-friendly interface, which allows the program to generate lists of verbs, to provide concordance lines and to show the distribution of hits in the corpus. Sketch engine is a web-based software, which has been designed to work with large corpora of different languages already available in the program or to work with corpora that could be uploaded by the users. The software was developed by Lexical Computing Limited and released in 2003. Having several features to facilitate language analysis, such as supplying random samples of concordance lines, Sketch Engine is able to process a great number of texts in seconds.

4.2 Analytical procedures

Once the novels had been uploaded to Sketch Engine, we thus followed these steps:

- a. Search for the most frequent noun for vision.
- b. Search for the collocates with the visual noun.
- c. Get a ten percent sample of occurrences containing a motion verb and the noun for vision.
- d. Search manually for the motion verbs collocated with the visual noun.
- e. Establish patterns and categorize them.

¹⁶ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

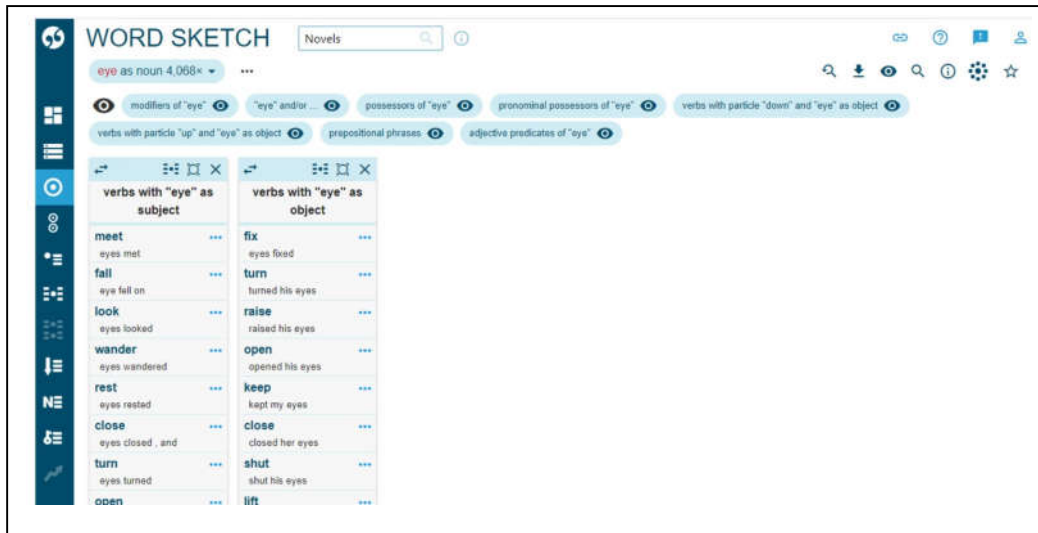
In our search for the most frequent noun, listed as the first step, the criterion adopted to select these nouns was based on the semantic frame (FILLMORE, 1982), within which the visual perception nouns would fit, according to the frame characterization and annotation provided by FrameNet¹⁷. The visual perception nouns are characterized as Perception Active (see section 1.3), and this semantic frame includes nouns, such as EYE, GAZE, GLANCE, LOOK, PEEK, PEEP, STARE and VIEW. Besides these nouns, SIGHT and VISION were also included in the search, as they are also nouns for vision, but were not listed in the Perception Active frame. With regards to the characterization of the Perception Active frame, it entails the intentionality of the perceivers when directing their attention to an entity or phenomenon with the objective of having a perceptual experience.

The reason for looking into visual expressions with motion verbs rather than verbs of vision (e.g., SEE and LOOK – the most frequent verbs in the domain of vision) is twofold. First, verbs of vision do not lexicalize path and direction, being the gaze trajectory expressed by a particle or an adverbial phrase. Motion verbs, on the other hand, can lexicalize the manner of motion (e.g., WANDER) or the direction (e.g., LIFT), which, in the domain of vision, can indicate that visual perception happens in a certain way profiled by the speaker/writer. Moreover, the way perception is chosen to be described is motivated by cognitive processes that we intend to identify. Secondly, research on visual path complexity has usually focused on the semantics and syntactic properties of these two verbs, LOOK and SEE (GRUBER, 1967; ALM-ARVIUS, 1993; SLOBIN, 2009; GISBORNE, 2010; WHITT, 2010), whereas visual expressions containing verbs of motion have not been given the same attention.

As a second step, after searching for the most frequent noun for vision, we searched for the verbs that collocated with that noun. As a result of this search for the collocates, Sketch Engine produced different lists, separated into columns, whose format is shown by Figure 5.

¹⁷ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>

Figure 5: Collocates for the visual perception noun EYE



Source: Sketch Engine

To narrow down the amount of data to be analyzed, only the noun EYE was selected, for being the most frequent in the corpus, as shown by Table 7, with 2,400 occurrences in total. Thirdly, from that amount of data, a ten percent random sample of the concordance lines for EYE as Object and for EYE as Subject was taken. Since our focus was on expressions containing a motion verb and a noun for vision, only the columns for the collocates which had the noun as Subject and the noun as Object of a verb were selected. Such format available on the tool Sketch Engine, that is, showing the results that refer to EYE occupying the Subject and the Object position, was useful to manually search for the concordance lines that contained a motion verb, which was done as a fourth step. To search for these motion verbs, the concordance lines were copied and pasted in an Excel spreadsheet, which facilitated the identification of which verbs were motion verbs and which ones were not.

Finally, upon the identification of the concordance lines that fulfilled the criteria mentioned earlier, that is occurrences with a motion verb and the noun EYE, the research followed two lines of investigation: 1) First, we attempted to identify patterns related to the manner of motion and directionality of the motion verbs, as well as to describe path configurations that were coded outside the verb; and 2) Second, we analyzed the relationship between these patterns and the creation of viewpoint in the novels.

To account for the manner of motion and directionality lexicalized by the verbs, we drew from Levin (1993) to categorize the motion verbs according to their semantic properties. The reason to categorize these verbs as such is that, depending on the semantic group they belong to, their syntactic behavior and their frame structure may establish a relationship between Figure and Ground, between experiencer and perceived entity, from which distinct viewpoints might emerge. Thus, the motion verbs were separated in three categories:

- Manner of motion
- Directional verbs
- Deictic verbs

The manner of motion verbs were classified following Levin (1993) and the categories they fell in were *chasing* verbs, *rolling* verbs, *throw* verbs, *run* verbs, *meander* verbs, verbs of *exerting force*, *carry* verbs, *remove* verbs and *ferret* verbs. The directional verbs, in turn, were classified according to their vertical properties, i.e., lexicalizing motion from a lower to a higher position or from a higher to a lower position. Regarding the deictic verbs, they comprised the spatial relation with the speaker, that is, motion towards or away from the speaker.

As for the analysis of path expressed by the particles and adverbials, Talmy's taxonomy (2000) was applied (see section 1.4.3). As previously discussed, his taxonomy includes the properties Vector, Conformation, Deixis and Earth-grid displacement. The path properties, as well as the lack of a profiled path by the components, also give rise to specific relations between Figure and Ground.

Finally, we also analyzed the occurrences in relation to agency, which is linked to the uses of the noun EYE depending on its syntactic position in the sentence, as a Subject or as an Object. Such analysis was possible in the light of the theoretical framework of metonymy, a cognitive mechanism that can give rise to these figurative uses, which, in turn, can be explained by fictive motion. It is, then, the analysis of the verb semantics and the patterns of path configuration that we can analyze the possible viewpoint emergence in the narratives. As pointed out previously, we assume that cognitive

viewpoint emerges from the linguistic choices and the types of mappings that happen between the frames. And it is those mappings that we attempted to identify. In the following section, the findings were presented and analyzed in the light of the theoretical framework provided in this work.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings regarding the patterns of path, directionality and manner of vision that emerged from the data. Firstly, we examined the motion verbs that were found in our search and categorized them according to the manner of motion and directionality patterns. The verbs were divided into three categories:

Figure 6: Categories of motion verbs found in the corpus

MANNER OF MOTION VERBS	DIRECTIONAL VERBS	DEICTIC VERBS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chasing verbs</i> [FOLLOW] • <i>Roll verbs</i> [TURN /ROLL] • <i>Throw verbs</i> [CAST / THROW] • <i>Run verbs</i> [RUN / DART] • <i>Meander verbs</i> [ROVE / WANDER] • <i>Exerting force verbs</i> [DRAW] • <i>Carry verbs</i> [CARRY] • <i>Remove verbs</i> [REMOVE] • <i>Ferret verbs</i> [SEEK] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From a lower to a higher position [RAISE / LIFT] • From a higher to a lower position [BEND, DROP, FALL and SINK] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In direction to speaker [COME] • Away from speaker [GO]

Elaborated by the author

Drawing from the notion that the manner of the motion encoded by the verbs affects the conceptualization of visual perception, we searched to find what aspects in the semantics of these verbs underlie the construal of perception as a moving entity. In other words, describing vision as “running the eyes” or “darting the eyes” entails different ways of perception and such fact can also be related to viewpoint building in the novels. In addition, we presented and analyzed the data regarding the path expressed by either a particle or an adverbial phrase, based on Talmy’s typology (2000) for visual

path. Such analysis was intended to investigate the contribution of path of vision to viewpoint emergence in the nineteenth century novels.

Our search indicated that visual expressions can be lexicalized by different nouns. Because vision is considered a fictive motion phenomenon (TALMY, 2000), verbs like LOOK and SEE usually require a path expression, but these verbs do not encode the manner or direction of visual perception. Thus, to find out which motion verb collocated with the nouns of vision, we searched for the most frequent nouns used in these visual expressions. Table 7 provides the result of our search:

Table 7: Most frequent visual nouns collocated with a motion verb.

NOUN	AS A SUBJECT	AS AN OBJECT
EYE	854	1,546
GAZE	6	44
GLANCE	41	139
LOOK	79	376
PEEP	2	22
SIGHT	55	215
STARE	2	14
VIEW	35	146
VISION	28	33
TOTAL	1,102	2,535

Elaborated by the author

The noun EYE was found to be the most frequent noun used in visual expressions, with 2,400 occurrences in total. This finding might reinforce the notion that language is embodied. That is, the choice for the noun EYE over other more abstract nouns to metonymically describe visual perception is motivated by our bodily experiences in the world. In addition, table 7 shows that the number of occurrences that has a noun as Object totals 2,535, while the total number of occurrences with nouns as Subject is 1,102. Specifically, for the noun EYE – the most frequent noun in the corpus – the number of occurrences of EYE as an Object is 1,546 and for EYE as a Subject it is 854.

The fact that EYE can occupy the Subject and Object position specifically relates to viewpoint building, as the choice of EYE being either a Subject or an Object involves aspects of agentivity. Consider the two sentences:

- (a) *The young Italian's **eye turned** sidelong upward.*
 (b) *She **turned** her eyes from me.*

The noun EYE is the Subject in (a) and the Object in (b). By saying that it was an individual's eyes that was the agent in (a), the emerging viewpoint is that the visual motion is not controlled by the eye's "owner", almost as if he did not participate in the event. As for (b), the viewpoint is that the Subject *she* has total control over the visual event, as *she* is the agent of TURN.

Considering that the noun EYE was the most frequent noun found in our search, we collected a ten percent random sample of the concordance lines with EYE to be analyzed. From that sample, only the motion verbs that appeared in these occurrences were considered. To obtain the concordance lines with a motion verb, a manual search was conducted, which yielded the following results:

Table 8: List of motion verbs combined with EYE

Motion verb + EYE as SUBJECT	Fall (4), Follow (5), Wander (3), Turn (4), Cast (2), Rove (2), Come (1), Dart (1), Drop (1), Go (1), Seek (2), Sink (2), Raise (1), Roll (1)
Motion verb + EYE as OBJECT	Raise (7), Cast, (6), Lift (5), Draw (2), Turn (13), Roll (2), Follow (2), Remove (1), Carry (1), Run (1), Bend (1), Throw (1)

Elaborated by the author

In total, 72 occurrences were considered for analysis for containing a motion verb. The list of motion verbs that collocate with EYE varies significantly regarding their semantics and path configuration, and we categorized these verbs into three main classes of verbs, manner of motion, directional and deictic verbs. Their semantics entails distinct ways in which perception is construed. Thus, in the following sections

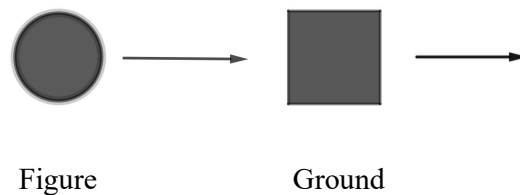
we presented the excerpts where they occurred and analyzed them according to the intrinsic aspects related to their semantics.

5.1 Manner of motion verbs

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the analysis of the motion verbs was carried out following Levin's (1993) classification. The manner of motion verbs collocated with EYE were classified as *chasing* verbs, *rolling* verbs, *throw* verbs, *run* verbs, *meander* verbs, verbs of *exerting force*, *carry* verbs, *remove* verbs and *ferret* verbs. This division was important in specifying specific ways in which perception takes place, revealed by the core meaning of the verb. In what follows, we present an analysis for each verb specifying in which way their semantic (and syntactic) properties contribute to the depiction of visual perception. In addition, we also account for the path configuration established by each of the manner of motion verbs and propose a schematic representation for their manner of motion.

Beginning with the verb FOLLOW, it is categorized as a *chasing verb*. This verb does not usually present a complementary path indicated by propositions or adverbials. It may be so due to the fact that FOLLOW already specifies a trajectory and information such as the source and goal of motion is not usually salient. A representation of the type of motion entailed by FOLLOW is suggested in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Motion representation of FOLLOW



Elaborated by the author

In this representation, the Figure traverses a path indicated by the arrow, which is also traversed by the Ground. The path elements are then defined by the Ground motion configuration. In (1), for instance, the path is indicated by the verb *stretch* in *he*

stretched out [the hand] and such motion configuration is what is perceived by the character. Thus, FOLLOW is a transitive verb that only lexicalizes a trajectory but not direction and whose trajectory is connected to path configuration determined by the Ground. Consider the occurrences with EYE as Subject:

1. (...) *the jackal, with knitted brows and intent face, so deep in his task, that his eyes did not even **follow** the hand he stretched out for his glass (...)* (*A Tale of Two Cities*, Charles Dickens)
2. *As my **eyes followed** her white hand, again the same dim suggestion that I could not possibly grasp crossed me.* (*Great Expectations*, Charles Dickens)
3. *Mr. Macey screwed up his mouth, leaned his head further on one side, and twirled his thumbs with a presto movement as his **eyes followed** Godfrey up the dance.* (*Silas Marner*, George Eliot)
4. *The Countess, moreover, by waiting, found the time ripe for one of her pretty perversities. She might have desired for some minutes to place it. Her brother wandered with Isabel to the end of the garden, to which point her **eyes followed** them.* (*The Portrait of a Lady*, Henry James)

Like all visual expressions with EYE, the examples with FOLLOW are construed through a metonymical process, in which a part of the body (the eyes) is used to represent human perception. Indeed, it is the eyes representing the whole frame of a human being cognition: the mind, the thoughts, and perception. In examples (1) to (4), where EYE is the Subject of the sentences, the person's eyes are the ones that move in chase of an entity. But in fact, the *eyes* never leave anybody's faces; at most, our eyeballs move inside the eyes. Therefore, the noun EYE is a Figure that moves in different manners or in different directions to metonymically account for ways in which we visually perceive something.

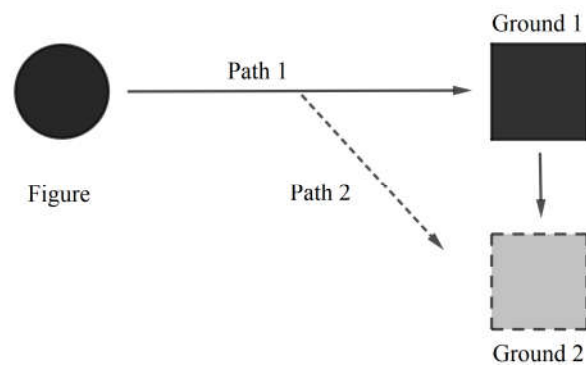
Whereas someone's eyes can be said to *follow* an event, people can also follow the motion of other peoples' eye, as demonstrated by the following instances:

5. *The old man, following my eyes, cried with great triumph, “My son's come home!” and we both went out to the drawbridge.* (*Great Expectations*, Charles Dickens)

6. *Following his eyes, she saw that he was gazing at a star.* (*Hard Times*, Charles Dickens)

Such examples might change the representation of FOLLOW in the suggested manner:

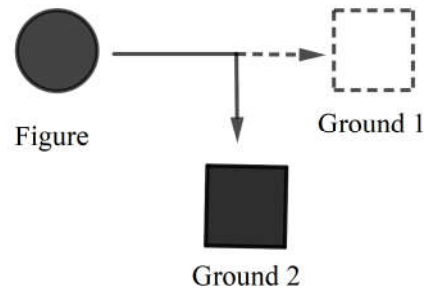
Figure 8: Motion representation of FOLLOW (EYE as Object)



Elaborated by the author

To better illustrate the representation in Figure 8, let us consider example (6), in which Ground 1 (Louisa’s eyes) first traversed path 1 towards a goal (Ground 1), which is the other character’s eyes (Stephen’s eyes). By following the trajectory of Ground 1, Louisa’s eyes, then, traversed path 2 towards a second goal (Ground 2), *the star*. Thus, in both (5) and (6), where EYE occupies the Object position, the chaser (Subject) pursues the motion performed by other characters’ eyes (perception). In these cases, an individual perceives a scene from another individual’s viewpoint. In addition, FOLLOW is an agentive verb, which means that in all examples there is an agent that is the *chaser* – that follows an entity. In the case of examples (1) to (4), the chaser is the person’s eyes, whereas in (5) and (6) it is “the old man” and “she”, respectively.

Another class of manner of motion verbs found is the *roll verbs* (LEVIN, 1993), which comprises the verbs TURN and ROLL. These verbs, in visual description, mainly indicate a change in direction of the motion and are represented as follows:

Figure 9: Motion representation of *roll verbs*

Elaborated by the author

Due to our own experience with our eyes' movements, it is possible that the frame of moving around an axis is not accessed by the verbs TURN and ROLL in visual description. Instead, these verbs would allow for part of their frame to be evoked in vision, namely a change in direction of motion. Although ROLL does not necessarily evoke a change in direction in its core meaning, in vision it can be construed in terms of lateral motion, as the eyes move from one side to another. That being the case, Ground 1 represents the perceived entity prior to the line of sight change of direction and Ground 2 is the goal of the perception.

The verb TURN had seventeen occurrences in the corpus, being four with EYES in the Subject position and thirteen in the Object position. First, consider the examples where EYE is the Object of the sentence:

7. *"When the prisoner came on board, he noticed that my father," turning her eyes lovingly to him as he stood beside her, "was much fatigued and in a very weak state of health. (A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)*
8. *"We have borne this a long time," said Madame Defarge, turning her eyes again upon Lucie. (A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)*
9. *I happened to turn my eyes towards this place, as I was thinking of many things; and I saw a figure beyond, dressed in a plain cloak. (David Copperfield, Charles Dickens)*

10. *Before she spoke again, she **turned** her **eyes** from me, and looked at the dress she wore, and at the dressing-table, and finally at herself in the looking-glass. (Great Expectations, Charles Dickens)*
11. *“As you say, Pip,” returned Mr. Jaggers, **turning** his **eyes** upon me coolly, and taking a bite at his forefinger, “I am not at all responsible for that.” (Great Expectations, Charles Dickens)*
12. *He **turned** his **eyes** on Mr. Jaggers whenever he raised them from the table, and was as dry and distant to me as if there were twin Wemmicks, and this was the wrong one. (Great Expectations, Charles Dickens)*
13. *When I did at last **turn** my **eyes** in Wemmick's direction, I found that he had unposted his pen, and was intent upon the table before him. (Great Expectations, Charles Dickens)*
14. *Then he **turned** a searching **eye** on the jury, and detected Noakes's friends, the two bullies. (Roughing It, Mark Twain)*
15. *With that last thought Nancy roused herself from her reverie, and **turned** her **eyes** again towards the forsaken page. (Silas Marner, George Eliot)*
16. *Whatever we seek to do, of our own free motion, a dead man's icy hand obstructs us! **Turn** our **eyes** to what point we may, a dead man's white, immitigable face encounters them, and freezes our very heart! (The House of Seven Gables, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*
17. *The hermit **turned** a pair of gleaming, unrestful **eyes** upon him, and said – “Who art thou?” “I am the King,” came the answer, with placid simplicity. (The Prince and the Pauper, Mark Twain)*
18. *She clutched the child so fiercely to her breast that it sent forth a cry; she **turned** her **eyes** downward at the scarlet letter, and even touched it with her finger, to*

assure herself that the infant and the shame were real. (The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)

19. *Whether the kiss convinced Hareton, I cannot tell he was very careful, for some minutes, that his face should not be seen, and when he did raise it, he was sadly puzzled where to **turn** his eyes. (Wuthering Heights, Emily Brontë)*

As seen in the examples, the verb TURN takes a complementary prepositional or adverbial path information in all examples. Because TURN only lexicalizes a change in direction, but do not specify the direction of motion, it is expected that a directional complement should be taken to provide such information. Thus, a path component is usually indicated by a complement that conveys either the source (10) or the goal (16) of the visual attention.

In terms of agentivity, there is an agent that is responsible for “turning the eyes” if EYE is in the Object position. As TURN expresses a change in direction, the agent does the *turning* and has total control over the action. On the other hand, when EYE is the Subject of a sentence, the “owner of the eye” does not seem to have control of the visual motion. In such cases, another entity or event is responsible for causing the eyes to turn. This entity can be a location, such as in (20) (*the point where the minister was seen to approach among them*) and (22) (*towards her side of the room*); it can be a sound, for instance, in (21) it was the sound of a step that attracted *the young Italian’s eye’s*; or it can be a person, as in (23) – *towards her*. Therefore, when an individual’s eye is described as performing the action of turning the eyes through a metonymic process, the construal is that there is no intentionality involved in the act of relocating the visual attention. Consider these examples where EYE is the Subject:

20. *As the ranks of military men and civil fathers moved onward, all **eyes were turned** towards the point where the minister was seen to approach among them. (The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*

21. *“There is somebody at home,” affirmed the urchin on the threshold. “I heard a step!” Still the young Italian’s **eye turned** sidelong upward... (The House of the Seven Gables, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*

22. *They were confined for the evening at different tables, and she had nothing to hope, but that his **eyes** were so often **turned** towards her side of the room, as to make him play as unsuccessfully as herself.* (*Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Austen)

23. *Captain Wentworth's **eyes** were also **turned** towards her. "Had not she better be carried to the inn? Yes, I am sure: carry her gently to the inn."* (*Persuasion*, Jane Austen)

As per the verb ROLL, three examples were found in the corpus. It was also found that with ROLL, as it happened with TURN, the noun EYE can occupy both the position of Subject (example 24) and Object (examples 25 and 26). Like TURN, the verb ROLL prefers taking path complements (e.g., *round the church*), and the same aspect referring to lack of intentionality could be observed in (24), where the eyes, being the Subject of the sentence, leads to the construal that the person's eye is an autonomous entity regardless of its "owner's" volition. Consider the examples:

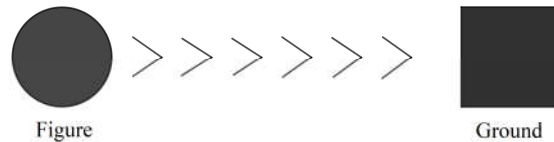
24. *Again, I see her dark **eyes roll** round the church when she says 'miserable sinners', as if she were calling all the congregation names.* (*David Copperfield*, Charles Dickens)

25. *The mad gentleman looked on, out of my little window; Mr. Chillip's baby wagged its heavy head, and **rolled** its goggle **eyes**, at the clergyman, over its nurse's shoulder; Mr. Omer breathed short in the background; no one else was there; and it was very quiet.* (*David Copperfield*, Charles Dickens)

26. *There was the chairman himself, (the landlord of the house,) a coarse, rough, heavy built fellow, who, while the songs were proceeding, **rolled** his **eyes** hither and thither, and, seeming to give himself up to joviality, had an eye for everything that was done, and an ear for everything that was said--and sharp ones, too.* (*Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens)

Occurrences with *throw verbs* (LEVIN, 1993) also appeared in the corpus. These verbs suggest a “ballistic” motion and imply a change of location of an entity. This is how the motion can be represented:

Figure 10: Motion representation of *throw verbs*



Elaborated by the author

The arrow heads in this diagram suggest that the semantics of these verbs involve some abruptness and energy to start the motion by our arms, and, consequently, some acceleration. It is the aspect of suddenness and speed in the frame of *throw verbs* that is mapped onto vision. Moreover, in physical motion, these verbs can even imply a change of possession when someone throws an object at someone else. As for vision, however, in the expressions containing these verbs, the Figure (*the eyes*) cannot be conceptualized as changing location or possession, as it does not actually move. In addition, a path component was always required to indicate either the trajectory or the direction of motion. Consider the examples where CAST was found with EYE in the Subject position:

27. *Taking his hands from the seat, and placing one of them within the other, as he settled himself on one leg, Mr. Littimer proceeded, with his **eyes cast** down, and his respectable head a little advanced, and a little on one side (...)* (David Copperfield, Charles Dickens)

28. *“Have you observed any gradual alteration in Papa?” I had observed it, and had often wondered whether she had too. I must have shown as much, now, in my face; for her **eyes** were in a moment **cast** down, and I saw tears in them.* (David Copperfield, Charles Dickens)

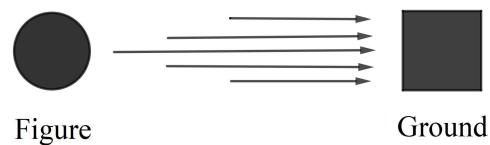
As for the examples where EYE appears in the Object position, both THROW and CAST were found:

29. *“How dare you touch him, any of you? How dare you **cast eyes** on him when I had forbidden it? Back, I tell you all! This man belongs to me! Beware how you meddle with him, or you'll have to deal with me.” (Dracula, Bram Stoker)*
30. *The season for the Line at length drew near; and every day when Ahab, coming from his cabin, **cast his eyes** aloft, the vigilant helmsman would ostentatiously handle his spokes, and the eager mariners quickly run to the braces, and would stand there with all their eyes centrally fixed on the nailed doubloon (...) (Moby Dick, Herman Melville)*
31. *Oliver shuddered as he **cast his eyes** toward the place, and crept involuntarily closer to his master; for though it was covered up, the boy felt that it was a corpse. (Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens)*
32. *He coloured up at the news, and **cast his eyes** over his hands and clothes. (Wuthering Heights, Emily Brontë)*
33. *She then yawned again, threw aside her book, and **cast her eyes** round the room in quest for some amusement. (Pride and Prejudice, Jane Austen)*
34. *She withdrew her hand from Mr. Dimmesdale's, and pointed across the street. But he clasped both his hands over his breast, and **cast his eyes** towards the zenith. (The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*
35. *But Old Roger Chillingworth, too, had perceptions that were almost intuitive; and when the minister **threw** his startled **eyes** towards him, there the physician sat; his kind, watchful, sympathising, but never intrusive friend. (The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*

In terms of agentivity, the *throw verbs* require an agent that causes an entity to move through a trajectory, just as in physical motion. Thus, in the occurrences where EYE appears in the Object position, CAST and THROW are agentive verbs.

Another class of verbs found in the data was the *run verbs*, which encompasses DART and RUN. The representation of such verbs is given in the following way:

Figure 11: Motion representation of the *run verbs*



Elaborated by the author

The path relation between Figure and Ground profiled by the semantics of the run verbs involves the rapid pace of motion, depicted by the various arrows indicating the trajectory. While EYE appeared as the Subject of DART, in the example with RUN, EYE appeared in the Object position.

36. *I put out my hand and touched something soft. At once the **eyes darted** sideways, and something white ran past me. (The Time Machine, H. G. Wells)*

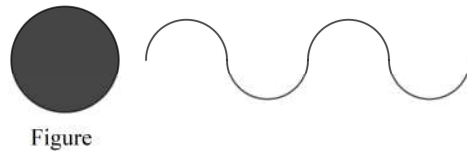
37. *Sherburn **run** his **eye** slow along the crowd; and wherever it struck the people tried a little to out-gaze him, but they couldn't; they dropped their eyes and looked sneaky. (The Adventures of Huckleberry, Mark Twain)*

Like the other manner of motion verbs presented in this analysis, the *run verbs* provide the manner of motion but not the direction of motion, which is informed by a preposition (among) or an adverbial (sideways). Once more, in (36) the noun EYE is the personified agent and occupies the Subject position, while in (37) RUN is also agentive, being “Sherburn” the individual who fills this semantic role. As mentioned earlier, the metonymic process that happens when EYE is either a Subject or Object of a sentence

appears to build two different viewpoints: one in which visual perception happens without any control of the experiencer (e.g., *the eyes darted sideways*) and another in which “the owner” of the eyes have total control over the motion (e.g., *Shelburn run his eye*).

The class of *meander verbs* was another category of verbs proposed by Levin (1993) found in the corpus exemplified by the verbs ROVE and WANDER. Actually, WANDER falls into two classifications: *run verbs* or *meander verbs*. Regarding the context of the literary texts analyzed in this research, the *meander verbs* classification seems to be more appropriate to describe the type of fictive motion expressed by the examples found with this verb. This appropriateness refers to a specific way of looking that has no focus or aim, which we schematically represent as follows:

Figure 12: Motion representation of the *meander verbs*



Elaborated by the author

Since this type of motion configuration involves a way of moving that lacks purpose or a specific direction, the Ground may not be salient, and, therefore, not represented in Figure 12. In all examples that fall into this category, EYE occupies the Subject position. Consider the examples:

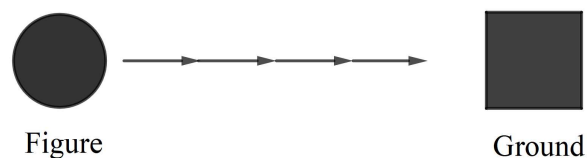
38. *He glanced about us, standing astride over the mess of dead rabbit, his eyes roving among the shadows and screens of greenery, the lurking-places and ambuscades of the forest that bounded us in. (The Island of Dr. Moreau, H. G. Wells)*

39. *With anxiety I watched his **eye rove** over the gay stores: he fixed on a rich silk of the most brilliant amethyst dye, and a superb pink satin. (Jane Eyre, Charlotte Brontë)*
40. *But I liked his physiognomy even less than before: it struck me as being at the same time unsettled and inanimate. His **eye wandered**, and had no meaning in its wandering: this gave him an odd look, such as I never remembered to have seen. (Jane Eyre, Charlotte Brontë)*
41. *When, as my **eye wandered** from face to face, the whole school rose simultaneously, as if moved by a common spring. (Jane Eyre, Charlotte Brontë)*
42. *“There seems to have been room here for you,” said Isabel, whose **eyes had been wandering** over the large pleasure-spaces of the park. (The Portrait of a Lady, Henry James)*

With the verbs ROVE and WANDER, EYE was only found in the Subject position. As for the path information, it is provided in (38) (*among*), in (39) (*over*), in (41) (*from face to face*) and in (42) (*over*), but not in (40). Because in (40) there is not a complementary path indication, the purposeless nature of the character’s visual perception is even more accentuated, as it indicates that the gaze is not directed at any specific entities. Moreover, since EYE always occupies the Subject position, EYE is always the agent that performs the action of wandering. Again, in these occasions where EYE is the agent, the eye’s “owner” seems to have no control over the visual event and it is as if the EYE operates independently of and individual’s volition.

Another class of verbs found was that of *verbs of exerting force: Push/Pull verbs* (LEVIN, 1993) represented by the verb DRAW. However, the applied force can be thought as being metaphorical since it is a “force of attraction” that operates in the situations described to call someone’s attention. We propose the following representation for this type of motion:

Figure 13: Motion representation of DRAW



Elaborated by the author

The set of sequential arrows in this diagram represents the notion of force that is applied to a motion, such as DRAW. Our conceptualization of force arises from our bodily motion and our perception, as we move through or around obstacles since infancy (MANDLER and CÁNOVAS, 2014). In vision, the force is metaphorical, and this force feature is evoked by the structural frame of DRAW, as one of the meanings for this type of motion involves moving something to a certain direction by pulling it. In (43), for example, “the closing of the little gate” is what caused the character’s eyes to be drawn to the window. In this case, the agent is silent since there is not an agent that performs the action of directing someone’s attention to a location (the window). Likewise, in (44), *the scarlet letter* is the entity responsible for calling everyone’s attention. In such cases, the eyes (or the eyes’ owners) have no control over the seeing event. Consider the examples:

43. *The closing of the little gate, at the entrance of the green court in front of the house, **drew** her **eyes** to the window, and she saw a large party walking up to the door. (Sense and Sensibility, Jane Austen)*

44. *But the point which **drew** all **eyes**, and, as it were, transfigured the wearer – so that both men and women who had been familiarly acquainted with Hester Prynne were now impressed as if they beheld her for the first time – that **SCARLET LETTER**, so fantastically embroidered and illuminated upon her bosom. (The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)*

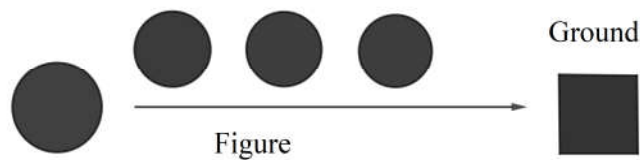
These occurrences with DRAW had EYE only in the position of an Object. Differently from other verbs that also had EYE occupying the position of an Object, DRAW is not agentive. Because the drawing of the visual attention is caused by an event or situation, there is not an agent who performs the action.

Finally, the last manner of motion verbs found in the corpus comprise the verbs CARRY, REMOVE and SEEK. Belonging to the classes of *carry* verbs, *remove* verbs and *ferret* verbs, respectively, they were found in the following instances:

45. *Miss Betsey, looking round the room, slowly and inquiringly, began on the other side, and **carried** her **eyes** on, like a Saracen's Head in a Dutch clock, until they reached my mother. (David Copperfield, Charles Dickens)*
46. ***Removing** her **eyes** from him, she sat so long looking silently towards the town, that he said, at length: "Are you consulting the chimneys of the Coketown works, Louisa?" (Hard Times, Charles Dickens)*
47. *Mr. Lorry's **eyes** gradually **sought** the fire; his sympathy with his darling, and the heavy disappointment of his second arrest, gradually weakened them; he was an old man now, overborne with anxiety of late, and his tears fell. (A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)*
48. *Every **eye** then **sought** some other **eye** in the crowd, and gleamed at it approvingly; and heads nodded at one another, before bending forward with a strained attention. (A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)*

The verb CARRY provided an interesting example, as it involves a specific category of fictive motion, namely Coextension path. We chose to represent this verb in the following way:

Figure 14: Motion representation of CARRY

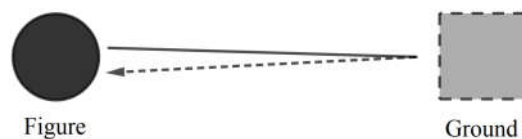


Elaborated by the author

The repetition of the Figure along a path in this diagram represents the type of fictive motion known as Coextension path, which designates that a path is traversed along an object’s own extension. This category of verbs, *carry verbs*, classified by Levin (1993, p. 46) is characterized as being a verb of “continuous causation of accompanied motion in some manner”. In other words, this class of verbs implies that an entity changes location caused by another entity and in a continuous motion while accompanied by the agent that caused the motion. Regarding the visual expression in (45), the agent *Mrs. Betsey* caused her visual attention to move to different locations in a continuous way, until reaching the path goal (the narrator’s mother). Considering the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, the example provides frame elements for the whole trajectory of the visual attention. For instance, the expression *on the other side* indicates the source, whereas *round the room* shows the path traversed by the visual *probe* and the goal of visual perception is indicated by *until they reached my mother*. Moreover, the “accompanying” factor in the example seems to be redundant since the *eyes* represent the character’s visual attention (*Mrs. Betsey*), via metonymy. Thus, when she “carries her eyes”, she is moving her own attention to a visual goal.

As for the verb REMOVE, it falls under the *remove verbs* classification (LEVIN, 1993). As such, this verb profiles only the source of the path, instantiated by the preposition *from*. We represent the motion configuration of this verb, as follows:

Figure 15: Motion Configuration of REMOVE



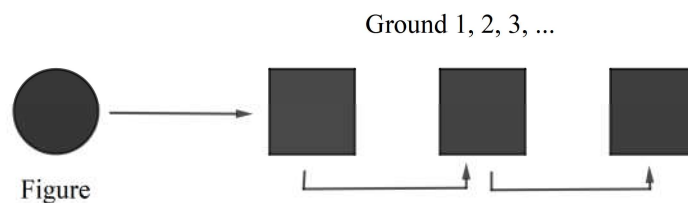
Elaborated by the author

The dotted outline of the Ground represents the location where the eyes once lied. The goal is not usually salient, i.e., the direction followed by the gaze once it is removed from the Ground, so the dotted arrow represents the non-profiled path. Regarding agentivity, example (46) shows that there is an agent (*Louisa*) that causes an entity (*her*

eyes) to be removed from a location (*him* – Louisa’s father) with no indication of the direction of the motion (goal).

Lastly, classified as a *ferret verb* by Levin (1993), the representation of SEEK is given, as follows:

Figure 16: Motion representation of SEEK



Elaborated by the author

The motion configuration profiled by SEEK indicates a path that is traversed by the Figure, in which various Ground elements are probably covered before the Figure reaches a goal. SEEK could be found in occurrences where EYE occupied the Subject position. In (47) and (48) there is no direction or path overtly expressed neither by the verb nor by any prepositional phrases. However, the verb SEEK indicates that visual attention is directed to different places in search of a particular entity without informing the path or direction of motion.

In summary, the semantics of the manner of motion verbs used in visual expressions plays a crucial role in determining how perception occurs. Being vision a cognitive process as well, the salient aspect of each verb meaning to describe perception is determined by the frame structure that is evoked. That is, not all meanings in the manner of motion are accessed, as we conceptualize visual motion as a line of sight that moves in specific directions. The choice of one manner of motion verb over another might depend on the specific structure of the verb frame that a speaker wants to profile. For instance, when the verb WANDER is used, the way of walking with no specific direction is the frame evoked to describe vision, but the aspect of walking in a relaxed

way might not be a frame that is accessed in the description of vision with this verb. Consequently, the salient aspects of the manner of motion verbs license the creation of distinct viewpoints in the narrative.

5.2 Directional verbs

This section presents the occurrences found in the corpus containing verbs that lexicalize the direction of motion. Some of them, such as BEND, DROP, FALL and SINK, convey the meaning that an entity moves from a higher position to a lower position, whereas others, such as RAISE and LIFT, describe the motion of an entity from a lower to a higher position.

A pattern found for the group of verbs that indicate motion from a higher to a lower position is that EYE appears in the Subject position in the examples with DROP, FALL and SINK, except for the verb BEND:

49. *Perhaps you know, Miss Trotwood, that there is never a candle lighted in this house, until one's **eyes** are literally **falling out** of one's head with being stretched to read the paper. (David Copperfield, Charles Dickens)*

50. *In the midst of my thought my **eye fell** on the red scar on my poor darling's white forehead. (Dracula, Bram Stoker)*

51. *He glanced wildly around. Something glimmered on the top of the painted chest that faced him. His **eye fell** on it. He knew what it was. It was a knife that he had brought up, some days before, to cut a piece of cord, and had forgotten to take away with him. (The Picture of Dorian Gray, Oscar Wilde)*

52. *(...) and when her **eyes fell** only on the butcher with his tray, a tidy old woman travelling homewards from shop with her full basket, two curs quarrelling over a dirty bone, and a string of dawdling children round the baker's little bow-window eyeing the gingerbread, she knew she had no reason to complain, and was amused enough; quite enough still to stand at the door. (Emma, Jane Austen)*

53. *They sat down to tea – the same party round the same table--how often it had been collected! – and how often had her **eyes fallen** on the same shrubs in the lawn, and observed the same beautiful effect of the western sun! (Emma, Jane Austen)*
54. *The man stopped half-way, and they looked at each other; but Sikes's **eyes sunk** gradually to the ground. (Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens)*
55. *Don't forget that, for his **eyes are sunk** in his head so much deeper than any other man's, that you might almost tell him by that alone. (A Tale of two Cities, Charles Dickens)*
56. *“That woman Marner found dead in the snow - Eppie's mother - that wretched woman - was my wife: Eppie is my child.” He paused, dreading the effect of his confession. But Nancy sat quite still, only that her **eyes dropped** and ceased to meet his. (Silas Marner, George Eliot)*

BEND, on the other hand has EYE in the Object position:

57. *“But when I look for his father in his face, I find her every day more! How the devil is he so like? I can hardly bear to see him.” He **bent** his **eyes** to the ground, and walked moodily in. (Wuthering Heights, Emily Brontë)*

Regarding the group of verbs whose motion is from a lower to a higher position, RAISE and LIFT, out of the thirteen occurrences, eight with RAISE and five with LIFT, only an occurrence with RAISE has EYE as the Subject.

58. *Not a word had been exchanged. He looked from one to another in silence. If an **eye** were furtively **raised** and met his, it was instantly averted. (Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens)*

The other occurrences with RAISE and LIFT have EYE as the Object.

59. *The Jew, perfectly understanding the hint, retired to fill it: previously exchanging a remarkable look with Fagin, who **raised** his **eyes** for an instant, as if in expectation of it, and shook his head in reply (...)* (*Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens)
60. *“You saw the boat completed?” “Yes, sir. I remained behind on purpose to see the boat completed.” “I know!” He **raised** his **eyes** to mine respectfully.* (*Great Expectations*, Charles Dickens)
61. *He had long been a down-looking young fellow, but this characteristic had so increased of late, that he never **raised** his **eyes** to any face for three seconds together.* (*Hard Times*, Charles Dickens)
62. *Stephen **raised** his **eyes** quickly to his face.* (*Hard Times*, Charles Dickens)
63. *The child meekly **raised** his **eyes**, and encountered those of Mr. Bumble.* (*Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens)
64. *Caspar Goodwood **raised** his **eyes** to her own again; they seemed to shine through the vizard of a helmet.* (*The Portrait of a Lady*, Henry James)
65. *They flew off at my approach, and he **raised** his **eyes** and spoke: – ‘She’s dead!’* (*Wuthering Heights*, Emily Brontë)
66. *And the clergyman, who had not **lifted** his **eyes** from his book, and had held his breath but for a moment, was proceeding: his hand was already stretched towards Mr. Rochester (...)* (*Jane Eyre*, Charlotte Brontë)
67. *Returning to the arched window, she **lifted** her **eyes**, scowling, poor, dim-sighted Hepzibah, in the face of Heaven!* (*The House of the Seven Gables*, Nathaniel Hawthorne)
68. *Uriah, without **lifting** his **eyes** from the ground, shuffled across the room with his hand to his chin, and pausing at the door, said: “Copperfield, I have always*

hated you. You've always been an upstart, and you've always been against me.”
(*David Copperfield*, Charles Dickens)

69. *‘Send her here.’ Barney looked timidly at Fagin, as if for permission; the Jew remaining silent, and not **lifting** his **eyes** from the ground, he retired; and presently returned, ushering in Nancy; who was decorated with the bonnet, apron, basket, and street-door key, complete. (Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens)*

70. *The porridge, sweetened with some dry brown sugar from an old store which he had refrained from using for himself, stopped the cries of the little one, and made her **lift** her blue **eyes** with a wide quiet gaze at Silas, as he put the spoon into her mouth. (Silas Marner, George Eliot)*

Following Levin’s (1993) classification, this group of verbs can be divided into four classes: *verbs of inherently directed motion* (DROP and FALL); *verbs of putting with a specified direction* (LIFT and RAISE); *bend verbs* (BEND); and *verbs of change of state* (SINK).

Although they are all directional verbs, there seems to be a difference in terms of agentivity. While RAISE and LIFT demands an agent to perform the action of raising and lifting the eyes, the instances with DROP and FALL suggest that these are causative verbs, as an event – and not an agent – caused the eyes to fall or drop.

In terms of path, the verb FALL profiles the goal with the preposition *on* and a locative expression. The goal is also shown in the examples with SINK (54) and BEND (57) with the preposition *to*. The same happened with the examples with RAISE that has also taken the same preposition (*to*) to profile the path goal. LIFT, on the other hand, has a preference to profile the source with the preposition *from*.

5.3 Deitic verbs

The verbs COME and GO should be set apart from the previous discussed verbs due to its deictic nature. These are the occurrences found for the deictic verbs COME and GO:

71. *His eyes came slowly back, at last, to the face from which they had wandered; when they rested on it, he started, and resumed, in the manner of a sleeper that moment awake, reverting to a subject of last night. (A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)*

72. *All the women knitted. They knitted worthless things (...) But, as the fingers went, the eyes went, and the thoughts. (A Tale of two Cities, Charles Dickens)*

The construed trajectory established by these verbs is in respect of a motion in direction to (COME) or away from the speaker (GO). In (71) the deictic center refers to the character's visual perception, (Monsieur Manette, a shoemaker). The verb COME, then, specifies the path goal, which is indicated by "the face from which they had wandered", meaning that the character's attention is directed to that reference point. Moreover, the adverb "back" is also a deictic element in the paragraph, whose function is to identify the reference point where the motion started. That serves to complement the information made available by COME, as a goal-oriented verb since "back" provides information regarding the source of the motion.

On the other hand, the verb GO indicates the source of the motion. In example (72), however, besides having the character's perception as a deictic center, the verb GO seems to further indicate a dynamic aspect to the scene. Because this verb usually comes with a locative expression that indicates the path goal, it should be expected that it also occurs with visual motion. Yet, the repetition of the verb and the lack of a path goal in (72) leads to the construal of a scene in which the dynamic aspect of the character's cognition and visual perception is highlighted.

Regarding the verb classification, a summary of the types found in the corpus is shown as follows:

Table 9: Summary of the verb types used in the expressions

MANNER				DIRECTIONAL		DEICTIC			
TYPE	(EYE) SUBJ	TYPE	(EYE) OBJ	(EYE) SUBJ	(EYE) OBJ	(EYE) SUBJ			
<i>Chasing</i>	FOLLOW (4)	<i>Chasing</i>	FOLLOW (2)	FALL (5)	BEND (1)	COME (1)			
<i>Roll</i>	TURN (4) ROLL (1)	<i>Roll</i>	TURN (13) ROLL (2)	SINK (2) DROP (1) RAISE (1)	RAISE (7) LIFT (5)	GO (1)			
<i>Throw</i>	CAST (2)	<i>Throw</i>	CAST (6) THROW (1) DRAW (2)						
<i>Exerting Force</i>	DART (1)								
<i>Run</i>	ROVE (2)								
<i>Meander</i>	WANDER (3)	<i>Run</i>	ROVE (1) RUN (1)						
<i>Ferret</i>	SEEK (2)								
		<i>Carry</i>	CARRY (1)						
		<i>Remove</i>	REMOVE (1)						
TOTAL	19		30				9	13	2

Elaborated by the author

The manner of motion verbs comprise most verbs used, 49 in total, against 21 for directional verbs and two for deictics. The higher number of motion verbs, as well as their variety in the corpus, leads to the construal of different ways in which perception takes place. The inherent semantics of these motion verbs is carried over to our conceptualization of the gaze as an entity that is able to move in the same way our body does. For instance, FOLLOW in physical motion implies to travel the same path another entity does while being in a proximal relation to this entity, usually behind it. This way of moving evoked by the BODY frame is mapped into the visual domain through a cognitive process that originates a blend. This blend between our vision and our conception is what allows us to construe something that is stationary, our gaze, as something that moves in a specific way. The same holds true for the directional and deictic verbs, but as seen by the results, these types of verbs were found not as frequent as manner of motion verbs. Since direction is also usually encoded outside the verb by a particle or adverbial, these directional verbs are used in fewer quantity in relation to manner of motion verbs. In terms of type of verbs used the *roll* verbs are more frequent (twenty occurrences), along with the directional verbs RAISE and FALL, with 7 and 5 occurrences, respectively. Due to its intransitive nature, FALL only takes EYE in the Subject position, as opposed to LIFT, which has EYE only in the Object position. Although EYE is metonymically used in both cases, such difference indicates a change

in perspective regarding agentivity. When saying that one's eyes *fall on* an entity, the viewpoint is that the eye "owner" seems to have no control over his/her own visual perception. Or else, something caused the gaze to move to a lower position instead of an agent doing it. On the other hand, when someone *raises* his/her eyes, the agency is clearly stated, and a different viewpoint is built.

In the following two sections, path and directionality informed by a prepositional or adverbial phrase were presented and analyzed following the taxonomy proposed by Talmy (2000). As mentioned earlier, his taxonomy includes the categories of Vector, Conformation, Deixis and Earth-grid displacement. The patterns of path and directionality in each concordance line was identified and categorized according to Talmy's taxonomy so that we can account for their contribution in viewpoint creation.

5.4. Path and directionality profiled by prepositional or adverbial phrases

In this section we analyzed visual path and directionality expressed by the prepositional phrases or adverbials, which convey information about source, trajectory, or goal of the visual perception, besides those informed by the semantics of a directional verb. The notion of path also includes the conceptualization of a start point and an endpoint. The start point and the endpoint refer to the source and goal of the visual experience, respectively. In addition, the results presented here were based on the taxonomy proposed by Talmy (2000), which comprises the following components: Vector, Conformation, Earth-grid displacement and Deixis.

The investigation of path configuration in visual scenes is likely to instantiate the possibility of different viewpoints. If we consider the Vector component, for instance, the use of "along", "in direction to" and "towards", the emphasis is given on the trajectory of the motion. With the prepositions "to" and "from", however, emphasis is placed on the source and goal of motion, respectively. As per the Conformation component, which involves boundary crossing, such as "through" or "across", the viewpoint adopted is that of a trajectory that includes the source and the goal of motion, that is, a start and an end point. Regarding Earth-grid displacement, the viewpoint taken is that of a vertical motion. Finally, for the Deixis component, the reader construes the scene by taking the characters' perspective as a reference for visual motion.

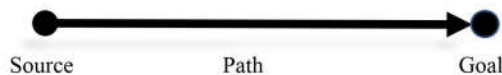
It is also necessary to establish the Ground elements (perceived entities) to which the Figure (visual perception expressed by a motion verb and the noun EYE) is related. If the Ground is not mentioned, the spatial relation between Figure and Ground needs to be recovered from the text by the reader.

Thus, in what follows, we present the findings for the analysis concerning path configuration.

5.4.1 Vector

The Vector component was found in the corpus expressed by the prepositions *towards*, *to*, *from*, *at*, as well as by the phrase *in... direction*. These elements express the source, trajectory or the goal of visual motion. The Vector component can be represented by a line whose points are occupied by the Figure, including a departure point, the path itself and a goal point.

Figure 17: Vector component representation



Elaborated by the author

In the corpus, we were able to identify components that specified both the source (*from*) and the path goal (*to* and *at*), as well as the trajectory (*in [one's] direction*, *toward (s)* and *along*). The following table provides the occurrences where the vector component was found.

Table 10: Occurrences with the Vector component

EYE as Object	
(6)	(Mr. Chillip's baby) rolled ^{motion verb} its goggle eyes , <u>at</u> ^{vector} the clergyman ground
(7)	turning ^{motion verb} her eyes lovingly <u>to</u> ^{vector} him ^{ground}

(9)	I happened to turn ^{motion verb} my eyes <u>towards</u> ^{vector} this place ^{ground}
(10)	she turned ^{motion verb} her eyes <u>from</u> ^{vector} me ^{ground}
(13)	When I did at last turn ^{motion verb} my eyes <u>in</u> Wemmick's ^{ground} <u>direction</u> ^{vector}
(15)	(Nancy) turned ^{motion verb} her eyes again <u>towards</u> ^{vector} the forsaken page ^{ground}
(16)	Turn ^{motion verb} our eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} what point ^{ground} we may
(19)	where ^{ground} <u>to</u> ^{vector} turn ^{motion verb} his eyes
(31)	(Oliver) cast ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>toward</u> ^{vector} the place ^{ground}
(34)	(Mr. Dimmesdale's) cast ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>towards</u> ^{vector} the zenith ^{ground}
(35)	(the minister) threw ^{motion verb} his startled eyes <u>towards</u> ^{vector} him ^{ground}
(37)	Sherburn run ^{motion verb} his eye slow <u>along</u> ^{vector} the crowd ^{ground}
(43)	(The closing of the little gate) drew ^{motion verb} her eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} the window ^{ground}
(46)	(She) Removing ^{motion verb} her eyes <u>from</u> ^{vector} him ^{ground}
(57)	He bent ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} the ground ^{ground}
(60)	He raised ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} mine ^{ground} respectfully.
(61)	he never raised ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} any face ^{ground} for three seconds together
(62)	Stephen raised ^{motion verb} his eyes quickly <u>to</u> ^{vector} his face ^{ground} .
(64)	Caspar Goodwood raised ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>to</u> ^{vector} her own ^{ground} again
(66)	(the clergyman) had not lifted ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>from</u> ^{vector} his book ^{ground}
(68)	Uriah, without lifting ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>from</u> ^{vector} the ground ^{ground}
(69)	(the Jew) not lifting ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>from</u> ^{vector} the ground ^{ground}
EYE as Subject	
(20)	all eyes were turned ^{motion verb} <u>towards</u> ^{vector} the point where the minister was seen to approach among them ^{ground}
(22)	his eyes were so often turned ^{motion verb} <u>towards</u> ^{vector} her side of the room ^{ground}
(23)	Captain Wentworth's eyes were also turned ^{motion verb} <u>towards</u> ^{vector} her ^{ground}
(41)	my eye wandered ^{motion verb} from face ^{ground} <u>to</u> face ^{ground}
(54)	Sikes's eyes sunk ^{motion verb} gradually <u>to</u> ^{vector} the ground ^{ground}
(71)	His eyes came ^{motion verb} slowly back, at last, <u>to</u> ^{vector} the face ^{ground} <u>from</u> ^{vector} which they had wandered ^{ground} .

Elaborated by the author

The total number of occurrences with the Vector component was 28, being 22 with EYE in the Object position and six where EYE occupies the Subject position. In addition, most occurrences with the Vector component had the verb TURN to describe vision, 17 in total. As the conceptualization of TURN involves the construal of a change in the direction of the visual perception, the information about the goal of such change in motion is necessary for the description of visual perception. The greater variety of preposition and adverbial phrases (*to, toward, from, in (...) direction*) used with this verb to inform the source, trajectory and goal of this motion verb corroborates this finding.

Verbs of manner, such as TURN, were found to have more occurrences (18) with the Vector component than with directional (eight) or with deictic verbs (one). Indeed, manner of motion verbs were more frequent in the corpus as well, 48 out of 72. Besides being the most frequent verb with a Vector component, TURN was also found in a spatial relation to a ground element specified by other path components, such as Conformation, analyzed in the next section.

Regarding the other directional verbs, their behavior is somehow different as far as prepositional use is concerned. The verbs RAISE and LIFT, for instance, which express motion from a higher to a lower position, profile different elements: RAISE prefers *to* and profiles the goal of the motion, while LIFT prefers *from* and profiles the source of the motion.

Finally, the analysis of the ground elements (perceived entities) demonstrated that they mostly refer to the goal of the visual perception. Only the occurrences with LIFT and WANDER included the *from* Vector that specifies the source of the visual motion. Table 11 summarizes the findings regarding the verbs that have the Vector component, as well as the types of Vector depending on EYE being a Subject or an Object.

Table 11: Summary of the occurrences containing a motion verb and a Vector component

VECTOR					
VERB CLASS	VERB		EYE AS OBJECT		EYE AS SUBJECT
MANNER OF MOTION VERBS					
Roll verbs	Turn	7	<i>to, toward, from, in (...) direction</i>	3	<i>Towards</i>
	Roll	1	<i>at</i>		
Throw verbs	Cast	2	<i>toward</i>		
	Throw	1	<i>toward</i>		
Run verbs	Run	1	<i>along</i>		
Meander verbs	Wander			1	<i>from-to</i>
Verbs of exerting force	Draw	1	<i>to</i>		
Remove Verbs	Remove	1	<i>from</i>		
DIRECTIONAL VERBS					
To a lower position	Bend	1	<i>to</i>		
	Sink			1	<i>To</i>
To a higher position	Raise	4	<i>to</i>		
	Lift	3	<i>from</i>		
DEICTIC VERBS					
	Come			1	<i>To</i>

Elaborated by the author

Table 11 shows the classes of manner of verb, directional verbs and the deictic found with the Vector component. There are two columns indicating the uses of EYE in the Object and Subject position, being the former the preferable choice with Vector. The components found also indicate that in visual description either the source (e.g., instantiated by *from*), traversal (e.g., instantiated by *along*) or goal (e.g., instantiated by *to*) can be profiled. These findings show a preference of the Vector component in instances where EYE occupies the Object position. In most cases, the Subject coincides with the agent of the seeing event, which implies that the path is required when the Experiencer is the agent of the motion verb. In the following section, we analyze the instances containing the Conformation components.

5.4.2 Conformation

The Conformation property involves a “geometric complex”, in which the ground is schematically characterized as an “enclosure” or a “surface”. Examples of this type of representation are as follows:

Figure 18: Conformation notion of a volume and surface



Elaborated by the author

The components for volume Conformation that are usually used to express the relation between Path and Ground in English are *in*, *into* and *out of*, and for surface Conformation are *on*, *onto* and *off*. The results for the Conformation property in the corpus involved, for the most part, the notion of the Ground as a surface and the preposition *on* was usually used to express the space relation between Figure and Ground. Other particles found were *on*, *upon*, *round* and *among* that occurred with manner of motion verbs, such as TURN, CAST, ROLL and ROVE. In these cases, the use of *on* and *upon* specifies that the Ground is conceptualized as a surface, whereas the uses of *round* and *among*, the Ground is schematically construed as a volume. Table 12 provides the Conformation examples with these manner of motion verbs.

Table 12: Occurrences with the Conformation component

EYE as Object	
(8)	... said Madame Defarge, turning ^{motion verb} her eyes again <u>upon</u> ^{conformation} Lucie ^{ground} .
(11)	... returned Mr. Jaggers, turning ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>upon</u> ^{conformation} me ^{ground} coolly ...
(12)	He turned ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>on</u> ^{conformation} Mr. Jaggers ^{ground} ...
(14)	Then he turned ^{motion verb} a searching eye <u>on</u> ^{conformation} the jury ^{ground} ...

(17)	The hermit turned ^{motion verb} a pair of gleaming, unrestful eyes <u>upon</u> ^{conformation} him ^{ground} ...
(30)	How dare you cast ^{motion verb} eyes <u>on</u> ^{conformation} him ^{ground} when I had forbidden it?
(34)	(She) cast ^{motion verb} her eyes <u>round</u> ^{conformation} the room ^{ground} ...
EYE as Subject	
(24)	Again, I see her dark eyes roll ^{motion verb} <u>round</u> ^{conformation} the church ^{ground} ...
(38)	... his eyes roving ^{motion verb} <u>among</u> ^{conformation} the shadows and screens of greenery ^{ground}

Elaborated by the author

Besides the manner of motion verbs, FALL is also used with the Conformation component *on*. Because it already lexicalizes the direction downward, the findings showed that a complementary locative expression with *on* is usually preferred to indicate the goal of the visual perception. Considering that the *falling* motion happens axially due to the force of gravity, the Conformation *on* specifies support, which is an important element for any entities that are *falling*. The semantics of the preposition *on* allows for such conceptualization and, at the same time, specifies that this support is a surface. These are the occurrences with FALL and the Conformation *on*:

Table 13: Occurrences with FALL and a Conformation component

EYE as Subject	
(50)	my eye fell ^{motion verb} <u>on</u> ^{conformation} the red scar ^{ground} ...
(51)	His eye fell ^{motion verb} <u>on</u> ^{conformation} it ^{ground} .
(52)	when her eyes fell ^{motion verb} only <u>on</u> ^{conformation} the butcher with his tray ^{ground} ...
(53)	how often had her eyes fallen ^{motion verb} <u>on</u> ^{conformation} the same shrubs in the lawn ^{ground} ...

Elaborated by the author

To talk about physical motion, it is usual to use a Conformation component, such as *into* and *out of* or *through* and *across* since a person or object concretely moves from one location (a source) to another (a goal). In such case, people can traverse a path by either crossing spaces or going *into* and *out of* places. In a visual event, on the other hand, it is less common for the gaze to move in such a way, as there is not a physical entity indeed leaving a point in space to occupy another (see SLOBIN, 2008). For that reason, the

gaze trajectory is usually described in terms of the source and goal of the visual *probe* without boundary crossing. Nonetheless, a metaphorical occurrence has been found with the conformation *out of*:

(49) ...until one's **eyes** are literally **falling**^{motion verb} out of^{conformation} one's head with being stretched to read the paper.

Although the metaphorical visual event described in (49) involves the description of a path by the Conformation property *out of*, the indication of a path traversal is only complete by the expression “with being stretched”. The use of STRETCH indicates the effort made by the character to visualize something, in face of the poor light condition of the room. This type of description falls into another fictive motion category, namely Coextension path (TALMY, 2000). This category refers to a static object that is construed as moving along its own extension, expressed by the verb STRETCH. In example (49), the object that is extended is “one’s eyes”, which represents the path traversed by the visual attention. Thus, the metaphorical nature of this sentence adds an extra layer to the comprehension of the fictive motion phenomenon. That is, whereas the visual motion already constitutes a fictive motion per se, the metaphorical use adds a specific type of fictive motion construal, namely *coextension path*.

Concerning the viewpoint that such metaphorical structures might put forward, the figurative language shown by example (49) enables the reader to adhere to the viewpoint of the character (Mrs. Markleham), who criticizes the poor and not adequate light resources in the house, making the visual experience difficult. Moreover, metonymy also plays a fundamental role in the construal of (49), as the eyes are profiled as an entity which, even being disconnected from one’s head, are still able to traverse a path and perform the task of reading the paper. Through this metonymy, aspects of the frame of vision are made salient, such as the need of proper light as a condition to being able to see.

Table 14: Summary of the occurrences containing a motion verb and a Conformation component

CONFORMATION				
VERB CLASS	VERB		EYE AS OBJECT	EYE AS SUBJECT
MANNER OF MOTION				
Roll verbs	Turn	6	<i>On, upon, round</i>	
Throw verbs	Cast	1	<i>On</i>	
Meander verbs	Rove			1 <i>among</i>
DIRECTIONAL				
To a higher position	Fall	4	<i>to</i>	
Roll verbs	Roll		<i>round</i>	

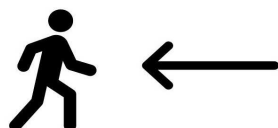
Elaborated by the author

5.4.3 Deixis

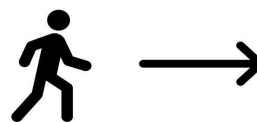
In the deixis category, motion occurs in reference to the speaker, that is, motion happens in the direction to or other than the speaker (TALMY, 2000).

Figure 19: Representation of Deixis component

In direction to the speaker



Away from the speaker



Elaborated by the author

Besides the deictic aspects profiled by COME and GO discussed earlier, we also account for Deixis property (TALMY, 2000) expressed by the prepositions or adverbials. The applying examples to this category regarding the path components in the sample analyzed are as follows:

Table 15: Occurrences with the Deixis component

EYE as Object	
(26)	(the chairman) rolled ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>hither and thither</u> ^{deixis} ...
EYE as Subject	
(21)	Still the young Italian's eye turned ^{motion verb} <u>sidelong</u> ^{deixis} upward...
(27)	At once the eyes darted ^{motion verb} <u>sideways</u> ^{deixis} ...

Elaborated by the author

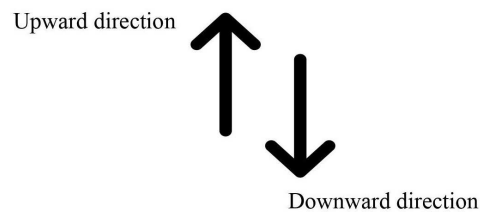
In (21), it is possible to verify two path properties, deixis (*sidelong*) and earth-grid displacement (*upward*), respectively. The adverb *sidelong* indicates that the path of motion happens in relation to the Figure's side, that is, in respect of the experiencer. Likewise, in (27), the trajectory traversed to the left or to the right, expressed by the adverb *sideways*, is conceptualized considering the experiencer's deictic center of the visual event. As per (26), the idiom *hither and thither*, it can only be deictically conceptualized since the random directions of this visual path are understood in reference to the Figure (or Experiencer). This construction (*hither and thither*) indicates that an individual's visual experience is not focused on any particular entity, and consequently, no ground is specified.

Regarding the motion verbs found with the deictic components of path, all examples comprise a manner of motion verb: *roll* verbs (ROLL and TURN) and a *run* verb (DART). These verbs do not specify direction, which is indicated by the deictic path component.

5.4.4. Earth-Grid displacement

The earth-grid displacement property is associated with path that relates to earth-based geometry (SLOBIN, 2008). In the visual descriptions that fit this category, the uses relate to vertical oriented path trajectories, that motion to a downward or upward direction.

Figure 20: Representation of Earth-grid Displacement component



Elaborated by the author

Consider the following examples found with the Earth-grid displacement components:

Table 16: Occurrences with the Earth-grid displacement component

EYE as Object	
(18)	she turned ^{motion verb} her eyes <u>downward</u> ^{earth-grid} at the scarlet letter ^{ground} ...
(25)	(Mr. Chillip's baby) rolled ^{motion verb} its goggle eyes, at the clergyman ^{ground} , <u>over</u> ^{earth-grid} its nurse's shoulder ^{ground} ...
(31)	(Ahab) cast ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>aloft</u> ^{earth-grid} ...
(33)	He (...) cast ^{motion verb} his eyes <u>over</u> ^{earth-grid} his hands and clothes ^{ground} .
EYE as Subject	
(21)	Still the young Italian's eye turned ^{motion verb} sidelong <u>upward</u> ^{earth-grid} ...
(28)	... Mr. Littimer proceeded, with his eyes cast ^{motion verb} <u>down</u> ^{earth-grid} ...
(29)	... her eyes were in a moment cast ^{motion verb} <u>down</u> ^{earth-grid} ...
(39)	I watched his eye rove ^{motion verb} <u>over</u> ^{earth-grid} the gay stores ^{ground} ...
(42)	(Isabel's eyes) had been wandering ^{motion verb} <u>over</u> ^{earth-grid} the large pleasure-spaces of the park ^{ground} .

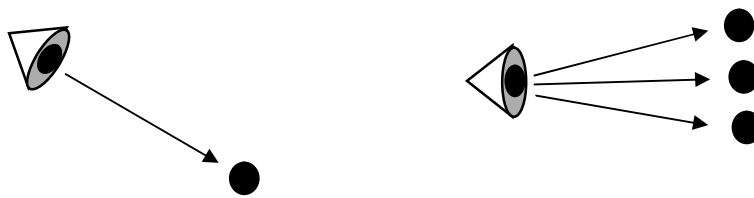
Elaborated by the author

The path elements *aloft* (31) and *upward* (21) indicate that visual perception is directed to a higher position, whereas *downward* (18) and *down* (28 and 29) indicate a visual experience oriented to a lower position. In examples (28) and (29) no ground (perceived entity) is specified, and such fact is relevant in creating a specific viewpoint. The reason is that there is a motivation that underlies a shift in visual perception portrayed by the scene, i.e., there is also a representation of the characters' psychological viewpoint. The

act of looking down should be interpreted as the characters' reaction to the situation they face and not necessarily to what they visually experience.

The Earth-grid components *upward* and *aloft* specify a motion in an upward orientation. *Over*, on the other hand, can be distinguished from the former since *upward* and *aloft* express motion from a lower to a higher position whereas *over* is used to express that the gaze covers an extended visual area, without necessarily indicating a vertical motion. In (33) the gaze moves downwards, as hands and clothes are positioned below the eyes, but in (39) and (42), as the stores and park areas are probably aligned with the gaze in a horizontal line, *over* is not conceptualized as expressing an area above the perceived entity. Consider the motion representation of *over* in (33) as well as in (39) and (42).

Figure 21: Representation of *over* in visual description



Elaborated by the author

Finally, example (39) - *I watched his eye rove over the gay stores* – also provides a shift in viewpoints, that of the narrator character (Jane Eyre) who has a visual experience herself and that of the character (Mr. Rochester) whose visual experience is being described. In other words, we first align with the narrator's viewpoint as she watches a scene and then we take the character Mr. Rochester's viewpoint as his visual experience is subsequently narrated.

Although the category of earth-grid displacement refers to a vertical orientation, the examples from the corpus demonstrate that the observed phenomenon, i.e., visual path construal, allows for different conceptualizations. For instance, *over* can profile a visual path that can also happen in a horizontal line. By using *over*, the narrator describes a character's visual experience in which the gaze is directed to different points in space. Such viewpoint construal is also achieved by the contribution of the meaning of a

motion verb, such as WANDER (consider example 42). If the *eyes* wander, motion occurs in relation to different Grounds, that is, more entities are visually perceived. As for *down*, the viewpoint created is that of an entity avoiding looking at something or someone. In such case, the character's field of vision is narrowed by the visual path direction and a different viewpoint from the use of *over* emerges. The uses of *down* and *over*, then, create two distinct viewpoints, one in which the visual field, and in consequence, visual perception is restricted (looking down) and one that is not (looking over). Table 17 shows a summary of the examples with the Earth-grid displacement component.

Table 17: Summary of the occurrences containing the Earth-grid displacement component

EARTH-GRID DISPLACEMENT					
VERB CLASS	VERB		EYE AS OBJECT		EYE AS SUBJECT
MANNER OF MOTION VERBS					
Roll verbs	Turn	1	<i>downward</i>	1	<i>upward</i>
	Roll	1	<i>over</i>		
Throw verbs	Cast	2	<i>aloft, over</i>	2	<i>down</i>
Run verbs	Rove			1	<i>over</i>
Meander verbs	Wander			1	<i>over</i>

Elaborated by the author

5.4.5 Verbs with no path specification

On some occasions, path is not overtly expressed, either because the semantics of the verbs already carries some information concerning path (for example, RAISE) or because a specific viewpoint needs to be built, which is the case with GO that prototypically specifies a goal. From the examples in table 18, it can be verified that some of the verbs that do not profile a path are directional verbs. That can be explained by the fact that they already lexicalize a direction. Other manner of motion verbs and the deictic GO need more consideration so as to account for them not to require a path component. Consider the examples with no path specification in table 18.

Table 18: Examples with no path expressed

EYE as Object	
(44)	But the point which drew all eyes ...
(59)	(Fagin) raised his eyes for an instant ...
(63)	The child meekly raised his eyes , and encountered those of Mr. Bumble.
(65)	They flew off at my approach, and he raised his eyes and spoke ...
(67)	Returning to the arched window, she lifted her eyes ...
(70)	The porridge (...) made her lift her blue eyes ...
EYE as Subject	
(1)	... his eyes did not even follow ^{motion verb} the hand he stretched out for his glass ^{ground}
(2)	As my eyes followed ^{motion verb} her white hand ^{ground} ...
(3)	... his eyes followed ^{motion verb} Godfrey ^{ground} up the dance.
(4)	... her eyes followed ^{motion verb} them ^{ground}
(40)	His eye wandered ^{motion verb} and had no meaning in its wandering ...
(45)	Mr. Lorry's eyes gradually sought ^{motion verb} the fire ^{ground} .
(46)	Every eye then sought some other eye in the crowd ...
(55)	... his eyes are sunk in his head ...
(56)	... her eyes dropped ^{motion verb} and ceased to meet his.
(58)	If an eye were furtively raised and met his ...
(72)	But, as the fingers went, the eyes went ^{motion verb} , and the thoughts.

Elaborated by the author

As previously mentioned, RAISE and LIFT lexicalize upward direction while SINK and DROP indicates downward direction. Other verbs that did not require a path configuration are DRAW, FOLLOW, WANDER, SEEK and GO. The verb DRAW, specifically in visual motion, requires a goal, but not necessarily a path component. As it indicates motion with *exerting force*, it means that, figuratively, attention is forced at a person or object. The force in this context, refers to a force of attraction, meaning that our visual perception is attracted by some entity. In that case, the entity that applies the force is usually the Subject in the sentence. In example (44), it is expressed by “the point”. The verb FOLLOW, in turn, designates that there is spatial relation between two entities in which the trajectory made by one entity is the same made by the other. In that

case, the path configuration will be indicated by the Ground's trajectory. Thus, in example (3), for instance, *his eyes followed Godfrey up the dance*, the path component *up* establishes the path traversed by the Ground *Godfrey*, and consequently, fictively traversed by the narrator's eyes as well. As for WANDER, visual attention is not focused on a specific entity and, consequently, visual motion is construed as not having a goal. For that reason, a ground is not required and, therefore, neither is a path component since there is no space relation between Figure and Ground to be overtly expressed. Finally, the verb GO is a source-oriented verb. Thus, it usually requires a prepositional phrase that indicates the goal. However, the verb GO in the example provided (72) has a narrative strategy to lead the readers to take the viewpoint of a character's visual experience in which his/her state of mind is also outlined. In that case, the lack of a goal and path configuration is relevant for the narrated scene once the primary meaning of GO in the context of the scene is of continuous motion, instead of the direction of motion.

A summary of the findings regarding the specification of path and types of motion verbs in the visual expressions is provided, as follows:

Table 19: Summary of the path configuration and the motion verbs – EYE as Subject

		VECTOR	CONFORMATION	DEIXIS	EARTH-GRID DISPLACEMENT
MANNER OF MOTION					
<i>Roll</i>	TURN	Towards		Sidelong	Upward
	ROLL		Round		
<i>Throw</i>	CAST				Down
<i>Run</i>	DART			Sideways	
<i>Meander</i>	WANDER	From-to			Over
	ROVE				Over
DIRECTIONAL					
To a lower position	SINK	To			
DEICTIC					
	COME	To			

Elaborated by the author

Table 20: Summary of the path configuration and the motion verbs – EYE as Object

		VECTOR	CONFORMATION	DEIXIS	EARTH-GRID DISPLACEMENT
MANNER OF MOTION					
<i>Roll</i>	TURN	To, toward, from, in (...) Direction	On, upon	Hither and thither	Downward
	ROLL	At	Round		Over
<i>Throw</i>	CAST	Toward	On		Aloft, over
	THROW	Toward			
<i>Run</i>	RUN	Along			
<i>Meander</i>	ROVE		Among		
<i>Exerting force</i>	DRAW	To			
<i>Remove</i>	REMOVE	From			
DIRECTIONAL					
To a lower position	BEND	To			
To a higher position	RAISE	To			
	LIFT	From			

Elaborated by the author

Tables 19 and 20 demonstrate that Vector is a more salient path property in the data analyzed in comparison with the other properties. In addition, path components appear mostly with manner of motion verbs, having the class of roll verbs (TURN and ROLL) the greater variation in terms of path components to specify the spatial relation between Figure and Ground. If we consider that in vision the semantics of ROLL and TURN can indicate a motion of the line of sight towards unspecific directions, it is expected that variation concerning path components might occur. The other classes of verbs, for instance *run* or *throw* verbs, usually specify a motion that is in a forward direction and are more likely to take a Vector component. As for the directional verbs, the contribution of the embedded direction in the core meaning of these verbs, such as FALL and RAISE for example, indicate a movement in the vertical axis. FALL specifies a movement of an object from a higher to a lower position and RAISE, on the contrary, from a lower to a higher position. Thus, in the few examples with directional verbs where a path was indicated, the source or the goal of visual attention was specified by a Vector component (*to, from*).

Although we could find a considerable variation in terms of types of path components, the spatial relation between Figure and Ground is more salient when the lemma EYE is used as a Object of a sentence. Our assumption is that when EYE is in the Object position, the agent is an animate being responsible for moving *the eyes* from one point to another and, in that case, a locative is usually required. When EYE is in the Subject position, agency can be made silent or EYE is the personified agent. In that case, the path components used are not required or the Ground (perceived entity) is not profiled. For instance, the eyes move *upward*, *sideways* or *sidelong*.

In the next section, we discuss the aspects of fictive motion in visual construal, such as the semantics of motion verbs and path configuration, and how these aspects relate to viewpoint building in the narratives. In addition, we argue that metonymic processes motivate these figurative uses of visual description and that these cognitive processes can create different viewpoints. We also search to identify ways in which cognitive viewpoint influences the way the readers understand the narratives regarding these visual descriptions.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Considering that visual dimension is an important aspect of viewpoint, within the range of viewpoint dimensions that characterize discourse (DANCYGIER, 2017), the present discussion comprises the relationship between manner of motion verbs and directionality in visual path, metonymic processes, and viewpoint building. Moreover, Viewpoint is approached in this analysis in terms of a cognitive process, which is distinct from traditional approaches of literary viewpoint. The findings have shown that Cognitive viewpoint can be created through the choice of motion verb, the path configurations, and through metonymic processes.

The data suggests that a significant variety of motion verbs can be used in these expressions to describe vision. As mentioned earlier, these verbs can provide information regarding the manner of motion and the direction of motion, or they can be deictic verbs. Such diversity of motion verbs to express visual scenes designates the many ways in which we visually experience something. Depending on the verb used, visual perception or attention will be described in a specific way, which leads to the construal of different viewpoints. Viewpoint in such cases is achieved because of the intrinsic aspects of each verb, which determines the way perception occurs.

In terms of manner of motion, the results have shown that different classes of verbs are used to describe visual motion: *Chasing verbs*, *Roll verbs*, *Throw verbs*, *verbs of Exerting Force*, *Run verbs*, *Meander verbs*, *Ferret verbs*, *Carry verbs* and *Remove verbs*. In physical motion, these verb classes can specify a set of characteristics related to how a movement occurs, be it the speed, the purpose or even a spatial relation involved in the motion. These characteristics are mapped onto the visual domain depending on which aspect of the visual experience is salient in the narrative. In order to account for viewpoint building and how it influences the way readers can construe the narratives, we start by discussing how metonymy plays a central role in fictive motion, more specifically, in fictive motion that encompasses visual description.

6.1. Metonymic phenomenon in visual construal and its relationship with fictive motion and viewpoint

Our corpus is comprised of occurrences that are grammatically structured in two ways, the ones in which the noun EYE appears in the Subject position and the ones in which EYE is the Object of a sentence. In both cases, these uses constitute cases of conceptual metonymy in which part of a frame – the vehicle EYE – provides access to the whole frame – the target PERCEPTION. The frame we refer to is the HUMAN BODY frame.

The fact that the vehicle EYE appears in two different positions in the sentence, that is, Subject and Object, suggests that the metonymic process involves two distinctive discursive strategies, and consequently, two different viewpoints. Let us consider examples (33) and (71):

(33) *She then yawned again, threw aside her book, and **cast her eyes** round the room in quest for some amusement.*

In (33), the character Miss Bennet deliberately stops what she was doing (reading a book) to visually search the room for something else more interesting to do. In this case, the narrator chooses to designate the character as the agent of the action, by expressing that she voluntarily oriented her visual perception to various locations, with the use of the locative “round the room”. That suggests the character’s agentivity and awareness.

On the other hand, example (71) shows a distinct interpretation and viewpoint construal since his visual perception is regarded as a personified entity, which acts by itself regardless of its owner.

Verbs that specify deictic aspects, such as COME and GO, play an essential role in creating viewpoint in narratives, as these deictic elements lead the reader into taking the character’s perspective into account to construe the narrated scene. The following excerpt illustrates such claim:

(71) *He lapsed away, even for minutes, ringing those measured changes on his hands the whole time. His **eyes came** slowly back, at last, to the face from which they had*

wandered; when they rested on it, he started, and resumed, in the manner of a sleeper that moment awake, reverting to a subject of last night.

(A Tale of Two Cities, Charles Dickens)

The excerpt describes how the character, a shoemaker, is questioned by another character, Mr. Lorry, and while thinking about the question, the shoemaker's eyes move in different directions. When returning his gaze to Mr. Lorry, the shoemaker, then, answers his question. The choice for the deictic COME in this excerpt bears some consequences for the way the author wants the readers to understand the narration. First, it is referential in the sense that COME, instead of bringing the deictic center to the character (a shoemaker), transfers the deictic center to a third element, *the face from which they had wandered*. Second, the complementary element *back*, also deictic, points to the fact that the path goal had also been, at some point, the source of motion, and that visual perception returned to where it had been before. Finally, the adverbial *at last* creates a temporal viewpoint, indicating that some time had passed before visual attention returned to its reference point, namely someone's face. With such a description, the narrator leads the reader to follow the shoemaker's internal thoughts, while following his eyes' motion. By creating this viewpoint, the narrator allows the reader to have access to this character's hesitation and even some indignation over the question that was asked. Therefore, the narrator builds a viewpoint in which the shoemaker has no control over his visual attention while his mind and thoughts "wander off".

Based on this analysis, we argue that the vehicle EYE can access not only the target PERCEPTION, but also the target THOUGHTS. As perception and thoughts are cognitive processes that happen in our minds, it is possible to say that EYE is a vehicle that conceptually accesses the target MIND. The metonymic process, then, allows for various layers of construal, and within the same frame, such as the HUMAN BODY frame, the EYES can be the vehicle for different targets. That finding argues in favor of the notion that metonymy is not used primarily to enact as a means of reference. As the data demonstrated, we don't use *eyes* just as a reference for visual perception but to evoke the MIND frame as well. These metonymic uses of EYE express not only the various ways in which visual perception occurs, e.g., superficially or focused, if intentionally or not, but these uses also reveal that we do things with our minds while visually

perceiving a scene. The deictic verbs COME and GO when used with EYE to describe vision enable such view. Consider the example (72) with GO:

(72) *All the women knitted. They knitted worthless things (...) But, as the fingers went, the **eyes went**, and the thoughts.*

(*A Tale of two Cities*, Charles Dickens)

The description of the eyes as being able to move away from its “owner” reinforces the notion that while the eyes are absent so is our attention. Thus, COME and GO appear to play an important role in expressing the transitional states of our minds by determining the direction of the eyes’ motion away from or towards a deictic center. The conceptualization of the eyes as entities that can *come* and *go* in similar ways of motion to our own physical bodies is motivated primarily by metonymy which, in turn, gives rise to the fictive motion phenomenon.

Another example of a verb that presented two distinct viewpoints depending on the syntactic position occupied in the sentence by the noun EYE, either the Subject or the Object, is FOLLOW. Consider the excerpts:

(4) *The Countess, moreover, by waiting, found the time ripe for one of her pretty perversities. She might have desired for some minutes to place it. Her brother wandered with Isabel to the end of the garden, to which point her **eyes followed** them.*

(*The Portrait of a Lady*, Henry James)

(6) *Louisa approached him; but he could not see her, lying with his face turned up to the night sky.*

‘If aw th’ things that tooches us, my dear, was not so muddled, I should’n ha’ had’n need to coom heer. If we was not in a muddle among ourseln, I should’n ha’ been, by my own fellow weavers and workin’ brothers, so mistook. If Mr. Bounderby had ever know’d me right—if he’d ever know’d me at aw—he would’n ha’ took’n offence wi’ me. He would’n ha’ suspect’n me. But look up yonder, Rachael! Look aboove!’

***Following** his eyes, she saw that he was gazing at a star.*

(*Hard Times*, Charles Dickens)

The construal of the visual scenes in (4) and (6) might depend on the reader's knowledge of what is involved in the semantics of the verb FOLLOW. Belonging to the class of chasing verbs, FOLLOW has in its frame structure, specifically in physical motion, the meaning that there is a spatial relation of proximity between two entities, so that one does not lose track of the other that is being chased. In vision, this proximity is epistemic as the visual path that is being tracked is fictive. In possession of such knowledge, the reader can mentally scan the visual motion, which does not involve any physical proximity, but entails that visual attention is entirely devoted to some entity during a period of time.

With regard to the path relation involved in the two examples with FOLLOW, the fact that EYE is the Object of example (6) implies that two visual experiences are taking place, one is experienced by the agent of FOLLOW and the other refers to the visual perception that is metonymically accessed by the noun EYE. In that case, two paths need to be traversed by the line of sight of the agent of FOLLOW, one towards the other character's eyes (*Stephen's eyes*) and the other from his eyes towards the visual goal (*the star*). On the other hand, the path configuration established in (4) requires the construal that only one visual path is traversed by the Figure (the character's eyes – *the Countess*), which is also metonymically accessed, and whose path coincides with the path traversed by the Ground (her brother and Isabel's walk to the end of the garden).

Thus, the choice of motion verbs to describe visual scenes is not used merely to describe how someone literally moves their eyes to gaze at an entity, but they're employed to specify ways in which readers can get access to the characters perception, thoughts and reasoning. From this perspective, manner of motion verbs, directional verbs and deictic verbs can all be used as means to create specific cognitive viewpoints.

Another important approach in fictive motion is the notion of directionality. As our analysis indicates, the manner of motion verbs do not specify direction, although some of them can suggest a lateral movement, such as TURN and ROLL. Although these verbs specify a change in direction, they do not lexicalize the path, therefore, a path component to indicate the source, the goal, or the trajectory of motion is expected. However, sometimes it does not occur and that could be explained due to narrative

discursive strategies or aspects related to the verb transitivity. Returning to example (44), such claim can be illustrated.

(44) *But the point which **drew** all **eyes**, and, as it were, transfigured the wearer – so that both men and women who had been familiarly acquainted with Hester Prynne were now impressed as if they beheld her for the first time – that SCARLET LETTER, so fantastically embroidered and illuminated upon her bosom.*

(The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne)

The verb DRAW, which specifies a manner of motion, indicates that some sort of physical force is used in physical motion. In visual description, it specifies that someone's gaze is directed towards a visual goal. However, instead of using a passive form, which is typical for this verb, as in *all eyes were drawn to the Scarlet Letter*, and where a path configuration would be needed (*to*), the author decided to build a viewpoint that leads the reader to construe the Scarlet Letter as such an impressive entity that would be capable to force everyone's attention in its direction. In that case, though it is possible to construe the path configuration, it is not overtly stated.

Regarding the directional verbs, they also allow for our construal in terms of agentivity and, in turn, different viewpoints. Compare, for instance, the uses of FALL, which may not indicate agentivity, and DROP, which specifies that an entity causes another entity to fall. Note that in all instances with FALL, EYE is in the Subject position and such fact suggests no control from the "owner" of the EYES, i.e., a silent agent.

Another aspect verified in the analysis relates to the Ground, which refers to the perceived entity. As previously discussed, some occurrences did not provide a Ground element, which means that the object of attention should be inferred from the discourse. The following excerpt taken from the novel *Jane Eyre*, by Charlotte Brontë, illustrates such assumption:

(40) *The sound of the dressing-bell dispersed the party. It was not till after dinner that I saw him again: he then seemed quite at his ease. But I liked his physiognomy even less than before: it struck me as being at the same time unsettled and inanimate. His eye **wandered**, and had no meaning in its wandering: this gave him an odd*

look, such as I never remembered to have seen. For a handsome and not an unamiable-looking man, he repelled me exceedingly: there was no power in that smooth-skinned face of a full oval shape: no firmness in that aquiline nose and small cherry mouth; there was no thought on the low, even forehead; no command in that blank, brown eye.

(*Jane Eyre*, Charlotte Brontë)

The story is narrated from the character's perspective, that is, Jane Eyre narrates the story herself. In this excerpt, she describes Mr. Rochester, one of the focal characters and with whom she develops a relationship. Due to the nature of her relationship with Mr. Rochester, a mysterious man and much older than she is, she attempts to describe him in such a way that the reader understands the plot development from her own point of view. Thus, this excerpt is Jane's attempt to portray Rochester's character by describing Rochester's way of looking as "odd" and with lack of "command". To describe such look, she uses the expression *His eye **wandered**, and had no meaning in its wandering*. The choice of the verb WANDER already tells the reader that his gaze has no purpose, in other words, there is no focal attention since this way of physical motion entails traversing a path with no clear destination. Moreover, there is no mention of the perceived entity, since he is not directing his attention to anything specifically. The fact that there is no perceived entity is important for the reader to understand this man's personality from Jane Eyre's viewpoint.

Additionally, in terms of the relationship concerning Figure (visual perception) and Ground (the perceived entity), the Ground is made explicit in most cases. Moreover, the examples that expressed Ground had, in general, only one Ground overtly expressed. An exception is example (52):

(52) (...) *and when her **eyes fell** only on the butcher with his tray, a tidy old woman travelling homewards from shop with her full basket, two curs quarrelling over a dirty bone, and a string of dawdling children round the baker's little bow-window eyeing the gingerbread, she knew she had no reason to complain, and was amused enough; quite enough still to stand at the door.*

(*Emma*, Jane Austen)

In this example, visual attention is directed to several entities: *the butcher, a tidy old woman, two curs, and a string of dawdling children*. In this example, the enumeration of the perceived events leads to the construal of a path being traversed by a gaze. In physical motion, however, it would probably be unlikely to enumerate that many grounds when we describe an entity *falling*.

Still, in terms of direction, the verbs used to describe visual perception enables the reader to adopt viewpoints in terms of the character's state of mind and attitude towards their interlocutor or a specific situation. Consider example (62), which is an excerpt from *Hard times*, by Dickens:

(62) *'You are such a waspish, raspish, ill-conditioned chap, you see,' said Mr. Bounderby, 'that even your own Union, the men who know you best, will have nothing to do with you. I never thought those fellows could be right in anything; but I tell you what! I so far go along with them for a novelty, that I'll have nothing to do with you either.'*

Stephen raised his eyes quickly to his face.

(Hard Times, Charles Dickens)

In the excerpt, the direction of the visual motion instantiated by the expression “raised his eyes to his face” builds a viewpoint that enables the reader to construe the scene. On one hand, there is the interpretation of the verb RAISE indicating that Stephen had his eyes looking down, possibly to the ground. Such description might indicate Stephen's attitude towards the situation. When the narrator describes Stephen's reaction to Mr. Bounderby's speech with the sentence *Stephen raised his eyes quickly to his face*, the orientation change in visual path can also be interpreted as a change in attitude by Stephen when facing Mr. Bounderby's harsh words. If Stephen “raises his eyes”, it means they were lifted from a lower to a higher position. Such construal of Stephen's attitude is grounded on various frames, such as the relationship between social groups, in which the UP and DOWN schema is crucial. That is, UP means power and high status, which is the case of Mr. Bounderby, who is Stephen's employer. DOWN, on the other hand, means having low status and in a lower position in society, which would be the case of an employee, the role filled by Stephen. Thus, looking down shows humbleness and raising the eyes shows a change in attitude, and, consequently, a change in

viewpoint. This observed phenomenon is also created in the same manner with the verbs SINK and BEND, which indicates motion from a higher to a lower position. Consider examples (54) and (57):

(54) *The man stopped half-way, and they looked at each other; but Sikes's **eyes sunk** gradually to the ground.*

(Oliver Twist, Charles Dickens)

(57) *“But when I look for his father in his face, I find her every day more! How the devil is he so like? I can hardly bear to see him.” He **bent** his **eyes** to the ground, and walked moodily in.*

(Wuthering Heights, Emily Brontë)

In these cases, the character’s visual attention is directed to the ground, which creates a viewpoint that leads the reader to interpret such visual motion as an act of resignation or even humbleness. Thus, direction specified by the verbs in visual description also contributes to viewpoint building, as it indicates the character’s attitudes towards the narrated situations.

Therefore, the narratives make use of these visual motion descriptions as an instrument for the readers to access the characters’ minds. At times, through such descriptions, the characters’ minds can be construed as an independent “being” which lacks control of its motion. Moreover, as we have stated earlier, the linguistic structures containing a motion verb combined with the noun EYE do more than simply describe a visual scene. These descriptions enable the readers to conceptualize by other narrative elements, such as the characters positions, feelings and attitudes towards the narrated situations.

Finally, for a full account of patterns of path configurations and their relation to viewpoint formation, it is important to analyze the spatial relation that between Figure and Ground coded outside the verb, besides the semantics of the motion verbs. The findings concerning the four path components found in our corpus, Vector, Conformation, Deixis and Earth-grid displacement, suggest that the prevalence of the Vector component corroborates the assumption that vision is conceptualized as an entity that moves from a source, the experiencer (Figure), to a goal, the perceived entity

(Ground). As visual motion is fictive, i.e., there is no entity actually moving, the path is constrained in terms of the trajectory. That means that boundary crossing or any indication of the gaze entering and leaving objects that are schematically volumes (CONTAINERS) were not salient in the findings. Moreover, a few implications on viewpoint building arised from the analysis of the path components, considering their use in physical motion. For instance, the path configuration involving the deictic verb GO and the directional verb FALL found some peculiarities that would be unlikely in the path configuration of physical motion. GO usually requires a directional expression in physical motion, but in the visual experience it lacked such directional indication to build a viewpoint of lack of focal attention. Likewise, the path configuration found with FALL specified a spatial relation in which the visual perception (Figure) landed on several perceived entities (Ground) and that would be unlikely in physical motion.

6.3. Compression, fictive motion and cognitive viewpoint.

Compression is crucial in human construal and contributes to the construal of the observed phenomenon in narratives. As previously discussed, compression is the cognitive mechanism that allows the readers to adopt a global viewpoint in the narrative, starting from the lower level of discourse. Among other viewpoint alternatives, such as time (present or past) or person (first or third), vision also allows for compression to help the reader make connections between parts of the narrative.

The visual expressions discussed in the present work are necessarily compressed in its lowest level of understanding. If in physical motion a certain amount of time is needed to cover a certain distance, in vison it is not the case. Physical motion involves occupying certain points in space through time, but the path traversed by the gaze is fictive, that is, it is conceptualized as motion whereas it is indeed stationary. Thus, time required for the gaze that emanates from our eyes to traverse a path is suppressed and that is the role of compression. When an expression such as “his eyes wandered” is used in visual description, we conceptualize it as time being compressed, and not as the time it would take in actual motion.

Moreover, to allow the readers to access viewpoint dimensions, such as the passage of time, visual experiences also play a fundamental role. Such is the case with the following narrative:

(53) *They sat down to tea – the same party round the same table – how often it had been collected! – and how often had her **eyes fallen** on the same shrubs in the lawn, and observed the same beautiful effect of the western sun! – But never in such a state of spirits, never in anything like it; and it was with difficulty that she could summon enough of her usual self to be the attentive lady of the house, or even the attentive daughter.*

(*Emma*, Jane Austen)

In this example, the scene describes the main character's visual experience (Emma) as something usual and repetitive. When the narrator describes her visual experience saying *how often had her **eyes fallen** on the same shrubs in the lawn, and observed the same beautiful effect of the western sun!*, the viewpoint taken is the repetition of the same visual event, which leads the readers to construe the passage of time. Although the time duration of the described event is not specified, readers can understand the passage of time through the mechanism of compression. Clearly, what highlights the routine aspect of the visual experience is the expression *how often*, but it is the visual experience of the same event that helps on such construal.

The compression mechanism can also be identified in the occurrence with FALL, in example (52), where the visual perception is said to fall onto several entities. Such configuration is only possible by the fictive motion phenomenon, as we construe motion in a less veridical representation, and by the compression mechanism, which allows us to associate this less veridical representation to the visual scene and level down the complexity of the path relation.

6.4 Viewpoint building and the construal of the narratives by the readers

In our discussion of the narrative construal by the readers, specifically with respect to the viewpoint created by the visual descriptions analyzed in this research, we drew from Mar and Oatley (2008), whose understanding of a narrative is defined by the readers'

responses to their content issues. In this view, narratives simulate the social world with which the readers interact by a process of abstraction and by developing a mental representation. It is this model of mental representation that allows readers to access the intended meaning of the narrated events.

We argued that the readers' mental representation of these various events is guided by the viewpoint elements in the narration, which are apprehended through specific linguistic forms. To understand narratives, readers need to make sense of a series of narration tools, such as the temporal element of the story, the narrative voices, the characters' state of mind, etc. However, they also depend on linguistic forms to help them organize their knowledge of the events in the text. As we have shown, the instances of visual description we analyzed indicate ways in which, through the narration of the characters' visual perception, access to the characters' state of mind may also be provided. The choice of a specific motion verb, for instance, allows for the construal of different viewpoints that emerge from the semantics of these verbs. Comparing the uses of WANDER and RUN in visual descriptions, for example, the former indicates a way of looking that lacks a focus, while the latter provides the interpretation of a quick look. These forms are used (and viewpoints are built) to align the readers' own bodily experiences, namely their physical motion, with fictive forms of motion, such as the conceptualization of the line of sight.

Thus, the linguistic forms perform a function in the narratives, that is, they associate specific frames of experience such as motion and time with frames that involve static entities and events that happen in instant moments of time, such as perception. The function of these structures is then motivated by cognitive mechanisms, among which we highlight fictive motion, metonymy and compression.

We have tried to make it clear how fictive motion operates in the instances analyzed in the present research, when the noun EYE, used metonymically to replace an individual's visual perception is conceptualized as being capable of moving or to be moved. Experience also shapes and motivates these uses of EYE in fictive motion and the syntactic position of this visual noun in the sentences allows for viewpoint emergence as well. These metonymic uses give readers clues on the aspects of volition and intentionality involved in the narrated visual scenes. In that respect, the semantics of

certain verbs, for example DRAW, also indicate that there is no agency associated with the described scenes and, consequently, the focus is given to the perceived entity instead of the Experiencer/perceiver (see examples 43 and 44). Again, in these described situations, the viewpoint created through such linguistic uses is fundamental to meaning construal by the readers.

Finally, the complexity of the narrative events cannot be solely understood considering the choices of linguistics forms and disregarding other factors such as cultural contexts and readers' own mind frames (DANCYGIER, 2012). However, as our results suggested, through the description of the visual scenes, readers can get access to the characters' state of mind, emotions, and thoughts. Thus, the semantics of the motion verbs that specifies a spatial relation between Figure and Ground, the Experiencer and the Experienced, as well as the spatial relations coded by the propositions and adverbials provide distinct viewpoints that enable the readers to mentally represent and access the characters' minds.

CHAPTER 7: FINAL REMARKS

In this research we addressed the issue of how viewpoint phenomenon can be examined in the light of fictive motion framework. The findings and the analysis we carried out corroborated our initial hypothesis that 1) the different motion verbs and path configurations profiled by visual expressions containing a motion verb and the noun EYE may indicate different ways of construing a visual perception and, consequently, may give rise to distinct viewpoints in the narratives; and 2) besides fictive motion, the possible cognitive mechanisms that motivate viewpoint emergence through the fictive uses of vision analyzed in the present research are metonymy and compression.

To achieve our aim, the methodological procedures involved analyzing the motion verbs regarding their semantics as well as the path encoded outside the verbs. To account for the verb semantics, our analysis was based on Levin (1993), whose work grouped the English verbs according to their syntactic and semantic behavior. We first divided the verbs in three main categories, manner of motion, directional and deictic verbs, and within these categories each verb was analyzed as to how their meaning influenced on the construal of the visual descriptions. The analysis of path configuration, on the other hand, was based on Talmy (2000) and the categories comprised Vector, Conformation, Earth-grid displacement, and Deixis. The results suggested that the expressions for visual description containing a motion verb and the noun EYE allow for the construal of vision as an entity that moves in similar ways of our body movements. Concerning the semantics of the verbs, our discussion pointed to the fact that each verb contributed to the construal of perception in very specific ways and consequently, their semantics also enable distinct viewpoints, such as a viewpoint of the characters' state of mind. Yet, we also put forward a claim that depending on the visual experience aspect that was salient in the narratives, only a specific structure of the verb frame was mapped onto the domain of vision. In addition, the analysis of path configuration demonstrated that the spatial relation between Figure and Ground can also contribute to creating a viewpoint, depending on the use or lack of use of the specific path components. Thus, in view of these findings and aligned with our main objectives, we addressed the following research questions:

1. How do visual descriptions composed by a motion verb and the noun EYE influence viewpoint building in narratives?
2. How does viewpoint built from these choices of visual descriptions contribute to meaning construction in the fictional narratives?
3. What is the role of cognitive mechanisms such as fictive motion, metonymy and compression, associated with the visual expressions, in meaning construal of the narratives?

Regarding question one, we have demonstrated that the visual description structures composed by a motion verb and the noun EYE can influence viewpoint building in various ways. The semantics of the verbs, for instance, can profile path information, direction or deictic properties. Moreover, they can indicate aspects related to agency, which imply volition and intentionality concerning the visual perception. Our analysis also demonstrated that the semantics of these verbs are fundamental in establishing a connection between the way our bodies move in the world and how we conceptualize the functioning of our minds. These motion verbs designate that specific elements of their structural frames be mapped onto the domain of vision. For instance, RUN and DART profile a fast pace of motion, thus *running the eyes* means looking at something in a way that is not detailed, as the gaze moves quickly from one perceived entity to another. Other verbs involve some physical force, such as CAST and THROW, but not all the structures that belong to the frame of these verbs are mapped onto vision. The physical force aspect is conceptualized as a sudden movement which, in turn, implies speed, and it is also the speed element that is mapped onto vision, i.e., looking at something in a quick way. In sum, the specific frames of each verb that are mapped onto vision and the aspects related to path configuration, such as manner of motion and direction, all influence the creation of viewpoint in narratives.

As for the second question, we have argued that readers interact with narratives by mentally representing a social world. It is through cognitive mechanisms that the narrated events can be construed by the readers. In that respect, viewpoint functions as an alignment strategy, in which linguistic choices motivated by cognitive mechanisms such as fictive motion. The way viewpoint aligns the readers' own experience of physical motion in the world with fictive motion for vision helps them make sense of the narrated visual events, which leads to different construal in visual perception. From

that perspective, viewpoint phenomenon plays an important role in meaning construal of narratives as readers rely on specific linguistic forms that are motivated by diverse cognitive mechanisms, i.e., fictive motion and metonymy.

Finally, in the third question, to determine the role of fictive motion in vision, specifically the constructions comprised of motion verbs and the noun EYE, we focused on the relationship between the experiencer (Figure) and the perceived entity (Ground), as well as the path relation between these two entities. We associated these uses with metonymy and argued that metonymy underlies the choices in profiling the Experiencer and the visual experience itself, that is, when EYE occupied the syntactic position of the Subject, EYE was metonymically construed as the Experiencer, but in that case, volition and intentionality do not seem to be involved in the visual event. On the other hand, when EYE was in the Object position, the Subject was an agentive Experiencer and EYE was construed as an entity that the agent moves through a path. For instance, in both constructions *I run my eyes* and *my eyes wandered*, EYE is used metonymically but the reader conceptualizes these uses in different ways. In *I run my eyes*, the motion is performed by the agent *I*, and the noun *eyes* is construed as the character's visual perception. In *my eyes wandered*, on the other hand, the *eyes* are used as the entity that moves regardless of its "owner's" will and, in such case, agency is silent. As a consequence, two distinct viewpoints are built, one in which the agent controls the visual experience and the other in which perception happens, regardless of the Experiencer. Finally, the mechanism of compression is fundamental in establishing the time and space relations between Figure and Ground, which are conceptualized differently in comparison to physical motion. That is, while in physical motion a trajectory entails that a given entity occupies a set of points in space over time, in visual path time is compressed, since no entity is in fact moving in space and the visual experience occurs in a single moment of time. In that case, time is construed as compressed.

As we have seen from the analysis of the visual constructions composed by a motion verb and the noun EYE, cognitive processes such as metonymy and fictive motion operate to enable the conceptualization of visual perception. Based on the evidence this study provided, we consider that we have contributed to the studies of the fictive motion phenomenon and its implication in viewpoint building. In Literature, making sense of

the sequence of events is crucial as narrative events involve a multiplicity of viewpoint, character's mind representation and temporal and spatial elements. In that sense, understanding the nuances related to linguistic choices and their implication in viewpoint creation and, consequently, in the whole narrative is important in studies that attempt to approximate these two areas of research. While Cognitive Linguistics is worried about cognitive mechanisms that underlie form–meaning mappings, in narratives meaning is a primary focus (DANCYGIER, 2012a). Then, applying the instruments of analysis to Literature that belong to Cognitive Linguistics is indeed worthwhile.

We believe that the present analysis contributed to the understanding of Literature as a cognitive experience and that we could uncover some of these mappings regarding form and meaning in our study. Yet, we believe that further studies, especially cross-linguistic research that could focus on other types of visual constructions, are needed so that we can broaden the impact of our findings in relating fictivity conceptualization and viewpoint creation. On that account, we believe that an analysis that involves other discursive domains might give rise to other possible results, for instance, other types of motion verbs might be found for visual description, or the variation of these verbs in terms of their semantics contribution may be smaller compared to that in literary texts. Otherwise, a corpus comprising literary texts from Portuguese, for instance, might suggest other types of path relation between Experiencer and Experienced, or even a difference regarding the types of motion verbs used. Consequently, the way viewpoint emerges cross-linguistically can be observed.

Another goal is to contribute to both the fields of Cognitive Linguistics and Literature by analyzing the association of typically grammatical cognitive phenomena with the construction of literary texts. In this cognitive approach to Literature, the present study attempts to demonstrate how the author's linguistic choices are determined by cognitive and interpersonal motivation, such as viewpoint, aimed at shaping the reader's experiences. By doing so, we attempted to broaden the scope of viewpoint research by identifying viewpoint configurations from these descriptions of visual path. Besides, though our corpus is composed by literary texts from the nineteenth century, the patterns found in this study may be applied to language description in general and the role of cognition in the construal of language.

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