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METAPHORIC GESTURES AND VIEWPOINT IN COMING OUT NARRATIVES: A FRAME-LEVEL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates viewpoint phenomena in metaphoric gestures in coming out narratives at the level of frames. It aims to answer the questions of whether there is any correlation between a given semantic frame (volitional coming out / being forced to come out) and the viewpoint taken in a metaphoric gesture (either observer or character viewpoint). Additionally, this paper aims to present a qualitative analysis of selected examples from a dataset to show how viewpoint can be expressed gesturally. So far, the topic of viewpoint in gestures has been extensively researched in the context of iconic gestures, and ample space remains for analyses of viewpointed metaphoric gestures. For the present analysis, 32 videos taken from YouTube were used, 749 gestures were found, with 363 of them being metaphoric. To the quantitative end, the results from the analysis do not show any relationship between the semantic frames and types of viewpoints.

Keywords: Viewpoint; metaphoric gesture; conceptual frame; conceptual metaphor.

1. Introduction

Viewpoint is defined quite broadly as the standpoint from which something is seen (e.g., Langacker 1991), which presupposes the active role of the conceptualizer in the process of perceiving something from a particular location in space. It is intuitively assumed that viewpoint is always present in conceptualization because objects and events are always seen from *some* perspective. In this article it is claimed that although viewpoint can be analyzed in many different modalities (e.g., Dancygier, Lu & Verhagen 2016), the feasibility of this task depends, as will be argued later, on the ontological organization of a given element of the conceptual structure, in this case a

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conceptual frame, understood as one of the levels at which metaphor can be analyzed (Kövecses 2017, 2020). In this article, I show how the ontological organization of given frames works in the context of viewpoint phenomena in gestures. To do so, two frames were chosen: volitional coming out (volitional revealing of one's sexual orientation and/or gender identity) and being outed/forced to come out (revealing somebody else's sexual orientation and/or gender identity or forcing somebody to do so). Both were previously analyzed in Dyrmo (2022a) in the verbal mode. In this analysis, the aim is to investigate the workings of viewpoint in gestures, particularly in metaphoric gestures. For the clarity of argumentation and exposition, the concept of viewpoint, as well as metaphoric gesture and conceptual frames, are defined in the next section of this paper. Next, the main research question and hypothesis are provided, followed by the gesture identification procedure, results, discussion, and tentative conclusions.

Before we proceed with explaining the theoretical background for this study, it is important to reflect on 'coming out' in a broader context. In his pioneering study of coming out from a sociological perspective, Brown (2000) admits the metaphorical character of coming out by saying that 'being placed figuratively into a closet, gay men and lesbians are margnalised' (2000: 2), later explicitly linking the metaphorical meaning of the phrase to the social reality of those directly affected by the metaphor, namely that: 'closet is not always *just* a rhetorical flourish; that it is a manifestation of heteronormative and homophobic powers in time–space' (Brown 2000: 3). In this way, Brown notices the duality of the metaphor: on the one hand, it is a piece of figurative language that may be easily brushed off as insignificant, yet on the other still is significant enough to impact peoples' social functioning. Later analyses of coming out approach the topic quite similarly. For example, in Chirrey's study of speech acts in coming out (2003, but see also Chirrey 2020), it is explicitly acknowledged that '[c]oming-out speech acts, as with all aspects of gay and lesbian lives and lifestyles, are not supported by (such social, cultural and institutional sanctions' (Chirrey 2003: 30). It means that heteronormative social standards accommodate neither coming out as a pragmatic action at a linguistic level, nor the lives of people who fall out of the heteronormative norm. This sentiment is the starting point for linguistic analyses both in Queer Linguistics and Queer Cognitive Linguistics (e.g., Motschenbacher & Stegu 2013, Dyrmo 2022c). In both of these approaches, the normative social, psychological, and linguistic attitudes are questioned, bringing into focus the non- prototypical and often not socially salient categories and conceptualizations. With this in mind, the present study aims, although necessarily only in passing, to highlight the non-normative social realities that often surface in coming out narratives, both at the level of language and gesture.

2. Viewpoint

2.1. Conceptual viewpoint

At the conceptual level, viewpoint can be seen as the element of a perspectival system referring to the point from which a given scene is viewed (Evans 2007: 126). More specifically, conceptual viewpoint 'can refer to a mental representation based on visual perception of a current physical location' (Parrill 2012: 98). Moreover, conceptual viewpoint is argued to be constructed via mental simulations, which are in turn based on the mental imagery of a language user (see e.g., Zwaan 2008). Like conceptual metaphors manifesting cross-modally, conceptual viewpoint has its modality-bound manifestations, referred to as the linguistic viewpoint and the gestural viewpoint. Hart & Queralto (2021) observe that these modalities have different affordances. These affordances, they say, may influence the elements of construal, that is, how metaphorical a given interpretation is depends on the nature of a given modality and what this modality allows for (2021: 554). The discussion in the next subsection will be limited to the gestural viewpoint, which is the focus of this paper.

2.2. Gestural viewpoint

The notion of gestural viewpoint was first introduced and explained by McNeill (see 2000, elaborated on in 2005 and later publications). According to McNeill, there are two main typesof gestural viewpoint: character viewpoint and observer viewpoint. Broadly speaking, in the character viewpoint 'the hands(s) represent the character's hands,' whereas in the observer viewpoint 'the hand(s) represent one or more of the entities in the narration' (McNeill 2005: 34). The notion of gestural viewpoint has become one of the central points in gesture research due to its vital role in conceptualization (see Dancygier, Lu & Verhagen 2016). The development of research focused on viewpoint phenomena in gesture is presented in the next two subsections.

2.2.1. Character viewpoint

From McNeill's definition given above, we know that in character-viewpoint gestures the hands of the gesturer are taken to be the hands of the character of the story. Brown, in her cross-linguistic study of gesture, defines character-viewpoint gestures as those presenting events as if 'experienced by the protagonist, and the hands represent the hands of the protagonist' (Brown 2008: 251). This definition is similar to the one given by McNeill. Yet Brown is more specific in her discussion of gestural viewpoint and provides a list of criteria that

she used to identify character viewpoint in iconic gestures. Character viewpoint iconic gestures are thus sagittal (from back to front), enacted and bimanual. Parrill (2009) defines character-viewpoint gestures as 'internal gestures' (2009: 272) in which 'narrators use their own bodies in depicting an event' (2009: 272), hinting at the more immersed nature of the story character. In Parrill, Bullen & Hoburg (2010) a pertinent definition is given: character viewpoint gestures are those 'in which the participant took on the role of the character, using his or her own body as the character's body' (2010: 3134). Another set of features characterizing character viewpoint gestures was offered by Gerofsky (2010). In her study, character viewpoint gestures were defined as proximal, fast, with no accompanying eye-tracking, yet with the spine engaged. This accords with the fact that, as noticed by Gerofsky herself, 'character viewpoint is associated with a deeply imaginative, personal involvement in a narrative' (2010: 324). In a later study by Parrill (2011), character viewpoint gestures are seen from a similar perspective: a gesturer that manually depicts an event or an object from a character viewpoint 'has projected her consciousness in the story-world', which suggests that the mental representation that prompted the character-viewpoint gesture must necessarily be different from the one that would potentially prompt a more distanced observer viewpoint (see the next section for details). A slightly different take is offered by Debreslioska et al. (2013). For them, character viewpoint in gesture means that 'the speaker seems to assume the insider's perspective as her body becomes part of the gesture space' (2013: 436). Quinto-Pozos and Parrill (2015), in their study of signs and co-speech gestures, defined character-viewpoint gestures as those which 'portray the actions of a character via the speaker's movement and displays of affect' (2015: 13), for the first time paying explicit attention to the notion of affect in the gestural viewpoint. An informative definition of character-viewpoint gestures is given in yet another study by Parrill et al. (2016), in which linguistic, cinematic, and gestural viewpoints were analyzed. There, character-viewpoint gestures 'are enactive in the sense that they map the character's body into the gesturer's body so that the gesturer's bodyparts are the character's body parts, however schematically' (2016: 7). The first mention of viewpoint in metaphoric gestures is made by Guilbeault (2017) in the study of Obama's speeches. It is mentioned in the study, although rather in passing, that 'Obama's CVP (character viewpoint gestures) are a metaphorical depiction of unmasking and dismissing, where ideas are treated as tangible and moveable objects in the gestural space' (2017: 9), returning to the idea of the conduit metaphor first described by Reddy (1993 [1979]). Despite this allusion to viewpoint and metaphor, how the character viewpoint is defined in the context of metaphoric gestures is not explicitly stated.

From the overview of the definitions offered above we can infer that character viewpoint gestures recruit the notion of an *embodied enactment* of the character: the hands of the speaker embody the character and enact the actions of the character within a narrative. Enactment here is understood as 'schematic versions of instrumental acts' (Streeck 2009: 111), which are supposed to realize 'some pattern of action (…) in order to characterize an action or an object involved in it' (2009: 121). Enactments are, therefore, necessarily schematized movement patterns that make certain elements of a given gesture 'more salient and distinctive' (Bressem & Wegener 2021: 223), which is visible in recurrent gestures, especially Palm-Up- Open-Hand gestures, where the hands of the speaker manipulate metaphorical objects in the gestural space (e.g., Ladewig & Bressem 2013, Bressem & Müller 2017, Dyrmo 2022a).

2.2.2. Observer viewpoint

According to McNeill's original definition, the observer viewpoint involves the movement of not the story character themselves, but some other entity within the narrative. For Brown (2008) in her cross-linguistic study, observer viewpoint gestures show that 'the event is depicted in third person, as it was observed by the speaker, and the hands represent whole entities' (2008: 258). She is also explicit about the criteria for the observer viewpoint in gesture: gestures are usually lateral, do not involve enactment, and are one-handed (2008: 264). For Parrill (2009), in turn, analogously to the previously described character viewpoint gestures, observer viewpoint gestures are 'external gestures' (2009: 273) in the sense that these 'depict an action as though observing it from afar' (2009: 273). For Gerofsky (2010), observer viewpoint gestures are seen as involving 'a more distanced, detached stance' (2010: 324), meaning that gestures from this category are 'within sight, distal, without acceleration, with eye tracking and not engaging the spine' (2010: 332). In yet another study by Parrill (2011), the notion of distance is hinted at once again: observer viewpoint gestures involve 'depict[ing] (…) actions in the space in front of their bodies, as though observing events from a distance' (2011: 62). Debreslioska et al. (2013) approach the notion of observer viewpoint gestures in a similar way by saying that they 'do not contain any enactment (…)', meaning that 'the speaker seems to be looking onto the scene from the outside in contrast to being part of it' (2013: 436). This definition is echoed in the study by Quinto-Poroz and Parrill (2015), in which they once again evoke the notion of distance: 'signers and gesturers can choose to describe events from the point of view of an observer outside the scene' (2015: 13), meaning here that observer viewpoint gestures 'depict entire characters (or objects) and their movements in a smaller scale' (2015: 13). In a more recent study, Parrill et al. (2016), investigated linguistic, gestural, and cinematographic viewpoints. For

them, 'observer viewpoint gestures schematically condense information onto one or two dimensions, e.g., trajectory and/or manner' (2016: 7). Finally, Guilbeault (2017) in his study approaches observer viewpoint gestures as those that leave the speaker outside of the scene (2017: 5), evoking once again the notion of distance.

This overview of definitions on observer viewpoint gestures lets us conclude that gestures that involve the observer viewpoint are necessarily different from the character viewpoint in terms of their so-called *conceptual distance*, which will be defined akin to Langacker's notion of distance, meaning 'a person's assessment of his relations to other sorts of entities' (1991: 248). More specifically, this can be compared with Chilton's (2014) use of distance, where distance means 'conceptual distance along the scale, grounded in psychological and linguistic considerations'(2014: 31).

3. Metaphoric gestures

Metaphoric gestures, unlike iconic gestures, 'present an abstract idea, not a concrete object or event' (McNeill & Levy 1993: 367). One of the many metaphors that can be gesturally enacted is the conduit metaphor, described at length by Reddy (1993 [1979]). In this metaphor, communication is seen as a transfer of objects. In gesture, it is realized by a 'cupped hand which seems to contain the narrative (…) and offer[s] it to the listener' (McNeill & Levy 1993: 367). This metaphor is also visible in the data analyzed in the present paper. A comprehensive treatment to the notion of metaphoric gesture has been given by Cienki & Müller (2008). Following Müller (1998) and McNeill (1992), Cienki (2008) notes that 'iconic and metaphoric gestures are in fact both equally iconic signs, but what distinguishes them is whether they are depicting the referent itself' (2008: 8). Moreover, metaphoric gestures are often seen as speech co-expressive, meaning that they 'frequently reflect aspects of conceptualisation encoded by the verbal expression they accompany' (Hart & Winter 2022: 3). This assumption is reflected in the later analysis of metaphoric gestures proposed by Cienki (2017) and used in this paper to identify metaphoric gestures. Metaphor can be expressed gesturally not only via representational co-speech gestures (gestures that represent concrete or abstract entities alongside speech), but also in beat gestures (dynamic gestures usually delivered by one hand to accentuate prosodic patterns of speech) and pantomimes, for example people enacting shooting without firing bullets (see Gibbs & Chen 2018; Gibbs 2021). The focus of this paper will remain on the representational gestures.

The issue that has been gaining weight in research on metaphoric gestures is their fuzzy character. It has been noted that 'metaphoric gestures iconically represent the experiential source domain of a conceptual metaphor' (Lewis & Stickles 2017: 3, emphasis mine). Beattie also alludes to the iconic character of

metaphoric gestures, saying that 'they are essentially pictorial, but the content depicted is an abstract idea' (2017: 66). Metaphoric gestures, in contrast to iconic gestures usually studied in the context of viewpoint phenomena, present abstract concepts as objects that occupy some place in the gestural space of the speaker. In a discussion of iconic and metaphoric gestures, Cooperrider & Goldin-Meadow (2017) say that in iconic gestures 'space represents space' and in metaphoric gestures 'space represents non-space' (2017: 723). They contrast the gesture of showing the size of an object (iconic) with the gesture of two hands representing size to denote importance (metaphorical). Notably, as noted by Stevens & Harrison (2017), it is speechthat gives the gesture its metaphorical character: '[t]he gesture itself, however, remains a physical action that, when interfaced with the verbal utterance, becomes metaphorical' (2017: 446). This assumption is reflected in the metaphor identification guidelines for gesture, proposed by Cienki (2017) and used analytically in this study to identify metaphoric gestures(see Section 3 for details).

It seems therefore that the main difference between metaphoric and iconic gestures here is not that metaphoric gestures cannot depict objects, but that they depict objects that are not physically real. Jelec & Kraśnicka (2022) explicitly suggest that the metaphorical relationship between gesture and speech is true only for abstract concepts, meaning the gesture cannot be metaphoric if speech is non-metaphoric. Given the pertinent similarities between these two kinds of gestures, I assume that metaphoric gestures may also express viewpoint, much as iconic gestures. Yet the difference is that what allows for viewpoint phenomena to take place is the internal ontological organization of a given mental structure within which viewpoint is analyzed. In this study, frame is taken as the optimal level of mental representation for investigating viewpoint. What is meant by a conceptual frame and its ontological organization is elaborated upon in the next subsection.

4. Frames

Fillmore defines frames as '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' (Fillmore 1982: 111). As has been recently argued by Kövecses (e.g., 2017, 2020), frames, alongside image schemas, domains and scenarios, can be one of the levels at which metaphors are analyzed. Accordingly, '(…) it is best to think of conceptual metaphors as simultaneously involving conceptual structures, or units, on several distinct levels of schematicity' (Kövecses 2020: 51). This assumption allows us to consider frames as constitutive elements of metaphors and make a link between these two mental phenomena. Moreover, frames comprise stable frame-internal elements – roles, such as THEME, PATIENT, or

AGENT and relations between the roles, which in this study constitute the ontology (ontological structure) of a given frame. In the coming out context, I analyze two frames: volitional coming out and outing/being forced to come out. Both are explained below, with their respective ontologies, based on the linguistic analysis by Dyrmo (2022a). In a very general sense, the frame of coming out allows less specific metaphorical mappings to emerge: EXISTENCE IS LOCATION OUT OF THE CONTAINER and CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. When someone is in the closet, their real orientation/gender is hidden, and when they reveal their secret, they metaphorically change their location. It must be acknowledged here that these frames constitute generalizations over experience and are likely to be more complex than they are described to be. Yet they are operationalized as binary for the sake of the quantitative analysis of the data, hence a clear-cut division between the volitional coming out frame and the outing/being forced to come out frame.

4.1.1. Frame 1: Volitional coming out

Volitional coming out stands here for the situation in which a person who wants to come out does so out of their own volition. Volitional coming out consists of the following roles and relations: the PATIENT comes out to the GOAL on their own volition, without any force acting upon the PATIENT, as in the following linguistic example: *When I came out, I knew my parents would have no problems with it* (from Dyrmo, 2022b). From the ontology of this frame, it can be hypothesized that gestures that are produced within its context will be more of the nature of the character viewpoint (CV) than the observer viewpoint (OV) due to the salient, immersive agentive role of the conceptualizer in the process of coming out.

4.1.2. Frame 2: Outing/being forced to come out

Outing/being forced to come out means here such a situation in which a person is outed by someone else without their own express consent or is forced to reveal their sexual orientation/gender identity against their volition. The frame of outing/being forced to come out is built on the following ontology: the AGENT outs the THEME, which is visible in the linguistic example *I was outed by my sister* (Dyrmo 2022b), with an additional element of force, as in the example *I was forced to come out* (Dyrmo 2022b). In the context of this ontology, it is hypothesized that the gestures produced within this frame will be more ofthe observer viewpoint (OV) than character viewpoint (CV) due to the passive, distanced and non-agentive role of the conceptualizer in the process of the outing.

4.1.3. Identification of frames

Frames were identified following their respective definitions (see above for details). For a frame to be classified as volitional coming out, the speakers needed to use lexemes connected with their own coming out (most notably, the first-person personal pronoun *I*, followed by a phrase *coming out* or a lexical item similar in meaning). For a frame to be classified as outing / being forced to come out, the speakers needed to use the lexemes suggesting that they were outed or forced to come out (most notably, the third-person personal pronoun, *he*, *she*, *they*, or a proper noun, suggesting a name or kinship term, or a verb expressing lack of agency, such as *force(d)*, *made*, *out(ed)*. In some cases, a negation of the first-person pronoun was also considered as indicating this frame).

5. Materials and selection procedure for gestures

For the present analysis, 32 videos taken from YouTube were used. The videos were downloaded from the website alongside the automatically generated transcripts, which were later checked for accuracy. I searched the YouTube search engine with the phrase '(my) coming out story'. To be included in the dataset, videos needed to be monologues recorded in English, with only one person in the video in the central frame, and with the gestures clearly visible, with no major cuts throughout the whole video. Minor editing cuts were considered unavoidable, and with a minimal impact on the coherence of the narratives. It must be stressed at this point that the homogeneity of the speakers in terms of their country of origin and native language cannot be guaranteed to the fullest degree. The unifying factor for all the analyzed videos is that they all concern coming out as the focal element of the narratives.

Before gestures were analyzed, every video had been searched for micronarratives concerning either volitional coming out (Frame 1) or outing / being forced to come out (Frame 2). A micronarrative is, following Jelec & Fabiszak's (2019) definition, 'one or more clauses on a single topic, where meaning is created or co-created by one or more speakers' (2019: 2). I opted for using a micronarrative as a unit of data rather than simply the phrase 'coming out' as micronarratives allow for more flexibility in terms of what can be identified as a frame. In a sense, a micronarrative is more akin to a frame than individual phrases pertaining to a frame because micronarratives can be richer in content. 151 micronarratives were identified within the analyzed data, with 115 corresponding to Frame 1, and 36 to Frame 2. The cumulative length of the micronarratives was 1 hour 6 minutes and 55 seconds, with the shortest being 4 seconds long and the longest 146 seconds long. 28 of the micronarratives were discarded from the analysis because they did not contain any gestures, leaving

123 for further inspection. After the micronarratives were identified, I looked for metaphoric gestures withinthem, following guidelines for identifying metaphors in gesture.

5.1. Identification of metaphoric gestures

The identification of metaphoric gestures is aided in this paper by Cienki's (2017) metaphor identification guidelines for gestures (MIG-G). The guidelines are as follows (2017: 137):

1. Identify the gestures strokes, meaning the most effortful parts of the gestures
2. Describe the form features of each stroke according to handshape, orientation,movement, and location in [the] gesture space
3. Identify if the gesture serves any referential function (is iconic or metaphoric)
4. Identify the mode(s) of representation, meaning (1) enacting, (2) embodying, (3)holding/touching or (4) tracing
5. Identify the physical referent(s) depicted in gestures
6. Identify the contextual topic being referenced in speech
7. Identify if there's any resemblance in experience to the referent depicted via gesture. If yes, the gesture is marked as metaphoric.

In total, 749 gestures were found, with 363 of them being metaphoric. In terms of viewpoint, 308 of them were metaphoric gestures expressing character viewpoint and 55 of them observer viewpoint. Thequantitative results in Section 4, comprising the number of instances of a given viewpoint in Frame 1 and 2 respectively, are followed by some qualitative insights into the nature of viewpoint in the metaphoric gestures.

5.2. Viewpoint identification procedure

To identify the viewpoint, the criteria employed by Brown (2008) were used. For a gesture be classified as expressing character viewpoint, it needed to be sagittal (the movement away from the body), should enact an instrumental action, and be bimanual. For a gesture to be classified as expressing observer viewpoint, it needed to be lateral (from right to left), with no salient enactment and one-handed. It needs to be stressed here that the identification criteria proposed by Brown were used to identify iconic but not metaphoric gestures. Therefore, some modifications to the procedures were made. Following the definition of embodied enactment provided earlier, I assumed that the enactment criterion and the distinction between the sagittal-lateral axis of

movement are more important than the criterion of handedness as they directly refer to the articulatory features of a gesture, not to the number of articulators used in a particular gesture (see e.g., Bressem & Ladewig 2011 and Cienki 2021, who do not include the number of articulators in the list of articulatory features). Therefore, while deciding on the type of viewpoint expressed by a gesture, if the two were present (i.e., the gesture was sagittal and enacted), but the handedness criterion was absent (i.e., the gesture was one-handed), I nevertheless classified a gesture as one of characterviewpoint.

6. Results

6.1. Quantitative results

Table 1. below presents types of gestures found in the analyzed sample, categorized broadly into metaphoric and non-metaphoric gestures. Metaphoric gestures were identified according to MIG-G, whereas non-metaphoric gestures were all those that did not meet the criteria specified in the identification procedure.

Table 1. Types of gestures found in the analyzed dataset

Type of gesture	Number of gestures in the analyzed sample
metaphoric	363
non-metaphoric	386
total	749

Table 2. Number of CV and OV gestures in respective frames

	Frame 1: volitional comingout	Frame 2: outing / being forced to come out
Character viewpoint gestures	255	53
Observer viewpoint gestures	45	10
Summed	300	63

Table 2 shows the number of character and observer viewpoint gestures and the respective frames. There is a visible disproportion between OV gestures and CV

gestures, with the latter comprising one-fourth of the whole CV gesture set, showing that CV gestures are used more often in the analyzed set in the coming out context than OV gestures. Interestingly, the same is true for both analyzed frames.

Table 3. Strength of correlation between CV and OV gestures and respective frames with the corresponding *p*-values

Correlation between	Crammer's V	*p*-value
Hypothesis 1: CV gestures are more frequent in Frame 1 (volitional coming out)	.009	.861
Hypothesis 2: OV gestures are more frequent in Frame 2 (outing / being forced to come out)	.009	.861

The above table presents the strength of correlation between CV and OV gestures and Frame 1 and Frame 2, indicated by Crammer's correlation coefficient (Crammer's *V*) calculated in SPSS with the corresponding level of probability for the correlations (*p*-value). The results of the analysis indicate that there is no correlation in the analyzed sample, neither between CV gestures and the volitional coming out frame, nor between OV gestures in the outing / being forced to come out frame, altogether disconfirming both assumed hypotheses. Although the disproportion between viewpoints in gesture is noticeable (see Table 2), it does not translate into significant differences when frames are taken into consideration. Some explanation of these results will be offered in the later part of the paper.

6.2. Qualitative results

This section shows how viewpoint interacts with metaphoricity expressed gesturally both in the volitional coming out frame and the outing / being forced to come out frame, accompanied by the character and the observer viewpoint. First, four examples found in the volitional coming out frame are presented, followed by the next four in the outing / being forced to come out frame.

6.2.1. Viewpoint in the volitional coming out frame (Frame 1)

6.2.1.1. Character viewpoint gestures

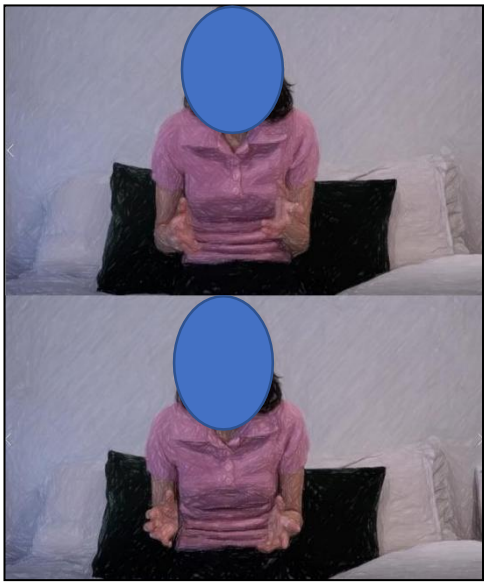

Figure 1. CV-accompanied gestures in the volitional coming out frame. Verbal content: 'The first person that I came out to...'

In the above gesture, the speaker holds both hands parallel to each other, as if holding a relatively big object in their hands, which is reflective of the metaphor COMING OUT IS SHOWING AN OBJECT, and more precisely IDENTITY OF THE LGBT+ PERSON IS AN OBJECT, already attested in the multimodal data (see Dyrmo 2022a). The gesture is based on the manipulation of the metaphorical object, reflecting the OBJECT image schema, hypothesized to be the foundation of metaphorical conceptualization (see Szwedek 2014). Viewpoint-wise, the gesture is performed in such a way that the agentive role of the speaker is highlighted: the speaker themselves manipulates the object, holding it for inspection for the audience to see and potentially accept. This seems to be confirmed by the duration of the gesture: the gesture is maintained for as long as 2 seconds. We can assume that the longer a gesture is held, the more prominent its role is, especially when the gesture is maintained in the same position for the duration of a longer stretch of speech. This might suggest that the speaker wants the interlocutors to properly see the metaphorical object, which in turn is a manifest example ofthe KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor.

Figure 2. CV-accompanied gesture in the volitional coming out frame. Verbal content: ‘I eventually came out to them’.

The gesture in Fig. 2 above is motivated by a similar concept to the previous gesture. The conceptual similarity of the gesture stems from the same conceptual structure used to gesturally express coming out: manipulation of a metaphorical object, reflecting once again the OBJECT image schema and prompting the metaphor COMING OUT IS SHOWING AN OBJECT. Unlike the previous gesture, however, the gesture in Fig 2. is form-wise expressed via the so-called Palm-Up Open Hand (PUOH) gesture. PUOH gestures have been extensively researched (e.g., Chui 2017; Cienki 2021; Rodríguez 2022) and they are generally taken to be ‘derived from the action of giving, showing, offering an object to another person by presenting it on the open hand’ (Bressem 2021: 75). The way these gestures are derived from the manual actions performed by the agent themselves lets us assume that they might most often occur accompanied by CV gestures than in OV gestures. Notably, the formal difference between this gesture and the gesture in Fig. 1 suggests that the characteristics of a gesture may reflect the difference in conceptualization. It is possible that the metaphorical object in Fig. 1 is conceptualized as bigger, hence held in both hands, whereas the one in Fig 2. as smaller, held on one hand. This relationship between form and meaning has already been documented in

language (Hiraga 2005) and summarized as 'difference in meaning is difference in form' and 'similarity in meaning is similarity in form' (2005: 176). This observation merits, however, some more detailed investigation.

6.2.1.2. Observer viewpoint gestures

Figure 3. OV-accompanied gesture in the volitional coming out frame. Verbal content: 'It[coming out] propelled me to new heights'

The form of the gesture is different from the two previous examples: here, the speaker uses one hand to illustrate the concept of height, already present in the speech. In speech, the concept of propulsion is signaled, and the sentence receives a positive meaning. The hand starts from the mid-chest position and goes up, likely reflecting the generic metaphor GOOD IS UP. As far as the viewpoint is concerned, here the gesture expresses an observer viewpoint. Observer viewpoint in this example is made manifest specifically by the speaker's eye-tracking, meaning the speaker's gaze following the gesture, one of the criteria for observer viewpoint established by Gerofsky (2010). Moreover, the gesture form is different than those presented in Fig 1. and Fig 2., despite being produced in the same frame. Here, the hand does not manipulate any imaginary object, but is used to trace the trajectory of an imaginary movement (the effect of propulsion mentioned in the speech), which is a schematic representation of moving upwards.

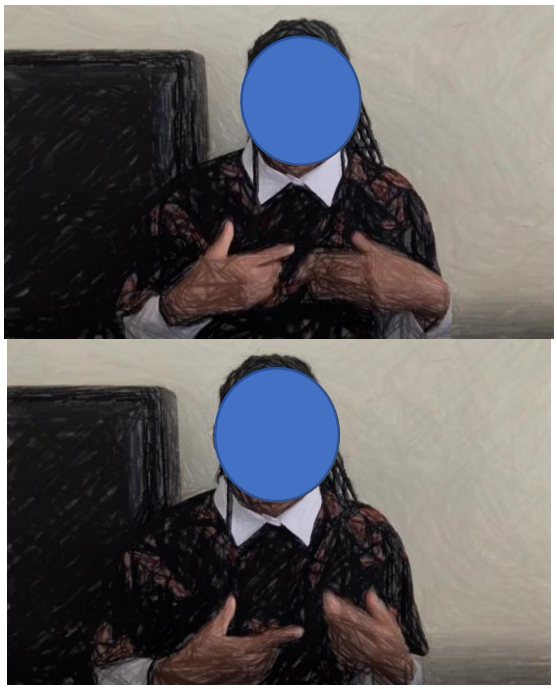

Figure 4. OV-accompanied gesture in the volitional coming out frame.
Verbal content: 'I had to tell my boyfriend'

The gesture in Figure 4 is a cyclical gesture, representing iteration. Cyclical gestures express 'continuous actions and events' (Ladewig 2014: 1606), which can apply to coming out more broadly (e.g., Dyrmo 2022a). The gesture is thus illustrative of the metaphor COMING OUT IS A PROCESS. Interestingly, the particular element of coming out is not manifest in the speech, and it is the gesture that directly highlights the continuous character of the coming out. In the context ofviewpoint, the above gesture depicts an action from the perspective of an observer, meaning that the speaker is not involved in the action, but rather the hands of the speaker trace the trajectory of movement, similarly to the gesture in Figure 3 above, creating a more distanced imagery than those presented in Figs 1. and 3., where the speakers gesturally manipulate an abstract object.

6.2.2. Viewpoint in the outing / being forced to come out (Frame 2)

6.2.2.1. Character viewpoint gestures

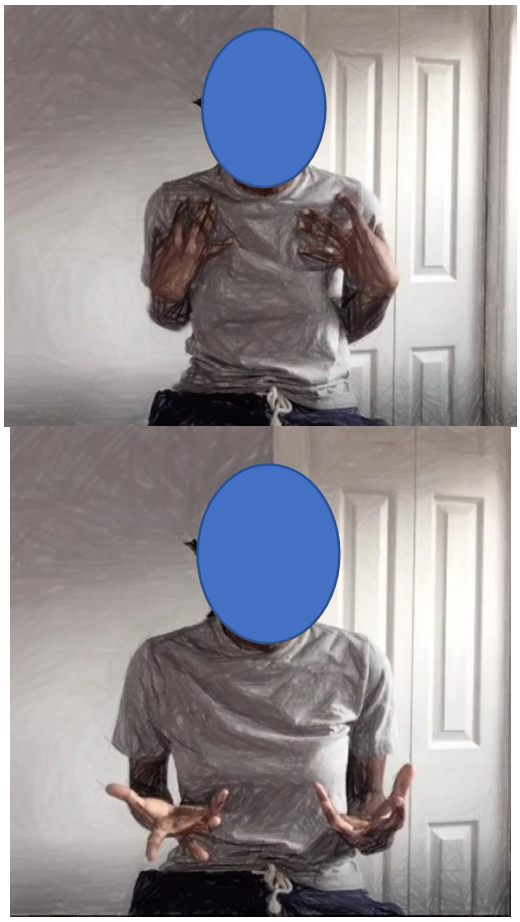

Figure 5. CV-accompanied gesture in the outing / being forced to come out frame. Verbal content: 'I didn't choose to come out'

Formally, this gesture is similar to the PUOH gesture described in the previous section, with the difference in the handshape. Here, both hands are a little bit cupped, as if accommodating two separate objects, with a slightly tighter grip. Notably, the gesture starts in the chest position of the speaker, which signifies the onset of the gestural excursion, motivated directly by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. In this gesture, the chest is the source, and the stroke ends at the goal. The stroke of the gesture is based on the manipulation of an object,

specifically enacting the metaphor IDENTITY IS AN OBJECT, which is a direct entailment of the metaphor OUTING IS SHOWING AN OBJECT. It is interesting to note that the gesture actually highlights – via the CV viewpoint – the agentive role of the speaker, which mismatches with the message conveyed in the speech. This shows that the perspective conveyed grammatically in speech (expressed by the 1st person pronoun *I*) does not have to necessarily coincide with the viewpoint expressed gesturally.

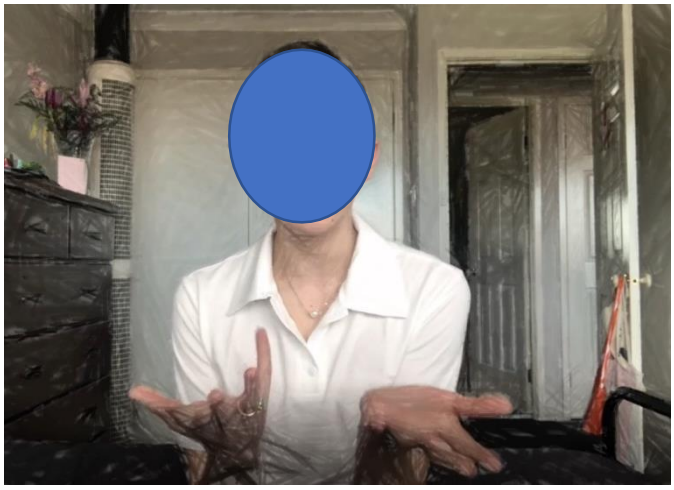

Figure 6. CV-accompanied gesture in outing / being forced to come out frame. Verbal content: 'You never want your family to do something like that to you'

The gesture, performed when talking about outing, is a two-handed, centrally held objectification-based gesture. The speaker holds both hands parallel to each other, but the handshapes are slightly different. The left hand is a prototypical PUOH gesture, with a flat hand, as if giving a metaphorical object for inspection to the recipient of the message. The right hand is slightly cupped, quite like in the gesture presented in Figure 5 above. These asymmetries in the use of the hand/s are interesting especially in the context of the verbal mode, where the speaker says that outing should never be attempted by family members because it might potentially have harmful effects. A plausible interpretation of the difference in gestural form in the right and left hand is due to the in-between nature of outing itself: it is a forced coming out (holding an object – the right hand, reflective of the metaphor OUTING IS SHOWING AN OBJECT), but a coming out nonetheless (showing / giving an object, illustrative of the metaphor COMING OUT IS GIVING AN OBJECT). This asymmetry in the gestural form may perhaps be attributed to what Cienki and Mittelberg called

'communicative pressure,' meaning 'the impetus to express an idea quickly' (2013: 245), resulting in a creative use of both hands to condense the message.

6.2.2.2. Observer viewpoint gestures

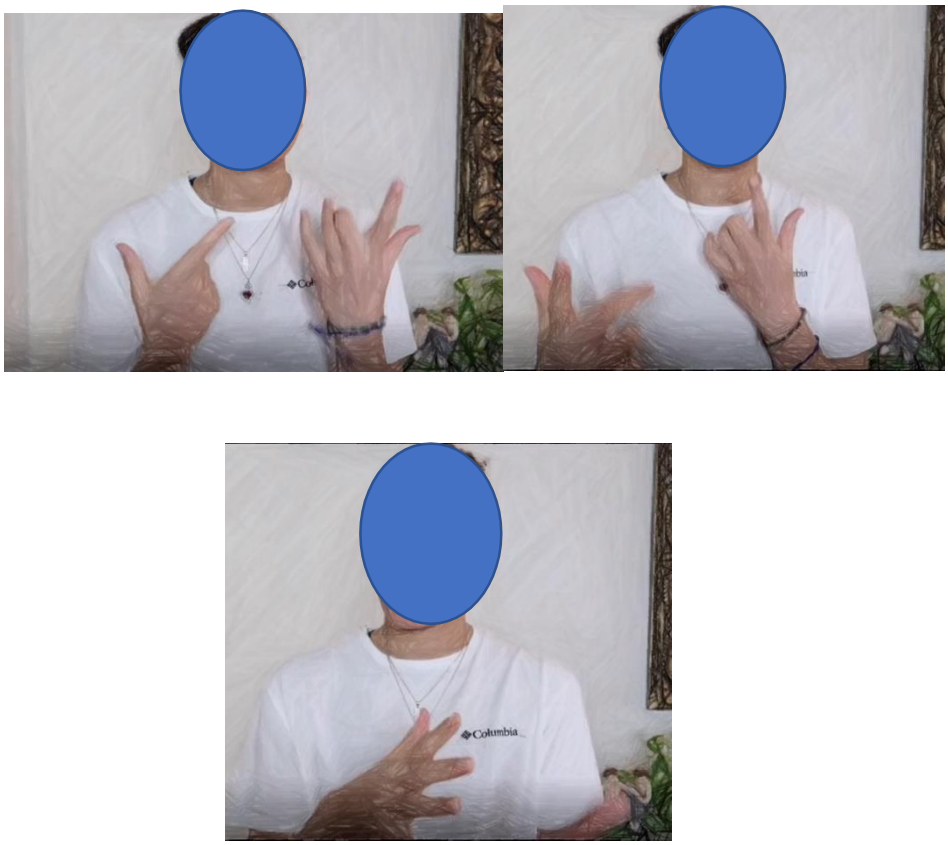

Figure 7. OV-accompanied gesture in the outing / being forced to come out frame. Verbal content: 'I didn't really come out'

The gesture in Fig. 7 above is performed by two hands, although it is not the handshape but the trajectory of motion that is highlighted: the speaker does not enact getting out of the container, which would be characteristic of a more personal character viewpoint, but rather shows the very trajectory of this movement from a more distanced, observer viewpoint, much like the speaker in Figure 3 above used his hand to express the generic metaphor GOOD IS UP. Concept-wise, the gesture represents movement, and thus expresses the metaphor COMING OUT IS LEAVING A CONTAINER, which is a contextualized

metaphor derived from a more generic CHANGE IS FORWARD MOTION metaphor in which purposeful actions are movements in space (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1991). The rationale behind this mapping is that coming out by definition requires the person involved to make a conscious decision, and thus coming out is always purposeful, unless the person is outed.

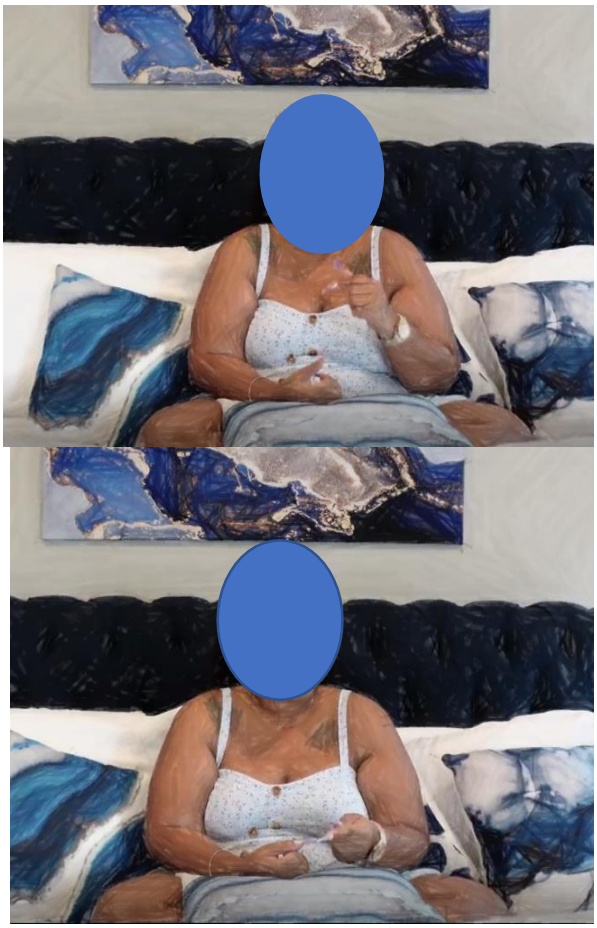

Figure 8. OV-accompanied gesture in the outing / being forced to come out frame. Verbal content: 'I was kinda forced to come out'

The gesture in Figure 8 again highlights the notion of movement, much like the gesture in Figure 7. Here, the gesture is smaller in size and performed only with one hand. The concept that underlies the gesture is similar to the one in the gesture presented in Figure 7: both of them schematize the trajectory of

movement, despite different formal characteristics. The person starts the gesture in the mid-chest position, with one finger protruding, and then makes a small forward movement to the camera. The gesture enacts the metaphor COMING OUT IS LEAVING A CONTAINER but is accompanied verbally by a different message: the speaker admits to being forced to come out. What is also worth observing here is the size of the gesture: unlike all the other gestures in the analyzed sample, it is the only gesture that is one-handed and with relatively minimal motor effort (in comparison, for example, to the gesture in Figure 3, which is additionally eye-tracked), which may be a defining characteristic of the observer viewpoint in metaphoric gestures. Winter, Perlman & Matlock (2013) highlight the relationship between the conceptualization of smallness and gesture: an idea that presupposes smallness is represented with a gesture that requires minimal motor effort and is usually one-handed. This assumption in the context of coming out requires more research.

7. Discussion and conclusions

The study aimed to explore the relationship between the type of viewpoint and one element of conceptual structure: the conceptual frame. Although a noticeable disproportion in terms of character viewpoint gestures and observer viewpoint gestures was found across frames, the study does not establish a correlation between the analyzed frames (volitional coming out, and outing / being forced to come out) and the expressed viewpoint (character viewpoint, and observer viewpoint). Further research in this area should thus use other operational definitions of viewpoint or take a different level of conceptual structure into consideration to check whether there are any differences dependent on the chosen level of conceptual structure and how this choice influences the results.

Quantitatively, the present study seems to go in line with the assumption that narrative- central elements (coming out experiences) prompt character-viewpoint conceptualizations in metaphoric gesture more often than observer-viewpoint conceptualizations (see Table 2). This has already been pointed out by Parrill (2010), who found that character-viewpoint gestures are statistically more frequent than observer-viewpoint gestures when accompanying elements central to the narrative. However, her finding concerns only iconic gestures (Parril 2010: 660) and not metaphoric gestures. To address the emerging gap in research on viewpoint in metaphoric gestures, the study has shown that metaphoric gestures express viewpoint. Also, the present findings are in accord with Parrill (2011), namely that character-viewpoint is associated with '[consciousness] projected into the story world' (2011: 62), whereas in the observer-viewpoint, 'the speaker's consciousness is more distanced' (2011: 62). This is shown, for example, in Fig. 1

and 3 respectively, as these two gestures have different formal characteristics, suggesting either an agentive role in the process of coming out or a more distanced conceptualization. Yet it is important to note that although the results discussed in the present article are quantitative, they only point to a certain tendency in a very specific and context-bound situation. Coming out may be one of many contexts in which people prefer to take a more personalized perspective in their gestures. It remains to be seen, for instance, whether this is true for more general situations in which people share personal stories on the Internet, or in face-to-face communicative situations. It may be the case that character viewpoint gestures generally occur more often than observer viewpoint gestures, although confirming this hunch would require more research into metaphoric gestures and viewpoint in general. An interesting contribution to this debate is the study by Schröder & Streeck (2022), in which they mention in passing that viewpoint taking as an element of gesturing style may be culture sensitive. They notice that Brazilian speakers in their study have showed a tendency for using character viewpoint gestures, whereas German participants used more observer viewpoint gestures. This may potentially suggest that cultural factors have a bearing on viewpoint phenomena more broadly.

Qualitatively, the present research tries to show the difference between character viewpoint gestures and observer viewpoint gestures in coming out narratives. From the qualitative examination of eight gestures, it appears that the difference lies predominantly in the schematic gestural form, possibly underpinned by two different schemas, one of the OBJECT image schema, and the other, by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. In character-viewpoint gestures, the gestures are usually both-handed, with the prevalent action being object manipulation (either showing/holding an object or giving an object to the interlocutor). In observer-viewpoint gestures, the gestures are usually oriented towards presenting a trajectory of movement of an abstract, metaphorized entity, as if observed from some distance. It must be stated again that these characteristics may vary depending on the organization of a given frame. In coming out narratives, the objectification of abstract concepts seems to prevail in character viewpoint gestures. In observer viewpoint gestures, the prevailing characteristic is path-tracing, which schematizes motion in space. If we take, for example, the notion of a barrier, often gesturally enacted via a vertical open palm (see e.g., Harrison 2018), we see that – although inherently metaphorical – the gestural enactment of the barrier within the frame of defense will be noticeably different from the gestures produced in the coming out frame. For this very reason, the formal characteristics of viewpoint in gesture will very likely be different for both of these frames. Yet, interestingly,the same characterization is true of iconic gestures expressing viewpoint, where observer- viewpoint gestures encode the trajectory of movement of a real object, whereas character-

viewpoint gestures encode the physical actions performed by people recalling a story from memory (see Parrill 2012 for a detailed account). A possible explanation of these differences is the attentional processes that direct one's focus either onto the object as the salient element of conceptualization or the trajectory of the object's movement. This has been already documented in eye-tracking studies, in which people focus their gaze differently depending on where their attentional resources are placed in a given context (e.g., Holšánová 2008). Bressem (2021) shares the same intuition in noticing that 'gestures can provide insights into the focus of attention at the moment of speaking' (2021: 157) and that the viewpoint may be likely to influence this process as well.

While this article addresses the metaphorical character of gestures and their relation to viewpoint phenomena, it should not be forgotten that metaphor does not have well- delineated boundaries. As pointed out in cognitive linguistic literature, some concepts may exhibit gradient metaphoricity. Sometimes, metonymy comes into play and dynamically interacts with the use of metaphor in language and gesture (see Goossens 1990, Littlemore 2015, Mittelberg & Joue 2017). In this context, it remains to be seen how the metaphor-metonymy interaction influences, if at all, the notion of viewpoint. It would be informative to look at how metonymy affects 'viewpointed bodies' (Mittelberg 2019: 214) and how metonymic gestures can evoke viewpoint, if at all.

In his analysis of the relation between gesture and speech, Kok has noticed that certain word classes attract gestures more, some less robustly (Kok 2017). For example, gestures often co- occur with nouns and determiners and less so with adjectives and pronominal adverbs. What is more, in the word-centered analysis, Kok notes that 'less familiar words occur with more temporal distance to the co-expressed gestures than familiar words' (2017: 17). The present study contributes to the debate on how gestures and speech co-express meaning, but does it at a more abstract, frame-oriented level. Moreover, Harrison (2015) has observed that certain interactional contexts are more likely to prompt metonymic rather than metaphoric gesturing. For example, in technical contexts, in which people need to operate heavy and noisy machinery, gestures are more often metonymic (referring to the concrete aspects of one's work) than metaphoric (referring to abstract concepts) (Harrison 2015: 153). Following this line of argumentation, coming out may be particularly suited to studying metaphoric gestures because of its abstract nature, especially at the level of frames, which, as relatively large conceptual units, allow for a broader contextual analysis of the data. Additionally, it remains to be seen how the presence of an interlocutor in a communicative situation, especially such an interactive one as coming out, influences both the metaphors in the gesture and the viewpoint phenomena.

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