The embodied marking of stance in North American English: Stacked and idiomatic

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Cognitive linguistic (CL) research has long been at the forefront of investigations into the linguistic marking of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in language. Aligned with the CL commitment to natural, contextualized language data, recent studies have examined clusters of co-speech behaviours in the body that may serve pragmatic and evaluative functions (Debras 2017, Wehling 2017, Bressem & Müller 2017). Many of these multimodal studies have specifically looked at the co-speech behaviours that accompany expressions of *stance* (cf. Debras & Cienki 2012, Schoonjans 2014, Jehoul et al. 2017). In a very real sense, the fact that the body is helping to articulate the expression of attitude, evaluation, or affect—that is to say, stance—across diverse verbal utterances gives us one reading of "stance-stacking" (cf. Dancygier 2012).

In this presentation, we investigate a second interpretation of stacked stance-marking: the use of *multiple* body articulators co-expressive with highly stanced utterances. We present preliminary evidence that suggests that the greater the "stancyness" of an utterance, the more likely that it will involve multiple verbal markers of stance, multiple bodily articulators, as well as very particular prosodies (in some cases, the prosodic melody is very unique to an expression and contributes to its overall idiomaticity). Using videos gathered from the Red Hen archive (Steen & Turner 2013), we investigate strings that we consider to be near lexico-syntactic neighbors. For example, we compare how speakers in unscripted situations enact the utterances *which is good* vs. *which is fine,* and *what can I do?* vs. *what can I say?*. The underlined segments differentiate the items in each pair from a stance perspective, with the first being more neutral.

This quantitative study investigates the multimodal enactment of a range of highly stanced, idiomatic expressions in English when compared with their more weakly stanced or neutral lexico-syntactic neighbors. Preliminary results show that highly fixed phrases such as *which is fine, which is great,* and *what can I say?* are accompanied by strategic movement of the eyebrows, mouth, head, and/or shoulders that unmistakably place these articulators at the locus of stance-marking (Rice & Hinnell 2017, Hinnell & Rice 2018). This work is part of a larger research agenda examining the conventionalization of co-speech bodily behaviors and supports the examination of stance as a constructional layering—or stacking, to use Dancygier's term—in the linguistic and kinesic signals.

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