Research Journal of English Language and Literature (RJELAL)
A Peer Reviewed (Refereed) International Journal
http://www.rjelal.com; Email:editorrjelal@gmail.com

Vol.5.Issue 1. 2017
(Jan-March)

RESEARCH ARTICLE

INTERNATIONAL STANDARD SERIAL NUMBER INDIA
2395-2636 (Print):2321-3108 (online)

LIGHT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTION OF NON-LITERAL LANGUAGE IN 'L2' FOR COMPARISON WITH THE ACQUISITION OF MOTHER TONGUES

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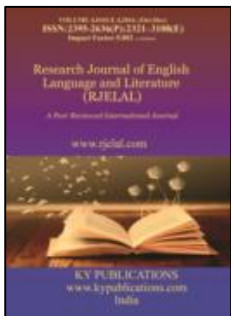

ABSTRACT

The current research work focuses on the development of figurative language among second language learners while proposing a comparison with its acquisition in the mother tongue. In order to have a first idea the way these two types of subjects handle the non-literal, I first analyse the speech of few students at regular intervals between the age of 6 and 10 years, then examines written productions in English of Tamil-speaking learners. I then observe the non-literary productions of native English-speaking children aged 11, 14 and 19, Tamil-speaking learners in second year, first year of English and second year of master's degree in English, and finally, a control group of English adults in semi-guided interactions. The results of these different analyses reveal numerous commonalities between the figurative productions of native English-speaking children and Tamil-speaking learners. The main difference between these subjects is in the proportion of figurative forms produced (increasing among native children, but constant among learners), the amount produced by conventional figurative forms (increasing among learners, but constant among children natives) and the high proportion of deviant forms in learners. These forms come mainly from a lack of lexical resources of the foreign language and figurative expressions of Tamil that the learners wished to transpose into English. Finally, this research proposes a set of pedagogical implications for the language classroom in order to address these difficulties.

Keywords: non-literal language, language acquisition, acquisition of foreign languages, written productions, oral interactions, didactics.

Introduction

The starting point of the reflection carried out in the present work is a linguistic activity: that of a figurative use of language, where what is said is not what is conveyed. One might think that such (indirect?) Use of language is rare, yet about one word out of seven is used figuratively in our everyday conversations after Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Krennmayr and Pasma (2010)[1]. All the words we utter on a daily basis are therefore not figurative, but it seems almost impossible to express oneself in a completely literal way.

Cognitive linguistics also considers language as a situated object of study: the concepts and the linguistic means that convey it are mobilized in a situation of communication; they only make sense in the situation of enunciation in which they appear:

A speaker produces words and constructions in a text as tools for a particular activity, namely to evoke a particular understanding; the hearer's task is to figure out the activity that the tools are intended

for, namely to evoke a particular understanding. (Croft et Cruse,2004, p. 8)[2]

It is therefore also in an interactional perspective that promotes a usage-based approach that the development of non-literal language is studied in this work. This approach is reminiscent of the work of functionalists who are interested in the communicative intentions of specific forms and who study their uses in various contexts. It will be asked in what form (s) and why (s) non-literal language is mobilized in the speech of second language learners compared to children who acquire their mother tongue, and if development trends can be identified. The non-literal is therefore a phenomenon at the heart of language, thought and interpersonal exchange. I now return to each of these perspectives in detail.

The non-literal in acquisition of foreign languages

Here it was focused on non-literal language in the context of learning a foreign language. It is now agreed that it is important that figurative language has a place in the language classroom[3] and that a learner must become familiar with the non-literal dimension of the target language for the sake of overall mastery of that language. As in the previous chapter, we will examine the prerequisites for the production of non-literal language before turning to the analysis of second-language learner productions. If an adult learner has a mature conceptual development and clear conceptual and linguistic categories thanks to his or her age-old language in adulthood, a great deal of cultural, conceptual and lexical adaptation in the target language is to be undertaken. In addition, the production of a (correct) figurative instance in a foreign language is a more complex cognitive task than in the mother tongue because of highly mobilized cognitive mechanisms for the lexical and grammatical encoding of ideas (automated production mechanism, memory quickly saturated). Let's begin, however, with an update on what is meant by "metaphorical skills" in the field of foreign language acquisition.

The notion of "metaphorical skills" in L2: In 1988, Graham Low was one of the first linguists to introduce the concept of "metaphoric competence" into a foreign language, namely the ability to produce and understand metaphorical language instances in a foreign language. Low leads a reflection on the functions of the metaphorical language and proposes a list of seven skills needed to master the non-literal for any speaker, native or not, a language:

i) Ability to construct plausible meanings
ii) Knowledge of the boundaries of conventional metaphor
iii) Awareness of acceptable topic and vehicle combinations
iv) Ability to interpret and control 'hedges'
v) Awareness of 'socially sensitive' metaphors
vi) Awareness of 'multiple layering' in metaphors
vii) Interactive awareness of metaphor -(Low, 1988, pp. 129-135)[4]

The first skill is to be able to make sense of any statement that has semantic anomalies. The second assumes a certain ability to detect a creative use of a conventional metaphor and thus to know which source domains are used to lexicalize which target domains. The third assumes knowledge of combinations of topical and specific vehicles. The fourth refers to the means that the enunciator uses to indicate the metaphorical use of all linguistic forms (quotation marks, oral gestures, use of intensifiers such as literally, really, sort of etc.) . The fifth refers to being aware that certain figurative expressions have a negative social charge and cannot be used in certain contexts. The sixth deals with the ability to detect all the possible senses of a given figurative instance. Finally, the seventh and last skill relates to the ability to identify the reasons why the informant uses a non-literal instance and the ability to resell, expand or close any figurative utterance.

Cultural, conceptual and lexical references to convert: The view of the world of any speaker native to one (or more) language (s) is therefore strongly imprinted cultural and language references associated with his or her language (s) maternal (s). The work of Danesi mentioned above shows how the conceptual system is structuring since its results suggest that the conceptual system of the mother tongue of learners remains the basis on which the development of L2 takes place, even after many years of learning in the secondary, then in the higher. Danesi (2008) notes, for example, that the conceptual system developed in conjunction with

the mother tongue (s) manifests itself in "conceptual errors": "[they] result from the tendency of SL [second language] learners to assume that they are encoded with identical or parallel structures (sentences, idioms, etc.) "(Danesi, 2008: 232)[5]. These errors, which Danesi opposes to formal (syntactical, phonological, etc.) and communicative (interactive, strategic) errors, are those which, according to him, hinder the intelligibility of learners' discourse the most. However, the conceptual systems of L1 and L2 coincide and learners make conceptual and linguistic transfers that are receivable in L2. Danesi (2008) also notes that some concepts are lexicalized by a larger number of source domains than others by language. In a corpus of texts from newspapers, magazines, popular books, and transcripts of television and radio programs, he has, for example, identified 89 different sources for lexicalizing the IDEAS concept (MOVING THINGS, BUILDINGS, PLANTS, etc.) and 36 source domains to lexicalize the LOVE concept (PHYSICS, INSANITY, MAGIC etc.). It then assumes that the more a domain is lexicalized in different ways, the more it would be a source of positive transfers from one language to another, because the probability of it being lexicalized in the same way in several languages would be bigger. To test this hypothesis, he asked thirty-five Canadian students studying Italian as a foreign language to write about the importance of philosophy and how to declare love on Valentine's Day. The conceptual errors for each of the LOVE and IDEAS concepts were then recorded in their writings: the results confirmed that the concept that benefited from a greater number of possible source concepts (IDEAS) was the one that caused the least errors of lexicalisation.

*Language production models in L1 and L2***:** Before looking at the production parameters of the non-literal language in L2, it is important to be interested in the production of any type of instance (figurative or not). Indeed, we will see that this process does not work exactly the same way when speaking in a foreign language. For Levelt (1999)[6], which proposes a model of language production in L1, the act of speech is a complex cognitive and motor task. It consists of six stages: a conceptual preparation (generation of a preverbal message composed of lexical concepts), a grammatical encoding (activation of lemmas and their syntactic and lexical information for the construction of a surface structure), a Morpho-phonological encoding (activation of morphological and phonological information related to prosody - accentuation and intonation patterns according to the selected grammatical structure), phonetic encoding (articulation of phonemes) that activates the system of language comprehension (production control oral, allowing self-correction), then a final stage of enunciation (articulatory execution, oralisation) which also benefits from self-control by the comprehension system (Levelt, 1999, pp. 87-88).

Language production models in a foreign language: Based on the model of Levelt (1999), illustrated in the previous figure, De Bot (1992)[7] and Kormos (2006)[8] propose a production model for any multilingual speaker, which I summarize using the following scheme (figure1).

Working memory in L1 and L2: Memory is a psychic faculty that makes it possible to build, store, represent, and access all of our knowledge during the real-time mental processing of any activity (Mitchell, Myles and Marsden, 2013, 131)[9]. Working memory (or short-term memory) provides a small part of this knowledge to carry out our day-to-day activities:

Working memory is the term used to refer to mechanisms or processes involved in the temporary storage, manipulation, and maintenance of task-relevant information during online cognitive operations, including language comprehension and production. (Mitchell,Myles et Marsden, 2013, p. 151)

The development of non-literal production in L2: Following the work of Low and Danesi emphasizing the importance of metaphorical skills in learning a foreign language, the literature quickly became tainted with works in the field of didactics aimed at guiding and encouraging language teachers to include non-literal in their programs. Inter language studies, on the other hand, are rarer: few researchers have previously examined how the learner handles the non-literal before proposing teaching strategies. Work in the field of prefabricated language is the first to provide some answers. We are therefore interested in this first academic movement before looking at the first analyzes of the non-literal foreign language.

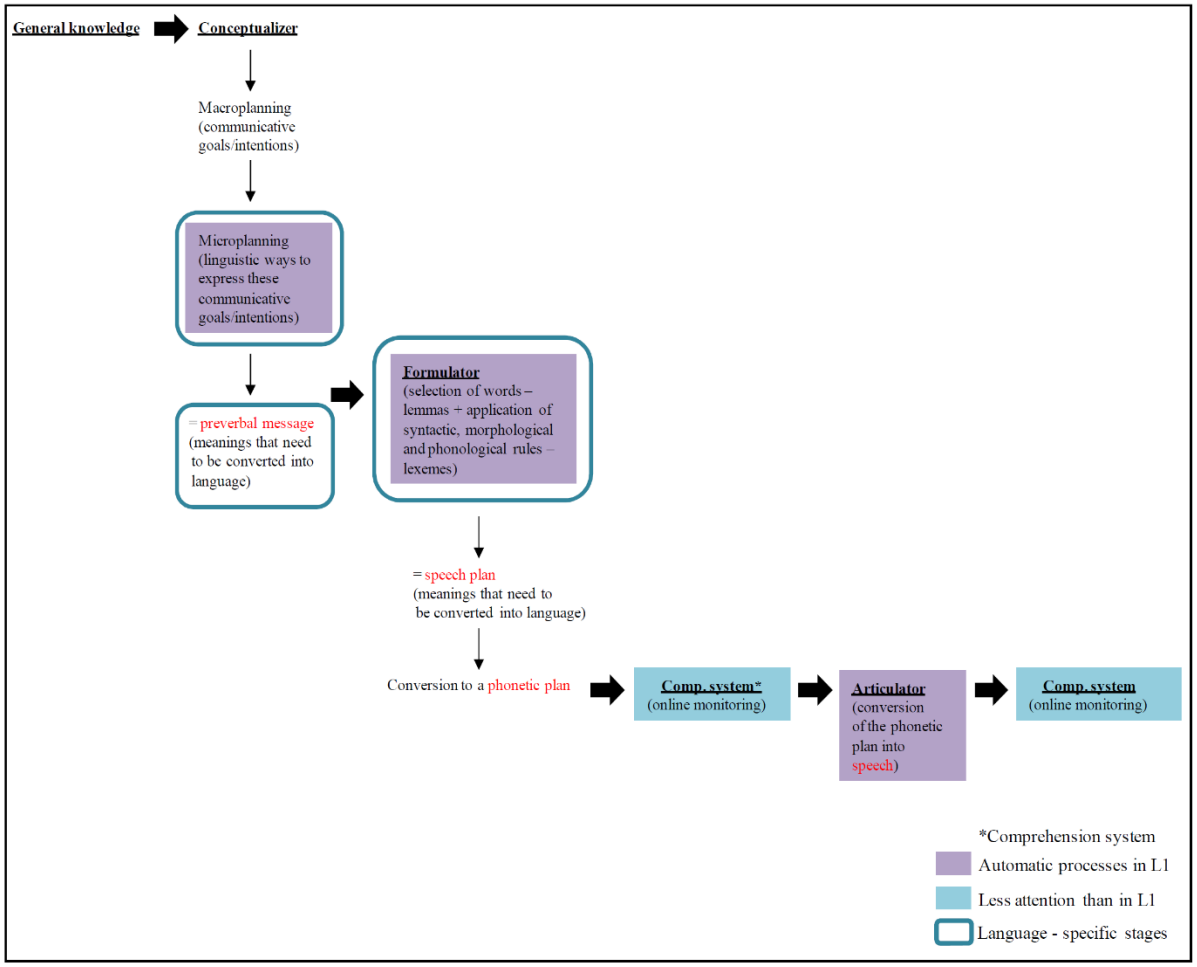

Figure 1. The model of Levelt (1989-1999) thought by De Bot (1992) and Kormos (2006) for the acquisition of foreign languages (diagram made by us)

A first step with prefabricated language: Kecskés (2000)[10] explores the use of pragmatic routines by second language learners ("location-bound utterances" - how are you doing,? Stay tuned, I'll be right back, etc.). He notes that learners tend to refer to the pragmatics of their mother tongue in order to understand and produce such statements, which often leads them to make a semantic and pragmatic mistake in the target language. Kecskès considers that this trend is due to a lack of basic knowledge of the target language, which conditions the appropriation of these conventional and pragmatic expressions.

Review of Literature

First studies on the non-literal language in L2: In 1985, Anna Trosborg conducted an experimental study of the productions and metaphorical preferences of second-language learners, adapting the Gardner et al. (1975)[11]. Gardner and his colleagues sought to evaluate the metaphorical productions and preferences of English-speaking children aged 3-4, 7, 11, 14 and 19 using short passages to be completed first freely and then using of four propositions (see as gigantic as ... the most gigantic person in the world / a skyscraper / a double-decker cone in a baby's hand / a clock from a department store - Gardner et al., 1975, 128).

Recent studies on non-literal production in L2: It is only very recently that inter-language studies on the non-literal foreign language are emerging. MacArthur (2010)[12] looks at the written productions of terminated English students and notes that they produce a number of metaphors to express complex and abstract ideas, but that these instances do not always conform to the target language (see I bumped into a poster announcing the arrival of

Erasmus grants). Nacey (2013)[13]conducts a comparative study between argumentative writings written by students in the third and fourth years of English-language studies and on texts written by young British high school graduates. MacArthur and Littlemore team up in 2011 to observe the use of the metaphorical language of learners interacting with native speakers sometimes during natural and spontaneous conversations, sometimes during semi-guided conversations (exchanges on abortion, climate change and vulgarity). They seek to know if nonlethal breaks into conversations between natives and non-natives; and if so, in what forms, for what purpose, and whether it tends to facilitate or hinder communication between speakers. Using MIP, MacArthur and Littlemore report between 6.3 and 10.4% of words used metaphorically based on topics of conversation. Although some metaphorical uses have sometimes gone unnoticed, or have occasionally posed problems of comprehension, metaphorical language (and more particularly the repetition of metaphorically used key words) has often contributed to the exchange, development of subject of conversation, and the expression of a personal point of view.

At the end of this overview of research in second language acquisition, seems that the non-literal skills that a learner needs to develop are not only lexical in nature, but also require knowledge of how the target culture perceives the world so that it can put its ideas into words at best. The language learners must therefore also appropriate the non-literal vocabulary of target language as its cultural and conceptual references to gain nonliteral autonomy. Just like children in the process of acquiring their mother tongue, it is difficult to expect non-literary productions from second-language learners from the initial stages of learning the target language. The encoding steps grammatical and lexical of their ideas in particular mobilize a large part of their attention resources - which certainly leaves little room for a figurative use of language. That said, an adult learner, or adolescent, will surely feel the need (cognitive, social, personal?) to produce non-literal because it is a characteristic of his use of the language in one's mother tongue. However, he will not have lexical means and to achieve this successfully: so it is not surprising that studies inter laagers conducted so far have revealed the presence of numerous transfers and many idiosyncratic creative non-literal instances.

Theoretical elements to retain and objectives of this work

In this first part, I proposed an overview of the variety of approaches and works that relate to the study of metaphor from a linguistic and psycholinguistic point of view. I have also been interested in works in applied perspectives such as the acquisition of language and foreign languages. Metaphor is a phenomenon inscribed in the heart of language, thought and interpersonal exchange. It's about a phenomenon that establishes a dialogue between conceptual and lexical domains in order to convey a new point of view on a given referent, or to communicate a frozen concept culturally shared. We then looked at the modalities of mental processing, comprehension and production of non-literal language. A summary of some psycholinguistic models allowed to highlight the diversity of the factors involved in these processes: the knowledge of the enunciator's world, his personal experiences and his cognitive development, his referential and associative capacities, his lexical knowledge, the analogical and pragmatic reasoning, the level of fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence, the social relations maintained with the interlocutor, the situation of enunciation and the degree of conventionality of a non-literal instance. In the field of language acquisition, we noted that the child is very early proof of analogic abilities (as early as the first months of life), but that his abilities to produce non-literal are a function of a certain level of cognitive, conceptual and lexical development. Developmental research emphasizes that a categorization of knowledge in conceptual domains is a prerequisite for producing metaphorical instances. In acquisition of foreign languages, the metaphorical skills of a learner were not only a control of the figurative lexicon of the language being learned, but also an appropriation of the conceptual system of the target culture. The lack of exposure to the foreign language and the attention resources strongly mobilized for the grammatical and lexical encoding of ideas, however, make the difficult task for learners.

Based on these observations, three questions remain unanswered in the literature:

(1) How does non-literal language develop in L1? (What types of forms are used, in which proportion, in what order do they appear, and for what purposes?)

(2) How does non-literal language develop in L2? (What types of forms are used, in which proportion, in what order do they appear, and for what purposes?)

(2a) Do language learners approach the figurative theme and use it similarly in their mother tongue?

(2b) Why do they favor the literal when they speak in their L2?

(3) Does the non-literal language develop in the same way in L1 and L2 (do we observe the same forms appear first, and having the same functions?):

(3a) Is there an identifiable "weak spot" in language learners with respect to the non-literal? If so, where is it located?

The development of many works presented in this first part allows us to formulate some hypotheses. According to research into language acquisition, it appears difficult to identify "real" non-literal forms in native English-speaking children under four, with the exception of over-extensions and false-semblants. Nevertheless, it would not seem impossible to identify figuratively used terms as well as idiomatic expressions and other phrased phraseological formulas extracted from the input. It is well known that the child is able to produce "chunks" and other non-analyzed constructions extracted from his input in specific situations (Lieven, Salomo and Tomasello, 2009)[14]. Also, thanks to the increase of lexical resources and the constant exposure to the mother tongue, one can postulate that the metaphorical instances produced by the child while he tames the language will be more and more conventional.

Preliminary study of the production of non-literal language by an English-speaking child

In this section, we will attempt to provide a first element of answer to the first research question of this work: (1) how does non-literal language develop in L1? (What types of forms are used, in what proportion, in what order do they appear, and for what purposes?). In order to get a glimpse of how figurative language is developing in native English-speaking children, and to get an idea of the age from which such research would be relevant, I began by studying the nonliteral in the longitudinal corpus of a young English-speaking child filmed between the ages of one and three years and seven months. The purpose of this preliminary study in language acquisition was to evaluate whether the speech of children under four was really devoid of any non-literal instance.

Methodology

Procedure

The initial stages of observing the development of figurative language in native English-speaking children were made from open-access recordings on the CHILDES platform. Michael Forrester's corpus (Forrester, 2002)[15], a researcher in language acquisition, was chosen for its consistent capture and image and sound quality. Mr. Forrester filmed his granddaughter, Ella, every two weeks between the ages of one and two years, then once a month until the age of three years and seven months. Ella is then interacting with various members of her family at the time of the meals: her father mainly, but also her mother and her big sister. The exchanges are punctuated by facial mimicry, looks, repeated gestures and onomatopoeia, where the gesture (as the score) is very important. Another specificity of the corpus that also punctuates the exchanges between Ella and her interlocutors over the recordings is her immense desire to be considered as a "big girl". From a linguistic point of view, Stéphanie Caët (2013)[16] noticed that the total number of statements produced by Ella during one hour of recording is very variable from one recording to the next, but increases from even gradually over the course of the corpus, as well as the number of different words it produces and the average length of its utterances.

In practice, I have viewed each recording of the entire corpus using CLAN software, which allows for alignment of the recordings and their transcription, and I have endeavored to identify any non-literal instances in the speech of Ella and her interlocutors. As a reference for the identification of these instances, I retained the definition of the metaphor of Cameron and Maslen (2010)[17]: metaphor is defined as words or sentences that can

be justified as somehow anomalous, incongruent or 'alien' in the ongoing discourse, but that can be made sense of through a transfer of meaning in context". Thus, any language instance was considered nonliteral:

- Demonstrated a transfer from one conceptual domain to another;
- Showed a semantic tension between its primary meaning and the meaning it conveyed in the statement produced (depending on the context);
- Or possessed a non-compositional global sense (whose primary meaning of the words constituting it did not help in order to understand its global meaning and the meaning of the statement in which it appeared).

Various dictionaries have established a repository to identify the primary meaning of the words of the instances found: The Macmillan Online Dictionary, the Merriam Webster Online Dictionary and Thesaurus, and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. I also consulted the Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English (OUP Oxford, 2006), the Cambridge Idioms Dictionary (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and the Dictionary of Idioms and their Origins, as well as the various lists of idioms most frequent in English realized by Liu (2003)[18] for the certification of idioms. Each recording was viewed and annotated once in Word and Excel, and I proceeded to proofread the transcription alone to make sure I did not omit non-literal forms.

Coding

The non-literal forms identified in the speeches of the participants were categorized as follows: Taquinerie (*what are you doing you maddie ? ; don't just throw it on the ground, little monkey*),

1) Comparisons (*it tastes like washing product*),
2) Hyperboles (*we've not seen Cathy and Rosa for ages ; there's tons* [of nutella] *in it*),
3) Symbolic game situations (*I'm a pokemon ; you're gonna have porridge, daddy bear*),
4) Personifications (*the apple's coming ; otherwise the butter from the knife would go all in the honey*),
5) metonymies (*I'm making a cup of tea*),
6) Figurative sense of isolated terms (*poor Daddy ; that's the bloody maximum ; it's a really demented thing*),
7) Idioms (*is that just an old wives' tale ? ; you're chancing your arm ; back to square one*),
8) Analogies (*Jimby will be reading the book just as we are having our breakfast*),
9) Creative metaphors (*it's quite hard to get any meat inside her ; the evil eye* [the camera]),
10) Ironically (*well done !* [when spilled something]).

These categories were developed as part of the non-trivial instance identification procedure to gain insight into the form of non-literal language in the Forrester corpus. Few studies on metaphor have focused on the different types of linguistic forms that this phenomenon could take with the exception of the distinction between conventional metaphors and creative metaphors, so this typology was formed from the study data and speech of each of the enunciators.

However, I noticed that Ella's vocabulary grew very rapidly between the ages of 1, 4 and 3 years, and that this lexical thrust seemed to give rise to a period of lexical and conceptual categorization. This is not irrelevant for a study on the development of imagery, but also because,

Perhaps the most fundamental judgement of comparison is categorization [...]. The act of categorization – applying a word, morpheme or construction to a particular experience to be communicated – involves comparison of the experience in question to prior experiences and judging it to belong to the class of prior experiences to which the linguistic expression has been applied. There are many ways in which a situation can be compared and judged to be like a prior experience. (Croft et Cruse, 2004, p. 54)[19]

This passage from Croft and Cruse (2004) refers us directly to the metaphor, whose foundation is the comparison, the judgment of similarity, or the interaction between two conceptual domains. Categorization and metaphor

therefore have in common that defining act that is the comparison since the metaphor is based on inter-domain interaction (comparison?). We can not speak of inter-domain dialogue or of analogy without distinct conceptual categories: "analogy also requires categorization; "The shares of past experiences can be formed by them". The categorization period between Ella's age of 1 to 4 years is illustrated by the fact that Ella elicits many isolated terms, apparently, while she is able to produce nominal groups and then proposals from the age of 2 years. In reality, these terms are often linked cotexually to other terms or to previous statements that have been pronounced either by itself or by its interlocutors. The concepts and entities to which these terms refer have relations of different natures. We first note the evaluation of similarity relations between objects or people that surround Ella: the latter seems, in these cases, want to group some entities together on the basis of common points that it defines:

At 2 (record 104):	At 2; 1 (record 108):	At 2; 4 (record 116):
Ella: hor'ble Daddy	*Father: now would you like some*	*Ella: Flan [le chat] cry*
Father: horr'ble Daddy	*kiwi fruit?*	*Father: does he cry ?*
Father: I'm not a horr'ble /Daddy/	*Ella nods*	*Father: does he /go/0*
Ella: /hor'ble/Mummy	*Father: like E(va) Eva's got ?*	*Ella: /Ella/cry*
Father: no Mummy not horr'ble	*Ella: yeah*	
Father: horr'ble Ella	*Father: alright*	
Father: mummy not horr'ble.	*Ella: x kiwi k::iw::i*	
Father: Ella horr'ble	*Ella: kiwi kiwi , apple*	
Ella: um Daddy horr'ble		
Father: no you're not horr'ble		

In these excerpts, Daddy and Mummy are both horrible, kiwi and apple are both fruits that Ella regularly eats at lunch or dinner, and he comes to Flan and Ella to cry. Ella also seems to make terms matches based on a semantic similarity:

À 2 ans (enregistrement 104) :	2;3 (enregistrement 112) :
Ella: Rosa hug	*Ella: dad made noise*
Ella: cuddle	*Father: I know*
Ella: Ella	*Ella: big noise and tiny noise*
Father: oh yeah Rosa did cuddle	
Ella that's right, didn't she ?	

The difference with the previous excerpts is that there seems to be some categorization of lexemes in the two examples above: big and tiny both belong to the lexical field of size (note that we do not mean only one noise during this excerpt: the father who cuts food for breakfast, there is not a low noise and a noise of higher intensity); and hug and cuddle have synonymic relations. The words that Ella elicits in these examples seem to be united by links of linguistic (semantic) nature, whereas in the preceding examples (horrible daddy - horrible mummy, kiwi - apple, Flan cry - Ella cry), Ella seemed to perform reconciliations of extra linguistic (conceptual) entities. In this way the researcher analyses in different ways.

Results

The non-literal in Ella's speech

It is from the age of 2 that we observe the first non-literal forms in Ella's discourse: before, between 1; 4 and 1; 11, Ella is in the course of acquisition and categorization of the lexicon and the world around it - a prerequisite for producing metaphorical instances. Nevertheless, we seem to distinguish three phases of development during the corpus, to which I return one by one. A first phase of

development, marked exclusively by the phenomenon of categorization of objects and the world surrounding Ella, takes place between 1; 4 and 1; 11. Ella brings entities together or opposes them on the basis of points of commonality or opposition as we noted above (horrible daddy - horrible mummy, Flan cry - Ella cry). Note that this categorization process is illustrated by the non-verbal between the age of 1; 4 and 1; 9:

À 1;4 (enregistrement 69) :
Mother: *have you got all your big toothies coming though ?*
Ella: ***xx [opens mouth and looks up at Mother and points to mouth]***
Mother: *oh the big big toothies oh you got even more toothies coming through*
Ella: ***xx [continues to point her finger into her mouth]***
Mother: *got another one at the back coming through at the bottom*
Father: *oh*
Ella: ***xxx [points to Mother's mouth]***
Mother: *here big toothies*
Mother: *oh the big toothies*
Mother: *oh the big toothies*
Ella: ***xx [points to Father]***
Mother: *oh Daddy's got toothies too*
Mother: *baby's got big toothies*
Ella: ***xx [points to Mother's mouth]***
Mother: *and Mummy's got big toothies*
Ella: ***xx [begins to point to Father as well]***
Mother: *and Daddy's got big toothies*
Father: *yeah !*

In this excerpt, Ella does not speak yet and it is with the help of her mother, who seems to play the role of interpreter, and gestures that she will nevertheless be able to express herself. It all starts with the statement of the mother did you get your big toothies coming though? which directs the interaction to the fact that Ella has teeth that grow. Ella seizes this conversational topography through scores to point out a common point (and thus, to make a connection) between all the actors of the interaction, that the mother then puts in words (oh big daddy's got big toothies, oh Daddy's got toothies too, baby's got big toothies, and Mummy's got big toothies and Daddy's got big toothies). By focusing on a common point shared by all actors in the enunciation situation in which she interacts, Ella establishes the inclusive category "people who have teeth" - to which she also belongs. Let's look at another example:

À 1;9 (enregistrement 89) :
Ella: daddy dinna [points to Father's dinner]
Father: daddy's dinner as well
Ella: baby dinna [points repeatedly to her dinner]
Father: and baby's dinner

In this second excerpt, very similar to the previous one except that the verbal and the nonverbal intertwine, Ella makes the difference between what belongs to her and what belongs to her father. She names these entities (daddy dinner, baby dinner) and points them out. These entities then enter different categories.

The second phase that I observed is the first phase of development of non-literal language: it is between the age of two years and two years and four months that we see appearing the first figurative uses of isolated words in the speech of Ella (in pink on the previous diagram):

-they make it all better (à 2 ans, enregistrement 104)
-a big girl (à 2;1, enregistrement 108)
-then have some toast (à 2;3, enregistrement 112)
-lot toys round here (..) mix xx xx mix [% mixes them up] (à 2;4, enregistrement 116)

As I expected, the first figuratively figured terms in Ella's discourse (certainly approached in the same way as any other literal term by the latter at such a young age) are some of the most common non-literal forms that we find in his input: the verb make in the sense to cause someone or something to be in a particular state or to change to another state is pronounced seven times in the corpus by the entourage of Ella; big in big girl construction, twelve times; have in the sense to eat, fifty times; and then in the sense introducing the next thing that happens (then, and then), fifty-three times. These observations are reminiscent of those of Christophe Parisse and Aliyah Mogenstern (2012)[20] when they worked on the development of verbal forms in two children aged 18 to 36 months: "Only a small subset of the large variety of forms available is initially used. Children produce forms that are frequent and salient

in the input, using them even more frequently and systematically than adults. Ella is still in a period of categorization of the lexicon and the entities that surround it during this second phase of development, so we still note the emergence of inclusive and exclusive categories as in the first phase; however, two types of rapprochement appear here, the semantic and ad hoc categories:

À 2 ans (enregistrement 104) :
Ella: Rosa hug
Ella: cuddle
Ella: cuddle
Ella: Ella
Father: oh yeah Rosa did
cuddle Ella that's right didn't she ?

À 2;1 (enregistrement 108) :
Father: who else ? [is good at nursery]
Ella: jimby .
Father: jimby ?
Father: he's not at nursery he's a monkey
Ella: monkey eats (ba)nannas

There is also an over-extension and a phonetic analogy:
À 2 ans (enregistrement 104) :
Father: think you should have a small
spoon alright ? [gives a spoon]
Ella: fork

À 2 ans (enregistrement 104) :
Father: d'you like those bikes ?
Ella: yeah
Father: are they good?
Ella: motabike.

Finally, a third and last phase of development takes place between 2; 6 and 3; 7 where we notice that the strong categorization period by which Ella seems to pass between 1; 4 and 2; 5 slows down (we observe much less green on the diagram from 2; 06), and where word meaning uses of words increase (in pink).

The non-literal in Ella's input

A first observation is that the non-literal is rarer in the Forrester corpus than in adult conversation, as one might expect. Kaal (2012)[21] found on average that 7.7% of the words produced in spontaneous conversations among adults were metaphorical in nature (one word out of 13); here we find between 1 and 3% in Ella's interlocutors' speech according to the recordings - that is 4 to 18% of figurative statements.

This is not surprising since adults are known to adapt their speech when addressing a child. Moreover, as one might expect, if we try to differentiate between the discourse addressed to Ella and the discourse that is not addressed to her, we notice that more non-literal forms are produced when Ella's interlocutors converse with each other.

The proportion of non-literal language in the speech addressed to Ella seems greater than in that which is not addressed to him at two periods (from 1; 11 to 2; 6 and 2; 11 to 3; 3): this is explained by the fact that Ella is alone in interaction with her father and that her mother and sister are only passing for a few minutes during the recording.

Thus, when the other members of Ella's family are present in the interaction, more non-literal forms are addressed to them than to Ella - especially at the very beginning of the corpus, when Ella is older. one year to 1; 10. This is because Mike and Silvia Forrester often talk about other things than meals and food, while conversations between Ella and her father often focus on these topics. From 2; 6, the difference between the number of figurative forms addressed and non-addressed to Ella is less flagrant. There is very little difference between the number of non-literal forms addressed to the child (477 out of 930) and the number of non-literal forms not addressed to the child (453 out of 930) during the twenty-four recordings. A slight difference lies in the diversity of forms used: 127 different non-literal forms are addressed to Ella, against 187 when its interlocutors talk to each other (see Appendices 2 and 3 for details of these forms). At this point, it is interesting to return to the most common non-literal forms found in Ella's discourse, pronounced between 6 and 17 times each, since they are among the most common figurative forms in his input, and more particularly in the discourse

addressed to him. It's about then, have (see I'm having my cocopops), big (see big girl, big brother) and little (see making a little quiet noise):

Table 1. Non-literal forms produced by Ella and their number of occurrences in her speech and that of her interlocutors

	Number of occurrences in Ella's speech	Number of occurrences in Ella's input
Then	17	169
Have	9	50
Little	7	21
big	6	23

It is interesting to note that these terms are very common terms in English, so the argument of Pragglejaz Group (2007) is verified here: some words are used more figuratively than literally; and this has an impact on the productions of the child who uses them in this way from an early age. That said, it is highly probable that Ella is not aware of the figurative use of these terms in her input and that this nascent metaphoricity is therefore not deliberate. This does not mean that all the terms used in a non-literal way by Ella were produced by accident: all the situations of menan play to the non-literal (cf Jimby's crying now, I got a swimming pool) , as well as all the comparisons (see it's like a rainbow) and all the surface analogies (see she's a monster, it's [toast] diamond shape) that Ella produces are deliberate non-legal language instances.

Discussion

It is difficult to draw a sketch of non-literal development in children based on an exploratory study. Nevertheless, we can summarize the results of analyses of Ella's speech as follows:

From this study, we will retain two salient parameters for the development of non-literal language in child categorization. The non-literal forms identified in Ella's discourse refer directly to those of her literal input majority in the discourse of her interlocutors, are the first non-literal forms that Ella pronounces. The terms and most frequently in the corpus are also those that are most frequent in its input:

Input :	Ella :
- *she'll have some* (enr.53, 1 an) - *no you can't have that you ain't finished your first,* *it's the same as what you're having* - *here you are darling, have some* - *shall we have some egg ?* (enr.77, 1;5) - *I'll have some tea* (enr.85, 1;7)	- *I wanna hab it* [crumble qu'elle a fait tomber - *I want to have some cereal* - *I want have some marmite* - *I'm having my cocopops* - *I had one already* [vitamin *non-littéral dans le discours d'Ella*
Input : - *oh she's big* [peut manger toute seule - *oh she's very big and very very good* - *for a very very big girl* (enr.85, 1;7 ans) - *tell her Eva if you're a big girl or a baby* - *you are a very good big girl* (enr.120, 2;5) - *oh you're very big girl* (enr.126, 2;6)	Ella : - *a big girl* (enr.108, 2;1) - *Ella big girl* (enr.120, 2;5) - *I like teletubbies an I'm xx* (enr.126, 2;6)
À 3;7 (enregistrement 198) : 538. Mother: *I mean if I decide to go by myself* […] **754. Ella: *I can eat*** **756. Ella: *all by myself*** 758. Father: *oh that's pretty good* **760. Ella: *eh all by myself*** […] **778. Ella: *and eat all by myself*** 780. Father: *very good*	À 3;7 (enregistrement 198) : 1110. Mother: *can I get hold of a pen quickly ?* 1112. Mother: *there you go* **1114. Ella: *here we go***

These examples show the close relationship between Ella's input and her non-literal productions. The terms

have in the sense to eat and big in the sense old or old enough are adopted from the age of 2 years. Very few times are immediate, or visible within the same recording, like the rehearsals of there you go and by myself: nonliteral productions of parents appear in Ella's discourse over recordings. It is therefore more often remote remakes. There is a creative revival of there you go previously, by here we go, which is a variant of the first expression, also produced by the parents in the corpus.

Conclusion

This first exploratory study revealed that nonliteral language could be identified in the input and speech of a child on a daily basis between the ages of one and three years and seven months. In the Forrester corpus, the first non-literal childish instances appear at the age of two, but it is very difficult to pronounce on the development or implementation of the non-literal. The study of a single child does not make it possible to formulate large conclusions and one can easily imagine that many parameters are at work past the age of 3; 7 from the point of view of the acquisition of the lexicon but also of the point of view of the cognitive development of the child. Having found very few non-literal instances in Ella's speech (127 occurrences for 10:30 recording, 5200 utterances and 12500 words), children aged seven, eleven and fifteen. But before going further in this developmental perspective on language acquisition, let's turn to the second exploratory study of foreign-language learners in universities.

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