Descriptions of Motion and Travel in Jaminjung and Kriol

DESCRIPTIONS OF MOTION AND TRAVEL IN JAMINJUNG AND KRIOL

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Dorothea Hoffmann

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures

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Abbreviations in Interlinear Glosses

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
12DU	we two (including you)
12PL	we (including you)
13DU	we two (excluding you)
13PL	we (excluding you)
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
ALL	Allative
ALSO	additional clitic
ASSOC	Associative
COLL	Collective
COMIT	Comitative
COND	Conditional
CONT	Continuous
CONTR	Contrastive focus
COTEMP	Cotemporaneous ("still", "then")
DAT	Dative
DEM	neutral demonstrative, usually 'given'
DIR	Directional
DIST	Distal
DOUBT	'-ever, I don't know'
DU	Dual
EMPH	Emphatic clitic
ERG/INSTR	Ergative/Instrumental
EXCL	Exclusive
FIRST	"first", already"
FOC	Focus
FS	False Start
FUT	Potential/Future
GIVEN	'Given'
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	(Past) Imperfective
INCL	Inclusive
IRR	Irrealis
KIN2	"your kin"
KIN3	"his/her kin"
LOC	Locative
MED	Medial
MOTIV	Motivative ("about", "over")
NEG	Negative particle
NOW	"now", "then"
n_top	toponym
OBL	Oblique pronominal
ONLY	"only"

ORIG   Origin
PL   Plural
POSS   Possesser
PRIV   Privative ("without")
PROPR   Proprietive ("having")
PROX   Proximal
PRS   Present
PST   Past (perfective)
QU   Question marker
QUAL   Quality
RDP   Reduplication
REFL   Reflexive
RESTR   Restrictive ("just, right at")
SEMBL   Semblative ("like")
SFOC 1   Sentence focus
SFOC2   Emphatic sentence focus
SG   Singular
SUBORD   Subordinator
TAG   Tag
TR   transitive

Abbreviations of Kinship terms
Br   brother
Fa   father
So   son
Si   sister
Mo   mother
Da   daughter
Wi   wife
Hu   husband
Ch   child

Conventions used in transcription and glossing
-       morpheme boundary
=   clitic boundary
.   separates categories encoded by a portmanteau morpheme
:   morpheme break not indicated in the text line
..   short pause
...   long pause
+   next/preceding line still in the same intonation unit
:(:::) lengthening
,   pause but non-sentence-final
%   intonation break
[ ]   overlap (marks both overlapping strings)
\   falling intonation

Abbreviations used in textgrids
case   case
clitic   clitic
cov   coverb
dem   demonstrative
interj   interjection
n   nominal
nadj   adjectival nominal
prn   pronominal
v   inflected verb

Abstract

The thesis entitled "Descriptions of Motion and Travel in Jaminjung and Kriol" handed in by Dorothea Hoffmann at the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on November 10th 2011 provides an in-depth analysis of motion event descriptions of two Australian indigenous languages.

Jaminjung is a highly endangered non Pama-Nyungan language with approximately 50 remaining speakers. Kriol, an English-lexified Creole, is spoken by about 20.000 people in different varieties across northern Australia. While the languages are typologically very different, occupancy of the same linguistic and cultural area provides an intriguing opportunity to examine the effects of culture and language contact on conceptual components and distribution patterns in discourse. This investigation also applies and tests a number of existing frameworks and typologies regarding the linguistic encoding of motion and space in general.

The thesis first provides an overview of the encoding of motion event descriptions in Jaminjung and Kriol. It becomes clear that, concerning overt marking of case, ground-encodings follow a systematic semantic pattern with no or rare case-marking for deictic terms, optional marking for toponyms and mandatory marking for all other types of landmarks. Furthermore, the structure and semantics of the motion verb phrase is investigated. Particularly noteworthy here is a study of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Kriol which revealed a number of previously undescribed types.

Following this, various proposals for a typology of Frames of Reference are applied. The notion of 'anchor' is at the centre of the analysis. The investigation shows that contextual restrictions for the use of Jaminjung's absolute terms can be accounted for by a restriction on egocentric anchoring and 'Orientation' settings only. Furthermore, absolute Frame of Reference is realised differently in Roper and Westside Kriol respectively, suggesting an ongoing influence of the traditional languages spoken by the respective communities rather than the lexifier English. Jaminjung and Kriol, additionally, prefer the use of absolute over relative Frame of Reference.

The following chapter investigates how lexicalisation patterns influence the distribution of path and manner encodings in discourse. After concluding that Jaminjung might best be described as following an equipollently-framed pattern and Kriol as satellite-framed, path and manner salience is investigated in different types of discourse using a dataset of motion event encodings in a Frog Story collection and a general corpus of various discourse environments. It is concluded that while the two languages behave very differently with regards to frequency patterns of ground- and other path-encodings, they show remarkable similarities in distributing path and manner over larger chunks of discourse. These findings suggest that cultural influences may sometimes override structural typological constraints.

Finally, motion event encodings in specific types of discourse are analysed. Regarding route descriptions, speakers show a clear preference for dynamic over static modes of presentation. This includes encoding 'fictive motion' events for which a figure- and ground-based distinction is introduced. Additionally, concerning the use of deictics in a comparative analysis of different types of corpora for both languages, it was shown that the distribution of absolute terms remains stable across discourse environments while deictic usage differs drastically. Lastly, the concept of 'motion' is abstracted and described as a kind of structuring device in narratives. It is shown that the 'journey' within the story world is used by speakers of both languages to bridge episodes sometimes even overriding a temporal in favour of a spatial order of events.

Declaration

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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1 Cross-Linguistic Studies of Motion

1.1 Introduction

The cross-linguistic study of how languages use spatial terms and express motion events has become a major interest in linguistics during recent decades. This striking attention is the result of a number of factors. First, space and motion play a large role in all the world's languages as a prevalent topic of communication in everyday interaction. People talk about spatial relations to locate objects, landmarks and people; to give directions, and describe movements of protagonists in unfolding discourse. Secondly, a number of linguistic frameworks have been developed for space and motion. In this thesis, in addition to considering the concept of 'motion' in detail using a number of typological approaches, I will tie in the spatial notion of Frames of Reference as well. I do so to point out parallel and differing structures of Frames of Reference encodings in stasis and motion.

It has been claimed that "linguistic and cultural systems determine – at least partially – the nature and cognitive accessibility of the information that is selected by speakers" (Hickmann and Robert, 2006b:1). However, I believe that a distinction must be drawn between cultural predispositions on the one hand, and typological type and linguistic resources of a particular language, on the other. Therefore, the particular interest of my research lies in the possibility of a cultural bias on the semantics and use of motion expressions.

The languages chosen for this type of investigation are Jaminjung and Kriol. Jaminjung is a highly endangered non-Pama-Nyungan language with only approximately 50 remaining speakers. Kriol is an English-lexified Creole spoken by about 20.000 people. It is the major means of communication for many indigenous Australians throughout northern Australia today and has often replaced or is spoken alongside traditional languages. Typologically and structurally, the two languages are very different. However, the fact that they are spoken within the same geographical and cultural area and that all speakers of Jaminjung today are also fluent in Kriol, but not vice versa, makes them exceptionally good candidates for a thorough study of the interplay between language-internal structure and extra-linguistic factors influencing discourse distribution (chapter 6) and conceptual components such as Frames of Reference (chapter 5).

In order to do so, throughout the thesis, Jaminjung and Kriol will not only be closely compared to one another, but also put into a cross-linguistic perspective to allow for more general observations. This allows for a variety of questions to be answered. For example, does a general preference for the expression of goal over any other type of ground hold true for languages other than English and different types of discourse environments (section 6.2.3)? If such a preference exists, what does this mean for generalisations in potential conceptual universals?

Furthermore, previous studies on the relationship between lexicalisation patterns and discourse frequency of manner and path components are complemented by my analysis. To what extent do a language's structural on the one and cultural prerequisites on the other hand influence salience as well as narrative structure? Such type of analysis may then be able to answer the question why speakers whose languages have the structural prerequisites to, for example, express manner in boundary-crossing events, choose not to do so (6.4).

In relation to narrative structure and style, the question of the relationship between the use of deictics and absolute Frame of Reference terms is of interest. If a language primarily relies on an absolute system for spatial orientation (section 7.1 and chapter 5), will this also be reflected in story-telling techniques which often rely on spatial deixis to 'set the scene' (7.2)?

Finally, if a culture gives high significance to the notions of motion and travel due to a lifestyle of hunting and gathering and mythological beings whose main purpose is to travel and name the land, is this then also reflected in an overall preference of dynamic over static descriptions on numerous discourse environments (7.1 and 7.3)? In fact, can the 'journey' itself even become an abstracted structuring device in traditional and personal narratives (7.3)?

My thesis aims to answer these questions in a systematic manner using a number of different typological approaches in a general analysis of motion event encodings (chapters 3 and 4) and conceptual spatial components (5) as well as discourse-related features (6 and 7).

For example, (1) is a complex motion event description which illustrates a number of issues that will be of interest. Firstly, the motion verb *ran* encodes the manner of motion while the preposition *out* (satellite) describes a path that is taken. This distinction of

manner and path encodings lies in the heart of a theory of lexicalisation patterns across languages and will be of major interest in this thesis. Talmy (1985a, 2000a, 2000b, 2007) introduced this kind of classification for motion event encodings across languages. His influential distinction of verb- / satellite-framing on the basis of the distribution of the manner and path components in languages has been widely applied, questioned and revised (Beavers et al., 2008, Bohnemeyer, 2003, Bohnemeyer and Caelen, 1999, Bohnemeyer et al., 2007, Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009, Sampaio et al., 2009, Slobin and Hoiting, 1994, Slobin, 1996a, 2004, 2006, Talmy, 2009) and will be discussed for Jaminjung and Kriol in section 6.1.

(1)   He ran out from the back of the house to the front and then turned east onto Sandy Lane.[1]

Within the spatial domain, proposed typological Frames of Reference (FoRs) for locating objects in space and giving directions were introduced (Levinson, 1996a, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998). The three-way distinction between intrinsic (object-centred), relative (viewer-centred) and absolute (fixed bearings) FoRs has been applied to a number of diverse languages (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006b) and also been subject to revision and addition (Bohnemeyer, 2010, in press, Danziger, 2010, Dokic and Pacherie, 2006, Hoffmann, 2009, Palmer, 2002, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008). A thorough analysis of these concepts for Jaminjung and Kriol is subject of chapter 5.

In example (1) above, two Frames of Reference encodings are in use. Firstly, in *from the back of the house to the front* an intrinsic FoR is used to encode movement of a figure from one location to another in relation to a static ground-object. Furthermore, the cardinal direction term *east* denotes an absolute FoR. Both types of encodings are often used in detailed descriptions of travelled routes and to specify ground denotations and therefore cannot be disregarded in a systematic analysis of motion event descriptions.

1.2   Grammatical and lexical resources in motion event encodings

The interplay between spatial language-specific semantic properties of motion events and non-linguistic conceptual structures is of particular interest in this thesis. This is ultimately

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[1] All English examples, unless otherwise stated, are my own and serve for illustration purposes only.

linked to the relationship between spatial language and cognition which has been the subject of many studies on space and language arguing in favour (Foley, 1997, Guo et al., 2009, Hickmann and Robert, 2006a, Jackendoff, 1983, Levinson, 1996b, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998, 1999, Slobin and Hoiting, 1994, 1997, Whorf, 1956) and against a thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (Bloom et al., 1999, Peterson et al., 1999). This hypothesis states that each language "is a subjective orientation to the world of human experience, and this orientation affects the ways in which we think while we are speaking" (Slobin, 1996b:91). This section now introduces a number of concepts and terminology essential for the remainder of the thesis. Wherever possible, I will underline my explanations with English examples, but will not usually refer to issues in Jaminjung and Kriol yet.

1.2.1 Figure and Ground

For the study of motion event encodings, a number of fundamental concepts need to be introduced. For my analysis I make use of terms established by Talmy (1985b, 2007). According to the author (Talmy, 2007:70-71), a translational motion event generally consists of a number of conceptual components. Firstly, there is a figure moving along a path and (optionally) with respect to a ground. In example (2), *he* is the figure moving with respect to *the house, the front gate* and *the car* as grounds. The path is the trajectory followed or site occupied by the figure with respect to the ground. In (2) the path is encoded firstly in the motion verbs (*go* and *walk*), secondly in the prepositions *past* and *into,* indicating a trajectory in relation to a ground, and lastly by the three encoded grounds. The path then is the vector or route which links the three grounds, the source, the passed ground and the goal, with each other. In addition to these internal components, a motion event can be associated with an external co-event of manner (*walk* in (b)) or cause (*push* in (c)).

(2)

(a) He	*goes*	*from the house*	*past*	*the front gate and*	*into*	*the car*
figure	move	ground	(path)	ground	(path)	ground
(b) He	*walks*	*from the house*	*past*	*the front gate and*	*into*	*the car*
figure	manner	ground	(path)	ground	(path)	ground

(c) *Paul*   *pushes*   *the boat*   *to the bank.*
     causer   cause   figure   ground

(d) *The boat*   *is floating*   *on the river.*
     figure   manner   ground

Talmy (1985b:61) furthermore adds the concept of 'motion' to these basic conceptual components which refers to the presence of motion per se in any motion event encoding. Ungerer and Schmid (1996:220) justify its inclusion as follows: Motion without a figure is impossible, but not vice versa. As such, one can also include into the motion event frame static locative relations between a movable, though not moving, figure and its ground as a special type of motion – 'zero-motion'[2] as in example (3).

(3) *The bike is across from the post office.*

Grounds in a motion event description can be divided into four different types. The definitions are based on Longacre (1996) and widely accepted in the literature. However, the terminology I use, might differ from others which I will add here as well for ease of access.

Firstly, the 'source' (or 'departure point' (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007), 'beginning of motion' (Senft, 1997)) is the assumed place of origin of the motion event. In examples (2) (a) and (b) this is the PP *from the house*. Secondly, the 'goal' (or 'arrival point' (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007), 'endpoint of motion' (Senft, 1997)) is the ground towards which the motion event is directed and which might or may not be reached. In (2) (a) and (b) this is the PP *into the car* and in (c) it is *to the bank*. Furthermore, there might be what I call a 'passed ground' (or 'trajectory' (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007), 'waypoint' (Levinson, 2003)). This is a ground that is neither point of departure nor arrival, but is situated at some stage along the path connecting source and goal of the motion event. In (2), *the front gate* is the passed ground. Finally, a motion event might also take place within a location without specifying any of the grounds mentioned, as exemplified in (2)(d) in the PP *on the river*. I call this the 'location' of motion.

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[2] 'zero-motion' is distinct from the notion of 'fictive motion' which is introduced briefly later in this chapter and discussed in more detail in section 7.1.5. While 'zero motion' involves a thoroughly static event utilising motion encodings in it as in example (3), 'fictive motion', on the other hand involves a real or at least perceived motion event as in (10).

There are a number of typological approaches regarding ground-encoding strategies. Some are concerned with differences in encoding static location, source and goal of motion (Creissels, 2006, Nikitina, 2009) and coding in VP or NP or both (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:535). The different strategies of ground-encoding are first discussed for Jaminjung and Kriol in sections 3.2 and 4.2. A proposal by Bohnemeyer et al (2007) distinguishes languages regarding their ability to encode all three grounds in a motion event description under a single semantic property and (usually) within one VP. This method is analysed for both languages in section 5.2 on path salience in discourse.

Finally, Levinson and Wilkins (2006c:531-532) define three types of motion events. Firstly, 'translocation' or 'translational movement' involves a durative event concerning passage through an indefinite series of points in space over time as in example (4). 'Change of location' on the other hand describes a non-durative change of location when a figure is placed in one location at one time and in another time at a different location (5). Finally, 'change of locative relation' is a non-durative subtype where the change of location itself is not a necessary part of the semantics (6).

   (4)   *He went from the garden into the house.*
   (5)   *He left the house and arrived at the bus stop.*
   (6)   *He ended up under the table.*

The major focus in this thesis will lie on translocational motion events which are the only type of the three which always involves a path of motion.

1.2.2 Deixis

Encoding of spatial deixis is another area of interest that combines NP and VP denotation. In a motion event encoding, deixis can often be expressed in ground encodings as in the goal in example (7), in adnominal demonstratives with grounds (8) and in deictic locomotion verbs denoting movement towards (9) or away from a deictic centre.

   (7)   *The dog ran over there.*
   (8)   *The dog ran to this tree (here).*
   (9)   *He is coming (to me).*

The traditional categories of deixis are person, place and time. Added to this system are discourse and social deixis (Levinson, 1983:62-63). I am primarily interested in place deixis which "concerns the specification of locations relative to anchorage points in the speech event" (Levinson, 1983:79).

Many languages draw a proximal-distal distinction depending on distance (from the speaker) – *here, there, yonder* as pronominal demonstratives as *there* in (7) or *this tree* as adnominal demonstratives with grounds in (8). There are also cases of gestural deixis where the hearer must be able to monitor the speaker's gestures constantly to interpret relevant aspects of the speech situation (Cruse, 2000:324).

The study of deixis in motion event descriptions is of importance because firstly, there appear to be differences in the marking of deictic and non-deictic grounds. For example in English, goal-encodings adnominal demonstratives with NP (8) and non-deictic grounds (2) are preceded by the goal-encoding preposition *to*. Pronominal demonstratives however, always stand on their own (7). Similar restrictions can be observed for Jaminjung and Kriol as well and will be discussed in detail in sections 3.2.2 and 4.2.1 for both languages respectively.

Furthermore, deictic verbs of motion form an important part of the motion verb lexicon. Some verbs always encode deixis such as *-ruma* 'come' in Jaminjung, while others only do so when contrasted with their deictic counterparts such as *-ijga* 'go'.

Finally, deixis can play a major role in narrative style which is a main focus of sections 7.1 and 7.2 on ground encodings in route descriptions and the use of deictics in discourse.

1.3   Motion Encodings in Specific Types of Discourse

1.3.1 Route Descriptions

Route descriptions are specialised motion event encodings that show a number of distinct features relevant for the study of motion. In example (10), two Frames of Reference are used, intrinsic (*left*) and absolute (*eastwards*) to encode a goal of motion. Furthermore, in route descriptions, deictic terms such as *here* might be used to take the travelling figure's perspective. A specific type of motion, namely 'fictive motion' is also often used in these types of discourse. In (10) this is *follow the road* where the road as ground is, in fact, not actively moving. Finally, passed grounds such as *go past the library* are used in greater

frequency in route descriptions than in any other type of discourse which makes these additionally valuable in my study.

(10) You arrive at the intersection. Here, you turn left and follow the road eastwards. Go past the library…

Of particular interest in section 7.1 is the encoding of change of direction at decision points. A decision point is defined as the place where a potential or real change of direction is expected to take place in a narrated route description. In (10) above, the first decision point triggers a real change of direction (*the intersection*) while the second (*the library*) does not result in such a change. Frames of Reference and/or detailed landmark-descriptions are often expressed at such decision points.

Concerning 'fictive motion' events (Talmy, 1996a) in route descriptions, I will identify two different types for both languages (and possibly beyond). Finally, culture-specificities of the investigated route descriptions are discussed and it will be illustrated how cultural and landscape prerequisites might influence the type of route directions given.

1.3.2 The Use of Deictics in Narratives

Traditional and personal narratives in the Australian Aboriginal context often are centrally concerned with short- and long-distance journeys which take the protagonists to a number of places that are part of the speaker's and usually also the listener's traditional (i.e. owned) and or familiar country and therefore well known to different degrees. It has been argued that what creates the dynamic quality of a journey in a narrative, is the fact that the spatial deictic component keeps shifting out ahead of the travelling figure (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:154).

The theory of deictic shift is concerned with a narrative style that allows the narrator of the story to switch from his or her own deictic centre to a figure's during the story to create a sense of participation for the listener (Segal, 1995:15). Similar techniques using a narrated figure's perspective to point out absolute directions had been observed for another Australian language, Guuguu Yimithirr (Haviland, 1993). Therefore, in section 7.2, I am interested in whether or not this technique can be shown to be used in Jaminjung and Kriol personal and traditional narrations as well.

1.3.3 Motion as a Means of Structuring a Narrative

The final section 7.3 takes the notion of motion to a more abstract level and investigates how the journey as an integral part of Aboriginal culture is used as a structuring device in personal and traditional narratives. It is shown how speakers of both languages use journey sections of a story as structuring devices leading to and away from different (static) episodes. Furthermore, some stories appear to follow a spatial rather than a temporal order of events in the narrative plot. This section then concludes the analysis of motion event descriptions in Jaminjung and Kriol by providing the final step of an investigation that went from the encoding of motion event components on the clause level (chapters 3, 4, 5 and parts of 6) to larger chunks of discourse where the journey was viewed from a perspective beyond the clause (chapter 6) and finally to motion and deixis on a more abstract level in narrative structure encodings (chapter7).

1.4 Outline

The thesis is structured as follows. This chapter has provided a brief introduction into major terms and concepts that will be of significance throughout. More details on individual topics will be provided in the relevant chapters, however. Chapter 2 introduces grammatical prerequisites for Jaminjung and Kriol, summarises previous research and gives an overview of data collection, handling and methods of analysis.

In chapters 3 and 4 grammatical and lexical resources relevant for the encoding of motion events for both languages will be laid out. Chapter 5 provides an in-depth investigation into Frames of Reference (FoRs) and Orientation in both languages. For this analysis I combine a number of existing approaches to Reference Frames and will therefore complement existing descriptions of Jaminjung as well as examine Kriol's FoRs for the first time. In chapter 6 a study of lexicalisation patterns and their distribution in discourse will show significant differences in the frequencies of certain motion event expressions, but also remarkable similarities in other areas moving beyond the clause as a unit of comparison. Investigations into particular discourse types such as route descriptions and narratives in chapter 7 will show how encoding patterns for motion events and Frames of Reference are employed in highly language- and culture-specific ways. Furthermore, in this chapter the notion of 'motion event' is taken to a more

abstract level and I will discuss how motion is used as a structuring device in traditional and personal narratives in both languages. Finally, chapter 8 concludes the thesis with a summary of the most important points raised and suggestions for further research.

2 Language Background and Methodology

This chapter aims to give some crucial cultural and grammatical background information on the two languages under consideration. In particular, it provides a brief overview of previous research and some grammatical prerequisites. Following this, I will introduce my data and methods of collection including an overview of the types of stimuli used during fieldwork for this project. Finally, I describe the corpora and datasets used for the discourse-based analyses of chapters 6 and 7.

2.1 Jaminjung

Jaminjung and the closely related variety Ngaliwurru (non Pama-Nyungan) are spoken in the Victoria River Area of Northern Australia indicated in Map 1. For the sake of simplicity I will refer to both varieties using the cover term 'Jaminjung' unless a clear distinction is necessary to discuss, for example, differing lexical items or grammatical markers for both languages. While the Jaminjung people used to occupy only areas on both sides of the Victoria River, today they live in the small towns of Kununurra (Western Australia), Timber Creek and Katherine (Northern Territory) as well as a number of small communities and outstations.
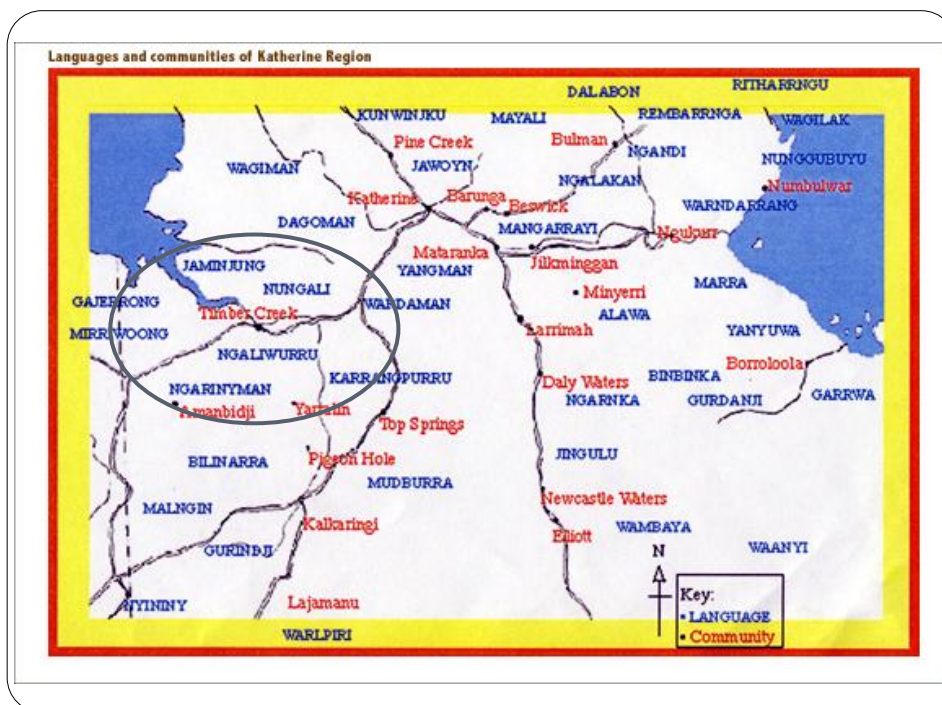
Map 1: Language Map of Northern Australia[3]

At present, only an estimated number of 50 speakers remain and the language is in grave danger of disappearing. All speakers of Jaminjung are bilingual or multilingual in other indigenous languages such as Ngarinyman, Murrinh-Patha, Wardaman, Mirriwoong or Gajirrabeng as well as Kriol. This multilingualism however is not a recent phenomena but has its roots in traditional social and family structures (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:7-14).

The indigenous languages of Australia can be divided into two diverse groups. The majority of languages belong to the Pama-Nyungan family. The languages usually categorized under the term 'Non Pama-Nyungan' are not a single group, but belong to various, often typologically heterogeneous, families. Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru together with the extinct Nungali form the Jaminjungan subgroup of the Mirndi family[4].

Concerning previous research, there are a number of published and unpublished sketch grammars and word lists for Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru (Bolt et al., 1971a, Bolt et al., 1971b, Capell, 1940, Cleverly, 1968). Some brief papers on the linguistic structure of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru have also been published (Hoddinott and Kofod, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c). These sources were only of interest to this thesis in terms of the few story and communicative discourse transcriptions they included.

However, the most extensive and wide-ranging research on Jaminjung has been conducted by Eva Schultze-Berndt who started working on Jaminjung in 1993. Her publications include a detailed monograph on the morphological and syntactic structure of simple and complex predicates in Jaminjung which also contains a description of other grammatical features (Schultze-Berndt, 2000). Furthermore, numerous papers on various aspects of Jaminjung including typological and language-contact considerations have been published (Schultze-Berndt, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d). Moreover, a recent PhD thesis by Candide Simard (2010) investigated the prosodic structure of Jaminjung. During the following brief discussion of grammatical prerequisites for Jaminjung, I will point out how my analysis benefited from and built on the issues raised in previous research.

The two major sources of information for me regarding motion event encodings in Jaminjung were Schultze-Berndt's monograph (2000) and a sketch of a grammar of space

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[4] This family has also been referred to as Djamindjungan, Yirram or Western Mirndi (Chatwick, 1997).

(2006c) as well as a brief discussion of Jaminjung in light of Talmy's lexicalisation patterns (2007a).

Jaminjung's main grammatical features are typical of many non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Word order (phrase order) is free on the clause level and serves to indicate information structure rather than grammatical relations. The core argument roles are marked by a pronominal prefix on the verb and the language employs an elaborate case system (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:64-65). In example (11) the prefix *gani-* attached to the transitive inflecting verb *-ngayi* 'see' encodes the additionally encoded ergative-marked agent *mugmug* 'owl' as well as the patient which is not further expressed. A specialised ablative case-marker *–yin* is furthermore attached to a source-encoding NP *thangga* 'above'.

> (11) *mugmug-ni=biyang*   *mung*   *gani-ngayi-na*   *thangga-yin-*
>   owl-ERG=now   look.at   3SG:3SG-see-IMPF   above-L.ABL
>   'the owl then was looking at him from above' (ES96_A01_04.283, DR)

For the purpose of this thesis, I will pay some attention to the marking of ground and figure in motion event descriptions in chapter 3. In example (12) the moving figure is unmarked with absolutive case and the goal-encoding NP has allative case-marking.

> (12) *murrgun-murrgun*   *marlayi*   *jirrama*   *mayi*
>   RDP-three   woman   two   person
>   *burr-ijga-ny*   *jamurrugu*   *gugu-bina*
>   3PL-go-PST   below   water-ALL
>   'three women and two men go down to the water' (DH10_A02_03_0008, NR)

While Schultze-Berndt (2000) provided an introduction to allative, ablative and locative case-marking, no thorough analysis of marking patterns of ground NPs in motion event encodings had been undertaken so far. I describe semantic constraints on optional goal- and passed-ground marking (section 3.2). Additionally, a systematic analysis of ground-distribution in discourse is undertaken for this thesis for the first time (section 6.2).

Furthermore, while a description of Frames of Reference (FoRs) in Levinson's (1996a, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998) sense was included in (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c), I will expand the analysis by including recent discussions and additions to the typology (Bohnemeyer

and O'Meara, in press, Danziger, 2010, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008). Furthermore, a closer look at FoRs in motion event encodings had not been undertaken so far (chapter 5).

Finally, deictic terms were introduced (Schultze-Berndt, 2000), however without discussing usage in motion events (3.2) or usage in communicative and narrative discourse (chapter 7).

The complex predicate in Jaminjung consists of two parts. Firstly, there is a closed class of ca. 35 inflecting verbs (IV) which are obligatory in every finite clause. They carry verbal inflections and do not have non-finite forms, nor can they be nominalised. Furthermore, they only encode very general meanings. To form a complex predicate an open-class uninflecting coverb is added contributing the kind of semantic information that is carried by verbs or adverbs in other languages. Up to two coverbs may be combined in a single verb phrase (VP).

In example (13), two complex predicates appear. The first is a combination of the reduplicated coverb *waya* 'call' with the intransitive neutral positional verb –*yu* 'be'. Reduplication of coverbs indicates continuous activity. Even though Jaminjung is a free word order language, in the majority of cases, the coverb precedes the inflecting verb. This is also the case for the second complex predicate in (13) which encodes a motion event description consisting of a path coverb indicating upward-oriented motion and the intransitive general motion verb –*ijga* 'go'.

(13) waya-waya   ga-yu:yu   wagurra-g burduj   ga-jga-ny   %
     RDP-call   3SG-be.PRS   rock-LOC   go.up   3SG-go-PST
     'he is calling out and climbed up a rock' (ES96_A07_01tg_0094, DBit)

Complex predicates were a major topic of (Schultze-Berndt, 2000, 2006c) where the semantics of inflecting verbs and coverbs as well as complex predicates in general and also motion event descriptions was examined in some detail. Additionally, Schultze-Berndt (2007a) discussed lexicalization patterns of Jaminjung motion VPs in light of Talmy's (1985b) and Slobin's (2006) analyses. My study of the verb phrase in motion event encodings builds on these discussions in section 3.3 and adds some of my own findings especially concerning different types of coverbs in motion encodings. Mainly, however, chapter 6 provides a detailed analysis of path and manner distribution patterns in discourse which had not been conducted before.

Inflecting verbs of motion can take numerous forms depending on tense and/or aspect of the VP and the person-encoding bound pronoun which precedes it. Throughout the thesis however, I will refer to the IVs only with one of the stems as introduced by Schultze-Berndt (2000). Coverbs on the other hand, are invariable unless reduplication leads to shortening of the first part of the reduplicated lexical item as in example (14).

(14) **diba-dibard**   *bunthu-yu=ndi*   *biyang %*
     RDP-jump   3DU-be.PRS=SFOC   now
     'the two are jumping (around) now' (ES96_A09_02tg.0075, IP)

There is some lexical variation between Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru. For example, the coverb encoding 'go past' has the form of *marraj* in Jaminjung and *ngirr* in Ngaliwurru. Whenever there is such variation of importance to my argument I will make the distinction.

A number of conflicting terms are employed for the word class I call coverb in the Australian linguistics context[5]. In addition to forming complex predicates with an inflecting verb, they may function as predicates in a subordinate clause without an accompanying verb and can take a number of case markers. They are a crucial component of encoding most spatial relations and are used to express topological relations and manner as well as direction of motion. However, their usage is not restricted to the spatial domain, but they occur in a range of semantic areas such as change of state, contact, affectedness or social interaction (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:70). The coverbs discussed in this thesis will be those relevant to motion event descriptions and spatial orientation and reference.

2.2 Kriol

Kriol is an English-lexified Creole spoken by approximately 20.000 speakers across the Top End of Australia in a number of varieties showing slight lexical and morphological differences. Map 2 indicates the area where Kriol is spoken ranging from Darwin in the

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[5] They have been dubbed preverbs (and verbs), verbal particles (and verbs/auxiliaries), coverbs (verbs), uninflecting verbs (inflecting verbs) participle (finite verbs), base (auxiliaries), and (main) verb (auxiliaries). I will henceforth employ the term coverb whenever referring to this word class.

north to Tennant Creek in the south and from the Kimberleys in Western Australia to the Gulf of Carpentia in the east.
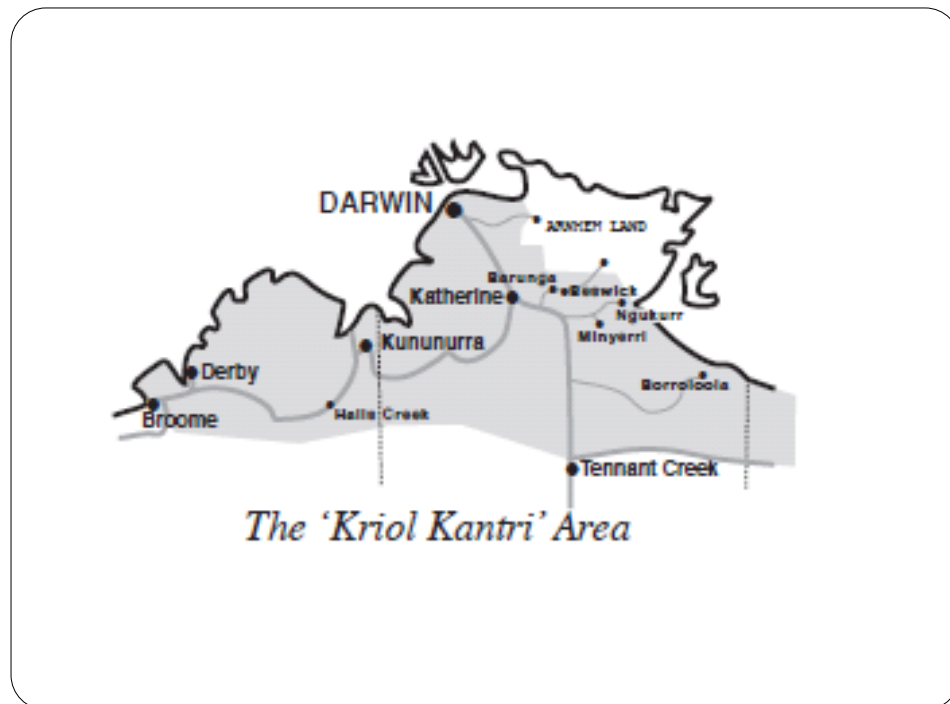
Map 2: Kriol-speaking area of Northern Australia (Hagan, 2007)

Of the different varieties of Kriol, Roper Kriol spoken around Ngukurr in the east is the best described one (Munro, 2005, Sandefur, 1979a, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1991a, Sharpe, 1974, Sharpe and Sandefur, 1977). Other varieties and general aspects of Kriol are discussed by various authors (Disbray, 2008, 1977a, Fraser, 1977b, Harris and Sandefur, 1983, 1984, 1985, 2004, 1993, Hudson, 1977, 1984, 1985, Lee, 2004, Meakins, 2007, 2010, Mühlhäusler, 1979, 1991, Sandefur and Harris, 1986, Schultze-Berndt, 2007c, forthcoming). For my analysis of Kriol I build on these sources and in many cases go far beyond them. In the following brief description of Kriol's grammatical prerequisites I will include the works most significant for my analysis and describe how I expanded on them. Due to the type of data available to me, I will furthermore pay particular attention to only two varieties of Kriol. One is Roper Kriol which is the language of all (only) Kriol speakers I worked with during my fieldwork trip in 2010 and on which also most of the above mentioned published data is based. The other variety is what I call 'Westside Kriol' following Schultze-Berndt (forthcoming) and is the variety of all Jaminjung speakers.

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Kriol originates in the English-based pidgin that developed during contact between colonisers and indigenous people of the Sydney area on the east coast of Australia (Simpson, 1996, Simpson, 2000, Troy, 1993, Tyron and Charpentier, 2004) in (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming). Standardisation and stabilisation started due to an increased need for communication between Aboriginal people working on cattle stations and missions and English- and non-English speaking (e.g. Chinese) settlers. Furthermore, it also became the lingua franca among speakers of different indigenous languages because of new settlement patterns which no longer corresponded to traditional multilingual networks (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming). Today, the language is the major means of communication between Aboriginal people in the areas indicated in Map 2 and there has often replaced traditional languages as children's first language.

Concerning some basic grammatical features of Kriol, there is no suffixed inflectional system in nouns. For number-marking, quantifiers and determiners are used and case is expressed by prepositions. Noun (and pronoun) gender is not marked in Kriol and the word order is SVO with no marking on subject or object. In many aspects of word ordering Creole languages seem to often follow the superstrate patterns[6]. For example the word order of NP and adposition in English is generally prepositions to the NP as in *he jumped onto the rock*. With regards to spatial adpositions, most often Kriol follows this pattern as well, but there are some exceptions when prepositions are involved as in example (15).

(15) *imin*   *jamp-jamp*   *la*   *rok*   **ontop**
    3SG:AUX.PST RDP-jump   ALL:to   rock   on+top
    'he jumped onto the rock' (DH10_A05_02_0230, JaR)

There are two nominal derivational suffixes *–bala* and *–wan* which can be used to derive nouns from adjectives (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming) as in example (16).

(16) *jat*   *wan* **lidl-wan**   *imin*   *wok*   *thuru …*
    that one   little-NR   3SG:AUX.PST walk   through
    geit…   *najasaid*   *na*
    gate   other+side   NOW

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[6] Results from the APiCS corpus presented by Susanne Michaelis at the LETiSS spring school "Europe beyond Europe-:New horizons on Pidgins and Creoles" in Pavia, Italy between April 18th and 22nd 2011.

'that little (girl), she walked through a gate and stands on the other side'
(DH10_A06_01_0112, NR)

Aspectual and temporal markers such as the past temporal marker *bin* precede the verb. Lexical aspect, however, is expressed either by the suffixes *–bat* or *–in* or by reduplication of the verb. Other suffixes attaching to the verb are the transitive marker *–im* and what I call adverbial suffixes adding to the semantics of the verb. These are of particular importance to the study of motion event descriptions and will be discussed in some length throughout the thesis. In example (17), *bin* marks the past tense and the general motion verb *kam* 'come' has two suffixes one encoding progressive aspect (*-in*) and the other upward movement (*–ap* 'up').

(17) *taid   bin   kam-in-ap*
    tide   AUX.PST   come-PROG-up
    'the tide came up' (ES08_A04_06tt_0022, EH)

For my analysis of Kriol, Hudson's (1985), Sandefur's (1979a, 1982, 1991b) and Schultze-Berndt et al.'s (forthcoming) grammatical descriptions provided a good basis. In chapter 4 I build on their descriptions of morphological, syntactic and semantic features to provide a thorough discussion of the encodings of conceptual components of motion event descriptions in Kriol.

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) as shown in example (18) and briefly described in (Meakins, 2010) are a common feature of Creole languages (McWhorter, 1998). In Kriol, asymmetrical SVCs (i.e. consisting of a minor verb belonging to a semantically and grammatically restricted class and a major unrestricted verb) are used in a limited set of contexts and discourse environments. They are discussed in detail in section 4.2.3.

(18) *imin   **go   stap**   deya   langa   det   tri*
    3SG:AUX.PST go   stop   there   LOC   that   tree
    'it stopped there at the tree' (DH10_A15_20_0029, MA)

Generally, an analysis of Frames of Reference in Kriol (in chapter 5) and lexicalisation patterns (in chapter 6) in motion event encodings has not been attempted before. Furthermore, distribution patterns of path and manner encodings in discourse provide a first insight in the use of Kriol in communicative and narrative discourse.

For both, Jaminjung and Kriol, comparative and cross-linguistic analyses are included placing them within typological approaches and additionally providing detailed discussions of the two languages within their cultural context in chapter 6. Furthermore, using a more abstract sense of 'motion' in chapter 7 in investigations of specific types of discourse such as route descriptions and traditional and personal narratives for each language as well as from a comparative perspective is an original contribution to the literature on Jaminjung and Kriol.

2.3   Data and Methods of Collection

2.3.1 Corpus and Dataset

The general corpus I used for my analysis of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru comprised of two types of data. The corpus collected by Eva Schultze-Berndt since 1993 has been most generously made available for this research and is an invaluable contribution to this thesis and the datasets analysed herein. Secondly, recordings from my own fieldwork added to these existing files. I also occasionally used examples from published sources such as (Schultze-Berndt, 2000, 2006c, 2007a, 2007c).

My discussion of Kriol is based on a number of academic sources such as (Disbray, 2008, Harris, 1986, Hudson, 1985, Meakins, 2007, Munro, 2005, Sandefur, 1979a, 1982, 1991b, Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming) as well as my own analysis of texts. The latter include some published story books from the Diwurruwurru-Jaru Katherine Regional Language Centre, unpublished transcriptions from recordings made by Denise Angelo (1998) in Katherine, a small corpus compiled by Eva Schultze-Berndt for the Victoria River variety and finally my own corpus of Victoria River as well as Roper Kriol recorded in Katherine, Timber Creek and Ngukurr in 2010.

All examples from Schultze-Berndt's corpus are referenced with the initials 'ES' at the start, one recording of a traditional story from Mark Harvey is marked with 'MH', Denise Angelo's texts with 'DA' and my own with 'DH'. Examples from any other source will be marked only by a shortened version of their title.[7]

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[7] A full list of references is provided in the appendix in 10.1.

Chapter 6 is an extensive analysis of lexicalisation patterns in Jaminjung and Kriol in discourse. Here I analyse the frequency and distribution of detailed path as well as manner encodings in different types of discourse environments. For this type of investigation I compiled two types of motion event description datasets for each language. The first one is a collection of narrations of the Frog Story (Mayer, 1969) only for both languages and the second a more general dataset of motion event descriptions from various types of discourse including narrations of the Frog Stories, route descriptions, traditional and personal narratives[8]. I am aware of the shortcomings of such an approach especially concerning the random nature of this more general dataset. While this cannot be used for cross-linguistic comparison, it provided valuable insight firstly into the usefulness of the Frog Story narrations as a means of comparing manner and path salience cross-linguistically. Secondly, the dataset enabled me to draw more general conclusions on frequency findings for each language individually.

Both datasets included motion event descriptions only, while all other types of phrases were disregarded. A motion event description may consist of a motion verb on its own or complex expressions including ground(s) and/or other path elements. The locus of such an expression lies within the motion verb itself. Therefore, even prosodically detached grounds are regarded as part of the motion event description.

I will now briefly introduce the extent of each dataset. The Jaminjung FMC consisted of 7.010 words in 7 individual texts which contained a total of 355 motion events with at least an inflecting verb of motion. Only the latter were considered in the FMD. For Kriol, the FMC included 7 Frog Stories of 6.739 words. The FMD here included 234 motion event verb phrases.

For the CMD, I included a total corpus of 32.754 words in 39 individual texts for Jaminjung. These incorporated the seven Frog Stories, four traditional and 23 personal narratives as well as five route descriptions. All together this amounted to 1.142 motion event descriptions in the dataset.

For Kriol, the CMD was made up of 38 different texts. These included the seven Frog Stories, two route descriptions (also from my fieldwork), twelve recordings from

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[8] For the remainder of the thesis I will refer to the Frog Story Dataset as the F(rog) M(otion) D(ataset) – FMD
-, the more extensive Dataset as the C(omplete) M(otion) D(ataset) – CMD – and to the Frog Story Corpus as F(rog) M(otion) C(orpus) – FMC.

(Sandefur, 1982), including four traditional and eight personal narratives, one traditional story from my fieldtrip, thirteen published stories, including two traditional, five children's and six personal narratives, and finally two unpublished personal narratives from recordings by Denise Angelo (Angelo et al., 1998a, Angelo et al., 1998b). This all amounted to 24.423 words and in the dataset 1.064 motion event VPs.

2.3.2 Fieldwork Setting and Elicitation Methods

As part of my PhD research project, a two-month long fieldtrip to Australia was undertaken in July and August 2010. The trip was made possible through generous support from the DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages) programme of the Volkswagen Foundation (for work on Jaminjung) and in a Gerhard Laves Scholarship from the Australian Linguistic Society. During my trip, I was based in Katherine. A week-long excursion was undertaken to Timber Creek (300km away from Katherine) from where I visited the communities of Myatt, Bulla and Gilwi. Furthermore, I spent three days in Ngukurr (300 km).

Most of the people I worked with were experienced language workers having been involved in different types of language work through the years. Except for one Ngaliwurru speaker based in the Kalano AgeCare Centre in Katherine, all Jaminjung speakers had previously worked with Eva Schultze-Berndt and/or Candide Simard within the DoBeS project. I was made aware of the Ngaliwurru speaker by Greg Dickson who had worked with her in a small language project for the Batchelor Institute and introduced to her by another speaker of Jaminjung who was based in Katherine.

All of the Kriol speakers had also been experienced language workers and originated from Ngukurr. Two were licensed interpreters for the Aboriginal Interpreter Service in Katherine and were introduced to me by local linguist Eugenie Collyer. Four other speakers had been involved in the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) bible translation project into Kriol and were kindly introduced to me by Elodie Fache who worked with a number of different Ngukurr residents on land management issues and was based in Ngukurr Language Centre at the time.

The recording sessions usually took place at a quiet spot outdoors near the speaker's home. Sessions often involved a number of people, some participated actively and others

only listened or provided Kriol- and/or English translations and explanations when I was unable to understand something. Two elderly speakers had very bad eyesight and therefore needed explanations in Jaminjung and/or Kriol from relatives present on the visual stimuli provided. For these sessions, speakers were paid the rate set by the local Language Centres.

The purpose of the fieldwork was to gather data on motion event descriptions specifically for both languages under consideration. During the trip I worked with twelve different Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru and six Kriol speakers. Most sessions were video-, picture- and table-top- based elicitations. The total recordings made amounted to 23 hours and 45 minutes of audio- and 2 hours and 30 minutes of video-recordings.

For cross-linguistic comparison, three Jaminjung Frog Story narrations were collected to complement existing recordings by Eva Schultze-Berndt. Additionally, I collected seven Kriol Frog Stories. The Frog Story (Mayer, 1969) is a picture-book based elicitation tool that has been widely used for cross-linguistic research into narrative style and structure, language acquisition and motion event encoding, e.g. (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009, Slobin, 1992, Stroemqvist and Verhoeven, 2004).

A naturalistic video-based tool specifically developed to investigate encodings of the path component for the *Trajectoire Project*[9] (Fortis et al., ongoing), was also used with three (groups of) Jaminjung speakers and with one Kriol speaker. The stimulus consists of 76 different fifteen to twenty second long clips enacting a variety of motion events and was shown on a laptop screen to the speakers.

I had also developed a set of PowerPoint (ppt) based animated stimuli to specifically investigate telicity in motion events, Frames of Reference in motion, Motion Event Segmentation and the Boundary Crossing Constraint. These were elicited in six sessions each for either language.

To elicit potential differences in encoding telic (i.e. reaching a goal) and atelic (i.e. going towards a goal without reaching it) motion events, I used three different animated clip pairs where the figure either reached a goal or stopped somewhere along the way as seen in Figure 1.

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[9] I would herewith particularly like to thank Colette Grinevald for granting me permission to make use of this highly valuable stimulus.
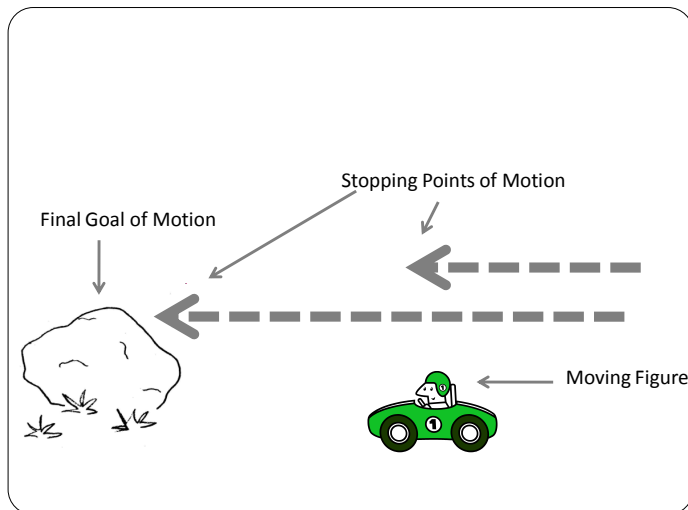
Figure 1: Telicity Stimulus

The use of Frames of References with particular emphasis on their usage in motion event descriptions were partly explored using a presentation of five different clips showing a figure (a car or a kangaroo) moving in referential relation to some ground. For example, the scene in Figure 2 could have been described by speakers using relative (20), absolute, intrinsic (if a speaker perceived the nails in the fence as being part of the intrinsic back of the fence), or deictic terms (19).

(19) **ngiyinthu -ngurrinygi**   barrigi   dibard –mayan   ga-ngga
     PROX -SIDE:LOC   paddock   jump-CONT   3SG-go.PRS
     'it jumps on this side of the fence' (DH10_A04_03.102, NR)

(20) kenguru   bin   hop-hop   **biyain**   la   fens
     kangaroo   AUX.PST   RDP-hop   behind   LOC   fence
     'the kangaroo hopped behind the fence' (DH10_A14_03_0024, JaR)

However, the option of absolute Frame was not taken by any Kriol or Jaminjung speaker. I am aware of the limitations a video-based stimulus for Frames of Reference has. Especially absolute FoR might not be used by speakers in such elicitation sessions because, the events shown are displayed out of context and not within a real world setting. This might be the reason for speakers describing the event in Figure 3 with deictic and relative instead of absolute terms (intrinsic FoR is not an option here, because the fence does not have an intrinsic 'front' or 'back' of its own).

   Therefore, in addition to this specific elicitation session, I also analysed the use of FoRs in communicative discourse environments with particular emphasis on route descriptions.

In such types of discourse, descriptions of motion and location often included absolute terms as shown in examples (21) and (22).

(21) *marraj*   *ba-jga,*   **buya***!*
     go.past   IMP-go   downstream
     'go past, downstream' (ES95_A25_0026)

(22) *yuwayi*   **sangodan-wei**   *yu*   *gota*   *go*
     yes   west-way   2SG   FUT   go
     'yes, you have to go westwards' (DH10_A15_06_0016, JoJo)

Frames of Reference are discussed in detail in chapter 5 for both languages.
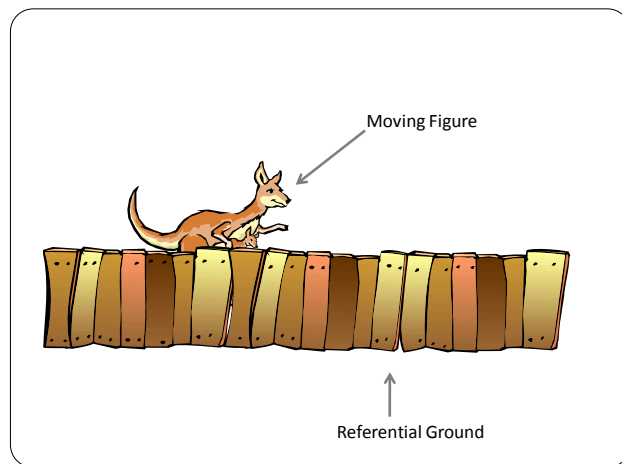
Figure 2: Frames of Reference in Motion Elicitation Stimulus

Another stimulus aimed to elicit Motion Event Segmentation. This is a typological approach introduced by Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) that classifies languages according to their ability to express one, two or all three (goal, passed ground and source) grounds under a single semantic property and (usually) within one VP. The stimulus here was a ppt presentation of eight clips showing a figure such as a boat, a car or a kangaroo moving among multiple grounds as shown in Figure 3. The results of my analysis of this issue as well as an introduction to the proposal are found in sections 6.2.1.2 for Jaminjung and 6.2.2.2 for Kriol.
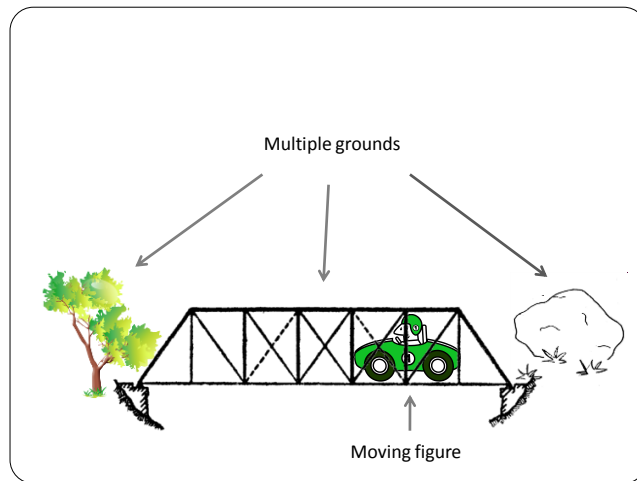
Figure 3: Motion Event Segmentation Stimulus

Finally, the notion of Boundary-Crossing was also elicited using an animated ppt stimulus. It has been claimed that a language's lexicalisation pattern also triggers other types of constraints (Slobin and Hoiting, 1994, Slobin, 2006). The authors observed that in verb-framed languages, the crossing of a boundary in a motion event description, although structurally available, is never used in discourse. For example, the Spanish equivalent of the English example (23) would be 'exit flying' with a subordinate manner-encoding satellite instead of encoding within the verb itself. However, in discourse, this option appears never to be taken by speakers of a verb-framed language such as Spanish. I wanted to investigate this proposal for Jaminjung and Kriol as well

(23) The owl flew out of the hole.

Therefore, my stimulus featured ten motion events including a boat crossing under a bridge, a girl, car and kangaroo moving out of and into a fenced area through a gate and a bird flying out of and into its cage. This was used to investigate whether speakers used manner of motion descriptions in motion events where some kind of boundary, such as the cage in Figure 4, was crossed. This phenomenon is analysed for both languages in section 6.4.
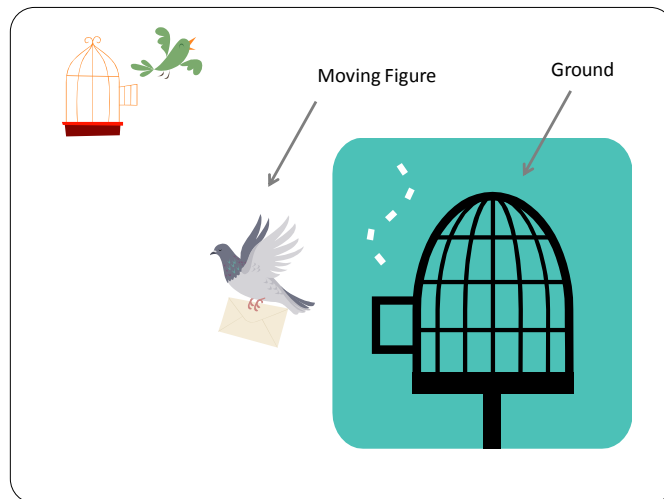
Figure 4: Boundary-Crossing Stimulus

Also, three sessions were held using ad-hoc table-top stimuli for deictic expressions and general clarification using toy animals and trees.

In addition to these stimuli-based sessions, I also recorded one not-previously documented dreamtime story with two speakers of Jaminjung. Furthermore, three Jaminjung and Kriol route descriptions (i.e. motion event descriptions which have the purpose of directing a listener from one place of departure to a specified goal describing grounds along the way that mark changes of direction) each were recorded, two of which are videos.

This chapter provided a brief overview of grammatical prerequisites for Jaminjung and Kriol. These will be complemented by a discussion of structural and conceptual elements of motion event descriptions in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Furthermore, previous research on the two languages was introduced and brought in relation to the contents of this thesis. Finally, methods of data-collection were presented as well as corpora and datasets used for throughout the thesis for examples and particularly for the discourse-based analyses in chapters 6 and 7.

3 The Structure of Motion Expressions in Jaminjung

Jaminjung is of particular interest for an investigation of motion event descriptions due to a number of features which cannot easily be explained by existing typological studies as introduced in chapter one. Let us take a closer look at some structural features of motion event descriptions in the introductory example (24) below from a Frog Story elicitation.

(24) <u>en</u>   malara   galu-galu   ah   yirr   ga-ram   gardag-ngunyi
     and   frog   RDP-footwalk ah   move.out 3SG-come:PRS tin-ABL
     'and the frog, it comes right out of the tin, walking' (DH10_A11_05_0020, MM)

In the heart of the motion event description, the fact of motion is encoded. In Jaminjung this is often a complex predicate combining an inflecting verb of motion with one or more coverbs. In example (24), the intransitive general locomotion verb (i.e. locomotion is here defined as 'self-propelled motion along a path' (Schultze-Berndt, 2000)) *-ruma* 'come' encodes the fact of motion in addition to deictic orientation of the motion event towards the speaker.

The verb phrase in example (24) is a complex predicate consisting of two coverbs preceding the inflecting verb, one encoding the manner of motion (*galu* 'walk') and the other additional path information (*yirr* 'move out'). According to a Talmy (1996b) and Slobin (2004), path is an obligatory element of every translocational motion event description. Even 'bare verbs' (i.e. motion verbs standing on their own without any kind of locative addition) provide some path information in the inherent directionality of the verb itself (Slobin, 1996a:200). However, to express a more specialised path component such as 'moving out of somewhere', a path coverb (and/or some kind of ground encoding such as *gardag-ngunyi* 'from the tin') is needed.

Manner (here *galu* 'moving on foot') on the other hand, can never be expressed in the inflecting verb. This division of labour for denoting conceptual elements of motion events poses a challenge for typological assumptions by Talmy (1985b) and Slobin (1996a) as will be discussed in section 6.1. A description of the verb phrase, including different types of coverbs and inflecting verbs encoding motion events, will be the subject of section 3.3.

An additional way of encoding path information is to include source, goal and/or a passed ground in the motion event description. In example (24) this is the ablative-marked source NP *gardag* 'tin' encoding the starting point of the event. While a figure, here *malara* 'frog', is mandatory in any motion event description, any ground might be added by a speaker to include further spatial information. Encodings strategies of figure ground are subject of sections 3.1 and 3.2.

This chapter as a whole will form the basis of a thorough analysis of the use of these encoding strategies for conceptual components in discourse in the following chapter 6. Furthermore, my observations on ground encodings in particular will play a role for an investigation into Jaminjung's Frames of Reference in chapter 5.

3.1   The Figure of a Motion Event

The following two sections 3.1 and 3.2 explore the function of noun phrases within a motion event description in Jaminjung focussing on the encoding of figure, goal, source, and passed grounds as defined in section 1.2.1.

The figure in an intransitive Jaminjung motion expression needs to be movable. It is generally, but not necessarily animate. In example (25) this is the absolute (unmarked) nominal (*motika* 'car') moving in relation to the allative-marked goal *geit* 'gate' and in the direction of the speaker as indicated by the proximal deictic directional *yinthuwurla* 'towards here'. The absolute noun phrase can act as an intransitive subject (25) or the object of a transitive verb phrase (26) and the allative-marked NP denotes the place towards which the motion event is directed (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:55-59). Both subject and object NPs are cross-referenced in the IVs bound personal pronoun.

(25) __motika__   *jungulug*   *ga-ram*   <u>*geit*</u> *–bina…*
     car   one   3SG-come:PRS   gate -ALL
     yinthuwurla =wung   *ga-ram*
     PROX:DIR=RESTR   3SG-come:PRS
     'the one car comes to the gate, it comes here' (DH10_A04_02_0023, NR)

Inanimate figures only occur with transitive inflecting verbs for example with the IVs of accompaniment *–uga* 'take' and *–anJama* 'bring'. In example (26), the agent encoded in the bound pronoun is a moving figure together with the patient *gagawuli* 'long yam'

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additionally encoded in the bound pronoun. Therefore, unlike English *take* and *bring*, *-uga* and *–anJama* necessarily entail locomotion of the agent and not only the patient.

(26) *burr-anyjama=biya   buru,   gagawuli* \
     3PL>3SG-bring:IMPF=NOW   return   long.yam
     'they used to bring it back, the long yam' (ES99_V01_06ATG.158, CP)

3.2 Strategies of Ground Descriptions

3.2.1 General Explicit and Implicit Ground Encoding Strategies and Types of Grounds

This section aims to give an overview of types of lexical items and noun phrase types that can express ground in Jaminjung. Generally, the ground can either be the source, goal or passed ground of motion. Furthermore, a general location of motion can be expressed as *in the woods* in example (27). I will focus here, however, on goal, source and passed ground only.

(27) *Tom is running in the woods.*

Generally, to express ground explicitly, several types of noun phrases are used, namely common nouns used as landmarks (*kul-bina* 'to the school' in (28) and *wagurra-bina* 'to the rock' in (29)), deictics (*ngiya-ngunyi* 'from here' in (31)), and toponyms (*Bullita* in (29)). A general direction of motion can also be expressed in deictic as well as absolute terms (such as *manamba* 'upstream' in (30) and *janggagu* 'up' in (28)). In such cases only a general direction is encoded and not a specific landmark as the goal of motion. However, absolute terms are not restricted to directional use, since they also take a special set of case-markers which will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2 on Jaminjung's Frames of Reference.

(28) *buru=biya   yirr-angga   kul-bina   janggagu*
     return =NOW 13PL go.PRS   school-ALL   up
     "let's go back, up to the school!" (ES08_A13_01tt.045, JM)

(29) **Bullita -ngunyi**=biyang burduj   **wagurra-bina**
    N_top-ABL=NOW   go.up   rock-ALL
     'and went up from Bullita, on the hill' (ES01_A07_03tt_0277, DB)

(30) yirrbag   yirri-jga-ny   **manamba** <u>na</u>,
    move.over 13PL-go-PST   upstream now
    'we moved over then, upstream' (ES96_A10_02.019, DB)

(31) jid   ga-rdirdirdba=ngardi   **ngiya-ngunyi**   yarr
    go.down   3SG-RDP:fall:IMPF=SFOC2   PROX-ABL   in.one.line
    ga-yu=ma   ngarndi   jad
    3SG-be.PRS=SUBORD   SFOC2   upright
    'from this one he would go down in one line, the one who is standing up'
    (ES97_A03_10_0170, IP)[10]

In addition to these explicit references, ground can also be encoded implicitly. This can be done by conflating ground and path in a coverb (32). The path coverb *bu* 'enter water' encodes within it the motion path (into some liquid ground) as well as the ground itself (a liquid, typically water). Alternatively, the IV itself (-*unga* 'leave' in (33)) may encode a ground in a direct object cross-referenced in the bound pronoun. Semantically, it "expresses that a figure moves away from another participant" (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:282) which is the ground. This is contrary to what the English gloss suggests, since *leave* does not actually encode motion but a change of location at the exact time of departure as in *He left the house*.

(32) Ben=marlang bugu   digirrij=jung   **bu**   ga-rdba-ny   gambaja
    B.=GIVEN   just   die=RESTR   enter.water   3SG-fall-PST   laugh
    'Ben just fell down in the water, laughing so much' (ES08_A04_06tt_0261, IP)

(33) yugung gan-**unga**-m   thanthu   jarr
    run   3SG>3SG-leave-PRS.   DEM   put.down.one
    gana-rra-ny   mali
    3SG>3SG-put -PST   thing
    'she ran away from it, and put down that thing' (ES96_A04_01tt.0296, DP)

All of the above mentioned ground specifications can, of course, be combined as in example (28) where a directional and a ground-denoting goal NP occur in the same clause. In terms of the type of coding of source and goal identified by (Levinson and

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[10] This example describes a boy balancing on a bough shade rail.

Wilkins, 2006a:535-536), these observations then make Jaminjung a language that encodes grounds in both verbs and NPs as described for Arrernte as well. For Jaminjung this includes inflecting verbs alone and uninflecting ground-encoding coverbs. However, the number of source and goal encoding inflecting verbs and complex predicates is strictly limited, making NP marking the most common strategy.

   Within the NP, three case-markers for locative, ablative (section 3.2.3) and allative (3.2.2) case have primary but not exclusively spatial functions. Locative case is marked by *-gi* or *–g* and is used to indicate static location (including the location of a motion event as a whole as in examples (34) and (35) in the sense of 'along'. Furthermore, it may denote the endpoint of a change of location event, and a passed ground (3.2.4).

(34) *waya-waya   ga-yu   **wagurra-g** burduj   ga-jga-ny %*
    RDP-shout   3SG-be.PRS   rock-LOC   go.up   3SG-go-PST
    'he is calling out and climbed up a rock'(ES96_A07_01tg_0094, DBit)

(35) *yawayi   **barrig-gi**   ga-jga-ny*
    yes   paddock-LOC   3SG-go-PST
    'yes it went along the fence' (ES96_V05_03_DH_0121, JM)

In Jaminjung, deixis can either be encoded as a semantic component of the verb root (37) or in distal or proximal demonstratives (36).

(36) *bunth-uma-ny=biya::ng   **ngiya***
    3DU-come.PST=NOW   PROX
    'the two came here' (ES96_A07_01tg_0180, DP)

(37) *gujarding=biya   **ga-ngga**   murdab,   buru   **ga-ram**   nu,*
    mother =NOW   3SG-go.PRS   walkabout   return   3SG-come.PRS   3SG.OBL
    'the mother then goes hunting, and comes back for her' (ES99_V01_06ATG.095, CP)

Deictic nominal demonstratives in Jaminjung have adverbial and adnominal forms. Whereas the former can function as adverbials and adnominal determiners (38), the latter more usually have adnominal determiner function but also occur as head nouns (39).

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(38) *tharrei-ngunyi=biyang*   *bunburr*   *burra-rra-m,*
     there-ABL=NOW   take.off.multiple   3PL-come-PRS
     [langiny   yina-ngunyi]   *ngiya-bina=biyang*
     wood   DIST-ABL   here-ALL=NOW
     'from there they come out, from those trees to here' (ES97_A03_01.102/103, IP)

(39) *yirrbag*   *ba-rum*   *girrang* **[ngiya-bina**   *ngarlu-bina]*   *na" %*
     move.over   IMP-come   wait   PROX-ALL   shade-ALL   now
     'move here to the shade!' (ES96_A10_01.035, DB)

3.2.2 The Marking of a Goal of Motion

In Jaminjung, the goal or endpoint of a motion event is encoded with the allative case-marker *-bina*. This marking, however, is not mandatory for certain types of goals. Toponyms (40), directional and deictic terms (41) can be left unmarked for case, whereas landmarks cannot.

(40) *na-w-ijga=biyang*   **Binjari**
     2SG-POT-go=NOW   n_top
     'will you go to Binjari?' (ES01_A03_02.005, IP)

(41) *bunth-uma-ny=biya::ng*   **ngiya**   *%*
     3DU-come.PST=NOW   PROX
     'the two came here' (ES96_A07_01tg_0180, DP)

When absolute terms are case-marked, they denote an endpoint of motion rather than just a general direction. In example (42), the speaker encourages the addressee to go to a certain place upstream rather than simply the general direction. Similarly, in (43), which is a scene from the frog story, the upward motion of the boy and the dog after falling into the water ends at the water's surface. In example (44) on the other hand, the absolute term encodes a general direction that does not have a definite end. However, there does not have to be a structural encoding in the form of case-markers to indicate this distinction.

(42) *ba-jga*   **manamba-bina**" *dumaj*   *hi*   *tok*
     IMP-go   upstream-ALL   too.much   3SG   talk
     '"go upstream", he said,' (ES96_A10_02.016, DB)

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(43) bu   buny-girda –ny… **janggagu-bina**
     enter.water   3DU> -fall–PST   up-ALL
     'both fell into the water (and then went) up' (DH10_A10_05_0247-0248, JM)

(44) gudarrg   jirram-ni   biyang   diwu
     brolga   two-ERG/INST   now   fly
     buny-guga   *gugu=malang …* **thanggagu**
     3DU>3SG- take.PST   wate =GIVEN   up
     'the two brolgas took the water up (into the sky) flying' (DH10_A07_03b_0060, R)

With predicates of change of location[11] rather than motion in a narrow sense, NPs can be locative-case marked as in example (45). *Gunjalg-gi* 'on the ground' here is in fact not a goal or endpoint of motion, but a new location to which the figure is being displaced, because the IV *-irdba* 'fall' is not a locomotion verb.

(45) **gunjalg-gi**   *balarrgu =biya*   *ga-rdba-ny*
     ground-LOC   outside =NOW   3SG-fall-PST
     'it falls outside on(to) the ground' (ES96_V04_02tr_DH_0273, EH)

Finally, when ground NPs occur as direct objects of the goal-ground-conflating transitive IVs *-wardagarra* 'follow' or *-arrga* 'approach' (*yangarra* 'kangaroo' in (46)), they remain unmarked for case. It is possible, however, to also include an allative-marked goal NP as in example (47), where *gumard* 'road' is the direct object, and the toponym *Magulamayi* encodes a goal.

(46) yangarra   bardaj   gan-arrgantha-ya
     kangaroo   sneak.up   3SG>3SG-approach-PRS
     'he sneaks up on the kangaroo,' (ES97_A02_03.296, DP)

(47) gumard yirri-wardagarra–ny   Magulamayi-bina
     road   13PL>3SG- follow-PST   n_top-ALL
     'Me and her followed the road to Magulamayi' (ES95_A20_routedescr_031, MMc)

Toponyms are optionally case-marked. My complete corpus-search revealed that about one third of goal toponyms are case-marked. These are usually cases where source or

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[11] For a full discussion on *–irdba* 'fall' as a change of location IV please refer to (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:23-32).

passed ground are also mentioned in the same clause or in close proximity and thus a need for distinction is given (48).

(48) *Timber   Creek-ngunyi biya   yurru-rum-any*
　　 N_top-ABL　　　　　 now　　12PL-come-PST
　　 marraj=ung   yurr-ijga-ny   Gregory-bina
　　 go.past=RESTR   12PL-go-PST   n_top-ALL
　　 'we came from Timber Creek, the two of us went past, to Gregory'
　　 (ES95_A20_routedescr_001, DB)

Locational nominals, including deictics and absolute terms can be distinguished from other types of nominals by a special set of case-markers. For goal-encoding, the allative case-marker *-ngining* as in example (49) is used. Here the marker is used with a deictic directional *yinawurla* 'towards there' as well as the absolute term *manamba* 'upstream'. Absolute terms can indicate static location (50) or direction of motion (49), (44). Their usage within Jaminjung's Frame of Reference system will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2.

(49) **yinawurla-ngining**=*biyang*   *diwu ba-wardgiya*   **manamba-ngining,**
　　 DIST:DIR-L.ALL=NOW   fly   IMP- throw   upstream -L.ALL
　　 gani-bardgiya   wilan-ni   maja
　　 3SG>3SG- POT:throw   current -ERG   do.like.that
　　 'throw it (fishing line) over there upstream, the current will then take it like that'
　　 (ES97_A01_03.305, DB)

(50) *jawaguny   yinaya   burruyu   **manamba**::,*
　　 other.group   DIST   3PL-be.PRS upstream
　　 'another group is over there upstream' (ES97_A01_03.105, DB)

Deictics make use of the directional suffix *-wurla* 'towards' which only attaches to demonstratives to mark that a goal is not reached in a motion event description (52). It can also encode a location (51), but never a reached goal in a motion event description. When a deictic including the directional suffix *-wurla* is case-marked with the allative marker *–ngining*, the phrase denotes a reached goal. As a result, the semantic effect of *-wurla* described above, is then somewhat reversed as in (49), (53).

(51) *yagbali   burrajgina **yina-wurla**   __na__*
     place   3PL:POSS   DIST-DIR   NOW
     'their country is over there' (ES01_A07_03tt_0119, DB)

(52) *barraj   **ngiyawurla**   nga-ngga   buyi   %*
     further   PROX:DIR   1SG-go.PRS   keep.going
     "now I go over there", she keeps going' (ES97_A01_02tg_0092, IP)

(53) *yulij-ung-barraj   nga-ruma-ny   **ngiyinthu-wurla-ngining***
     do.symmetrically-RESTR-further   1SG-come-PST   PROX-DIR-LOC.ALL
     'I came in the opposite direction to here' (ES08_A08_01.0018, JM)

Allative-case-marking on deictic terms is, similarly to what has been observed for toponyms, optional. A closer look at my complete motion corpus (described in chapter 2) revealed that allative case-marking of deictics is in fact very rare. Only twelve out of 64 goal encodings in deictics were case-marked and an analysis of the environment in which they occur leads to the following hypothesis based on example (54) repeated from above: Case-marking of a deictic goal occurs when the source of motion is also mentioned and both occur within the same verb phrase or in very close proximity to one another. In such an expression, it appears necessary to explicitly distinguish the functions of the two grounds. This is in fact the case in six of the ten instances of allative case-marking on deictics when the terms were used as adverbials. The remaining four were adnominals in a noun phrase with other ground-denoting lexemes such as directionals or landmarks and were case-marked to ensure their interpretation as part of the goal phrase as in (55).

(54) *__tharrei__-ngunyi=biyang   bunburr   burra-rra-m,*
     there-ABL=NOW   take.off.multiple   3PL-come-PRS
     [langiny   yina-ngunyi]   ngiya-bina=biyang
     wood   DIST-ABL   here-ALL=NOW
     'from there they come out, from those trees to here' (ES97_A03_01.102/103, IP)

(55) *yirrbag   ba-rum   girrang [**ngiya-bina**   ngarlu-bina]   __na__" %*
     move.over   IMP-come   wait   PROX-ALL   shade-ALL   now
     'move here to the shade!' (ES96_A10_01.035, DB)

Verbs can also encode the goal of motion in oblique pronouns independent of transitivity. This strategy is used for animate goals as referents. In example (56) the

speaker describes a scene where a (toy) child returns to his mother and in (57) the oblique pronoun is used to refer to the speaker's home.

(56) buru   ga-ngga=**rnu** \
     return   3SG-go.PRS=3SG
     'he goes back to her' (ES96_V05_03_DH_0340, JM)

(57) ngarrgina   bugarli   ga-rum-any   **ngarrgu**
     1SG:POSS   cross-cousin   3SG-come-PST   1SG.OBL
     'my cousin came to me' (DH10_A06_07_0043, NC)

3.2.3 The Marking of a Source of Motion

In contrast to optional allative-marking, the source of motion is, always ablative-marked for landmarks (58), deictics (38), absolute terms, and toponyms (48). For Jaminjung the ablative marker is the suffix -ngunyi and for Ngaliwurru -giyag. The only exception is, again, the encoding of source as a direct object for the transitive IV -unga 'leave' in (59). The source often ((48), (58), (60), but not always (59) occurs in a clause initial position.

(58) **yagbali nuwina**-**ngunyi**   diwu   ga-jga-ny
     place   3SG:POSS -ABL   fly   3SG-go-PST
     'from its house it flew out' (DH10_A06_01_0200, NR)

(59) waj=biyang   gan-unga-ny   **wagurra**   yugung ga-jga-ny
     leave=NOW   3SG>3SG-leave-PST   rock / money run   3SG-go-PST
     '(the car) left the rock and drove off/along' (DH10_A12_03_0059, DR)

In addition to -ngunyi and -giyag, one Ngaliwurru-speakers appeared to generalise the Jaminjung origin-marker -nyunga to be used for source-encodings of motion events as well (60) rather than as the origin of an entity or non-locomotion event (61) (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:57).

(60) ngiyinthu-**nyunga**   ngarrgina–**nyunga** bugarli-**nyunga**
     PROX-ORIG   1SG:POSS-ORIG   cross-cousin -ORIG
     yagbali–**nyunga** buru=biya   nga-w-ijga
     place-ORIG   return=NOW   1SG-POT- go
     'from here from my cousin's place I might go back' (DH10_A06_07_0025, NC)

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(61) *barraj   lidburrg   burra-ilinyma–nyi   gattamarlga-nyunga*
       further   axe   3PL>3SG-make-IMPF   quartz-ORIG
       'they also made axes out of the quartz' (ES08_A04_02tt_0212, IP)

3.2.4 Passed Grounds

Passed grounds occur with the two passing event denoting coverbs *malang* 'cross' (64) and *marraj* 'go past' with one of the inflecting locomotion verbs (i.e. always encoding translational motion events)[12] in (62) and (63). In such clauses, the NP marking a passed ground has mandatory locative case-marking, unless it acts as a direct object of a transitive verb as in example (62).

(62) *motika   yugung ga-ngga …   marraj   marraj*
       car   run   3SG- go.PRS go.past   go.past
       marraj=ung   *gan-unga -m*   ***wagurra***
       go.past=RESTR   3SG>3SG- leave -PRS   rock / money
       'the car is going (and) it is going past the rock (leaves the rock going past)'
       (DH10_A03_04_0006, NR)

(63) ***jalbud-gi=marlang***   ***marraj***   *ga-ngga*
       house-LOC=GIVEN   go.past   3SG-go.PRS
       'it goes past the house' (DH10_A11_03_0035, MMc)

(64) *langiny -ngunyi …   buru   **malang** ga-ram …   **bindidurru-ni***
       wood-ABL …   return   cross   3SG-come.PST… bridge-LOC
       gurrirrij gurdij   ga-yu   wagurra-ni
       car   stand   3SG-be.PRS   rock / money -LOC
       'from the tree, it came back crossing the bridge and is now standing at the rock'
       (DH10_A13_03_0033, JoJ)

Finally, passed grounds may also be left implicit as in example (65) below, when the deictic centre is implicit as the passed ground.

(65) *Timber Creek-ngunyi   biya   yurru-rum-any*
       n_top-ABL   now   12PL-come-PST
       marraj=ung   yurr-ijga-ny   Gregory-bina
       go.past=RESTR   12PL-go-PST   n_top-ALL
       'we came from Timber Creek, the two of us went past (here), to Gregory'
       (ES95_A20_routedescr_001, DB)

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[12] For a full list and discussion of Jaminjung's inflecting verbs of locomotion and other types of IVs that occur in motion event descriptions, please refer to section 3.3.1 below.

3.3 The Verb Phrase in Motion Expressions

Two distinct predicative word classes are significant for the description of motion events in Jaminjung. On the one hand, there are a number of closed-class inflecting verbs denoting the fact of motion and the 'anchoring' of path. Their function in motion event descriptions will be discussed in section 3.3.1. On the other hand uninflecting coverbs from an open class express the bulk of semantic information (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:63). This is the subject of section 3.3.2.

Path is an obligatory element of any translocational motion event description (Slobin, 1996a). In Jaminjung, path is expressed to a limited extent in the inflecting verb (e.g. *-arrga* 'approach' in example (66)). Furthermore, more detailed information on path as well as optional manner of motion (*yugung* 'run') can be encoded in an accompanying coverb. However, this is not mandatory.

(66) *yugung =biya   gan-arrga   yinaya*
     run=NOW   3SG>3SG- approach.PST   DIST
     'he approached him running, over there' (ES01_A03_08tr_0033, IP)

3.3.1 Inflecting Verbs of Locomotion and Change of Location

The only obligatory structural element of a motion expression is an inflecting verb. In my complete motion event dataset, only 43% of all motion event expressions were complex predicates whereas in the frog story dataset these accounted for 53%.

Seven out of the about thirty-five members of the closed inflecting verb class are locomotion verbs. Schultze-Berndt (2006c:84-91) distinguishes locomotion from other types of verbs by their ability to combine with all manner of motion coverbs and allative- and ablative-marked grounds. Change of locative relation verbs on the other hand are not compatible with manner coverbs with the exception of some encoding 'ballistic' motion such as *dibard* 'jump'. Additionally, only change of locative relation verbs can have locative-marked goals as discussed in 3.2.2.

There are two intransitive locomotion verbs. The most general verb of motion is *-ijga* 'go'. It can also be interpreted as a functional antonym to a second deictic locomotion verb *-ruma* 'come' exemplified in (67) (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:84).

(67) yina   ga-**jga**-ny   manamba, buru   ga-**ruma**-ny \
     DIST 3SG-go.PST   upstream return   3SG-come-PST
     'she went upstream, and came back' (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:84)

With regards to the deictic IVs of motion, for *-ijga* 'go' deixis is generally unspecified and comes to play only in opposition to *-ruma* 'come' and then on the level of pragmatics only. Schultze-Berndt (2000:259) analyses *–ijga* 'go' following Wilkins and Hill (1995) in the sense that 'motion away from a deictic centre' can be regarded as a pragmatic inference and not semantic entailment of the verb. This becomes most evident in uses of *–ijga* 'go' where the verb encodes undirected motion such as circling or meandering as in example (68).[13]

(68) galbun=gun   lubayi   ngayin   **ga-ngga**
     kitehawk=CONTR   many   meat/animal 3SG-go.PRS
     'many kitehawk animals are circling (there)' (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:260)

For *–ruma* 'come' on the other hand, deixis is always encoded within the verb (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:267). Similarly to this pair, for their transitive locomotion counterparts *-uga* 'take' only receives deictic interpretation in opposition to *-anJama* 'bring' which always encodes deixis (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:269). The more specialised meanings of *-anJama* 'bring' and *-ruma* 'come' are also reflected in their distribution patterns since *-anJama* 'bring' as well as *-ruma* 'come' are about only one third as frequent as *-uga* 'take' and *-ijga* 'go' respectively in my complete motion dataset.

(69) bunth-uma-ny=biya::ng   **ngiya**
     3DU-come.PST=NOW   PROX
     'the two came here' (ES96_A07_01tg_0180, DP)

(70) gujarding=biya   **ga-ngga**   murdab,   buru   **ga-ram**   nu,
     mother=NOW   3SG-go.PRS   walkabout   return 3SG-come.PRS   3SG.OBL
     'the mother then goes hunting, and comes back for her' (ES99_V01_06ATG.095, CP)

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[13] For a detailed analysis of the semantics of *–ijga* 'go' in non-deictic meanings please refer to (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:chapter 5.3.2).

Five locomotion verbs are transitive. The verbs of 'accompanied locomotion' or transport *-uga* 'take' (not specified for deixis) and *-anJama* 'bring' (specified for deixis) were already discussed above. The other three locomotion verbs encode the orientation of path with respect to a second participant. The IV *-unga* 'leave' describes a path oriented away from a participant serving as a reference point. The converse of *-unga* 'leave' is *-arrga* 'approach' (71) which is used to describe scenes where a figure moves towards a participant which is encoded as an undergoer. The verb *-wardagarra* 'follow' describes a type of motion oriented towards a second participant which is also moving. All these verbs can be said to express 'path' only in the most general sense of 'motion along a sequence of locations' and further in the sense of 'motion oriented with respect to the deictic centre or a ground' (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:85-86).

> *(71) nga-b–**arrga**   ngiyina babiny-guluwa   yirrgbi-wu,*
>   1SG:3SG-POT:approach   DIST   elder.sister-KIN2   talking-DAT
>   'I'm going up to your older sister there for talking' (ES96_A08_02.036, IP)

The semantic components of the seven locomotion IVs are thus,

   a) Translational motion (*-ijga* 'go')
   b) Accompaniment by a secondary participant (*-uga* 'take', *-anthama* 'bring' – entailing in addition to encoding caused motion of the object, translational motion of the subject)
   c) Deixis (deictic *-ruma* 'come', *-anJama* 'bring' distinguished from their non-deictic counterparts *-ijga* 'go' and '*-uga* 'take')
   d) Motion as defined in terms of a reference point away from or towards which the motion is directed (*-unga* 'leave', *-arrga* 'approach' and *-bardagarra* 'follow') (Schultze-Berndt, 2007a:227)

In addition to these true locomotion verbs, there is a second class of IVs which may combine with expressions of ground and/or path to encode motion events. These are verbs of change of locative relation and (caused) ballistic motion; *-irdba* 'fall', *-wardgiya* 'throw' (72) and *-arra* 'put'. With these verbs, goal location may be expressed not only by an allative-marked noun phrase (72), but also by a locative marked NP (73) (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:88-90). The IV *-irdba* 'fall' entails a change of location, but not ongoing durative movement. In example (74) a speaker describes skydiving people. Here, *-irdba* is only used in the past tense to encode the change of location from the airplane into the open sky. To describe the ongoing falling action, on the other hand, the general

locomotion verb -*ijga* 'go' in the present tense is combined with a path encoding coverb *jid* 'go down'.

(72) *bayirr*   *nganth-**ardgiya**-ny=biya*   *langiny-bina*   <u>*na*</u>
supported 2SG>3SG-throw-PST=NOW   wood-ALL   now
'you threw it over a branch now' (fishing line, in order to hold it up) (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:88)

(73) *diwu* *ganuny-bardgiya-ny*   ***gugu-g*** *%*
fly   3SG:3DU-throw-PST   water-LOC
'it threw the two into the water' (ES96_A07_01tg_0222, DBit)

(74) *dibadibard*   *burr-irdba-ny*   *jawagun % jirrama=biyang*
RDP-jump   3PL-fall-PST   other.lot   two=NOW
buny-angga %   *thanyungbari=guji biyang*   *ga:-ngga,*   *jid   %*
3DU:3SG-go-PRS   other=FIRST   NOW   3SG-go.PRS   go.down
'the others jumped down. Two are now going (down). Another one is already going down now' (Schultze-Berndt, 2006a:555)

Three other IVs may be used in combination with a restricted set of coverbs to express motion events: -*mili/-angu* 'get/handle', -*yu(nggu)* 'say/do', and –*ma* 'hit'. The types of coverbs they occur with are discussed in the following section 3.3.2.

3.3.2 Coverbs of Manner and Path[14]

Coverbs add semantic information concerning manner and additional path information to the inflecting verb in a complex predicate encoding a motion event. For my analysis, I distinguish between two types of coverbs. Firstly, path-encoding coverbs include such ones that denote emergence (77), direction of motion (75) and ground (76). They can combine with inflecting verbs of locomotion (75) and change of locative relation (83). Furthermore, completion of path is encoded in complex predicates with –*ma* 'hit' as in (77). The IV –*mili/-angu* 'get/handle' appears in expressions of pursuit, and –*yu(nggu)* 'say/do' can be used to denote direction of motion (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:91).

(75) *thamurrugu* ***jid***   *nga- angga*   *ngarrgina-wurru*   <u>*shoping*</u>-*u*
down   go.down   1SG- go.PRS   1SG:POSS-PROPR   shopping -DAT
'I go down for my shopping' (DH10_V01_01_0034, NR)

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[14] Complete tables of manner and path coverbs and corresponding examples can be found in the appendix in 10.2.

(76) **dibard   bu**   ga-rdba-ny   gugu-bina
     jump   enter.water   3SG-fall-PST   water -ALL
     'it jumped diving into the water' (ES96_V04_03tr_DH_0053, EH)

(77) bul ..   gana-**ma**-nyi \
     emerge 3SG>3SG-hit-IMPF
     'it came up again' (ES99_V0106b_ctg.024, VP)

Path coverbs might not only encode the path with respect to an intermediate ground such as *marraj* 'go past' (78) but also a path shape such as *warlig* 'go around, i.e. in a circle or semi circled path' (79).

(78) yawayi, **marraj**   ga-jga-ny   warrng-warrng
     yes   go.past   3SG-go-PST   RDP-walk)
     'she walked past' (ES96_A08_03tg_0314, IP)

(79) gurrurrij … buru   waljub ga-ngga   burdun-bina   **warlig**-bari-mayan
     car   return inside 3SG-go.PRS   humpy-ALL   around-QUAL-CONT
     'the car went back inside the house, it went around it' (DH10_A13_04_0021, JoJ)

Coverbs of emerging combine with locomotion inflecting verbs as in (80) and *–ma* 'hit' only. In the latter, the complex predicate then has a change of location not locomotion meaning as in (81), where the movement is viewed as non-durative and completed whereas in (80) motion along a path is still ongoing.

(80) buru   **yirr**   ga-ram
     return   move.out   3SG-come:PRS
     'she comes back out' (DH10_A11_01_0039, MM)

(81) yinju=biya   **wirr**   gani-ma
     PROX:DIR =NOW   move.out   3SG>3SG- hit.PST
     'it moved out here' (DH10_A10_01_0261, EM)

Secondly, manner coverbs combine with locomotion verbs as in (82). Furthermore, few coverbs (*yugung* 'run' (84), *yawal* 'run (of multiple entities)' and *warrng* 'walk') can combine with *–yu(nggu)* 'say/do' and and *diwu* 'fly' can occur with the caused-motion IV -w*ardgiya* 'throw' as in (73) above but also with locomotion verbs. They can also

encode ballistic motion with change of locative relation IVs such as *dibard* 'jump' in (76)
(Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:91).

(82) ya   **yawal**   *burra- ngga*   *lubayi*
    yes   run.many   3PL-go.PRS   many
    'many are running'(ES96_a04_01tt.0254, DP)

(83) *yawayi* **gabarl**   *yirr-**angu**=murlu*
    yes   come.close   13PL>3SG- get/handle.PST =COLL1
    'yes, we caught up!' (ES08_A04_06tt_0042, EH)

(84) **yugung** *gan-**unggu**-m*   *ba-yu=nu*
    run   3SG>3SG- say/do -PRS   IMP- say/do =3SG
    'tell her, she is running' (ES96_a04_01tt.0147, IP)

There are also some rare highly specialised manner coverbs. For example, some encode
the manner of movement that is being used to make a specific type of (identifiable) track
as in example (85).

(85) **balabbalab**-*mayan*   *ga-ngga*   *wirib*   %
    make.dog.track –CONT   3SG-go.PRS   dog
    'the dog is going along making a dog track' (ES03_A01_01tr_0040, DP)

Two other coverbs in examples (87) and (38) earlier only occur with locomotion IVs and
with *-mili/-angu* 'get/handle' in a causative reading as in (86), which distinguishes them
from the other path coverbs. Therefore, I include them here in the same class as manner
encoding coverbs.

(86) <u>*dumaji*</u>.. **bunburr**   <u>*na*</u> *gan-angu,*
    because   take.off.multiple now 3SG:3SG-get/handle.PST
    'because he had made them come out'(ES96_A18_02tg_0061, CP)

(87) *marlayi =biyang …*   <u>*wan-said*</u>*=wung ga-jga-ny*   **bawu** *…* <u>*geit*</u> *-giyag*
    woman=NOW   one -side=RESTR 3SG-go-PST   open   gate -ABL
    'the woman went from the gate, from one side to the open' (DH10_A12_01_0018,
    DR)

Manner and path coverbs can also combine in one VP encoding both concepts in one
complex predicate as in (88).

(88) **warrng-warrng** *ji*   **buru**   *ga-ngga %*
     RDP-walk   3SG   return   3SG-go.PRS
     'she is walking back, her' (ES96_A08_03tg_0176, IP)

3.3.3 Summary

Generally, as mentioned at the beginning of the section, regarding motion event descriptions, complex predicates account for about half of all verb phrases in my motion event datasets. A more detailed analysis of the distribution of path and manner encodings in discourse is included in chapter 5. While only coverbs can be used to encode manner, the path component of a motion description is denoted in both the inflecting verb and an optional coverb (and other parts of the motion event such as ground NPs and directionals as discussed in section 3.2). In addition to path and manner, coverbs can also denote properties of the ground itself (e.g. *bu* 'enter.water'). Some are furthermore specialised for use in locomotion (e.g. *jid* 'go down) and/or change of location (e.g. *dibard* 'jump') respectively.

3.4 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the grammatical and lexical resources for the encoding of motion events in Jaminjung. After discussing the grammatical and semantic properties of the figure in a motion event description in section 3.1, case-marking strategies of all three types of ground descriptions (goal, source and passed ground) were introduced in 3.2. Within this section, deixis and locative nominals and their specialised set of case-markers were also examined. Regarding ground-encodings, I come to the conclusion that while a source of motion is always ablative marked, passed ground and goal are optionally locative and allative marked for a restricted set of grounds, namely toponyms, and deictic and absolute terms.

Following this, simple and complex verb phrases with regards to my study of motion event encodings were discussed in section 3.3. It was shown that a high number of (mainly transitive) closed-class inflecting verbs may be used in motion event encodings (13 out of approximately 35 IVs) in 3.3.1. To form complex predicates coverbs of path, manner and ground-encoding are added to the verb phrase (3.3.2).

As a result, this chapter serves as a base for the remainder of the thesis in introducing the most significant features of the language necessary to comprehend a discourse-based approach to motion presented in chapter 6, including Talmy's (1985b, 2000a, 2000b, 2007, 2009) typology of lexicalisation patterns in 6.1, path (6.2) and manner (6.3) salience. The brief introduction to locational nominals will additionally be of importance in chapter 5 on Frames of Reference. Furthermore, the deictic preliminaries discussed here will be of use in chapter 7 when I discuss the use of deictics in discourse and special properties of motion event encodings in route descriptions.

The following chapter 4 will introduce Kriol in a similar manner and conclude in a brief comparative view on the two languages concerning the structural and conceptual components of motion events described here.

4 The Structure of Motion Expressions in Kriol

As introduced briefly in section 2.2, Kriol is an English-lexified Creole that is today the major means of communication among Aboriginal people throughout Northern Australia. All speakers of Jaminjung also speak Kriol, but there are also many Kriol-speakers with different aboriginal language backgrounds or for whom Kriol is the only language. Therefore, from a typological perspective the language is of interest for a number of reasons. This chapter provides the basis for my investigation into whether structural elements such as lexicalisation patterns (Talmy, 1985b, 2007) (in section 6.1) and conceptual components such as Frames of Reference (Levinson, 1996a, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998) (in chapter 5) are adopted from the lexifier language or if other factors such as cultural (and linguistic) background might also play a role in the choice.

In section 4.2 it will be shown, that structurally, Kriol shows a number of differences to Jaminjung. While, for example, ground expressions in Jaminjung can be encoded in the motion verb as well as the ground NP, Kriol only makes use of NP-encoding. This chapter will therefore also include a comparative summary of Jaminjung and Kriol features in section 4.4.

Example (89) shows a number of typical features of motion event expressions in Kriol that will be discussed in this chapter.

> (89) imin   kam-at   from   det   keib   en   wok-ap   la   hil
>   3SG:AUX.PST come-out ABL:from that cave   and   walk-up   ALL:to hill
>   'she came out from the cave and walked up the hill' (DH10_A05_02_0048, JaR)

Grounds in motion event encodings are marked with prepositions – *from* for ablative and *la* for allative and locative case glossed as 'to, towards, at, on, into'. In (89) the NP *from det keib* 'from the cave' encodes the source and *la hil* 'at/on the hill' the location of motion. Structure and constraints of ground encodings will be discussed in section 4.2 including prepositions and adpositions, special properties of absolute nominals, deictic expressions and a suffix encoding direction.

Motion verbs will be subject of section 4.3. As shown in example (89), in Kriol, manner is expressed in the verb itself (*wok* 'walk') and the path component is added in a satellite attached to a general motion (*kam-at* 'come out, exit') or manner verb (*wok-ap* 'walk

up(wards)'). Furthermore, serial verb constructions also play a role in motion expressions and are discussed in section 4.3.3.

4.1   The Figure of a Motion Event

As introduced in chapter 1, according to Talmy (2007:70-71), a translational motion event generally consists of at least three conceptual components, namely the figure, the ground and the path. In addition to these internal components, a motion event can be associated with an external co-event of manner and/or cause. This section explores the encoding of the figure in a motion event and will be complemented by section 4.2 on ground encodings.

In Kriol, figures as well as grounds are generally encoded by noun phrases consisting of a head plus optional modifiers and determiners, nominalised adjectives, pronouns and pronominal demonstratives (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming).

The figure in an intransitive Kriol translational motion expression, just like in Jaminjung is animate or comparable to an animate entity (91), unless a ballistic type of motion is expressed when motion of the figure is determined by an exterior gravitational force (90). In example (91) the animate figure is encoded in the third person pronoun *im* 'he' moving in relation to the goal NP *rok* 'rock' which is preceded by the preposition *la* indicating a location. Additionally, a specific intrinsic side of the ground NP is encoded in the adverbial *ontop* 'on top' as the endpoint of motion.

(90) *det   bihaiv   bin   boldan from   det   tri*
    that   beehive   AUX.PST   fall   ABL:from   that tree
    'the beehive fell down from the tree' (DH10_A14_06_0062, JaR)

(91) *imin   jamp - jamp   la   rok   **ontop***
    3SG:AUX.PST RDP-jump   ALL:to   rock   on+top
    'he jumped onto the rock' (DH10_A05_02_0230, JaR)

In addition to figures in ballistic motion events, inanimate figures can occur in transitive settings for example with verbs of accompaniment *teikim* 'take' or force *tjakim* 'throw'.

(92) imin   kam-at   brom   keib…en   gaj-im   baskit
    3SG:AUX.PST come-out ABL:from   cave and   get-TR   basket
    atsaid… en **teik-im-bek**   insaid   igin
    outside and take-TR-back inside   again
    'he came out from the cave, and got a basket outside, and took it back inside'
    (DH10_05_01_0149, JaR)

4.2   Strategies of Ground Descriptions

In terms of language types for the encoding of source and goal identified by (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006a:535-536) Kriol is an NP-coding language like Dutch or English and different from Jaminjung which was classified as encoding grounds in NPs as well as (to a limited extent) verbs (3.2).

Generally, grounds in a motion event description can be source, goal or a passed ground. In the Kriol example (93) *det dog* is the figure moving past a ground (*de windou*) to the goal (*la graun* 'onto the ground').

(93) **det dog** bin   jamp-jamp   **thru   de**
    that dog AUX.PST   RDP-jump   through the
    windou   rait-dan   **la   graun**
    window   right-down   ALL:to   ground
    'the dog jumped, jumped through the window right onto the ground'
    (DH10_A15_05_0040, JoJo)

Typologically, a pattern appears to exist concerning the overt encoding of goal and source in Creole languages. French-based Creoles mark ablative and allative case (source and goal respectively) by the same means, whereas English-based creoles use a different marking for each[15]. This generalisation holds true for Kriol as well where source and goal are encoded by different spatial prepositions; however, goal and location are marked in an identical way. In the following sections I will look at these encodings in more detail.

4.2.1 The Marking of a Goal of Motion

There is no case-marking in Kriol; instead semantic source, goal and passed ground (section 4.2.3) are expressed using prepositions. The goal (94) and passed ground in a motion event as well as a static location (95) and general area of motion (96) are marked

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[15] Results from the APiCS corpus presented by Susanne Michaelis at the LETiSS spring school "Europe beyond Europe-:New horizons on Pidgins and Creoles" in Pavia, Italy between April 18th and 22nd 2011.

with the general locative preposition *la/langa* 'at, to'. Nikitina (2009:1116-1117) claims, based on Creissel's (2006) typological distinction on ground-encoding strategies, that because of a greater distance between place and source, compared to distance between goal and place identical encoding of goals and static locations is typologically more common than identical encoding of static locations and sources. The observed identical encoding of goal and location in Kriol is therefore such a typical case.

(94) wi bin   go   **langa**   **big**   **riba**   *fish-in*
      1PL   AUX.PST   go   ALL:to   big   river   fish-PROG
      'we went to the big river for fishing' (ES05_A02_05af_0143, ER)

(95) imin   ran,   stend *–ap-stend -ap* **langa**   **jeid**
      3SG:AUX.PST   run   RDP-stand -up   LOC   shade
      'he drove, and he stood in the shade' (DH10_A11_04_0025, MM)

(96) det   ka   bin   ran   ontop   **langa**   **det**   **brij**
      that   car   AUX.PST   run   on+top   LOC   that   bridge
      'the car drove on top of the bridge' (DH10_A15_08_0002, IA)

In locative constructions the use of *langa* is mandatory. The allative goal-marking preposition, however, can be omitted in some circumstances (Hudson, 1985:77, Meakins, 2007:262). So far, the only instances of unmarked goals found in my data involve toponyms as in example (97) or landmarks having toponym-like qualities as in (98) and (99) where the NPs are proper nouns as understood from context.

(97) imin   go   **Bradshaw**
    3SG:AUX.PST   go   n_top
    'he went to Bradshaw' (ES03_A06_02_0173, DB)

(98) det   gel   im   wok-bek   **kemp**
    the   girl   3SG   walk-back   home
    'the girl walked back to the house/home' (Meakins, 2007:262)

(99) ai   bin   goin   **skul**   orlataim
    1SG   PST   go-in   school   always
    'I used to go to school everyday.' (Hudson, 1985:28)

Goal expressions involving deictic (100) and absolute terms (102) are never marked with the preposition *langa*. There is a proximal/distal contrast encoded in Kriol deictic demonstratives (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming). With regards to motion, the adverbial directionals *dijei/diswei* 'PROX' and *tharrei/detwei* 'DIST' as well as the adverbial locatives *hiya* 'PROX' and *deya/jeya* 'DIST' as deictic grounds are of interest.

Furthermore, deixis in motion and static descriptions can also be encoded in adnominal demonstratives *dissaid/detsaid* 'this side/that side' accompanying an explicit of implicit coreferential noun (101). This noun as ground can optionally be preceded by *langa*.

(100) *det   drein   garra   gam-bek   iya   drekli*
       DET   train   OBL   come-back   DEM   soon
       'The train will come back here soon/directly'.(Munro, 2005:131)

(101) *det   kenguru… bin   jamp   brom   dissaid   pedok*
       that   kangaroo AUX.PST   jump   ABL:from this+side paddock
       imin   jamp   akros   rait-ap   detsaid   la   det   pedok
       3SG:AUX.PST   jump   across   right -up that+side   LOC   that paddock
       'the kangaroo jumped from this side of the paddock across to that side of the paddock' (DH10_A15_21_0026, MA)

(102) *det   bot   bin   go   sanrais -wei   la   det*
       that   boat AUX.PST   go   east-ward   LOC   that
       riva   andanith   langa   det   brij
       river   under   LOC   that bridge
       'the boat went eastwards on the river, under the bridge' (DH10_A15_14_0064, CR)

This type of restriction can be observed for English as well where constructions with deictic demonstratives or adverbs denoting cardinal directions as *he went to there/north* are ungrammatical. Goal-marking prepositions are only included if the cardinal direction is encoded in an NP as in *he went to the north*. For Jaminjung on the other hand, case-marking on deictics is possible (see section 3.2), however it is not the preferred option.

Generally, PPs encoding topological relations can serve to encode locations and might also occur in goal NPs (103). The same holds true for prepositional phrases encoding frame of reference as in (104).

(103) im   go-dan   **insaid   la   keib**
       3SG   go-down   inside   LOC   cave
       'he went inside the cave' (DH10_05_01_0043, JaR)

(104) en   najawan … na   im   wok na   im   ran-ran
       and   other   NOW   3SG   walk NOW   3SG   RDP-run
       biyain la   det   naja   blekbala
       behind LOC   that another aborigine
       'and   another   one   walks   and   he   runs   behind   that   other   black'
       (DH10_A16_02_0055, LM)

4.2.1.1 _The Directional Suffix –wei_

I distinguish between spatial adverbial suffixes attaching only to verbs and discussed in
chapter 4.3.1, and the directional suffix -_wei_ attaching to nominals (106), adverbials (107)
and demonstratives (105) where they may also be lexicalised as in (108). They can occur
in motion (106) and (108) and locative event encodings (107) and (105).[16] When the suffix
is used in motion-encodings it always attaches to a goal-NP and encodes that a goal in a
motion event is not (necessarily) reached.

(105) la   riba, not steishin   igin   bat
       LOC   river NEG station   again   but
       najasaid-wei,   im   sidan   thed ston
       otherside -way   3SG   sit   DEM stone
       'By the river, not right (by) the station, but on the other side is (where) the stone
       is.' (Angelo TEXT 2: BR & OR: Yolngu Yard, Katherine: 4.3.98, example 226)

(106) melan   go-bek   den langa   modiga,
       1PL.excl   go-back   then ALL:to car
       go   **langa   taun-wei**.
       go   ALL:to   town-towards
       'Then we went back to the car and headed towards town.' (Sandefur, 1982:
       lesson 32)

(107) Marralam   samweya…   **ontop-wei**
       N_top   somewhere   on+top-way
       'Marralam is somewhere, towards the top' (ES03_A17_03_0127, KY)

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[16] There is also a homophone adverbial suffix –_wei_ attaching to verbs and meaning 'away' as in _go-wei_.

(108) *imin*   *goin* ***darrei*** *en* *imin*   *kam-bek* ***dissaid***
       3SG:AUX.PST go+in   that+way   and 3SG:AUX.PST come-back this+side
       'it went that way and it came back to this side' (DH10_A15_01_0015, JoJo)

All landmark-based ground encodings which have the directional suffix attached also include the goal-marking preposition *langa* as in (109) and (110). Absolute or deictic terms with or without the directional suffix in goal-encoding constructions, on the other hand never do as in (107) and (105) above.

(109) *lagijat*   *im*   *go*   *deya*   *ova* ***dijey langa***   *la*   ***krik-wei***
       like+that 3SG   go   there   over here ALL:to   ALL:to   creek -towards
       'like that it goes over this way to the creek' (ES03_A08_01_0064, DB)

(110) *wi-bin*   *go*   ***langa*** ***Lamboo-wei***   *tharran* *en*   *wi*
       1PL-AUX.PST go   ALL:to   n_top-towards   that   and   1PL
       wi-   *bin*   *kipgon*
       1PL - AUX.PST   keep+going
       'we went towards Lamboo there and we kept going' (Wibin_go_Bush_001)

(111) *Bulla*   ***Legune -wurla***   *im*   *kam -bek*
       n_top   n_top-DIR   3SG   come-back
       'to Bulla and towards Legune, he came back' (ES03_A17_03_0050, LR)

When the directional suffix is not attached, all landmark-based and deictic ground NPs are understood to encode reached goals. Absolute terms always encode general direction since they can only denote a fixed place if it can be inferred from context as in *go to the place downstream*.

4.2.2 The Marking of a Source of Motion

The source of a motion event is obligatorily marked with the preposition *burrum/brom/from* 'from' as in example (112) for all types of ground NPs including demonstratives and absolute terms. The preposition has a basic ablative meaning encoding a source role and is used only with motion verbs (Hudson, 1985:79).

(112) ***brom***   *im*   *houm…*   *im*   *fla-in*   *darrei*   *na*
       ABL:from   3SG   home   3SG   fly-PROG   that+way   NOW
       'from its home it flies that way now' (DH10_A04_02_0149, NR)

In most instances, the source NP occurs in clause-initial position. Predominantly, source is expressed when foregrounded in discourse. In example (112), the speaker was asked to describe an event where a bird flies out of its cage to no particular destination as shown in Figure 5. As such, the source of motion is salient here. The speaker includes an unspecified deictic directional *darrei* 'that way' to encode if not a goal then at least a general direction of motion.

Figure 5: Source-salient stimuli

4.2.3 Passed Grounds

To encode passed grounds, *thuru* 'through', *ova* 'over', *anda(nith)* 'under(neath)' used as prepositions as in (115) and (114) might be employed in Kriol. Generally, more often than not, *langa* precedes the NP either in a double preposition construction with a passing-ground preposition (113) or following the verb and adverbial suffix (114). However, with the transitive verbs *pasim* 'pass' and *krosim* 'cross' *langa* is never expressed, because the passed ground then is always the direct object (116).

(113) det   bot   bin   go   **andanith   langa   det   brij**
       that boat AUX.PST   go   underneath   LOC   that bridge
       'the boat went underneath the bridge' (DH10_A15_14_0050, CR)

(114) imin   ran   en   jamp   **ova   la   log**
       3SG:AUX.PST   run   and jump   over LOC log
       'he ran and jumped over a log' (DH10_05_01_0047, JaR)

(115) *yu*   *go-an*   **thuru**   **Sandy Krik**
       2SG   go-on   through   n_top
       'you go on, through Sandy Creek' (ES03_A17_02_0152, LR)

(116) *imin*   *pas-im*   *tri ... en*   *imin*   **pas-im**   **buliki**
       3SG:AUX.PST   pass -TR   tree   and   3SG:AUX.PST pass –TR   cow
       'it (the car) passed the tree and it passed the cow'(DH10_A16_02_0033, LM)

4.3   The Verb Phrase in Motion Expressions

A verb in Kriol can be described as consisting of an English-derived stem and, according to Hudson (1985:48), three orders of suffixes depending on the order in which they attach to a verb. They mark transitivity (1st order), direction of motion (adverbial suffixes) (2nd order) and (lexical) aspect (1st or 3rd order). The maximal structure of an inflected verb is shown in (117).

(117) *Structure of the inflected Kriol verb*
       (Pro)noun Tense   V.Stem   –Transitivity   –Adverbial   –Aspect
       Im   *bin*   *tjak*   *-im*   *-dan*   *-bat*
       Im   *go*   *-in*   *-dan*
       *(*Pro)noun V.Stem   -Aspect   -Adverbial
       'he threw it down (repeatedly)/he is going down'

In addition to the general fact of motion, deixis and manner can also be encoded in a verb of locomotion alone (i.e. without an adverbial suffix). Direction of motion however, usually needs to be expressed in an adverbial suffix attached to the verb. The only exceptions are some transitive verbs such as *livum* 'leave' and *bolorim* 'follow', *gijimap* 'reach' *tjeisim* 'chase' which encode motion towards or away from a ground that is encoded in a direct object.

Adverbial suffixes in the second order are derived from English prepositions with primary spatial meanings. Four of them, namely *–ap* 'up/upwards/reaching a goal', *-at* 'out/towards/at', *-bek* 'back/reverse' and *–dan* 'down/downwards' can also express (lexical) aspectual meaning (Hudson, 1985:55-56). In their spatial meanings these suffixes indicate general direction of movement and attach predominantly to motion verbs.

Lexical aspect-marking suffixes are *–in* and *–bat*. While the former is a first order suffix and usually indicates continuous action (119), the latter refers to repeated actions or plural participants and is a third order suffix (118) (Hudson, 1985:53-54).

(118) *wi bin*   *go*   *deya*   *wen*   *wi*   *get*   *deya*   *wi*
       1PL AUX.PST   go   there   when   1PL   get   there   1PL
       bin   **tjak-im-bat**   *det*   *net*   *yuno*
       AUX.PST   throw -TR-CONT   that   net   you+know
       'we went there and when we got there we threw out our nets you know'
       (ES05_a02_05af_0163, ER)

(119) *det*   *dog*   *bin*   *go*   *flet-at*   **ran-ing**
       that   dog   AUX.PST   go   flat - out   run-PROG
       'the dog just kept on running, (making itself) flat'(DH10_A03_03_0035, NR)

In addition to these markers, a verb phrase can also contain an aspectual/modal (*oldei* 'aways, use to') auxiliary or particle, a phase marker or adverbial (*trai* 'try, attempt') and – rarely – a function verb (*go*) in a serial verb construction (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming) as in example (120).

(120) *dei*   *bin*   *oldei*   *trai*   *go*   *plai*   *na*
       3PL   PST   HAB   try   go   play   now
       'they kept on trying to go and play' (Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming)

4.3.1 Adverbial Suffixes

Adverbial suffixes and prepositions can express vertical direction *go-dan* 'descend', boundary-crossing *kam thuru* 'come through', or general direction *go-bek* 'return'. Direction can only be expressed in the verb itself if a combination of verb and adverbial suffix has become lexicalised as in *klaimap* 'climb' or in transitive verbs such as *livum* 'leave' which denotes movement away from a source ground.

These types of suffixes are distinguished from the directional suffix *-wei* discussed in section 4.2.2, which only attaches to nouns, adverbials and demonstratives, but never to verbs. Table 1 lists all Kriol adverbial suffixes and prepositions. I base my analysis on Sandefur's (1979b:117) defining characteristics of adverbial suffixes. He describes four features which are listed below. As a result, there are lexical items that can either only occur as adverbial suffixes, as both adverbial suffixes and prepositions, and as prepositions only.

This distinction is based on the number and type of features they comply with. For example, *-at* 'out' is never separated from the verb by another word or occurs unattached to a verb (feature 1). The continuative aspect suffix *–bat* also always follows it (feature 2) and it is always reduplicated with the verb (feature 3). In contrast, *dan* 'down', even though it complies to features 2 and 3, can also precede a noun phrase unattached to a verb and therefore does not obey feature 1. An item such as *thru* 'through' on the other hand, does not comply to any of the features and therefore is considered a preposition at all times.

The features are listed below and, where appropriate, the first example indicated always shows the feature present and the second where it does not hold true.

1. <u>Adverbial suffix and verb are not separated by other words in the phrase or can not precede a noun phrase unattached to the</u> verb as in examples (121) where *bringimbek* is a transitive verb with an adverbial suffix attached and (122) where the motion verb go is separated from it path denoting preposition *kros* by an NP encoding source *brom hiya*
2. <u>Continuative aspect suffix occurs after the adverbial suffix</u> as in examples (123) where the continuative aspect marker *–bat* follows the adverbial suffix *–at* in kaminatbat and (124) where *–bat* is attached directly to the reduplicated motion verb *wok* and followed by the preposition *dan*
3. <u>When the verb is reduplicated, the adverbial is also reduplicated</u> as in examples (125) where the motion verb *kam* is reduplicated with the adverbial suffix *–at* in *kamatkamat* and (126) where the motion verb *ran* is reduplicated on its own and followed by the preposition *pas*
4. <u>Some verbs are lexicalised with the adverbial suffix and can never occur without it</u> as in example (127) with the lexicalised manner- and path-denoting verb *klaimap*

(121)　*mindubala bin　bring-im-**bek**　　yu*
　　　　1DU.EXCL　PST　bring-TR-back　　2SG
　　　　'us two brought you back' (DH10_A06_07_0080, NR)

(122)　*ai　　gota **go**　brom　　hiya na,　**kros**　de　　riva*
　　　　1SG　FUT　go　　ABL.from　here NOW　　across　the　river
　　　　'I will go from here now, across the river' (DH10_A06_07_0021, NR)

(123)　*frog-frog　kam-in-**at**-bat　　　　la　　im*
　　　　RDP-frog　come-PROG-out-CONT　　ALL:to　3SG
　　　　'the frog came out to him' (DH10_A16_06_0142, LM)

(124)　*im　　wok-wok–bat　**dan,　dan**　det　hil*
　　　　3SG　　RDP-walk-CONT　down　　down　　that　hill
　　　　'he is walking down, down the hill' (DH10_A05_02_0062, JaR)

(125) frog im… im **kam-at-kam-at** from   det   botl
       frog 3SG 3SG RDP-come-out ABL:from that bottle
       'the frog came out of the glass jar' (DH10_A15_23_0009, IA)
(126) imin   **ran–ran   pas**   langa   det   big   tri
       3SG:AUX.PST   RDP - run   past   LOC   that big   tree
       'he ran past to the big tree' (DH10_A05_02_0248, JaR)

(127) det lil-boi   bin   galim**ap**   la   det   big –wan ston
       that little-boy   AUX.PST   climb   ALL:to that big –NR   stone
       'the boy climbed up (onto) the big stone' (DH10_A15_12_0063, IA)

Table 1 summarises my analysis of adverbial suffixes and prepositions encoding path in motion event encodings in Kriol. Six lexemes are always used as adverbial suffixes and cannot occur on their own. They combine at least the first three features of Sandefur's (1979b) classification. Three other lexemes, however, can occur as adverbial suffixes attached to a motion verb as in example (121), but also function as prepositions when they occur separated from the verb in a motion event phrase as *dan* 'down' in (124). Finally, four lexical items cannot be considered adverbial suffixes, because they do not occur with any of the features laid out by Sandefur as in (122). These then are always prepositions.

Adverbial suffix only	Examples	Features
-an/on 'on'	*go-an* 'go ahead, go on top''	1, 2, 3
-ap 'up/off'	*go-ap* 'go up'	1, 2, 3, 4
-at 'out/at/towards'	*kam-at* 'come out'	1, 2, 3,
-in 'in'	*go-in* 'enter'	1, 2, 3
-op/of 'off'	*teik-op* 'take off'	1, 2, 3
-(a)wei 'away'	*tjakid-awei* 'throw away	1, 2, 3
Adverbial suffix or preposition		
-bek 'back'	*go-bek* 'go back'	1, 3
-dan 'down'	*lei-dan* 'lie down'	2, 3, 4
-(a)ran 'around'	*ten-aran* 'turn around'	2
Only preposition		
oba/ova 'over'	*jamp ova* 'jump over'	-
thru 'through'	*go thru* 'go through'	-
pas 'past'	*go pas* 'go past'	-
(a)kros 'akross'	*go akros* 'go across'	-

Table 1: Adverbial Suffixes in Kriol partly based on (Hudson, 1985:41-43, Sandefur, 1979b:117-119, Schultze-Berndt et al., forthcoming)

Generally, up to two adverbial suffixes can be attached to one base verb as in example (128).

*(128)   imin   kam-at   grab-im   det   baskit   en   **git-in-bek***
3SG:AUX.PST   come-out   grab-TR   that   basket   and   get-in-back
'She came out, grabbed the basket and got back in' (DH10_A01_01_0364, NN)

It is furthermore noteworthy that the preposition *pas* 'past' can cause the verb it follows to become transitive. In example (126) the NP *tubala kawu* 'two cows' serves as direct object and passed ground. The example is from a ppt elicitation session and the speaker here describes a scene where a car is shown to be driving out of an enclosure while passing two unmoving cows.

(129)   motika   bin   go   draiv   pas   tubala   kawu
car   AUX.PST   go   drive   past 3DU   cow
'the car drove past the two cows' (DH10_A14_01_0003, JaR)

4.3.2 Types of Motion Verbs

The motion verb lexicon of Kriol is limited. In the whole frog story dataset, only 17 different verbs of locomotion, path and manner were recorded (i.e. counting verb roots and not stems formed by addition of adverbial suffixes or prepositions unless they were lexicalised as in *galimap* 'climb up' or *boldan* 'fall down')[17]. There are three kinds of motion verbs based on semantic subdivisions. Firstly, general verbs of locomotion encode the fact of motion and often combine with adverbial suffixes to express a more specific path. The most common of these are *go* as in (130) and *kam* 'come'. In the corpus of Frog Stories only six different ones of these general locomotion verbs were recorded and are listed in Table 2.

(130)   Laurie   oldei   go   deya   la   riva
Laurie   always   go   there   ALL:to   river
'Laurie always goes there to the river' (ES01_A07_03tt_0079, DB)

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[17] In the FMD for Jaminjung, on the other hand, a total of 25 different path and manner encoding coverbs forming complex predicates plus eight inflecting verbs of motion that occurred on their own to encode motion and change of location events were found. Similarly, in a frog story dataset of 60 narrations for English and Spanish, Slobin (1996:198) recorded 47 and 27 different types of motion verbs for each language respectively.

kam	come
go	go
teikim	take
bolorim/folorim	follow
tjesim, rijim, ranimap	chase, catch
gijimap	reach

Table 2: Kriol locomotion verbs in the Frog Story Dataset

Only *kam* 'come' and *go* are intransitive, while the other verbs in this category are transitive, marked with *–im* as in example (131).

(131)   imin   weiv- weiv   en   det   dog   tu   **folor-im**   biyain
        3SG:AUX.PST   RDP - wave   and   that dog   too follow -TR   behind
        'he waved and the dog also followed him' (DH10_A16_06_0144, LM)

There are only two verbs in the dataset that emerge to be real path verbs. A path verb encodes the path component of a motion event description in itself and not a satellite (*exit* vs. *go out*). In Kriol these are transitive verbs *krosim* 'cross' and *pasim* 'pass' which take a passed ground as a direct object. These verbs are, however, exceedingly rare and only occur once each in the frog story dataset. Furthermore, instead of these special path verbs, speakers may also choose to use a general verb of locomotion followed by either of the prepositions *kros* 'across' or *pas* 'past' as in (129).

(132)   imin   **kros-im-bat**   brij
        3SG:AUX.PST   cross -TR-CONT   bridge
        'he crossed the bridge' (DH10_05_01_0050, JaR)

As discussed in the previous section 4.3.1, Kriol motion verbs can incorporate aspects of path in adverbial suffixes or prepositions following the verb. Two verbs of motion never occur without an adverbial suffix which therefore has become lexicalised. One is the intransitive verb *klaim**ap**/galam**ap*** 'climb up' which additionally encodes manner of motion and occurs frequently in the frog story data set. *Klaimap* always entails climbing motion upwards on some kind of object (such as a tree or rock) as in (135). Slobin (2004:11) notes the very same conflation of path and manner for *tirmanmak* 'climb' in verb-framed Turkish which is only used for upward motion in a grasping manner. In the entire motion data set for Kriol, the verb was never used to describe general upward

motion such as going up a hill as in (133) or moving upwards in some other manner as in (134). Therefore, I conclude that *klaimap* entails path as well as manner in motion event descriptions.

(133) *yu*   *ken*   ***go***   ***raitap***   *la*   *det*   *hil*
       2SG   can   go   all.the.way.up   LOC   that   hill
       'you can go all the way up that hill' (DH10_A15_13_0156, IA)

(134) *wi*   *bin*   ***go-ap***   *flainsut*   *raidap*   *langa*   *dap*
       1PL   AUX.PST   go-up   flash   all.the.way.up   ALL:to   top
       'We went up like a flash all the way to the top'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0021)

(135) *bla*   *det*   *frog*   *det*   *lilboi*   *bin*   ***galamap***   *la*   *det*   *ston*
       for   that   frog   that   little.boy   AUX.PST   climb   ALL:to   that   stone
       'for the frog, the boy climbed up on a stone'(DH10_A15_18_0123, CR)

Another motion verb incorporating a lexicalised adverbial suffix this time denoting downward motion is *boldan* 'fall down'. Similar to *klaimap* 'climb up', the adverbial suffix -*dan* 'down' is here also lexicalised and *bol, like *klaim never occurs on its own. I would argue that this verb is indeed a true path verb encoding motion on a vertical path governed by gravitational forces. In just over half of all occurrences in the frog story dataset there is a source- or goal-denoting NP in the verb phrase as in (136) thus describing a downward directed path. When the ground was not encoded, the goal was implicit. Even when the verb is used for weather phenomena such as rain, speakers may include a ground-denoting NP (137).

(136) *insaid*   *la*   *woda*   *tubala*   *bin*   ***boldan***
       inside   ALL:to   wate   3DU   AUX.PST   fall.down
       'both fell into the water' (DH10_A15_12_0080, IA)

(137) *bat*   *distaim*   *najing,*   *thad* *rein*   *im*   ***boldan***..   *la*   *wi.*
       but   this.time   nothing   DEM   rain   3SG   fall.down   ALL:to   1PL
       'But nowadays nothing, the rain falls down... on us.' (DA98_02_raintime_tg.257)

Finally, manner-encoding verbs account for the remainder of motion verbs in my corpus. There is a slightly greater variety in those than in the general locomotion verbs. In the Frog Story dataset seven different manner verbs occurred which are displayed in Table 3. All of these are intransitive and can combine with adverbial suffixes (138) and

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prepositions. They are often reduplicated to indicate a continuous manner of motion as in (139).

jamp	jump
ran	run
rol	roll
wok	walk
gallop	gallop
flai	fly
bogi/swim	swim

Table 3: Kriol manner verbs in Frog Story dataset

(138) imin   **flai-at**   burrum im   keij
         3SG:AUX.PST fly-out   from   3SG   cage
         'it flew out of its cage' (DH10_A15_01_0059, JoJo)

(139) **jamp-jamp-bat**   wan-said   la   det   fens
         RDP-jump-CONT   one-side   LOC   that fence
         'jumping along the fence' (DH10_A15_03_0063, JoJo)

Manner can also be added to the verb phrase as some kind of afterthought as in (140).

(140) wal mibala   bin   go-dan   na,   **futwok**
         well 1PL.excl   AUX.PST   go-down   NOW,   walk
         'well, so we went down, walking' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_VisitCave_0035)

Some transitive verbs also encode telicity of motion events within them. These are very rare forms only occurring in a total of 5% in all motion expressions in the complete and in 8% in the frog story dataset. All of these verbs found in my complete motion dataset are listed in Table 4 below. In (141) the telic verb *ranimap* 'chase and reach' is used to encode an event where the boys chased and also caught the kangaroos so they could be killed for eating. Example (142) from a frog story, on the other hand, describes an atelic motion event of the bees chasing the dog, without actually reaching it.

Verbs encoding atelic motion events	Verbs encoding telic motion events
folorim 'follow' *tjeisim/rijim* 'chase' *livim* 'leave'	*ranimap* 'catch, chase and reach' *gijimap* 'reach'

Table 4: Kriol verbs encoding telicity

(141) *sambal* *lil* *yangbois* *bin* **ranimap-bat** *ola* *kengurru,* // *kilim-bat,*
       some   little boy   PST chase-CONT PL   kangaroo   hit-CONT
       'Some little boys were chasing (and catching) kangaroos (and) killing (them)'
       (DA98_01_Fladwada_tg.018)

(142) *detmob bi* *dei*   **rij-im-bat**   *det* *dog*
       those   bee 3PL:SUBJ   chase-TR-CONT   that dog
       'the bee swarm is chasing, but doesn't catch the dog' (DH10_A15_23_0066, IA)

4.3.3 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Kriol are of relevance to the description of motion events. While it has been observed that Kriol SVCs are limited concerning the types of verbs involved, at least one function of the relatively rare construction appears to be to encode a path of action (Meakins, 2010:20). I will pay particular attention to a number of SVCs that have not been previously described for Kriol and also mention some frequency counts from my datasets[18] to highlight the low distribution of the construction and will finally comment on the type of discourse environments in which SVCs occur.

I follow Aikhenvald's definition of SVCs for my analysis of Kriol:

> A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualised as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value. (Aikhenvald, 2006:1)

SVCs in Kriol are asymmetrical. They include a verb form from a semantically and grammatically restricted class (Aikhenvald, 2006:3, Meakins, 2010:20). Therefore, the first verb in the SVC is termed 'minor' and the second one 'major' verb. For my purposes I furthermore restrict myself to serial verb constructions in motion event descriptions only and will leave out all other occurrences of SVCs.

Meakins (2010:20-21) mentions only three different minor verbs that form SVCs namely *go* to mark path, *jidan* 'sit' for continuative aspect and *meikim* 'cause' for causative constructions. Two of those can be used in motion expressions as exemplified in (18), (145), (146) and (143).

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[18] CMD stands for Complete Motion Dataset and FMD stands for Frog Story Motion Dataset. The contents and structure of both datasets is introduced in chapter 2.

(143)   wal   dumaj   det   dog   bin   **meik-im**
         well   too.much   that   dog   AUX.PST   make-TR
         boldan   det   shugabeg-flai   kemp
         fall   that   honey-fly   house
         'so the dog, (by shaking) too much, caused the beehive to fall down'
         (DH10_A15_18_0105, CR)

Generally, a maximum of two verbs are combined to form a SVC. Even though these do not occur frequently (e.g. in 8.5% in the CMD and 4% in the FMD), they appear to be a preferred option for certain types of motion event descriptions. The most common constructions involves the general locomotion verb *go* in combination with a locative *stap* 'stop' in (18), locomotion *kipgon* 'continue going' in (145), or manner verb *draiv* 'drive' in (146).

 (144)   imin   **go**   **stap** deya   langa   det   tri
         3SG:AUX.PST go   stop   there   LOC   that   tree
         'it stopped there at the tree' (DH10_A15_20_0029, MA)

 (145)   jis   **go**   **kipgon**   streit-dan
         just   go   keep+going   straight-down
         'just continue going straight down'(DH10_A15_13_0129, IA)

 (146)   motika bin   **go**   **draiv**   **pas**   tubala   kawu
         car   AUX.PST   go   drive   past   3DU   cow
         'the car drove past the two cows' (DH10_A14_01_0003, JaR)

In addition to previously described minor verbs, a limited number of others occurred in my Kriol dataset. All are listed in Table 5 below. Concerning the use in motion event descriptions only, I distinguish between minor verbs encoding a path of motion that can combine with any major verb (open minor verbs) and such minor verbs encoding path or manner of motion which might only combine with motion verbs (closed minor verbs).

   Generally, the most common minor verb in my datasets by far is the open minor verb *go*. It accounted for 60% of SVCs in the FMD and 79% in the CMD. Even when *go* is combined with an adverbial suffix, SVCs might still be formed (147).

(147) tubala   bin   **go-at**   **go**   from   det   haus
       3DU   AUX.PST   go -out   go   ABL:from   that house
       'both went out from the house' (DH10_A15_05_0047, JoJo)

The same holds true for the much rarer version of SVCs with the other general verb of
locomotion *kam* 'come' as minor verb (in 10% of SVCs in the FMD and 6% in the CMD) as
in example (148) from a route description and (149) from a frog story. For encoding
motion events, only the two most basic verbs of motion *kam* and *go*, and their
combinations with adverbial suffixes, allows for all semantic types of major verbs.

(148) *yu*   **kam-at**   **kipgon**,   *yu*   *gota*   *pas-im,*
       2SG   come-out   keep.going   2SG   INSTR   pass-TR
       'you come out and continue, you have to pass, ...' (DH10_A15_13_0065, IA)

(149) *mugmug*   *bin*   *sei*   *la*   *lidlboi*   *"don*
       owl   AUX.PST   say   to   little.boy   do+not
       kam-ap   **sing-in –at"**
       come-up   call-PROG-out
       'and the owl said to the boy: "don't come up calling out!"' (DH10_A03_03_0036,
       NR)

Open minor verbs	*go* *go* + adverbial suffix *kam* *kam* + adverbial suffix	+	motion, locative, gaze, others
Closed minor verbs	*trai* *meikim* *stat* ------------------------------------- *ran*	+	motion verb

**Table 5: Open and closed minor verbs in Kriol asymmetrical serial verb constructions encoding
motion events**

When serial verbs are constructed with open minor verbs they can encode an additional
element of path to denote continuous movement as in (145) and (146) above.
Alternatively, the only element of path and motion is encoded in the minor verb and
leads to the whole clause to be understood as involving movement just before the major
action as in (18) or during it as in (147). If the major verb is a locative verb, the SVC

encodes a telic motion event with a clear and definite endpoint (18). The same is true if the major verb is a telic verb such as *kam-at* 'come out' in example (150) below where the SVC denotes continuous movement that comes to an end when a destination is reached. The example is taken from a traditional narrative about two men travelling over long distances, reaching several hills and ridges before deciding on a final place to set up camp. In fact, the same SVC is repeated by the speaker just a few phrases later to describe reaching another temporary destination, but when the final destination is reached, a different VP encoding telic motion is used (in example (151).

(150) *dubala   bin   **go   kam-at**   la   sen-hil*
       3DU   AUX.PST   go   come-out   ALL.to   sand-hill
       'So they went to the next sand ridge.'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35_0015)

(151) *Hularra jat   dubala bin   gon   til   dubala bin   **gijimap** dat   pleis*
       n_top   that   3DU   AUX.PST go   until 3DU   AUX.PST reach   that   place
       'They   kept   going   until   they   came   to   the   spring   called Hularra'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35_17)

In example (152) from the frog story the SVC encodes a motion event that could be dubbed as 'moving with purpose', here movement to the window to call out for the frog.

(152) *imin   **go   singat singat** bla   det   frog   from   det   windou*
       3SG:AUX.PST   go   RDP   call+out for   that   frog   ABL:from   that   window
       'the boy opened the window and called out for the frog from the window'
       (DH10_A15_12_0022, IA)

All other minor verbs are more restricted when it comes to SVCs in motion event descriptions. Then non-locomotion minor verbs *trai* 'try', *meikim* 'cause' and *stat* 'start' all require motion verbs as major verbs to encode a motion event. While this is not surprising, the other minor verb denoting manner *ran* 'run' also only occurred with motion verbs as major verbs as in (153) and then encodes speed.

(153) *det*   *lilboi*   *maitbi…* *bin*   *ran-awei* from   *det*   *mugmug*
       that   little.boy   maybe…   AUX.PST   run-away   ABL:from   that   owl
       en   *imin*   ***ran***   ***galimap*** *la*   *big* *-wan*   *ston*
       and   3SG:AUX.PST   run   climb   ALL:to   big -NR   stone
       'so maybe the boy was running away from the owl and he ran and climbed up a
       big stone' (DH10_A15_12_0061, IA)

SVCs with closed minor verbs are rare. They only account for about 15% of all SVCs in the CMD and 30% in the FMD and denote a motion starting point (154), (additional) manner of motion or speed (153), caused (143) above, or attempted motion (155). In example (153) there is no intonation break between the two verbs in the SVC *ran galimap* 'climb up quickly' therefore encoding a particularly fast climbing motion.

(154) *ai*   *bin*   ***stat***   ***gu–wei***   *na*   *jinik–iwei–jinik-iwei*   *yuno*
       1SG   PST   start   go–away   NOW   RDP-sneak–away   you.know
       gu   *werk*   *najableis–najableis*
       go   work   RDP-another
       'I started to go away now, sneaking away again and again, you know, to go
       working at other places' (Munro, 2005:88)

(155) *dei*   *bin*   ***trai***   ***goin***   *la*   *jat*   *woda*
       3PL:SUBJ   AUX.PST   try+to   go+in   ALL:to   that+one   water
       'they tried going into the water to get the fire.'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson31_0018)

Generally, SVCs used to encode motion events were rare in my corpus. However, certain stimuli and types of discourse appeared to trigger the use of serial verbs to some extent. The highest number of SVCs was observed for the motion event segmentation stimulus, which was described in section 2.3.1, where 9.5% of all the elicited motion expressions were serial verb constructions. In example (156) from such an elicitation session, the SVC is a combination of a general motion verb and a manner of motion verb. However, the majority of expressions involved a serial verb construction consisting of the motion verb *go* and the static verb *jendap* 'stop, stand' (157). This particular type of serial verb construction is used specifically to encode position reached as an endpoint of motion. The curious clustering could therefore be due to the nature of the stimulus which included complex motion events where a single figure was moving among various grounds until coming to a standstill.

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(156)   *en   imin   draiv   pas…   la   det*
        and   3SG:AUX.PST drive   pas   LOC   that
        *buliki … en   imin   **go   draiv**   la   det   tri*
        cow   and   3SG:AUX.PST go   drive   ALL:to that tree
        'and he drove past the cow and it drove to the tree' (DH10_A16_02_0031, LM)

(157)   *det   bot   bin   ran…   andanith   la   dis   big-wan*
        that   boat AUX.PST   run   underneath   LOC   this big-NR
        *brij…   en   imin   **go   jendap…**   langa   det   big-wan   ston*
        bridge and   3SG:AUX.PST go   stand   LOC   that big –NR   stone
        'the boat went underneath the big bridge and it stopped at the big stone'
        (DH10_A15_20_0025, MA)

Route Descriptions were also prone to SVCs and speakers used them in 7.5% of all motion
event descriptions there as in example (158).

(158)   *jis   **go   kipgon**   streit   dan*
        just   go   keep+going   straight   down
        'just continue straight down' (DH10_A15_13_0129, IA)

Generally, in the distribution analyses of chapter 6, all serial verb constructions encoding
motion events were included in the motion count. They encode either manner and path
or path alone. In SVCs such as (146) and (156) where manner verbs are the major verbs
and (153) where manner verbs are both minor and major verb does not result in
complications for Talmy's lexicalisation patterns which will be discussed in section 6.1.
Consequently, manner and path are never encoded in equivalent lexical items (as is the
case for symmetrical SVCs such as Mandarin Chinese) in these Kriol constructions.

4.4   The Structure of Motion Expressions in Jaminjung and Kriol

Chapters three and four provided an overview of the grammatical and lexical resources
for the encoding of motion events in Jaminjung and Kriol. Therefore, they form the basis
of the remainder of my analysis of motion event encodings in discourse.

     Concerning encodings of figure and ground which was discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2
as well as 4.1 and 4.2, it became clear that while both languages always mark the source
of a motion event with an ablative case-marker *–ngunyi* and a preposition *from*
respectively, marking of a goal of motion is optional and dependent on the semantic
properties of the NP. Therefore, if a goal is encoded by a toponym or toponym-like noun,

the marking might be dropped. Similarly, the overall location of a motion event is also always locative case –*gi* or preposition *la* marked, but a passed ground may either use the same marking with intransitive VPs and no marking as direct objects of transitive verbs. The same applies for other transitive verbs taking source- (e.g. 'leave') or goal-encoding (e.g. 'follow') direct objects. Deictics are never overtly marked in Kriol, but they may be in Jaminjung.

With regards to the verb phrase in a motion event description, I briefly looked at manner and path encodings in both languages' motion event phrases. While in Jaminjung manner, just like additional path information, could only be expressed in a coverb which forms part of a complex predicate, in Kriol manner is encoded in the motion verb itself and path (most often) in satellite-like elements such as adverbial suffixes, adverbs or prepositions.

Furthermore, asymmetrical serial verb constructions might be used where manner and path are expressed in either the minor or the major verb. All of these distinctions will be of particular interest in chapter 6 where I take a closer look at Talmy's lexicalisation patterns for Jaminjung and Kriol as well as at path and manner salience. Additionally, the notion of Frame of Reference will be discussed in detail in the following chapter 5. Moreover, deictics will play a major role in chapter 7 where I take a look at route descriptions and also the use of deictics in discourse. For this, remarks from sections 3.1 and 3.2 and 4.1 and 4.2 on Jaminjung's locative nominals and Kriol's cardinal direction term are of importance.

5 Frames of Reference

5.1 Frames of Reference – Theories and Trends

Concerning the location of objects in space, the existence of three Frames of Reference (FoRs) in natural languages was influentially proposed (Levinson, 2003, Levinson and Wilkins, 2006b, Pederson et al., 1998) and has since been extensively expanded (Bohnemeyer, 2010, Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press, Danziger, 2010, Dokic and Pacherie, 2006, Levinson and Wilkins, 2006b, Palmer, 2002, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008).

While generally studies on FoRs have been concerned with static location of objects in space, the significance and frequency of the frames in motion event descriptions has also been acknowledged (Levinson, 2003:95-97). The direction of motion events, unlike spatial location of objects in space can be expressed in ground specifications along a path in the form of goals, sources and/or passed grounds. At the same time, especially in certain types of motion-discourse such as route descriptions, Frames of Reference are heavily used. For example, in (159), an intrinsic FoR is employed at a turning point in the direction-giving taking the hypothetically moving figure's perspective in *turn right* and then an absolute FoR describes a general direction with the cardinal term *east*. Both terms function as goal-NPs within the motion event encoding.

(159)   *At the traffic lights you turn **right** and then you keep on going **east** until you reach the park.*

Additionally, in any other kind of motion event descriptions, the relations between figure and ground (Senft, 1997:7) at any point might be encoded as in example (160) where an intrinsic FoR is used. Consequently, taking FoRs into account in motion event descriptions in addition to general ground encodings in landmarks and deictics is crucial for a thorough analysis of the notion.

(160)   *He went behind the house and arrived at its front door.*

Cross-linguistically, languages might make fundamental distinctions between encoding FoR in static or motion descriptions as observed for Tzeltal (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:536). Therefore, following an introduction to the general concepts of the typology

and its additions, the notion of Frames of Reference is discussed for Jaminjung and Kriol in the following sections 5.2 and 5.3 paying particular attention to differences in the encodings of motion and static events and other restrictions applying to certain absolute terms. Generally, it will be shown that Jaminjung and Kriol speakers both prefer the use of intrinsic and absolute frames over relative ones, which suggests a cultural interdependence of the conceptualisations of Frames of Reference. Additionally, modifications to the typology by Bohnemeyer & O'Meara (in press) and Danziger (2010) are taken into account and prove highly useful to account for the use of FoRs in the two languages.

The three 'classic' FoR types introduced by (Levinson, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998) are intrinsic (involving an object-centred coordinate system based on inherent features of the ground as in example (161)), relative (a coordinate system centred on the main axis of the speaker's body, (162)), and absolute (horizontal as well as vertical fixed or abstracted directions,) (163)). While the intrinsic Frame of Reference is binary in that the anchor, i.e. the place from which the projected angle is calculated, is within the ground, relative and absolute FoR are ternary where the projected angle is outside the ground, and in the body of the viewer/speaker or an environmental feature or entity.

(161)   *The dog is in front of the house.*
(162)   *The dog is on the left side of the house (from my viewpoint).*
(163)   *The dog is on the northern side of the house.*

Levinson and Wilkins (2006c:541) define FoRs as "coordinate systems whose function it is to designate angles or directions in which a figure can be found with respect to a ground, where the two are separated in space." Therefore, it seems that any FoR involves the selection of a figure and a ground as reference objects[19] and determines the way in which a spatial relation between them is represented (Dokic and Pacherie, 2006:262). The realisation of the three FoRs is cross-linguistically diverse. Although some languages employ all three, most only make use of two in everyday communication, often either relative or absolute frames of reference but not both (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006a:22).

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[19] However, for motion event encodings in particular, this statement appears to not hold true. In expressions involving absolute *go east* or relative *go right* directions, the location of the ground appears to be missing. Therefore, one might expect ternary FoR only in direction expressions.

The intrinsic FoR, on the other hand, seems to be used universally across languages (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press).

Terrill and Burenhult (2008:126) observe that intrinsic orientation of a figure rather than a particular FoR is an additional strategy of languages to establish spatial reference. In this approach, orientation of the intrinsic side of the figure is expressed with respect to a reference point (i.e. not a ground) or absolute direction. The figure thus is not described as being located in space in relation to the intrinsic sides of a ground, but as being oriented towards another object or direction. The crucial difference therefore lies in locating a ground's specific sides in relation to a figure (FoR) or in orienting the intrinsic sides of a figure towards some reference point in space.

This is, more specifically, in contrast to intrinsic FoR which uses inherent sides of the ground to locate a figure. This strategy is exemplified in (164) where the figure's (*the dog*) orientation is used to encode its spatial relation to an object that is not a ground (*the house*). The figure thus is not located in space in relation to a ground, but is oriented towards another object or direction.[20]

 (164)   *The dog is facing the house*

Orientation has also been discussed by Jackendoff (1983:168) who noted that the semantic notion of 'path' can also play a role in non-motion events when a figure is oriented along a path. For both T&B-orientation and motion, the intrinsic facets of the figure, not a ground, are used to indicate either orientation along a path towards or away from a ground in static settings or the direction of motion along a path towards or away from a ground. This has also been explored further by Slobin (2008), who observed that languages tend to treat paths of vision like physical paths of motion. Verbs of looking are often combined with the same types of path expressions as used for motion event descriptions as in (165).

 (165)   *He looked towards the house*

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[20] For the remainder of the thesis, I will refer to this approach as T&B-Orientation in order to not confuse it with the 'orientation' term Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) use in their analysis.

In addition to the three Frames proposed by Levinson, Dokic and Pacherie (2006:footnote 10:267) and Palmer (2002:4) argue for a forth type of Frame, namely 'unoriented FoR' to accommodate for topological relations such as expressed by English *with, at, near* as in example (166).

(166)   *The dog is near the house.*

However, for such relations to be included, the coordinate system it is based on needs to involve more than a resulting oriented direction, but be expanded to include any relationships without "definitional requirement for orientation" (Palmer, 2002:4). According to Levinson and Wilkins (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:541) direction and orientation of the ground lie in the heart of the approach and cannot be abandoned to include unspecific relations.

Danziger (2010) also proposes a fourth type of Frame of Reference. Based on Levinson (1996a) she places the notion of 'Anchor' in the centre of her analysis. It is understood as "the zero-point from which the vector is calculated that narrows the search space from ground to figure. The Anchor therefore is part of the scene which the speaker treats as immovable, fixed, in relation to the others" (Danziger, 2010:168). She includes another binary and egocentric relation where speaker and ground coincide (as the anchor point) as in example (167) and names it 'Direct FoR'. She justifies her distinction with the observation that distinguishing between the speaker inside and outside the ground can be used to specify FoR relations in a systematic manner.

(167)   *The dog is in front of me.*

The approach consequently includes two binary relations (i.e. intrinsic (allocentric) and 'direct' (egocentric)) which are contrasted with two ternary relations (i.e. absolute (allocentric) and relative (egocentric)) (Danziger, 2010:172-174).

Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) use this notion of Anchor to introduce a distinction between two anchoring types of FoRs. Angular-anchored FoRs describe relationships where the axes of the anchor are extended and transposed as in examples (161), (162) and (163). The truth conditions of utterances employing such FoRs depend on

the 'orientation' of the anchor, but not on its locations (in first approximation). Head-anchored FoRs on the other hand have their axes point towards the anchor as in examples (164), (167) and (168). The relationship is landmark-based and not geomorphic (163). For head-anchored FoRs, truth conditions of utterances depend on the location of its anchor but not its orientation.

(168)   The dog is toward the house.

Therefore, this approach is linked to Terrill and Burenhult's (2008) analysis, however, suggesting that orientation always depends on FoRs rather than path functions as proposed by Jackendoff (1983:168) who included orientation in a discussion of the role a path might play in an event or state. According to Jackendoff, a figure can <u>traverse</u> a path (e.g. *The train rambled along the river*), <u>extend</u> over a path (e.g. *The flagpole reaches up toward the sky*), or <u>orient</u> along a path (e.g. *The house faces away from the mountains*).

Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) on the other hand, suggest that a phrase like (169) from Arrernte is angular-anchored whereas an example such as (168) is head-anchored. While (169) describes the orientation of a figure alone towards an absolute direction irrespective of the location of a potential ground, in (168) a figure is oriented in relation to the location of a ground, here the dog being located closer to the house than the speaker and as such the example combines 'orientation' and FoR.

(169)   nhenhe-le   a   lturle-theke   atne-rle.ne-me-rle
         ARR this-LOC   west-wards   stand-CONT-NPP-RC
         'in this one (he's) standing (facing) westwards' (Wilkins, 2006:55)
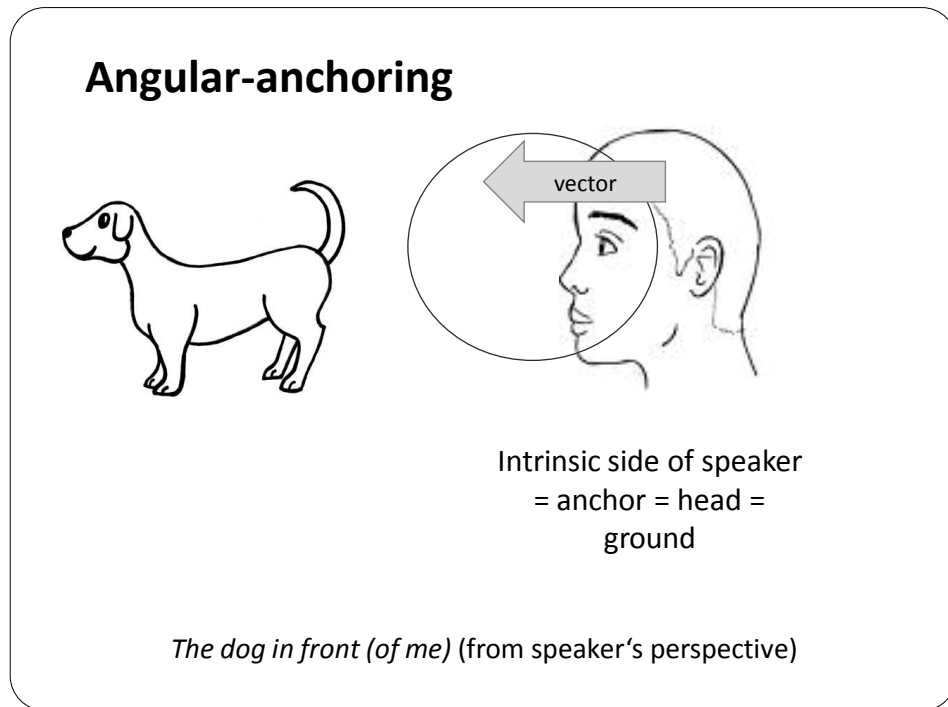
Figure 6: Egocentric binary angular-anchoring[21]
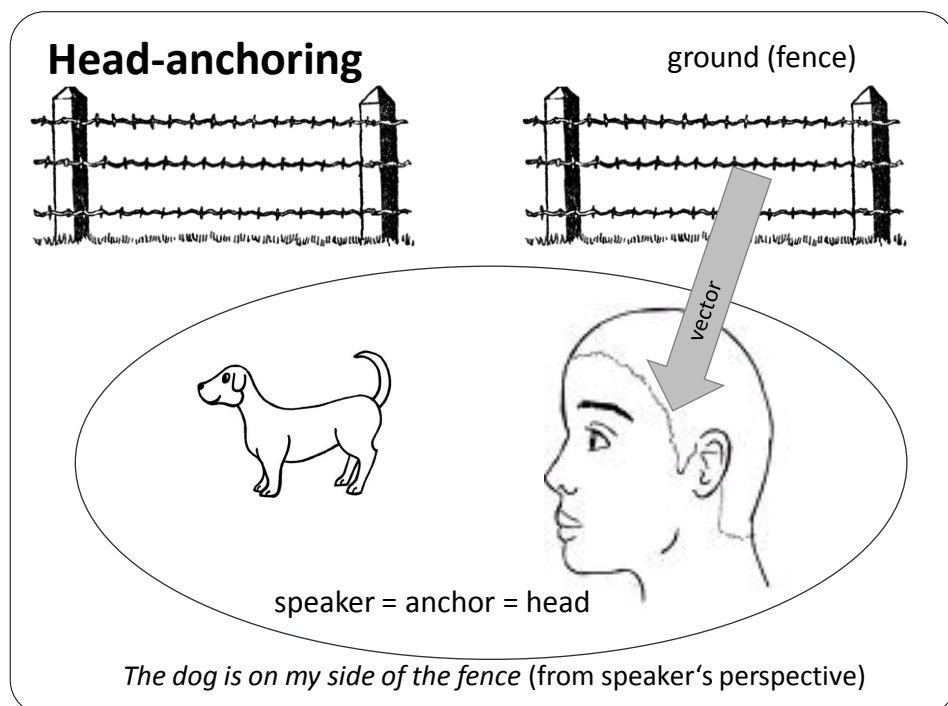
Figure 7: Egocentric binary head-anchoring[22]

The crucial difference between angular- and head-anchoring is illustrated in Figure 6 and Figure 7 above. In the angular-anchoring type, the anchor is a coordinate system with

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[21] Dog image taken from http://doggiesss.blogspot.com/2010/12/dog.html accessed on 11/10/2011

[22] Fence image taken from http://etc.usf.edu/clipart/63300/63312/63312_barbedwire.htm accessed on 11/10/2011

permanent bearings which could either be absolute and therefore fixed externally to the ground, or intrinsic and therefore permanent by the intrinsic sides of the ground. For both angular- and head-anchored types, the head (i.e. the head of the vector) and the anchor are in the same location. Only in the head-anchoring type, the head points towards the anchor.

In contrast to the proposed unoriented frame discussed above, both anchor-based approaches succeed to provide a generally useful addition to Levinson's typology. Table 6 combines Danziger's (2010), Levinson's (2003, Pederson et al., 1998), Terrill and Burenhult's (2008) and Bohnemeyer and O'Meara's (in press) approaches. While Danziger and Bohnemeyer and O'Meara present their observations as additions within the existing framework of FoRs, Terrill and Burenhult (2008:95) explicitly state that 'Orientation' operates outside the typology. However, I believe that the notion ought to be included within since the same terms that are utilised in FoRs might also be employed in a T&B orientation setting. For Jahai, for example, these are intrinsic terms such as *tem* 'right' (Terrill and Burenhult, 2008:104) and for Jaminjung absolute ones like *manamba* 'downstream'.

I furthermore included an addition to the distinction, which proved to be of importance for my analysis of Jaminjung as well as Kriol. This is the binary egocentric relation within angular anchoring using absolute FoR to encode the absolute location of a figure (ground = speaker) with respect to a ground projected from the speaker's location only. Here, the speaker's is at the same time ground and absolute bearings are fixed. This is different from Danziger's direct FoR which only includes intrinsic, but not absolute relations and also from the ternary allocentric anchoring where the anchor is not a speech situation participant.

	Allocentric (anchor is not speech situation participant)	Egocentric (anchor is speech situation participant)
Ternary — Anchor is not Ground	**Absolute and geocentric fixed** *The dog is north of the house/on the northern side of the house* T&B orientation: *The dog is facing north* **= always angular anchored** (absolute axes used as anchor) **Absolute and geocentric geomorphic based** **angular-anchored** (vector defined by geomorphic features is used as anchor) absolute: *The dog is uphill/downriver of the house* T&B-orientation: *The dog is facing downriver*	**Relative** **= always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of speaker used as anchor) *The dog is to the left of the house* (from speaker's perspective)
Binary — Anchor is (part of) ground	**Object-centred and intrinsic** **= always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of ground used as anchor): *The dog is at the front of the house*	**Absolute** **= always angular-anchored** (vector defined by both speaker as origo and absolute angles) *The dog is north (of me)* (from speaker's location)
	Geocentric and landmark-based	**Direct** **angular anchored** when speaker's intrinsic sides used as anchor: intrinsic: *The dog is in front of me* (with reference to the speaker's own front)

		T&B-orientation: *I am facing the dog*
	head-anchored (overall 'object' location is used as anchor) when landmark-based	**head-anchored** when speaker's overall location is used as anchor
	intrinsic: *The dog is toward the house*	intrinsic: *The dog is on my side of the fence*
	T&B-orientation: *The dog is facing the house*	T&B-orientation: *The dog is facing me*

Table 6: Types of Anchors in Frames of Reference based on (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press, Danziger, 2010:172, Levinson, 2003, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008)

The term 'geocentric' here is not understood to only refer to some kind of earth-centred feature (as in terms such as *downriver/uphill*), but to also include any environmental features (including smaller ones), i.e. any landmark-based description. Therefore, geocentric head-anchored FoR types use specific landmarks as anchor and not abstracted entities as in angular-anchored types. Thus, in what Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) call 'geomorphic' types of FoR, the axes does not point towards the anchor (i.e. the river in the term *downriver*) but are abstracted or transposed from it. These geomorphic types are also differentiated from geocentric anchoring which includes cardinal-type terms which are abstract in themselves and not abstracted from real landmark features.

While absolute and relative FoR are always angular-anchored, in a very broad understanding of intrinsic FoR, this type is not restricted to one sort of anchoring as exemplified in Figure 6 and Figure 7. However, the notion of 'intrinsic' in the narrow sense has to do with a ground's inherent features and not by axes defined by landmarks or directions. The distinctions made here will be utilized to account for language-specific restrictions to the use of FoR terms and concepts in Jaminjung and Kriol. I will elaborate on this in more detail in the following sections 5.2 on Jaminjung and 5.3 for Kriol.

Concerning FoRs in motion event descriptions, an important general dimension of cross-linguistic variation concerns the extent to which languages use the same linguistic resources in the description of motion vs. stasis. Talmy ((1985b) in (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:536)) suggests that they universally tend to do so, because static locatives are

derivative from or modelled on motion descriptions. However, some languages make fundamental distinctions between the domains which also extend into the coding of frames of references.[23]

Therefore, Levinson and Wilkins (2006a:3) portion the spatial domain into 'topological description', 'motion description', and 'frames of reference'. As such, motion is placed outside the FoR typology. Levinson (2003:96-97) justifies this distinction by stating that "the direction of motion events, unlike the direction of locations, can be described without coordinate systems or FoRs, through mentioning of two points along the trajectory" as shown in example (170). However, FoRs are quite frequently employed in motion descriptions as in (171) and (172) and it is concluded that "all the distinctions in frames of references and their instantiation therefore carry over from the static to the dynamic subdomain of spatial description" (Levinson, 2003:97).

(170)   He went from Antwerp to Amsterdam.
(171)   The dog ran to the front of the house.
(172)   The dog ran east.
(173)   The dog ran east (from my location).

While in motion descriptions, the vector that defines the path as in (172) needs anchoring, in static descriptions it is the vector defining the search region (*the dog is east of the house*). Generally, direction of motion is defined in a number of ways. Firstly, it can be done in terms of absolute direction as in (172), secondly in a head-anchored direction with the ego as the anchor (173), and finally in head-anchored direction with a landmark as anchor (170).

Furthermore, there are three different cases of FoR and T&B-orientation in motion event encodings. Firstly, there are those where path is defined by the same types of vectors as static FoR as in (172) or *go towards the tree*. Secondly, in some cases, FoRs are used within grounds in a motion event description as in (171). And thirdly, orientation terms may simply encode configuration as opposed to direction as in *go with one's back turned*.

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[23] Tzeltal, for example, encodes the absolute FoR such as 'at its upness' for static and in motion verb root like 'ascend' in the motion domain. Yélî Dnye has a big inventory of postpositions which are hardly used in motion descriptions since source/goal distinctions are built into the verb root (Levinson and Wilkins 2006c:536-537)

I will show that even though the conceptual components of Frames of Reference are relevant in the same way in motion and static event descriptions, there are some noteworthy coding-differences in the languages I investigate here. This especially concerns absolute terms. My analysis will suggest that Jaminjung (in section 5.2) and Kriol (in 5.3) make use of specialised terms to encode FoR in motion.

Furthermore, it will be noted that the use of absolute terms in Jaminjung is restricted to egocentric, T&B-orientation and motion settings only. I will examine semantic and structural similarities between orientation and motion events and show how they are reflected in the encoding of FoRs. This is discussed in section 5.2.3.

Additionally, Kriol speakers of different varieties appear to make distinctions concerning absolute terms of vertical direction such as *ontop* 'above' and *andanith* 'below' (section 5.3.3).

Finally, for both languages, I generally aim to incorporate the different notions of the Frame of Reference typology presented in Table 6 into my analysis. Within Danziger's (2010) direct FoR, Jaminjung speakers use different types of terms for angular- and head-anchored relations. Therefore, the distinction between head- and angular-anchored FoRs (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press) in general furthermore results in more fine-grained features within the same types of 'classic'. Concerning Kriol, Bohnemeyer's and O'Meara's (in press) distinction between geocentric absolute and geocentric geomorphic anchoring provides a valuable distinction to explain differences between the use of cardinal-type absolute terms such as *sangodan* 'west' and terms based on landscape features such as *lodan* 'downstream' which is discussed in section 5.3.3.

5.2   *Frames of Reference in Jaminjung in Static and Motion Descriptions*

I divide my discussion of Frames of Reference in Jaminjung into three parts. A study of allocentric (5.2.1) and egocentric (5.2.2) anchoring focuses mainly on static descriptions. This is followed by an analysis of FoRs in motion descriptions (5.2.3). In Jaminjung, only intrinsic FoR and T&B-orientation are expressed in an allocentric anchoring type. When the ego equals the ground location, absolute, intrinsic and (marginally) relative FoR as well as T&B-orientation are used. Therefore, in Jaminjung, the absolute vector always has to be defined with the speaker (ego) as origin, because speakers do not abstract in

discourse to allow for 'deictic shift' (i.e. shifting the deictic centre from ego to some protagonist in, for example narrative settings (see section 7.2 for more discussion). All FoR and orientation concepts carry over to the motion domain; however, there are some differences in encoding and a discussion of parallel semantic and structural properties of motion and T&B orientation concepts will also be included here.

5.2.1 Allocentric Anchoring

I classify Jaminjung's absolute system based on river-drainage (of the Victoria River) as geomorphic, since the terms are not absolutely fixed to the same extent as cardinal directions such as *north/south* or other Australian languages' systems (e.g. in Arrernte (Wilkins, 2006)) are. Instead, in this system the local terrain overrides the global direction of the watercourse and it breaks down when locations go beyond areas speakers are familiar with (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:104-105). Therefore, the fixed type of ternary absolute terms (*north* etc.) indicated in Table 6 in section 5.2.4 above are not used in Jaminjung. Additionally, even the geomorphic based absolute terms (e.g. *manamba* 'upstream) are not used for ground-figure relations of the type *The dog is downriver of the house*, unless the origo is a speech situation participant in an as in *The bridge is downriver (from me)* which is discussed in section 5.2.2 below[24].

Within a binary-type allocentric anchoring, Jaminjung speakers use 'object-centred' as well as geocentric types of FoRs. When intrinsic FoR is object-centred (and then always angular-anchored), different types of encodings might be used. Firstly, the absolute terms based on verticality *thamurrugu* 'underneath, below, down' and *thangga* 'on top/above/up' can be converted into intrinsic terms by ablative case as in (174) and (175). Secondly, one of the two coverbs *walyang* 'in front' and *birang* 'behind' (176) which may also occur in relative FoR settings is used (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c: 107). In example (176) from a table-top elicitation two toy figures stand with their sides turned towards the speaker and it is therefore clear that one of the figure's backs is interpreted as an intrinsic side and *birang* is not interpreted in a relative sense from the speaker's viewpoint.

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[24] All Jaminjung findings are summarised in Table 7 in section 5.2.4.

(174) *thamurru-**yun** ga-rum-any*   <u>*jurru*</u>   *na*   *minyga*   *bawu ga-rum-any*
       below-L.ABL   3SG-come-PST   through NOW what's.it   open 3SG-come-PST
       'underneath (the bridge), it (the canoe) came through, what's it called, it came
       out' (DH10_A12_02_0120, DR)

(175) *bayirr*   *ga-yu*   **thangga*-yin,*   *janyung-bari*
       supported   3SG-be.PRS   above-L.ABL   next-QUAL
       langiny mugurn   ga-yu   **thamirri***
       wood   lie   3SG-be.PRS   below
       'one is leaning on top, another stick is lying underneath' (two brooms lying
       across each other) (TIM203)

(176) **birang**   *na*   *ga-yu*   *gujarding–gina*   *na*   *gurdij*
       behind   NOW   3SG-be.PRS   mother-POSS   NOW   stand
       'he is now standing behind his mother' (ES96_V04_02tr_DH_0323, IP)

Similarly, ablative-marked body-part nominals occur in specific contexts (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c: 107) as in (177). Body-part nominals define the side of the ground from which the angles are projected (possibly the reason for ablative-marking here). Therefore, in example (177), the figure *ngarlu* 'shade' and the side marking out the anchor *langa* 'ear' define the search region of the spatial relation. While one (*langa*) is part of the ground, the other (*ngarlu*) is a landmark external to the ground. As a result, the figure is located in that search region.

(177) *ngarlu*   *ga-yu*   *nu*   **langa-ngunyi**   *gurdij,*
       shade   3SG-be.PRS   3SG.OBL   ear-ABL   stand
       'there is a shade (i.e. tree) standing at his ear' (E13175, DMc)

Geocentric anchoring may be used with absolute FoR. I use the term 'geocentric' in the widest sense as environment-centred (i.e. based on features of the environment itself – 'geomorphic' types such as *downriver* – or based on individual landmarks). As already mentioned, Jaminjung speakers make use of geocentric angular-anchored types of absolute FoR, however, only when geomorphic-based. T&B-orientation in allocentric anchoring can either be head-anchored (178) or angular-anchored (179), but is always geocentric.

(178) *wirib   ah   wirib   birang,   <u>motika</u>, … <u>im</u>   <u>sidan</u>, …   <u>seim-wei</u>,*
       dog   ah   dog   behind   car   3SG   sit.down   same-way
       *<u>im</u>   **tharda**-ngining,*
       3SG   face.away-L.ALL
       'the dog, ah, the dog is behind, the car is standing the same way, it has its back
       turned (to the dog)' (E13260)

(179) *mayi=biya jirrama bunthu-yu,   janyungbari   ngiyina-wurla*
       man=now   two   12PL-be.PRS   other   PROX-DIR
       *ga-yu=ni   juwiya, janyungbari   **manamba-ngining** ga-yu   *
       3SG-be.PRS=SFOC   nose   other   upstream-L.ALL   3SG-be-PRS
       'there are two men, one has his nose that way, the other is facing upstream'
       (Men & Tree 4.10; 4.9 matched. Director and matcher facing towards the river;
       river visible) (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:107)

Head-anchored T&B-orientation is, in contrast to the angular-anchored type, always
encoded by a set of coverbs of spatial configuration, such as *jarda/tharda* 'turning one's
back' or *wamam* 'facing', encoding the orientation of a specific side of a figure (Schultze-
Berndt, 2006c:109) with respect to an explicit (180) or implicit reference point (178).

   The coverbs of spatial configuration might be also used to describe what would
otherwise need to be expressed in a relative FoR when the ground does not have intrinsic
sides of its own. In example (180) from a ppt elicitation, from the speaker's perspective
the figure (the car) stops on the right side of the rock (from a relative FoR perspective).
The coverb *walyang* 'in front' is first used, but seeing that this does not quite fit the
scene, after a pause, the speaker adds *wamam* 'facing' expressing orientation of the
figure (a car) towards a reference point (*wagurra* 'rock') rather than its location with
respect to a ground.

(180) *ga-yu   wagurra-g…   walyang… **wamam***
       3SG-be.PRS   rock/money–LOC   in.front   facing
       'it (the car) is in front of the rock, facing it' (DH10_A03_05_024, NR)

The absolute locational nouns *buya* 'downstream' and *manamba* 'upstream' can be used
to express angular-anchored T&B-orientation when as in (181) they occur with allative-
marking and some referential within the figure (here 'nose'). Otherwise they just encode
vectors (direction) and not orientation.

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(181) *buliki=biyang*   ***buya-ngining***   *juwiya*   *ga-yu*   %
       cow=NOW   downstream-LOC.ALL   nose   3SG-be.PRS
       'the cow has its nose pointing downstream' (D3008, DB)

While the absolute terms do not occur with the above mentioned coverbs of spatial configuration to encode T&B-orientation, they can also be used with a coverb such as *mung* 'look at' to indicate orientation of a figure as in (182).

(182) *nindu=biyang*   *manamba*   ***mung***   *ga-yu.*
       horse=NOW   upstream   look.at   3SG-be.PRS
       'the horse is now looking upstream' (D30128)

In conclusion, Jaminjung does not have cardinal-type fixed terms such as *north/south*, and uses geomorphic type terms based on the direction of river flow, but expressions of the type *He is downriver from the house* are not being used, unless the ground is ego. These are discussed in more detail in the following section 5.2.2.

5.2.2 Egocentric Anchoring

Egocentric anchoring in Jaminjung is mainly restricted to what Danziger (2010) calls Direct FoR. Within the angular-anchored type, intrinsic FoR (184) is expressed where the speaker as anchor (= ground) is left implicit (184). Head-anchored T&B-orientation is not attested in my data, however, it is likely that expressions of the kind *wamam nga-yu wirib* 'I am facing the dog' are possible in appropriate discourse environments which I failed to elicit. Head-anchored egocentric FoR is expressed using either the proximal deictic *ngiyinthu* 'here' or the distal one *yina* 'there' with a side-encoding suffix *–ngurrinygi* (185). T&B-orientation is expressed in spatial coverbs of configuration as in (183).

(183) *wamam*   *bunthu-yu;*   *bun-ngami*   *yirrag*
       facing   3DU-be.PRS   3DU>1-see:PRS   13.PL.OBL
       'the two are facing (us), they are looking at us' (CHE340, NR)

(184) *yina =biya*   *gurdij*   *ga-yu*   ***walyang***
       DIST=NOW   stand   3SG-be.PRS   in.front
       'there it is standing in front (of me)' (DH10_A06_05.281, NC)

(185)   <u>motika</u> =biyang   **ngiyinthu–ngurrinygi**   ga-yu
         car =NOW   PROX-SIDE:LOC   3SG-be.PRS
         'the car is now on my side' (DH10_A06_05.161, NR)

Jaminjung speakers only make very limited use of ternary egocentric relations, i.e. the relative FoR. The coverbs *walyang* 'in front of' and *birang* 'behind' can have relative and intrinsic uses. When they are used within relative FoRs, they are interpreted as being a "ground between viewer and figure" (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c: 109). This FoR is only used if the ground (such as the round-shaped 'bottle') does not have specific intrinsic facets of its own.

(186)   **birang**   ga-yu   mawud-gi
         behind   3SG-be.PRS   glass-LOC
         'it is behind the bottle' (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c: 109)

Egocentric relations are relevant for the absolute and intrinsic FoR as well as T&B-orientation. In this part of my analysis I included my own addition to the concepts proposed by Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) and Danziger (2010). Table 6 includes absolute FoR in such uses where the speaker acts as the ground in the expression. This is, in fact, the only type of setting when Jaminjung speakers use absolute terms within a Frame of Reference system and outside of T&B-orientation.

Concerning absolute FoR, Schultze-Berndt (2006c:103-104) makes a distinction between smaller scale usage (i.e. descriptions which describe spatial relations of a figure and ground in close vicinity to one another such as (187)) where intrinsic FoR is preferred and larger scale descriptions (i.e. such descriptions that are used to describe spatial relations of a figure and an object which are located in some distance to one another as in (188)) where absolute terms are often used.

(187)   *The salt shaker is behind the breadbasket*
(188)   *Birmingham is south of Manchester*

In Jaminjung, location within an absolute FoR can only be expressed using the horizontal absolute terms if the ground is also understood to be the deictic centre of the description as illustrated in (189), and can never be of the type shown in (188). Therefore, I argue

that the restricted use of absolute terms can be accounted for by a limitation to uses mainly within an egocentric anchoring irrespective of the scale of the description. While absolute FoR in Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) is always allocentric, I come to the conclusion that there are two types of uses. One when not only the ground, but the origin of the coordinate system as well needs to be within a type of 'object' that is not ego (allocentric *The dog is downstream of the house*), and another where it is always within ego (i.e. the speaker, deictic centre) as in *The dog is downstream (from me)*.

(189) <u>brij</u>=biyang   gayu=ni   **manamba** \\.. yinju \\ **manamba** \\
       bridge=NOW   3SG-be.PRS=SFOC   upstream   PROX   upstream
       'the bridge is upstream (from here), here, upstream' (F04014, 17/06/98)

Example (190) is from a table top elicitation placing two sticks of the same length parallel to each other with either sticking out on one side, one *buya* 'downstream' and the other *manamba* 'upstream'. The ground is left implicit and can be understood either as an entity that was mentioned just before, as one that is otherwise implicit (as in this case, where each of the two figures also serves as implicit ground for the other), or (usually, but not necessarily) as the speaker (i.e. the deictic centre). This is an example of absolute FoR in a small scale description and therefore shows that scale does not provide a reliable basis for an analysis of Jaminjung's FoR system.

(190) buya   ga-yu,   thanyung **manamba** ga-yu
       downstream 3SG-be.PRS   other   upstream   3SG-be.PRS
       'one is downstream, the other one is upstream' (JAM169, DP/MJ)

To sum up, the use of absolute terms within Frames of Reference and outside of T&B-orientation in Jaminjung is restricted to those event types where ground and origin of the coordinate system are both within ego. Furthermore, it was shown that what Danziger (2010) calls 'direct FoR' can be divided into an angular- and a head-anchored type which both include intrinsic FoR as well as T&B-orientation. Finally, my own addition to the concepts described by Danziger (2010), Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) and Terrill and Burenhult (2008) as absolute FoR with ego as origo has proven to be a valuable addition accounting for the language's specific constraints and enabled me to reanalyse

Schultze-Berndt's (2006c) investigation of Jaminjung for static FoR descriptions. In the following section 5.2.3 I will investigate certain restrictions on FoR in motion descriptions.

5.2.3 Frames of Reference in Motion Descriptions

All restrictions of the use of Frames of Reference observed for static event descriptions carry over to the motion event domain. However, there are some differences between the encoding of FoRs in motion expressions as compared to static descriptions. Furthermore, parallel semantic properties and structures of T&B-orientation and motion event descriptions will be discussed.

   In motion event descriptions, path defined as vector can have allocentric as well as egocentric anchoring. As examined above, absolute FoR only occurs with ego as origin of the coordinate system and ground in static event encodings. In example (191) the speaker is also ground and origin of the coordinate system. Motion is therefore encoded here in terms of absolute direction (*buya* 'downstream'), head-anchored direction with ego as anchor (*yinjuwurla* 'towards here') and head-anchored direction with a landmark (*Horse Creek*) as anchor which all complement one another.

(191) *wanaja=gun*   *yirr- ijga-ny*   *a*   ***buya**-gu*
        where:DIR =CONTR   13PL-go-PST   a   downstream-L.ABL
        yinju-wurla   *Horse Creek-bina*
        PROX-DIR   n_top-ALL
        'where was it again that we went, ah downstream over here, to Horse Creek'
        (ES08_A13_01tt.006, JM)

The specific restrictions and features that accompany the use of deictics and absolute terms in Jaminjung discourse is discussed in some detail in sections 7.1 and 7.2. The ground, i.e. starting point of motion is left implicit and can either refer to a ground mentioned before or the speaker as deictic centre (192). In this example, the vector defining the path of motion is anchored within an absolute FoR projecting 'downstream'.

(192) *burri=biyang luba=wung   burri-jga-ny* ***buya***   *na ..*   *wajama*
        3PL=NOW   many=RESTR 3PL-go-PST   downstream NOW   fishing
        'they now, all together, went downstream, fishing' (TAP066)

On the other hand, FoR might be encoded in within grounds as in example (193) in the goal-encoding NP (*birang jalbudgi* 'behind the house') which shows an allocentric angular-anchored 'object-centred' type using intrinsic FoR, whereas the expression in (194) is head-anchored within a Direct FoR in specifying the endpoint of motion in a proximal deictic demonstrative (*ngiyinthu-ngurrinygi* – 'to this/my side'). This type (or T&B-orientation as mentioned before) is often used to encode such events that would otherwise have to be expressed using a relative FoR because the ground lacks intrinsic sides of its own. Examples (194) and (195) describe the same scene in an elicitation session where a kangaroo was seen jumping over a fence towards the speaker, but only (195) makes use of the relative FoR and furthermore encodes FoR in both source (*birang-ngunyi* 'from behind) and goal (*walyang-bina* 'to the front') of motion.

(193) **birang**   *ga-jga-ny*   *jalbud-gi*
       behind   3SG-go-PST   house-LOC
       'it (the car) went behind the house' (DH10_A04_03.082, NR)

(194) *tharra–nguny*   *dibard*   *ga-rdba-ny*   **ngiyinthu -ngurrinygi**
       there-ABL   jump   3SG-fall-PST   PROX-SIDE:LOC
       'from there, it jumped to my side' (DH10_A04_03.133, NR)

(195) *dibard*   *ga-ram*   *janggagu-yun*   **birang-ngunyi**   *dibard*
       jump   3SG-come:PRS   up-L.ABL   behind-ABL   jump
       ga-ram…   **walyang-bina**
       3SG-come:PRS   in.front-ALL
       'it (the kangaroo) comes from above (from an elevated departure point) jumping from behind it jumps to the front (of the fence)' (DH10_A11_03_0101, MMc)

As discussed earlier in section 5.1, the type of parallel semantics observed by Slobin (2008) for paths of vision and paths of motion in a cross-linguistic study can also be shown for Jaminjung. In examples (11) and (197) from the frog stories an ablative-marked absolute term indicating vertical direction as ground (*thangga-yin*) – i.e. location of the figure (*mugmug*) and source of the direction of gaze – is included. In (11) the direction of gaze towards the boy is encoded in the bound pronoun of the transitive IV *-ngawu* 'see' and the coverb *mung* 'look at'. Similarly, in (197) the direction of movement toward the boy, is expressed in the free oblique pronoun *nu* with the intransitive locomotion IV *-ijga* 'go' respectively.

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(196) *mugmug-ni=biyang mung* ***gani-ngayi-na***   ***thangga-yin-***
      owl-ERG=now   look.at   3SG:3SG-see-IMPF   above-L.ABL
      'the owl then was looking at him from above' (ES96_A01_04.283, DR)

(197) <u>*olrait*</u>, *mugmug=marlang* ***ga-jga-ny***   *nu::,*   ***thangga-yin*** *%*
      alright   owl=GIVEN   3SG-go-PST   3SG.OBL   on.top-L.ABL
      'alright, the owl went for him from on top' (ES96_A18_02tg_Frog_0083/0084, CP)

Direction of gaze therefore requires a perceptual path just like direction of motion involves a physical one. As a result, absolute terms can be used as direction-encoding grounds in all events of this kind. However, the coverbs of T&B-orientation *wamam* 'face' and *tharda* 'face away' cannot be used with all types of direction that motion expressions can, but only with head-anchoring. While they may occur with ablative-marked (198) ground NPs or deictic directionals (199), in my corpus there were, no instances of allative-marked goal NPs of the kind **wamam gayu langiny-bina* 'He faces (towards) the tree'. Instead, locative-marked NPs, as in example (180) above, are used.

    This then represents pure configuration of figure(s) and/or ground. With both coverbs, the ground is often left implicit and encodes either a previously mentioned ground or the speaker as deictic centre as in (198) and (199). It can, however, also be encoded in a direct object of a transitive motion verb as in (200). However, this latter example shows also that the orientation coverb here does not add any directional information to the motion event. Instead, the coverb only encodes the configuration of the moving figures in relation to ego (*tharda* in (200)) or to one another (*wamam jirram wamam* in (201))[25].

(198) *yinyju-ngunyi:*   *wamam ga-yu*   *nu *
      PROX-ABL   facing   3SG-be.PRS   3SG.OBL
      'he is with his face to him from here' (E01124, VP)

(199) *yinawurla tharda*   *ga-yu,*   *mayi *
      DIST:DIR   face.away 3SG-BE.PRS   person
      'he is facing in that direction, the man' (E13349, DP)

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[25] The phrase *wamam jirram wamam* appears to be a lexicalised expression to denote 'facing one another'.

(200) *tharda*   *bun-ngunga-m*   *mindag;*   *tharda*   *buny-angga*
      face.away 3DU:1-leave-PRS 12du.OBL turn.back 3du-go:PRS
      'they are going away from us with their backs turned, they are going with their
      backs turned' (CHE358, NR)

(201) *jarlig jirram*   *wamam*   *jirram*   *wamam*   *buny- angga* *yirrgbi-wu*
      child two   facing   two   facing   3DU-go.PRS   talking-DAT
      'yes two children go facing each other for talking' (DH10_A03_01_0296, NR)

Some FoR-encoding terms, however, are only used in motion descriptions and never in static descriptions. Cross-linguistically, specialised motion verbs or verb particles to express direction ('orientation') of motion are common. In Jaminjung, there are two coverbs of oriented motion encoding absolute vertical direction. These are *burduj* 'go up' and *jid* 'go down'. In example (202) *jid* indicates the orientation/direction of motion whereas the absolute locational *thamirri* 'below' encodes the location of the ground together with the allative-marked *gulban* 'ground'.

(202) **jid**   *ga-dba-ny*   *warrangan-ngunyi* **thamirri**   *gulban-bina*
      go.down   3SG-fall-PST   cliff-ABL   below   ground-ALL
      'he went down from the cliff down to the ground' (D14023)

5.2.4 Summary

In conclusion one can say that Jaminjung speakers appear to be using all anchoring types and Frames of Reference within, with the exception of such absolute anchoring where the origin of the coordinate system is not ego.

   Concerning egocentric anchoring, the relative FoR is only attested when the ground does not have clear intrinsic sides and often speakers prefer to use deictic expressions in head-anchored direct FoR instead. The absolute FoR, on the other hand, is frequently employed to encode location and motion. Within the Direct FoR the angular-anchored type is only realised as T&B orientation when the speaker serves as anchor for describing orientation. Table 7[26] provides an overview of all types of anchoring in Jaminjung with examples from the discussion above, wherever appropriate.

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[26] In the table, all occurring instances are in black font, whereas non-occurring instances are marked in grey font.

	Allocentric (anchor is not speech situation participant)	**Egocentric** (anchor is speech situation participant)
Ternary Anchor is not Ground	**Absolute and geocentric** *The dog is north of the house/on the northern side of the house* T&B orientation: *The dog is facing north* = **always angular anchored** (absolute axes used as anchor) **Absolute and geocentric geomorphic based** **angular-anchored** (vector defined by geomorphic features is used as anchor) absolute: *The dog is uphill/downriver of the house* T&B-orientation: EXAMPLE (181): *buliki=biyang buya-ngining juwiya ga-yu* 'the cow has its nose pointing downstream' Also (179) and (182)	**Relative** = **always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of speaker used as anchor) EXAMPLE (186): *birang ga-yu mawud-gi* 'it is behind the bottle (from speaker's perspective)'
Binary Anchor is (part of) Ground	**Object-centred and intrinsic** = **always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of ground used as anchor): EXAMPLE (176): *birang na ga-yu gujarding-gina na gurdij* 'he is now standing behind his mother' also (174) and (175)	**Absolute** = **always angular-anchored** (vector defined by both speaker as origo and absolute angles) EXAMPLE (189) *brij=biyang ga-yu=ni manamba ... yinju manamba* 'the bridge is upstream (from here), here, upstream' also (190)
	Geocentric	**Direct** **angular anchored** when speaker's intrinsic sides used as anchor: intrinsic: EXAMPLE (184):

		yina =biya gurdij ga-yu walyang 'there it is standing in front (of me)' T&B-orientation: *I am facing the dog* (??)
	head-anchored (overall 'object' location is used as anchor) when landmark-based intrinsic: EXAMPLE (177): *ngarlu ga-yu nu langa-ngunyi gurdij* 'there is a shade (i.e. tree) standing at his ear' T&B-orientation: EXAMPLE (180): *ga-yu wagurra-g walyang wamam* 'it (the car) is in front of the rock, facing it' also (178)	**head-anchored** when speaker's overall location is used as anchor intrinsic: EXAMPLE (185): *motika=biyang ngiyinthu-ngurrinygi ga-yu* 'the car is now on my side' T&B-orientation: EXAMPLE (183): *wamam bunthu-yu, bun-ngami yirrag* 'the two are facing (us), they are looking at us'

Table 7: Types of Anchors in Frames of Reference in Jaminjung based on (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press, Danziger, 2010:172, Levinson, 2003, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008)

Concerning Frames of Reference in motion descriptions, all distinctions observed for static anchoring are also found. However, there are some encoding distinctions between static and motion events. The parallel structure of motion and T&B orientation encoding reflected in morphosyntactic elements such as case-marked grounds was briefly introduced in 5.2.3. It was therefore shown that paths of 'vision' or 'orientation' may occur in equivalent constructions to motion event descriptions, including case-marked grounds or deictic directionals. However, there are some restrictions on the coverbs of orientation *wamam* 'facing' and *tharda* 'face away' concerning the types of direction encodings they may occur with.

5.3   Frames of Reference in Kriol in Static and Motion Descriptions

This section is concerned with the notions of orientation and Frame of Reference (FoR) in Kriol. I provided an overview of the theoretical aspects and current issues in FoR typology in section 5.1 above. Here, I will focus on which reference frames are generally used in

Kriol and how they are encoded. Doing this, I will pay attention to FoRs in motion event descriptions including specific encodings and semantic restrictions. Additionally, I will discuss differing uses of FoRs in two varieties of Kriol and also show how the language fits within the extended FoR typology as introduced.

Generally, Kriol speakers prefer using intrinsic over relative FoR. Furthermore, there is a varietal distinction between speakers of Roper and Westside Kriol concerning absolute terms. While the former, for example, make use of two types of terms based on the course of the sun as well as river drainage, the latter only use a river-based system. Generally, many languages using a cardinal-type system do not make use of all four terms (east, west, north, south), but often only two. If that is the case, mostly, those based on the course of the sun, i.e. east and west, are used (Brown, 1983:144, Heine, 1997). As such, the Kriol system is cross-linguistically well known. Finally, T&B orientation is only very marginally in use in either variety. I will discuss each of these in turn in the following sections.

5.3.1 Allocentric Anchoring

All types of allocentric anchoring described in section 5.1 can be found in Kriol; however, some anchoring kinds appear to occur only in one of the two varieties under investigation, namely Roper and Westside Kriol. Whenever this is the case, I will point out the difference.

Ternary allocentric anchoring in Kriol is encoded in absolute terms based on the course of the sun in a cardinal system in *sanrais(wei/said)* 'east' and *sangodan(wei/said)* 'west'. Furthermore, the direction of river flow is geomorphic-based on the horizontal axis in *lodan* 'downstream' and *haidap* 'upstream'. Additionally, there are terms denoting vertical direction such as *ontop* 'up' and *andanith* 'below'.

A linguistic universal on the introduction of a cardinal direction into a given language, that "IF the terms for a cardinal direction are introduced, THEN the sun provides the most likely model to be selected. IF new terms for cardinal directions 'east' and 'west' are acquired, THEN most likely, these terms are derived from expressions relating, respectively, to the rising and setting sun" (Plank, 2006:1174). This is exactly the case in Kriol for its terms *sanrais(wei)* 'east' and *sangodan* 'west' in example (203).

(203) det   ka   bin   ran   en   stap **sangodan–said** langa   det   haus
       that   car   AUX.PST   run   and   stop west-side   LOC   that   house
       'the car went and stopped on the western side of the house'
       (DH10_A15_09_0025, IA)

Table 8 below lists the use of the different absolute terms for horizontal as well as vertical

direction in Roper and Westside Kriol.

	Roper Kriol	Westside Kriol	Gloss
Horizontal absolute terms	*sanraiswei/said/sangidap(wei/said)* *sangodan(wei/said)/jangodan(wei/said)* *haidap/airrap* *lodaun/lodan*	 *haidap* *lodan*	east west upstream downstream
Vertical absolute terms	*-ap* *dan*	*ontop/-ap* *andanith/dan*	above/up below/down

Table 8: Absolute terms in Roper and Westside Kriol

The Kriol dictionary[27] (Lee, 2004) also included the terms *noth* 'north' and *sauth* 'south'.

However, in the data available to me, these are only used in acrolectal varieties of Kriol,

e.g. when speakers explained absolute terms, and therefore could be regarded as

borrowings from English as in example (204).

(204) wal   wi   go-in   dis-wei   **is**   yu   go-in-dan
       well 1PL   go-PROG   this-way   East   2SG   go-PROG-down
       noth deya   ap-en-dan
       noth there   up-and-down
       'well, we're going this way, east you go down, north, up and down'
       (DH10_V01_01_0131, NR)

However, in my entire corpus of Kriol, neither form was found in examples from speakers

of the Westside variety but only in Roper River Kriol from my own fieldwork in Ngukurr

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[27] http://www1.aiatsis.gov.au/ASEDA/docs/0739-Kriol/Index.html accessed 26/05/2009

and in (Sandefur, 1982). Unfortunately, I was not able to run a session of my stimuli with Westside Kriol speakers, but could also not find the use of either term in original translations during Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru sessions. Instead of *sanrais/sangodan* 'east/west', the speakers only used the terms based on the direction of the flow when referring to horizontal absolute directions in Kriol. The latter terms will be discussed in more detail in the following section 5.3.2. Furthermore, section 5.3.3 will discuss how the suffixes *–wei* and *–said* that attach to these absolute terms determine denotation of motion and/or static events.

Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) distinguish between different types of absolute terms, those based on fixed bearings (like the course of the sun and *sangodan* and *sanraiswei*) and those that are not entirely fixed, since they are based on landscape features (e.g. the course of a river *lodan* and *haidap*). The distinction clearly comes into play for the Roper Kriol variety where both types of terms are in use, but only the cardinal absolute terms are employed with an explicit ground that is not the speaker.

In my corpus there were no instances of the type **Im stap lodansaid langa det haus* 'he stopped on the downriver side of the house' which would be a parallel construction to example (203) above. However, to confirm this corpus-based observation, negative evidence in the form of speaker judgement would be needed.

Vertical absolute terms have different encodings for absolute FoR in the two varieties of Kriol. While Westside Kriol can employ the adverbs *ontop* 'above' in (205) and *andanith* 'below' in (206) as well as the adverbial suffix *–ap* 'up' and the preposition or adverbial suffix *dan* 'down', Roper Kriol only uses the latter within absolute FoR.

(205) *"gudarrg gudarrg"   imin   teik-im **ontop**   gota kulaman*
       brolga   brolga   3SG:AUX.PST take-TR on+top   with coolamon
       'so he said "gudarrg, gudarrg" and took it (the water) up high with a coolamon'
       (DH10_A07_03b_0014, NR)

(206) *im   ani jamp jamp jamp   fo   a   la   hil   **andanith***
       3SG   only jump jump jump   DAT:for ah   ALL:to hill   underneath
       'it jumps, jumps, jumps to there to the bottom of the hill' (ES05_a02_06af_0010,
       IP)

(207) *det dog tu   imin   jamp   **ontop** la   det bigges log*
       that dog too 3SG:AUX.PST jump   on+top ALL:to   that big   log
       'the dog too jumped onto the big log' (DH10_A16_06_0125, LM)

(208)   imin   flout-flout-bat   **andanith**   la   det   brij
         3SG:AUX.PST   RDP-float-CONT   underneath   ALL:to   that   bridge
         'it floated underneath the bridge' (DH10_A15_01_0078, JoJo)

The adverbs *ontop* and *andanith* in Roper Kriol are just used in binary object-centred anchoring (i.e. intrinsic FoR) as in (207) and (208), but not within an absolute FoR. Another way of expressing object-centred anchoring are adverbials (209) and (211) encoding search spaces defined by horizontal intrinsic sides of the ground as anchor. All intrinsic terms are summarised in Table 9. If the figure is explicitly mentioned, the locative preposition *la/langa* is obligatorily used to mark location or goal on the ground.

Roper Kriol	Westside Kriol	Gloss
biyain(wei)/bihain (langa)	*biyain(wei)*	under(neath), below
lida langa/la lid la/frant/front	*front/frant*	in front
andanith	*andanith*	under(neath), below
ontop	*ontop*	on top, above
lef(hensaid)	*lef(hensaid)*	left
rait(hensaid)	*rait(hensaid)*	right

Table 9: Kriol encodings of intrinsic Frame of Reference

(209)   det   gel   slip -in   **biyainwei**   langa   yu
         DEM   girl   sleep-TR   behind   LOC   2SG
         'The girl sleeps behind your back.' (Lee, 2004: biyainwei)

(210)   imin   lai   ontop   op   la   bed… en
         3SG:AUX.PST   lie   on+top   of   LOC   bed   and
         imin   dog   bin   la….   **la   im   fut-wei**
         3SG:AUX.PST   dog   AUX.PST   LOC   LOC   3SG   foot-wards
         'he (the boy) lay on the bed and his dog slept at his feet' (DH10_A14_06_0009, JaR)

(211)   thad   bangk   na,   ai   gadi   theya   **la   fran**   theya,   la
         DEM   bed   NOW   1SG   have   there   LOC   front   there   LOC
         main   kemp   insaid
         1SGPOSS   camp   inside
         '(And) that bed, I've got it there, inside my place towards the front there.'
         (DA98_01_Fladwada_tg.201)

Similar to Jaminjung's ablative marked body-part nominals, in Kriol such body-part NPs with the directional suffix –*wei* attached might be used to encode intrinsic FoR as well in

example (210). The intrinsic terms for horizontal FoR can furthermore have a temporal reading encoding a sequence of events as in example (212).

(212) olmen   bin   kam-bek   **biyain**…   langa   woda
       old+man   AUX.PST   come-back   behind   ALL:to   water
       'so the old men came back afterwards, to the water'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_StoryMan_0016)

While Kriol, unlike Jaminjung, makes use of absolute terms in allocentric anchoring, it does not employ T&B orientation with these absolute terms such as the hypothetical example *Imin nos sanraiswei 'he had his nose towards the east'. This is an interesting difference to Jaminjung, where absolute directionals can, in fact, only be employed outside of an egocentric anchoring if used in T&B orientation as shown in example (179) manamba-ngining 'upstream' repeated from section 5.2.1 for convenience.

(213) mayi=biya jirrama bunthu-yu,   janyungbari   ngiyina-wurla
       man=now   two   12PL-be.PRS   other   PROX-DIR
       ga-yu=ni   juwiya, janyungbari **manamba-ngining** ga-yu   \
       3SG-be.PRS=SFOC   nose   other   upstream-L.ALL   3SG-be-PRS
       'there are two men, one has his nose that way, the other is facing upstream'
       (Men & Tree 4.10; 4.9 matched. Director and matcher facing towards the river;
       river visible) (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:107)

However, similar to what has been observed for Jaminjung, the orientation verbs *feisap* 'facing' and *givit bekbon* 'turning one's back' as well as the verb of perception *lukin* 'look' do not occur with specific types of ground encodings such as direction and goal such as the hypothetical example *Imin feisap sangodanwei 'he faced westwards'.

   Table 10 lists all T&B-orientation terms used in Kriol. They are rarely used in Kriol, but when they occur, they usually do so in an egocentric anchoring and therefore will be discussed in more detail in section 5.3.2.

Kriol	Gloss
feisin/feisap	facing, turning one's front
(givit) bekbon	turning one's back
lukin	looking towards

Table 10: Kriol orientation terms

T&B orientation in a binary object-centred allocentric anchoring did never refer to a landmark (such as in the hypothetical example like *motika feisap la haus* 'the car faces the house') other than a human as in example (214) below. Here, the orientation of the cow's (*buliki*) head is expressed with a verb of direction of gaze *lukinat* 'look at' towards a human reference point (*yuwei* 'towards you').

(214) *buliki seim-wei olabat luk **dijey**,   **luk-in-at** %   **langa   yu-wei***
       cow same-way 3PL   look this.way   look-PROG-at   LOC   2SG-way
       'the cow looks in the same direction as them –this way, it looks in your direction'
       (E13261)

However, these findings must be viewed with caution. While I believe that these observations do give some insight into naturalistic usage of orientation terms and speaker preference, they do not exclude the possibility of using orientational terms to orient a figure to a general landmark.[28]

5.3.2 Egocentric Anchoring

All three types of the 'classic' Levinson Frames of Reference as well as T&B-orientation are found in egocentric anchoring in Kriol. Even though the use of a relative Frame of reference (i.e. ternary egocentric and angular-anchored) is rare, Kriol speakers, similar to what has been observed for Jaminjung in 5.2.2, tend to make use of the frame when the ground in question does not have any identifiable intrinsic sides such as a tree (215) and a rock (216). In the case of *biyain* 'behind', it is used to encode the location of the figure on the side of the ground not visible to the speaker and vice versa for *lida la* 'in front' in example (217). All relative terms which may also be employed in an intrinsic FoR are listed in Table 11.

(215) *imin   ran pas **biyain**   la   big-wan   tri*
       3SG:AUX.PST run past behind   LOC   big-NR   tree
       'she ran past the big tree, behind' (DH10_A05_02_0215, JaR)

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[28] To test this assumption, the "Men and Tree" task as well as speaker-judgement elicitation tasks should be conducted systematically.

(216)   en   det   lil-dog   bin   ran… ran   **biyain**   la   det   rok
        and   that little-dog AUX.PST run run   behind   LOC   that   rock
        'and the dog ran and ran behind the rock' (DH10_A16_06_0098, LM)

(217)   kengaru   bin   hop-hop   en   jendap   **lida la   tri**
        kangaroo   AUX.PST   RDP-hop   and   stand   in.front.of tree
        'the kangaroo hopped and then it stopped in front of the tree'
        (DH10_A14_04_0021, JaR)

Roper Kriol	Westside Kriol	Gloss
biyain(wei)/bihain (langa)	*biyain(wei)/bihain (langa)*	behind
lida langa/la lid la/frant/front	*front/frant (langa)*	in front
rait(hensaid)	*rait(hensaid)*	right
lef(hensaid)	*lef(hensaid)*	left

Table 11: Kriol Encodings of Relative Frame of Reference

It is noteworthy that in my entire corpus I could not find use of the terms *lef/rait* 'left/right' in expressions referring to specific sides of a ground from a relative point of view. If a figure is placed on either side of a ground (in a configuration that does not encourage the use of a deictic term, i.e. not closer or further away from the speaker than the ground), speakers will often refer to its location using the unspecific locational *wansaid la* 'next to' as in example (218) where the speaker describes a figure passing a tree while walking away from the speaker. Such restricted use in discourse of the relative frame have been described for other languages as well, such as e.g. Tzeltal which only uses intrinsic or topological relations for objects close in space (Levinson, 2003:179). Even in example (219) there is no transposition of the sides of the speaker to the sides of the ground which would be e.g. *imin draiv la raithensaid langa haus* 'he drove to the right side of the house'. As a result, (219) could be seen as an example of direct intrinsic FoR within a motion (or T&B-orientation) event.

(218)   im   wok-in   na   **wan-said**   la   det   tri
        3SG   walk-PROG   NOW   one-side   LOC   that tree
        'he's walking on one side of the tree' (DH10_A09_02_0216, LJ)

(219)   imin   draiv   la   **rait-hen**-said   pas-im   en
        3SG:AUX.PST   drive   LOC   right-hand–side   pass-TR   and
        *den   imin   kam-bek   la   **lef-hen-said***
        then   3SG:AUX.PST   come-back   ALL:to left-hand -side
        'he drove on the right hand side passing and then he came back to the left hand side' (DH10_A15_03_0044, JoJo)
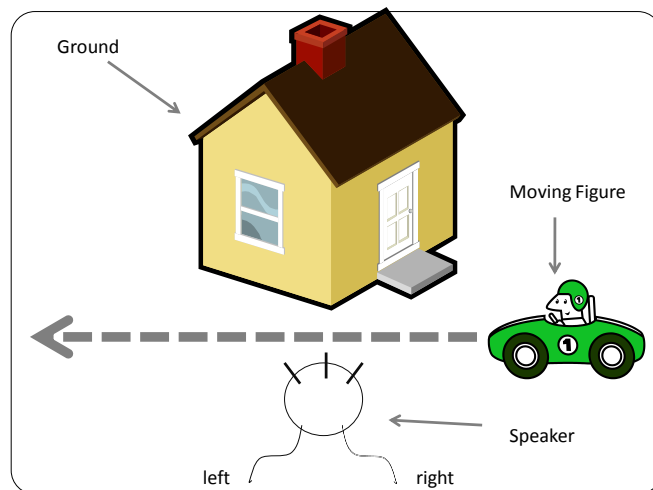
Figure 8: Relative Frames of Reference

Concerning binary absolute anchoring with ego as origin of the coordinate system, for both varieties there is a distinction between *lodan* 'downstream' and *haidap* 'upstream', since in both traditional lands large rivers – the Roper River and the Victoria River - provide major landmarks. However, as discussed in the previous section 5.3.1, terms based on the course of the sun *sanraiswei/sangodan* 'east/west' appear only to be used by speakers of the Roper variety. Generally, absolute terms can mark a direction of a motion event as in (221) and may occur in locative expressions (220), but unlike landmark NPs they never occur with the locative preposition *langa*.

(220) *ol   deishen brabli   **lodan**   imin   jidan   bifo*
       old   station probably downstream 3SG:AUX.PST sit+down before
       'the real old station was downstream in the old times' (ES01_A07_03tt_0199, DB)

(221) *en   dijan   big   riba im   go   treitap   **haidap***
       and   this+one   big   river 3SG   go   straight.up upstream
       'and this big river (East Baines) goes straight up, upstream'
       (ES01_A07_03tt_0163, DB)

Both examples above as well as (222) below are cases of absolute FoR with ego as the origin of the coordinate system where the speaker acts as the ground. In fact, just as described for Jaminjung, when the absolute terms are used to describe location without reference to a ground as in example (189) above, they encode the speaker as ground.

(222) wal **sangidap–wei** dei   bin…   faind-im   bud-um det kenu
       well east-wards   3PL:SUBJ AUX.PST find-TR   put-TR   that canoe
       'they   found   it   in   the   east   and   put   the   canoe   there'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_JapaneseBoat_0034)

Both types of Direct FoR can be found in Kriol. However, the angular-anchored type appears to be rather rare in Kriol (223). Instead, speakers more often use head-anchoring with proximal and distal deictic demonstratives when the speaker's overall location is used as anchor in an event description as in (224). This example includes phrases from the same ppt elicitation task (on FoR) and here the speaker describes movement of a kangaroo first on the 'other' (i.e. further away from the speaker) side of a fence in (a) and then on the speaker's own side in (b).

(223) ai   gat fani   filing   sambadi **biyain** la   mi
       1SG get funny feeling   somebody behind   LOC 1SG
       'I   have   this   funny   feeling   that   there   is   somebody   behind   me'
       (ES03_A02_01_DH_0270, DP)

(224)
  (a) det kenguru   bin   jamp-jamp **det-said-wei** langa   det   pedok
      that kangaroo   AUX.PST   RDP-jump that-side–way ALL:to   that   paddock
      'the kangaroo jumped along on that side of the fence' (DH10_A15_16_006, CR)

  (b) det kenguru   bin   jamp-jamp **la**   **dissaid-wei** langa det   pedok
      that kangaroo   AUX.PST RDP-jump ALL:to   this+side-way LOC that paddock
      'the kangaroo jumped along on this/my side of the paddock' (DH10_A15_16_007, LM)

As already briefly mentioned in the previous section 5.3.1, T&B-orientation in Kriol is rather rare. However, when it occurs, it is almost exclusively limited to anchoring within a Direct FoR. A figure's orientation in Kriol can be expressed by the adjectives listed in Table 10 above relating to the direction of gaze of an animate figure (*lukinat* 'looking at') or the intrinsic facets of the any type of figure itself (*feisap* 'facing' and *bekbon* 'backwards').

Example (225) shows how the intrinsic sides of the figure itself can be used to orient a figure in relation to an implicit ground (Hoffmann, 2009:140) that here is the deictic centre.

115

(225)   *dem   wok pas brij   kros   de   brij…   **bekbon***
        them   walk past bridge   across   the   bridge… backwards
        'they walk past the bridge crossing the bridge with their backs turned (away from
        us)' (DH10_05_01_0094, JaR)

The term *feisin* 'facing' to indicate the orientation of a figure towards a reference point
(that is not a ground), is only attested in original translations offered by Jaminjung
speakers as in (226). Furthermore, (Lee, 2004) also lists it as a possible form in Kriol.
Rarely, a verb of perception *lukin* 'looking' might be used for expressing the same concept
as was shown in example (214) in the previous section 5.3.1.

(226)

    (a) <u>*gurdij yinthuwurla   mung   gan-ngayi –m…*</u>
       stand PROX:DIR   watch   3SG>1SG-see-PRS
       *det   min   imin   **feis-ap**   dijey*
       that   mean   3SG:AUX.PST face-up   here
       'the cow is around it stands here watching, that means it is facing towards
       here'

    (b) *dei   pous-in   dei   pous   **feis –ap**   dijey*
       3PL:SUBJ   pose-PROG   3PL:SUBJ   pose   face –up   here
       'they're posing, posing facing this way'

                              (DH10_A10_02_0113-0014, JM)

5.3.3 Frames of Reference in Motion Descriptions

As noted for Jaminjung, all restrictions for different anchoring types that were observed
for static descriptions carry over into the motion domain as well. There are, however,
some differences between the encoding of FoRs in motion vs. static descriptions.

Concerning the use of absolute terms, Kriol makes a distinction between the encoding
of motion and static event descriptions. Whereas the directional suffix –*wei* only attaches
to absolute terms in motion descriptions as in (229) and (230), the suffix -*said* can attach
to a goal-NP (228) in a motion event as well as to a ground-NP in a static location to
encode that the side of a partitioned ground is oriented towards a named direction such
as *sangodan* in (227). In example (227) this ground is implicit and since there is no explicit
ground mentioned before this utterance, I assume that the ground here is the speaker.

(227) *det   ka   bin   ran   en   stap **sangodan–said** langa   det   haus*
that car   AUX.PST   run   and   stop west-side   LOC   that house
'the car went and stopped on the western side of the house'
(DH10_A15_09_0025, IA)

(228) *wi   bin   nid tu go   **haidap-said**   na*
1PL   AUX.PST need to go   upstream-side   NOW
'we needed to go on the upstream side then' (ES03_A17_03_0233, KY)

The absolute terms can also simply encode a direction of a motion event without ground partitioning as in examples (229) and (230).

(229) *det   bot bin   go   **sanrais-wei**   la   det*
that boat AUX.PST go   east-wards   LOC   that
riva   andanith langa det   brij
river   underneath LOC that bridge
'the boat went eastwards on the river, underneath the bridge'
(DH10_A15_14_0064, CR)

(230) *im   go   laik **lodaun,**   en   **haidap***
3SG   go   adv downstream   and   upstream
'He goes downstream and upstream' (D13014)

Concerning vertical absolute direction, similar to Jaminjung's specialised oriented motion coverbs discussed in section 5.2.3, Kriol speakers use motion verbs with the adverbial suffix -*ap* 'up' and the suffix or preposition –*dan* 'down' indicating a vertical absolute direction of motion. These lexemes are used exclusively in motion event descriptions. In Roper Kriol, this is the only way of expressing vertical absolute direction in motion event descriptions since, as discussed in section 5.3.1, the adverbs *ontop* 'on top, above' and *andanith* 'underneath, below' only occur within intrinsic as in (232), but never in absolute FoR. Westside Kriol speakers on the other hand have both options.

Strictly speaking, a verb like *go-dan* 'go down' in (231) encodes the slope of a path and not exact downward direction. However, since we usually do not expect a speaker to

express every change in slope in a path, the general, more abstract direction, 'downward', is denoted here[29].

(231) im   go-dan   insaid   la   keib
       3SG   go-down   inside   ALL:to cave
       'he went down (to) inside the cave' (DH10_05_01_0043, JaR)

Object-centred binary anchoring (i.e. intrinsic FoR) can also be employed in motion event descriptions to describe the location of the figure at the beginning and the end of the motion description with no difference to static event expressions as in examples (232) and (233).

(232) det   men gota ka   bin   draib   **from**   **ontop**
       that man with car AUX.PST   drive   ABL:from on+top
       langa   det   hil   rait-dan   langa   det   wan-bala   tri
       LOC   that hill   right-down ALL:to   that one -NR   tree
       'that man with a car, he drove from the top of the hill right down to the tree'
       (DH10_A15_20_0036, MA)

(233) im   ran-ran   **biyain**   la   det   naja   blekbala
       3SG   RDP-run   behind   LOC   that   another   aborigine
       'and another one walks and he runs behind that other man'
       (DH10_A16_02_0055, LM)

Motion descriptions such as example (234) show the functional similarities between descriptions of orientation and motion (Hoffmann, 2009:137). In fact, the figure (*det bot* 'that boat') is oriented in the very direction that it moves (*dijey* 'this way'). This construction is parallel to the T&B-orientation example (235) where the intrinsic facets of the figure (*im* 'it') determine orientation through the direction of gaze (*feisap* 'facing'). Particularly noteworthy is the use of the deictic directional *dijey* 'here' which is only used in motion and T&B-orientation, but not in static descriptions.

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[29] Other languages also have such types of verbs: e.g. English particle-verbs *go up/go down* or German *hochgehen/runtergehen*.

(234) *det bot… bin*   *stat la   det big-wan   ston*
       that boat AUX.PST   start LOC   that big-NR   stone
       en   imin   **kam-bek   dijey**
       and   3SG:AUX.PST come-back   here
       'the boat started at the big stone and it came back here' (DH10_A15_20_0029, MA)

(235) *gurdij   yinthuwurla   mung   ga-ngayi –m…*
       stand   PROX:DIR   watch   3SG-see-PRS
       det   min   imin   **feis-ap   dijey**
       that   mean   3SG:AUX.PST face-up   here
       'it (the cow) stands here watching, that means it is facing towards here' (DH10_A10_02_0113, JM)

Therefore, the parallel semantics of paths of motion and paths of vision as introduced by Slobin (2008) and discussed in the Jaminjung section 5.2.3, can also be observed in Kriol. However, as mentioned before, Kriol T&B orientation appears to be restricted to egocentric anchoring and allocentric anchoring with human objects only. Most importantly, absolute terms do not occur in T&B-orientation settings in my corpus and they are furthermore mostly found within an egocentric anchoring.

5.3.4 Summary

In conclusion one can say that Kriol speakers make use of all three 'classic' Frames of References described by Levinson (2003). However, there are some restrictions for one Kriol variety over another and the types of anchoring applied. Most prominently, T&B-orientation appears to be only used within egocentric anchoring.

In ternary allocentric anchoring only Roper Kriol employs absolute cardinal-type FoR terms. Within a binary geocentric anchoring on the other hand, neither Roper nor Westside Kriol speakers use the absolute terms based on the direction of river flow even though they are employed in both varieties. Instead, the terms are only used in egocentric anchoring to encode ground in static and motion events.

All other intrinsic FoR allocentric anchoring types are attested in Kriol including head-anchored geocentric location description which, like Jaminjung, appears to only occur with body-part nominals but not other types of landmarks as anchor-points.

Within an egocentric anchoring, relative FoR is attested, but often the use of Direct head-anchored FoR appears to be the preferred strategy of speakers when the ground lacks intrinsic sides. Furthermore, absolute terms based on verticality are used differently

in Roper and Westside Kriol. Whereas the former use the terms as adpositions only to encode intrinsic relations, but adverbial suffixes and prepositions for absolute direction, the latter uses both types of terms.

This usage by Westside speakers appears to be a parallel construction to the locational nominals *thamurrugu* 'below' and *thangga* 'above' in Jaminjung which also can be employed as both. In connection with the use of drainage-based horizontal absolute terms only, these restrictions in the Westside variety could be due to superstrate influence from Jaminjung. Table 12 below provides an overview of all possible FoR encodings in Kriol and includes examples from this section.

	Allocentric (anchor is not speech situation participant)	**Egocentric** (anchor is speech situation participant)
Ternary Anchor is not Ground	**Absolute and geocentric** EXAMPLE (203): *Det ka bin ran en stap sangodan–said langa det haus* 'the car went and stopped on the western side of the house' T&B orientation: *The dog is facing north* = **always angular anchored** (absolute axes used as anchor) **Absolute and geocentric geomorphic based** **angular-anchored** (vector defined by geomorphic features is used as anchor) absolute: *The dog is uphill/downriver of the house* T&B-orientation: *The dog is facing downriver*	**Relative** = **always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of speaker used as anchor) EXAMPLE (217)(186): *kengaru bin hop-hop en jendap lida la tri* 'the kangaroo hopped and then it stopped in front of the tree' also (215), (216) and (219)
Binary Anchor is (part of)	**Object-centred and intrinsic** = **always angular-anchored** (intrinsic sides of ground used as anchor): EXAMPLE (208): *imin flout-flout-bat andanith la det brij* 'it floated underneath the bridge'	**Absolute** = **always angular-anchored** (vector defined by both speaker as origo and absolute angles) EXAMPLE (220): *Ol deishen brabli lodan imin jidan bifo*' the real old station was downstream in

	also (207), (209), (211)	the old times'
		also (221) and (222)
	Geocentric	**Direct**
		angular anchored (speaker's intrinsic sides used as anchor)
		intrinsic:
		EXAMPLE (223): *ai gat fani filing sambadi biyain la mi* 'I have this funny feeling that there is somebody behind me'
		T&B-orientation:
		I am facing the dog (??)
	head-anchored (overall 'object' location used as anchor) when landmark-based	**head-anchored** (speaker's overall location used as anchor)
	intrinsic:	intrinsic:
	EXAMPLE (210): *imin lai ontop op la bed…en imin dog bin la…. la im fut-wei* 'the boy lay on the bed and his dog slept at his feet'	EXAMPLE (224): *det kenguru bin jamp-jamp la dissaid-wei langa det pedok* 'the kangaroo jumped along on this/my side of the paddock'
	T&B-orientation:	T&B-orientation:
	EXAMPLE (214): *buliki seim-wei olabat luk **dijey,luk-in-at %langa yu-wei*** 'the cow looks in the same direction as them –this way, it looks in your direction'	EXAMPLE (225): *dem wok pas brij kros debrij…bekbon* 'they walk past the bridge crossing the bridge with their backs turned (away from us)'
		also (226)

Table 12:Types of Anchors in Frames of Reference in Kriol based on (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press, Danziger, 2010:172, Levinson, 2003, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008)

There are also some differences in encoding Frames of Reference in motion and static descriptions. As observed for Jaminjung, in path coverbs encoding vertical direction, Kriol also makes use of such constructions in adverbial suffixes and prepositions. Furthermore, the directional suffix *–wei* always attaches to absolute terms when used in motion and

T&B-orientation descriptions whereas in static event encodings the suffix –*said* might also be used.

5.4   Summary of Frames of Reference in Jaminjung and Kriol

This chapter provided an overview over Frames of Reference in Jaminjung in Kriol. The basis for my analysis was a combination of the 'classic' three-part' distinction between intrinsic, relative and absolute FoR (Levinson, 2003, Pederson et al., 1998) and a number of additions to it, such as the notion of Direct FoR (Danziger, 2010), anchoring-types (Bohnemeyer and O'Meara, in press) and T&B-orientation (Terrill and Burenhult, 2008). My investigation showed that the distinction between, what I call T&B-orientation and FoRs can be reflected in language-specific restrictions. As such, Jaminjung speakers only make use of absolute terms in egocentric anchoring as well as T&B-orientation. In Kriol, the adjectives that are used to encode T&B-orientation might occur with directionals otherwise only used in motion descriptions.

Furthermore, the distinction between ternary (cardinal-type, fixed) and binary (geomorphic-based, unfixed) absolute FoR made by Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) also proves to be a valuable addition to Frames of Reference for Jaminjung and Kriol. While Jaminjung speakers use no more than the binary-type, in Kriol, only the Roper-variety employs both types and additionally, just the ternary type appears to be used in angular-anchoring.

Generally, horizontal terms based on river-drainage in Jaminjung and Kriol are only used with ego as ground. Concerning vertical terms, speakers of Westside Kriol appeared to employ the adverbs *ontop* 'above' and *andanith* 'below' in the same manner as Jaminjung speakers use the locational nominals *thangga* 'above' and *thamurrugu* 'below' as direction and ground encoding. Roper Kriol speakers on the other hand, only make use of these terms within an intrinsic FoR. Furthermore, cardinal-type absolute terms only occured in the Roper variety. These observations could serve as an indication for substrate influence from Jaminjung on Westside Kriol.

With regards to the significance of Frames of Reference for an analysis of motion, in the following discourse-related chapter 6, all absolute terms irrespective of whether they denote a (specific) place or a direction are counted as grounds in the frequency

calculations since they provide more detailed path information either way. Furthermore, some elements of the motion verb phrase in either language exclusively encode vertical up- or downward motion and thus act within absolute FoRs.

Finally, particularly absolute FoRs are frequent features of certain discourse types such as route descriptions discussed in section 7.1. Additionally, the absolute system is of significance for an investigation of the use of deictics and absolute terms in personal and traditional narratives in section 7.2.

6 Lexicalisation Patterns: Implications for Discourse

This chapter is concerned with lexicalisation patterns of motion event descriptions in discourse in Jaminjung and Kriol. Firstly, in section 6.1, I will apply Talmy's (1985b, 2000a, 2000b, 2007) influential typological framework for the encoding of path and manner to both languages. For Jaminjung, I give an overview of different observations and analyses by various authors (Schultze-Berndt, 2007a, Slobin, 2006, Talmy, 2009) and include some observations of my own (6.1.1). Kriol is placed within the typology for the first time and I will show, based on my discussion of the verb phrase in chapter 4, how path is encoded mainly in a satellite to the verb in 6.1.2.

The next focus of attention is Path Salience as introduced by Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009) in section 6.2. Path is an obligatory element in any translational motion description (Slobin, 1996a), however, languages differ regarding the degree of detail in which this element is expressed in discourse. I discuss this issue for both languages with particular focus on a corpus of frog story narrations for cross-linguistic comparison. I will first take a look at the distribution of the ground component (6.2.1.1, 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.3.1), followed by an analysis of the encoding of other types of path elements in 6.2.1.2, 6.2.2.2 and 6.2.3.2. Finally, path event granularity focusing on larger chunks of discourse beyond the verb phrase is considered for the study of path salience (6.2.1.3, 6.2.2.3 and 6.2.3.3). It becomes clear that while structurally the expression of the path component is quite different for Jaminjung and Kriol, event granularity shows much more similarities.

In contrast to the path component, manner is only optionally expressed in translational motion event descriptions. However, there are correlations between lexicalisation patterns and the frequency of manner expressions in discourse (Slobin, 1996a, Slobin, 2004). Consequently, section 6.3 deals with manner salience for both languages and puts the results in a cross-linguistic perspective.

The final section 6.4 is an investigation into the boundary crossing constraint as described by Slobin (1996a, 2004, 2006). He observed a number of restrictions on the expression of manner in boundary-crossing events for verb-framed languages. This is discussed for Jaminjung and Kriol and it becomes clear that even though the languages follow different typological lexicalisation patterns, the constraint still appears to hold true for both from a discourse-based perspective.

For all remaining discourse analyses sections, I draw from the corpora and datasets specified in section 2.3.1 above. Throughout the investigation, I will make explicit whenever I use the frog story dataset (FMD) only or the complete motion event dataset (CMD) for either language. Generally, I aim to refer to both wherever applicable to ensure taking into account a wide range of discourse types. Occasionally, I will also consider the complete frog story corpus (FMC), including non-motion event descriptions, to discuss the discourse environment of motion expressions.

6.1   Lexical Manner and Path Encodings as the Basis for Salience Patterns

Talmy (1985b, 2000a, 2000b, 2007, 2009) argues that underlying components of a motion event, namely manner and path, are encoded in different ways in the languages of the world as briefly introduced in section 1.2. His binary division of languages into verb- and satellite-framed ones is based on the structural encoding of the manner and path component. To the initial two types, Slobin (1996a, 2004, 2006) added a third one where manner and path are expressed in roughly equivalent lexical forms, and called those equipollently-framed languages.

This typology is of particular interest not only for a cross-linguistic study of motion event expressions of various languages, the lexicalisation patterns have also been shown to influence distribution frequencies of path and manner components in discourse. Slobin (2004) demonstrates that the frequency of manner encodings in discourse differs between the three types of languages due to more (satellite-framed) or less (verb-framed) readily available manner encoding options. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009) on the other hand, argues that distribution frequencies of path encodings are independent of lexicalisation patterns and establishes a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors influencing path salience. Therefore, providing a summary of Jaminjung's patterns and an analysis of Kriol within Talmy's typology forms the basis of this chapter concerned with path (section 6.2) and manner salience (6.3).

In the typology, English, for example, is classified as satellite-framed in expressing path-information in a satellite accompanying the main verb rather than in the verb itself. This component is the preposition *down* in example (236). Manner on the other hand can be expressed directly in the main verb (*jumped*). In contrast, verb-framed languages

express path in the main verb (*salió* 'exit' in the Spanish example in (237)) and need an additional complement to the verb to express manner (*flotando* 'floating') in a motion event.

(236)   *The girl jumped down the stairs.*
(237)   la   botella   salió   flotando
          the   bottle   exit.PST floating
          'The bottle floated out/exited floating' (Talmy, 2000a:223)

An example of an equipollently-framed language is Mandarin Chinese which is a serial-verb language without grammatical marking of finiteness. In example (238) three verbs expressing manner (*fei1*), path (*chu1*) and general locomotion (*lai2*) all together form the verb phrase. This presents a problem for Talmy's typology which depends on identifying the 'main verb' in a clause (Slobin, 2006:62).

(238)   fei1   chu1   lai2   yi1   zhi1   mao1tou2ying1
          fly   exit   come   one   only   owl
          'only one owl flew out (of the hole)' (Slobin, 2006:62)

Levinson and Wilkins (2006c:527) observe that Talmy's typology does not apply to a worldwide sample. The categories 'verb' and 'satellite' do not exhaustively characterize all expressions that may contribute to the description of motion events. Tzeltal, for example, uses directionals or positionals derived from motion verbs to encode a full range of path events (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:535). Basque (Ibarretxe-Antunano, 2004:102-104) and Turkish (Slobin, 2004:234) use ideophones, Arrernte makes use of associated motion inflections (Wilkins, 2004:147) and in Kayardild, motion coding is entirely carried by case-marking the ground elements (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:535).

Secondly, 'manner' can be either "interpreted broadly as including bodily posture, means of transport, speed and medium, or more narrowly as only involving bodily motion that leads to translocation." (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006c:529-531). As such, the frequency of manner event occurrences in discourse also depends on how manner is characterised.

Path is defined as the trajectory followed or site occupied by a figure with respect to a ground (Talmy, 2007:71). It has been identified as being an obligatory element of any translocational motion event and may be expressed in ground-elements (e.g. *out of the*

hole) or inside the verb itself (e.g. *exit*). However, change of locative relation events also can include ground-encodings and other types of path-elements. Whether or not different path denotations are included in a motion event count then influences the distribution patterns observed in discourse.

6.1.1 Jaminjung

It has been observed by Slobin (2006:65) and Schultze-Berndt (2007a) that Jaminjung seems to fall outside Talmy's binary typology due to its complex predicate patterns which were introduced in section 3.3. The language encodes both manner (*mingib* 'crawl') and additional path information in a coverb (*burduj* 'go up') accompanying the main verb in a clause as in (239). Therefore, Slobin (2004) classified Jaminjung as an equipollently-framed language where manner and path are expressed in equal lexical forms.

> (239) **mingib**=*bung*   *gan-kuga*   **burduj**
>   crawl=RESTR   3SG>1SG-take.PST   go.up
>   'he took me up crawling' (ES08_A04_06_0256, IP)

However, an analysis of Jaminjung as an equipollently-framed language would lead to the expectation that this equipollent nature might be reflected in discourse in roughly equal frequency of coverbs of manner and path (Schultze-Berndt, 2007a:7, Slobin, 2006). In fact, Slobin (2006:70) has shown in a cross-linguistic analysis, that satellite- and equipollently-framed languages are more manner salient in terms of types and tokens of manner verbs than verb-framed languages where manner needs to be encoded in a satellite. As will be demonstrated in section 6.3, however, manner coverbs in Jaminjung occur much less frequent in discourse than path coverbs in complex predicates and also with less variety. Furthermore, I will show in 6.4.1 that Jaminjung appears to obey the boundary-crossing constraint where manner expressions are only compatible with non-boundary crossing events. These discourse-related observations are characteristic of verb-framed languages.

For Talmy (2009:400-401) there are also structural features of Jaminjung that make it a verb-framed language in his view. He analyses the IV as the main verb based on a number of factors identifying main verb (root) status. He concludes that Jaminjung's inflecting

verbs adhere to three of these factors concerning inflectional morphology, their syntactic status as head of the clause and the mandatory occurrence in any verb phrase (in contrast to coverbs which do not inflect or act as head and are optional). Coverbs on the other hand, comply with two other factors which firstly mark them as members of an open class and secondly have them include greater semantic variety and content than IVs. He concludes that because the IV encodes the deictic part of the path component whereas the coverbs tend to express the geometrically more complex part of the path component, Jaminjung is verb-framed. Furthermore, the path (*jid* 'go down' in (240)) and manner (*warrng* 'walk' in (241)) constituents in the coverb are analysed as being syntactically subordinate to IV as head (-*ruma* 'come' and -*anJama* 'bring') and so exhibit co-satellite status.

(240)   gurrany **jid**   ga-wu-ruma   na
        NEG   go.down   3SG-POT-come   no
        'he will not come down, no' (ES08_A04_06tt_0373, IP)

(241)   **warrng-warrng**   gan-antham
        RDP-walk   3SG>3SG-bring:PRS
        'she brings him walking' (ES96_A04_01.0219, DP)

However, this analysis is flawed for a number of reasons. Firstly, as discussed in 3.3 earlier, only two locomotion IVs always encode deictic information (-*anJama* 'bring' in (241) and –*ruma* 'come' in (240)). Often, however, only the fact of motion is encoded in the main verb (as in -*uga* 'take' in (239) above) and other path information (*burduj* 'go up') may be added in coverbs. It therefore appears to be somewhat arbitrary to disregard the semantic and open-class factors in an analysis of IVs as 'main verb' in favour of morphological, syntactical and mandatory status in VPs. Both manner and path coverbs carry the major semantic loads in complex predicates. Therefore, I agree with Slobin and Schulze-Berndt that Jaminjung may best be described as equipollently-framed[30] while exhibiting a number of verb-framing characteristics as well. Such split features have been observed for (almost) all languages classified within the typology (e.g. even a 'typical' satellite-framed language such as English (or Kriol) has a number of path verbs).

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[30] Therefore, in the following chapters when referring to the typological type of Jaminjung, I will put a 'e?'

To complement the above mentioned previous discussions of Jaminjung within Talmy's typology, the following sections will take a detailed look at the path (6.2) and manner (6.3) component of Jaminjung motion events in discourse. Such a detailed analysis of path and manner salience has not been undertaken for Jaminjung so far and will therefore provide a valuable addition to the analysis of lexicalisation patterns.

6.1.2 Kriol

A classification of Kriol in Talmy's typology is rather more straightforward. The language follows a satellite-framed pattern in expressing the path of motion in a satellite – the preposition *pas* 'past' in example (242) - rather than in the main verb. Furthermore, manner is encoded in the verb (*draib* 'drive') itself as already briefly introduced in section 4.3.

(242) *det   men bin   **draib   pas** garrim   ka   langa   im   haus*
       that man AUX.PST drive   past   with   car   LOC   3SG   house
       'the man drove past the house with his car' (DH10_A15_21_0019, MA)

In addition to adverbial suffixes, path might also be expressed in prepositions, adverbs and/or ground NPs. In example (243) the preposition *pas* 'past' and the adverbial suffix –*in* are attached to a manner verb (*wok* 'walk') and a general verb of motion (*go*). Furthermore, path is indicated by another preposition (*thru* 'through') preceding the passed ground NP t*ubala kawu* 'two cows'. There is also a goal-encoding NP *la geit* 'to the gate'.

(243) *det   gel   bin   **wok pas tubala kawu** …*
       that female AUX.PST   walk past 3DU   cow
       *en   **go-in thru la   geit***
       and   go-in   through LOC gate
       'the girl walked past the two cows and went in through the gate'
       (DH10_A14_01_0011, JaR)

Two different path elements can also be combined in a single VP with one adverbial suffix *ap* 'up' attached to a verb and followed by a preposition *ova* 'over' as in example (244) where a simultaneous upward and crossing movement is described by the speaker.

(244) imin   trai   luk   tubala bin   **jamp-ap   ova**
       3SG:AUX.PST try+to look 3DU   AUX.PST jump-up   over
       'he tried to look and then both jumped up and over' (DH10_A03_03_0052, NR)

Finally, as discussed in section 4.3.3, Kriol serial verb constructions (SVCs) are asymmetric. Therefore, even if manner- and path encodings are combined in a SVC-VP as in examples (245) and (246), the two verbs do not have equivalent status. While *go* indicates the continuous nature of the motion event, but not path itself, *draiv* 'drive' and *ran* 'run' carry the majority of semantic content and the manner component. The path component in (245) is added in the goal-encoding NP *la det tri* and in (246) in the adverbial suffix –*dan* 'down' attached to the major verb. In fact, in every, SVC construction encoding a translational motion event with a manner verb as the major verb, path is expressed in adverbial suffixes or ground-encoding NPs unless the minor verb itself has an adverbial suffix attached and therefore encodes path as in (247). Therefore, these SVC constructions fit within Talmy's satellite-framed type.

(245) en   imin   **go   draiv**   la   det   tri
       and   3SG:AUX.PST go   drive   to:ALL   that tree
       'and it drove (for a longer period of time) to the tree' (DH10_A16_02_0031, LM)

(246) ai   bin   **go   ran-dan**   en   girri biliken
       1SG   AUX.PST go   run-down   and   get   billy+can
       'I ran and got a billycan' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson33_0005)

(247) jad   boi   bin   go   na   **go-dan   jidan**
       that boy   AUX.PST   go   NOW   go-down   sit+down
       'the boy went then, went down to sit down'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_VisitCave_0061_62)

On the other hand, Kriol also appears to incorporate some features that would not be expected to occur in a satellite-framed language. Even though path is mainly expressed in adverbial suffixes and prepositions appear to be some true path verbs encoding the path of motion within the verb itself rather than in a satellite in Kriol as well. These are the transitive verbs encoding a passed ground *pasim* 'pass', and *krosim* 'cross' as in (132). The same is true for a 'typical' satellite-framed language such as English in verbs such as *exit*, *enter, pass* and *cross*.

However, for Kriol (as for English), the use of these verbs is very rarely attested in discourse and only accounts for <2% in the CMD and 1% in the FMD. This has to do firstly with their restricted use for passed ground expressions only which are also rarely mentioned in motion event descriptions (7% of all expressions including a ground of motion in the FMD and 8.5% in the CMD). Secondly, a passed ground can also be encoded by a preposition as exemplified in (243) above. Generally, this appears to be the preferred option for Kriol speakers.

(248) imin   kros-im-bat   brij
       3SG:AUX.PST   cross -TR-CONT   bridge
       'he crossed the bridge' (DH10_05_01_0050, JaR)

There is also a manner-and path-conflating verb *klaimap/galamap* 'climb up' as discussed in section 4.3. This verb is not analysed as a combination of a direction-neutral *klaim* and an adverbial suffix *–ap*. If another meaning is meant to be expressed, a second adverbial suffix is added as in example (249). The existence of such a verb, encoding upward motion in a grasping manner, is typical of verb-framed languages but would not necessarily be expected for satellite-framed ones (Slobin, 2004:230). In Turkish frog stories for example, either the manner- and path-conflating verb *turmanmak* 'climb' or the pure path verb *çikmak* 'ascend' is used in all climbing descriptions rather than a complex subordinated form *turmanmak çikmak* 'ascend climbing'. Similarly, Kriol speakers in the FMD, all used *galamap/klaimap* 'climb up' and never a more neutral *goap* 'go up' to describe the boy's climbing activities.

(249) det   lil-boi   bin   **galamap** **ova** langa- ,
       that little-boy   AUX.PST   climb   over   LOC
       imin   galimap   langa   det   wadi   big-wan
       3SG:AUX.PST   climb   to:ALL   that stick   big -NR
       'the boy climbed over it and onto the log, the big one' (DH10_A15_18_0152, CR)

Generally, *klaimap/galamap* 'climb up' was mostly used to describe upwards movement in a grasping manner (100% in the FMD and 92% in the CMD). In the CMD, the only other instances were found in a single recording from Angelo (1998a) where speakers used it to describe (strenuous) movement up a mountain or hill. Therefore, I conclude that

klaimap/galimap 'climb up' is indeed always a manner encoding verb whose path component in the adverbial suffix *–ap* 'up' has become lexicalised.

As I will show in section 6.4.2, Kriol also appears to obey the boundary-crossing constraint in discourse. In the FMD, no manner-encoding boundary-crossing event could be found. However, in elicitation sessions manner verbs were used by speakers in boundary-crossing events when prompted.

To conclude, Kriol is a satellite-framed language where path is usually encoded in adverbial suffixes attached to the verb. There are basic locomotion verbs indicating the fact of motion. Furthermore, manner verbs occur frequently and combine with adverbial suffixes. However, there are some path-verbs and a manner-path-conflating verb in Kriol and the language seems to some extend to obey the boundary-crossing constraint in discourse associated with verb-framed languages.

6.2   Path Salience

In any motion description, path is an obligatory element. It is defined by Talmy (2007:71) as "the path followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object." Translocational motion expressions obligatorily contain a figure (*Thomas* in example (250)), which is the moving entity and the path (*up*) along which the figure is moving. Additionally, a ground can be expressed as part of the path component. This may be a source, goal (*mountain*) or an element passed along a trajectory. Other optional components are manner (*ran*) and cause of motion.

 (250)   *Thomas ran up the mountain.*

However, not all elements in motion descriptions are always expressed. Languages differ regarding the degree of detailed description with respect to the path component (Slobin, 1996a, van Staden and Narasimhan, forthcoming). This is true regardless of their lexicalisation pattern discussed in section 6.1 above. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009) introduced a typology of motion event descriptions based on path salience on a scale of high-path-salient languages to low-path-salient languages. Languages here are classified depending on the degree of detailed descriptions with respect to the path component in discourse.

Cross-linguistically, there are a number of ways to encode path in language, namely verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, adpositions, and case-marking (Slack and Van der Zee, 2003:3). Path components of a motion event were discussed for both Jaminjung in Kriol in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. While in Jaminjung path is expressed in a simple or complex predicate, locational nominals, and case-marked nominals, Kriol expresses path in the verb itself and/or adverbial suffixes attached to the verb, nouns, adverbs, and prepositions.

Within Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) approach of cross-linguistically examining path salience, firstly a distinction can be made regarding ground specifications in discourse. In sections 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.2.1 I will discuss the distribution of minus- and plus-ground expressions in both languages. In minus-ground expressions, motion verbs stand alone or with a satellite (such as *fall* and *fall down* in English and *caer* 'fall' in Spanish). Plus-ground expressions on the other hand, exhibit motion verbs accompanied by some ground element (*fall down into the river* and *caerse al río* 'fall to the river') (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:406).

In relation to the distribution of ground encodings, in section 6.2.3.1.2 I will also examine if, what Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004) as well as others (Ikegami, 1987, Verspoor et al., 1999) call the goal-bias, holds true for both languages. The authors claim that there is a general tendency in discourse to express goal over source grounded in a kind of 'prototype motion event expression' that favours 'new', usually the goal, over 'old/redundant' information, source or passed ground. However, I argue that goal- and source-salience is sometimes grounded in the nature of the individual motion event itself and is not necessarily a 'universal' rule.

Secondly, the notion of a complex path or journey (Slobin, 1996a) is taken into account in sections 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.2.2. Such extended path descriptions include, for example more than one ground in a single verb phrase as in (251) where there are source (*from its hole*), goal (*into the field*) and an element passed along the trajectory (*past the sleeping cat*) combined in one verb phrase. Additionally, the degree of detail of other elements of path encoded in the verb phrase (*ran out* and *into*), adverbs and prepositions or locational nominals is examined.

 (251)   *The mouse ran out from its hole into the field past the sleeping cat.*

In these sections, I will also analyse Jaminjung and Kriol within a typological approach concerning the number of ground elements that might be included within a single VP in a language (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007).

Thirdly, path and event granularity (i.e. how many different aspects of a complex journey are mentioned by speakers in a comparable motion event description) is considered in sections 6.2.1.3 and 6.2.2.3 examining the degree of detailed description of a motion event. Granularity is independent of the number of path components accompanying a single verb, but concerned with the total number of detailed path descriptions in the linguistic encoding of a motion event in discourse (Slobin, 1996a).

In the last section 6.2.3, Jaminjung and Kriol are discussed in a general cross-linguistic and specific comparative perspective. It becomes clear that, while the languages exhibit great structural differences for the encoding of path in motion events in discourse, they show similar patterns concerning event granularity. Using this observation as a base, a number of factors influencing path salience in languages, such as linguistic devices, the existence of light verbs and cultural values (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009), are discussed. I come to the conclusion that an analysis of path salience combining structural and elaboration (i.e. path granularity) features fails to account for the patterns observed in Jaminjung and Kriol and should therefore be kept apart.

6.2.1 Path Salience in Jaminjung

As discussed in section 3.3 and 6.1.1 above, in Jaminjung, the obligatory path element of a motion event description is expressed to a limited extent in the inflecting verb (-*arrga* 'approach' in example (66)). Furthermore, path as well as manner (*yugung* 'run') can optionally be encoded in an accompanying coverb. Additionally, ground is an optional element which can be expressed by landmarks, toponyms or deictics (*yinaya* '(over) there') and which are (sometimes optionally) allative-, ablative- or locative-marked. Absolute locational nominals as ground can furthermore indicate the path of motion.

(252) *yugung=biya*   *gan-arrga*   *yinaya*
        run=NOW   3SG>3SG-approach.PST   DIST
        'he approached him running, over there' (ES01_A03_08tr_0033, PW)

6.2.1.1 *Ground Specifications in Discourse: Minus- and Plus-Ground Constructions*

In her study on path salience, Ibarrexte-Antuñano (2009) investigates Slobin's (1996a:205) claim that satellite-framed languages describe path in more detail than verb-framed ones. Slobin bases this claim on the observations that in satellite-framed languages such as English verbs of motion (often conflated with manner) are readily available and can be associated with satellites and prepositional phrases to express detailed paths in relation to ground elements. In contrast to that, verb-framed languages seem to be paying more attention to static scene setting than to the dynamics of motion. In such languages, grounds are less frequently expressed in motion event descriptions than in satellite-framed ones. Instead, the place where a motion event takes place is often encoded in static descriptions of the type *There is a cliff and a river. They fall* (Slobin, 1996a:205). Therefore, the first element of my analysis of path salience is the distribution of ground elements in discourse.

Languages can be distinguished in terms of using minus- and plus-ground phrases depending on the number of verbs standing alone or with a satellite and the number of verbs accompanied by some path element (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:405, Slobin, 1996a). For Jaminjung a minus-ground expression is exemplified in (253). Here the path coverb *buru* 'return' specifies the trajectory of motion, but no ground is articulated. Example (254) on the other hand is a plus-ground expression where the path is encoded in the reduplicated path coverb *burl* and the ground – source in this case - is denoted in an ablative-marked landmark (*jarriny* 'hole') as well as a deictic (*ngiyi* 'here').

(253)   *yawayi, nga-ngga   biyang ... **buru***
         yes   1SG-go.PRS   now   return
         'yes, I'm going now, ... back' (ES96_A08_02_0034, IP)

(254)   ***ngiyi-ngunyi*** *majani*   ***burl-burl***   *burru-ruma-ny*   ***jarriny-ngunyi***
         PROX-ABL   maybe   RDP-emerge   3PL-come-PST   hole-ABL
         'from here they maybe came out, out of the hole' (ES97_A03_01_0294, IP)

Ground then refers to the specific goal, source or passed ground encoded in (case-marked) nouns, absolute or deictic terms or within the verb or coverb of a Jaminjung motion event description as discussed in chapter 3. This structural distribution of ground

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encoding provides a possible challenge for the investigation of plus- and minus-ground dissemination. How do implicit ground specifications as found in Jaminjung, fit into this approach? Direct objects of transitive verbs might not be explicitly expressed, but only encoded in a bound pronoun attached to the verb. Furthermore, ground-encoding coverbs encode specific path at the same time as a determined ground, yet are part of the verb phrase itself. I will discuss my approach to this problem below.
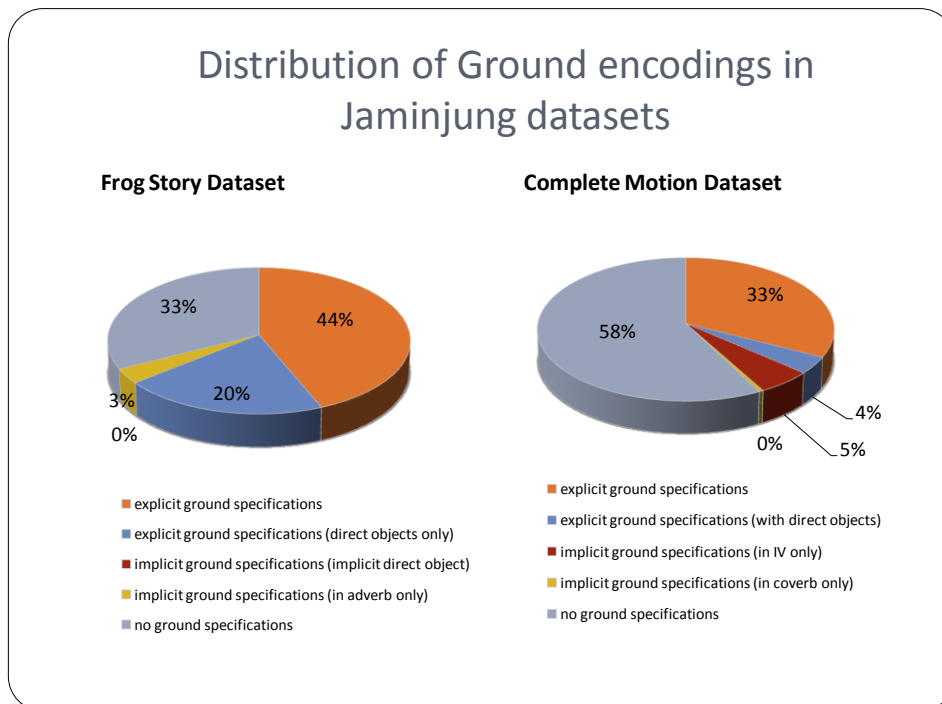
Figure 9: Explicit and implicit ground specifications in Jaminjung

The ground element can be expressed as direct object of the three transitive IVs of locomotion -*arrga* 'approach'*, -unga* 'leave' in example (255)*,* or -*wardagarra* 'follow'*.* Conceptually, these direct objects refer to the (static or moving) goal (for -*arrga* and -*wardagarra*) or the source (-*unga*) of a motion event. Even if they are not expressed explicitly, but only encoded in a bound pronoun, I therefore still analyse them as plus-ground. Consequently, all occurrences of the three IVs have an additional path complement to the verb and count as plus-ground constructions in this section's analysis. For illustration purposes, however, the two types are separated in Figure 9. Combined, they amount to 8% in the FMD and 9% in the CMD.

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(255) waj   yirr-unga-nyi   _ejtrip-gi_
       leave   13PL>3SG- leave-IMPF   airstrip-LOC
       'we left him on the air strip' (ES01_A01_01tt_0156, PW)

Furthermore, ground might be inherently encoded within the coverb itself as in _bu_ 'enter water' in (256). However, as seen in Figure 9, such constructions do not occur frequently in any of my motion event data sets, namely in 1% of the FMD and even less than 1% of the CMD corpus. In my implicit ground distribution analysis of this type of ground encoding, I included all instances of _bu_ 'enter water' including those were _gugu_ 'water' as the ground was additionally expressed. I chose to do so, because the NP does not appear to add any additional information to the phrase and both options are used freely by speakers, in expressing 50% with and without _gugu_ 'water' respectively. Since the coverb, even though it forms part of the verb phrase, is an additional (and optional) element to express path, I count all instances of _bu_ 'enter water' as plus-ground constructions, because conceptually, a goal of the motion event is expressed.

(256) gugu-bina   **bu**   ga-dba-ny
       water-ALL   enter.water   3SG-fall-PST
       'he fell into the water' (ES96_A01_04.295, DR)

Additionally, the path-encoding coverbs _marraj_ 'go past' implicitly denotes a passed ground as the speaker's deictic centre, if no explicit ground is mentioned as in example (257). Therefore, one can assume, similarly to the analysis for _bu_ 'enter water', that _marraj_ 'go past' always includes an encoded ground and must thus be counted as a plus-ground construction.

(257) Timber Creek-ngunyi   biya   yurru-rum-any
       n_top-ABL   now   12PL-come-PST
       marraj=ung   yurr-ijga-ny   Gregory-bina
       go.past=RESTR   12PL-go-PST   n_top-ALL
       'we came from Timber Creek, the two of us went past (here), to Gregory'
       (ES95_A20_routedescr_001, DB)

Even when taking the above discussed cases of implicit ground encoding into account, Jaminjung's expression of explicit and implicit ground only amounts to 36% in the FMD and 42% in the CMD. As shown in Figure 9, the two datasets show surprisingly similar

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distribution patterns. This to me presents strong evidence that the preference of Jaminjung speakers is to not mention a ground element be it implicitly or explicitly within a verb phrase of a motion event description.

To sum up, taking into account all possible means of ground encoding in Jaminjung, the language shows a preference for minus-ground constructions in discourse in the FMD (64%) as well as CMD (58%). Therefore, it takes a middle ground in Ibarrexte-Antuñano's (2009) typology. Jaminjung's placement within it and in comparison to Kriol will be discussed in more detail in section 6.2.3.

6.2.1.2 *Complex Path Expressions*

A second notion of investigation within the issue of path salience involves what Slobin (1996) calls a complex path. This analysis is still concerned with single motion event expressions consisting of verb phrase, but now a closer look at more complex motion descriptions is being conducted. Such constructions may include different types of path information such as both a ground expression and a path 'satellite' in a single clause. This strategy is also called clause compacting and is exemplified in (258). Here a single motion verb (*fall*) is used with both source (*from the cliff*) and goal (*into the river*) and additionally there is a path satellite (*down)* encoding the direction of motion.

(258)   *He fell down from the cliff into the river.*

Complex path expressions in Jaminjung consist of one or more path coverbs and/or one or two explicit ground NPs, i.e. where path is expressed in more than one lexical item. Such cases are exemplified in (259) where a path coverb encoding upward direction is combined to a toponym as goal NP and (260) which combines a manner and a path coverb in a complex predicate with a source-encoding NP.

(259) **Thuluji** … **burduj**   *ga-jga-ny*   <u>eroplein</u>
       n_top   go.up   3SG-go-PST   aeroplane
       'the plane went up to Thuluji' (ES01_A01_01tt_0024, PW)

(260) *malara*   *galu-galu*   *a*   **yirr**   *ga-ram*   **gardag-ngunyi**
      frog   RDP-footwalk   ah   move.out   3SG-come:PRS   tin-ABL
      'the frog, it comes right out of the tin' (DH10_A11_05_0020, MM)

In both datasets, however, such constructions were rather rare, only accounting for 11% of all motion event descriptions in the CMD and 10% in the FMD. Even rarer still were occurrences of more than one ground in a single motion event description (i.e. complex NP paths). In less than 3% of cases for the CMD and in only 1.5% for FMD, such constructions occur. Much more common is a separation of different ground-encoding NPs into separate clauses as in examples (261) and (262). In (261), for example, the source of the motion event is encoded in an ablative-marked deictic (*yina* 'there') term in a verb phrase containing a complex predicate with the IV *-yu* 'say/do. To encode the goal of motion, a second IV –*wardgiya* 'throw' combines with an allative-marked deictic (*yinawurla* 'over there') and absolute term (*manamba* 'upstream').

(261) **yina-ngunyi**   *diwu*   *ba-yu ….*
       DIST-ABL   fly   IMP- say/do
       yinawurla-ngining=*biyang*   *diwu*   *ba-wardgiya*   **manamba-ngining**
       DIST:DIR-L.ALL=NOW   fly   IMP-throw   upstream-L.ALL
       'throw it from there; throw it over there upstream' (ES97_A01_03.304-5, DB)

(262) <u>*long wei*</u> ... *yurru-rum-any*   **yinaya** **-ngunyi**   *ngidbud-gi=biyang*
       long way   12PL-come-PST   DIST -ABL   night-LOC=NOW
       bul   *yurru-rum-any*=*murlu*   **Lookout Springs**
       emerge   12PL-come-PST=COLL1   n_top
       'we came a long way from over there, in the night then we came out at Lookout Springs'(ES08_A04_07tt_0007, EH)

On a structural level, languages might be restricted concerning how many grounds they can package into a single VP. A typological approach by Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) describes this for a number of languages. I will briefly analyse Jaminjung within this approach below. Here however, I am concerned with discourse frequencies and a qualitative analysis of such cases when complex path NPs occur.

It appears as if there is a common theme to all complex NP paths I found in both of my datasets. Consider example (263) below. Here, a source and a goal NP are expressed in a prosodically detached afterthought-type phrase marked with a comma. The intonation units are identified by a significant change in pitch contour which usually coincides with a noticeable pause (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:19). The speaker adds more information about

the source in form of a landmark to specify the deictic used before. The goal is a deictic expression specifying the location of the speaker.

(263)   *tharrei-ngunyi=biyang*   *bunburr*   *burra-ram,*
        there-ABL=NOW   take.off.multiply   3PL-come.PRS
        langiny yina-ngunyi   ngiya-bina=biyang
        wood   DIST-ABL   here-ALL=NOW
        'from there they come out, from those trees to here' (ES97_A03_01.102/103, IP)

Similarly, example (264) denotes a complex NP path as part of the cliff-scene in the Frog Story where the deer has picked up the boy, put him onto its antlers and throws him down a cliff and into a pond while the dog chases after them before also falling down. While the allative marked goal NP forms an intonational unit with the change of location IV *–irdba* 'fall' and the ground-denoting coverb *bu* 'enter water', the source NP is again prosodically separated from this phrase, by a long intonation break marked by '…'.

(264)   *wirib=gayi,*   *ga-dba-ny=ni*   *gugu-bina*   *bu …*
        dog=ALSO   3SG-fall-PST=SFOC   water-ALL   dive
        balarraj-giyag,   *gurrany gani-ngawu,*
        cliff-ABL   NEG   3SG>3SG-see.PST
        'the dog too, he fell, into the water, from the cliff, he didn't see it'
        (ES96_A01_04.297/299, DR)

The same pattern of intonation breaks separating different ground encodings in complex NP path phrases can be observed in all other occurances in my datasets as well. Rather strikingly, the instances of two ground encodings in one VP are deliberately de-compacted by adding an intonation break. Therefore, densely packaged event descriptions appear not to be preferred encoding strategies of speakers.

The placement of additional grounds within or outside of the prosodic unit of a motion event description has, so far, not been considered in studies investigating the possibility of multiple ground encodings in a single VP. As discussed below, Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) introduce a semantic property encoding temporality within the clause and Slobin (1996a, 2004) and Ibarretxte-Antuñano (2009) only consider syntactic measures as the verb phrase. Therefore, I propose that the prosodic unit as a means of analysing event segmentation needs to be taken into account as well. Then Jaminjung speakers, while semantically and syntactically allowing for multiple grounds in a single motion event

description, prefer to de-compact the expressions by intonation breaks which points towards a general preference for single- over multiple-ground expressions.

Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) propose a semantic typology of Motion Event Segmentation distinguishing between three types of languages according to their ability to combine one, two or all three possible subevents of a motion event (goal, source and passed ground) under a single semantic property which they call the macro-event-property (MEP). This is defined as follows:

> An expression has the MEP iff any time-positional operator denoted by a time-positional adverbial, temporal clause, or tense that 'locates' a subevent entailed by the expression in time also locates all other subevents in time. (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007:505)

Within the typology, languages fall into three types. Type I languages allow for all three possible subevents of motion to be combined under a single MEP (e.g. English). Type II only allows for goal and source to be combined having the MEP, but a separate phrase might have to be included for a passed ground, depending on the specific nature of the ground. For example, in Japanese, a passed ground can only be combined under one MEP with the two other grounds, if source and goal are contiguous to the route traversed during the passing event. This is, for example, the case if the two grounds are connected by a bridge as in example (265) which could be used to describe a motion event where a tree and a house are at the respective sides of a bridge which is being crossed by a moving figure. Type III languages, finally, require a separate MEP for each motion description subevent (e.g. Yukatek) (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007:509-517).

(265)   *He went from the tree over the bridge to the house*

My analysis suggests that Jaminjung belongs to Type II languages where a goal and a source might be combined under one MEP, but not necessarily a passing event at the same time. Cases where it does happen are very rare and appear to be limited to certain types of discourse environments that include highly detailed ground descriptions such as route descriptions (section 7.1.) or describe very fast (266) and/or involuntary/ballistic

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types of motion events (268). However, in discourse, speakers often use one IV for each subevent as in (267) if there is a need to express both.

(266)   *wagurra-ngunyi …*   *dibard*   *gan-unga-m   …*   *gugu-bina*
        rock/money –ABL   jump   3SG>3SG-leave-PRS   water -ALL
        'from the rock, he jumps into the water' (DH10_A11_02_0062, JM)

(267)   *Warndawurl –ngunyi*   *maja*   *buny-inyji*   *burduj*
        N_top-ABL   do.like.that POT:3DU- go:IMPF   go.up
        yina-wurla   *bun-dum-any …*   *Magulamayi,*
        DIST DIR   3PL-come-PST   n_top
        'from W. the two would go up like that, to here they came to M.'
        (MH96_A19_01tg.0025, DM)

(268)   **jid**   *ga-rdba-ny*   *warrangan-ngunyi* *thamirri*   *gulban-bina*
        go.down   3SG-fall-PST   cliff-ABL   down   ground-ALL
        'he went down from the cliff down to the ground' (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:88)

Some other types of passed-ground combinations are possible as well. In example (269) a source and a passed ground combine under one MEP. In the elicitation task, the speaker describes the movement of a car over a bridge from one side to another. There are a tree and a rock at the respective sides of the bridge. Such a motion event is exactly what Bohnemeyer et al (2007:512) describe as a contiguous route for Japanese. This means that the source and goal grounds are understood to be connected by the passed ground. This then is strong evidence for Jaminjung as a Type II language.

(269)   *langiny -ngunyi …*   *buru*   *malang*   *ga-ram   …*   *bindidurru-ni*
        wood-ABL   return   cross   3SG-come.PRS   bridge-LOC
        gurrurrij,   *gurdij*   *ga-yu*   *wagurra-ni*
        car   stand   3SG-be.PRS   rock/money-LOC
        'the car came back from the tree, crossing the bridge and is now standing at the rock' (DH10_A13_03_0033, JoJ)

If the passed ground is implicit and source and goal are contiguous, all three subevents might even be combined as in example (270). Here, the speaker describes a scene where a small boat leaves the shore of a river by a tree, goes underneath a bridge and finally arrives at a rock on the same side of the shore. Therefore, the tree and the rock can be

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viewed as connected in a clear line by the river. The passed ground – the bridge – is left implicit and only indicated by the locational noun *thamurru* 'below'.

(270) *langiny -ngunyi   ga-ngga   thamurru –yin   dinggi=marlang*
       wood-ABL   3SG-go.PRS   below-L.ABL   dinghy=GIVEN
       wagurra-bina…   gurdij   ga-yu
       rock/money-ALL   stand   3SG-be.PRS
       'from the tree the boat goes underneath to the rock , there it is standing'
       (DH_A03_05_135, NR)

From these observations, the following conclusions can be drawn. The data indicates that Jaminjung is a Type II language where source and goal specifications can be combined in one motion event clause. However, such constructions are exceedingly rare in discourse and speakers appear to prefer encoding all subevents of motion separate VPs. When clustering of ground-encodings within clause does occur, it is often in descriptions of routes or when the motion event is seen as happening very quickly and/or involuntarily (such as in the cliff scene or the falling dog scene of the frog story). I therefore suggest that such considerations also need to be taken into account for a study of event segmentation.

6.2.1.3 *Path and Event Granularity*

Motion event granularity identifies the frequency of path complements mentioned in discourse independent of the availability of complex path clauses discussed in the previous section 6.2.1.2. Therefore, this section is concerned with the degree of detail in which an event is described irrespective of the detail of path expressions within a single motion event phrase.

Granularity then is a concept which relates to "the investigation of different levels of precision (detail) in different relationships (events) when the level of precision is a relative concept and divided between fine- and coarse-grained" (Tutton, forthcoming). It has furthermore been observed that, on a cross-linguistic level, there are systematic differences in the level of detail languages exhibit when they express particular semantic elements of an event (van Staden and Narasimhan, forthcoming).

In this part of my analysis of path salience in Jaminjung, the level of path detail expressed in a larger chunk of discourse is analysed. For this purpose Ibarretxte-Antuñano

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(2009) following Slobin (1996a) uses the cliff scene of the frog story which is a particularly motion-rich episode in the picture book.

In the scene a deer picks up the boy onto its antlers, runs with him towards a cliff and finally tops him over the edge. A dog is running alongside the deer and so both the dog and the boy fall down together and eventually land in the water. Slobin (1996a) segmented this scene into six sub-scenes, a segmentation which is adopted by Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009:409):

> 1) deer starts to run, 2) deer runs, carrying the boy, 3) deer tops at cliff, 4) deer throws the boy (off the antlers/down), 5) boy and dog fall, 6) boy and dog land in water (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009:409)
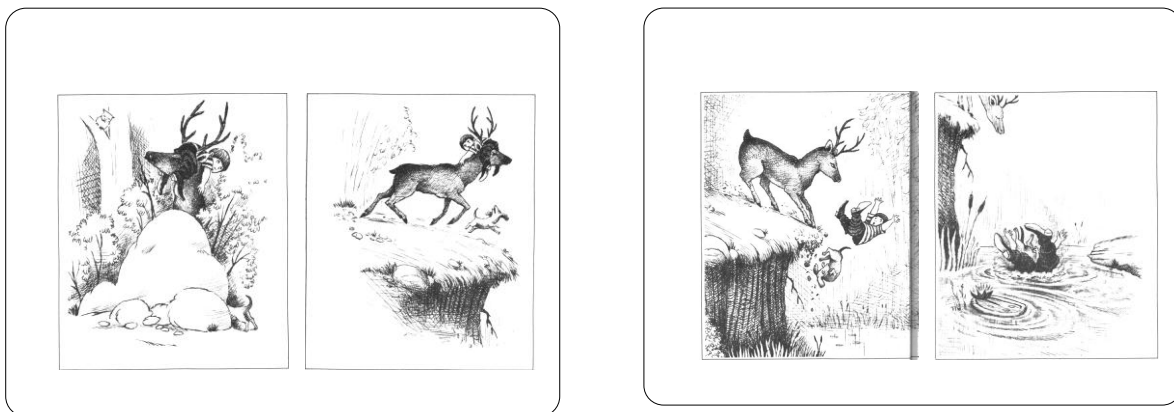
Figure 10: The Cliff Scene in the Frog Story (Mayer, 1969:19-23)

The granularity is measured by counting the number of sub-scenes that are mentioned by the speakers while describing this scene. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009:408) somewhat arbitrarily assumes high event granularity when always or mostly more than three segments are mentioned. Six of the seven Jaminjung Frog Stories investigated, express at least three and up to five segments. Example (271) is a particularly rich scene which includes five of the six segments.

(271)

Segment 1: Deer starts to run
(a) barlbba   biyang   burr-ijga-ny,
side.by.side   now   3PL-go-PST
'they went side by side now,'
(b) burr-ijga-ny   biyang,
3PL-go-PST   now
'they went then'

Segment 2: Deer runs carrying the boy
(c) *ngayin..   thanthiya-ni   gan-uga,*
    meat/animal   DEM-ERG   3SG:3SG-take.PST
    wurlg   gan-arra-ny   jalig,
    carry.on.shoulder   3SG:3SG-put.PST   child
    'the animal, that one, took him, took him on its shoulder, the child'

Segment 4: Deer throws the boy down
(d) *jalig balarraj thanthu wurrg,*
    child cliff   DEM   chuck
    'it threw the child off at that cliff'

Segment 5: The boy falls
(e) *thanthiyu   na   ga-dba-ny   jalig*
    DEM   now 3SG-fall-PST   child
    'the child then fell'

Segment 6: The boy lands in the water
(f) *barr   ga-dba-ny=ni   jamurrugu,*
    hit.against   3SG-fall-PST=SFOC   below
    'he fell and hit the bottom'

(g) *gugu-bina   bu   ga-dba-ny *
    water-ALL dive 3SG-fall-PST
    'he fell into the water'

(ES96_A01_04.289-295, DR)

Using these measures, Jaminjung can then be analysed as an elaborated path granularity language. In example (271) only segment three is not expressed. However, the individual clauses in the scene are by no means examples of particularly elaborated motion expressions. There is only one case-marked ground the scene (*gugu-bina* –'into the water') and only one locational nominal *jamurrugu* 'below'. Furthermore, only one ground-denoting path coverb *bu* 'enter water' and a coverb denoting the configuration of the moving figures *barlba* 'side by side' are expressed. A verbless clause includes a coverb of transfer and causes motion *wurrg* 'chuck'. Additionally, in the last three clauses, non-locomotion IVs are used to express motion events. It is rather curious that the only two ground encodings in this scene can both be found in phrases involving the change of location IV *-irdba* 'fall'. This verb actually entails arriving at a ground, yet still the speaker chose to explicitly express ground in a locational nominal and an allative-marked ground. Therefore, particular attention appears to be paid to the downward direction of

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movement in (f) and the water as ground in (g) as opposed to any other type of ground which might have been able to hurt the boy and the dog on impact.

It is, additionally, noteworthy to mention that the speaker seemed to have focused specifically on the action of motion itself. Twice, first in segment one and then in segment five, movement itself is mentioned as a recollection of a longer process. The deer's running with the boy on its antlers as well as the fall of the boy is, as such, especially foregrounded.

Two other speakers also mention five segments. The ones left out here are segments 2 and segment 1. The equivalent scenes in the other frog stories are less elaborate and mention three or four scenes respectively, but often repeat one segment of the scene numerous times rather than stating other segments. In those stories, the speakers all concentrate on the deer carrying the boy on its horns and throwing him off the cliff and the landing of the boy and the dog in the water. Less speakers focus on the running of the deer and how the deer stops at the top of the cliff first before throwing the boy off. None of the informants provided static descriptions in the cliff scene such as *He fell down, there was a river underneath* which is expected for languages which do not express ground in great detail (Slobin, 1996a:205).

Generally, in all seven cliff scenes, structurally path was elaborated in slightly more detail than observed for the whole of the FMD. 41% were plus-ground expressions and in 36% of all motion event descriptions path coverbs were employed compared to 28% of manner coverbs. Generally, locomotion verbs were only used less than half of the time in 41% and 20% of motion encodings included the change of location IV *-irdba* 'fall'. From these figures it becomes clear that in addition to elaborating path in much detail beyond the clause in this scene, Jaminjung also structurally encodes slightly more path information here. However, overall, such detailed path encoding was not confirmed in high frequencies for the remainder of either dataset.

6.2.2 Path Salience in Kriol

Kriol's lexicalisation patterns for manner and path are rather more straightforward. As discussed in section 6.1, the language follows a satellite-framed pattern within the Talmy-typology. Path is expressed most often in a satellite in the form of an adverbial suffix or

preposition respectively (*–in* and *pas* 'past' and *thru* 'through' in example (243) as well as ground-encoding NPs such as the direct object *tubala kawu* 'two cows' and the passed ground *la geit* 'at the gate'.

(272) *det   gel   bin   wok **pas   tubala   kawu…***
       that   female   AUX.PST   walk past   3DU   cow
       *en   go-**in   thru   la   geit***
       and   go-in   through   LOC   gate
       'the girl walked past the two cows and went in through the gate'
       (DH10_A14_01_0011, JaR)

In this section I investigate whether or not the satellite-framed lexicalisation pattern described for Kriol has any impact on the path distribution patterns in discourse. In contrasts to my analysis of Jaminjung, which was found to generally be a low path-salient language, my examination of Kriol will reveal a higher salience in both datasets.

6.2.2.1 *Ground Specifications in Discourse: Minus and Plus Ground Constructions*

The distinction between plus- and minus-ground expressions in motion event expressions in discourse is also made by Kriol speakers. A minus-ground expression is exemplified in (273) where manner is expressed in the verb *flai* 'fly' and path is encoded in the adverbial suffix *–wei* 'away' (a satellite), a specific ground, however, is not articulated. Example (274) on the other hand is a plus-ground expression where the path is expressed not in an adverbial suffix but by encoding the ground. This is here a goal, encoded in a deictic (*dijey* 'this way') as well as a landmark (*det bujlat* 'these bushes').

(273) *wal det mugmug   bin   **flai**-**wei**   na*
       well that owl   AUX.PST   fly-away   NOW
       'and the owl flew off then' (DH10_A15_18_0114, CR)

(274) *det frog maitbi   go   **dijey**   la   dat… maitbi*
       that frog maybe   go   here   to:ALL that maybe
       langa   det   buj-lat
       to:ALL   that   bush-lot
       'the frog maybe went this way into, into the bushes' (DH10_A15_05_0051, JoJo)

Mostly, in Kriol, if ground is expressed, it is done explicitly. However, certain adverbs and adverbial suffixes attaching to verbs can implicitly denote a ground. These are intrinsic

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reference-frame encoding *anda(nith)* 'under/below', *ova/oba* 'over', *ontop* 'above' as well as the passed-ground denoting preposition *thru* 'through' and the adverbials *pas* 'past' and *(a)kros* 'across'. All of these lexemes mandatorily require a ground since they express a relation between the moving figure and the ground.

 This is true even if this ground is not mentioned explicitly in the motion event description in question. If that is the case, the ground is either mentioned by the speakers in a preceding or following clause that does not have to denote a motion event, or be understood as the deictic ground as in (276). In the elicited example (275), the speaker refers to a bridge as the implicit ground encoded in the adverb *andanith* 'underneath'. The bridge as ground is mentioned in a previous phrase.

(275) *det kenu bin   go-an   langa   dissaid la*
    that canoe AUX.PST go-on to:ALL this+side LOC
    *bengk en   imin   go **andanith**, langa*
    bank and   3SG:AUX.PST go underneath, ALL:to
    det tri en   gid -dan wan -said langa bengk
    that tree and   get -down one -side LOC   bank
    'the canoe went to this side of the bank and it went underneath to the tree and it went down next to the bank' (DH10_A15_15_0012, CR)

(276) *det erraplein bin flai rait pas... la   Dawin*
    DEM aeroplane PST fly right past   to:ALL Darwin
    'that plane flew right past... to Darwin' (DA98_02_raintime_tg.328)

Similar to Jaminjung, Kriol transitive verbs such as *livum* 'leave', *bolorim* 'follow' and *ranimap* 'catch, chase' (277) take direct objects conceptually encoding sources and goals respectively. However, these are very rare forms only occurring in a total of 5% in all motion expressions in the CMD and in 8% in the FMD. Since all direct objects are always encoded in NP, they also count towards the plus-ground constructions in discourse.

(277) *dumaji dis- lat det mugmug bin   **ran-im-ap im** tu*
    too.much this–lot that owl   AUX.PST run-TR-up 3SG too
    'they (the bees) were too much (for the dog), (and) the owl also chased (and reached) him (the boy)' (DH10_A15_12_0059, IA)
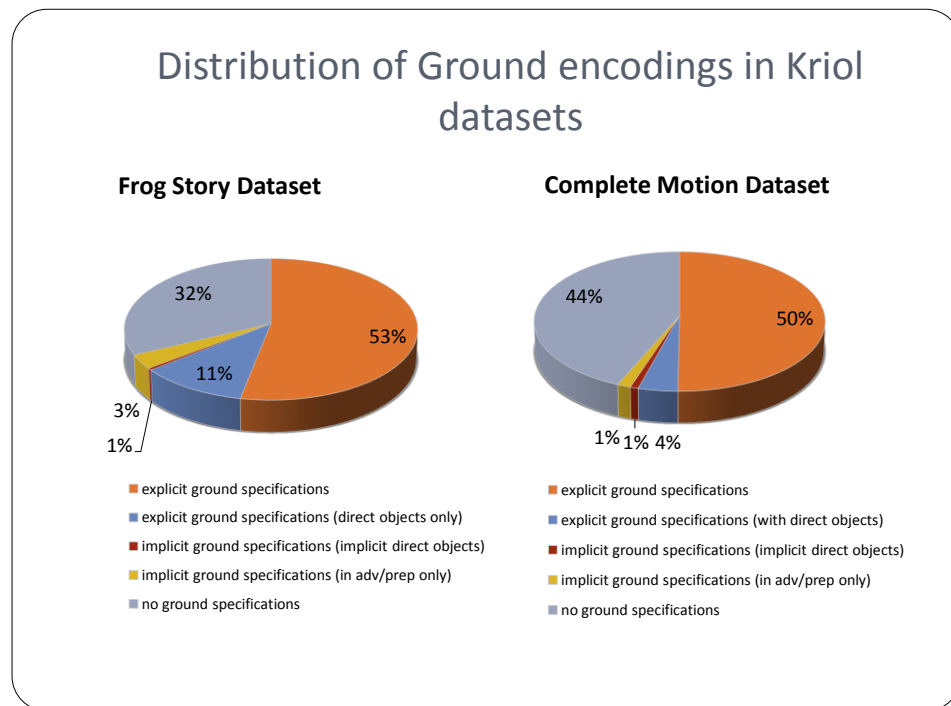
Figure 11: Distribution of Ground Encodings in Kriol Datasets

Contrary to what was found for Jaminjung, an explicit expression of ground is the preferred discourse strategy in Kriol with 50% of the CMD and 53% of the FMD motion expressions denoting ground in landmarks, deictics or directionals. A closer look at this difference will be taken in section 6.2.3 where I also include an analysis of two frog stories which were narrated by the same speaker in Jaminjung and Kriol.

Even though, there is a notable difference between the two datasets, the general trend remains the same. However, the specific nature of the frog story appears to trigger the expression of slightly more detail in expressing ground implicitly and explicitly.

6.2.2.2   *Complex Path Expressions*

In Kriol, complex path constructions are much more frequent in discourse than in Jaminjung. A complex path expression in Kriol includes a verb of motion with an adverbial suffix as in (279) or preceding a preposition or spatial adverb as in (278) and one or more ground-encoding NPs. Such constructions are in fact the preferred strategy of motion event encoding in the FMD where 52% of all motion expressions were complex paths. Even though this percentage was much lower in the CMD (31%), it is still the highest frequency of all possible path detail encodings.

(278) det   dog   tu   imin   jamp   **ontop la   det   bigges log**
       that dog   too 3SG:AUX.PST jump   on+top LOC that big   log
       'and the dog as well jumped onto the big trunk' (DH10_A16_06_0125, LM)

(279) en   wen   tubala   bin   silip…   det   frog
       and when 3DU   AUX.PST   sleep   that frog
       bin   **kam-at   from   det   botl**
       AUX.PST   come-out ABL:from that bottle
       'and when they were asleep, the frog came out of its bottle'
       (DH10_A15_12_0013, IA)

However, in only 2%[31] of all motion expressions in the FMD, two grounds are mentioned in a single VP such as in (280) and (281). In the CMD, complex NP paths only account for 2.5% of all motion expressions. This tendency is contrary to what would have been expected for a satellite-framed language such as Kriol. Slobin (2004:244) observes that s-language writers tend to mention more than one ground element per verb, as opposed to v-language writers. This might be due to processing constraints.

   In example (280) both source and goal are added as part of the motion expression as some kind of afterthought, prosodically detached from the verb. The speaker adds the ground information after already specifying the path of motion – downwards - before in the lexicalised adverbial suffix -*dan* 'down' in the verb. The path is then repeated in the adverb *raitdan* 'right down'.

(280) imin   boldan…   **from   det**
       3SG:AUX.PST   fall   ABL:from   that
       windou   rait-dan   la   graun   gotim   det   botl
       window   right-down to:ALL   ground   with   that bottle
       'he fell down from the window right down to the ground with the jar'
       (DH10_A15_12_0025, IA)

In example (281) both source and goal specifications follow the verb, but here they are not prosodically detached from the VP.

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[31] In my analysis of complex NP paths I included all instances of a single VP incorporating more than one ground irrespective of prosodic units.

(281) *det*   *diya* *bin*   *jak-im-dan*   *det*   *lil-boi*
     that   deer   AUX.PST   throw-TR-down   that   little-boy
     from   ***ontop***   ***det*** ***hil***   ***insaid***   ***langa***   ***woda***
     ABL:from   on+top   that   hill   inside   to:ALL   water
     langa   ***im***   ***en***   ***im***   ***dog***
     to:ALL   3SG   and   3SG   dog
     'the deer threw the boy off from the top of the hill/cliff and into the water
     towards his dog' (DH10_A15_23_0102, IA)

The scarcity of complex NP paths in Kriol might be explained by Bohnemeyer et al.'s (2007) typological approach of event segmentation introduced briefly in section 6.2.1.2 for Jaminjung.

For Kriol, one would presume it belongs to Type I languages, since Bohnemeyer et al. (2007:498) report correlations between lexicalisation patterns in languages and the type of motion event segmentation they allow. Satellite-framed languages such as English were all classified as type I languages in the study.

However, this assumption does not appear to hold true, since in a Type I language, Macro-Event expressions can be used to encode a source, goal and passed ground in a single verb phrase (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007:509). In both of my motion event datasets, I could not find instances where all three motion subevents were encoded in one VP and under one MEP. Even in expressions resulting from a specially designed event-segmentation elicitation session no such cases were found. Therefore, I propose that Kriol belongs to type II languages where a combination of source or goal with a passed ground under one MEP is only possible for specific cases I discuss below.

Constructions involving a combination of source and goal under one MEP are unrestrictedly possible in Kriol. In example (282) source (*from ontop det hil* 'from the top of the hill') and goal (*insaid langa woda* 'into the water') are combined with one transitive caused motion verb *jakim* 'throw' under one MEP. However, as discussed above, in both datasets, such complex NP paths only very rarely occurred. The preferred option appeared to be using three separate motion verbs to express a complex motion event as in example (283) from an elicitation session.

(282)   det   diya   bin   jak-im-dan   det   lil-boi
        that deer   AUX.PST throw -TR-down that   little-boy
        from   ontop   det hil   insaid langa woda
        ABL:from   on+top   that hill   inside to:ALL water
        'the   deer   threw   off   the   boy   from   the   hill   and   into   the   water'
        (DH10_A15_23_0102, IA)

(283)   im   pas-im   **det big rok**…   go   anda   **de**
        3SG pass-TR that big rock   go under   the
        brij…   en   kam-bek   **la**   **det big tri**
        bridge   and come-back to:ALL   that big tree
        'he passes the big rock, (then) goes under the bridge and comes back to the big
        tree' (DH10_A14_02_0034, JaR)

In Kriol, there are restrictions on verbs determining the possibility of ground combinations with passed ground in a clause. A passed ground can only be expressed by either one of the (very rare) path coverbs *krosim* 'cross' or *pasim* 'pass' or by means of an adverbial or a preposition directly following the verb of motion such as *kros* 'across', *thru* 'through', *pas* 'past', *andanith* 'underneath', *ova* 'over'. These constructions then only allow for either a source or goal encoding in the same VP, but not for both.

There appear to be only two types of motion event descriptions when passed grounds can be expressed together with goal or source descriptions using just one motion verb under one MEP. Firstly, this is when a passed ground is implicitly encoded as the speaker's deictic centre as in example (284). This is similar to an observation made for Jaminjung in 6.2.1.2.

(284)   det erraplein bin **flai**   **rait pas...** la   Dawin
        DEM aeroplane PST fly   right past to:ALL n_top
        'that aeroplane flew right past ... to Darwin' (DA98_02_raintime_tg.328)

Secondly, a passed ground may combine with another ground if it is perceived as being contiguous to source and goal. In (285) from a route description, the transitive verb *pasim* 'pass' encodes continuous movement along a creek rather than passing it with the speaker's deictic centre explicitly encoded in the source NP *from hiya* 'here'. The passed ground then is coextensive with the path of motion and therefore this is an exceptional case when type II languages might combine passed with other grounds as observed for Japanese (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007:512) and also for Jaminjung in section 6.2.1.2.

(285) **pas-im-bat**   *Nilllanilla Krik*   *ole-wei …*   *from*   *hiya*
pass -TR-CONT   n_top   all+the-way   ABL:from   here
'going along Nullanulla Creek a long way from here' (DH10_A15_13_0066, IA)

While Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) describe the contiguous passed ground as a restriction posed on combining source and goal with a passed ground in type II languages, they do not mention what I observed for the deictic centre as ground. I therefore propose to include this restriction as a possible additional feature of these types of languages.

To sum up, like English, satellite-framed Kriol appears to have the resources for combining all three grounds in one VP. The language can encode path in up to two adverbial suffixes attached to one verb. Furthermore, there are serial verb constructions and explicitly expressed goals, sources and passed grounds as prepositional phrases or direct objects. However, in discourse, there appears to be no need to package path information in such a dense fashion. Therefore, while the introduction of the MEP provides a useful tool for analysing event segmentation in general, a language's structural restrictions of motion event segmentation do not appear to be of much significance in discourse. This seems particularly the case for the two languages discussed here that were both found to belong to type II languages which are rather free concerning the possibilities of combinations, but where a discourse-based study shows a clear preference for de-compacting complex NP paths.

For that reason, I believe that a broader view on complex path expressions as discussed at the beginning of this section 6.2.2.2 for Kriol and in 6.2.1.2 for Jaminjung is a more useful way of measuring path salience. In this approach, not only dense packaging of two or more ground NPs into one verb phrase is considered, but also a combination of different types of path expressions, such complex predicates with one or more path coverb and/or ground NPs in Jaminjung and one or two adverbial suffixes, path verbs and/or ground NPs in Kriol.

Additionally, event granularity focusing on the path component independent of a single verb phrase of even a macro-event appears to be important. This is the subject of the following section 6.2.2.3 for Kriol and was already discussed in 6.2.1.3 for Jaminjung.

6.2.2.3 *Path and Event Granularity*

Concerning event granularity beyond the clause, Kriol also displays a high degree of path granularity. Using Slobin's (1996a) aforementioned method, six of the seven Kriol cliff scene narrations mention three or more segments. Therefore, using Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) measures, one can then conclude that Kriol is a high path-granularity language. Example (286) is a particularly rich scene where the speaker includes all six segments.

(286)

Segments 1 and 2: Deer starts to run and runs carrying the boy

en	*det*	*lil-boi*	*bin*	*heng -in-ap*		
and	that	little-boy	AUX.PST	hang–PROG-up		

deya	*na*	*det*	*reindiya*	*tu*	*bin*	*ran-awei,*
there	NOW	that	reindeer	too	AUX.PST	run-away

got	*det*	*lil-boi*	*heng-im-ap*	*ontop*	*la*	*im*	*hon*
with	that	little-boy	hang –TR-up	on+top	LOC	3SG	horn

'and the boy hang onto (the horns) there and the deer ran away with the boy hanging from its head'

en	*det*	*lil*	*dog*	*deya*	*wan-said*	*bak-bak*
and	that	little	dog	there	one-side	RDP-bark

'and the dog next to them barked'

Segment 3: Deer stops at cliff

probli	*det*	*reindiya*	*bin*	*kam-at*	*la …*	*krik*
properly	that	reindeer	AUX.PST	come-out	to:ALL	creek

'the deer came out right at the creek'

ya	*igin*	*det*	*krik*	*en*	*imin*	*pul-im*	*brek*	*stop*
yes	again	that	creek	and	3SG:AUX.PST	pull–TR	break	stop

'so at the creek, it stopped'

olabasadn	*hi*	*bin*	*stop*
suddenly	3SG	AUX.PST	stop

'suddenly it stopped'

Segment 4: Deer throws the boy off (antlers down)

en	*det*	*lil-boi…*	*imin*	*flai-op*
and	that	little-boy	3SG:AUX.PST	fly-off

from	*det*	*hon*	*bla*	*im*
ABL:from	that	horn	of	3SG

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'and the boy flew off from its horns'

Segment 5: Boy and Dog fall

en	*det*	*dog*	*tu*	*bin*	*bol*	*tubala*	*bin*
and	that	dog	too	AUX.PST	FS	3DU	AUX.PST

boldan	*la*	*woda*
fall	to:ALL	water

'and the dog as well, both fell into the water'

Segment 6: Boy and Dog land in water

insaid	*la*	*woda*	*tubala*	*bin*	*boldan*
inside	to:ALL	water	3DU	AUX.PST	fall

'both fell into the water'

wan-said	*la*	*det*	*big –wan*	*tri*
one-side	LOC	that	big -NR	tree

'next to a big tree'

(DH10_A15_12_72-81, IA)

In example (286) path is elaborated in great detail. Within the nine utterances of the scene, there are four plus-ground expressions, manner is mentioned twice and all verbs of motion have an adverbial suffix attached to them. In that sense, this scene can be seen as a good example for a general trend for motion descriptions in Kriol. Ground, in particular goal, which is here mentioned three times, is expressed frequently and path is almost always expressed by the use of an adverbial suffix. Manner on the other hand is not expressed very frequently; it does take its place where appropriate.

Additionally, path encodings in the motion events in the cliff scenes resemble the findings for the whole FMD as well as the CMD as discussed in the previous sections. Of the 50 motion expressions across all seven cliff scenes, 65% were plus-ground expressions. Furthermore, 56% of all motion events were complex path encodings combining a ground NP with an adverbial suffix or preposition with the motion verb. Here as well as in the other parts of my motion datasets, structurally rich path encoding coincides with elaborated path descriptions beyond the clause. In section 6.2.3.3 below, I will discuss these findings in relation to the Jaminjung data and also place it in a cross-linguistic perspective.

6.2.3 A Comparative Perspective on Jaminjung and Kriol

6.2.3.1 *Ground Specifications in Discourse*

6.2.3.1.1 *Minus- and Plus- Ground Constructions*

Within an analysis of path salience, a first interesting observation is the striking difference between Jaminjung's and Kriol's expression of grounds suggesting a typological pattern described by (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009, Slobin, 1996a) as the difference between plus- and minus-ground languages. In the Frog Story dataset, Jaminjung speakers only make use of what I classify as plus-ground constructions[32] in 36% of all motion event descriptions. In the Kriol FMD, on the other hand 68% of all verb phrases encode some kind of ground element.
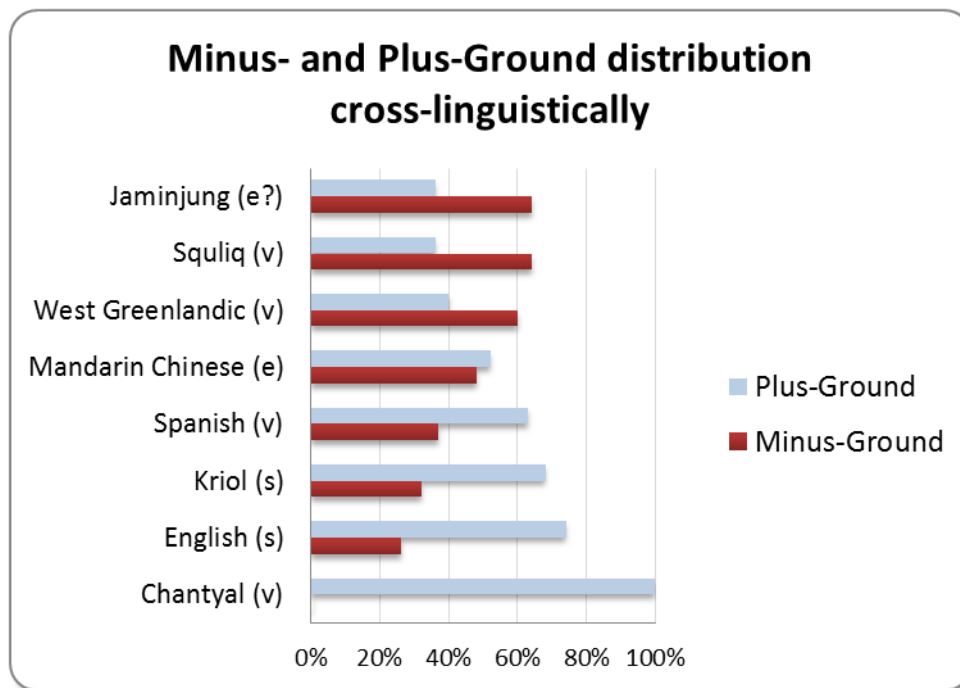
Figure 12: Plus- and Minus Ground Languages (Frog Story Datasets only) based on (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:406)[33]

In Figure 12 a number of languages used in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) study are added to the Jaminjung and Kriol data for the purpose of cross-linguistic comparison. All data here comes from Frog Story narrations only. The chart shows that Jaminjung occupies the

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[32] Refer to sections 6.2.1.1 and 6.2.2.1 for analysis criteria for plus- and minus-ground expressions in Jaminjung and Kriol respectively.

[33] *s* stands for satellite-framed, *v* for verb-framed and *e* for equipollently-framed language, as discussed in 6.1, Kriol follows a satellite-framed language pattern and Jaminjung's classification is not straightforward with features of two different language types, but equipollent-framing appears to be the best descriptive option.

extreme end of the cline in expressing ground explicitly in only 36% of all cases just like the least ground-encoding language in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) study, Squliq. However, the numbers for Jaminjung only add up to this amount if all types of implicit ground encodings are considered alongside explicit ground-encoding NPs as discussed in section 6.2.1.1.

If only explicit ground-encodings in case-marked NPs and as direct objects of transitive verbs were considered, only 31% of all motion event expressions in the FMD would be plus-ground. Therefore, for Jaminjung there is a clear tendency to not encode ground in a motion event description, but to express path by some other means. Such distribution frequencies furthermore appear to be rather rare cross-linguistically as Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009:406) suggests. The majority of languages in her study use plus-ground constructions more than 50% of the time.

Kriol speakers on the other hand appear to prefer using plus-ground constructions in discourse. Generally, it has been suggested that there is a tendency for satellite-framed languages to express ground more often than verb- and equipollently framed languages (Slobin, 1996a:201). While this hypothesis was not generally confirmed in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) study where v-framed languages such as Squliq and Chantyal were found at both extreme ends of the cline, s-framed languages appeared to cluster towards the plus-ground encoding side. Therefore, Kriol's preference for plus-ground expressions is expected. However, within Ibarretxe-Antuñano's collection of s-framed languages, Kriol is placed at the very bottom, expressing ground less frequently than any of the other languages.

For the two languages under consideration here, I also conducted a simple statistic analysis to rule out that the difference found in percentage between Jaminjung and Kriol as shown in Figure 12, simply stems from individual speaker variation as is always a possibility. Therefore, I wanted to test whether or not, the observed differences really lie within the structure of the languages under consideration or are due to chance and individuality.

For the statistical analysis, I counted the number of plus- and minus-ground expressions for each individual speaker's narration and calculated the percentage of the expressions for each speaker. Then based on these percentages, I classified each speaker as being plus- or minus-ground depending on the majority of expressions with or without

a ground. Each speaker was assigned a Kriol- or Jaminjung-property. All seven Jaminjung speakers were assigned minus-ground, but only one of seven in the Kriol data was minus-ground. This data was then used to identify whether a significant difference between a preference for plus- and minus-ground expressions was speaker- or language dependent. The test[34] revealed that there is indeed a highly significant difference between the two groups of Jaminjung and Kriol speakers when it comes to plus- and minus-ground expressions in discourse in the Frog Story dataset (Z= -3.12, *p* = .002). Therefore, the difference is grounded in the languages themselves and not due to speakers' preferences even though these undoubtedly also occur and lead to some intra-linguistic variation.

As explained in chapter 2, the FMD only consisted of seven different speakers for each language and therefore my observations need to be viewed with some caution regarding the statistical significance of the data. However, during my fieldtrip in 2010, one speaker narrated the frog story in both languages and the differences I described for the general FMD hold true for these two stories as well. With this particular speaker, regarding ground specifications, the two stories differed by 15%. In the Jaminjung story, 33% of motion event encodings were plus-ground expressions compared to 48% for the Kriol story. This is a noteworthy difference which underlines the observations made for both FMDs.

6.2.3.1.2 Gapping and the Goal-Bias

It has been observed by a number of authors (Ikegami, 1987, Lakusta and Landau, 2005, Nikitina, 2009, Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004, Verspoor et al., 1999) that there appears to be an asymmetry between the encoding of goal and other ground specifications such as source and passed ground. According to Talmy (1985b, 2000a, 2000b), four components are necessarily present in the conceptualisation of any translational motion event. These are a figure, the movement of this figure, a path along which the motion takes place; and a ground, i.e. one or more landmarks with respect to which motion is conceptualized and which elaborate one of the three path components (294). This

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[34] For all statistical analyses, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted since the parametric assumption of normal distributed data was not met. Important to note is that due to limited statistical power (i.e. the limited number of speakers for the Frog Stories in my datasets), caution should be exhibited when considering the validity and generalisability of the findings. However, these analyses should still provide some indication as to whether group differences were statistically meaningful.

however does not mean that all of them need to be necessarily encoded. They may be highlighted (and thus specifically encoded) or backgrounded (gapped/not encoded) (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:249).

A preference of goal-encoding in discourse might be explained by two types of principled explanations. Firstly, some authors (Ikegami, 1987:136, Verspoor et al., 1999:98) suggest that there is a natural psychological bias towards the goals (and purposes) of human actions. Based on this, Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004:250) formulate an 'Importance Hypothesis' predicting that animate figures are more likely to occur with grounds as goal in a motion event description. This hypothesis was refuted in a corpus-based study.

Secondly, the 'Complete Conceptualisation Hypothesis' is based on Talmy's (1996b:247-248) assumption that the interpretation of a motion verb necessarily involves the entire path. A goal encoding ground then has a higher information value than any other type of ground. Consequently, "if we know the goal of a motion, we can infer enough about its trajectory (which must lead to the goal), and perhaps even its source, to arrive at a complete conceptualization of the motion event" (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:250-255). This hypothesis was confirmed by the authors based on corpus data.

In my Jaminjung and Kriol motion datasets, I analysed the distribution of goal, source and passed ground in discourse for all types of motion verbs. In Jaminjung's CMD 65% of all explicit grounds encoded the goal of motion, 24% encoded source and only 2% passed ground. Similarly, in the FMD as presented in Figure 13, goal was mentioned in 57% of cases, and source in 28%. Passed ground was not mentioned at all.
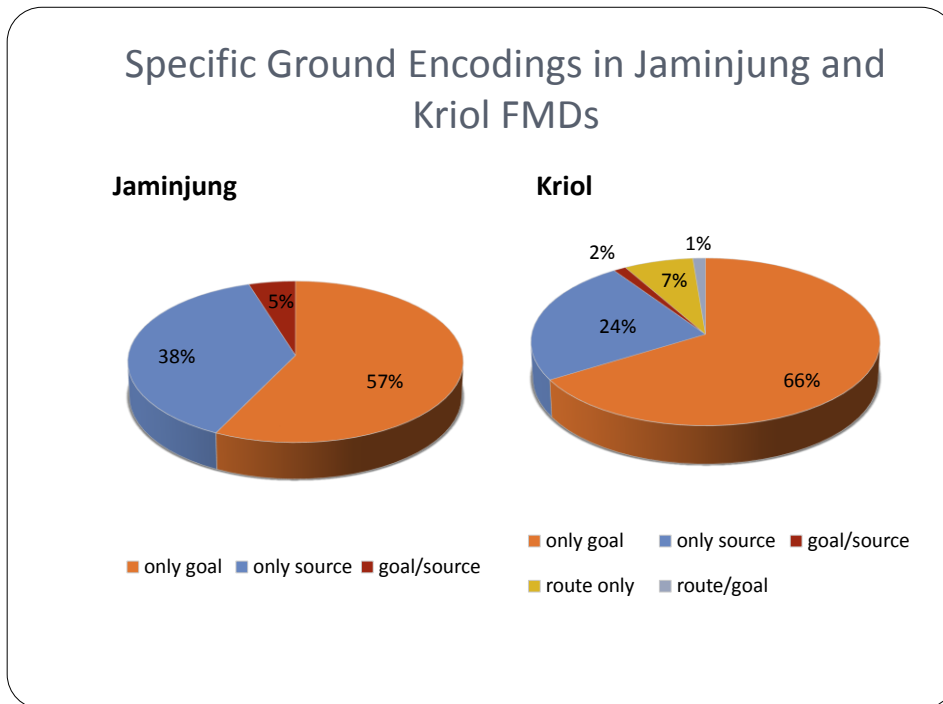
Figure 13: Ground encodings in the Frog story datasets in Jaminjung and Kriol

In the Kriol datasets, a similar picture emerges. In the CMD 74% of ground encodings specified goal, 14% source and 7% passed ground only. In the FMD, 67.5% were goal encodings, 24.5% source and 6% passed ground.

On the other hand, it has also been pointed out that individual verbs may evoke a preference for any ground depending on their individual semantics (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:251). In example (287) *leave* is a source-salient verb, in (288) *cross* is often accompanied by an NP encoding passed ground and in (289) *approach* has goal preference.

(287)   *Thomas left the house.*
(288)   *Thomas crossed the river.*
(289)   *Thomas approached the garden.*

Generally, however, with more general motion encoding verbs such as *go* a wide-ranging preference for expressing goal over source appears to be observable. Figure 13 clearly shows that while a preference for goal over other ground encodings holds true for both

languages' datasets [35]. To make comparable assumptions to one of the studies Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004) carried out, I will look at a restricted set of motion events to investigate whether the goal-bias truly holds true in Jaminjung and Kriol as well.

	English	**Jaminjung**	**Kriol**
No ground	12%	71%	34.5%
Source	5.5%	3%	5%
Passed Ground	4%	-	1%
Goal	**77%**	**23.5%**	**55.5%**
Goal/Source	1%	2.5%	4%
Total	100% (296)	100% (263)	100% (162)

Table 13: The goal-bias in a corpus-based analysis of English, Jaminjung and Kriol expressions involving the most general motion verb 'go' and plus- and minus-ground expressions, based on (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:252)

The goal-bias study uses corpus-based analyses of American English written data focussing on specific verbs such as the general motion verb *go*, manner verbs like *fly* and *jump* and verbs having an inherent sense of directionality within them such as *climb* and *flee* (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:252). Therefore their data cannot be compared with my frog story dataset.

However, one study by Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004) focused on only the verb *go* of which 1000 instances were extracted from the North American News Corpus. For my purposes, I only include cases of what the authors call literal meaning of the verb encoding actual motion of a figure through space. For Jaminjung and Kriol then, I used the general motion dataset, but only taking into account -*ijga* 'go' as a simple predicate for Jaminjung and *go* without any adverbial suffixes in Kriol, thus creating a dataset comparable to Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004). Nonetheless, the data must again be viewed with some caution since the corpora compared here are contextually different (unlike the frog story collection) which could be a potential confounding factor.

Table 13[36] summarises the findings from Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004:251) and my own datasets. For all three datasets a clear goal-preference compared to source and

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[35] There is no significant difference between the results for either language. Speakers of both Jaminjung and Kriol show a clear preference for goal-expression over source and passed ground as was also confirmed in a Mann Whitney-U Test (Z = -.511, p = .608).
[36] A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis Test putting the different percentages of Table 13 in relation to one another revealed no significant difference between the encoding frequencies of Jaminjung, English and Kriol at p =.826

passed ground encoding is apparent. However, Jaminjung speakers appear to generally prefer minus-ground constructions with a simple predicate clause with -ijga 'go'. Speakers most often use it to refer to a general fact of motion and to entail continuous movement. Kriol on the other hand shows more similarities with the English data, however, there is still a noteworthy difference between speaker's choice to encode ground or leave it out. As a more general observation, the basic motion verb *go* was not often used without adverbial suffixes.

If only taking those cases into account where a ground was actually expressed, the results of all three dataset summaries, however, are strikingly similar as shown in Table 14[37]. This suggests that the goal bias does indeed - as concluded by Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004:259) based on English data only - simply reflect the prototype case where the goal provides most of information needed for complete conceptualization of a motion event.

	English	**Jaminjung**	**Kriol**
Source	6%	10%	7.5%
Passed Ground	4.5%	-	2%
Goal	**88%**	**81%**	**85%**
Goal/Source	1%	8%	5%
TOTAL	100% (260 of 296)	100% (76 of 263)	100% (106 of 162)

Table 14: The goal-bias in a corpus-based analysis of English, Jaminjung and Kriol expressions involving only the most general motion verb 'go' and plus-ground expressions only based on (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:252)

The goal-bias has also a structural explanation. As discussed in section 3.2.1 for Jaminjung, goals are usually, but not mandatorily allative case-marked. The suffix -bina can be left out for toponyms and deictic goal NPs and this is, in fact, the preferred strategy. Case-marking on deictics and toponyms usually only occurs when needed for clarification in contrast with a source or to specify that more than one goal element belong together. This then makes goal interpretation the unmarked default interpretation of toponyms as well as deictics. Such a distinction between the source as marked and goal as unmarked term has also been observed by others (Ikegami, 1987:125-127).

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[37] A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis Test putting the different percentages of Table 14 in relation to one another revealed no significant difference between the encoding frequencies of Jaminjung, English and Kriol at p =.926

Why this default does not work for landmarks is not quite clear. It may have to do with the fact that deictics as well as toponyms have, by default, a spatial interpretation referring to places in the real world and places in relation to the speaker respectively. Landmark NPs on the other hand are not necessarily referring to grounds in a spatial relation. An object such as a car, for example, can either be the figure (290) or a ground (291) in a motion event. Hence it needs to be clearly marked as one or the other especially in a free word order language such as Jaminjung. A full discussion of marked and unmarked goal NPs can be found in section 3.2.2 on structural properties of motion events in Jaminjung.

(290) **_motika_**   _jalbud -bina_   _walthub_   _ga-jga-ny_   _birang_
      car   house-ALL   inside   3SG-go-PST   behind
      'the car went inside the house behind' (DH10_A04_03.016, NR)

(291) **_baj-bina_**   _wurlurlu_   _gank-arra –ny_   _yirrag_
      car/bus -ALL   enter.of.many   3SG>1SG- put-PST   13PL.OBL
      'they made us all get inside a bus' (ES01_A01_01tt_0165, PW)

A very similar pattern to Jaminjung emerges in Kriol goal-marking. Here, the preposition _langa_ 'to, towards' is an obligatory element in all locative constructions. However, in motion event descriptions it can be deleted with toponyms and landmarks incorporating semantic features of placenames only. Deictics are never preceded by _langa_. Therefore, the goal in Kriol too appears to be the unmarked default interpretation of grounds in a motion event description which can remain unmarked if it refers to places in the real world. Grounds classified as landmarks on the other hand do not necessarily encode spatial relations, but can, for example, be used to encode a figure (293) or a ground (292) and hence need to be clearly marked. A discussion of marked and unmarked goals in Kriol can be found in section 4.2.1.

(292) _en_   _hi_ _bin_   _go_   _rait_ _langa_   **_mi_**
      and   3SG AUX.PST   go   right to:ALL   1SG
      'and he went straight to me' (ES03_A17_02_0256, DB)

(293) **_mi_** _den_   _go_   _rait-ap_   _deya_   _langa_   _im_   _pleis_
      1SG then   go   right-up   there   to:ALL   3SG   place
      'we then went right up there to his place'
      (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_VisitCave_0005)

Within the argumentation for a general distributional preference of goal over any other type of ground, it has furthermore been claimed that it is only possible to window the passed ground (b) or the goal (a) by itself, gapping all other parts of the path. It is not usually possible to window just the source, gapping the passed ground and goal (c) (Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004:250).

(294)   *I climbed from my room up the ladder onto the roof.*
        (a)I climbed onto the roof.
        (b)I climbed up the ladder.
        (c) [??]I climbed from my room.

Yet, this seems to be only the case for a special type of verbs. Source-oriented verbs such as *come* or *leave* might show the opposite preference. An interesting area of investigation here is to look at all instances of source-only occurrences in their discourse environments as exceptions to the general trend of a goal-bias and possibly other mention of path identified.

In both datasets of Jaminjung, I looked at all the instances of motion events where only source was expressed. In the CMD, there were 91 (39 in the FMD) instances which accounted for 8% (11%) of all motion descriptions and 24% (38%) of all those which mentioned an explicit ground. The majority of these cases include the IVs *-ruma* 'come' (34 and 9), *-ijga* 'go (27 and 10), *-irdba* 'fall' (12 and 9) as well as *-unga* 'leave' (10 and none) with a single source.

This distribution is somewhat expected since *-ruma* 'come' is a deictic motion verb that semantically incorporates the notion of a source in some instances as illustrated in (295). The transitive verb *-unga* 'leave' always entails movement away from a source. In Jaminjung this source is most often encoded in the object/undergoer bound pronoun only. The instances I counted here, however, are those specifically encoded noun phrases which indicate the source, all of which are either animate objects as in (296) or, as in example (297), a combination of a bound pronoun and a locative-marked noun which indicates the static location of the entity described by the bound pronoun. Therefore, generally, source-salient expressions in Jaminjung are possible and speakers prefer to use only a few IVs in such clauses.

(295)   *ngiyi-ngunyi   majani   burl-burl   burru-ruma-ny,*
        PROX-ABL   maybe   RDP-emerge   3PL-come.PST
        *jarriny-ngunyi   oh   wa.. [warnda-ngunyi] *
        hole-ABL   oh   grass-ABL
        'from here they maybe came out, out of the hole, oh out of the grass'
        (ES97_A03_01.294/295, IP)

(296)   *yangarra -ni =mala   waj   gan-unga-ny   biya   wirib,*
        kangaroo -ERG/INSTR=GIVEN   leave   3SG>3SG-leave-PST   NOW   dog
        'the kangaroo let go the dog' (ES99_V0106b_ctg.045, VP)

(297)   *waj   yirr-unga-nyi   ejtrip-gi*
        leave   13PL>3SG- leave -IMPF   airstrip-LOC
        'we left him on the air strip' (ES01_A01_01tt_0156, PW)

In Kriol, I also counted all instances where only source was expressed. In the CMD, in 14% (38% in the FMD) of all plus-ground expressions (corresponding to 8% (11%) of all motion event descriptions in the dataset), a source ground was expressed on its own.

By far the most common verb of motion associated with source-encoding was the general verb *kam-* 'come' with the adverbial suffix *-at* 'out' attached to it. In the CMD, the verb accounted for 37% of all source-only encoding phrases and in the FMD this even amounted to 61%. In fact, rather than just being interpreted as 'come out', the verb phrase *kam-at* 'come out' with a source NP appears to be encoding 'leave' in the English sense of denoting a point of departure only that not necessarily has to be followed by a motion event or where the following motion event is encoded in a different VP. Example (298) from an animated elicitation task to test for source-salience, shows this usage when *kam-at* is used to describe the point of departure only, but to encode the following motion event, a different motion verb, *flai-wei* 'fly away', is used. This type of usage then is similar to the function of *kam-at* with a goal NP. Such a motion event description is interpreted as encoding a destination where the event comes to a final end as in example (299).

(298)   *maitbi   **kam-at**   from   keij … en   flai-wei …   gota …   peipa*
        maybe   come-out   ABL:from   cage and   fly-away   with   paper
        peipa   la   im   fut   ngih
        paper   LOC   3SG   foot   TAG
        'maybe it comes out from the cage, and it flies away with a piece of paper in the foot' (DH10_A14_01_0023, JaR)

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(299)   imin   go   andanith   la   det   brij   en
        3SG:AUX.PST go   underneath   LOC   that   bridge   and
        imin   **kam-at**   natha-said
        3SG:AUX.PST come-out   another-side
        'it went underneath the bridge and came out on the other side'
        (DH10_A15_19_0031, MA)

In source-encoding phrase, the lexicalised verb *boldan* 'fall down' was used in 16% of cases in the FMD and 9.5% in the CMD. However, on a larger scale, in both datasets, *boldan* rather appeared to trigger a goal encoding (46% of all *boldan*-VPs occurred with a goal NP in the FMD and 40% in the CMD compared to only 15% (FMD) and 14.5% (CMD) for source-encoding respectively).

Finally, the suffix *–awei* 'away' was used in 8% of all source-encoding motion expressions in the FMD and in 7% in the CMD. Nevertheless, it was also used for goal-encoding as well and therefore cannot be considered to trigger source-NPs only. In fact, the only one that can is, similar to Jaminjung's *–unga* 'leave', the transitive verb *livum* 'leave' which always occurs with a direct object encoding a source of a motion event (300). However, it did not at all occur in the FMD, and only accounted for 6% of all source denoting motion event expressions in the CMD.

(300)   motika   imin   **liv-um**   ston
        car   3SG:AUX.PST   leave-TR   stone
        'the car left the stone' (DH10_A06_02_0044, NR)

All in all it becomes clear from my analysis that the nature of ground encodings can indeed be influenced by discourse environments. A rather artificial elicitation task such as the frog story can trigger increased ground encodings in motion event descriptions. Furthermore, my findings confirm the goal-bias as a universal tendency in languages as hypothesized by Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004) with similar patterns for Jam, Kriol and English as shown in Table 14 above when only plus-ground expressions are considered. This result is in contrast to the very different patterns of minus- and plus-ground expressions the three languages demonstrate as exemplified in Table 13. Finally, closer analysis also shows that while the goal bias holds for a general motion verb like 'go'

semantically more specific verbs in both Jaminjung and Kriol can show a preference for e.g. source encoding.

6.2.3.2 *Complex Motion Expressions*

6.2.3.2.1 *Jaminjung and Kriol*

As discussed in chapters 3 and 4 for both languages, there are numerous ways of encoding path in motion descriptions. Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.2.2 examined the distribution of these various path encodings in discourse. Now I would like to take a comparative look at Jaminjung and Kriol. Figure 14 shows how greatly the two languages differ regarding the complexity of path encodings in the collection of frog story narratives. Strikingly in Kriol, the vast majority of path encodings is in complex motion expressions involving not only an adverbial suffix but also explicit mentioning of ground. This observation is in line with Slobin's (2004:244) findings that in satellite-framed languages, narrators have the option of packaging many path segments into clauses with a single verb. Verb phrases encoding path in a satellite (adverbial suffix or preposition in Kriol) then tend to carry a ground element

Both languages however, show an interesting scarcity of ground expressions by themselves, i.e. without mentioning any other path element such as adverbial suffixes in Kriol or coverbs in Jaminjung (16% for both) which can also be observed in the two frog stories narrated by the same speaker (17% for Jaminjung and 16% for Kriol). In 43% of the motion event encodings in Jaminjung path (as defined in section 1.1.1) was mentioned explicitly (52% in the FMD) compared to 76% (86% in the FMD) in the Kriol narration. Of these explicit path specifications 2% (10% in the FMD) in Jaminjung were complex paths and 28% (52% in the FMD) in Kriol.
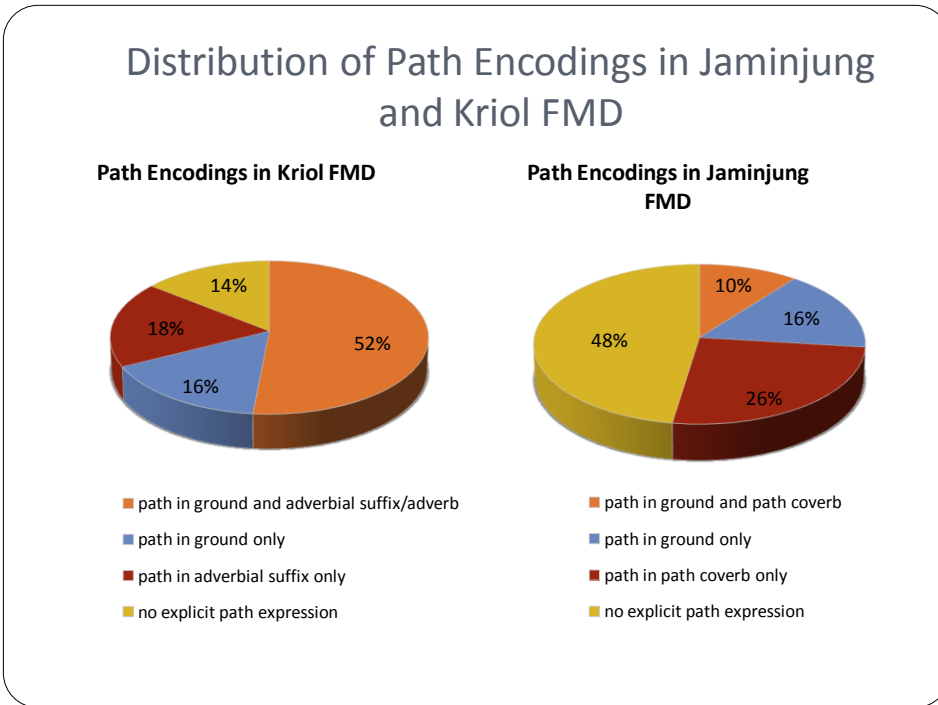
Figure 14: Distribution of Path Encodings in Jaminjung and Kriol Frog Stories
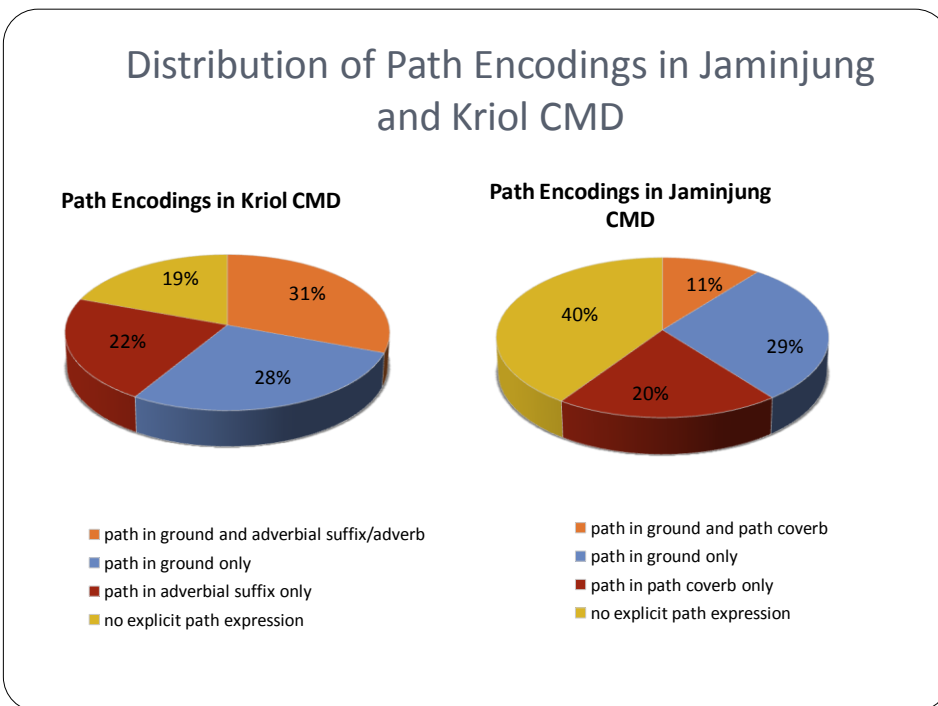
Figure 15: Distribution of Path Encodings in Jaminjung and Kriol CMD

Figure 15 shows how complex path encodings are distributed in the CMD for both languages. Firstly, it is noteworthy that there are striking differences for the Kriol data compared to the FMD displayed in Figure 14. While Kriol speakers expressed path in ground and adverbial suffix in 52% of all motion event descriptions in the FMD, here this

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amounts to only 31%. Both Jaminjung datasets on the other hand show rather similar distributions. However, the difference between the frog story and the complete datasets could also simply be a consequence of the nature and contexts of the discourse included in the CMD rather than a specific difference to the frog story narrations.

A statistical analysis of the FMD only[38], using the Mann-Whitney U Test, showed that a significant difference can be observed between Jaminjung and Kriol speakers concerning path expressions using a ground and some kind of 'satellite', i.e. coverbs in Jaminjung and adverbial suffixes and prepositions and adverbs in Kriol) (Z = -2.30, p = .021). Furthermore, there is a significant difference between the languages when no explicit path is expressed (Z = -3.00, p = .001). For expressing grounds (Z = -.70, p = .480) and 'satellites' only (Z = -1.53, p = .124), no such difference could be observed.

An analogous pattern to this was observed concerning minus- and plus-ground expressions in FMD and CMD for Kriol. There, the specific nature of the frog story narration appeared to trigger the expression of slightly more detail in ground. The much higher preference for complex path expressions in the FMD in Kriol can probably be explained along those lines as well.

In 30.5% in the FMD and in 42% of all path-denoting cases in the CMD, Jaminjung combines a path coverb with a ground element. This includes cases of *bu* 'enter water' standing by itself but implicitly expressing ground as well as path within the coverb itself. Additionally the path-denoting IVs *-unga* 'leave', *-arrga* 'approach' and *-wardagarra* 'follow' are counted as containing two path elements as well, one within the IV itself and one in the explicitly or implicitly expressed direct object. Figure 17 shows a higher percentage of multiple path encodings in the CMD than in the FMD. However, it is still apparent that Jaminjung's preferred strategy for path encoding is to use one path element only.

Kriol, on the other hand, actually prefers the combination of more than one path element in a single VP, but in the frog story corpus only. As Figure 17 shows, there appears to be a striking difference in the distribution of path encodings across the two datasets.

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[38] I did not conduct statistical analysis of the CMD data, because the datasets here are not strictly comparable to one another and are used here to show general trends within the languages, but not across them.

For the FMD, Kriol is quite clearly a high-path-salient language with rich path encodings within the verb phrase in comparison with those languages in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) study. Here, 60% of all path encoding phrases include more than one path element – however, in the CMD this figure only amounts to 38%. It is thus hard to determine where Kriol truly stands within a cross-linguistic study looking at path elements with a single verb. For cross-linguistic purposes, the FMD provides a useful tool for comparison. However, the evidence from the CMD suggests a different pattern for conversational discourse and other narratives than for the rather artificial frog story narrations.

Examples (301) by a Kriol speaker and (302) by a Jaminjung speaker are short excerpts of the same scene in the frog story describing how the dog is being pursued by bees while an owl chases off the little boy as shown below in Figure 16. The examples show clearly how the different path encoding preferences displayed in Figure 14 can be observed in a small chunk of discourse and are therefore typical of the different path-distribution patterns observed for the frog story dataset as a whole for each language.

(301)
  *(a)det dog imin   gu-**wei** -gu-**wei** na   imin   galap-in*
      that dog 3SG:AUX.PST RDP-go-away   NOW   3SG:AUX.PST gallop-PROG
      'the dog left, and he galloped'

  *(b)imin   wanda ran-**awei** **from**   **detmob shugabeg-flai***
      3SG:AUX.PST want   run-away ABL:from   those   honey-fly
      'it tried to run away from the bees'

  *(c) dumaji   dislat   det   mugmug bin   **ran-im-ap**   **im**   tu*
      too.much   these   that owl   AUX.PST chase-TR-up 3SG   too
      'they (the bees) were too much (for the dog), (and) the owl also chased (and reached) him (the boy)'

  *(d)**ontop**   imin   flai   **ontop** **la**   **im***
      on+top   3SG:AUX.PST fly   on+top LOC 3SG
      'up, it flew over him'

  *(e)en   det   lil-boi   maitbi… bin   ran-**awei***
      and   that   little-boy maybe   AUX.PST   run-away
      from   det   mugmug** en   imin   **ran galimap
      ABL:from that   owl   and   3SG:AUX.PST run   climb
      la   big-wan   ston

       to:ALL   big-NR   stone
       'so maybe the boy was running away from the owl and he ran and climbed up a big stone'

                                                      (DH10_A15_12_0054-61, IA)

It becomes clear that exhaustive path information is given in much more detail in the Kriol narration in (301). Almost all motion verbs have an adverbial suffix attached such as *gu-wei* in (a). Furthermore, most motion event descriptions explicitly include a ground such as the PP *from det mugmug* 'from that owl' in (e) or the direct object *im* 'he' in (c). An adverbial encoding Frame of Reference is additionally expressed to encode the spatial relationship between the boy and the owl in (d).

    The Jaminjung speaker on the other hand in (302) only uses two different path coverbs in the scene, *yurl* 'pursue' and *burduj* 'go up'. No ablative- or allative marked grounds are encoded. There is only one locative-marked NP marking the location of the boy's climbing in (c).

(302)

  (a) *minyka-ni*   **yurl**   *burr-angga-m..*   *munuwi-ni*   %
      what's.it-ERG   pursue   3PL:3SG-get/handle-PRS bee-ERG
      'what's it called they are chasing him, the bees'

  (b) <u>*an dijan*</u> **yurl**   *barraj=jung*   *gana-ngga-m*
      and   DEM pursue further-LOC:RESTR 3SG:3SG-get/handle-PRS
      ngayin   *ngugngung*   %
      meat.animal   owl
      'and this one is chasing him afterwards, the animal owl'

  (c) *wayawaya* *ga-yu:yu*   **wagurra-g burduj** *ga-jga-ny* %
      RDP-shout   3SG-be.PRS   rock-LOC   go.up   3SG-go-PST
      'he is calling out and climbed up a rock'

                                               (ES96_A07_01tg_0091-94, DBit)

A parallel construction using the same path coverb *yurl* 'pursue' is used to encode the chasing of the dog and the boy in (a) and (b). Here the bees and the owl respectively are employed as figures and the boy and the dog are encoded as direct objects in the bound pronoun of the inflecting verb *-angu* 'get/handle'. The Kriol speaker on the other hand forms different constructions utilising different verbs of motion. The dog is the figure in (301)(a) and (b) and a general motion verb as well as a manner verb are used to encode

the motion event. The owl-incident on the other hand takes the animal as figure and the boy is encoded as direct object (c) or ground (d). In the final phrase (e) of this scene, the perspective changes again to the boy's.
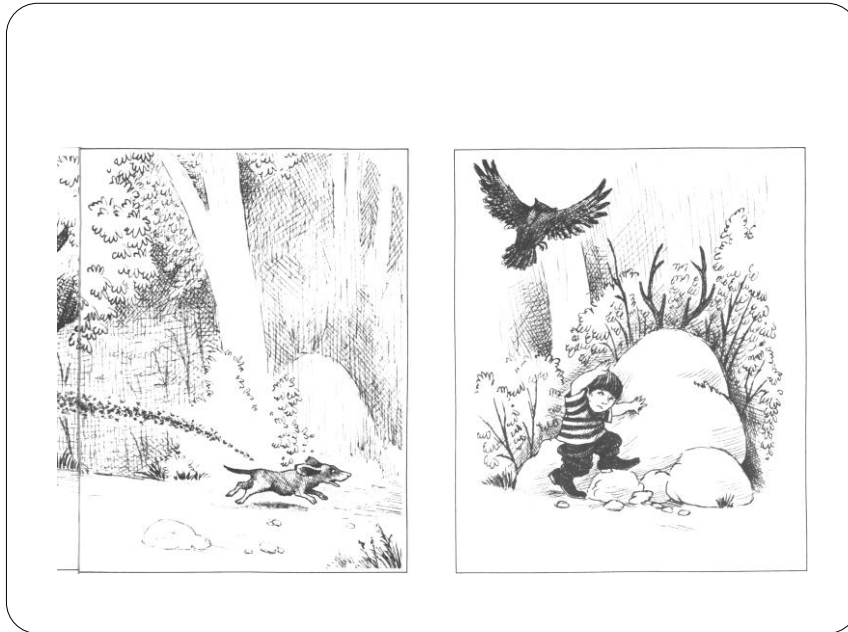
Figure 16: Frog Story Motion Events

Figure 17 illustrates that the two languages show very similar patterns for the CMD as opposed to the FMD. This could hint towards speakers of both languages actually preferring similar patterns in natural discourse, but differing in artificial tasks such as the frog story narrations. However, once again, the CMD for both languages does not provide strictly comparable data and therefore, these and all following suggestions based on a contrast between the CMD and the FMD need to be viewed with caution. Furthermore, this type of comparison does not reflect the general preference of Kriol for plus-ground expressions. This robust tendency is taken into account in Figure 18 below.
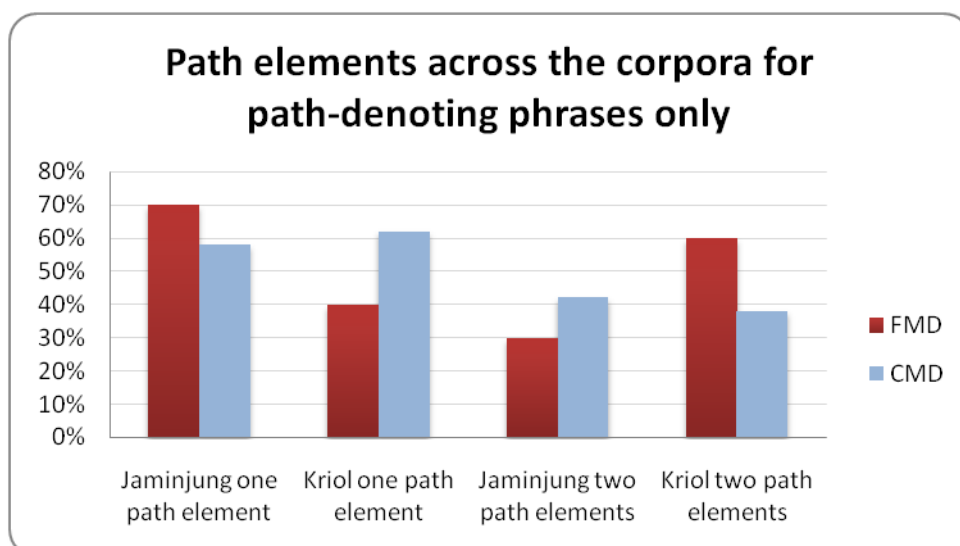
Figure 17: Path elements across the datasets for specific path-denoting phrases only

Considering all motion events for Jaminjung, in 49% of all cases in the CMD and in 55% in the FMD, path is expressed explicitly in a path coverb or a ground NP[39]. Even though the datasets again differ to some extent, a general trend can be observed. Jaminjung speakers prefer to express an additional path element in about half of all motion events and in slightly more detail in the frog story narrations. However, it is noteworthy to point out that the higher percentage for the encoding of two path elements in one clause in the CMD could be seen as a pattern favouring such explicit and detailed path encodings in natural discourse.
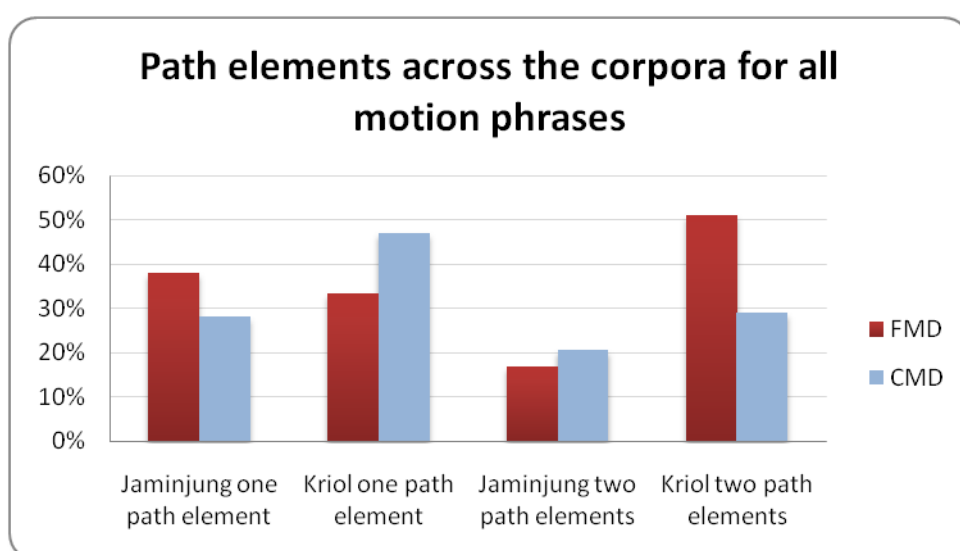
Figure 18: Path elements across the corpora for all motion phrases

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[39] While path is always encoded in any motion event expression, it can also just be denoted in the motion verb itself. I here only consider additional path elements such as coverbs and grounds and adverbial suffixes, prepositions, adverbs and grounds for Jaminjung and Kriol respectively.

Taking a look at all motion events, Kriol encodes path explicitly in 76% of the CMD and 84.5% of the FMD. The difference in the distribution of path elements in the two datasets here then might suggest that the nature of the frog story alters a preferred pattern in the language. However, since the story is here my means for cross-linguistic comparison, it still serves as a very valuable tool to establish Kriol's general preference for expressing path in more than one element. This is most likely due to the high frequency and grammaticalized (and in some cases lexicalised) nature of the adverbial suffixes directly attaching to the motion verb.

Figure 18 shows the more general observation that Kriol tends to encode path (in satellites such as adverbial suffixes and prepositions as well as ground encodings) more often and in more detail in discourse than Jaminjung (in path coverbs and ground encodings). This particularly holds true when considering the total path encodings in the FMD in Jaminjung (55%) and Kriol (84.5%).

As a more general observation, one can conclude then that complex NP path constructions in narratives seem to be used only for highly specialised motion descriptions. It is worth noting that three of the four overall instances of complex NP path descriptions describe the same scene in the frog story where the dog falls out of the window. The only other time the construction occurs is during the cliff scene when the deer throws the boy off its antlers and down into the water. The two scenes are shown in Figure 19. What both have in common is that the pictures depict falling sequences as still ongoing. This intermediate character of the scenes could be a possible explanation for the speakers choosing to include two grounds in this motion event description, since the figure is located right in between two grounds[40].

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[40] All Frog Story Falling Scenes are included in the appendix in 10.5.
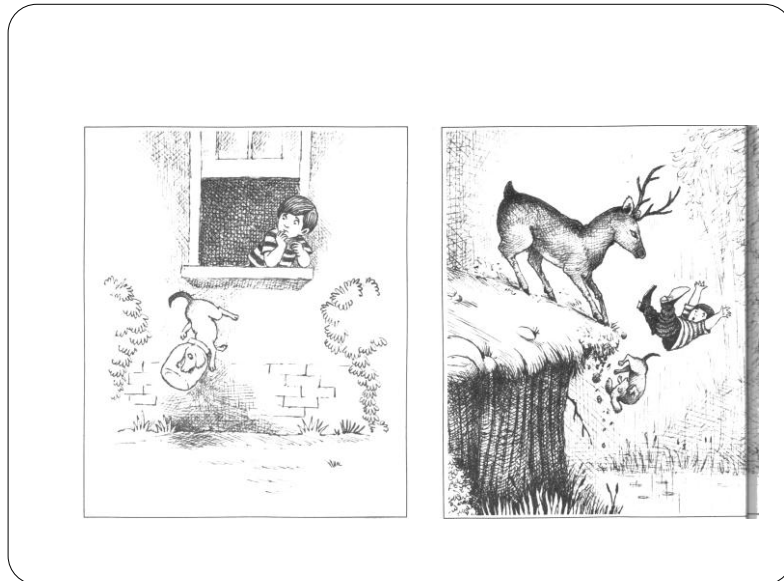
Figure 19: Dog Falling Scene and Cliff Scene in (Mayer, 1969)

Instances of complex NP paths in the CMD all occurred in larger scale route-description type expressions. Often either the source or the ground NP was a deictic referring to a previously mentioned ground (304) or the speaker's deictic centre as in (303).

(303)   *melabat bin   go   **burrum iya   langa   riba** blanga   wajama*
        1PL.excl AUX.PST   go   from   here to:ALL   river for   fishing
        'we went from here to the river to go fishing' (Ketfish_Baramandi_en_Sneik_001)

(304)   *yu   go   **sangidap-wei hiya   from   deya   sangidap***
        2SG   go   east-ward   here   ABL:from   there   east
        'you go to the east, here from there you go east' (DH10_A15_06_0078, JoJo)

For Kriol, all of the complex NP path descriptions in the FMD included in Figure 14 and Figure 15 were actually used while narrating one of these scenes. In the Jaminjung FMD, two of the five complex NP path descriptions occurred here. I believe that this curious clustering of two-ground encodings in one clause is owed to the fact that in describing the ballistic motion event of falling one cannot temporally separate the two events of departing some ground and arriving at another. Instead the two grounds form a temporal unit and are therefore often compacted together. For locomotion event descriptions on the other hand, temporal distinctions are more easily employed and therefore speakers tend to make less use of clause compacting. The preference to express one ground element per clause only is discussed in 6.2.1.1 for Jaminjung and 6.2.2.1 for Kriol.

6.2.3.2.2 A Cross-linguistic Perspective

Taking a cross-linguistic perspective, languages can be compared concerning the number of path element encodings per verb. Even though two grounds in a single VP are only rarely encoded in discourse in both Kriol and Jaminjung, other path elements often accompany a single ground NP. As discussed in 6.2.1.2, for Jaminjung such path elements are path coverbs and for Kriol adverbial suffixes, adverbs or prepositions (6.2.2.2) as in examples (305) and (306) repeated from above.

(305)   malara   galu-galu   a   **yirr**   ga-ram   **gardag-ngunyi**
        frog   RDP-footwalk   ah   move.out 3SG-come:PRS   tin-ABL
        'and the frog, it comes right out of the tin' (DH10_A11_05_0020, MM)

(306)   det dog tu   imin   jamp   **ontop la   det bigges log**
        that dog too 3SG:AUX.PST jump   on+top LOC that big   log
        'and the dog as well jumped onto the big trunk' (DH10_A16_06_0125, LM)

| | | Number of Path Elements per Verb | | |
Language	Path Elements per verb	One	Two or +	Total
Basque	Several	32 (61%)	20 (39%)	52
Turkish	Several	24 (75%)	8 (25%)	32
Spanish	Usually one	42 (95%)	2 (5%)	44
West Greenlandic	One	96 (98%)	2 (2%)	98
Jaminjung	Several	136 (69.5%)	60 (30.5%)	158
Kriol	Several	79 (40%)	119 (60%)	198

Table 15: Path elements per verb in frog stories cross-linguistically adapted from (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:407)

Table 15 and Figure 20 show Jaminjung and Kriol compared to other languages in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's study (2009). Like many other languages[41], they both allow for several path elements to accompany a single verb of motion. Generally, it becomes clear that both languages occupy a position towards a higher-path salience cline in terms of complex paths. Jaminjung then shows a very similar pattern to verb-framed Turkish and Kriol takes the extreme end of the cline apparently preferring the use of two or more

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[41] English is another language allowing for more than one path element in a single verb of motion phrase. However, Ibarrexte-Antuñano did not have access to specific numbers for this language which is why I did not include it in Table 15.

path elements. However, this comparative figure does not include any satellite-framed languages for which a higher percentage would have been expected.
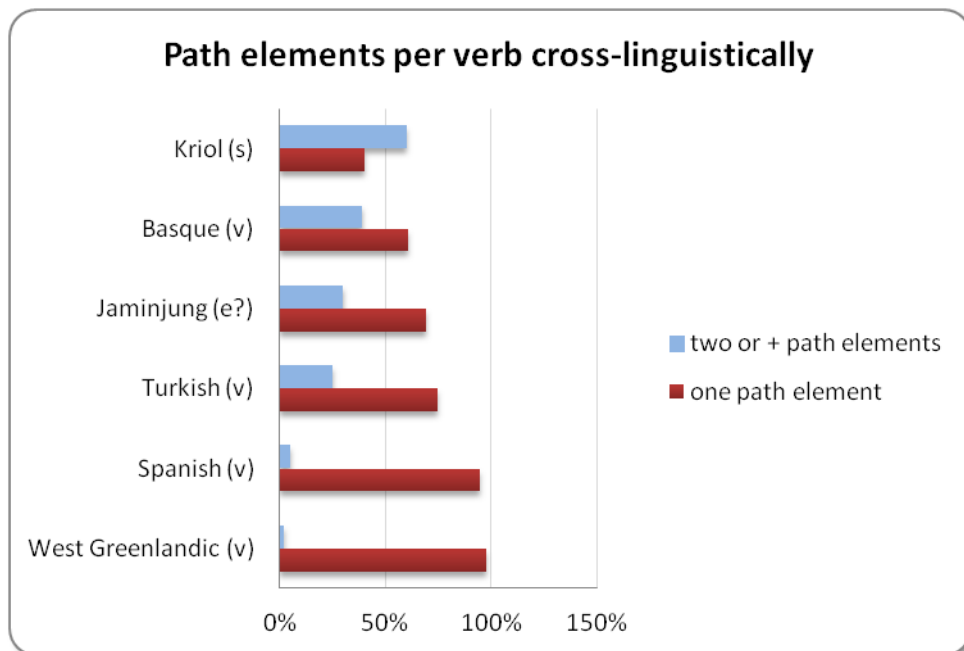
Figure 20: Path elements per verb in percentage of complex path elements

6.2.3.3   *Path and Event Granularity*

Event Granularity measures how many different aspects of a complex journey are mentioned by speakers in a comparable motion event description and was introduced in detail in section 6.2.1.3. This part of the study of path salience goes beyond the clause level and investigates with how much detail more complex 'journey' (Slobin, 1996a) events are described in discourse. For this purpose the cliff-scene from the Frog Story is divided into six segments that could potentially be mentioned by a speaker. According to (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:408-409) high event granularity for a language is, somewhat arbitrarily, assumed when always or mostly more than three of the six segments are expressed.

   In a cross-linguistic perspective, this is, for example, the case for Arrernte and Ewe, as well as Germanic languages and Thai. The other end of the scale is occupied by Hebrew, Tagalog and Romance languages which mention at least three segments less than half the time. For Jaminjung and Kriol, six of the seven cliff scenes investigated, mention at least

three segments respectively. Therefore, both languages show elaborated path granularity in 85% of all cases.

Language	+ 3 segments[42]
Tagalog (v)	17%
Romance (French, Portuguese, Spanish) (v)	30%
Hebrew (v)	30%
Malay (v)	50%
Slavic (Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian) (s)	76%
Thai (e)	80%
West Greenlandic (v)	80%
Jaminjung (e?)	**85%**
Kriol (s)	**85%**
Germanic (Dutch, English, Icelandic, Swedish, German) (s)	86%
Chinese (e)	92%
Basque (v)	93%
Arrernte (v)	100%
Squliq (v)	100%
Chantyal (v)	100%

Table 16: Path Granularity in the Deer Scene based on Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009:409)

Table 16 places Jaminjung and Kriol among languages investigated in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009:409) study. The majority of languages in her analysis exhibit high path granularity, i.e. most speakers mention three or more segments of the cliff scene in a corpus of Frog Story narrations. In this context, Kriol is very similar to other satellite framed language such as English. Jaminjung also shows a high-path granularity pattern.

A closer look at the two languages under analysis here revealed that there was indeed no significant difference (Z = .131, *p* = .895) concerning the number of segments mentioned in the cliff scene narration between speakers of Jaminjung and Kriol. To come to this conclusion, I used the number of segments mentioned by each speaker as a variable in a Mann-Whitney U test to compare the speakers of the different languages.

As a result, it becomes clear that concerning the structural encoding of path on the clause level in discourse the languages show clearly different behaviour. However, a look at extra-linguistic factors such as path granularity reveals that Jaminjung and Kriol speakers behave in the same ways. I argue that this is due to a shared cultural space of the speakers since the aforementioned linguistic and distributional differences between

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[42] Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of speakers who mention three or more segments by the total number of speakers.

the languages themselves would have expected a different outcome. I will discuss this approach in more detail in the following section 6.2.3.4 on factors influencing path salience.

Considering other languages in the sample, it furthermore becomes clear that keeping analyses of event granularity and structural path encodings separate in the study of path salience is important. Of Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) sample, for example, Squliq and Chantyal are particularly noteworthy. Figure 12 in section 6.2.3.1.1 above shows that the two languages occupied opposite ends of the scale concerning the frequency of plus-ground expressions in discourse. While Chantyal expressed a ground in 100% of all motion event encodings, Squliq did so in only 36% of all cases and therefore exhibited (together with Jaminjung) the least frequent ground-encodings. As seen in Table 16, however, in an analysis of event granularity, the two languages show the exact same pattern.

6.2.3.4   *Factors for Path Salience*

The reasons for languages following a high- or low-salience pattern in Ibarretxte-Antuñano's (2009:410) sense, where structural path encoding on the clause level is considered alongside event granularity, seem to be based on a number of interrelated factors. These are linguistic devices, word order, tolerance for verb omissions, the existence of light verbs, cultural values, orality, and standardization. Here, I will only discuss those factors that apply to the Jaminjung and Kriol data.

6.2.3.4.1 *Linguistic Devices for the Encoding of Motion Events*

Jaminjung has a high number of lexical and morphological resources for the encoding of motion events. The language uses distinct allative and ablative case-marking for the encoding of source and goal on landmarks (307), toponyms as well as absolute locational nominals and deictics. Furthermore, locative case can denote the location of an entire motion event or the endpoint of a change of location event (Schultze-Berndt, 2000:48-60). As such, it can be used to mark a passed ground as in (307). The encoding of the endpoint of motion is also separated from the rest of the event clause by a prosodic break after the NP *bindidurru* 'bridge'.

(307)   *wagurra -ngunyi buru   waljub   ga-ram*
        rock-ABL   return   inside   3SG-come:PRS
        bindidurru–ni…   gurdij   ga-yu   langiny -gi
        bridge-LOC   stand   3SG-be.PRS   wood-LOC
        '(the boat) goes back from the rock underneath the bridge and stands at the tree.'
        (DH10_A13_03_0130, JoJ)

Generally, the existence of seven specific locomotion inflecting verbs out of a total number of roughly 35 is rather astonishing. Furthermore, the other five inflecting verbs that can denote a motion event only add to this high number. All of these inflecting verbs occurred in both datasets for Jaminjung. The most frequent by far is *-ijga* 'go' (34% in the FMD and 44% in the CMD), followed by *-ruma* 'come' (11% and 17%) and *-irdba* 'fall' (14% and 6%). Furthermore, in the FMD, there are occurrences of 14 different path and seven manner coverbs. In the CMD, an additional 14 distinct path coverbs are in use as well as an extra ten manner coverbs. In both categories, the use of Kriol-loans such as the manner verb *budok* 'walk on foot' in (308) and the path verb *tenof* 'turn off' in (309) add to the coverb lexicon, and therefore to the richness of this inventory. This affluent register is a clear indication of the cultural importance of motion event descriptions to the Jaminjung people as expressed in the language. As a hunter-gatherer culture this is not surprising. However, this rich register of motion-encoding lexemes, is not reflected in a high frequency of path (and, in fact, manner as well which will be discussed in section 6.3 below) in discourse. Therefore, this criterion does not prove to be valuable for an indication for path salience in Jaminjung.

(308)   *yirri =ma   yirr- inyji=wunthu   **budok***
        13PL=SUBORD   13PL- go:IMPF=COND   walk.on.foot
        'as for us, when we used to go on foot' (ES01_A07_03tt_0274, DB)

(309)   ***tenof***   *ga-ram*   *Magulamayi-bina*
        turnoff   3SG-come:PRS   n_top-ALL
        'he turns off to M.' (ES95_A20_routedescr_025, MMc)

Kriol on the other hand has a relatively limited number of lexical and morphological resources for the encoding of motion events. Not considering added adverbial suffixes, a total number of only 17 different general motion, path and manner verbs occur in all seven Frog Story narrations and only 27 in the CMD. A lot of these, such as *rol* 'roll', *galop* 'gallop', *krosim* 'cross', *pasim* 'pass' or *folorim* 'follow' only occur once or twice in the

FMD. The most frequent verb in the FMD is the intransitive general locomotion *kam* 'come' which almost never occurs on its own and nearly exclusively with the directional suffix -*at* 'out'. It accounts for 20.5% of all motion event descriptions and is followed by instances of *boldan* 'fall down' (16%), *galamap/klaimap* 'climb up' (13.5%) and *go* (13%).

In the CMD, on the other hand *go* is the most common (38%) verb of motion. Others are *kam* 'come' (20%), *boldan* 'fall down' and *ran* 'run' (5%), and *galamap/klaimap* 'climb up' (4.5%). Most of these verbs, with the exception of *boldan* and *galamap/klaimap* which already include a lexicalised adverbial suffix, however, are followed by an adverbial suffix or preposition encoding path (70% of all motion events in the FMD and in 50% in the CMD). All in all, there are, only 13 different adverbial suffixes and prepositions in the FMD. Only the suffix -*aran* 'around' is added to this set in the CMD.

Finally, ground encodings are mandatorily preceded by the preposition *from* for source and optionally by *langa* 'to, towards' for goal and passed ground (310).

(310) *det*   *ka*   *bin*   *kros-im* **from**   **det-said** … *en*
        that   car   AUX.PST   cross -TR   ABL:from   that-side   and
        imin   **kam-at**   **dissaid**   **ontop**   **la**   **det**   **brij**
        3SG:AUX.PST   come-out   this+side   on+top   LOC   that   bridge
        en   *kam-in*   **dissaid**
        and   come-PROG   this+side
        'the car crossed from that side and it came out on this side on top of the bridge and it came (back?) this side' (DH10_A15_08_0016, IA)

Therefore, even though the number of tokens for the encoding of motion events in Kriol appears to be rather low, combination options are manifold. This rich encoding inventory is matched by high path encoding frequencies in discourse as well as high path granularity beyond the clause level.

6.2.3.4.2 Light Verbs

Another factor potentially influencing path salience patterns in languages concerns the existence of what Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009) calls 'dummy verbs'. The semantic load of such verbs is usually poor or general, however when accompanied by path complements, they can be used for the description of motion events. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009:411) claims that high path salient languages are more likely to employ 'dummy verbs' in

motion constructions than low-path salient ones since they need to include further path elements to express more complex motion events. I believe using the term 'dummy verb' in relation to the verbs and constructions in question in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's study is not a good choice. Instead, they might better be described by the term 'light verb'. Such verbs can be part of a complex predicate and do not carry a heavy semantic load (Butt and Geuder, 2001). The motion verbs in Jaminjung and Kriol as discussed in detail in sections 3.3 and 4.3 can be considered to be such 'light verbs' since their semantic load seems to be rather restricted, if occuring as simple predicates in Jaminjung and without adverbial suffixes, prepositions or adverbs in Kriol. Consequently, their existence might, similar to what Ibarretxte-Antuñano calls 'dummy verbs', also trigger the use of path in more detail in motion event descriptions.

Jaminjung's inflecting verbs of locomotion are light verbs since they do not carry a high semantic load, but merely indicate the fact of motion and also form complex predicates. As a result, additional path of motion on the other hand is indicated by accompanying coverbs and ground-encoding NPs. No explicit encoding of path outside the inflecting verb then amounts to 39% of motion events in the CMD and in less half of the events (47.5%) in the FMD.

So, in the majority of times, inflecting verbs are not used on their own, but occur in combination with manner or path coverbs, ground phrases or directionals or have ground encoded within themselves as in some IVs. These findings then seem to support the claim that in languages using semantically generic inflecting verbs, other means of expressing motion components become more frequent. This is confirmed by my analysis of Jaminjung considering all the different methods of path encodings available in the language. Jaminjung appears to be generally a medium-path salient language with relatively low distribution of explicit ground encodings, but a higher dissemination of other path elements such as coverbs or implicit encodings.

Rather similar to Jaminjung, some Kriol verbs of locomotion could be dubbed ligth verbs since they do not carry a high semantic load, but simply indicate the fact of motion. These are the intransitive verbs *kam* 'come' and *go* which are also used as minor verbs in serial verb constructions where they only encode movement information in general, and any additional semantic content is added in the following major verb. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in section 4.2.3.

As mentioned above, in the majority of cases, path is expressed in both datasets in either an adverbial suffix or preposition with the verb or by including a ground. In the case of *kam* 'come' only 4% of cases were not accompanied by an adverbial suffix in the FMD and 18% in the CMD. For *go* this amounted to 24% in the FMD and 16% in the CMD. Taking into account all verbs of motion in both datasets, only 6% appear on their own in the FMD and in 9% in the CMD.

Whenever any verb occurred on its own more elaborate motion descriptions follow or precede. Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) argument for the existence of verbs with little semantic loads such as 'dummy verbs' and, as I have argued, 'light verbs' as well, in high-path salient languages appears to make sense in Kriol. Mostly, verbs of locomotion combine with adverbial suffixes or prepositions and/or grounds to convey more elaborate motion events since this cannot be expressed in the locomotion verb itself. These findings then seem to support the claim that in languages using semantically generic inflecting verbs, other means of expressing motion components become more frequent. Generally, Kriol is placed toward the high-path salient cline in the study with a high number of explicit ground expressions and a high frequency of several path elements combining in one VP.
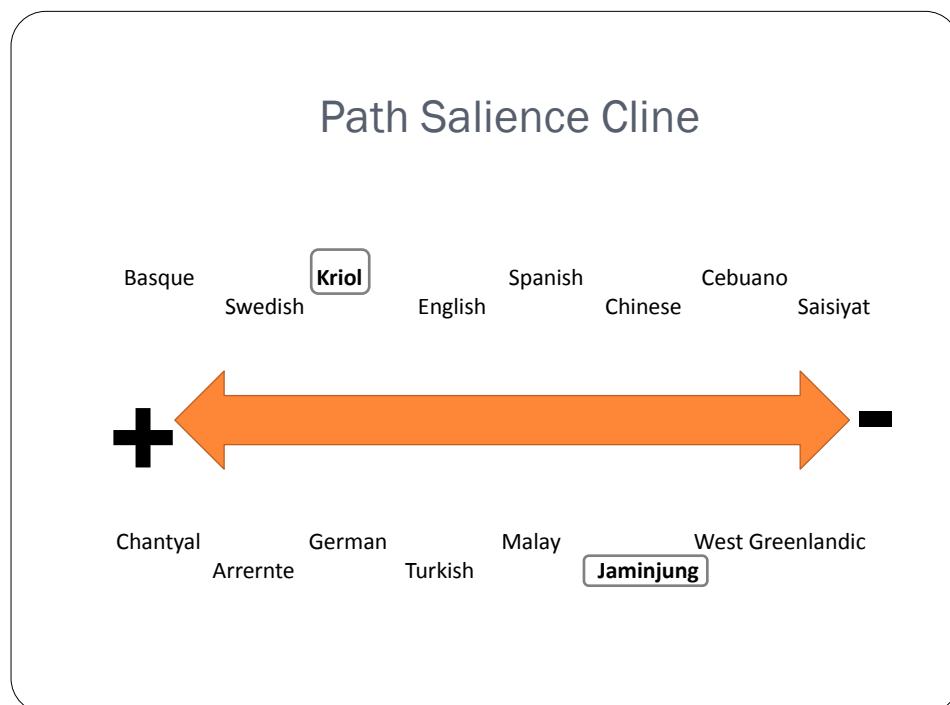
Figure 21: Path Salience Cline cross-linguistically

Figure 21 shows where Jaminjung and Kriol can be placed along a path salience cline in a cross-linguistic perspective. Here only the two points of analyses concerning the frequency of path encodings on the clause level, namely plus- and minus-ground constructions and complex path encodings are considered. As argued above in 6.2.3.3, path granularity on the other hand should be considered separate from these features. I believe that Ibarretxe-Antuñano's final factor for influencing path salience – cultural systems – provides the right background for understanding why Kriol and Jaminjung show such major differences on path encoding frequency on the clause level, but behave exactly the same beyond it.

6.2.3.4.3 Cultural Systems

This last factor concerns only path granularity. It can be argued that languages displaying a high level of path event granularity in larger chunks of discourse are more likely to possess cultural systems in which space and motion play a more important role than languages which do not (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:411). Concerning my observations for Jaminjung and Kriol, it was shown that a language such as Jaminjung might show a relatively low frequency of path encodings in discourse but high salience for path event granularity. Kriol, which meets many characteristics of a high-path salient language on the clause level and additionally, shows the exact same behaviour as Jaminjung for event granularity.

   I argue that the shared cultural space of both languages is the reason for such behaviour concerning detailed descriptions of path beyond the clause level. While frequency of path encodings appears to have its roots in the general structure of motion event expressions in the languages, event encodings in larger chunks of discourse appear not to be affected by this and might therefore have their origins in cultural systems. For other Australian languages such as Warlpiri and Arrernte it has been claimed that "cultural factors are directly linked to the way space and motion are described … [in] Central Desert Aboriginal communities [that] show detailed attention to motion, paths, journeys, and orientation in space." (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009:411).

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Hence, it has been pointed out that the nature of dreamtime stories as travel through space across the land is one factor influencing the high significance of motion in aboriginal culture (Bavin, 2004:19). Simpson (2002:298-299) also points out the importance of travel in ancestral myth as well as lifestyle in the semi-desert country of Warlpiri and Arrernte.

Bavin (2004:18-19) remarks that the Warlpiri have such a close connection to their traditional lands that they are able to develop a detailed mental map of their country and recall almost all topological features. Highly valued are skills in route-finding, orientation and memory of locations. The geographic features of the traditional land and the customary lifestyle of Jaminjung and Kriol speakers as hunters and gatherers point towards a similar significance of motion and orientation as found in Warlpiri and Arrernte.

The high salience of event encodings beyond the clause level is connected to the need of explicitly describing the traditional country or routes travelled within it to find food and water. However, this does not have anything to do with frequent path encodings on the clause level as argued by (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009) since Jaminjung and other languages such as Squilq do not show such a correlation.

Unfortunately, no data for the verb-framed Arrernte which is spoken in the same cultural space as Jaminjung and Kriol is available concerning plus-ground and complex path encodings. However, Arrernte speakers express more than three segments of the cliff scene 100% of the time as shown in Table 16 and in (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009, Wilkins, 2004). Therefore, a preference for detailed event encodings can be observed for three typologically different Australian languages spoken in the same cultural realm.

These observations however, do not entail that all languages that were identified by (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009) as high path granularity languages, are spoken in hunter-gatherer type societies (for example speakers of Basque, Chinese and Germanic languages were also found to employ detailed elaboration of path beyond the clause level). However, these languages also show high path salience with reference to ground-encodings and complex paths on the clause level. Concerning the two languages, I considered here, there is a remarkable mismatch for Jaminjung between event granularity and clause-level path salience which is not the case for Kriol. Therefore, I argue that the event granularity as part of Ibarretxte-Antuñano's analysis of path salience

might have to be viewed separately from structural path salience components such as ground-encodings and the number of path elements per verb to explain differences between the level of path detail on and beyond the clause level.

6.2.3.5   *Implications and Outlook*

My analysis of Jaminjung and Kriol was based on three complementary areas. Firstly, an investigation of the interplay between explicit ground encodings and verbs placed Jaminjung among languages preferring minus-ground over plus-ground expressions in discourse. In 67% in the CMD and in 71% of all motion expressions in the FMD ground was not explicitly expressed. Secondly, the distribution of complex paths was analysed. The combination of two explicit ground elements within one VP is a very rare construction appearing only in 3% of all cases in the CMD and 1.5% in the FMD. However, when considering other path elements within a motion event verb phrase, Jaminjung appears to encode path in much detail. In 49% of all motion expressions in the CMD and in 42% of the FMD one path is explicitly expressed in a ground, a path coverb or implicitly within an IV or coverb. The combination of more than one path element however, is much less frequent with 11% in the CMD and 10% in the FMD. For this part of the analysis, Jaminjung then appears to be placed in a middle ground for the path salience cline.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009) also included an analysis of the degree of detailed description of a motion event scene beyond the clause level, namely the cliff scene in the frog story, into her typological analysis of path salience. However, I argue that this part of the investigation needs to be kept separate from the two levels of analysis mentioned above. Contrary to path encoding frequency on the clause level, Jaminjung here needs to be considered as a highly elaborate path salient language. 85% of speakers expressed three or more segments of the scene placing Jaminjung among the majority of languages in Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2009) study.

For Kriol it was revealed that concerning an investigation of the interplay between ground elements and verbs, the language occupies a position towards the plus-ground languages section of the cline. In 67% of all motion expressions in the FMD and in 55% in CMD, ground was expressed in an NP.

Secondly, the distribution of complex paths was analysed. Similar to Jaminjung, the combination of more than one ground within a single verb phrase is exceedingly rare only

appearing in 2% of all cases in the FMD and in 2.5% in the CMD. However, considering other path elements combining in a VP, Kriol is analysed as being a highly path-elaborate language. In 76% of the CMD and in 84.5% of the FMD, path was explicitly expressed. Furthermore, it appears as if in the frog stories the combination of more than one path element in a single VP is actually the most frequently used strategy of speakers in describing motion events (52%). Even in the CMD, this was the preferred strategy; although the percentage here was much lower (31%). Considering these two levels of analysis, even though, the lexical and morphological means of expressing motion appear limited, Kriol is to be situated in a realm of high-path salient languages.

Considering an investigation into path event granularity, Kriol showed the same preferences as Jaminjung where in 85% of cases more than three contextual segments of the cliff scene were mentioned.

A continuum of path salience as proposed by Ibarrexte-Antuñano (2009) is on the one hand a useful addition to the Talmy/Slobin typology which has been challenged many times. On the other hand it is very difficult to truly situate a language along such a continuum using the criteria proposed by the author. Which factors are of more importance in attempting the analysis – the clause-compacting ones or the ones involving granularity and factors of path salience?

Throughout this section, I argued that for an analysis of path salience, the frequency of detailed path encodings on the clause level in discourse is a highly useful tool to compare and contrast typologically different languages. It is here of high importance to consider all different parts of path elements within a VP, including, but not limiting oneself to, explicit ground encodings. As Jaminjung and Kriol show there are other parts of path elements such as path coverbs or adverbial suffixes that need to be taken into consideration when describing the path component of a motion expression. Similarly, the existence of certain types of semantically 'limited' verbs (light verbs) appear to give rise to a higher rate of recurrence of path elaboration.

Therefore, the distribution of minus- and plus-ground expressions in discourse is, in my opinion, the least valuable tool in analysing path salience. In both languages under investigation, there are numerous other ways of encoding path. A low frequency of ground encodings alone does therefore not appear to add much to a study of path salience.

However, the study of path event granularity needs to be viewed separately from these considerations. It was shown that even though Jaminjung and Kriol showed very different structural features concerning the encoding of path elements within a single VP, they were highly similar in this part of the analysis suggesting a cultural rather than language-specific reason for elaborate event granularity. Nonetheless it must also be noted, that this type of study used for path salience beyond the clause level is highly restricted since it only uses one scene of the frog story as a base.

The nature of the task which involves the pictures being in front of the speaker at all times, might reveal the individual segments proposed by Slobin (1996a). Additionally, the degree of compacting of a motion event might be more due to the extent of planning of a motion scene. Furthermore, the degree of compacting could also be due to literacy of speaker. These problematic issues considered, however, I do acknowledge that this is, at the moment, the best way to compare cross-linguistically because of the Frog Story's extended usage in the field. Keeping these problems in mind, I decided to include a more varied dataset of general motion event descriptions for my analysis of path salience for both languages. The differences and similarities occurring in the two datasets shed light on the problematic usage of artificial stimuli such as the frog story to establish comparable trends in typological research. Looking at natural conversations and traditional and personal narratives as well can provide stronger evidence for speakers' preferred strategies in describing motion and travel events, however, is, of course, always at the risk of not providing strictly comparable data in cross-linguistic studies.

6.3 Manner Salience

In contrast to the path component, manner is only an optional part of a motion event description (Slobin, 2004, 2006, 1985b, Talmy, 2007). The two components together, however, form the basis of approaching Talmy's typology of motion encoding. Therefore, after having taken a detailed look at the distribution of path in section 6.2, this section now focuses on the distribution of the manner component and on the implications this has for classifying Kriol and Jaminjung within the Talmy typology.

Slobin (2004:232-236) suggests that looking at lexicalisation patterns as discussed in section 6.1 above, alone might not be enough to account for manner encoding in verb-

framed languages. He shows how adverbs of, for example, force dynamics ((315) for Kriol and (314) for Jaminjung) and suddenness (313) and (312), detailed encodings of posture as in the coverb in (311), ideophones, and gestures can also add to manner specifications in discourse, without being strictly speaking manner-encodings in a conventional sense.

(311) **tharda**   ga-jga-ny   yawayi   warrng-warrng   <u>smartway</u>
      face.away   3SG-go-PST   yes   RDP-walk   smart
      'he walked backwards, yes, walking "in a smart way"' (ES96_A09_02tg.0195, IP)

(312) **gabardag**=gung   ngiya   gabarl   yirr-angu   yagbali
      quick=RESTR   PROX   come.close   13PL>3SG- get/handle.PST   place
      yirrajgina=marling   *gayijuwa*
      13PL:POSS=GIVEN   old
      'going quickly, we reached our old camp' (ES08_A04_06tt_0434, IP)

(313) dinggo bin   ran   **kwik-kwik**   na   streit   langa   kemp
      dingo   AUX.PST   run   RDP-quickly   NOW   straight   to:ALL   house
      'dingo now ran back quickly straight to its house' (Dinggo_en_Tjuktjuk_016)

(314) ngiyi=biya   <u>hon</u>-bina   **wurlg**   gan-arra-ny \
      yes=NOW   horn-ALL   carry.on.shoulder   3SG:3SG-put-PST
      'here on the horns it put him to carry'(ES97_A03_01.201, IP)

(315) det   reindiya   bin   get -ap   en   **lift-im-ap**
      that   reindeer   AUX.PST   get -up   and   lift-TR-up
      det   *lil-boi*   *tu*
      that   little-boy   too
      'the reindeer got up and lifted the boy up as well' (DH10_A15_18_0126, CR)

Regarding posture, Jaminjung speakers may use coverbs such as *bilwa* 'belly up' describing the figure's orientation whereas Kriol speakers may employ adverbs such as *bekbon* 'backwards' (317).

(316) ga-yu   biya   **bilwa**   wungung=biyang
      3SG-be.PRS   now   belly.up   owl=NOW
      mung   *gani-ngayi -m*
      watch   3SG>3SG-see-PRS
      'he is now belly up and the owl is watching him' (DH10_A11_05_0117, MM)

(317) tubala   bin   boldan   gota   **bekbon**
       3DU   AUX.PST   fall   with   back
       'both fell down, backwards' (DH10_A16_06_0113, LM)

From these brief observations I can conclude that speakers of both languages under investigation may add means of expressing manner-type specifications in motion event encodings that are not manner verbs or coverbs.

6.3.1 Manner Specifications in a Cross-linguistic Perspective

Due to a lack of distribution data from other languages, for a crosslinguistic analysis of Jaminjung and Kriol, I only consider manner encodings within the verb phrase, as discussed in section 6.1, at first glance Jaminjung would seem like an equipollently-framed language and has, in fact, been classified as such (Slobin, 2004). However, Slobin (2006:66) expects those types of languages to encode manner as regularly as satellite-framed languages since both, additional path information as well as optional manner encodings, are readily available in the language. In Jaminjung, however, path coverbs occur much more frequently than manner coverbs in motion expressions.

In fact, manner seems to be only expressed when foregrounded in discourse and combinations of both a manner and path coverb with an inflecting verb rarely ever occur (<1% in the FMD and 1% in the CMD). In example (318) the speaker specifically mentions the crawling manner of motion in the coverb *mingib* 'crawl' since the figure in the expression had to crawl over soft ground and could not move otherwise to avoid getting stuck in the mud. The upward-movement here needs to be expressed by another coverb *burduj* 'go up'.

(318) **mingib**=bung   gan-kuga   **burduj**
       crawl=RESTR   3SG>1SG- take.PST   go.up
       'he took us up crawling' (ES08_A04_06tt_0256, IP)

In the CMD, in 35% of all cases path is expressed in a coverb, but manner only in 11% of all motion event descriptions. The frequency of manner encodings in the FMD is slightly higher with manner coverbs in 18% of and path coverbs in 37%[43] of all complex

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[43] I will refer to the CMD first, followed by the FMD data in brackets. The details of each dataset were explained in detail in chapter 2.2.

predicates encoding motion. Furthermore, while 31 (17) distinct path coverbs are in use, only 20 (8) different manner coverbs occur in the individual data sets.

In Kriol, manner is encoded more frequently in discourse than in Jaminjung. For the FMD, a Mann-Whitney U Test[44] indeed revealed a significant difference (Z = -2.62, *p*=.009) in manner usage by speakers of the two languages. This is not all that surprising since, as mentioned previously, it is expected for a satellite-framed language to express manner in greater detail than other types of languages. The reason for this is that the linguistic means for expressing manner are more readily available to the speaker of a language such as English or German encoding manner within the motion verb itself than for one speaking Spanish or Hebrew where manner needs to be encoded outside the verb (Slobin, 2004:220). Berman and Slobin (1994:118-119) argue that speakers of satellite-framed languages tend to express manner in more detail, because their lexicon provides a large collection of verbs conflaing manner with change of location (e.g. *swoop, tumble*). In verb-framed languages on the other hand, path and manner are encoded in separate expressions which are less compact in form (e.g. 'exit flying').

In the CMD of Kriol motion expressions, path is expressed in an adverbial suffix or adverb/preposition in 50% of all cases, whereas manner is only encoded in the verb in 24.5%. In the FMD, the number of path satellites is considerably higher at 69% and similarly, manner is encoded more frequently for 38% of all motion expressions. The mixed manner/path verb *klaimap/galimap* 'climb up'[45] was included in both manner and path encoding counts. I argued in section 6.1.2 above for the verb to always encode manner as well as path of movement in a motion event description. There is, of course, also an overlap between the two lexicalisation patterns when a path-encoding satellite is added to a manner-verb such as in *flai-op* 'fly off' in example (85) from the cliff scene of the frog story (319).

(319)	*en*	*det*	*lil-boi…*	*imin*	***fla-op***
	and	that	little-boy	3SG:AUX.PST	fly-off

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[44] As mentioned above, for all statistical analyses, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted since the parametric assumption of normal distributed data was not met. Important to note is that due to limited statistical power (i.e. the limited number of speakers for the Frog Stories in my corpora), caution should be exhibited when considering the validity and generalisability of the findings. However, these analyses should still provide some indication as to whether group differences are statistically meaningful.

[45] If this is not included, the total percentage comes to 24,5% in the FMD and 18% in the CMD respectively.

from	***det***	***hon***	***bla***	***im***
ABL:from	that	horn	for	3SG

'and the boy flew off from its horns' (DH10_A15_12_0078, IA)

The relatively high number of manner encodings in the Kriol as opposed to the Jaminjung datasets is in line with observations made by Slobin (2004:231) concerning the frequency of manner encodings in a study of three languages, namely, English (s-framed), Turkish and Spanish (both v-framed). Figure 22 shows the distribution of manner in the FMD as well as the CMD for Jaminjung and Kriol and for a collection of novels in Slobin's study. It can be noted that for all languages there appears to be a difference in manner occurrences between a more general dataset and the specific frog story dataset. This then points clearly towards a rather specialised nature of the frog story narration favouring manner descriptions in greater detail. At the same time, general narrative style seems to be maintained across genres and datasets in displaying similar frequencies of manner encodings (Slobin, 2004:229).
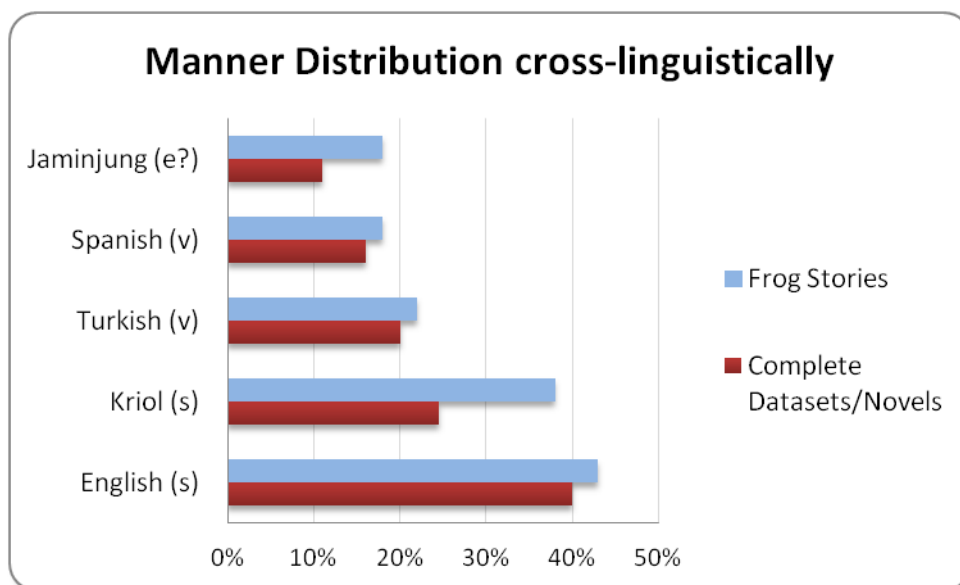
Figure 22: Manner distribution (in percentage of all motion descriptions) cross-linguistically based partly on (Slobin, 2004:11)

In Figure 22 it becomes clear that Kriol shows a high level of manner salience in line with other satellite-framed languages such as English. On the other hand, the placement of Jaminjung at the far end of the spectrum with verb-framed-like distribution of manner

expressions, suggests that the language in fact encodes manner only in rather restricted settings and then also only with little variety as stated above.

Figure 23 with data taken from the frog stories takes a closer look at the distribution of manner-encodings in Jaminjung and Kriol[46]. As already mentioned, a combination of path and manner coverbs in Jaminjung occurs far less frequently than that of a manner verb and an adverbial suffix in Kriol. The latter, in fact, appears to be the preferred strategy of Kriol when encoding manner in accounting for 44.5% (including *klaimap/galamap* 'climb up') of manner specifications within a single clause in the FMD. In the CMD the corresponding figure is 40%. However, here, the general frequency of manner encodings is also much lower than in the FMD. For Jaminjung on the other hand, the preference is for expressing manner by itself with 69% in the FMD and similarly 67% in the CMD.
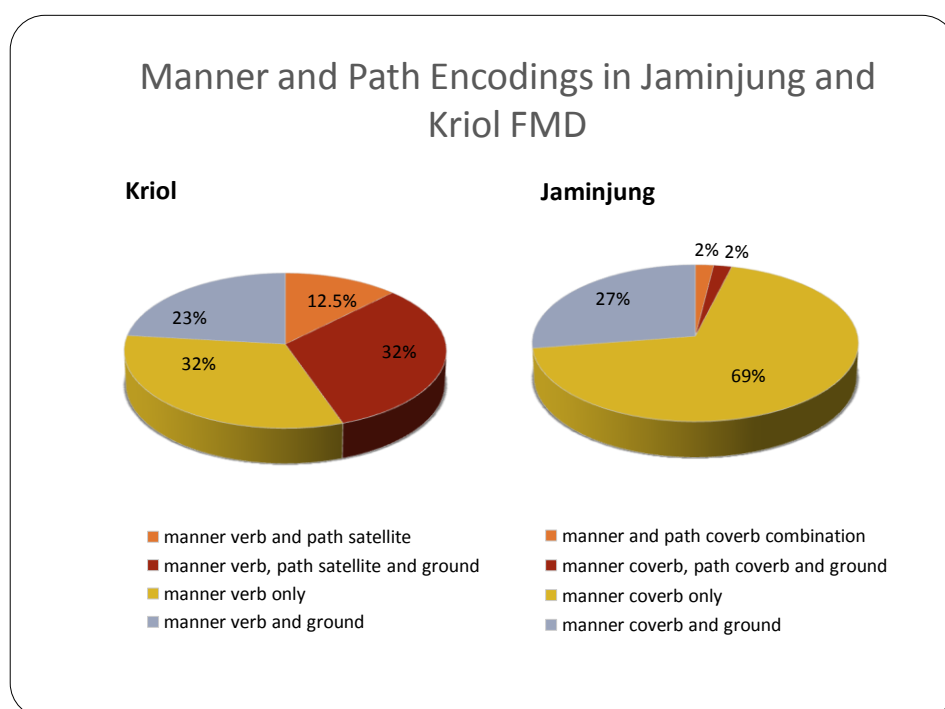
Figure 23: Manner Distribution in the FMD

Generally, the detail and frequency in which manner is expressed in discourse in Jaminjung and Kriol is mirrored in their respective degree of path salience as discussed in section 6.2. Structurally, Kriol expresses path and manner in greater frequency than Jaminjung. This can also be corroborated by a statistical test which revealed a significant

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[46] For this chart, I only considered encodings of manner in combination with path encodings in grounds or coverbs and satellites respectively.

difference (Z = -2.62, *p* = .009) in manner usage in discourse in the frog stories by speakers of the two languages.

However, when it comes to segmental expression of manner in key motion scenes the picture might change. To be able to compare the two languages, I again took the cliff scene as a good example of a potentially rich trigger for manner expressions[47]. The following seven manner of motion descriptions are part of the cliff scene:

1) running of the deer
2) boy riding the deer
3) running (behind) of the dog
4) flying off the horns of the deer of the boy
5) jumping down of the dog
6) swimming/wading in the water after landing in it
7) dog climbing onto the boy's head after landing in the water

An analysis for the two languages showed a surprising result. Manner specification in Kriol was not richer than in Jaminjung as would have been expected of a satellite-framed language. This was again confirmed by a Mann-Whitney U test which showed no significant difference (Z = .185, p = .853) between individual Jaminjung or Kriol speakers. Both groups preferred to mention only one of the above mentioned possible manner specifications. There were seven frog stories analysed for each languages. In four Jaminjung and three Kriol cliff scenes only one manner component was articulated. For the remaining three Jaminjung and four Kriol stories, speakers of both languages expressed either none (once), two (twice), or three (once in Jaminjung) and five (once in Kriol) segments respectively. The only general difference between the languages lies in slightly different preferences regarding which scene(s) to express with a manner component. Where speakers of both languages often used manner in scene 1, Jaminjung speakers also preferred scene 4 and Kriol speakers scene 6.

Generally, this analysis, however, revealed a similar pattern to the one observed for path granularity in the previous chapter. Concerning the distribution and frequency of manner encodings in discourse, Jaminjung and Kriol display large differences in salience. While in only about 18% of all cases in Jaminjung Frog stories manner is expressed, Kriol

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[47] Unfortunately, I do not have access to data for any other languages for cross-linguistic comparison, because this type of 'granularity' manner analysis has not been conducted elsewhere so far.

speakers encode manner in 38%. However, when taking a closer look at the granularity of manner descriptions beyond the clause level in a particularly rich motion scene, both languages, as observed for path granularity in section 6.2.3.3 above, appear to behave similarly suggesting a cultural context. Only one speaker in each language chose to express manner in more than two sections of the scene. However, there might be also other means of adding manner-type detail to a motion event description as discussed at the beginning of this section.

The final section of this chapter deals with another type of constraint that has been introduced in connection with Talmy's lexicalisation pattern typology. The boundary-crossing constraint - limiting the use of manner expressions in descriptions of the intersection of some kind of 'border' - is thought to hold true for verb-framed languages alone. Since I have identified a number of v-framing characteristics for both languages, I will investigate the degree to which this constraint holds for Jaminjung and Kriol.

6.4   The Boundary-Crossing Constraint

Slobin (Slobin and Hoiting, 1994, Slobin, 2006) identifies the 'boundary-crossing constraint' as an additional feature that serves to distinguish verb- from satellite-framed languages. This analysis is based on observations on the role of telicity in using Spanish manner verbs (Aske, 1989). It states that v-framed languages only license the use of a manner verb as a main verb in path expressions if no boundary crossing is predicated (Slobin, 2006:67).

Boundary-crossing- events describe a change of state. Verb-framed languages have been identified to prefer marking a change of state with a verb rather than some other device. Therefore, in a boundary-crossing event description, the main verb must encode the change of state. Manner might be added to such an event by attaching a subordinate construction of the type 'exit flying'. However, a discourse-based study of Spanish speakers revealed that this option, although possible, is not taken by narrators when describing a boundary-crossing event. In fact, manner verbs in verb-framed languages are only used when manner is foregrounded in discourse, but never when describing movement across boundaries (Slobin, 2006:67). It appears as if the conceptualisation of manner of motion as an activity is blocked to encode temporal and spatial extension

while crossing a boundary (Kita, 1999). Because manner verbs are generally activity verbs, they are excluded from describing such events (Slobin, 2004:226, Slobin, 2006:67). Satellite-framed languages on the other hand may use a manner verb together with a path satellite to encode boundary crossing events (Slobin, 2004:224).

As examined above in section 6.1.1, Jaminjung cannot be easily placed within Talmy's lexicalisation typology of verb- and satellite-framed languages. Even Slobin's addition of a third type of equipollently-framed languages does not provide a fully satisfactory analysis for Jaminjung. This is mainly due to the fact that manner, as discussed in section 6.3 above, is expressed with much lower frequency than additional path encodings even though both concepts are expressed with the same lexical forms of coverbs. This pattern of little manner expressions is expected to be typical of verb-framed languages. Therefore I will take a closer look at the boundary-crossing constraint in Jaminjung to see if there is a correlation between manner frequency and this constraint. An analysis of Kriol is added to examine the assumption that speakers of satellite-framed languages use manner-verbs as well as general verbs of motion in boundary-crossing events.

6.4.1 Boundary-Crossing in Jaminjung

In Jaminjung, boundary-crossing with a manner component might be expressed in a number of ways. Firstly, a combination of a path-boundary-crossing coverb and a manner coverb could occur. Generally, there appears to be a low frequency of combinations of manner coverbs with path coverbs in the same clause for Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt, 2007a:231). In the CMD, there were only 14 (1%) and in the FMD only 2 (<1%) instances of a combination of coverbs of manner and path in the same verb phrase. Table 17 lists all manner and path coverb combinations found in my complete corpus. Of the 14 instances, only the four pairs in bold denote potential boundary-crossing events.

Example (320) simply describes an unspecified passing event that involves the figure moving while walking and does not involve any implicit or explicit ground specifications. As such, no boundary-crossing is taking place.

(320) **marraj**   *ga-jga-ny*   **warrng-warrng**
      go.past   3SG-go-PST   RDP-walk
      'she walked past' (ES96_A08_03tg_0314, IP)

MANNER + PATH COVERB	GLOSS
warrng + buru (x4)	walk + return
warrng + burl	**walk + emerge**
warrng + marraj (x2)	walk + go past
mingib + burdij	crawl + go up
walginy + buyi	walk + keep going
burug + buyi/	walk on foot + keep going
liwu* + *malang	**swim + cross**
liwu + buyi	swim + keep going
galu* + *yirr	**walk** + **come out**
yugung + warlig	run + go round
MANNER + POSITIONAL COVERB OF ENCLOSURE	GLOSS
dibard + walthub (x2)	**jump + inside**

Table 17: Manner + Path and Positional Coverb of Enclosure Combinations in the CMD

Other combinations however, involve the crossing of a boundary and I will take a closer look at these motion events. Once, the manner coverb *warrng* 'walk' was found in combination with a coverb of emergence (*burl* 'emerge') (321). This example clearly involves a crossing of boundaries semantically incorporated into the coverb *burl* 'emerge'. However, the manner of motion coverb and the combination of *burl* with the locomotion verb *-ruma* 'come' are syntactically clearly separated by a free pronoun *ji* and a numeral *jungulug*. As such, first the manner of motion is relatively foregrounded in the initial position of the clause and then the boundary crossing event is expressed.

(321) ***warrng-warrng*** *ji*   *jungulug* ***burl***   *ga-ruma-ny*   *ngih?*
       RDP-walk   3SG   one   emerge 3SG-come-PST   TAG
       'walking she, the one, came out, didn't she?' (ES96_A08_03tg_0295, IP)

In (322), a crossing of boundaries, in this case of the river, takes place. Even though the clause only incorporates one IV, the coverb *malang* 'cross' is clearly separated from the initial clause in its syntactic position behind the IV. This identifies it as being used independent of the clause in an adverbial manner rather than as a verbal complement in the reading of 'across'. Furthermore, the event of 'swimming' – the manner component of the motion event – is taking place within the wide boundary of the water rather than

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over a small clearly defined line as expressed in a concept such as 'exit/enter'. Therefore, again, the boundary crossing constraint is not violated.

(322) janju **liwu**   yirru-ruma \\   **malang **
       DEM   swim   13PL-come.IMPF   cross
       'we came swimming, across' (ES99_V01_06ATG.310/311, VP)

Whereas none of the above cited examples involves an explicit mentioning of ground, the final example of combinations of path and manner coverbs from a frog story in (323) does. Even though the two coverbs are indeed combined in a single verb phrase, the interjection 'ah' between the two makes it clear that the speaker corrects herself while talking. She first wants to specify the manner of walking of the frog in *galu* 'walk' but then opts for the coverb of emergence *yirr* 'come out' to express the crossing of a boundary, here leaving the bottle. Then it appears legitimate to also mention the source of motion explicitly.

(323) malara **galu- galu** a   **yirr**   ga- ram   **gardag -ngunyi**
       frog   RDP footwalk ah   move.out 3SG- come:PRS tin-ABL
       'and the frog, walks ah, comes right out of the tin'(DH10_A11_05_0020, MM)

Another example of a boundary-crossing event description with a manner verb involves the positional coverb of enclosure *walthub* 'inside' and the manner coverb *dibard* 'jump'. In example (324) from a frog story narration, the speaker describes the departure of the frog from the boy's house after it escaped from the jar. The two coverbs are clearly separated by the inflecting verb. Furthermore, *walthub* 'inside' encodes (entering) an enclosure of some sort, but not necessarily a well-defined boundary. Entering of a forest cannot be viewed as the same type of boundary crossing evoked by, for example, the exiting movement of the frog out of a tin in example (323) where the edges of the tin form a clear boundary unlike the assembly of trees which (usually) gradually and certainly not on as part of a line becomes more dense to form a forest.

(324) **dibard**   ga-w-ijga   **walthub**   langiny-bina
       jump   3SG-FUT-go   inside   wood-ALL
       'it will jump away into the trees' (ES97_A03_01.004, IP)

During specific elicitation sessions for boundary crossing using my ppt stimulus, it became clear, that manner was only expressed in boundary crossing events if it was used to encode stereotypical and defining movement of an animate figure (animal). While manner was occasionally expressed to describe a kangaroo's movement as 'jumping' as in (325) or a bird's as 'flying' while crossing a boundary, a car's manner of movement with *yugung* 'run, drive' which is not stereotypical since cars are not part of traditional Jaminjung vocabulary, was never used in a single VP expressing boundary crossing as seen in example (326).

(325) **dibard-dibard**–*mayan* **walthub**   *ga rum -any …*   *yangarra=marlang*
RDP-jump-CONT   inside   3SG-come-PST   kangaroo=GIVEN
'it jumped inside, the kangaroo' (DH10_A12_02_0028, DR)

(326) *motika* **yugung** *gan-unggu-m …*   **walthub**   *ga-ngga …*   <u>*geit*</u>-*gi*
car   run   3SG>3SG- say/do -PRS   inside   3SG-go.PRS   gate-LOC
'the car drives, it goes inside, at the fence' (DH10_A04_02_0006, NR)

Regarding my dataset and elicitation stimulus results, it appears as if a combination of path and manner coverbs very rarely specifies a boundary-crossing event where the manner of motion event is integrated completely into the crossing expression as in (323) and (324). Most of the time, boundary crossing, if expressed in coverbs, does not involve a manner coverb as well. In fact, speakers often avoid combining such coverbs in innovative ways. There is an interesting instance in one of the frog stories (327) where it becomes clear, how a speaker successfully avoids to use a boundary crossing expression with a manner of motion coverb by first stating the manner of motion with the manner coverb *dibard* 'jump' in combination with a non-locomotion IV -*angga* 'get/handle. Only after that the boundary crossing event is mentioned by using the path coverb *yirr* 'move out' in combination with a locomotion IV -*ruma* 'come' and by means of mentioning an ablative-marked source. The same pattern is then repeated and again highlights the avoidance pattern identified.

(327)
   (a) **dibard**   *gana-ngga-m*
       jump   3SG:3SG-get/handle-PRS
       'he jumps'

(b) ***yirr***   *biyang* *ga-ram,*   *minyka-ngunyi*   *mali*
       move.out   now   3SG-come.PRS   what's.it-ABL   thing
       'he comes out now from what's it called, the thing'

(c) *na,*   ***dibard***   *gan-angu*
       now   jump   3SG:3SG-get/handle-PST
       'he jumped'

(d) ***yirr***   *ga-ram,*   *jarriny-ngunyi*
       move.out   3SG-come.PRS   hole-ABL
       'he comes out, out of his hole'

                                                        (ES96_A07_01tg_0017-22, DP)

To test whether Jaminjung speakers use boundary-crossing when no stereotypical manner of movement is involved, I used another scene from the frog story that describes the dog falling or jumping out of a window and onto the ground. This is then a not stereotypical movement of a dog and provides an interesting area of investigation.

Here, three speakers used the manner-encoding coverbs *diwu* 'fly' and *dibard* 'jump' to encode the dog's falling motion as in (328). The other four speakers either only used the change of location IV *-irdba* 'fall' with some source or goal encoding alone or combined with a path-encoding coverb (*yirr* 'move out', *jag* 'go down') in (329). None of the speakers however employed *diwu* 'fly' or *dibard* 'jump' in a boundary-crossing encoding. They were either used in minus-ground expressions or with source NPs only focussing then on the point of departure rather then the movement across the (window-) boundary to the outside.

(328)   *wirib*   *windou–ngunyi* ***dibard***   *ga-rdba-ny*
         dog   window-ABL   jump   3SG-fall-PST
         'The dog fell from the window' (DH10_A03_02_0134, NR)

(329)   ***jag***   *ga-dba-ny*   *nginju-ngunyi*   *mali,*
         go.down   3SG-fall-PST   PROX-ABL   thing
         'he fell down from this thing' (ES96_A07_01tg_0060, DBit)

Finally, speaker judgement also confirms these observations. In example (330) from an elicitation session, the speaker first describes the event of a toy frog jumping out of a small container with the manner coverb *dibard* 'jump' together with the general non-locomotion IV *-yu* 'say/do' which in combination means 'to jump off/out'. When asked for specification of the source of motion (*jarriny* 'hole/cave') by the researcher, the speaker

changes the coverb to a path-denoting one *wirr* 'move out' and comments right afterwards in Kriol *nomo dibard* 'not 'jumping' here'.

(330) **dibard**   *gani-yu*
       jump   3SG>3SG-say/do.PST
       'it jumped out'

       wirr   *gani-ma -m*   **jarriny-ngunyi**
       move.out   3SG>3SG- hit -PRS   hole-ABL
       'it moves out from the hole'

                                                                (ES96_V05_04_DH_0327-0333, JM)

Apart from combining manner and path coverbs, Jaminjung employs other means to express boundary crossing events. These involve explicit ground specifications in the form of landmarks, as already discussed above, the positional coverb of enclosure *walthub* 'inside' and the nominal *balarrgu* 'outside' in motion events[48].

Example (331) involves a caused change of locative relation IV -*wardgiya* 'throw' (331) in combination with the manner coverb *diwu* 'fly' and accounts for Slobin's (2006:67) exception to the boundary crossing constraint when the crossing of boundaries event here can be seen as an instantaneous act rather than an activity. Furthermore, the goal *gugu* 'water' is locative-marked, thus additionally emphasising the interpretation of the expression as a change of locative relation event rather than a true locomotion event since it specifies the endpoint of motion rather than actual boundary-crossing where movement is ongoing also after the boundary was crossed.

(331) **diwu**   *ganuny-bardgiya-ny*   **gugu-g**
       fly   3SG:3DU-throw-PST   water-LOC
       'it threw the two into the water' (ES96_A07_01tg_0222, DBit)

In light of these examples, it is possible then, to assume that Jaminjung does not, on all occasions obey the boundary crossing constraint. Some manner coverb of instantaneous action and/or denoting stereotypical (animal) manner of movement such as *diwu* 'fly' and *dibard* 'jump' can be used to encode manner in boundary-crossing events. Secondly, the path coverb *bu* 'enter water' can occur in combination with manner coverbs and then

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[48] *balarrgu* is considered a nominal rather than a coverb like *walthub*, because it does not form a close prosodic unit with the inflecting verb (Schultze-Berndt, 2000: 48).

mark a boundary-crossing event (332). Finally, the manner verb *didid* 'roll' can encode boundary crossing events; however, the only instances found were in table-top elicitations such as in example (333), when *walthub* 'inside' is separated from it by the inflecting verb.

(332) *bunthug*   *biya*   **yugung**   *gani-yu*   **bu**
        empty.handed   now   run   3SG>3SG- say/do.PST   enter.water
        'naked he jumped into the water then' (ES01_A03_08tr_0074, MJ)

(333) **didid**-*mayan*   *ga-ngga*   **walthub**
        roll-CONT   3SG-go.PRS   inside
        'it rolls inside' (ES96_V04_01tr_DH_0123, EH)

Interestingly, if a ground is passed or crossed in a certain manner, such as jumping, speakers in my corpus never combine one of the path coverbs *marraj* 'go past' and *malang* 'cross' with a manner-denoting coverb, but instead, the manner coverb occurs on its own with a locative marked NP as ground as in (334) or as unmarked as direct object in (335) which were elicited using a video stimulus showing a boy jumping over a log (Fortis et al., ongoing).

(334) *dibard*   *ga-rdba-ny,*   **langiny-gi**
        jump   3SG-fall-PST,   wood-LOC
        'he jumped (over) the tree' (DH10_A03_01_0079, NR)

(335) **langiny**   *dibard*   *gan-unga-ny*
        wood   jump   3SG>3SG-leave -PST
        'he jumped away from the trunk' (DH10_A09_01_0168, JJ)

In conclusion it seems as if all instances of boundary-crossing events involving a manner coverb follow a similar pattern. They are limited to a small number of coverbs and motion events. All of them involve rather quick motion events such as jumping, running or rolling (fast) and there is a preference for using non-locomotion IVs whenever these are used to encode boundary-crossing events.

Finally, if the boundary crossing actually is the endpoint of a locomotion event, not change of location as in example (331), manner is not expressed. Manner is only truly part of a boundary-crossing expression if it is depicted as happening en route. A good example for this is (322) where the act of swimming is depicted as happening while crossing the

river. However, generally, Jaminjung speakers appear to obey the boundary-crossing constraint in discourse as will also be shown in section 6.4.3 in a cross-linguistic comparative analysis of Jaminjung and Kriol.

6.4.2 Boundary-Crossing in Kriol

Generally, the crossing of a boundary in Kriol can be expressed using two different strategies. Firstly the language employs one of the rare path-encoding verbs *pasim* 'pass' (336), *krosim* 'cross' or *goin/goat* 'enter/exit' to encode boundary crossing. Secondly, adverbial suffixes such as *–in*, *–at* 'out' or or free prepositions such as *pas* 'past', *thru* 'through', *(a)kros* 'across', *ova* 'over', or *pas* and *akros* 'across' used as adverbs as well as *insaid/atsaid* 'inside/outside' (337) are employed.

(336)	det	ka	imin	jis	**pas-im**	det	haus
	that	car	3SG:AUX.PST	just	pass-TR	that	house

'the car just passed the house' (DH10_A10_03.074, LC)

(337)	imin	flai	**atsaid**
	3SG:AUX.PST	fly	outside

'it flew outside' (DH10_A15_01_0048, JoJo)

As example (337) shows, employing a manner of motion verb to encode the crossing of a boundary is, in principle, possible in Kriol. All of the prepositions and adverbs mentioned above can occur in combination with manner of motion verbs. This, in the sense of (Beavers et al., 2008), is evidence for the constraint to not hold true in Kriol. However, it is curious to note that speakers often appear to circumvent using such constructions in discourse. For example, one way of avoiding the use of a manner verb with boundary crossing is to just mention the source of the motion event without explicitly stating the crossing of a boundary as in example (338) which was elicited using my specifically designed ppt stimulus for boundary crossing events.

(338)	det	berd - berd	bin	**flai**	from	det	keij
	that	RDP- bird	AUX.PST	fly	ABL:from	that	cage

'the bird flew from the cage' (DH10_A16_01_0046, LM)

Often, the speakers either did not mention manner at all or of they used a different locomotion verb to specify the boundary-crossing. However, a number of true boundary-crossing events occurred where manner was mentioned. In example (339), the exiting event is described using a manner verb in combination with the adverbial suffix *–at* 'out'. For the encoding of the reverse motion event back into the cage, the speaker however, does not mention the manner verb, but a simple general verb of locomotion with an adverbial suffix.

(339)	*imin*	***flai-at***	***burrum***	***im***	***keij*** …	*im*	*go*
	3SG:AUX.PST	fly-out	from	3SG	cage	3SG	go

luk-in-bat		*daga*	*en*	*den*	*im*	*faind* *-im-bat*		*daga*
look-PROG-CONT		food	and	then	3SG	find-TR-CONT		food

en…	*wen*	*im*	*faind* *–im*	*daga*	*imin*		*kam-bek*	*en…*
and	when	3SG	find-TR	food	3SG:AUX.PST		come-back	and

go-in-bek	***insaid***	***la***		***im***	***keij***
go-in –back	inside	to:ALL		3SG	cage

'it flew out from its cage, and it went looking for food and then it found food and then it came back and then it went back inside its cage' (DH10_A15_01_0059, JoJo)

It is noteworthy that, as observed for Jaminjung and due to the nature of the stimuli I provided, the majority of these manner-mentioning boundary crossing events appeared with the verbs *flai* 'fly' and *jamp* 'jump' to describe the species-specific manner of motion of a bird and kangaroo respectively. If such verbs are then used in boundary-crossing events, it does not pose as striking a case as, for example, a person jumping out of a room. My stimuli failed to elicit such events. However, the already mentioned scene from the frog story where the dog falls/jumps out of a window and onto the ground could be used to test for less stereotypical manner of movement of the dog.

Only one speaker in the FMD described this scene with the manner verb *jamp* 'jump'. In example (340) the reduplicated verb is followed by a boundary-crossing preposition *thru*. The event expressed here can be interpreted as the whole en-route movement of the dog in the boundary-crossing event since the goal of motion *graun* 'ground' is also included in this single verb phrase. As such this is a similar case to what I described for Jaminjung in example (322) where the swimming is seen as happening in the crossing event and not still at the endpoint of motion. Additionally, example (340) can be accounted for by an exception to the constraint which applies when particular force

dynamics are mentioned to express a punctual event (Slobin, 2004:7) such as (340). Here, the sudden and unexpected movement of the dog jumping out of the window into the open apparently allows for a manner verb to appear in boundary-crossing contexts.

(340) *det   dog bin   **jamp-jamp   thru   de***
       that   dog AUX.PST   RDP-jump   through   the
       windou   rait-dan   la   graun
       window   right-down to:ALL   ground
       the dog jumped, jumped through the window right onto the ground
       (DH10_A15_05_0040, JoJo)

In the CMD, boundary-crossing events with manner verbs occurred only 24 times. This accounts for 12% of all boundary crossing events in the corpus. Three instances could be identified as being highly acrolectal in adopting an English-type way of expressing the event. Seven of the remaining 21 instances used the preposition *pas* 'past' in connection with a manner verb. Four times *ova* 'over' and *–at* 'out' were used respectively and *akros* 'across' and *thru* 'through' only occurred once each. Generally, manner-involving boundary-crossing instances occurred in the frog stories and route descriptions.

Furthermore, the suffix *–in* was only found on the manner verb *daibin*. As discussed by Levin (2008:13), semantically the English verb *dive* prototypically encodes both manner and path of movement in an example such as (341). While there are other uses of *dive* when only manner (*he dives across the room*) or only direction (*the price dove by 17.4%*) are encoded, in its most stereotypical uses, the verb encodes both.

In Kriol, there appears to be a lexicalised form of *daib+in* 'dive into' as shown in (342). This combination then is clearly a type of verb where manner and direction are both encoded in the meaning of the verb. As such *daibin* can be seen as an example of a boundary-crossing manner verb. However, instances are exceedingly rare. In my complete corpus I could only find two occurrences. Whereas example (342) specifies the goal of motion in an NP in *la woda* 'into the water', (343) has an explicit mentioning of the source of motion.

(341)   *The contestant **dove into** the pool* (Levin, 2008:13)

(342) ola   dakdak   bin   swim   ebri-wea   en
       all   bird+sp   AUX.PST   swim   every-where   and
       dei- bin   ***daibin***   *langa   woda   bla   gid -im-bat   fish*
       3PL:SUBJ-AUX.PST   dive+into   to:ALL   water   for   get -TR-CONT   fish
       'all the ducks swam everywhere and they dived into the water to catch fish'
       (Stori_Blanga_Wanbala_Dakdak_002)

(343) *wal   im   oldei   **daibin**   from   long - wei*
       well   3SG   always   dive+into   ABL:from   long - way
       'He always dove in from high up.' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson31_0026)

Generally, it appears as if there are some restrictions regarding the expression of boundary-crossing events with manner verbs. The boundary-crossing adverbial suffixes *-at* and *–in* almost never occur on manner verbs. Common however, are the adverb *akros,* as well as the prepositions *thru, pas* and *ova*. For example, in my boundary-crossing ppt stimulus sessions, the only time *–at* was used, was the above mentioned exiting scene of a bird leaving its cage (337). In general, the speakers' preferred strategy overall appears to be the use of path-verbs or locomotion verbs with adverbial suffixes or prepositions rather than to use manner verbs whenever the crossing of a boundary needs to be articulated. The following comparative section confirms this general observation.

6.4.3 Jaminjung and Kriol in a Cross-linguistic Perspective

A way of examining boundary-crossing in discourse cross-linguistically is to look at the owl exiting scene in the frog story (Slobin, 2004). In this scene an owl flies out of a tree-hole frightening the boy so much that he falls down as in Figure 24. In this motion event then, a crossing of a boundary, namely the one between the hole inside the tree and the air outside of it, is taking place. Therefore, in Slobin's (2004) typological study of manner salience in discourse it was chosen as a way of comparison.

Figure 24: The owl-exit scene (Mayer, 1969:15)

In none of the Jaminjung frog stories manner was expressed to denote the boundary crossing event of this scene. Instead, in the majority of cases, the event was denoted with a path coverb encoding boundary crossing as in example (344) or with a path-denoting IV in connection with a direct object as ground (345).

(344) *julag=biyang* **burl**   *gani-mangu=nu %*
       bird=now   emerge   3SG:3SG-hit.PST=3SG.OBL
       'a bird now came out on/for him' (ES96_A18_02tg_Frog_0076, CP)

(345) *jarriny*   *gan-**unga**-ny*
       hole   3SG>3SG- leave -PST
       'it leaves the hole' (DH10_A11_05_0105, JM)

Only in one case, a speaker mentioned the manner of motion of the owl after expressing the boundary crossing event. In example (346), the speaker first uses the path coverb *wirr* 'move out' to denote the crossing of boundaries. The following utterance is in Kriol for clarification and does not describe the event of boundary crossing but rather the owl's motion above the boy after it has come out already.

(346) *jurlag*   *mugmug=biyang* *jarriny-ngunyi* **wirr**   *gani-ma*
       bird   owl=NOW   hole-ABL   move.out   3SG>3SG- hit.PST
       'the bird, an owl, came out of its hole' (DH10_A10_05_0151, JM)

       det   *mugmug*   *im*   ***flai*- *in***   *en*   *braitn-im*   *im*
       that   owl   3SG   fly - PROG   and   frighten-TR   3SG
       'the owl flies and frightens him' (DH10_A10_05_0162, JM)

Another speaker uses manner specifications, but does not express boundary crossing. Instead, the endpoint of motion is encoded as movement towards the boy within the ground-denoting IV -*arrga* 'approach' and combined with two manner of motion coverbs in example (347). The speaker here does not mention that a crossing of a boundary is taking place but only expresses the manner of motion towards some ground.

(347) *dibard,   warrng-warrng   gani-b-**arrga** *
       jump   RDP-walk   3SG:3SG-FUT-approach
       'it will jump and fly/walk (down) to him' (ES97_A03_01.178, IP)

Kriol was classified as a satellite-framed language in section 6.1.2 which, according to Slobin (1996a), allow manner expressions in boundary-crossing events. However, there appears to be a strong tendency among Kriol-speakers to avoid such constructions in discourse.

Concerning the owl-exit scene of the frog story, most importantly, in none of the seven frog stories in my corpus, speakers used the manner verb *flai* 'fly' to encode the motion event. While one speaker did not mention the emergence of the owl at all, the others used *kam-at* 'come out', a combination of a general verb of locomotion and the adverbial suffix –*at* 'out' to describe the event. Three times the source ground was mentioned as in example (348). Interestingly, in four cases, the speakers (mostly) immediately added another verb phrase including the manner verb *flai* 'fly' with or without a path-denoting suffix to describe the movement of the owl just after exiting its hole as in example (349).

These observations from the owl scene suggest that there is not a restraint on the usage of a manner verb in boundary-crossing events; however, there appears to be an explicit avoidance of their usage.

(348) *ani   mugmug   bin   **kam-at**   from   det... hol*
       only   owl   AUX.PST   come-out ABL:from   that hole
       'only an owl came out from the hole' (DH10_A15_12_0052, IA)

(349) *det*   *mugmug*   *bin*   **kam-at**   *from*   *det*
       that   owl   AUX.PST   come-out   ABL:from   that
       hol   *weya*   *im*   *kemp*
       hole   where   3SG   camp
       'the owl came out from the hole where it lived'

       wal   *det*   *mugmug* *bin*   **flai-awei** *na*
       well   that   owl   AUX.PST   fly-away   NOW
       'and the owl flew off now'

                                                              (DH10_A15_18_0109-0114, CR)

To conclude, both Jaminjung and Kriol show a strong preference for obeying the boundary-crossing constraint in discourse. In Slobin's (2004:226) cross-linguistic study of the owl-exit scene he showed that while most verb-framed language users do not employ manner in the narration of the scene, there is also variation among satellite-framed languages. In Germanic languages (between 18% and 32%), manner is far less frequently employed than in other satellite-framed language such as Thai (59%) and Russian (100%). Figure 25 shows where Jaminjung and Kriol can be placed in a cross-linguistic comparison.
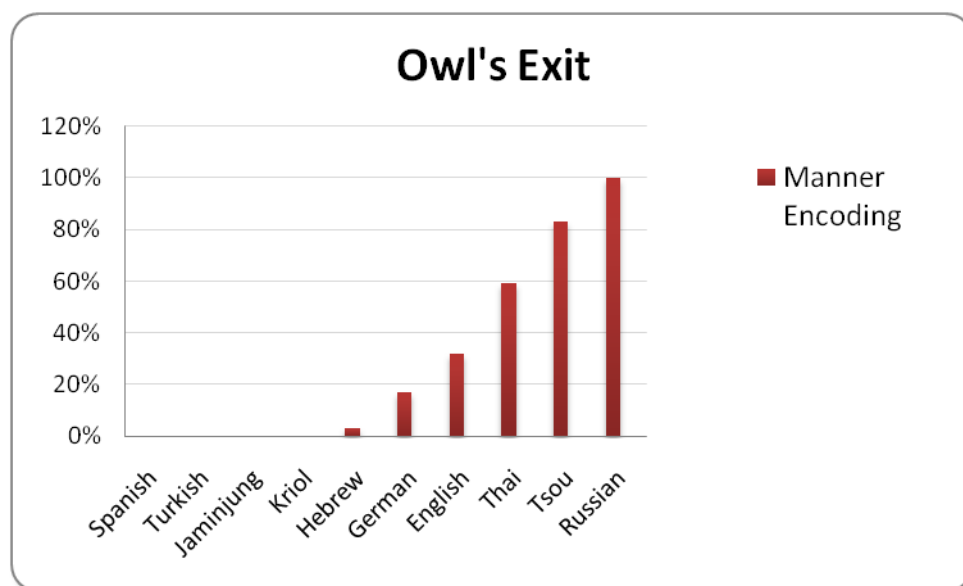
Figure 25: The Owl's Exit Scene – Percentage of speakers using a manner of motion verb, based on (Slobin, 2006:66)

Slobin (2004:227) suggests that the pattern seen in Figure 25 can be explained with a general preference in the Germanic (and verb-framed) languages to focus on the owl's

emergence rather than the manner of motion. The reason for Russian employing a 100% frequency of manner expressions in the scene is morphosyntactic[49].

Such reasons can also be observed in Jaminjung and Kriol. Even though it is possible in Jaminjung to combine a manner with a path coverb, this is a heavier option compared to using one coverb only and is therefore rarely used in discourse as shown in section 6.3. Additionally, a combination of path and manner within one coverb is not possible.

Kriol, on the other hand, has the option of combining path and manner by using an adverbial suffix and speakers occasionally were found to use this option in elicitation tasks. However, for the specific case of *flai-at* 'fly-out' I expect there might be a heavier phonetic constraint in addition to a preference to focus on the owl's emergence rather than the manner of motion as observed in other s-framed languages as well. To me it appears as if the immediate succession of a diphthong and a vowel in *flaiat* might more difficult to pronounce than the nasal-vowel succession of the preferred option *kam-at* 'come-out'.

Another option of expressing the exiting motion in Kriol would be a serial verb construction (SVC) such as *kam flai(at)* 'come flying out'. However, neither in the elicitation tasks nor in the frog stories, such a construction was used. This could be due certain restrictions on serial verb constructions in Kriol. Firstly their usage appears to be restricted to specific semantic contexts such as encoding a temporary goal in a larger journey description (*go kamat* 'move and reach (temporarily)') or continuous movement before stopping (*go jidan* 'move and stop'). A detailed account of these restrictions can be found in section 4.2.3. Secondly, when encoding SVCs, speakers overwhelmingly use the general motion verb *go* as the minor verb and any other verb, including *kam* 'come' negligibly rarely.

Finally, in general terms, the speakers' choice to not express manner in the owl-exit scene can also be accounted for by the nature of the narrative itself. The 'new and interesting' information encoded in the owl-scene is not the manner of motion of the bird (which is prototypically flying anyway), but its sudden appearance scaring the boy so much that he falls down from the tree.

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[49] There is no equivalent of the deictic motion verb 'come' instead a deictic particle has to be used. Since path is also expressed in particles and they cannot be stacked, a Russian speaker must choose between the deictic 'come-fly' and directional option 'out-fly' which both include manner verbs (Slobin, 2004: 227).

To conclude, on the one hand, I took a discourse-based look at manner expression in boundary crossing events, describing how speakers (particularly of Kriol) made use of several strategies to 'avoid' expressing manner in the event itself by, for example, denoting the crossing event with a general motion verb and some path complement and then follow this by a manner-denoting motion event expression.

On the other hand, I showed that occurrences of manner-encodings in boundary-crossing events are subject to certain semantic and morphosyntactic constraints so that for example, non-stereotypical manner of movement (i.e. jumping of a dog) is not used in such descriptions, but typical manners of movement (i.e. jumping of a kangaroo) is.

6.5 Summary

This chapter provided a thorough analysis of Jaminjung's and Kriol's lexicalisation patterns and their implications for discourse. Section 6.1 I provided an investigation of the two languages within the Talmy (1985b, 2000a, 2000b, 2007, 2009) typology taken Slobin's (1996a, 2006) additions into account. It became clear that while Jaminjung does not neatly fit into the constraints of the typology, but might best be described as 'equipollently-framed, Kriol is clearly a satellite-framed language following its lexifier's pattern.

This analysis served as the basis for the following investigations into path (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009) in section 6.2 and manner salience (Slobin, 1996a, 2004) in 6.3 in different types of discourse in both languages. Concerning the expression of path elements within a single clause, Jaminjung was shown to be a low-path salient language, while Kriol followed a high salient pattern. However, with regards to path expressions beyond the clause level, the two languages follow a remarkably similar pattern. I argued that this mismatch is due to a shared cultural space which does not infiltrate into expressions on a morphosyntactic level, but seemingly influences the amount of detail with which path is expressed in larger chunks of discourse.

Correspondingly, manner salience was also shown to be higher for Kriol than Jaminjung on the clause level, but beyond it, the languages behave in a similar way. Finally, an investigation into the expression of manner in boundary-crossing expressions in discourse was conducted. Despite the languages' lexicalisation patterns allowing for boundary-crossing with manner expressions, speakers of neither language chose to do so

in discourse. The general trend was to obey the boundary-crossing constraint by using a number of avoidance strategies discussed in section 6.4.

As a result, this chapter showed in detail how lexicalisation and discourse patterns interact with one another in a study of two structurally different languages which are spoken within the same cultural area.

7 Motion Encodings in Specific Types of Discourse

After taking a detailed look at lexicalisation patterns in discourse in the previous chapter 6, this chapter now will examine motion encodings in Jaminjung and Kriol in some specific types of discourse. Firstly, route descriptions will be analysed in section 7.1. As mentioned before, these discourse environments seem to trigger the expression of certain types of motion encodings that are otherwise rarely found. For Kriol these are serial verb constructions and for Jaminjung a higher frequency of detailed path encodings than in any other type discourse.

Concerning Frames of Reference as discussed in chapter 5, an analysis of Jaminjung's and Kriol's use of deictics in narratives with particular emphasis on the theory of deictic shift in section 7.2 reveals that particularly for Jaminjung, the use of the absolute FoR system is the preferred option for speakers. Furthermore, the type of Direct FoR described by Danziger (2010) is used by speakers of both languages in narrative settings rather than shifting the deictic centre to a protagonist.

Finally, in section 7.3 I take the notion of motion to a more abstract level when describing the use of space and motion as structuring devices in traditional and personal narratives. I argue that movement within a narrative is interlinked with the structure of the story-telling itself in influencing the type and order in which events are being told in both languages. For Jaminjung this becomes particularly apparent for locating the story world in relation to the scene of narration. Kriol narratives are characterised by taking the journey itself as a structuring device while at the same time contextually placing the notion of 'travel' in the centre of the story.

Generally, for both languages, 'motion' appears to play a predominant role in the cultural setting which can be observed in the strong preference of motion (including fictive) over static descriptions in all types of discourse. This preference was already briefly mentioned in the previous section 6.2 on path salience and will furthermore be explored in sections 7.1 and 7.2 below. This discourse-preference then appears to lead to using space and motion as an abstract structuring device in section 7.3.

7.1 A Closer Look at Route Descriptions

Spontaneous spoken route descriptions (350) and route directions (351) are an often heard type of natural communication. They are a popular topic of linguistic and cognitive

studies, however, there have been mostly restricted to single-language investigations. Analyses of lesser-studied languages' route descriptions have, to my knowledge, not been attempted in any detail.

(350)   *Then we crossed the street and kept on going until we saw the big library. There, we turned right and found the post office on our left.*

(351)   *You go across the street here, then you keep on going until you see the big library. There, you turn right and the post office will be on your left.*

Giving directions involves specialised and densely packed motion event descriptions which are not found in any significant numbers in other types of discourse (for example fictive motion event encodings discussed in section 7.1.5). Additionally, conceptual components such as the types of Frames of Reference used in a language will be particularly relevant in route descriptions, as shown in 7.1.3. Beyond the clause level, I will show that speakers of both languages favour a dynamic over a static mode of presentation which will be discussed in section 7.1.4. Therefore, I aim to investigate language-specific features of Jaminjung and Kriol route descriptions as part of my general study of motion events.

7.1.1 Route Descriptions: Terms and Definitions

"Route directions are a special kind of spatial description, designed to take a traveller from one point to another rather than give an overall impression of an environment" (Tverksy, 2000:31). Taking this definition as a base, route descriptions are inherently dynamic and therefore are, as a specialised type of discourse, of particular interest to my investigation of Jaminjung and Kriol in motion event encodings. In this section I will use the terms 'route description' and 'route direction' almost interchangeably. They can be distinguished only by choice of person, and/or tense and aspect – imperative and/or 2nd person future tense for directions as in (351) and 1st or 3rd person past or present tense in descriptions (350).

Tenbrink and Winter (2009:65-74) differentiate between two levels of granularity a speaker can select in expressing route directions. For this, one assumes that the speaker either takes the traveller's (or 'zoomed-in') perspective at a fine-grained level or a surveyor's ('zoomed–out') perspective on a coarser level.

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In a fine-grained level description the speaker might choose to articulate one or more instruction sequences per decision point as exemplified in (352). A zoomed-in perspective then leads to the speaker describing "locations of landmarks relative to the intrinsic sides of an observer changing position and orientation along paths in an environment" (Tversky, 2003:134)

(352)   *From here cross the road at the traffic lights, turn left and follow the street until you see a big building on your right. This is town hall. Across from it is a Street called Reed Street. Follow it until the end and turn right. The Pub is on your left.*

On a coarser level, the location of the destination might be described, but not the way to find it as in example (353). A zoomed-out or survey perspective therefore describes "the locations of landmarks relative to one another using the directions of the encompassing environment" and taking a fixed viewpoint above (Tversky, 2003:137).

(353)   **You go to the pub** *which is close to the library and just east of Reed Street.*

There are two consequences from a distinction between fine-grained and coarse route description parts. Firstly, they appear to trigger dynamic and static descriptions respectively (Klippel et al., 2003:31). However, I will show in this section that this might be a language dependent differentiation, because my data for Jaminjung and Kriol suggests that speakers of both languages use motion and particularly fictive motion event expressions in zoomed-out perspectives as well as zoomed-in ones. In section 7.1.4, I will discuss this issue. Furthermore, deictics and Frames of Reference may play a crucial role in establishing a zoomed-in or zoomed-out perspective.

Speakers can constantly switch between levels of granularity within a route description depending on the knowledge of the addressee, the speaker's own knowledge of the route and the environment, but also the information provided by the environment as well as the structure and complexity of the route. For example, a local resident asking for directions to a newly opened pub will receive a different, possible coarser-grained, route description (353) than a tourist asking for directions to the same pub (352).

When the speaker chooses to adopt a zoomed-in position for most of the way, he/she can also make use of spatial deixis in route descriptions when the speaker takes the

perspective of the imagined traveller and refers to the locations and directions of landmarks at decision points from this perspective (Klein, 1982:176, Tversky, 2003:137) as seen in example (354) where the motion verb *come* contains a deictic element of movement towards a deictic centre and the demonstrative *there* is also deictic.

(354)   *When you come to the Library, there will be a fountain next to it. Go around it.*

In a zoomed-in perspective, at the start of a direction-giving this deictic centre is set to the current physical location of both speaker and listener. If the deictic centre remains the same throughout the conversation, the route description is expected to be communicated in a future tense and all locations would be referred to with distal deictics if deictics are involved (Mark and Gould, 1995:392). The deictic centre, however, can be reset during the description to decision points along the route or the destination and with it a shift in perspective in the speaker might take place.

Ultimately, the different levels of granularity in route descriptions might also be associated with the type of Frames of Reference (FoR) employed by speakers of a language. This is the assumption underlying Tversky (2000:32-33) who identifies three different kinds of styles for route descriptions. Speakers can choose to describe the environment at decision points from an individual viewpoint of the traveller and thus adopt a relative (or intrinsic with speaker as ground) FoR (gaze tour) as in example (355), furthermore, they can use a route perspective locating landmarks and decision points in relation to one another rather than the viewer (intrinsic FoR) as in (356), and finally use absolute FoR terms as in (357) from a survey perspective. However, as pointed out before, a traveller's viewpoint might also be taken using deictic expressions outside the FoR typology as in (358).

(355)   *At the intersection, you turn left.*
(356)   *The pub is behind the town hall.*
(357)   *The pub is east of town hall.*
(358)   *Then you go around the corner. Here you find the pub.*

A "major abstract property of routes is that they are linear, ordered structures" (Klippel et al., 2003:16). Moreover, a complete route description may consist of three constructional units. The first is an initial route whose prominent points are still in view from the starting

point. This might be followed by one or more intermediate routes where a change of direction takes place or where landmarks for orientation and reassurance are mentioned. The final route then usually describes the route until a point from which the destination becomes visible and reaching is obvious (Wunderlich and Reinelt, 1982:190-193). It will become clear during the discussion of my data that the detail in which these sections are described differ considerably between languages and speakers of Jaminjung and Kriol.

When verbalising route descriptions, speakers must mention decision points as they are crucial to convey necessary information for the listener to follow the route. These are particular locations along the route where more than one option for further movement presents itself to the figure and where, often, a change of direction is necessary. When describing a route from a surveyor's perspective which is a bird's eye view adopted by the speaker, the processes of zooming in and out determine the selection of decision points and spatial chunking of landmarks which are cues within the route (Klippel et al., 2003:12/20). Timeframes of zooming in during which the speaker adopts the – hypothetical – figure's perspective can be either simple snapshots or convey detailed information depending on how complex the features of the decision point are.

All route descriptions contain decision points. They can be defined as locations along the way of a travelled route where a potential change of direction can take place. Therefore, these include en-route grounds such as the turnoff towards Frankfurt in example (359), but also places where a change of direction actually takes place as at the turnoff to Köln.

(359)   *You continue on this road. After about 500 m there is a turnoff on your right towards Frankfurt. Don't take this road, but instead carry on until the next turnoff where you turn left towards Köln.*

Generally, landmarks serve three functions, namely to signal the place of action change at a decision point (e.g. *the next turnoff where you turn left towards Köln*), to locate other landmarks and to confirm the route (*don't take this road*) (Tverksy, 2000:35).

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7.1.2 General Properties of Route Descriptions in Jaminjung and Kriol

For this section I use seven different Jaminjung route descriptions, three of which I elicited myself. All three Kriol route descriptions were recorded in Ngukurr in 2010. The size of both small corpora is roughly equal with 238 motion event expressions in Jaminjung and 201 in Kriol. A first general observation includes an – expected - much higher frequency of ground specifications in Jaminjung route descriptions than in other types of discourse such as the frog story as discussed in chapter 6.

   In the route description motion event dataset, plus-ground constructions account for 61% as opposed to only 29% in, for example, the frog stories of all motion events. Within these, a strong preference for the expression of goal can be observed, which is also not surprising considering the goal bias discussed in section 6.2. Within the plus-ground motion events, 75% (only 57% in the frog stories) account for only-goal expressions and another 10% (5%) are combinations of a goal with a source or passed ground. Complex NP path descriptions which, as discussed in the previous chapter, are usually very rare, here occur in greater numbers (7% in route descriptions compared to 1.5% in the frog story dataset).[50]

   Similarly, a higher frequency of explicit ground specifications can also be observed in Kriol with 88% (67% in the frog stories) of all motion events in the data set accounting for this type. Goal-preference, however, has the same frequency as recorded elsewhere at 65% (67.5% in the frog stories) of all plus-ground expressions in the data set. However, frequency of complex NP path constructions is, as for Jaminjung, higher in the route direction data set (6%) than in the frog stories (2%).

   I will now turn my attention to some features specific to route directions and discuss them with extracts from my data sets.

7.1.3 The Encoding of Change of Direction at Decision Points

Concerning different types of landmarks used in route descriptions, what Ligozat (2000:332) calls 'path landmarks' occur frequently in my collection of route descriptions, defined as communicative discourse aimed to provide spatial journey descriptions before (directions) or after (descriptions) the actual travelling. Speakers of both languages

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[50] A number of full transcriptions of route descriptions in both Jaminjung (10.3.1) and Kriol (10.3.2)from my corpus can be found in the appendix.

always express these as fictive motion events involving verbs that usually describe motion but which in this context actually describe stationary situations (Talmy, 2000b:100-101) as in (360). I will discuss fictive motion events in more detail in section 7.1.5. Other types of landmarks, such as simple landmarks, occur as ground-encoding NPs in all types of route descriptions in both languages.

(360)	*buru*	*ba-jga,*	*gumard*	*ba-rdagarra*	*yinthu*	*jungulug=gu::ng,*
	return	IMP-go	road	IMP-follow	this	one=RESTR

'go back, follow this one (same) road,' (D25029)

A Kriol speaker giving directions will typically use a 2nd person pronoun to encode the hypothetically travelling figure on its path along the route (361)(a). In Jaminjung route descriptions on the other hand, a 1st person pronoun or imperative mood is often used for the figure's perspective (363)(d).

The Kriol example (361) is a good illustration of a complex route description during which the speaker takes a zoomed-in perspective while following the figure along its way and then zooms out to describe the general direction of a road that is not followed until the end.

(361)

(a)	*yu*	*kipgon*	*la*	*det*	*rod*	*en*	*im*	*go-an,*	*kipgon*
	2SG	keep+going	LOC	that	road	and	3SG	go-on,	keep+going

'you continue on that road and it goes on and on'

(b)	*yu*	*pas-im*	*windit riva*
	2SG	pass -TR	n_top

'you pass the Windit River'

(c)	*go-an*	*rait-ap*	*kros-im*	*Roper Ba*
	go-on	right -up	cross -TR	n_top

'you continue and cross Roper Bar'

(d)	*en*	*natha*	*ten-of*	*not*	*fa*	*from*	*deya*
	and	another	turn-off	NEG	far	ABL:from	there
	im	*go*	*dijey*	*Burrula*			
	3SG	go	here	n_top			

'and there's another turnoff not far from there, where it goes this way, towards Burrula'

(e)	*im*	*ten-of*	*nomo*	*go*	*la*	*det*	*rod*	*yu*	*gota*
	3SG	turn -off	NEG	go	ALL:to	that	road	2SG	FUT

> kip gon   det   haiwei   bolorum   det   mein haiwei
> keep+going   that highway   follow   that main highway
> 'it is a turnoff there, don't go down that road, you have to continue on the highway, follow the main highway'

(f) yu   kan   ten-of   eniweya   yu   gota jidan
    2SG   can't turn-off   anwhere   2SG   FUT sit+down
    la   det   mein   haiwei
    LOC   that   main   highway
    'you can turnoff anywhere, you have to stay on the main highway'

(g) til   yu   kam-at   la….   Mataranka
    until   2SG come-out   ALL:to   n_top
    'until you reach Mataranka'

(h) yu   luk   big   haiwei   na   wen   yu   kam-at
    2SG   look   big   highway   NOW   when   2SG   come-out
    from   dis   Ngukurr   haiwei
    ABL:from   this   n_top   highway
    you can see the big highway when you leave Ngukurr highway'

(i) en   yu   luk   sain-mob   sain   sain-mob   deya
    and   2SG look   sign –GROUP sign sign-GROUP   there
    detmob   sain   tel - yu   weya   bla   go
    those   sign   tell - 2SG   where   for   go
    'and you can see some signs there, they will tell you where to go'

(j) dijey   im   go-dan   det   den   go-dan   la   Alicespring-wei
    here   3SG   go-down   that then go-down   ALL:to   n_top-towards
    'that way it goes down there, and then down towards Alice Springs'

(k) en   den   go-ap   xx   thru   Mataranka
    and   then go-up   xx   through n_top
    'and then continue through Mataranka'

(l) hiya   yu   kan   du   eni   yu   kan   ten-of   la   eni
    here   2SG can:NEG   do   any   2SG can:NEG turn -off   LOC   any
    rod   yu   gota   stik la   det   main-wan   haiwei
    road 2SG FUT   stick LOC   that   1SG/POSS-NR   highway
    'here you shouldn't do anything, don't turn off any road, you stay on the main highway'

(m) im   teik-yu   rait-ap   la   Katherine
     3SG   take-2SG   right-up   ALL:to   n_top
     'and that will take you right up to Katherine'

(DH10_A15_13_0012-27, IA)

For the majority of the route description, the speaker takes the travelling figure's perspective (always using the 2nd person pronoun *yu*). As a result, she pays attention to detail and mentions many landmarks such as rivers and turnoffs en-route even when no change of direction has to take place as in (a) to (g). Mentioning landmarks along the way is used for reassurance and to provide evidence for the claims made by the speaker about route. By repeatedly referring to salient landmarks, the speaker makes sure that the listener is informed and convinced about every part of the way. This becomes particularly obvious when certain turnoffs where a change of location could take place are repeated as in (e) and (f) to make sure an understanding is achieved. Additionally, the speaker continuously refers back to already mentioned landmarks for the same reasons as in (d) *not fa from deya*.

When the time has come for a change of direction in (h) to (j), the speaker makes sure to provide a highly detailed description of landmarks and directions. Furthermore, here, deictics are also used to help the listener orient the travelling figure at this decision point.

The only time the speaker takes a surveyor's perspective is when general directions are mentioned towards landmarks that are not actually reached during the figure's travelling. Then the 3rd person pronoun *im* (referring to the road) is employed signalling a change of perspective from the figure's point of view. This technique is used in examples (a), (d), (j) and (m) to describe directions to places not travelled to as in (d) and (j), or in a fictive motion description where the figure is not agent but patient of the (fictive) motion event as in (m), where a transitive motion verb *teik* 'take' is used, or to describe the continuation of the road (a). In fact, all of these examples are fictive motion events[51] and never purely static descriptions. Therefore one could assume that this speaker here places a lot of emphasis on the action of travel itself instead of focusing on static descriptions of the environment travelled through[52].

Example (361) furthermore shows how densely path descriptions are packed in this type of motion event. Adverbial suffixes indicate small scale vertical direction in *go-dan* 'go down' and *go-ap* 'go up' in (j) and (k) and the general locomotion verb *kam* 'come' with the adverbial suffix *–at* indicates the arrival at a decision point or goal of the route. Landmarks such as turnoffs, rivers and toponyms are frequently used alongside

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[51] For a closer look at fictive motion events in route descriptions, please refer to chapter 7.1.5
[52] This idea will be explored further in chapter 7.1.4

directionals such as *dijey* 'this way' and *Alice-Spring-wei* 'towards Alice Springs'. Finally, negative directions are also given at potential decision points where no change of direction is required as in (e) and. In my Kriol route description data set, landmarks, including toponyms, make up the majority of ground encodings (55%) with directionals and deictics accounting for 22.5% each.

Figure 26 is based on example (361) above and shows how Kriol speakers typically construct route directions. The start point of motion is the speaker's location. Before the decision point at Mataranka is reached, three en-route landmarks are mentioned. Such en-route landmarks are expressed for reassurance where no change of direction is required, but where prominent landmarks occur.

The direction of the turnoff is indicated with dashed lines. The place it leads to lies towards the direction of the speaker herself which is why she here uses a proximal deictic/directional *dijey* 'this way' to indicate herself as deictic centre. When the decision point is reached, the speaker pays a lot of attention to detail describing landmarks and signs. The opposite direction to the goal of the route (*Katherine*) is also expressed in a fictive motion event description towards Alice Springs. This is again indicated with a dashed line. Except for phrase (d) describing the direction of the turnoff road as going towards the speaker, the hypothetically travelling figure's viewpoint is maintained at all times. A surveying perspective is also only taken when toponyms (specialised landmarks) off-route that are neither passed nor reached are mentioned (*Alice Springs* and *Burrula*). Rarely, terms such as *lef/rait* 'left/right' indicating intrinsic FoR are used taking the figure as anchor and simultaneously ground. Similarly, absolute terms are seldom used in route descriptions in my corpus (and beyond). Generally, all route descriptions in Kriol were given to me as the researcher with no other speakers present. Therefore, the general observations might not apply to a more naturalistic communicative setting where Kriol speakers talk to one another.
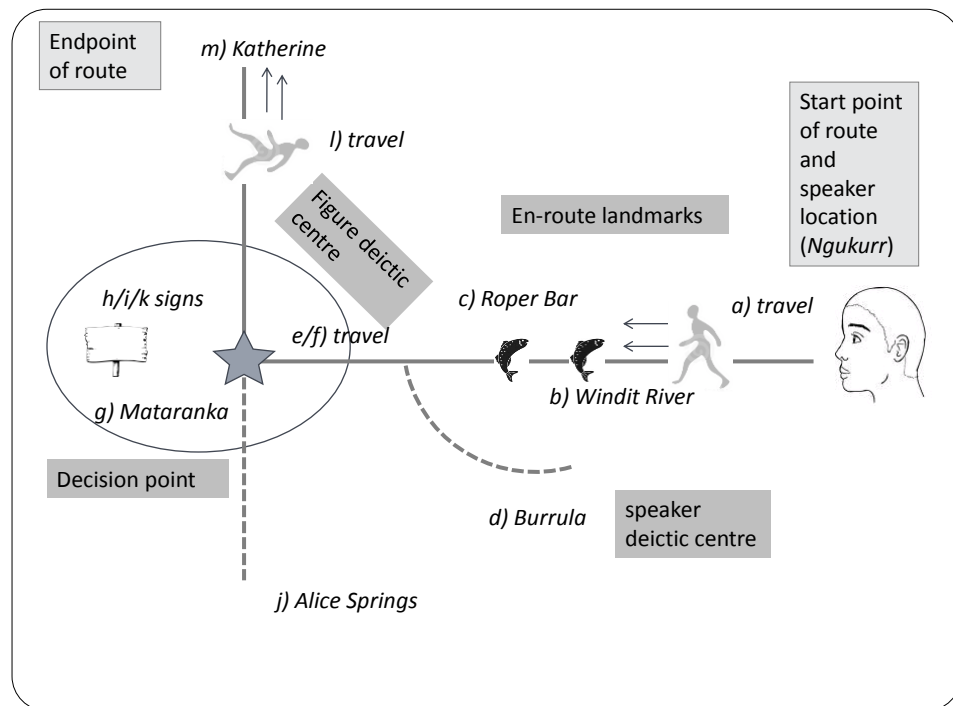
Figure 26: Kriol route description based on example (361)[53]

Example (362) illustrates how Kriol speakers use speaker-centred deictics to describe the locations of landmarks along the route. The proximal deictic *hiya* 'here' is used to indicate the far-away location of Nullanulla Creek from the place of speaking. The distal *deya* 'there' in the following utterance indicates the current location of the figure at the decision point 'over there' away from the speaker.

(362)

  (a) *pas-im-bat*   *Nilllanilla-krik*   *ole-wei…*   *from*   *hiya*
      pass -TR-CONT   n_top   all+the -way   ABL:from   here
      'going along Nullanulla Creek a long way from here'

  (b) *from*   *deya*   *yu*   *kam-at*   *la*   *Feltriva*   *sain*
      ABL:from   there   2SG   come-out   ALL:to   n_top   sign
      deya   *im*   *tok*   *Feltriva*
      there   3SG   talk   n_top
      'and from there you reach the Phelp River, there's a sign there that says 'Phelp River''

                                                      (DH10_A15_13_0066-0067, IA)

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[53] Moving figure image taken from http://thumbs.dreamstime.com/thumblarge_4/1098551516iIm5DD.jpg (accessed 27/07/2011)

In terms of Tversky's (2000) aforementioned styles for route descriptions, my analysis showed that Kriol speakers often use a viewpoint perspective at decision points. In fact, of a total of 123 decision points described in the corpus, 110 (89%) took the travelling figure's viewpoint. However, instead of employing terms encoding intrinsic FoR with the imagined figure as ground, most commonly deictics and to some extent absolute terms or landmarks such as toponyms were employed. Generally then, the figure's perspective was taken instead of the speaker's. Deixis was not considered by Tverksy (2003) and, as discussed in more detail in the subsequent section 7.1.6, is a culture-specific feature of Kriol route descriptions.

 I will now turn my attention to Jaminjung by taking a closer look at a short excerpt from a route description. Example (363) describes getting to the location of a particular house in the township of Timber Creek.

(363)
 (a) <u>*yu   tok   la   im.*</u>   *ngiyinawula, ..   buyawu,   yagbali luba, ...*
      you say   ALL:to 3SG   DIST:DIR   downstream   camp   big
      'you tell him, over there, downstream, the big house'

 (b) *gamurr*
      middle
      'in the middle'

 (c) *gamurr- gurrany gamurr, marraj   ba-jga, buya*!
      middle   NEG   middle, go.past IMP-go downstream
      'don't (stop) halfway, go past, downstream'

 (d) *laginy   na   ba-jga, janggagu.*
      turnoff   now IMP-go above
      'take the turnoff now, upwards'

 (e) *janggagu x   wagurra-bina-wari, wagurra-bina-wari yinthu   jalbud .. luba.*
      above   rock-ALL-QUAL   rock-ALL-QUAL   this   house   big
      'up hillwards, hillwards is this big house (office)'

 (f) *buru   ba-jga, gumard ba-rdagarra   yinthu   jungulug=gu::ng,*
      return IMP-go road   IMP-follow   this   one=RESTR
      'go back, follow this one (same) road,'

 (g) *manamba   ba-jga::,   laginy   ba-jga. jamurrugu na   jid.*
      upstream   IMP-go   turnoff   IMP-go below   now go.down
      'go upstream, take the turnoff, then down downwards'

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    (h) jungulug=gung   gumard yinthu   na   buru   ba-rdagarra
        one=RESTR   road   this   now return IMP-follow
        'this same road now follow back'

<div align="right">(D25024 - D25031, MMc)</div>

Firstly, it is worth pointing out that vertical as well as horizontal absolute terms dominate this route description, in (a), (21) to (e), and (g). Some directionals are furthermore formed with landmarks as in *wagurra-bina-wari* 'hillwards' in (e). It appears additionally that landmarks are not used as frequently as in the Kriol description discussed above. For example, it is questionable if zooming-in, as defined above as taking the figure's perspective at a decision point, actually takes place in (g). The features of the turnoff are not specified and the speaker only points out absolute directions, which hints towards a surveyor's perspective.

However, only at the beginning of the short route description here, a (distal) deictic expression is used. In connection with the absolute term *manamba* 'upstream' it becomes clear that the origo of the deictic term actually shifts from the speaker to the figure since the place is only 'upstream' from the figure's perspective, but downstream from where the speaker is located.

Example (363) is schematised from in Figure 27. Typically, a Jaminjung speaker will use the figure's perspective for orientation much less frequently than a Kriol speaker (in 53 out of 95 decision points amounting to 56%). If deictic terms are used, they are speaker- rather than figure-oriented throughout the whole route direction. Most prominently absolute terms are in use to reorient a figure at decision points which are sometimes marked by landmarks (turnoffs at both decision points). The location of the first endpoint of motion is also stated in a type of surveyor perspective at the beginning of the route description. Furthermore, landmarks might also be used to specify a direction (e). Most often however, a change of direction is indicated by absolute terms. Intrinsic FoR might only be expressed by coverbs indicating general movement towards the direction of a (predetermined) ground. These are *buyi* 'keep going (in the same direction)' (in example (376) below) and *buru* 'go back' (as in (363)(f) and (h) above). Additionally, en-route landmarks are not typically expressed, but the speaker also articulates the way back from the initial endpoint of motion to another place even beyond the speaker's location.
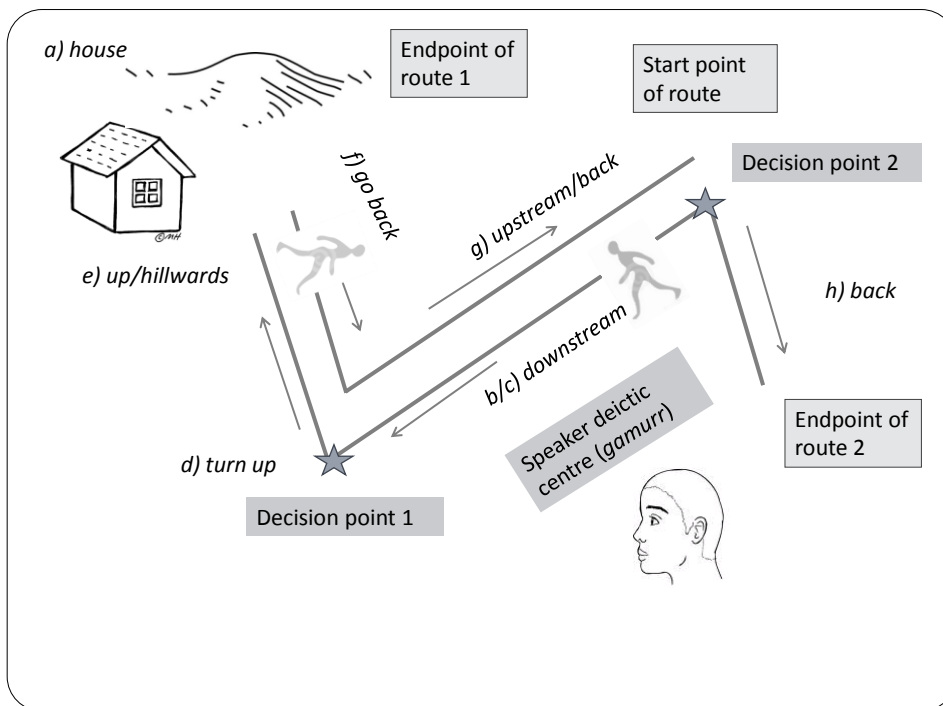
Figure 27: Jaminjung route description based on example(363)[54]

In relation to styles and frames of references as discussed by Tverksy (2000), it becomes clear that the preferred option for Jaminjung speakers involves absolute terms.

In my dataset of seven route descriptions, landmarks as grounds in fact, appear to be only used as start- and endpoints of routes and parts of routes, but they are not used as orientation markers at decision points. There, either deictic expressions referring to the speaker's deictic centre or absolute terms are employed by speakers. In Kriol, taking the travelling figure as deictic centre, demonstratives and (deictic) directionals are used in addition to rare instances of intrinsic (with the travelling figure as ground) FoR terms as in (366). Deictic directionals can, however, also refer to the speaker's deictic centre as in example (365). Absolute terms are also found, yet relatively rare, accounting for 28% of all directionals in my Kriol route description corpus (367) with the remainder being deictic expressions.

Furthermore, two thirds of deictics in Jaminjung are proximals referring to regions in the vicinity of the speaker and therefore at the starting point of motion or referring to a segment of the route leading back towards the speaker's deictic centre as in example (364) with the directional suffix –*wurla* attached to the deictic demonstrative indicating

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[54] House image taken from http://schoolnew.discoveryeducation.com/clipart/clip/littlehouse.html accessed on 03/08/2011, hill image take from http://www.easyvectors.com/tags/Hill accessed on 03/08/20111

direction but not necessarily endpoint of motion. If distals are used as in (363)(a), they might also include a directional suffix and refer to the endpoint of the route itself.

(364)   _taun-bina=malang_   _jid_   _nga-angga_   **_tharra-wurla_**
        town-ALL=GIVEN   go.down   1SG-go.PRS   DEM-DIR
        sho-graun-bina   **_ngiyinthu–wurla_** _nga-angga_   _sho-graun_-bina
        show-ground-ALL   PROX-DIR   1SG-go.PRS   show-ground-ALL
        'I go down to town, in that direction, to the showgrounds towards here, I go to
        the showgrounds' (DH10_V01_01_0030, NR)

The distribution of proximal and distal expressions is here actually even. Kriol speakers use distal deictics more often, in particular to indicate locations of grounds at decision points rather than just as general directions and starting point of motion references as observed in Jaminjung. In fact, whereas Jaminjung speakers use deictics with the directional suffix _–wurla_ in almost half of all deictic expressions in the data set, Kriol speakers only used deictics as directionals 15% of the time. (365) is a typical example of this usage with a static setting of the scene including a distal deictic _deya_ 'there' and then a proximal directional deictic _dijey_ 'this way' to indicate the way one should proceed from there. This also shows how the speaker uses herself as deictic centre at this location of the decision point.

(365)   _en_   _natha_   _ten-of_   _not_   _fa_   _from_   _deya_
        and   another   turn-off   NEG   far   ABL:from   there
        _im_   _go_   _dijey_   _Burrula_
        3SG   go   here   n_top
        'and there's another turnoff not far from there, where it goes this way, to
        Burrula' (DH10_A15_13_0016, speaker IA)

In the Jaminjung corpus on the other hand, absolute terms account for 56% of all tokens (44% deictic directionals with suffix -_wurla_). This distribution pattern suggests that the use of absolute terms is the preferred option of Jaminjung speakers when indicating direction in route descriptions. Kriol speakers on the other hand prefer using deictic directionals in combination with explicit landmark encodings.

(366)

   (a) en   det   lil   supamaket
       and   that little   supermarket
       'and at the small supermarket'

   (b) en   yu   ten   la   yu   rait
       and   2SG   turn   L.ALL   2SG   right
       'then you turn to your right'

                                                   (DH10_A16_07_0021-0022, LM)

(367) yu   go   yu   gota   go   sanrais dan   folor-im   det   rod
       2SG go   2SG FUT   go   east   down   follow –TR that road
       sanrais   en   yu   kam-at   la   Burrulul
       east   and   2SG come-out L.ALL   n_top
       'you go, you have to go east, follow the road to the east and then you come out
       at Burrulul' (DH10_A15_06_0117, JoJo)

Concerning the encoding of decision points in general, my analysis suggests a preference of Kriol speakers for deictic terms where Jaminjung uses absolute ones. When Jaminjung speakers used deictic terms, these always referred to the speaker's own deictic centre, whereas for Kriol, both the hypothetically travelling figure's as well as the speaker's perspective are taken as deictic centre as also discussed in section 7.2 on the general use of deictics in narrative discourse. Furthermore, in Kriol en-route landmarks for reassurance were employed more frequently.

7.1.4 Static and Dynamic Modes of Presentation

As argued in the previous subchapter, Jaminjung speakers appear to make less use of deictics and zoomed-in representation of routes than Kriol speakers. If Jaminjung speakers do not zoom-in, do they then also prefer static representation modes since these would be expected for a surveyor's perspective? They do not. In my corpus of route descriptions, the speakers did not employ static descriptions of landscape to set the scene for a route description. The only time non-motion expressions occurred was when occupations or activities at an endpoint of motion were described as in (368).

(368)   *thamurrugu   ba-jga...   gugu-bina   <u>brij</u>*
        down   IMP-go   water-ALL   bridge
        thanthiya   ga-yu   ngabulgja-wu
        DEM   3SG-be.PRS   bathe-DAT
        'go down, to the water, a bridge is there, for swimming' (DH10_V01_01_0085, NR)

These observations for Jaminjung are in line with points made previously in chapter 6, where an analysis of the cliff scene in the frog stories revealed that Jaminjung speakers do not employ any static scene-setting descriptions as utilised in other languages with verb-framing characteristics.

   The picture is a different one for Kriol. As already mentioned in the previous subchapter, Kriol speakers more often set the scene using a static description. Example (365) already showed the technique of setting the scene for such a zoomed-in location in a static (there verbless) expression. This is a rather common feature of Kriol route descriptions and serves to determine the setting of a decision point as in (369) and allow for orientation of the hypothetically travelling figure. The latter is often achieved by using a verb of perception as in (370) to indicate that the figure is in fact not moving at the time but looking around to orient.

(369)   *tubala   im   Wolton Riba   fes-wan Wolton Riba   neks-wan   im   Ropa Ba*
        3DU   3SG   n_top   first-NR n_top   next-NR   3SG   n_top
        'there is two, one at Wolton River first and then the next one is Roper Bar'
        (DH10_A15_06_0031, JoJo)

(370)   *yu   g –an   yu   gota luk   rod   ten-of*
        2SG go-on   2SG   FUT   look   road   turn-off
        deya   det   rod   im   ten-of   la   Numbulwar
        there   that road 3S   turn-off   ALL.to   n:top
        'you go on then and look for the turnoff to Numbulwar' (DH10_A15_13_0010, IA)

Therefore, while Kriol speakers actually make use of static presentation modes, they do not do so as predicted by Klippel et al (2003) in zoomed-out perspectives only. When speakers use static instead of dynamic modes, they usually refer to particular landscape features at a zoomed-in decision point. From a surveyor's perspective, the dynamic mode takes precedence in both languages; often, however, in the form of fictive descriptions rather than actual motion descriptions which are subject of the following subchapter. This

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suggests that the notion of 'motion' lies in the very heart of spatial descriptions in both languages so that the static mode is almost completely overridden.

7.1.5 Fictive Motion

Fictive motion descriptions[55] are commonly employed in route descriptions. Fictive motion is defined as a situation in which motion cannot occur, but is conceptualised as if it could take place (Martinez-Losa, 2006:563). Gawron (2009:4-5) identifies a set of English motion verbs such as *emerge, climb, mount, reach, zigzag* etc having the potential to describe fictive motion of a stationary road as in the English example (371) and the example from Kriol (373).

(371)   *The mountain road meanders through the woods. (Ruppenhofer et al., 2008)*

(372)   *The bike is across from the post office.*

(373)   *from haus   det   rod   im   kam-in-at   go   la   erpot*
        from house   that   road 3SG   come-PROG–out   go   ALL:to   airport
        'from   the   house   the   road   is   coming   out   and   goes   to   the   airport'
        (DH10_A15_13_0079, IA)

(374)   *The road went up the hill (as we proceeded) (Matsumoto, 1996:360)*

This type of fictive motion is dubbed 'coextension path' which "is a depiction of the form, orientation or location of a spatially extended object in terms of a path over the object's extent" (Talmy, 2000a:138). Matsumoto (1996:360) makes a distinction between two types of such fictive motion events; non-actual motion as in (371) and (372) where there is only a mental tracing of the path and actual motion based on real motion of a moving entity at the time as in (374) where the road is depicted as moving fictively, because figures travelling on the road are actually moving. Such constructions in Jaminjung appear on occasion in route descriptions to set a scene in example (375) where the fictive movement of the river is encoded in a complex predicate involving the general locomotion IV –*ijga* 'go' and the path coverb *laginy* 'turnoff'.

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[55] Additional Jaminjung and Kriol examples of Fictive Motion Events in Route Descriptions can be found in the appendix in 10.3.3.

(375) laginy   ga-ngga=ngardi   Barrakbarrak binka=biyang
      turnoff   3SG-go.PRS=SFOC2   n_top   river=NOW
      'the Barrakbarrak river turns off there' (ES01_A07_03tt_0044)

Fictive motion events also indicate metaphorical motion for extension. In examples (376) and (377) not the actual direction of the running water (which is downstream not upstream) is expressed. Instead, these examples encode metaphorical type of movement of the river as fictive motion. This is also morpho-syntactically marked. In the Jaminjung example the inflecting verb is not a locomotion verb, but the most basic stative verb *–yu* 'be' in combination with a manner (*yugung*) and path (*buyi*) coverb. These coverbs are normally restricted to use with locomotion IVs.

    Similarly, in the Kriol example (377), the motion verb *go* is not used to indicate the actual flow of the river, which would be downstream, but fictive motion as an extension of the river in a direction of the speaker's interest.

(376) manamba buyi   yugung=biya ga-yu   Bullita-bina
      upstream keep.going   run=NOW   3SG- be.PRS n_top–ALL
      'the river runs further upstream to Bullita' (ES01_A07_03tt_0107)

(377) dijan   big   riba   im   go   treitap   **haidap**
      this+one   big   river   3SG go   straight.up upstream
      'this big river (East Baines) goes straight up, upstream' (ES01_A07_03tt_0163,DB)

The above described fictive motion examples all have in common that they describe the figure of the event as fictively moving when it is in fact static. I call these figure-based fictive motion events. These types are also the only ones considered by Talmy (2000a) in his discussion of fictive motion.[56] However, the most typical type of fictive motion expression found in route descriptions are examples like (378) and (379) where in Jaminjung and Kriol a transitive predicate (-*wardagarrra* 'follow' and *folorim* 'follow) entailing a moving direct object encodes a fictive motion event, this time referring to a fictive movement of the ground (*gumard* 'road' and *det rod* 'the road') rather than the figure. These are ground-based fictive motion event descriptions.

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[56] I did not include the other two types of fictive motion metaphors which are access and advent paths (Talmy, 2000: 134-137) since they are not relevant for my discussion of route descriptions.

(378) <u>burum</u>   <u>klinik</u>   jamurrugu-ngunyi   **gumard** jungulug=gung   ba-**rdagarra**
ABL:from   clinic   below-ABL   road   one=RESTR   IMP-follow
'from the clinic from down there, follow the same road' (D25037, MMc)

(379) yu   ken   go-dan   streit-dan   **folor-im**
2SG   can   go-down   straight –down   follow-TR
det   rod   en   yu   jis   wok   streit-dan
that   road   and   2SG just walk   straight -down
'you can go down straight down, follow the road and just walk straight down'
(DH10_A16_07_0023, LM)

In these examples the fictive movement of the road or path contrasts with actual movement of the figure. This factive movement of the figure, although present in all my examples, is not a condition for ground-based fictive motion constructions. A combination of both figure- and ground-based fictive motion expressions is possible as in the English example (380) of which, however, no equivalent was found in either language's dataset.

(380)   *The road followed the mountain range all the way to the sea*

In conclusion, speakers of both languages make use of figure- and ground-based fictive motion event descriptions in route directions. Such denotations are often used instead of 'purely' static scene- setting type expressions which otherwise would be expected to occur in these discourse environments. Therefore, the concept of 'motion' might be an ingrained part of Jaminjung and Kriol culture to be given such prominence. The following section is concerned with this notion.

7.1.6 Culture-Specific Characteristics of Route Descriptions

Of major concern in this section is how travel and orientation as topics of conversation and social practice are linked to the particular discourse type of route descriptions. While trying to elicit route descriptions during fieldwork, I noticed that my informants had indeed different perceptions from western views on direction-giving. When I asked for directions, I expected the speakers to follow routes and landmarks to guide me to the destination I enquired about. Instead, when I asked how to get to a certain place, such as

the local supermarket or a good fishing spot, the informants usually only employed a general absolute term or a deictic directional accompanied by pointing and gesturing.

However, when I enquired about the route of a trip we had taken before or that we would have to make again to, for example, return a participant to her home, the speakers gave very detailed and lengthy route descriptions. I believe explaining the way to a destination might have been something highly unusual in traditional country since it is likely that members of a community would have been shown important routes at an early age and therefore there was no need to explain them.

Descriptions of routes after they were travelled, on the other hand, are common in all types of discourse and often detailed. Personal narratives often involve detailed descriptions of the way travelled, stops made during the journey and any encounters along the way. Unlike in their Western equivalents, these descriptions do not necessarily have to add anything to the major storyline. This will also become clear in the following section 7.3 when looking at traditional and personal narratives.

It has been observed that route description constructions can embody in their semantics a culture specific message (Simpson, 2002:287). As already briefly mentioned at the beginning of my discussion, particularly Jaminjung speakers appear to prefer dynamic large-scale route descriptions focusing on absolute terms. This could be due to a number of reasons. Firstly, the absolute system of Jaminjung based on river drainage of the Victoria River additionally ensured that a major landmark was always in the focus of direction-giving. Since the absolute direction terms are mostly used on a large-scale-general direction basis, but changed according to a spatially refrained local course of the waterway, the terms can accurately be used for all types of route descriptions within the traditional country.

Generally, a lack of zooming-in at decision points and in general a lack of decision points in Jaminjung could be accounted for by this reliance on an absolute frame of reference system which is only used with the speaker as ground and to indicate the orientation of a static figure as discussed in chapter 5. Another option would be to describe the intrinsic sides of landmarks at decision points such as *Go to the back of the building*. However, this is rarely used by speakers. From an economical perspective, using absolute terms is not only more efficient but also more precise and less dependent on changing landmarks such as for example trees (that could be felled).

Kriol speakers on the other hand seem to rely much more on landmarks at decision points and en-route in the route descriptions to provide guidance to the listener. Absolute terms are also used, but mostly to provide general direction at the start rather than during the route description. Furthermore, intrinsic frame of reference terms (with the figure as ground) occur. However, I suspect this might be due to acrolectal influence in my presence rather than a feature of the language, since absolute terms are available to the Kriol informants from Ngukurr[57] based on the course of the sun as well as on the direction or river flow of the Roper River. This could also be the reason for the detailed accounts of en-route landmarks for reassurance, such as river-crossings and turnoffs.

I was only able to stay at Ngukurr for a few days and therefore did not know the surroundings or the speakers very well. Therefore I was, on the one hand, a good subject for route description elicitation since the speakers needed to explain a lot of details to me. On the other hand, this was maybe not the best way to obtain naturalistic data. Hence, elicitation with two speakers, a direction-giver and a listener, may have proved to be better for culturally significant data. It was noteworthy; however, that, as seen in example (361), the speakers used Western means of orientation such as road signs to determine the change of direction at decision points where possible.

7.1.7 Summary of Findings

This analysis of small corpora of route descriptions in Jaminjung and Kriol most importantly showed that speakers of both languages – contrary to what has been found in studies using languages such as English only – show a strong preference for dynamic (including fictive motion) modes of presentation. Furthermore, Kriol speakers tend to take the hypothetically travelling figure's perspective at decision points as well as along the route and refer to landmarks, directionals and deictic orientation of the figure rather than the speaker.

In a typical Jaminjung route description, on the other hand, the speaker usually won't use the figure's perspective for orientation, instead if deictic terms are employed, they are speaker- rather than figure-oriented throughout the whole route direction. Most prominently absolute terms are in use to reorient a figure at decision points which are

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[57] from whom all Kriol route descriptions were collected.

sometimes marked by landmarks (turnoffs at both decision points). This outstanding preference for absolute terms is not only observable in route descriptions but also in traditional and personal narratives. A detailed look on the use of deictics and absolute terms based on the theory of deictic shift in the following section 7.2 discusses this issue in detail for both languages.

7.2   The Use of Deictics in Narratives

This section is concerned with the use of deictics in traditional, personal and elicited narratives. I will pay particular attention to the use of deictics vs. absolute terms. As has been observed in the previous section 7.1, there are some differences between Jaminjung and Kriol speakers concerning the use of deictics and absolute terms when giving directions. I now take these observations to a slightly wider range of discourse types to investigate if speakers of either language use deixis as a narrative referencing device or whether the absolute system that appears to be deeply rooted in Jaminjung discourse also carries on in a story-telling setting. This analysis then provides a useful insight into the interplay between narrative techniques and structural and conceptual characteristics of the languages under investigation.

Generally, the distinction between diegesis and mimesis dates back to Plato and distinguishes between describing and showing things in a narrative (Clark, 2004:462). Therefore, it is related to the use of deictics ('showing') in narratives.

The theory of 'deictic shift' is mainly concerned with a narrative style which allows the narrator of the story to switch from his or her own deictic centre to a figure's centre during the story to create a sense of participation for the listener (Segal, 1995:15) as shown in example (381). In other words, the speaker may decide to take him/herself or one of the protagonists of the story world as origo, i.e. the origin of the co-ordinates of the personal, spatial and time dimension of utterances in speech situation (Bussmann, 1996:232).

(381)   *Anna went into the living room. **Here** she could finally sit down.*

Zubin and Hewitt (1995:130-133) define the spatial centre or reference point (i.e. origo) of deixis as a location (psychological or physical) with which the speaker identifies in the

content of an utterance. If such utterances are extended to a narrative, deixis then becomes the central structuring framework of narrative development when particular points of view in space, time and person on the events of a story are created to achieve an effect of immediacy. In this discussion I will focus on the spatial structure within the narrative in particular, only marginally including the three other basic components of deictic centre (who, when and what).

The basic idea is that spatial scenes within a narrative setting are described from a specific perspective, either the speaker's or that of a protagonist within the story world. It is from this perspective that a hypothetical path creates the illusion of a spatial universe where participants can travel. Narrators can make use of a number of grammatical devices to create this illusion for their audience. These might be topicalisation, focus, extraposition, foregrounding, backgrounding, presentatives, anaphora, tense, aspect, and spatial deixis (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:137).

It has been shown in investigations of English narratives that spatial deictic operations in narrative have the function of introducing places of interest in the story-world. They can either be used to maintain stability as in (382) or to introduce shifting in the deictic centre as in (383) (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:140-141).

(382)   *Kino squatted by the fire pit and rolled a hot corncake and dipped it in sauce and ate it...When Kino had finished, Juana <u>came</u> back to the fire and ate her breakfast. (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:149)*

(383)   *The world was awake now, and Kino arose and <u>went</u> onto his brush house. As he <u>came</u> through the door Juana stood up from the glowing fire pit. (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:150)*

In fact, it has been argued that it is indeed the shifting of the spatial deictic component that creates the dynamic quality of a journey in a narrative (Zubin and Hewitt, 1995:154). Therefore, the crucial cognitive act according to Deictic Shift Theory is the reader's shift from a real world situation to a mentally constructed story world (Wilkins, 1995:361/384). Consequently, operating such deictic devices within a story world allows the reader/listener to share the experience of the protagonist creating a sense of immediacy (Nicholls, 2008:339).

For another Australian language, namely Guugu Yimithirr, Haviland (1993:10/36-37) observed that cardinal (absolute) terms depend on the same sort of contextual fixing as

other indexicals to provide reference. Furthermore, during story-telling, speakers have three possibilities concerning where to point their gestures. Firstly, gestures (absolute directions) may be anchored in the local space of the speech situation. Secondly, they might be fixed within a narrated space, i.e. a discursively established origo, and finally, at a narrated interactional space that is discursively established but that may provide an autonomous locus of reanimated narrated interactions of the first type. I am interested whether such indexing can also be observed for the two Australian languages under consideration here.

In this discussion, I limit myself to oral indexical deictic or absolute references neglecting gestural anchoring. Firstly, no video recordings exist for any of the narratives considered here. Therefore, gesture as an additional and often supportive means of expressing spatial deixis are outside the scope of this work. Furthermore, concerning the use of placenames and toponyms, in most cases I am not able to identify the locations of places mentioned in the story to one another and to the place of narration. Nevertheless, some noteworthy observations can be made from existing narrative texts nonetheless and I will take a closer look at a traditional and personal narrative from Jaminjung as well as Kriol speakers before using the frog story narrations once again to be able to make some comparative suggestions.

Before doing this however, I point out a number of general observations on the use of deictic and absolute terms in the motion event datasets for both languages which is displayed in Figure 28 below. In the Jaminjung CMD, deixis was expressed in a ground NP in 29% of all plus-ground expressions. Of these, 49.5% indicated a distant and 34.5% a proximal ground. This distribution drops noticeably in the FMD where deictic expressions accounted for only 18% of all ground-encoding motion expressions. Here, 35% indicated distal and 41% proximal deixis. In the Route Description Dataset (RD)[58], 26% were deictics (58% proximal and 37,5% distal). The remainder of deictic expressions was distance neutral in all three datasets.

These figures show that firstly, the general distribution of deictic terms differs throughout the datasets. Particularly noteworthy is the difference between the low

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[58] RD stands for Route Dataset and includes all motion event encodings of the route description dataset only.

distribution in the FMD and the high one in the RD which suggests a correlation between the use of deictic terms and specific types of discourse such as route descriptions.

In addition to the demonstrative deictic terms, however, deixis might also be denoted in Jaminjung's inflecting verbs. As discussed in section 3.3, *-ruma* 'come' and *-anjama* 'bring' always encode movement towards a deictic centre. Their distal counterparts *-ijga* 'go' and *-uga* 'take' on the other hand, only encode deixis if contrasted with the proximal deictic verbs and otherwise are used as general verbs of locomotion. While these numbers are not considered in Figure 28 below which only takes nominal deictic expressions into account, in my analysis of the general use of deictics and deictic shift in narratives in particular, I will take both demonstratives as well as deictic motion verbs into account.

In Kriol, only 3.5% of all plus-ground constructions had a deictic as NP in the FMD, but about 16% in the CMD and even 26% in the RD. In two of the datasets (CMD and FMD) the vast majority, 71%, were distal deictics. In the RD, on the other hand, 51% of distal contrasted with 49% of proximal deictic. Only 2% of these were distance-neutral in the CMD and there were none in the FMD and RD. In contrast to what was observed for Jaminjung, the distribution of deixis in Kriol appears much more varied across the different datasets. Therefore, it becomes clear that specific types of discourse such as route descriptions in Kriol trigger the use of deictics while the elicitation task of the frog story seems to encourage explicit expression of landmarks over deictics. Even though in Jaminjung there are also noteworthy differences between the datasets, they are not quite as significant as in the Kriol data.

Verbs in Kriol do not appear to encode deixis. In my datasets, distal as well as proximal demonstratives occurred with both *go* and *kam* 'come' and the verbs also appeared to be used interchangeably to encode movement towards and away from the speaker's deictic centre when no demonstratives were used. Therefore, I will generally only focus on the use of deictic as NP in my analysis of deictic shift in Kriol.
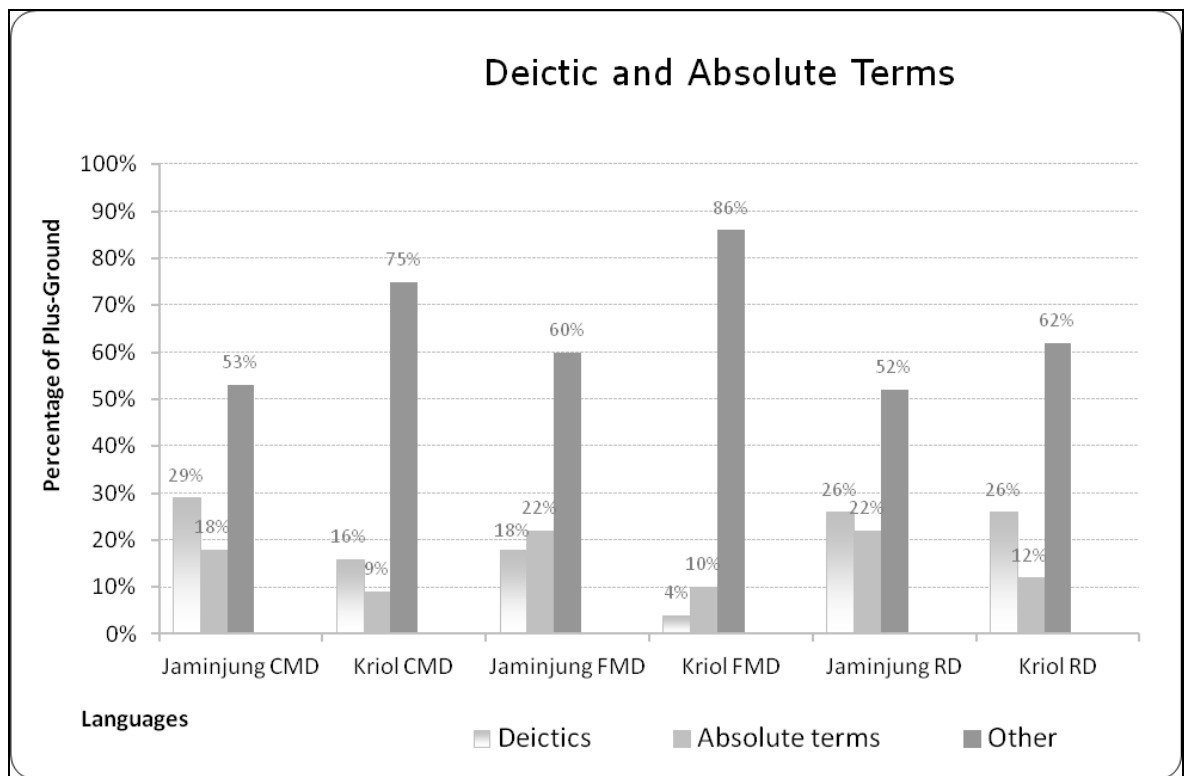
Figure 28: Deictic and Absolute Terms in Kriol and Jaminjung Datasets

Concerning the distribution of absolute terms in the datasets of both languages, the different frequency patterns in the two datasets were not as noteworthy as observed for the deictic terms. While in the Jaminjung CMD, 18% of plus-ground expressions were absolute terms, this figure amounted to 22% in the FMD as well as the RD. In the Kriol motion datasets, on the other hand, only 8.5% of ground encodings in the CMD and 10% in the FMD and 12% in the RD were absolute terms. Generally, Jaminjung speakers use absolute terms more regularly than Kriol speakers. However, generally, for both languages I conclude that the use of absolute terms is very stable throughout the datasets and therefore appears to be independent of different types of discourse. The opposite, i.e. interdependence between discourse environment and the use of deictics was observed for deixis in ground NPs.

For neither Jaminjung nor Kriol, directional terms are linked with deictic elements in discourse in any great frequency as was observed for Guugu Yimithirr (Haviland, 1993:10). However, as I have argued in chapter 5 as well as in the previous section 7.1, that absolute terms in both languages are (usually) used deictically, i.e. with the deictic centre

as ground. Therefore, it appears as if, similar to Guugu Yimithirr, the absolute system of either language has an essentially deictic centre.

7.2.1 Traditional and Personal Narratives in Jaminjung

The bases for the analysis of Jaminjung are seven traditional narratives collected between 1996 and 2010. Generally, deictic shift was not found to be a preferred story-telling technique of Jaminjung speakers. Instead, it appears as if the absolute Frame of Reference system described in section 5.2 based on the direction of river flow ('upstream/downstream') is indeed so centrally used by speakers that it carries over to reference in narrative settings. Therefore, in six of the seven narratives analysed, deictic shift was not utilized by speakers to create spatial reference inside the narrative world. Instead, deictic terms were used to refer to the speaker's deictic centre alone and often reference to placenames and absolute terms was used to furthermore locate events and figures as in example (384). Here, a distal deictic refers to the speaker as deictic centre and is accompanied by an absolute term (*buya* 'downstream') and a description of a location (*gugu luba* 'big water').

(384)

> ***yina*** ***buya***-*gu*   *ga-jga-ny*
> DIST   downstream-DAT   3SG-go-PST
> 'he went there downstream'

> ***yinaya*** <u>*big*</u>   <u>*wada*</u>=*ma*   *ga-yu*   *gugu*   *luba*=*ma*   *ga-yu*   %
> DIST   big   water =SR   3SG-be.PRS   water   big =SR   3SG- be.PRS
> 'there, where the big water is'
>
> <div align="right">(ES99_V08_01.062-063, DD)</div>

When the speakers are located within the actual spatial realm in which the story takes place, all deictic expressions have the speaker and not a narrated figure as deictic centre. Example (385) is from a Dog Dreaming story narrated on site. Here, the speaker even specifies the location of the place where the dog fell as being the deictic centre of the narration in (385)(c). Places away from the deictic centre are marked with distal deictics as well as absolute terms as in example (384) mentioned earlier. However, absolute terms may also be used to refer to a proximal location as in example (386) from a personal narrative.

(385)

  (a) *gugu-wu*   *wurdbaj*   *ga-ruma-ny*   *wirib* %
      water-DAT   look.for   3SG-come-PST   dog
      'the dog came looking for water'

  (b) **Burarrginy,** *thanthu=biyang,*   *mun*   *ga-yu*
      n_top   DEM=NOW   belly.down   3SG-be.PRS
      'at Burarrginy, there now, it is lying face down'

  (c) **yinthu**=*biya*   *yirr-angu*   % *yagbali* %
      PROX=NOW   13PL:3SG-get/handle.PST   place
      'this place we took a picture of/said the name of'

                                            (ES99_V08_01_018-021, DD)

(386) **yinju**   *ga-yu*   **manamba** *yagbali=malang*
       PROX   3SG-be.PRS   upstream   place=GIVEN
       'here upstream is (your) camp' (ES99_V01_06b_0183, VP)

Other stories do not contain any specific spatial references except for distal deictics (387) that appear simply to refer to a distant place from the deictic centre of the speaker since no specific placenames are mentioned. These stories all are told off-site, i.e. not at the place where parts of the dreaming events took place or where the dreaming ended and an ancestral being turned into some kind of landmark as was the case for the Dog Dreaming in example (385).

(387) *yinawurla*   *murdmurd*   *gani- yu*
       DIST   murdmurd   3SG>3SG- say/do.PST
       'over there it turned into a Brolga (DH10_A07_03b_0071, NR)

For example, in a personal narrative about a trip to the sea, the speakers most often use the technique of direct speech re-enacting events and conversations during the trips. This appears to be a common feature of Aboriginal narratives and has, for example, been observed for Umpithamu (Verstraete and de Cock, 2008:238). Example (388) shows how distal and proximal deictics are used in direct opposition to contrast the narrator as deictic centre with *ngiyinawurla* 'over there' and the following direct speech act where the same location is referred to with the proximal deictic *ngiyi* 'here' thus in effect

shifting the deictic centre to the protagonist. In the whole story, the speakers often use direct speech to create an atmosphere of immediacy (i.e. of experiencing the events of the narrative from the protagonist's perspective) for the listener. In such occasions, deictic shift has to occur. Using direct speech in narratives is a popular feature of story-telling for speakers in my corpus. They can be marked either by the IV -*yu* 'say/do' or by a change of voice to mimic the narrated figure's speech as in (388). Furthermore, a change of tense from past to present here also indicates the change to a speech act.

(388) *warrngwarrng*   *nga-jga-ny*   *ngiyinawurla*   *"ngiyi   jirrama*
       walk-RDP   1SG-go-PST   DIST:SIDE:LOC   PROX   two
       barlba   *bunthu-yu*   <u>*la*</u>   <u>*jen-graun*</u>   *buyud–gi"*
       side.by.side   3DU-be.PRS   ALL:to   sand-ground   sand-LOC
       'I went walking over there "here two (echidna) are side by side in the sand
       ground, the sand"' (ES08_A04_06tt_0199-200, IP)

In contrast to the above described narratives, only one speaker in one narrative made extensive use of deictic terms and appears to use deictic shift, in the story of *Emu and Brolga.* This is a mythological narrative describing the fight between the two birds after Emu had tricked Brolga into killing all but two of her children. As a result, Brolga now has only two eggs. In revenge, Brolga breaks Emu's wings, which is why Emu cannot fly. The two move along various places near the Victoria River before staying for good in different locations respectively. This is a short narration of roughly 4,5 minutes and 402 words, however, deictic expressions and toponyms here are densely packed.

The narrator appears to pay much attention to the travels of the mythological dreamtime beings whose story he describes. As such, he mentions eleven different distinct toponyms of significance to the narration. These placenames are often accompanied by deictic expressions. However, interestingly, the speaker uses distal and proximal deictics to refer to the same places at different times during the narration. One could expect this to be due to different distances of these places in relation to the speaker (as deictic centre), but since they are even contrasted with one another using different deictic references at different times in the story, deictic shift appears to be able to explain this.

I am at the moment unable to specify the exact location of the recording of the narrative, but the fact that all three proximal deictic expressions that occur in the

narration refer to different places indicates that the speaker is located outside the realm of the narrative at the time of utterance. Generally, a spatial setting in the story is established by using placenames to which distal or proximal deictics then refer. As such, a deictic shift takes place with the speakers establishing the story world by placing it within a real landscape of toponyms.

This strategy becomes particularly obvious when proximals are used. In example (389), first, the setting is established using a toponym as well as a proximal deictic and, most crucially, the verb *-ruma* 'come' in (a) which encodes movement towards a deictic centre. Thus origo is established. Using *Warndawurl* as reference, the next goal then is expressed in a distal deictic *yinawurla* 'there' to indicate a directed motion, this time towards the place *Magulamayi* in (b) to (d) which is distant from the deictic centre of this part of the story world where the figures – Emu and Brolga – are located.

(389)
(a) **yinyjuwurla**   *jamurrugu*   *jag*   *burru-rum-any*   **Warndawurl-bina**,
   PROX:DIR   below   go.down   3PL-come.PST   n_top-ALL
   'to here, they came down to W.'

(b) **Warndawurl**–*ngunyi*   *maja*   *buny-inyji*   *burduj*
   n_top-ABL   do.like.that   POT:3DU- go:IMPF   go.up
   yina-**wurla**   *bun-dum-any*
   DIST-DIR   3PL-come-PST
   'from W. the two would go up like that, to there they came'

(c) *Magulamayi*,
   n_top
   'to Magulamayi'

(d) *Wugardij-burru=ni*,
   n_top-PROPR=SFOC1
   'the kangaroo place'

(MH96_A19_01tg.0024-27, DM)

What makes this example even more convincing for deictic shift theory is that the same toponyms are again used distinctively from one another elsewhere in the story using opposite deictic expressions. In example (389)(a) above *Warndawurl* is referred to with a proximal deictic thus contrasting with the distal reference of *Magulamayi* in (389)(c). Example (390) on the other hand has *Warndawurl* accompanied by a distal and therefore

as being away from a deictic centre in (390)(b). In close proximity to origo, however, is *Magulamayi* which occurs with a proximal deictic in (390)(d). Another placename is then contrasted with *Magulamayi* as well in (390)(e) and (f) by using a distal deictic term. So this time then *Magulamayi* is the deictic centre of this sequence and the two other places *Warndawurl* and *Wugardij* are located some distance away from this centre.

However, there is some discrepancy between the use of the deictic demonstratives and the deixis-encoding verbs in this example (7). The verb *-ruma* 'come' in (7)(a) encodes movement towards a deictic centre. However, the location of the toponym it (supposedly) refers to, *Warndawurl*, is referred to with a distal demonstrative in (b). Similarly, in (d) the verb *-ijga* 'go' which, in contrast with *–ruma* 'come', indicates movement away from a deictic centre, is here used in connection with a proximal deictic to refer to movement towards *Magulamayi*. Therefore, it could be that the location of the story-telling is actually the place *Warndawurl*, as suggested in example (389). The speaker in (390), as a result, appears to mix up the 'real' with the 'story' world's deictic centre while applying the technique of deictic shift.

(390)
  (a) *buru-mayan=biya*   *ga-jga::-ny,*   *ga-**ruma**-ny,*
      return -CONT=NOW   3SG-go.PST   3SG-come-PST
      'she kept going back, she came back'

  (b) <u>*imin-*</u> *..*   **yina**-*wurla*   **Warndawurl** *birdij*   *gan-arra-ny=ga*   %
      3SG   DIST-DIR   n_top   find   3SG:3SG-put-PST=YOU.KNOW
      'she found Warndawurl there'

  (c) *gani-ngawu*   *ma:rring* %*..*   *wuju*   %
      3SG>3SG-see.PST   bad   small
      'she saw that it was bad, too small'

  (d) *buru*   *ga-jga-ny*   **yinyju**-*wurla* **Magulamayi**,
      return   3SG-go.PST   PROX-DIR   n_top
      'she went back to here, to Magulamayi,'

  (e) **yina** *ga-jga-ny,*
      DIST   3SG-go-PST
      'she went there,'

  (f) **Wugardij-burru**-*ni*   *mayan*   %
      n_top-PROPR-LOC   like.that

'kept going to Wugardij.'

(MH96_A19_01tg.0075-0080, DM)

On another occasion, the use of the deictic inflecting verbs *-ruma* 'come' and *-ijga* 'go' are used more clearly in deictic shift occurrences. In example (391), the deictic centre is established at the beginning of the story-telling as distant from the speaker at the place *Gulugulu* ((a) to (c)). Movement away from this place is then narrated by using *-ijga* in (d), here with a deictic meaning because it is then contrasted with the use of *-ruma* in (e) encoding movement towards the deictic centre that was established earlier as *Gulugulu*. This place is not specified, but left implicit. Finally, movement away from the place is expressed by using *-ijga* again in (f) and by specifying a distal demonstrative to indicate movement away from the deictic centre (g).

(391)

(a) *wirrij*   *buny-ngayi-ja*   *buny-ma-ja*   *janyju*   *yina* *buru-mayan,*
    argue   3DU-see-REFL:PST   3DU-hit-REFL.PST   DEM   DIST return-CONT
    'the two were arguing, the two were fighting there, coming back'

(b) *luba,*   *buny-mama-ji-na,*
    big   3DU-hit-REFL-IMPF
    'the two were fighting a big fight,'

(c) <u>*la*</u>   *Gulugulu*   *bala=ma* *ga-yu*   *bunyag,*
    LOC   n_top   plain=SR   3SG-be.PRS   3DU.OBL
    'at G. where the plain is for them'

(d) *buny-nginyji,*   <u>*la*</u> *..*   *Wujuman,*   <u>*hayirdap*</u>   *minyga=na,*
    3DU-go.IMPF   LOC   n_top   upstream   what's.it=NOW
    'the two went, to W., upstream'

(e) *Wujuman-ngunyi* *buru*   *bun-**duma**-ny,*
    n_top-ABL   return   3DU-come.PST
    'from W. they came back,'

(f) *Wujarr ..*   *buny-nginy-ji*   *% .. bala %*
    n_top   3DU-go-IMPF   plain
    'to W. the two went, to the plain'

(g) *yina-ngunyi* *buru*   *% bardardi*   *%*
    DIST –ABL   return   clearance
    'from there back, to the ring place,'

(MH96_A19_01tg.0009-17, DM)

Generally from these observations, it becomes clear, that proximal reference is only made when contrasted with a distal location of another place. Unfortunately, there is no video of the recording of the narrative to examine the use of gestures and, as already mentioned, the location of the story telling in relation to the narrated places can no longer be established. Nonetheless, as shown in the analysis above, the change in deictic perspective indicates that the speakers take the figures' perspective at different times during the narration. However convincing this example is, it appears to be an exceptional one. As previously mention in section 7.1 on route descriptions, deictics are not regularly used by Jaminjung speakers to establish spatial relations at places away from the immediate vicinity of the speech situation.

In sum, only in one traditional narrative, speakers used the strategy of deictic shift to create the illusion of immediacy for the listener in such a way. This also only came into play when the speakers (presumably) were not located in the vicinity of the narrated places, but elsewhere.

However, speakers frequently use direct speech to achieve the same effect of immediacy for the listeners within the story world otherwise achieved by the use of deictics and absolute terms in combination with gestures. These direct speech acts are either underlined by enacting the protagonist's speech in a change of voice or tone as in (393) or marked as direct speech acts by an introductory phrase and tense as in example (392).

(392) *"nga-w-ijja   ngiya   lambarra"   gani-yu=biyang*
       1SG>3SG-POT-poke   PROX   father-in-law   3SG>3SG-say/do.PST=NOW
       '"I will spear this father-in-law" he said.' (ES08_A04_02tt_0028, EH)

(393) *ya   nguyung   bunyag   na   buny-bardagarra-ny*
       yes   husband   3DU.OBL   NOW   3DU>3SG-follow-PST
       'yes, it was their husband that the two followed'

       "mindi-wardagarra-m   nguyu- nguyung   mindag   thanthiya"
       12SG>3SG-follow-PRS   FS-   husband   12DU.OBL DEM
       "let's follow our husband"

                                                   (ES08_A04_02tt_0121-0121, EH)

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Even when direct speech is used, however, absolute anchoring of the speaker's location is maintained and therefore, the deictic centre does generally not shift. This observation is contrary to what was discussed by Haviland (1993:10) for Guugu Yimithirr. He showed that, in discourse, most of the time absolute direction terms are accompanied by a proximal or distal deictic[59]. Therefore, he concluded that deixis is anchored in a similar way to cardinal directions which enables the speakers to shift perspective easily within the changing spatial settings of the story world.

My observations for Jaminjung, on the other hand, point towards a different direction. Here, speakers do not normally point or deictically refer to locations from a protagonist's perspective from inside the story world, but the speaker as origo remains constant while using deictic as well as absolute terms.

7.2.2 Traditional and Personal Narratives in Kriol

I will now turn my attention to traditional and personal Kriol narratives. The basis for my analysis are nine personal and six traditional narratives of varying lengths from unpublished sources such as (Angelo et al., 1998a, Angelo et al., 1998b, Sandefur, 1982), published stories from the Katherine Language Centre and my own recordings. As noted in the previous section 7.1, in route descriptions, taking the travelling figure's perspective appears to be a preferred strategy for Kriol speakers to elaborate on space at decision points.

In most personal narratives, similar to what was observed for Jaminjung, speakers made use of direct speech acts to create the same effect of immediacy for the listener that could be achieved otherwise by a deictic shift technique. They are employed to capture key moments of a narrative and to hold the listener's attention.

In example (394) the narrator aims to re-enact a scene for the listener rather than simply telling it. The location is first established in the distal demonstrative *jeya* 'there' and then the same location (the house) is referred to with a proximal deictic *iya* 'here' in a direct speech act.

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[59] In a Guugu Yimithirr corpus of about 110.000 words, 60% of all cardinal directions mentioned were accompanied by a deictic term. In my motion event description dataset for Jaminjung, only 9% of absolute locational nominals were accompanied by a deictic demonstrative.

(394) en   thad olgumen   imin   wanda stap **jeya**.
       and   DEM woman   3SG-PST   want stop there
       'And that woman wanted to stop there.'

       gudjob wi   bin   mubum alabat, wi   olat   bin   go.
       good   1INPL   PST   move 3PL   1PL   all   PST   go
       'just as well, we moved them, all of us went'

       "na, ai   nomo   wanda gu   la   Top Kemp."
       No   1SG NEG   want   go   ALL:to n_top
       '"No, I don't want to go to the Top Camp."'

       "ai   wandi stap **iya** la   main   hawus" thad woman PST   talk
       1SG   want   stop here LOC 1SG-POSS house   DEM   *olgamen* *bin* *tok*
       '"I want to stay here at my house," that old woman said'
                                                    (DA98_01_Fladwada_tg.125-128)

When stories were told in-situ, the speakers' deictic references were all in relation to his
or her own deictic centre as in (395) where the story is told at Fitzroy crossing and the
crossing of the river plays an integral part of the narration and (396) where the speaker
establishes his current location as the origin from which the journey told in the personal
narrative takes place.

(395) imin   kam-at   det-wei   atsaid   **dissaid**   riva
       3SG:AUX.PST   come-out   that-way   outside   this+side   river
       'he came out that way outside, on this side of the river'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_StoryMan_0034)

(396) jalang   gu   burru   **hiya**   sandei   moning
       now   go   ABL:from here   Sunday   morning
       'we went from here on Sunday morning'
       (Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_VisitCave_0002)

In the traditional narratives, hardly any spatial and in particular deictic references were
made and I could not identify any instances of deictic shift unless they were embedded in
direct speech acts as in (397).

(397)

a) **iya**   yunmi   jilip
   here   1DU.INCL   sleep
   '"Are we going to sleep here?"'

b) wi   go   la   natha -natha sen-hil   oba **dea**   neks-wan
   1PL   go   ALL:to   another-another sand – hill over there   next-NR
   '"We'll go to that other sandridge over there, the next one."'

(Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35_0018-0020)

7.2.3 Frog Stories in Jaminjung and Kriol

The Frog Story narrations provide a good comparative basis for an investigation into the use of deictics and other techniques such as direct speech to create an intimate story world. However, there are also limitations to these narrations, because speakers tend to equate the picture's foreground with the deictic centre of the narration, therefore keeping themselves as deictic centres. Example (398) shows how the speaker uses the locomotion verb -*ruma* 'come' to indicate the frog's movement towards the deictic centre. The corresponding picture from the Frog Story can be seen on the left in Figure 29.

(398)   dibard   ga-**ram**=ni   malara! % <u>botl</u>-ngunyi
        jump   3SG-come.PRS=SFOC   frog   bottle-ABL
        'it comes jumping out, the frog, from the bottle' (ES97_A03_01.020-021, IP)
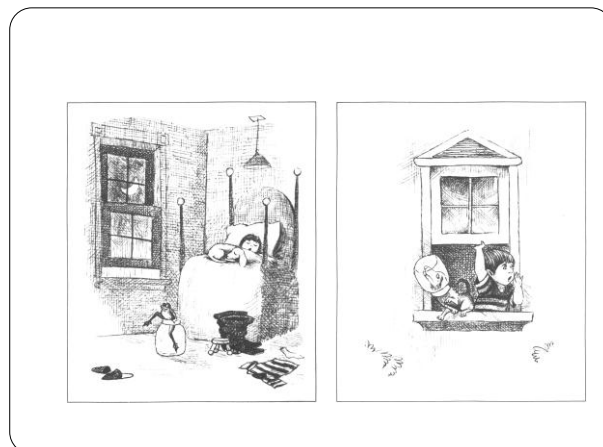
Figure 29: Deictic Centre in the foreground in the Frog Story narration (Mayer, 1969:3/9)

However, this example is not an instance of deictic shift since the actual speaker's deictic centre is also towards the picture's foreground when looking at it. An instance of using a deictic term having the speaker as origo is (399). Here, the speaker describes a picture

when the boy and the dog both look out of the window to call for the lost frog as seen on the right in Figure 29. The boy looks towards the direction of the person looking at the picture. For this speaker then, the real and the story world appear to be the same.

(399) *yinju*   *jarlig*   *barnang*   *ga-yu*   ***yinthuwurla***
       PROX   child   peep   3SG-be.PRS   PROX:DIR
       'the child is peeping towards here' (DH10_A11_05_0042, MM)

In summary, in the Jaminjung Frog Stories speakers did not use deictic demonstratives to emphasise a change in deictic centre. These were only used in the instances when the speaker referred to him/herself as deictic centre and in direct speech. Then the narrator opted for re-enacting key scenes in the story such as (400) when she speaks from the owl's point of view after it scared the boy to fall down from the tree. The owl as the deictic centre is here clearly indicated by the use of the proximal demonstrative *yinthuwurla* 'to here' and the deictic locomotion verb *–ruma* 'come'.

(400) *yanthi-**rum***   ***yinthuwurla***   *yagbali*   *ngarrgina*
       IRR:2SG-come   PROX:DIR   place   1SG:POSS
       '"You're coming here to my place."' (DH10_A03_02_0250, NR)

In all Kriol frog stories, deictics were rarely ever used by the speakers and often it is also not clear from context whether a deictic such as *deya* 'there' is used as a distance-neutral or distal term. Generally, it appears as if most deictics in the Kriol stories are distance neutral. Only in one story, deictics are used in direct speech as in example (401) which shows the difference between the deictic shift in the direct speech act of the boy re-enacted by the speaker in (401)(a) and a more general distance-neutral description of the scene in (b).

(401)
  (a) "*det*   *frog* *maitbi* *go*   ***dijey*** *la*   *dat…*   *maitbi*
            that   frog maybe go   here   ALL:to that   maybe
            langa   *det*   *buj-lat*"
            LOC   that   bush-lot
            '"the frog maybe went this way into, into the bushes"'

  (b) *det*   *buj* *insaid* ***deya***   *maitbi* *imin*   *goin*
            that   bush inside there   maybe 3SG:AUX.PST go+in

'the bushes into there, it (the frog?) maybe went'

(DH10_A15_05_0051-0052, JoJo)

Concerning the frog stories in general then, one can conclude that the speakers do not appear to make much use of the technique of deictic shift to create a more vivid story world for the listener. This, however, could be simply due to the nature of the frog story task, which was fulfilled by many of the speakers I worked with during my fieldtrip more as a picture-description than a story-telling task. This explains the high number of instances when speakers used proximal deictics to refer to pictures themselves rather than events depicted in the picture.

7.2.4 Conclusions on the Use of Deictics in Narrative

My analysis of the use of deictics focused on three types of discourse, namely traditional and personal narratives as well as Frog Story narrations. In conclusion it can be said that neither Jaminjung nor Kriol speakers used the technique of deictic shift with any consistency. For both languages, only isolated examples could be found and for most there were clear limitations to the analysis. For example, the Jaminjung story of Emu and Brolga could be analysed as using deictic shift in a densely packed narrative full of toponyms and deictic references. However, this was the only instance found where deictic shift occurred clearly. Additionally, the results need to be viewed with caution, due to limited knowledge of the contextual setting of the narration.

Firstly, there are some general problems with an analysis of the use of deictics in narrative. For example, no video recordings of any of the personal and traditional or the Frog Story narrations exist and therefore gestures accompanying or even replacing deictic terms could not be analysed. Secondly, the relations of narrated places to one another are largely unknown since no detailed map of the local area with Jaminjung placenames exists.

Instead of deictic shift, speakers of both languages employed other means of drawing the listener into the story world. Very prominently, direct speech was used in this respect. The occurrence of such a speech act can, but need not be marked by a verb of saying to introduce a protagonist's words or thoughts. Alternatively, it can be indicated by re-

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enactment using a different tone of voice. Deictics within the resulting quotations are then shifted from the speaker's to the speaking protagonist's perspective.

7.3   Motion as a Strategy for Structuring a Narrative

In this section I now turn my attention towards a more abstract understanding of motion. Here single motion event descriptions are is not so much focus rather than the journey as a structuring device in traditional and personal narratives in Jaminjung and Kriol. Spatial orientation and the routes of movement through the narrated world appear to be of high importance in any type of story-telling. Furthermore, the patters observed sometimes appear to follow the structure of a journey through space in addition to or even instead of time in the narrative structure.

In the mythological Jaminjung and Kriol stories investigated here, there is a striking trend to be observed. Irrespective of the contents of the story, speakers appear to focus to a great extent on the journeys taken during the story even if they – seemingly – do not contribute to the plot at all. This is also true for personal narratives which often involve trips and where apparently all significant stops and passed places are mentioned in great detail. However, since personal narrations are part of oral history, they are – potentially – of as much importance as traditional stories and together with them form "oral maps of the country" (Klapproth, 2004:69). Example (402) from a Kriol personal narrative shows this pattern very clearly when the speaker mentions passed cows and horsemen during a journey from a visit to a dam which are not of any apparent significance to the remainder of the narration. This particular story will be analysed in some more detail in section 7.3.2.2.

(402)
  a) mibala   bin   kipgon   na
     1PL.excl   AUX.PST   keep+going   NOW
     'we continued on then'

  b) wi   bin   gam-an   wi   bin   hid -im
     1PL   AUX.PST   come-on   1PL   AUX.PST   hit -TR
     ola   kawu-mob   bajam
     all   cow-GROUP   first
     'we drove along and first off we came across some cattle.'

c) *brom*   *jea*   *o -ola*   *munanga*   *garra*
   ABL:from   there   or -all   European   with
   yarraman *garrim* *hos*   *yuno*
   horse   with   horse   you+know
   'Then we came across some white men with *yarraman*, with some horses.'

d) *mibala*   *baj-im*   *na*   *olabat*   *an*
   1PL.excl   pass-TR   NOW   3PL   and
   mibala   *kipgon*   *raidap*   *langa*   *-lang*   *rod*
   1PL.excl   keep+going   until   LOC   -LOC   road
   'we passed them and continued along the road'
                                        (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0042-0045)

These observations suggest to an Aboriginal narrator, not only telling a story, but also telling the country travelled in is of utmost importance. This concept is also evident in traditional Aboriginal storytelling techniques (Bavin, 2004:18, McGregor, 2005:31) which appear not to focus on a telling of a story in a linear sequence of events but rather tell the story as visiting important places in it. I will argue that the narrators at times use a spatial rather than a temporal structure to organise the stories told. This implicates that the temporal structure of the narrative could potentially, but not necessarily, not follow a sequential pattern.

For Jaminjung I will focus on two traditional and one personal story in particular. Firstly, a recording of *Jiniminy* which appears to be told on-site[60] and forms part of a much more complex narrative is analysed focussing on a spatial narrative structure and traditional story-telling techniques in section 7.3.1.1. This is followed by an analysis of *Murdmurd*, told off-site, not at the geographical location of the dreaming site, and apparently providing a more Westernised pattern of storyline, but incorporating the journey as an important structuring principle in it (7.3.1.2). An analysis of a personal narrative reveals that the journey and spatial narrative structure maintain their significance for other types of narratives as well (7.3.1.3).

Concerning Kriol, I will analyse a traditional narrative (the Cloud Story) in some detail and show how the journey itself acts as a structuring principle reflected in the overall composition of the narrative as well as the linguistic means used in section 7.3.2.1.

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[60] The assumption that the story is told at the geographical location of one of the sites associated with the Dreaming is based on linguistic components of the narrative such as deictic expressions and structural observations explained in more detail in the following section 7.3.1.1. The Dreaming itself travels which is why this is only one site.

Furthermore, I will comment on general journey features of a number of personal as well as traditional narratives and some other motion-related features of narrative structure in section 7.3.2.2.

7.3.1 Spatial and Motion Structure in Jaminjung Narratives

7.3.1.1 *Stealing, Spearing and Back – Jiniminy, a Jaminjung Narrative*

The *Jiniminy* story occupies an exceptional place in the corpus of narratives available to me. There are six different versions of the narrative and none is like the other in terms of content, length or detail. This synopsis tries to give a brief summary of the plot, but, as explained below, might not be accurate concerning the linear order of events. The narrative is about the ghostbat Jiniminy that was promised two of the Rainbow serpent's daughters as wives. When Rainbow fails to keep his promise, Jiniminy spears him and steals his fire from him. He then attempts to steal the daughters after hiding under bark sheets of a paperbark tree, but they and many other creatures chase him off. When he reaches a river, another animal catches up with him and attempts to spear him, but misses and only hits the fire on his head which makes the water sparkle. The two daughters then raise floodwaters and Jiniminy nearly drowns while trying to cross the river. He survives, but only after eating some special meat to become strong again. He finally ends up marrying the daughters.

A tentative linear story line re-constructed from the six versions of the narration in Table 18 tries to give an overview of the different story-lines embedded in the greater Jiniminy narration. It is, however, not always clear which actions happened to which protagonist. This is especially true when protagonists are being changed even within narrations as in story 1 that I will analyse in more detail. Some of the locations that play part in the story – when placenames are mentioned – remain the same in all recordings, for others however, either the names only or the actual locations change in different narrations as is especially noteworthy for the place where Jiniminy speared Rainbow.

Episode[61]	Plot	Story[62]
Start	Jiniminy comes from **Legune** (direction of)	1

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[61] Episodes are divided into 7 main episodes (A-G) and within them a number of smaller sub-episodes (1-5)
[62] The numbers identify different recordings of Jiniminy:
1: ES96_V06_01, 2: ES01_A01_01, 3: ES01_A03_07, 4: ES01_A03_08, 5: ES03_A03_01,6 6: ES08:A04_02

A1 marriage proposal	Jiniminy asks Rainbow/Crocodile for his daughters at **Girrinjigi**	1, 6
B1	Jiniminy waits and gets angry	6
B2 death of Rainbow	Jiniminy spears Rainbow at **Mayiwa/Gayitnginy/Gungany/Girringili**	1, 2, 3, 6
B3	Rainbow drowns at **Ginirlmung/Rainfall?**	1, 5
C1 stealing of fire	Jiniminy takes Rainbow's fire	5, 6
A		
D1 chasing of Jiniminy	Jiniminy is chased by many angry beings for killing Rainbow	6
D2	Mijiming runs after Jiniminy and makes a hairstring	4
D3	Jiniminy escapes them	6
E1 River crossing	Jiniminy takes off all his clothes at **Banggangga**	4
E2	Jiniminy crawls into the water	6
E3	Jiniminy crosses the river at **Thudbil (Dudbirl)**	4
C2	Jiniminy takes the fire into the water	3, 6
D4	Gaguya (small marsupial) or some type of bird spear Jiniminy while he crosses the river sending sparks everywhere	6
E4	The two daughters raise the floodwater level so that Jiniminy nearly drowns	1, 5
E5	Two parrots help Jiniminy to get across the water	5
F1 Recovery	Jiniminy barely escapes, but gets out and has to crawl out	5
F2	Jiniminy catches blue tongue skink and goanna to get well again	1
C3	Jiniminy takes the fire to **Burruluny** (black rock) / **Kimbul**	5, 6
A2	Jiniminy goes after the daughters searching for long yam/fishing	3
A3	Jiniminy hides inside a paperbark tree/underneath paperpark pieces across from **Legune**	1, 3, 5
A4	Jiniminy comes out **from Kimul** and offers daughters roasted kangaroo	1, 3, 5
A5	Jiniminy marries two daughters	1
G1 coming together of Jiniminy and wives	The two daughters follow their husband Jiniminy who came out from **Kattamarlka** to **Marralam**	6
End	No further events are known after Jiniminy gets to **Jarrajarrang**	6

Table 18: Jiniminy Story Line

As becomes clear from Table 18, *Jiniminy* is a long and complex story containing a number of different episodes and protagonists. I believe the story forms part of a Dreaming Track and only parts of it are narrated by the speaker who is responsible for that piece of the track. The notion of Dreaming Tracks is uniquely Australian and crucial for understanding

Aboriginal culture and narrative. It is particularly well captured and explained by Myers (1986:49-50) :

> Frequently known as totemic ancestors in anthropological literature, the mythological personages of The Dreaming travelled from place to place, hunted, performed ceremony, fought and finally turned into stone or "went into the ground, where they remain. The actions of these powerful beings – animal, human and monster – created the world as it now exists. They gave it outward from, identity (a name), and internal structure. The desert is crisscrossed with their lines of travel, and, just as an animal's tracks leave a record of what happened, the geography and special features of the land – hills, creeks, salt lakes, trees – are marks of the ancestors' activities. Places where exceptionally significant events took place, where power was left behind, or where the ancestors went into the ground and still remain are special sacred sites.

In light of this background, it is then not surprising that the different narrations of the story appear to only tell individual episodes rather than a closed-off comprehensive plot. For example, none of the versions in my corpus explains about the origin of Jiniminy or when and how the Rainbow serpent promised him two of his daughters as wives. Similarly, we do not know what happens to him after he recovers from almost drowning in the floodwaters and finally marrying the daughters. Additionally, the speakers repeated numerous times that the location of the story's episodes was within 'their' or their mother's country. These reassurances are not only of great significance to the individual, but also exhibit a political dimension for Native Title claims[63] in Australia when recorded and published in that they incorporate a claim to traditional ownership of the country in question. Furthermore, because the story is linked to an individual and his/her places only, parts of the bigger narration set elsewhere will not be mentioned.

With the numerous versions in the corpus recorded between 1996 and 2008 with three speakers from Kununurra and one from Gilwi, the narration of *Jiniminy* is a great example of Aboriginal story telling. It is noteworthy that apart from the main protagonist, the ghostbat Jiniminy, other narrated figures appear flexible in the form of animal they take. So is the rainbow serpent that is speared by Jiniminy in the Gilwi narration a freshwater crocodile and while some speakers identify the creature that catches up with

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[63] "Native title is the recognition by Australian law that some Indigenous people have rights and interests to their land that come from their traditional laws and customs." (http://www.nntt.gov.au/What-Is-Native-Title/Pages/What-is-Native-Title.aspx accessed on 25/07/2011) Since The Native Title Act passed in 1993 143 claims have of native title have been recognised to date throughout Australia and a further 458 applications are currently pending (http://www.nntt.gov.au/Native-Title-In-Australia/Pages/National-Perspective.aspx accessed 25/07/2011)

Jiniminy at the river crossing and tries to spear him as a crimson finch others say it's a small marsupial.

One version of Jiniminy in particular displays many 'typical' phenomena and characteristics of Aboriginal narratives as described by Klapproth (2004) and serves therefore as my basis of analysis. The entire story is displayed in Table 19 for ease of access. All following line references are based on this table.

Line	Episode	Speaker	Jaminjung Text	Gloss	Translation
1	START	DM	*yina-ngunyi ga-ruma-ny Leguna-ngunyi,*	DIST-ABL 3SG-come-PST n_top-ABL	He came from over there, from Legune
2			*Jiniminy*	ghost.bat	The bat
3	A1		*yalumburrma ga-gba=ni walyang *	Freshie 3SG-be.PST=SFOC in.front	the Crocodile was already (waiting) there,
4			*Girrinjingi*	n_top	at Girrinjingi
5	START		*ga-ruma-ny biya yina-ngunyi,*	3SG-come-PST now DIST-ABL	he came from over there,
6			*yinjuwurla ga-ruma-ny=ni garna-wurru,*	PROX:DIR 3SG-come-PST=SFOC spear-PROPR	he came here with a spear
7			*milarrang-burru ga-ruma-ny olewei *	spear-PROPR 3SG-come-PST all.the.way	with a spear he came all the way
8			*wurdbaj *	look.around	looking around
9			*ga-jga-ny,*	3SG-go-PST	he went,
10	A1		*Yalumburrma-ni=biya ganuny-ngangarna-nyi.. Ngalangan jirram *	freshie-ERG=now 3SG:3DU-RDP:give-IMPF Young.Girl two	the Crocodile was going to give him two Young Girls
11			*baramaj, niwina-wu=nu Jiniminy *	promise 3SG.POSS-DAT=3SG.OBL Bat	promised, to him the Bat
12			*baramaj gani-yu lambarra-ni *	promise 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST WiFa-ERG	he had promised it, the father in law,
13			*Yalumburrma-ni*	freshie-ERG	the Crocodile
14			*ga-jga-ny biya:,*	3SG-go-PST now	he went then,

15	B1			*ga-gba=nu widimbat,*	3SG-be.PST=3SG.OBL wait:TR:CONT	he was waiting,
16				*nangulany gan-bu-ngarna, gani-yu=nu *	when 3SG:1SG-POT-give 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST=3SG.OBL	When will he give them to me? he said
17				*thamarlung *	nothing	nothing.
18	A3			*bard-bard,*	RDP-cover	covered up,
19				*bard-bard ga-rra-ja burrinyi .. bagarli-ni *	cover-RDP 3SG-put-REFL.PST 3DU paperbark-ERG	he covered himself for them two, with paperbark,
20				*bagarli-ni bard-bard ga-gba=na,*	paperbark-ERG cover-RDP 3SG-be.PST=now	he was covered in paperbark then, (their swags)
21				*Ngarlangan=biyang buny-ijga-ny gagawurli-wu *	Young.Girl=now 3DU-go-PST long.yam-DAT	the Two Young Girls went for long yam
22	B2			*gani-jga-ny-*	3SG:3SG-poke-PST	He speared him,
23				*lambarra-ngunthu gani-jga-ny na, garna-ni *	WiFa-KIN3 3SG:3SG-poke-PST now spear-ERG	his father in law he speared, with a spear,
24				*Jiniminy-ni=marlang gani-jga-ny Yalumburrma *	Bat-ERG=GIVEN 3SG:3SG-poke-PST freshie	the Bat speared the Crocodile,
25				*digirrij *	die	dead
26	A2			*bunyagba=biya=ni, gagawurli-ngulung buny-ijga-ny,*	3DU-be.PST=now=SFOC?? long.yam-PURP 3SG:3SG-go-PST	the two were there, they went for long yam,
27				*Ngarlangan=jirram,*	Young.Girl=two	the Two Young Girls,
28	A3			*ji=biya bard-bard ga-rra-ja burrinyi na, larriny *	3SG=now cover-RDP 3SG-put-REFL.PST 3DU now paperbark	He, on the other hand, covered himself up for the two, with paperbark

29			*buru=biyang bunduma-ny gabugabu yina-ngunyi,*	return=now 3DU:come-PST afternoon DIST-ABL	they came back in the afternoon from there,
30			*jurrb=guji gagawurli buny-garra-ny,*	left.multiply=FIRST long.yam 3DU:3SG-put-PST	the two put down the long yam roots first,
31			*guyug dalb-dalb buny-garra-ny,*	fire light-RDP 3DU:3SG-put-PST	the two lit a fire,
32			*warrany bunya-ngu *	remove.cover 3DU:3SG-get/handle.PST	they uncovered (the swags)
33			*jarriny=malang warrany gan-arra-ny,*	cave=GIVEN remove.cover 3SG:3SG-put-PST	the hole (hiding place) he uncovered
34	A5		*u:, nanbarn dijan, ba-wun-dum ngarrgu!*	oh, wife DEM IMP-2DU-come 1SG.OBL	Oh, these are my wives, come to me, you two!
35			*gani-yu bunyag *	3SG:3SG-say/do.PST 3DU.OBL	he said to the two
36			*durd ganuny-ngangu *	hold.one 3SG:3DU-get/handle.PST	he grabbed the two
37			*burru jalag gagba*	belly good 3SG-be.PST	he was happy
38			*burru=biya jalag ga-gba, Jiniminy-ni *	belly=now good 3SG-be.PST Bat-ERG?	he was happy now, the Bat,
39	B2		*lambarra=malang niwina gani-jja-ny *	WiFa=GIVEN 3SG.POSS 3SG:3SG-poke-PST	he speared his father in law,
40			*Yalumburrma *	freshie	the Crocodile.
41			*gan-ijga-ny=biyang, digirrij *	3SG:3SG-poke-PST=now dead	he speared him now, dead
42	A5		*nanbarn=jirrama durd=biyang ganuny-ngangu *	wife=two hold.one=now 3SG:3DU-get/handle.PST	his two wives, he grabbed them now
43			*ganuny-mama-na jirdib *	3SG:3DU-have-IMPF married	he had the two as spouses,

44			*jirdib ganuny-nga-nyi (??)*	married 3SG:3DU-get??-IMPF	he married the two
45		DMc	*det yangarra!*	DEM kangaroo	the kangaroo
46			*ganuny-ma-ya jum (??) barlb buyu (??),*	3SG:3DU-have-PRS ?? stuck.flat ??	he has the two as a painting
47			*wanang- wanang-gi Guniny (??),*	where where-LOC n_top	where, at Guniny??
48			*minyka=na, intit?*	what's.it=now TAG	what's it's name?
49		JL	*Wambaj*	n_top	Wambaj
50		DM	*Wambaj*	n_top>	Wambaj
51		DBit	*malang xx*	across	across
52		DM	*Girrinjingi*	n_top>	Girrinjingi
53		JL	*dei bin go malang, intit?*	3PL AUX.PST go across right	they went across the river, didn't they?
54		DM	*xxxx walnginy*	walk	walked
55		DBit	*a, Auntie,*	aunt	My aunt
56			*malang, intit, buyi- burrg-mayan (??) buny-ma=nu gugu wanang?*	across TAG clap??-CONT 3DU 3SG-hit.PST=3SG.OBL?? water	across, is that right, the two ??? the water for him, where?
57		DM	*malang,*	across	across
58	B1	JL	*Ginirlmug-ni=ma gani-jga-ny xxx*	n_top-LOC=SR 3SG:3SG-poke-PST ??	he speared him at Ginirlmug
59		DBit	*Ginirlmug-ni=mang gani- gani-yu... gani-yu xxx gin.girlng (??)*	n_top-LOC=SR 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST ?? ??	at Ginirlmug he threw- threw ???
60	B3	JL	*imin get draun, wilany-gi *	current-LOC	he got drowned in the current
61		DM	*wilany-ni=ma ga-gba (??)*	current-LOC=SR 3SG-be.PST	he was in the current,
62		JL	*Ngurrgbany,*	Rainbow	The Rainbow

63	E4	DM	*gugu=biya bunygarlu warnaba, <u>intit</u>?*	water=now 3DU-?? flood TAG	the two ?? water now, floodwater, right?
64		JL	*ngih?*	TAG	Is that right
65		DM	*nganthan=biyang (?) gugu..*	what=now water	what's (?) the water,
66			*bawu buny-angu xx *	open 3DU:3SG-get/handle.PST	the two opened' it,
67			*warnaba ga-jga-ny=nu:,*	flood 3SG-go-PST=3SG.OBL	a floodwater went for him,
68			*ngabijalag gan-arra-ny=ni*	overflow 3SG:3SG-put-PST=SFOC	he made it overflow
69			*Ngurrgbany=malang *	Rainbow=GIVEN	the Rainbow,
70			*digirrijjung *	dead-RESTR	dead
71		DMc	*xx Jiniminy!*	Bat	The bat
72		DM	*Jiniminy,*	Bat	The bat
73		DM	*Jiniminy, <u>nomo</u> Ngurrgbany, Jiniminy*	Bat NEG Rainbow Bat	the Bat, not the Rainbow, the Bat
74			<u>*en*</u> *Ngurrgbany=malang gan-ijga-ny Jiniminy ^<u>na</u>, digirrij, burrb *	and Rainbow=GIVEN 3SG:3SG-poke-PST BAT now dead finish	and the Rainbow it was that the Bat speared then, dead, finished
75			*jirram=biya (??) Ngarlangan=jirram=ni,*	two=now Young.Girl=two-ERG??	the Two Young Girls,
76			*buny-garra-ny=nu gugu <na>, warnaba *	3DU:3SG-put-PST=3SG.OBL water now flood	the two made water for him then, floodwater
77			*warnaba-ni luba-ni ngabijalag ganuga yinyug (??),*	flood-ERG big-ERG overflow 3SG:3SG-take.PST ??	a big floodwater swept him away, overflowing (?)
78			*Jiniminy=malang,*	BAT=GIVEN	the Bat,
79			*digirrij-nyunga *	dead-ORIG	(from?) the dead one

80		JL	*xx buya xx*	downstream	downstream
81		Dbit	*dijey buya (bore?) samwe,*	DEM downstream? somewhere	this way, somewhere downstream (?)
82		DM	*Gujang=gun gani-yu *	mother=EMPH 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST	Mother said,
83			*yinthu gurr diwu-*	PROX ?? fly	here ?? he threw,
84	B2		*diwu gana-jgiya-ny hiya samwe,*	fly 3SG:3SG-throw-PST	he threw a spear here somewhere,
85	F2		*en ngayin minyka=nguji=biya, lurrb-mayan=ngunyi,*	and meat what's.it=ETC=now seize?-CONT=ABL	and meat what's its name, having killed it,
86			*thawaya gagba nganthan-ngantha:*	eating 3SG-be.PST what-RDP	he was eating something,
87			*n, jalag .. biyang gani-yu *	good now 3SG:3SG-say/do.PST	and he got better,
88			*mawud=biya diwu'-mayan ga-gba, xx?*	stone.spear.point=now fly-CONT 3SG-be.PST	he was throwing a bottle spear,
89		JL	*mawud*	stone.spear.point	a bottle spear
90		DBit	*mawud, yeah *	stone.spear.point, yeah	a bottle spear, yes
91			*Jiniminy ^na!*	Bat EMPH	the Bat
92		DM	*thanthiya-ngunyi xxx-*	DEM-ABL	from there-
93	A4		*yangarra *	kangaroo	Kangaroo
94			*imin givit yangarra *	3SG.AUX.PST give-TR kangaroo	he gave them a kangaroo
95			*ngayin xxx*	meat	meat
96			*ganuny-ngarna-ny, yangarra*	3SG:3DU-give-PST kangaroo	he gave it to them two, a kangaroo
97			*murl gan-arra-ny=ngunyi,*	roast 3SG:3SG-put-PST=ABL	that he had roasted

98			*junku-ni murl gan-arra-ny,*	hot.stone-LOC roast 3SG:3SG-put-PST	roasted on/with hot stones,
99			*warrany gan-angu,*	remove.cover 3SG:3SG-get/handle.PST	he took it out,
100			*ganuny-ngarna-ny *	3SG:3DU-give-PST	he gave it to them two,
101			*juyug ganuny-ngarna-ny *	cooked 3SG:3DU-give-PST	cooked he gave it to them two,
102			*Jiniminy *	bat	bat
103			*Ngarlangan=jirram na dij (??) ngayin *	young.Girl=two now DEM meat.animal	to the Two Young Girls now this meat,
104			*ganuny-ngarna-ny=ni *	3SG:3DU-give-PST=SFOC	he gave it to the two

Table 19: Jiniminy Story by DM from Gilwi recorded in 1996

It has been noted that visual representation of a narrative is culturally highly relevant and therefore the stories tend to resemble a drawing that typically depicts an areal perspective showing places and travelled paths. In both the drawings and the narrations it is then of utmost importance to locate events or sites in detail (Bavin, 2004:19). The *Jiniminy* narrative follows a spatial and not a temporal sequence of events. This in connection with the abridged versions told, makes it particularly hard for any outsiders to grasp the full extent of the plot. It must be noted that to Australia's indigenous people the "dreamtime" stories are considered oral history rather than fictive stories and speakers continuously insist that they are, in fact, real. They then form, together with the land they are set in, the cultural basis for life and customs of the Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru people. The story of *Jiniminy* is 'written' on the land and serves as a geographical guide as well as explaining natural phenomena (the "sparkling" of water in the sun) for its keepers and listeners.

When trying to use the 'classic' Labovian framework of oral narrative structure (Labov, 1972), it soon becomes clear that it can not straightforwardly be applied to the structure of *Jiniminy*. In Table 20 all elements are listed and in the following discussion I will show where the story complies to and when it differs structurally from the model.

1. (Abstract)
2. Orientation
3. Complicating Action
4. Evaluation
5. Result or Resolution
6. (Coda)

Table 20: Labov's Framework of Narrative Structure (Labov, 1972:363)

There are two optional elements in Labov's model, namely abstract (i.e. summary of narrative events at the beginning of the story) and coda (a conclusive statement at the end) forming a frame of the story. In the Jiniminy version I analysed, these are not in use. I believe that this might be explained by the nature of the story-telling in a recording setting with linguists and thus prompted in a non-culturally typical way. However, since these two elements are not said to be mandatory in many narrations, their absence is not too surprising.

The orientation stage to identify time, place, main protagonists and their actions is included by the narrator at the beginning of the story. Between lines 1 and 13, the main protagonist Jiniminy is introduced as well as the temporal starting point of the story, the location, and their actions, specifically the time when Jiniminy comes to the crocodile/rainbow snake to claim the promised daughters as wives.

According to Labov (1972), the structural core of any narrative are the complicating action (i.e. the unfolding of events which form the narrative) evaluation (i.e. the means used by the narrator to indicate what the point of the narrative is, why it was told) and resolution (i.e. the results or solution to the action that took place in the narrative). While all of these elements occur in the narration of Jiniminy I analyse here, they do not follow a linear order in time and are broken up by narrations of other subevents. For example, the orientation stage between lines 1 and 13 is followed by a beginning complicating action that ultimately leads to the spearing of the crocodile/rainbow snake between lines 14 and 17. However, this is interrupted by narrating a complicating action of another subevent how Jiniminy abducted the two daughters by covering himself up in lines 18 to 21 which comes much later in a temporal order of events. Following this, the spearing is told in lines 22 to 25 before the narrator resumes telling of the covering event and how Jiniminy took the daughters as wives (26-38).

I argue that contrary to a narrative that follows a temporal order of events the series of events narrated here is recounted following a spatial ordering and movement between (real) places of significance to the narrative. While doing this, however, the speaker keeps focused on a main theme, the discovery and persuasion of the daughters. I believe that this focus has to do with the location of the speaker. He is at the time of recording at Gimul which appears to be the place where the discovery and marrying of the daughters took place. Consequently, the narrative flow returns continuously to this place which is even marked with a proximal deictic *yinjuwurla* 'here' in line 6 setting the deictic centre of the narration here. Properties of a spatial over temporal ordering of events are listed in Table 21 below.

Spatial Ordering	Temporal Ordering
• general broken up narration of subevents	• typically unbroken narrative flow
• unmarked interruptions by telling of subevents that occur at a different time in the story	• marked flashbacks and narrations of following events
• spatial centre (real world location) which equals the narrative centre as focus of the story-telling	• focus of narrative attention independent of location
• repetitive narration of sub-events	• singular narration of subevents

Table 21: Properties of Spatial and Temporal Ordering of Narrative Subevents

Figure 30 shows the difference between the – presumed – temporal order of events in the Jiniminy narrative and the spatial ordering that is used by the speaker in my example. The place of the discovery of the daughters is the base for the narration and all other events are oriented around it. From the introduction, the narrator first mentions the discovery at length only interrupted by two brief descriptions of the spearing of the rainbow snake. Marriage is the next step moving on from the discovery of the daughters. This incident then leads further to episodes of river crossing with the daughter's attack on Jiniminy. While his injury is gapped from the narration, the healing process is briefly mentioned before the narrator returns the story again to the discovery place. This is where the story began and may be told again in another version from here. It then becomes clear that the narrative structure of the story follows a type of organisation which leads the protagonists back and forth between the base place (*Gimul*) and a series of other locations that are visited most likely in the order of spatial arrangement rather than temporal sequence of events happening at them.
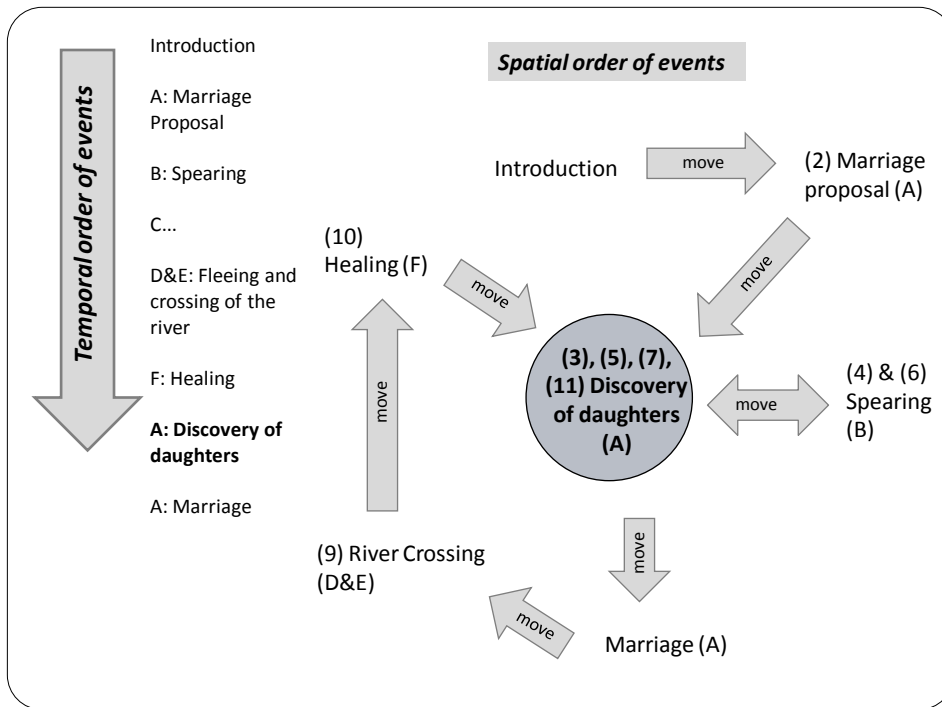
Figure 30: Temporal versus spatial order of events in the *Jiniminy* story

This spatial ordering of events in the narrative is also reflected in linguistic expressions of movement and static location. However, only four times in the story analysed, movement between spaces and episodes is structurally expressed with a locomotion verb. In line 9, the narrator moves from the introduction to the promise of the Rainbow snake using the inflecting verb *–ijga* 'go' to describe Jiniminy's movement without however indicating a direction or goal. The deictic locomotion verb *-ruma* 'come', on the other hand, is used four times before this instance to describe the movement of the bat towards the deictic centre of the narrator. Therefore, *-ijga* 'go' here expresses movement away from the speaker towards a different part of the story where the rainbow had promised his daughters to Jiniminy.

Similarly, in line 14 *-ijga* 'go' is used again on its own without indicating direction or goal, but apparently movement towards another episode where Jiniminy is waiting for the rainbow to give the daughters to him. In line 21 *-ijga* 'go' is again used to describe the daughters' movement in search for long yam at an episodic boundary. Here the narration moves backwards again from the place of discovery to the spearing event. After just three lines, the speaker moves the narration back again to the daughters' discovery using first the static *-yu* 'be' to describe the location of the girls and then repeating the motion

event phrase with *-ijga* 'go' describing the search for long yam however, this time reversing the word order from IV- NP to NP-IV.

Finally, in line 92, the speaker indicates movement away from a source by expressing an ablative-marked deictic (the IV is not intelligible). Again the expression of movement marks an episode boundary and movement from the place of spearing back towards the location of the daughters' discovery.

Generally, it appears as if motion event descriptions are used in the story to firstly set the scene in the beginning of the narration using the deictic IV *-ruma* 'come' for Jiniminy's entrance emphasising the long travels he already have had until arriving at the rainbow serpent's place. The general locomotion verb *–ijga* 'go', presumably with deictic meaning in some cases indicating movement away from the speaker's deictic centre, is then used almost exclusively to mark episodic boundaries in the narration where the story 'moves' from one place/episode to another.

In addition to these four instances of overt movement expression at episode boundaries, five other boundaries are marked with either static descriptions of location (line 3), or resolution-type events where actions appear to come to a standstill (*thamarlung* 'nothing' in line 17, *jalag* 'happy' in line 38, and *digirrij* 'dead' in lines 25 and 41). At each of these event boundaries, the narration moves back in time to an, in a linear order of events, earlier episode.

So it seems as if these static location and resolution descriptions are used to indicate a permanent situation from where there appears to be no moving forward. Instead, the narrator moves back in time and to a different location after which the narration can unfold again. This is particularly apparent from line 38 onwards when the narration comes to a standstill describing Jiniminy's success in finding and marrying the two daughters with the coverb *jalag* 'good'. Then the narrator moves far back in time and place to the spearing event, marking the participant of the rainbow snake with the clitic *malang* 'given' referring to an aforementioned entity or referent. This episode is concluded with *digirrij* 'dead' to describe the death and therefore permanently static situation of the rainbow snake. From there the narration moves again back to the marriage episode where it is interrupted by a discussion of placenames by other speakers present.

Spatial ordering of events and either overtly expressed movement between episodes and places, or a standstill of actions leads to a covertly expressed movement to a different place in order to keep the narrative flow going. Motion within the narrative context itself of protagonists and entities (e.g. lines 29, 34 and 67) as well as motion between episodes and their locations on a structural level then becomes a major means of narrative composition. This observation does not only hold true for traditional narratives as the Jiniminy story described here, but apparently also for personal narrations. This is explored in section 7.3.1.3. Before addressing this, however, I take a look at another traditional narrative that was told in a different setting than Jiniminy and hence displays a different structuring scheme.

7.3.1.2 _Filling Rivers – Murdmurd – a Jaminjung story_

This traditional story is about how Murdmurd stole all the water from the rivers and only a left-handed frog could finally bring the water back to fill the dried-out river beds. This narrative was chosen because of its differences to the story of Jinimiy discussed above which follows a traditional pattern as an on-site story consisting of many complex parts and episodes whose interplay is hard to comprehend. This version of _Murdmurd_ on the other hand is told in a very compact nature and narrated away from the actual dreaming site.

Similar to _Jinimiy_, the story appears to also form part of a more complex narration about the formation of rivers, gorges and billabongs, where the creation of wet and dry seasons that lies in the centre of Murdmurd is only one episode. However, these other episodes are not narrated at all or even mentioned in this story-telling. The narration for this recording was triggered by showing the speaker a number of information boards I photographed while climbing up a sign-posted walk of an escarpment near Victoria River Roadhouse without the speaker present[64]. The only board that was recognised by the speaker was the one about Murdmurd. Therefore, I believe that the speaker did not deliberately leave out the other episodes but simply did not know the stories to them.

Even though there are no placenames mentioned at all to locate the story world in a real setting, two distal deictics create a sense of place in lines 16 and 17 in Table 22 when the two brolgas that formed Murdmurd fall down and create the totemic dreaming site

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[64] All photos are provided in the appendix in 10.6.

where the story has, presumably, its origin. A reference to space seems necessary here since place and story are, as discussed above, inseparably linked to one another. Since the speaker does not tell the story on-site, she uses an unspecified distal deictic term with presumably herself as the deictic centre. Therefore she still maintains the direct connection between space and story by not referring to the place with a toponym but – in a sense – a more personal deictic term referring to a far away distance.

Section	Jaminjung Text	Gloss	Translation
A 1. Sudden introduction of mythical being Murdmurd	*murdmurd-murdmurd biyang* **ga- jga -ny**	murdmurd- murdmurd now 3SG-go-PST	The Murdmurd then went
B 2 honey eating as trigger of action	*thawaya ga-gba, wajgany*	eating 3SG-be.PST honey	He was eating honey
3	*gurrany ganurru-ngarna -ny naja - lot =marlang*	NEG 3SG>3PL-give-PST another-lot=GIVEN	He didn't give any of it to anybody else
4	*marring waj* **gan-unga -ny** *burrag*	bad leave 3SG>3SG-leave-PST 3PL.OBL	He only left the bad (parts) of the honey for them
5	*wajgany ji =biji =wung gani- minda -ny*	honey 3SG=ONLY=RESTR 3SG>3SG-eat-PST	He ate the honey all by itself
C 6 movement towards the water	**yugung** *=biyang* **ga-jga -ny** *thamurrugu gugu-wu*	run=NOW 3SG-go-PST down water-DAT	He ran down, down for water
D 7 sudden doubling of protagonist and stealing of the water	*gudarrg jirram -ni biyang* **diwu buny-guga** *gugu =malang % thanggagu*	Brolga two -ERG/INST now fly 3DU>3SG-take.PST water=GIVEN % up	The two brolgas took the water up (into the sky) flying
8	*"gudarrg gudarrg" mayan buny- agba* **thanggagu**	"gudarrg gudarrg" CONT 3DU-be.PST up	The two were going "gudarrg, gudarrg" up (in the sky)
E 9 Assembly of frogs to claim back water	*malara biyang yirrb burru- mili -ya*	frog now come.together 3PL>3SG-get/handle-PRS	(A lot of) frogs get together then
10	*jungulug jungulug jirram <u>trai -im trai -im</u> burru burru- yu thamarlung*	one one two RDP-try+to–TR FS 3PL>3SG-say/do.PST nothing	One after the other tried again and again to hit him (with a spear), but

			(they were all) unsuccessful
F 11 Left-handed frog saves the day	*thanthu =biyang malara* **yirr ga- rum -any** *jungulug* <u>*ai -l pud –im det*</u>	DEM=NOW frog move.out 3SG-come-PST one < 1SG -FUT put –TR that	A frog then came out, that one, yes I'll put it like that
12	*walujud -bari -ni jurruny -ni gani- ma biyang*	left-handed? -QUAL-LOC lower.arm-ERG/INST 3SG>3SG-hit.PST now	With the left hand he threw it then
13	*gani- ma=biyang minyga =malang lambung gugu- wurru*	3SG>3SG-hit.PST=NOW what's.it=GIVEN coolamon water-PROPR	He hit what's it called, the coolamon with the water (in it) with (the spear)
14	*oh gani-ma*	oh 3SG>3SG-hit.PST	Oh he hit it!
15	*gugu* **ga- rdba -ny** *biyang*	water 3SG-fall-PST now	The water fell down then
G 16 turning of the two brolgas into mythical being Murdmurd	*yinawurla murdmurd gani- yu*	DIST murdmurd 3SG>3SG-say/do.PST	Over there it turned into the Murdmurd then
17	**yina** *yeah* **yinawurla** *murdmurd gani- yu thamurrugu wagug ngib ngib wagug wagug*	DIST oh DIST murdmurd 3SG>3SG-say/do.PST down croak croak croak croak croak	Yeah, to there the Murdmurd fell, down and down (like a stone) (and the frogs all) croaked and croaked
H 18 Mythical frog beings turn into real frogs	*burru- yu malara*	3PL>3SG-say/do.PST frog	Said the frogs
I 19 Murdmurd turns into a brolga	"*gudarrg gudarrg*" *gani- yu gudarrg*	"gudarrg gudarrg" 3SG>3SG-say/do.PST brolga	the brolga said "gudarrg gudarrg"
J 20 Conclusion	<u>*dets murrdmurrd drimin stori tharran*</u>	that -3SG.be.PRS murdmurd dreaming story that	that is the Murdmurd dreaming story here

Table 22: Murdmurd Dreaming Narrative

In Table 22 the thematic sections of the story are marked as letters A to J. This shows how the speaker very rapidly narrates most parts of the story, only being more detailed in key aspects such as the honey-eating as the trigger of action and the stealing of the water and the successful attempt of the left-handed frog to spear the coolamon to bring down the

water. What is striking, from a Western perspective, is that the protagonists are not introduced in much detail at all. A description of their features is kept to the necessary minimum which in turn leads to some confusion in the listener concerning the apparent various changes of the mythical being Murdmurd into two (?) real bird(s) brolga and back and forth again.

To sum up, the narrator of Murdmurd appears to be following a temporal order of events in telling the story. However, the story still displays some features of a spatial ordering such as the introduction of Murdmurd in line 1 with an inflecting verb of motion and with no explanation where he came from but only where he was going from there next. This then is similar to the above discussed use of motion verbs in the Jiniminy story to mark episode boundaries. Since a continuous narration of the story is presented here, there is no need for further marking of episode boundaries. There is also only one location in the narration receiving some kind of spatial description. This is the (distant) location of where Murdmurd and the frog-dreamtime-beings turned into their animal forms which is marked by a distal deictic in line 17.

This different type of structure could firstly be accounted for by the type of story Murdmurd is. In contrast to Jiniminy which narrates a number of specific places presumably along a dreaming track without an obvious beginning or end, this story is closed in itself. Here, the creation of the dry and the rainy season is in the centre of attention. Therefore the events appear of greater importance than the places where they took place. While, as typical for any Aboriginal narrative, some information appears to be deliberately left out, the story is told in a sequence of events following each other in logical sequence.

7.3.1.3   *A Trip to the Sea – a Trip at the Sea – a Jaminjung Personal Narrative*

The personal narrative chosen here is a particularly rich and lengthy description of a trip to the sea. The recording is 22 minutes long and is only very rarely interrupted by the recording linguist. A full transcription cannot be provided here due to space constraints, but Table 23 gives a summary of events, and episodes in the order in which they are told in the story. Additionally, some shorter excerpts will serve to highlight findings throughout this section.

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Episodes	Thematic episodes	Synopsis of events
1	Start of trip	Protagonist (non-speaker) Ben comes to town (location of speakers now) to pick them up and load supplies
2 3 4	Travel 1	Leaving town for Lookout Springs Travel Camp at Lookout Springs
5 6 7	Travel 2	Leave Lookout Springs Travel to Brolga Springs Loading supplies at Brolga Springs
8 9 10	Travel 3	Leave Brolga Springs Travel Arrive at River Crossing
11 12 13	Travel 4	Cross river Travel Arrive at first camp (on hill)
14	Overnight stay	Camp on the hill
15 16	Travel 5	Packing up and setting off in two boats Travelling with the boats
17 18	Returned Travel 5	Leaving camp at high tide with boats Travelling in boats (seeing sharks, turtles, fish)
19 20	Stranded Boat	One boat strands on sandbank At low tide people are forced to leave

-Journey to the destination ends here and days of staying in a camp start-

21	Setting up camp	Camping
22	Activities 1	Fishing
23	Activities 2	Digging up a well for fresh water
24 25 26 27	Activities 3	Mocking an old man who gathered more turtle eggs than he can carry Cooking the eggs Eating the eggs Children vomit from taste and look of eggs and old man criticises them for being 'soft'
28 29	Activities 4	Finding echidna Eating echidna
30 31	Returned Activities 3	Children try to fry turtle eggs instead of boiling them Children mock old man for eating turtle eggs
32 33	Activities 5	Getting stuck in quicksand Escaping the quicksand by crawling while being bitten by dogs
34	Returned Stranded boat	Boat gets lifted by high tide and is returned to shore

35	Returned	Being rescued from quicksand
36	Activities 5	White man calms distressed old man after rescue
37		Old man gets stuck in quicksand
38	Returned Activities 3	Gathering turtle eggs
39	Returned Activities 2	Digging up a well for fresh water
40	Returned Activities 3	Gathering turtle eggs
41	Activities 6	Old man sleeps in kangaroo cave
42	Activities 7	Setting up camp in the sand
43	Activities 8	Rescue plane comes and leaves without landing due to a wrongly placed flag by the speakers
44	Activities 9	Hunting and eating mudcrabs
45	Returned Activities 7	Setting up camp

-Days of staying in a camp end here and return journey starts-

46	Travel 6	Leaving sand camp
47		Travel (by pushing out boat)
48		Reaching first camp (on hill)
49	Travel 7	Gathering all things and set off to return

-Return travel is interrupted by activities along the way-

| 50 | Activities 10 | (different) Echidna hunting, cooking and eating on the way back |
| 51 | Activities 11 | Bathing in freshwater to remove the salt from the bodies |

-Return travel is resumed-

| 52 | Travel 8 | Return to Lookout Springs |

Table 23: Sea Trip Storyline

As observed for the two traditional narratives under investigation earlier, this personal narration also starts with a motion event description to lead the listener into the story and to also start the narrative journey from there. The opening is included in example (403).

(403) gun-dum-any   gurrinyi   Ben   gun-dum-any   ngiya   _taun_
      2DU-come-PST   2DU   B.   2DU-come-PST   PROX   town
      'you two came, Ben and you (to) this town' (ES08_A04_05tt_0003, EH)

Introductory remarks about collecting supplies for the trip and the decision to take along some children are directly followed by a detailed description of the journey to the final

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destination of the trip at the sea. Five different travel segments are identified following a parallel pattern and only interrupted by an overnight stay along the way. It is noteworthy that the speakers pay much attention to detail and include all stages and stops in their description of the events, even though nothing of an 'extraordinary' nature happens.

However, from an Aboriginal perspective, all events taking place en route might be of significant nature, including repetitive actions such as stopping on the way, eating, or filling up the car. Speakers of both languages pay much attention to such events in my corpora. Klapproth (2004:283) remarks for Pitjantjatjarra narratives that "the distinction between the description of routine actions … and the description of events outside the daily routine … does not correlate with a differential distribution of the amount of descriptive and narrative detail". However, this view might be influenced by a 'Western' perspective on the significance and insignificance of events that might not be shared by Aboriginal storytellers.

Example (404) shows how such a travel episode (Travel 3) is expressed by the two speakers in discourse. A stopover at Brolga Springs to fill up a water tank is acknowledged (a) to d)) as well as the travel sections itself (e) to g)) and a characteristic of the subgoal reached here i) even though this is not the place where the boats are actually lowered into the water. The duration of travel sections is expressed by the path coverb *buyi* 'keep going' and vowel lengthening. The example additionally shows nicely how the two speakers typically interact during the narrative by expressing agreement b) and h), repeating something the other speaker said f) or adding information not mentioned by the other g) and i).

(404)
  a) buyi   yurri-jga-ny=murlu=biyang   Brolga Spring
     keep.going   12PL-go-PST=COLL1=NOW   n_top
     'we kept going, to Brolga Springs' (EH)

  b) yawayi
     yes
     'yes' (IP)

  c) gugu   laburr-laburr
     water   RDP-scoop
     'picked up water there' (EH)

d) yawayi …   <u>tenk</u>-nyunga
   yes   tank -ORIG
   'yes, from a tank' (EH)

e) buyi   marraj   yurri-jga-ny
   keep.going   go.past   12PL-go-PST
   'Buyi! we kept going' (IP)

f) marraj=jung=biya   yurri-jga-ny=murlu
   go.past=RESTR=NOW   12PL-go-PST=COLL1
     'we all kept goiiiiing-' (EH)

g) <u>la   det   channel</u>
   LOC   that   channel
   'to the channel' (IP)

h) ya
   yes
   'yes' (EH)

i) yirr-arra-nyi=ma   bot   thawu   %
   13PL>3SG-put-IMPF=SUBORD   boat   immersed
     'where we used to put the boat in the water' (IP)

<div align="right">(ES08_A04_05tt_0036-0045)</div>

The story's synopsis in Table 23 also reveals a structural pattern that seems to place a spatial ordering at times over a temporal ordering of events. Firstly, it can be noted that both travel sections towards the beach and away from it follow a clear linear pattern in a cyclic manner. Individual travel sections are presented as tripartite consisting of leaving a place, travelling itself, and arriving at another place. This pattern is repeated for all 'uneventful' travel sections and only in Travel 5 where the speakers describe a disruption of the travel flow in the form of a stranded boat, it breaks. Klapproth (2004:285) notes that in Aboriginal storytelling maintaining the balance of the system is a cognitive strategy of problem avoidance which might be reflected in my example in a break of the narrative flow. On the other hand, what Klapproth describes as 'problem avoidance' might actually not hold true. It is possible that issues and problems in Aboriginal narratives are very different from those discussed in a typical Western narrative and as a result, what may be seen as avoiding problem solving strategies, is in fact a way of dealing with them. In my Jaminjung example, the speakers pay close attention to details in the route travelled and form parallel constructions which may be related to a kind of evidential strategy to assure

the listener of the accurateness and truth value of the story told as was already observed in section 7.1.2 on route descriptions. Generally, this idea is used in more detail in my analysis of a Kriol traditional narrative in the following section 7.3.2.

With this break the structure of the story appears to change. When the story world is no longer in motion, but has reached its destination at the beach, the parallel and cyclic ordering of events and narrative pattern is to be no longer used. Instead, activities and events at the destination are told in what appears to be a rather 'free' order. Most strikingly, unlike noted for the travel sections, the order of telling of activities does not appear to follow a linear temporal order of events, but is instead broken up into different pieces told at different times in the narration. The order of events can even be temporally inverted as in activity 5 which is not only interrupted by mentioning the episode of the stranded boat again, but also the order of events is reversed in the narration telling the rescuing from the quicksand before mentioning how the old man got stuck in it in the first place.

Generally, this leads me to the following conclusion. Whereas the speakers follow a linear temporal pattern when describing travel and journey, this structure is not carried over when the destination of this overall travelling is reached. Since there is no more spatial movement – or at least it is not mentioned as place-oriented – following a temporal order of events does not have to be obeyed any more. Instead, the speakers focus on the activities themselves, never mentioning a sequence of events or placing them in connection with one another. Each activity is told as an independent incident that can be broken up and retold at a different time. Even within the activities themselves there appears to be freedom of temporal sequence as mentioned for activity 5.

Therefore, the journey itself becomes the structuring device by framing the narration using the journeys to and from the beach, where a strict linear order is maintained and sections are told in a parallel manner. The core of the narration, however, describing events taking place between the two journeys, is not bound to this structure, but appears to be concerned with a narration of humorous incidents (activities 5 and 8) as well as the description of traditional activities such as hunting and cooking bush food or digging a well in saltwater country.

7.3.2 Travel Through Time and Space – Kriol Narratives

7.3.2.1 *The Cloud-Story, a Traditional Narrative*

For Kriol I do not have the same type of data set available as for Jaminjung, instead narrations in my corpus are published recordings from Sandefur (1982), a Kriol version of *Murdmurd*, and a published dreamtime story (Galmur, 1998). As such, these stories, at first glance, follow a more Westernised structure since most are produced for a written context and not told as oral narratives in a traditional story-telling setting alone. However, the Kriol narrations still appear to share some of the specific Aboriginal features identified for Jaminjung and the journey can be identified as a main structuring device.

For a more in-depth analysis, I chose a story from Sandefur's (1982) collection that appears to be a typical example of aboriginal storytelling in Kriol and is presented in full in Table 24. In the Cloud Story two men are travelling for a long time. When they get tired, they very carefully choose their campsite for the night at Hularra Springs. However, when they wake up in the morning, their surroundings appear to have changed dramatically and they find themselves inside a waterhole. Before the two can reach dry land again, a cloud comes pressing down from above burying and killing them.

Line	Section	Kriol Text	Gloss	Translation
1	A Start moving in	*dubala dubala boi bin kam -in bram det -wei*	3DU 3DU boy AUX.PST come-PROG ABL:from that -way	Two men came from that way.
2	B Travel 1	*dubala bin go trabel–ing yuno long -taim*	3DU AUX.PST go travel -PROG 2SG know long-time	They had travelled, you know, a long time.
3		*dubala bin trabel –ing trabel –ing trabel –ing dubala bin - imin git aftanun haf-wei la dubala*	3DU AUX.PST travel – PROG travel -PROG travel –PROG 3DU AUX.PST - 3SG:AUX.PST get afternoon half -way LOC 3DU	They had travelled travelled travelled - when it was late afternoon they were halfway there.
4		*dubala bin kam -at -nait-taim na olabat -dubala bin gon kipgon*	3DU AUX.PST come-out - night -time NOW 3PL- 3DU AUX.PST go keep+going	they had come -nighttime came - and they continued on.
5		*a dubala bin git silipi rili*	ah 3DU AUX.PST get sleepy really	They got very sleepy.
6	C Request for rest 1	*dubala bin ask -im mijelp*	3DU AUX.PST ask -TR myself	Then one of them asked,

7		*"wijei yunmi silip"*	Where 1DU.INCL sleep	"Where will we sleep?"
8		*"la neks -wan sen– hil"*	LOC next–NR sand-hill	"At the next sand ridge."
9	D Travel 2	*dubala bin go kam–at la sen-hil*	3DU AUX.PST go come-out LOC sand-hill	So they went to the next sandridge.
10	E Request for rest 2	*orait dubala bin ask -im mijelb igin*	alright 3DU AUX.PST ask –TR REFL again	Then one of them asked.
11		*" iya yunmi jilip*	here 1DU.INCL sleep	Are we going to sleep here?"
12		*"no"*	NEG	"No."
13		*"wi go la natha– natha sen-hil oba dea neks-wan "*	1PL go ALL.to another - another sand–hill over there next -NR	We'll go to that other sandridge over there, the next one."
14	F Travel 3	*dubala bin go kam–at la thad pleis*	3DU AUX.PST go come-out ALL:to that place	So they went to the next one.
15	G Request for rest 3	*dubala bin ask –im mijelp*	3DU AUX.PST ask-TR myself	Then one of them asked, if that was the place, but the other one said.
16		*"no wi go la neks – wan"*	NEG 1PL go ALL:to next-NR	"No. We'll go to the next one."
17	G Travel 4	*hularra jat dubala bin gon til tubala bin gijimap dat pleis*	n_top that+one 3DU AUX.PST go until 3DU AUX.PST reach that place	They kept going until they came to the spring called Hularra.
18		*dat spring–wada pleis*	that spring- water place	The spring water place.
19	H Resting	*dubala bin meik -im kemp dea*	3DU AUX.PST make-TR house there	They made camp there.
20		*streid-awei dubala bin meik –im kemp an silip*	straight -away 3DU AUX.PST make-TR house and sleep	As soon as they got there, they made camp and went to sleep.
21		*dubala bin jilip o binij*	3DU AUX.PST sleep or finish	They slept until the end
22	I Waking up	*alibala dubala bin gid –ap op*	early DU AUX.PST get –up of	Then early in the morning they got up.
23		*maitbi silip -taim wen dubala silipi yuno*	maybe sleep -time when 3DU sleepy 2SG know	or maybe it was during the night, while they were sleeping
24		*dubala bin bil -im mijelp prapa kol-wan*	3DU AUX.PST feel –TR myself very cold-NR all	that they felt very cold all over and

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		ol -aran an dubala bin lisin wada - kol - um na -frog bin sing- at ebri-wea brogi	-around and 3DU AUX.PST listen what's.it.called NOW - frog AUX.PST call+out - out every – where frog	heard, what's it called, frogs croaking everywhere.
25		*najing*	unsuccessfully	Nothing
26		*dubala bin luk lagijat*	3DU AUX.PST look like+that	They looked but they couldn't see them.
27		*ebri-wea dubala bin luk*	every - where 3DU AUX.PST look	They looked everywhere.
28		*„tumaj wada wijei yunmi bin kam-in"*	many water where 1DU.INCL AUX.PST come-PROG	"There's water everywhere. How did we get here?"
29		*"nathin"*	nothing	"I don't know."
30		*"brogi iya ebri-wea"*	frog here every - where	There's frogs everywhere."
31	J Moving in of cloud	*en det klaud bin kam rait-daun*	and that cloud AUX.PST come right-down	And a cloud came all the way down.
32		*binij bud –am weit langa dat dubala olmen*	finish put –TR weight LOC that 3DU old+man	That was the end. The cloud was like a heavy weight.
33		*klaud bin bud -am weit langa dubala*	cloud AUX.PST put –TR weight LOC 3DU	The cloud was pressing down on them
34	K Men's death	*binij -im -ap dat dubala*	kill-TR -up that 3DU	It killed them.
35		*binij*	finish	That was the end.
36		*nathin bin gid-at*	nothing AUX.PST get - out	Nothing survived.

Table 24: Cloud Story narrative

Noticeably, the story displays some obvious gapping within the plot. The listener never learns why the two men are travelling, what brought them into the waterhole and why the cloud comes down to kill them. Instead, the focus of this particular narration of the story is then not the contents so much as the space through which the two men travel, and where they eventually arrive. This theme begins in line 1 with a sudden introduction as movement into the scene. This strategy was also described for Jaminjung in sections 7.3.1.1 and 7.3.1.2 as a linguistic means of marking episode boundaries or also as an introductory device leading the listener into the story-world.

Following this, four journey sections are narrated, interrupted only by re-enacted direct speech acts of the protagonists at decision points of the route. Two of those motion event descriptions in lines 9 and 14 are parallel in structure using the same serial verb construction *go kamat* 'come out' as discussed briefly already in section 4.3.3. This SVC denotes continuous movement followed by reaching a destination, but not necessarily coming to an ultimate standstill. To mark that the final destination of the narrative has been reached, the speaker uses a different telic verb *gijimap* 'reach' in line 17.

In her detailed structural analysis of a traditional Pitjantjatjara-Yankuntjatjara narrative Klapproth (2004:257) identifies the journey as an organisational principle in Aboriginal narratives. It can firstly provide a basic structural unit for establishing patterns of daily cycles in movement between camps and secondly as a globally relevant structure towards a desired destination. This principle can also be applied to the Kriol story under investigation here.

Instead of setting up a daily cycle of patterns divided into 'travelling along', 'camping at night' and 'setting off in the morning' (Klapproth, 2004:292), the narrator of the Kriol story structures the four adjacent travel sections rather similarly as consisting of 'travelling along', 'reaching a potential camp', and 'setting off to a different camp' between lines 1 and 18. This is presented in a repetitive pattern of parallel actions until a final destination is reached and clearly marked by firstly using a telic verb of motion *gijimap* 'reach' and secondly the only placename of the story *Hularra Spring*. Each individual sub-journey then is combined to structurally form an overall journey which started with a sudden movement of the protagonists into the story-world and ends with arrival at a final destination and rest.

In many Aboriginal stories, reaching the last camp is used as a strategy for narrative closure after something interrupted the travels before (Klapproth, 2004:293). In the Cloud narrative, however, getting to the night's camp only leads to the second part of the narrative and its ultimate catastrophe. The journey as a sub-structuring as well as global structuring device then still holds true, because the endpoint of the travels is reached at Hularra Springs and the tripartite cycle of 'travelling - potential camp - setting off' is finally interrupted. According to Klapproth (2004:285) it is this interruption of the usual routine which leads in many Aboriginal stories to a fatal ending. In contrast to Western

storytelling which places the narrative focus often on problem solving, Aboriginal stories appear to "aim to train their listeners in avoiding emergence of problems by behaving in ways that will not jeopardise the equilibrium of the system" (Klapproth, 2004:285). Thus, when the men decide to break their routine and camp for the night, they are doomed.

Consequently, the second part of the narration from line 19 is set in a static environment and describes the strange surroundings the men wake up in and how the cloud comes down to bury them. Here, the narrator only focuses on the conversation of the men and the heavy weight of the cloud pressing them down. Since movement is no longer possible, the story must conclude at Hularra Springs. No movement or struggle is described while the men are in the water and the only locomotion verbs of this part refer to the movement of the cloud and describe earlier motion events of the men in a direct speech act. The story concludes in a rather lengthy coda in lines 34-36 focusing on the death of the men and consequently the end of their journey.

7.3.2.2 *Journey Features of Personal and Traditional Kriol Narratives*

Some other noteworthy observations in Kriol narrative structure include the frequent use of the spatial phrase *brom jea* 'from there' in some stories to indicate linear progress as in example (405) which shows very clearly that no actual movement is indicated by this source-denoting prepositional phrase, but a temporal sequence. The same can be observed for Jaminjung in example (406) where the ablative-marked demonstrative can also be used to express temporal rather than spatial relationships. Cross-linguistically however, this is not unusual with e.g. English spatial prepositions such as *before* and *after* also being used with a temporal meaning.

(405) *brom   jea   imin   sei   ai   sabi   ai*
       ABL:from   there   3SG:AUX.PST   say   1SG   know   1SG
       no   wot   ai   gin   det
       know   what   1SG   find   that
       'After a while he said, "I've got an idea. I know where I can find water."'
       (Bifo_langa_Drimtaim_008)

(406) *thanthu-ngunyi:,   jardij   gan-ima=yirrag   %*
       DEM-ABL   erect   3SG>3SG-hit.PST=3SG.OBL
       'after that, he built (a house) for us' (ES96_A10_02.082, DB)

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In the published dreamtime story (Galmur, 1998) where example (405) is taken from, the major idea appears to lie in having to make a journey to achieve a goal instead of staying in one place. It is about a draught during which many people danced and sang for a long time for water. Only one short man decides to go in search of a hollow water tree. When he reaches it, he opens it up with an axe and turns into a turtle in the now running water. The other people are overwhelmed by the amounts of water and divide the different habitats amongst themselves turning into water-dwelling crocodiles and fish, birds of the sky and Kangaroo and Emu to live on land.

It is noteworthy that the travels of the short man to find water occupy a central and key position in the story. Similar to the Cloud story, various stages of the journey are mentioned – such as the countless tapping on trees until the right one is found. The actions of the other creatures frame this key motion event description and function to open and close the story world.

In a Kriol personal narrative which was already briefly mentioned at the beginning of this section 7.3, the speaker talks about a trip to a dam and sewerage treatment plant near Sidney. Due to space constraints, a general timeline of events is displayed in Table 25 below instead of the entire story.

Episodes	Thematic episodes	Synopsis of events
1	Start of general trip	Travel to the dam as summary
2	Dam Subtrip 1	Going to the middle of the dam and taking an elevator down halfway
3		Looking around
4	Dam Subtrip 2	Taking an elevator all the way down (from halfway)
5		Looking around
6	Dam Subtrip 3	Taking the elevator back up to the top (one clause and time adverbial)
7	Dam Subtrip 4	Walk to a car
8		Taking the car halfway to town to buy lunch
9		Taking the car back to the dam to eat lunch
10	Sewerage Subtrip 1	Travel to the sewerage
11		Looking around at the sewerage
12	Sewerage Subtrip 2	Entering the sewerage (not all members of travelling party)
13	Sewerage Subtrip 3	Leaving the sewerage and finding people left behind outside

14	Return Journey Subtrip 1	Passing cows and cowboys along the way
15	Return Journey Subtrip 2	Finding a flock of white ducks along the way
16	Finishing general trip	Arriving back at origin of trip

Table 25: Visit to a Dam Storyline

A first striking observation concerns the overall frequency dominance of motion event descriptions in this story. Of the 69 clauses of the narration, 41 are motion event descriptions thus emphasising the thematic prominence the 'journey' has here. Furthermore, the amount of detailed attention the speaker pays to each section of the trip is noteworthy. In addition to mentioning the general start (407) and end (408) of the trip in episodes 1 and 16, three different subtrips are comprehensively narrated as well. One from episode 14 was already discussed earlier at the beginning of the section in example (402). Examples (409) and (410) below show how the speaker, similar to what was observed for the traditional Cloud narrative in section 7.3.2.1, tells different subjourneys in a parallel manner. First a general verb of motion (*godan*) is used, then *pulap* to indicate refraining from movement and finally a verb of perception to express the activity at the place.

(407)   *mibala*   *bin*   *go* *langa* *jat* *dem*
          1PL.excl   AUX.PST   go   ALL:to that dam
          'We went to the dam' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0003)

(408)   *mela*   *gid-in* *kam-bek*   *la*   *kemp* *na*
          1PL.excl get-in   come-back   ALL:to house NOW
          'We arrived back at the place where we were staying'
          (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0048)

(409)

(a) *mibala* **go-dan**   **go-dan**   *yilif* *go-dan*   *yilif* **pulap**   *langa*
     1pl.excl go-down   go-down   lift   go-down   lift   stop   LOC
     midl   *ap-wei*
     middle   up-wards
     'We went down in the lift and we stopped half way up'

(b) *mela*   *bin*   **luk-aran**
     1pl.excl   AUX.PST   look-around
     'We looked around'

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(Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0009-10)

(410)

(a) *mela*   *bin*   *ol jamp-an*   *wi*   *bin*   **go-dan**   *igin*
    1PL.excl AUX.PST   all jump-on   1PL   AUX.PST go-down   again
    'We got in and went down again'

(b) **pulap**   *wi*   *bin*   *wok-aran*   *na*
    stop   1PL   AUX.PST   walk-around   NOW
    'We stopped and then walked around'

(c) *wi*   *bin*   *kam-at*   *wi*   *bin*   **luk-in-at**
    1PL   AUX.PST come-out   1PL   AUX.PST look-PROG-out
    'We came outside and observed everything'
               (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32_0015-17)

Generally, Kriol personal and traditional stories in my corpus display some typical features of Aboriginal narratives such as the gapping technique and placing the journey in the thematic centre of many narratives. However, since all stories in my corpus were recorded for publication purposes either in a learner's textbook with accompanying audio files (Sandefur, 1982) or only available in written form in short story books for children (Brennan, 1978, Galmur, 1998), they might not follow a strictly traditional story-telling pattern. Consequently, events were listed in a temporal sequence unlike observed for *Jiniminy* and the sea trip personal narration where temporal and spatial order of events did not appear to coincide. However, repeated journeys and episodes as in the Cloud story can also be in the core of narrative structure.

7.3.3 Summary of Kriol and Jaminjung Narrative Structure

A good place to start this summary is looking at the beginnings of the stories themselves. The majority of Jaminjung and some Kriol narrations[65] start with a type of motion event description such as (411), lines 1 in Table 19 and Table 22 for Jaminjung, and example (412) for Kriol. These provide a sudden entrance path right into the story that often does not have a Western-type introduction of major characters before starting into a sequence of events. Such openings already hint towards the journey-like structure many of the narrations then display.

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[65] A full list of all story beginnings for Kriol as well as Jaminjung can be found in the appendix in 10.4. Six out of nine Jaminjung narrations start with motion event descriptions and two out of five Kriol ones. Of the six Jiniminy versions, two start with motion descriptions.

(411) *ga-jga-ny*   *nu:::*   *gudarlg=mala:ng*   *ganurr-uga*   *ja:lig,*
       3SG-go-PST   3SG.OBL   brolga=GIVEN   3SG:3PL-take.PST   child
       'she went up to her, the brolga it was, she took her children' (E01004, VP)

(412) *dubala dubala boi bin*   *kam-in*   *bram*   *det-wei*
       3DU   3DU   boy AUX.PST   come-PROG   ABL:from   that-way
       'Two men came from over there.' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35_0003)

Jaminjung narratives can be told in two different ways. Firstly, there are narrations that focus on geographical features of places and are following a spatial rather than a temporal line of events such as *Jiniminy*. On the other hand, a story like *Murdmurd* can be told only providing very limited spatial information but focusing on episodes to emphasise some kind of general wisdom that comes from that and then display a more linear structure. It has furthermore become clear that the practice of gapping information from a story due to socio-cultural constraints is a common feature used by all Jaminjung speakers.

The Kriol narratives I analysed appeared to focus less on specific places but still used the journey as a major structuring principle. I showed how restriction in movement ultimately led to stagnation in the plot of the story making it the key structural and contextual element of the stories. Furthermore, the telling of subsequent events in a journey-type manner appears to be a common strategy of Kriol narratives.

Finally, a major conclusion from this section appears to be that the significance of space and geographical features of the country already observed in detail in (Klapproth, 2004) for narrative content and plot needs to be extended to the structure of the narration itself which changes according to the narrators location and can only be fully understood if the listener is familiar with features and named places in the land. Finally, and most importantly, linguistic encodings of motion event descriptions furthermore often act as defining structuring devices in the narratives at the beginnings of the stories themselves as well as to mark the start of new episodes within the narration.

7.4   Summary of Motion Encodings in Specific Types of Discourse

This chapter focused on motion encodings in different types of discourse. In section 7.1 route descriptions were investigated in detail. It became clear that certain types of motion encodings such as serial verb constructions in Kriol occur with greater frequency in this type of discourse than in others. Similarly, complex NP paths which otherwise are very rare in the datasets I investigated, showed a higher distribution pattern in both languages. Furthermore, Jaminjung speakers made much more use of absolute terms at decision points than Kriol speakers who preferred using landmarks and intrinsic FoR to orient the travelling figure. Finally, both languages showed a strong preference for dynamic (including fictive motion) over static modes of presentation in route descriptions.

Following this, section 7.2 examined the use of deictics in different types of narrative. Within the theory of deictic shift it was shown that the strong preference for absolute Frame of Reference system already observed for Jaminjung route descriptions carries over to personal and traditional narratives as well. Only one narrative was found to use the technique of deictic shift as a narrative feature device. Furthermore, for both languages, the use of deictics appeared to be linked to types of discourse environment, with noticeably less deictics used in the Frog Story Dataset than in the Route Description Dataset. The frequency of absolute terms, on the other hand, is independent of kinds of discourse and therefore, the absolute system appears more deeply rooted in the languages than deictics.

Finally, section 7.3 investigated the notion of 'motion' on a more abstract level as a structuring device in traditional and personal narratives. For Jaminjung stories, it became clear that spatial ordering may take precedence over temporal ordering in certain types of narratives. 'Motion' there is seen as a structuring device leading into the story-world and linking different episodes to each other in space. In Kriol narratives, on the other hand, 'motion' and the journey within the story itself is used as a structuring device along which the narrative flow depends. Therefore, repetitive travel descriptions are a common feature emphasising the significance of the 'journey' to any kind of narrative irrespective of its 'narrative value' to the story.

8 Conclusions

Talking about motion is an essential part of human interaction. It is a universal concept that is shared across languages and cultures. However, the way we talk about motion differs considerably in a cross-linguistic perspective. For example, expressing Frames of Reference, the path and manner-component and the ground component in motion expressions can take many different forms and be influenced by a variety of conceptual, linguistic and cultural constraints. Similarly, an analysis of the distribution and degree of detail of optional and obligatory conceptual components of motion events in discourse can give insight into preferences that may be bound to linguistic resources or cultural spaces.

The aim of my thesis was to investigate the encoding of motion event descriptions and the and distributional frequencies of the devices employed to encode them in two typologically different languages which are spoken in the same cultural area. Therefore, the particular interest in my research lies in an attempt to unravel the influence of (typological) language type on the one hand and cultural predispositions on the other. This is an area of investigation that has so far been neglected by studies either focusing on encoding conceptual components in one or across languages alone, e.g. (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007, Levinson, 2003, Levinson and Wilkins, 2006b, Terrill and Burenhult, 2008) or by assuming cultural dependencies to go hand in hand with language type, e.g. (Bavin, 2004, Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009). Therefore, my analysis provides an original contribution to typological studies of space and motion event encoding.

In this chapter, I will summarise the main findings and their implications for typological approaches and theoretical assumptions made about motion event encoding. Following this, I will point towards some areas worth considering for future studies.

8.1 Summary of Findings

My analysis of the general encoding strategies for Jaminjung and Kriol motion events in chapters 3 and 4 provided the necessary background information for the thesis' main focus on the interplay of typological type and cultural background.

Concerning the encoding of different types of ground in Jaminjung, it was shown in section 3.2 that while goal, source and location are distinctively marked with allative -*bina*, ablative -*ngunyi* and locative –*g(i)* case-marking, a passed ground also takes the locative marker. Furthermore, a source of motion mandatorily needs to be ablative-marked, but goal and passed ground are marked optionally following a number of semantic constraints. For Kriol (in section 4.2) on the other hand, only source is distinctively marked with an ablative encoding preposition *burru/brom/from*, while goal, passed ground and location all take the same prepositional maker *la/langa* 'to, at'. Again goal and passed ground might be left unmarked, but source and location cannot.

Therefore, the two languages belong to typologically different types concerning distinct or ambivalent markings of goal and location. At the same time, they demonstrate similarities in the optionality of goal and passed-ground encodings following constraints such as toponym or toponym-like and deictic qualities of the NP in question. Such an observation has, so far, not been considered in any typological studies of ground encodings. Similarly, the coding of a passed ground as part of a motion event, needs to be taken into account in future cross-linguistic analyses. My study showed that with intransitive verbs, passed grounds in Jaminjung and Kriol take locative marking. However, it is possible that other languages employ distinct encodings for such cases.

With regards to lexicalisation patterns in the verb phrase in motion event descriptions, it was shown in sections 3.3, 4.3 and 6.1 that Jaminjung and Kriol belong to distinct typological types concerning Talmy's (1985b, 2000a, 2000b, 2007, 2009) typology. In Jaminjung the manner and path components are expressed in coverbs which may be combined in a single VP. While this type of encoding suggests an equipollent-framing, highly distinct distribution patterns of path and manner-encodings in discourse propose verb-framing qualities. Furthermore, the boundary-crossing constraint appears to be obeyed which is also a characteristic of verb-framed languages.

Kriol, due to the lexical influence from its superstrate language English, is analysed as a satellite-framed language expressing manner within the motion verb and path in an adverbial suffix or adverb or preposition following the verb. Distribution patterns

for manner encodings also support this analysis; however, just like in English, some path verbs occur, and additionally the boundary-crossing constraint appears also to be obeyed in discourse. Therefore, I suggest, in line with a variety of other authors, e.g. (Filipovic, 2007, Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009) to modify the typology from a binary distinction to a cline along which languages follow a main lexicalisation pattern, but may move towards another concerning a limited set of features. Additionally, my analysis showed that within the typology of lexicalisation patterns stronger emphasis needs to be placed on discourse frequencies in addition to structural types

Despite some distinct differences in the encoding of motion components in verbs and NPs between Jaminjung and Kriol, the languages follow the same patterns when it comes to Frames of Reference examined in chapter 5. Both use the absolute and intrinsic FoR, but only make very sporadic and limited use of the relative frame. Additionally, it was observed that the use of absolute FoR terms based on river-drainage is restricted to egocentric anchoring and T&B-orientation. This then suggests that for this particular domain of spatial language and cognition, the cultural domain has precedence over language-specific features. Both languages have the relevant resources to encode relative Frame, but speakers choose not to.

Furthermore, concerning how FoRs are carried over from the static to the motion domain, I demonstrate that both languages employ specialised motion terms encoding absolute vertical direction within the verb phrase. These are the coverbs *burduj* 'go up' and *jid* 'go down' in Jaminjung and the adverbial suffix *–ap* 'up' and the suffix or preposition *dan* 'down' in Kriol.

In chapter 6 I conducted a discourse-based study of lexicalisation patterns. Based on (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009), I investigated the degree of detail to which path, the obligatory translational motion event component, is expressed in discourse in section 6.2. First, I examined the ground component in motion descriptions in both languages using a distinction of minus- and plus-ground constructions. Here, it became clear that Jaminjung speakers prefer to not include a ground element in a motion event description while for Kriol speakers, plus-ground constructions are the strategy of choice.

Focussing on specific ground encodings, the investigation of what Stefanowitsch and Rhode (2004) call the goal-bias revealed that Jaminjung and Kriol confirm a cross-

linguistically observed strong preference for the expression of goal over source in motion expressions containing a general motion verb.

Concerning complex motion constructions that included more than one path-encoding element in a single VP, the languages again behaved considerably differently. While Jaminjung speakers expressed several path elements as the least preferred strategy in a dataset of motion event encodings, Kriol speakers made this the option of choice. However, when it comes to placing several grounds within a single VP, the languages behaved again in a similar way. Using Bohnemeyer et al.'s (2007) approach of classifying languages concerning their abilities to encode one, two or all three possible grounds in a motion event encoding under one single semantic property (MEP), I classified both Jaminjung and Kriol as Type II languages. Hence, only source and goal can be encoded under one MEP, but for passed ground, a separate VP us usually needed. Contrary to what was observed for lexicalisation patterns in Talmy's typology, Kriol in this domain behaves differently from its lexifier language English. Generally, in discourse speakers of either language chose to express more than one ground only in a very limited set of expressions with frequencies below 1%. However, low literacy rates among Kriol speakers could be a potential factor for such behaviour[66].

From these observations, the analysis of path salience moves on to investigate the detail of path encodings beyond the clause level. For this, a larger chunk of discourse (the cliff scene in the Frog Story) is examined with regards to how many of a defined number of possible path elements are chosen to be expressed by speakers. For both Jaminjung and Kriol a preference for fine-grained and detailed path descriptions was observed.

Finally, some potential factors influencing path salience across languages were investigated. Jaminjung and Kriol have a rich inventory of linguistic devices for the encoding of motion events and both use 'light verbs' in such descriptions. The two factors are thought to lead to an increased level of path salience. Furthermore, cultural systems are thought to affect detailed path encodings in discourse. Since both languages are spoken within the same cultural area, they share these features. In Aboriginal culture a high significance is placed on space and travel. Therefore, it is

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[66] refer to section 6.2.3.4 for a critical discussion of factors influencing path salience patterns.

expected that the languages have a rich motion expression inventory and use detailed path encodings within and beyond the clause. However, in these factors lies the crucial point for my analysis of path salience for Jaminjung and Kriol.

It was shown that the languages behave in very different ways regarding the frequency of plus-ground encodings and the degree of detail with which path is expressed in a single VP. On the other hand, they show remarkable similarities concerning the preference for goal over source encodings in general motion verb phrases, most often only expressing one ground in a single motion event expression, and for including fine-grained descriptions of path in larger chunks of discourse beyond the clause level. Additionally, factors identified to influence path salience have been recognized for Jaminjung and Kriol expecting a high degree of path salience in discourse. However, my analysis has shown that some features of path salience appear to be influenced by the typological type of the language in question (plus/minus-ground and complex path), while others (path granularity, factors for path salience) are more likely to be due to cultural predispositions.

Therefore, one of the theoretical implications of these findings is that an investigation of path salience should not confound aspects of path salience that depend on the typological type and those that depend on cultural preferences for a particular granularity in discourse. As I have shown, the different measures can potentially yield different and even conflicting results.

Section 6.3 is concerned with the optional manner component in discourse. While Jaminjung and Kriol again showed differences regarding the degree of frequency in which manner is expressed in discourse, they behaved similarly in a close investigation of a larger chunk of discourse. Furthermore, manner encodings outside the verb phrase were investigated and it was shown that a limited expression of manner within the VP do not necessarily indicate a 'poor' manner inventory.

Additionally, an investigation into manner expressions in boundary-crossing events in discourse in section 6.4 showned that even though Jaminjung and Kriol have the structural means to combine manner descriptions with boundary-crossing motion events, speakers choose not to use this option in comparative discourse settings such as the owl exit scene in the frog story.

The following chapter 7 investigated motion event encodings and specific features of particular discourse types. My analysis of route descriptions in section 7.1 showed that speakers of Jaminjung and Kriol preferred to use different strategies to encode a change of direction at decision points. While Kriol speakers often chose to take the figure's perspective while travelling and describe landmarks at decision points as well as en-route in great detail, Jaminjung speakers mostly gave directions from a 'bird's eye' perspective where absolute terms were mainly employed to narrate general direction rather than detailed landmark-descriptions. This observation could also be a direct result of the above discussed differences in path salience where Jaminjung speakers often chose to express path in much less detail than Kriol.

Based on previous studies (Klippel et al., 2003, Tenbrink and Winter, 2009, Tverksy, 2000), it was expected that such 'zoomed-out' perspectives would give rise to a preference in static descriptions of the environment. It was shown however that in fact speakers of both languages preferred motion (including fictive motion) over static descriptions despite differences in perspective.

Furthermore, it was observed that on the basis of a small corpus of route-descriptions, some generalisations can be made about the nature of what Talmy (1996a) calls 'fictive motion' events, involving an imaginary path to describe a static situation. I indentified two different types of fictive motion. In figure-based fictive motion events, the figure (*the road* in example (413)(a)) is perceived as fictively moving when it is in fact static. Ground-based fictive motion events on the other hand refer to a fictive movement of the ground (*the road* in (413)(b) rather than the figure. Finally, 'zero' motion is depicted in example (413)(c), since there is no verb of motion that combines with the path structure depicted in *across the street from the post office*. However, this kind of distinction is based on the assumption that the very heart of any motion event description lies within the motion verb. However, if we consider the entire construction itself to be the locus of a motion event description, then an example like (413)(c) could be considered a 'static path structure' which inherently contains path information without an imposed motion-path structure.

(413)

    *(a) **The road** comes out at the house.*

    *(b) He followed **the road** to the airport.*

    (c) The bakery is across the street from the post office.

Generally, route descriptions clearly show how detailed path encodings are used in discourse when a high elaboration of landmarks, absolute and deictic terms is needed to ensure understanding of the listener. However, investigations into route descriptions have so far often only focused on general abstract features to be used for computer-based communication systems, e.g. (Dale et al., 2003, Klippel et al., 2003, Ligozat, 2000) and/or been heavily biased towards Indo-European languages (Klippel and Winter, 2005, Mark and Gould, 1995, Tenbrink and Winter, 2009, Wunderlich and Reinelt, 1982). Cultural specificities and typological constraints need to become a focus of future studies to provide a more wide-ranging approach to way-finding strategies.

Section 7.2 investigated the use of deictics in traditional and personal Jaminjung and Kriol narratives. It became clear that instead of using deictic shift as a means of creating an immediacy effect for the listeners, speakers of both languages used another technique to generate the same outcome. Direct speech acts were frequently and elaborately employed to take the figure's perspective. If deictic terms were used in these direct speech acts, they referred to the figure's and not the speaker's origo, but usually not on other occasions.

Therefore, speakers often created a dynamic journey setting by letting the protagonists comment on parts of the route and describe sights 'first-hand'. I believe that a lack of deictic shift in these stories is mainly due to absolute orientation taking such a central role in the culture, that a perspective based on an individual is not necessary to be taken. Generally, for a more accurate analysis of deictic shift, video recordings of story-tellings would be needed to examine the interplay of gesture and deictic terms and also the use of gestures when replacing linguistically expressed deixis. Furthermore, the exact locations of narrated places in relation to the location of the speaker is needed to make clearer statements about the use of deictics as referring to a speaker or a protagonist within the story.

Finally, in section 7.3, motion is viewed from a more abstract angle. Here, I investigated how the journey as an integral part of Aboriginal culture is used as a structuring device in personal and traditional narratives. It was shown how speakers of both languages use contextual journey sections of a story as structuring devices leading to and away from different (static) episodes. Furthermore, some stories appear to follow a spatial rather than a temporal order of events in the narrative plot particularly outside of specific travel sections.

General shortcomings of my analysis include vast limitations regarding the size of the corpora and datasets available to me. As discussed in section 2.3.1, my corpus of Frog Stories for investigation only included seven stories for each language. Furthermore, the complete datasets of motion descriptions were, of course, of a rather random nature and strictly speaking not comparable to one another. Similarly, the route descriptions and traditional as well as personal narratives I used for the analysis of the last three chapters were very limited in number and especially for Kriol included potentially edited material in the published formats.

8.2   Directions for Future Research

There is a great potential for further research into motion event encodings in Jaminjung and Kriol as described in this thesis. I briefly introduce some issues and potential research settings in this section.

Firstly, my observations about semantic constraints on optional case-marking for goal-NPs in Jaminjung and Kriol could be viewed in relation to a different area of research. Systematic constraints on optional ergative case-marking have been related to issues in information structure such as focus (McGregor, 2010). Consequently, an analysis of optional goal-marking that goes beyond the observed semantic constraints could add signicantly to current issues in this field.

Within my descriptions of motion descritpion tools in Kriol, the serial verb constructions are of particular interest. I only briefly touched on the area of discourse-related usage of the SVCs which appear to accumulate in certain discourse environments such as route descriptions. Expanding this investigation by taking into account other non-motion types of serial verb constructions, could help to observe if the tentative analysis holds true for other semantic fields. Furthermore, a thorough

study of SVCs in Kriol could shed light on general issues of the subject in Creole languages and elsewhere and introduce a usage-based approach.

With regards to the discussion on Frames of Reference, there is great potential for future research. Firstly, a thorough analysis of FoRs in Jaminjung and Kriol using both the Men & Tree as well as the Ball & Chair task with a number of different speakers might help to further unravel some of the claims made by Bohnemeyer and O'Meara (in press) on a different typological approach to FoRs. Furthermore, investigating the observed interplay between egocentric anchoring and the use of absolute terms in Jaminjung in more detail through a larger corpus search as well as elicitation and speaker judgement tasks in discourse settings, might reveal an additional aspect of studies into FoRs. Related to this is a discussion that has been briefly touched by Bohnemeyer and O'Meara on a distinct analysis of fixed absolute FoR grounded on cardinal directions versus landmark-based systems, which are not fixed and dependent on the location of the speaker. Distinct uses of Roper Kriol, which uses absolute terms based on the course of the sun as well as on river-flow, have so far only been observed within a limited corpus setting. The occurance of the two types within the same language has the potential to uncover structural evidence for distinct semantic and usage-based properties of the two types.

Within an analysis of lexicalisation patterns in discourse, it would be useful to separate the datasets into genre-specific types to check for variability across discourse environments. Such an analysis could give more insight into specific frog story features and the general dependency of path elements in discourse. Furthermore, including other issues of discourse-related phenomena, such as information structure, into the analysis could reveal more about the interdependencies between syntactic, morphological, and semantic structural constrainst and their interplay in various discourse environments.

Furthermore, various aspects of the thesis could be expanded by adding a detailed analysis of another Australian language to test whether the observations made hold true for a larger sample as well. This could, for example, be Arrernte which has been identified as a verb-framed language and as a result could add significantly to the discussion of the interplay between lexicalisation patterns and use in discourse alongside equipollently-framed Jaminjung and Kriol which is satellite-framed. Another

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possibility would be a thorough study of Ngarinyman, a Pama-Nyungan language spoken in the same area as Jaminjung and Kriol and also by many speakers of both languages. Such an investigation has the potential to further add to the discussion of an interplay between language structure and cultural prerequisites.

Additionally, concerning the study of Kriol in general, a more fine-grained distinction concerning age- and variety-related differences within the language, could reveal the significance of acrolectal influences from English or the input of literacy had on a younger generation. Furthermore, looking into a variety of Creole languages' distribution patterns could help to answer questions about dependencies on lexifier languages, cultural constraints or substrate influence, and general typological unity of Creole languages.

Concerning the investigations into the interplay between motion and space within narrative structure, a more in-depth analysis, including a larger corpus of narratives, is needed to find more evidence for some of the claims made in section 7.3. Additionally, to my knowledge, there have only been few detailed studies of Aboriginal story-telling techniques and structures, such as for example Klapproth (2004), Carroll (1996), and Hill (2011) which is therefore an under-investigated area of research and in need of expansion.

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10 Appendix

10.1 List of Example References and their Corresponding Published or Personal Reference

Conventions for fieldwork-based data: Initials of researcher, followed by year in two digits, followed by A for Audio and V for Video Recording, followed by the number of recordings on the trip by day, followed by the individual file number, followed by the number of phrases as intonational units:

e.g. DH (Dorothea Hoffmann) 10 (the year 2010) _, A (Audio) 04 (the fourth day of recording) _, 01 (the first recording unit of the day, _ 0054 (the 54th intonational unit of this individual recording), NR (initials of speaker)

DH = Dorothea Hoffmann
ES = Eva Schultze-Berndt
MH = Mark Harvey
DA = Denise Angelo

DA98_01_Fladwada (Angelo et al., 1998b)
DA98_02_raintime (Angelo et al., 1998a)

Published Sources:

Transcribed in (Sandefur, 1982):
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson31 (Sandefur, 1982:61-62)
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson32 (Sandefur, 1982:63-64)
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson33 (Sandefur, 1982:65-66)
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson34 (Sandefur, 1982:67-68)
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35 (Sandefur, 1982:69-70)

Transcribed from Audiofiles in (Sandefur, 1982:71):
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_ChildhoodExperiences
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_VisitCave
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_MaryMailangkuma
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_WidowsNecklace
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_StoryMan
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_Turtle_and_Echidna
- Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_JapaneseBoat

Other story-telling books:
- Olmen_En-Kengguru (Moizo, unknown)
- Bafalo_en_krokodail (Joshua, unknown)
- Drimtaim_Story (Brennan, 1978)

- Ketfish_Baramandi_en_Sneik (Mailangkuma, 1980)
- Stori_Blanga_Wanbala_Dakdak (Meehan, 1980)
- Dinggo_en_Tjuktjuk (James, 1985)
- Lil_Mukmuk (Bennett, 1986b)
- Mela_bin_go_langa_Wodafol (Lewism et al., 1991)
- Stori_bla_Hanting (Lewism et al., 1991)
- Wibin_go_Bush (Lewism et al., 1991)
- Hunting_Longwei (Galmur, 1996)
- siliwan_sneik (Brinjin, 1995)
- Bifo_langa_Drimtaim (Galmur, 1998)
- Methyu (Wurrumara, 2007)
- Kleba_Kokiroj (Bennett, 1986a)
- Drim_Blanga_Lilboi (Bennett, unknown)
- Hunting_Longwei (Galmur, 1996)

10.2 Jaminjung Coverbs

Manner Coverb	Gloss
warlnginy/galu	walk, be on foot, walk around
warrng	move by moving legs or wings, walk, fly
yugung	run, race, speed, drive
yawal *(82)*	run (of multiple animates)
burdurdub	race, rush, gallop
dibard/bulb	jump
didid	roll
mingib	crawl
ngarrang	stagger
digurrgba	limp
diwu *(414)*	1.fly, 2. throw
jaburrg	wade
liwu/lilaj/ngabulg/bulugaja	swim
bulumab	float
rayib, burlgub, bardaj, jawu , jawud	sneak
dabdab	animal.run
walalag *(416)*	go.like.snake
baragba	make.snake.track
wilij/wililij	make.track
balabbalab	make.dog.track
jardab	walk.with.stick
yirrirrij	slide.down
jurrurru	slide

Table 26: coverbs of manner of motion based on (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:92)

Some typical examples are shown below.

(414) *gudarrg   jirram-ni   biyang   **diwu***
       brolga   two-ERG/INST   no   fly
       buny-guga   gugu=malang…   thanggagu
       3DU>3SG-take.PST   water=GIVEN   up
       'the two brolgas took the water up (into the sky) flying' (DH10_A07_03b_0060, NR)

(415) *ya   **yawal**   burra-ngga   lubayi*
       yes   run.many   3PL-go.PRS   many
       'many are running'(ES96_a04_01tt.0254, DP)

(416) ***walalag**-gu   ga-ram*
       go.like.snake-DAT   3SG-come:PRS
       'it comes like a snake' (ES96_A06_02_0079, IP)

Path Coverb	Gloss
jarubaj (419)	go back and forth
laginy (418)	take a turnoff
marraj (78)	go past (point), go through (volume)
walig/warlig	round, around (in a circle- or semi-circle-shaped path)
jurdug	straight, on a straight path
buyi	continue, keep going in same direction
lurrb	seize
mij?	go down
gabarl	come.close
junggaj	hunt.away
yurl	pursue
burduj (422)	climb up, move upwards
jid/jag (421)	move downwards
buru (420)	return, go back
wirriny (420)	turn, turn around
yirrbag	move over, shift place
malang	go across, cross
darrug	go down, set (of celestial body)
wurlurlu	enter of many
bul (424)	emerge, appear
yirr (423)	move out, move along
lany	rise, come out (of celestial body)
riyi	peep over/out from something
gud/gurd (425)	get up, rise (animate)
bunburr	take off, leave (of multiple animates)
bib	move up, rise
larara	separate, go separate ways (of multiple animates)
bawu	open up, go into the open, get out
gub	come out, come off (general)
jab	get detached, of long entity attached with its endpoint (e.g. hair, grass)
ngabulg/bu	enter water, bathe
mirlb (427)	leave ground, underground

Table 27: Coverbs of path and separation based on (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:93-97)

(417) *yawayi, **marraj**   ga-jga-ny   warrng-warrng*
      yes   go.past   3SG-go-PST   walk-RDP
      'she walked past' (ES96_A08_03tg_0314)

(418) ***laginy***   *ga-ngga=ngardi*   *Barrakbarrak binka=biyang*
      turnoff   3SG-go.PRS=SFOC2 n_top   river=NOW
      'the Barrakbarrak river turns off there' (ES01_A07_03tt_0044, DB)

(419) buluwuj-gu=gun yina **jarubaj** yirr-inji=ma Carlton,
egg-DAT=EMPH DIST back.and.forth 1PL.excl-go.IMPF=SR n_top
'for eggs we used to go back and forth to/on Carlton' (ES97_A03_02.435, IP)

(420) aa **buru** **wirriny** ga-ram
ah! return turn 3SG-come:PRS
'ah it comes back and turns' (ES96_V05_03_DH_0095, MW)

(421) **yugung** ga-jga-ny **jag** ga-rda-ny
run 3SG-go-PST go.down 3SG-fall-PST
'it ran, and fell down' (ES96_V05_03_DH_0118, MW)

(422) mingib=bung gan-kuga **burduj**
crawl=RESTR 3SG>1SG- take.PST go.up
'he took us up crawling' (ES08_A04_06tt_0256)

(423) thanthiya garndara-g **yirr** ga-rum-any
DEM cliff-LOC move.out 3SG-come-PST
'from there, from that cliff he moved out' (ES99_V08_01.034)

(424) yawayi yina=biya **bul** gani-ma-m
yes DIST=NOW emerge 3SG>3SG-hit-PRS
'yes it comes out there' (ES96_V05_03_DH_0125, JM)

(425) wuny=ma nga-yu gurrany **gud** ya-ng-ijga
aching?=SUBORD 1SG-be.PRS NEG get.up IRR-1SG-go
'I'm aching, I can't get up' (ES08_N02_Jam_tt_001)

(426) mirlb-**mirlb** gani-ma-m %
RDP-leave.ground 3SG>3SG-hit-PRS
'it breaks out of the ground' (ES03_A01_02tr_0051)

(427) **walthub** ga-dam.. **bamba** gana-ngga-ji
inside 3SG-come:PRS underground 3SG>3SG- get/handle-REFL.PRS
'he comes inside and shuts itself up in the ground' (ES03_A01_02tr_0075, EH)

(428) dibard **bu** ga-rdba-ny gugu-bina
jump enter.water 3SG-fall-PST water-ALL
'it jumped diving into the water' (ES96_V04_03tr_DH_0053, EH)

Coverbs of ballistic motion	Gloss
dibard	jump
didid	roll
jaraj	slip, slide
yirrirrij (430)	slide down
diny	lie down, fall over
jarndang (429)	get down, fall down

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ngad	get bogged
buwu/bu *(428)*	enter water
birdirdib	drip, dribble
burrurrug	scatter, get scattered
lawu	spill, pour

Table 28: UVs of ballistic motion (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:96)

(429) **jarndang**   *ga-rdba-ny*   **bu**   *ga-rdba-ny*
fall.down   3SG-fall-PST   enter.water   3SG-fall-PST
'he fell down, he fell into the water' (ES96_V04_03tr_DH_0075, EH)

(430) **yirrirrij**   *yirrirrij*   *ga-ngga*
slide   slide   3SG-go.PRS
'it slides down!' (ES96_V04_03tr_DH_0086, IP)

Coverb of stopping movement or refraining from potential movement	Gloss
jajurr *(431)*	halt
wilng	stay back

Table 29: UVs of stopping movement or refraining from potential movement (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:97)

(431) *balarraj-gi=biyang*   **^jajurr**   *ga-rda-ny,*   *^jalig=marlang*
cliff-LOC=now   halt   3SG-fall-PST   child=GIVEN

       buwu   *ga-rda-ny*   *%*
       enter.water   3SG-fall-PST
'at the cliff he stopped suddenly, and the child fell into the water'
(ES96_A18_02tg_Frog_0103, CP)

Coverbs of spatial configuration	Gloss
warrb	be together
balbba	be side by side, close together (of two entities)
darl	lined up, be in a line side by side (of multiple entities)
lula	
yirrb	lie (of multiple entities)
murruny	be together, gather around s.o./s.th.
jurrb	heaped up, in a heap
yirrginy	be left in a place, be put down together (of multiple entities)
yulij	1. be symmetrical, 2. reciprocate

Table 30: coverbs of spatial configuration (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:112) table 3.14

(432) *yina-ngunyi=biya*   *burr-arra-m*   ***murruny***
DIST-ABL=NOW   3PL:3SG-PUT-PRS   heaped
'there they put it as a heap' (ES97_A03_01.120)

Coverbs of orientation	Translation
bilwa	belly up, on the back,
mun	belly down, upside down, bent over
waman	'face up', facing s.th./s.o.
tharda/jarda	facing away, back turned to s.th./s.o.
linkid	turning one's side, sidewards, on the side

Table 31: coverbs of orientation (Schultze-Berndt, 2006c:110)

10.3 Route Descriptions

10.3.1 Jaminjung Route Descriptions

10.3.1.1 _NC Describing the Way from East Katherine to Kalano Age Care Centre_

(433)

a) ngayug=biya   nga-w-ijga   yinju-ngunyi
   1SG=NOW   1SG-POT-go   PROX-ABL
   'I might go from here' (DH10_A06_07_0012, NC)

b) ngarrgina   bugarli-nyunga   yagbali   na
   1SG:POSS   cross-cousin-ORIG   place   NOW
   buru   nga-w-ijga
   return   1SG-POT-go
   'from my cousin's place I might return' (DH10_A06_07_0013)

c) taun=malang <baj>   nga-b-unga
   town=GIVEN   pass   1SG>3SG-POT-leave
   'I might pass the town' (DH10_A06_07_0014)

d) yina-ngurrinygi   nga-w-ijga   majani=malang=biya
   DIST-SIDE:LOC   1SG-POT-go   maybe=GIVEN=NOW
   nga-w-ijga..   _brij_-gi   malang
   1SG-POT-go   bridge-LOC   cross
   'I might go on this side; I might go across the bridge' (DH10_A06_07_0015)

e) yinawurla=biya   nga-w-ijga   _rait_ -wei
   DIST:DIR =NOW   1SG-POT-go   right-way
   yagbali -bina   ngarrgina -bina   buru
   place -ALL   1SG:POSS -ALL   return
   'I might go there, on the right, back to my place' (DH10_A06_07_0016)

f) Kalano Agecare   _rait_   buru   _kam-bek_
   K.Agecare   right   return   come-back
   ngiyinthu=malang   gurdij   deya   yeah
   PROX=GIVEN   stand   there   oh
   'right back to Kalano Agecare, I might come back, standing there'
   (DH10_A06_07_0017)

g) en   b-uga   bul
   and   POT-take   emerge
   'and may come out' (DH10_A06_07_0018)

h) _rait   deya_   kalano   Agecare   ngarrgina-bina   yagbali-bina

right there   Kalano Agecare   1SG:POSS-ALL   place-ALL
'right there at Kalano, at my home' (DH10_A06_07_0019)

10.3.1.2 MMc Describing the Way from Timber Creek Roadhouse to the Resource Centre

(434)
(i) yu   tok   la   im   ngiyinawula, ..   buyawu,   yagbali luba, ...
2SG   say   LOC   3SG   DIST:DIR   downstream   camp   big
'you tell him, over there, downstream, the big house' (D25024, MMc)

(j) gamurr
middle
'in the middle' (D25025)

(k) gamurr- gurrany   gamurr, marraj ba-jga,   buya!
middle   NEG   middle, past   IMP-go downstream
'don't (stop) halfway, go past, downstream' (25026)

(l) laginy   na   ba-jga,   janggagu.
turnoff   now IMP-go   above
'take the turnoff now, upwards' (D25027)

(m) janggagu wagurra-bina-wari, wagurra-bina-wari yinthu   jalbud.. luba.
above   rock-ALL-QUAL   rock-ALL-QUAL   this   house big
'up hillwards, hillwards is this big house (office)' (D25028)

(n) buru   ba-jga, gumard ba-rdagarra yinthu   jungulug-gu::,
return IMP-go   road   IMP-follow this   one-DAT
'go back, follow this one (same) road,' (D25029)

(o) manamba   ba-jga::,   laginy   ba-jga. Jamurrugu na   jid.
upstream   MP-go   turnoff   IMP-go below   now below
'go upstream, take the turnoff, then down downwards'(D25030)

(p) jungulug=gung gumard yinthu   na   buru   ba-rdagarra
one=RESTR   road   this   now return   IMP-follow
'this same road now follow back' (D25031)

10.3.1.3 Route Description NC after the Route is travelled

a) mangurn   gunyin-anjama-ny   ngarrgina na   buru-bat
whitefellow   2DU>1SG-bring-PST   1SG:POSS NOW   return-CONT
ngarrgina   bugarli-ni
1SG:POSS   cross-cousin-LOC
'you two, whitefellow and my cousin brought me back' (DH10_A06_07_0045, NC)

b) *ngayug   guny-ni-angu   lab*
   1SG   2DU>1SG-get/handle.PST   pick.up
   'you two picked me up' (DH10_A06_07_0046)

c) *gunyni-anjam-any   lab   ngarrgina-ni   yagbali-ni*
   2DU>1SG-bring:PRS-PST   pick.up   1SG:POSS-LOC   place-LOC
   'you two picked me up at my place' (DH10_A06_07_0047)

d) *gunyni- anjam-any   yinju -wurla*
   2DU>1SG-bring –PST   PROX -DIR
   'you two brought me here' (DH10_A06_07_0048)

e) *yirrgbi-wu*
   talking-DAT
   'for talking' (DH10_A06_07_0049)

… interruption NR

f) *guny-rum-any   ngarrgu   lab   bu-ngangu*
   2DU-come-PST   1SG.OBL   pick.up   POT-get/handle
   bunyni - anjam -any   ngayug
   3DU>1SG bring -PST   3SG.OBL
   'you two came to me to pick me up and those to brought her' (DH10_A06_07_0052)

g) *en   lab   gunyni-anjam–any   ngarrgina   bugarli*
   and   pick.up 2DU>1SG-bring–PST   1SG:POSS   cross-cousin
   gani-yu   bawu   ngarrgu
   3SG>3SG- say/do.PST   open   1SG.OBL
   'and you two picked me up, and my cousin is talking to me' (DH10_A06_07_0053)

h) *bugarli   na-wu-rum=biya*
   cross-cousin   2SG-POT-come=NOW
   yirrgbi-wu   minda-ngga
   talking–DAT   12DU-go.PRS
   'you might come (for me) my cousin, we two go for talking' (DH10_A06_07_0054)

i) *mindubala,   yirr-unga-ny   yirr-gum-any   yinju*
   1DU.EXCL   13PL>3SG-leave-PST   13PL-come-PST   PROX
   'all of us left and we all came here' (DH10_A06_07_0055)

j) *lenguij   nga-na –m   mijij*
   language   1SG>3SG-say/do -PRS   European+woman
   gani-yu   ngarrgu
   3SG>3SG- say/do.PST   1SG.OBL
   'I talk language, the European woman talked to me' (DH10_A06_07_0056)

…. Not sure concerning transcription

k) *yin-angga*　　*yirrgbi-wu*　　*gani-yu*
　13DU- go.PRS　　talking-DAT　　3SG>3SG-say/do.PST
　nu　　　*ngarrgina*　　*gujarding -gu*
　3SG.OBL　　1SG:POSS　　　mother -DAT
　'we two go for talking, she says to my mother' (DH10_A06_07_0062)

l) *ngarrgina=malang*　*bugarli*　　　*yawayi*
　1SG:POSS=GIVEN　　cross-cousin　yes
　'my cousin, yes' (DH10_A06_07_0063)

m) *en*　　*na*　　*mibala*　　*yirri-w-unga*
　　and　NOW　1PL.excl　13PL>3SG- POT-leave
　　mangurn=malang
　　whitefellow=GIVEN
　　'and now we two leave with the white person' (DH10_A06_07_0064)

n) *yurr-rum-any-ji*　　　　*yinju-wurla*
　12PL-come-PST-REFL　　　PROX-DIR
　'we came here' (DH10_A06_07_0065)

o) *motika-ni*　*bagurr*　　　　　*yurri-rdba-ny*
　car-LOC　　inside.open.container　12PL-fall-PST
　'we got into the car' (DH10_A06_07_0066)

p) *bagurr-ni*　　　　　　*na*　　*motika-ni*
　inside.open.container-LOC　NOW　car-LOC
　yinju-wurla　　　*yurr-rum-any*
　PROX-DIR　　　　12PL-come-PST
　'inside the car, we came here' (DH10_A06_07_0067)

q) *ngarrgina-bina*　*bugarli -bina*　　*yagbali-bina*
　1SG:POSS-ALL　　cross-cousin-ALL　place-ALL
　'to my cousin's house' (DH10_A06_07_0068)

r) *nginju–bina*　*yirrgbi-wu*
　PROX-ALL　　talking-DAT
　'to here, for talking' (DH10_A06_07_0069)

10.3.1.4 *Route from Myatt to Timber Creek*

a) *warlnginy*　　*nga-w-ijga*　　*yinawurla*　*biyagu*
　walking　　　1SG-POT-go　　DIST:DIR　　downstream
'I might walk towards there, downstream' (DH10_V03_01_0014, MM)

b) *biyagu-ngunyi*　　*buru*　　*nga-wu-rum*　　*nginju-wurla*

downstream-ABL   return   1SG-POT-come   PROX-DIR
warlnginy   nga-wu-ijga
walking   1SG-POT-go
'from downstream I might come back to here, I might walk' (DH10_V03_01_0016)

c) *manamba   yinju-wurla*
   upstream   PROX-DIR
   'over here, upstream' (DH10_V03_01_0017)

10.3.2 Kriol Route Descriptions

a) *yu   kipgon   rait-ap   pas-im*
   2SG   keep+going   right-up   pass-TR
   swiminpul   pas-im   skul   paua-haus
   swimmingpool   pass-TR school   power-house
   'you continue right past the swimming pool and pass the school and the powerhouse' (DH10_A15_13_0009, IA)

b) *yu   go-an   yu   gota luk   rod   ten-of*
   2SG   go-on   2SG   FUT   look   road   turn-off
   deya   det   rod   im   ten-of   la   numbulwar
   there   that road   3SG turn-off   ALL:to   n:top
   'you go on then and look for the turnoff to Numbulwar' (DH10_A15_13_0010)

c) *nomo   go   la   det   rod   det   numbulwar   rod   deya*
   NEG   go   ALL:to that road   that n_top   road   there
   'but don't go on the road, the Numbulwar road there' (DH10_A15_13_0011)

10.3.3 Fictive Motion Events in Route Descriptions

10.3.3.1 *Jaminjung Fictive Motion*

(435)   *gani-wardagarra-m   ngiyiya   gumard*
        3SG>3SG-follow-PRS   PROX   road
        'he follows this road' (D05006, DP)

(436)   *gumard   yirri-wardagarra–ny   Magulamayi-bina*
        road   13PL>3SG-follow-PST   n_top-ALL
        'we followed the road to M' (ES95_A20_routedescr_031, MMc)

(437)   *buru   ba-jga, gumard ba-rdagarra   yinthu   jungulug-gu::,*
        return   IMP-go   road   IMP-follow   this   one-DAT
        'go back, follow this one (same) road', (D25029, MMc)

(438)   *jungulug=gung   gumard yinthu   na   buru   ba-rdagarra*

one=RESTR   road   this   now return IMP-follow
'this same road now follow back' (D25031, MMc)

(439)   *burum klinik jamurrugu-ngunyi j- gumard jungulug=gun   ba-rdagarra.*
from clinic   below-ABL   road one=RESTR   IMP-follow
'from the clinic from down there, follow the same road' (D25037, MMc)

10.3.3.2 *Kriol Fictive Motion*

(440)

   a) *dijey im go-dan   det dei   go-dan*
       here 3SG go-down that 3PL:SUBJ go-down
       la   Alice Spring-wei
       ALL:to   n_top-way
       'that way go down there, they go down towards Alice Springs'
       (DH10_A15_13_0024, IA)

   b) *en   den go-ap   xx thru   Mataranka*
       and   then go-up   xx through n_top
       'and then continue through Mataranka' (DH10_A15_13_0025)

   c) *til   yu   ken du   eni,   yu   ken   tenof   la*
       until 2SG can't do   anything 2SG can't turn   ALL.to
       eniweya,   yu   gota stik la   det main-wan haiwei
       anywhere 2SG FUT stick ALL:to that main-NR highway
       'until you can't do anything else any more, you can't just turn off anywhere,
       you have to stick to the main highway' (DH10_A15_13_0026)

   d) *wal   teik-yu   raitap la   Katherine*
       well   take-2SG   right   ALL.to Katherine
       'and that will take your right up to Katherine' (DH10_A15_13_0027)

(441)

   a) *burru haus   det rod   im   kam-in-at*
       from house   that road   3SG come-PROG -out
       go   la   erpot
       go   LOC   airport
       'from that the road comes out and goes on to the airport'
       (DH10_A15_13_0079, IA)

   b) *kam-an   dijey na   det rod*
       come-on   here NOW   that road
       'come out this way that road' (DH10_A15_13_0080)

   c) *don   ten la   det rod   weya   im   go   la*

do+not   turn ALL:to   that   road   where 3SG go   ALL:to
erpot   yu gota kipgon   rait
airport   2SG FUT   keep+going right
'don't turn down the road that leads to the airport, keep going to the right'
(DH10_A15_13_0081

(442) *go   la   shop   en   rod   det go-dan   la   riva*
go   ALL.to shop   and   road   that go-down ALL:to river
'go to the shop and down the road that goes to the river,' (DH10_A15_13_0126,
IA)

(443) *en   yu   ken go-dan   streit-dan   folor-im*
and 2SG can go-down   straight-down   follow-TR
det   rod   en   yu   jis   wok streit-dan
that road   and 2SG just walk straight-down
'and you can go down straight down, follow the road and just walk straight
down' (DH10_A16_07_0023, LM)

(444) *folor-im   de   fut-path   mibala   pas-im*
follow-TR   the   foot-path 1PL.excl   pass-TR
koroburi   hostel   en   tjetj
corroboree   hostel   and   church
'we follow the footpath and we pass the corroborree hostel and the church'
(DH10_A16_07_0040, LM)

10.4 Opening Sentences to Narratives:

10.4.1 Opening with Movement

Jaminjung Emu and Brolga ES96

(445) *ga-jga-ny   nu:::   gudarlg=mala:ng   ganurr-uga   ja:lig,*
  3SG-go-PST   3SG.OBL   brolga =GIVEN   3SG:3PL-take.PST   child
  'she went up to her, the brolga it was, she took her children' (E01004, VP)

Jaminjung Dog and Devil Dreaming

(446)

  a) *Jarrinyiny=biya   ngiyiya *
    Devil.Dog=now   PROX
    'here, the Devil Dog' (ES96_V06_01.003, JL)

  b) *ga-gba *
    'he stayed' (ES96_V06_01.004)

  c) *yinawurla   buru   ga-jga-ny=ni   Wujarl-bina   Warlagu,*
    DIST:DIR   return   3SG-go.PST=SFOC   n_top-ALL   Dog
    'over there, to Woojarl, the Dog went back,' (ES96_V06_01.005)

Jaminjung Dog Dreaming

(447)

  a) *nginju=biyang   wirib=ma   ngalurr   ga-rda-ny*
    PROX =NOW   dog=SR   fall.on.side   3SG-fall-PST
    'here is "where the dog fell down"' (ES99_V08_01.003, DD)

  b) *wirib   ga-jga-ny   gugu-wu   <u>lukabat</u>*
    dog   3SG-go-PST   water-DAT   look.around
    'a dog went looking for water' (ES99_V08_01.004, DD)

Jaminjung Emu Dreaming story

(448)

  a) *Wuja-,   minyka-ngunyi   ga-ruma-ny,*
    Wuja   what's.it-ABL   3SG-come-PST
    'Wuja-, he came from what's it's name,' (ES96_V06_01.033, DM)

  b) *Gurlugurlu-ngunyi,*
    Gurlgurl-ABL
    'from Gurlgurl,' (ES96_V06_01.034)

Jaminjung Shark Dreaming

(449)

a) *yina -wula =biya   burr-ijga-ny   dulma =wung* \
   DIST -DIR =NOW   3PL-go-PST   whole=RESTR
   'over there they went for good' (ES99_V01_06a2_tg_0050, VP)

b) *<xx wubbayi xx> mayan* \
   ?? CONT
   'throwing spears (?)' (ES99_V01_06a2_tg_0051)

Jaminjung Murdmurd
(450)   *murdmurd- Murdmurd   biyang   ga-jga-ny*
        murdmurd- Murdmurd   now   3SG-go-PST
        'the murdmurdbird then went' (DH10_A07_03b_0054, NR)

Kriol Cloud
(451)   *dubala   dubala   boi   bin   kam-in*
        3DU   3DU   boy   AUX.PST   come-PROG
        bram   det-wei
        ABL:from   that -way
        'Two men came from that way.' (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson35_0003)

Kriol Murdmurd
(452)   *murdmurd   bin   go   it-im-bat   jugabeg*
        *murdmurd   AUX.PST   go   eat-TR-CONT   honey
        'so, murdmurd went out and he liked eating honey' (DH10_A07_03b_0006, NR)

Jiniminy story 1
(453)
   a) *yina-ngunyi   ga-ruma-ny   Leguna-ngunyi,*
      DIST-ABL   3sg-come-PST   n_top-ABL
      'He came from over there, from Legune,' (ES96_V06_01.050, DM)

   b) *Jiniminy,*
      Bat
      'the Bat,' (ES96_V06_01.051)

Jiniminy 3
(454)
   a) *ya   gurunyung-gi   gana-rra-ny*
      yes   head-LOC   3SG>3SG- put -PST
      'he put it onto his head' (ES01_A03_07tr_0002, IP)

   b) *bu-u   biyang   ga-rdba-ny   gugu-ni*
      dive-DAT   now   3SG-fall-PST   water-LOC
      'he dived into the water' (ES01_A03_07tr_0003)

10.4.2 No Motion Openings

Jaminjung Barramundi and Perch
 (455)
    a)jajigi...
      mouth.almighty ...
      'the big Barramundi' (ES08_A12_01tt.007, DR)

    b)gani-yu   nu...   dawujban-ku
      3SG>3SG-say/do.PST   3sg.OBL ... spangled.perch -DAT
      'he said to the Perch' (ES08_A12_01tt.008, DR)

Jaminjung Emu and Brolga MH96
 (456)   *wal   buny-ma-ja=ngardi*
         well   3DU-hit-REFL.PST =SFOC2
         'the two were fighting' (MH96_A19_01tg.0007, DM)

Jaminjung Gregory narration
 (457)
    a)yawayi, Marranbala   <u>pipel</u> ^gun
      yes   Marranbala   people EMPH
      'yes the Marranbala people' (ES96_A03_01.183, JM)

    b)<u>warag</u>   burr-agba=rnu   %
      work   3PL-be.PST=3SG.OBL
      'they were working for him' (ES96_A03_01.184)

Kriol Bifo langa drimtaim
 (458)   *long -taim wal ola spirit pipul   dei   nomobin*
         long -time well all spirit people   3PL:SUBJ   NEG AUX.PST
         hab -um   woda langa ebri krik   riba   en   bilibong
         have -TR   water LOC every creek river   and billabong
         'One day when the spirit people were around, there wasn't any water in the
         creeks, rivers and billabongs.' (Bifo_langa_Drimtaim_001)

Kriol Crocodile
 (459)   *wal dijan   naja   stori bla   krokadail*
         well this+one   another   story for   crocodile
         'This other story is about the crocodile.'
         (Conversational_Kriol_Tape5_Lesson31_0002)

Kriol Turtle and Porcupine
 (460)   *long taim la   drim-taim   %   dija   tetl   en*
         long time LOC dream–time   this+one turtle   and
         pokyupain
         porcupine

'a long time ago during the dreamtime there were a turtle and a porcupine'
(Conversational_Kriol_Tape6_Turtle_and_Echidna_0002)

Jaminjung Jiniminy 2

(461) *jiniminy =ma   wurdij   gani-jga-ny*
      ghost.bat =SUBORD throw.spear   3SG>3SG-go-PST
      'where the Ghost Bat threw a spear!' (ES01_A01_01tt_0042, PW)

Jaminjung Jiniminy 4

(462) *gugu=wunthu=ga   blak-ap   bun-thu*
      water=COND=YOU.KNOW   block –up   3PL>1SG- say/do.PST
      'when the two blocked the water off (?)' (ES01_A03_08tr_0002, MJ

Jaminjung Jiniminy 5

(463) *a   nanbarn   ngunthu   yirram*
      ah   wife   KIN.3SG   two
      'ah, his two wifes' (ES03_A03_01.0011, IP)

Jaminjung Jiniminy 6

(464) *gurrany ganu-b-uny-ngarna–nyi   nuwina   jalig*
      NEG   3SG>3SG-POT-2DU?-give -IMPF   3SG:POSS   child
      'he wouldn't give (the two daughters)' (ES08_A04_02tt_0004, EH)

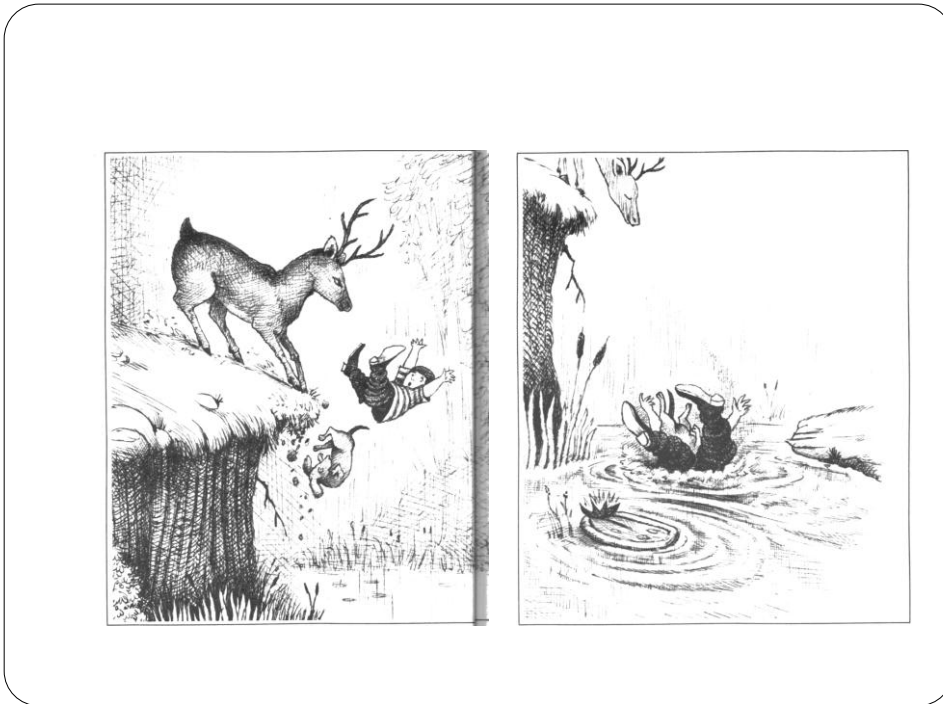## 10.5 Frog Story Falling Scenes

Figure 31: The Cliff Falling Scene in the Frog Story Narrations (Mayer, 1969:21-23)

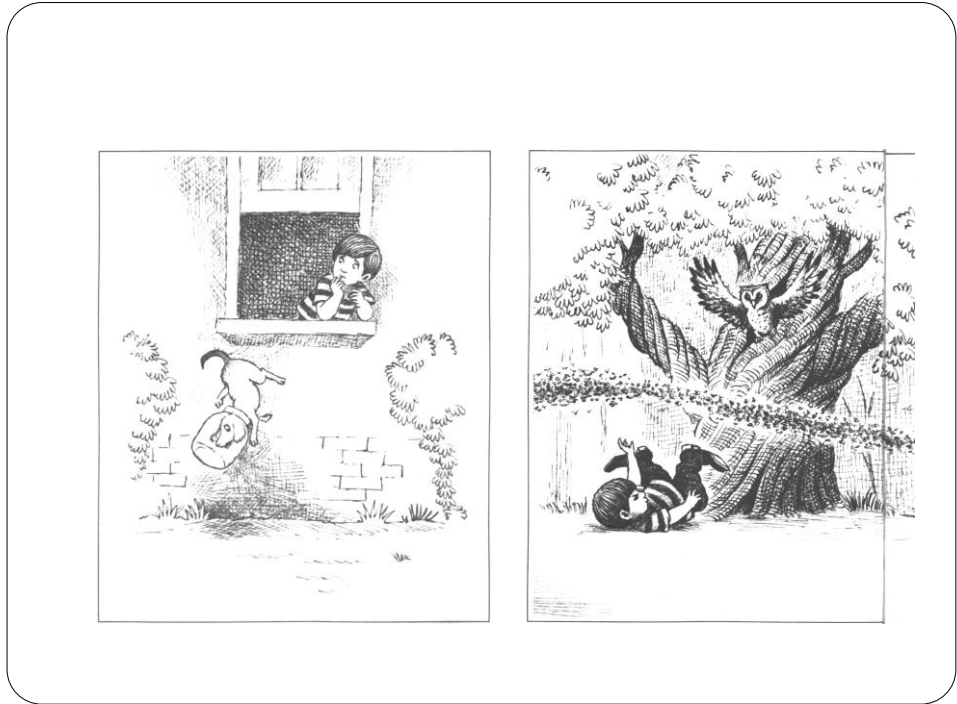**Figure 32: The Beehive Falling Scene in the Frog Story Narration (Mayer, 1969:12-13)**

Figure 33: The Dog Falling (Mayer, 1969:7) and the Boy Falling Scene (Mayer, 1969:15) in the Frog Story Narrations

10.6 Murdmurd Dreaming Photographs

Catching rainwater

A flat landscape that doesn't hold water.

The Wardaman people also say that for a time the land was covered with the sea brought by old Rainbow, but that the water receded when Rainbow was speared. According to the Wardaman, a flat waterless landscape was exposed when the big water retreated.

Because of the need for water, Lightning asks Black-headed Python how he can stop all the rainwater from getting away. And the Black-headed Python said "I got digging stick here. We can make something to stop the water from getting away".

SP-0104-GEW3

Carving gorges

Black-headed Python and Water Python create big rivers.

Black-headed Python and Water Python cut up the big gorges and made many channels.

When they finished they came back and said to old Lightning "Well there you are, all the rivers are dry and need to be filled." And Lightning said "Okay, I'll go ahead now, to make rain", and he dug a hole in the ground.

The story continues along the walking track, which is steep and moderately strenuous in places.

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