Cover: *Sunset landscape view in my country,* Silas Hobson (Kuuku Ya'u/Wuthathi), 2016.
Lockhart River Art Centre, Catalogue Number: 16-365

# Person reference and interaction in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative

**Proefschrift**

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door

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geboren op 30 december 1978
te Lismore, Australië

# Outline

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The experience of undertaking this project has been filled with adventures, involving 4WD river crossings and crocodiles, living in new cities in new countries, and those more cerebral adventures into the fascinating organisation of collaborative narration in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling. At all junctures these adventures have been filled with great generosity and engagement on the part of others, which has enriched the experience all the more. Foremost, I wish to thank the Lockhart River Aboriginal community and the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people who first welcomed me into their lives in 2002. I was relatively new to the endeavour of linguistic fieldwork, but rapidly found Lockhart River became my second home, where I made dear friends and new family. My greatest debt is to the elder group of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers, affectionately called 'the old girls', who taught me their language and shared their stories: Maria Butcher, Winnie Claudie, Elizabeth Giblet, Minnie Pascoe, Susan Pascoe and Dorothy Short. Many of these dear 'old girls' have now passed away, taking with them much knowledge, but also leaving behind the language and cultural records that they devoted so much time to creating. Of those passed, I wish to especially mention Maria Butcher, who lead her life with empathy and grace, and Dorothy Short, who was an intellectual, with a razor sharp mind and quick wit to match. *Ngayu puuyanguna pi'ana. Ngampa yam'athicha, ngathangku paapalkayu* ('I keep you in my heart. I will never forgot you, my mothers'). There were many other speakers and community members central to the success of this project, of these I especially wish to acknowledge: Patrick Butcher, Wayne Butcher, Lorraine Clarmont, Brain Claudie, Albert Doctor, Ronald Giblet, Dorothy Hobson, Lucy Hobson, Moira Macumboy, Josiah Omeenyo, Lawrence Omeenyo, Beverly Pascoe, Veronica Piva, Maureen Sandy, Phillip Sandy, Stanley Short and Vincent Temple.

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# List of abbreviations

**Abbreviations used in glosses**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ABL | ablative |
| ACC | accusative |
| CAUS | causative |
| DAT | dative |
| dem | demonstrative |
| DIR | directional |
| dist1 | demonstrative distal grade 1 |
| dist2 | demonstrative distal grade 2 |
| dist3 | demonstrative distal grade 3 |
| DM | demonstrative marker |
| DUB | dubitative |
| ERG | ergative |
| exc | exclusive |
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive |
| IGNOR | ignorative |
| IMP | imperative |
| inc | inclusive |
| INTJ | interjection |
| LOC | locative |
| MOD | mood/modal |
| NEG | negative |
| NF | non-future |
| NMLZ | nominalization |

| | |
|---|---|
| NOM | nominative |
| NSG | non-singular |
| PATHOS | pathos 'poor thing' clitic |
| pl/PL | plural |
| PRED | predicator |
| PRES.CONT | present continuous |
| PRIV | privative |
| PROG | progressive |
| prox | proximal |
| RFL | reflexive |
| RDP | reduplication |
| SG/sg | singular |
| VBLZ | verbaliser |

**Glosses used for kin-terms**

| | |
|---|---|
| B | brother |
| C | child |
| D | daughter |
| e | elder |
| F | father |
| H | husband |
| M | mother |
| S | son |
| W | wife |
| y | younger |
| Z | sister |
| ♀ | female anchor |
| ♂ | male anchor |

# Transcription conventions

Multiple utterance excerpts in this thesis rely on a simplified form of the transcription conventions used in Conversational Analytic and interactional linguistics practice – see Ochs (1979) and the transcription notation developed by Gail Jefferson in Atkinson and Heritage (1984:ix-xvi).

| | |
|---|---|
| [ | Square brackets indicate overlapping talk |
| = | Equal signs come in pairs, one at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line, indicating latching (no gap or overlap between different speakers) or disjoined transcription of the same speaker's utterance |
| (0.6) | Numbers in parentheses indicate silence (i.e. 0.6 seconds) |
| (.) | A dot in parentheses indicates a micropause |
| xxx | A series of x's indicate indiscernible or inaudible speech |
| LOUD | Upper case indicates louder production than surrounding talk |
| °word° | Degree symbols indicate softer production than surrounding talk |
| **word** | Bold font indicates a particular point of interest relevant to discussion |
| - | A dash indicates a cut-off |
| : | Colons indicate prolongation of the prior sound |
| ↑↓ | Arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch |

*Like you-me, you-me be talk language where Old Site [like we all talked language at Old Site]. We talk language and English. We grow up from that story. But here today, ulmpaya [nothing], no got. Only whiteman tongue, that's all. No got Aboriginal talk. Well we proper glad. We never have no whiteman been here before for talk, you know, language, story, talking about any story in language or in English. You the last girl come from Sydney and you come and sit here with us old girl and we give story, about, you know, anything story about. We talk language first with you and then we talk English. We really glad for you, for you take us talking in that video, for-, say-we might die, and well you might listen and all our kid might listen our talk in that video, you know. So they might be happy or they might be sad.*

—— Dorothy Short, Umpila elder talking about the language situation and her participation in the study presented within this thesis (31 July 2012).

# PART I    INTRODUCTION

# Prologue      The context: "We give story"

It is a day of passing showers and sunbursts towards the end of the wet season in late March 2007. Dorothy Short and Susie Pascoe sit together on the veranda at the Art Centre in Lockhart River, on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula (Australia). Dorothy and Susie are two of just a handful of elderly people left that speak the related dialects of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u (the main community language is Lockhart River Creole). They are joined by myself and Susie Pascoe's two eldest daughters, Lucy Hobson and Lorraine Clarmont. We are midway through a language work session and have just moved outside onto the veranda in an attempt to catch some breeze. Dorothy and Susie have spent the best part of the last half hour telling two narratives, with the pair of daughters and me jointly acting as language documenters (running the video camera), language students, and audience to the storytelling. The first narrative was told by Susie at the request of Lucy.

LH    oh mum you talk like where (.)  miimi come from

                                 MM

*oh mum you talk like where (my) mother's mother came from*

(0.2)

LH    where my    ngachimu come from

                   MF

*where my mother's father came from*

(0.3)

LH    all them kind

*things like that*

(.)

LH    where their father where their mother come from

A following topic of conversation, about Dorothy's recent use of traditional medicine to fix a stomach aliment, morphs into the second narrative. This is an account of an old woman treating Dorothy as a child with the same technique:

DS    no    got    (0.4)     kuungka

                             medicine

*(we) don't have medicine*

(1.3)

DS    ngampa      para-namu
         NEG        white.person-ASSOC
         *no whiteman's medicine*
         (1.0)

DS    pula-      pula      ku'unku'unchi-lu
         3plNOM   3plNOM   RDP.old.woman-ERG
         *those- those old women*
         (0.8)

DS    waathi-nya waangka    waa'i-na
         go-NF      mud        dig-NF
         *went and dug mud*
         (1.2)

SP    yuway
         *yes*
         (1.0)

LH   hey
         *hey*
         (0.6)

DS    kuthu     waangka   aachi-nya
         some     mud       cook-NF
         *the old woman cooks some mud*

After the second narrative is complete, we all move to the veranda, cups of tea in hand, and the conversation turns back to family and land connections. The discussion focuses on Umpila and Night Island territory (two land-owning groups to the south of Lockhart River). There is a pause in the flow of this conversation and Susie launches the third narrative. She does so without formal devices or structures to overtly announce the forthcoming story (such as 'I'll give you this story' or 'I remember when'), but starts simply by saying, 'Evening time at Buthen Buthen, Buthen Buthen. He- alright-'. After a few probing questions from Dorothy, the scene is set (Buthen Buthen, a hill near Stoney Creek) and a main character established (an old man called Nyin-Nyin).

SP    ngulku     Buthen Buthen (.)   Buthen Buthen
         evening    place.name        place.name
         *evening time at Buthen Buthen, Buthen Buthen*
         (0.5)

```
SP    ngulu-       alrigh-
      3sgNOM    alright
      he- alright-
      (.)
DS    ngaani-ku?
      IGNOR-DAT
      what for?
      (0.5)
SP    th-  that  hill  where  chilpu     Chin-Chin- wanim              °Nyin-Nyin°
      that  that  hill  where  old.man    name          whatchamacallit  name
      th- that hill where old man chin-chin-  whatchamacallit Nyin-Nyin
      (1.3)
DS    wanim             ngaachi?
      whatchamacallit  place
      whatchamacall that place?
      (1.5)
SP    from (0.8)  Thampal Thangkinyu  (.) that   ulngku   go ontop where    ilka
      from           Stoney Creek              that   road      go ontop where    hill
      from Stoney Creek where that road goes on top of the hill
      (1.4)
DS    Buth[en Buthen?
      place.name
      Buthen Buthen?
SP    [ngampula       piingka-na
      1plincNOM    climb-NF
      we climbed up
```

While this narrative emerges somewhat unexpectedly from the immediate context in which it sits, the story had already been invoked twenty minutes earlier through a small person reference problem. Dorothy mistakenly referenced Susie's mother's mother with the nickname Nyin-Nyin. This is corrected by Susie. As part of the correction, Susie also mentions the event she later goes on to narrate (which occurred at Buthen Buthen hill):

```
DS    nga'a-lu           Nyin-Nyin hey? nga'a-lu
      dem.dist1-DM    name          hey   dem-dist1-DM
      that one was Nyin-Nyin hey? that one
      (0.4)
```

SP    °Mangkanyu°
      name
      *Mangkanyu*
      (.)
DS    aa    Nyin-Nyin all          call  him  too!
      aa    name        everyone  call  3sg  too
      *ah Nyin-Nyin everyone called him too!*
      (1.2)
SP    no Nyin-Nyin be carry you-me  go    Buthen [Buthen  hill
      no name        be carry 1plinc  go    place.name        hill
      *no, Nyin-Nyin had carried us two to Buthen Buthen hill.*
DS    [aa   that   chilpu (.) hey
      aa     that   old.man
      *ah that old man, hey?*

This incident is described in detail in the later narrative. It is an account of a journey in which a group of people, including Susie and Dorothy, find themselves stranded with limited food. An old man Nyin-Nyin seeks the assistance of a white miner fossicking in the area. Both Susie and Dorothy share in the storytelling, combining their perspectives and experience of the events into a single narrative event. Reported speech features throughout, shifting the perspective away from the two narrators' here-and-now to the perspective of the narrative participants.

DS    ngana          mayi-kanyu   pulnha-kanyu yatan    ulmpaya (.) kuyi-
      1plexcNOM    food-PRIV      flour-PRIV     tea        nothing      then
      *we had no food, no flour and no tealeaves, nothing and then-*
      (1.0)
SP    "ilpi-cha-mpu                ngaachi-ku!"
      return-FUT-1plincNOM    place-DAT
      *"we will go back home!"*
      (.)
DS    pa'amu  now…
      two       now
      *(those) two now…*
      (1.8)
DS    aa-
      aa
      (1.5)

DS    cook  mangku
      cook  several
      *(they) cooked several (segments of the pig killed earlier)*
      (0.2)
DS    pula          nganan        inga-na  "ngana         waathi-ka  kani-ma
      3plNOM        1plexcACC     say-NF   1plexcNOM      go-FUT     up-DIR
      para          ngachi-ka
      white.person  find-FUT
      *they say to us, "we will go up on top and will find the whiteman"*

Emergent and interactional, the narrative shifts pace throughout, and moves in and out of narrative perspective on occasion. There are several breaks in the narration, where the narrators shift to the present to clarify and elaborate on facts and information about people related to these events. When the narrative draws to a close, the women conclude by relating the events of the story to important changes in the cultural world of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u.

DS    ngampulungku    mayi-mpu          want-    nhu'upi-na
      1plincGEN       food-1plincNOM    ?        forget-NF
      *we have forgotten our food*
      (0.4)
SP    nhu'upi-na-mpu              ngaachi  mayi  ngampulungku
      forget-NF-1plexcNOM        place    food  1plincGEN
      *we have forgotten the food that belongs to us and this country*

The narrative is then formally concluded with a round of *nga'amalu* 'that's all' and *punthina* 'finished' from Dorothy and Susie.

This vignette provides just one example of the context in which the narratives examined in this study were recorded. The emergent and interactional nature of these narratives is not incidental, but is a central characteristic of 'storytelling' in this region. This study will attempt to uncover the organising principles behind this type of interactional narration, using person reference as the central analytical device.

# Chapter 1    Introduction

Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytellers of north-eastern Cape York Peninsula (CYP) in Australia describe the way they tell most narratives as "we all talk one time". This expression characterises a highly interactive mode of multi-party storytelling, where two or more narrators take turns or even co-produce turns to jointly tell a story. In this narrative style, storytellers prompt, prod and question each other. They elaborate on and exclaim about each other's narration, building up the story incrementally across turns. This collaborative storytelling is the default narrative strategy within the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speech community, with only very select narratives or topics of narration routinely told by a single narrator (Hill 2011b). This narrative style is not unique in the Australian Aboriginal context. Multi-party narration has been posited as a characterising feature of Aboriginal Australian storytelling by Walsh (2016), and noted as typical in several studies of specific languages (McGregor on Gooniyandi and Kimberley languages more widely (1988b and 2004), Haviland on Guugu Yimidhirr (1991), Black on Koko-Bera (2010)). Related observations on a cultural preference for multi-party interactions have also been made in a series of claims that Aboriginal styles of talk are in some ways different from interactional norms cross-linguistically (Liberman 1980, 1982, 1985; Walsh 1991). For the domain of narrative in general, these observations have largely remained that, short accounts or ethnographic commentaries with little in terms of detailed descriptions of how these stories are organised and how the narrators coordinate with each other to produce a successful and coherent narrative. Studies of specific languages are of course more detailed, but they remain limited to article-length accounts often analysing single narrative events. This study seeks to fill a gap in the literature, with a thesis-sized, data-driven examination of a significant collection of the narratives of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people.

The study will employ person reference as a window into the organisation of these narratives. It will do so by examining what the selection, formulation and distribution of person reference expressions can tell us about the various contingencies at play in the production of a story: how a group of narrators negotiate rights and roles in the joint delivery of the story; how different narrators' stances and attitudes are conveyed; how miscommunications and misunderstandings between narrators are resolved; what devices are used to craft the story and develop themes across multiple narrators, and so on. Person reference is a classic topic of study in narrative organisation, with an extensive body of work on participant tracking in narrative discourse (e.g. Chafe 1976; Clancy 1980; Fox 1987; Givón 1983, 1990; Longacre 1996; Lambrecht 1994; Prince 1981; Tomlin 1987). However, there are two specific factors that make person reference particularly well-fitted to examine the nature of multi-party narratives in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. On the one hand, person reference is known to be a highly culturally specific domain (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 1969; Mithun 1984; Radcliffe-Brown 1940; Tooker-Conklin 1984), as

borne out in classic work on kin systems and social categories (Radcliffe-Brown 1931) and more recent work on kinship terms and kinship in discourse in Australian languages (Blythe 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2012, 2018; Evans 2003b; Garde 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013; Mushin and Baker 2008; Stirling 2008). On the other hand, person reference has also been the focus of much recent work in interaction, inspired by Sacks and Schegloff's (1979) seminal paper on English, and extended to cross-linguistic work on person reference design in interaction (Enfield 2012, Enfield and Stivers 2007, Levinson 2007).

This introductory chapter provides some background for the rest of the study, beginning with the study of narrative and person reference in sections 1 and 2, followed by an overview of the general structure of the study in section 3, a sketch of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u in section 4, basic ethnographic information and an overview of previous research in section 5, and an overview of data and methods in section 6.

## 1.1 Narrative

Casting experience into narrative form to make sense of the world and share it with others is a fundamental and profoundly human activity, which seems to play a vital role in all cultures (Basso 1992; Coe, Aiken and Palmer 2006; Dautenhahn 2002; Klapproth 2004; Scalise Sugiyama 2001; Wiessner 2014). Given this fundamental nature, narrative has long been an important topic of research in a range of disciplines including folklore, psychology, anthropology, and linguistics. Each discipline has broached its interest in narrative through the lens of the particular questions and issues specific to its field, generating a massive body of research. I will not try to review this literature exhaustively, which is beyond the scope of this study, but will limit discussion to background on narrative in Aboriginal Australia (§1.1.1), as well as research focusing on narratives-in-interaction (§1.1.2). It is this work which bears direct relevance to this study, and will help to position the forthcoming discussion.

## 1.1.1 Narrative research in the Australian Aboriginal context

When thinking of Australian Aboriginal narratives, the most likely point of reference for many people will be sacred mythological narratives, usually referred to in Australian English as *dreamtime* or *dreaming* stories (Meggit 1972, Myers 1991, Róheim 1945, Spencer and Gillen 1899, Stanner 1956, Strehlow 1947, Tonkinson 1978/1991). These narrate the activities of mythological beings or ancestral peoples, and the formation of the natural world that took place in a mythological past. The telling of these stories extends beyond narration as it is typically understood, encompassing ritual dramatisations, ceremonies, songs, paintings and multimodal performances. This is the high culture of Aboriginal Australia, and the transmission and enacting of these stories has vital ceremonial and social functions (Klapproth 2004, Stanner 1956, Tonkinson 1978/1991). It is this type of narrative which anthropologists have studied for insight into ceremonial life, and which has often constituted an important part of the corpora of

linguists (Austin 1997; Beckett and Hercus 2009; Berndt 1985; Berndt and Berndt 1989; Clunies Ross 1986; Dixon 1991; Heath 1984; Hodge and McGregor 1989; Klapproth 2004; Napaljarri and Cataldi 1994; Reed 1999; Róheim 1988; Smith 1932). Mythological narratives are equally central to the wider Australian population's perception of Aboriginal Australian culture, as it is this type of narrative which has made its way into popular culture, in the form of children's storybooks and pedagogical materials (highly simplified, and often Anglicised, into quaint "just-so" style stories; Lofts and Albert 2004, Roennfeldt 1980, Roughsey 1991).

There is a further consequence of this focus in documentation and research. Most studies of narrative in Aboriginal Australia have concentrated on formal elicited narratives, often delivered to a researcher with limited language proficiency (for similar points see Black 2010: 277; Blythe 2011; Carew 2016:139-140; Green 2014). Whether in text collections, narratological descriptions or anthropological accounts, the focus has been on un-contextualised 'literary style' narratives (Berndt and Berndt 1952, Berndt 1970, Berndt 1989, Heath 1980, Klapproth 2004). They are planned and rehearsed, detached from a natural storytelling context, with little attention to the broader social context of the story and its relationship to other modalities and discourses. In general, there is a marked lack of work on narratives about known people and events (though see Hercus and Sutton 1986). This skewing is a result of the high cultural currency associated with *dreamtime* narratives, and the proprietary rights and formalities associated with their production (§2.2.1, §2.4.1).

In contrast to the monologic bias associated with *dreamtime* narratives[1], there is a small number of studies that have considered the interactive aspects of storytelling in Aboriginal Australian settings, almost all detailed analyses of single narrative events: McGregor (1988b and 2004) on Gooniyandi and Kimberley languages more widely; Haviland (1991) on Guugu Yimidhirr; Black (2010) on Koko-Bera; Blythe (2010, 2011) on Murrinh-Patha; Carew on (2016a, 2016b) on Gun-nartpa; Mushin (2016) on Garrwa. Most notable of these in relation to this study are McGregor (1988b), Black (2010), and Haviland (1991) – the last two being of particular areal interest as languages of CYP. These three studies provide accounts of narratives akin to the multi-party narration observed in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. McGregor (1988b) provides a typology of interactive sequences and exchanges produced by the recipients of Gooniyandi narratives, e.g. open-ended prompts, suggestions, elaborations, probes, or echoic responses. Many of these non-narrator contributions described are similar to those produced by supporting or co-narrators in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives (see §6.3 and §7.4.2-§7.4.3). Black (2010) presents a narrative jointly delivered by two speakers of the Koko-Bera language. The two narrators do not exchange stories or negotiate content, but rather jointly present a single story

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[1] The link between the two features may be systematic, rather than simply an effect of the recording situation: Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u shows a strong association between *dreamtime* stories and monological production (§2.2.2; §2.4.1). Carew (2016:36) also notes this for Gun-nartpa narrative, suggesting this pattern could well be a wider phenomenon in Aboriginal Australia.

that was clearly well known to both, confirming and elaborating on each other's content. Black comments that the effect reminds him of the speeches of Martin Luther King, in which a speaker at a second podium reinforced King's message with repetition and such exclamations as 'Amen, brother!' (Black 2010:277). In a similar arrangement, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators incrementally build on each other's prior narration (§6.3), resulting in an overlapping choral-style effect much like gospel songs that elicit echoic responses from the audience (as evoked by Black's analogy (2010:277)). Lastly, of particular interest is Haviland's description of a Guugu Yimidhirr narrative as an "adversarial dance" between the three interactants producing the story (1991:337). Despite the narrative being a life history of one of the interactants, the autobiographer in the trio is described by Haviland as having to "juggle the two members of his audience, who do not sit idly by…not only prompting for topic but also prodding the pace" (1991:342-343). Haviland's description also closely echoes what is observed in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, particularly in relation to participants co-telling a narrative of which they have no direct experience or epistemic entitlement. It is such similarities that suggest that the practices described in this study for Umpila Kuuku Ya'u storytelling are not unusual in the Aboriginal Australian context, and may bear some relation to narrative styles and conventions for other Aboriginal Australian groups (Walsh 2016).

### 1.1.2 Narratives and interaction

Beyond the Australian context, research on narrative more generally has more or less left out consideration of the interactive element of storytelling (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, Georgakopoulou 2007, Mandelbaum 2003, Ochs and Capps 2001). The bias discussed above for Aboriginal Australian narrative is part of a skewing in the wider tradition, resulting in a dearth in the systematic analysis of how narratives are interactionally constructed, emergent and dependent on a complex array of factors in the social setting. Narrative studies have instead largely focused on understanding internal structural components (Chafe 1979; Grimes 1975; Hinds 1977, 1979; Ji 2002; Johnson and Mandler 1980; Kintsch 1977; Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967; Longacre 1979; Prince 1973; Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977; see also section 7.2.1) or the more performative or literary elements of narration and other verbal arts (Hymes 1981; Sherzer 1982, 1983, 1987; Sherzer and Urban 1986; Tedlock 1972, 1983; Urban 1985, 1991; Woodbury 1985, 1987). To be fair, the literature does have some discussion of interactive aspects, but this often relates to aspects of macro-structure or high-level concepts: for example, in the description of verbal dueling and dialogic units within verbal arts (Bowen 1989, Sherzer 1993, Woodbury 1995); in the relationship between verbal arts and their social context (Bauman 1986, Duranti 1994); in the role of context or framing devices in distinguishing different genres (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Goffman 1981; Hymes 1972, 1981); or in the discussion of the social functions of narrative at a cultural level (Basso 1992; Coe, Aiken and Palmer 2006; Scalise Sugiyama 2001; Wiessner 2014).

As with Australian Aboriginal narrative research, a major factor in this bias is the type of narrative that has been studied. The narratives examined are usually formal performative events (in the study of verbal art) or teller-led narratives of personal experience which present a bounded account of a temporally ordered set of events. They tend to be relatively long and uninterrupted, and are typically elicited in a research interview or a controlled recording situation (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou 2015; Ochs and Capps 2001:57). Sometimes this is a result of theoretical stance, for example in approaches like the story-schema approach which view narratives as having invariant structural features (van Dijk 1976; Kintsch 1977; Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977) (§7.2.1), though in other cases it is more a matter of convention within traditional narrative inquiry. Recent work is remedying this bias, with increasing attention being devoted to conversational narratives – these being the sort of narratives that fill our everyday interactions. They are emergent stories, usually dealing with small events, current or shared, and are more open to co-tellers and shifts in narratorship. They are often fragmented and fleeting, prone to interruption and inconsistencies. Within this body of recent work there are three notable lines of research that influence this study. The first two fall broadly within the tradition of narrative analysis: a landmark volume on conversational narratives by Ochs and Capps (2001); and research on 'small stories' by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou 2007, 2014, 2015). The third is a larger body of work in Conversation Analysis that examines how narratives are embedded in conversation, how they are managed and what they accomplish interactionally (Mandelbaum 2003, 2013).

What unites these three lines of research is their reaction against dominant models of stories in narrative studies. All strongly acknowledge that narratives do not just serve to relate experiences and generate a representation of the world, but also simultaneously achieve social tasks and actions, e.g. to blame, to complain, to justify or account for conduct, or to make fun of someone (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Mandelbaum 1987, 1989, 1993; Monzoni and Drew 2009; Jefferson 1980, 1988; Sacks 1972:345; Schegloff 1997, 2005). The emphasis is shifted to the use of the story as a social tool within the particular context of its delivery, and with this goes the realisation that many of the formulations within are a fundamental part of that work. Furthermore, all three approaches also elevate our understanding of the recipient's role in narrative production. They highlight how narratives are told in ways that reflect the storyteller's sensitivity to the needs of recipients, and demonstrate that recipients are active participants in the production of the narrative (Mandelbaum 1987, 1989; Sidnell 2006; Stivers 2008). This point is articulated most clearly within the tradition of Conversational Analysis research, where work on recipient design preferences (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:727) demonstrates how interaction is produced to show an orientation to the other participants, along with a wide gamut of other contextual circumstances. These principles are discussed in more detail in the following section, which provides background on the study of person reference.

**1.2 Person reference**

Person reference is the particular lens through which this study will investigate multi-party narratives. Again, the analysis will build on traditions within the study of Australian languages (§1.2.1), as well as more general theoretical approaches to person reference, most importantly work in Conversation Analysis (§1.2.2).

**1.2.1 Person reference in the Australian Aboriginal context**

Modes of person reference have long been of interest to researchers working in the Australian Aboriginal context. Early anthropological work noted the powerful force of circumspection and taboos on person reference in Aboriginal Australia (Hart 1930, Spencer and Gillen 1899/1968, Stanner 1937, Thomson 1946). In particular, Hart (1930), Stanner (1937) and Thomson (1946) presented detailed descriptions of reference inventories and accounts of everyday use of referential strategies in Tiwi, Murrinh-Patha and Wik Mungkan respectively - – including descriptions of colourful nicknames that invoke disabilities and unique characteristics of the referent, personal names that are to be never spoken, and specialised circumlocutory expressions only appropriate in certain contexts. Central to these studies was the identification of social functions in the use of different modes of person reference. Many of the nuanced ethnographic observations in these studies are still highly relevant today, both to this study, and to other recent studies of the complex person reference repertoires in Aboriginal Australia (Blythe 2009a, 2010, 2012; Dousset 1997; Evans 2016; Garde 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013; McKnight 1999).

Reflecting its social importance, kinship is arguably one of the most elaborate semantic domains in Australian languages (Evans 2003b, Gaby and Singer 2014, Heath et al. 1982), and certainly the most studied in terms of person reference. The bulk of the work on the language of kinship has been anthropological, exploring the structure of "skin" section systems, marriageability rules, and skewing principles (Dench 1982; Geytenbeek 1982; Heath 1982; Laughren 1982; Meggitt 1962, 1972; Radcliffe-Brown 1931; Rumsey 1981; Scheffler 1978; Stanner 1979; Yallop 1982). Recent research is revisiting some of these classical anthropological concerns with new perspectives and methods, such as modelling of kinship prehistory and analysis of the evolution and diffusion of kinship systems (see chapters in McConvell, Kelly and Lacrampe 2018). Research with a more linguistic orientation has often focused on unusual and semantically elaborate kin terminology, including the identification and analysis of semantically complex dyadic and trirelation kin-terms (Blythe 2018; Evans 2006, 2012; Garde 2003; Heath 1982; Laughren 1982; McConvell 1982; McGregor 1996). A new term *kintax*, coined by Evans (2003b), highlights another form of complexity, namely, the intrusion of kinship categories into the grammatical machinery of some languages. The most widespread example of this are the intricate grammatical paradigms of pronouns which

incorporate aspects of kinship semantics (Blythe 2010, Dench 1982, Evans 2003b, Hale 1966, Wilkins 1989).

   Another important area of research is on person reference usage in conversation and discourse, examining how referential choices unfold online. There are two branches to this research, both of which are highly relevant to this study. The first is a growing body of detailed studies of person reference choice in everyday interaction, e.g. work by Blythe on Murrinh-Patha (2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2018) and Garde on Bininj Kunwork (2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013). A substantial and an innovative part of Garde's work is the consideration of the cultural motivations for patterns of under-specification of referents in Aboriginal interaction. This is a new perspective to add to the broader reference-tracking literature, which has been fascinated by high levels of ellipsis in many instances of Aboriginal Australian discourse (Austin 2001; Bowe 1990; Levinson 1987; Stirling 2008; Swartz 1988, 1991). Blythe's work includes the detailed application person reference design principles to Murrinh-Patha (2009a, 2010) (which will be discussed below), as well as innovative studies on the role of prosody and gesture in interpreting person reference (2009b, 2012). The research by Blythe and Garde examines many of the same issues and design principles as this present study, and their research is referred to throughout the thesis. The second branch of research on usage falls within the area of reference tracking. Some of this includes focused investigations of participant tracking specifically; for example, Stirling (2008) and Verstraete and De Cock (2008) present detailed accounts of the rhetorical functions of marked participant tracking in narratives. But the majority of it deals with reference tracking more broadly, with a special interest in the role of different forms of NP structure/position (Bowe 1990, McGregor 1990, Rose 2001) and the tracking functions of specific pronouns (Austin 2001, Baker 2008, Bowern 2008, Evans 2003a:290; Heath 1984, Mushin 2008, Mushin and Simpson 2008). A strong theme running through this research tradition is the understanding of ellipsis (as above) and the nature of nominal structures in Australian languages, which have often been described as lacking a clear NP structure altogether (Austin 2001; Blake 1983; Bowe 1990; Evans 2003a:227-234; Harvey 1992; Heath 1984, 1986; Nordlinger 1998; Rijkhoff 2002:19-22; Swartz 1991). Much of this has been discussed as instantiations of a more general principle of non-configurationality (Austin and Bresnan 1996, Hale 1983), but there are also some alternative functional accounts of NP structure and discontinuity (e.g. McGregor 1989, 1990, 1997; Schultze-Berndt and Simard 2012), which are supported by recent typological work (Louagie 2017a, Louagie and Verstraete 2016). While this body of work is not focused just on person reference, it does examine important aspects of the grammatical structures underlying reference choice, which impact notably on person reference formulation – as is clear within this present study in the discussion of NP structure in chapter 4 and general reference tracking patterns in chapter 6.

**1.2.2 Person reference and interaction**

In the literature beyond Australia, there are two main lines of research on person reference which have inspired the direction taken in this study, both of which are functional approaches that highlight the responsiveness of person reference to context. The first line of research combines the Conversation Analytic tradition with neo-Gricean pragmatic research, and takes an interactional social view of person reference (Sacks and Schegloff 1979, Stivers and Enfield 2007). The second line of research is within discourse-based approaches to grammar, often referred to with the descriptive phrase 'Discourse and Grammar' (Ariel 1998; Chafe 1980, 1994, 1998; Du Bois 1987, 2003; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Fox and Thompson 1990; Givón 1979, 1992, 1998; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Li and Thompson 1979). Both approaches are concerned with the state of interactants and referents within the context, but from different perspectives. Conversation Analysis has its roots in sociology and focuses on how interlocutors use and manage the social structure of the interaction. Discourse and Grammar examines the interaction between discourse and grammar in a multitude of ways, but in terms of reference formulation is often underscored by a cognitivist view that reference form is shaped by the cognitive status of the referents within the mind of the interactants (e.g. referential concepts such as accessible, reactivated, given, new etc.). This tradition of work examines the relationship between this cognitive status, the form of the reference and the discourse structure (Chafe 1979, Givón 1983, Longacre 1979) (see further in §7.2.1-§7.2.2 in this study).

   I will provide more detailed discussion of these frameworks where they are relevant in the study (see further in chapter 5 and chapter 7), but given the importance of conversation-analytic work for the study as a whole, I will introduce some basic principles here. Much of the contemporary work on person reference, both in Australian languages and further afield, has been inspired by a seminal paper by Sacks and Schegloff (1979) that identified two interactional principles as organising the formulation and interpretation of initial person reference expressions in English conversation. The first principle is the preference for use of a recognitional reference form, that is a reference form that allows the recipient to identify who is being referred to. The second principle is a preference for minimisation, that is the preference for use of a single reference form (Sacks and Schegloff 1979:16-17). The preference for recognition is an instantiation of the broader principle of recipient design (Schegloff 1972; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), i.e. the "multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:727). In person reference terms, this is the way a speaker makes use of a reference form that is adequate and appropriate for the particular recipients or co-participants in the interaction. The principle of minimisation, on the other hand, is a preference for the use of <u>one</u> single referring expression in doing person reference, rather than multiple expressions. As noted in

Levinson (1987), this principle can be interpreted as an instantiation of the neo-Gricean principle of Informativeness "say as little as necessary" (Levinson 1987, 2000, 2007). In fact, Levinson's discussion (particularly in Levinson 2007) focuses on a broader notion of economy underpinning this referential preference, instead of a specification of the number of units involved in the reference.

Combining these two principles, Sacks and Schegloff (1979) propose that the typical way to formulate initial person reference is for a speaker to simultaneously orient to both the principle of recognition and minimisation. In English, this leads to 'first name only' as a *default* format for initial mention of persons. The default is what Schegloff (1996:440) terms *referring simpliciter*, that is, when a speaker refers to a person without trying to convey that this is done in a special way or for a special reason. It is critical that such default or unmarked patterns exist for departures from these patterns to be noticeable as marked[2]. In this sense, marked formulations are employed because 'the speaker wants to do more than just achieve reference to the person' (1996:440). This *more* could be demonstrating deference to a referent or recipient, navigating taboos and other culturally important observances, showing orientation to the presence of overhearers or to the kind of activity being carried out, and so forth.

The principles of minimisation and recognition were based on the study of conversational organisation of English, though they were posited by Sacks and Schegloff as more general principles. The relevance of these principles to different languages from around the world has been the topic of much recent research on person reference. Most notably, the studies in Stivers and Enfield (2007) present cross-linguistically robust support for these two principles, and in the Australian context Blythe's work on Murrinh-Patha (2009a, 2010, 2012) and Garde's work on Bininj Kunwork (2008a, 2013) do the same. Stivers and Enfield's cross-linguistic comparative survey provides good support for the idea that the unmarked way to formulate initial person reference is for a speaker to satisfy the minimisation and recognition principles simultaneously[3]. Stivers and Enfield's (2007) survey also propose a number of additional principles that underlie person reference formulation. I discuss two of these here, whose cross-linguistic applicability is yet to be proved, but which are crucial for the analysis in this study, as they motivate deviations from unmarked or default referring expressions.

One of these is Levinson's (2007) principle of circumspection, which deals with a speaker's need to observe "local constraints" on referring to persons. This was put forward to account for cultural restrictions on the use of certain expressions, like the avoidance of personal names

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[2] See Levinson (2000) and Comrie (1996) for a discussion of pragmatic markedness, and see comments in Stivers, Enfield and Levinson (2007:8-10) and Enfield (2007) for the discussion of markedness in person reference formulations specifically.

[3] The results showed, however, that languages differed somewhat in what referential output is generated – with personal names being broadly preferred as the unmarked reference form in English, Yélî Dnye, Kilivila and Bequian Creole, and possessed kin-terms as the unmarked reference form for Yucatec Maya, Tzotzil, Tzeltal and Korean (Enfield and Stivers 2007:13).

under various taboo conditions in Yélî Dnye, or for a less exotic example, the restrictions on school students using a school teacher's first name, with *Mr Williams* preferred over *Jim* (Levinson 2007:31). There are similar naming restrictions for Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u interactants (see §3.2.2.2; §3.2.4.2; §5.7), which are also widely reported in the Australian Aboriginal context (Blythe 2009a, 2010; Garde 2008a, 2013; Stanner 1936; Thomson 1946).

The other principle of central importance to person reference formulation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives is topic-fittedness. This principle is posited by Levinson (2007) based on evidence presented in Stivers (2007), though it is also notably similar to what Schegloff (1972) called "topic analysis" in the discussion of place reference. Topic-fittedness is the preference for a speaker to fit the reference expression to the topic or action being pursued (Levinson 2007:31). Examples include formulations in English like *the birthday boy* to make topical the referent's birthday, *the man of the hour* as a reference expression in a congratulatory speech, or structures like *my honey* or *your guy* which shift the referent to being within either the speaker's or the addressee's domain of responsibility, to assist in the delivery of a request or a complaint (Stivers 2007). Given that names are the default reference formulation in English, such marked formulations can be explained as being fitted specifically to the pragmatic action or topic in which they are embedded. The application of principles like these and the other principles described above to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative forms a central part of the analysis to be developed in this thesis.

## 1.3 Organisation of this study

The two topics of narrative and person reference underlie the basic structure of this study, which consists of two parts. Following this introductory chapter, the first part of the study provides information on the structural repertoires in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u relevant to the study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of aspects of narrative, dealing with modes of narration, narrative genres and the narrative corpus. It also discusses some basic aspects of the structure of multi-party narratives, including narrator roles. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the linguistic resources available for person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the person reference repertoire, such as kin-terms, social status terms, denizen expressions and pronouns, while chapter 4 analyses the structure of the noun phrase, i.e. the morphosyntactic unit that is central to inserting these reference resources into clauses and narrative structures. The second part of this study uses person reference to examine the nature of multi-party narratives, in three contexts. Chapter 5 studies initial references to participants. The analysis shows a number of marked deviations from default person reference in initial contexts, specifically the use of special constructions consisting of multiple referring expressions for globally initial mentions. I show that these have dual functions in indicating thematic importance (topic-fittedness) and affording collaboration between co-narrators. Chapter 6 studies subsequent references to participants. Particular attention is paid in this chapter to the role of person reference in

moments of high collaboration in the narration. Person reference – specifically querying, elaborating, glossing and correcting person reference information – is shown to be an important avenue for the co-telling of a narrative. Chapter 7 takes some of the fundamental observations made throughout the preceding chapters, and examines how they relate to the macro-organisation of narratives. Here the focus is on how narrators and recipients treat and receive thematic transitions in the story. The analysis shows how the launch of new thematic sequences, specifically those that constitute a notable change of location in the story, are associated with marked person reference devices. This chapter also considers the motivation behind differences in person reference design between multi-party narratives and the rarer category of single-party narratives. Chapter 8 rounds off with a conclusion and a brief discussion of further implications of this study.

Before launching into the first part of the study, however, the remainder of this introductory chapter provides some background on the language (§1.4), its ethnographic and historical context (§1.5) and data and methods (§1.6).

**1.4 The Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language**

Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u are two closely related varieties of a single language, which does not have a general label (Thompson 1976b, Thompson 1988, Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:14-15). Classically there were at least six named varieties within this complex, Umpila, Kuuku Yani, Uutaalnganu, Kuuku Ya'u, Kaanju and Kuuku Iyu. All of these varieties are associated with country on the east coast of CYP, from around Massey Creek to around Olive River (see Map 1 in §1.5). Today, the language is moribund with a number of elderly speakers remaining and a few dozen semi-speakers spread across the two still-spoken varieties of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u (§1.4.2; §1.6.2). The community vernacular is Lockhart River Creole, an English-lexifier creole – briefly discussed below. Genetically, Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u are classified as belonging to the Middle Paman subgroup of Paman languages, themselves a subgroup of Pama-Nyungan (Hale 1976, Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:192-194). This groups these varieties with their neighbours to the south, Umpithamu and Yintyingka, and other languages across the central band of CYP, such as the Wik languages.

As is typical in this region, local ideology treats varieties within this group as distinct languages, but linguistically they are very closely related (see Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:13-16 for discussion of this with regards to Yintyingka and Ayapathu). The varieties within the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u group are mutually intelligible. There are no known morphosyntactic differences and a high level of shared lexicon. Thompson, in a comparative lexical analysis, noted 87% lexicon in common between Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u (Thompson 1988:4). Increasingly sedentary life throughout much of the 20th century, first in the mission and then contemporary Lockhart River (§1.4.3), has seen these varieties become even closer, with an increasing lack of attunement to, and use of, emblematic lexical differences. This study worked

with people who still perceive Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u as distinct (Table 1.6), but from a linguistic perspective they speak a single language. Accordingly, this study treats and presents the analysis of the two varieties as a unified linguistic system. As a result, they are referred to throughout with the label Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, with use of a slash to indicate they are alternative ways to refer to the same language. In what follows, I provide a brief grammatical sketch of the language (§1.4.1), followed by notes on classical and contemporary sociolinguistics of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people (§1.4.2-§1.4.3).

### 1.4.1 Sketch of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u

This section provides a brief sketch of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language. The sketch only discusses some basic features; for more details, the reader is referred to Thompson (1988), and to a more detailed analysis of NP structure and argument structure in chapters 4 and 6.

   Phonologically, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is in most regards unremarkable as an Australian language. It has a small inventory of vowel phonemes, with three vowel qualities and a contrast between long and short vowels, and a relatively large number of place distinctions for consonants, with 15 consonant phonemes distributed over six places of articulation. One notable feature is the presence of a glottal stop in the phoneme inventory. This is relatively unusual within Pama-Nyungan languages, but found in number of Cape York languages (including neighbours like Yintyingka, Umpithamu and Wik Mungkan; see Verstraete and Rigsby 2016:67). From a historical-comparative perspective, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u also has another notable areal feature, i.e. historical loss of initial consonants, which results in a sizeable number of vowel-initial word forms in the lexicon (Alpher 1976, O'Grady 1976), which is again somewhat unusual for Pama-Nyungan languages more generally. The consonant and vowel phoneme inventories are presented in Tables 1.1 and 1.2, with orthographic representation shown in brackets.

| | **Bilabial** | **Dental** | **Alveolar** | **Palatal** | **Velar** | **Glottal** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Stop** | p (p) | t̪ (th) | t (t) | c (ch) | k (k) | ʔ (') |
| **Nasal** | m (m) | n̪ (nh) | n (n) | ɲ (ny) | ŋ (ng) | |
| **Approximant** | w (w) | | | j (y) | | |
| **Trill** | | | r (r) | | | |
| **Lateral** | | | l (l) | | | |

**Table 1.1**  Consonant inventory

| | **Front** | **Central** | **Back** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **High** | i, i: (i, ii) | | u, u: (u, uu) |
| **Low** | | a, a: (a, aa) | |

**Table 1.2**  Vowel inventory

Morphologically, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is a dependent-marking language with suffixal morphology, and like other Australian languages has a case-marking system which serves to identify grammatical roles. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u distinguishes three major word classes in terms of morphology: pronouns, nouns and verbs. Pronouns follow a nominative-accusative pattern of case marking (see further §3.3.1), contrasting with ergative-absolutive case marking on nouns. Ergative marking on nouns is optional, meaning that subjects of transitive predicates do not always bear the ergative marker, and its absence does not affect the grammatical role of that NP. An example of this is shown in (1), with the ergative marker absent on the transitive subject *yapu kuunchi* 'the older brother'. Additionally the subject NP of an intransitive clause can also have an ergative marker in specific contexts. This apparent optionality is, in fact, determined by a complex combination of semantic and pragmatic factors, such as agency and discourse organisation – as is typical in many systems of optional ergativity (see McGregor 1992, McGregor and Verstraete 2010, Pensalfini 1999, Rumsey 2010; see Gaby 2008 and Verstraete 2010 on optional ergativity in two Cape York languages).

(1)  yapu      kuunchi    nga'a-l          muunga-na    muunga-na (.) mayi
     be        relative   dem.dist1-DM     cut-NF       cut-NF        food
     *the older brother cut and cut that one, the food (sugarbag)*
     (15Aug07:*Wapa*)

Nominal morphology further distinguishes genitive/dative (allative use of dative), instrumental, locative, ablative, directional, comitative, and privative case (see Table 1.3). The behavior of some case forms is part of the formal criteria for distinguishing nominal subclasses, e.g. there is variation in the ablative marker (-*munu*/-*lu*) for different nominal subclasses. Words can carry multiple case, though this appears to be a relative rare occurrence in the language (Dench and Evans 1988).

| Case | Marker |
| --- | --- |
| **Ergative** | -lu |
| **Absolutive** | Ø |
| **Dative/Genitive/Allative** | -ku |
| **Instrumental** | -lu |
| **Locative** | -nguna |
| **Ablative** | -munu/-lu |
| **Directional** | -ma |
| **Comitative** | -chi/-pinta |
| **Privative** | -kanyu |

**Table 1.3**  Nominal case system

There are four basic morphological categories associated with verbs: bound pronouns, tense-mood markers, progressive reduplication and derivational markers. All of these categories can co-occur on the same verb stem, as shown in example (2), though once again, this is rare. Bound pronouns occur in accusative, nominative and genitive forms and are formally related to their free counterparts, typically as reduced versions of the free forms (see further Table 3.7 in chapter 3). They are typically suffixed to the verb, as in (2), although they are not exclusively verbal and also often attached directly to the first constituent in the clause (i.e. in second position or Wackernagel's position), as shown in (3) (see further in §3.3.1, §6.3.4).

(2)     ngana             kalkalma-nha-la-na                       tanka
        1plexcNOM   come.PROG-CAUS-NF-1plexcNOM  pandanus
        *we kept on bringing the pandanus*
        (11June08:Elicitation)

(3)     ngana-lana              kiika-na-na
        1plexcNOM-3plACC   look-NF-now
        *we look at them now*
        (27June08:*Rubbing Day*)

There are five tense-mood markers, which come in slightly different paradigms for the three verb classes, as shown in Table 1.4: non-future (present and past), present continuous, future, and two imperative markers (singular and imperative). In addition, there is a system of complex reduplication of verb stems that expresses progressive and habitual aspects of the action. Example (2) and (5) feature uses of the progressive reduplication for *kalma-* 'come' and *tha'i-* 'hit' verbs. Reduplication is only employed spottily by current speakers, but it was described in some detail by O'Grady and Harris (1976), at a time when this system was fully productive. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u also has a small suite of derivational markers: verbaliser (*-ma*), causative marker (*-nha/-nya*) (see example (2)), reciprocal marker (*-ni*) (see example (5)) and reflexive marker (*-mi*).

| Tense-mood | Class 1 | Class 2 | Class 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Non-Future** | -la/-na | -nya | -la |
| **Present Continuous** | -ngka | -ngka | -mana |
| **Future** | -ka | -ka | -tha/-cha |
| **Imperative (singular)** | -la/Ø | -ya | -la/-chi/Ø |
| **Imperative (plural)** | -mpu | -mpu | -mpu |

**Table 1.4** Tense-mood suffixes (based on Thompson 1988:31)

In terms of syntactic organisation, the NP and the clause in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u contrast distinctly in terms of structural flexibility. On the one hand, the NP has a relatively constrained syntactic structure: it is more structured and clearly defined than has been often reported in the Australian context (see Blake 1983, 2001; Hale 1983; Heath 1986; Louagie and Verstraete 2016; Nordlinger 2014). In particular, nominal expressions are genuinely phrasal structures, as indicated by fixed internal ordering, right-peripheral case attachement and prosodic packaging (see the NP template in Figure 4.1 in chapter 4). In addition, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u NPs are frequently also elaborate and long, with multiple structural options realised, including multiple determiners. This is shown in example (4) with a pronoun and quantifier functioning as determiners, and right-peripheral case attachment is also illustrated by the position of the ergative case *-lu*. Chapter 4 presents a detailed description of the structure of the NP, with a particular focus on its elaboration with modifiers and determiners.

(4)  pula        pa'amu  pulthunu-kamu-lu (.)   tha'i-na
     3plNOM   two       boy-NSG-ERG          hit-NF
     *those two boys killed (the wapa)*
     (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

By contrast, there is more flexibility in the syntactic realisation of the clause. There are no syntactic restrictions on the ordering of constituents, and all NP constituents can be elided (and frequently are). Within this flexibility, however, there are some common patterns. Clauses are most frequently verb final with nominal arguments preceding, as is shown in examples (3) and (4) above, and (5) below. When all arguments are realised, then SOV order is typical as can be seen in example (6), but it is more unusual for a verb to have all arguments overtly realised than the opposite; the presence of all lexical arguments has particular pragmatic and information structural meanings (see discussion in §6.3 and §7.3). There is a post-verbal slot that is used for adjuncts, as in example (6) and (8), and intonationally dislocated items such as afterthoughts and repetitions in examples (7) and (8). The realisation of nominal arguments, both in form and in order, is discussed in more detail in §6.2 and §6.3.

(5)  ngathangku    wupunyu    tha'althi-ni-na
     1sgGEN         child         hit.PROG-RCIP-NF
     *my children are always fighting each other*
     (11June08:Elicitation)

(6)  ngu'ula    ngathan    wiika-ka      pakay malngkan-ku
     2plNOM   1sgACC   follow-FUT   down beach-DAT
     *"you lot follow me down to the beach"*
     (23Mar07:*King Fred*)

(7)   ngulu        uu-       uutha-nya   pakay-ma   (.) nhapu
      3sgNOM    swim-    swim-NF    down-DIR        crocodile
      *he dives down, the crocodile*
      (05Apr04:*Freshwater Crocodile*)


(8)   ngana             ngaachi  Chinchanaku      wuna-la    (.)   Chinchanaku
      1plexcNOM   place    Night.Island      sleep-NF           Night.Island
      *we camped at Night Island, Night Island*
      (05Apr04:*WW2*)


### 1.4.2 Classical sociolinguistics

In the classical sociolinguistic organisation, both for the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people and groups in the wider region, the most important social unit is the patrilineal clan (see Rigsby and Chase (1998) for a regional perspective, and Verstraete and Rigsby (2015:8-17) regarding their southern neighbours, the Yintyingka). Each clan owns an estate of land which is associated with a language or dialect, specific totems, totemic sites and associated stories, ceremonies and religious knowledge. These land units are viewed as inherited from an apical male human ancestor (rather than a totemic being as often noted elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia), with membership acquired through patrifiliation. The region is exhaustively divided into such clan-owned estates. For all groups within the wider Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u complex, Chase (1980:135-138) identifies 53 estates, 32 coastal and 21 inland. The coastal estates are typically uniform strips of country taking in a section of the coastline and marine territory, while the inland estates tend to be larger in size and more varied in configuration (Chase and Sutton 1981). As mentioned above, people say that every clan owns a distinct 'language', though from a linguistic perspective, the distinctive features of a clan language may be just a small number of words particular to it, and it is otherwise mutually intelligible to other clans' 'languages' (Rigsby 1992:355). One of the most frequently cited differences by speakers are contrasting verb forms for 'look' and 'eat' (Thompson 1976b:231, 1988:2, 2000:2). These are regularly invoked to provide evidence of the robustness of linguistic differences between the varieties, and are used to formulate denizen expressions (with the nominaliser -*nyu* as derivational morphology), e.g. *kiikinyu* meaning something like 'the people who say *kiikina* for look' and *yangkunyu* 'the people who say *yangkunya* for eat' (see further in §3.2.7.1). While a person's patrilineal language has special status, it was usually not the only language in their repertoire, nor was it necessarily the variety that a person was most fluent in. This is due to the fact that clans were exogamous, and consequently household units were typically multilingual. Children were raised with knowledge of at least their mother's and father's language and possibly several other languages, any of which they may have used more frequently and more proficiently than their clan language.

Moving from the smallest units to higher organising principles in the region, each clan estate was assigned to a moiety (*kaapay* or *kuyan*)*,* which divides all humans, land estates, and major plants and animals into two groups (Chase 1984:110-111; Hill 2011:63-64). Moiety organisation governed marriage and also had an important role in ceremonial life. Beyond this, there is another distinction which divides all of the Umpila, Kuuku Ya'u and other peoples of this region, namely between the coastal and inland cultural blocs of the 'Sandbeach People' and 'Inland people' (see further in §1.5.1). This is an important subdivision that indicates important cultural differences in habitat and resulting lifestyles (e.g. preoccupations in hunting). These larger units are less directly relevant to sociolinguistic patterns, except that the cultural blocs may have had some influence on marriage patterns, and thus may have determined which languages tended to co-occur in people's repertoires.

### 1.4.3 Contemporary sociolinguistics

Contemporary sociolinguistics is distinct from the classical situation described above. Through the second half of the 20th century, the clan-based organisation has slowly given way to larger groupings known as language-named tribes (Sutton 2003:72-73), as well as a higher level community-based identity. The development of language-named tribes (of which Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u are an example, each amalgamating a number of classically distinct clans) is a result of interaction with outside people and organisations, particularly the bureaucratic and legal processes involved in land claim processes, which increased the need for speakers to appeal to labels in order to classify groups at this level (Chase and Rigsby 1998:309-311, 315; Sutton 2003:72-73; Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:11). Before contact, language-named groups appear to have played only a minimal role in inter-group and territorial relations. In contrast, it is now the norm for people to primarily identify as an Umpila person or a Wuthathi person or Kuuku Ya'u person etc. (see further in §3.2.7). In addition, community life and shared recent history, first in the mission and now in contemporary Lockhart River, have created a meaningful 'stable' community identity. This is, again, reinforced by government infrastructure, e.g. community-based funding initiatives and government services, and sponsored inter-community sports events.

Ironically, the rise in use of language-named groupings is in stark contrast to the actual linguistic situation. The varieties in question are no longer linguistically distinct, and the vernacular language of most Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people is an English-lexifier Creole, referred to as Lockhart River Creole. This distinct creole form supports and reinforces the community-based identity. The emergence of Lockhart River Creole begun in the early 20th century, which saw increased interaction with outsiders, most notably Torres Strait Islanders and South Pacific Islanders. As a result of the thriving marine industry, a contact variety known as Earlier Melanesian Pidgin had become established in the Torres Strait Islands (just north of CYP) in the late nineteenth century, and even spread to the Queensland cane fields (Crowley

and Rigsby 1979; Sandefur 1986; Shnukal 1983, 1991). In the islands it was a prestigious variety, resulting in its rapid creolisation and the emergence of Torres Strait Creole (Shnukal 1988, 1996). Through this period, forms of Earlier Melanesian Pidgin and the emerging Torres Strait Creole were transported by mission staff and the pearling and trochus luggers to the Aboriginal peoples situated on the east coast of CYP (Loos 1982:118-125; Mittag 2016:39; Rigsby 1973:18). With massive social disruptions already afoot, the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u and associated peoples were susceptible to language shift.

Early reports of the use of a pidgin variety in the Lockhart River region are from 1921 and 1924 (Mittag 2016: 41-43), with pidgin expressions recorded in anthropologist Donald Thomson's papers from 1932 and 1933 (see further in §1.5.2). It is clear that some form of Lockhart River Creole was firmly established by the middle of the 20th century (Laade 1970:273; Warby 1999). While its origins are closely intertwined with Earlier Melanesian Pidgin and Torres Strait Creole, Lockhart River Creole constitutes a distinct language (Mittag 2016). Its form and sound system are the result of a unique combination of linguistic influences. It was shaped by a number of languages spoken by Europeans, Asians, and other Aboriginal groups which the Lockhart River people had contact with, prior to and during Mission times, along with substantial influence from Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u itself (Mittag 2016). Some of the excerpts in this thesis contain elements of Lockhart River Creole, which as already mentioned, is the everyday vernacular of the remaining Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers. There is no established orthography in use by Lockhart River Creole speakers (see orthography employed by Mittag 2016:73-74). This study will employ an orthography based on English spelling for the fragments of Lockhart River Creole which feature in examples. This does not accurately represent the phonology of the language, but it does allow for easy access by readers not familiar with it. This study does not provide an account of the creole usages, which fall outside its scope. For further information, the reader is referred to the description of Lockhart River Creole in Mittag (2016).

## 1.5 Ethnographic and historical context

This section will present some ethnographic and historical background on the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people, including a brief history of the people (§1.5.1) and a history of research on their language (§1.5.2).

## 1.5.1 People and contact history

The Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, along with the Uutaalnganu, Wuthathi and several other coastal groups, collectively identify themselves as *Pama Malngkanchi* 'Sandbeach People' (Chase 1980a; Rigsby and Chase 1998; Thomson 1934:238; Thompson 2013). All together the *Pama Malngkanchi* lands cover 300 kilometers of the east coast of CYP from Princess Charlotte Bay northwards to Shelburne Bay (see Figure 1.1). The Umpila territory covers around 55
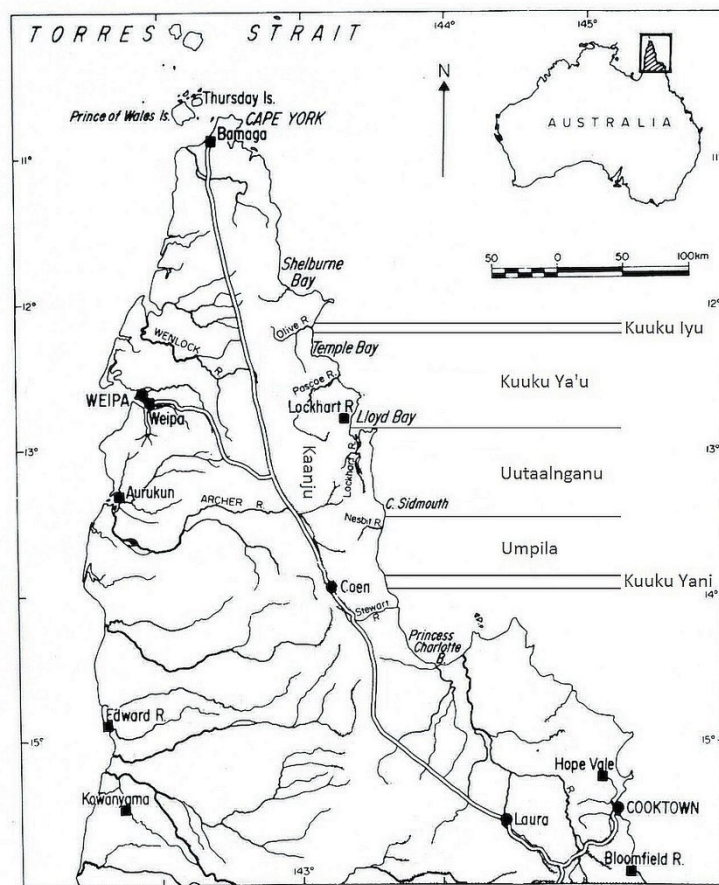
**Figure 1.1** Map of linguistic territories (based on Thompson 1988:3)

kilometers starting north of Massey Creek. Further north is the Kuuku Ya'u territory, which encompasses around 90 kilometers stretching from the Pascoe River to the Olive River (Chase 1980a:135-138; Rigsby and Chase 1998:307-308; Thomson 1933:458; Thompson 1988:2-3). The expression *Pama Malngkanchi* contrasts with another socio-geographic name, *Pama Kanichi* 'Inland people', which refers to Kaanju and other inland groups who prior to non-Indigenous settlement dwelt in the inland regions dominated by the Great Dividing Range. The cultural blocs of 'Sandbeach People' and 'Inland people' form a cohesive cultural network linked by marriage, social exchange and ceremonial interaction (Chase 1980a; Rigsby and Chase 1998).

Until around the late nineteenth century, the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u peoples were semi-nomadic hunter-foragers, owning estates of land and marine territory and dwelling almost exclusively in beach-based camps (Chase and Rigbsy 1998; Thomson 1952:1-3). Their settlement and movement patterns were seasonal, based on weather conditions and seasonal food supplies, with preferred habitats for dry and wet season camps. These people's experience of the natural world was, and continues to be, one of diversity and complexity. Their land consists of a patchwork of varied ecosystems: reefs, islands and sandy cays; mangrove everglades and wetlands that edge large estuaries; plains with complex saltpan systems; tropical

savannah; heathlands; and rainforests (Chase 1984:104-106; Chase and Sutton 1981:73-74; Rigsby and Chase 1998:328). People have extensive knowledge of their environment and how to solve technological problems within this environment; much of their complex religious life and music tradition is inspired by aspects of their relationship to the natural world. Notable technologies employed by the coastal groups include double outrigger canoes, and multiple spear and harpoon types, all related to their marine-oriented lifestyle (Thomson 1933, 1934, 1952). They also produced baskets, percussion instruments, and body decorations for dance performances and ceremony. There is some continuing production of traditional material culture in contemporary life, for personal use and for the modern art trade.

The late nineteenth century saw the beginning of white exploration of CYP, which was rapidly followed by a range of industries. The gold discoveries in the 1870s (Jack 1921:466-468, 707-709), along with opportunities for pastoralism and commercial marine industries meant that European settlement increasingly encroached on the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people's way of life, along with an influx of other inter-ethnic interactions. The marine (pearlshell, trepang and trochus) and sandalwood industries made the biggest impact, which also brought the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u into close working relationships with groups of Japanese, Javanese and Chinese (Chase 1981, Rigsby and Hafner 2011). Missionaries were soon to arrive in the region. In 1924, the Anglican Church established a mission at Orchid Point in Lloyd Bay, which was subsequently shifted south the next year to Bare Hill, 15 kilometers south of Cape Direction. This brought new influences from Christianity and mission culture, along with substantial cultural influences from the Torres Strait Islander staff associated with the mission (Thompson 2013:28-36; Warby 1999). During these Mission years people generally maintained good contact with their traditional lands, even if they spent much time on the mission. The men travelled the coast as part of their work in the marine industries, and there were frequent 'bush holidays' with family groups returning to their lands for time away from mission life (Rigsby and Chase 1998:311).

The state government took control of the Lockhart River Mission away from the Church in the early 1960s. Following a period of turmoil over relocation plans, in 1969 a new community was established near the Claudie River and Iron Range airstrip, approximately 25 kilometers north of the previous Bare Hill site. This remains the place of residence for most Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people today. In general this relocation and other societal changes have seen a notable decrease in access to traditional lands, and associated traditional ways of life. The outstation movements in the 1980s and 1990s provided a limited remedy, with the development of several intermittently functional clan-based outstations (Thompson 2013:44, 163-168). The State Native Affairs department administered the community until the 1980s, when the government began to turn over control of the community and surrounding land to local Aboriginal administration. Since then, the Lockhart Reserve has been made into the Lockhart DOGIT (Deed of Grant in Trust, a specific form of tenure) and then transferred to traditional

owners (specifically the Umpila and Uutaalnganu groups) in the form of the Mangkuma Land Trust (Thompson 2013:43-45). Today, Lockhart River Aboriginal Community is a 'town-style community' with an elected local council and associated governance structures, a government-run school, a medical clinic and so forth. Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people continue to navigate a rapidly changing world. The last decades have seen greater freedom of movement for the community through better roads and access to air travel, and increased contact with other cultures through media and technology. Their current situation is one of a complex tension between cultural continuity and cultural loss and innovation (Thompson 2013).

**1.5.2 Previous linguistic and ethnographic work**
The first written record of a language variety within the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u group are in the notes and interviews of the French castaway Narcisse Pelletier, who lived with the Uutaalnganu people in the mid-nineteenth century (Andersen 2009). The story of Pelletier's time living in the Cape Sidmouth area, written and published by Constant Merland (1876), includes ethnographic details and some lexicon, albeit often represented in an unusual and inconsistent orthography. Until the work of anthropologist Donald Thomson in the late 1920s, there are only a few other fragmentary records relating to Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u language and culture (e.g. the manuscripts of Protectors of Aborigines like Archibald Meston in 1896-1900 (Bannister 1977) and Walter Roth in 1901-1906 (Roth 1910, 1984)). Donald Thomson had recently graduated from a diploma course in anthropology, and under the guidance of Radcliffe-Brown, the new professor of anthropology in Sydney, set off to work on the east coast of CYP (Rigsby and Peterson 2005). His intensive fieldwork at Bare Hill (Old Lockhart River Mission) and south of there at Port Stewart, from 1928 to 1935 resulted in rich records, made all the more remarkable due to the timing in these early Mission years, which allows for some insight into pre-contact life. The focus of much of Thomson's work in the region was on social organisation (1933, 1934, 1935) and material culture (1939, 1952), but his lengthy fieldnotes (archived at Museum Victoria, see Allen 2008) and published work also include extensive linguistic material. Most notable for this study is Thomson's paper on customary joking relationships amongst the Umpila, Kuuku Ya'u and Kaanju (1935) and his paper on names and naming amongst the Wik Mungkan (1946) (see extensive references to this in chapter 3, particularly in §3.1 and §3.2).

It was many decades until anything like that type of intensive fieldwork was undertaken again in this region of Cape York. The next significant body of work was unusual, in that it came about from a happenstance situation whereby the noted linguist Geoffrey O'Grady was able to work with three Umpila speakers who found themselves in Sydney in late 1959 (John Butcher, Frank O'Brien and Furry Short). This work resulted in series of sound recordings made in excellent conditions at the University of Sydney. These largely consist of highly organised and detailed lexical and grammatical elicitation, which remain an invaluable resource for

ongoing grammatical description of the language. O'Grady worked up some of these recordings into manuscripts which are deposited at AIATSIS, along with two published studies, one on historical-comparative analysis (1976) and the other on progressive morphology (O'Grady and Harris 1976).

The 1960s through to the late 1970s saw a groundswell of anthropological and linguistic research, not just on Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, but also more widely in CYP. The catalyst for this new generation of researchers was a combination of the newly established Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS, now The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)) providing grants for fieldwork, along with reports of linguistic features of interest requiring investigation in the languages of CYP (see Verstraete and Hafner (2016:17-18) for an account of Bruce Rigsby's introduction to this region). This era saw La Mont West Jr, Wolfgang Laade, John von Sturmer, Bruce Sommer, Ken Hale, David Thompson, John Haviland, Bruce Rigsby, Peter Sutton and Athol Chase all work in different degrees of intensity and duration in CYP, sometimes collaboratively, typically investigating several languages or social groups at once. A commonality that connects the work of these researchers is a complementary ethnographic and linguistic approach: language material is socially and contextually situated and ethnographic material includes rich and accurate linguistic records.

The work on Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u in this era was almost entirely documentary in nature. The corpus of recordings and fieldnotes produced is too substantial to describe in any detail here. What follows is a summary. Wolfgang Laade (ethnomusicology and ethnography) and La Mont West Jr (anthropology and sign linguistics) both undertook several trips to Bare Hill (Old Lockhart River Mission) in the early- to mid-1960s. Both concentrated on documentation work with important senior Umpila male elders on song and Bora ceremonies (e.g. Laade 1970). West's additional focus, as elsewhere in Australia and in his earlier work in north America, was on sign language and gesture. West's time at Lockhart River was particularly memorable to the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people, due to his strong participation in everyday community life, with anecdotes of his visits still shared to this day.

With the late 1960s came the end of the Mission years; the Queensland Government's administration saw the relocation of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people to Lloyd Bay (see §1.5.1). David Thompson, an Anglican chaplain, arrived during this period and spent eight years in new Lockhart River from 1969 to 1977. With some SIL training and a strong interest in local culture, Thompson recorded most of the existing material on Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, along with some of the only records of the smaller varieties of Kuuku Yani and Uutaalnganu. Notable in this body of recordings is extensive music and song documentation. Thompson published a sketch grammar (1988), an article on phonology (1976a) and some brief notes on grammatical categories, such as nominal and verbal affixes (1976c). Thompson has also worked extensively on the anthropology of religion (1972, 1985, 1995), community identity and

mobility (2013, 2016). In recent decades, Thompson has worked as a consultant anthropologist on land claims, as well as collaborating with the present author on language maintenance and language revitalisation projects (see Table 1.5 in §1.6).

The early 1970s saw the emergence of what would become known as 'The Queensland School' of scholars (Allen 2016; Anderson 2016; Sutton 2008b), which amongst others included Peter Sutton, Bruce Rigsby, John von Sturmer and Athol Chase. This group of researchers, associated with the University of Queensland, undertook fieldwork and research with a strong ethnographic approach, while simultaneously engaging in political activism and applied endeavors under the Aboriginal communities' directives. Key in all this, from both the research and activism perspectives, was land claim work. Notably for Umpila, this resulted in extensive field surveys and site mapping work in 1974-1976 by Athol Chase, Bruce Rigsby and Peter Sutton, with some assistance from David Thompson. Their records (audio and fieldnotes) are extraordinarily rich and diverse, including extensive ethno-biological work, genealogies and histories, narratives, totemic and ceremonial information. Within the 'Queensland School', Athol Chase's work is by far the most significant for Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. Chase arrived in Lockhart River in 1970 to undertake PhD research, resulting in an anthropological study on cultural continuity and change. This work was a catalyst for the renewal of Bora ceremonies, and consequential for land claim work in the coming decades. Chase's work has resulted in numerous anthropological articles, many of which have focused on attitudes towards land, the environment and resources in northeastern CYP (1976, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1989a, 1989b, 1994). The second half of this summary has focused on the 1970s as a hey-day of research. However, this was by no means the end of linguistic and anthropological research in this region. Thompson and Chase continued to work with Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people's through the following decades, most notably and consistently as consultant anthropologists in Native Title research.

## 1.6 Data and methods

This section gives an overview of the data on which this study is based (§1.6.1), the consultants I worked with (§1.6.2), as well as methods of data collection and analysis (§1.6.3).

## 1.6.1 Fieldwork

This study is primarily based on data collected during six fieldtrips between 2007 and 2011: specifically, in March 2007, July-September 2007, June-September 2008, May-June 2009, July 2010 and July 2011. Fieldwork during this period totalled 40 weeks of work in Lockhart River. The work presented within this thesis was also informed by fieldwork preceding, and to a lesser extent following this period. The genesis of this study really occurred in 2004, when I undertook my first project working with Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers. The project, funded by AIATSIS, was directed by community interest, and as with many linguists and anthropologists

working in Aboriginal Australia, this community interest led me to narratives. Storytelling is of central and outstanding social importance to Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people; with their traditional language severely endangered, there was strong community demand for documentation of the stories of the elders, and the creation of resources based on these stories. In this early work I faced some of the typical issues associated with creating written versions of rich oral material. Specifically, the documentary element of the project was in conflict with local needs for the production of resources. The performative and highly interactional elements of the narratives, which were crucial to the structure and interpretation of the story, did not fit with ideas of what language booklets and primers for the local literacy programs were required to look like. Through this process I became increasingly fascinated by the complexity of the co-construction that occurred across multiple narrators who worked together to produce a single narrative event. Looking back now, I see this as the initial spark for the research presented here. A handful of narratives from my early work with Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers are part of the corpus of material employed in the study (§2.6). Following this project, I continued work on Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, as well as the related dialect of Kaanju, with a number of documentary and applied projects between 2004 and the commencement of PhD research. Following the completion of fieldtrips directly related to the thesis in 2011, I have been involved in a number of further research projects and applied community projects leading to more fieldwork in 2012-2014. All fieldwork, and the additional observations, documentation and resulting analysis this yields, has informed my understanding of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u as presented within this study. All projects relevant to the study presented here, or carried out in the same period in which this study was undertaken, are listed in Table 1.5.

**1.6.2 Language consultants**

The research reported in this study was undertaken at the final window of opportunity to work with the last fluent speakers of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. At the outset of my PhD research, six master-speakers remained, but in the time since, most of these have passed away and others have become too frail to work. All of these were women, of whom two identified as Kuuku Ya'u speakers and four as Umpila speakers: Dorothy Short (UMP), Elizabeth Giblet (UMP), Maria Butcher (UMP), Winnie Claudie (UMP), Minnie Pascoe (KYA), and Susan Pascoe (KYA). "Work" with these master-speakers extended beyond formal recording sessions and involved many days spent on fishing trips and overnight bush camps learning about their ways of life and developing "family" ties to both them and their kin. This general world knowledge and the cementing of interpersonal relationships was an important part of the process of becoming a "good" Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speaker – language custodianship and group membership being inextricably tied within this society (Rigsby and Chase 1998, see also §1.4.2). The narratives investigated in this study are those of the six speakers mentioned above.

| Project name | Project profile | Date | Project PI | Funded by |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Oral Histories and Stories of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u Peoples of Lockhart River* | language & culture documentation; resource production | 2004 | Clair Hill | Australian Institute of Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Studies |
| *Cape York Peninsula Language Documentation Teams* | language documentation; language worker training | 2005 | Clair Hill | Maintenance of Indigenous Languages and Records |
| *Five Paman languages of Cape York Peninsula* | language documentation | 2007–2011 | Jean-Christophe Verstraete | Endangered Languages Documentation Program |
| *Language of perception* | semantic typology | 2007–2009 | Asifa Majid, Stephen Levinson | Max Planck Gesellschaft |
| *Online Language Community Access Program* | archive; resource production | 2007–2009 | Patrick McConvell, Jason Lee | Maintenance of Indigenous Languages and Records |
| *Lockhart River Learners Guide Project* | language description; resource production | 2011–2013 | Clair Hill, David Thompson | Indigenous Languages Support |

**Table 1.5** Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language projects

However, over the years I also worked with a further 16 speakers and semi-speakers in various capacities, e.g. when they participated in storytelling sessions (see §2.5), checked transcriptions and translations of narratives, and undertook other activities related to the documentation of language and culture. Notable is the documentation work undertaken with a number of men who have specialised knowledge of songs, plants and medicinal properties of plants, kinship relations and kin-related behaviour, but more limited language proficiency in other domains. Here I particularly acknowledge the expertise of the Umpila speakers, Ronald Giblet, Lawrence

Omeenyo and Josiah Omeenyo. All contributing language consultants are listed in Table 1.6 with their names, dialect affiliation and initials (as used in some examples and discussion).

| Name | Initials | Language affiliation |
|------|----------|----------------------|
| Irene Brown | IB | Umpila |
| Maria Butcher | MB | Umpila |
| Richard Chungo | RC | Kuuku Iyu |
| Lorraine Clarmont | LC | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Winnie Claudie | WC | Umpila |
| Albert Doctor | AD | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Elizabeth Giblet | EG | Umpila |
| Ronald Giblet | RG | Umpila/Kanthanampu |
| Lucy Hobson | LH | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Alice Marrott | AM | Kaanju |
| Molly Moses | MM | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Josiah Omeenyo | JO | Umpila |
| Lawrence Omeenyo | LO | Umpila |
| Beverly Pascoe | BP | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Minnie Pascoe | MP | Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u |
| Susan Pascoe | SP | Kuuku Ya'u |
| Maureen Sandy | MS | Umpila |
| Phillip Sandy | PS | Umpila |
| Vincent Temple | VT | Umpila/Uutaalnganu |
| Grace Warradoo | GW | Umpila |
| Ina Warradoo | IW | Umpila |
| George Wilson | GW | Kuuku Iyu |

**Table 1.6**  Language consultants

### 1.6.3 Methods

The six PhD fieldtrips undertaken in 2007–2011 were focused on two major data collection tasks: (1) documentation of narratives and storytelling sessions; (2) comprehensive documentation of lexicon and morphosyntax. Both core tasks were undertaken with thesis research in mind, but were also part of a broader language documentation endeavour. The fieldwork and a substantial part of the PhD research was funded by an Endangered Language Documentation Program grant, *Five Paman languages of Cape York Peninsula* project (Table 1.5); as such, the data collection program included substantial general documentation work. This supports the broader morphosyntactic description which underlies the thesis research (as apparent in the analysis and presentation of extensive narrative extracts), but will also crucially

allow for ongoing research and language revitalisation on Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u beyond the life of the last fluent speakers. The documentation work in the six PhD fieldtrips resulted in 330+ hours of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u material on video, along with a significant amount of audio. Video material was recorded onto DV tapes using a Sony Handycam or a Panasonic Camcorder and digitised later in MPEG-4 and MPEG-2 format. Auxiliary audio recordings were typically made in conjunction with video recordings, and an additional 30 hours or so of audio was recorded in situations where video was not feasible or appropriate. For the audio recordings a variety of digital recorders were used, namely the Zoom H2 and H4, Roland Edirol R-09 recorder. The recordings were made in the standard 16bit 44kHz PCM wave format. The documentation itself included a wide range of data types recorded, using a mix of formal and informal methods, resulting in various degrees of stagedness (cf. staged communicative events, Himmelmann 1998:185). Table 1.7 (next page) summarises the data collected: it is presented in broad categories, with general data subtypes listed and stimuli sets noted where applicable.

The corpus of narratives that provides the basis for this study is presented in more detail in chapter 2, section 6.

For the narrative part of the corpus, detailed transcriptions were produced with the assistance of speakers who worked closely with me to ensure that the meanings of their stories were adequately captured by the English translations. The transcriptions of the narratives employed in the focused corpus of this study received particular attention, all going through a process of 3 to 4 sessions of checking with speakers (§2.6.2). Transcriptions were made in ELAN and in Toolbox. Each of these have different strengths; both were used in tandem or by cycling initial transcriptions from Toolbox to ELAN. Toolbox allowed for the direct population of lexical and grammatical databases from the transcriptions, which aided in the ongoing description of these aspects of the language. ELAN annotations, by contrast, are time-aligned directly with a video file allowing for observations on the relationship between the vocal stream, gesture and eye-gaze. Non-verbal behaviour is not a focus of this study but it will be referred to in some parts of the analysis, particularly in relation to developing an understanding of narrator roles in chapters 6 and 7. Co-speech gesture, and non-linguistic means of communication such as eye-gaze play an important role in person reference and warrant detailed work, but a full-scale analysis was not feasible in this study. Both qualitative and quantitative analytical methods are used in this study. Quantitative analysis is primarily employed to establish broad patterns regarding referential behaviour. Each of the three chapters dealing with person reference starts by presenting some quantitative analysis: in chapter 5 and chapter 6 this constitutes simple counts of the form types employed as initial and subsequent mentions (§5.3.2; §6.2.1), while in chapter 7 an adapted version of Bickel's (2003, 2005) referential density measure is used to explore the morphosyntactic status of thematic transitions in the narration (§7.3). These quantitative patterns are then explored with a close and thorough qualitative analysis using micro-analytical tools from international linguistics and Conversation Analysis.

| Data category | Subtypes and other details |
|---|---|
| Narrative, discourse and interaction documentation | narratives, multi-party and single-party narratives of a variety of genres (§2.2, §2.4); stimulus-based narrative elicitation tasks, e.g. Pear Film (Chafe 1975), Frog Story (Mayer 1969), Family problems picture task (San Roque et al. 2012); meta-narrative discussions, transcribing and discussing narratives recorded earlier; informal conversation, e.g. domestic situations, community events, interaction during hunting-gathering outings and material culture production; staged dialogues, used for language learning resources. |
| Lexical elicitation | informal elicitation with speakers' vernacular definitions; stimulus-based elicitation (Language and Cognition Department MPI stimulus materials: Language of Perception tasks (Majid and Levinson 2007), Focal colours task (Majid 2008), Emotions concepts task (Sauter 2009), Ethnography of the senses elicitation suggestions (Dingemanse et al. 2008), Landscape terms and place names questionnaire (Bohnemeyer et al. 2003). |
| Grammatical elicitation | questionnaire-based elicitation (created by the author); stimulus-based elicitation (Language and Cognition Department MPI stimulus materials : Language of Perception fieldtasks (Majid and Levinson 2007), Cut and Break tasks (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001), Put project tasks (Bowerman et al. 2004), Reciprocal Constructions and Situation Type tasks (Evans et al. 2004), 'The Circle of Dirt' stimuli (Eisenbeiss et al. 1999). |
| Song documentation | formal song recording sessions with master singers and musicians; performances at community events. |

**Table 1.7**  Summary of data collected in fieldwork between 2007-2011

# PART II    REPERTOIRES

# Chapter 2    Narratives of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u

*This is not a liar story. The old people bin tell us about them story. They say this one true story.*

—— Description of a narrative of the *before time* genre by Umpila speaker Dorothy Short

## 2.1 Introduction

Storytelling is an activity of notable social importance to Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people: *waanta kuupathana* 'telling a yarn' is a favourite activity and pervasive in everyday life; good storytellers are highly regarded and often called upon to share stories; good tellings of particular stories are memorable events, open to comment and reflection for days or weeks later; narratives are overtly acknowledged as a vehicle for transmitting governing behavior and salient beliefs about the order of the natural world; and the transmission of stories from older to younger generations is recognised as an important cultural process. This fits in with what we know about Aboriginal Australia more generally: the high cultural premium of narratives is widely noted in the literature, e.g. in Berndt (1985), Berndt and Berndt (1989), Clunies Ross (1986), Hiatt (1975), Horton (1994:828), Klapproth (2004), McGregor (2005), Smith (1932) and Watson (1994).

The vital social function of narration is the key motivation for investigating person reference in storytelling in this study. As the locus of transmission of normative social behaviour, narratives are a rich domain for an analyst interested in the socio-cultural world of the speech community – in this particular case, the conditioning of person reference formulation. Crucially for the genesis of this study, *waanta kuupathana* 'telling a yarn' was the primary way that Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers decided to teach me about their language and culture, drawing from their own normal pedagogical practice. This generated an extensive body of recorded narrative tellings which inspired this research.

This chapter will present some key introductory information on narratives of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people. Sections 2.2-2.4 provide basic information on narratives in general, specifically the collaborative nature of storytelling (§2.2), the division of narrator roles (§2.3), and some basic narrative genres (§2.4). The last two sections zoom in on the narrative corpus used for this study, with section 2.5 focusing on the interaction settings in which the narratives were produced, and section 2.6 providing an overview of the corpus of narratives on which the study is based. This information situates the excerpts and discussion to come, providing a foundation for the exploration of person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration.

**2.2 Collaboration in narration**

Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narrators describe how they tell many narratives as "we all talk one time". As already mentioned, the structure and participant organisation described with this expression will be referred to as multi-party narration in this study. The implications of this particular mode of storytelling for person reference and narrative organisation will be discussed in more detail in chapters 6 and 7. This section explains the basics of how collaborative narration works.

**2.2.1 Multi-party narration as the default strategy**

In the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speech community, multi-party narration is the default storytelling strategy, with only some select types of narratives or topics of narration routinely produced by one single narrator (Hill 2011). Multi-party narratives are highly interactive, despite the fact that in some instances, many of the participants have only secondary knowledge of the events, or even no knowledge at all. A strong cultural preference for collaborative storytelling overrides any issues posed by the lack of epistemic access, with a group of two or more narrators often working collectively to produce output that tells a single story.

A multi-party participant structure has been noted as a salient feature of Aboriginal Australian narrative style. Walsh (2016) states that co-construction is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Aboriginal Australian narratives. McGregor (2004:271) makes a similar observation in characterising narrative practices: "In Aboriginal communities it is not uncommon for a narrative to be performed by two narrators taking turns". As discussed in the introduction, a number of other authors also note the interactive nature of narration in specific Australian Aboriginal language settings (§1.1.1), e.g. Mushin (2010) for Garrwa, Blythe (2009a:12; 2011) for Murrinh-Patha, McGregor on Gooniyandi and Kimberley languages more widely (1988b, 2004), and for the CYP region specifically, Black (2010) on Koko-Bera, Haviland (1991) on Guugu Yimidhirr, and Peter Sutton p.c. in Evans (2010) on narrative practice in the Wik region. Of particular areal interest is Haviland's description of a Guugu Yimidhirr narrative as an "adversarial dance" between the three interactants producing the story (1991:337). Despite the narrative being a life history of one of the interactants, the autobiographer in the trio is described by Haviland as having to "juggle the two members of his audience, who do not sit idly by" (1991:342). Haviland goes on to say: "[…]not even pacing is left to the narrator. His interlocutors shift uneasily on their discursive feet, not only prompting for topic but also prodding the pace" (1991:343). Haviland's description echoes what is observed of the narrative style of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, a far northern neighbour of the Guugu Yimidhirr narrators studied by Haviland.

Multi-party narratives differ from the canonical narrative style familiar within the European tradition, where storytelling usually requires extended turns of talk on the part of teller. Regular turn-taking practices are suspended and the narrative is largely produced by a single party, albeit

with an audience who may supply vocal continuers and other feedback supporting the storytelling (Jefferson 1978; Mandelbaum 2013; Sacks 1974a; Schegloff 1982). In many instances in this context, competing for the floor would be a claim to expertise of topic (Goodwin 1986), or it would disalign with the storytelling action by not acknowledging the "structural asymmetry of the storytelling activity" (Stivers 2008:34). Even so, a number of researchers have shown in work on English and other Indo-European languages that in some storytelling contexts collaborative narration is acceptable, if not preferred, forging and signalling cohesion and shared group membership (Georgakopoulou 2007; Lerner 1992; Ochs and Capps 2002; Ochs et al. 1992). While these findings are also relevant in our context (see chapters 5-7), Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytelling is still quite different, in that multi-party narration is the default style in nearly all contexts. Multiple narrators often compete for the floor, but not in a way which disaligns with or derails the storytelling action: this pattern is treated by other interactants as expected and pro-social (see example (6) and associated discussion in §2.2.2). Indeed, if a co-participant does not participate enough, they are open to sanctions and demands to participate from the other narrators. Example (1) shows a case of a narrative co-narrated by DS and SP. After not actively contributing for 10 utterances, SP is overtly prompt by DS to join in (line 3). She obliges (line 5) and increases her role in the storytelling following this request.

(1)  1   DS    away minya-mpu          api-ka      ngungana  ku'unchi-ku
               INTJ  meat-1plincNOM    take-FUT    3sgACC    old.woman-DAT
               *"hey we will take the meat to the old woman"*

     2         (1.4)

     3   DS    nhanu      now
               2sgNOM     now
               *you now!*

     4         (0.6)

     5   SP    pula        minya- mayi aachi-nya  laka
               3plNOM      meat    food  cook-NF    PATHOS
               *they cook the meat- the vegetable food.*

     (08Feb05:*Ku'unchi Wuthathi[4]*:00:01:46-00:01:55)


Sometimes participants are sanctioned after the completion of a narrative. In one instance a participant was chastised by another immediately following the closure of the story with *you should have talked!*. The participant did not respond to this charge but other participants rapidly accounted for their own participation with supporting utterances like *I talked when aunty talked* and *I joined-in.* Shortly following this the chastised participant was coerced by the collective

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[4] The names of the narratives were provided by narrators themselves, see §2.6.1 and Table 2.1.

into summarising the story in English for translation purposes with a chorus of *you talk now!* and *you talk paranamu* [whiteman's language]! (05Jul07:Conversation). Such instances illustrate the interactional consequences of participants not adequately fulfilling their obligations as active co-tellers in the narration.

There is another difference to be highlighted here, which relates to the behaviour of those who are not primary tellers. Obviously, even narratives told by a single narrator are co-constructed by teller and recipient, who negotiate and collaborate on the unfolding communicative event. The role of the audience in shaping a communicative event is supported by a large body of work (Coates 1996; Duranti and Brenneis 1986; Goodwin 1984, 1986; Jefferson 1978; Ochs et al. 1992; Sacks 1974, 1992; Schegloff 1982; Tannen 1984, 1989; and within an Aboriginal Australian context specifically McGregor 1988b and Mushin 2016). However, this type of interaction is of a different nature to multi-party narrative events produced by Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytellers. In single-party narratives, the story is delivered by a single teller, with other participants in the speech event aligning themselves as story recipients. The usual array of techniques are at the disposal of recipients to fulfil their interactional role: gaze (Kendon 1967; Rossano, Brown, and Levinson 2008), body posture (Goodwin 1984) and vocal continuers and nods (Stivers 2008), among other strategies. When receipts do produce vocal output, response tokens are set in a perspective external to the narrative world (i.e the extra-narrative mode, as used in Deictic Centre Theory, Duchan et al. 1995), and tend to be minimal and not intrusive on the flow of narration. In contrast, in multi-party narratives the narrator and recipient roles are less clearly defined. The interactive output is not just delivered from a perspective external to the narrative as is typical of recipient feedback. An interactant that has no prior knowledge of the story still participates in the storytelling, by recycling and elaborating on aspects of other knowing participant(s)' narration, often drawing on high levels of common ground and shared cultural knowledge. The output that co-tellers do produce in a perspective external to the narrative world is highly interactional in a conversational style – questions, prompts and repairs are regular strategies used to interrogate knowing co-narrator(s) – and often exerts considerable influence on the flow and direction of the narration (§6.3).

To illustrate the style and features of multi-party narratives, consider the two following excerpts. The first excerpt (in (2)) is from a narrative told by three co-narrators, which recounts experiences shared by all three – note the use of first-person plural pronoun throughout. The second excerpt (in (3)) is from a narrative produced by four co-narrators where the events in the story were experienced by SP, but are not known to other participants prior to this telling. The details of these stories are not relevant to the discussion here. In the excerpt (2), all narrators contribute new content to the narration. DS contributes most at this point in the story, but SP and EG also add new information, as in line 10-12 where SP specifies that it was two types of leaf matter they boiled ('yes the two (types of leaves) we threw into the saucepan'), and then in

line 27 where EG describes how nicely they made the grass skirts ('then (we) made it nicely ourselves, it was nice'). Content is not always successful or taken up by the other narrators, as in line 5 where SP describes a transfer action with the verb *nyiichinya* 'put', and is corrected by DS in the following line, who feels the action being described is better accounted for by the verb *waayina* 'throw'. At other times, the narrative is produced with a high degree of collusion on how to describe or narrate the events, as in the direct reported speech construction in line 16-21 produced by all three narrators: the person reference, source of speech by SP and DS in line 16-17 ('the old man'), then speech verb framing the direct speech by EG in line 19 ('says'), and then direct speech itself by DS in line 21 ('ah that one is good…').

(2)  1  DS  wuyku-mpu            aki-na
              dye-1plincNOM       boil-NF
              *we boiled the dye*

     2       (1.2)

     3  DS  punthi-n    nga'-
              finish-NF   dem.dist1
              *finished there-*

     4       (0.4)

     5  SP  nyiichi-nya-mpu-na
              put-NF-1plincNOM-now
              *we put that now?*

     6       (0.2)

     7  DS  no  [kupuy-mpu            ali-nya-na     waayi-na-mpu            pakaya
              no  hibiscus-1plincNOM  take-NF-now    throw-NF-1plincNOM  down
              *no, we picked up the beach hibiscus and threw it inside*

     8  SP  [aa

     9       (0.4)

    10  SP  nyii pa'amu
              yes  two
              *yes the two (types of leaves)*

    11       (0.9)

    12  SP  waayi-na-mpu
              throw-NF-1plincNOM
              *we threw into (the saucepan)*

    13       (0.5)

    14  EG  nga'a[lu
              dem.dist1-DM
              *those ones*

15   DS      [ali-nya-na     nga'a-l            mi'a-nya
             take-NF-now dem.dist1-DM    show-NF
             *(we) took those one and showed (him)*

16   SP      ng[ulu
             3sgNOM
             *he*

17   DS      [ngulu      chilpu
             3sgNOM    old.man
             *the old man*

18           (0.2)

19   EG      inga-na
             say-NF
             *says*

20           (.)

21   DS      aa nga'a-lu          miintha nga'a-l         kalma-nha-mpu
             ah dem.dist1-DM    good     dem.dist1-DM    come-CAUS-IMP.PL
             ngampula       ma'upi-cha-
             1plincNOM    make-FUT
             *"ah that one is good, bring that one and we will starting making (them)"*

22           (0.7)

23   SP      mukamukana
             RDP.big
             *plenty*

24           (.)

25   DS      djadji-ku (.)        mukamukana
             grass.skirt-DAT  RDP.big
             *for grass skirts (we make) plenty*

26           (1.1)

27   EG      kuyi-ku      ma'upi-na  miintha-ma-mi-chan-  miintha[-mu
             then-DAT    make-NF    good-VBLZ-RFL-?       good-PRED
             *then (we) made it nicely ourselves- it was nice*

28   SP      [yeah

(05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*:00:05:36-00:06:13)

In contrast to (2), in the excerpt presented in (3) below, the output from the unknowing co-tellers (EG & MB) is either derivative of the one teller with first-hand knowledge of the events being described (SP) or drawn from everyday world knowledge. Line 9 'buried in the hot ashes' produced by MB is a reiteration and elaboration of SP's line 5 'over there, she buried food

there, Angela and big mob there'. Buried food is almost always buried in hot ashes, and so MB's elaboration draws on common ground. This is taken up and repeated in confirmation by SP in line 10 'buried in the hot ashes'. Line 12 'at the beach' by EG is derived from SP's comments in the opening lines of the narrative (not shown in (3) 'we go down, it is salmon time', 'we sit under the *talkuy* tree'). Thus, the scene had already been set earlier, and here EG simply elaborates and makes explicit the location of the cooking is 'at the beach'. This thematically dovetails with the ongoing discussion of cooking in ashes, as the best way to cook in ashes is in coarse beach sand.

Repeats and elaborations of this type do not only occur in narratives with unknowing co-narrators. Returning to example (2), SP in line 10-12 'yes the two (types of leaves) we threw into the saucepan'), draws on DS' contribution in the previous line 7 'no, we picked up the beach hibiscus and threw it inside'. These roles are switched in line 23-25: SP says 'plenty' in line 23 in reference to the amount of plant fiber they are preparing for the grass skirts, and DS takes this up in line 25 saying 'for grass skirts, (we make) plenty'.

(3)   1   SP      Napoleon   nganan         kali-na
                  napoleon   1plexcACC    take-NF
                  *Napoleon carries us*

      2           (1.0)

      3   SP      pula          pa'amu  all be get a car too them too
                  3plNOM     two
                  *those two had a car too*

      4           (1.6)

      5   SP      ngkulu              mayi atha-na   ngulu     Angela-lu      mukana
                  dem.dist2-DM    food  bury-NF 3sgNOM  angela-ERG   big
                  *over there she buried food there (implies damper buried in ashes), Angela and big mob there*

      6           (0.5)

      7   MB      hm

      8           (1.1)

      9   MB      pulka-nguna        atha-na=
                  hot.ashes-LOC    bury-NF
                  *(she) buried (the food) in the hot ashes*

      10  SP      =pulka-nguna       atha-na
                  hot.ashes-LOC    bury-NF
                  *(she) buried (the food) in the hot ashes*

      11          (.)

12   EG   malngkan-nguna
          beach-LOC
          *at the beach*

   13       (.)

14   MB   °atha-na   [yeah°
          bury-NF   yeah
          *buried yeah*

16   SP   [malngkan      miintha
          beach          good
          *nice beach/sand*

17       (0.3)

18   DS   *hm*

19       (0.4)

20   SP   aachi-nya (.)  muuyu   kuunchi all minya  pungana   muungalma-na
          cook-NF        H       relative all animal fish      cut.PROG-NF
          *(she) cooked, her husband sliced all the meat*

(04Sep08: *Suzie & Cilla*:00:16:01-00:16:30)

## 2.2.2 Epistemic access versus epistemic rights

As already mentioned, the contrast in the degree of collaboration in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narratives is not straightforwardly about general epistemic access to the topic – as would be expected from accounts of narrative co-telling by, for instance, English speakers (Georgakopoulou 2007; Goodwin 1986; Lerner 1992; Sacks 1974b). Both excerpts (2) and (3) come from narratives which feature considerable output by multiple narrators, albeit in different ways. In (2) the participants have somewhat equal epistemic access to the events under narration, while in (3) they do not share epistemic access. Three of the participants in this case are discovering the details of the story at the same time they are assisting to tell it. It has been noted that the main narrator in English conversational stories is often the teller, who knows the story first hand and has the rights to tell based on experience (Sacks 1974b). This is certainly still the case in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u multi-party narration, with the knowing teller SP in (2) having a privileged role and being the source of the bulk of the co-teller's contributions. However, what is different is that a lack of epistemic access by other participants present does not in any way preclude their participation in the unfolding narration – as it usually does in an English conversational storytelling context where co-telling is instead associated with recipients with privileged knowledge of the story (Lerner 1992). Unknowing Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u participants are still interactionally required to join in the narration as they do in (3).

   In the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speech community, multi-party narration is the default storytelling strategy, with just select types of narratives or topics of narration routinely produced

by a single narrator. The key exceptions are narratives that implicate proprietary rights associated with hereditarily owned land[5]. For the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, tracts of land or territories are viewed as joint property of sets of close kin and are inherited patrilineally (§1.4.2). With the ownership of a tract of land comes a whole body of other related and similarly owned knowledge, i.e. creation mythologies, affiliations with totemic beings, knowledge of resources (water, food, medicine etc.) and their by-products, and so forth. Narratives that entail important information about owned lands are told by people with the proper affiliation, the appropriate kin-based entitlement to that knowledge. Thus, the distinction between stories told by a single narrator and narratives told by multiple narrators is rooted in epistemic rights (see Heritage and Raymond 2005 for a thorough account of this concept)[6], rather than epistemic access, which as just noted does not limit co-telling.

The excerpt in (4) below provides an example of a single-party narrative. This example comes from the beginning of a mythological narrative describing the activities of three ancestral beings (the parrot, his wife and the kangaroo) in the Angkum and Chinchanaku area (see §2.4.1 for discussion of this type of narrative). The narrative is told by SP, whose father's mother came from the Angkum area, making SP one of the senior owners for the tract of land through this paternal connection. The audience for this story are DS, DS's granddaughter (who has some basic comprehension of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, but no production proficiency), and myself. DS is a frequent collaborator with SP in many of the narratives in the corpus (including in narrative shown in (2)), but she does not co-tell this story. She remains quiet throughout the telling, except in two instances shown in this excerpt. In line 9, she translates SP's use of English *island* into Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u form *thathiku* 'to the island'. This is taken up and repeated in confirmation by SP in line 17. In line 23 DS softly, in the background, produces *wunanana* 'slept/camped now'. This is not acknowledged or taken up by SP. Apart from these two small contributions from DS, SP single-handedly produces this narrative, with DS and her granddaughter sitting quietly by.

(4)  1   SP       nyii  ngayu      nyii  ku-   ku-
                   yes   1sgNOM     yes   ?     ?
                   *yes, I, yes*
     2            (2.0)
     3   SP       kuupatha-ngka        kuuku      ngungangku   yiipay-lu
                  yarn-PRES.CONT       language   3sgGEN       south-ABL
                  *will be yarning her story from the south*

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[5] Note that narratives that would be preferentially collaboratively produced are sometimes still delivered by a single narrator if there is only one potential teller present in the context. This is an artefact of the recording context: normally the recipient would be a potential co-teller, except it is just myself, the documenter present.

[6] For an application to an Australian Aboriginal language, see Blythe's discussion of what he terms epistemic authority in Murrinh-Patha interaction (2010).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | | (2.6) |
| 5 | SP | nga'a-lu |
| | | dem.dist1-DM |
| | | *that one* |
| 6 | | (1.2) |
| 7 | SP | piiwu |
| | | kangaroo |
| | | *the kangaroo* |
| 8 | | (0.7) |
| 9 | SP | tinta |
| | | parrot |
| | | *and the parrot* |
| 10 | | (1.2) |
| 11 | SP | tinta       waathi-nya |
| | | parrot    go-NF |
| | | *the parrot went* |
| 12 | | (2.3) |
| 13 | SP | nga'a-l |
| | | dem.dist1-DM |
| | | *that one* |
| 14 | | (3.1) |
| 15 | SP | waathi-nya       island |
| | | go-NF                 island |
| | | *went to the island [directly off the coast from Angkum]* |
| 16 | | (0.3) |
| 17 | DS | thathi-ku |
| | | island-DAT |
| | | *to the island* |
| 18 | | (.) |
| 19 | SP | thathi-ku |
| | | island-DAT |
| | | *to the island* |
| 20 | | (0.5) |
| 21 | SP | thathi-nguna |
| | | island-LOC |
| | | *at the island* |
| 22 | | (0.9) |

| 23 | DS | °wuna-na-na° |
|---|---|---|
| | | sleep-NF-now |
| | | *slept/camped now* |
| 24 | | (0.8) |
| 25 | SP | thathi-ku        waathi-nya |
| | | island-DAT    go-NF |
| | | *went to the island* |
| 26 | | (1.7) |
| 27 | SP | kuuna-lu |
| | | neutral.dem-DM |
| | | *there* |

(27Apr05:*Night Island*:00:03:07-00:03:38)

Directly following SP's telling of the story shown in (4), DS takes her turn at sharing a narrative for which she has special epistemic rights. The narrative she tells is similar to the one illustrated in (4). It is a mythological story that deals with the creation of the world as it is today, in this instance, the transformation of a boy into the moon. The story DS tells is associated with the Nesbit River, to which DS has inherited rights through her father (SP's Night Island connections lie further north). The narration in extract (5) describes the journey of the moon boy and two parrot sisters down the Nesbit River.

| (5) | 1 | DS | taway-lu-na        kali-na        pakay-ma  pakay-ma |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | moon-ERG-now  carry-NF    down-DIR  down-DIR |
| | | | *the moon now carried (the parrot sisters) downwards downwards* |
| | 2 | | (0.9) |
| | 3 | DS | atapa-nguna |
| | | | watercourse-LOC |
| | | | *on the river* |
| | 4 | | (0.5) |
| | 5 | DS | Palinchi         atapa              pakay    pakay    kani  puntha-na-na |
| | | | place.name    watercourse    down      down      up    emerge-NF-now |
| | | | *on the Nesbit, the river, down and down and then (they) came out now* |
| | 6 | | (1.0) |
| | 7 | DS | malngka-nguna |
| | | | beach-LOC |
| | | | *at the beach* |
| | 8 | | (1.1) |

9     DS     kalila-n              aa-
             carry.PROG-NF  ah-
             *(he) kept on carrying (them) ah-*
10           (0.4)
11    DS     kali-   kalila-na            kani  pakay-ma
             carry   carry.PROG-NF  up    down-DIR
             *carry- (he) kept on carrying (them) up and downwards*
(27Apr05:*Taway*:00:07:25-00:07:42)


Example (5) further illustrates the single-party style of narration, as contrast to the multi-party examples above. SP does not actively participate in the telling of this narrative – including an absence of vocal continuers or verbal support of any kind – nor does DS's granddaughter, who is also present.

In contrast to multi-party narratives, where co-narrators can have little or no knowledge of the story before telling, here the silent audience is often familiar with the story. Mythological narratives are often well known (§2.4.1), and told repeatedly, still to the appreciation of the audience. In this case, SP knows the moon myth narrative – just as DS knew SP's Night Island narrative. They have epistemic access, but not the epistemic rights to tell or assist in the production of each other's narratives. Recipients of single-narrator narratives not only do not co-tell the narrative, but on the whole they produce considerably less of routine recipient responses that are observed in many other contexts. Audiences are not expected to display engagement and are sometimes found to wander around the vicinity or engage in other activities or interactions during the telling of a narrative subject to stringent epistemic rights, e.g. having a cigarette off to the side of the action, going to talk to someone nearby, or signalling a message using manual hand signs to a passerby and so on. Such recipient behaviour could suggest that even to appear overtly attentive may be over-stating one's epistemic rights on the topic. Regardless of this, all the while a narrator will continue telling the story, unfazed by the lack of attention of the recipients or audience (see Walsh (1991, 1994) regarding broadcast interactional style; and McGregor (2005) for similar observations on the tendency for audiences to be less captive in Aboriginal Australian storytelling contexts).

To clarify, it is probably not that the narratives subject to such epistemic rights are in some way inherently categorised as a single-narrator affair. It is more a case that navigating the epistemic rights highly constrain potential instances of joint narration. It would seem to be a rare situation to have several potential co-narrators with equal or near equal epistemic rights to a tract of land, in the same place and time, and in the mood to share in the telling of the narrative. This may well have been a more common occurrence in the past with a greater pool of interlocutors, and in natural camp life settings, as opposed to the situation of this study, a documentation project on a moribund language. However, even in situations with several co-

present participants with some epistemic rights to the topic of narration, there is a preference for participants to defer to one party as the more appropriate teller – saying something like *you talk, you be proper boss for that one* (02Apr07:Conversation).

Narratives not told by a narrator with proper epistemic rights are called a *lawalawa* 'liar' story (§2.4.4), in contrast to descriptions like *waanta mukana* 'important story' or *makuthuma* 'it is true' for narratives produced by a person with sanctioned social rights to do so (a similar point is made by Ian Keen (1994:51) for North East Arnhem Land). There are no instances in the collection of narratives in this study that are told by someone who is not socially sanctioned to do so. That is not to suggest that this does not happen often in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling contexts – this can occur when there is conflict about a person's rights to a place, e.g. in cases of adoption and where biological heritage is unclear. The absence of disputed narratives told by the 'wrong' person is more likely due to the senior status of the storytellers involved in the study being discussed here, and potentially the on-record nature of the narrative events. As a result, investigation of audience reaction to a *lawalawa* narrative performance will have to remain unexplored: Do recipients intervene or comment in some way during the performance? Is the narrative performance discredited after the fact? Or does the narrative complete and close without any interactional strife? What has been observed during storytelling more broadly, however, is that narrators often overtly monitor the relationship between self and topic and the other interactants present. The narrator may provide an invite for the audience to correct like *no matter I talk, if I wrong youpla, tell me* 'I may talk, but if I talk wrong you lot tell me', or produce disclaimers like *this is just lawalawa talk* 'it is only a pretend story' (§2.4.4 on *lawalawa* narratives, used in a different sense here), or the narrative can be abandoned altogether as in (6), where SP proposes and then abandons the topic of Chinchanaku 'Night Island', offering the explanation that she doesn't have *mate for that talk* 'partner for the talk' (line 7-9). By this SP means that she doesn't have another Night Island person present to support or confirm the rightness or trueness of the telling (SP's paternal ties in the Night Island region are to Angkum rather than the neighouring Chinchanaku). Of course, this may simply be an excuse by SP to change topic, rather than a way to mitigate the potential strife of talking about a place just outside her rights – though it is notable that this is deemed an appropriate motivation for this action.

(6)  1    SP    wanim
                *whatchamacallit*
     2          (1.2)
     3    SP    aa ngaani   (.) ngaachi  Chinchanaku?
                ah IGNOR      place     Night.Island
                *ah someplace, Night Island?*
     4          (0.8)

| 5  | DS | ngam you Sue |
|----|----|----|
|    |    | *ok you (go) Sue* |
| 6  |    | (0.8) |
| 7  | SP | oh leave it |
| 8  |    | (0.2) |
| 9  | SP | I don't have mate for that talk |
| 10 |    | (0.6) |
| 11 | SP | Only Maria here |
| 12 |    | (1.0) |
| 13 | SP | I am going to yarn you story about me two Cilla |

(04Sep08:Conversation:00:14:20-00:14:32)

## 2.3 Narrator roles

Even a cursory consideration of the excerpts in (2) and (3) shows that the collaborative nature of these narratives requires a move beyond a simple narrator–hearer distinction. A speaker–hearer model implies a dyadic mode of interaction, which as cautioned in classic work by Hymes (1972, 1974) and Goffman (1979, 1981) hides the enormous complexity of roles in interaction. Participants in multi-party narratives have various positions and roles associated with certain linguistic behaviour within the narrative event, with these roles often shifting rapidly through different utterances. In this study, I will distinguish two co-narrator roles, that of a primary narrator or main speaker role and that of a supporting narrator role (for similar distinctions see Hill 2011b; Lerner 1992 ('story consociate'); McGregor 1988b; Schegloff 1982 ('active recipiency')). This contrast in narrator roles will continue to be explored and developed through chapters 5-7. Further specialised participant roles could be teased apart and discussed as proposed by Goffman (1979, 1981) and related commentaries (e.g. speaker/transmitter/animator, source/sender/author, receiver/addressed recipient/unaddressed recipient, target/destination, overhearers/bystanders/eavesdroppers etc. (Goffman 1979, 1981; Levinson 1988; Shannon and Weaver 1949), but for the purposes of limiting the scope of this discussion, the focus will lie with the proposed distinction between primary and supporting narrator roles.

The primary and supporting roles that co-tellers inhabit in multi-party narration can be distinguished on the basis of clear linguistic and behavioural correlates. Briefly discussed below are four correlates: the production of new narrative content; the anchoring of person reference; the right to correct or question content; and the right to select to speak. The last two features, of who corrects/questions and who selects whom to speak, also distinguish supporting narrators from "just audience" participants.

As the name suggests, primary narrators contribute the bulk of new narrative content and exert considerable influence on the progress of the storytelling. As such, they also produce more

turns and hold the interactional floor for longer during these turns. Supporting narrators and other recipients of primary narrator utterances (i.e. what will simply be termed audience members for this discussion, though this term obscures much complexity) fix their eye-gaze on the primary narrator for much of the narration. This fits with research on recipient eye-gaze patterns for storytelling, with recipients normatively required to gaze at speakers in extended tellings, but not in turn-by-turn talk (Rossano 2013; Rossano, Brown and Levinson 2009). Person references are often reckoned via primary narrators, both in content produced by themselves and by supporting narrators. By contrast, they are only reckoned via a supporting narrator in restricted contexts (§5.7; §6.2.4) and almost never via an audience member. Primary narrators prompt for confirmation and support from supporting narrators, typically selecting them as recipients of these utterances using eye-gaze. Requests for more information or corrective actions regarding aspects of the story are directed towards the primary narrator by supporting narrators (§6.3.3-6.3.4). These two selections, respectively, reveal which participants are deemed able to assist in filling in gaps in the narration and who have the rights to query the unfolding narration. In contrast, audience members have a passive role, not questioning nor being questioned. They display recipiency through the production of minimal feedback, such as confimatives, nods, laughter, but are not selected by primary narrators to aid in the delivery of the narrative in the way supporting narrators are.

To illustrate primary and supporting narrator behaviours, we can reconsider example (3) above (partially reproduced below in (7)), where SP is the primary narrator. SP takes the lead in narrating the events underway, and is the first in this sequence to introduce the people and the actions of the people in the narrative world: In line 1 *Napoleon carries us*, in line 5 *she (Angela) buried the food there* and in line 20 *her husband sliced all the meat*. The primary nature of SP's role is reflected in the higher level of output: SP produces 6 out of the 11 intonation units in the excerpt, lines 1-3, 5, 10, 16 and 11. She also produces 30 out of the total of 37 word tokens in this sequence. The type and level of output shown in (3) exemplifies SP's role throughout much of this narrative. The other three participants direct their gaze towards SP throughout the bulk of this excerpt, and in doing so align themselves as recipients to SP's output. They also speak, but they produce notably less linguistic output, with less original content. For example, MB, DS and EG in their contributions between line 7-18, confirm and elaborate on just one of the events in this sequence, the damper being buried (as already mentioned above in §2.2.1). These participants are supporting narrators: they assist in the delivery and ongoing reception of the story in certain ways, and as such they are distinct from a general audience participant. To illustrate this briefly see 3 lines of this excerpt here in (7) (see above for the full excerpt (3) in §2.2.1):

(7)  5  SP    ngkulu              mayi atha-na    **ngulu**     **Angela-lu**    **mukana**
              dem.dist2-DM    food bury-NF    3sgNOM    angela-ERG    big
              *over there she buried food there [implies damper buried in ashes], Angela*
              *and big mob there*
     6          (0.5)
     7  MB    hm
     8          (1.1)
     9  MB    pulka-nguna       atha-na=
              hot.ashes-LOC    bury-NF
              *(she) buried (the food) in the hot ashes*
(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:0016:13-00:16:23)

A second feature that distinguishes primary and supporting narrators concerns the anchoring of kin-terms. When kin-terms are used, regardless of the speaker, they are usually construed from the primary narrator's relationship with the referent, rather than other participants (see §5.5; §5.6; §5.7.3; §6.2.4, §6.2.5 for discussion of kin-terms). This is one of the ways in which the primary narrator's perspective and relationship to events and people is privileged in the narrative record. In (8), from the same narrative as (7) (and (3)), the supporting narrator MB initiates a corrective utterance 'who tied up that one?' (line 1) after difficulty understanding a preceding reference. In the following turn, the primary narrator provides an identifying reference using a kin-term *kamichu* 'grandchild' which indicates the referent's relationship to herself (see §6.3.4 for further discussion of this example and surrounding context). Likewise in (9) later in the same narrative another supporting narrator DS also initiates a corrective utterance confirming a preceding reference was made to this same character (in line 3). DS anchors the reference to the primary narrator using *kamichu* 'grandchild', rather than construing the reference from her own perspective.

(8)  1  MB    **waa'i-ncha-lu**    nga'a-lu          ali-nya
              IGNOR-?-ERG     dem.dist1-DM    pick-NF
              *who tied up that one?*
     2          (.)
     3  SP    **ngulu       kamichu**
              3sgNOM    DC
              *grandchild/she is (her) grandchild*
(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:19:38-00:19:41)

(9)  1   SP    nga'a-l         ku'un   ngungangku   nga'a      tha'u kuucha-nya
                dem.dist1-DM    eye     3sgNOM       dem.dist1  foot  look-NF
                *that one looks with her eye as the footprint there*

     2          (0.4)

     3   DS    **nga'a-l**    (.)   **kamichu-lu**
                dem.dist1-DM         DC-ERG
                *that one, grandchild*

     4          (0.7)

     5   SP    nyii
                *yes*

(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:25:00-00:26:06)

A third characteristic of the distinction between primary and secondary narrators relates to requests (§6.3.3) and corrections (i.e. repairs, see §6.3.4). Requests for more information or corrective actions regarding aspects of the story are produced by supporting narrators and directed towards and taken up by primary narrators. This is, in fact, a reciprocal relationship, whereby primary narrators can also solicit assistance from supporting narrators, directing word searches and prompts towards them, but not towards more passive recipients in the audience. Word searches and prompts are interesting in that they show that the speaker thinks that another participant could recognise the object of the search, which also provides a way for this co-teller to enter the storytelling (Lerner 1992:255-258). Example (10) shows an instance of a word search produced by SP a little further along in the narrative from example (8). In line 5, SP struggles to think of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language form, instead using *pipi* a generic term for all small shell molluscs in Lockhart River Creole. The word search is produced with telltale rising intonation and lengthening; at the same time SP directs her gaze towards MB and DS. MB responds in line 7 by producing the missing form *nyakun*.

(10)  1   SP    **ngulu**     **nga'a-lu**
                 3sgNOM    dem.dist1-DM
                 *that one*

      2          (1.0)

      3   SP    api-na
                 pick.up-NF
                 *picked up*

      4          (.)

      5   SP    pipi:::::
                 *pipi (shells)?*

      6          (0.4)

| 7 | MB | minya | nyakun= |
|---|----|-------|---------|
|   |    | meat  | mollusc |

*nyakun [species of mollusc]*

| 8 | SP | =yaw | [nyakun |
|---|----|------|---------|
|   |    | *yes* | *mollusc* |

| 9 | DS | [mukamukana |
|---|----|-------------|
|   |    | RDP.big     |
|   |    | *plenty*    |

(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:20:51-00:20:56)

The preceding discussion should not be taken to suggest that supporting narrators do not at times direct the flow of narrative or make meaningful additions to the narrative. They do, and can do so within multiple perspectives in the interaction. Unlike primary narrators (or audience members) they often freely traverse between the narrated event perspective, in which the story events are recounted, and a meta-linguistic perspective, external to the story-world. In the external perspective, they prod at and prompt primary narrators with questions (such as corrections in example (8)). They produce clarifications and explanations, drawing conclusions from the other speaker's narration. This type of supporting narrative behavior and the influence this exerts over the progress of the narration is explored in detail in §6.3 – I direct the reader there for further discussion.

While it is relatively straightforward to differentiate orders of conduct associated with the roles of a primary narrator and secondary narrator, at times the conditioning factors behind the allocation of these roles still remain elusive. In cases where there is one participant with clear primary epistemic access, this consistently results in that participant having the primary narrator role, as in (3) and (8)-(10) where SP is the only participant who knows the story and clearly takes the primary role. Relatedly there is evidence that co-tellers transfer tellership during a narrative so that the participant with primary knowledge of a particular section of the story inhabits the main teller role (see also in §5.4.2) ('rendering one's own part', Lerner 1992:265-66). Primary first-hand knowledge resulting in a primary telling role fits with a range of comments on conversational storytelling in English (Goffman 1981; Lerner 1989; Lerner 1992; Sacks 1974b). When narrator roles are interchanged mid-narration, such transfers tend to be fluid and implicitly managed (see McGregor (1988b:5) for similar observations on Gooniyandi narrative and Blythe (2009a:12) on Murrinh-Patha conversational narrative; also Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) for broader discussion of this). Aside from obvious topic shifts associated with a switch to a different primary narrator with more epistemic access (as discussed above), the motivation for the transfer of roles is often hard to discern. In particular, where narratorship arrangements become elusive in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u multi-party narration is where epistemic access is shared across multiple narrators. Mutual knowledge of events being narrated in not

unusual; in the small and overlapping social universe of life in the Old Mission as well as in contemporary Lockhart River there is substantial shared experiences. In such contexts it can be difficult to discern the factors conditioning tellership roles. Multiple participants can claim a primary role based on shared knowledge, but participants still preferentially inhabit primary and supporting roles in the delivery of such narratives. As a case in point, recall excerpt (2) where all four narrators had experience of the events described, but two narrators (DS and SP) dynamically take turns in leading the narration. This suggests that these roles may have structural functions in the organisation of the multi-party narratives (this idea is more fully explored in chapter 7). In addition, multiple socio-interactional factors may be at play in such cases, like social and kin dynamics between participants, or between participants and the characters in the story, and simply other factors such as personality or mood on the day. The following excerpt in (11) show an instance where a potential teller (DS) opts out due to being in taboo kin relationship (mother-in-law to son-in-law relationship, see §5.7) with one of the characters in the proposed narrative. DS follows with a nomination of SP as a co-teller (line 4, line 10), says *well I can't call [him my son-in-law name* (line 10), and then goes on to have a supporting role in the narration. Beyond a handful of tantalising instances where participants overtly discuss narratorship as in (11), the organisation of primary narrator role in contexts where multiple co-tellers have equal access to the events remains somewhat elusive for now. Further research is required to determine precisely which speakers inhabit which narrator roles in which contexts.

(11)  1    DS       you talk with him now
      2             (0.4)
      3    MB       yea:::h=
      4    DS       =oh him go talk
      5             (0.5)
      6    MB       °ngangkangku help me too°
                    2plGEN
                    *your (lot) will help me too*
      7             (.)
      8    SP       yeah
      9             (1.2)
      10   DS       well I can't call [him my son-in-law name
      11   MB                         [yest-
      12             (.)
      13   MB       ngulkuma   afternoon
                    tomorrow
                    *tomorrow afternoon*
      (10June08:Conversation:00:11:26-00:11:39)

Primary and supporting narrator roles are not institutionalised within the speech community, and no metalinguistic categories in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u coincide with this distinction. Still, narrators do show considerable awareness of inhabiting different roles, as above in (11). Excerpt (12) below contains explicit discussion about who is going to lead the talk in the forthcoming narrative. SP invites a potential narrator to suggest a topic, *wanim talk you want to talk?* 'whatchamacallit the talk you want to talk' (line 3). DS proffers one, *sabi you-me dance before time Old Mission* 'know how we two danced a long time ago at the Old Mission' (line 7). SP agrees, specifying in her response that DS will lead and they (SP and EG) will provide support, *well you startim now so we follow you* 'well you start it now and we will follow you' (line 9). The talk then continues to the interactants' relationship to the proposed topic: DS mentions their age when the events happened, *we never be small girl, we been sabi that one school girls hey* 'we weren't small girls, we knew that one as school girls, hey? (line 16-18). Then EG indicates she was not a participant in the events like DS and SP were, *only you two been dance about* (line 23).

| (12) | 1  | SP | wanim now                                      |
|------|----|----|------------------------------------------------|
|      | 2  |    | (.)                                            |
|      | 3  | SP | wanim talk you want to talk?                   |
|      | 4  |    | (0.4)                                          |
|      | 5  | DS | I want to yarn that story                      |
|      | 6  |    | (.)                                            |
|      | 7  | DS | sabi you-me dance before time Old Mission      |
|      | 8  |    | (0.2)                                          |
|      | 9  | SP | well you startim now [so we follow you         |
|      | 10 | DS | [li:::ke hey?                                  |
|      | 11 |    | (1.0)                                          |
|      | 12 | EG | wani::::m                                       |
|      | 13 |    | (1.4)                                          |
|      | 14 | EG | sh- (.) wanim                                   |
|      | 15 |    | (0.8)                                          |
|      | 16 | DS | we never be small girl                         |
|      | 17 |    | (.)                                            |
|      | 18 | DS | we been sabi [that one school girls hey        |
|      | 19 | EG | [no no wanim school girl                        |
|      | 20 |    | (0.9)                                          |
|      | 21 | DS | we'd been there where me-pla walk about you know |
|      | 22 |    | (.)                                            |
|      | 23 | EG | only you two been dance about                   |

| 24 |    | (0.2) |
|---|---|---|
| 25 | DS | no me-pla- this fella be stop own village |
| 26 |    | (.) |
| 27 | DS | yeah put him on we just yarn story |

(27June08:*Rubbing Day*:00:00:20-00:00:45)

The discussion of (11)-(12) also illustrates how the launching of a narrative often deals with the important business of the different interactants' alignment to the forthcoming story. This is explored further in §2.5 where the launch of narratives in recordings sessions is discussed in more detail.

## 2.4 Narrative genres

The narratives told by Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytellers have recurrent thematic features and associated structures that are highly suggestive of genre categories. The discussion here will not try to identify genres in the technical sense, but will define narrative categories based on a combination of semantic and structural criteria, associated differences in participant configurations, and meta-linguistic descriptive categories as provided by the narrators. Four narrative categories within the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators' repertoire will be discussed: *before time* narratives; *ngaachi* 'country' or 'land' narratives; *custom way* narratives; *lawalawa* 'comedic' narratives. This set is not exhaustive, nor would I want to suggest that are always clearly mutually exclusive; they are simply some of the most prominent types observed in the narrative collection employed in this study (§2.4). Other types include narratives describing encounters with supernatural forces, often *wapa* 'sorcerers' or *awu* 'devils' (see Verstraete (2011) on such narratives in the neighbouring language Umpithamu); biographic or life history narratives, probably a post-contact variety (see Haviland (1991) on this point for Guugu Yimidhirr), and personal history narratives, describing events of personal or wider historical-social relevance which the narrators themselves participated in, witnessed or heard about.

The labels used in this discussion are sourced from meta-linguistic descriptions routinely provided by speakers. However, these labels are not part of a named classification system of narrative genres. Speakers do not appear to have any detailed typology of narrative categories, say for instance in the way they do for song and dance types[7], and if they were asked to assign labels to narratives they would probably struggle to do so. Instead, the terms are descriptive expressions which frequently occur in general conversation preceding or following a narrative.

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[7] There is a set of names in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u for song and dance categories, e.g. *malkari* 'shake-a-leg' corroboree style song/dance'; *thaypu* 'Islander style song/dance'; *wuungka* 'women's song/dance'; *anchiri*; *kilamu* etc. These names are well known not just by the language speakers but the wider community. They can be combined with the form *kincha* 'song' (which also means 'sacred' and 'ceremony'). By contrast, speakers would rarely combine any of the routinely used descriptive phrases for narratives in a binominal structure with the generic word for story *waanta*.

Take, for example, the excerpt in (13) from the conversation directly preceding the start of a narrative describing life in temporary bark dwellings during the wet season. The excerpt features a mixture of an acrolect form of Lockhart River Creole and Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u typical of transitional space between the speech event and narrative event (see further in §2.5). In line 9, as represented in bold, SP uses the expression *that custom way one* in response to DS's question *what idea you gotim?*. This describes the category of the forthcoming story, which is launched in line 13 by SP with '(we) made a humpy there for camping'. SP's description offers a characterisation of the forthcoming story that helps to situate the co-tellers and audience for the proposed telling (see Goodwin (1984) for related observations on the use of characterisations of a story as it is being proposed and launched; also regarding story prefaces more generally see Sacks (1974a, 1974b, 1978, 1992)).

(13)  1    DS      yeah he right you talk you talk first
      2            (0.8)
      3    CH      I'm just going to move this a little bit closer [talking about microphone]
      4            (1.0)
      5    SP      ah you talk
      6            (0.4)
      7    DS      what idea you gotim?
      8            (.)
      9    SP      well **that custom way one** (.)    ngay          wanim?
                                                        1sgNOM    whatchamacallit
                   *well that custom way one, I whatchamacallit?*
      10           (0.4)
      11   DS      what that?
      12           (.)
      13   SP      yutha    ma'upi-na  kuuna            wuna-na
                   humpy   make-NF    neutral.dem    sleep-NF
                   *(we) made a humpy there for camping*
      (13Mar07:*Umunu*:00:02:17-00:02:32)

Similarly, in example (14) the primary narrator MP before launching into the narrative repeatedly describes the telling to come as being about *ngaachi* 'country'. She does so first in a topic proffer in (14) lines 3 and 6 (*ngaachi? ngaachi nhumpi?*), and then again several utterances later in line 9-11, in a type of abstract or orientation sentence (*about that ngaachi yiipay, that ngaachi from Rocky*). The narrative goes on to describe trips made across a stretch of flat plain country in Umpila territory.

(14)  1    SP      what we going to yarn about?
      2            (0.8)
      3    MP      **ngaachi     ngaa[chi?**
                   place         place
                   *the place the place?*
      4    MB      [what?
      5            (0.2)
      6    MP      **ngaachi Nhumpi?**
                   place     place.name
                   *Rocky*
      7            (.)
      8    CH      ngaachi ngungangku?
                   place     3sgGEN
                   *her place?*

[5 turns intervening]

      9    MP      I want to yarn you **about that    ngaachi yiipay**
                                                      place     south
                   *I want to talk about that southern country*
      10           (0.4)
      11   MP      that   **ngaachi** from Rocky
                          place
                   *that country from Rocky*
      12           (0.2)
      13   MP      that really no tree just the main flat
(15Mar07:*Rocky*:00:03:51-00:04:16)

## 2.4.1 *Before time* narrative

*Before time* narratives deal with the activities of mythological beings and/or ancestral peoples and the formation of the natural world as it appears today. The expression *before time* refers to the creation era within which these stories are set: this is the Lockhart River Creole rendering of *yilamu* 'old' (see Chase (1980a, 1989b) for discussion of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u classification of historical time periods). The well-known counterpart in much of central and northern Australia is known in English as the *dreaming* or *dream-time* – a complex system of belief encompassing religion, law and history, associated with a symbolic mythological past or an ancient founding time (Elkin 1938/1964; Hiatt 1975; Meggit 1962; Stanner 1956; Strehlow 1947). The majority of commentaries and collections of Aboriginal Australian narratives are concerned with this type of sacred mythological narrative (Austin 1997; Beckett and Hercus 2009; Berndt 1985; Berndt and Berndt 1989; Clunies Ross 1986; Dixon 1991; Green 2014;

Heath 1984; Hodge and McGrgeor 1989; Klapproth 2004; Napaljarri and Cataldi 1994; Reed 1999; Róheim 1988; Smith 1932). In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, *before time* narratives are largely concerned with the formation and importance of owned totemic sites – known colloquially as *Story Places* in Aboriginal English throughout the CYP region precisely because of their link to creation stories. The characters in these narratives are inextricably connected to places and tracts of land: many emerged from specific places or metamorphosed into natural features, leaving something of their spiritual essence behind, thus making these places significant today. The events and beings these narratives describe are physically inscribed in the landscape by the marks and features left behind. As such, this genre is connected with the *ngaachi* 'country' narrative genre (§2.4.2), which also intimately concerns geographical places, albeit places in contemporary or recent human history. Both narrative types are routinely delivered by a single teller, which falls out from the strict proprietary rights associated with the subject matter dealt with (§2.2.2). What distinguishes *before time* narratives from all other narrative genres, however, including *ngaachi* narratives, are that they third-person narratives, describing events that fall outside the experience of any living narrator (though to many people the ancestral beings associated with these events are still a present force on the land and their lives). All other narrative genres can be personal experience stories or accounts of other people's experiences within the relatively small social universe of Lockhart River and surrounding environs.

*Before time* stories are held by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people to be old, passed through a long chain of inter-generational transmission, and to be true. Narrators often overtly acknowledge the veracity of the narratives in story openings and closings, as DS does using the following words at the closing of a *before time* narrative: *This is not a liar story. The old people bin tell us about them story. They say this one true story* (27Apr05:Conversation). By describing the narrative as "true", DS does not intend to evoke a dichotomy between fictional or factual (real) stories. This distinction is not a meaningful one in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, as has been noted elsewhere in Australia (McGregor 2005; Michaels 1986:32-33; Peter Sutton 2008c). A *before time* narrative is deemed to be *maku* 'true' or 'real' in a way that a personal experience narrative is not: by this, the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u person means that it is connected to and reveals a deeper level of truth or significance about the fundamental order or foundation of the world.

*Before time* narratives are classic tales, often revisited and retold, and sometimes known by many Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people even if they do not have the rights to tell the story. However, the same *before time* narrative typically varies notably across different tellings, even when delivered by the same narrator. They are often composed with varying degrees of completeness and transparency depending on the audience and context of delivery. Elliptical or fragmented versions act as a gatekeeping mechanism, restricting those without prior knowledge and allowing access to those with appropriate entitlement to understand the details and significance of these culturally important narratives (Berndt and Berndt (1989:9, 390) Hoffmann (2015:16, 18) and Walsh (2016) discuss this as a general tendency in mythological narratives in the

Aboriginal Australian context; see also Evans (1995:610-626) on Kayardild and Klapproth (2004:75-80) regarding Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara). Partial tellings also reflect a noted cultural preference for context-dependent and incremental acquirement of knowledge (Eades 1982). What Berndt and Berndt (1989) write in their anthology of myths reflects my own observations with Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people regarding the details and significance of *before time* narratives gradually being revealed over multiple retellings:

> *Quite often, fragments would be told, referring to places or to characters without expanding on the actions or following through the story-line. A child traveling through the country of some close relative (mother, father, grandparent, for instance) might be told the name of a special site and of its spirit-presence, or a wife might be given such information on her first visit to her husband's country. These items would probably be expanded later into more complete accounts.* (Berndt and Berndt 1989:9)

In structural terms, *before time* narratives are often arranged around a complication or goal and its resolution. As such, at least in broad terms, many instances of this genre seem amenable to a range of classic narrative schemas (Johnson and Mandler 1980; Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; Mandler and Johnson 1977) (§7.2). The complication or obligation to overcome is often a conflict between two ancestral peoples, like a fight due to jealousy or a character's reaction to a threatening action. For example, in a *before time* narrative associated with the Massey Creek region, the complication of the story is a young girl being kidnapped by a crocodile, and the resolution is her successful escape and return to her family. At other times the complicating action is more akin to a problem with the natural world order that the characters encounter and resolve, resulting in a better and more productive world. For instance, there is a story where the dugong and kangaroo ancestral beings discover how their physical form inhibits their ability to thrive in their chosen environments. They switch tails, disperse and prosper, leading to the natural order the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people know today. There has been some work on the application of story-schema models to mythological narratives in the Australian Aboriginal context, with varying success (Carroll 1996 for Kunwinjku; Klapproth 2004 for Pitjantjatjara/Yankuntjatjara; McGregor 1987 and McGregor and Hodge 1989 for Gooniyandi; Verstraete 2011 for Umpithamu). Some have argued that it is difficult to apply these models (e.g. Verstraete 2011 for the neighbouring language Umpithamu), while others argue that they work quite well (e.g. McGregor and Hodge 1989 for Gooniyandi). My own preliminary observations on Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u *before time* narratives suggest that in general they do work in a restricted or amended form, although more work is required on the macro-structure of this narrative genre in order to discuss this further.

**2.4.2 *Ngaachi* narrative**

*Ngaachi* 'country' narratives are stories that focus on describing important places or tracts of land. They include narration of a sequence of events, typically personally experienced by the narrator, and are often organised by place-to-place structure, e.g. a running account of travel through a tract of land and the events that occurred on the journey. Occasionally they focus on events associated with a single place, e.g. in a recount of an elder undertaking the custom of "baptising" kin to allow access to a restricted place, a ceremony that occurred in a specific place etc. As with Haviland's observation on Guugu Yimidhirr narrative, *ngaachi* narratives are "a kind of linearized, verbal geography" (1991:339). Place-to-place narrative organisation is widely noted in Aboriginal Australia, particularly with regard to mythological narratives (Hoffmann 2015; Klapproth 2004; McGregor 1987, 2005; Munn 1973; Myers 1991). Typically the weight of the attention in a *ngaachi* narration is on describing the natural world and people's interaction with the natural world as they move through it maintaining their relationship with the land. They provide a myriad of details about places, as well as relationships between places and between people and places. Descriptive content often includes inventories of natural resources associated with the place, and in some cases discussion of appropriate behaviour for visiting the place, e.g. recommended land management (suggested use of certain resources or fire management instructions), or warnings about restricted behaviour for totemic sites (e.g. no swimming in the waterhole, no burning wood). Despite being basically descriptive in character, these are labeled by speakers as *waanta* 'a story' and are treated as comparable speech events to the other narratives described in this study.

The proprietary rights that restrain multi-party telling of *before time* stories also apply here, though they tend to be less stringent depending on access rights and ownership associated with a particular place. For example, *ngaachi* narratives focused on whole territories or regions, not covering detailed information about specific important sites, will be more open to co-construction by participants who have some family connection to that region.

Structurally, *ngaachi* narratives are not always soley organised around a sequence of events connected in chronology or causality, running throughout the entire text, and so do not seem to have a clearly identifiable macro-structure in terms of various proposed story schemas. Instead, they are often structured much like an extended type of list or inventory, interspersed with some account of an event sequence. Moreover, the place-to-place structure and the descriptive aspects of the telling result in frequent repetition or recycled elaboration of descriptive content. In this sense, *ngaachi* narratives – along with *custom way* narratives (§2.4.3) – are not easily analysable in the complication/goal–resolution based schemas in the Labovian tradition, referenced above in §2.4.1. They are focused on describing landscape and on conveying social and cultural values, and thus do not have a segment easily analysable as a complicating action, or if they have one, it is not a central organising force in the narrative (see also Klapproth (2004:219-307), who has made similar points for Pitjantjatjara/Yankuntjatjara; also much more

broadly there is a good body of work in which cultural/language specific narrative schemas have been identified, calling into question idea of shared universal story structures (see Ewing 2016; Ochs and Capps 2001; Kintsch and Greene 1978; Senft 2006).

### 2.4.3 *Custom way* narrative

*Custom way* is a Lockhart River Creole expression which speakers use to refer to pre-European contact ways of life: it is frequently used to characterise narratives that recount traditional customs. Such narratives are typically collaboratively told, as contrasted with *before time* narratives and some *ngaachi* narratives. An important subtype of this genre are procedural texts. Procedures, whether they are the making of an item of material culture, the preparation of a medicine or the description of food distribution customs, are usually cast as a specific instructional event rather than an abstracted procedural account. For example, in a narrative about basket weaving practices, the narrator's procedural account is embedded in the narration of how she taught her granddaughter to weave grass baskets, including the pitfalls and successes of this specific experience. In the handful of cases where narrators are not describing a specific instance of an instructional event they experienced, they still tend to establish the narrative around an imagined event where various non-specific actors, or even themselves for that matter, instruct other members of the community and carry out their culturally determined normative role in the events described. As with *ngaachi* narratives, these texts are labeled by speakers as *waanta* 'a story' and are treated as comparable speech events to the other narratives described in this chapter.

One formal criterion which supports this category distinction is the distributional profile of reported speech in these narratives (see Stirling (2010) and Verstraete (2011) for similar observations on Ganalbingu and Umpithamu narrative respectively). The narratives are instructional, literally so, in that they are organised around instructions embedded in reported speech delivered by a character in the story. The episodes are typically marked at the start by a spurt of instructional direct reported speech, followed by descriptive narration of the characters enacting the directions from that speech. For example, a *custom way* narrative which describes the production of a traditional food staple from mangrove seed pods features nine main sequences of reported speech that organise the narrative and largely correspond to the major production stages of the food stuff: (i) an opening proposal from a group of old women (including the narrator's maternal grandmother) to teach a group of girls (including the narrator), (ii) collecting seedpods, (iii) cooking seedpods, (iv) waiting for seedpods to cook, (v) leeching toxin from seedpods, (vi) eating, (vii) returning to camp and sharing with family, (viii) hunting to get meat to complement to seedpod dish, (ix) evaluation of food.

### 2.4.3 *Lawalawa* 'comedic' narrative

*Lawalawa* is translated by speakers as 'joke', 'fake', 'pretend', 'a lie' or 'gammon' in Lockhart River Creole and Aboriginal English[8]. The description of a narrative as *lawalawa* has two related uses. On the one hand, it can be used to describe a version of any narrative type that is not exemplary or not prototypical. This could be a hurried or synoptic version of a story, an oral "draft" if you like. A narrative could also be deemed to be *lawalawa* if it is narrated by someone who is not socially sanctioned to tell it, for example a *before time* narrative delivered by someone who doesn't have the appropriate epistemic rights (see discussion in §2.2.2)[9]. On the other hand, *lawalawa* is also used to designate a specific narrative genre, a comedic story type, which is the use discussed in this section.

*Lawalawa* narratives are told for the amusement of the narrator(s) and audience, and as the name reveals they are not viewed as important stories, but rather "just for fun"[10]. They have specific semantic features and a specific story structure associated with the type of event sequence they recount. The protagonist is typically an outsider, usually either a white person or a Torres Strait Islander, who through lack of knowledge and experience in the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u environment find themselves afoul of some type of misadventure, e.g. being chased by an animal (a very common theme), or unnecessarily (in the eyes of the narrators) frightened by or wary of something unfamiliar (e.g. the dark, the bush or rainforest, food). These narratives include moments of hilarity, but also pathos, as ultimately the protagonist suffers some embarrassment or even physical harm. This scenario can also be inverted to recount various instances where the narrator(s) or other Aboriginal people are outside of their normal environment (e.g. on a trip to Cairns or Brisbane) and suffer some misadventure. Thus, this type of narrative is fundamentally about displacement and some of the comic-tragic high-jinks that ensue in such situations. It is a matter of speculation at the moment whether this is a traditional type of narrative or if it dates from contact with new ethnic groups, e.g. white people and increased contact with people from Torres Strait and PNG in recent times. There is little in the way of early contact narrative records for this region with which to explore the history of this

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[8] A further clue on the semantics of *lawalawa* is that a nickname is also at times referred to as *lawalawa name*, i.e. not the person's proper person name but still a correct identifier for the individual.

[9] In such cases the act of narration is often self-declared by the narrator(s) as *lawalawa*. This expression can also function as disclaimer to relieve the narrator of any public expectation or potential social recriminations. For instance, on one occasion, a narrator telling a story sees a family member passing and wanting to speak with them concludes the story prematurely. In doing so, and in order to make the status of the shortened version of the story clear she said: "*Nga'amalu [that's all]. I just gammon talk that one. Lawalawa one*" (29Aug07:Conversation). The instances narrators choose to declare a narrative as *lawalawa* provide insight into the local conception of what constitutes a 'proper' or 'good' telling of a narrative.

[10] Notably, it was several field trips into language documentation work on Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, including substantial amounts of narrative recording, before speakers began to tell this type of comedic story as part of the formal documentation work. This suggest these "just for fun" narratives were deemed of less priority, value and suitability for the documentary context.

genre (one exception is Sutton's discussion of narrative records of Dutch-Wik contact in western CYP, see Sutton 2008a).

## 2.5 The circumstances of narration

In the second half of this chapter the discussion focuses in on the narratives used for this study, with §2.5.1 and §2.5.2 describing the interactional settings in which the narratives were produced, and §2.6 providing an overview of the corpus of narratives on which the study is based.

### 2.5.1 The participants

The narratives explored in this study are largely the stories of a small group of elderly Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u women, respectfully and affectionately referred to as the *the old girls* in Lockhart River: †Maria Butcher (UMP), Elizabeth Giblet (UMP), †Minnie Pascoe (KYA), Susan Pascoe (KYA) and †Dorothy Short (UMP) (see Table 1.6 in chapter 1 for participant information). The women are notable as the last good speakers of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, and also as a generation of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people who lived through a period of great cultural and social change. Born in the 1930s, these women transitioned from a partial semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle along the north-east coast of CYP to sedentary life in the small township of Lockhart River with the amenities of modern 20th century Australia. The narratives they tell reflect this. They include *before time* narratives which have been passed to them from their senior kin, which we can assume bear some resemblance to narratives told by preceding generations (§2.4.1) as well as narratives that reflect the changes in their world, such as personal history narratives about early contact with white people, and life stories in which the transition from life "on country" to Mission times to modern Lockhart River feature heavily (see further in §2.4 on narrative genres). These elderly women have a great enthusiasm for, and dedication to, telling and creating documentary records of their stories. This enthusiasm also reflects the time of change they have lived through and their awareness of the shift and loss of culture and language, as well as the ephemeral nature of their oral tradition that now hangs on by gossamer threads. The women are variously both narrators and audience members for different narrative events within the collection under study (§2.6) – as are a handful of other speakers or semi-speakers (again, see Table 1.6). At many of the storytelling sessions, the audience also included family members of the core group of five elder women narrators, and on occasion other interested community members.

There are three other participants of note I will draw attention to here. First, there is myself, an active participant in the interactional context in which these narratives were told. My role in this situation and my relationship to the women is multiplicitous: I am a white outsider, a *para* 'white person', and thus our relationship is embedded within wider race relations. I am also

collectively their daughter *maampa* within the kinship system[11]. I am a student of languages, most specifically a student of the women who are teaching me Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. I am also affiliated with a university, which makes me member of a prestigious non-Indigenous institution. I am the narrators' casual employer, providing remuneration for their language work. I am also their fishing mate and companion on beach trips, and so forth.

Second, the video camera (or audio recorder on some occasions) is another important participant in this setting. The video was a permanent fixture in the narrative telling sessions[12]. From time to time during sessions, the women demonstrated awareness of the camera and associated equipment. For example, the women affectionately referred to the microphone and its fluffy wind protector as *ngaykun chu'uchi* 'the puppy dog'. If someone new entered the storytelling space, e.g. dropping by the session to pass on a message, the women would jokingly warn them to be careful not to trip on the fluffy dog and its long tail of snaking microphone cable. This playful talk suggests that, while being aware of the equipment, it did not make them particularly anxious or restrained. On occasion the women would refer to the camera in the midst of a session to check if it was turned on. In excerpt (15), which is drawn from partway through a narrative, SP asks whether the camera is recording (line 3). DS confirms it is (line 5). SP shows mild surprise (line 7). I respond with a positive evaluation on the progress of the story (line 9), which is also confirmed by DS (line 11). I then ask them to hold on briefly (line 13) wanting to take advantage of the momentary focus on the recording equipment to adjust the microphone level, but the narration takes up again straight away (line 15) as I go to tweak the equipment. Examples like this show that the participants monitored the video's presence – and so, were aware of some difference between our recorded interactions and everyday interactions – but they continued interacting in the same fashion as before the noticing event. On the whole, the participants appeared not to be too concerned or self-conscious with the ongoing recording in these sessions. In (15), narration was paused and then taken up again in the same way as when something else in the interactional setting intervened: cups of tea sipped on, chairs and body positions rearranged for comfort mid storytelling, a fragment of gossip indulged in, and so on.

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[11] Early on in my work at Lockhart River the women collectively decided to call me *maampa* 'child' and told me to call them *paapa* 'mother', despite the conflict with the kinship relations they have among themselves. Their role as language teacher and mine as student was consistent and fitting for this kin relation. This adaption of kin relations had the benefit of putting me in equal relationship to all women: maintaining the same level of intimacy and obligation between them and myself made for a cohesive work group (compare McGregor (2012) on the dynamic and strategic use of kin-terms in Gooniyandi, in particular in regards to himself).

[12] For narratives recorded from 2007 onwards (see Table 2.1), previously to this video recording was more sporadic, depending on access to equipment and participants.

(15)  1   SP    ngampulan inga-na  hey  chilpu-lu      wantulu-munu
                1plincACC say-NF   hey  old.man-ERG  IGNOR-ABL
                kalu-mana
                carry-PRES.CONT
                *said to us "hey where is this old man bring (the children)?"*

      2         (0.5)
      3   SP    ah hey he on?
           4    (1.3)
      5   DS    yeah
      6         (0.4)
      7   SP    oh I say (.)  ngam
                              INTJ
                *oh I say, ok*
      8         (0.6)
      9   CH    you two are yarning good
     10         (0.3)
     11   DS    he right (.) he talk there
     12         (.)
     13   CH    just hold on a second before you start again °I've realised°
     14         (0.7)
     15   SP    him          come (.) Thampal Thangkinyu
                3sgNOM   come    place.name
                *he had come from Stoney Creek*

(14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*:00:21:33-00:21:55)

Finally, there is another participant, hidden, as it were, behind the camera itself. This is the nebulous future audience for which the recording is made. I am part of this future audience – as the recordings are produced to assist in the linguistic investigation presented in this study. But there is another future audience that is more relevant to the narrators, and probably more present in their minds at the time of the narration. As discussed in chapter 1, the recording of the narratives was carried out as part of a wider linguistic and cultural documentation endeavour. The Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narrators' hope is that the documentation products from their language work will be used for years to come to teach younger generations how to speak Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. SP in discussing the work says: *We try and help them children you know. What we thinking about is giving them children and their children a chance to listen to this language blo Lockhart River* (31Jul12:Conversation:06.10). The opening comments in this chapter highlighted the cultural importance of intergenerational social learning and cultural transmission through narration in Australian Aboriginal setting – Horton (1994:828) describes

oral literature as the 'linchpin' in the continuation of Aboriginal culture. This is in line with Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narrators' convictions. The narratives within this study are produced with this goal – linguistic and cultural transmission to younger generations is central – albeit achieved in a non-traditional way through video documentation. Thus, while there was usually an audience of other Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people, as well as myself, listening to the narratives at the time of delivery, there is also a potential non-present audience who will view the recorded performance. This is a pertinent aspect of the context conditioning these narratives (see further in §5.6.3.1 and §6.3.4). They would not be in existence as recorded moments of interaction, captured to be examined and learnt from, without this.

### 2.5.2 The sessions and the launching of narration

This section discuss the setting of the narratives, specifically the way sessions were organised, narrative topics selected, and narratives launched. The discussion will show that in this context, narratives are not the seamless blocks of discourse they are often analysed as, but interactionally emergent and crucially dependent on receptive co-narrators and a receptive audience. The sessions were largely self-organised by the speakers, which shows some interesting patterns in the alignment of speakers towards a particular topic and narrative.

The setting is one of *kuuku work* 'language work', as the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u women speakers themselves would refer to it. Language work sessions of some type occurred most days when I was in Lockhart River. A typical narrative telling session came about and unfolded as follows. Most days as the women went about morning chores in Lockhart River – say a visit to the local store or the postal counter – one or two of them would drop by wherever I was residing and tell me what their business of the day was and ask what mine was. Lockhart River is a small place, and soon preliminary news of the day's plans would travel to the rest of the regular language work crew. Sometimes I had a formal elicitation task planned, or on other days if weather was good and agendas free, language work sessions of a more informal nature would move to the beach or bush surrounds of the community. Narrative-focused sessions often occurred if one of the women was inspired to share a narrative, or if some of the women's family wished to join the language session on that day, providing a good audience for storytelling, or if there had been several consecutive days of elicitation work and the women had an inclination to do something more natural and self-organised. As such, the narrative sessions were planned, but also naturally emerging from the social setting and interactional facts in this setting. Most often the sessions would take place at the Lockhart River Art Centre, usually on one of two verandas (one enclosed another open, see Image 2.1). These spaces were ideal as far as the women were concerned, as they were both public and private: the women could view some of the movement within the community and partially be seen themselves, but they were also out of earshot of the passing parade of people and protected from the elements.

**Image 2.1** Language work sessions at Lockhart River Art Centre

The women would arrive for *kuuku work* in dribs and drabs. For the first arrivals and myself, the first matter of the session was always a cup of tea or two and some general gossip. When our cups were drained and everyone had arrived who was expected, I would set up the video camera and ancillary audio recording equipment. The video recorder generally ran throughout the whole session, unless we left the work space for some reason or there was some interruption by a third party requiring the taping to be paused. The start of the formal work part of our gatherings was often reasonably defined, with some sort of initiating comment like, *OK let's start* or *time for kuuku*, made either by one of the women or myself, then the video camera was positioned, and the seating arrangements altered for comfort and camera angle. As such, usually the first part of the recording itself is of the women self-organising seating arrangements and discussing the storytelling to come. Following are three excerpts (16)-(18) taken from the start of a session in early March 2007, which illustrate typical interactions during session/narrative launch. The session takes place on the veranda at the Art Centre, with the women seated around a table (as shown bottom left image in Image 2.1). In (16) some general conversation is underway about who is going to be assigned to some new housing in Lockhart (line 1-3), when EG interrupts this discussion having noticed that the camera is now set up and ready. EG says *hey there, he take you-me there now* 'hey there, she is recording us there now' (line 4). Following this, there is mention of the seating arrangements, with the first part of this discussion

shown in the excerpt with EG saying to MB *you come this way Maa-* (line 7) and then to DS *it right you sit down there* (line 9). The women remain seated around the table, as they had been while drinking tea before the recording started, but alter chair orientations towards the camera.

| (16) | 1 | MB | somebody be speak there |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 | | (0.2) |
| | 3 | MB | all gonna putim lo [one new house |
| | 4 | EG | [hey there/ he take you-me there now |
| | 5 | | (0.2) |
| | 6 | MP | me-two only stop [for- |
| | 7 | EG | [you come this way Maa- |
| | 8 | | (0.2) |
| | 9 | EG | ah- [it right you sit down there |
| | 10 | MP | [ngathangku… |
| | | | 1sgGEN |
| | | | *my* |

(09Mar07:Conversation:00:01:33-00:01:42)

In the next excerpt, some three minutes from the interaction from (16), DS unsuccessfully attempts to launch a narrative. In the first part of the excerpt there is some teasing talk underway in which DS and SP have married EG off to a whiteman passing along the road nearby (line 1-8). EG once again interrupts the chat and produces a call to start work with *wa'anama now* 'quickly now' (line 11). This is taken up by DS and MP both soliciting a topic for narration (line 12-14). At this point the interaction switches from an acrolect form of Lockhart River Creole into Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, which is typical of transitions in storytelling mode and serves as a key interactional signal. DS then launches directly into the start of a narrative (in line 16) on a topic which had been mentioned earlier in the gathering. This is a narrative about midwifery and customs associated with infants walking for the first time (a *custom way* narrative, §2.4.3). DS's attempt to launch the narrative persists longer than is shown in (17), but it starts to disintegrate from the get-go, with EG correcting DS's bowed posture with *you don't bow blo head there* (line 17) and directing that her talk should go *that way*, outwards to the other women and myself (line 19). In the utterances following this, SP chips in with queries, displaying some uncertainty about narrative direction and content. Thus, both the potential co-tellers and recipients of the story do not advance the launch of the narrative or align themselves as co-tellers/recipients (Stivers 2008:34). With lack of positive reception and support from other women, DS halts the narration.

(17)  1    DS      that's I speak you gonna married next year
      2            (0.2)
      3    EG      son-in-law there speak=
      4    SP      =you got a nice son-in-law come and go take you go beach (.) Quintell
      5            (0.2)
      6    SP      wanim            Chili Beach
                   whatchamacallit  place.name
                   *whatchamacallit Chili Beach*
      7            (0.4)
      8    CH      Chili Beach
      9            (0.5)
     10    MB      mostly we got all [cooked one
     11    EG      [wa'anama now=
                   PART        now
                   *quickly now*
     12    DS      =wanim            aa-
                   whatchamacallit   aa
                   *whatchamacallit ah-*
     13            (0.2)
     14    MP      ngaani  kuuku      kuupatha-ka
                   IGNOR   language   converse-FUT
                   *what will (we) talk about in language?*
     15            (0.6)
     16    DS      pula      ku'unchi   ukapi  ku'unchi    wupu[yu wupuyu pulthunu
                   3plNOM    old.woman  first  old.woman   child    child    boy
                   *those old women first the old women, children, boy…*
     17    EG      [you don't bow blo head there
     18            (.)
     19    EG      you talk go that way
(09Mar07:Conversation:00:05:04-00:05:30)


The last excerpt in this series shows the successful re-launch of the narrative attempted by DS in (18). Between (17) and (18) MP has had a coughing fit and has moved to sit on the edge of the veranda. Conversation about ill health has been underway as MP coughs in the background (as in line 1). SP provides an overt opener to move interaction back to *kuuku work*, with 'what language thing we all talk?' (line 2). EG invites DS to start again, acknowledging the previous story attempt with *him there talk start* (line 5) (see Schegloff 1997:103 and Sidnell 2010:180, as cited by Mandelbaum 2013:497, for an interesting discussion of narratives

initiated through solicitation and invitation). DS begins again, 'those whatchamacallit old women all first bite the child' (line 9). This time the outcome is successful, and a full delivery of the story ensues. The discussion of (17) and (18) shows that while stories are often thought of, or discussed as, seamless chunks of discourse, they are much more interactionally fragile. They are emergent and depend upon a receptive audience (and receptive co-narrators in this case) (§6.3). Some projected narratives by the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers are successfully launched and others disintegrate. In the case of (17)-(18) the narrative was ultimately delivered, but there are plenty of instances where narratives are not supported and not revisited. Similarly some narratives can fall-apart mid-way through, if not supported in the right way.

(18)  1    MB      the other day I be cough cough stuck where throat I can hardly [stand
       2    SP      wanim              kuuku        ngaani-mu
                    whatchamacallit  language    IGNOR-PRED
                    ngampula        [inga-na
                    1plincNOM    say-NF
                    *what language thing we all talk?*
       3    EG      [ngana
                    1plexcNOM
                    *we lot*
       4            (1.2)
       5    EG      him there talk start
       6            (0.2)
       7    DS      that one aa-
       8            (.)
       9    DS      pula          wanim                ku'unkuunchi      all ukapi    patha-na
                    3plNOM      whatchamacallit    RDP.old.women  all first     bite-NF
                    patha-na      wupuyu
                    bite-NF       child
                    *those whatchamacallit old women all first bite the child*
       (09Mar07:Conversation:00:07:29-00:07:41)

As illustrated in the excerpts in (16)-(18), the narrative telling sessions were structured by the speakers themselves. They selected the topics of narration and self-organised levels of participation and speaker roles. As such, both the sessions as a whole, and particular narrative events embedded within these unfolded in a range of ways. Sometimes a narrator would come to the session with an idea of a story to share. Sometimes a topic would emerge in the conversation preceding the formal part of the session, proposed by one interactant (like DS above in (16)-(18) or collaboratively decided upon (as below in (19)). Often several narratives

would be told in a single session and usually a narrative was followed by some explanatory commentary or an English/acrolect Lockhart River Creole summary or exegesis. In such instances, the transition between narration, exegesis and general related conversation was not always clearly delineated. The topic of the next narrative often arose spontaneously within the context, inspired by a previous narrative or touched off by something in the conversation, with prospective narrators making available the connection between preceding conversation and the projected narration. The excerpt in (19) is a good example of this: this is the launch of a multi-party narrative (§2.2.1) led by MB and not previously heard by the four co-tellers DS, EG, MP and SP. This is the third narrative told within the session, linked to the two preceding narratives in a thematic chain. The first narrative in the session described the building of the Old Mission church by hand, using old woodworking techniques. This inspired a second narrative about the use of diesel engine boats for supply delivery in Old Mission times, contrasting the emergence of new technologies during this era to the old "manpowered" ways that had been described in the previous narrative. The third narrative (featured in the excerpt in (19)) is also triggered by the preceding narrative and the conversation that followed. The discussion turned to alternative transport methods when bad weather prevented the boat deliveries, specifically the overland route taken by transport horses in such cases (line 1-13 in (19)). It is at this point that MB initiates and launches the third narrative. This occurs with no formal structures or devices that overtly announce the forthcoming story. Part of what is interesting here is how it is recognised as a narrative, and how quickly the other interactants align as recipients to this story, in contrast to the previous examples (see Sacks 1992:II:21 on this issue). There is a pause (notably long at 2.2 seconds) in the discussion of the "road" used by the horseman. DS starts a turn (line 13), but MB interrupts in overlap with 'we slept there once' (line 14). There is another gap of 1.5 seconds (line 15) in which no one else begins talking and DS does not take up her interrupted turn. Instead, DS goes on to encourage the projected storytelling with a *hey?* (line 16), and with these two simple utterances the interaction shifts from general conversation to narration. MB has secured the recipient alignment of her fellow interactants for this narrative event: for the next six minutes she primarily holds the interactional floor, narrating an incident about when she and other travel companions were stranded overnight near this transport route. This narrative launch emerges from, and relies on, the connection between the preceding conversation, which aids in situating it in space and time, as well as thematically. The shared reminiscences in the prior conversation and narratives provide substantial information to the recipients/co-tellers (who do not know this story) about the nature of the story to come and what kind of support and responses will be relevant on their part (§2.2.1).

(19)  1   EG      ulngkuy miintha-ma    too  ngi'i      pakaya  hey=
                  road    good-PRED     too  prox.dem   down    hey
                  *the road is here down is good too, hey?*

| 2 | DS | =yeah | miintha-ma | too (.) | but | nhapu-pinta | nga'a-lu-na |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   |    | yeah  | good-PRED  | too     | but | croc-COM    | dem.dist1-DM-now |

*yeah it is good too, but that one has a lot of crocodiles now*

| 3  |    | (.) |
|----|----|-----|
| 4  | MB | yuway |

*yes*

| 5  | MP | yeah |
|----|----|------|
| 6  |    | (0.2) |

| 7 | DS | atapa- | [mal- | atapa- |
|---|----|--------|-------|--------|
|   |    | river  | xx    | river  |

*the river- ? the river-*

| 8 | MP | [pakaya | wathatha-ngka | [kani-munu |
|---|----|---------|---------------|-----------|
|   |    | down    | go.PROG-PRES.CONT | up-ABL |

*always went down there from ontop*

| 9 | DS | [hm | nhapu | mukamukana |
|---|----|-----|-------|-----------|
|   |    | hm  | croc  | RDP.big   |

*hm plenty crocodiles*

| 10 |    | (0.2) |
|----|----|-------|
| 11 | EG | aay   |
| 12 |    | (2.2) |

| 13 | DS | nga'a-l | minya | [pik- | pulki | all | kantha-nya |
|----|----|---------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----------|
|    |    | dem.dist1-DM | meat | pig | bullock | all | eat-NF |

*those pigs- bullock they all ate*

| 14 | MB | [ngana | kuuna-l | wuna-la |
|----|----|--------|---------|---------|
|    |    | 1plexcNOM | neutral.dem-DM | sleep-NF |

*we slept there*

| 15 |    | (1.5) |
|----|----|-------|
| 16 | DS | hey?  |
| 17 |    | (0.6) |
| 18 | MB | yea- yeah- farm there all go   chu'uchi |
|    |    |                                 small |

*yea- yeah- farm there and from there goes a small (road)*

(27Mar07:*Waiting for a Ride*:00:52:02-00:52:26)

So far, the examples have shown narrative topics launched by a single participant within the interaction. Sometimes narrative topics were decided and initiated collaboratively, i.e. a number of topics or ideas were overtly discussed and then settled upon jointly. Example (20) illustrates this style of narrative launch. Here three participants, including a participant who eventually

takes on the role as story recipient rather than narrator, talk through three different topics. LC first invites a story about her father (line 1), which is dismissed by SP (line 3). SP proposes Cutter Creek story (line 10), specifying that it should not be the story about the old man carrying the bananas (line 14) but instead about a person called *muumpunyu* (line 18). This topic is approved by LC and DS (lines 11, 13 and 19). SP launches the narration by soliciting a shared recollection with DS (she turns to DS) 'that after- night- you remember'. DS corrects this recollection: it wasn't night (line 22), but afternoon time (line 24). The narrative proceeds successfully, with SP and DS jointly producing the story. More generally, strategies that solicit mutual recognition in story prefaces, like that used by SP ('you remember?'), have been noted to usher recipiency and establish an environment for co-production of the story – as is the outcome in the case in (6) (see Lerner on what he calls *reminiscence recognition solicits* (1992, 2002)).

| (20) | 1 | LC | what about that one where daddy be meet me-pla fella when we be small lo waterhole |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 | | (3.4) |
| | 3 | SP | °leave him° |
| | 4 | | (.) |
| | 5 | SP | we yarn that [one… |
| | 6 | LC |              [ah I wanna see (lip point) first |
| | 7 | | (0.4) |
| | 8 | DS | that one now I wanna yarn |
| | 9 | | (0.8) |
| | 10 | SP | we yarn this cutter creek one= |
| | 11 | DS | =that one now I just think about first |
| | 12 | | (.) |
| | 13 | LC | yeah |
| | 14 | SP | no more this olaman where he be carry banana |
| | 15 | | (.) |
| | 16 | SP | this story about this |
| | 17 | | (0.4) |
| | 18 | SP | muumupunyu= |
| | 19 | DS | =well that one now I go yarn! |
| | 20 | | (0.6) |
| | 21 | SP | that after- night- (0.2) you remem[ber |
| | 22 | DS |                                    [no more night time |
| | 23 | | (.) |
| | 24 | DS | this one afternoon time about 4 5 o'clock |

(30Jun08:Conversation:00:00.08-00:00:35)

## 2.6 The corpus

This study relies both on a broad corpus of narratives, which is used as a general point of reference, as well as a focused corpus, used for the detailed study of person reference, including any quantitative statements. This section describes the structure of both.

### 2.6.1 The broad corpus

The broad corpus of narratives consists of 42 narratives, totaling approximately 5 hours of narration and 6000+ intonation units. The narratives were recorded by myself, with the majority of the collection recorded in three fieldtrips in 2007 and 2008 (see discussion of fieldwork in chapter 1). All narratives in the set have been transcribed and translated in Toolbox and/or Elan with interlinear glossing and free English translations. The translations are based on an informed combination of two sources: the narrator's own free translations, often delivered after the narrative itself, and the author's own analytical work. Table 2.1 includes information on each of the narratives, organised alphabetically: name of narrative (as given by narrator(s)); number and identity of narrators (see Table 1.6 in chapter 1 for participant information and abbreviations); length of narrative in time (rounded to nearest 5 second increment); description of the narrative and genre information.

| Narrative | Narrator(s) | Length | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Annie King** | **SP** | **1:00** | **12/05/05** |

*Annie King* is a retelling of a biographical narrative, originally told by BP (the narrator's daughter) in English about her paternal grandmother Annie King. It describes Annie's love of instructing young people in the traditional skills of song and food gathering.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2. Buthen Buthen** | **DS, SP** | **7:30** | **14/03/07** |

*Buthen Buthen* is a *ngaachi* narrative describing the journey of a band of people, including the narrators, through Umpila country and their interactions with some white miners at Buthen Buthen.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **3. Chilpu walkabout** | **EG** | **5:45** | **03/03/05** |

*Chilpu walkabout* 'Old man walkabout' is a *ngaachi* narrative about an old man who travels from the Claudie River through Umpila territory, meeting his southern relatives as he wanders.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **4. Freshwater Croc** | **MB** | **5:15** | **05/05/04** |

*Freshwater Croc* is a *before time* narrative about the kidnapping of a young girl by a crocodile ancestral being from Massey Creek. She ultimately escapes, slays the pursuing crocodile, and returns to her family.

**5. Hungry grandmother**     **DS**          **5:05**     **02/04/07**

*Hungry grandmother* is a *before time* narrative about a ravenous old woman who eats her son's children and discards their bones in a river. The father avenges his children with a similar cannibalistic act.

**6. I'ira**     **MB**          **6:20**     **05/04/04**

*I'ira* 'Mangrove' is a *custom way* narrative about the narrator being shown how to produce of a starchy food product made from mangrove seedpods, and its use as a complement to dugong and turtle meat. Following production it is shared at camp.

**7. Kaa'uma**     **RG**          **4:15**     **19/06/08**

*Kaa'uma* 'Echidna' is a *before time* narrative about a young echidna being who can sing beautifully and is poisoned by a group of jealous old women. This is the origin story of an important women's song/dance called *wuungka*.

**8. Kalmana Port Stewartmunu**   **EG**          **5:50**     **18/03/07**

*Kalmana Port Stewartmunu* 'Come from Port Stewart' is a *ngaachi* narrative about the narrator's paternal grandmother travelling from Port Stewart to the Lockhart Mission.

**9. Kawutha ngachinya**     **DS**          **15:20**     **29/07/07**

*Kawutha ngachinya* 'Boat found' is a personal history narrative about a journey through Umpila country, the discovery of an abandoned beached ship and the following related events.

**10. King Fred**     **MP, SP**          **10:30**     **23/03/07**

*King Fred* is a personal history narrative about the "king" of Night Island ("king" as appointed by white colonial powers), the discovery of a washed up sea mine, his attempts to open it, and the subsequent defusing of the explosive device by a group of white men.

**11. Ku'unchi Wuthathi**     **DS, SP**          **4:45**     **08/02/05**

*Ku'unchi Wuthathi* 'Old woman Wuthathi' is a personal history narrative about interactions related to food sharing between a cheeky old Wuthathi woman and a group of young girls in Mission times.

**12. Land handover**     **DS, EG, MB, SP**     **12:25**     **04/09/08**

*Land handover* is personal history narrative describing a trip to Coen for the official signing of the KULLA land trust agreement.

**13. Maisey Temple**     **SP**          **3:00**     **12/05/05**

*Maisey Temple* is a biographical narrative about the narrator's paternal grandmother, Margaret (Maisey) Temple. It describes Maisey's proficiency in traditional skills and her country and kin connections.

**14. Midwife**                      **MB, DS, EG, MP, SP**    **4:20**        **09/03/07**

*Midwife* is a *custom way* narrative about midwifery practices, with particular attention given to the assignment of *thaapichi*, a secret birth name, and male relatives' interactions with the baby.

**15. Minya Charlie**                **MB, EG, SP**             **9:50**        **23/06/08**

*Minya Charlie* 'Animal Charlie' is a *lawalawa* narrative about a pet emu named Charlie who playfully chases a group of Islander men visiting the Lockhart Mission. The men flee, with both humorous and sad results.

**16. Minya wuulama**                **EG, MP, SP**             **7:25**        **04/08/07**

*Minya wuulama* 'Meat old style' is a *custom way* narrative about a young man's first hunting expedition and following traditional practices of meat distribution, including the women narrators' attempts to secretly access male-restricted food stuff.

**17. Mitpi kuunchi**                **DS, EG**                 **10:20**       **12/08/07**

*Mitpi kuunchi* 'Spirit relative' is a personal history narrative describing the encounter of a group of Umpila and their Port Stewart relatives with the ghost of an ancestor who was known to have died in the vicinity of their camp.

**18. Nga'al tha'a kalmana Old**     **DS, EG, MB, MP, SP**    **7:35**        **21/05/05**
**Siteku**

*Nga'al tha'a kalmana Old Siteku* 'That illness came to Old Site' is a personal experience narrative recounting a flu epidemic in which many elders died during Mission times.

**19. Ngaachi kungkay**              **SP**                     **8:05**        **13/08/07**

*Ngaachi kungkay* 'North country' is a *ngaachi* narrative recounting travel through key places in Kuuku Ya'u territory.

**20. Ngana ngaachi waathingka**     **DS, EG, MB, SP**        **16:00**       **18/08/08**

*Ngana ngaachi waathinya* 'We went to country' is part *ngaachi* narrative, part general personal experience narrative about travel through Umpila country and beyond to Coen and Port Stewart.

**21. Ngathangku Ngaachi**           **DS, EG, MB, SP**        **16:30**       **17/08/08**

*Ngathangku ngaachi* is a *ngaachi* narrative about a trip to visit the Massey area in southern Umpila territory.

**22. Night Island**                 **SP**                     **2:30**        **27/04/05**

*Night Island* is a *before time* narrative about a fight between a parrot and a kangaroo (ancestral) being that leads to the formation of aspects of the landscape in the Night Island region.

**23. Piiwu Piiwu**               **DS, EG, MB, SP**        **7:05**        **10/06/08**

*Piiwu Piiwu* is a *lawalawa* narrative about dogs that chase and hunt a large kangaroo, who tries to escape by running into the ocean. Difficulties and humorous situations ensue in retrieving the kangaroo, and with the distribution of meat from the kangaroo.

**24. Preparation for dancing**        **DS, EG, SP**        **12:20**        **05/07/07**

*Preparation for dancing* is a personal history narrative about the preparation of traditional dance costumes for the Lockhart River Dance Troups' participation in the Laura Dance Festival, and subsequent cancellation of trip due to bad weather.

**25. Pulthunukamulu winini**          **DS, EG, SP**        **4:10**        **30/06/08**
**ngangkana**

*Pulthunukamulu winini ngangkana* 'The boys gave her a fright' is a *lawalawa* narrative about an old woman who often goes fishing by herself and two boys who play tricks on her by pretending to be a spirit or devil.

**26. Rocky**                     **MB, EG, MP, SP**        **5:45**        **15/03/07**

Rocky is a *ngaachi* narrative describing trips across a low lying swamp and salt pan region in southern Umpila territory, with much of the account of these journeys focused on the food resources available in this region.

**27. Rubbing day**               **DS, EG, SP**        **8:15**        **27/06/08**

*Rubbing day* is a *custom way* narrative describing the narrators' experience as children at the Lockhart Mission of New Years Eve "rubbing day" festivities, which involve special dance performances where flour is "rubbed" on selected performers by certain kin.

**28. Susie & Cilla**             **MB, DS, EG, SP**        **11:50**        **04/09/08**

*Susie & Cilla* is personal history narrative describing Susie Pascoe and her granddaughter (Pris)Cilla's encounter with a supernatural being (suggested to be a *wapa* 'sorcerer') on a day out at the Claudie River Mouth.

**29. Taway**                     **DS**        **3:10**        **27/04/05**

*Taway* 'Moon' is a *before time* narrative about a boy who transforms into the moon after kidnapping and carries two parrot sisters a long way north of their home.

**30. Two escaped prisoners**        **DS, EG, MB**        **9:05**        **02/04/07**

*Two escaped prisoners* is a personal history narrative about the discovery of a pair of escaped prisoners from the Torres Strait Islands living in the bush. The white authorities are called and they are returned to prison.

**31. Umunu**                     **MP, SP**        **5:05**        **11/07/07**

*Umunu* 'Windbreak' is a *custom way* narrative describing the construction of a humpy, and the experience of living in a humpy during wet seasons.

**32. Waiting for a ride**       **DS, EG, MB, MP, SP**   **6:05**       **27/03/07**

*Waiting for a ride* is a *lawalawa* narrative about a group of travellers stranded overnight near the old Lockhart River Airstrip. The party includes an old Islander man who is distressed by the turn of events.

**33. Walkabout as school girls**     **DS, EG, MB, MP, SP**   **3:50**       **27/03/07**

*Walkabout as school girls* is *custom way* narrative about two Wenlock women and one Night Island woman taking a group of young school girls (including the narrators) out bush and instructing them in weaving and food gathering practices.

**34. Wapa1**                         **MB**                         **4:45**       **15/08/07**

*Wapa1* 'Sorcerer' is a *before time* narrative about two brothers who against their parents' wishes go hunting by themselves. When assailed by a *wapa* they succeed in killing him and return to camp to get help.

**35. Wapa2**                         **MB**                         **5:25**       **20/08/07**

*Wapa2* 'Sorcerer' is another version of the *before time* narrative told in *Wapa1*. It describes two brothers who against their parents' wishes go hunting by themselves. When assailed by a *wapa* they suceed in killing him and return to camp to get help.

**36. Women at the dancing**          **DS, SP**                  **2:30**       **22/06/05**
**field**

*Women at the dancing field* is a *custom way* narrative describing the production of ornamental paraphernalia for dance performances and two old women's instruction of young girls in these arts during a revival of ceremonies in 1970s.

**37. Wuntamuta**                     **MB**                         **7:05**       **30/03/07**

*Wuntamuta* 'Wind story place' is a *ngaachi* narrative describing a band of Umpila people's return to traditional life during WW2. It predominantly includes the description of the visit to a sacred place called *wuntamuta* and resulting supernatural events.

**38. Wuungka**                       **DS, EG, MB, MP, SP**   **7:30**       **08/08/07**

*Wuungka* 'Women's dance/song type' is a *custom way* narrative about the old women of Wenlock village at the Lockhart Mission performing *wuungka*. Such performances socially sanction the theft of visible food stuffs, creating amusement and consternation.

**39. WW2**                           **DS, MB**                  **5:40**       **05/04/04**

*World War Two* is a personal history narrative describing American army planes circling above a group of camped Umpila people during WW2 and the events ensuing, including a search for a blind old woman hiding in the scrub.

| 40. Yari, Wuthathi waanta | SP, MM[13] | 3:50 | 28/07/08 |
|---|---|---|---|

*Yari, Wuthathi waanta* 'White sand, Wuthathi story' is a *before time* narrative describing the transformation of a stingray into white sand deposits in Wuthathi country.

| 41. Yuuka1 | SP | 2:00 | 14/04/04 |
|---|---|---|---|

*Yuuka part 1* 'Morning star place part 1' is a *ngaachi* narrative describing the narrator's mother's family's travel and use of resources in southern Kuuku Ya'u territory.

| 42. Yuuka2 | SP | 3:00 | 21/04/04 |
|---|---|---|---|

*Yuuka part 2* 'Morning star place part 2' is an addition or appendix to the *Yuuka1* narrative. It is also a *ngaachi* narrative and describes the narrator's family members being prepared by senior kin to visit a scared place called *Yuuka* in southern Kuuku Ya'u territory.

**Table 2.1** The corpus

The broad corpus actually comprises the vast majority of narrative material transcribed by the author during PhD fieldwork, prioritising the value of a larger data set, over maintaining representativity in terms of participant structure. In terms of narrative genre, the corpus represents a large diversity of types (§2.4). There are 8 *before time* narratives, 9 *ngaachi* narratives, 8 *custom way* narratives, 4 *lawalawa* narratives, 3 supernatural encounter narratives and 10 personal history narratives (not further defined in genre type to date). The collection consists of 16 single-party narrative events as compared to 26 multi-party narratives. Single-party narratives are inflated in the broad corpus (16/42, 38%) due to the high cultural currency of *before time* narratives and *ngaachi* narratives, as well as narrator(s)' requests to have narratives of this type transcribed for use in language maintenance resources within the community. However, multi-party narratives are the notably more common participant structure; within a set of 104 narratives recorded during fieldwork between 2007 and 2011, 75/104 (72%) were multi-party formulations.

### 2.6.2 Focused corpus
This study draws closely on detailed work (including quantitative information) undertaken on a subset of the narrative collection, with observations and findings then confirmed in the wider corpus. Work with a focused corpus allows this study to provide a holistic account of how a number of narratives are organised with regard to person reference, and thus to provide a good

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[13] This is the only *before time* narrative recorded that was partially collaboratively produced. MM is one of the owners of the land associated with the totemic beings and places that feature in this narrative. MM has limited traditional language proficiency in Wuthathi and so she asks SP on her behalf to narrate this story in Kuuku Ya'u. During the telling MM provides several prompts and support of SP's narration. This clearly illustrates the proprietary rights that restrain *before time* narratives from being collaboratively produced (§2.2.2).

framework for further analysis with the larger reference corpus. The focused corpus consists of the 12 narratives listed here: *Buthen Buthen*; *I'ira*; *Kawutha ngachinya*; *King Fred*; *Midwife*; *Minya Charlie*; *Night Island*; *Waiting for a ride*; *Wapa2*; *Wuungka*; *WW2*; *Yuuka2* (see Table 2.1). The dozen narratives total 1 hour 25 minutes of talk time and consist of 1711 intonation units.

The focused corpus was constructed so as to capture the diversity of the broader corpus. It includes two or three of each of the main narrative genres. *Night Island* and *Wapa2* are *before time* narratives representing two common types of this genre: stories about the transformation of the landscape due to the actions of ancestral beings and stories about seminal human encounters with supernatural beings. *Buthen Buthen* and *Yuuka2* represent two common types of *ngaachi* narratives: *Buthen Buthen* is a travelogue story, while *Yuuka2* describes a visit to a sacred place. There are three *custom way* narratives in the set, *I'ira*, *Midwife* and *Wuungka*, incorporating a blend of specific and generic events in each narrative as is typical of this genre. *Waiting for a ride* and *Minya Charlie* represent *lawalawa* comedic narratives, with *Minya Charlie* describing an event type recurrently associated with this genre (a person chased by an animal, see §2.4.4). Lastly, there are three personal history narratives, *Kawutha ngachinya*, *WW2* and *King Fred*, describing events of either personal importance or wider social relevance to the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. The set includes narratives of a range of lengths. At the short end of spectrum there is the *Night Island* narrative, delivered in a snappy two and a half minutes, while the narration of *Kawutha ngachinya* lasts over fifteen minutes.

Variation was key in building the focused corpus, not just in genres, but also in speakers and narrator roles. The 12 narratives include a good mix of contributions by the main five Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers (§2.2.1), with different speakers taking the primary narrator role or different combinations of speakers sharing the primary role. For instance, MB and SP have the primary narrator role in *Minya Charlie* and *King Fred* respectively, DS takes the major workload of narration in *Midwife* narrative, while DS and SP each take the lead in the two halves of *Buthen Buthen* narrative, and so on. Dialect-wise, the balance within both the focused and wider corpus is tipped towards Umpila, because three of the five main narrators are Umpila speakers. Within the focused corpus, approximately 650 IUs are produced by the two Kuuku Ya'u speakers (SP and MP), as opposed to approximately 1150 by the three Umpila speakers (DS, EG, and MB). Given the minimal dialect differences between Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, this skewing is inconsequential (§1.4).

The dozen narratives consist of an even split of six single-party narratives and six multi-party narratives. The multi-party narratives have varying numbers of participants, from a dyadic participant structure (*King Fred* and *Buthen Buthen*), to three participants participating in the storytelling (*Minya Charlie*), to four participants (*Midwife*), through to five participants (*Waiting for a ride* and *Wuungka*). Multi-party narratives, all things being even, are usually longer storytelling events than their single-narrator counterparts. More speakers chipping in

results in more turns etc, which means that the 1711 intonation units in the focused corpus contain 1024 (60%) intonation units (46 minutes of talk time) produced in multi-party narratives, and 687 (40%) intonation units produced in single-party narratives (38 minutes talk time).

### 2.6.3 Older narratives

Several decades before I came to work in CYP, there were a range of other linguists and anthropologists who worked with Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people and recorded narratives as part of their work (see §1.5.2 on previous work): Geoffrey O'Grady, Lamont West, David Thompson, Athol Chase and Bruce Rigsby. The type of narratives they collected belie the nature of their work and interests in the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u. Life histories rich with genealogical information feature considerably in anthropological and land-claim-related work by Athol Chase and Bruce Rigsby. Lamont West's collection includes many personal experience narratives, and more *before time* narratives than found in other sources, given his interest in cosmology and ceremony. Geoffrey O'Grady's collection mainly includes simple short narratives which he calls 'textlets'. These were used to assist his work on some of the fundamentals of Umpila phonology and morphology.

   As part of my work I audited these older narratives and transcribed a small subset of these. On a few occasions, I also use extracts from these older sources, if they nicely capture and illustrate a particular pattern. However, these narratives are not employed in the formal analysis in any substantative way. By largely working with my own collection of narratives, the data is limited to the one and the same time period, which avoids having to navigate any issues regarding language change due to contact. In addition, I am more comfortable relying on data collected by myself, as I know the conditions in which it was recorded – natural, self-organised, and unprompted.

### 2.7 Conclusion

Narratives told by Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytellers provide a fascinating and highly interactive environment for the exploration of person reference formulation. Many aspects of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narration discussed in this chapter will be revisited as we start to explore person reference in storytelling. One of these is that one of the most fundamental aspects of the delivery of narratives, whether they are narrated by multiple narrators and a single narrator, is affected by socially sanctioned rights to talk about a topic, determined by kin-based land ownership (§5.5). The distinction between multi-party and single-party narratives and how this shapes person reference formulation will be central in the closing chapter of this study (§7.4-7.5). Likewise, the formal distinction between primary and supporting narrator roles will be important in understanding the formulation of person reference and the organisation of much Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling (§5.6, §6.3, §7.3-§7.5).

# Chapter 3    Person reference repertoire

*Ngatha ngachimu kalmana piipikuku, puula pulangkuku, Georgie Pulpul Yangkaka.*
*Para, nga'al ngnangkana.*
"My mother's dad came for their father, for their dad's dad, Georgie 'will eat flies'. A whiteman gave him that one [the nickname]."
—— Use of a playful nickname *Pulpul Yangkaka* 'will eat flies' by Alec Naiga in a life-story narrative

## 3.1 Introduction

An interlocutor in making reference to a person has the task of selecting from multiple alternative means of referring. This chapter presents the repertoire of resources available to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers to refer to people, that is, the way an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u person's social space can be carved up by the linguistic system. Are some areas of the social world divided into finer linguistic categories, while others remain comparatively poorly discriminated? How open are the various systems to the addition of new expressions, allowing speakers to create new semantic distinctions as required? What terminology has remained current and what has fallen into disuse in contemporary life in Lockhart River community? Addressing these questions is the goal of this chapter.

This chapter follows in the tradition of two seminal works in Australian anthropology, Stanner (1937) and Thomson (1946)[14]. These studies undertook detailed descriptions of forms of person reference in Murrinh-Patha and Wik Mungkan respectively. Both students of Radcliffe-Brown, Stanner and Thomson eschewed the solely structural approach that was dominant in their era, and moved beyond the structure of kinship systems, to consider the identification of social functions in the use of different modes of person reference. Thomson in writing about Wik Mungkan – a western CYP group, linguistically, and to some degree culturally, closely related to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u – says:

> *Names, and terms of address, are of several distinct types and each plays a part in social organisation and the regulation of conduct. The data presented show that names and naming among the Wik Mungkan carry a special significance, and that every change in the relation of the individual to society is marked by a corresponding change of name.* (Thomson 1946:167)

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[14] There have also been other excellent accounts of naming traditions in the Aboriginal Australian context – see Evans (2016) on the Bentinck Islanders, Hart (1930) on the Tiwi, Dousset (1997) on Ngaatjatjarra, and Simpson (1998) for the Adelaide region.

Thomson and Stanner's papers were, in good part, ethnographies. My goals in this chapter do not go as far as that, but I do go beyond description of semantic structure and formal properties of person reference systems. Specifically, this discussion will provide some ethnographic observations on usage, e.g. speaker perception of categories, observations on transmission and assignment of different designations, and comments on loss of categories and adoption of others (e.g. bereavement terms vs. English style personal names). The boundaries of the semantic categories available to current speakers are not straightforward given the language loss situation in which Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u exists. This chapter presents as much of the whole system as possible, making points of contrast between current attestations and older resources like Thomson (1946). This provides some background within which to understand how the person reference formulations discussed in the main body of this study fit in the changing and diminishing system of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u (the following person reference forms are discussed in detail in the main body of thesis: human classificatory terms §5.4.2, §6.2.3; ethonymns §5.4.3; kin-terms §5.5.1, §6.2.3, §6.2.4, §6.3.2, §6.3.4; free pronouns in §5.4.1, §6.3.1; bound pronouns §6.2.5).

In terms of organisation, the chapter is arranged by person reference categories as they are distinguished by form, meaning, and usage. The chapter is organised into two sections: §3.2 discusses lexical person reference forms, §3.3 discusses pronominal reference forms.

## 3.2 Lexical resources

This section will describe lexical person reference categories. Section 3.2.1 describes kin-terms and key aspects in the organisation of the kinship system, §3.2.2 bereavement kin-terms and special expression for referring to the deceased, and §3.2.3 human classificatory terms. Section 3.2.4 and §3.2.5 describe names, i.e. different types of personal names and nicknames. Section 3.2.6 and §3.2.7 describe two sets of terms typically used to categorise groups of people, ethnonyms and denizen expressions. All terms discussed here are dedicated person reference terminology. Setting aside the special case of kin-terms, all forms under discussion are open classes, with new terms often productively formed using regular nominal derivational strategies.

### 3.2.1 Kin-terms

Kinship systems have been the locus of substantial body of work in the Australian language context; their significance in social organisation and the prominent use of kin-terms in everyday interaction has resulted in the most extensive body of research of all the lexical person reference forms discussed in this chapter (§1.2.1) (to list just a small part of this tradition: Blythe 2018, 2012; Dixon 1989; Evans 2003, 2006; Gaby 2016; Garde 2008a; Hale 1966; Heath, Merlan, and Rumsey 1982 and all the papers within; McConvell 2012, 2013a, 2013b; McConvell, Keen and Hendery 2013 and papers within; McGregor 1996; Merlan 1982, 1989; Radcliffe-Brown 1931; Scheffler 1978; Stanner 1937; Thompson 1935). As with other Australian Aboriginal

groups, the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kinship system is a universal one, with all beings in the social world assigned a position in the system. These kin relations can be genealogical or classificatory, and they govern a raft of everyday behavior, including marriage rules, ceremonial duties, interactional styles, and interpersonal obligations like food sharing. Reflecting its social importance, Australian Aboriginal languages have been widely described as having highly elaborated kinship systems: elaborated semantic distinctions within the lexical system (Gaby and Singer 2014, Heath et al. 1982); special grammatical constructions with which to express fine distinctions in kin relations ("kintax" in Blythe 2018; Evans 2003a, 2003b, 2006); and registers of talk based on kinship (see discussion of "in-law languages" in Alpher 1993; Dixon 1990; Haviland 1979a, 1979b; McGregor 1989; Rumsey 1982). Kinship is certainly the most highly elaborated person reference field in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. Of all resources discussed here, the kinship field has the largest number of specific terms, coding the finest semantic distinctions. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers also have special kin dyadic constructions available to precisely express important kin pairings (§4.7.2)[15]. More generally, kin-terms are, by their nature, informationally dense reference expressions: by triangulating reference indirectly via another person (e.g. *my mother* vs. *your mother* vs. *John's mother*), they provide identifying information not just about an individual referent but a referent in relation to others. The employment of kin-terms involves perspective choices and calculations about the relative status, group membership, and genealogical links between not only speaker and referent, but also between speaker and hearer. These semantic and indexical complexities outlined make kin-terms the most distinct and complex domain available to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers within the person reference repertoire. Given this, more space will be given to the discussion of the kin-term system than other lexical categories in the following sections.

There are two parts to the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kinship system: a relational kinship system and a sub-section system. In the relational kinship system, an ego stands in a certain relationship within a network of kinship relations, e.g. a man may be father to a child, a son to a parent, an uncle to his sibling's children, a husband to a wife, and so on. In contrast, the sub-section system, a patrilineal moiety system, is a socio-centric kin system that divides the world into categories that are fixed and enduring, and recognised under the same names by all members (Chase 1980a; Hill 2011a; Thomson 1933). The moiety terms (*kuyan* and *kaapay*) occur in meta-discussions about kin relations between people, but they are not part of the repertoire of normal reference or address terms, and so are not discussed any further here.

The Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kin system is of the Kariera type (see Radcliffe-Brown 1913, 1931, 1951) for a classic account of the Kariera system; see Gaby 2015, Sharp 1939, and Thomson 1935 and 1972 for discussion of kinship systems of CYP including Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u). The Kariera system's two defining characteristics are bilateral cross-cousin marriage or 'sister

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[15] Also note that kin-terms are grammatically set apart from other person reference terms with distinct plural and vocative morphology (*-lkayu* and *-yu* respectively) and special treatment in the noun phrase syntax (§4.2).

exchange' and the classification of relatives into two lines of descent to create an appropriate marriageable group. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, there are distinctions in the way the kin-terms are applied to real cousins (*ngami* (MBeS, MBeD, FZeS, FZeD) and *thaatha* (MByS, MByD, FZyS, FZyD)) versus classificatory cousins (*muuyu* ("FZe"S, "MBe"S), *pilupa* ("MBy"S, "FZy"S)*, wulumu* ("FZ"D, "MB"D)), and different sets of behaviour associated with each, which renders marriage to first cousins incestuous. Thus, marriage is normatively between what are referred to as 'outside' cousins, that is, classificatory or distant cousins. A close-distant categorisation extends across the whole kin system, with speakers categorising kin relations into *kuunchi tali* 'lower leg (distant) relatives' and *kuunchi thuypi* 'close relatives' (Chase 1980a:168-171). The close-distant categorisation is an extremely meaningful social distinction and is often invoked by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people when talking about kin relations[16] – like the Kuuku Ya'u speaker SP does, here when talking of her *muka* (MZe) and *piima* (FZy), *me and mum's elder sister and dad's younger sister are thuypi kin, I am like their child*, and then again when talking of some classificatory siblings, *well they are not a proper relative, half outside, in language they are kuuku tali* [called lower leg] (24May09:Conversation).

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u there is a set of at least 33 kin-terms used to specify consanguineal and affinal relations in this Kariera system[17]. The majority of these kin-terms may be used in both reference to a third person and address to a second person. Table 3.1 presents a list of the terms together with kin relations they apply to. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 present charts which illustrate some main kinship relations for male and female egos respectively. Most of the kin-terms are used for a number of kin relationships, and in many cases alternate consanguineal and affinal relationships can be defined, e.g. *pa'i* used to refer to 'father's mum', 'father's mother's brother' and 'younger sister's husband'. This poses a question about the exact semantics of the kin-term. In the case of *pa'i* above, is this word monosemous, and so simply vague across all the kin relations it encompasses, or does the term code of a number of distinct meanings related in a pattern of polysemy? I am strongly inclined to take Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kin-terms to be monosemic in nature, but for this claim to be properly addressed further work is required. This falls outside the scope of this study –Wierzbicka (1986) and Dixon (1989) explore this issue in the Australian language context.

The meanings represented in Table 3.1 are those that are well attested in my own research. Thomson (1972:3-14) provides a compilation of his work on the Umpila kinship system which

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[16] There is a mapping of this distant-close relationship onto the body: *tali* 'lower leg' used metaphorically as the outer or most distant part of the body; *thuypi* is not a spatial or bodypart term, but has dedicated use encoding a close kin relation.

[17] There are several additional derived forms recorded in older sources which I have not been able to verify with current speakers. Thompson (1988) notes two forms bearing a 'V ending (glottal stop and vowel, vocalic harmony with preceding vowel) which alter denotation specifying sex of sibling: *ngami* 'mother/father's elder sibling's child > *ngami'i* 'mother's elder brother's child'; *piinya* 'father's elder brother' > *piinya'a* 'father's elder sister'. The *piinya'a* form is also recorded by O'Grady (1959/1980) but with same denotation as the unmodified form not bearing 'V.

| Term | Kin relations |
|---|---|
| piipi | F, FBy, MzeH, ♂SSS, ♂DDS, ♀SDS, ♀DSS |
| piima | FZy, ♂SSD, ♂DDD, ♀SDD, ♀DSD |
| piinya | FBe, FZe, MZeH |
| puula | FF, FFB, MMB |
| pa'i | FM, FMZ, MFZ, ZyH |
| paapa | M, MZy, ♂SDD, ♂DSD, ♀DDD, ♀SSD |
| kaala | MBy, FZyH, ♂SDS, ♂DSS, ♀SSS, ♀DDS |
| muka | MBe, MZe, FBeW, FZeH |
| ngachimu | MF, MFB, FMB |
| miimi | MM, MZ, FFZ |
| thaatha | MByS, MByD, FZyS, FZyD |
| ngami | MBeS, MBeS, FZeS, FZeD |
| pi'athu | ♂S, ♂D, BeS, BeD, FFF, MMF, MFM, FMM |
| maampa | ♀S, ♀D, ZeS, ZeD, FFM, MMM, FMF, MFF |
| nalngka | S |
| puulathu | ♂SS, ♂SD, ♂BSS, ♂BSD, ♂ZDS, ♂ZDD |
| ngachichu | ♂DS, ♂DD, ♂BDS, ♂BDD |
| yapu | Be, FBeS, MZeS |
| ya'a | Ze, FBeD, MZeD |
| ya'athu | Zy, By, FByS, FByD, MZyS, MZyD |
| piinyathu | ByS, ByD |
| mukathu | ZyS, ZyD |
| kamichu | ♀DS, ♀DD, ♀ZDS, ♀ZDD, ♀BSS, ♀BSD, ♀SDH |
| pa'ichu | ♀SS, ♀SD, ♀ZSS, ♀ZSD, ♀BDS, ♀BDD, ByW |
| wulumu | BeW, "FZ"D, "MB"D |
| kulnta | W, WZ |
| muuyu | H, ZeH |
| pilupa | WB |
| wulumu | BeW |
| unthangan(y)u | WD, HD |
| aampayi | WF, HF |
| yaami | WM, HM |
| puypamaku | taboo relation (in-law and ceremonial) |

**Table 3.1** Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kin-terms
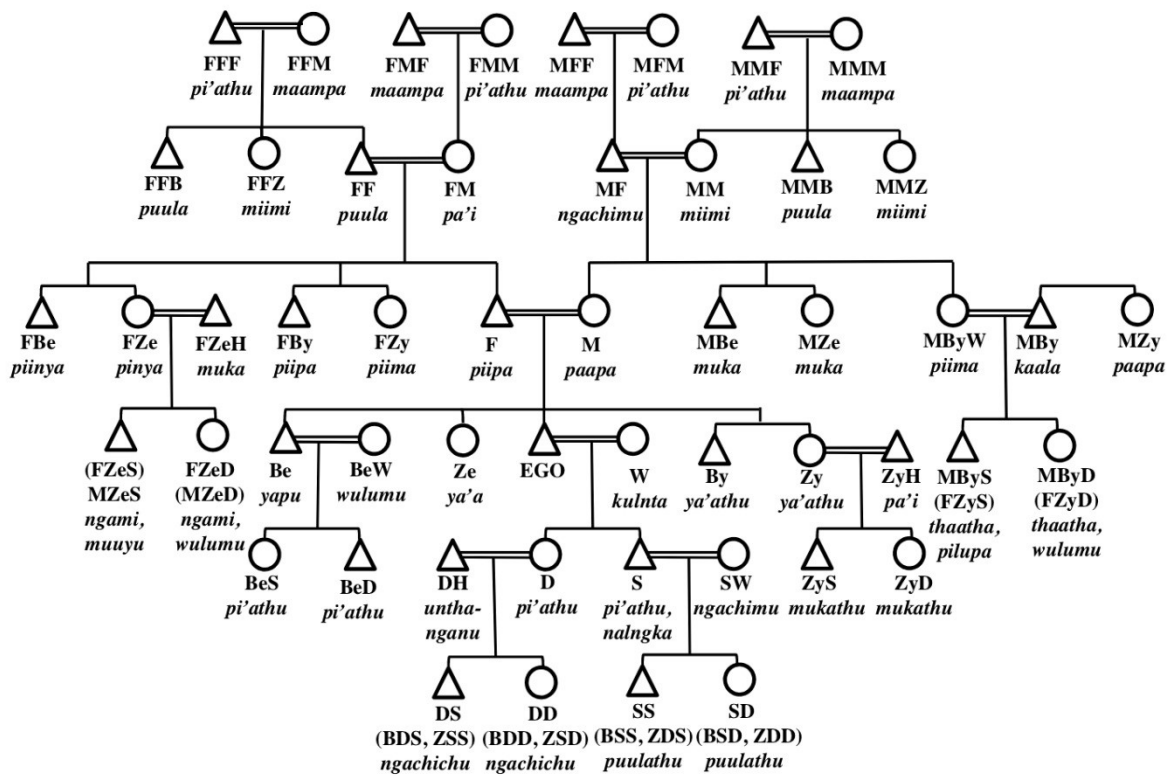
**Figure 3.1** Kin-chart for a male ego
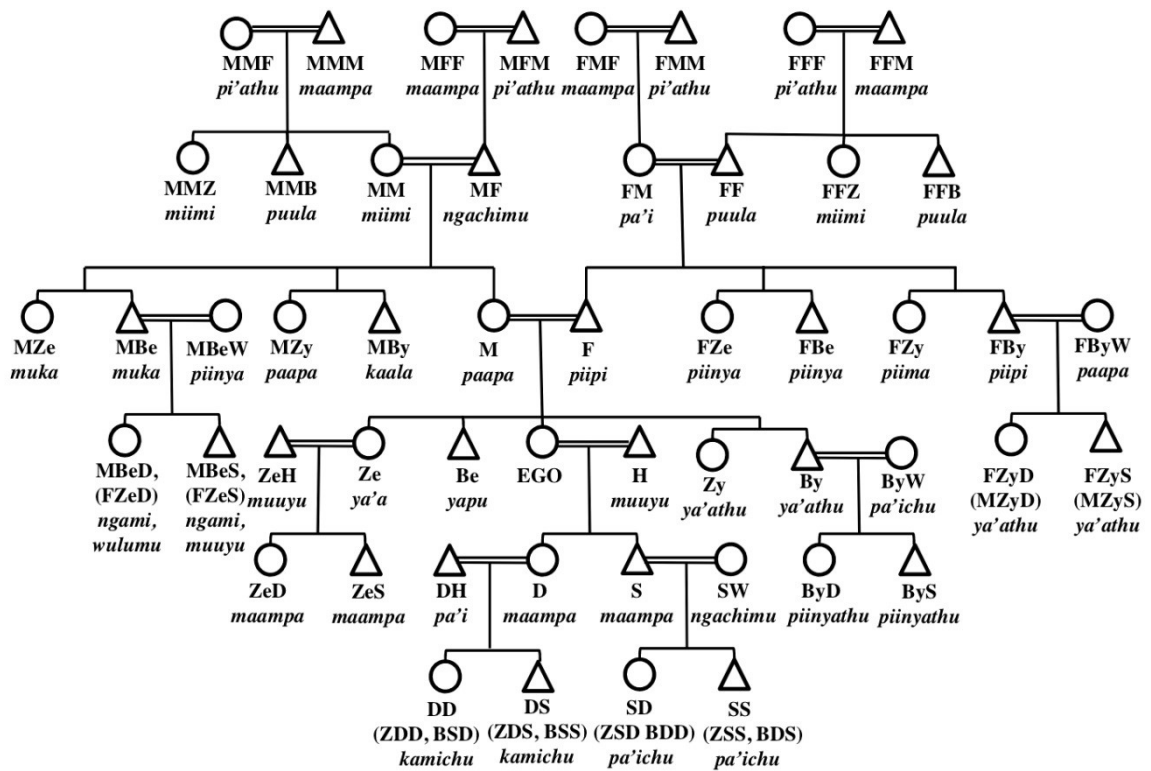


**Figure 3.2** Kin-chart for a female ego

is more extensive than my own. Note that in addition to the terms presented in this section, there is a set of kin-terms to refer to people bereaved of particular categories of kin discussed in §3.2.2, and there is also a small set of manual hand signs (probably around half a dozen) expressing kin categories. The hand signs are formed by pointing to parts of the body and are used during hunting, or to communicate over distances, and in the navigation of taboos constraining speaking (such systems have been documented widely in Australia (see Heath 1982; Kendon 1988) and comparable systems discussed for other Paman languages in Sutton (1978: 208) and Gaby (2015)).

The following discussion will summarise a few fundamental aspects of how the system presented in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 carves up the kin-relation world, including semantic distinctions in terms for siblings, and parent's siblings and children and generational structure. In terms of siblings, there are three terms that distinguish elder and younger siblings relative to the ego. There is a sex distinction in the two terms for older siblings, *yapu* for 'elder brother' and *ya'a* for 'elder sister', but there is no sex distinction for younger sibling with a single term *ya'athu* used. Some junior terms are derived from senior terms using *-thu* and *-chu* suffixes, in the way 'younger sibling' *ya'athu* is derived from the older sister term *ya'a*. Thus, *-thu/-chu* are used to derive grandchild forms from grandparent terms (e.g. *puula* 'father's father' > *puulathu* 'son's child', or *pa'i* 'father's mother' > *pa'ichu* 'son/daughter's daughter') and to derive nephew/niece terms from uncle/aunt terms (e.g. *muka* 'mother's elder sibling' > *mukathu* 'younger sister's child').

The junior-senior sibling distinction is a key one throughout the system, also organising parent terms and parallel and cross cousins terms. Looking at the distinctions in the parent terminology, younger same-sex siblings of parents are labeled with same terms are parents: *piipi* designates both 'father' and 'father's younger brother' and *paapa* 'mother' and 'mother's younger sister'. Younger opposite-sex siblings of parents have terms that distinguish sex – *piima* 'father's younger sister' and *kaala* 'mother's younger brother' – while elder opposite-sex siblings are classified into two groups that do not encode sex – *muka* 'mother's elder sibling', *piinya* 'father's elder sibling'.

The main terms for children have no male-female distinction, instead encoding the sex of the ego through which the relationship is anchored: *pi'athu* son/daughter (male anchor) and *maampa* son/daughter (female anchor). In addition to this pair, there is also a rarely employed 'son' form, *nalngka*, which does encode the sex of the referent. There is no matching 'daughter' form. I speculate that this is not a result of loss, because older records from 1950-1970s feature the *nalngka* form, but no female equivalent (O'Grady 1959/1980 wordlist recorded in the 1950s; Thompson 1988 wordlist recorded between 1966-1976; Chase and Rigsby 1977).

To move onto generation structure, there are two ascending and descending generations distinguished by distinct kin-terms. Following this, generational skewing sees the third ascending or descending generation referred to using the same terms as the first generation:

great-grandchildren (third descending) are designated with the terms also used for the parents' generation (first ascending), e.g. male grandchildren of various types are referred to with the forms *piipi* 'father'/'father's younger brother' and *kaala* 'mother's younger brother'; female grandchildren of various types are referred to by forms *paapa* 'mother'/'mother's younger sister' and *piima* 'father's younger sister'. Great-grandparent relations (third ascending generation) are designated with same terms used for children (first descending), e.g. male great-grandparents of various types are referred to with the term *pi'athu* which is also used for designations 'child (♂S, ♂D)' and 'elder brother's child'; female great-grandparents are referred to with *maampa* which also designates 'child (♀S, ♀D)' and 'elder sister's child'.

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kin-terms maintain some currency in everyday interaction in Lockhart River community today. A large subset of kin-terms are regularly used by a broad spectrum of community members – when speaking English, Lockhart River Creole, and Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u – and many people have a passive comprehension of the designations of more.

### 3.2.2 Referring to the bereaved and the deceased

The death of a kinsman deeply affects Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people's patterns of social behavior, and as a result, linguistic interaction. One of these effects is a change in the repertoire of referring expressions available to an interlocutor. There are a number of special lexical resources available to demonstrate respect, both in referring to a bereaved person (§3.2.2.1) and to a deceased person (§3.2.2.2).

### 3.2.2.1 Bereavement kin-terms

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u there is a small inventory of special kin-terms indicating the referent is in a state of bereavement. The terms encode the kin relationship between the referent and the deceased kinsman. For example, the term *awitha* expresses that the referent is mourning their father; as explained by Umpila speaker DS, *when you lose you daddy, you awitha, him himself now* (28Jun10:Elicitation). Similar forms have been reported for other languages in the region, by Sutton for Wik Mungkan (1978:251-263), Sommer for Kunjen (2006:150-151), and Gaby for Kuuk Thaayorre (2006:133-138; 2015). Like in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, all are associated with polite socio-linguistic practices demonstrating respect for someone in the throes of bereavement. The Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u bereavement terms cover a small subset of kin relations, as shown in Table 3.2.

The kin relations expressed in this set maintain some semantic distinctions present in the regular kin-term system, while collapsing other distinctions. For instance, the bereaved sibling terms maintain crucial senior and junior categories with *manti* 'bereaved elder sibling' and *kayumu* 'bereaved younger sibling' respectively, but they do not distinguish sex for the elder sibling category as observed in the kin-term system (see *yapu* Be and *ya'a* Ze vs. *ya'athu* By/Zy in Figure 3.1). Similarly, as in regular kin-term categories, the ego's parents and the younger

| Term | Gloss ~ bereaved by loss of |
|------|------------------------------|
| makachi | bereaved F or FBy, FZy |
|  | [contemporary use: bereaved H, generic bereavement term] |
| kunmunu | bereaved M, MBy, MZy |
| awitha | bereaved C (father deceased) |
| uminyu | bereaved C (mother deceased) |
| kayumu | bereaved By, Zy |
| manti | bereaved Be, Ze |
| yukaymu | bereaved namesake |
| wan'tan'yu | bereaved W (Thomson 1946, 1972) |
| pilumampa | bereaved H (Thomson 1946, 1972; Thompson 1988) |
| piikupacha | bereaved H (Thompson 1988) |

(Thomson 1946:158-159; Thomson 1972:10; Thompson 1988:67; Hill field recordings on 25/05/09)

**Table 3.2**  Bereavement kin-terms

siblings of the ego's parents are grouped together in the term *kunmunu* 'bereaved mother, mother's younger brother/sister' and in the term *makachi* 'bereaved father or father's younger brother/sister'. Unlike in the regular kin system, these bereavement kin-terms do not separately distinguish the parent's opposite-sex siblings (see *piipi* F/FBy vs. *piima* FZy and *paapa* M/MZy vs. *kaala* MBy in Figure 3.1). Child bereavement terms *awitha* 'bereaved child of a dead father' and *uminyu* 'bereaved child of a dead mother' maintain categories based on sex of the ego rather than sex of the child, which is also seen in the everyday kin-term system (*pi'athu* ♂C, *maampa* ♀C). Speakers currently limit the denotation to the parent-child relation (first ascending generation), thus not extending this category to younger same sex siblings of parents as found in the regular kin-term lexicon (see Figure 3.1). Earlier records provide mixed information on the extension of these terms (Thomson 1972:10). There are three forms that have not been able to be confirmed with current Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers, viz. *wan'tan'yu*, *pilumampa*, and *piikupach*; in the table the sources for these forms are indicated.

On the whole, the bereavement kin-terms bear no relation in form or composition to regular kin-terms, excepting *pilumampa* which could be partially comprised of *maampa* ♀C (or this could simply be a case of homonymy). *Makachi* is the only form that is currently straightforwardly morphologically analysable. It is comprised of the verb root *maka-* 'to die' and the comitative suffix *-chi*, literally meaning 'death having' – although attaching comitatives to verb stem is not a regular derivational process. The remaining bereavement terms are either simplex forms or are currently unanalysable.

In addition to the system presented above, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers can also express bereavement states through the productive derivation of everyday kin-terms or human

classificatory terms using the privative suffix *-kanyu*. These expressions are semantically transparent and descriptive, e.g. *paapakanyu*, *paapa* 'mother' + privative suffix for 'motherless child'; *piipikanyu*, *piipi* 'father' + privative suffix for 'fatherless child'. The privative suffix encodes absence broadly, and thus expressions derived with the privative are not dedicated bereavement terms. They can also be employed to describe a referent's marriage or family status. The construal of the nature of the state of absence is pragmatically conditioned, e.g. *maampakanyu* 'childless (women's perspective)' or *kaa'ikanyu* 'baby-less' could be used as a type of status term to describe a woman as not having borne children or in a bereavement usage as a mother mourning her child.

Based on ethnographic accounts and current elders' recollections of use, bereavement terms were traditionally used in the main period of mourning when the deceased's residence was abandoned or "closed" prior to cleansing rituals (Chase 1980a:342; Hill fieldnotes 2008). The length of this period of mourning can extend for some months through to a year or more depending on the cause of death (natural vs. accidental), age of deceased (younger vs. old), and relationship to the deceased (close vs. distant). Beyond this general description, questions of usage remain unresolved – e.g. whether bereavement terms were employed exclusive to other referential options throughout the mourning period or whether they were employed more in third person reference or as address terms, and so forth.

Little further can be said specifically about the usage of bereavement terms. These days, knowledge of these terms is restricted to the eldest and most proficient Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers. They are rarely employed in everyday interaction between these speakers, and can only be observed in a couple of instances in the narrative corpus used for this study. I have observed *makachi* used in everyday interaction in Lockhart River. *Makachi* previously appears to have designated a 'bereaved father or father's younger sister' (Thomson 1946:10), but is now predominantly used as 'bereaved husband' or in some instances is employed more generally as a generic bereavement term. Equivalent forms have not emerged in the Creole vernacular, as they have with everyday kin-term system, and so contemporary equivalents cannot be explored as a way to gain insight into the classical system. Terms derived using the privative suffix *-kanyu* and the form *makachi* are more familiar among semi-speakers or partial speakers.

### 3.2.2.2 Referring to the deceased

The death of a kinsman for an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u person requires the taking up of various ritual roles and behaviours which entail a raft of social-interactional and dietary taboos. One of these taboos is reference to the deceased. Prohibitions on reference to the deceased, in particular use of personal names, are well known and widely attested in classic ethnographic and anthropological literature on Australian Aboriginals (Hart 1930; Spencer and Gillen 1899/1968; Stanner 1937; Thomson 1946). The Umpila/KuukuYa'u people refer to this practice as *kincha* – a cover term for all sacred and *kunta* 'powerful' customs.

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u the taboo in referring to the deceased includes both personal name avoidance, and more broadly a dispreference for styles or formulations of reference deemed to be too "direct". Umpila speaker DS explains that in talking of deceased that *we gotta talk roundabout* and that it is *shame to call them straight* (28Jun10:Conversation). As a formulation choice and not a distinct lexical resource, further discussion of this issue falls outside topic of this chapter (see §5.7.2 for discussion of these matters in regard to narrative). In terms of special lexical resources for reference to the deceased, reference can be made with the aid of the suffix –*mpanu* or with one of two replacement terms, *yukaymu* or *thaapichi*. Both replacement terms have an additional shared function as namesake forms – this shared use suggestive of some similarity in the type of avoidance and respect due the deceased and one's namesake. Namesake terms encode the special relationship of people sharing a name (see §3.2.5 below and a good discussion on namesake relationships in Stanner 1937, specifically in this case for the Daly River area). *Thaapichi* is a general all-purpose namesake term that can be reciprocally used by namesakes as either a reference term or an address term. *Thaapichi* is speculatively analysable as *thaapi* 'tongue' -*chi* comitative, literally 'tongue having' (the same namesake form is employed in Wik languages (Sutton 1978:203)). *Yukaymu* is also used as a bereavement term for one who grieves for their namesake (see Table 3.2). Thomson (1946:157) notes *yukaymu* is derived from the regular word *yukay* for 'name', though I found that *yukay* is not known to current speakers. Such replacement and 'no-name' words used following name taboo upon death are noted for different indigenous Australian group (see Nash and Simpson 1981 for an account of this for Warlpiri). The other resource that codes a deceased status in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is the suffix -*mpanu*. It attaches to kin-terms specifying the referent is deceased, e.g. *ya'ampanu* 'my late older sister', *maampampanu* 'the late child' etc.

### 3.2.3 Human classificatory terms

Human classificatory terms are a set of person reference terms distinguishing gender/sex, stages of physical maturation/generational level, social standing and social roles – including stages of ritual advancement (initiation)[18]. There are a set of nine core human classificatory terms. These are presented in Table 3.3, ordered loosely in terms of denotation of generational level. In terms of form, they are largely simplex terms, with the single exception of *ku'unchi* 'old woman' which consists of two parts, the bodypart noun *ku'un* 'eye' and -*chi* comitative suffix, literally meaning 'with eye'. Semantically, the set of nine terms map across and partition the entire Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u social space. All people can be described or referred to by one of the nine categories in the system. Thus, this is a simple system, with a small number of semantic discriminations, which has a lot of categorisational power. The core terminology is in high

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[18] There are similar sets of terms encoding maturation states for important animals, like dugongs and turtles. They have similar semantic distinctions to human classificatory terms, e.g. for dugongs, *wuympiichi* 'juvenile female'; *pi'ikichi* 'young female, no offspring'; *thu'iichi* 'pregnant female dugong'; *thanama* 'mature female dugong'; *wangkincha* 'male dugong'; *ngulpuchi* 'very old male dugong'. (Sutton Fieldnotes: Book 7, 1975).

| Term | Components | Gloss |
|------|-----------|-------|
| **CORE TERMS** | | |
| kaa'i | -- | baby |
| wupuyu | -- | child |
| pulthunu | -- | boy |
| anthaya | -- | girl |
| kanga | -- | initiate |
| kampinu | -- | man |
| wayimu | -- | woman |
| chilpu | -- | old man |
| ku'un-chi | eye-COM | old woman |
| | | |
| **DERIVED & RARE** | | |
| (kaa'i) puulnhthulu | baby + ? | newborn baby |
| kulam kanga | path + initiate | beginning initiate |
| nhiiku kanga | new + initiate | new initiate |
| wuulam kanga | long time + initiate | long time initiate |
| chanchi(mu) | -- | handsome boy/girl |
| wuuncha-pinta | tendril-COM | male person/animal |
| miny(a)-kuunchi | meat/animal + relative | man with hunting rights |
| miny(a)-tupu | meat/animal + ? | man with hunting rights |
| kachin-pinta | yamstick-COM | woman |
| mungkal-kamu | wongai.tree-NSG | women and girls |
| pilu-walkan | hip/thigh-? | pregnant woman |
| umpachala | -- | old woman/child bearing woman[19] |
| wulpamu | -- | elder |

**Table 3.3** Human classificatory term system[20]

[19] I have recorded this term as meaning 'old woman' (Hill Fieldnotes 2008, 2010). A characteristic of a person referred to by this term was described by an Umpila speaker as *yangan he pulpulpinta* 'hair she has is white'. However, Thompson (1988:67) glosses the term as 'child-bearing woman', as does Thomson describing the denotation, "…as a woman who has just given birth. This designation is used as long as the child is still young" (1946:10).

[20] There are further human classificatory terms recorded by Thompson (1988) and O'Grady (1959/1980) which do not appear in current usage or the remaining speakers' knowledge. Terms recorded by O'Grady (1959/1980) are: *nhampapinta* 'headman'; *pama nhiikumu* 'stranger'. Terms recorded by Thompson (1988:66-67) are: *paanthu* 'boy, first born'; *kaykita* 'boy, fifth born'; *wanchachamu* 'female'; *umaypanhu / paa'ayi* 'girl, mature, no child'; *muukamu* 'male person'; *ngathanya* 'married woman'.

frequency use, both in everyday interaction between Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers and in the narratives under examination in this study.

In addition to the nine core items, there is a set of more rarely employed terms listed in Table 3.3 under the heading *Derived & Rare*. Semantically, these add to the system of core human classificatory terms in various ways: (i) sub-nodes within a semantic category, e.g. new or old initiate, hunting man, pregnant woman; (ii) alternative forms, e.g. *wayimu* 'woman' versus *kachinpinta* 'woman', with the alternate term encoding something descriptive about the referent, in this case the association of women and yamsticks; (iii) terms that carve up or categorise the social world differently, e.g. *wulpamu* 'elder' term category subsumes together *chilpu* 'old man' and *ku'unchi* 'old woman'. Note that *wulpamu* expresses considerable power and authority, and this may be what distinguishes it from the more everyday use of *chilpu* and *ku'unchi*.

The non-core terms are mostly complex forms, morphologically and/or lexically. They are formed by a range of means, all of which are typical strategies of nominal derivation or modification, though there are differences in the application of these in some instances. Strategies include simplex terms adnominally modified with adjectives, as in *nhiiku* 'new' modifying *kanga* 'initiate' to form 'new initiate'. The order of noun and adjective in these terms is the inverse of regular NP formulation, where a modifying adjective follows the noun (§4.2, §4.4). There are two terms derived with a comitative suffix *-pinta*, e.g. *kachin-pinta* (yamstick-COM) 'woman' and *wuuncha-pinta* (tendril-COM) 'male'. This is an unusual use of *-pinta*, as *-pinta* normally functions to mark the comitative syntactic relation, while an alternate comitative form *-chi* is typically relegated to nominal derivational work (see the use of *-chi* to derive denizen terms in §3.2.7). *Minykuunchi* 'man with hunting rights' is formed from compounding two lexemes *minya* 'meat/animal' and *kuunchi* 'relative'. *Muungkalkamu* 'women and girls' is polysemous term, also being the term for the wongai tree species *muungkal(a)* with the regular nominal non-singular suffix *-kamu*. The wongai tree is a key seasonal food source, and as with much food foraging, fruit from this tree is typically gathered by women and girls. At some point, the expression 'wongai trees' has extended to have an additional conventionalised person reference meaning 'group of women and girls'.

The discussion will round off with a few observations on usage – focusing on core terms, with little further to be said about non-core terminology given their rare usage. First, human classificatory terms can be used to express a kin relationship, even though they do not semantically encode genealogically specific information. By this I mean that there are pragmatic kin readings for some of these terms in particular interpersonal contexts, e.g. the term *wayimu* 'woman' when employed by a male of marriage-able age will be construed as a reference to the man's wife. *Ku'unchi* 'old woman' can also be used to refer to a wife by an older male speaker, while produced by a girl or boy it will refer to a grandmother. The terms *anthaya* 'girl' and *puthunu* 'boy' have almost steadfast 'daughter' and 'son' readings – both to

refer to blood and classificatory kin. Since kin-terms for an ego's child do not encode the sex of the child but that of the ego, the human classificatory terms *anthaya* 'girl/daughter' and *pulthunu* 'boy/son' are complementary to the kin-term pair. This use of *anthaya* and *pulthunu* shares the semantic extension of the kin-terms *maampa* and *pi'athu* to the great-grand parent generation (see Figure 3.1 and discussion in §3.2.1). The senior age grade is often specified by speakers through the use of binominal expressions like, *olaman girl* or *olaman anthay* 'old woman girl' and *olman boy* or *olman pulthunu* 'old man boy'. These incorporate the Lockhart River Creole human classificatory terms, derived from English, *olaman* 'old woman' and *olman* 'old man'. I have not found equivalent binominal expressions constructed entirely in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u terms c*hilpu* 'old man' and *ku'unchi* 'old woman' are often employed in combination with personal names and nicknames, e.g. *ku'unchi Maria*, *ku'unchi Polly*, *chilpu Lefty*. For example, the Umpila speaker DS, while helping to translate sections of a narrative told by another speaker SP, repeatedly refers to the narrator as *ku'unchi Sue: him talk now, ku'unchi Sue…* or *ku'unchi Sue call out…* (08Jul07:TranslationSession). In such contexts, the human classificatory terms act like an honorific and constructionally not unlike a classifier[21]. The elder status of the person is of considerable social weight in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u society, and highlighting this age status is a sign of deference and respect – in relation to DS's use of this expression in the examples, the wish to be deferential when translating someone else's narration. Thomson observed these functions in his 1946 paper, specifically saying of *chilpu* 'old man' (1946:10):

> *This is used much as a term of address and is regarded as a term of respect and veneration. It is thus an honorific. It is used in place of the personal name and takes precedence over the appropriate kinship term as a term of address, again except in the case of close relatives such as one's own children or close relatives by marriage. The principle figure of the hero-cult (Thomson 1933) is often referred to with this term.*

### 3.2.4 Personal names

This section will look at two types of personal names, traditional Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u names and introduced European personal names. The discussion of traditional Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u names is included here in the category of personal names, but as we will see from their assignation and usage, they bear little resemblance to what is typically thought of as personal names in an English or Western European language setting. Semantically, personal names as a category are typically characterised as a special type of referential form that uniquely identifies a specific person (Kripke 1980; Searle 1997/1958:591). However, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u names are either inherited from a kinsman and not used for reference or address, or they are names

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[21] Some generic nouns are used a classifiers yielding constructions like 'animal emu', 'tree wattle' and 'food flour' (§4.7.1)

associated with clan territories that do not uniquely identify individuals but function to mark group affiliation. Thus, these personal names bind people to other people and places, rather than functioning as unique designators (see Evans (2015:374-376) for discussion of this point regarding Bentinck Islanders).

Both traditional and European personal names used by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people are a distinct category to nicknames, which are the other proper name reference type (§3.2.5). They are also treated as such by speakers; an overt distinction between the two is routinely made, as SP does in the following opener to the biographical narrative about her paternal grandmother where she provides a binomial form and presents this a the *really name* as contrasted with a nickname:

> *Ngathangku pa'ilaka, Margaret Temple [my daddy's mama, Margaret Temple] her really,*
> ***really name*** *but she got a nickname too…* (12May05:*MaiseyTemple*)

### 3.2.4.1 Names in the traditional setting

In pre-European contact naming practices, each person was assigned several personal names: what are now called *bush names*; *kaala ka'anta* 'mother's brother hiccup (name)'; and the *manthala nguchuru* 'umbilical cord name'. As far as can be ascertained, only one of these names was of wider public knowledge and a potential reference choice. This name is now referred to in Lockhart River Creole as a *bush name*, perhaps invoking its use during people's semi-nomadic life in the bush or perhaps the name's etymology. A *bush name* was typically derived from clan land territory name or a totem name. They were reportedly often inherited from a close kinsman. Current senior Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people were unable to provide specific examples of these names and only provided vague accounts of usage practices, though they did report that in their youth that many elders still had such personal names. I speculate that their reticence may be a result of proprietary nature of these names (due to association with owned territories), and the connection of these names to *wulpamu kunta* 'powerful old people'. As such, I have little to no information on the form of these names, and so cannot explore their formal properties[22].

One or more names were traditionally assigned in rituals during the birthing process and in the early weeks of a child's life (Chase 1980a:182-183). These special names were determined by calling out the names of classificatory father's fathers and mother's brothers respectively during certain key events, and assigning the infant the name that is called at a specific point in the said event. Elder women in Lockhart River today describe the *kaala ka'anta* 'mother's brother hiccup (name)'name as assigned at the time of birth, and the *manthala nguchuru*

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[22] A good avenue for future work on these would be the interrogation of the genealogies recorded by Donald Thomson (1932) (held in the Thomson Collection at Museum Victoria) at the old Lockhart River mission at Bare Hill in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Work carried out by Smith (2016) on this material with regard to Kaanju speaking people shows personal name records in this material.

'umbilical cord name' as given at the burial of the umbilical cord or placenta[23]. The *Midwife* narrative in the corpus (§2.6.1) deals in part with the assignment of a *ka'anta* name and the translation of DS description of this is:

> *Well they said persons' names that provided food for the mother, said a man's name, said a women's name. Nothing. And then they said a man('s) name… Its namesake is called out now and there the baby is born. Ah that is its ritual birth name.* (09Mar07:*Midwife*)

Note that this differs somewhat from the manner of assignment described by Chase (1980:182-183). However, on all accounts pseudo-random assignment of these names forged special namesake relations between the baby and their kinsman from which the name was inherited – as well as special connections to country with regard to the umbilical cord name. The *nguchuru* and *ka'anta* names created two namesake relationships. These names were not ever used as address or reference terms and were not public knowledge. There were extremely strict prohibitions on a person uttering these names or interacting with the namesakes themselves. Reference could be made to the namesakes using two replacement terms: the general namesake form *thaapichi* (§3.2.2.2) for the *manthala nguchuru* namesake and *ka'anta* for the *manthala/kaala ka'anta* namesake. The people in these relationships adhered to a strict relationship of avoidance and deference. Elder women speakers when describing the nature of the relation said: *he powerful one just like bora* (initiation ceremony) (SP); *you never call his name* (SP); *you can't talk, you can look but you gotta walk one-side, show your back to them* (DS) (24May09:Conversation). The assignment of such names came to an end in the mid-1950s when women started to be sent to Cairns for child birth (Chase 1980a:335). Similar practices are reported throughout CYP – see Thomson (1946:159-161) for a good description of this for Wik Mungkan and Smith (2016) for Kaanju drawing on Thomson (1932).

Through the contact and language change situation, the use of traditional Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u personal names of all types has been lost. The personal names, the so called *bush names*, that were public knowledge have been replaced with European names, and thus have no role in the naming practices in the contemporary community or the narrative material under exploration in this study. Throughout this chapter and other chapters when referring to personal names without further specification, I refer to English personal names that have been in use since early contact with white people.

### 3.2.4.2 English names

English names were widely adopted with the start of the Lockhart River Aboriginal Mission in the mid 1920s. These consist of a typical binominal structure of first and last name. The last names are patrilineally inherited. Many are a transparent English reference to a clan territory or

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[23] Smith (2015:188) notes the same postpartum assignment practice for the Kaanju. Interestingly nearby Lamalama people instead assign this name at the delivery of the placenta (Jean-Christophe Verstraete p.c.).

a predominant geographical feature associated with clan territory: Claudie is the last name associated with the Kanthanmpu group in which the Claudie River is key geographical feature, Pascoe is a last name associated with Kuuku Ya'u people referencing the Pascoe River in their territory, Temple after Temple Bay for some Wuthathi families, Night Island after Night Island for Uutaalnganu families, and so forth. Some last names also originate from important white figures in early contact and early Mission times, e.g. Giblet comes from Hugh Giblett also known as the "Sandalwood King", an Irishman who in first decades of the twentieth century ran a pioneering enterprise collecting and transporting sandalwood in the Lloyd Bay region (Thompson 2013:441 and as cited in Thompson, Howard 1911:5-6).

English first names are frequently inherited from a senior relative, thus continuing a traditional pattern of transmitting personal names from senior to junior generations (§3.2.4.1, see also §3.2.6 below for a similar point about nicknames). One function of personal name inheritance is to lift the taboo on the use of a particular personal name following the death of someone bearing that name. Umpila elder MB describes this assignation as *warming* the name – this is the Lockhart River Creole expression for a cleansing ritual:

> *He got mother family, they have baby, well if that sister belong to man that die, well she can put that name belong to uncle one or family one or grandfather. Especially girls, if their grandmother die, their aunty, then they put their name. **It's alright then, they warm that name you know**.* (24May09:Elicitation)

The sharing of English personal names places people into a namesake relationship, with both members of the pair normatively addressing and referring to each other with the namesake replacement term *thaapichi* or in Lockhart River Creole *nasam* 'namesake'. The above discussion noted the forging of a namesake relationship through special ritual birth names and the reciprocal referential use of *thaapichi* by people in this relationship (§3.2.4.1). Further, I commented that *thaapichi* is also employed more generally as replacement term for a deceased person (§3.2.2.2), strongly placing this form as a term of special respect and politeness. This dynamic has been maintained in the contemporary context with personal name namesakes maintaining a deferential relationship. All of the various namesake conditions outlined above are viewed by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people as a meaningful connection. It implies certain obligations between the two parties and is believed to indicate special affinity (Sommer similarly notes that Kunjen people believe namesakes share personality traits and spiritual essence (2006:165)).

### 3.2.5 Nicknames

Personal names and nicknames also have different meta-linguistic labels, and differ considerably in form and usage, as will become clear throughout the discussion. In addition, nicknames are not subject to speech taboos to the same degree as personal names. Similar

observations about distinctions between personal names and nicknames, including different restrictions on usage have been made by Thomson (1936:158-159) for Wik Mungkan and Sommer (2006:13-19, 161-162) for Kunjen.

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames are typically vivid, and often whimsical, descriptions of a physical characteristic, personality trait or mannerism of the person. Umpila speaker DS told me that her father's nickname was a descriptive clause *Pulpul Yangkaka*, literally 'will eat flies'. This nickname was attributed to a habit he had as a boy of walking around with his mouth open, and so, potentially "eating flies". Another example of a nickname discussed with DS was her old sister's. She was known as *Trade-On* after the name of a sometime local trawler boat. This nickname was also inspired by the designated person's behaviour, in this case invoking DS' sister's habit of fishing in a trawling style. As in these two examples, the origins of the nickname are often well known and people can readily provide etymologies of their motivation, like in this excerpt of DS talking about the origin of the name *Trade-On*:

> *Well they say, well I heard everybody say* **Trade-On** *is just like a boat trawling for fishing. She always go fishing. When she go out fishing every- she go that spot, no good. Alright then go another spot, no good. Maybe that another beach or rock, good place, well he caught a lot of fish. Just like the boat, you know.* (02Aug05:Conversation)

Nicknames are often given at a young age and remain with a person throughout their life. As with personal names, nicknames can be inherited from senior kin, with it being particularly common for a grandparent's nickname to be passed to a grandchild. The grandson of Umpila speaker MB, was known as *Puchala* 'windpipe', which had been his maternal great grandfather's nickname. The name is an indirect reference to a long-neck turtle, as MB explained in the following excerpt:

> *David Pascoe named Puchala. Minya [animal] turtle got-im long puchala [windpipe] inside. Puchala, wind, lung that one. They been call my old man name Puchal, and he pass-im for that small boy one.* (25May09:Conversation)

Most of my information on Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames comes from discussions like these with the language speakers, along with nicknames noted in unpublished genealogies provided by Bruce Rigsby and Athol Chase. Nicknames are referred to by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers as *manthala lawalawa* 'liar/gammon name' or *manthala aathi* 'playmate name' and are, as already discussed, a distinct referential category to other forms of personal names. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames have no shared formal structure. They can be simplex or complex expressions, both in terms of morphological or lexical composition, and they can be constructed of forms drawn from a range of word classes. There are two recurring strategies employed in nickname formulation discussed below, but they only account for a subset of instances. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames are unified as referential category by semantic

characteristics and usage, rather than by form. To illustrate the semantic qualities of nicknames consider the following short list of examples in Table 3.4. They are grouped into two broad semantic types for the purpose of presentation: (i) forms that describe physical aspect of a person; and (ii) forms that describe the behaviour of a person. There is a pithy explanation of the motivation of the nickname in the far right-hand column.

| Term | Components | Motivation |
|---|---|---|
| **PHYSICAL ASPECTS** | | |
| *chaaka* | crowbar.spear | thin like a spear |
| *ma'a takataka* | hand + crooked.RDP | crooked fingers |
| *mukuy-pinta* | sore-COM | extensive body sores as a child |
| *pal'a* | tick | overweight |
| *tha'u thuyi* | foot + twist | congenital foot deformity |
| *tuutu* | scrub.hen | facial features like a scrub hen |
| *yampa* | ear | impaired hearing from early age |
| | | |
| **BEHAVIOURAL ASPECTS** | | |
| *ampulu-kuupi* | sandridge-love | likes camping in sandridge |
| *kayki* | white heron | habitually stands on one foot |
| *malapi* | bamboo.species | a keen smoker – with bamboo pipe |
| *miiti-kuupi* | corner.of.eye-love | always glancing out of corner of eye |
| *minya puntha-ka* | meat + finish-FUT | greedy for meat |
| *bok* | NA | habitually made *bok* noise as a child |
| *4-0* | 4:00am abbreviation | habitually an early riser |

**Table 3.4** Nickname examples

Two productive strategies are recurrently used to form nicknames in the two semantic groups. Nicknames describing the behaviour of a person are often derived from the combination of a descriptor which denotes a habit or behaviour in some way and the form *kuupi* 'like/love'. This forms an expression with a meaning akin to 'lover of X'. Examples of this in Table 3.4 are *ampulukuupi* 'lover of sandridges' and *miitikuupi* 'lover of glancing sideways', and other examples of *kuupi* compounds are, *puntukuupi* 'lover of sugarbag', *ungathalkuupi* 'lover of drinks' (alcohol implied), and so on.

A common strategy to form a nickname describing a physical aspect of a person is an expression composed of a bodypart term as head noun and a modifying adjective. Examples of this listed above are *ma'a takataka* 'really crooked hand' and *tha'u thuyi* 'twisted foot'. These types of bodypart nicknames are semantically similar to spontaneously teasing addresses which pepper interactions in the joking register (see Thomson (1935, 1946) for a detailed account of

ritualised joking behaviour between certain kin for Wik Mungkan and Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u). The name and jibe-calling of this register often features descriptions of body parts or physical characteristics. Between some kin they are often quite raunchy involving vivid descriptions of genitalia. A few more mild examples of joking register jibes are: *yaayachi* 'bandylegged'; *tali chuchinyu* 'small legs'; *pa'an mukana* 'big head'; *yanganchi* 'having hair' (implies mangy hair).

   Much that described here for Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames parallels accounts from elsewhere within the region and further afield in Australia, both in terms of semantic characteristics and usage – see Blythe (2012); Evans (2015); Garde (2008a); Sommer (2006); Thomson (1935) and (1946). Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames are waning in use in contemporary Lockhart River life. However, much of what I observed of the semantics and use of traditional language nicknames also holds for contemporary Aboriginal English and Lockhart River Creole nicknames. The same productive strategies are now being applied in these local vernaculars. There is one prominent exception to note, that is nicknames which are abbreviations or modifications of a person's personal name. As described by MB when talking about her nickname *Maya* (Maria), these are a *short way for call-im* and *slide-im talk*. Other examples of nicknames of this type currently used in Lockhart River are Meme for Esma, Toya from Latoya, Bebe for Debbie, A-Boy for Andrew. Expressions, like the last example, formed with the initial of the personal name and 'boy' are a common formulation for male nicknames. It is unlikely that such strategies were used in the past to derive nicknames from Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u personal names, given traditional language personal names had a more restricted and even secret status.  More likely this has made its way into usage from prevalent use of diminutives and hypocorisms in Australian English, e.g**.** clipped names with *-zza*, *-ie* and *-o* endings (Bardsley and Simpson 2009; Simpson 2004).

### 3.2.6 Ethnonyms

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers have a small set of terms with which to talk about the ethnic identity of a referent. *Pama* 'aboriginal person', *para* 'white person' and *thathimalu* 'Islander person' (transparently derived from *thathi* 'island') are the most salient of these, both in social relevance and frequency of use. This three-way distinction covers the ethnic groups relevant in day-to-day life. In contemporary Lockhart River life identification of a person as either *pama* and *para* is an especially key socio-political one. An important distinction cross-cutting the *pama* category is between *kuunchi* 'countryman, relative' and *nawupa* 'stranger' or *pama nhiikumu* 'new aboriginal person'. *Kuunchi* are people included within one's known world, and hence can be mapped into the classificatory kin network. This includes people who one does not know yet but who will be able to be identified as kin once met, through triangulation via any shared threads in the network of kin relations. *Nawupa* is a stranger or foreign person, not owning or affiliated to known *ngaachi* 'country' or 'places'. These were people whose language

can't be understood. The stranger category includes foreigners of all types, along with dangerous and powerful beings, either humans or in human-form, e.g. sorcerers *wapa* and devils.

There are some additional expressions, largely descriptive, that classify other ethnic groups. Speakers use the compound *ku'unkulu* 'deep eye' (*ku'un* 'eye' + *kulu* 'deep') for a Japanese person, and the loan *maaliyu* for 'Malaysian'. *Pama pulpanchi* literally 'red aboriginal person' (*pama* 'aboriginal person' + *pulpanchi* 'red') is employed for a half-caste person. Demonstrating productive and creative derivation of new ethnonymic expressions, I have also heard used on a couple of occasions the following description, *taramunu* for someone of Middle Eastern descent, derived from 'terror' plus the ablative suffix *-mumu* 'from place of terrorism'. Similarly, Chase (1980:167) presented a further list of descriptive expressions, like the Japanese term above, which draw on appearance or on stereotyped habits or skills: *yanganungkaya* 'long hair' for a Chinese person (*yangan* 'hair' + *ungku* 'long'); *ma'athika* 'hand side' for a Southeast Asian Muslim (*ma'a* 'hand' + *thika* 'side' describing hand use in toilet etiquette); *puntu* 'sugar bag' for a Greek person (here the reference is 'sweet talking' interactional style rather than food); *pupathi* 'python' for an American person (*papathi* is the synonym for *yangki* "python", and so *pupathi* indirectly references the pejorative expression 'Yankee'). These expressions are no longer actively used by current speakers.

### 3.2.7 Denizen terms

Belongingness and identity as an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u person is crucially tied to common possession of land territories and shared linguistic affiliation (Chase 1980a; Chase and Sutton 1998/1981; Rigsby 1980; Thomson 1933, 1934). Given this, it is unsurprising that there are special reference expressions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u to talk about denizen membership which code both linguistic affiliation and land connection. These include expressions like *pama malngkanchi* 'sandbeach people', as Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u often collectively identify themselves, or *pama kanichi* 'inland people' for the Kaanju who traditionally dwelt in the hinterland region. There is an array of denizen referring expressions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speaker's toolkit, so to speak: socio-linguistic group names, socio-geographic names, and estate group names. All of this terminology designates a person's membership in a denizen group, but in different ways, highlighting different conditions of membership. Morphsyntactically, the inherent "group" plural denotation sets these terms apart from other referential lexicon discussed so far. All lexicon can be employed to refer to an individual but they require additional specification to do so, e.g. being employed in combination with a singular coreferential reference expression.

**3.2.7.1 Socio-linguistic group names**

Firstly, and most obviously, there are the set of proper names used to denote major socio-linguistic groups: Kuuku Ya'u, Umpila, Kuuku Iyu, Kaanju, Uutaalnganu, Kuuku Yani, and then going further afield there are Wuthathi, Lamalama, Wik Mungkan, and so forth. These names are already familiar from frequent use throughout the text as the main way to signal speakers of various linguistic varieties (§1.4). These high-level socio-linguistic groups are part of the repertoire of denizen expressions, and are readily used in conversation and narration to denote a group affiliation (e.g. *Kuuku Ya'u kalmana* 'the Kuuku Ya'u group came') or to describe a person's affiliation (e.g. *Wuthathi ku'unchi waathinya* 'the old Wuthathi woman went'). In contemporary social organisation these 'language-named tribe' groupings are dominant and as such are the most frequently employed group designation (§3.2.7.2) – the recent rise of language-named tribes has been observed widely in Aboriginal Australia versus the classical clan system (Chase and Rigsby 1998:309-11; Rigsby 1995; Sutton 2003:72-73; Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:11).

There are additional designations for these socio-linguistic groupings within the Umpila-Kuuku Ya'u language complex. The *-nyu* nominaliser is used to derive names for the dialects and people affiliated with those dialects. The derivations are based on dialect variation in verb forms for 'look' and 'eat'. The *Kuuku Ya'u* verb for 'eat' is *yangkunya*, and thus, the dialect and the people affiliated with the dialect can be referred to by a nominalised form of this verb, *yangkunyu* 'the dialect where you say *yangkunya* for eat' or 'the people that speak *yangkunya* for eat'. As shown in these two meanings for *yangkunyu*, the form can be used for both dialect reference and person reference.

Variant verb forms for 'to eat' and 'to look' distinguish the dialect groups in two and five ways respectively. First, the variant verb forms for 'to eat' group dialects in the language group into two sets, placing all inland and northern varieties in one group and the two most southern and coastal varieties together. This is illustrated in Table 3.5. Secondly, the variant verb forms for 'to look' split all dialects separately except for the two inland dialects, Kaanju and Kuuku Iyu, which share use of the form *yathunya* for 'to look'. This is laid out in Table 3.6. These verb variants are viewed by speakers as key emblematic features that distinguish the dialects. They are regularly invoked to provide evidence of the robustness of linguistic differences between the varieties.

**3.2.7.2 Socio-geographic names**

Moving now to an alternate set of names, there are expressions which designate socio-geographic divisions based on directional information or key environment-typifiers which index groups of people via land associations or specific environmental identities (see Sutton 2003:74-75 for discussion of similar expressions in the Daly River area and Wik region). These expressions group patrilineal clans in the region into 'cultural blocs' (Verstraete and Rigsby

| Dialect | Verb form 'to eat' | Dialect/speakers name |
|---|---|---|
| Kaanju; Kuuku Iyu; Kuuku Ya'u; Uutaalnganu | yangkunya | yankunyu |
| Umpila; Kuuku Yani | kanthanya | kanthanyu |

**Table 3.5** Dialect and affiliated speaker names derived from verb 'to eat'

| Dialect | Verb form 'to look' | Dialect/speakers name |
|---|---|---|
| Kaanju and Kuuku Iyu | yathunya | yathunyu |
| Kuuku Ya'u | kuuchanya | kuuchanyu |
| Uutaalnganu | uutaalnganu | uutaalnganyu |
| Umpila | kiikina | kiikinyu |
| Kuuku Yani | kakina | kakinyu |

**Table 3.6** Dialect and affiliated speaker names derived from verb 'to look'

2015:8-11). Directional and other spatial terminology is often used to derive a name of a group of people associated with this direction. Using the comitative suffix -*chi kaaway* 'east' becomes *kaawaychi* literally meaning 'eastern having' but coding 'eastern people'; *kungkay* 'north-east' becomes *kungkaychi* 'north-eastern people'; *yiipay* 'south' becomes *yiipaychi* 'southern people'; *iichul(a)* become *iichulchi* 'western people'; *kani* 'up, ontop' becomes *kanichi* 'inland people'. The associative -*namu* is typically used to form group designations from environment-typifiers, either a key geographical feature or a ecozone term associated with a region, like *malngkan(a)* 'beach' in *malngkannamu* 'people of the beach' to refer to coastal groups, or *thungkuy* 'rainforest, thick scrub' to derive *thungkuynamu* 'people of the rainforest'. These are just a few of the more common and conventionalised expressions derived: both -*chi* and -*namu* can be employed productively with environmental lexicon and locatives to produce new and creative group expressions that invoke shared environmental and spatial identities.

### 3.2.7.3 Estate names
The last type of denizen person reference expression for discussion here are estate group names. They classify by family groups with common patrilineal descent, and possession of common territory and associated totems and religious rites (primarily see Thomson 1935:462-463, but also Chase 1980a; Risgby 1999; Rigsby and Chase 1998; Sutton 1999:29-38). Classifying via this clan category, they designate groups of people at a finer or more differentiated level than the denizen expressions looked at so far. The estate names can used to denote both the patrilineal clan territory and the patri-clan groups, as with some of the other expressions looked at in this section. This place/person estate reference is derived from the name of an important place (totemic site) or an associated totem or topographical feature within the estate territory, or the name of an ancestor associated with the estate (Thomson 1934:500; Chase 1980a:139-

140). The derivation process uses a special suffix *-thampanyu*. For example, the name of a key place in an estate in the Temple Bay region is *unchi* 'paperbark species (place)' and this site lends its name to the estate which is termed, *unchithampanyu*. Similarly, *pul'ungunthampanyu* is the name for an estate where *pul'ungun*, the *pul'u* 'pheasant bird' place is a totemic site of importance etc.

To some degree it appears that the *-thampanyu* suffix can also be used productively with other place or person reference forms to create group identifiers of other types, e.g. *Coenthampanyu* 'Coen [place name] mob' or *wulumuthampanyu* 'mob of sister-in-laws'. In such instances, the derivation retains an associative type meaning: applied to a place name the expression means a "group associated with X", with a person reference form it has more of a 'group of associated persons' meaning. Derivation of person reference expressions with *-thampanyu* is less frequent than with place names: only use with kin-terms is attested by current speakers.

All denizen expressions discussed here are still in use in the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speech community, though only the older and most proficient language speakers have been observed to employ estate name expressions. The elder speakers on a number of occasions have commented on the rise in use among younger Lockhart River people of the high level socio-linguistic 'language' group names Kuuku Ya'u, Umpila, Kaanju and Uutaalnganu and so on. This rise in usage appears to be tied to interaction with outside people and organisations, i.e. bureaucratic and legal processes involved in land claim processes etc., increasing the need for speakers to appeal to proper name labels to classify groups at this level (see discussion in Sutton (2003:72-73) regarding role of language-named groups in contemporary political life and land-claim related values). Pre-contact language-named groups appear to have played only a minimal role in inter-group and territorial relations in the eastern Cape York setting. Previously descriptive denizen expressions were the default reference option (§3.2.7.2). Here is DS articulately discussing this change in usage:

> *Like before, we never been called* **Umpila** *much before. We were just* **yiipay-thampanyu.** *This one* **Umpila** *here now.* **Umpila, Kuuku Ya'u, Kanthanmpu** *only here we listen to this Iron Range [mountain near contemporary community location]. Before time, lo Old Mission, no got* **Kuuku Ya'u,** *no got* **Umpila.** *Well* **kanichi,** *they talk about* **kanichi** *[inland people]. That* **kanichi** *[inland people] we know, we know where* **kanichi** *[inland people] come from scrub inland.* **Malngkan** *[beach] blo sandbeach. But here now they use all different kind name, hey?* (15Mar07:Conversation)

## 3.3 Pronominal resources

This section will describe the fundamental properties of pronominal resources: §3.3.1 describes pronouns and §3.3.2 demonstratives. Unlike the lexical terminology discussed above pronominal forms are not exclusively employed for person reference – though pronouns are

nearly entirely so. They are also formally distinguished from lexical resources as closed nominal subclasses and in their treatment in noun phrase syntax. Functionally, they are also distinct from most lexical resources; as deictic forms their meaning is contextually constructed through subjective, attentional, and other situationally-dependent factors.

### 3.3.1 Pronouns

Like other Middle-Paman languages, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u has a pronoun system with features common to Pama-Nyungan languages (as described by Verstraete (2012:335-338) specifically for Middle-Paman languages of CYP, and by Mushin and Simpson (2008:568-573) more broadly). The pronoun system consists of free and bound forms: this is a dual system, in contrast to systems with one set of pronouns, i.e. either independent forms or bound forms which are encliticised or prefixed (Mushin and Simpson 2008:576). Free pronouns have the same positions and functions as nominals, while bound pronouns are often, though not obligatorily, suffixed to the verb or attached directly to the first constituent in the clause (i.e. in second position or Wackernagel's position). Both free and bound forms distinguish eight person-number categories when analysed as a minimal-augment system, in three case forms of nominative, accusative (traditionally oblique) and genitive. The Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u pronominal paradigm is presented in Table 3.7. The following discussion will focus largely on form and paradigmatic relations – see §4.6 regarding syntax and §6.2.3 and §6.2.5 for discussion of referential usages of free and bound forms respectively.

In traditional terms, the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u system can be analysed as with a three person distinction (first, second, third), a three-way number distinction (singular, dual and plural), and an inclusive/exclusive opposition. This clusivity opposition, however, only occurs for non-singular first-person. Inclusive 'we' *ngampula* specifically includes the speaker and the addressee and minimally one other (that is, 'we' meaning 'you and I and other'), while exclusive 'we' *ngana* specifically excludes the addressee (that is, 'we' 'I and other, but not you'). The dual category also does not run throughout the paradigm. There is also a first-person dual form *ngali* which refers to the speaker and the addressee dyad (that is 'we' meaning 'you and I'). This means that the inclusive form *ngampula*, as a result of the nature of paradigm, is always used to reference more than two participants – as was indicated in English paraphrasing of denotation of term as 'you and I and other' – while the exclusive form *ngana* can be used to denote two participants. This makes a standard analysis of absolute number problematic. Given the dual number and inclusive/exclusive distinction is limited to part of the paradigm, the system may be better analysed as a minimal-augment system (see Corbett 2000:166-169; see Thompson 1988:26-27 for an earlier minimal-augment analysis of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u and Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:105-111 for a similar analysis of Yintyingka). In this analysis, four person categories would be distinguished based on different combinations of speaker and hearer, e.g. first, second, third, and a first-second category. Two numbers would be

| | NOMINATIVE | | ACCUSATIVE | | GENITIVE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Free** | **Bound** | **Free** | **Bound** | **Free** | **Bound** |
| **1SG** | ngayu | -nga[24] | ngathana/ nganyi | -nyi | ngathangku/ ngatha | -thuku |
| **1DU INC** | ngali | -li | ngalina | -lin | ngalingku | -lingku |
| **1PL INC** | ngampula | -mpu | ngampulana | -mpun | ngampulungku | -mpunku |
| **1PL EXC** | ngana | -na/-na'a | nganana | -nan | nganangku | -nangku |
| **2SG** | ngunu/ nguna | -ntu | ngangkana | -ngin | ngangkangku/ ngangka | -ngku |
| **2PL** | ngu'ula | -nu/nu'u | ngu'ulana | -ni/ni'i | ngu'ulungku | -lungku |
| **3SG** | ngulu | Ø | ngungana | -lun | ngungangku | Ø |
| **3PL** | pula | 'a | pulana | -lana | pulangku | Ø |

**Table 3.7** Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u pronominal system

distinguished, minimal (the minimal number of participants for the relevant person category) and augmented (anything more than the minimal number of participants). Thus, making reference to the forms presented in Table 3.7, the first minimal category would be *ngayu* ('I') and the first augment category would be *ngana* ('we'), the first-second minimal category would be *ngali* ('you and me') and the first-second augment category would be *ngampula* ('you and me and others') etc. The tradition person-number categories that are used in Table 3.7 are also used when glossing pronouns in examples.

In terms of the study presented in this thesis, in either analysis, in relation to person reference there is a key difference between two parts of the paradigm. Using the traditional categories for reference here, the first-person and second-person categories always refer to human interlocutors in the interactional setting. First-person refers to a speaker and possibly their companions, second-person refers to addressee or addressees. Third-person, by contrast, can be applied to inanimate and non-speaking animate referents, as well as speaking human referents.

As can be seen by looking across the columns in Table 3.7, there is a relationship between the forms in the three pronominal case markers, with the accusative and genitive forms derived from the nominative forms. The accusative set is derived through the suffixation of *-na*, and the genitive forms through the suffixation of *-ngku*, e.g. for first-person dual, the nominative form is *ngali*, the accusative form is *ngali-na*, and the genitive form *ngali-ngku*. Nominative case has

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[24] Some bound forms presented in this table are not attested amongst current speakers and are based on work presented by Thompson (1988:26). See usage comments below in text.

irregular pronoun roots which occur in singular forms in first-person, second-person and third-person, e.g. in first-person the nominative form is *ngayu*, while the accusative and genitive forms have *ngatha-* as the root, *ngatha-na* being the accusative form, and *ngatha-ngku* the genitive form.

Bound pronouns are usually formally related to their free counterparts, typically as reduced versions of the free forms. In many cases, the final element/syllable of the free form constitutes the bound form, and thus overwhelming, the bound forms also bear the *-na* accusative / *-ngku* genitive ending frozen as part of their form, e.g. 1duincNOM *-li* from *ngali*; 1duincACC *-lin* from *ngalina*;1duincGEN *-lingku* from *ngalingku*. There are some parts of a paradigm where bound and free forms are less immediately related, e.g. 2sgACC *-ngin* from *ngangkana*; 2plACC *-ni/ni'i* from *ngu'ulana*.

There are no bound forms for nominative third-person singular or for genitive third-person singular and plural. It is a common pattern to have zero forms in third-person, particularly third-person singular (see Cysouw 2003 and Siewierska 2004 for general discussion, and Dixon 1980:362 and Mushin and Simpson 2008:569 regarding Australian context). Current Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers only use a small portion of the bound forms regularly. First-person and third-person forms are most often employed, particularly 1sgNOM, 1plincNOM, 1plexcNOM, 3plNOM and 3plACC. Some accusative bound forms are only attested in formal elicitation. Genitive bound forms are not attested with current speakers at all. The full set of genitive forms, as presented in Table 3.7, is sourced from work by Thompson (1988:26). This could be a reflection of the nature of data employed in the study, namely grammatical and task based elicitation, and narrative data. Perhaps with more everyday interactional data, other bound forms would have been observed, e.g. bound second-person forms.

Lastly, there are a number of variant free pronoun forms. There are two reduced variant forms of genitive pronouns, as shown in Table 3.7, *ngatha* is a variant of *ngathangku* for first-person singular and *ngangka* as variant of *ngangkangku* for second-person singular. O'Grady (1959/1980) specifies in his wordlist that the reduced forms are special genitive pronouns used to code kin relations. This restricted use is not in any way apparent amongst current speakers. Dialect difference accounts for variation in second-person singular nominative: *ngunu* is a Kuuku Ya'u form and *nganu* is the Umpila form. There are also two forms recorded for first-person singular *ngathana* and *nganyi*. Thompson (1988:26) explains *nganyi* as having a special individual emphasis meaning, glossed as "only me". This meaning is suggestive of functions in contrastive contexts; however, once again this usage is not resolutely resolved with current speakers. What can be noted, though, is the use of *nganyi* as the default Kaanju first-person singular form.

### 3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u demonstratives in their basic form function as locational deictics. They are morphologically derived to create pronominal forms that can be used to refer to persons. As common in demonstrative semantics, the key features in the contextual anchoring of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u demonstratives are reference point and remoteness. The reference point is the speaker in the *here-and-now*. The main four demonstrative forms denote locations with varying degrees of remoteness from the speaker reference point – this brief description focuses on basic semantics of these forms, but this is not to suggest they do not have a rich array of pragmatic and discourse usages. There is one proximal relation term (*ngi'i*) and three distal relation terms (*nga'a*, *ngungku* and *ngungkuuna*), presented in Table 3.8[25]. There is a fifth form *kuuna* which is not part of the same paradigm – at least semantically. It is not based on distance, but instead expresses the maintenance or persistence of a location by the entity that the demonstrative anchors (this is typologically unusual, Diessel 1999:38). This is exemplified by the structures in (1) and (2) below. (1) shows the proximal *ngi'i* and distal *nga'a* aligned with first-person and second-person pronouns respectively in reported speech:

(1)  yaw      muunga-na pula        ngu'ulana  **nga'a**
     yes       cut-NF        3plNOM     2plACC       dist.dem1
     (p)a'apakay   ngana        **ngi'i**      kani-munu
     RDP.down    1plexcNOM   prox.dem   up-ABL
     *yes, they cut (the tree), "hey, you lot cut underneath there and we will cut here from on top".*
     (27Mar07:*Manpower*)

Example (2) shows the use of *kuuna* expressing a 'stay there/here' type meaning, as contrasted with distal demonstrative *ngkuuna*:

(2)  kuthu   **kuuna**       Yuuka-nguna
     some    neutral.dem   Pascoe.River-LOC
     **ngkuuna**   wuna-na
     dem.dist3   sleep-NF
     *some stayed at the Pascoe River mouth, (they) slept far over there*
     (13Aug07:*Ngaachi Kungkay*)

---

[25] There are other demonstrative or demonstrative-like forms, mostly archaic or infrequently employed. These forms are not employed for person reference and so are not relevant to main thread of discussion. Two examples are: *kuukuku(lu), ya'u. Ya'u* has a proximal demonstrative meaning, but is only found in older language material and has a conventionalised use as part of the sociolinguistic label Kuuku Ya'u. A form of *kuukuku, kuukukulu* 'from there' (the *-lu* suffix marking this form is probably a frozen ablative marker) functions as a type of discourse marker and acts like a particle, modifying the clause as a whole.

| Reference point | Remoteness | Locative | Pronominal (*-lu* suffix) |
|---|---|---|---|
| near reference point | proximal | ngi'i[26] <br> *here* | ngi'i-lu <br> *this/these one(s)* |
| not near reference point | distal | nga'a <br> *there* | nga'a-lu <br> *that/those one(s)* |
| not near reference point | far distal | ngungku <br> *there far* | ngungku-lu <br> *that/those one(s) there far* |
| not near reference point | remote distal | ngungkuuna <br> *there very far* | ngungkuuna-lu <br> *that/those one(s) there very far* |
| neutral | neutral | kuuna <br> *here/there* | NA |

**Table 3.8**  Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u demonstratives

As shown in Table 3.8, the four paradigmatically related forms can be derived into pronominal demonstratives through suffixation of a *-lu* ending. It is these forms that are employed by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers for person reference. Pronimimal demonstratives make reference to entities with the same semantic distinctions as seen in the underived forms, i.e. in terms of their relative distance from the speaker's reference point (as above, this statement obscures much of the complexity of pronominal demonstratives found in pragmatic and discourse functions). In Table 3.8, the unmodified demonstratives in the column labeled 'locative', on the other hand, provide locational qualification of a predication. Semantically, these demonstratives are inherently locative, they signal a location where an entity or event is located without any use of local case markers. With the exception of place names this function is not available to other nominals. The *kuuna* demonstrative is also set apart from the rest of the paradigmatic set as being unable to be derived into an pronominal demonstrative. To illustrate the different functions, example (3) shows a regular locative form of the second distal demonstrative *ngungku* 'there far' signalling the location of origin of the referent, while example (4) shows an the pronominal derivation of the second distal demonstrative, *ngungkulu* 'those ones there far', used to make reference to a group of old women who were always digging yams.

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[26] In discourse the first syllable *ngu-* may be elided in *ngungku* and *ngungkuuna* and the *-'i* and *-'a* may be elided from *ngi'i* and *nga'a*.

(3)  ngatha      ngachimu  kalma-n   **ngungku**  kungka-lu
     1sgGEN      MF        come-NF   dem.dist2   north-ABL
     *my grandfather come from there far, from the north-east*
     (14Apr04:*Yuuka1*)


(4)  wa'ali-ngka              **ngungku-lu**     mayi    ngawura
     dig.PROG-PRES.CONT     dem.dist2-DM     food     plant.sp
     apalpi-ngka
     gather.PROG-PRES.CONT
     *those ones over there (old women) were always digging (yams) and gathering the red fruit*
     (21Apr04:*Yuuka1*)


**3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed seven major lexical categories of person reference terminology and two categories of pronominal reference. To sum up, I will revisit the three questions posed in the introduction, and briefly draw-together key observations made throughout this chapter in response to them.

*Are some areas of the social world divided into finer linguistic categories, while comparatively others remain poorly discriminated?* The nature and degree of semantic precision that person reference categories afford speakers in making reference varies greatly across the system. Kin-terms are the most highly elaborated person reference field in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u: they show the highest number of semantic distinctions which includes coding of states of bereavement, but they also have dedicated grammar and associated registers of speech. Human classificatory terms, by contrast, map across the whole social world like kin-terms, but they do so with a simple system that codes only nine core distinctions. Likewise, ethnonyms only have a small set of distinctions, matching Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people's limited interaction with other groups. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers also have available a rich array of denizen expressions. These highlight the importance of being able to talk about group identity in a number of different ways, with different sets of expressions in this system highlighting different facets of group membership, e.g. linguistic affiliation, territory affiliation, environment association. Taken together the semantic elaboration in categories expressing kinship and group identity provides some insight into Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u society's cultural pre-occupations.

*How open are the various systems of terminology to new expressions, allowing speakers to create new semantic distinctions as required?* Pronominal forms and kin-terms are closed classes. All other categories are open classes, with new terminology often productively formed using regular nominal derivational strategies, i.e. reduplication, comitative suffixes, associative

suffixes, nominalisation. Unsurprisingly, given their social function, nicknames are readily and spontaneously formulated. The other categories most open to novel creations, are the two sets of terms typically used to categorise groups of people, ethnonyms and denizen expressions. Both categories allow for the formulation of creative and semantic transparently descriptions which can be used to label groups of people based on their associations with certain habitats or skills or characteristics. Edging into the domain of the next question, this flexibility has some bearing on their currency and maintenance amongst Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers.

*What terminology has remained current and what has fallen into disuse in contemporary life in Lockhart River community?* There has been both loss of person reference terminology and changes in usage. Most prominent in terms of loss are a suite of traditional personal names, including the 'bush name', 'hiccup name' and 'umbilical cord name'. These names were not publicly known or were associated with birthing rituals no longer practiced – both factors would have contributed to early loss of these names in Mission life. English personal names have been adopted since early contact with white people, but these serve very different functions to the traditional names – they can be used for reference. There is also notably diminished knowledge and use of bereavement kin-terms terms. Likewise, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u nicknames are no longer used frequently, but their English-based equivalents show similar semantic features and usage. To add to the list of changing usages, denizen expressions which identify members at language-name tribe level, rather than at a clan level of organisation have gained significant currency due to contemporary community-based life and political changes around land-claims. By contrast, human-classificatory terms, the regular kin-term system, ethnonyms and denizen expressions, and pronominal resources (excepting some loss of bound pronoun forms) have all been well maintained in the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u micro-speech community.

This chapter has presented the referential repertoire that Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers have available when making person reference, to prepare for the later analysis of its use in narration. Not all of the person reference categories presented here are frequently employed in the narrative context, and so not all will be a meaningful part of the coming investigation. That being said, as with any systematic relation, where a choice is made from among a set of options, part of understanding the function of an option is to understand its choice over other options available.

# Chapter 4    The noun phrase

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **kampinu-lu** | **tha'i-na-lana** | **kukuthi** | **wayimu** | **ya'a** | **ngungangku** |
| man-ERG | hit-NF-3plACC | three | woman | Ze | 3sgGEN |

*the man hit those three women, his sisters*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **kampinu-lu** | **tha'i-na** | **ya'a-lkay,** | **tha'i-n-lana** | **kukuthi** |
| man-ERG | hit-NF | Ze-NSG | hit-NF-3plACC | three |

*the man hit the sisters, (he) hit those three*

—— Susie Pascoe's use of multiple coreferential expressions in response to the elicitation prompt 'the man speared the three sisters'.


## 4.1 Introduction

The noun phrase (NP) is the grammatical unit in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u that is most relevant to the investigation of person reference. None of the person reference resources available in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u require co-occurrence with a coreferential verbal expression: except for the non-obligatory use of bound pronouns, person reference formulations function syntactically as NPs. Thus, understanding the nature of the NP, and what combinations and constraints on reference this structural unit affords, is central to the endeavour of this study.

Person reference expressions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration are highly varied; it is one aspect of narration that shows notable inter- and intra-textual variation. At one end of the spectrum there is rife ellipsis employed by narrators (§6.2.3). At the other end, narrators frequently produce strings of multiple coreferential person reference expressions (§5.6). For instance, consider the following example from the *Wapa* narrative, where in one utterance, two strings of nominal forms are employed in reference to two brothers: a sequence of a pronoun and a demonstrative pronoun *pula nga'alu* and a sequence with the consecutive use of a quantifier, a dyad marker and kin-term in *pa'amu ma'a yapu*:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | **pula** | **nga'a-l** | waathi-nya | **pa'amu ma'a** | **yapu** | |
| | 3plNOM | dem.dist1-DM | go-NF | two | DYAD | Be |

*those ones went, the two, two brothers*
(20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

As another case in point, take this example from the *Preparation for dancing* narrative, which shows the consecutive use of five nominals in a single clause, referring to a single referent: there is a sequence of a pronoun, demonstrative pronoun and a human classificatory

term, *ngulu nga'al chilpu*, and a short pause followed by a sequence of a kin-term and a possessive pronoun *ngami ngangkangku*:

(2)    waatha-ka   inga-na   **ngulu**      **nga'a-l**         **chilpu**   (.) **ngami**
       go-FUT      say-NF    3sgNOM     dem.dist1-DM    old.man     FZeC
       **ngangkangku**
       2sgGEN
       *"(we) will go" said that old man, your cousin*
       (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*)

Utterances like these present the basic analytical problem of what counts as a single referring expression. Are the strings of nominals in example (1) and (2) single NPs (with discontinuous elements) or multiple NPs? This fundamental question needs to be resolved before the study can progress with any consideration of initial versus subsequent person referring expressions (as explored in chapter 5 and 6 respectively). Properly understanding the syntactic pressures and combinatorial preferences in the grammar of NPs in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is the crucial first step, before investigating how speakers manipulate these structures to achieve various interactional and rhetorical goals.

This chapter consists of two main parts. First, in §4.2–§4.5 I will examine the structure of simple NPs. This will largely focus on combinatorial possibilities and the function of subcomponents in the NP. Second, in the last two sections I examine two more complex features in NP structure, namely variation in the placement of determiners (§4.6) and complex NP structures (§4.7).

## 4.2 Structure of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u NP

Section 4.2 discusses the fundamental aspects of the structure of the NP: the types of heads available in §4.2.1, and the basic template for NPs in §4.2.2, together with the basic analytical criteria defining the NP unit in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. A key point made apparent through this discussion is that in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u NP units are more clearly defined and structured than has been often reported in the Australian context (see Blake 1983, 2001; Hale 1983; Heath 1986; Nordlinger 2014 for accounts of flat and syntactically flexible (discontinuous) NPs; also see Louagie and Verstraete (2016) which survey this issue in a large sample of Australian languages and argue there is limited evidence for any widespread absence of NP constituency across Australia).

### 4.2.1 Pronominal and lexical NPs

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u there is a fundamental distinction between phrases with a pronominal head and phrases with a lexical head. A pronominal NP usually consists of a sole free pronoun;

that is, a free personal or possessive pronoun (§3.3.1), or a pronominal demonstrative (§3.3.2). Example (3) shows the use of the free pronoun *ngulu* 'he/she', example (4) shows the pronominal demonstrative *nga'alu* 'that one' and example (5) shows the possessive pronoun *ngu'ulungku* 'yours'.

(3)  kuyi    **ngulu**      waathi-nya
     then    3sgNOM    go-NF
     *then she went*
     (08Feb05:*Ku'unchi Wuthathi*)


(4)  ngathan    **nga'a-lu**         ngangka-la
     1sgACC    dem.dist1-DM    give-IMP.SG
     *"give me that one"*
     (08Feb05:*Ku'unchi Wuthathi*)


(5)  kuuna          nga'a       aachi-nya   **ngu'ulungku**
     neutral.dem    dem.dist1    cook-NF    2plGEN
     *there (you) cooked yours*
     (08Feb05:*Ku'unchi Wuthathi*)


Pronominal heads can be followed by a quantifier specifying extra number information about the referent, which can express either exact or approximate quantification information e.g. *ngu'ula pa'amu* 'you two' or *ngu'ula kuthu* 'you some'. Example (6) shows the use of the quantifier *puntikuma* 'all' modifying the pronominal head *ngana* 'we'.


(6)  **ngana**          **puntikuma**   ilpi-na       Old Mission
     1plexcNOM    all                return-NF   old.mission
     *we all returned to the Old Mission*
     (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*)


The head of a lexical NP can be drawn from a wide array of nominal subclasses (which are largely distinguished based on morphology; §1.4.1), e.g. common nouns, locatives, or temporal nominals. Example (7) contains three lexical NPs showing heads drawn from these three classes: the temporal *nhiikuna* 'today'[27], the noun *taway* 'moon', and the locative (directional sub-class) *kaaway* 'east'.

---

[27] Temporal nominals are established as nominals that can head NPs on the basis that they can modified with quantifiers to indicate duration, e.g. *taway pa'amu* 'two moons' i.e. 'two months'; *ngulkum wiiyama* 'other day', i.e. 'day after tomorrow'.

(7)  **nhiikuna    taway**  kiika-la    **kaaway**
     today        moon     look-NF     east
     *today (we) see the moon in the east*
     (27May05:*Taway*)

Example (7) contains all single lexical NPs, which consist of a phrasal head on its own. Lexical NPs are often expanded with other optional constituents, with a much larger range of options than pronominal NPs. (8) shows the lexical NP *tangu ngungangku* 'his canoe' with the third-person possessive pronoun specifying possession of the head noun *tangu* 'canoe'.

(8)  **tangu    ngungangku**  wana-na
     canoe     3sgGEN         leave-NF
     *(he) left his canoe*
     (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)

In example (9), the head noun *kampinu* 'man' is preceded by a combination of a pronoun and a demonstrative pronoun functioning as determiners in the lexical NP 'those men':

(9)  **pula      nga'a-l       kampinu**  waathi-nya-na
     3plNOM    dem.dist1-DM   man        go-CAUS-NF
     *those men were made to go*
     (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

In example (10) the adjective *mukan* 'big' indicates an attribute of the head noun *yuma* 'wood/fire' in the lexical NP 'a big fire':

(10) **yuma      mukan**  ma'upi-na
     wood/fire  big      make-NF
     *(we) made a big fire*
     (12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*)

The bulk of the discussion in this chapter describes the structure and function of optional expansions in lexical NPs, such as the addition of determiner and modifier subcomponents like those shown in examples (8)-(10).

**4.2.2 The NP as a syntactic constituent**
In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u the existence of an NP and the identification of a sequence of nominals as a single phrase can be established by three criteria: fixed internal ordering, right peripheral

attachment of case, and prosodic packaging. I first discuss the internal structure of NPs, with the relevant word order principles, and then discuss their external behaviour in terms of case marking and prosodic packaging.

### 4.2.2.1 Internal structure of the NP

An NP in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u consists of a head noun with the optional addition of nominals with modifier and determiner functions. The head noun has an entity function – that is, it functions as the primary reference to an object, person or place etc. The modifier is located following the noun head, and (multiple) determiner(s) occur in mutually exclusive distribution on either the right or left edge of the phrase. In pronominal NPs the head is a pronoun and may be optionally followed by a quantifier with determiner functions (see (6) above). This order of NP sub-constituents is shown in Figure 4.1.

Pronominal NP
    (Pronoun)     (Determiner)

Lexical NP
    {(Determiner(s))}    (Entity)        {(Determiner(s))}
                                         (Modifier)
                    (N<small>GENERIC</small>:N<small>SPECIFIC</small>)
                    (<small>DYAD</small>:N<small>KIN</small>)
                    (N<small>KIN</small>:*kuunchi*)

**Figure 4.1** The NP structure templates

The NP exhibits adherence to the order illustrated in these templates. In Figure 4.1 optionality is indicated by parentheses and alternatives are indicated by curly brackets. As represented in the templates, all slots in the phrase structure are optional. Even the head noun can be omitted if the referent is retrievable from a coreferential, or partially coreferential, headed NP within the immediate discourse context (§4.5). Figure 4.1 also presents the structure of three special lexical NP constructions in which the identification of a single head is problematic (listed in the lexical template under the entity slot). These will be discussed in more detail in section 4.7: the generic noun (N<small>GENERIC</small>) and specific noun (N<small>SPECIFIC</small>) together enter into classifying construction (§4.7.1), and the dyad marker *ma'a* 'hand' and *kuunchi* 'relative' combine with a kin-term in two special kin (dyadic) constructions (§4.7.2-§4.7.3).

As per Figure 4.1, the head noun may be optionally specified by (multiple) determiner(s) placed at either the right or left edge of the NP unit – therefore within the fixed order is the flexibility of available two slots for determiners. Two types of determiners, comprised of different nominal subclasses, can be distinguished from each other by their mutually exclusive distribution. This is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Determiner(s):  ⎰ (Pronoun) (Demonstrative Pronoun *nga'alu*) (Quantifier) ⎱
                ⎱ (Possessive Pronoun)                                    ⎰
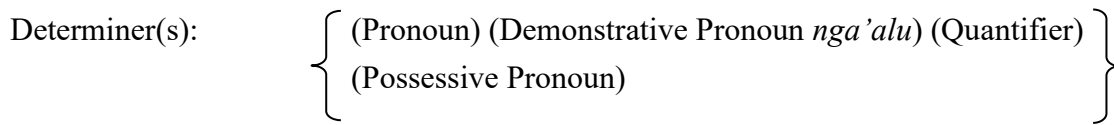
**Figure 4.2** Determiner organisation in the NP structure

First, there is a set of basic determiners: pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and quantifiers employed with determiner functions in lexical NPs. These can co-occur in a single NP as ordered in Figure 4.2. The second type of determiner is a single possessive pronoun, not combined with anything else. These two patterns are illustrated in (11) and (12) below: example (11) shows the full set of basic determiners preceding the head noun *wayimu* 'woman', while example (12) shows the second-person possessive pronoun *ngangkangku* specifying possession of the head noun *thika* 'things'.

(11)  pulthunu    (.)   **pula**      **nga'a-lu**      **pa'amu wayimu-lu**
      boy               3plNOM        dem.dist1-ERG     two     woman-ERG
      waathi-nya    malngkan-ku
      go-NF         beach-DAT
      *a boy and those two women went to the beach*
      elicitation prompt: 'he and the women went to the beach'
      (06Sep08:Elicitation)

(12)  ngampula      kali-na       **thika**      **ngangkangku**
      1pl.incNOM    take-NF       things     2sgGEN
      *we all carried your belongings*
       (12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*)

No NP contains nominals in every possible slot in the template – by this I mean the full composite of basic determiners and a modifier modifying the head noun. However, it is not uncommon to have phrases composed of multiple subcomponents. This includes NPs with selections of both determiner and modifier subcomponents. This is not a frequent formulation pattern, but it is attested in instances like (13). Example (13) shows a pronoun and demonstrative functioning as determiners located before the head noun *pulthunu* 'boy', followed by the adjective *mukan* 'big' functioning as a modifier.

(13)  **ngulu**      **nga'a-l**       **pulthunu**   **mukan** nhiina-na
      3sgNOM     dem.dist1-DM      boy          big       sit-NF
      *that big boy sat*
      (15Aug07:*Wapa1*)

Implicit in the discussion of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u NP so far is the strong association between certain word classes and the modifying slots in the phrase structure. The nominal subclasses indicated above – pronouns, demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu*, quantifiers, and possessive pronouns – are overwhelmingly restricted to determiner functions in lexical NPs. Likewise, adjectives almost always function as modifiers alone in the NP structure (§4.4), though with some exceptions. There are some word-classes that can be employed in multiple slots in the phrase structure (as will be discussed §4.4 and §4.5), but this appears to be largely dispreferred in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, unlike in some other Australian languages (see Dench 1994 for Martuthunira, Evans 1995 for Kayardild, and McGregor 1990 and 2004 regarding Gooniyandi).

**4.2.2.2 External behaviour of NPs**

In addition to a fixed internal structure, the second piece of evidence supporting the identification of an NP unit is its external behaviour, morphologically and prosodically. Morphologically, NPs in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u show right peripheral attachment of case. Case marking, along with some other (non-derivational) morphology, always attaches to the last constituent of the phrase. This functions as a phrase boundary marker, and provides crucial supporting evidence for the existence of a unified NP unit. Phrasal case marking has been used extensively as evidence for NP structure in the Australian context; to list a few Bowern (2012:169-170) for Bardi; Gaby (2006:277) for Kuuk Thaayorre; Goddard (1985:47) for Yankunytjatjara; Hale (1983:1434) for Warlpiri; McGregor (1990:173-174, 276-284) for Gooniyandi; Reid for (1990:326) on Ngan'gityemerri/Ngan'gikurunggurr; Smith and Johnson (2000:385) for Kugu Nganhcara; Wilkins (1989) for Arrernte (Mparntwe). Right peripheral attachment of morphology in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is illustrated in example (14), where the non-singular suffix *-kamu* and the ergative case *-lu* attach to the phrase final item *pulthunu* 'boy'. Likewise in (15), the comitative suffix *-pinta* is attached to the final item in the phrase. In this case, the last item is the adjective *chu'uchi* functioning as a modifier to the head noun *ku'aka* 'dog'.

(14)  **pula**        **pa'amu pulthunu-kamu-lu** (.)    tha'i-na
      3plNOM    two      boy-NSG-ERG            hit-NF
      *those two boys killed (the wapa)*
      (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

(15)  hey  ngku        waatha-ka kungkay-ma  **ku'aka  chu'uchi-pinta**
      hey  dem.dist2  go-FUT    north-DIR     dog       small-COM
      *hey (he) will go northwards with the little dog*
      (30Jun08:*Pulthunukamu*)

The third piece of evidence for the existence of an NP unit in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is prosodic organisation. An NP is typically produced within a single intonation contour, and without planned pauses produced phrase-medially (similar prosodic criteria for the existence of an NP have been noted by, amongst others, Dench (1994:189) for Martuthunira; Gaby (2006:278) for Kuuk Thaayorre; Harvey for Warray (1986:252) and for Gaagudju (2002:316); Merlan (1994:225-226) for Wardaman; McGregor (1990:284) for Gooniyandi; Schultze-Berndt (2000:43) and Schultze-Berndt and Simard 2012:1021-1025) for Jaminjung). When pauses do occur, they support the NP analysis. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u a single intonation unit can include short pauses: pauses where the pitch is not reset are analysed as ocurring within a single intonation unit. These short pauses, except in instances of repairs or interruptions by other interluctors, always occur at syntactic constituent boundaries. They are often found in contexts with multiple contiguous NPs or an elaborate NP in the clause. Whether this is a matter of production limitations or to assist with comprehension is a matter for empirical investigation. Example (14) and (16) have intonation-unit-medial pauses marked by transcription symbol for micro pauses (.) (see Transcription conventions on page xix). In (14) the pause occurs between the NP *pula pa'amu puthunukamukamulu* 'those two boys' and the predicate *tha'ina* 'hit'. In example (16), there are two pauses separating three contiguous NPs (further supported by the non-singular suffix *-kamu* repeated on the first two): the first NP is *anthaykamu* 'girls', the second *puthunkamu* 'the boys', and the third NP *pula wupuynyuma* 'the children'.

(16) **anthay-kamu**      **pulthan-kamu**   (.) **pula**      **wupuypunyuma**    aalma-na
       girl-NSG           boy-NSG                3plNOM     child.RDP          grow-NF
       *the girls and boys, those children grew up.*
       (12Apr05:*Maisey Temple*)

## 4.3 Determiners

As already mentioned, a head noun in an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u NP can be optionally specified by multiple determiners drawn from one of the two determiner groups, basic determiners and possessive determiners. This is summarised in Table 4.1 (see also Figure 4.1).

The next two pairs of examples (17)-(18) and (19)-(20) nicely illustrate the mutually exclusive distribution of these two groups of determiners before and following the head noun – using minimal pair type examples featuring *pula* 'they' and *ngatha(ngku)* 'my'. In (17) and (18) the pronoun *pula* 'they' functioning as a determiner is located before and after the NP head *ku'unchi* 'old woman'. In (19) and (20) the possessive pronoun *ngatha(ngku)* functioning as a determiner is located before and after the NP head *muka* 'mother's older sibling'.

| Basic determiners | Possessive determiners |
|---|---|
| pronouns | possessive pronouns |
| e.g. *pula anthaya* 'those girls' | e.g. *ngathangku maampa* 'my daughter' |
| demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu* | |
| e.g. *nga'alu anthay* 'that/those girl(s)' | |
| quantifiers | |
| e.g. *kukuthi anthaya* 'three girls' | |

**Table 4.1**  Determiner groups

(17)  **pula**      **ku'unchi**      kalma-tha      nhantha  now
      3plNOM    old.woman      come-FUT      spear      now
      *those old women will come with a spear now*
      (08Aug07:*Wuungka*)

(18)  **ku'unchi  pula**      waathi-ngka      muungkal  api-ngka
      old.woman 3plNOM    go-PRES.CONT  wongai      get-PRES.CONT
       *those old women are going out and picking the wongai fruit*
      (14Apr04:*Yuuka1*)

(19)  **muka**      **ngathangka**  nganan      aalma-nya-na
      MZe/MBe      1sgGEN        1plexcACC    raise-CAUS-NF
      *my aunty raised us*
      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*)

(20)  **ngatha**    **muka**      inchi-nya-na  Sergeant
      1sgGEN      MZe/MBe      tell-NF-now  sergeant
      *my aunty told the Sergeant now*
      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*)

Functionally, the nominals filling the determiner slots contribute to the identification of the referent. They specify the reference of the NP via the addition of information on person (i.e. pronouns), identifiability (i.e. demonstrative pronoun), number (i.e. quantifiers), and possession (i.e. possessive pronouns). Given that they can occur in combinations, determiners have the most potential to elaborate on the lexical head within a single phrase. Additionally, they have the largest positional flexibility in the NP structure, since they can be placed both before and after the head. Given this extra complexity, I will invest more in the discussion of determiners than other aspects of the NP structure. The bulk of this discussion follows in this section:

Section 4.3.1 analyses strings of multiple determiners in the light of the NP template discussed in the previous section. Sections 4.3.2–4.3.5 describe the function of each type of determiner, namely pronouns, the demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu*, quantifiers, and possessive pronouns. I round off with a discussion of some tendencies that pairs specific types of determiners with different types of lexical heads.

**4.3.1 Strings of multiple determiners**
NPs specified by basic determiners can be elaborate in form, as in example (21) where all three types of basic determiners, *pula* 'they', *nga'alu* 'those' and *kukuthi* 'three', specify the head noun *pulthunu* 'boy'.

(21)  **pula**         **nga'a-l**          **kukuthi**    **pulthunu**
      3plNOM       dem.dist1-DM       three        boy
      uthatha-ngka                        *muchi-nu-*    *muchi-ku*
      swim.PROG-PRES.CONT      centre-?      centre-GEN
      *those three boys were always swimming in the middle (of the night)*
      elicitation prompt: 'the three boys went swimming in the middle of the night'
      (24Jun08:Elicitation)

Given that pronominal forms can be both determiners of lexical NPs and heads of pronominal NPs (§4.2.1), it is not a priori clear that expressions like (21) can be analysed as single simple phrase units rather than as separate NPs in apposition. In this section, I argue that such structures can be analysed as simple NPs on the criteria discussed above in §4.2.2; that is, the three pronged criteria of: fixed order, phrasal case attachment, and prosodic packaging.

First, the posited determiners occur in two fixed slots in relation to the phrasal head: in their default position before the head in a string of up to three determiners, or in a rarer order following the head with just one determiner. Thus, they have strong positional restrictions, albeit with some flexibility in the selection of either of these two fixed slots. As per Figure 4.1, combinations of basic determiners preceding the head are always ordered from left to right: pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, quantifier. This ordering is illustrated in example (21) above, and also in (22) and (23) which display the more common pattern of two basic determiners co-occurring: pronoun + *nga'alu* in (22), and *nga'alu* + quantifier in (23). The three basic determiners each have different functions in identifying the referent, as will discussed in the coming scetions §4.3.2–4.3.4: pronouns indicate global participant relations, *nga'alu* identifiability to recipient, and quantifiers participant quantity attribute.

(22) **pula**          **nga'a-l**           **kampinu**   waathi-nya-na
     3plNOM    dem.dist1-DM    man          go-CAUS-NF
     *those men were made to go*
      (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)


(23) **nga'a-lu**            **kuthu**   **ku'unchi**   mayi    i'ira       ma'upi-na-na
     dem.dist1-DM     some     old.woman  food    mangrove   make-NF-now
     *some old women made mangrove food now*
     (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)


Determiners can also follow the head, as in examples (24) and (25). There are no spontaneous examples recorded of combinations of determiners following the phrase head, as they do before the head. Relatedly, there are no clear attestations of nominals filling both determiner and modifier functions occurring following the head. The general patterning is of a single form filling a single function in the post-head environment.


(24) **wunchawuncha**        **nga'a-l**            ukapi   kalma-na
     young.men             dem.dist1-DM     first   come-NF
     *those young men came first*
     (23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*)


(25) **pama**       **pula**       wathathi-ngka            minya
     aboriginal  3plNOM    go.PROG-PRES.CONT    animal
     pungana-ku    waaya-li-ngka
     fish-DAT        throw-?-PRES.CONT
     *those aboriginals kept going for fish, kept throwing the lines*
     elicitation prompt: 'they fished there at creek all the time'
     (24Jun08:*Elicitation*)


The fact that there is only one 'slot' after the head noun could raise questions about the posited status of determiners in this slot. A different line of analysis would be to consider post-head instances of pronouns/demonstrative pronouns/quantifiers as filling the modifier slot in the NP structure. This would simplifiy the phrase structure rule, albeit requiring some broadening of the account of the function of modifiers. However, there are two important pieces of evidence supporting the determiner analysis. First, this creates a structural and functional symmetry in NP structure, as we see the same variation in position for possessive pronouns, which as mentioned above are in complementary distribution with the basic determiners (see examples (17)-(20) above). There is little doubt about the determiner status of possessive

pronouns: they are rarely found without a lexical NP head, and they form one semantic and structural unit with the form adnominally modifying the head, in pre- or post-head position. In light of this clear interpretation for possessive pronouns, it would be less parsimonious to analyse the distribution of possessive pronouns and the basic determiner forms differently. Additionally, the environments which condition post-head placement for basic determiners are systematic, and they also overlap with the conditions that motivate the distribution of possesive determiners relative to the head as well (see further in §4.6). Thus, at least from the perspective of ordering principles, the posited determiners really are part of the NP.

The second piece of evidence along the same lines relates to case attachment. Forms displaying determiner functions can take lexical case and some other phrasal morphology when placed at the NP's right periphery. Two examples showing this are (26) and (27). In (26), the phrase *puula pulangkuku* 'for their father's father' has a dative case *-ku* attached to the possessive determiner *pulangku* 'theirs' on the right edge of the phrase. Similarly in (27) in the phrase *yuma wiiyamanguna* 'at the other fire' the quantifier determiner *wiiyama* 'another' follows the head and is marked with the local case suffix *-nguna*.

(26)  1  AN       ngatha      ngachimu  kalma-na   piipi-ku-ku
                  1sgGEN      MF         come-NF    F-GEN-DAT
                  *my grandfather (maternal) came for father's one (the one from father's side)*
                  (0.6)
      2  AN       **puula    pulangku-ku**
                  FF         3plGEN-DAT
                  *for their grandfather (paternal)*
         (04Jan76:*Naiga biography*)

(27)  **yuma    wiiyama-nguna**    wuna-na
      fire      another-LOC         sleep-NF
      *(he) slept at another fire*
      (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*)

On the whole, examples showing determiners bearing suffixes are somewhat limited due to morphological restrictions on some parts-of-speech with determiner functions. For instance, pronominal forms cannot take most lexical case in addition to their own (pronominal) morphology: personal pronouns are already marked by pronominal case and the demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu* 'that/those ones' has the *-lu* derivational suffix with which other morphology is rarely observed. But this being said, examples like (26) and (27) provide clear support for the right peripheral case attachment condition.

Third, on prosodic criteria, the posited determiners always occur in the same prosodic unit as other elements in the proposed NP unit, whether they precede or follow. In example (28), *nga'alu* 'that/those one' is prosodically packaged with the reduplicated human classificatory term *ku'uku'unchi* 'old women' with a short pause falling between this phrase and the verb *yinchumana* 'closer'. All prosodic breaks, whether intonation unit medial pauses (as in (28)) or a new tone unit, always occur at constituent boundaries. This generalisation includes posited NP units incorporating multiple determiners. In contrast, prosodic breaks are found to occur between pronominal NPs and lexical NPs, like in (29) where there is a short pause between the pronominal subject NP *ngampula* 'we' and the headless NP *kuthu* 'some'.

(28) **nga'a-l**        **ku'unku'unchi**  (.)    yinchu-ma-na
     dem.dist1-DM    RDP.old.woman          close-VBLZ-NF
     *those old women come closer*
     (27Jun08:*Rubbing day*)

(29) **ngampula**    (.)    **kuthu**   kantha-nya
     1plincNOM              some      eat-NF
     *we all ate some (fish)*
     (08Feb05:*Ku'unchi Wuthathi*)

**4.3.2 Pronouns functioning as a determiner**

Personal pronouns functioning as determiners are mainly third-person forms, as illustrated in (30) ((22) reproduced from above) and in many other examples above, like (18), (21) and (25). This is, in fact, the case in most other Australian languages that allow personal pronouns as determiners (see Louagie and Verstraete 2015). There are no structures with second-person pronouns in the corpus, and only a handful of first-person forms, as in (31) below[28]. For these, it is unclear whether they can really be analysed as determiners. Third-person forms provide some semantic specification of the referent, while contributing little descriptive information besides number. In contrast, first-person forms also contribute speaker-reference information, which makes it difficult to assign a head in semantic terms (see discussion of this point regarding the Australian context in Louagie and Verstraete (2015:163-164), and more generally in Lyons (1999:141-145)). In the rest of this section, the focus is on third-person forms.

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[28] The first-person instances are all employed in conjunction with human classificatory and ethnonym head nouns (e.g. 'we old women' and 'we aboriginal people') and are often generic referents. Example (30) is a good case in point. The *Midwife* narrative from which this example is drawn is a *custom way* narrative (§2.4.3). The use of first-person inclusive pronoun *ngampula* in the phrase *ngampula ku'unchi* 'we old women' aligns a key generic participant, the group of elderly midwives, with the current elderly female narrators. It highlights the midwives and the narrators as sharing a social role associated with their age and gender as encoded in the head noun.

(30)  **pula**       **nga'a-l**        **kampinu**   waathi-nya-na
      3plNOM      dem.dist1-DM    man           go-CAUS-NF
      *those men were made to go*
      (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

(31)  **ngampula**    **ku'unchi**      inga-na  away     palu  kalmi
      1plincNOM   old.woman       say-NF  INTJ     INTJ come.IMP
      *kuuna*           *nhiina-tha-ntu*
      neutral.dem    sit-FUT-2plNOM
      *we old women called out, 'hey you come here and sit down'*
      (09Mar07:*Midwife*)

Determiner pronouns usually serve to manage participant relations, especially by signalling
or selecting a sub-participant within a group participant. Number is not obligatorily marked on
nouns and unmodified nouns are unspecified as singular or plural. Determiner pronouns are
often the only specification of referent number. The number information in the pronoun helps
to split and unify participant constellations, i.e. selecting one man *ngulu kampinu* 'the man'
from a group of men *pula kampinu* 'those men' (as in (30)) or vice versa. For instance, in the
*I'ira* narrative the focus shifts back and forth from a group of old women, instructing the young
girls how to process *i'ira* mangrove pods, to one old woman in particular who takes the lead in
this instruction. The human classificatory term *ku'unchi* 'old woman' bears determiner
pronouns to signal these shifts: in (32) the use of *pula* 'they' as a determiner pronoun references
the group of old women in the NP *pula ku'unchilu* 'those old women', and then in (33), two
utterances later, *ngulu* 'he/she' in *ngulu ku'unchi* 'the old woman' assists in selecting the
leading old woman from the group.

(32)  **pula**        **ku'unchi-lu**         anthamana      yuma      ma'api-na
      3plNOM      old.woman-ERG     before            fire         make-NF
      *those old women first made the fire*
      (05Apr04:*I'ira*)

(33)  1  DS       so **ngulu**       **ku'unchi**
                  so 3sgNOM    old.woman
                  *so the old woman*
      2           (1.1)
      3  DS       wimpa    wa'i-na
                  sand         dig-NF
                  *dug the sand*
      (05Apr04:*I'ira*:00:02:27-00:02:31)

Determiner pronouns are frequently utilised in contexts where there is a need to switch between constellations of participants or to identify a number of sub-participants within a general plural reference. They are often supplemented and assisted in this function by determiner usages of quantifiers (§4.3.4).

### 4.3.3 *Nga'alu* functioning as a determiner

The distal demonstrative *nga'alu* 'that/those ones' is the only demonstrative pronoun employed as a determiner[29]. In this sense, when functioning as a determiner *nga'alu* is not a paradigmatic choice, and thus does not express the distinctions of the demonstrative paradigm to mark different grades of proximity to a deictic centre (§3.3.2). Instead, it has the textual function of coding knowledge states about the referent it marks –functions that are familiar from typological work on demonstratives (Diessel 1999, Himmelmann 1996). *Nga'alu* 'that/those ones' indicates participant access, i.e. a referent that is known and identifiable to the speech interactants. The referent has either already been established within the discourse or is known from shared prior knowledge. In terms of Himmelmann's (1996) typology of discourse uses of demonstratives *nga'alu* functions as both: (i) a tracking demonstrative, which is an anaphoric usage of the demonstrative (1996:226-229); and (ii), a recognitional demonstrative where the referent is identified via exophoric knowledge, rather than from the discourse context in the tracking use (1996:230-239). Both functions of *nga'alu* convey a meaning roughly like, 'I (the speaker) think that you (the addressee) should be able to retrieve this referent' (cf. Wilkins 1989:121 on the 'remember' demonstrative in Mparntwe Arrernte).

Example (34) shows a context where the demonstrative determiner indicates that the referent is the same entity as an antecedent referring expression. The example is an extract from the start of a birth naming sequence in the *Midwife* narrative (§3.2.4.1), and the second overt reference to the baby in this sequence is modified by a demonstrative pronoun *kaa'i nga'alu* 'that baby' (line 6). This pattern is typical: many of the subsequent references to the baby in this sequence as also formulated like this.

(34)  1  DS      nga'a
                 dem.dist1
                 *there*
      2          (0.3)
      3          well    puntha-na-na    **kaa'i**
                 well    emerge-NF-now   baby
                 *there, well, the baby is born (lit. comes out)*
      4          (0.2)

---

[29] It is also the only demonstrative to be employed adnominally, with other demonstratives functioning as head of a pronominal NP or a locative NP.

5  MP      puntha-ngka-na=
                emerge-PRES.CONT-now
                *(it) is being born now*

6  DS      **=kaa'i   nga'a-l**          ka'anta-ngka        ngungana
                baby     dem.dist1-DM     hiccup-PRES.CONT   3sgACC
                *that baby is hiccuping, while his/her* (birth name is called out)
(09Mar07:*Midwife*:00:24:75-00:25:01)

More generally, the use of determiner demonstratives is associated with contexts where there is interactional trouble, e.g. in repairs or word searches or word formulation difficulties. It assists in such situations by invoking shared knowledge of the referent between the speaker and the hearer. For example, in (35) the narrator SP is unable to retrieve, or is not confident with her retrieval of the name of a place. SP uses the demonstrative determiner in the phrase *nga'alu ngaachi* 'that place' in a word search/question in line 1, 'hm::, white people call that pla::::ce, the outstation?'. This is the first reference to the place in the narrative – and so is not an anaphoric usage. (The use of a recognitional demonstrative is just one aspect of the work SP does to indicate her uncertainty about the name of this place: others being prosodic features like hesitation and prolongation and directed eye-gaze to encourage assistance from two other interlocutors.) After a pause, in line 3 SP responds to her own search with *Eileen yard hey*, whispered hesitantly and directed specifically at audience member and daughter LH. LH confirms in line 5 with a repeat of *Eileen yard*.

(35) 1  SP      hm::  para        **nga'a-lu**          **ngaa::::chi** inga-na      outstation
                         hm    white.person  dem.dist1-DM     place        say -NF     outstation
                         *hm white people call that place, the outstation*
        2                (0.8)
        3  SP      °Eileen yard hey?°
        4                (0.4)
        5  LH      Eileen yard
(23Mar07:*King Fred*:0016:56-00:17:03)

As in (35), recognitional uses where *nga'alu* functions as a determiner often specify a generic head noun, e.g. thing, place, person, which indicates the ontological type of the referent requiring recognition. Interactionally, this indicates to the other interlocutors that this is the category of thing that the speaker is having difficulty producing or is uncertain of. Word searches like in (35) are a cross-linguistically common context for recognitional uses of demonstratives (Himmelmann 1996:231).

### 4.3.4 Quantifiers functioning as determiners

Quantifiers specify the quantity of the referent – *two women*, *three dogs, some yams*. Unlike the other determiners, quantifiers can function both as determiners and as modifiers (see further in §4.4), even though determiner use is by far their most common function. The relevant items include cardinal numbers which specify exact number (*nhi'ilama* 'one', *pa'amu* 'two', *kukuthi* 'three'[30]) as well as a range of forms that express approximate quantification (*mukamukana* 'plenty', *kuthu* 'some', *mangku* 'a few', and several less commonly used forms, like *yali* 'many', *kulka* 'many/very'). Furthermore, the quantifier class also includes *wiiyama* 'other/another', which shares both determiner functions and NP slot use with other quantifiers (see further below).

Quantifiers functioning as determiners add extra specificity to the referent or restrict the scope of the reference. This aids in the identifiability of the referent. The specification of number broadly functions to restrict the reference, but always necessarily in relation to encompassing sets of referents. For instance, in example (36) from *Women at the dancing field* narrative, DS and MB jointly introduce and describe the main participants – the two old women, the girls and a big mob of women. There is no reference to the existence of a larger set of participants in the narrative world from which these are selected and higlighted (though there is some implication of this based on the nature of camp activity described within the narrative). However, the use of cardinal or absolute quantifiers in examples like (36) still imply identifiability in a general way, with the use of cardinal numbers requiring the hearer to recognise a specified number of instances of the referent type indicated which implies the referent is identifiable in a broad sense (see Louagie 2017b, and reference within to Davidse 2004, for further discussion of this argument in relation to quantifiers with determiner functions in Australian language NPs). The use of the quantifier in (36) contrasts with the common restrictive function of quantifier bearing NPs in the following examples (37) and (38).

(36)  1  DS    **pula         pa'amu ku'unchi**  nhiina-na
                3plNOM   two       old.woman sit-NF
                *those two old women sat*
       2              (1.3)
       3  MB    anthay-kamu   muk- (.) mukamukana  wayimu
                girl-NSG         big       RDP.big          woman
                *as did the girls and a big mob of women*
        (22Jun05:*Women at the dancing field*:00:01:42-00:01:47)

---

[30] These three terms constitute full set of "cardinal" number forms, as is not uncommon in Australian languages (Dixon 1980:107-108).

Examples (37) and (38) are from a section of the *Buthen Buthen* narrative, where a group of old women, *pula ku'unku'unchi* 'those women', are the main participant. They are referenced in (37) (utterance 88 of the narrative) and they remain the focus of interaction through the intervening sequence until (38) (utterance 94). In (38) the NP formulation *nga'alu kuthu ku'unchi* 'those some old women' selects a subset of this already established participant with the use of *kuthu* 'some'. Successive restriction of reference is a common use of determiner quantifiers: the quantifier alters the scope of an already identified referent, thus identifying a new (sub)referent. I noted similar functions for the determiner use of pronouns (§4.3.3). In fact, quantifier determiners often co-occur with other nominals filling a determiner function. This is particularly so for cardinal numerals, e.g. formulations like *pula/nga'alu pa'amu wayimu* 'those two women'. Quantifiers can specify more precise number information than is encoded in the determiner use of pronouns, or for that matter, in any other resources in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u (i.e. non-singular *-kamu*, reduplication).

(37)  1  DS      **pula**          **ku'unku'unchi**     now  inga-na=
                  3plNOM         RDP.old.woman        now  speak-NF

      2  DS      =away  ngampula
                 INTJ     1plincNOM
                 *those old women now called out, 'hey we will..'.*
      (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen:*00:31:08-00:31:10)

(38)  1  DS      **nga'a-l**           **kuthu  ku'unchi**     mayi  i'ira      ma'upi-na-na
                  dem.dist1-DM       some    old.woman       food  mangrove  make-NF-now
                  *some of those old women make the mangrove food now*
      (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)

*Wiiyama* 'other/another' functions a little differently from the rest of the quantifier set when used as a determiner. Unlike with other quantifiers, *wiiyama* typically does not co-occur with other determiners, but there are a handful of examples where *wiiyama* follows *nga'alu* 'that/those ones' (e.g. example (40)), which supportes the analysis as a quantifier determiner. *Wiiyama* 'other/another' encodes both similarity and non-identity of the referent to another referent, usually in the immediately preceding context, and so the identification of the referent is mediated through the identifiability of another referent. For example, in (40) *nga'alu wiiyama pulthunu* 'that other boy' selects the younger brother from a pair of brothers. *Wiiyama* contrasts this boy to a reference to his brother eight utterances earlier, shown in example (39) (reproduced from (13) above).

(39) **ngulu**      **nga'a-l**        **pulthunu**   **mukan**  nhiina-na
     3sgNOM    dem.dist1-DM    boy          big     sit-NF
     *that big boy sat*
     (15Aug07:Wapa)

(40) **nga'alu**              **wiiyama**   **pulthunu**  ngaachi-nguna-ma
     dem.dist1-DM      another    boy        place-LOC-PRED
     *that other boy was at the place*
     (15Aug07:*Wapa1*)

The use of quantifiers in determiner functions outlined here, contrasts with the use of quantifiers as modifiers. In modifier functions they work to specify or emphasise the degree or number of the referent as an attribute, rather than employing the quantificational semantics as an identification tool (§4.4).

### 4.3.5 Possessive pronouns functioning as determiners

Possessive pronouns as determiners specify the possessor of the head noun – *my father, your house, his boat* (see §3.3.1 for a description of the pronoun paradigm including possessive pronouns). Structurally, as already established above, possessive determiners use the same slot in the NP structure as basic determiners (§4.2.2, §4.3.1). Examples (41), (42) and (43) show possessive pronouns expressing possessive-possessum relations between a possessor and different types of NP heads (artefact, person and place). The position of possessive pronouns in front of and following the head noun (compare (41) with (42) and (43)) will be examined in more detail in §4.6.

(41) Rattler  **ngathangku kul'a**          paalnta-nya
     Rattler  1sgGEN        money/stone  steal-NF
     "Rattler stole my money"
     (04Jan76:*Naiga biography*)

(42) **kaala**   **ngangkangku**      inga-na       ngulku- ngulkungulku
     MBy     2sgGEN            speak-NF   evening evening
     your uncle said "in the evening…"
     (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*)

(43) nga'a-lu              **ngaachi**    **pulangku**    kalma-na         Chinchanaku
     dem.dist1-DM   place       3plGEN       come-NF        night.island
     *that one came from their country, Night Island*
     (12May05:*Maisey Temple*)

As determiners, possessive pronouns serve to narrow the reference of the phrase by adding extra contextual identification of the referent (see Dench 1994:190, for the same point on Martuthunira), e.g. here I (the speaker) talk about <u>my</u> mother, and not <u>your</u> mother or <u>her</u> mother etc. A possessive pronoun also indicates the referent as identifiable through its association with another identifiable referent (see Louagie 2017b and references within to Rijkhoff 2002:174-175; Willemse 2005; Langacker 1991), i.e. the specification of the referent's relationship to a known possessor in the speech event or the discourse world, e.g. in (42) the use of *ngangkangku* 'yours' indicates it is her co-narrator's uncle referenced in the phrase, and in (43) the *pulangku* 'theirs' links the place referred to in the phrase 'their place' to an already established participant in the discourse.

### 4.3.6 Determiner combinatorial tendencies

To round off the discussion of determiners, I briefly comment on an interesting tendency for specific types of determiners to co-occur with specific types of nominal heads, especially in the domain of person reference. This tendency is one of the forces driving the sequences of multiple coreferential references noted in various discussions throughout this study (§5.6, §6.3.2). The relevant pattern is illustrated in (44) below, with a demonstrative *nga'alu* and a first singular possessive *ngatha* marking two coreferential heads respectively, *nga'alu chilpu* 'that old man' and *ngatha piipi* 'my father'.

(44)  1  DS     **nga'a-lu**          **chilpu**  inga-na   **ngatha**     **piipi**   inga-na
                 dem.dist1-DM   old.man  say-NF   1sgGEN     father     say-NF
                 *that old man said, my father said*

      2          (0.5)

      3  DS     waku     ngi'i        ngay         muunga-(m)pu
                 axe      dem.prox  1sgNOM    cut-IMP.SG
                 *"I cut here with the axe!"*

      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya:*00:08:38-00:08:43)

The selection of these two determiner types, basic determiners and possessive determiners, is not independent of the choice of the head nominal. They modify different types of entities in the person reference domain. Kin-terms as opposed to human classificatory terms and ethnonyms have strong combinatory tendencies which pair them with possessive pronouns and determiner phrases, respectively, as in (44) with the coreferential phrases *nga'alu chilpu* 'that old man' and *ngatha piipi* 'my father'. Thus in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, NPs typically pattern in the way shown in Table 4.2:

| Optional determiners | Person reference head | Optional determiners |
|---|---|---|
| (basic determiners) | human classificatory term | (basic determiners) |
| | ethnonym | |
| (possessive pronouns) | kin-term | (possessive pronouns) |

**Table 4.2** Person reference forms and determiners

This is best characterised as a strong tendency rather than a formal restriction on co-occurrence. There are a small number of examples in the dataset, however, where kin-terms are modified by demonstrative pronouns and human classificatory terms by possessive pronouns (with the latter always expressing a kin relationship, e.g. *ngathangku wayimu* 'my woman' with the affinal kin 'wife' reading (§3.2.3). Still, there is a key formal factor in the conditioning of the distribution in Table 4.2. Unlike other nominals, kin-terms are very restricted in terms of what number information they can be marked with. Kin-terms are not adnominally modified by quantifiers, they cannot be reduplicated to indicate number, and the non-singular suffix *-kamu* does not usually mark kin-terms (there is only one instance in the 5+ hour narrative corpus). Instead, two designated resources are used for quantification of kin-terms, the kin dyad marker *ma'a* (§4.7.2) and the *-lkayu* non-singular kin suffix.

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers in navigating these combinatorial restrictions often use multiple coreferentail NPs, as in (44) and likewise in (45). In example (45) two coreferential NPs occur consecutively: first the human classificatory term *ku'unchi* 'old women' is marked by the demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu*, and second the kin-term *ya'a* 'older sister' is marked by the first singular possessive *ngathangku* 'my'.

(45) **nga'alu**      **ku'unchi** (.)   **ngathangku** **ya'a-lu**   inchi-nya
dem.dist1-DM   old.woman          1sgGEN       Ze-ERG     tell-NF
ngangangku   ngaachi-ku    yiipayi  Palinchi
1plexcGEN   place-DAT    south    place.name
*that old woman, my older sister told (me), "to our place in the south, Nesbit River"*
(02Apr07:*Hungry grandmother*)

To further illustrate this point, in an elicitation session the two different permutations in (46) and (47) were produced by a speaker in response to the elicitation sentence 'the man speared his three older sisters'. This response provides some insight into how Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers solve the problem of indicating both specific number information and kin relationship details for a referent. In (46) there are two coreferential NPs, the first headed by a human classificatory term *wayimu* 'woman' with a quantifier determiner specifying the number, and the second headed by the kin-term *ya'a* 'older sister' bearing the possessive determiner. These follow the pattern shown in (44) and (45) above. In (47) the speaker tries a different route. The

kin-term *ya'a* 'older sister' is modified by the non-singular kin suffix *-lkayu* and then a headless NP specifies the number *kukuthi* 'three'.

(46) kampinu-lu     tha'i-na-lana     **kukuthi wayimu**     **ya'a** ngungangku
     man-ERG       hit-NF-3plACC     three     woman     Ze     3sgGEN
     *the man hit those three women, his sisters*

(47) kampinu-lu     tha'i-na **ya'a-lkay**   (.)     tha'i-n-lana         **kukuthi**
     man- ERG       hit-NF   Ze-NSG           hit- NF-3plACC   three
     *the man hit the sisters, (he) hit those three*
     elicitation prompt: the man speared his three older sisters
     (23Aug08:Elicitation)

This patterning exerts important influence on person reference formulation. It means that if an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speaker wishes to utilise the identification functions of basic determiners and also express kin relational information, then two NPs are necessary. These restrictions and the associated combinatory tendencies appears to be one of the conditioning pressures generating the patterns of multiple coreferential references noted in various discussions throughout this study (§5.6, §6.3.4).

**4.4 Modifiers**
As already mentioned in §4.2.2, the NP structure optionally allows for one modifier per phrase, located following the head noun. Modifiers function to indicate a property or characteristic of the entity referred to in the NP. In (48) the adjective *pulpanchi* 'red' functions as a modifier indicating the colour of *kaliku* 'calico'. In (49) the adjective *katha* 'rotten' functions as a modifier indicating a negative quality of *ngumuy* 'smell'.

(48) **kaliku   pulpanchi**     ichi-nya-na
     calico   red               dry-NF-now
     *(he) dried the red calico now*
     (05Apr04:*WW2*)

(49) ku'aka-lu   **ngumuy katha**   nhuungka-na
     dog-ERG   smell   rotten   smell-NF
     *the dog smelt the rotten scent*
     elicitation prompt: 'the rotten smell attracted the dog'
     (12Jul07:Elicitation)

There is a strong association between NP modifier functions and the adjective word class, for good semantic reasons. Adjectives express qualities and characteristics, such as dimension (*uungku* 'tall'), size (*chu'uchi* 'small'), colour (*pulpichi* 'white'), shape (*thuyithuyi* 'crooked'), evaluation (*miintha* 'good'), age (*yilamu* 'old'), temperature (*wulu* 'hot') and so on. Not only are modifiers almost always adjectives, as in examples (48) and (49), but adjectives are also rarely employed in other functions in the NP. The only attestations of adjectives filling other NP functions are: (i) the size adjective *mukana* 'big' functioning as a quantifier – there is a clear semantic motivation for this application; and (ii) the use of adjectives as an NP head (§4.5 example (60)).

The only other word class attested in the modifier function is that of quantifiers. As modifiers, they specify or emphasise the degree or number of the referent as an attribute, rather than employing the quantificational semantics as an identification tool. A key difference between quantifiers filling the modifier function, as opposed to the determiner function, is that the reference never implies a larger pool of referents, of which a subset is being selected or specified (§4.3.4). This is the most common function of quantifiers in determiner slot (§4.3.4). For example, consider (50), the clause *kuunga nhi'ilama paa'ina ngungkulu* 'the lone coconut stands up over there' (line 2). *Nhi'ilama* 'one' functions to describe an attribute of the coconut, that is, that it is a lone coconut tree. The use of the quantifier *nhi'ilama* 'one' does not have clear identificational functions; it does not assist in selecting or restricting the reference of this tree in relation to the *talkay* tree the other people sit under (line 1) (In fact, this identification work is already done by the contrast between *talkay* and *kuunga* tree types).

(50)  1  SP      talkay-nguna      kuthu     nga'a-l            nhiina-na
                 tree.type-LOC     some      dem.dist1-DM       sit-NF
                 *at the talkay tree some of them sat*

      2          (0.4)

      3  SP      nganan          (.)   **kuunga nhi'ilama**  paa'i-na    ngungku-lu
                 1plexcACC             coconut one           stand-NF    dem.dist2-DM
                 *us lot (sat) by the lone coconut, that one over there*
      (04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla:*00:15:45-00:15:48)

As already mentioned, the NP structure allows for a maximum of one modifier per phrase. The only instances of more than one modifier occurring in the same phrase/prosodic unit are in rare emphatic usages where the modifier is repeated several times consecutively for expressive effect. In all other circumstances, multiple characteristics of a referent are encoded in separate phrases. There are a number of ways this can be realised. Multiple attributes can occur in directly apposed phrases with either the entity nominal repeated with the additional modifier, or as is more frequently the case, as a headless NP (§4.5). Consecutive coreferential phrases of

this type are produced in different prosodic units, either in a separate intonation unit or delineated by a pause in the same intonation unit (§4.2.2 on prosodic criteria). To illustrate this point, the following three permutations (example (51)-(53)) were spontaneously made by the speaker in response to an elicitation prompt. In (51) the head noun *pu'ala* 'drum' is repeated in two consecutive NPs, both with a modifier. In (52) the head noun occurs only in the first NP with the second consisting of the modifier *mukana* 'big'. In (53) the two modifying adjectives *yilamu* 'old' and *mukana* 'big' are in apposed phrases with the headed phrase *pu'ala* 'drum' occurring earlier in the clause. There are no ordering constraints or preferences for multiple forms expressing different types of property concepts in these types of formulations.

(51)  kampinu-lu      tha'i-na   **pu'ala**  **yilamu**  (.)  **pu'ala**   **mukana**
      man-ERG          hit-NF      drum         old                drum          big

(52)  kampinu-lu      tha'i-na   **pu'ala**  **yilamu**  (.)  **mukana**
      man-ERG          hit-NF      drum         old                big

(53)  **pu'ala**   tha'i-na  **yilamu**   (.) **mukana**
      drum          man-NF    old                big
      *the man hit the big old drum*
      elicitation prompt: the man hit the big old drum
      (06Sep08:Elicitation)

The previous examples were from elicitation, but it is not usual in spontaneous discourse for multiple characteristics of an entity to be stipulated in the same way. Most often multiple characteristics are expressed in different prosodic units or turns than the entity/headed NP they modify, in afterthought type constructions, repetitive sequences, or list constructions. In multi-party narratives the attribution of characteristics to an entity are usually highly collaborative acts involving multiple narrators. The excerpt in (54) from *Preparation for dancing* narrative is illustrative of this type of collaborative sequence.

(54)  1  SP      manthal      nga'a        **yumpa**  **pulpichi**
              name          dem.dist1   log            white
              *(we) call that white tree*
      2         (1.0)
      3  SP      nga'a-lu                   akuthan
              dem.dist1-DM            tree.sp
              *that one is akuthan*
      4         (0.6)

5  EG      akuthan
           tree.sp
           *akuthan*

6          (0.5)

7  SP      kuyi           ngulu        **mukan**   muunga-na
           and/again   3sgNOM      big           cut-NF
           *then (s)he cut a big (one/tree)*

8          (0.2)

9  DS      kampinu    **yilamu**      too    nga[mpa
           man             old             too    no
           *big/mature (a man one), old too, no ('no good' implied)*

10 EG      [yilamu
           old
           *old*

11         (0.7)

12 DS      kuthu     wu'u-mu    [kuthu   **miintha-ma**
           some      bad-PRED    some     good-PRED
           *some are bad, some are good*

13 EG      [min-    **mintha-ma**    too    hey?
           good-    bad-PRED         too    hey
           *good- it is good too, hey?*

14         (0.7)

15 DS      pulpu=
           white
           *white*

16 EG      =mukana    too
           big             too
           *big too*

(05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*:00:07:45-00:08:02)

Example (54) shows how NPs with modifier functions often feature in cross-speaker repetition structures, and characteristics of an entity are incrementally negotiated and confirmed by several speakers (§6.3.1). In this section of the narrative, interspersed between the small bursts of narrative recounting the men's search, collection and preparation of the bark fiber are sequences like this one where the focus of the talk is on the types and qualities of the plant material collected – *white tree* (line 1); *a big one* (line 7); *old too* (line 9-10); *some are bad, some are good* (line 12). This example provides a typical array of how NPs with modifiers are employed in such sequences – attributively in headed and headless NPs, predicatively and in

syntactically ambiguous intonation units with a single nominal[31]. Indeed in spontaneous discourse modifiers are often not produced in headed NPs. This is true of instances outside of repetitive collaborative sequences too, with nominals functioning as modifiers frequently occurring in headless NPs, either at the right edge of the tone unit of the clause (55), or even being presented in a different intonation unit (56).

(55)  nga'a-lu              thanka      wantuna   wana-na   **mukana**
      dem.dist1-DM   pandanus   IGNOR      leave-NF   big
      *that pandanus was left somewhere, the big (leaf one)*
      (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*)

(56)  1  SP        pula            kalma-mana              nga'a          mayi
                   3plNOM     come-PRES.CONT    dem.dist1   food
                   *they are coming there for food*
      2             (0.8)
      3  SP        **wulu**
                   hot
                   *the hot (food)*
      (08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:25:26-00:25:30)

**4.5 Headless NPs**

Heads of NPs can be absent if the entity they refer to is retrievable from a coreferential, or partially coreferential, headed NP within the near discourse context. This is distinct from the ellipsis of an NP itself, the organisation of which is discussed in chapter 6 (§6.2.3). Headless NPs are phrases that feature dependent forms, i.e. modifiers or determiners, without a phrasal head. This is illustrated in (57), reproduced from §5.4 (55), where the adjective *mukana* 'big' functions as a modifier in a headless NP. It indicates the size of the pandanus leaf referred to in the headed NP *nga'alu thanka* 'that pandanus' earlier in the clause.

(57)  nga'a-lu              thanka      wantuna   wana-na   **mukana**
      dem.dist1-DM   pandanus   IGNOR      leave-NF   big
      *that pandanus was left somewhere, the big (leaf one)*
      (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*)

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[31] There is a structural ambiguity between headless NPs featuring adjectives with modifier functions (e.g. the red cloth) and predicates of non-verbal clauses where the subject argument is ellipsed (e.g. (the cloth) is red). Unless there is contextual evidence to suggest otherwise, adjective forms in their own intonation unit without -*ma* predicator suffix are usually analysed as headless NPs.

Another example of a headless NP is shown in example (58). Here the quantifier *kuthu* 'some' occurs without an overt NP head, and functions to select a subset of the 'we (inclusive)' *ngampula* pronominal NP from the previous utterance (i.e. full realised NP would be *ngampula kuthu* 'some of us').

(58)  1  DS      ngampula       yuma      ma'upi-na    mayi   aachi-ka-mpu
               1plincNOM      fire       make-NF      food   cook-FUT-1plincNOM
               *we made a fire so that we would be able to cook the food*

      2             (1.7)

      3  SP     **kuthu**    waathi-nya       thampu   wa'i-na
               some      go-NF            yam      food
               *some (of us) went and dug yams*

      (31Jan05:*Umunu*: 00:03:58-00:04:04)

Example (59) has three coreferential NPs, two of which are headless: the first NP is a combination of a pronoun and demonstrative pronoun *pula nga'alu* 'those ones' functioning as determiners in a headless phrase; the second NP is the quantifier *pa'amu* 'two', also functioning as a determiner without an accompanying head; the last phrase features a single form headed NP, *yapu* 'older brother'. (*pa'amu* 'two' and *yapu* 'older brother' are interpreted as two separate NPs given the micro-pause between the forms and the avoidance of quantifiers directly modifying kin-terms (§4.3.6)).

(59)  **pula**     **nga'a-l**       waathi-nya     **pa'amu** (.)    yapu
      3plNOM    dem.dist1-DM    go-NF                        Be
      *those ones go, the two, the brothers*
       (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

There are three types of evidence which support an analysis of examples like (57)-(59) as headless NPs: (i) evidence from the strong association between form class and phrase dependent slots; (ii) functional evidence from the retention of dependent functions in headless realisations; (iii) textual evidence from the semantic reliance of headless NPs on coreferential NP(s), or at least partially coreferential NP(s), in the immediate discourse context. Each of these points will be briefly discussed[32].

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[32] On a first look, some of the NPs analysed as headless (e.g. (57) and (59)) could fit the profile of what has been described as split or discontinuous NPs in some Australian languages. Discontinuity is the situation when the various forms in the NP, or often more loosely termed 'nominal group', are discontinuously positioned throughout the clause without affecting grammaticality (see, for instance, Hale 1983 on Warlpiri, McGregor 1997 on Gooniyandi, Merlan 1994 on Wardaman, and Schultze-Berndt and Simard 2012 on Jaminjung). I rule out this analytical possibility because not all examples of these forms occur in the same clause or intonation unit, and they are not even necessarily produced by the same speaker as the presumed discontinuous head. Given these features,

Firstly, there is a frequency association between the adjective and quantifier form classes and dependent functions in the NP structure[33]. Adjectives and quantifiers display limited flexibility in their employment in terms of NP functions and slot distribution (§4.3.4 and §4.4). There are no clear examples of quantifiers functioning as NP heads at all: all singleton quantifiers occur under conditions being posited in this discussion as headless NPs. Adjectives can function as phrasal heads only in restricted contexts. The first is in descriptive oblique references, like *thungku mukan* 'the big black (thing)' in example (60) below, where there is no fitting Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u word to describe the entity in question. This phrase refers to the plume of smoke from an explosion, for which there is no adequate entity type noun available in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.

(60)  ngu'ulana  inga-na  para            (.)   **thungku**   **mukan** paa'i-cha
      2plACC      say-NF   white.person          black        big        stand-FUT
      kuuna
      neutral.dem
      *"you lot" the white person said "the big black one will stand up there"*
      (23Mar07:*King Fred*)

The only other context that has bare adjectives is outside the NP domain proper, when functioning as predicates in nominal clauses marked by the predicator *-ma/-mu* (see line 12-13 in (54)). This suggests that instances like *mukana* 'big' above in (57) are better thought of as something else, i.e. really as headless NPs.

The second piece of evidence in favour of the analysis of headless NPs is functional. The forms in these NPs retain the same functions they have when they are dependents in a phrase with an overt head. A modifier in a headless NP does not function to specify the referent as a phrasal head would. Instead, it specifies a quality of the referent as a modifier does in a regular headed NP. This is the case, for instance, in example (61) below, where the headless NP *thungkuthungku* 'black' in line 3 describes a quality of *waangka* 'clay', introduced by a headed NP in line 1. The structure in (61) also shows how modifiers in headless NPs are often prosodically distinct from the main clause and provide attributive details as a follow-up or after-thought (as noted in in §4.4.).

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it would be hard to argue for all cases as discontinuous NPs, which would result in treating some examples as discontinuous NPs and others as something else, despite their commonalities.

[33] The pronominal form classes are not associated with dependency in the same way that adjectives and quantifiers are. Functional and environmental evidence distinguish pronominal NPs from pronouns and demonstrative pronouns functioning as determiners in headless NPs. This is discussed below.

(61)  1  SP      waangka    aa'i-nya-ku         pulangku

               clay       dance-NMLZ-DAT   3plGEN

               *(they) have clay for their dance*

      2          (.)

      3  DS      **thungkuthungku**

               black.RDP

               *black (clay)*

(27Jun08:*Rubbing day:*00:03:56-00:03:59)

Similarly, determiners in headless NPs can function to assist in the identification of a referent established in a nearby coreferential NP. In this supporting role, they clarify and emphasise the referent in the headed NP. For example in (62) *pula nga'alu* 'those ones' refers to the 'whitefellas' in the headed NP earlier in the utterance[34].

(62)  1  MB      **para-kamu**        ilpi-na-na=

               white.man-NSG     return-NF-now

               *the whitefellas returned now*

      2  MB      **=pula      nga'a-lu**       kuuna

               3sgNOM    dem.dist1-DM   neutral.dem

               *they were there [implied: stayed there]*

(21Mar07:*Nga'alu tha'a kalmana*:00:09:22-00:09:24)

This takes us to the third type of evidence. There is good contextual evidence supporting the analysis of headless NPs. I have referred to this point throughout the preceding discussion as a fundamental condition for use of headless phrases: Headless NPs always rely semantically on overtly headed coreferential (or partially coreferential) NP(s) within close proximity in the discourse. There are no formal constraints on the nature of this coreference. The most frequent pattern is for headless NPs to follow the headed NPs. But, as by examples shown through this section, the headless NP can precede or follow the full headed NP (see (59) vs. (62)), they can occur in the same clause or in a different clause ((57) vs. (61)), and they can be produced by the same or by a different speaker ((59) vs. (58)).

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[34] This functional and distributional profile distinguishes pronominal forms functioning as determiners in headless NPs from pronominal NPs. I specifically draw attention to this difference, because the two types can look very similar. Pronominal NPs are typically single form phrases, but the pronominal head can also be modified by a quantifier, e.g. *ngana pa'amu* 'we two' (§4.2.1). Such formulations can look much the same in form as that of determiners combinations in headless NPs, e.g. *pula nga'alu* 'they those ones' in examples (62) and (59). However, this is where similarity ends. Functionally, pronominal NPs have a broad application in discourse functioning in an array of referential roles to introduce and reintroduce referents, and sometimes track referents, and they frequently do so without pre-requisite for lexical coreference (§5.4.1). Given their deictic nature, the interpretation of pronominal NPs requires contextual information, but this is a different type of contextual bolstering than the steadfast requirement displayed by headless NPs for nearby lexical coreference.

This discussion is rounded off with a further point on the context of use. Headless NPs often occur in interactive constructions, such as list constructions, repeats in cross-speaker repetition sequences, and clarifications by secondary narrators. In many of these contexts the headless NPs are interactionally dependent on the sequence in which they are occurring. For instance, in this excerpt from the *Susie and Cilla* narrative (63), two headless NPs with a dependent modifier *chu'uchi* 'small' occur in line 3 and 5.

(63) 1 SP    nganan          (.)    **kuunga  nhi'ilama** paa'i-na    ngungku-lu
              1plexcNOM              coconut  one         stand-NF   dem.dist2-DM
              *us lot (sat) by the lone coconut tree that one over there*

     2              (0.4)

     3 DS    hm    [**chu'uchi**?
              hm    small
              *hm the small (coconut tree)*

     4 MB    [°yuway°
              *yes*
              (0.5)

     5 SP    **chu'uchi**    yiipayi
              Small          south
              *the small (coconut tree) in the south*

     6              (.)

     7 SP    ngana          kuuna          nhiina-na
              1plexcNOM   neutral.dem    sit-NF
              *we sat there*

     (04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:15:47-00:15:56)

The first use of *chu'uchi* interactionally functions as a clarification or confirmation check that the coconut tree referred to in line 1 is the *small* coconut tree. This is produced by DS in line 3. The second use of *chu'uchi* is a confirmative repetition by SP in line 5. The uses shown in this example are typical of the interactional and context dependence of headless NPs.

A key point to take from the discussion in this section is that the profile of the entity is developed via multiple NPs throughout a clause or a longer stretch of discourse: in (57) the nature of the referent is developed via the addition of an attribute; in ((61) and (63) a new referent is identified but this identification is reliant on a partially coreferential NP (this is a relatively uncommon use of headless NPs); and in (59) each NP contributes a different type of information to the identification of the referent. The discussion of dispersed and multiple conferential reference developing the profile of a entity will be of considerable relevance to coming discussion in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

## 4.6 Conditioning of pre-/post-head determiners

As already mentioned in section 4.3.1, the default position for determiners is before the head, but they can also be positioned after the head. This section will look at the factors that condition determiner placement, for basic determiners (§4.6.1) and for possessive determiners (§4.6.2). The situation for possessive determiners is less clear than for basic ones, because there are very few relevant tokens to examine in the corpus.

## 4.6.1 Basic determiner placement

The default position for basic determiners is before the head, but there are both syntactic and interactional factors that can lead to a position following the head. The syntactic factors conditioning post-head position are: (a) non-verbal predicate constructions; and (b) NP complexes.

Non-verbal predicate constructions have two constituents which are NPs, one of which functions as a subject and the other as a predicate. The subject NP is usually comprised of a noun or pronoun, and the predicate NP of an adjective, locative, another entity NP or a more complex NP. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, the two NPs are simply juxtaposed without use of a copula. However, the subject NP frequently has a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a determiner, and in this syntactic context the demonstrative is located following the head noun rather than before. For example, in (64) the subject head noun *pama* 'aboriginal person' is followed by *nga'alu* in the clause 'that man is not small, he is big'. Likewise in (65), in the subject NP *nga'alu* in determiner functions follows the head noun *thul'i* 'stomach'.

(64) **pama      nga'a-l**          ngampa chu'uchi   (.) mukana
     Aboriginal dem.dist1-DM   NEG      small            big
     *that man is not small, (he is) big*
     (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

(65) **thul'i      nga'a-l**          waangka    mukamukana
     stomach    dem.dist1-DM   clay/mud   RDP.big
     *that stomach is really muddy (talking about body paint)*
     (27Jun08:*Rubbing day*)

A possible motivation for this structure is that the demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu* has an additional function of marking the boundary between the subject NP and predicate NP in non-verbal predicative constructions. This serves to emphasise the predicative nature of the construction, making clear where the left periphery of the NP occurs. Otherwise there could be ambiguity between an NP structure with a determiner and modifier, and a nominal predication: the structure in (66), with the demonstrative before the head, could equally be interpreted as

'that red flower' (determiner *nga'alu* + head noun *piinga* 'flower' + modifier *pulpanchi* 'red') or 'that flower is red' (subject NP consisting of determiner *nga'alu* + head noun *piinga* 'flower', predicate consisting of a headless NP *pulpanchi* 'red').

(66) **nga'a-lu          piinga   pulpanchi**
dem.dist1-DM    flower   red
NP interpretation: that red flower
Predicative interpretation: that flower is red
(06Jul07:Elicitation)

The second syntactic context which conditions the placement of determiners following the head noun is coordinate NPs. Coordination is marked by simple juxtaposition of NPs, often demarcated by a pause within a tone unit or by production in a separate tone unit, as in (67). Determiners specifying NPs in coordination follow the phrasal head. This rule holds for both *and-* and *or*-type operations, in a variety of configurations. All NPs in the coordination can be modified by a determiner or just a subset of the conjuncts. In (67), for instance, both conjuncts are specified by quantifier determiners *nhi'ilama* 'one' and *pa'amu* 'two':

(67) 1 ngayu        pampa-na (.) **chilpu  nhi'ilama  wunchawuncha pa'amu**
1sgNOM    ask-NF        old.man one        young.men         two
*I asked one old man and two young men*
   2 ngayu-lan              pampa-n   ngaani-ku
1sgNOM-3plACC    ask-NF      IGNOR-DAT
*I asked them for something*
elicitation prompt: I asked one old man and two young men for the fishing spear.
(06Sep08:Elicitation)

The most common pattern is for just the last conjunct in the sequence to be specified by a post-head determiner. For example, in (68) there are three conjuncts, *payki* 'bag', *punya* 'basket' and *michin* 'fishing line', with the last conjunct featuring *nga'alu* 'that/those ones' following the head noun *michin* 'line'. There is no clear evidence on the scope of the determiners occurring on the final conjunct, i.e. whether they modify just the last NP or have scope over the whole complex. However, there is some evidence showing that a single adnominal possessive pronoun on a final conjunct has scope over a phrase complex, and so this remains a possibility for other determiners as well. Example (69) shows another instance of this pattern. In this case the English loan *and* is employed, and the two coordinated NPs are different categories of NPs, a pronominal and a lexical NP. The final conjunct shows the quantifier *kukuthi* 'three' following the head noun *anthaya* 'girls'.

(68) 1 pula      kali-na     payki (.) punya (.)  **michin nga'a-l**
      3plNOM  carry-NF  bag     basket      line     dem.dist1-DM
      *they carried the bag, basket and that line, (carried) down*

    2 pakaya     mukamukan  michin
      down       RDP.big      line
      *plenty of line*
      elicitation prompt: they carried the bag and fishing line to the beach.
      (13Sep08:Elicitation)

(69) ngayu       and   **anthaya kukuthi** minya   aachi-nya  minya
     1sgNOM  and   girl       three    animal   cook-NF   animal
     *I and the three girls cooked the meat*
     elicitation prompt: I and the three girls cooked meat.
     (06Sep08:Elicitation)

In addition to syntactic contexts, there are also specific interactional contexts that lead to placement of basic determiners following the NP head. These are contexts where the NP adds extra specification or comments on an already established entity. As such, these NPs are always subsequent mentions (full discussion of subsequent person mentions in chapter 6). An example is (70), which has two coreferential references to one referent: (i) *pula nga'al pama* 'those aboriginal people', a general ethnonymic reference, followed by (ii) *kampinu pula* 'those men', a human classificatory term. The determiner in the first NP precedes the head and in the second NP it follows. This pattern is a common one: the use of post-head determiners in a follow-up or afterthought NP alters, or usually upgrades, the semantic specificity of a preceding coreferential reference.

(70) 1 MB     pula       mukan  aalma-na  alright
          3plNOM  big      grow-NF   alright
          *they grew up together alright*

    2         (1.1)

    3 MB    **pula     nga'a-l     pama**   wana-na   nga'a-l
          3plNOM  dem.dist1-DM  aboriginal  leave-NF   dem.dist1-DM
          **kampinu  pula**
          men       3plNOM
          *those aboriginal people leave that one (the emu Charlie), those men*
     (23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:17:44-00:17:50)

Another example is (71), in which a question, functioning as a type of confirmation check, is produced by DS in line 1: 'meat too hey? you have to hide the meat or (those who) come dancing will eat it, hey?'. The NP with the post-head determiner is in the confirmative response in line 2: "yes that meat", with *nga'alu* following the head noun *minya* 'meat'. Post-head determiners are recurrently found in utterances with confirmative functions like (71).

(71)  1  DS      minya    too hey you got   kuunga-ka      minya
                 animal                      hide-FUT       animal
                 [aa'ilila-ka          kaama-nguna  nyiichi-ka     hey?
                 dance.PROG-FUT   mouth -LOC   put-FUT        hey
                 *meat too hey? you have to hide the meat or (those who) come dancing will*
                 *eat it hey?*
      2  MB      [yuway  **minya   nga'a-lu**
                 yes         animal   dem.dist1-DM
                 *yes, that meat*
      3             (.)
      4  MB      yuway=
                 *yes*
      5  SP      =yeah watayi
                 yeah  dugong
                 *yeah dugong*
(08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:25:33-00:25:40)

The association of this formulation pattern with the provision of extra details or comments on an established entity often sees it applied where there is interactional trouble, such as misspeakings, misunderstandings, self-editing, term specifications and factual errors. For example, in (72) the speaker self-corrects the person reference *para* 'white person' and replaces it with *thathimalu* 'islander'. The corrected NP has a pronoun functioning as a determiner, *pula* 'they' following the head noun, *thathimalu pulathu* 'those islanders'. From an interactional perspective, it may be better to consider these as fronting of the lexical head with the aim of remedying the reference error as quickly a possible, rather than as post-head placement of the determiner. The presence of the determiners in such contexts could be motivated by the identificational work carried out to help "determine" the NP referent (recall that pronoun determiners often employed in contexts where there are competing referents, as argued in §4.3.2).

(72)  1  SP      para-
                 white.person
                 *white people-*

2          (1.1)

3  SP  **thathimalu   pula-thu**        kalma-na

        islander      3plNOM-MOD   come-NF

        *those islanders should come*

(23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*: 00:18:55-00:18:59)

### 4.6.2 Possessive pronoun placement

The placement of possessive determines is conditioned by quite different factors than basic determiners: here there is a strong person effect. With possessive determiner placement, the NP syntax structurally encodes a difference between speaking about the possessive relations of the speaker versus those of others. First-person singular possessive pronouns are overwhelmingly located before the head, while all other forms, i.e. first-person dual and plural forms along with second- and third-person possessives, are located after the head. This person skewing cuts across referent types and is not sensitive to an alienability distinction.

The excerpt in (73) from the *Annie King* narrative nicely demonstrates these person effects, featuring in close succession five kin-terms adnominally modified with first-person singular and third-person singular possessives *ngathangku* and *ngungangku*. The first singular possessive determiner precedes the head noun with *ngathangku maampa* 'my child' in line 1 or *ngathangku aampayi* 'my mother-in-law' in line 7, while the third-person possessive determiners follow the kin-term head noun *puula ngungangku* 'his/hers father's father' in line 3 and also *piima ngungangku* 'his/hers father's sister' in line 11[35]:

(73)  1  SP  **ngathangku   maampa-lu**   ngula

             1sgGEN        ♀C-ERG        by&by

             *my child talked by-and-by*

      2          (0.6)

      3  SP  inga-na **puula    ngungangku**

             say-NF  FF        3sgGEN

             *about her father's father (side of the family)*

      4          (1.3)

      5  SP  kuunchi      manthal      Annie (.)

             old.woman  name         Annie

             *the old woman is named Annie*

      6          (1.3)

---

[35] In this case the resulting formulation means first-person and third-person possessives are adjacent – a dispreferred argument realisation.

7  SP      **ngathangku   aampayi**
           1sgGEN        HM
           *my mother-in-law*
8          (1.5)
9  SP      ngay       inga-ngka            nga'a-lu         aampayi
           1sgNOM    say-PRES.CONT     dem.dist1-DM    HM
           *I'm talking about that mother-in-law*
10 SP      (0.8)
11 SP      **piima    ngungangku  ngathangku   muuyu** and
           FZy       3sgGEN        1sgGEN         H         and
           *his father's sister, that is my husband's and...*
   (12May05:*Annie King*:00:00:10-00:00:25)

The frequency of this pattern, as illustrated by the simple count in Table 4.3, is quite striking and confirms that this is more than just a preferential tendency. The count presented in the table is of all possessive determiners in the focused corpus (§2.6.2)[36]. A glance at the pre-head column shows the overwhelming pattern of the first singular possessive forms, 59 out of 70 instances, occupying the phrase initial position, and only 4 instances in the corpus being drawn from the remainder of the paradigm. Likewise, moving to the post-head column the frequency of instances is strongly weighted towards the second- and third-person, with 47/48 of third-person singular instances and 16/17 third-person plural instances occupying the post-head slot. Further tokens are needed in order to explore the conditions in which possessive determiners are not assigned to their preferred NP slot, i.e. when first-person singular possessives occur in post-head position and all other possessive occur post-head.

| Genitive Pronoun | Pre-head | Pre-head % | Post-head | Post-head% |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sgGEN | 59 | 84% | 11 | 16% |
| 1duincGEN | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| 1plincGEN | 1 | 25% | 3 | 75% |
| 1plexcGEN | 0 | 0% | 3 | 100% |
| 2sgGEN | 1 | 10% | 11 | 90% |
| 2plGEN | 0 | 0% | 4 | 100% |
| 3sgGEN | 1 | 4% | 47 | 96% |
| 3plGEN | 1 | 11% | 16 | 89% |

**Table 4.3** Count of person effects in possessive determiner slot selection

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[36] This count is of all clearly adnominal instances. There were a small number of ambiguous examples that were set aside, e.g. two instances of ambiguous 3sgGEN pre/post slot assignment were excluded, as well as examples where the phrase was partially composed in English.

**4.7 Special constructions**

So far, identifying the head of the NP has been regarded as fairly unproblematic, but there are a number of special NP constructions in which the identification of a single head is difficult: generic-specific construction (§4.7.1), dyadic construction (§4.7.2), and *kuunchi* 'relation' construction (§4.7.3). This section describes these structures in some detail, but does not try to resolve the issue of headedness. Until further analysis is undertaken, I will tentatively regard all of these NPs as double-headed (following Evans 1995:244-249, Gaby 2006:282-283 and Wilkins 2000:15 for similar constructions in other Australian languages).

**4.7.1 Generic-Specific NP**

Generic nouns are a small closed nominal subclass. They serve a categorising function, optionally classifying the referents of specific nouns. There are nine generics documented to date: *minya* 'animal/meat'; *mayi* 'vegetable food'; *ira* 'snake'; *pacha* 'grass'; *yuku* 'tree'; *thampu* 'yam'; *pama* 'person'; *ngaachi* 'place'; *kuuku* 'language'. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u makes less use of generic-specific construction than has been noted for many other Australian languages, both in terms of the size of generic class and frequency of use (Harvey and Reid 1997). This limited use may be a general Middle-Paman pattern (see Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:141). The following examples illustrate generic-specific nominal pairs:

(74)  **ngaachi Paynamu**      ngana         wuna-la
      place    place.name     1plexcNOM   camp-NF
      *we camped at Paynamu*
      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*)

(75)  them    wuuthaa-nya-na  nga'a-l          **minya    watayi**
      them     share-CAUS-NF  dem.dist1-DM     animal    dugong
      *they shared out that dugong*
      (04Aug07:*Minya wuulama*)

(76)  chilpu-kamu        **mayi pulnha-ku**
      old.man-NSG      food  flour-DAT
      *the old men (went) for flour*
      (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)

The most commonly employed generic nouns in this construction are *minya* 'animal, meat' and *mayi* 'vegetable', categorising two major classes of food, as can be seen in examples (75) and (76). The generic-specific construction can freely incorporate newly coined, derived or borrowed terms, e.g. *pulnha* 'flour' in (76).

The construction has a number of specific morphosyntactic characteristics. First, the generic-specific pair can be suffixed for case, which attaches to the right edge as for simple NPs, as in (76) where the dative *-ku* is suffixed to the specific noun *pulnha* 'flour'. There is limited evidence that generic-specific NP can have dependents such as determiners or modifiers. Example (75) is one of a handful of rare instances where a determiner precedes the generic-specific pair. Secondly, there is a strict ordering restriction, with the generic noun always preceding the specific. Either element can occur in its own as the sole member of the head of the NP. The generic noun frequently occurs alone, often used anaphorically in referent tracking. In (77), for instance, the dugong is referenced using the generic-specific pair *minya watayi* 'animal dugong' in line 3. It is then tracked through the following sequence using the generic *minya*, the first usage of which is shown in line 11 below.

(77)  1  MB      kuyi        ngana              nga'a
                 then        1plexcNOM       dem.dist1
                 *then we there*

       2          (0.8)

       3  MB      **minya   watayi**
                 animal    dugong
                 *the dugong*

       4          (1.6)

       5  MB      hit-NF
                 tha'i-la
                 *killed*

       6          (0.4)

       7  DS      °tangu-pinta°
                 canoe-COM
                 *(went) by canoe*

       8          (.)

       9  MB      tangu-pinta
                 canoe-COM
                 *(went) by canoe*

      10          (2.1)

      11 MB      **minya**   muunga-na
                 meat        cut-NF
                 *and cut the dugong*
      (05Apr04:*WW2*:00:01:26-00:01:37)

**4.7.2 Dyadic NP**

Dyadic NPs form expressions denoting a relationship between two or more people (usually two); the relationship is typically one of kinship, e.g. pairs of siblings, husband-wife pair, or mother-child(ren) pair (Evans 2006; Merlan and Heath 1982). As is the case with all dyad constructions in Umpila, the expression overtly names one member of the pair while invoking the other member. For example in (78) the kinship pair 'pair of brothers' is expressed with the constructions *ma'a yapu* 'hand older brother', overtly naming the old brother but invoking the relationship between the siblings.

(78)  **pula**       **nhi'il**    pa'amu   waathi-ny        **ma'a**    **yapu**
      3plNOM      alone      two       go-NF             DYAD     Be
      *they alone, the two went, the two brothers*
      (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

As shown in (78), Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u forms dyads by combining the word *ma'a* 'hand' with a kin-term reference (Wik Mungkan shows the same pattern, see Kilham 1974). It is typical that the elder in the pair is overtly named, like in (78), but there is some flexibility in the way the construction is formulated. More generally on the point of flexibility, in (79), in a response to an elicitation prompt, the speaker formulates a dyad in two different ways using both kin-terms expressing the relationship internal to the dyad, in two consecutive permutations: *ma'a muuyu*, *ma'a kulnta*.

(79)  **ma'a**    **muuyu**   yawanyulu  kali-na        pakay-ma    malngkan-ku
      DYAD     H        tide         carry-NF     down-DIR   beach-DAT
      **ma'a**    **kulnta**   kali-na        pakay-ma    kuytu-ku
      DYAD     W        carry-NF    down-DIR   salt-DAT
      *the tide carried the husband and wife out to sea*
      elicitation prompt: The tide carried the husband and wife out to sea.
      (31Jul08:Elicitation)

It is possible for other nouns besides kin-terms to enter into the dyad constructions, but this is relatively unusual. In (80), for instance, a speaker uses a dyad NP, *ma'a ku'aka* 'hand dog', to express the relationship between a dog and his owner. This was deemed an acceptable, albeit humorous, formulation by other speakers.

(80) **ma'a    ku'aka** wiika-na-lana        anthay-kamu (.)   mukamukana
     DYAD  dog     follow-NF-3plACC girl-NSG          RDP.big
     *the man and dog followed the girls*
     elicitation prompt: The man and dog followed the girls
     (31Jul08:Elicitation)

As with the generic-specific construction there is limited evidence that a dyad NP can have dependents, with only a couple of rare instances where possible determiners precede the dyad construction, as in (81).

(81) **pula         ma'a    ya'athu** xxx   mukamukana anthaya anthay-kamu
     3plNOM   DYAD   Zy      ?     RDP.big       girl      girl-NSG
     *those two sisters and all those girls (swim together)*
     (05May04:*Freshwater Croc*)

### 4.7.3 *Kuunchi* **NP**

There is another type of special NP construction involving kin-terms. It is formed by combining a kin-term with *kuunchi* 'relative', always in that order, as in *piipi kuunchi* 'father relative' in (82). *Kuunchi* can be used as a regular specific nominal, glossed by speakers as meaning 'relative' or 'family', but in this construction it has a different use.

(82) **piipi kuunchi-lu**        kali-na      nhi'ilama
     F      relative-ERG    carry-NF    one
     *the father and his child brought one (fish)*
     elicitation prompt: The father and (his) child brought a fish.
     (31Jul08:Elicitation)

This construction can have an incipient dyadic use[37]. For example, the NP *piipi kuunchi* in example (82) invokes both the father and the child, and the relationship between them. Although the construction only overtly refers to one of the participants involved in the event, it creates a dyadic interpretation. (83) shows the same usage with the construction *muuyu kuunchi* designating a husband-wife relationship.

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[37] A similar incipient reading is also available for comitative marked kin-terms, e.g. *ya'apinta* 'old sister having' and this is noted more broadly in CYP (see Gaby 2006:202 on Kuuk Thaayorre).

(83)  aachi-nya  **muuyu kuunchi**  all minya    pungana
      cook-NF    H       relative   all meat     fish
      *the husband and wife cook all the (sliced) fish*
      (04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*)

But this is not always the case. In some instances this construction is also interpreted (and so glossed) as referring to a single person, as in (84) which refers to the husband specifically, rather than a pairing. The reported speech frame for speech directed by the husband to his wife shows quite clearly that this example cannot refer to the husband and his wife. The construction still invokes the relationship, but has functions and semantics more closely related to third-person possessive, generating a 'her husband' interpretation. In both interpretations, therefore, the construction always expresses a linkage type meaning.

(84)  1  SP    **muuyu kuunchi**    inga-ngka
               H        relative    say-PRES.CONT
               *her husband was saying*
      2        (0.3)
      3  DS    ngampa
               NEG
               *no*
      4        (.)
      5  SP    ngampa waathi-ya     ngath-
               NEG    go-IMP.SG     ?
               *don't go!*
      (30Jun08:*Pulthunukamulu*:00:09:14-00:09:18)

Unlike the other two special NP constructions, this cannot be modified by dependents like determiners or modifiers, but it can be suffixed for case as illustrated in example (82) where ergative *-lu* attached to the right edge of the construction.

**4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has described the structure of NPs in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. The focus has been on the syntax of simple phrases, with a brief discussion of special constructions, including two designated person reference constructions.

One common thread running through the chapter, that is of interest to the forthcoming discussion in chapter 5 (§5.6 in particular), are the different ways in which the NP structure encourages use of multiple NPs to express some information. These include, for instance, the combinatorial tendencies restricting the use of possessive pronouns and basic determiners

which human classificatory terms and kin-terms respectively. In navigating these combinatorial restrictions, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers often use multiple coreferential NPs. Additionally, the NP structure only allows for one modifier per phrase, with multiple characteristics of one referent typically encoded in separate phrases. This tendency to use multiple coreferential NPs will be relevant in the coming chapters, particularly the discussion of special non-minimal initial mentions (§5.6), and the use of second order elaborations by supporting narrators (§6.3.1), and more broadly in the discussion of zones of heavy person reference loading in narrative organisation (§6.3, §7.4-§7.5).

# PART III    REFERENCE

# Chapter 5    Initial person mentions

*Ukapi,* **nga'al ku'unchi**, **ngathangku pa'i** *kalmana Port Stewartmunu. Kalmana ngaachi nga'al ngachinya ngangangku.*

"First, **that old woman, my father's mother** came from Port Stewart. (She) came to that place and found our (country)…"

—— Use of a combination of a human classificatory term and kin-term expression in the introduction of character in a narrative told by Umpila speaker Elizabeth Giblet.

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the ways initial mentions of persons are formulated within narratives told by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytellers. That is, what lexical forms are preferentially used to introduce a new person into a story for the first time, and what principles underpin the referential formulation choices made by narrators? Chapter 3 examined the array of person reference terms that are available to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers when referring to persons: names (*Maria Butcher*), nicknames (*Maya*), kin-terms (*paapa* 'mother'), human classificatory terms (*ku'unchi* 'old woman'), ethnonyms (*pama* 'aboriginal person'), denizen expressions (*yiipaythampanyu* 'south mob people'), and pronominal forms (*ngulu* 'he/she', *nga'alu* 'that one'). Within these different referential categories there are different ways to construe a single referent. Thus, a narrator's choice from among these multiple alternatives involves the selection of which reference category to employ (e.g. name, kin-term, denizen description), but also which formulation within that category to use (e.g. *Maria* or *Maria Butcher*, *my mother* or *your sister*, *southern mob person* or *paperbark clan person* etc.). This chapter will explore what organisation underlies a narrator's choice of one reference category over another and of one expression or formulation within that category over another. The focus will be on the very first mention of a person within the story. This is what has been referred to as the globally initial person reference form (§5.3, §6.2). This chapter will demonstrate that in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives the globally initial reference has a number of distinctive features. With person reference selections being inextricably grounded in, and a projection of the context of use, the discussion will provide powerful insight into the very nature of the narratives told by these Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u speakers (chapter 2).

### 5.1.1 Examples

To begin to illustrate the nature of both the narrator's task in the design and production of a story and our analytical task in this chapter, let us look at the first three overt initial person references in the *King Fred* narrative. These examples demonstrate: (i) the diversity of referents

of varying statuses in a story, from protagonists through to minor background characters, close-kin through to non-specific group referents; and (ii) the diversity of formulation choices, both lexically and grammatically, employed by speakers in forming initial mentions.

Example (1) is the initial reference to the protagonist and namesake of the narrative, "King" Fred[38]. This initial reference occurs by itself in a syntactically independent NP headed by a kin-term *ngachimu* 'mother's father/father's mother's brother' and is anchored to a co-narrator with the second-person possessive *ngangkangku* 'your'. This simple reference formulation begins to illustrate the special indexical complexities of the collaborative narrative context under exploration. Kin-term references always involve a choice of perspective, since there are multiple ways to construe the relations that lead to a given referent. As such, they can be manipulated to highlight social or genealogical proximity or distance between the speaker and the referent, or between the speaker and the hearer or other third parties. Within the narrative context, the universe of possible third-parties through which to construe the relation is enlarged to include story-world characters. Here in (1), the speaker chooses to highlight a connection between the character and the speech event – specifically her co-narrator.

(1)       **ngachimu       ngangkangku**
          MF/FMBe       2sgGEN
          your father's mother's brother
          (23Mar07:*King Fred*)

Example (2) introduces the second referent in the *King Fred* narrative, a group of aboriginal people of the Night Island clan referenced with the accusative first-person exclusive plural pronoun *nganan* 'us'. In contrast to (1), the reference is an argument of a verbal predicate, viz. *kalumana* 'taking'. This reference is the first indication that this is a story of personal experience. The choice of the exclusive pronoun makes clear the relationship between the interlocutors and the persons in the storyworld: the narrator, but not the co-narrator or other recipients of the story, were part of the group travelling with, and in the charge of, "King" Fred. Collaborative narratives, such as this one, merge different sets of knowledge and perspectives in a single story: the pronoun choice is one of the simple indexes of this particular narrator's primary and unique knowledge (in this telling) of the events. Like the kin formulation in (1), this reference formulation once again makes explicit one facet of the connection between the speech event in which the narrative is delivered and the events to be narrated.

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[38] The title of king came from his colonial government appointment as "leader" of the Night Island clan (Table 2.1 in §2.6.1).

(2)     well **nganan**      kalu-mana
        well 1plexcACC    carry-PRES.CONT
        *well (he) was taking us (down to the beach)*
         (23Mar07:*King Fred*)

Example (3) shows the third participant or rather set of participants in this narrative, 'the small ones, the girls and boys'. In this instance the person reference is delivered in the speech and from the point of view of another character, namely "King" Fred. The 'small ones' are background characters in the story. In the scene-setting sequence (3) is taken from, "King" Fred's represented words specify the make-up of the group of people travelling him and where they will travel to. The reference in (3) is introduced by a combination of three NPs spread across two clauses and two intonation units, posing questions about the nature of initial reference as a single expression or single point in the interaction – this is an issue that will be discussed throughout this chapter. First, there is an oblique reference *chuchinyu kuuyu* 'small ones' (line 3), emphasising the youth and vulnerability of the referent(s), followed by elaboration of this initial reference, with two human classificatory terms, *anthaykamu* 'the girls' (line 5) and the *pulthunkamu* 'the boys' (line 7).

(3)  1   SP    ngam    waatha-ngka       kali-na     kalu-thu-ngku
                INTJ    go-PRES.CONT      carry-NF    carry-FUT-?
                *"ok (we) are going to take, take*
     2         (0.2)
     3   SP    **chuchinyu kuuyu**
                small.PL    thing
                *the small ones*
     4         (0.6)
     5   SP    **anthay-kamu**
                girl-NSG
                *the girls"*
     6         (1.4)
     7   SP    **pulthun-kamu**   ngaachi  kachi waatha-ka-mpu
                boy-NSG           place    far   go-FUT-1plexcNOM
                *"we will take the boys to the place far away"*
     (23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:16:31-00:16:42)

**5.1.2 Analytic questions**
At first glance, as a reader interacting with these three examples or as an analyst working through the collection of person references in the dataset, the impression is that narrators have

considerable latitude with how they formulate initial references to persons. While this is true, by taking a socially- and interactionally-grounded approach, we will find there are some robust preferences which organise this variation. The interactional social view of reference taken here follows much recent work on person reference (Enfield 2012; Enfield and Stivers 2007; Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007). An example like (1) illustrates how the choice of reference can be formed based on: (i) whom we are talking to; (ii) what we are talking about; and (iii) by culturally specific interactional norms. The speaker's calculation of the kin reference 'your father's mother's brother' anchored to a recipient/co-narrator in (1) illustrates how speakers calculate informational 'common ground' to formulate references that will be recognisable to a given listener (Clark 1996, Enfield 2012). The selection of a relational reference 'father's mother's brother' in (1) over alternate facets of a referent's identity, like 'an old man', or 'a fisherman', or 'an Aboriginal' and so on, shows how a speaker's design of the reference makes a specific aspect of the referent's identity and their relationship to others around them relevant at a particular moment in the interaction (Stivers 2007). Finally, speakers also orient to local cultural norms and constraints that are relevant for certain referents or within certain interpersonal settings (Levinson 2007), such as the name taboos for reference to non-present persons and the deceased in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u culture that make the use of the referent's name a dispreferred option for the speaker in (1).

Such interactional aspects of the design of person reference expressions have been accounted for by a number of cross-linguistic organising principles proposed by different researchers working in Conversation Analytic and neo-Gricean pragmatic traditions (Enfield and Stivers 2007, Sacks and Schegloff 1979). These were summarised in the chapter 1 (§1.2.2). To reiterate briefly: One principle, labelled the recognition principle or recipient design principle, specifies that the speaker will use a reference form that readily leads to recognition, by the recipient, of the referent (Levinson 1987, 2007; Sacks and Schegloff 1979). Another principle is a preference for minimisation, which specifies a speaker should preferentially use a single referring expression over multiple expressions (Levinson 1987, 2007; Sacks and Schegloff 1979). The principle of topic-fittedness says that the reference form should be fitted to the topic or action being pursued by the speaker (Stivers 2007). A principle of circumspection, finally, accounts for local or culture-specific constraints on reference formulation (Levinson 2007). There are other principles proposed in the literature, but it is the four principles briefly outlined here that are relevant to the material explored in this study. This chapter will show that these four principles hold in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative and are a relevant way to account for the patterning of referring expressions in the corpus of narratives studied here.

As already mentioned, these principles have been formulated through research examining natural conversation. The context studied here is narration – albeit it spontaneous and highly interactive narration. While narration is a cooperative interactional activity, it has a different range of considerations and constraints that influence its organisation, as compared to everyday

conversation. As such, narrative can serve as a test environment for the principles outlined above: the task of reference for speakers and hearers is fundamentally the same, but a number of other parameters of the speech system vary, as will be explained in §5.2 below.

The chapter will be organised as follows. First, §5.2 will speculate on the potential affect the narrative environment, as opposed to conversational interaction, may have on shaping the output generated by speaker's orientation to these principles. This discussion will help set the scene for the findings presented in the rest of the chapter, by orienting us towards some of the specificities of this narrative material. The following section §5.3 will define "initial" mention and will present frequency information on the use of various referring expressions in the focused corpus set of narratives. The remainder of the chapter is divided into four sections which explore formulations resulting from the interaction of the four person reference design principles. Section 5.4 will describe the unmarked choice of formulation of initial mentions, and §5.5-5.7 the departures from the default formulation.

## 5.2 The application of conversational principles to narrative context

Four design principles have been identified above as being relevant to the system of person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative: recognition, minimisation, topic-fittedness, circumspection (§1.2.2, §5.1). Principles of minimisation and recognition have strong cross-linguistic support in the existing body of research, and whilst the cross-linguistic applicability of both circumspection and topic-fittedness remains a question for ongoing research, both principles surface in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration and are central to the account presented in this study. There is a precedent in the Australian Aboriginal language context, in Murrinh-Patha (Blythe 2009a, 2010, 2012, 2018) and Bininj Gunwok (Garde 2008a, 2013), of several of these principles organising person reference in conversational interaction. This study will extend this precedent to the exploration of these conditioning principles in a narrator's construction of a narrative.

A narrator telling a story faces the same basic person reference task as a speaker does within everyday conversational speech setting. That is, they must select some initial reference form for persons from a set of multiple alternatives. While the task is fundamentally the same, the speech exchange system in play is of a different type, with different interactional and structural organisation, different recipient expectations, and so forth. Even with fleeting reflection one can think of many ways in which narrative differs from everyday conversation. Most fundamentally, narrative describes a specific sequence of events (*He did this and then this happened…*), and typically has participants with allocated roles of narrator and recipient. Casual conversation, by contrast, proceeds spontaneously, with no explicit pre-determined goals or participant roles, and can cover a fluid range of topics and actions, including observations on the current context (*Oh look at the thunder!*) or self-reflexive utterances (*I feel*

*hungry*), negotiation or quarrels about future plans (*No, let's go to the shop!*) etc.[39]. Moreover, narrative is organised by number of thematic and/or stylistic and structural categories. These are the 'literary' elements, such as how the point-of-view of the narrative is cast, how and when a character's perspective (voice and thought) is made accessible to the audience, how grammatical tense is presented in the story. To set the scene for the rest of this chapter, I will briefly reflect on how one could expect the different characteristics of a narrative environment to influence speaker orientation to the four person reference design principles. This will lead to a number of hypotheses that will subsequently be tested on the data from Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.

The recognitional needs and expectations of a co-narrator and/or a recipient would appear to be different in narration than in everyday conversation. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people tell stories that are well-known or are "favourites", told and retold on many occasions. This means that the information imperative, one of the driving forces in everyday interaction is not at play in such narratives, or at least not to the same degree. And as such, a narrator telling a story already known to the recipient may be less preoccupied in securing informational convergence or in monitoring of the recipient's state of knowledge or common ground (Clark 1992, Schelling 1960).

The recognition principle is crucially also about orientation to the particular co-participant(s)/recipient(s) in the interaction: who a speaker is talking to will determine what counts as a recognitional reference, or what is the most appropriate recognitional reference. Will the referent's nickname identify the referent for that recipient (e.g. *Lofty* for someone who is tall), or will a kin-term be better suited for achieving recognition (*my brother-in-law*), or a job-descriptor (*my boss*)? Who precisely a narrator is talking to is a thorny issue in the case of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives under examination. In some way, the audience could be seen to consist of both present and non-present recipients (§2.5.1). The narratives were in part recorded as a language documentation endeavour. The Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators' hope was that the audio/video would be used as a record of the traditional language for non-fluent speakers within the community and for future generations. Thus, while there was a present audience of other Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers and family (as well as myself, as researcher-documenter), there is also a potential non-present audience who will view the recorded performance. This is an additional complication in the narrators' task of constructing a recipient designed person reference. To what degree the narrators of these stories actually shape the narrative or reference with a future audience in mind is difficult to test and falls outside the bounds of the questions explored in this chapter. However, it is clear that the parameters of, and forces operating on, recognition are different in the narratives explored in this study, than they would be in a typical conversational setting.

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[39] This is not to suggest that conversation isn't rule-guided, with its own underlying mechanics; consider how the spontaneous and emergent nature of conversation is managed through turn-organisation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), sequence organisation (Schegloff 2007, Schegloff and Sacks 1973), and structural preference (Heritage 1984, Pomerantz 1984).

For the principle of recognition, therefore, both differences in the informational status of the referents and in the nature of the recipient may lead to the following hypothesis. While recognition is still a conditioning factor, the output generated by speaker orientation to recognition will be different in the narrative context, and the recognition principle may interact differently with the other principles than has been observed in studies of everyday conversation. This hypothesis is supported by the forthcoming discussion of default reference choice (§5.4) and special formulations which include recognitional references, but are primarily conditioned by other interactional factors (§5.6).

Moving now to the principle of minimisation, there is potentially less influence of the force of economy (expending the least effort) in narration, as compared to people engaged in conversation. Here I am referring to the principle of minimisation posited to describe initial person reference (§1.2.2 and §5.1.2), rather than the broader use of minimisation in the context of subsequent referent forms (for instance Ariel 1990, Fox 1987, Givón 1983 (§6.2)). Narration is a performance which is ordered and organised in an especially meaningful way for rhetorical affect. Narrators *craft* their output in order to convey the story – they use stylistic devices to create suspense, they manage multiple perspectives, or incrementally build up back-story. As part of this verbal artistry, narrators may well *craft* their initial person references in full and elaborate ways with less attendance to the principle of minimisation.

Taking a different angle on pressure of minimisation in initial reference, the management of the interactional floor is also different in narrative. It has been shown in conversation that a preference for short and rapid turns motivates the push-and-pull between current speaker and next speaker (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). This is an interactionally motivated take on minimisation; minimise your person referential choices (i.e. avoid lengthy descriptions of persons) to allow other interlocutors to take the floor. Narratives are an extended unit or sequence, more extended than is typical of the most elaborate sequences or actions within a conversational setting. Timing and competition to hold the floor is less of a factor in these extended sequences, given some degree of pre-allocation of participant roles as narrator and recipient (§2.2-2.3). In a single-party narrative (in this context, narratives where certain propriety rights restrict who can talk), one speaker holds the floor for all or nearly all the speech event with no competition (§2.2). In multi-party narratives, there are usually one or two speakers who have status as the narrator or primary narrator for this speech event, and so these interactants have more rights to hold the floor than other interlocutors (§2.3). This means that there is not the same degree, or same consistent degree of pressure, for the narrators to minimise their expressive means in producing a person reference in order to allow other interactants an opportunity to talk. In short, taking both these points on minimisation, narrators plan and design their output in narration and are afforded considerable space to do so do. This is a mutual speaker-recipient expectation about the nature of the interaction. Based on this, we could speculate that there will be less pressure on speakers to minimise expressive means in

formulating the initial reference to a character in narrative, when compared to findings from conversational interactions. This idea will be further explored, and find some merit in the discussion of two special non-minimal formulations used for initial mentions, both in the narrator formulation of these and recipient/co-narrator behavior through the production of these sequences (§5.6, §5.7).

As noted earlier, the narratives in the corpus are language documentation products for a potential future audience. This could be a factor in heightening the speaker's orientation to the principle of circumspection: the nebulous non-present "audience" could potentially make a speaker more accountable for or more conscious of stringently upholding name taboos and associated avoidance behaviour. Additionally, given that narratives are language documentation products, they are more *on record*, or part of community public record, in a way that conversation would not usually be. This would be likely to make a speaker more accountable for, or more conscious of, stringently upholding taboos and other related avoidance behaviour. There are a myriad of these in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u culture, including restrictions on naming the deceased and certain kin (§3.2.2.2; §5.7.1), which hold in all types of communicative contexts and speech genres, including narration. All things being even, there are may be more referents subject to name restrictions in narrative contexts than in conversation. Narratives often recount events in the past and so they frequently include stories about activities involving deceased people. There are strong restrictions on naming the deceased: for close relatives this can last indefinitely, while for others it is more of a short-lived restriction. There is a milder restriction (in fact more of a general dispreference) on using personal names for non-present referents. Obviously, narratives are full of these. These observations suggest that circumspection may be relevant for more referents more frequently in narrative than conversation. However, whether it is more or less, the myriad of name restrictions, and a speaker's need to calculate restrictions for themselves as well as other interlocutors, results in a large number of persons whose names need to be avoided at any point in any interaction. In short, the hypothesis is that circumspection will impact considerably on referential choice in narratives. The influence of circumspection in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration with regard to certain types of referents will be explored in §5.7.

Lastly, we will reflect on the relevance of topic-fittedness as a conditioning pressure in narration. Levinson's description of topic-fittedness, phrased as an injunction to the speaker, is 'fit the expressive means to the topic or action you are pursuing' (2007:31). In a narrative context, topic and action are naturally intimately connected. I take topic here in its plain English sense, as the thematic subject or the main subject matter of the interaction. Conveying topic or subject matter is fundamental to storytelling. Action, in Levinson's injunction, is meant in a conversation analytic sense as the type of interactional job or task being undertaken by the interactants, e.g. requesting, complaining, agreeing, telling, noticing, or rejecting (Schegloff 2007:xiv). First, the whole narrative is an action in itself: a specialised type of performance or

telling with certain social functions, e.g. to entertain, to transmit social norms, to foster social cohesion and identity, to make meaning out of the world. In this way, the action of telling a particular story is intimately connected to the topic of the story: is this story a comedy to entertain, does this story provide a moral, or is it a shared reminiscence between interactants? Within a narrative, there are various actions interactants can undertake, particularly as part of the function of pursing collaborative storytelling, e.g. providing assessments (moral or value judgments about events and persons), or requesting, agreeing or rejecting content produced by co-narrators. These actions will no doubt look somewhat different to those embedded in conversation, as they will be modulated by the structure of the narrative and the various roles prescribed to the participants in the narrative. Achievement of actions and tasks of various types will still be relevant, but the set of actions found within narrative may be reduced or look different from those found in conversational settings. I suggest that topic-fittedness will be central to the discussion of person reference formulation in narrative. Most centrally, the proposal is that references could be formulated so they fitted to the topic of the story, and so, help to convey the story and what it is about. This aspect of the principle of topic-fittedness is likely to be especially salient in narration. This aspect of topic-fittedness goes hand-in-hand with how person references could also be employed to mark out storytelling as a special type of communicative action, or to achieve specific interactional goals within the narration. These opening hypotheses will find considerable support in the coming discussion of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration; in relation to default person reference choices (§5.4) and in relation to the themes developed and actions conveyed by deviations from these default choices (§5.5, §5.6, §5.7).

RECOGNITION: Speakers will orient less to the principle of recognition in formulating reference in narration, due to the different recognitional values of the narrative context.

MINIMISATION: Speakers will have less pressure to minimise expressive means in formulating initial reference, due to the different expectations about the nature of speaker output and management of the interactional floor in the narrative context.

CIRCUMSPECTION: Speakers will need to observe circumspection for a raft of persons whose names are restricted for themselves and their interlocutors. Due to the broad potential audience and *on-record* nature of the narratives under consideration, these restrictions may be more frequent, and may be more likely to be strictly adhered to.

TOPIC-FITTEDNESS: Speakers will orient to topic-fittedness in narration in order to mark out storytelling as a special type of communicative action. There may be considerable interactional value in fitting the person reference to the topic of narration and the person's

role in the story, and to the interactional goals that the narrator is attempting to achieve in the storytelling.

**5.3 Analytical parameters**

Before commencing the examination of the person reference design principles in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative, this section will outline what references to what type of persons are under consideration, and what counts as the initial mention to such persons. This study will consider the first time a story-world participant with a particular designation, overtly or implicitly, appears in the bounds of the narrative event. Using a global versus local dichotomy[40], this is a globally initial reference, as opposed to other types of initial reference, i.e. a locally initial reference, which is the first reference made to a person at a local level in the discourse organisation (§6.2). Story-world participant is used here to mean all participants who are persons or characters within the story, or persons who are mentioned in order to explicate the story-world events being narrated. The wording intentionally excludes a small number of address expressions between the narrators and other speech act participants.

**5.3.1 What counts as the first mention?**

Given the parameters outlined above, what actually counts as the *first mention* to one of these story-world participants? A person can be introduced in a narrative by combination of more than one expression (§4.1, §4.3.6). Some examples are shown in (4)-(6) below. A structure like (4) has two consecutive coreferential NPs 'that old man' and 'your cousin'; a structure like (5) shows two referring expressions with partially overlapping denotation 'those old women' and 'some of the old women'; and in a structure like (6) the first expression has an ellipsed NP head 'they those ones', but is followed by a coreferential and lexically contentful list of NPs 'father, mother, and the two boys'.

(4)    waatha-ka  inga-na  **ngulu**    **nga'a-l**       **chilpu**
       go-FUT     say-NF   3sgNOM    dem.dist1-DM   old.man
       **ngami**     **ngangkangku**
       cousin       2sgGEN
       *"...will go" said that old man, your cousin.*
       (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*)

(5)    1    DS    **pula**      **ku'unku'unchi**  now  inga-na
                  3plNOM     RDP.old.woman   now  say-NF
                  *those old women now say…*
       (8 turns intervening)

---

[40] See Comrie (1989) for a typological perspective, and Schegloff (1996) for an interactional perspective.

2    DS    **nga'a-l        kuthu  ku'unchi** mayi i'ira        ma'upi-na-na
           dem.dist1-DM   some   old.woman food mangrove   make-NF-now
           *some old women make the mangrove seedpod food now*
(14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*: 00:31:08-00:31:23)


(6)  1    MB    mayi-ku    **pula       nga'a-l**         waathi-nya-na
                food-DAT   3plNOM    dem.dist-DM    go-NF-now
                *for food, those ones went*
     2          (1.4)
     3    MB    **piipi    paapa   pulthunu   pa'amu**
                F        M       boy          two
                *the father, mother and two boys*
     4          (0.6)
     5    MB    mayi  puntu-ku
                food  sugarbag-DAT
                *went for sugarbag*
(15Aug07:*Wapa1*:00:08:22-00:08:28)


Examples such as these are not infrequent in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, raising issues about how to count and treat the relationship between multiple coreferential references or partially coreferential references in this data. In (4), is the first expression 'that old man' the initial mention and the second expression 'your cousin' a type of subsequent expansion on the preceding initial mention, or are both references part of an "initial" mention unit? Are both references in (5) initial or is the second reference somehow less initial given its semantic relationship to the prior? How should we treat an initial reference like the one in (6), which is formally dependent on another reference that follows?

In taking up these questions about initialness the task is twofold. First, there is the task of setting analytical parameters. In the coming analysis, supporting evidence will include the presentation of counts and frequency information about the use of different categories of expressions (e.g. frequency of use of names as opposed to kin-terms, pronouns, and so on) and the size of expressions (e.g. determining what is a single reference expression or two expressions is fundamental part of considering the principle of minimisation). Second, and more importantly, there is a functional perspective. What functional work do these different formulations achieve for the speaker? What evidence do we have of how hearers interpret these multiple references that will help to determine their status as part of a single initial unit or as an initial form with a number of subsequent forms? The second perspective is the one of ultimate concern in this chapter, but in order to approach this, we will need to make some analytical decisions that will aid in the consideration of the data.

As to the question of multiple referring expressions: in this chapter, we will count referring expressions in terms of NP units, while also simultaneously noting and counting all instances where directly consecutive coreferential NPs (like in example (6)) are employed. Taking the NP as the basic unit of measure is a practicable analytical approach for Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. NPs are the syntactic structure in which person references occur: they need not co-occur with a verbal expression, and bound pronouns which often occur on verbal forms do not play a notable role in initial mentions of persons (§1.4.1, §6.2.5). Moreover, there are no relative clauses in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u (and so no relative clauses in which to embed a person reference NP), and while person references can in principle be delivered as nominal predications (e.g. 'the man is tall', 'those two are brothers') this is a very low-frequency strategy. In this perspective, it is most feasible to consider referring expressions in terms of NPs, as I do in the frequency information presented in §5.3.1. Much of the initial part of the chapter explores what are single NP expressions, but in §5.6-5.7 the focus will turn to sequences of referring expressions, and I will discuss the status and function of these expressions as *initial* mentions in more detail.

Taking the criteria laid out so far, determining what constitutes an initial mention is straightforward with discourse entities that are single individuals and remain so throughout the narrative. The first NP (or ellipsed NP) used to refer to a person will be counted as the first referring expression. However, group referents also have an important role in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration and warrant some consideration in this study. Narratives often include arrays of plural referring expressions designating different groups or configurations of persons, often with adjustments to the designation of an already established group of persons through the course of the narrative. In many narratives the opening sequences establish a family group or a social group of some other type, most often achieved with a simple pronominal expression (§5.4.1). It is from this reference that the key participants are then singled out. In general terms, therefore, the "true" initial mention of many discourse participants in many of the narratives is simply a plural pronoun. However, to take such a strict definition is to ignore much of the richness and patterning in formulation strategies made by speakers in establishing sub-participants of these oblique initial forms. So in this study, each time a person reference designation changes this is considered as a new initial mention, while still being cognisant that this is a different type of first mention than those produced to introduce a participant that is not established by other references in the preceding discourse. Where this distinction is relevant (e.g. §5.4), an entirely new participant versus simply a new configuration or a newly singled-out participant subset will be referred to as a superset initial reference and a subset initial reference.

## 5.3.2 Counts

Applying the criteria outlined above to the focused narrative corpus, this section shows what resources speakers select as initial forms from the repertoire available to them. Table 5.1 shows

| Expressions | Example | Count: all | Count: 3rd person | Part of a sequence of referring expressions[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **DESCRIPTIONS** | | | | |
| Human classificatory | *kampinu* 'man' | 39 (30%) | 39 (35%) | 4 (18%) |
| Ethnonym | *pama* 'aboriginal person(s)' | 11 (9%) | 11 (10%) | 2 (9%) |
| Common noun[42] | *iiwayi* 'crocodile (ancestral being)' | 5 (4%) | 5 (4%) | 0 |
| Job descriptor (English) | *stockman* | 2 (1.5%) | 2 (2%) | 0 |
| **RELATIONAL** | | | | |
| Kin-term | *piipi* 'father, father's younger brother' | 24 (19%) | 24 (21%) | 4 (18%) |
| **PRONOMINAL** | | | | |
| Pronoun | *ngulu* 'he, she, it' | 31 (24%) | 15 (13%) | 5 (23%) |
| Demonstrative pronoun | *ngungkulu* 'that one there far' | 2 (1.5%) | 2 (2%) | 0 |
| **ELLIPSIS** | | | | |
| Headless NP | *mukamukana* 'big lot' | 11 (9%) | 11 (10%) | 7 (32%) |
| Zero | -- | 3 (2%) | 3 (3%) | 0 |
| **Total** | | **128** | **112** | **22** |

**Table 5.1** Count of form types employed as initial mentions in the focused corpus

the counts of the referring expressions used in the corpus of 12 narratives (§2.6.2). Counting the head of the first NP (or ellipsed expression) referring to a story-world referent with a unique designation, the following reference categories are employed by narrators: human classificatory terms (*kampinu* 'man'); kin-terms (*piipi* 'father, father's younger brother'); ethnonyms (*pama* 'aboriginal person'); common nouns for mythological characters (*iiwayi* 'crocodile'); job descriptors (*stockman*); pronouns (*ngulu* 'he, she, it'), demonstrative pronouns (*ngungkulu*

---

[41] As a percentage of third-person referents.

[42] 4/5 common nouns constitute references to mythological beings in human form, prior to transformation into animals/geographical features, e.g. *piiwu* kangaroo being, *tinta* parrot being. Thus, their inclusion here as person references could be questioned. The other common noun is the form *kuuyu* 'thing', which is discussed in §5.5.2.

'that one there far'); and ellipsed references. Strikingly, there is not a single use of a personal name or nickname. These are notable absences, as these are the only two person reference categories from the repertoire described in chapter 3 that are not represented at all. The other major thing of note is that there is relatively frequent use of sequences of referring expressions (see the righthand column of table), with twenty percent of all third-person references consisting of multiple coreferential NPs.

As shown in the table, the focused corpus has references to 128 participants, including 16 participants which include in their designation speakers and addressees who are present in the speech event (cf. example (2) in §5.1.1). The discussion in this study will focus almost entirely on third-person referents, but it will include some discussion of the first- and second-person references that designate a participant within a narrative, e.g. _we did X_, _you lot did X_. Counting only third-person referents, there are 112 in the set of 12 narratives. Columns 3 and 4 in the table distinguish between the figures for all referents, and the figures for third-person referents. It is the frequency information for third-personal referents we will predominately cite and revisit throughout this chapter. Beyond the distinction between first/second and third person reference, Table 5.1 is organised in two main ways, by category of referring expression and by size of expression.

The categories used, listed in column 1 and exemplified in column 2, are largely based on person reference form type of the head of the NP (as discussed in chapter 3). They can be formally and semantically distinguished from each other in the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language system, or in the case of the pronominals (pronouns and demonstrative pronouns) grouped together on the basis of shared formal features. There are three exceptions to the use of form type to define the referring expression classes presented in Table 5.1. First, job descriptors are expressions borrowed from English in post-contact life, e.g. _stockman_, _sergeant_, _superintendent_. There is limited evidence of job descriptor terms of this type in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u itself, and in any case not found in the corpus. Second and third, headless NPs and zero expressions, grouped together under the label of ellipsis, are defined in terms of NP formulation rather than form type. Headless NPs are phrases that feature overt dependent forms (e.g. modifiers, determiners) with the phrase head ellipsed (§4.5). Instances labelled as zero expressions represent a total lack of denoting expression, only visible indirectly through the transitivity status of a verbal predicate, i.e. an intransitive predicate with no subject or a transitive predicate with no subject or no object.

As indicated above and by the heading, the final column in the table counts all instances of sequences of consecutive referring expressions. This relates to the principle of minimisation, which concerns the size of the referring expression; as formulated by Sacks and Schegloff, this principle states that initial reference should preferably be done with a single reference form (Sacks and Schegloff 1979:16). The figures presented in this column are subsets of the count presented in the third-person column. For instance, this means that 4/39 instances where a

human classificatory term is the initial NP in a sequence of referring expressions (see row 3 of the table), and 2/11 instances where an ethnonym is the initial NP in a sequence of referring expressions (see row 4), and so on. All up this illustrates that sequences of referring expressions are a frequent strategy within the corpus. Of the 112 instances of third-person references, 22 (20%) are such sequences. On the flipside, this means that 87/112 (78%) of initial mentions are comprised of a single NP.

Taking these counts on expression size further, Table 5.2 summarises the number of directly consecutively NPs used to reference a new person in the focused corpus: for instance, 11/112 (10%) have 2 NPs and 6/112 (5%) have 3 NPs, and so forth, with diminishing frequency. There are also 3 instances (3/112, 2.5%) of initial mention to a participant being ellipsed. The use and function of the deviations from a single NP expression are discussed in §5.6 and §5.7.

| Number of NPs | Count |
|---|---|
| 0 | 3 (2.5%) |
| 1 | 87 (78%) |
| 2 | 11 (10%) |
| 3 | 6 (5%) |
| 4 | 2 (2%) |
| 5 | 3 (2.5%) |
| **Total** | **112** |

**Table 5.2** Number of coreferential NPs in an initial referring expression

Having set out the analytical parameters of this study in this section (type of participants/references to be considered and how these are to be counted), and having discussed key theoretical preliminaries in the previous section, we are now in a position to begin to look at how narrator's use of the resources, listed in Table 5.1, to formulate initial mentions in narratives.

## 5.4 Unmarked initial mentions

This section will explore the unmarked way to formulate initial mentions to persons as an Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storyteller. The unmarked formation is what Schegloff (1996:440) terms *referring simpliciter*, that is, when a speaker refers to a person without trying to convey that they are doing it in a special way or for a special reason. This is described as doing 'just referring, and doing nothing else' (Sacks and Schegloff 1979:19) or more generally unmarked bahviour of all types, as 'doing "being ordinary"' (Sacks 1984). Pragmatically unmarked patterns are crucial for the departures from these to be noticeable by the recipient(s) as not conforming to the normal expectations, and therefore eliciting enriched interpertations (Grice 1975, 1989). In explication of the unmarked format, Enfield (2007:97) describes a plumber

going to work dressed in overalls. The plumber has choosen the default or unmarked course of action, while choosing to wear a dress, for instance, would be a marked behaviour. Haviland (2007:230) in unmarked person reference expressions in Tzoltil, first turns to a context from his own life experience. He recounts that in the tradition of Reed College Anthropology Department a professor's default person reference for students and colleagues alike is the use of 'Mr. X' or 'Ms. Y' expressions, i.e. not making status differential. The illustrative examples in Enfield (2007) and Haviland (2007) both point to complexities within the seeming simplicity of the notion of unmarked behaviour. Haviland's example unfolds to show more layers within this unmarked practice in which multiple defaults are at play, for example, "the professor may adhere to the default just described, whereas the professor's students may routinely refer to other students by first name alone, and to professors by some combination of title and last name – both defaults can coexist…" (Haviland 2007:230). Enfield's further explication of the example of the plumber's wardarobe choice concludes with the insight that the *ordinariness* of unmarked selection does not preclude the default practices of person reference from doing more than 'just referring' as per Sacks and Schegloff's initial characterisation (1979:19). Instead, they are understood to "instantiate and stabilise culture-specific views of the person. But by their very design, these practices render their own meaning difficult to detect, shrouded in the veil of ordinariness" (Enfield 2007:97). In this section, we will be observing these *ordinary* selections and what meanings they encode. For further reading on the nature of pragmatic markedness, see Levinson (2000) and Comrie (1996) for general discussion; Stivers, Enfield and Levinson (2007:8-10) and Enfield (2007) discuss markedness in relation to person reference specifically.

The unmarked status of a referring expression in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration is largely defined on two criteria: (i) frequency of use; (ii) breadth of function/distribution, in terms of contexts and type of persons for which the referring expression is used. This follows the standard criteria employed in the seminal series of person reference studies presented in Enfield and Stivers (2007). Keeping in mind Haviland's (2007) insights on unmarked formulations, special attention is paid to all aspects of the context of use.

Based on the two criteria of frequency and function, pronouns and descriptive expressions share unmarked status for complementary roles in referring to persons across most contexts in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives. They are the two most frequently employed types of person reference, with pronouns making up 24% (31/128) and descriptive expressions totalling 45% (57/128) of all specific person references in the focused corpus (see Table 5.1 in §5.3 above for count details). The coming discussion will explore how these two person reference types have different functions in grouping and splitting sets of characters across an array of narrative genres, topics or contexts within narratives, as well as for a wide range of person types. Plural pronouns are the default form for initial group references (superset) and descriptive expressions

(particularly human classificatory terms) are the default form for single individuals or smaller groups within the larger groups (subset).

These unmarked person reference expressions are best understood as generated by speakers' orientation to two of the design principles discussed in §5.2: the principle of minimisation and the principle of topic-fittedness. To reiterate: minimisation is the preference for a speaker to use a formulation that consists of one and only one referring unit (Levinson 1987, 2007; Sacks and Schegloff 1979), and topic-fittedness is the preference for the use of reference forms that convey or account for the topic or action being undertaken (Levinson 2007, Stivers 2007). In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, the collusion of these two principles generates initial referring expressions that are: (i) minimal in size, that is presented in a single NP expression, most often with the NP comprised of a single component; and (ii) employ some of the more semantically general nominal resources available to speakers. The semantic specificity of a reference form plays a role in how likely recipients will be able to identify a referent, which implies that semantically general resources are usually not recognitional. As will be shown in the coming discussion, the unmarked referring expression used by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators does not invite the recipient to recognise the identity of the character even if many of these characters are personally known to the recipients, i.e. the reference is not formulated to satisfy the principle of recognition. This is noteworthy when compared to cross-linguistic findings for the default person reference in conversation (cf. studies in Enfield and Stivers 2007 discussed in §5.2), including studies of Australian languages (Blythe 2009a, 2010, 2012, 2018; Garde 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013). I argue that this difference is due to the different recognitional needs and expectations of a recipient and/or co-narrator in narration, as compared to everyday conversation. Instead, the unmarked way to formulate reference assists with the act of storytelling. This is in line with predictions made in §5.2, which highlight the importance of topic-fittedness and downplay the potential relevance of recognition in formulating reference in narration.

The discussion in this section will look at the use of plural pronouns in §5.4.1, and the use of descriptive expressions in §5.4.2.

## 5.4.1 Plural pronouns and narrative perspective

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives typically first introduce a social group that the main characters are part of, before singling out specific characters from within this group. The group is usually referenced with use of a simple plural pronominal expression, either first- or third-person (*ngana* 'we (speaking)', *ngampula* 'we all' or *pula* 'they') (§3.3.1). Typically, this initial pronominal reference is employed without the provision of futher person reference information to specify or identify the nature or composition of the group. The use of pronouns in initial third-person is a rare cross-linguistic pattern. Pronouns are resolutely employed for subsequent reference in most language systems, or when employed in initial position are pragmatically

marked (Enfield 2012:448, Levinson 2007:33). In the case of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, these pronoun usages rely on the common ground between participants, but are also a measure of, (i) their special perspective management functions, and (ii) the use of alternate means to specify reference.

This simple pronominal group reference is most often part of a scene-setting sequence in the opening utterances of the narrative. In the opening of the *WW2* story, for instance, *ngana* 'we' references the key group of Aboriginal people the story is about (see example (7)). As an exclusive pronoun choice, it includes in its scope the primary narrator (MB) and supporting narrator (DS), but excludes other present parties who did not experience these events, which these narrators are recalling from their younger years. The *ngana* 'we' is the only participant introduced in the main scene-setting turns of this narrative (turns 1 to 19 in this story). This sequence includes information on where the group is camped and the duration of their stay; where they have travelled from and where they are going to; and a description of typical camp activities. The first 9 turns of the narrative are reproduced here to illustrate. The *ngana* referent subsumes 7 of the 8 following persons featured in the unfolding story: *kampinu* 'the men' (turn 20-21); *chilpu* 'the old man' (turn 22); *pula ma'a ya'a* 'those two sisters' (turn 33-35) ; *pula kuthu wayimu* 'some of those women' (turn 37); *ngana kuthu* 'some of us' (turn 41); *pulthunu* 'the boys' (turn 48); *ku'unchi* 'the old woman' (turn 52).

(7)  1   MB   **ngana**      waathi-nya    yiipay-ma
              1plexcNOM    go-NF         south-DIR
              *we went southwards*

     2         (0.8)

     3   MB   **ngana**      wuna-na
              1plexcNOM    camp-NF
              *we camped*

     4         (0.6)

     5   MB   ngaachi
              place
              *at a place*

     6         (3.2)

     7   DS   °wanim°          Chinchanaku?
              whatchamacallit  place.name
              *whatchamacallit Night Island?*

     8         (.)

     9   MB   aa- Chinchanaku
              ah  place.name
              *Night Island*

| 10 |    | (0.8) | | | |
|----|----|-------|--|--|--|
| 11 | MB | **ngana** | ngaachi | Chinchanaku | wuna-na-**na** |
|    |    | 1plexcNOM | place | place.name | camp-NF-1plexcNOM |
|    |    | *we camped at Night Island* | | | |
| 12 |    | (1.0) | | | |
| 13 | MB | al'alangk | Chin- | Chinchanaku-munu | waathi-nya:::: |
|    |    | RDP.longtime | place.name | place.name-ABL | go-NF |
|    |    | *after a long time we went from Nigh- Night Island* | | | |
| 14 |    | (1.3) | | | |
| 15 | MB | Thampal | Thangkinyu= | | |
|    |    | place.name | | | |
|    |    | *to Stoney Creek* | | | |
| 16 | DS | =hm | | | |

(05Apr04:*WW2*:00:00:22-00:00:40)

The *WW2* narrative illustrates a typical pattern, whereby the initial plural pronoun form subsumes many of the persons introduced throughout the story[43]. The majority of narratives open with a plural pronoun as the first person reference (in the focused corpus 8/12 (67%)). In this way, these references often constitute the "true" first mention of a whole raft of characters. Using the terminology and distinction introduced earlier in §5.2, plural pronouns function as superset references, from which subset participants are then selected and highlighted. This is the core function of pronouns for globally initial person reference. Outside this function, pronouns are not often employed for initial mentions to persons. There are five instances in the focused corpus (5/112, 4% of all third-person mentions; 5/31, 16% of all pronoun uses) where pronouns do not function as a superset reference. All five instances are employed in special sequences of referring expressions consisting of two or more consecutive NPs. These will be discussed in §5.6.

Initial plural pronominal references have important perspective management functions. This is their core function as a superset reference: they either locate the narrative within or outside the narrator(s)' frame of experience. First-person plural pronouns like *ngana* 'we' and *ngampula* 'we all' set the frame of the narrative to be within the narrator(s)' personal experience or within the broad frame of their experience or knowledge. Through the clusivity distinction, they also relate this perspective to the current social formulation within the speech event. This is the case in example (7). Even in entirely autobiographical accounts, a narrator will position themselves as part of a group before identifying other members of the group and then singling

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[43] WW2 example is also typical in terms of long pauses and disfluencies – see other examples in this section which also exhibit similar features. These are characteristic of a narrative launch, as narrators negotiate the transition from the conversational speech event to narration (§2.5.2).

themselves out as the topic of narration. As a case in point, take example (8) from Alec Naiga's autobiographical narrative (recorded by Bruce Rigsby as part of anthropological research), which recounts several decades of the narrator's working life in mines around Cape York and at the Old Mission. The narrative starts with high-level scene-setting information in which the initial referring expression is the first-person plural pronoun *ngana* 'we' (line1). Following this (not shown in the excerpt), the narrator introduces some members of the narrator's family ('my small father' at line 13, 'my older brother' at line 16, 'younger brother' at line 19 etc.) before moving on to focus on describing key events in his own life. There are no further references to this group, his family or countrymen, elsewhere in the narrative.

(8)  1  AN  **ngana**

                1plexcNOM

                *we*

     2          (1.1)

     3  AN  Kay'ampa          Wathalichi

                place.name        place.name

                (*went to) Kay'ampa and Wathalichi*

     4          (1.7)

     5  AN  ilnti-nga-na

                wander-CAUS-NF

                *(we) walked-about*

     6          (0.6)

     7  AN  kaaway

                east

                *east and (went to)*

     8          (0.9)

     9          Makuychi

                place.name

                *Makuychi*

     10         (2.5)

     11  AN  kuuna          ngachi-na

                neutral.dem    find-NF

                *(everybody) met each other there (and stayed)*

(04Jan76:*Naiga Biography*:00:00:48-00:01:01)

In contrast to the first-person pronoun in examples (7) and (8), the third-person plural form *pula* 'they' sets the events outside the narrator's experience and typically outside their lifetime. Mythological or early contact stories are usual candidates. The excerpt in (9) shows this pattern.

It is taken from the start of a mythological narrative associated with an Umpila place called Palinchi[44]. The narrative describes the kidnapping of a group of children by a possessed grandmother. The first reference to a character is *pula* 'they' (line 9), which refers to the wider group of people that the kidnapped children are part of. As with the pattern above, following this general group reference, individual characters are then selected and singled out from this group, e.g the boy (line 13).

(9)  1  DS  nga'a-lu       ku'unchi    ngathangku   (.) ya'a-lu   ngathan
            dem.dist1-DM   old.woman   1sgGEN           Se-ERG     1sgACC
            *that old woman, my older sister to me*

     2       (2.3)

     3  DS  inchi-nya
            say-NF
            *said*

     4       (1.5)

     5  DS  nganangku     ngaachi-ku   yiipayi      Palinchi
            1plexcGEN     place-DAT    south.east   place.name
            *"our country to the south is Nesbit River"*

     6       (2.0)

     7  EG  aa
            *ah*

     8       (1.4)

     9  DS  **pula**       ukapi-chi
            3plNOM    first-COM
            *they were first*

     10      (0.8)

     11 DS  wuna-na       Palinchi
            sleep-NF      place.name
            *(they) stayed at Nesbit River*

     12      (.)

     13 DS  **nga'a-lu**        **pulthunu**
            dem.dist1-DM    boy
            *that boy*

(02Apr07:*Hungry Grandmother*:00:11:21-00:11:43)

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[44] Note that the narrative opens with an overt display of the narrator's connections to place associated with this story, with DS saying, *that old woman, my older sister said to me, "our country to the south is Nesbit River"* (line 1-5). The use of sequences of expressions like *that old woman, my older sister* will be discussed in §5.6. Such displays or statements on the source of transmission of the story are frequent openers to narratives intimately associated with hereditarily owned land or narratives that fall outside of the narrator's own experiences, such as *before time* stories, as in this case (§5.5.2 discusses other aspects of person reference in such narratives).

The clearest evidence for the perspective management functions of these initial plural pronouns is that they can be used without any clear referential functions at all, that is, the referential functions of establishing a group referent in a story. A clear example can be found at the start of the *Minya Charlie* narrative in (10). Here the form *ngana* 'we' is used by the primary narrator to establish the narrative space and perspective in the first couple of utterances of the text (line 1-3). *Ngana* is not employed as a constituent of a clause, and is not a meaningful participant in any of the action in the following story. Thus, in such instances, the pronoun forms are not initial mentions to referents in the story, but are a different sort of phenomenon. They function solely to mark out something of the relationship between the interlocutors in the speech event and the forthcoming story. As they are not true references to persons in the story, they fall outside the scope of the parameters of this study, but they clearly illustrate the perspective-marking functions of such pronouns.

(10)  1    MB       yuway  **ngana**
                    yes        1plexcNOM
                    *yes we*
      2             (0.3)
      3    MB       yuway  **ngana**        **nga'a-lu**
                    yes        1plexcNOM   dem.dist1-DM
                    *yes, we, those ones*
      4             (1.2)
      5    MB       minya-laka
                    animal-PATHOS
                    *the poor animal!*
      6             (1.5)
      7    MB       um
      8             (1.2)
      9    MB       minya    kutini     aalma-nha-la
                    animal   cassowary  grow-CAUS-NF
                    *the cassowary was raised*
      10            (1.2)
      11   MB       there Old Site-laka
                    there old site-PATHOS
                    *there at dear Old Site!*
      (23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:17:15-00:17:28)

Information about the identity of the group in opening sequences like those shown in (7)-(10) is crucially provided not through the semantically general pronoun, nor through other

person references elaborating on the pronoun reference, but via the place references in these sequences[45]. Place references are plentiful throughout: example (7) features two place names, *Chinchanaku* (line, 5, 7, 9, 11), *Thampal Thangkinyu* (line 13); example (8) features three place names, *Kay'ampa* (line 3)*, Wathalichi* (line 3) and *Mayukchi* (line 9); example (9) has one place name, *Palinchi* (line 5, 11); example (10) features one place name, *Old Site* (line 11). Place provides some index of group identity. Put simply, place names indirectly index groups based on everyday knowledge of who usually goes where: people move through and visit places within territory owned by their clan or associated with a broader socio-linguistic group (§1.4.2), and thus, place names inference groups associated with those places (along with an array of other inferential knowledge like food resources to be found in certain seasons, typical activities undertaken etc.). In broad terms, places in southern coastal regions minimally associate the pronominal reference with Umpila people, places in close northerly coastal locations minimally associate the group references with Kuuku Ya'u people and in-land places minimally associate the group references with Kaanju people (§1.4.2). But place names can also specify group referents more narrowly. In (7) the reference to *Chinchanaku* (line 5-11) and *Thampal Thangkinyu* (line 13) associate the pronominal reference *ngana* 'we' with the Clarmont family group and Night Island people, who regularly camped together at both locations. An Umpila speaker (DS) when discussing this association says:

> *Yeah a big camp there at Chinchanaku, Night Island and Clarmont mob all mix together there. Only yiipaythampanyu [south-denizen 'southern mob'] there. Only if Night Island man take Pascoe [northern/Kuuku Ya'u] women then she'd come to this area. Kanichi [up-COM 'inland people'] people wouldn't go down there, go down beach, unless they have some family business like a funeral…* (10Jul13:Conversation)

It is clear from this commentary that DS can infer quite a bit about the composition of the group of people referenced in the pronoun via concurrent place information provided by the narrator. Similarly at the start of the *Naiga* autobiographical narrative in (8), the *ngana* 'we' (line 1) references a group of people (including the narrator) that are travelling inland along an important river in Umpila territory. The pronoun does not identify this group, but the place names *Kay'ampa* and *Wathalichi* (line 3) provide some specification via association: both are inland places not usually frequented by people aside from family/clan groups affiliated with these places. By contrast, the next place name reference *Makuychi* (line 7) is a common meeting place for all southern groups, including Kaanju people and well as coastal people, i.e. Umpila, Uutaalnganu, Kuuku Yani. This is a place where one would expect to find large and varied

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[45] On a related point, Sacks (1974b:134) discusses how location references near narrative openings provide substantial cues to fundamental aspects of the story to be delivered.

groups of people camping, and this is precisely what the *ngana* 'we' group encounters in the following lines of this story (line 9 and onwards).

This section has described a fundamental and recurrent aspect of person reference organisation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative. In a storytelling event, the narrator's first person reference activity is to establish the social group that the main characters are part of, and simultaneously, to set the perspective from which the narrative will be delivered. Following this, specific characters are then singled out from within this general group[46]. This structure is represented in Figure 5.1, which illustrates an important pattern in the macrostructural organisation of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives.
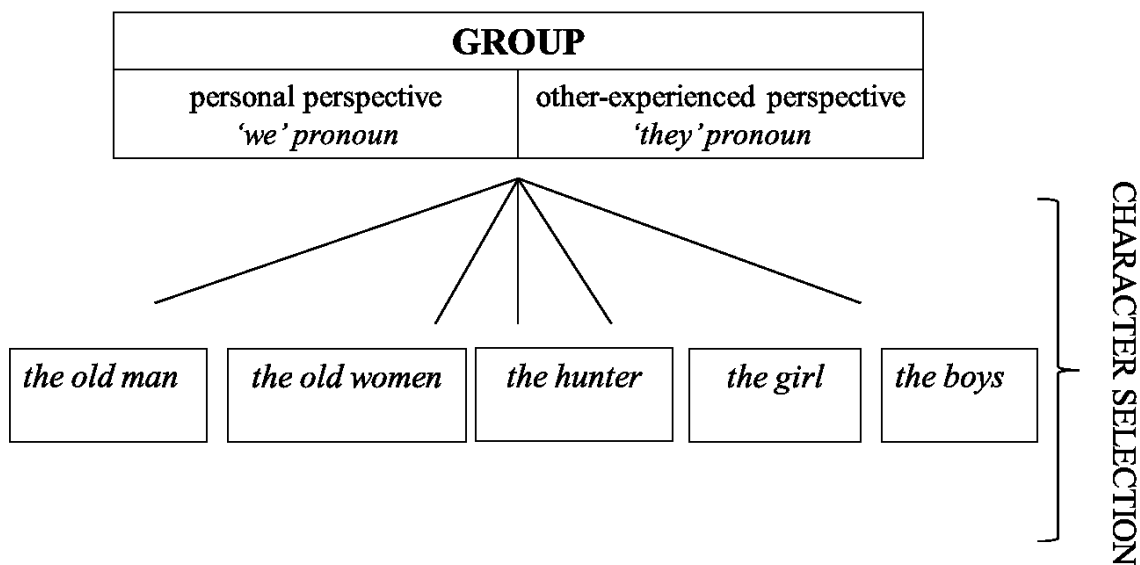


**Figure 5.1** Person reference organisation in Umpila/Kuuku narrative

In sum, plural pronoun references are simultaneously an economic and powerful tool for organising participants groups and perspective in the act of narration. Turning to the reference design principles outlined above, a narrator's use of the plural pronoun references can be explained in terms of orientation to the conditioning forces of minimisation and topic-fittedness. Pronouns are clearly minimal references; they are always a single NP consisting of a single component. In regard to topic-fittedness, pronouns fulfill a crucial dual action of organising participant groups and managing perspective which is part of key initial referential work undertaken by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators. This is part of the work or tasks a narrator needs to undertake in launching a narrative and marking out the narrative from the surrounding speech event. The collusion of minimisation and topic-fittedness in organising default reference choices will continue to be explored in the discussion of default reference form for initial

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[46] This is similar to observations made by Hodge and McGregor (1989:24) for Gooniyandi mythological narratives. Myths recurrently begin with a description of the social order which is about the collective or the group, followed by individuation of participants (by gender and age) in the second section of the story.

singular referents to the next section §5.4.2. Here the other aspect of topic-fittedness, conveying the topic or subject matter of the story, will be the central force in shaping reference.

### 5.4.2 Human classificatory terms and other descriptive expressions

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytellers in making lexical reference to characters typically select human classificatory terms and other descriptive terms, such as ethnonyms, i.e. expressions which describe age-grade, gender or social status like *ku'unchi* 'old woman' and *pa'amu kannga* 'two initiates', or describe ethnicity like *thathimalu* 'Islander'. In person reference studies these have been called a 'minimal description' in a nod to the descriptive semantics and limited identifying content of such expressions (see Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007:1-7 for good discussion of descriptions versus names; also see Blythe 2009a:160, 207, 232-235; Brown 2007:180-181, Garde 2003:293, 328, 332-336; Levinson 2007:33; Senft 2007:314-317). The motivation for grouping together all descriptive terminology in the discussion of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative is due to their shared functions and their shared conditioning by the person reference design principles of topic-fittedness and minimisation. Section 5.4.2 focuses on human classificatory terms[47] which are the most widely employed[48] (Table 5.1), and most descriptively powerful of this repertoire (§3.2.3). Section 5.4.3 focuses on ethnonyms, which are associated with one particular narrative genre.

Even in narratives of personal experience, where all the people featured in the story are known to the narrator and recipients alike, descriptive terms are the default reference type. This is a central observation in the coming discussion. Descriptive expressions are just as typically selected by narrators to refer to close kin and friends as they are to refer to unfamiliar persons. As the unmarked option, they are also employed as the reference of choice for persons in a diversity of roles and contexts within a variety of narrative genres. As will be shown, they work to characterise characters, rather than to ensure that the recipient recognises the identity of the person.

To illustrate the unmarked usage, let us consider a narrative which recounts the travels of the two co-narrators (DS and SP) and their families in the country around a place called *Buthen Buthen*. In this personal experience narrative all except one of the third-person characters are referenced lexically using descriptive terms – this, of course, excludes pronominal references made by narrators to themselves. In the first part of the narrative a group of people, including the two narrators, are stranded in the bush without food and they seek the assistance of a white miner fossicking nearby. The human classificatory term *chilpu* 'old man' is employed in this

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[47] In some Australian languages human classificatory terms function as classifiers in classifier constructions or generic-specific constructions (Dixon 1977:480-484, 1982:192 on Yidiny; Wilkins 2000: 154-156 on Arrernte). To date, evidence suggests they do not function as such in Umpila (§3.2.3) – this appears to also be the case for neigbouring varieties, Umpithamu (Verstraete p.c.) and Yintyingka (Verstraete and Rigsby 2015:139).

[48] Blythe (2009:207) in passing suggests that human classificatory terms are also frequent selections for Murrinh-Patha speakers from within the descriptive repertoire.

section as the initial mention form for two participants, as shown in (11): one of the two elders leading the group of aboriginal people (line 1)[49] and then for the two elders together (line 10). The enthonym *para* 'white man' is used for the one white man they seek (line 18).

| (11) | 1 | SP | that hill where **chilpu** Chin-Chin- wanim              °Nyin-Nyin° |
| | | | that hill where old.man name          whatchamacallit name |
| | | | *that hill where old man chin-chin-  whatchamacallit Nyin-Nyin* |
| | 2 | | (1.5) |
| | 3 | DS | wanim            ngaachi? |
| | | | whatchamacallit  place |
| | | | *whatchamacallit place?* |
| | 4 | | (1.3) |
| | 5 | SP | from (0.8)  Thampal Thangkinu (.) that  ulngku  go ontop where   ilka |
| | | | from            place.name                that   road      go ontop where   hill |
| | | | *from Stoney Creek where that road goes on top of the hill* |
| | 6 | | (1.4) |
| | 7 | DS | Buth[en Buthen? |
| | | | place.name |
| | | | *Buthen Buthen?* |
| | 8 | SP | [ngampula      piingka-na |
| | | | 1plincNOM    climb-NF |
| | | | *we climbed up* |
| | 9 | | (1.7) |
| | 10 | DS | buth- well he- ngampula   waathi-ny pa-  **chilpu**        **pa'amu** |
| | | | buth  well  he  1plincNOM go-NF    ?       old.man       two |
| | | | *Buth- well he- we all went with the two old men* |
| | 11 | | (0.6) |
| | 12 | DS | hey? |
| | 13 | | (.) |
| | 14 | SP | yuway |
| | | | *yes* |
| | 15 | | (0.5) |
| | 16 | DS | ngampula      kali-na::    kani-ma Buthen Buthen-ku |
| | | | 1plincNOM    carry-NF    up-DIR  place.name-DAT |
| | | | *we were taken up to Buthen Buthen* |
| | 17 | | (0.4) |

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[49] Note that in this example the person reference is part of a locative expression. The place reference in this is part of a mnemonic for the person. See §5.4.1 for observations on place references identifying people.

> 18   DS      **para**         go     ngachi-ny   chilpu   [laughter]
>               white.person   go     find-NF     old.man
>               *the old men went to find the white man*
> (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*:00:27:19-00:27:35)

These persons are specific individuals known to the two narrators and the recipients of the story: the main recipients of the story are two daughters of one of the narrators (see Prologue, who are not familiar with the story as such, but know most of the people involved in the events. Many other referring options, including kin-terms, are available to the narrators in formulating reference to these people, but as the initial expression, *chilpu* 'old man' and *para* 'white person' are selected. The character introduced in line 1 (also one of the pair of referents in line 10) is one narrator's *yapu* 'older brother' and the other narrator's *piipi* 'mother's younger sibling's husband'. During a session checking the transcription of this story the narrators use such expressions freely: (i) talking about the white miner DS uses his personal name, *we find that* **white old man**, *he work long time mining… **Tom Preston** name belong him*; (ii) talking about one of the old men that leads the group SP uses the self-associated kin reference, ***ya'athu*** (By) *there, he take us*, and DS in talking about the same referent employs kin references and a personal name **this old man**, **mukalaka** (MBe)*, I call him* **yapu** (Be)*, hey?* **that old man** *now* **Nyin-Nyin**[50] (31Mar07:Transciption). Note that in the first person reference (line 1) a personal name (produced in a word search) elaborating on the initial human classificatory terms is also provided (line 1-2). The use and function of elaborating references and their status in relation to the first NP employed will be discussed in §5.6 and §5.7. For now the main thing to observe is that descriptive expressions are preferentially the first form selected for these three participants in this story.

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, the preference for descriptive expressions can be explained by  speaker orientation to the principle of topic-fittedness. This reference choice is well fitted to conveying and accounting for many of the situations and relationships between persons that the narrative describes. The selection of *chilpu* 'old man' in line 1 and line 10 describes the referents' age and social role, and so highlights their authority and responsibility to the group, and hence their role in leading the group. The selection of *para* 'white person' (in line 18) expresses something of the miner's ability to provide assistance to the group – white people usually have food supplies stockpiled as opposed to the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.  Human classificatory terms, ethnonyms and other descriptive options encode social roles, and thus in an economical way establish expected behaviour associated with these roles: old men are expected to behave in certain ways, as are women, as are children, and so on. This semantic

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[50] Note that in two of these examples, while other reference forms are employed, they still feature the preceding uses of 'old man'.

information works more effectively in establishing characters and situations in narratives than other referring expressions available to the narrators.

Turning now to the second half of the *Buthen Buthen* narrative, this part of the story describes a return to normal life following the difficulties the group experienced due to lack of food. The Umpila group moves through their country, visiting various locations and along the way hunting and preparing food. They provide for themselves. Different parties, organised via social role as coded by human classificatory terms, are described as hunting and gathering. These are largely group references: a group of boys in (12) (*pula pulthunkamu* 'those boys'), a group of old women in (13) (*pula ku'unku'unchi* 'those old women'), a group of old men in (14) (*chipukamu* 'the old men'). Pronoun determiners, like in these formulations, assist in switches between constellations of participants and in the identification of sub-participants (§4.3.2)[51].

(12)  1    DS    **pula        pulthun-kamu**
                 3plNOM    boy-NSG
                 *those boys*
      2          (.)
      3    DS    minya   piggy   tha'i-na
                 animal   piggy   hit-NF
                 *killed a pig*
      (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen:*00:30:45-00:30:47)


(13)  1    DS    **pula        ku'unku'unchi**      now   inga-na
                 3plNOM    RDP.old.woman        now   say-NF
                 *those old women now said*
      2    DS    =away   ngampula
                 INTJ      1plincNOM
                 *"hey we*
      3    DS    ngi'i        pakay   thungkuy   nga'a-      nga'a        thampu
                 dem.prox   down    bush         dem.dist1   dem.dist1   yam
                 *here will go down there to the bush for yams"*
      (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen:*00:31:08-00:31:12)

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[51] Internal expression size was not dealt with in §5.3, but a brief comment on it now: As can be seen in relation to these examples, another parameter of size of the referring expressions concerns the internal structure of the NP (§5.3 regarding size in terms of multiple consecutive expressions). Much of the variation in the number of components in the NP is due to the difference in composition of references to singular and plural referents. With the addition of quantifiers and determiners to add plural information to the expression, most plural referents are referenced with NPs consisting of multiple components (like in (13)-(15)).

(14) 1    DS      and **pula**     **chilpu-kamu**      minya    wutha-nya (.)    pa'ukura
            and   3plNOM    old.man-NSG       animal    spear-NF          stingray
            and those old men speared stingray
    (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)

In each instance, the persons undertake duties and roles as would be expected based on the form of their initial reference. The choice of referring expression helps the narrators to convey the topic of narration. The boys hunt for wild pigs. The old men spear stingrays. The old women lead a yam gathering expedition with a group of young girls, which includes the two narrators. Some other old women make a starchy food product from mangrove seed pods, and so on. These group referents include many close kin of both the narrators and the recipients of the story, which the narrators do not choose to single out or specify in any way during the telling. Throughout the transcription work on this narrative, the narrators' commentary illustrated the richness of information about the composition of these groups that they left aside in favour of semantically general descriptive expressions. Here is an excerpt of some of the comments by SP:

> *we got all **them people** there now**, grandmother** belong- this girl here, **Georgina, all that mum**, **big mama** and **them family belong him**. **My brother** there **daddy blo Leroy and Terry/** he been have **new born baby**... and **chilpu nga'alu old man**. **the one** who call **me yaami** (mother-in-law)...*
> (31Mar07:TransciptionSession)

SP's referential choices in this excerpt are more typical of everyday conversation relying more heavily on kin-terms and personal names than is observed in storytelling. This contrast in reference selection is exposed in informal conversational commentaries such as this, and in breaks in narration which expose the norms of the speech setting in which the narrative is set. For examples of this, see the use of personal names in a pause in story in example (40) and in a conversation following a story in (41) in §5.7.1, the use of a kin-term in another break in a story in (46) in §5.7.3, and the use of kin-terms in extra-narrative exclamations by supporting narrators in §6.3.2.

The examples from the *Buthen Buthen* narrative also illustrate another aspect of the breadth of use of the descriptive repertoire. Not all discourse participants have the same status; some are major characters or protagonists in the story, while others are background characters or even prop-like in the action being described. Regardless of their status, however, descriptive expressions are used alike. They are used to refer to important people in the story like the pair of old men that lead the group and the white miner who helped save the group from their dangerous situation in (11), right through to persons in that have little influence over the events in being narrated. The boys who killed a pig in example (12) are only mentioned once in the

story. Similarly, the group of old women and men in examples (13)-(14) only feature in a few consecutive utterances. These persons are just elements or parts in the descriptive sequence of the array of activities undertaken in the return to day-to-day life 'on country'.

Descriptive expressions such as those employed in the *Buthen Buthen* narrative do not invite the recipient to recognise the identity of the character[52]. That is not to suggest that characters are not sometimes recognisable via human classificatory terms or ethnonyms – in stories or events which are already known to the recipients – but this choice of reference does not overtly work to ensure recognition. One of the audience members present at the telling of *Buthen Buthen* narrative, one of SP's daughters, said when asked about the identity of some of the persons in the story:

> *That old fella is Mum's ya'athu (By), kaala (MBy) for me. Well, I am not sure of other old fella that carried them go to the mining camp… I know Georgie wanim and Fisher- Joe Fisher, Norman Fisher and para (white people) worked around those mining camps. Everyone always walkabout then, go to Cape Sidmouth. All been camp about everywhere. Mum would have been travelling with all her father's sisters, piinya (FZe) and piima (FZy).*
> (16Mar07:Conversation)

These comments came two days after the initial telling and after we had listened to the recording of the story again to refresh her memory. She recognises some of the people in the story, attempts guesses at the identity of others based on common-ground – some partially correct guesses, and some incorrect. But, despite the lack of recognition, she never queried or asked for any more information on the identity of the characters during the storytelling. Nor, listening the story again after the fact, was she bothered by not being able to recognise all the specific people in the story explaining: *that isn't the meaning of that waanta* [story] (16Mar07:Conversation).

In this respect, the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative context deviates from the findings of person reference formulation in everyday interaction. As argued in Schegloff (1996) for conversational English and a number of other language settings, the degree of familiarity with the referent is one factor conditioning reference choice. When the interlocutors know the referent, recognitional reference forms (i.e. a name, or nickname, or some type of kin based expression) are the preferred and unmarked choice: in English, for instance, personal names are the unmarked initial form of reference for family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances, and they are dispreferred in contexts where the interlocutors are not familiar with the referent. This has been observed to be a powerful conditioning force on person reference in many other languages

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[52] This does not appear to be 'strategic' or 'intentional' vagueness associated with name taboos and circumspection well known in Australian literature (Garde 2008a; Hart 1930; Sommer 2006; Stanner 1937; Thomson 1946). The selection of human classificatory terms seems simply to suggest that recognition is not a goal in this context.

(Enfield and Stivers 2007) and in other Australian Aboriginal contexts, particulary in Blythe's work on Murrinh-Patha (Blythe 2009a, 2010).

In philosophy, there has been a long interest in the dichotomy of personal names and descriptions as ways to refer to people. Searle discusses personal names as context independent, and in reflecting on their use, says: 'Suppose we ask, "Why do we have proper names at all?" Obviously, to refer to individuals. "Yes, but descriptions could do that for us." But only at the cost of specifying identity conditions every time reference is made' (Searle 1958/1997:591). Stivers, Enfield and Levinson (2007:4) commenting on this cost say: "When we *describe* a person we commit to selecting some features and not others as constituting 'the description'". This commitment to characterising a person in a certain way is precisely the motivation driving Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators' selection of descriptions. Descriptive expressions are enormously powerful for establishing preset roles and expectations for "characters" in a story. Garde (2003) notes a similar preference of Bininj Gunwok narrators to select referring expressions that describe a referent's characteristics. He observes that the underlying practice is for speakers to identify persons in narratives with expressions that are socially more relevant, or as he phrases it, "carry more 'sense' than a plain proper name" (2003:334). This is also certainly true for the stories of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators.

In this discussion, we have looked at just one narrative in detail, the *Buthen Buthen* narrative. However, descriptive expressions are the most frequent form choice in the majority of narratives, both in the focused corpus of 12 narratives and in the wider corpus of a remaning 30 narratives (§2.6). Descriptive choices are frequently human classificatory terms, such as, *wupuyu* 'child', *wayimu* 'woman', *kanga* 'initiate' and *minykuunchi* 'hunting man'. As illustrated by Table 5.3, 8/12 narratives in the focused corpus use descriptions more than any

| Narrative | Most frequent form | Descriptive expression count |
|---|---|---|
| *Buthen Buthen* | descriptive expression | 8/12 (67%) |
| *I'ira* | descriptive expression | 3/6 (50%) |
| *Kawutha ngachinya* | descriptive expression | 8/15 (54%) |
| *King Fred* | descriptive expression | 6/14 (43%) |
| *Midwife* | descriptive expression | 6/13 (46%) |
| *Minya Charlie* | descriptive expression | 5/12 (42%) |
| *Night Island* | basic nouns | 1/3 (33%) |
| *Waiting for a ride* | descriptive expression | 5/10 (42%) |
| *Wapa* | kin-terms | 3/10 (30%) |
| *World War Two* | descriptive expression | 4/8 (50%) |
| *Wuungka* | headless NP | 4/16 (40%) |
| *Yuuka Part Two* | kin-terms | 0/6 (0%) |

**Table 5.3** Frequency of descriptive expressions as initial reference in the focused corpus

other form choice for third-person references. The four exceptions are two *before time* narratives (*Night Island*, *Wapa*) and two *custom way* narratives (*Midwife*, *Yuuka 2*). As will be discussed in §5.5, the use of other referring expressions, mostly kin-terms to describe kin relations between persons in the story and some use of basic nouns to reference ancestral totemic beings, are conditioned by certain thematic and cultural pressures on reference formulation present in these narratives. Setting aside such exceptions, descriptive expressions are used by speakers in a wide array of narratives, including personal experience accounts about important events (*WW2* narrative); historical events not entirely within personal experience (*King Fred* narrative); *custom way* procedural narratives (*I'ira, Wuungka*); travelogue style/*ngaachi* narratives (*Buthen Buthen* narrative) and a comedic *lawalawa* narrative (*Minya Charlie* narrative) (§2.4, §2.6.2).

### 5.4.3 Ethnonyms in contact narratives

As established in §5.4.2 human classificatory terms are the usual choice from the descriptive repertoire for most narratives, however in some genre-specific contexts other descriptive expressions are routinely employed. Narratives described by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers as *lawalawa* 'liar' are a "contact" genre, typically detailing interactions between the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people and other ethnic groups (§2.4.4). Narratives of this type are associated with the prevalent use of ethnonyms, i.e. forms like *pama* 'aboriginal person', *para* 'white person', *thathimalu* 'Torres Strait Islander' etc. The narrator's preferential selection of ethnonyms is generated by thematic pressures within the events being narrated.

In *lawalawa* narratives the protagonist is typically an outsider, either a white person or an Islander, who through lack of knowledge and experience in the eastern Cape York environment finds themselves afoul of some type of misadventure, e.g. harassed by an animal (a very common theme), or unnecessarily (in the eyes of the narrators) frightened by some everyday thing or event (like the bush, food, weather). These narratives include moments of hilarity, but also pathos, as ultimately the protagonist suffers some embarrassment or even physical harm. To illustrate, we will look at examples from the *Minya Charlie* narrative. In this story a group of Islander men arrive at the Old Lockhart Mission site to fish for trochus shell and crayfish. The initial reference to these men is made indirectly with the arrival of their boat (line 1) and then directly using the ethnonym expression *thathimalkamu* 'Islanders' (line 3).

(15) 1     MB     kawutha     ngi'i          kaayi-na     pa'amu
                  boat        dem.prox       anchor-NF    two
                  *the boats anchored here, two*

     2                (2.2)

| 3 | MB | **thathimal-kamu** | | |
| | | islander-NSG | | |
| | | *the Islanders* | | |
| 4 | | (.) | | |
| 5 | MB | yuway | | |
| | | *yes* | | |
| 6 | | (0.9) | | |
| 7 | MB | minya | wiiyama-ku | uuthathalawu |
| | | animal | other-DAT | swim.PROG |
| | | *they kept swimming all day swim for the other animal* | | |

(23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:19:46-00:19:54)

The Islanders during their visit are chased by an emu called Charlie that is being kept as a pet at the mission. Their unfamiliarity with emus leads to hysteria when they are pursued by one. There is a hilarious description of the group of Islanders being chased and their calico waist wraps falling off (part of this sequence is reproduced in example (16)), and then sadly, one Islander man falls over and is viciously attacked. The initial reference, and many subsequent references using the ethnonym *thathimalu* 'Islanders', highlight the referent's outsider status, which is crucially relevant for the story to be understood.

| (16) | 1 | SP | yaaya-namu | pulangku | **thathi-** | **thathimalu** |
| | | | thigh-ASSOC | 3plGEN | islander | islander |
| | | | *their trousers, the Islanders- the Islanders* | | | |
| | 2 | | (0.2) | | | |
| | 3 | MB | **yeah  nga'a-lu↑** | | | |
| | | | yeah   dem.dist1-DM | | | |
| | | | *yeah those ones!* | | | |
| | 4 | | (0.8) | | | |
| | 5 | MB | wiiya-nyu-ku | wana-na | | |
| | | | another-NMLZ-DAT | leave-NF | | |
| | | | *other things (calico trouser wraps) leave (them)* | | | |

(23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:23:37-00:00:23:43)

The Mission residents in this story are referenced initially and throughout the story using an ethnonym as well, *pama* 'aboriginal people'. This is the usual pattern in *lawalawa* narratives.These stories typically feature two or more groups of people whose actions contrast based on ethnic stereotypes, highlighted by the use of contrasting formulations from within the ethnonym reference category. This is a small observation, but it is noteworthy in comparison

to the participant organisation of most Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, which usually have just one group of people, one main participant constellation, established via a plural pronoun, from which the major characters are then selected (§5.4). In these narratives, aboriginal ethnicity is assumed and not overtly established. However, in *lawalawa* narratives it is specified, both to avoid any ambiguity with the contrasting group, and because ethnicity is thematically relevant. The initial reference to the Mission residents occurs at turn 13 of the narrative, as shown in line 1 of example (17). This reference is part of the description of how the Mission residents play football and the emu tries to join in. This event is in direct contrast with the Islanders' interaction with the emu: the emu runs, not as in a chase, but as part of joint play.

| (17) | 1 | MB | wana-na | **nga'a-lu** | **pama** | (.) | pula |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | leave-NF | dem.dist1-DM | aboriginal | | 3plNOM |
| | | | *those aboriginal people leave, they* | | | | |
| | 2 | | (1.0) | | | | |
| | 3 | MB | aa'ilila-la | for | wiiya-nyu-ku | | tha'u-namu |
| | | | dance.PROG-NF | for | another-NMLZ-DAT | | foot-ASSOC |
| | | | *play football for this other thing* | | | | |
| | 4 | | (.) | | | | |
| | 5 | SP | hm | | | | |
| | 6 | | (.) | | | | |
| | 5 | MB | ngulu | nga'a-l | pintipinti-la | | |
| | | | 3sgNOM | dem.dist1-DM | run.PROG-NF | | |
| | | | *he runs and runs* | | | | |

(23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:17:48-00:17:57)

Example (17) occurs 50 turns before the Islanders are first mentioned. The ethnonym *pama* 'aboriginal people' is used three more times before the Islanders arrive on the scene. And so, ethnicity is already being thematised by the narrator, long before this referent has any contact with any other ethnic group. This formulation helps to establish at the outset of the story what type of narrative it will be.

The expectation of the use of enthonyms in *lawalawa* narratives is such that narrators will correct each other when other person reference selections are made. Corrections or repairs (Schegloff 1992, 1997; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) to the storytelling production provide insights into what the participants themselves find problematic (Drew 1997:95; Land and Kitzinger 2007; Schegloff 2007:103) – in this case the selection of alternative person reference choices over enthnonym expressions. Likewise, any adjustment made in the redoing of the trouble-source reveals what was the expected or appropriate formulation for the context. Consider the following example (18) (over page) taken from a different *lawalawa* narrative.

This is not a globally initial mention to this character, but is included in the discussion here as it nicely illustrates the preference for enthonyms in *lawalawa* narratives. In line 1 EG selects the human classificatory descriptors *chilpu* 'old man' as the reference, and DS follows with a forceful correction in the following turn, *no more chilpu, thathimalu* 'no more old man, Islander'. Here there is no difficulty tracking a referent or adequately hearing EG's turn. This correction explicity chastises EG for the selection of *chilpu* 'old man', and does so at quite some cost to the progress of the narration. The narration is suspended and the corrected reference selection is repeated and ratified by three other co-narrators through lines 5-12. This correction and others like it illustrate the strong preference of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators for the use of ethnonyms in this *lawalawa* narrative context.

(18)   1   EG   **chilpu**      kalma-lu   [**chilpu-lu**
                 old.man      come-?      old.man-ERG
                 *the old man came, the old man*

        2   SP   [nyii
                 *yes*

        3        (0.4)

        4   EG   **nga'a-l**           **chilpu**      yuma    [nga'a
                 dem.dist1-DM   old.man      fire       dem.dist1
                 *that old man at the fire there*

        5   DS   [**no   more   chilpu** (.)   **thathimalu=**
                 no    more    old.man       islander
                 *no more old man, Islander*

        6   SP   =thathimalu
                 islander
                 *Islander*

        7        (.)

        8   MP   hm

        9        (.)

       10   MB   hm

       11        (0.2)

       12   SP   ma'a      kul[nta
                 DYAD   wife
                 *husband and wife*

       13   MB   [ngana           pil- pi'ilpi-mana        mail-ku      wanim                    here
                 1plexcNOM   wait.PROG-NF            mail-DAT   whatchamacallit   here
                 *we were waiting and waiting for the mail whatchamacallit here*

       (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:53:34-00:53:46)

To sum up, the discussion has shown how in the participant organisation of a story, descriptive person references function to single out sub-participants based on age, social status and ethnicity from larger participant groups (established by plural pronouns, as discussed in §5.4.1). This preference can be explained by speaker orientation to the principle of topic-fittedness. Descriptive expressions work to account for and convey action within narrative context more effectively than the other referring expressions available. They do this by expressing generic social roles and expected behaviour associated with those roles. Conveying topic or subject matter is a fundamental of storytelling, and the default format of reference highlights this well: these references work to describe characters, rather than identify people.

## 5.5 Topic-fittedness: further unmarked usages and beyond

Section 5.4 described the default choices for initial mention in the majority of narratives, namely plural pronouns and descriptive terms, and explained these in terms of the principles of minimisation and topic-fittedness. In this and the following sections, I examine the other choices made in the narrative corpus, and their motivation. This section specifically looks at the way topic-fittedness can also explain deviations from the patterns described above in §5.4. In fact, one type of deviation is not a genuine marked formulation because it is the conventional choice associated with particular narrative genres, specifically *ngaachi* 'country' and *before time* narratives (§2.4). Section 5.5.1 will examine how the use of kin-terms is tied to the thematic structure of these genres. In other contexts and genres, however, the deviations really are marked choices. Section 5.5.2 will show how deviations work to convey topic or the nature of events at play in the story by making a certain aspect of the referent's identity relevant. Here, the reference selections are clearly still generated by topic-fittedness, but their use is not conventionalised in the narrative setting in which they are found.

## 5.5.1 Action determined by kin relation roles

When does a story tell better, or when is it relevant to the successful delivery of a story, to identify characters with kin-terms (e.g. *kaala* 'uncle' and *kamichu* 'niece'), rather than descriptive terms (e.g. *kampinu* 'man' and *anthaya* 'girl') (§5.4.2)?  It is this question we turn to now. In this section, I will show that kin-terms are employed by speakers as the initial referring expression in contexts where the action in the story or the act of narration itself is largely determined by kin roles. In these contexts, the choice of a kin-based referring expression helps to explicate the story or assist in the successful delivery of the story.

Kin relations prescribe a raft of behaviours in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u society, such as avoidance behaviours and the use of special taboo register with some affines, instructor and instructee relationships between father's father *puula* and son's child *puulathu*, use of joking register between classificatory brother-in-laws *yami*, provision of food or money from a son-in-law *ngachimu* to a father-in-law *aampayi*, and so on (Thomson 1935, 1972) (§3.2.1).  Such

patterns of salient and intricate connections between social behavior and kinship have been extensively noted and studied in Aboriginal Australian context – a few of these studies in the far northern Queensland setting are Alpher (1993) on Oykangand; Dixon (1971, 1989) on Dyirbal; Haviland (1979a, 1979b, 1982) on Guugu-Yimidhirr; Sommer (2006) on Oykangand; Sutton (1978, 1982) on Wik varieties; and Thomson (1935, 1972) on Umpila, Wik Mungkan and Wuthathi. Narrators' choice of kin-terms in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling taps directly into this relationship between kinship system and social behavior.

As with other Australian groups, the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u kin system places all people into society-wide kinship classes. That is, all beings in the social world are perceived as being in a kinship relation to everyone else (§3.2.1). This means kin-terms are almost always available as a resource to talk about relations between persons within a speech event or within a narrative itself. And typically there is not just one kin-term available but multiple ways to construe a kin reference – via many links between the speaker and referent, but also between speaker and hearer and other third parties, both within the story itself or external to the story. In spite of the myriad of kin-terms available at any one point in the unfolding narration, there are just a handful of contexts in storytelling which are consistently associated with the selection of kin-terms as the first reference form[53]. These are: (i) situations in the story or act of narration involving proprietary rights associated with hereditarily owned land, often found in *ngaachi* narratives (see §2.2.2 for discussion of the role of this pressure in conditioning single- and multi-party narratives); (ii) situations in the story involving food distribution; (iii) sibling-pairs which are conventionally referenced using kin dyadic expressions[54] (§4.7.2); and (iv) *before time* stories (§2.4.1) where the kin relations between mythological characters are a conventionalised part of the story. I will discuss the first two contexts in detail. The highly delineated contexts of kin-term use are a surprising finding of this study. It contrasts with the prevalent and preferential use of kin-terms observed in conversational settings in other studies of person reference in Aboriginal Australia (Blythe 2009a, 2010, 2012; Garde 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013).

### 5.5.1.1 Land proprietary rights

Some stories, or thematic contexts within stories, involve proprietary rights associated with hereditarily owned land. For the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u, tracts of land or territories are viewed as joint property of descent groups (clans) and are typically inherited patrilineally (typically

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[53] In addition, there is more wide-spread use of kin-terms in initial formulations that include more than one coreferential reference form (§5.6) or in initial references to indefinite referents in generic accounts.

[54] The adventures of sibling pairs are a recurrent focus in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, both in myths and contemporary stories. The common pattern in these stories is that some unforeseen danger befalls a pair of siblings separated from their family group, which they must overcome before returning home. Klapproth (2004:221-308) discusses a number of Pitjantjatjarra-Yangkunytjatjara narratives structured around the activities of sibling pairs. Green and Turpin (2013) discuss elder-younger sister sibling pairs in a specific genre of verbal art (narrative and game-like rhyming and clapping elements) in Arandic languages. The theme of unforeseen danger noted in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives is also observed by Green and Turpin (2013).

such clan-owned tracts of land are called "estates" (Chase 1980a:136 and Sutton 1978:59-60, following Stanner 1965) (§1.4.2). The ownership of the tract of land is inextricably connected to a whole body of other owned knowledge, i.e. associated totems and mythological stories about these totems, knowledge of resources associated with that land and products produced from these resources (Sutton 1978:50-69). Thus, stories about the activities of mythological or ancestral beings (i.e. *before time* narratives §2.4.1) or narratives containing information about owned lands (i.e. *ngaachi* narrative §2.4.2) should only be produced by people with proper kin-based entitlement to that knowledge. In these contexts the explication of kin relationships via kin-term based referring expressions is used to support a speaker's epistemic authority to talk about a place, or a topic or set of events associated with a place. Unlike the descriptive expressions discussed in the previous section, this is one of the contexts where Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators produce references that do identify the character to the recipient – kin-terms are typically recognitional expressions. To illustrate, I will look at an example from the *Yuuka2* narrative. The opening scenes in this narrative, from which excerpt (19) is taken, are set at a cave of cultural and spiritual significance. This is a sacred site (a *Story Place* in the vernacular of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u people) of which the narrator is a traditional owner via her maternal side of the family. This part of the narrative features a sequence where two young men ask an elder for permission to visit the cave, and the elder gives permission and addresses the ancestral spirits of the place. In this sequence, the elder is first referenced with a kin-term *paapa* 'mother' (line 3), which is promptly self-repaired to *ngatha ngami* 'my cousin' (line 4-6). The sequence also features use of the denizen expression *pa'amu kungkalkamu* 'the two from the north-east'. Kin-terms (and denizen expressions for that matter) only occur in this sequence in the narrative. In the remaining narrative, third-person referents are referenced using descriptions and pronouns in the ways discussed in §5.4.

(19)  1  SP      nga'a-l              tilungun
                 dem.dist1-DM    cave
                 *at that bat cave*
      2           (1.1)
      3  SP      **pula**           inga-na    **paapa-**
                 3plNOM        say-NF      M
                 *they asked mother-*
                 (2.2)
      4  SP      aa-   **ngatha     ngami**   pampana
                 ah      1sgGEN       MBeS     ask-NF
                 *ah- asked my cousin*
      5           (0.4)

6   SP    **pa'amu    kungka-l-kamu**
              two        north.east-ABL-NSG
              *the two from the north-east*

7        (1.7)

8   SP    **kungkay-l-kamu**       pampa-na   **ngatha**    **ngami**
              north.east-ABL-NSG   ask-NF     1sgGEN    MBeS
              *those from the north-east ask my cousin,*

9        (0.2)

10  SP    ngana          waatha-ka  pakaya
              1plexcNOM   go-FUT    down
              *"can we go inside?"*

11       (1.0)

12  SP    ngulu        inga-na  ↑ngam
              3sgNOM   say-NF  INTJ
              *she said, "okay"*

13       (1.2)

14  SP    nga'a-mpu
              enter-IMP.PL
              *"enter!"*

15       (1.1)

16  SP    ngayu-    ku-   ngayu      kul'a-laka
              1sgNOM   ?     1sgNOM   rock-PATHOS
              *"I- talk(ed)- to the poor rock*

(21Apr07:*Yuuka2*:00:04:33-00:05:51)

The kin relation in the reference *paapa* 'mother' is anchored to the two young men ('the two from the north-east') in the story (line 3). The speaker self-repairs the reference to *ngatha ngami* 'my cousin' (MBeS, MBeD, FZeS, FZeD) (line 4-8). In this alternative formulation, the narrator chooses instead to associate herself with the elder – the kin relation is construed with SP as anchor and is overtly modified with a first-person possessive pronoun. This is the preferred formulation for this context: in situations where proprietary connections to land are topical, narrators choose to emphasise their own connection to the people and events in the story. In such contexts, narrators achieve this through self-associated kin references. In (19) the narrator's ownership and associated rights to the Yuuka place are through her maternal kin: *ngatha ngami* referencing her 'mother's older brother's daughter' makes clear within the narration itself the nature of her family connections to the place. In the story the cousin is called upon when permission is needed to access the place and is asked to talk to the ancestral beings of the place. Genealogical proximity to a person with this type of authority over the place in the

story helps to bolster the narrator's own claims to the place and to the events narrated. Narrators tend to self-associate with referents that have authority in the story-world events. Note that the boys who request to visit the site are first introduced with a pronoun *pula* 'they', but in the redo of the clause (in line 4-8) they are referred to with more specificity using a denizen term (*kungka-l-kamu* which is *kungkay* 'north' *-lu* ablative 'from', *-kamu* non-singular). This formulation highlights their association with the northerly located territory they are currently in, and their rights to have access to this place. The narrator does not formulate a reference that self-associates with the referent, though kin-terms are available for selection here – the referents could be variously classified as younger siblings *ya'athu* or as a nephew/niece from a younger sibling *mukathu*.

The pattern illustrated in (19) is strikingly similar to that presented in Stivers (2007), and Blythe (2010). Stivers shows how the use of certain speaker- and addressee-associated references in English can help a speaker shift and manipulate the construal of the domain of responsibility for a referent and a referent's actions. For example, one case explored by Stivers is the use of *yer sister* to refer to the speaker's aunt in a complaint, where the choice of an addressee associated reference assists in implicating the speaker's mother in the compliant (2007:78-80). Following Stivers, Blythe (2010) argues that Murrinh-Patha speakers frequently draw on kinship links, using self-associated kin reference, to display or claim epistemic authority on a topic under discussion. Quoting Blythe's (2010) synthesis of Murrinh-Patha speaker's motivations for the use of similar self-associated references; "I happen to know something about that. He was after all my own son/father/uncle/aunt')" (2010:447).

Example (20) shows another instance of this same pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. Again, the narrator uses a self-associated kin-term 'my grandfather' *ngathangku ngachimu* (line 7) at a point in a narrative where story-world participants decide to visit a restricted and powerful place. The narrative is primarily about a trip to a wind sacred site called *Wuntamuta* (line 15). The excerpt in (20) comes shortly after the narrative starts, when the 'grandfather' suggests the visit to this place. This excursion is noteworthy because *Wuntamuta* is inland, away from regular coastal camps visited by Umpila people, and also because of beliefs about the powerful nature this place – if the spirit of this place becomes disturbed during the visit then a cyclone will wreak havoc, destroying vegetation and covering their camp with sand.

```
(20)  1  MB   wana-na-na              ngana           Thampal Thangkinyu-ku
                leave-NF-1plexcNOM  1plexcNOM  place.name-DAT
                waathi-nya
                go-NF
                we left (Night Island) and went to Stoney Creek
       2          (1.0)
```

| 3  | MB | kuuna       | wuna-la  |           |       |          |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------|
|    |    | neutral.dem | sleep-NF |           |       |          |

*and stayed camped there*

| 4  |    | (1.5)       |          |           |       |          |

| 5  | MB | oh          |          |           |       |          |

*"oh"*

| 6  |    | (0.5)       |          |           |       |          |

| 7  | MB | **ngathangku** | **ngachimu** | inga-na |       |          |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------|
|    |    | 1sgGEN      | MF       | say-NF    |       |          |

*my mother's father said*

| 8  |    | (0.5)       |          |           |       |          |

| 9  | MB | ngampula    | ngampa   | kuun      | ngaachi | nhi'ilam |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|---------|----------|
|    |    | 1plincNOM   | NEG      | dem.nuetral | place | one      |

*"we will not stay at this one place"*

| 10 |    | (0.2)       |          |           |       |          |

| 11 | MB | wun- wuna-tha |        |           |       |          |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------|
|    |    | sleep sleep-FUT |      |           |       |          |

*"we will camp"*

| 12 |    | (.)         |          |           |       |          |

| 13 | MB | ngampula    | waatha-ka | kaaway-ma | Puuyakamu |      |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------|
|    |    | 1plincNOM   | go-FUT   | east-DIR  | place.name |     |

*"we will go east to Puuyakamu"*

| 14 |    | (0.8)       |          |           |       |          |

| 15 | MB | waatha-ka   | Wuntamuta |          |       |          |
|----|----|-------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------|
|    |    | go-FUT      | place.name |        |       |          |

*"and then we will go to Wuntamuta"*

(30Apr04:*Wuntamuta*:00:00:23-00:34:00)

The use of the kin reference in (20) bolsters the rights of the story-world participants to visit this place – the narrator's mother's father being a traditional owner for this place, a fact that would be well-known to all present at the storytelling – and at the same time it bolsters the narrator's rights to talk about the place via her family connections. The use of a kin-term is well suited to the speaker's objectives in the cases presented here. Due to their relational nature, kin-terms can make explicit connections between the speaker and referent. But, most crucially, these references are also <u>of</u> the very system, the kin system, which mediates the land associated proprietary rights in Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u society. Chapter 6 (§6.3) will discuss similar kin-term expressions employed in subsequent mentions.

**5.5.1.2 Food sharing**

The previous section discussed the use of narrator-associated kin expressions, that is kin-terms used to describe kin relations between the narrator and characters in the story. This section turns to moments in the story where kin relations between characters within the narrative events are coded. Thematic contexts regularly found to condition the use of kin-terms over other referential options are situations where food is shared. The close connection between kinship and food is explained by regimented practices surrounding food sharing and distribution between certain kin in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. To describe just a few of these (see further description in Thomson 1935, 1972:10-14): a woman should give food to her husband's father *aampayi*, but may only receive restricted food types like yam, fish or damper, from him; a grandchild *kamichu* can demand food from their mother's mother *mimi* and always get indulged; a mother *paapa* may give food to her children, but not her son during initiation; classificatory grandparents are offered the meat from a young man's first hunt; a man *piipi* can give food to his son *pi'athu*, but may not take any food from him until he is a properly matured man and only after other senior males give permission, and so on. It is precisely in these sorts of thematic contexts within narratives that kin-terms are employed in the initial reference to a person. This patterning can also be explained by the principle of topic-fittedness: the behaviour between persons in these contexts is determined by kin relations and therefore kin-terms are the best reference expression for conveying the action being described. Take the *I'ira* narrative, which describes the narrator and a few other girls in her cohort being taught by senior female kin how to produce a starchy food staple from mangrove seed-pods. The body of the narrative is told using descriptive terms as the lexical form of choice, until the closing episode when *anthaykamu* 'the girls' return home to distribute the food they have produced. Here, kin-terms are used to refer to the recipients of the food. These are the only kin-terms used in the narrative. Example (21) shows the start of this sequence, a reported speech construction where an elder woman instructs the girls to share their food with their *paapa* 'mother', *piipi* 'father' and *ya'athuyu* 'younger siblings' (line 5-7):

(21)  1   DS       alright
                   alright
                   *alright*
      2            (0.7)
      3   DS       ngana          punthi-na  ngulu       inga-na      away
                   1plexcNOM      finish-NF   3sgNOM      say-NF       INTJ
                   *we are finished and she called out, "hey*
      4            (1.1)

| 5 | DS | ulku | kalma-nya-mpu | | mayi | ngu'ulan | nyiichi-ka |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | basket | come-CAUS-1plincNOM | | food | 2plACC | put-FUT |

| | | ngu'ula | kalu-tha | **paapa** | **ngu'ulungku** | **piipi-ku** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 2plNOM | carry-FUT | M | 2plGEN | F-DAT |

*"bring the basket, you lot put the food in the basket, and take it home for your mother, your father*

| 6 | | (0.4) |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | DS | **and  ya'athu-yu** |
| | | and   By-VOC |

*and your small brother"*

(05Apr04:*I'ira*:00:05:14-00:05:27)

Likewise, in the *Minya Wuulama* narrative recounting traditional hunting practices, human classificatory terms are used for the hunting sequence in the story, while kin-terms factor heavily in the sequences describing meat distribution. Examples (22) and (23) are picked out of this narrative to illustrate the contrast. (22) and (23) reference two groups of old men, both with some overlap and some kin relation to the other participant in these examples, a group of young men hunters. The old men in (22) are mentioned as *chilpu-kamu* (even if they are specified much later as being *kaala* 'mother's younger brothers' in an aside by a supporting narrator). The second group of elder men (23), the recipients of meat from the hunt, have their kin relationship to the young men specified in the main flow of the narration. They are the male elders of both mother's and father's family (line 1) *kuunchi paapanamu* and *kuunchi piipinamu*. Male grandparents, most specifically *puula* 'father's father' or *ngachimu* 'mother's father' are responsible for the cutting and distribution of a hunter's meat (line 3-5).

| (22) | 1 | SP | **chilpu-kamu** | inga-ngka | away |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | old man-NSG | say-PRES.CONT | INTJ |

*the old men kept calling out "hey*

| | 2 | | (1.3) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 3 | SP | ngangkana | kalu-tha | ngungkuun |
| | | | 2sgACC | take-FUT | dem.dist3 |

*(we) will take you lot over there yonder.*

| | 4 | | (1.0) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 | SP | api-na-thu | minya | wutha-[ka |
| | | | take-NF-? | animal | spear-FUT |

*take you to hunt animals"*

6    EG      [wutha-ka
             spear-FUT
             *will hunt*
(04Aug07:*Minya Wuulama*:00:30:09-00:30:18)


(23)  1   SP    **pula      chilpu-kamu**    ngaani (.)   **kuunchi    paapa-namu**
                3plNOM     old.man-NSG      IGNOR       relative     M-ASSOC
                (.)   **kuunchi    piipi-namu**
                      relative     F-ASSOC
                *those old men, mum's family, dad's family*
      2        (0.3)
      3   MP   ngangka-na-lana
               give-NF-3plACC
               *gave something (the meat) to them*
      4        (0.7)
      5   SP   muunga-na    nga'a-l          pula        may  yangku-nya
               cut-NF       dem.dist1-DM     3plNOM      may  eat-NF
               *they cut that one, they may eat it…*
(04Aug07:*Minya Wuulama*:00:31:54-00:32:05)


This is not to suggest that in the hunting sequence example in (22) the kin relation between the old men and the young men is not consequential to the roles the participants take in the story or the ensuing hunting sequence. They could be: one's *kaala* 'mother's younger brother' is one of the male relatives that take on an instructor role to young men (along with one's *puula* 'father's father'). However, in this context and many others like it, narrators choose not make these kin relationships explicit. By contrast, thematic contexts in stories involving food sharing conventionally have kin relationships between participants overtly specified.


**5.5.2 Example of marked formulation**

So far, we have seen how topic-fittedness influences unmarked initial reference formulation, either in the use of kin-terms and ethnonyms as the conventional choice in specific contexts or genres, or the use of plural pronouns and descriptive terms as the unmarked choice overall. In addition, however, there are also instances where topic-fittedness leads to a genuinely marked formulation of the initial reference to a participant. Such deviations are infrequent, only accounting for 3/112 (3%) instances in the focused corpus. These are 3 references featuring the use of attribute adjective/quantifier *chu'uchi*/*chuchinyu* 'small', which I will discuss in this section. While infrequent, they are in fact part of a pattern noted in other examples in the wider corpus.

In general, there is limited use of forms to describe attributes of a human character in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, regardless of whether the reference is initial or not (§6.3.1 for examples in subsequent mentions). This contrasts with other types of reference, like object reference and place reference, which regularly use attributive adjectives providing detail on an feature of the referent, e.g. like, *taway uungku* 'long clothes', *thika mukana* 'large bags', *ngaachi thungku* 'dark place' in the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative, *atapa mukana* 'big river' in the *Ngaachi kungkay* story, and *mayi miintha* 'good food' in the *I'ira* narrative. One of the few notable uses of attributive forms applied human referents is the use of the adjective/quantifier *chu'uchi*/*chuchinyu* 'small' or 'little'. The use of this attribute is not just about the size or age of the referent: other persons in other stories in other situations can be smaller or younger and this can be left un-noted by the speaker. The specification of this attribute makes 'smallness' or 'littleness' relevant in the situation being narrated, and so works to convey important information about the persons and the particular events being narrated (see Ponsonnet 2010, 2014 on diminutives in Dalabon discourse).

There are two examples of the use of 'small' in the initial mentions of participants in the *Minya Charlie* narrative, discussed in §5.4.3 regarding the use of ethnonyms. In (24) *chu'uchi* is used to describe the boy who brought th wild emu from the bush to the Mission, the same emu that later chased the Islanders. The initial reference to the boy is made in (24) in the opening lines of the story – the utterance in line 3 occurs with a co-speech gesture indicating the boy's size.

(24)  1  MB      there    Old Site-laka
                 there    place.name-PATHOS
                 *there at poor Old Site!*
      2           (0.9)
      3  MB      **pulthun   chu'uchi**   aalma-nha-na
                 boy         small        grow-CAUS-NF
                 *the small boy raised (it)*
(23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:17:26-00:17:30:00)

Example (25) shows the second use of the attribute 'small' to describe a person in this story. In this case *chuchinyu* is used to refer to a group of boys and girls. The first reference to the boys and girls is a headless NP in line 1, in which *chuchinyu* functions in NP syntax as a quantifier. This is followed in line 3 by two headed NPs referring to the girls and boys using human classificatory terms. The reference to the girls is again modified by *chuchinyu*. This sequence describes the emu's behaviour and its interactions with various residents at the Mission.

(25)  1  MB    walpathi-na-lana        **nga'a-l**            **chuchinyu**
                chase-NF-3plACC         dem.dist1-DM      small.NSG
                *chased all those small ones*

      2         (1.0)

      3  MB    **pulthun  pulthun   chuchinyu  anthay**   nga'a-l              (.)
                boy        boy        small.NSG   girl         dem.dist1-DM
                aa-i-la-    aa'i-lawu        walpathi-na-lana
                dance- NF  dance-?          chase-NF-3plACC
                *the boys and small girls, they played- played about and then he chased*
                *them*

(23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:18:09-00:18:18)


These examples show two recurrent, and closely interconnected, aspects of situations in which 'smallness' of a character is specified by narrators. One concerns accountability, or rather, lack of accountability. Characters that speakers describe as small could be potentially implicated as the cause of an unfortunate event in the story. By specifying that they are 'little', the narrator appears to downplay their accountability in the situation. In the case of (24) the boy is just a *small* child and is therefore not responsible for any trouble that ensues from the emu's presence at the Mission. The other aspect concerns vulnerability. Characters described as small are often in (imminent) threatening situations. In (25), the children are poor *little things* being chased by the emu. This description also helps develop the character of the emu. The animal picks on the vulnerable. This is relevant in the main episode in the narrative when the emu chases and attacks an overweight Islander man. Expressions of lack of responsibility and vulnerability are, of course, semantically related: age, knowledge and capabilities of a person relate to their responsibility and vulnerability in a situation.

Another example of the same pattern is from the *King Fred* narrative. The characters described as small in (3) (§5.1.1) are girls and boys in a group of Night Islander people travelling with "King" Fred on a holiday camping trip, and later part of the group co-opted by "King" Fred into trying to bash open a washed up sea mine. Example (3) is reproduced below. The referent is introduced first in an oblique reference *chuchinyu kuuyu* 'small things' (line 3), followed by specification of the composition of this group referent with two human classificatory terms, *anthaykamu* 'the girls' (line 5) and the *pulthunkamu* 'the boys' (line 7). The reference contributes to narrator's construal of the events: the kids involved in this incident are young and do not know any better, while "King" Fred is the leader and should know better. They are taken on a fun holiday jaunt, but find themselves in a dangerous situation. This group referent is not individually crucial to the story, but part of a set of prop-like supporting characters. What is important is not the specific identity of these referents, but the responsibility "King" Fred has to them and their vulnerability in the ensuing situation.

(3)    1  SP      ngam      waatha-ngka           kali-na        kalu-thu-ngku
                  INTJ      go-PRES.CONT          carry-NF       carry-FUT-?
                  *"ok (we) are going to take, take*
       2          (0.2)
       3  SP      **chuchinyu      kuuyu**
                  small.NSG        thing
                  *the small ones*
       4          (0.6)
       5  SP      **anthay-kamu**
                  girl-NSG
                  *the girls"*
       6          (1.4)
       7  SP      **pulthun-kamu**    ngaachi  kachi waatha-ka-mpu
                  boy-NSG             place    far   go-FUT-1plexcNOM
                  *"we will take the boys to the place far away"*
       (23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:16:31-00:16:42)

   As the story progresses, more referents are singled out and highlighted by the narrators as part of the events. Interestingly, all specified are young ((young) initiates, girls and boys) and all are co-opted by "King" Fred to help "open" the mine: 'he said "those ones, young initiates come and the girls too"' (turn 61); 'those girls take (the axes) to help' (turn 74); 'he calls out to the initiates "hey you come here"' (turn 81); 'the boys brought the crow bar' (turn 102). Even though the actual group present also included parents and elder relatives of these young referents, these are not overtly specified. The narrators' construal of blame for the dangerous situation the referents find themselves in solely targeted at "King" Fred. "King" Fred's negligence in trying to open the sea mine is escalated by the narrators' repeated focus on the youth of the people he co-opts into helping him, which further emphasises the potential tragedy if the mine were to blow up.

   To summarise, such deviations from the default ways to introduce a referent can be attributed to the principle of topic-fittedness. The story scene typically involves a situation in which the referent is threatened by an unpredictable external force, e.g. a crazed emu in (24) and (25), or explosives in the sea mine in (3). The narrator is expressing something of the vulnerability of the person(s) or the lack of responsibility of persons(s) in the situation, usually relative to other 'bigger', and therefore, 'older' referents in the story. That this information is a relevant inclusion in turn indicates something of the narrator's construal of the events. "King" Fred is construed as the accountable party in the *King Fred* story (example (3)), while the narrators downplay the responsibility of boy who owned the emu that attacked the Islanders in *Minya Charlie* story, or they emphasise the vulnerability of the little ones in the threat the emu poses.

While there are commonalities in these usages, in both the story context and the narrator's interactional goals, the output is not expected or conventionalised in the way we have seen topic-fittedness at work so far. Without knowing the specific events in the story beforehand, someone being told this story could not anticipate these formulation choices.

In conclusion, as has been repeatedly shown through the discussion in §5.5: the reach of topic-fittedness in shaping reference formulation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative is extensive. The findings so far show that narrators prioritise fitting person reference to the topic under narration and/or fitting the person reference to aid in the act of narration.

**5.6 Maxi-mentions: Recognition and beyond**

While the previous section investigated deviations in terms of the basic reference category used, this section will investigate deviations in terms of size, and how these can be related to the principles that shape the organisation of person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative. Specifically, this section will explore the pattern whereby initial references are part of a sequence of coreferential forms, and thus constitute a form of reference that is larger in size than the standard single NP (§5.3). This pattern is illustrated in (26) below, where an initial reference with an NP headed by a default reference category (a descriptive expression *chilpu* 'old man') is followed by an NP using a relational and recognitional reference (*ngachimu* 'paternal grandfather', overtly anchored to the narrator with a possessive pronoun). This section will argue that such patterns – which will be called maxi-mentions – illustrate how recognitional reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives does not collude with minimisation, in contrast to what has been observed in other linguistic contexts. Moreover, I will argue that even though recognitional forms are used, recognition is not the basic function of these patterns: instead, they serve to highlight the thematic importance of the referent in the narrative (in line with the principle of topic-fittedness), and they allow collaboration by other narrators in formulating the reference. The section is organised as follows: §5.6.1 discusses the general absence of minimisation in the use of recognitional forms, §5.6.2 analyses the different forms of maxi-mentions, and §5.6.3 discusses their functions, namely as thematic highlighters, and as spaces for collaboration between narrators.

| (26) | 1 | MB | °al-° | **chilpu** | **ngathangku** | **ngachimu** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | alright | old.man | 1sgGEN | MF |
| | | | *al- the old man, my grandfather* | | | |
| | 2 | | (1.4) | | | |
| | 3 | MB | kaliku | | | |
| | | | calico | | | |
| | | | *calico* | | | |
| | 4 | | (1.2) | | | |

| 5 | MB | pulpanchi | ichi-[nya-na |
|---|----|-----------|--------------|
|   |    | red       | dry-NF-now   |

*was drying a red one*

| 6 | DS | [ha huh hah |
|---|----|-------------|

(5Apr04:*WW2*:00:01:46-00:1:57)

### 5.6.1 Interaction between minimisation and recognition

As outlined above (in §1.2.2, §5.2, §5.4.2), for a number of language settings in everyday conversation the default initial person reference expression is generated by the dual competing goals of identifying the person (principle of recognition) and economising the cost of identifying the person (principle of minimisation). Specifically, the solution typically generates a single referring expression that is recognitional, e.g. names in some languages (English, Yeli Dnye, Kilivila and Bequian Creole) and possessed kin-terms in others (Yucatec Maya, Tzotzil, Tzeltal and Korean) (see Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007:12-13). These forms are recognitional because they work interactionally to uniquely identify a specific person. This is not the pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives. As already established, non-recognitional references are the unmarked choice, and when Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators do use inherently recognitional expressions then typically minimisation and recognition do not collude to produce a single recognitional form. Instead, recognitional expressions are in nearly all instances part of maximal formulations, as in (26) above, or in (27) below. What elements or how many elements in the wider expression convey recognitional information varies between these special maximal formulations and their context of use, e.g. just the possessed kin-term in (26), or both the kin-term and personal name in (27).

| (27) | 1 | MB | **ngulu** (.) | **ya'athu Benji** | nga'a-l | mango | kunta-nga-na |
|------|---|----|---------------|-------------------|---------|-------|--------------|
|      |   |    | 3sgNOM | Sy       name | dem.dist1-DM | mango | gather-CAUS-NF |

*he, younger brother Benji loaded up those mango*

(18Aug08:*Ngathangku Ngaachi*)

Sequences of multiple coreferential forms have been noted in other languages, but typically and most widely in acts of correction or repair of problematic person references (Levinson 2007; Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007:13-14)[55]. To illustrate the use of multiple references

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[55] The use of multiple coreferential expressions has been noted outside of repair contexts in a few other linguistic communities. Notable in this regard, and especially in relation to this study, are Murrinh-Patha (Blythe 2009a, 2010) and Bininj Gunwok (Garde 2008a), where multiple coreferentail expressions are used in contexts where circumspection is a shaping force. A similar pattern for circumspection in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u will be discussed in §5.7. The other language of note is Tzeltal, a Mayan language of upland Mexico, where Brown (2007) observes a general tendency to use an 'association' strategy in referring to people. This tendency often results in the use of multiple coreferential reference. Brown shows that speakers prefer to make explicit the relatedness of referents to the interlocutors in the situation even where this does not serve any identificational function.

in a repair context, I reproduce a classic example in English from Sacks and Schegloff (1979:20). In this case, multiple references are provided, each incrementally increasing the recognitional value of reference. Each elaboration is offered and only expanded on when the preceding form does not achieve reference.

(28)   C:      Is Shorty there?
       B:      ooo jest- Who?
       C:      Eddy?
               Woodward?
                       [
       B:              oo jesta minnit
       (Sacks and Schegloff 1979:20)

For a detailed discussion of incremental reference upgrades in repair contexts for one language, I direct the reader to Levinson's (2007) description of Yélî Dnye. An example from this paper is included here as further illustration of this pattern in another language. In example (29), the propositus of the kin relationship was unclear in the initial reference by *M* 'that guy's son', which gets repairs with 'N:aake's son', followed by another person *Mgaa* naming the referent directly 'oh Tootoo' (Levinson 2007:53).

(29)   M:      *mu pini tp:oo mu doo a naa*
               that guy's son was paying his brideprice
       T:      *e, lo pini tp:oo*
               ah, whose son?
       M:      *'N:aake tp:oo*
               'N:aake (Moses) son
       T:      *aa:*
       Mgaa:   *:ee, :ee ! Tootoo*
               oh Tootoo
       M:      Tootoo
       (Levinson 2007:53)

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative, minimisation does not exert influence over recognition to produce this type of incremental pattern. Minimisation appears not to be attended to, and speakers produce combinations of multiple references from the start. As will be discussed below, these multiple references increase in semantic specificity, like the pattern in (28) and (29), but the elaborating references are provided all at once. These expressions do not appear to be a result of processing or production errors on the part of the speaker, being routinely

produced without any intonation contour resets between the multiple expressions, without any noticeable hesitation or errors in production, or without marked pitch (e.g. try-marking or rising pitch to express 'insecurity' of information, compare Ohala 1983, 1984). In (27), for instance, there is a slight pause, but no intonation reset between *ngulu* 'he/she/it' and two following NPs *ya'athu* 'younger sibling' and *Benji*. This type of pause is common between adjacent NPs (§5.2.2). Example (26) shows the same pattern. In these instances and others like it, the references in the sequence occur in the same intonation unit without disfluency. There is no evidence to suggest that the speaker did not deliver the speech they intended to produce. Nor do these sequences of referring expressions appear to be used in response to difficulties by the recipient/co-narrators in achieving reference. They are not part of repair sequences. Nor are cues observed from recipients signalling for, or eliciting in some way from the speaker, more information about the referent. There are no verbal cues, and no marked gestural or eye-gaze behaviour on the part of the recipient(s) that are recurrently associated with these sequences of expressions. Taking example (27) again, this time including in the excerpt the following turns:

(27)  1  MB     **ngulu** (.)  **ya'athu Benji**   nga'a-l              mango
                3sgNOM    By       name      dem.dist1-DM    mango
                kunta-nga-[na
                gather-CAUS-NF
                *he, younger brother Benji loaded up those mangos.*

      2  DS     [yeah

      3  DS     mango=

      4  MB     =mango

      5         (0.8)

      6  DS     what  you'pl- =
                what  2plNOM
                *what about you lot-*

      7  DS     =ngampula     wuna-n      kuuna-l          he[y?
                1plincNOM    sleep-NF    neutral.dem-DM  hey
                *we all camped there, hey?*

      8  MB     [yeah

(18Aug08:*Ngathangku Ngaachi*:00:09:03-00:09:08)

Throughout line 1-4, the interlocutors have their bodies slightly oriented towards each other, but are not positioned face-to-face. This is a common orientation, particularly for a narrative performance (§2.5.2). Gaze and body orientation often accompany speech directed at, or help to select, specific interlocutor(s), and such is the case in line 6 when DS's gaze and body orientation changes notably when she directs a question to MB. However, there is no

meaningful alteration in eye-gaze or body orientation throughout the multiple person references in line 1. Nor is there any use of intonational or pitch cues by MB that suggest that she is working to elicit acknowledgement of recognition from the co-participants via this sequence. Also note that while co-teller DS produces a confirmative *yeah* in response to line 1, this appears to be about confirmation of the mangos being gathered up, rather than confirmation of the person reference – which is supported by both the timing of the 'yes' confirmation and the repeat of mangos in line 3. To sum up, both the production and the reception of these formulations suggests that they are not produced in response to communicative difficulties by any of speech act participants. This is an important point cross-linguistically, because it separates maxi-mentions from sequences of multiple coreferential references that have been widely noted in repair contexts in other language settings. In the next two sections, I explore some variation in the form of maxi-mentions, as well as their functions in narratives.

### 5.6.2 Form of maxi-mentions

Maxi-mentions like in (26) and (27) are a dedicated person reference strategy, which is not employed in other referential domains, such as place or artifact reference. In the person reference domain, they are nearly exclusively used when introducing a new character in the story, and they are reasonably frequent, with 20% (22/112) of third-person "initial" mentions consisting of two or more NPs. To reiterate the figures shown in Table 5.2 in §5.3, the frequency of maxi-mentions in the focused corpus is: 11/112 (10%) of initial referring expressions consist of two coreferential NPs, 6/112 (5%) consist of 3 NPs, 2/112 (2%) consist of 4 NPs, and 3/112 (2.5%) consisting of 5 or more NPs. For subsequent mention, by contrast, multiple consecutive NP expressions are very infrequent. In the focused corpus, 11 out of all subsequent mentions feature multi-NP expressions – an exact count of all subsequent mentions is not available (see §6.2.1), but given that there are many more subsequent mentions than first ones, this is proportionally very low in frequency.

As already mentioned, maxi-mentions show no evidence of hesitation in construction, but they are not all of the type illustrated so far. We find three main types in the data-set, which can all be characterised in terms of contiguity between the person references, without any new content about narrative events intervening.

One type is where the multiple NPs function as a single argument of a predicate, as in examples (26) and (27) discussed above. Here the multiple coordinated nominals are simply listed with no particular marker of their relation (this pattern is widely noted in Australian languages; see Blake 1987, Sadler and Nordlinger 2010). This can also be seen in example (30) from the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative, where *nga'al ku'unku'unchi* 'those old women' is coreferential with the following phrase *ngathangku paapa* 'my mother'. The two NPs refer to a group of female kin (classificatory and blood relations) of the speaker that can be referred to as mother and function as the subject argument of the predicate *ingana* 'say'. Due to restrictions

on number marking on kin-terms (§4.2), the plurality of group is indicated by partial reduplication of human classificatory term in first NP in the pair, *nga'al ku'unku'unchi* 'those old women'. The two NPs work together to jointly express reference – this differs from the more common pattern shown in (26) and (27).

(30)  1   DS   **nga'al**          **ku'unku'unchi** **ngathangku** **paapa**   inga-na
           dem.dist1-DM    RDP.old.woman    1sgGEN        M        say-NF
           *those old women, my mothers say*

      2           (0.7)

      3   DS   aa    ngampa all mayi   waayi-la           kalma-nha-na
           ah    NEG    all food    throw-IMP.SG   come-CAUS-NF
           *"ah don't you throw all the food away bring it"*

      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*:00:00:59-00:01:06)

A second type is where the multiple NPs do not behave as a single syntactic argument, but instead part of the clause (commonly the predicate) is repeated with each coreferential NP. Taking another example from the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative, in (31) the narrator's father is referenced using two coreferential phrases *nga'alu chilpu* 'that old man' and *ngatha piipi* 'my father', each occurring with *ingana* 'say' preceding a segmented of reported speech.

(31)  1   DS   **nga'alu**          **chilpu**  inga-na  **ngatha piipi**    inga-na
           dem.dist1-DM    old.man  say-NF  1sgGEN F        say-NF
           *that old man said, my father said,*

      2           (0.5)

      3   DS   waku ngi'i       ngay         muunga-(m)pu
           axe   dem.prox   1sgNOM    cut-IMP.SG
           *"here I cut with the axe!"*

      (29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*:00:08:38-00:08:43)

The third type of maxi-mention is when the multiple NPs feature in a non-verbal construction, either as a non-verbal predicate or in syntactically and intonationally independent NPs. These two forms are not always formally distinguishable and often occur in the same maxi-mention, so they are grouped together here for our purposes – the formal relationship between these constructions is not relevant to the discussion in this chapter. To illustrate, consider example (32) from the *WW2* narrative where MB talks about two sisters. In line 1 the subject NP is the third-person pronoun *pula* 'they' and the predicate is the NP *pa'amu ku'unchi* 'two old woman' headed by the human classificatory term for 'old woman'. The speaker follows this in line 3 with a syntactically independent kin dyad NP *ma'a ya'a* 'two sisters'.

These two types are dedicated to introducing the referent, and so, unlike type 1 and 2 in examples (30) and (31) they do not feature in the description of a narrative event. With this type of formulation the speaker(s) breaks the flow of narrative events to deliver dedicated person reference information. With the resumption of the narration, a semantically general reference to the person introduced in the preceding maxi-mention will often be repeated, like the headless NP *pula nga'alu* 'those ones' in line 5 of (32).

(32)  1  MB  **pula**        ngi'i      **pa'amu**    **ku'unchi**
                 3plNOM    dem.prox   two          old.woman
                 *those here are two old women*
       2           (2.5)
       3  MB  **ma'a    ya'a**
                 DYAD   Se
                 *two sisters*
       4           (3.0)
       5  MB  **pula**         **nga'a-l**        oh
                 3plNOM    dem.dist1-DM    oh
                 *those ones, oh*
       6           (1.2)
       7  MB  waathi-nya::::::
                 go-NF
                 *they go and go*
       (5Apr04:*WW2*:00:02:53-00:03:05)

In multi-party narratives, maxi-mentions of this third kind can be co-constructed by a number of co-narrators, who each contribute referential information in a sequence that zeroes in on the referent. One such instance is found at the start of the narrative about a trip to Umpila country in (33), which features second-order co-telling by supporting narrator EG in line 9.

(33)  1  DS  nganan-
                 1plexcNOM
                 *us*
       2           (1.5)
       3  DS  well we been have-
       4           (1.2)
       5  EG  yeah
       6           (0.4)

| 7 | DS | **ngulu** | **nga'a-lu** |
|---|----|-----------|--------------|
|   |    | 3sgNOM    | dem.dist2-DM |

*he that one*

| 8 |    | (0.3) |
|---|----|-------|

| 9 | EG | **chilpu** |
|---|----|------------|
|   |    | old.man    |

*(is a) old man*

| 10 |    | (0.2) |
|----|----|-------|

| 11 | DS | **ngathangku** | **ya'athu** |
|----|----|----------------|-------------|
|    |    | 1sgGEN         | Zy          |

*my younger brother*

| 12 |    | (0.5) |
|----|----|-------|

| 13 | DS | **Rob- Robert Giblet** (.) he been driver |
|----|----|-------------------------------------------|

(18Aug08: *Ngathangku Ngaachi*:00:06:15-00:06:23)

The sequence in (33) references a man who transported a group, including some of the narrators, to a town called Coen. It consists of four coreferential references, two of which are recognitional formulations, a kin-term and a personal name. The sequence starts with headless NP *ngulu nga'a-lu* 'he that one' produced by DS (line 7), is followed by a human classificatory term *chilpu* 'old man' by EG (line 9), and then DS follows this with a self-associated kin reference *ngathangku ya'athu* 'my younger brother' (line 11), and finally a personal name *Robert Giblet* (line 13).

In spite of their formal differences, all three types of maxi-mention can be regarded as a single reference unit, and a single point in the flow in discourse – even when they are produced by multiple narrators. There are three types of evidence for this. First, all three types of maxi-mentions share the same semantic sequencing properties. The multiple NPs narrow down reference across the sequence, starting with a semantically more general form and incrementally selecting semantically more specific forms. This sequence always includes at least one recognitional reference form, i.e. a recognitional kin based expression or a name of some type. For instance, as just outlined for example (33) the maxi-mention begins with a headless NP, is followed by human classificatory term, before moving to a kin-term and a personal name. In (32) the sequence starts with a pronoun followed by human classificatory term (line 1) and then a kin dyadic construction (line 3), and example (31) consists of two NPs, the first headed by a human classificatory term and the second by a more semantically specific kin-term. As can be observed in all instances, there is a scale here, as described in Figure 5.2 below, which is adhered to in all instances of the configurations described above, including when two or more NPs do not behave as a single syntactic unit and when the sequence is produced by multiple speakers. The existence of the type of semantic patterning shown in these examples provides

evidence that maxi-mentions are a special type of initial mention formulation, rather than an initial form and a number of subsequent forms of some type[56].

**pronoun/headless NP (basic determiners) → ethnonym → human classificatory term → kin-term → personal name**

Figure 5.2 Maxi-mention semantic scale[57]

A second piece of evidence for an analysis of maxi-mentions as one single reference unit relates to the speaker's use of the scale. The speaker's choice of the first reference form in the multi-form sequence can allow more or less space along the semantic scale for either themselves or co-narrators to add more references to the maxi-mention. The more semantically general the initial form is on the scale, the more referential space there is to build up the participant's profile, and the more space there is for the recipients/co-narrators to contribute to this profile. For example, taking the scale presented above, if a speaker begins with a pronominal form (as in (33), (32) and (27)) then there is considerable space on the semantic scale left for a speaker to work through. A speaker can still follow on with a human classificatory term and a kin-term and a personal name to further narrow down reference to the person. If a speaker begins further along the scale, however, say with a kin-term, then personal names are the only more semantically specific forms remaining on the scale. I argue that this is exactly what speakers are doing when selecting the initial form in the maxi-mention sequences: A speaker shapes the start of the maxi-mention with more to come in mind. This contrasts strongly with the more usual pattern of a speaker planning and producing a single reference that best achieves their interactional goal in that context (as per discussion in §5.2). Within the set of 22 maxi-mentions from the focused corpus, there is a higher use of semantically general forms (pronouns and headless NPs), as the initial form in maxi-mention, than is usual in minimal third-person initial mentions. Pronouns and headless NPs account for 26/112 of the initial NPs used to refer to a third-person participant in the focused corpus (see Table 5.1 in §5.3). Almost half, or 12/26 (46%) of these are employed as the initial expression in a maxi-mentions. The remaining instances are used in two contexts: 12/26 (46%) are used to create superset-subset reference groups (§5.4.1), and 2/26 (8%) are used in contexts where culturally-specific circumspection is required (§5.7). In this sense, roughly 50% of two of the most semantically minimal reference forms are the first expression in a maxi-mention construction, while the vast majority of other

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[56] One caveat is that in co-constructed maxi-mentions there are some instances of references in the sequence being repeated across-speakers.

[57] There are a number of examples of other reference categories, like headless NPs with adjectives (describing an attribute of the person), job descriptors, denizen terms, bereavement terms, employed in maxi-mentions. However, there is inadequate data of these categories combining with multiple other reference categories to be sure of their placement in the scale presented above. The scale above fits the data to date, and accounts for the most common combinations of multiple forms.

instances of these are as general opening group references. Thus, by starting with a more semantically minimal reference than is typical for a single third-person referent, the speakers show some planning of the maximal formulation as a whole. This ties the initial form choice to the other forms that follow in sequence in the planning of the utterance and supports the idea of maxi-mentions as an initial mention unit. The final piece of evidence relates to the dedicated use of maxi-mentions for initial person reference. Sequences of contiguous coreferential persons references are exclusively used to introduce persons: 20% (22/112) of third-person "initial" mentions in the focused corpus consist of two or more NPs, while there are no instances in this data-set of subsequent mentions bearing the same formal specifications.

### 5.6.3 Function of maxi-mentions

As mentioned above, maxi-mentions always include a recognitional form, but it is not entirely clear that their function in narrative is shaped by the principle of recognition. As predicted in §5.2, narratives are different from naturally occurring conversation, specifically in the way topic-fittedness trumps recognition as the narrator's default priority in person reference formulation (see §5.4-5.5).This is fundamental to the exploration of the function of maxi-mentions in this section, where I will show that the functions proposed go beyond the informational imperative of recognitional meaning. Maxi-mentions allow for the possibility of recognition, but whether this is their prime or only function in all cases is another matter. The marked non-minimal form of these expressions suggests that something else is being done besides simply trying to achieve recognition in the most efficient manner.

Specifically, this discussion will argue that maxi-mentions are multi-functional in that they (i) afford collaboration in multi-party narrative (§5.6.3.1); (ii) are a rhetorical device used to emphasise or magnify the thematic importance of the referent (§5.6.3.2). Ultimately, this will bring us back to topic-fittedness as a conditioning factor, but in this case topic-fittedness and recognition work together to generate special maximal initial mentions.

### 5.6.3.1 Affording collaborative co-telling

Maxi-mentions have a function in affording collaboration in multi-party narrative. The analysis in the previous section suggests that narrators, due to the nature of narrative, may not feel the same pressure to minimise expressive means in formulating person reference as a conversationalist would in an everyday interaction. This difference in tellership may help to explain why speakers *say more* in initial mentions to persons in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives: not just *more* in terms of length of expression, and but also *more* in terms of the number of speakers contributing to the initial mention.

In the canonical narrative style within the European tradition, regular turn-taking practices are suspended and the narrative is produced by a single party. This speaker has the sanctioned role as narrator in the interaction – they talk, often for an extended time, while the other

participants have the role of audience, and so spend most of their time listening. This is also the case for what are being referred to as single-party narratives in this study. As discussed in chapter 2, however, it is far more common to have multi-party narratives in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, with "audience" participants not remaining quiet, but vying for the floor so as to join in production of the story, and fulfill their duties as a good co-teller. As noted §2.2, this type of narrative product bears some resemblance to conversational interaction and is highly collaborative – there is turn-taking and the use of familiar conversational interactive sequences like question-answer sequences, prompts, repairs and collaborative turn units. Multi-party narratives use maxi-mentions just as frequently as single-party narratives (12/22 maxi-mentions in the focused corpus found in multi-party narratives, and 10/22 in single-party narratives), and in this section I argue that they have an additional function, namely as a structure that affords collaboration.

We already know that different narrators in multi-party narratives have different workloads and roles (§2.3). Narrators taking a primary role usually produce most of the new narrative content, including initial mentions of persons. In fact, it is the output of primary narrators that has featured in illustrative examples throughout discussion in this chapter. In line with this, in collaboratively produced maxi-mentions it is the primary narrator who produces the first reference in the sequence. Let us revisit example (33). Two speakers contribute to this sequence. DS is the primary narrator in the story: she proposes the idea of telling this story in the session and takes the lead throughout the telling of it. In the maxi-mention in (33), which comes at start of the story and references one of the main characters in the story, she produces the first reference in the sequence *ngulu nga'alu* 'he that one'. The formulation of this first reference allows for the possibility of co-production by the three supporting narrators (EG, SP and MB). Non-verbal syntactic constructions that are dedicated person references, like syntactically independent NPs (as in (33) line 7) and non-verbal predicates, are closely associated with collaboratively produced maxi-mentions. These formulations allow for junctures where turn at talk could legitimately pass from one speaker to another, while references that function as arguments within a predicate, i.e. narrating events (examples like (26) and (27) above) do not usually provide a turn-transition relevance place (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). In the case of example (33) (also discussed above), EG adds to the sequence of coreferential references in line 9 with the human classificatory terms *chilpu* 'old man'. DS continues the sequence with two recognitional references in line 11 and 13, *ngathangku ya'athu* 'my younger brother' and *Robert Giblet*. Like in this example, it is usually the primary narrator who produces the recognitional reference information within the collaborative maxi-mention.

(33)   1   DS        nganan-
                     1plexcNOM
                     *us*

2          (1.5)

3    DS    well we been have-

4          (1.2)

5    EG    yeah

6          (0.4)

7    DS    **ngulu       nga'a-lu**
           3sgNOM    dem.dist2-DM
           *he that one*

8          (0.8)

9    EG    **chilpu**
           old.man
           *(is a) old man*

10         (0.3)

11   DS    **ngathangku   ya'athu**
           1sgGEN         Zy/By
           *my younger brother*

12         (0.5)

13   DS    **Rob- Robert Giblet** (.) he been driver

(18Aug08:*Ngathangku Ngaachi*: 00:06:15-00:06:23)

Another case is example (34) from the *Minya Charlie* narrative. The person in question is the protagonist of the story, the Islander man who is chased and attacked by the emu (§5.5.1). MB is the primary narrator in this narrative and she produces the first two contributions to the sequence. Both are nominal predications: in line 1 'he, that one is alone', and in line 3 the kin-based triangulation 'father was his older brother'. Thus, again, the form of the primary narrator's contributions allows for a place where turn at talk can pass from one speaker to another. SP takes this opportunity and contributes to the sequence in line 5 and 8 by describing the referent as being big and rotund. The size of the referent is very important information for the events to come; these attributes help to explain why the referent, unlike the other Islander men, does not escape the mad chase of the emu. Thus, SP here is contributing crucial information about attributes of the referent, and in doing so she is not only displaying recognition and shared knowledge of the referent, but also some knowledge of the story being told. Showing informational alignment between the interlocutors, these physical attributes are confirmed by another supporting narrator DS (via repeats (line 10)) and by MB (via repeats (line 6) and an overt confirmative (line 14)).

(34)  1    MB    **ngulu       nga'a-l        nhi'ila    well-**
                 3sgNOM    dem.dist1-DM    one        well
                 *he that one is alone well-*

| 2 |  | (1.2) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

3   MB   ng-  **piipi-laka**   **ngulu**   **yapu ngungangku** (.)  **piipi**

ng-   F-PATHOS   3sgNOM   Be   3sgGEN              F

**?manu-ku**

throat-GEN

*poor father was his older brother, from father*

4        (0.3)

5   SP   hm   **mukana**=

hm   big

*hm big*

6   MB   =**mukan-**

big

*big*

7        (.)

8   SP   **pangkimu-**laka

rotund-PATHOS

*poor rotund one!*

9        (0.2)

10  DS   **pangkimu**

rotund

*rotund one*

11       (0.6)

12  SP   maku-thu-ma?

true-MOD-PRED

*it is true?*

13       (1.0)

14  MB   yuway hahuh hah

*yes* (laughter)

(23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:21:27-00:21:42)

In example (35) four co-narrators collaboratively introduce a group referent of 'three old women'. SP produces the first reference to the old women in line 1 and what follows are 9 turns with specification and confirmation of the number of women in the group and relevant denizen information. This example is included here to further illustrate, as in (34), the way these dedicated person reference sequences allow for the display and agreement across speakers, of a number of referential details. Given the length of the sequence in (35) there are surprisingly few referential details provided (e.g. no recognitional references), but what does happen is that co-narrators add and elaborate (or even subtly correct) small details about this group referent:

e.g. line 1 by SP 'the old women' > line 3 by DS 'three old women', line 8 by EG 'from Wenlock' > line 12-15 by DS and MB 'from Wenlock and Night Island'. As we can see in this example, referential elaboration is one of the ways for supporting narrators to contribute to the narrative record. By collaborating, they simultaneously demonstrate recognition and/or some of their own knowledge of the referent and story. Displaying recognition and collaborating are intimately interconnected.

(35)  1   SP      kampanhu  ngampula      waathi-ny (.)  **ku'unku'unchi**
                  big            1plincNOM    go-NF            RDP.old.woman
                  *a big lot, we all went with the old women*

      2          (0.9)

      3   DS      **kukuthi    ku'unchi**
                  three         old.woman
                  *the three old women*

      4          (0.4)

      5   EG      **nga'a-l         ku'unchi**
                  dem.dist-DM      old.woman
                  *those old women*

      6          (0.6)

      7   SP      aa     **ku[kuthi-** (coughing)
                  aa       three
                  *ah three*

      8   EG      [**Wenlock-munu**
                  Wenlock-ABL
                  *from Wenlock*

      9          (.)

      10  MB      thanka        nga-  muunga-na
                  pandanus       ?   cut-NF
                  *(we) cut the pandanus*

      11          (0.2)

      12  DS      **pa'amu     ku'unchi        blo        Wenlock**
                  two            old.woman     GEN      Wenlock
                  *two old women came from Wenlock*

      13          (0.3)

      14  DS      **nhi'i nhi'ilama  ku'unchi    blo    [Night Island**
                  one    one              old.woman GEN Night.Island
                  *one old woman came from Night Island*

      15  MB      [**Night Island**

16          (0.4)
17 DS    ngana           kuku    aa-
         1plexcNOM    three-    aa
         *we, three, ah-*
(27Mar07:*Walkabout as school girls*:00:43:47-00:44:00)

In sum, these examples show that the structure of maxi-mentions, a construction consisting of increments of elaborating references affords contributions by multiple speakers. While the primary narrator has control over the management of the floor by facilitating when their story consociates can contribute, maxi-mentions are one of the vehicles that supporting narrators can use to help satisfy a cultural preference for collaborative storytelling. In participating in these collaborative sequences, supporting narrators display their access to, and shared knowledge of, the person being introduced. This type of second order co-telling in initial referential expressions is one of the collateral effects of the general premium on co-telling in multi-party narratives.

This point is indirectly confirmed by other observations from the corpus, specifically from the perspective of recipiency. While the previous examples show how primary narrators facilitate when a secondary narrator can contribute to a maxi-mention, there is also evidence to show that supporting narrators and recipients allow primary narrators interactional space to craft the story, including space to craft maxi-mentions. This is reflected in a strong dispreference for recipients/co-narrators to produce repairs (termed other-initiated repair in Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) in response to initial person mentions (§6.3.4). There are no clear instances in the corpus of other-initiated repairs produced in order to fix genuine problems in speaking, hearing or understanding in response to an initial person reference. Even with the preference for collaborative telling, supporting narrators tend only to to take such corrective action and request more referential information well after the initial mention and well into a story. This suggests that there is no imperative to fix a problem of recognition straight away on the first reference to a person – we have, of course, noted this is many ways throughout this chapter so far, like in the default use of a descriptive reference expression over recognitional reference (§5.4.2). See §6.3.4 for more discussion of other-initiated repair, which falls in the domain of subsequent mention. The point to take away here is that in this sense, the dispreference for other-initiated repair supports the idea of more leeway and "space" provided to primary narrators to craft their output, at least at some junctures in the joint-telling of a story (§2.2).

This also suggests that while maxi-mentions are places for collaboration, certain types of collaboration are in disfavor. To consider this further, let us turn to an interesting example where repair formats are employed in response to an initial mention, but as a collaborative device rather than having any corrective function. The example in (36) features the initial

mention to "King" Fred, the protagonist of the narrative of the same name. In this case, recognition of "King" Fred had actually been achieved in the conversation preceding the storytelling – in which both narrators' family connections to the Night Island group and "King" Fred leads were detailed. When the speakers start the narration they produce the maxi-mention sequence in (36), which includes a kin based reference (line 7-9), denizen expressions (line 9, 12, 18) and a name (line 10). The form of this second "first reference"[58] in (36) does not seem to be formulated in any way that acknowledges the discussion that just preceded. SP (primary narrator) and MP (supporting narrator) still hedge and tentatively work through aspects of the character's identity together, even though transmission of recognition does not appear to the driving motivation. MP produces a hedged proposition in line 9 'great uncle, that one, came from the north, hey south?', and then in line 12 uses dubitive marker *-ki* to say 'he *might* have come from the south'. In both instance, she produces co-speech points (full hand point) indicating southwards. Verbally MP displays some uncertainty here, even though the preceding related conversation about southern land territories and family connections to these were what made this particular story topical. In a follow-up to this hedged proposition by MP in line 12, SP asks in line 16 'where is he from?' and then with only a micro pause answers her own question with 'Night Island'. This sequence continues in similar fashion for another 10 utterances.

(36)  1  MP    wa'a
            *alright*
      2        (1.2)
      3  LH    ngam
            *ok*
      4        (0.4)
      5  MP    wanim          ngay-
            whatchamacallit  ?
            *whatchamacallit?*
      6        (0.2)
      7  SP    **ngachimu     ngangkangku**
            MF/FMB        2sgGEN
            *your great uncle*
      8        (1.5)

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[58] It is common for the initial reference form of a current referent to be redone at the start of new action or event, in this case a new narrative event (Fox 1987:62-63 and Schegloff 1996:455-456). In Schegloff's (1996:455) terms, this can be considered "not [as] a remention, but as the initial mention, for 'another first time'".

9   MP      **ngachimu   nga'a-l          kungka-l   kalma-la-** (.)     hey-
            MF/FMB      dem.dist1-DM     north-ABL  come-NF             hey
            **yiipay=**
            south
            *great uncle, that one, came from the north, hey south?*

10  SP      **=King Fred manthal      ngungangku** (.)  **King Fred**
            King.Fred   name         3sgGEN              King.Fred
            *King Fred is his name, King Fred*

11          (.)

12  MP      hm     **ngulu-na-ki        yiipayi**
            hm         3sgNOM-?-DUB     south
            *he might have come from the south?*

13  SP      well since=

14  MP      =ngaachi    nga'a-lu
            place       dem.dist1-DM
            *that place/country*

15          (1.9)

16  SP      **wantu-ka   kalma-na-na**
            where-?     come-NF-now
            *where is he from?*

17          (.)

18  SP      Night Island
            place.name
            *Night Island*

(23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:15:24-00:15:50)

It is apparent from this example that in some regard the transmission of recognitional information is not always a pragmatic problem in the initial mention of a person in the context of a narrative. Recognition of the character was already achieved prior to this sequence and the information the interlocutors' work through here are already known to all present. Instead, the hedges and questions within this sequence appear to function as a collaborative device (note that repair formats, like hedges and questions have been noted to have functions beyond corrective operations, see Kitzinger 2012). The displays of uncertainty reciprocally invite each of the co-narrators to join-in the introduction of this character (cf. Goodwin 1987 on functions of displays forgetfulness). This could be done for the sole purpose of fulfilling the preference for collaboration in storytelling, as discussed above in relation to examples (34) and (35). Or, additionally, this practice could be a collaborative vehicle to explain the person reference to a third-party unable to participate. The pattern in sequences such as this is reminiscent of practices in interviews where interviewers and interviewees work through details known to both parties for the benefit of the unknowing audience (see Atkinson and Drew 1979 on similar

practices in the court room setting, and Levinson 1987 for discussion of this pattern in terms of Goffman participation framework). In this case the unknowing audience in the minds of the narrators could be the nebulous future audience viewing this language documentation product (§2.5.1). Either way, this example suggests that co-narrators do not work to secure the most efficient informational convergence on the identity of the referent, but instead have interests in fostering collaboration or joint telling for various purposes.

Now drawing together some observations from the preceding discussion of recipiency in maxi-mentions: The strong dispreference for other-initiated repair on initial person references provides further insight into the nature of recipiency in storytelling by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers, and suggests that a certain space is provided to primary narrators to craft the introduction of characters into the story. This is suggestive of how sequences of referring expressions could have emerged as the default recognitional reference. Maxi-mentions are the typical way to formulate a recognitional reference, but the examples looked at here suggest that even if a maxi-mention was not successful at conveying recognitional information recipients/co-narrators would be highly unlikely to take corrective action on an initial mention, and in many instances the transmission of recognitional information appears not to be their sole function. Instead maxi-mentions have functions in affording collaboration, providing an avenue for co-tellers to fulfill a strong local cultural preference for joint storytelling (§2.2).

### 5.6.3.2 Thematic highlighting

If maxi-mentions do not always function to solely convey referential information, as has been established in the preceding discussion, it is worth considering further what other types of meaning they convey. Narratives often include the use of stylistic or rhetorical devices and certain presentations of information which a narrator uses to convey the meaning of the story, e.g. rhetorical devices to create suspense, or to manage multiple perspectives, or to provide a character's back-story, and so on. This is the literary element of this type of speech exchange system: as suggested earlier, this implies that recipients/co-narrators may allow a narrator "more space" on the interactional floor to *craft* output than we would expect in a more spontaneous natural conversational setting. In this section, I will be argue that maxi-mentions are part of this literary aspect, as a type of rhetorical tool narrators' use to convey meaning, beyond the informational imperative of recognition. Specifically, they serve to highlight thematically important participants – as reminiscent of Homeric epithets ('laughter-loving Aphrodite' and 'swift-footed Achilles') used in special forms for important charcaters. To consider this, the discussion will return to the distribution and form of maxi-mentions.

First, the distribution of maxi-mentions over narrative participants is striking. Looking through the collection of 22 instances of maxi-mentions in the focused corpus, the referents are all persons of thematic importance. They are persons that have either a high degree of involvement in, or are in some way highly relevant to, the events being narrated. As a case in

point consider the use of the maxi-mention introduction of "King" Fred in example (36). "King" Fred is the protagonist of the story. He is the one who instigates the expedition to investigate the washed-up sea mine and directs most of the other participant's action (see discussion in §5.5.3). He is referenced 48 times in the story, three or four times more than other persons featured in the 173-utterance narrative. The same applies to other examples of maxi-mentions from the preceding sections. In example (31), from the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative, the father of the narrator takes their family group on a camping trip and is the key figure in main events in the story by discovering and then encouraging his family to loot an abandoned boat. In (34) the Islander man who is chased and attacked by the emu in the *Minya Charlie* story makes for the central complication of the story and is the standout main character. All of these persons have a high degree of participation in the events being narrated, and so like the "King" Fred referent are frequently mentioned throughout the story (frequency being of the measures used for thematic importance, see Givón 1983, 1984, 1990). There are other persons referenced with the maxi-mention strategy that are thematically important, not in terms of a high degree of participation in the story events, but because of the notable causal influence they have on the course of events being recounted. Once again, looking back at examples we have already discussed in this section: in (33) from *Ngana waathinya* the referent, Robert Giblet, is important in the story as the means of transport to a nearby town that allows for the ensuing events to occur to the story's main characters; and in (27) from the *WW2 Story*, the old man is only referenced this one time, but exerts considerable influence over the flow of events by attracting the army planes resulting in the main complication of this story. All referents first mentioned using the maxi-mention strategy are thematically important in the story in either of these two ways; a high degree of involvement in the events and actions described or a high causal influence on the course of events being recounted.

Also relevant to this account of maxi-mentions is the directly contrasting use of the opposite type of formulation by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators. References that are more minimal than the unmarked single NP, i.e. ellipsed references, are used for the least important referents in the story. Ellipsis occurs when a participant in a verbal predication is not overtly identified, when there is no NP or other overt expression to the participant like a bound pronominal form. This is a rare formulation choice for an "initial" mention – in the third-person references in the focused corpus there are 3/112 (3%) instances. The few examples of third-person participants whose "initial mention" is ellipsed have very minor roles in the story and are part of the development of the background or scene-setting for the situation (see §5.7.3-5.7.4 regarding the use of ellipsis in situations requiring adherence to circumspection). They are more akin to props in the story than actual characters. An example is (37) below. In line 1, there is a transitive predicate *muungana* 'cut' without a subject. This predicate describes the first action carried out by *kampinu* 'the men' in this story, but the reference here is ellipsed and the first overt reference to 'the men' follows in line 3. The excerpt is from a scene-setting sequence describing the

routine activities in camp preceding the major events in the story. The men only feature in this sequence, a sort of cameo appearance as part of the cast of characters in this camped group.

(37)  1   MB      minya   muunga-na
                  meat    cut-NF
                  *(the men) cut the meat*
      2           (1.9)
      3   MB      paatha   **kampinu** (.)  minya   pantikuma  waayi-na
                  tin      men              meat    everyone   throw-NF
                  *the men threw every part of it in the tin.*
      (5Apr04:*WW2*:00:01:36-00:01:45)

In contrast to the ellipsed referents, maxi-mentions as a strategy serve well a narrator's needs in formulating reference to an important person in a story. Maxi-mentions are the only reference formulation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative which always contains a recognitional reference, and the most important characters are the referents that a narrator would most want to ensure recipients genuinely identify. It is easy to see how it could be useful for a recipient to know manifold aspects of an important character's identity, and maxi-mentions are a means for the narrator to provide this information upfront: their social role (descriptive expressions); their relationship to narrators and the speech event (kin-based expressions); their relationship to land territories (denizen expressions), or attributes relevant to story (adjective descriptions). Even if this information is already known to the interlocutors, collaborating and displaying access to this information between co-narrators with a jointly produced maxi-mention will also have merit for a thematically important referent. Taking this line of thought one step further, this marked strategy itself functions to highlight the thematic significance of a character. That is, the use of this marked way of making person reference is a rhetorical device that conveys significance. The form of the maxi-mention lends support to this. Maxi-mentions bear resemblance to a type of amplification structure, a rhetorical device which takes a proposition or idea and embellishes it by adding more information in order to increase its significance and understanding. A speaker can call attention to a word or idea, or in this case a person, to make the other interloctors realise its importance in the discourse. The maxi-mention structure of multiple references is similar, each reference adding more semantic specificity about the referent, elaborating on what has already been said, and focusing more attention on this character. The prominence of presentation using this special and marked strategy of person reference adds some prominent status to the character being referenced[59]. As such, maxi-

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[59] Other work on Australian languages has noted marked grammatical devices, predominately marked participant marking, used for rhetorical effect in narratives (Stirling 2008, Verstraete and De Cock 2008). For instance, Stirling (2008) shows how a special double reference construction occurs in opening clauses of peak-story episodes in

mentions work to convey the story: by conveying the significance of participants within the narrative being told, they convey meaning about the story. Thus, topic-fittedness is at play here as a conditioning principle. Narrators could highlight other types of significance, e.g. the significance of characters to each other either within or across the narrative, but the focus remains on the significance to the topic being narrated.

To conclude, then, the discussion in this section has shown that maxi-mentions while formulated to allow recognition, always culminating in one or more recognitional references, do not always seem to soley function to satisfy the principle of recognition. The other principle at work in shaping maxi-mentions is topic-fittedness.

## 5.7 Circumspection

This section will look at the way the principle of circumspection shapes the organisation of person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative. This topic has a long history in linguistic and anthropological work on person reference in the Australian context (Garde 2008a; Hart 1930; Nash and Simpson 1981; Sommer 2006; Spencer and Gillen 1899/1968; Stanner 1937; Thomson 1946). Writing in 1946, anthropologist Donald Thomson commented on the widespread avoidance of the use of personal names among Aboriginal Australians.

*Very little has been recorded of the derivation and use of personal names among the Australian aborigines. This is due to two main factors. The first is that among Australian natives, names may be derived from, or linked with, totems or totemic objects which are often either sacred or are not discussed freely in the presence of the uninitiated; and secondly, names are closely associated with the social personality, and in consequence are surrounded by customs of avoidance.* (Thomson 1946:157)

Thomson worked extensively with the Umpila people, as well as the Wik Mungkan on the west coast of CYP which makes his observations pertinent to this discussion. Cultural taboos like the one described by Thomson are the motivation behind the referential design principle of circumspection. This principle deals with the speaker's need to navigate "local constraints" on referring to persons (Levinson 2007:31). For Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people, the major class of culturally specific constraints relate to a number of taboos restricting the use of person names. These are founded on cultural beliefs about the power of a name and the connection between a name and the essence of the person or being named. The restrictions include different degrees of dispreference for the use (saying or hearing) of names: (i) of non-present people; (ii) of some kin relations, particularly affinal relations, cross-sex cousins and siblings; (iii) of persons in special relationships established during initiation ceremonies; (iv) of the deceased, most usually

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Kala Lagaw Ya narratives. Stirling describes these as an "additional indicator of these 'narrative highlights'" (2008:198). See discussion in §7.4.1, and more generally throughout Chapter 7.

the recently deceased or deceased close kin; (v) of threatening or powerful persons or beings, like sorcerers or wild "bush men".

This roll-call of restrictions makes for a large number of personal names that need to be avoided for every individual in the community. The small size of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u society means that in any interactional situation, participants will need to take into account a large number of taboo personal names, both for themselves as well as others in the interaction. These restrictions hold in all types of communicative contexts and speech genres, including narration. Thus, circumspection is a powerful force in shaping person reference for Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators. Indeed in §5.2, one speculation was that in the narrative context name restrictions may be more frequent, and more likely to be strictly adhered to, than in some other forms of informal interaction. This section will show how circumspection shapes person reference in the narratives of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.

The discussion is organised by the four main referent types or referent statuses where personal name avoidance is at play: (i) non-present people; (ii) deceased people; (iii) taboo kin/ritual-relation; and (iv) threatening/powerful beings. These referents have different degrees of restrictions or constraints on person reference behaviour. As a result, each interacts with the circumspection principle and other reference design principles to generate different types of "circumspect" reference formulations. In some cases the default reference is compatible with the degree of restriction, in others it results in the complete avoidance of referring to the referent in any way, while in still other cases it results in the use of recognitional formulations that are delivered in a circumlocutory style. In organising the discussion by referent type, I do not want to suggest there is a strict pairing of referent type and reference formulation. Circumspection as a force works more subtly, and speakers can ratchet up or down the degree of orientation to circumspection given their interactional goals in the situation. What is presented here is simply a number of common formulation patterns observed in the narrative corpus, which can be regarded as typical but not exclusive.

### 5.7.1 Reference to non-present parties

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u interlocutors display a mild dispreference for non-present parties (with no other name restrictions) to be referred to with a personal name. In narratives, all third-person referents are typically non-present at the time of storytelling. This means that this dispreference, and the circumspection employed by speakers to navigate this, has a pervasive influence on referential choice in narratives.

The blanket dispreference of using the name of a non-present person is due to cultural beliefs by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u that personal names are intrinsically connected to the person. This observation has been made for other Australian Aboriginal groups, e.g. Garde (2008a:229) for Bininj Gunwok; Sommer (2006) for Kunjen, in south-western CYP; and Thomson (1946:157)

for Wik people on the west coast of CYP and as a pan Australian observation[60]. Garde in talking about Bininj Gunwok (2008:229) echoes Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people's views: "uttering a person's name can affect their physical condition as names are considered an integral part of an individual and are not considered as merely as arbitrary labels that pick out individuals in reference and address". Such beliefs make using a personal name a face-threatening act, and especially so when the person is not present to witness the manner in which their name was produced and the social action its use was embedded within.

In this study, the dispreference can be observed in the complete absence, within the focused corpus, of the use of a personal name as the first NP to reference a person (§5.3.2, Table 5.1). When personal names are employed in the rest of the narrative corpus, they are typically either a final reference in a maxi-mention expression as with the use of *Benji* in (27) reproduced below, or in a subsequent mention repair context (see further in §6.3.4). This distribution demonstrates reluctance on the part of the speaker to use a personal name, especially straight off the mark. Names are only employed when this dispreference comes into competition with other communicative needs in the situation: for example, in (27) the need to signal the referent as thematically important in initial mention (§5.6.3.2); or in repair contexts discussed in §6.3.4, where there is a need to guarantee that recognition of the referent is achieved.

(27)   1   MB   **ngulu** (.)   **ya'athu Benji**   nga'a-l             mango   kunta-nga-na
                3sgNOM   Sy        name      dem.dist1-DM   mango   gather-CAUS-NF
                *he, younger brother Benji loaded up those mangos.*
       (18Aug08:*Ngathangku Ngaachi*)

It is in the nature of storytelling that third-persons in the narrative are typically non-present when the story is told. Narrators do not usually tell stories on behalf of present parties; they either tell personal experience stories where self-references are made using first-person pronouns or they tell stories about non-present parties. This means that there are no examples in the narrative corpus of contrasting present and non-present third-person referents to illustrate the pattern under discussion here. However, the pattern can be noticed in conversations between the telling of narratives, or in asides during a story, which are largely in Lockhart River Creole. Here the dispreference for non-present parties to be referred to with a personal name can be observed by looking at references the interlocutors make to each other. The women narrators refer to each when not present with reference expressions like *another one*, meaning another old woman in the group, or the human classificatory term *ku'unchi* 'old woman' or the Creole version *olaman* 'old woman', with no extra identifying detail provided. On occassion kin-terms

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[60] Donald Thomson in the quote opening this section suggests restrictions on names are in part due to personal names being derived from names for owned totems and totem sites (1946:157) – this is the way many personal names were traditionally derived amongst Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u (§3.2.4).

are employed, but personal names are notably lacking. To illustrate this point, in the three following examples from a single recording session, we see three contrasting references to a non-present referent (example (38)) and a present referent (in example (39) and (40)). In example (38) reference is made to MB using the Creole human classificatory term *olaman* 'old woman'. The reference is made by EG in line 3 who is at the time entering the room and in doing so has interrupted the narration. DS asks EG to close the door, and EG responds that another *olaman* is coming too. MB is out of earshot at the time, and appears a minute or two later. While the reference is semantically very general, given the people present and common ground between them, the *olaman* expression narrowed reference down to either of the two elderly speakers that were currently not present in the room:

(38)  1  DS       ngam     shut-im-ma-la                 now
                  INTJ     shut-3sgACC-VBLZ-NF  now
                  *ok shut it now*
      2            (1.0)
      3  EG       I got another  **olaman**     here come
                                  old.woman
                  *I have another old woman coming (with me)*
      (05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*:00:03:47-00:03:52)

The next two examples show references produced while MB is present, the first an address and the second a reference. About 15 minutes following the sequence in (38), while the old women are negotiating the start of another narrative, DS requests that MB lead the start of the storytelling. She says *there now Maaya you talk now*, using MB's nickname as an address form (see example (39)). About another 20 minutes along from this, at the close of the session, SP produces reference to MB using her personal name (see example (40)). This is part of a suggestion that DS and MB should sit and keep me company (line 4): *you two Maria sit and yarnlaka blo Clair* 'you and Maria sit and talk with Clair'.

(39)  1  DS       we everyone yarn a story=
      2  CH       =it is all set
      3            (.)
      4  DS       there now **Maaya** you talk now
      5            (1.6)
      6  MB       olden days before you know…
      (05Jul07:Conversation)

(40)  1  SP       we do that little bit
      2           (0.2)
      3  MP       yeah we finish [him the xxxxx
      4  DS       [I sit here a little bit (.) I am not gonna go drawing
      5           (0.4)
      6  SP       you two **Maria** sit and yarn-laka blo Clair
      7           (0.2)
      8  DS       him go make tea-laka
      (05Jul07:Conversation)

In comparison to the other taboos on the use of personal names, to be discussed in the remainder of this section, the dispreference for referring to non-present parties with a name is a mild type of restriction. Personal names can be used freely if the contextual situation alters, that is, the referent is present. Additionally, this dispreference appears to be easily jettisoned by the speaker in favour of achieving other communicative needs, with little collateral damage to production or reference formulation. Names are often ultimately used to achieve certain communicative ends (e.g. in maxi-mentions as in (27)) without any direct pressure or questioning from recipients. And finally, reference to non-present people does not trigger the forms of indirection we see in the case of other restrictions, e.g. indirect references are not used, nor are references produced with marked prosody (§5.7.2-5.7.3).

**5.7.2 Reference to the deceased**
For Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people there are taboos on the use of personal names to refer to the deceased, particularly the recently deceased or closely related deceased kin. In narratives, this plays out in the form of complete avoidance of reference to recently deceased people, and the avoidance of personal names for less recently deceased, instead using default reference forms like human classificatory terms (§5.4.2) or alternatives driven by the principle of topic-fittedness like kin-terms (§5.5.1) or maxi-mentions (§5.6).

Current practice is for name avoidance, and even more stringent restrictions on reference, along with an array of avoidance behaviour, to be strongest and most widely adhered to from death until after the funeral. Following this, I have noted that younger people or people unrelated to the deceased will adhere less strictly to name avoidance, and other avoidance behaviour will also generally diminish. Due to factors in post-contact contemporary life there is also some relaxation of name avoidance in specific contexts, as in Christian funeral services or in talking to outside people who do not share name avoidance customs. Many older people may maintain more traditional customs of name avoidance for several years after the funeral,

until the 'tombstone opening'[61], a ceremony which formally marks the end of the mourning period. Names of closely related deceased kin are avoided indefinitely by older generations, even after the close of the mourning period. When close kin of the deceased are within earshot, others will avoid producing the deceased's name as well. Restrictions such as these are well known and widely accounted for in ethnographic and anthropological literature on Aboriginal Australia (Hart (1930); Spencer and Gillen (1899/1968); Stanner (1937); Thomson (1946)).

In storytelling, these practices result in the blanket avoidance of telling a narrative featuring a recently deceased person, or which requires reference to a recently deceased person. There is a complete absence of any reference to any recently deceased persons in the corpus of narratives recorded for this study. These are only relevant in this collection of narratives in their total absence, and in the way the avoidance of talking about these people would have shaped the narrator(s)'s choice of story topics (§2.5.2). This is a point of contrast to everyday conversation, where situations that require reference to a recently deceased person are less easily circumvented. News of the death of a person needs to be spread to family, funeral arrangements planned and so forth, and often there is much discussion of the last hours of a person's life and how their death came about[62]. I have observed in community life that references to recently deceased in everyday interaction are semantically vague or underspecified. For instance, in the week following the unexpected death of a senior Umpila man (during fieldwork August 2012), and in the lead-up to his funeral I noted references made to the deceased in the following ways: with points, both finger and lip points to the referent's house or the morgue where his body lay, with use of a gesture that mimics a blade shaving a cheek, invoking the referent's nickname *Blade*, and verbally with the demonstrative *nga'alu* 'that one' or third-person pronoun *ngulu* 'he/she/it' or the use of human classificatory term *chilpu* 'old man'[63]. Such formulations rely heavily on pragmatic inference for recognition. This man's death was extremely topical at the time, and so common ground and various contextual cues from the interaction in which reference was embedded, assist the recipient in securing recognition. Similar instances have been discussed by Garde (2003, 2008a, 2013) for Bininj Gunwok and Levinson (2007) for Yeli Dyne, with speakers' orientation to circumspection pushing the boundaries of minimisation to

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[61] This mortuary rite originates from Torres Strait Islands and has been adopted throughout much of CYP. The tomb is not actually opened but a newly installed engraved headstone is unveiled and there are important associated family festivities.

[62] This is part of the interactional work the deceased's family does in accounting for the manner of death and deciding if there is any blame to be assigned or if the death is to be attributed to sorcery.

[63] I have also widely noted a tendency for the deceased to be referred to with human classificatory terms that up- or down-grade their age status; upwards to an old man or old woman or downwards to girl or boy. That is people who might not have been quite old enough to be referred to as old men or old women while alive, tend to be upgraded in status following death. The same happens in the other direction with men or women in their late twenties and thirties being post death reverted to categories of girl and boy. This manipulation of age grade appears to work to emphasise the significance of the loss of the deceased person; by respectively emphasising either their seniority or youth. Section 6.2.2 discusses manipulation of kin-terms for similar affect.

generate references that are "exceptionally vague" (Garde 2008a:225) in terms of semantic content, though often recognitional from common ground.

While mention of recently deceased people is absent in the narratives, they are full of references to people who have been long deceased. Past events of significance, to narrators personally or to the wider community, are main fodder for storytelling. Many of the references we have looked at in this chapter are references to people that have been long deceased. In section 5.4, we showed that the default use of human classificatory terms – regardless of the interlocutors' degree of familiarity with, or relationship to, the referent, can be explained by the narrator's orientation to the design principle of topic-fittedness. In fact, from the perspective of this section, this default choice of reference formulation is also compatible with the principle of circumspection. For instance, in part of (11) reproduced here, the reference to 'two old men' refers to the (deceased) adopted older brother *yapu* of the co-narrator SP and to DS's (deceased) uncle via marriage (MZyH), whom she refers to with kin-term *piipi* 'father':

(11)    10  DS   buth-    well  he- ngampula   waathi-ny  pa-   **chilpu**     **pa'amu**
              buth     well  he  1plincNOM   go-NF      ?     old.man       two
              *Buth- well he- we all went with the two old men*
         (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen*)

Another clear case in point is how in the *Mitpi kuunchi* narrative DS refers to her father, who has a minor role in this story, in initial mention as *chilpu* 'old man' in (41). The narrator's relationship to this referent is not overtly specified in this narrative – though the reference may have been recognitional to the co-narrator EG who produces reported speech in line 3, given that she herself was also present during these events.

(41)    1   DS   **chilpu**    kalma-na   inga-na
              old.man     come-NF    say-NF
              *the old man came and said*
        2            (0.4)
        3   EG   ngku         yuma-mpu            ali-ka
              dem.dist2    firewood-1plincNOM   get-NF
              *"over there we will collect firewood"*
        (12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*:00:05:41-00:05:47)

Thus, the default use of descriptive expressions for initial person references in narratives is compatible with the name avoidance practices in referring to a long deceased person. The name taboo only becomes apparent when the use of a personal name is required for other interactional goals, say recognition, and even then there are other referential tools with which to ensure

recognition. The principles of topic-fittedness and circumspection work together, and allow narrators to achieve various goals in the narration of the story while habitually circumventing personal name use. Indeed, all the reference choices looked at so far in this chapter are compatible with the name taboos for deceased close kin: the use of ethnonyms to explicate ethnic based stereotypes in contact narratives (§5.4.3); the use of kin-terms to express close genealogical connections to tracts of land (§5.5.1); or the use of maxi-mentions (without personal names) to express recognitional content and participant significance (§5.6.3).

### 5.7.3 Reference to a taboo kin/ritual-relation

The strongest taboos that the principle of circumspection helps speakers to navigate are between certain kin relations, mostly affinal kin (both real and classificatory), and between persons in special relationships established during initiation ceremonies. In these cases, the restriction on the use of personal names is one aspect of an array of avoidance behaviour, characterised by constraint and indirection. Eye contact will be avoided, as will close physical proximity, persons in these relationships will move slowly and quietly in each other's presence, direct address will be avoided, speech behaviour will be modified so that polite and formal speech is used, and speech will be produced in a restrained and quiet voice[64]. In a 1935 paper, Thomson describes the circumlocutory tactics an Umpila son-in-law should employ with his father-in-law, including the use of the now-moribund special taboo register "ngornki" (a so-called in-law language, see Thomson 1935, and also Dixon 1971 and Haviland 1979a, 1979b).

> *The son-in-law may talk 'one side', that is, while he may not address his elder in ordinary speech (koko) [kuuku], he may speak in the language known as ngornki. Even in this language, however, he may not address his remarks in the first person directly to his armpai'yi [aampayi], but to his child, or even to his dog, to which he speaks as to a son, and not directly to the person for whom the remark is intended.* (Thomson 1935:481)

This extremely restrained behaviour also affects person reference formulation in narration, which typically starts with a minimal or semantically vague form, followed by semantically more specific information in a more 'maximal' reference form. The structure in (42) below is an example of an initial reference where a taboo ritual relation holds between the narrator and a referent in the story. The referent is an initiation-ceremony 'godchild' of the speaker SP. This is a *puypumaku* relationship, a reciprocal relationship formed in the bora *ukaynhtha* ceremony, and followed by stringent avoidance maintained for throughout the life of the persons. When describing this avoidance relationship SP says: *I catch him lo Bora, he belongs to me lo Bora, so we no talk to each other, both mother and son*. In (42) there are four references (four NPs) to the narrator's 'godchild', the first of which is accompanied by a point in the direction of the

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[64] For a point of comparison, see Garde's (2010:247) discussion of features of avoidance behaviour among Bininj Gunwok people.

referent's house: an ellipsed reference in line 5[65], and a maxi-mention type sequence in line 11-13 consisting of a third-person pronoun *ngulu* 'he/she/it' and two kin-terms *kaala* 'uncle' and *kaala ngangkangku* 'your uncle'. The kin expressions are anchored to a co-narrator DS (the referent being DS's uncle), rather than being self-associated to SP. This altercentric formulation of kin expressions is a typical feature of indirection in references to persons with whom speakers are in a taboo relationship. The initial use of co-speech points is also typical, often to the referent's place of residence or work within the community.

(42)   1   DS      miintha-ma-na    now
                   good-VBLZ-NF   now
                   *it was a good one now*

       2           (0.5)

       3   SP      °go round now° (EG changing position, SP gesturing)

       4           (5.5)

       5   SP      inga-na
                   say-NF
                   *(he) said to (them)*

       6           (0.8)

       7   DS      kuyi        ma'upi-na   nga'a      mukamukana  aa'i-nyu-ku
                   and/again   make-NF    dem.dist1  RDP.big        dance-NMLZ-DAT
                   *"then (we) made that big lot for the dance"*

       8           (1.1)

       9   DS      hey?

       10          (0.2)

       11  SP      **ngulu**        inga-na      **kaala**       inga-na
                   3sgNOM      say-NF      MBy         say-NF
                   *he says, uncle says*

       12          (0.7)

       13  SP      **kaala   ngangkangku** inga-na
                   MBy    2sgGEN          say-NF
                   *your uncle says*

       14          (1.0)

---

[65] DS misconstrues SP in line 1 and proffers some reported speech of the perspective of the main participant group. SP implicitly corrects this in line 4. The zero reference in line 1 does not achieve recognition. Even if it had, given the pattern for maximal formulations made to such referents, SP would have still have gone on to produced further coreferential references to this referent.

```
15  SP      ngulk- ngulkungulku
              afternoon/evening
              "afternoon time (we will dance there down)"
      (05Jul07:Preparation for dancing:00:08:23-00:08:57)
```

This example is characteristic in other ways as well. References to taboo kin/ritual-relations typically consist of a formulation that is not unlike a maxi-mention (§5.6), a multi-form sequence of coreferential references, though they are not necessarily adjacent like standard maxi-mentions. Moreover, unlike in standard maxi-mentions, where the speaker can choose the generality of the first reference form, this sequence always begins with a semantically vague initial reference, like an ellipsed reference in (42), a demonstrative pronoun (see example (43) below for an instance of this), or a pronoun. Zero references and demonstrative pronouns in multi-form sequences are only used by speakers for persons where taboos are at play.

Speakers have to navigate taboos not just for themselves but also for the other interlocutors in the interaction. Throughout the *Preparation for dancing* narrative, the co-narrators, EG and DS, produce a number of subsequent references to SP's taboo *puypumaku* relation. They do so by also producing a maximal formulation starting with a semantically general form, but unlike in SP's own formulations they include self-associated kin references. In (43), EG starts with the demonstrative pronoun *nga'alu* 'that one' and then uses a self-associated kin-term *pa'ichu* 'nephew', which she repeats again along with another demonstrative pronoun:

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(43)  1  EG      °apa    nga'a-lu=°
                  INTJ    dem.dist1-DM
                  oh dear that one
       2  EG      °=pa'ichu-lu  nganana      inchi-nya°
                  ZSC-ERG       1plexcACC    tell-NF
                  the nephew told us
       3          (0.3)
       4  EG      pa'ichu      nga'a-lu      inchi-nya
                  ZSC          dem.dist1-DM  tell-NF
                  nephew, that one, told us
      (05Jul07:Preparation for dancing:00:09:16-00:09:20)
```

In (44), the reference produced by DS to the same tabooed person consists of two expressions: a third-person pronoun *ngulu* 'he/she/it' and then a self-associated kin-reference *kaala* 'uncle':

| (44) | 1 | DS | kuyi | **ngulu** | inga-na-na= | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | then | 3sgNOM | say-NF-now | | |
| | | | *then he said* | | | | |
| | 2 | DS | =ngampa | | | | |
| | | | NEG | | | | |
| | | | *"no"* | | | | |
| | 4 | | (0.2) | | | | |
| | 5 | DS | ngampa | waatha-ka | **kaala** | inga-na | ngampulana | now |
| | | | NEG | go-FUT | MBy | say-NF | 1plincACC | now |
| | | | *"no, we will not go", uncle said to us now* | | | | | |

(05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*:00:11:27-00:11:32)

References to tabooed persons start out more semantically circumspect than typical, e.g. with a zero or a demonstrative pronoun, but this reference is always followed by more referential information provided by the speaker. This is a key point. There are no instances in the narratives explored in this study where the narrator provides only a minimal and semantically vague reference to a tabooed person – unlike in the references made in everyday talk to the newly deceased person mentioned above. In narration, references to tabooed kin-relations or ritual-relations are always maximal formulations, and are always ultimately more semantically specific than the default (§5.4). Here the crucial distinction is between circumspection and circumlocutory style. In this case, references produced as a result of the preference for circumspection are not more circumspect than the default or most other references for that matter. Instead, they have circumlocutory stylistic features (cf. Blythe 2009:311-336 on Murrinh-Patha for related points).

The strength of this principle is reflected in the fact that speakers produce maximal and recognitional references even when a tabooed referent is not thematically important in the story, which goes against the pattern for standard maxi-mentions noted in §5.6. Here the narrator displays the nature of their relationship to this person by producing a maximal type of reference. The significance expressed is an interpersonal type of significance. A relevant example is (45), an aside from the main narration in *Buthen Buthen* narrative, with a comment on events being narrated in a break in the storytelling. The referent is the deceased father-in-law of the speaker and is not a character or person in the story. The narrator SP produces a convoluted reference, genuinely trying to generate recognition. In line 9 SP says *puula blo this lot*, with a gesture pointing inland towards Coen where 'this lot' reside, and in line 11 *been there too chilpu old man*. SP clearly feels recognition has not been achieved and this is an important goal for her, and so in line 14 she takes further action saying the referent's name. The name is produced sotto voce, and with a manner of much reluctance, signalling some hesitancy to say the name. When DS doesn't hear this sotto voce reference clearly she says *waa'i chilpu* 'which old man' in line

16, and then a fuller reference is produced in a louder voice in line 18. Levinson (2007:55) and Garde (2008a:211) also found that Rossel and Bininj Gunwok people, when pressed to identify tabooed referents with restricted names, also produced the name sotto voce.

(45)   1   SP      mayi puthitha    ngulu      atha-na
                   food potato      3sgNOM     cover-NF
                   *he covered the potato (under the hot ashes)*

       2           (0.7)
       3   DS      tch
       4           (0.4)
       5   SP      kapmuri       he    been  making
                   ground.oven   he    been  making
                   *he had been making a ground oven*

       6           (0.3)
       7   SP      you remember he been make kapmuri all pig?
                   *you remember he made pig in the ground oven?*

       8           (0.2)
       9   SP      **puula    blo this lot**
                   FF         GEN
                   *father's father of these lot*

       10          (0.6)
       11  SP      been there too  **chilpu [old man**
                   *was there as well, the old man, the old man*

       12  DS      [oh yeah
       13          (0.7)
       14  SP      °**Naiga**°
       15          (1.0)
       16  DS      waa'i     chilpu
                   IGNOR     old.man
                   *which old man?*

       17          (0.3)
       18  SP      °**old man Naiga**°
       19          (0.4)
       20  DS      aa::::::::
       21          (0.2)
       22  SP      him been there too
       23          (1.8)

24  SP          ngampulan      inga-na
                1plincACC      say-NF
                *say to us…*
    (14Mar07:*Buthen Buthen:*00:28:03-00:28:16)


This section has observed that the circumspection principle can also result in deviations from the default size of reference. For taboo kin-relation or a ritual-relation, the orientation to the circumspection produces expressions which are costly and disruptive to the minimisation principle. This is different from the pattern noted for desceased persons in §5.7.2. While name avoidance is the commonality between the two contexts, it appears not to be the sole concern. The use of the default formats avoids the use of personal names (like we saw in §5.7.2), but it would not distinguish persons of this status from any other referent in the narrative. It is clear for the formulations observed here that speakers want to display the special and important nature of their relationship to this person. They do so by producing a maxi-mention type reference – though its components are different from the regular maxi-mention (§5.6.2). Significance is still a crucial motivating condition as established in §5.6.3.2, but in these cases the significance is an interpersonal one, rather than significance of the person in the narrative itself.


**5.7.4 Reference to threatening powerful beings**

Reference to threatening and powerful beings, such as malevolent mythical beings like devils and wild "bush men" or powerful white people like soldiers or policemen, requires adherence to circumspection. Here the taboo is of a different nature than those noted in the cases above. Use of the name does not generate social shame or embarrassment for people in a tabooed relationship, like it does with taboos on names of the deceased or people in kin/ritual-relations. However, it has its roots in the same belief that names are not arbitrary labels that pick out individuals in reference, but have some connection to the essence of the being they name. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people believe that you should use the name of powerful threatening forces with caution, as the name has some of the power or essence of the being and can draw it to those who utter the name. During fieldwork, for instance, I have been chastised at the beach for saying the language word for crocodile *nhapu*, with a woman saying to me *hush, you might callim here* (20July08:Fieldnotes), and cautioned repeatedly against mentioning ancestors or totemic beings in certain settings.

In narrative, reference to threatening beings is also dealt with in a special and careful way. The introduction of threatening beings has a conventionalised structure with three elements, usually produced in this order: (i) a sign signalling the presence of a person/being, e.g. a sound or an unusual meteorological phenomenon; (ii) an oblique reference, typically a demonstrative pronoun, and (iii) an overt reference produced sotto voce. This sequence structure has

circumlocutory stylistic features, but it ultimately ends in the name of the referent being uttered. This is a key difference to the patterns of reference examined so far in this section: it is not strictly name avoidance at work. The narrator is always intending and planning to say the referent's name – and to do so without any prompting from co-narrators/recipients. Saying the referent's name is a key part of this structure. What this structure does have in common with the circumspect references from the previous section is that the narrator does not produce the most semantically general and minimal form that will secure recognition. The reference is always a maximal multi-componential form, which serves a rhetorical purpose.

To illustrate this pattern, we can examine an excerpt from the *WW2* narrative that introduces a group of army planes which then circle above a camp of Aboriginal people. It is this threat, or rather assumed threat, which is the main complication of the story. Preceding the direct initial mention there is an observation by a character of a sign marking the presence of the threatening party: this can be a noise, a faint visual disturbance in the distance, a change in weather or light, or mental disorientation associated with certain malevolent forces. In example (46) it is the approaching noise of the planes, *nga'al pu'al pu'al* in line 3. This is followed in line 6 with an oblique reference. So far, the audience has no semantic content with which to identify this new participant heading in the direction of the camped group. It is in line 8 that the referent is indentified as *army*. This reference expression is syntactically independent, occurs in its own intonation unit, and is produced sotto voce. Once again the use of sotto voce rendering indicates that the speaker's use of this word is marked and difficult in some way.

(46)  1  MB     ichi-nya-**'a**
                dry-NF-**3plNOM**
                *(he) continued to dry (the lavalava)*
      2         (0.7)
      3  MB     kuyi    **nga'a-l**        **pu'al**  hah        **pu'[ala** hahhuh
                then    dem.dist1-DM    noise     (laughter)  noise     (laughter)
                ngami-na-na
                hear-NF-1plexcNOM
                *then we heard that noise*
      4  DS     [hahhuh
      5         (0.8)
      6  MB     **nga'a-l**         kalma-na-na
                dem.dist1-DM    come-NF-now
                *that one came now*
      7         (2.2)

8    MB    °**army**°
army
*the army*
(5Apr04:*WW2*:00:01:59-00:02:10)

The order in which these mentions occur is similar to that of the maxi-mentions discussed in §5.6, but it differs in the same two ways as discussed for references to taboo kin in §5.7.3. First, the "initial mentions" are usually indirect and as a result more semantically general than observed in regaular maxi-mentions. Second, the references are not packed into one single construction, but interspersed in the ongoing narration of the story, often drawn out over a sequence in the narrative.

Consider another example of this type of participant introduction, the initial mention of the *awu* 'devil' in the *Mitpi kuunchi* narrative. The *awu* is introduced with a pronoun, once again in a regular clause and not prosodically marked (line 1 of (47)). There are 9 intervening utterances describing the group of people camped out around a fire until the second element in this sequence occurs, when someone calls out 'here on top a light!' (line 2). Following this, the utterance 'it might be a devil' is reported (line 4). This is the first directly identifying reference, albeit hedged with use of the dubitative *-ki* 'might' and in sotto voce rendering (line 4). It is ambiguous as to whether this utterance is reported speech, as there is an absence of a framing clause and reported speech prosody. Reported speech constructions, like in line 4, are another common feature of these sequences. They present some aspect of the identification of the threatening being/person from the perspective of a narrative participant. This produces the impression that the events of the storyworld are somewhat less mediated through the narrator's perspective and at least partially through the experience of the participant encountering the threatening being/person (cf. Verstraete 2011 on a similar use of reported speech and thought in Umpithamu).

(47)  1   DS    **ngulu**      nganan         ngami-na
3sgNOM    1pl.excACC    listen/hear-NF
*it heard us*
(9 intervening turns)

2   DS    **il'a**  ngi'i        kani-mu      kani
light  dem.prox    up-PRED     up
*"here on top is a light"*

3          (0.8)

4   DS    °**might be awu**°
*it might be a devil*
(12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*:00:07:27-00:07:54)

In (46)–(47) before either the *army* or *awu* 'devil' reference there is little in the way of semantic content to cue the audience to the identity of the referent, but the form of the sequence itself does some work to identify the category of referent. Recipients are able to recognise the category through the structure of the participiant introduction, i.e. an indirect signal of the presence of an unknown being followed by oblique initial reference. This has a rhetorical effect of creating suspense. The audience is placed in the situation of knowing a threatening being's or person's arrival on the scene is imminent, and so they anticipate something bad is about to unfold without yet knowing the specifics of the potential danger. In this sense, the recipient has a superior and external perspective on narrative events obtained through their knowledge of this rhetorical structure.

To summarise, this structure is marked in terms of the preference for minimisation, but it is also the conventionalised formulation for this particular referent. This tension functions twofold: The divergence from normal reference formulation behaviour draws attention to the referent and creates suspense, while the conventionalised make-up of the sequence provides adequate cues to identify the category of participant.

## 5.8 Conclusion

Four design principles have been identified as shaping the system of person reference across langauges: recognition, minimisation, topic-fittedness, and circumspection (§5.4-5.7). The discussion in this chapter has shown that the principles at work in formulating unmarked initial mentions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration are topic-fittedness and minimisation (§5.4). These generate a preferential use of descriptive expression, even in referring to a person known by the speaker and identifiable by the other interlocutors. Descriptive expressions work effectively to convey action within the storytelling world by casting persons in terms of social role. Conveying topic or subject matter is a fundamental of storytelling, and these references work to describe characters, rather than identify people. Topic-fittedness can also explain deviations from the unmarked choice of human-classificatory terms (as shown in §5.5). Some narrative genres or specific story-world contexts condition the use of kin-terms and ethnonyms. These choices explicate the action in the story or assist the narrator in the act of narration itself, e.g. the use of speaker-associated kin references to bolster the narrator's authority to speak when navigating sensitive land ownership issues or the use of the descriptor 'small' to construe some persons as vulnerable in a situation.

Topic-fittedness and minimisation are in some instances relaxed or work in combination with other principles in order to achieve the narrator's prioritised referential requirements in various situations. Minimisation is relaxed in special reference formulations termed maxi-mentions, which typically contain recognitional forms (see §5.6). These sequences of multiple consecutive expressions are multi-functional in that they (i) afford collaboration in multi-party narrative; and (ii) are a rhetorical device used to emphasise or magnify the significance of the

referent. Orientation to the cultural preference of circumspection in some cases produces initial person references that are larger in size than the standard single expression (see §5.7). For a taboo kin-relation or a ritual-relation speakers typically produce multiple coreferential expressions, somewhat like maxi-mentions but with special circumlocutory stylistic features. These marked expressions stand-out against the minimal and descriptive preferences exhibited in the majority of formulations discussed in this chapter, but as a general rule cultural preference for circumspection also exerts a more subtle and pervasive influence over reference formulation in narrative. This is because the unmarked format for initial mention, and many of the other reference choices looked at in this chapter, are for the most part compatible with circumspection. Thus, circumspection must be considered as having some role or bearing on the preferential use of these strategies, as they allow speakers to fulfill various communicative needs while also avoiding the use of personal names.

Drawing together findings from throughout the chapter the priorisation of the design principles are ranked as in Figure 5.3 (following Levinson 2007):

**Topic-fittedness > Recognition > Circumspection > Minimisation**

**Figure 5.3** Priority of person reference principles in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration

Drawing together our findings about the interaction between the four principles, minimisation appears to be more quickly abandoned or more encroached upon by all other principles at work. Minimisation does not collude with recognition and circumspection in the same way as has been described for other language settings in conversational settings. Nor is recognition a clear or striaghtforward conditoning pressure: while recognition is at play for some referents and in some context, it is always totally entangled with topic-fit functions to aid in delivery of theme and action of the collaborative storytelling. When recognition stakes are at play, the narrator does not select a form that is both minimal and highly recognitional such as a personal name or kin-term; and when a narrator's need for recognition or circumspection increases then minimisation is completely abandoned in favour of maximal formulations consisting of multiple coreferential NPs. However, if recognition is truly required by the interlocutors then it will be prioritised over circumspection as demonstrated in the repair sequences. Conversely, the account presented in this chapter provides strong evidence for topic-fittedness as a core principle shaping person reference formulation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative. Topic-fittedness is priorised over all over principles, though on many occasions it dovetails with other design concerns. Maxi-mentions, while formulated to include recognitional forms, do not solely function to satisfy the principle of recognition. They assist in action of storytelling: by conveying the significance of participants within the narrative being told, and by allowing for collaboration with supporting narrators.

This chapter has taken design principles for person reference that were initially formulated to account for reference formulation in everyday conversation, and tested them in the interactional setting of narration. Narrators orient to and prioritise different principles than have been observed in conversation in other linguistic settings (Stivers and Enfield 2007). The principles respond in predictable ways to the particularities of the organisation of interaction and interlocutor goals associated with the narrative context context. All of this establishes that these design principles work as a person reference *system* across different contexts and different modes of speech*,* with speakers manipulating formulations to achieve different interactional goals associated with the specific context, whether it be conversational or a more formal setting of performative storytelling. Thus, the findings presented here provide additional evidence of the cross-linguistic application of these design principles, not only in a new language setting, but also more crucially provide evidence of their applicability across different interactional contexts.

This research has provided considerable insight into the nature of narration in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u and what information narrator's prioritise in storytelling and how different narrators contribute to initial mentions, i.e. the high value of social roles and kin-relations in invoking social expectations and duties in certain storytelling contexts; the importance of signalling character significance; the fostering of co-telling in the delivery of some narrative content. Person reference is a vehicle for carrying out and achieving key goals in the narrative context, whether they are a supporting narrator's goal to collaborate or primary narrator's goal to bolster their authority to talk about a particular topic.

# Chapter 6    Subsequent person mentions

*Ngulu maampa, nga'alu, ngayu ing- ingkan maampalaka*
"Child, that one, I cr- cry poor child!"
—— Exclamation by supporting narrator Minnie Pascoe in the *King Fred* narrative

## 6.1 Introduction

In narration, as in any successful interaction, the participants need to be able to identify and track referents through the unfolding discourse. In particular, the task of narration depends on the participants being able to determine the referent of a particular linguistic expression through many complex shifts in perspective and shifts in participation frameworks. This includes shifts between the wider speech event and the narrated space, switches in perspective within the story itself, and, in multi-party narration, switches in participation between multiple co-narrators delivering the story. This chapter will explore how Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u storytellers design subsequent mentions to persons throughout the complexities of the joint production of a narrative. The discussion follows directly from the description of globally initial person reference in chapter 6: It looks at what comes next following that very initial mention and beyond through the unfolding narrative. Chapter 5 established that person reference formulations are crafted by narrators to achieve interactional goals associated with the context of use. Given the nature of person reference, this is also true for subsequent mentions; reference formulation needs to ensure successful comprehension through the narration, but beyond that there are other interactional goals that the narrators are managing. These include: developing a stance to the events being narrated (§6.2.2; §6.3.2); the management of narrator rights and associated epistemic functions (§6.2.4); the marking of viewpoint and shifts in perspective (§6.2.4-6.2.5); the highlighting of thematic relevance (§6.3); and the fulfillment of co-teller participatory obligations (§6.3).

The chapter is organised into two main sections. Following some analytical preliminaries, section 6.2 provides an account of the main anaphoric pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. This looks at the usual way narrators ensure successful reference tracking and comprehension of who is who through the narration. In addition, this section examines junctures with potential difficulties with regard to this, i.e. switches in focus between persons and perspectives, and reintroductions of a person into the story following other intervening discussions or descriptions of events concerning other people. This is the descriptive backdrop to section 6.3, which explores how supporting narrators shape and contribute to the production of a story through the lens of person reference formulation. In chapter 5, globally initial mention was found to be resolutely the domain of the primary narrator, but was also at times a vehicle for collaboration

across other co-tellers participating in the storytelling (§5.6.3). In chapter 6, the focus will shift to the supporting narrator's role. The discussion will show how aspects of person reference – such as querying, elaborating, enlarging and glossing reference information – are used to display comprehension of, and engagement in, the narration. Person reference information is the type of content that supporting narrators with little epistemic access to specific events in the story can still "narrate" and "work together" on jointly crafting with the primary narrator(s). How this joint telling unfolds will be the focus of the discussion in §6.3. The findings presented continue to demonstrate, as in chapter 5, that person reference formulation taps directly into multiple interactional factors, and is motivated by functions beyond achieving and maintaining reference.

## 6.2 The basic pattern of anaphora

Narratives typically describe a specific sequence of events that recurrently involve a cast of personalities: as such, multiple subsequent references to these personalities occur at various points throughout a narrative. As briefly introduced in chapter 5, the precise position of a reference will be discussed using a global versus local dichotomy (see Comrie 1989 for a typological perspective, and Schegloff 1996 for an interactional perspective). First, there is the global anaphoric pattern, which contrasts a *globally initial* person reference form with all subsequent references following, which are called *globally subsequent* forms. Globally initial reference is what was discussed in chapter 5. The local anaphoric pattern, which is the focus of this chapter, distinguishes a *locally initial* form from *locally subsequent* forms. The locally initial form is the first reference made to a person within a local level of organisation in the discourse – for example, the initial reference made to a person that has not been referred to for a while. All subsequent mentions that follow in the local environment are locally subsequent.

To illustrate the local anaphoric pattern, let us turn to an example from the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative. In this story, there is a character variously referred to as *ku'unchi* 'the old woman', *ya'a* 'the older sister' and *muka* 'the aunt', who is referenced nine times in four different sections of the narrative. She has a relatively small role, but exerts authority as a key female elder in the family unit. The globally initial reference to this character, *ngulu ku'unchi* 'the old woman', is produced 16 turns into the narration. Following this sequence describing the collection of a favoured bush food, this character is not mentioned again until some 50 utterances further into the story when a camping trip to *Winchamuchi* is proposed. This next reference, *ngatha muka* 'my aunty' shown in example (1) line 1, is an initial reference to this referent within this section of the narrative. Thus, it holds a locally initial reference position within the narrative's anaphoric pattern. In line 2 of example (1), there is another reference, in this instance an ellipsed reference visible through the speech verb predicate *ingkana*. This ellipsed reference is in a locally subsequent position, because it is produced following a coreference in the same immediate environment.

(1)    1    DS    **ngatha    muka**    inga-na    aa    ngangkana    go    piipi kani=
                  1sgGEN    MZe    say-NF    ah    2sgNOM    go    F    up
                  *my aunt said, "ah you go and find your father up there"*

       2    DS    =ingka-na    ngu'ula    waatha-ka
                  call-NF    2plNOM    go-FUT
                  *(she) called out, "you lot will go*

            (1.0)

       3    DS    yiipay-ma
                  south-DIR
                  *southwards*

       4          (1.0)

       5    DS    mayi    thampu-ku    waatha-ka    Winchamuchi-munu
                  food    yam-DAT    go-FUT    place.name-ABL
                  *for yams (you) will go from Winchamuchi"*

(29Jul07:*Kawutha ngachinya*:00:04:17-00:04:27)

The position of the subsequent mention within this local pattern in the narrative is the main parameter which organises the discussion and structure of this chapter. This section will focus on the default way to produce utterances in both locally initial (§6.2.2) and locally subsequent positions (§6.2.3-6.2.5). The following section then looks at structures produced by supporting narrators that deviate from the basic anaphoric pattern of locally subsequent references (§6.3).

### 6.2.1 Basic profile: frequency counts

To give an initial idea of how the position of reference relates to the selection of reference expressions, I will first provide some basic frequency counts. These are based on references to 25 characters which feature in narratives in the focused corpus set (§2.6.2). The patterns noted in these counts are generally representative of referential behaviour in the wider corpus. A count of all subsequent referents in the focused corpus was not undertaken due to the analytical technicalities this would pose. As will be observed, zero anaphors tend to predominate in subsequent position. So far, zero reference has been interpreted as the ellipsis of a referent visible through the transitivity status of a predicate. For extensive counts on this subject to be worthwhile and meaningful, the technically difficult issue of what counts as zero reference and what counts as nothing (see general discussion in McGregor 2003) would have to be resolved. Given that this requires extensive work on argument structure, it would take us away from the main line of inquiry in this study (and would most likely not yield notably different results). This is why this section provides restrictive counts, which give some frequency information to illuminate the basic anaphoric pattern and situate the discussion relative to the same reference categories in chapter 5.

The 25 referents counted include a variety of types of characters, and were selected to be representative of the diversity of the corpus (except, of course, for 'backdrop' characters which typically are not referred to more than once). Relevant criteria included: referents from each of the narratives in the focused corpus, in order to represent a range of narrative genres; a mix of group participants and individual participants; a mix of participant roles within the narrative, such as protagonists and threatening forces, as well as participants in more minimal roles. Basic information about the 25 referents is presented in Table 6.1, including from the right column leftwards: an identifying number for each referent; the name of the narrative the referent features in; a descriptive label for the referent (most often based on the globally initial lexical reference); and the number of references made to the referent in the narrative. The set of 25 referents totals 405 references, with between 3-56 references produced for each of these characters. Information on the reference expressions used to refer to the 25 referents is compiled in Table 6.2.

The counting procedure and the form of Table 6.2 is the same as the frequency information provided in chapter 5 (§5.3): tokens counted are the NP head of the referring expression (as listed in column 1 and exemplified in column 2). Table 6.2 is organised by: (i) person reference types, i.e. descriptive expressions, relational expressions, pronominal and ellipsis categories, as displayed in table rows; and (ii) local position of reference, as displayed in table columns. There are 100 locally initial references and 305 locally subsequent references produced in reference to the 25 characters. These references are produced with all the major person reference categories available to speakers (see chapter 3). The two local positions use many of the same reference categories, albeit with very different frequencies. Notable additions to reference categories employed in subsequent mentions that were not employed in globally initial references (§5.3) are a single use of a personal name (§6.3.4) and bound pronouns (§6.2.5). In line with cross-linguistic patterning, there is a tendency for full lexical types for locally initial references (see the human-classificatory term, ethnonym and kin-terms rows), and smaller types for locally subsequent references (see free pronoun and ellipsis rows) (Ariel 1990, Fox 1987, Givón 1983). In particular zero usages predominate in locally subsequent reference, and while there is minimal use of bound pronouns, these usages are always locally subsequent references.

Given that this chapter will also focus on the contributions of supporting narrators, Table 6.2 further organises the frequency information into columns indicating whether a primary or a supporting narrator produced the reference. Primary and supporting narrator roles are distinguished based on clear linguistic correlates (who says what and who manages the interactional floor) that different co-tellers in the narration inhabit (see further §2.3). Primary narrators, unsurprisingly given their role, still produce the vast majority of person references in all positions. 91/100 (91%) of locally initial mentions are produced by primary narrators, while 9/100 (9%) are produced by a supporting narrator. 236/305 (77% of locally subsequent references are produced by primary narrators, and 69/305 (23%) by supporting narrators.

| No. | Narrative | Referent | References |
|-----|-----------|----------|------------|
| 1 | Buthen Buthen | white man | 7 |
| 2 | Buthen Buthen | two men | 10 |
| 3 | I'ira | old woman | 26 |
| 4 | Kawutha ngachinya | old woman | 8 |
| 5 | Kawutha ngachinya | father | 16 |
| 6 | Kawutha ngachinya | two brothers | 10 |
| 7 | Kawutha ngachinya | boss | 4 |
| 8 | Kawutha ngachinya | sargent | 3 |
| 9 | King Fred | King Fred | 56 |
| 10 | King Fred | white men | 9 |
| 11 | Midwife | old women | 28 |
| 12 | Midwife | father | 7 |
| 13 | Minya Charlie | islander | 49 |
| 14 | Waiting for a ride | husband & wife | 14 |
| 15 | Waiting for a ride | islander man/husband | 24 |
| 16 | Waiting for a ride | white man | 6 |
| 17 | Waiting for a ride | boy | 12 |
| 18 | Wapa | two brothers | 23 |
| 19 | Wapa | older brother | 19 |
| 20 | Wapa | younger brother | 7 |
| 21 | Wapa | sorcerer | 30 |
| 22 | WW2 | the army | 18 |
| 23 | WW2 | two sisters | 5 |
| 24 | Wuungka | old men | 9 |
| 25 | Yuuka | my cousin | 5 |
| | | | **405** |

**Table 6.1** The 25 referents featured in the counts

| Expression | Example | Locally initial | | Locally subsequent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Primary Narrator | Support Narrator | Primary Narrator | Support Narrator |
| **DESCRIPTIVE** | | | | | |
| Human classificatory | *kampinu* 'man' | 25 (25%) | 1 (1%) | 18 (6%) | 9 (3%) |
| Ethnonym | *pama* 'aboriginal person(s)' | 13 (13%) | 0 | 20 (7%) | 1 (0.3%) |
| Common noun | *iiwayi* 'crocodile (ancestral being)' | 1 (1%) | 0 | 2 (0.7%) | 0 |
| **RELATIONAL** | | | | | |
| Kin-term | *piipi* 'father, father's younger brother' | 24 (24%) | 4 (4%) | 13 (4%) | 11 (4%) |
| **NAME** | | | | | |
| Name | *John Clarmont* | 0 | 0 | 1 (0.3%) | 0 |
| **PRONOMINAL** | | | | | |
| Free pronoun | *ngulu* 'he, she, it' | 12 (12%) | 2 (2%) | 56 (18%) | 12 (4%) |
| Bound pronoun | *ø/-'a* 'he, she, it' | 0 | 0 | 4 (1%) | 0 |
| Demonstrative pronoun | *ngungkulu* 'that one there far' | 4 (4%) | 0 | 8 (3%) | 3 (1%) |
| **ELLIPSIS** | | | | | |
| Headless NP | *mukamukana* 'big lot' | 2 (2%) | 2 (2%) | 8 (3%) | 4 (1%) |
| Zero | -- | 10 (10%) | 0 | 107 (34%) | 29 (10%) |
| **Sub-totals** | | **91** | **9** | **236** | **69** |
| **Total** | | **100** | | **305** | |

**Table 6.2** Count of form types employed in locally initial and locally subsequent position

**6.2.2 Locally initial: recasting reference**

Locally initial references re-introduce or re-establish a referent in the discourse following various topical junctures where the narrators have not referred to this referent. As shown in Table 6.2 in the previous section, locally initial references to persons are often made with full nominal expressions, lexical for most referents, excepting the use of pronominal forms for first-person group references. In fact, there is a notable re-use by narrators of the same reference expression across all initial contexts, whether they are globally initial and locally initial contexts – consistency across multiple expressions referring to the same character clearly assists interlocutors in successfully recognising and tracking the referent through the story. Unlike with globally initial reference, however, multiple coreferences are not employed for locally initial reference (see the discussion of maxi-mention expressions in §5.6). In chapter 5, four reference design principles were found to explain interlocutor formulation of globally initial reference. Principles of recognition, minimisation, topic-fittedness and circumspection were shown to work in combination with each other in order to achieve the narrator's prioritised referential requirements in various situations. Locally initial references are conditioned by the same principles. Reference to a person governed by circumspection, e.g. due to a taboo kin relationship or the deceased status of a referent, will remain restricted by the cultural preference for circumspection throughout a narrative (see §5.7). A topical factor at play in generating a topic-fitted globally initial reference often persists throughout a narrative, e.g. in the use of ethnonyms in contact genres to explicate differences in behavior between the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u people and other ethnic groups (see §5.4.3) or the use of kin-terms in narratives where proprietary rights determined by kinship are relevant (§5.5.1). This is expected behavior, and does not merit detailed attention. Instead, the discussion here focuses on those instances where narrators choose to select different expressions to refer to the same character at different junctures in the narrative. The discussion focuses specifically on the alternation between descriptive expressions (such as human classificatory terms and ethnonyms) and self-associated kin-terms (see also §5.5.1 and §6.2.4). The two reference choices highlight very different facets of a character's identity: descriptions cast characters into stable generic social roles, while kin-terms highlight interpersonal (genealogical and social) connections of characters. These differences in formulation can be understood as assisting narrators to undertake local interaction goals in the narration, such as conveying a change of topic or setting, contrasting referents, or display affiliation to specific people and places. As such, person references are conditioned not only by aspects of the events in the story being recounted, but also in response to the needs of narrator in the management of the act of narration.

The *Minya Charlie* narrative is a good case of this alternation in reference choice. In example (2) line 3, the narrator selects the kin-term *ngachimu*, expressing a relationship of great uncle and niece between herself and this character. The kin-term is chosen over alternate facets of a referent's identity, like *thathimalu* 'Islander person', which is used to refer to this character

throughout most of this narrative. This is one of the two times this character is referred to using a kin-term in the narrative – the other being in a maxi-mention used for the globally initial reference to this character[66].

(2)    1    MB    pula          nga'a-l              wiiyama      thathimulu::
                  3plNOM    dem.dist1-DM    another      Islander
                  *those other islanders went*
       2          (.)
       3    MB    °**nagchi- ngachimu**    pun°
                  FMB                                fall (onomatopoeic)
                  *great uncle- great uncle fell down*
       4          (.)
       5    MB    wiiyangku   waathi-nya   ngulu       kalma-na   paala muntha-nya
                  another       go-NF          3sgNOM   come-NF    after   kick-NF
                  *the others went another way and he came after and kicked him*
       6          (0.3)
       7    SP    apa        apa
                  INTJ      INTJ
                  *oh dear! oh dear!*
       8          (0.3)
       9    MB    muntha-nya
                  kick-NF
                  *(he) kicked (him)*
       10         (1.3)
       11   MB    hey    nga'a-l              kuuku        ngungangku    now    kuupatha-na
                  hey    dem.dist1-DM    language    3sgGEN            now    talk-NF
                  *hey (he) cried out to (the emu) in his language*
       (23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:23:58-00:24:12)

Once again, the context is crucial to understanding why the narrator chooses this expression over the ethnonym *thathimalu* 'Islander person' that is used elsewhere. As discussed in other chapters, the *Minya Charlie* narrative describes the experiences of a group of Islander fishermen visiting Lockhart River Mission, of which 'the great uncle' is the boat captain. The complication of the Islander's visit is being chased by an emu called Charlie. He is left by the crew members and after he falls he is viciously clawed by the emu. The kin-term *ngachimu* 'great uncle' is employed in the description of this character falling down for the first time as he is chased by

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[66] In fact, this illustrates once again the power of the maxi-mention strategy; it introduces multiple facets of a character's identity and makes them available for selection throughout the narration (§5.6).

the emu (line 3). This is a sober moment in the story. As such, this is a very fitting moment for the primary narrator (MB) to highlight her relationship to the character, though it is a somewhat tenuous one in terms of kin relation. This man was a temporary visitor in the community many years before, and the kin relation is a short-lived classificatory one. The narrator's father worked with the boat captain (collecting trochus) and subsumed him into the kin system of the community as his older brother. It is at least 50 years since the narrator has interacted with this person, and one can presume that, as a young woman, her interaction would have been limited during his visit. However, by appealing to this relation at this precise moment in the storytelling the narrator highlights her connection to this character. The interpersonal dynamic between narrator and character is perhaps most meaningful here at this moment where the character suffers such an attack. It adds to the charged emotion of the sequence, by making the suffering and plight of the character relevant and connected to the narrator herself. The connection, highlighted by the kin-term, provides authenticity to the narrator's expression of sorrow and pathos.

A parallel pattern is found in the *Kawutha ngachinya* 'Boat discovered' narrative from which the next excerpt is drawn: two different lexical referring expressions are used to reference a character, each associated with a certain section of the story and fitted to convey the story in those sections (see §5.2; §5.4-5.5 for discussion of topic-fittedness as conditioning force in reference formulation). The character in question is the narrator's father. He is referred to using the kin-term *piipi* 'father' in 12/18 (67%) of the lexical references made to him throughout the narrative. The other lexical reference used is the human classificatory term *chilpu* 'old man', with 6/18 (33%) of references made with it. The narrative recounts an incident from the narrator's childhood where the narrator and her immediate family discovered a beached and abandoned ship. They take supplies from the boat and return to the Old Mission. The self-associated kin-term *piipi* 'father' is employed throughout the central event in the story, the discovery and "looting" of the abandoned boat. Part of this sequence is presented in example (3) below, with *ngatha piipi* 'my father' references produced in line 1 and line 10 – the reference in line 1 is the locally initial reference for this section.

(3)     1     DS     **ngatha**     **piipi**     nhantha-na
                     1sgGEN        father        enter-NF
                     *my father entered (the boat)*
        2            (0.6)
        3     DS     pula          piingka       nga'a-l          kani
                     3plNOM        climb         dem.dist1-DM     up
                     *they climbed up that one*
        (7 turns intervening)

4   DS     aa    ngana         pa'a- nga'a-tha   pakaya
           aa    1plexcNOM    ?     enter-FUT   down
           *"ah we will enter"*

5          (0.6)

6   DS     ngi'i        padlock-ma-na
           dem.prox   padlock-PRED-now
           *"here is a padlock now"*

7          (0.8)

8   DS     pula         pa'amu (.) pulthunu    inga-na
           3plNOM      two          boy           say-NF
           *those two, the boys said*

9          (0.5)

10    DS   **ngatha      piipi**    now
           1sgGEN       father     now
           *my father now*

11         (1.2)

12  DS     ngampula-    ngampula     nga'a-tha      pakay-ma
           1plincNOM    1plincNOM    enter-FUT      down-DIR
           *"we all- we all will go inside"*

13         (0.6)

14  DS     aa
           *"ah"*

15         (1.0)

16  DS     ↑waku
           axe
           *"using an axe (to break the lock)"*

(29July07:*Kawutha ngachinya*:00:08:10-00:08:38)


Throughout this sequence, the activities of the participants in the story (which include the narrator as a child) could be questioned or criticised. Was it a justified use of abandoned goods or simply theft? This narrative has social consequences for the narrator at the moment of telling, as it reports on what could be construed as a theft – and this is particularly socially loaded given it was goods of a powerful white man. The presence of the narrator's father helps ameliorate any responsibility on the narrator herself, shifting any judgment onto the senior family member. In line with this, the story makes sure to present the father as the director of the events throughout the looting sequence. The two boys (which include the narrator's brother) are told to go inside break the lock and remove blankets: 'we all will go inside, using an axe' (line 12-16). The narrator herself is only present in the adnominal possessive marking 'father' (line 1

and 10) and the first-person plural pronouns used by the father in his reported speech (line 4 and 12). By highlighting the key role of her father through this section of the story, the narrator diffuses potential judgement she may receive from the audience in the present narrating space. She cannot be blamed if she was so directed by her own father. In this sense, the use of kin-terms to construct this type of interpersonal context is in line with what has already been observed about the use of self-associated kin-terms in §5.5.1 (see also §6.2.4 below for more discussion of speaker-associated kin-terms): they are deployed to aid the narrator in the manipulation of the construal of the domain of responsibility and authority (see Stivers 2007 and Blythe 2010 for similar observations on English and Murrinh-Patha).

By contrast, the human-classificatory term *chilpu* 'old man' is employed as the locally initial reference to the narrator's father in the section of the story where the family group returns to the mission to report the discovery of the boat to the community leaders. From the moment that the father suggests returning to the mission, the reference 'old man' is employed as the expression of choice. In this context, the human classificatory term is the most relevant marker of status. It better describes the character's social role in the community (§5.4.2), and hence is well-fitted to this part of the story. To illustrate, see example (4) below. This shows the end of a sequence where the narrator describes the dire nature of their circumstance preceding the discovery of the boat, as an account motivating the use of goods from the boat (line 1). At the end of this the father/old man, now referred to as the 'old man' (line 3) from here through the end of the narrative, proposes the return to the old mission (line 5-9).

(4)    1    DS    umplaya    ngana          waata    nga'a        punthi-na      thampu
                 nothing    1plexcNOM      water    dem.dist1    finish-NF      yam
                 *we had nothing, the water and yams had been finished*
       2          (0.4)
       3    DS    hey    **chilpu**    inga-na
                 hey    old.man    say-NF
                 *hey the old man said*
       4          (1.0)
       5    DS    ngampula       wuna-tha
                 1plincNOM     sleep-FUT
                 *"we will all sleep"*
       6          (2.0)
       7    DS    ngaachi   paachala    kaaway-lu   ngampula       ilpi-cha     ngaachi-ku
                 place     day.break   east-ABL    1plincNOM      return-FUT   place-DAT
                 *"at dawn we will return home"*
       8          (1.0)

9    DS       para-kamu               ngachi-ka
              white.person-NSG   find-FUT
              *"we will find the whitemen"*
(29July07:*Kawutha ngachinya*:00:09:11-00:09:27)

As shown in this example, even in this section of the story where the father interacts with his children, the human classificatory term is employed. This provides further evidence that the reference choice is not solely motivated by the explication of the family dynamics between these characters, but to achieve other tasks within the storytelling context, namely the amelioration of responsibility on the narrator for the events described.

To conclude, then, we see the principle of topic-fittedness at work for locally initial references, in the sense that narrator make referential choices strategically for local interaction goals. The alternation in reference selections discussed here shows how this is employed to build up the topic or support the interactional goal being pursued by the narrator at the juncture of use: in (2) to develop the narrator's stance in relation to events being narrated and in (3) and (4) to shift responsibility for the events being narrated. The examination of person reference formulations like these throw light on the nature of narrative as interactionally emergent within the speech event it is produced (Mushin 2016, Schegloff 1997): Person references are conditioned not only by aspects of the events being recounted, they are operationalised in response to the needs of the narrator in managing the ongoing act of narration and the socio-interactional delicacies of the speech event.

### 6.2.3 Locally subsequent mention: person reference and beyond

As shown in Table 6.2 above, the most frequent way for Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators to make reference to a character within the locally subsequent context is with a zero form, with free pronouns the second most frequent type. This section discusses these two 'default' patterns, while the sections in 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 discuss specific patterns associated with kin-terms and bound pronouns.

In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, referential expressions in all syntactic positions can be readily deleted without any loss of grammaticality (§1.4.1). Indeed, zero anaphora is the default referential formulation option used for tracking referents through discourse, with all overt reference formulations associated with specific contexts of use and function (as will be shown in §6.2.4 and §6.2.5). This results in stretches of narration where narrators produce no overt references to any of the characters in a story, which poses interesting questions about how the interactants know who and what is being talked about. This issue of comprehension has intrigued linguists working on Australian languages; high rates of argument ellipsis have been noted widely in the Australian context, resulting in what looks like very underspecified discourse (at least to speakers of languages like English; see Austin 2001; Bowe 1990; Garde

2003; Levinson 1987; Stirling 2008; Swartz 1988, 1991). In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, this absence of reference is particularly striking because, unlike in many other Australian languages, there is no requirement for verbal cross-reference (Dixon 2002:344; Mushin and Simpson 2008).

One of the most prevalent and reliable factors conditioning of ellipsis in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is topic continuity or referent continuity (Ariel 1990, Givón 1983). This pattern is in accord with several key studies on Australian languages, which show that mentions of known participants are typically referenced with reduced forms (predominately zero anaphora and bound pronoun cross reference), while mentions of new participants are typically made with full nominal forms (Austin 2001; Bowern 2008; Kim et al. 2001; Levinson 1987; Mushin 2005; Stirling 2008; Swartz 1988; also see Baker and Mushin 2008:12-14 for general comments along these lines). This contrast in treatment of referent continuity and referent discontinuity maps onto a common dichotomy in information types in a range of functional frameworks (Ariel 2001; Chafe 1976, 1994; Choi 1999; Givón 1983; Gundel et al. 1993; Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998):

 – Zero or minimal reference for referential information the speaker expects the hearer to be able to identify (variously analysed in terms of concepts of given, old, established, activated, topical, identified, and accessible)
 – Overt reference formulations for referential information that speaker does not expect a hearer to be able to readily identify (associated with concepts of newness, unactivated, focus, inaccessible).

The excerpt in (5) from the *Wuungka* narrative illustrates this local anaphoric pattern of referent ellipsis. It recounts the interactions at the Old Mission between the trickster old women of the Wenlock village and a group of old men from whom they plan to steal food. In line 1 both parties are referenced overtly, as the locally initial reference: the old women with the plural pronoun *pula* 'they' and *nga'al chilpukamu* 'those old men'. All subsequent mentions in this excerpt are ellipsed (the old men in line 5, 11, 13 and 14, and the old women in line 4 and 18), despite switches back and forth between the activities of these two groups of characters. The ellipsis of reference is visible through the transitivity status of various predicates, e.g. in line 4 *waathingka* 'going', which requires an S argument, and *kalumana* 'carrying', which requires both an A and an O argument. Note the absence of any verbal cross-reference throughout this sequence. This pattern is representative of much Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. In the counts in Table 6.2, 44% (136/305) of all locally subsequent mentions are ellipsed references. This is considerably more frequent than any other reference category, with the next most frequent being free pronouns representing 22% of instances (68/305).

(5)  1  SP   **pula**      kani-munu    **nga'a-l**      **chilpu-kamu**     nhantha
            3plNOM     up-ABL       dem.dist1-DM   old.man-NSG      sleep

            wuna-na    [nga'a-l          ngaa-
            sleep-NF   dem.dist1-DM   xx-

            *those (came) from above and those old men slept, those ones xx*

     2  MB   [haha
     3       (0.5)
     4  SP   kuthu    yaya-namu   [be   chu'uchi-pinta   waathi-ngka-na
            some     thigh-ASSOC be    small-COM        go-PRES.CONT-now

            kalu-mana
            carry-PRES.CONT

            *in some "trousers", small ones, (the old women) are going now and*
            *carrying (calico)*

     5  MB   [nhantha    wana-na    [now
            sleep        leave-FUT  now
            *(the old men) will leave sleep now*

     6  EG   [oh yeah
     7       (.)
     8  MB   mayi    [nga'a-l
            food     dem.dist1 -DM
            *that food*

     9  SP   [kaliku
            calico
            *calico*

     10      (.)
     11 DS   kuunga-na  "kuunga-ka    mayi"
            hide-NF     hide-FUT       food
            *(the old men) hide (the food) "(we) will hide the food"*

     12      (.)
     13 MB   mayi    kuunga-[ka
            food     hide-FUT
            *(we/the old men) will hide the food*

     14 SP   [kuunga-ka
            hide-FUT
            *(we/the old men) will hide the food*

     15      (0.2)
     16 DS   °nguxxx°
             ?

17					(.)
18 DS			kalma-tha nhaya-ka	now
				come-FUT emerge		now
				*(the old women) will come and emerge now*
	(08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:26:00-00:26:15)

This excerpt also demonstrates that the ellipsis of a referent can be maintained across multiple co-narrators in multi-party narratives. Example (5) shows four co-narrators (MB, DS, SP and EG) all working together to tell the story, with various co-narrators producing turns in which references are ellipsed, both to the old women (SP in line 4, DS in line 18) and to the old men (MB line 5, DS in line 11). Ellipsis in this sequence poses no issues for understandability: co-narrators all successfully contribute to the sequence, with no apparent problems in making the correct anaphoric links (see §6.3.4 on cases where such problems do show up, and how these are dealt with interactively). Two of the narrators witnessed the events themselves, while the other two know of cultural practices associated with *wuungka* performances, so as a group they have a high degree of shared knowledge about the topic of narration. The respective roles and thematic dynamic between the pair of characters (the old men and the old women) has already been well-established throughout the narrative and is reiterated in the locally initial reference in line 1: the men are at their camp and the women come from the Wenlock village attempting to steal food. This participant configuration has continuity throughout this sequence, enabling interlocutors to easily infer who is doing what. This shows how in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u the use of zero reference is based on the discourse-pragmatic features applying at the point of reference. These features include topic continuity, thematic continuity and shared knowledge (real-world and discourse knowledge), but also factors such as likelihood, referent significance, issues of ambiguity (number of participants), and interactional and discourse structures (to be discussed in §6.3)[67].

The *Wuungka* narrative offers a further illustrative example of ellipsis, and how it may contrast with overt references. The narration in (6) describes the action of the same group of old women as in (5), but when a participant is reintroduced or selected from within this group, they are referenced with an overt form. In line 1 of (6), MB produces a locally initially reference to the group of old women with the plural pronoun *pula* 'they'. This comes after a short sequence which focuses on the narrators who, as children, witnessed the events. The switch back to the old women results in the use of an overt pronominal reference. All the following

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[67] On a typological note: In the reference tracking systems proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984), Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u has all the hallmarks of a pragmatic inference system. It features the heavy use of zero anaphora, as has been noted as a feature of other pragmatic inference systems such as Chinese, Korean, Javanese, and Tamil (Foley and Van Valin 1984:324; Huang 2000:14; Levinson 1987:385). Crucially, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u lack the patterns observed in other reference tracking systems such as switch reference system or a switch-function system (no absolutive pivots and antipassive constructions) or gender systems (no agreement marking or gendered pronouns) (Foley and Van Valin 1984:324; Van Valin 1987).

subsequent mentions to the group of women in the local environment are ellipsed (line 4, 6, 10, 12). The next overt reference to a person is in line 18, where DS selects one of the women from this group using the expression *ku'unchi nhi'ilama* 'one old woman'. In the following two turns, in line 19-20, reference to this old woman is ellipsed. The next overt person reference is once again when a new referent, *wiiyama* 'another' of the women, is singled out from the group in line 22: 'another one kept on carrying a stick, coming so as to be able to spear the food in the ashes'. Another thing to note from both example (5) and (6) is that the 'old women' are reintroduced into the discourse using the third-person plural pronoun *pula* 'they'. As already mentioned in §6.2.2, locally initial mentions to third-person referents are more often produced with lexical reference. But in some cases, as in this one, a pronoun gets established as a global reference device (even though there is more than one potential antecedent for a third-person group reference form) and is repeatedly used to designate a particular participant.

(6)    1    MB    **pula**         [kalma-mana         mayi
                  3plNOM    come-PRES.CONT  food
                  *they were always carrying the food*

       2                (0.6)

       3    DS    [yeah

       4    DS    wiiyama yuma    ngachi-ka    [aa-=
                  another  fire       find-FUT    ah
                  *(they) will find another fire ah*

       5    MB    [hm

       6    DS    =go   ingka-ngka              [then mayi  wiiyama
                  go     shout-PRES.CONT  then   food    another
                  *(they) are calling out then for another lot of food*

       7                (0.7)

       8    MB    [mayi
                  food
                  *food*

       9                (.)

      10    MB    ali-ka
                  take-FUT
                  *(they) will take (it)*

      11                (0.4)

      12    SP    yuma-pinta    kuthu  patha-pinta
                  fire-COM        some   tin-COM
                  *(they) have fire and have some tin cans*

      13                (.)

14  EG     °ngaani-mu°
            IGNOR-PRED
            *(it) is something*

15         (0.2)

16  MB     yuway
            *yes*

17         (.)

18  DS     pa-  **ku'unchi**     **nhi'ilama**  patha (.)    tha'i-[ngka          then
            pa-  old.woman        one            tin          hit-PRES.CONT  then
            *one old woman was hitting the tin then*

19  SP     [patha    tha'i-ngka=
            tin        hit-PRES.CONT
            *(she) was hitting the tin*

20  MB     =tha'althi-ngka
            hit-PRES.CONT
            *(she) kept on hitting (the tin)*

21         (.)

22  MB     **wiiyama**   yuku    kakalka-mana              kalma-mana
            another       wood    carry.PROG-PRES.CONT      come-PRES.CONT
            mayi     wutha-ka
            food     spear-FUT
            *another one kept on carrying a stick, coming so as to be able to spear the*
            *food*

(08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:23:42-00:24:00)


Ellipsis of a referent can persist over many clauses and turns. The distance between a current and last overt reference does not appear, at least by itself, to be a factor in conditioning Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers' use of an overt person reference form. As such, appealing to cognitive categories like reactivation or decay of activation in terms of referential distance is not an immediately relevant factor in this aspect of ellipsis (Chafe 1994; Givón 1983, 1995). There is no requirement for speakers to refresh a referent with an overt form, even across long strings of clauses and turns featuring zero anaphora. The *Wuungka* narrative nicely illustrates this observation. The majority of the story focuses on describing the old women's activities, which results in chains of thematically and referential continuous clauses. They remain a current and topical character throughout much of the story, and so inhabit a locally subsequent position for large swathes of the discourse – in such cases they are typically not overtly referenced. There are many rounds of turns describing the women's activities, extending up to sequences of 18 turns, where the old women are not referred to overtly (including with any bound

pronominal forms). Interlocutors demonstrate no need for an ellipsed referent to be referred to overtly in this or other similar contexts.

Ellipsis is the most frequent reference type for locally subsequent references, but the table in 6.2 shows that there are other options. In particular, free pronouns are the second most frequent type in this context, accounting for 22% (68/305) of subsequent references. Such pronouns most often target contexts that show shifts or switches within a current participant configuration in the discourse, i.e. a participant is (re)introduced into the local context or a current participant shifts role in the action. In such cases the participant is still a locally subsequent referent – a well-established and known referent within the local environment – but the alteration in participant configuration is what precipitates the use of an overt reference form (see Levinson 1987, Verstraete and De Cock 2008 for description of related patterns in other Paman languages, Guugu Yimidhirr and Umpithamu). To illustrate this principle, consider another example from the *Wuungka* story, some 70 turns further along in the narrative from example (5), and not long following the sequence in (6). The referent of interest here in (7) is once again the group of old women. In line 1, DS produces a locally initial reference *pula ku'unchi* 'those old women', and they remain a continuous referent in the five turns shown in the example. In line 3 the reference to the old women is ellipsed, but the introduction of *ngana* 'we' in line 7 results in a role shift, and thus, an overt reference to the old women referent with *pulan* 'them'. In the following line 9, with no intervening reference to another relevant or competing referent, reference the old women is once again ellipsed in the utterance. Note that pronouns are restricted to animate (usually human) referents, while demonstrative pronouns or headless NP are often used to reference inanimate participants in such disjoint reference contexts (see Stirling 2008 for a similar observation).

(7)  1  DS    **nga- pula        ku'unchi**      kalma-tha=
               nga- 3plNOM      old.woman       come-FUT
               *those old women will come*

     2  SP    =nyi
               *yes*

     3  DS    nha'a-ka        now
               enter-FUT       now
               *(they) will enter now*

     4        (1.3)

     5  MB    kincha
               dance
               *dance*

     6        (0.2)

| 7 | DS | **ngana** | pithanchi | **pulan** |
|---|----|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|   |    | 1plexcNOM | know      | 3plACC    |

*we know them*

| 8 |    | (.) |
|---|----|-----|

| 9 | DS | ngi'i | kani-munu | kalma-mana | ninta-pinta |
|---|----|-------|-----------|------------|-------------|
|   |    | dem.prox | up-ABL | come-PRES.CONT | noise-COM |

*here from above (they) are coming accompanied by noise*

(08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:26:13-00:26:21)

Example (8), drawn from a different narrative, also illustrates this pattern. In the turns preceding (8) there is a stretch in which a group of Islanders feature in a chain of referentially continuous clauses. In line 3 there is shift in the participant configuration with the reintroduction on the scene of a chasing emu. Both the emu and Islander men are overtly referenced, with the islander men referred to with the accusative pronoun *pulana* 'them'.

| (8) | 1 | MB | [YAAYA-NAMU-PINTA | waathi-nya-na |
|-----|---|----|-------------------|---------------|
|     |   |    | thigh-ASSOC-COM   | go-NF-now     |

*(the islanders) go with the trousers now!*

| 2 |    | (0.4) |
|---|----|-------|

| 3 | MB | **ngulu** | **nga'alu** | paala | **pulana** |
|---|----|-----------|-------------|-------|-----------|
|   |    | 3sgNOM    | dem.dist1-DM | after/behind | 3plACC |

*that one (the emu) is behind them (the islanders)*

| 4 |    | (0.2) |
|---|----|-------|

| 5 | SP | apa |
|---|----|-----|
|   |    | INTJ |

*oh dear!*

| 6 |    | (.) |
|---|----|-----|

| 7 | MB | waa:: | wiika-n |
|---|----|-------|---------|
|   |    | ?     | follow-NF |

*(the emu) follows (the islanders)*

(23June08:*Minya Charlie*:00:23:47-00:23:53)

Unlike with ellipsis, third-person free pronouns do not have a reference tracking function in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, but are largely relegated the type of disjoint reference contexts shown in (7) and (8), or as a global reference device for locally initial references as in (5) and (6) (see also §6.2.4 below on their role in perspective shift contexts). Association of free third-person pronouns with restricted contexts fits with accounts of other Australian languages, e.g. contrastive uses in Ngalkan (Baker 2002), prominent contexts in Warlpiri (Simpson 2007),

emphatic contexts in Jiwarli (Austin 2001) and participant switches within thematic units in Umpithamu (Verstraete and De Cock 2008).

To conclude, the basic pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u reference tracking is to use zero ellipsis, with overt reference material (like free pronouns) only employed where it is pragmatically and informationally useful: for instance, in contexts with potential comprehension and reference tracking issues for the recipient to navigate, i.e. where participants are (re)introduced and where there are shifts in participant configurations. However, not all of these contexts actually require overt reference formulations. During sessions listening to and transcribing narratives with speakers, I found they could not always reliably and consistently say which participant is doing what in the story, nor did they appear to find this lack of transparency particularly problematic or unusual. This was most clearly the case in *before time* narratives (§2.4.1), which are often composed in a way that assumes prior knowledge. This acts as a way to restrict access to those recipients without the appropriate entitlement to understand the details and significance of these culturally important narratives. A high tolerance for referential ambiguity has also been noted in other studies of Australian languages e.g. Bowern (2012:293) for Bardi, Evans (1995:610-626) for Kayardild, Garde (2003) on Bininj Gunwok, Klapproth (2004) for Pitjantjatjara/Yankuntjatjara, and Walsh (2016) as characterising feature of Aboriginal Australian narrative. The discussion of other-initiated repair in §6.3.4 continues to explore this issue.

### 6.2.4 Interpretative cues at perspective shifts

As already noted, free pronouns are the most frequent type of overt reference in locally subsequent reference, but not the only one, as shown in Table 6.2. This section and the next, explores two other contexts that trigger overt reference, namely perspective shift, associated with kin-terms, and viewpoint marking, associated with bound pronouns.

Narratives are filled with complex representations of different perspectives, internal to the story-world itself, such as reported speech and thought of a character, or external to it, like narrator meta-commentary about the events being narrated. It is at shifts between different perspectives and deictic origos that the tension between the narrated space and narrating space becomes most apparent. In such contexts Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators routinely employ a specific type of overt person reference, viz. kin-term based expressions. Using the figures from Table 6.2, we can say that reported speech constructions account for 25% (49/200) of all locally subsequent overt formulations and for 46% (11/24) of kin-terms in particular. In fact, kin-terms are employed in this context regardless of the status of the referent, as either locally subsequent or locally initial. As already mentioned in chapter 5 (§5.5.1), these are some of the most recognitional and semantically specific person expressions available to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u speakers. Given that recognitional terms are rare in globally initial reference, the regular selection of kin-terms in subsequent mentions is of particular interest. As the coming discussion

will show, they provide important interpretative cues at perspective shifts. As deictic expressions, kin-terms are well fitted to assist in perspective management – this is consistent with the widely noted tendency for narrative perspective to be signalled through an array of deictic devices (Haviland 1996; Mushin 2000, 2001; Zubin and Hewitt 1995). The discussion in this section will focus on one type of perspective shift, reported speech.

Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives are rife with representations of the voices and thoughts of characters as reported by narrators[68]. The perspective represented in such constructions are deictically set in the here-and-now of one of the characters within the story, as in line 5-7 of the example (9), which represents the words said by one character to a group of prospective dancers: 'my older brother said, "my nephews don't feel shame"'. These represented words are uttered by an elder songman, identified as the narrator's older brother here, but referred to variously as *chilpu* 'old man' and *yapu* 'older brother' in the preceding narration. The quoted speech is addressed to his nephews as an admonishment in reference to an imminent dance performance in the story. Before the represented speech is a quotative framing clause (line 5) with the source of the speech as the subject NP (*ngatha yapu* 'my older brother') and a speech predicate *ingana* 'said'. The kin-term expression here is formulated from the perspective of the speaking narrator (DS), one of the four co-narrators producing this story, and in the context of the story clearly identifies the character to the other narrators and recipients of this narrative. The framing clause is deictically set in the speech event, with the kin-term expression anchored to the narrator (the first-person possessive pronoun making the anchor of the reference explicit) and the past-tense verbal inflection *-na* indicating that the event of speaking happened before this moment (this is the default temporal option in narration). Additionally, the shift is indicated by alteration of posture and gaze of DS and by prosodic cues in the represented words. Person reference is the focus of this discussion, but of course it is just one of many mechanisms at play in such contexts.

(9)   1   DS   waathi-nya    aa'i-nya-ku              now
               go-NF         dance-NMLZR-DAT   now
               *(they) went for the dance now*
      2        (0.8)

---

[68] Reported speech/thought constructions also have other interesting features, like a wider range of tense and modal categories than exhibited in the narrated event mode (see Verstraete 2011 for elucidation of this point in neighbouring language Umpithamu) and special reported speech prosody which exaggeratedly mimics everyday speech styles (see Blythe 2009b:250-288 for discussion of the role of prosody in Murrinh-Patha narrative). Note that examples of reported thought look much the same as reported speech constructions (like the one example in (11)), often consisting of a frame clause with a perception verb, featuring use of fronted vocatives, and are prosodically indistinguishable from reported speech (see McGregor 2004: 244 and Verstraete 2011:497 for similar observations). Examples of reported thought are not provided in this account, but all key observations about reported speech apply also to reported thought.

3    MB     yaw
            *yes*
4           (1.8)
5    DS     **ngatha      yapu**     inga-na
            1sgGEN    Be        say-NF
            *my older brother said*
6           (.)
7    DS     **maampa-lkayu**   ngampa  yatha-nya
            ZeS-NSG             NEG        shame-NF
            *"nephews don't feel shame"*
8           (0.8)
9    DS     **kaala** ngana        aa'i-ka       miintha
            MBy  1plexcNOM    dance-FUT  good
            *"uncle we will dance well"*
10          (1.0)
11   DS     wa'anama  waatha-ka  tali    waaki-ka
            quick        go-FUT      leg     shake-FUT
            *"go quickly and shake your leg"*
12          (1.4)
13   SP     pula          waathi-nya
            3plNOM     go-NF
            *they went*
14          (0.6)
15   SP     aa'i-na   malkari        ngaachi       paachana
            dance    corroboree   place           clear
            *danced corroboree in the cleared area*
(04Sept08:*Land handover*:00:48:11-00:48:26)

Example (9) includes a further two represented utterances (line 7 and line 11), one which again use kin-terms (kaala 'uncle' as an address in line 9) and other markers of perspective shift. The prevalent use of kin-terms shown in this example is typical for such sequences, as is the use of overt person reference more generally (as also shown in the figures quoted earlier).

Tracking referents through reported speech sequences can be a complex task for recipients of a narrative, specifically complex for the recipient interpreting alternating perspectives and what speech is attributed to whom. As in the excerpt above, narratives often have multi-turn sequences of represented speech, reporting conversational turns between characters. Changes of speakers in these exchanges are often not indicated by a framing clause (like in (9) line 5 'my older brother said'), but can be understood to represent the perspective of a character

through the use of person reference forms within the speech itself. The use of reciprocal kin-terms *maampa* 'nephew' and *kaala* 'uncle' as address terms in alternating chunks of speech in line 7 and 9 of (9) help the recipient decode who is talking. In this sense, kin-terms provide important interpretative cues and are able to achieve this task within the reported speech itself without breaking the rapid flow of ongoing conversations between characters in the narration. In addition, the realistic use of address kin-terms adds to vibrant and dynamic storytelling that typifies these multi-turn sequences of reported speech. Where framing clauses are used, the notable perspective misalignment between the reference formulations in the frame and the speech provides interpretative cues as well – see in line 5 and then line 7 how the shifts between person references anchored to the narrator and then anchored to character signal these two parts of the utterance as temporally and spatially alien. In sum, the provision of kin expressions are a key part of a narrator's management of shifts in perspective in reported speech sequences. Additionally, as in the sequence in example (9), the dynamic between the characters is often built up by narrator's representation of real-time interaction between the characters in the reported speech. The use of kin-terms plays an important role in the development of such character dynamics, coding important information about expected roles and relationships between the characters.

Kin references always involve a choice of perspective, since there are multiple ways to construe the relations that lead to a given referent. Where available for selection, narrators overwhelmingly produce self-associated kin-terms in the frame of reported speech constructions, as in example (9) above where the quoted character is self-associated to the narrator in the clause ('my older brother said'). Two other examples drawn from different narratives further illustrate this pattern: in (10) the narrator associates the speaking character to herself using the kin-term *maampa* 'niece/nephew' in line 3, and in (11) the narrator self-associates with the expressions *ya'athu ngathangku* 'my younger sibling' in line 1.

| (10) | 1 | DS | nga'a-l | ngami-na | | |
| | | | dem.dist1-DM | listen/hear-NF | | |
| | | | *(we) heard that one* | | | |
| | 2 | | (0.2) | | | |
| | 3 | DS | **maampa** | inga-na | | |
| | | | ZeD | said-NF | | |
| | | | *my niece said* | | | |
| | 4 | | (0.4) | | | |
| | 5 | DS | ↑yawyawkay | ngathan | he | awu-lu |
| | | | RDP.yikes | 1sgACC | he | devil-ERG |
| | | | *"yi yikes, he is a devil to me"* | | | |

(12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*:00:09:22-00:09:27)

(11)   1   MB   **ya'athu ngathangku** (.)   oh   ya'a   ngay          ngi'i
                Sy          1sgGEN                   oh   Se   1sgNOM   dem.prox
                *my younger sister said, "oh older sister I am here"*

       2        (1.1)

       3   MB   kaway-ma   waathi-nya   malngkana   puntha-na
                east-DIR   go-NF        beach       emerge-NF
                *(they) went eastwards and came out on the beach*

       4        (0.3)

       5   DS   hm

       6        (0.5)

       7   MB   punthatha-na
                emerge.PROG-NF
                *(they) were emerging (on the beach)*

(02Apr07:*Escaped prisoners*:00:24:10-00:24:16)

Other possible kin formulations are available to make reference to the characters in (9)-(11). Taking the quoted character in example (10) above, reference could be alternatively reckoned in the following ways: (i) via the co-narrator, who is the referent's aunt, using the expression *ngangkangku mukathu* 'your younger sister's child'; (ii) via another character in the story world relevant to the interaction, such as the younger sister of the referent who also encounters the devil in this story, with an expression like *ya'a ingana* 'the older sister said'; (iii) via a salient and genealogically close anchor, such as the character's mother, with an expression like *Polly's maampa*. These alternative formulations would have sufficed just as well in assisting recipients to interpret the represented interaction in the ways outlined above. Self-association of kin-terms does have an addition function, however. A pattern of self-associated kin-terms was already noted in the discussion of globally initial mentions, with self-association to authority figures used to display connection and rights to owned land (§5.5.1). In these instances they also appear to have an epistemic function, though as shown in examples (9)-(11) this does not have to be achieved through highlighting a senior kin-connection. In all of these structures, the narrator is representing another person's words, a person who is well known to all present, co-narrators and audience alike, in a small-scale community. This is a delicate social action, potentially made even more delicate by the 'on-record' nature of the language documentation context in which the stories are being told (§2.5). Displaying proximity to a character before representing their words could work to support the narrator's knowledge of the words that were uttered, as well as support their rights to quote another person's words. There is some cross-linguistic support for this function, given that quotation constructions are often intimately intertwined with the grammatical category of evidentials indicating source and reliability of speaker knowledge (Aikhenvald 2004; Clift 2006:583 regarding reported speech as an "interactional

evidential"). Unlike with self-associated kin-terms in globally initial position, in cases like (9)-(11) they signal social and genealogical proximity to the source of a specific chunk of words in a fleeting moment in the story. However, these fleeting moments are often consequential in the unfolding events being narrated: in example (9) the reported speech sequence deals with a dance performance which is the focus of this section of the narration, example (10) features a character reporting the sighting of a supernatural being which is the main complication in this story and in (11) where a pair of sisters hide as they first sight two escaped prisoners, whose fate is the focus of this story. This distribution suggests that narrators are strategic in highlighting their connection to certain characters.

In sum, kin-terms are skillfully employed by narrators to provide cues that aid in the recipient's interpretation of perspective shifts, which are complex and dynamic sections of narration. Beyond this, the preferential self-association of reference by the narrator suggests that these expressions are strategically formulated to serve some additional function, namely to demonstrate the narrator's personal connection to important events in the narration, and therefore, authority to quote those words or tell the story about said events.

### 6.2.5 Highlighting perspective

In addition to the link between kin-terms and reported speech, there is another connection between person reference formulation and perspective management. Specifically, the use of bound pronouns appears to be linked to sections of narration that provide access to the viewpoint or perspective of the character referenced in the bound form.

In general terms, bound pronouns would appear to be one of the more suitable forms for locally subsequent reference, given that they are the second most minimal form available in the language (compare Ariel 1990, Fox 1987, Givón 1983). However, they are not obligatory for grammaticality (§1.4.1 and §3.3.2 for discussion of form and grammar of bound pronouns), and they are quite rare, as shown in Table 6.2 (overall only 1% (4/305) of locally subsequent third-person references are bound pronouns). This pattern suggests that they have a very specific function, which I will argue relates to the marking of viewpoint.

Consider the following example from the *Minya Charlie* narrative: the bound third-person plural pronoun -*lana* is employed in line 5-7, even though the same referent has just been mentioned twice in line 1, with both a lexical form *wupunpunyuma* 'children' and the free pronoun *pulana* 'them'. There are no shifts in participant constellation between the use of the free pronoun in line 1 and the uses of the matching bound pronoun form -*lana*. There is no apparent ambiguity as to who is doing what in this sequence: *ngulu* 'he' the emu is following -*lana* 'them', the children. This is, in fact, typical of bound pronoun usage in narratives. They are not employed where there is ambiguity or competing referents obscuring or complicating the interlocutors in successfully tracking the referent (unlike with free pronouns in locally subsequent positions, as discussed in §6.2.3)

(12)  1    MB    wantu-ma    waathatha-ngka              **wupunpunyuma**
                 IGNOR       go.PROG-PRES.CONT           children.RDP
                 ngulu       paala      **pulana**
                 3sgNOM      after      3plACC
                 *somewhere the children kept on going and he after them*
      2          (0.4)
      3    MB    yuuy-            wiiyan-
                 gammon           another-
                 *(he) gammon- another-*
      4          (.)
      5    EG    wiika-la-[**lana**
                 follow-NF-3plACC
                 *(he) followed them*
      6    MB    [wiika-la-[**lana**            paala-laka
                 follow-NF-3plACC      after-PATHOS
                 *(he) followed after them poor things!*
      7    SP    [wiika-la-**lana**
                 follow-NF-3plACC
                 *(he) followed them*
(23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:18:41-00:18:48)


This restricted usage suggests that they have a specific function. Specifically, bound pronouns are associated with sections of the narrative where the narrator provides some access to a character's viewpoint . The *Minya Charlie* narrative, from which both (12) above and (13) below are taken, is largely presented from a "neutral" third-party perspective, as is typical of the style of most Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives. However, there are some junctures where narrators provide information on the viewpoint or reactions of certain characters. The section of the story that contains (12) and (13) renders in detail the children's reactions to interacting with an unpredictable pet emu: the children play football and the emu follows, the children scatter, the children go to collect and eat the fruit *puynara* and the emu follows, and so on. There is some mention of other people in the wider community, but the attention is on the children and their reactions to interacting with the emu. Recipients hear through this account that children are *winichi* 'frightened' (e.g. line 5-7, example (13)) and 'poor things' (pathos morpheme *-laka* line 6, example (12)) (a few turns after example (13) they are also referred to as *chuchinyu* 'small', see §5.5.2 for discussion of such formulations). Throughout this section in the narrative the bound pronominal form *-lana* is employed seven times to refer to the children and these instances are the only use of bound forms in the narrative. Example (13) further illustrates this point, with bound pronouns used twice.

(13)  1  MB    walpathi-na-**lana**      walpathi-na-**lana**-   (.) **nga'a-l**          **pula**
               chase-NF-3plACC     chase-NF-3plACC        dem.dist1-DM    3plNOM
               *(he) chased them and chased them, those ones*

      2         (0.3)

      3  MB    uulp-na
               scatter-NF
               *(they) scattered*

      4         (0.7)

      5  SP    wini-chi
               fright-COM
               *(they) had a fright*

      6         (0.4)

      7  MB    wini-chi      nga'a-l          ulpa-na
               fright-COM    dem.dist1-DM    scatter-NF
               *those ones had a fright and scattered*

      (23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:17:57-00:18:05)

Example (12) and (13) are appropriate to the discussion in this chapter, which focuses on third-person referents, but in fact the majority of instances of bound forms employed in narration are first-person pronouns. This has both a structural and a narrative-related reason. The structural reason is that, like many Australian languages, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u has no overt realisation of third-person singular bound pronouns (though there is some suggestion that as recently as 1960s and 1970s there may have been one as in Thompson (1988:26); also see Mushin and Simpson (2008:572) regarding the overall Australian language context). Additionally, the skewing towards first-person bound pronouns can also be connected to the perspective management functions of bound pronouns. A narrator telling a personal experience story is more likely to highlight their own viewpoint, rather than other participants' perspectives. For example, consider the use of the first person plural -*na* in example (14). This example, drawn from the *WW2* narrative, shows five instances in quick succession of the bound pronoun -*na* (line 1-7) referencing the 'we' first-person plural exclusive group participant. Like in examples (12) and (13), the bound forms occur in the same environment as free coreferential references. In this case, the matching free pronoun form *ngana* in line 1 and 5.

(14)  1  MB    **ngana**         punthantha-na         (.) thungkuy-munu
               1plexcNOM    emerge.PROG-NF        scrub-ABL
               *we kept coming out from the scrub*

      2         (2.0)

| 3  | MB | puntha-na-**na** | | malngkan-ku | ilpi-na-**na** |
|----|----|---|---|---|---|
|    |    | emerge-NF-1plexcNOM | | beach-DAT | return-NF-1plexcNOM |

*we came out, we went back to the beach*

| 4  |    | (2.4) |
|----|----|---|

| 5  | MB | **ngana** | ngaa::::chi-na-**na** |
|----|----|---|---|
|    |    | 1plexcNOM | laugh-NF-1plexcNOM |

*we laughed*

| 6  |    | (0.6) |
|----|----|---|

| 7  | MB | ngaachi-na-**na** | ngaachi-na-**na** |
|----|----|---|---|
|    |    | laugh-NF-1plexcNOM | laugh-NF-1plexcNOM |

*we laughed and laughed*

| 8  |    | (0.5) |
|----|----|---|

| 9  | MB | nga'a | ya'a | ma'a | ya'a | pulana | pa'amu |
|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|    |    | dem.dist1 | Se | DYAD | Se | 3plACC | two |

*there at those two older sisters*

| 10 |    | (0.8) |
|----|----|---|
| 11 | DS | hah |
| 12 |    | (2.2) |

| 13 | MB | hahu ku'unchi | ↑ngi'i |
|----|----|---|---|
|    |    | old.woman | dem.prox |

*(we call out) "old woman are you here"*

| 14 |    | (.) |
|----|----|---|

| 15 | MB | **ngana**-laka | wana-na | paala |
|----|----|---|---|---|
|    |    | 1plexcNOM-PATHOS | leave-NF | behind |

*we left the poor thing behind!*

(05Apr04:*WW2*:00:04:29-00:04:55)

Throughout this narrative, the primary narrator MB describes the experiences of different characters and groups of characters, including the main 'we' participant. Army planes circle above the main camped group during WW2. The complication of the story is two sisters who run around hysterically as the planes circle. Specifically in (14), the planes have departed and the focus shifts back to the 'we' participant. They emerge from their hiding spot and laugh and laugh at the two sisters (line 5-9). It is here that the recipient is actually provided access to the main 'we' group's reaction to the sisters behavior. It is their speech that is represented as they call out "old woman and you here" and discover that a blind old woman has gone missing during the commotion (line 13-15). Accordingly, like in the previous examples, the 'we' group is marked with bound pronouns in (14), and this is the only place where this occurs in this narrative.

To conclude, bound pronouns are rare in narratives, and when they are used they serve to mark viewpoint. In fact, perspective management functions were also observed for free pronouns in globally initial position (see §5.4.1): they do not always have straightforward referential functions, but they do set the broad perspective from which the narrative will be delivered. Similarly, the use of bound pronouns does not appear to be motivated by referential needs. They are employed to refer to a current and readily identifiable participant, who is usually more than adequately identified by full NP coreferential references. Additionally, narrators tend to proliferate bound pronoun forms through a stretch of discourse, whether in repeats by supporting narrators (as in (12)) or by the primary narrator (in example (13) and (14)). Given their referential redundancy and their context of use, the functional load of bound pronouns appears to be utilised more in the service of emphasising and highlighting the current perspectivising participant. The highlighting is closely associated with sections of the narrative where the viewpoint of that character is being delivered or is highly relevant.

## 6.3 Supporting narrators

So far in this chapter, the role of the supporting narrator has not been distinguished from that of a primary narrator. Narrators of all statuses work together to track characters through the rapid jointly crafted narration – albeit with primary narrators often taking the lead as is expected and fitting of their role. The discussion in this section will shift the focus to what is unique about a supporting narrator's input into multi-party narratives, and how this contributes to the tracking of, and referential information about, persons within the narration.

Supporting narrators produce a range of utterances that support the activity of narration, and build on the action of the story that the primary narrator is producing. They repeat and elaborate on prior talk in overlapping choral style coproduction creating an effect reminiscent of gospel songs eliciting feverish echoic responses from the audience. Supporting narrators prod for more information and seek clarification on details already provided, and in doing so drive the narrative in new directions. They exclaim and cry out at high points of action and offer candidate understandings of events yet to be fully explicated by the primary narrator. To draw another parallel, much akin to the choruses of ancient Greek theatre, supporting narrators provide playful commentary and emotive displays that guide the audience through the story. This diverse work is largely achieved through the use of familiar conversational interactive sequences like repetition, question-answer sequences, prompts, repairs and collaborative turn units. These different interactional moves push and pull at the narration (see Goffman 1981 regarding moves as basic-unit level for interaction). The following discussion will examine four types of contributions regularly made by supporting narrators: elaborations, comments, questions and repair-initiators. These are classified into two types of interactional moves based on whether they push or pull at the flow of the narration, i.e. *continuer* moves versus *eliciting* moves. Continuer moves exert a forward force on the narration, encouraging the continuation

of current narration by the primary narrator (Goodwin 1997, McGregor 1988b). These are elaborations and comments discussed in §6.3.1 and §6.3.2 respectively. Eliciting moves exert a retrogressive force on the narration, requesting the primary narrator to return to prior talk and correct or clarify details or provide new details. While these have a backwards force on the narration, they ultimately aid the overall successful progressive realisation of the storytelling. These elicitng moves are requests discussed in §6.3.3, and other-initiated repairs discussed in §6.3.4.

All of the four contribution types outlined above are a locus for the embellishment and embroidery of person reference information. The person reference formulations in these contexts cannot solely be accounted for in terms of the basic pattern of referent tracking and re-introduction described above in §6.2. The supporting narrator contributions and the sequences they initiate are of particular interest to this study for two reasons. First, they are hot-spots of person reference expressions, and the use of certain person reference formulations reveals interactional functions of these utterances. Second, they are high points of collaborative activity in the narration, and so they provide insight into the driving forces behind the cultural preference to co-tell stories.

### 6.3.1 Elaboration

Elaborative comments and references are a main avenue for collaborative co-telling in multi-party narration. Supporting narrators, whether they have direct knowledge of the narrated events or not, use elaborations as part of their standard toolkit of participatory moves. Elaborations take content from the prior utterance(s) and elaborate by increasing the referential specificity of some aspect of what was said or sometimes simply reiterating what was said using different words. In example (15) from *Women in the dancing field*, DS specifies a characteristic of the previous reference to the children in line 1. She adds and makes clearer that they are *chu'uchinyu* 'little ones'. MB's narration continues in the following line with the description of continuing activities of the old women that the children are watching.

(15)  1  MB  **nga'a-l**　　　　**wupunpunyu**　　nhiina-na　pulan
　　　　　　　dem.dist1-DM　　child.RDP　　　sit-NF　　　3plACC
　　　　　　　ma'apatha'a-ngka
　　　　　　　watch.PROG-PRES.CONT
　　　　　　　*those kids were sat down watching them*
　　　2　　　　(0.6)
　　　3　DS　**chu'uchinyu**
　　　　　　　small.PL
　　　　　　　*little ones*
　　　4　　　　(1.2)

| 5 | MB | pula | ku'unchi | nga'a-lu | ma'upi-mi-na |
|---|----|------|----------|----------|--------------|
|   |    | 3plNOM | old.woman | dem.dist1-DM | make-REF-NF |

*those old women are making that one for themselves*

(22Jun05:*Women in dancing field*:00:02:13-00:02:22)

Simple elaborative comments like this can be achieved with little to no direct knowledge of the events being described – in the case of (15) simply by emphasising the youth of the children, which had already been specified by MB 47 turns earlier. Like much of the participatory work undertaken by supporting narrators, the knowledge expressed in the elaboration is drawn from common ground between the narrators, either real-world knowledge or discourse knowledge accrued throughout the preceding narration (as in (15)). This section looks at elaborations made in reference to characters, but this is not to suggest that elaborative comments are restricted to the person domain in any way: all aspects of narration can be elaborated upon, e.g. place or object references, the actions of characters and the manner of action and so forth. The functional work of elaborative comments appears to remain the same regardless of type of content elaborated.

To understand this function, let us consider example (16). In this instance, the elaborative comment specifies a characteristic of the referent by drawing information from a related comment by the primary narrator in the preceding turn. In line 1, MB who leads the narration, describes two men who are escaped prisoners being taken to the Old Mission hospital. In the following turn, in line 3 she describes them as being *pithapitha* 'roughed-up', and hence in need of medical care. This fits with the preceding narration about the men being discovered wandering in the bush, having travelled overland for many hundreds of kilometers (see example (11) above from this narrative). In line 5, SP in a supporting capacity elaborates by adding the description of *nganthangantha* 'skinny'. This contribution demonstrates comprehension of the preceding narration by displaying understanding of the current condition of the men. This is not independent knowledge of the secondary narrators per se, but rather extrapolated from the prior talk. The elaboration also functions to highlight topical information in this context of the narration – the poor condition of the escaped prisoners. This aids the building up of the men's dire predicament when they are taken away by the police a short time later (as a contact narrative, parts of the story thematically pit aboriginal people against white-related forces and government).

| (16) | 1 | MB | wiiya-nyu-ku | hospital nyiichi-nya-lana |
|------|---|----|--------------|---------------------------|
|      |   |    | another-NMLZ-DAT | hospital leave-NF-3plACC |

*to that other hospital and left them*

|      | 2 |    | (3.4) |

| 3 | MB | pama | nga'a-l | pula | pithapitha-thi | xxx |
|---|----|------|---------|------|----------------|-----|
|   |    | aboriginal | dem.dist1-DM | 3plNOM | rough-? | ? |

*those aboriginals were roughed up*

| 4 | | (0.6) |
|---|---|-------|

| 5 | SP | ngantha-ngantha |
|---|----|------------------|
|   |    | bone-bone |

*skinny*

| 6 | | (.) |
|---|---|-----|

| 7 | MB | ngantha-ngantha |
|---|----|------------------|
|   |    | bone-bone |

*skinny*

| 8 | | (1.2) |
|---|---|-------|

| 9 | MB | nga'a-lu | pula | waathi-nya | maami-kamu |
|---|----|----------|------|------------|-------------|
|   |    | dem.dist1-DM | 3plNOM | go-NF | policeman-NSG |

*those ones went to the policemen*

(02Apr07:*Escaped prisoners*:00:27:13-00:27:23)

An elaborative comment can be followed by an acceptance by a co-narrator, confirming and highlighting the relevance of the information (as in this example, with MB repeating *nganthangantha* 'skinny' in line 7). However, SP's contribution is not produced with try marked intonation and does not function like a correction or clarification request (compare structures to be discussed in §6.3.3 and §6.3.4). Elaborations exert a continuing force on the activity of storytelling, encouraging the narrator to continue with narrating the current sequence. The pattern shown in (15) and (16) is not uncommon. The primary narrator produces a description of the (usually new) events in the story, and a supporting narrator embellishes this with an elaborative utterance. The primary narrator sometimes confirms this embellishment (as in (16)) or simply continues with further description of the sequence of action underway (as in (15), as well as (17) below). Where this patterning occurs, it creates an interesting pacing to the progression of the narration: a burst of description of action in the story world, followed the highlighting of a small but consequential detail, followed by a further burst of substantive description, and so forth. This type of narrative macrostructural pattern will be examined in more detail in chapter 7.

Example (17) below shows a similar pattern to the previous ones, with the elaborative comment supporting the action that the main narrator is building up. In this instance, it is not about a human but an animal character, the emu in the now familiar *Minya Charlie* narrative. In the excerpt, the primary narrator is in the midst of an extended sequence describing the emu's attack on an Islander man (as previously discussed in §5.4.3, §6.2.2 and §6.2.3). In line 1, the emu runs again at the man and kicks at him. In line 3 SP cries out 'oh dear! oh dear!' in shock

at the turn of events (emotive displays like this are discussed in §6.3.2). EG joins in at line 5 with a comment which specifies a characteristic of the emu, the large size of its feet. The description of the attack continues in line 6 and beyond. EG's added detail about the emu's feet is different from the elaboration in (18), in that it does not draw specifically from an element in a co-narrator's prior talk, but simply comes from everyday knowledge about emu feet. The 'big feet too' elaboration is spot-on thematically, because it highlights the attacker's weapon (the emu's feet), and thus emphasises information relevant to the main line of the narration. The man does ultimately suffer a severe injury in the following sequence. EG's elaboration aids in the build up of the action by providing a highly relevant detail, which contributes to the understanding of the situation being described.

(17)  1  MB    hey   ngulu      now  kalma-na-na      muntha-nya
               hey   3sgNOM    now  come-NF-now     kick-NF
               *hey he came now and kicked (him)*

      2         (.)

      3  SP    apa       apa
               INTJ      INTJ
               *oh dear! oh dear!*

      4         (0.3)

      5  EG    tha'u [mukana too
               foot  big         too
               *big feet too*

      6  MB    [muntha-nya
               kick-NF
               *(he) kicked (him)*

(23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:25:15-00:25:21)

To conclude, we can say that elaborative utterances are multi-functional. On the most basic level, they fulfil the supporting narrator's obligation to participate in the co-telling of the narrative – which if not fulfilled will open themselves to sanctions by the other participants (see §2.2.1). They demonstrate comprehension and engagement in the act of narration, usually through extrapolated information from the prior talk or basic everyday information. And most crucially, the elaborative utterance makes clear and highlights important information within the local context of the story. It supports the action of the narrative being built up by the primary narrator, and encourages the ongoing storytelling.

**6.3.2 Comments**

Supporting narrators express reactions to the unfolding story; they provide exclamations displaying surprise or dismay (as shown in example (18)), evaluative comments on characters and scenarios (as in (19)) or explanations in response to events in the story world (as in (20)). These comments are momentary asides to the main recounting of the story events, and as reactions to the narration itself, they are deictically set in a perspective external to the story-world being crafted by the narrators. They do not typically include any new content relating to the description of the narrative events themselves, but they do provide new insights into those events and the narrator's stance or interpretation of those events. I will first provide a few examples of comments in general, with their function in narrative, and will then focus on the role of person reference in comments, specifically the use of (self-associated) kin-terms.

In example (18) from the *King Fred* narrative, SP in the role of primary narrator quotes the protagonist's speech at the moment he finds out that he has been unwittingly trying to prise open an explosive sea mine: '"I'm going, I'm frightened, hey we-"' (line 3). MP produces an emotive cry in response to this, 'oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!' (line 6). MP's exclamation recycles the character's own assessment of his emotional state, but with the addition of emotional interjection *apa* 'oh dear', a surprise interjection associated with concern and bewilderment and the evaluative morpheme *laka* added to the kin-term to express compassion. Much like the elaborations discussed above in §6.3.1, the exclamation demonstrates MP's comprehension of the significance of the events, while also emphasising them. In addition, the packaging adds something of MP's own affective stance, signalling a mixture of surprise and concern about the character's own response to the events.

(18)  1  SP      nhanu        wantantu
                 2sgNOM    IGNOR
                 *"how are you?" (they asked King Fred)*

      2             (0.6)

      3  SP      ngayu        waatha-ngka          ngay        wini-na
                 1sgNOM    go-PRES.CONT        1sgNOM    frighten-NF
                 *"I'm going, I'm frightened"*

      4             (.)

      5  SP      way ngampula        [na-
                 hey   1plincNOM      ?
                 *hey we all ?-"*

      6  MP      [apa      ngulu      wini-na      nga'a-lu          [maampa-laka
                 INTJ      3sgNOM   fright-NF     dem.dist1-DM    ♀C-PATHOS
                 *oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!*

    7    LH        huuuuhaaahh
    (23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:24:13-00:24:23)

Another example of a reactive comment is shown in (19). This one has a more evaluative quality with DS commenting: 'they were bad too, hey the old women!' (line 3). This evaluation is produced in response to SP's description of the renewed efforts of the Wenlock old ladies to steal food from other family and community members (see also §6.2.3). This action is sanctioned as part of a *wuungka* dance ritual, but throughout the narrative several supporting narrators provide negative judgements, suggesting they think the old women take brazen advantage of this ritual. The repeated shared negative assessment of the women across the discourse and across multiple narrator's emphases their shared moral stance (cf. Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2006), who show that surprise tokens have functional work in conversations in achieving shared understanding of moral order between interactants).

(19)  1   SP       mayi     wutha-ka     pulka-nguna
                    food     spear-FUT    hot.ashes-LOC
                    *spear the food in the hot ashes*
      2            (1.0)
      3   DS       **wu'u-mu    too     hey    ku'unku'unchi**
                    bad-PRED    too     hey    RDP.old.woman
                    *(they)are/ were bad too, hey the old women!*
    (08Aug07:*Wuungka*:00:05:37-00:05:42)

In (20), the supporting narrator's comment has more of an explanatory nature. DS provides a candidate explanation for the events just recounted – why the plethora of molluscs have captivated the interest of the characters currently lost in the bush, 'a devil might have put plenty (of those shells) close together' (line 2). Sorcerers or devils are known to manipulate the physical world to entrap people alone in the bush and DS's explanation fits with a series of conventional clues in the immediately prior narration provided by the primary narrator SP (separation from the group, disorientation, and entrapment through tantalising abundance of prised food source). DS draws together this information and proposes an explanation (see also §5.7.4 regarding related phenomena of suspenseful and incremental reference to threatening beings). Together, DS and SP jointly construct an interpretation of these events. This strongly suggests that at least some of a supporting narrator's commentaries work in tandem with the primary narrator output to ensure audience comprehension.

(20)   1   SP      minya   nga'a-l          api-na       (.)     yinchu-yinchu=
                   animal   dem.dist1-DM   gather-NF            close-close
                   *that food we were gathering was abundant (really close together)*
       2   MB      **=awu-lu-ki      nyiichi-nya   yinchu-yinchu   mukamukana**
                   devil-ERG-DUB   put-NF          close-close       RDP.big
                   *the devil might have put plenty (of those shells) close together*
(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*: 00:22:21-00:22:23)


As can be seen from these three examples, what is discussed hereunder the heading of supporting narrator 'comments' is not a single phenomenon in a formal sense. However, they often feature some assortment of the following features: interjections (example (18)); evaluative morphology and other evaluative content ((19) and (20)); emotional tone of voice and other features of prosodic markedness such as broadening of pitch range ((18), (19) and (20)); lack of tense marking (19); deictic devices like kin-terms (18); and the use of full lexical person references for referents in all referential positions/statuses ((18), (19) and (20)). These features mark the utterance as outside the telling of the narrative events. Of key relevance to the discussion is the use of person reference expressions in this context – as with the other interactional sequences under consideration in section 6.3, this is another context where supporting narrators do not just employ overt person references, but often employ multiple coreferential referring expressions.

To explore how supporting narrator commentaries emerge and are treated in the process of narration, the remaining discussion will look at the use and distribution of person reference in such comments across a single narrative, the *King Fred* narrative ((18) above was also an extract from this). This narrative is told by SP and MP, with SP in the primary narrator role, and SP's daughter and the author as audience. It is a story about the "king" of Night Island ("king" as appointed by white colonial powers) and his discovery of a washed-up sea mine which he unwittingly attempts to open. The narrative ends with the defusing of the explosive device by a group of white men. Secondary narrator MP produces 10 comment-type utterances throughout the story. These are listed in Table 6.3, with the English translation of the comment and a summary of the preceding context to which the comment reacts. Some are more explanatory in nature (e.g. line 72 and line 123) while others are purely expressive exclamations (e.g. line 58 and line 96).

The first thing to note about the comments in the *King Fred* narrative is the prevalent use of the kin-term *maampa* 'child'. *Maampa* is self-associated to the speaker MP, signalling a parent-child relationship between the speaker and the King Fred character. MP normatively would refer to this person as (classificatory) grandfather *ngachimu* 'mother's father'. Across the 10 utterances, there are 9 uses of *maampa* (see Table 6.3, lines 58, 96, 123, 141-143, 153-157).

| Line no. | Comment | Preceding context |
|---|---|---|
| 58 | *Poor old man! Son, hey my son!* | King Fred orders his fellow Night Island people to go down to the beach and try to open the mine. |
| 72 | *Oh no they carry the axe for something! (They) might hit it!* | The girls carry down an axe to help prise open the mine. |
| 96 | *That one, son, I cry out for poor son!* | The white men at the lighthouse notice the events unfolding on the beach. |
| 123 | *Chief hey they call him, son that belongs me, that one.* | King Fred hangs his name plate around his neck to identify himself as chief to the whitemen. |
| 136 | *Could burn. Oh no! No. Hit it and it will explode!* (explosion gestured) | The white men explain that they have been hitting a mine and that the explosion could have killed them. |
| 141-143 | (i) *Don't run away with fright son!* (ii) *Son was lucky he didn't hit the right place, if it had blown up he would have turned to nothing.* | King Fred runs away, abandoning the Night Island group he leads. |
| 153-157 | (i) *Oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!* (ii) *If son had hit that right spot the light would burnt them to nothing.* | The white men instruct them to watch the mine being detonated. Description of King Fred running away is repeated. |
| 171 | *Oh no!* | The smoke of the explosion rises up and spreads across the sky. |

**Table 6.3** MP comment's on unfolding action of the King Fred narrative

These are almost the only kin-terms employed in this narrative (in addition to the initial maxi-mention of "King" Fred (see §5.6.3.1), as well as one repair sequence (see §6.3.4)). In some instances *maampa* is even used multiple times in a single utterance, as in example (21) below in which MP exclaims 'that one, son, I cry out for poor son!' (line 6). Kin-terms are part of the repertoire of deictic cues, which signal the shift to a different perspective from that of the regular narration mode (compare the discussion of reported speech in §6.2.4). In this and all other uses of *maampa* in MP's comments, however, there is no possessive expression *ngatha/ngathangku* overtly indicating the anchor: MP as the speaker is implicitly understood to be the anchor for this kin-term. This elision is typical in meta-commentary contexts, and contrasts with the frequent use of overt possessives in the narration itself (see §6.2.2 and §6.2.4).

(21)  1  MP     kaa[way-a
                east-LOC
                *in the east*
      2  SP     [kawutha
                boat
                *a boat*
      3         (0.3)
      4  SP     °light°
      5         (0.2)
      6  MP     **ngulu**   (.)    **maampa   nga'a-lu**        **ngayu**
                3sgNOM            ♀C        dem.dist1-DM    1sgNOM
                ing-  ingka-n    **maampa-laka**
                cry   cry-NF     ♀C-PATHOS
                *that one, son, I cry out for poor son!*
      7         (1.2)
      8  SP     ngulu        tha'i-na  kuuyulu
                3sgNOM       hit-NF    thing
                *he hit the thing*

(23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:20:48-00:21:00)

MP's choice of kin-term clearly works to emphasise her connection to this character, but it also chooses to emphasise a particular type of junior-senior kin relation. As mentioned above, "King" Fred is the classificatory grandfather *ngachimu* 'mother's father' of MP, and is introduced as such in the maxi-mention that serves as the globally initial reference (§5.6.3.1). In the context of these meta-comments, however, MP chooses to manipulate her construal of the kin relation casting him as junior kin *maampa* 'child'[69]. This choice is made for interactional affect, namely to express concern for the character.

The comment in (21) comes just after a group of lighthouse workers have noticed the events happening on the beach and prepare to intervene (see line 1-2). As the key elder and initiator of this life threatening activity, this intervention will probably be a source of humiliation to "King" Fred. Accordingly, MP's exclamation responds to the anticipation of their arrival, and expresses concern for him as her "child" (line 6). The same pattern can be observed in another excerpt in (22) below, which describes how "King" Fred flees with fear and shame. In line 3, MP's exclamation expresses a negative view of the cowardly action of the fleeing. This utterance is

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[69] There is evidence of flexibility with construal of kin relation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u society, e.g. observed cases like *kaala* (MBy, FZyH) addressed as *paapa* (M, MZe), and a *maampa* (♀S, ♀D, ZeS, ZeD) referred to as a *muka* (MB+, MZ+) (Thomson 1972:6-9). Contextually conditioned kin construal has been noted in a number of Australian contexts (see Sutton 1982 for mention of similar senior-junior reconfigurations in Wik Ngathan, as well as McGregor 2012 on Gooniyandi, and Rumsey 1981 on Ngarinyin).

directed to the character, almost like an admonishment with the person reference as an address, 'don't run away with fright son!'. In line 7, MP comments on his lucky escape of injury, and in line 9 provides an alternative possible ending to the story which articulates the character's close shave with death. These comments express judgement of the character's actions (eliciting laughter from other participants in line 4-5), but they are also highly emotive, expressively delivered with sorrow and pity for this character. The person reference choice grounds both the narrator's assessments and emotion in an overt demonstration of a specific kin relationship (§6.2.2, §6.2.4).

(22)   1   SP      pintipinti-na   kani-ma
                   run-NF          up-DIR
                   *(he) ran and ran upwards*

       2           (.)

       3   MP      **kuyi      ngampa     pintipinti  [maampa  wini-nyu=**
                   again       NEG        run.IMP      ♀C       fright-?
                   *again don't run away with fright son!*

       4   SP      [huhhahhaha

       5   LH      =huhhuhu

       6   SP      ngulu      atha-nya=
                   3sgNOM     cover-NF
                   *he (took) cover/buried himself*

       7   MP      =**maampa** mini-ku    wiiyanku   tha'i-na
                   ♀C          good-GEN   another    hit-NF
                   *son had luck, (he) hit it in some way*

       8           (.)

       9   MP      aachi-n-tha        now   well   antha     ulmpay
                   burn-NF-DUTY       now   well   before    nothing
                   *and it should have burnt well before then, but nothing happened.*

       10          (.)

       11  SP      inga-na    ngu'ula   waathi  ngungku   ngaachi  ngu'ulungku
                   say-NF     2plNOM    go      dem.dist2  place    2plGEN
                   ilpi-n     kukuku
                   return-NF  dem
                   *(they) said "you lot go over there to your place (the mission) and then look back from there"*

       (23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:23:37-00:23:59)

MP's use of *maampa* over a senior kin-term helps her to achieve the right tone of delivery in these comments. It is this kinship connection which makes these exclamations and judgements possible[70]. It helps to facilitate and soften the speaker's judgements. The character was rash and acted improperly, especially given his elder status, but at the same time there is compassion in her delivery rather than anger. It is this character that in the end suffers most in this story. To use *ngachimu* 'mother's father' in this context would only draw attention to the character's status as an elder and potentially add further critical judgement upon him. Given what has observed in the earlier discussion about the context of use and functions of kin-terms (§5.5.1; §6.2.2; §6.2.4), the expression of the MP's relationship to "King" Fred appears to function to both ratify her right to express an opinion as well as motivate her emotive reaction to the events within the story, and help to package her response as sympathetic. The use of *maampa* in this narrative has provided further evidence that narrators are highly strategic in which characters they self-associate with and how they construe that relation. The construal of kin relations one way or another grounds the speaker's assessments and emotions expressed in their reactive comments in an appropriate demonstration of the genealogical connections to the said character.

Given that comments are often highly emotive and expressive, they appear to be produced reactively in a 'spontaneous' and less 'controlled' way than other aspects of the narrative output (Goffman 1978; the idea of response cries which externalise a presumed internal state). On a closer look, however, they are better understood as interactionally co-constructed and interactionally managed by joint work between the primary and supporting narrators (Hochschild 1983; Selting 2010; Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006). The type of kin-term construal discussed above is already suggestive of some degree of manipulation of content. The performative rather than spontaneous nature of these utterances becomes further apparent through examining the narrator roles, distributional patterns, and the target recipient of the comment, as will be shown in the following discussion.

A first relevant argument is the overall distribution of comments and their relationship to narrator roles: they tend to punctuate narratives during key junctures and moments of high drama in the action in the story – they are particularly prevalent at moments when something life threatening is befalling the story participants. In the case of the *King Fred* narrative, MP produces comments in response to protagonists' "King" Fred's major actions in the story (as outlined in Table 6.3, which follows the development of the storyline and the commentaries provided). This pattern corresponds to findings in a range of studies (Labov and Waletzky's 1967 on narrative macro-structure; Drescher 1997:240, Kockelman 2003:479, Ponsonnet 2014:125 on the interactional functions of emotive interjections; Heritage 1984; Jefferson 1984, 1988; Maynard 2003; and Selting 1996 on the relationship between news announcements and

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[70] SP during translation work on this narrative explains MP's kin-term choice in the following way: *she call him like child to show she is sorry for him – that she shows care for him* (30Mar07:TranscriptionSession).

displays of emotion). In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, in these moments of high drama (as in much of the narration), the primary narrator does not generally present their personal assessment or evaluation of the events in a direct or overt way (though of course their stance is implicitly embedded in the whole construction and construal of the narrative rhetoric, but this is achieved through a carefully constructed veil of a seemingly objective presentation of narrative events[71]). Supporting narrators take a complementary role, presenting assessments and interpretations of the events in a direct, highly expressive, and often forceful way. Kin-terms are coopted to aid in the delivery of this. While stance-laden, however, supporting narrators' comments are still typically affiliative with the primary narrator's presentation of the events. For example, in (18) MP recycles the primary narrator's own reporting of the character's speech in the 'oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!'. In (21) the prior narration makes apparent the imminent public announcement of "King" Fred's error (and following shame), which makes making relevant MP's exclamation, 'that one, son, I cry out for poor son!'. Likewise in (22), the main narrator's description of "King" Fred abandoning his people makes relevant MP's admonishment 'don't run away with fright son!'. In this sense, MP's comments are derivative and aligned with the main line of narration being crafted by SP, the primary narrator. The distribution suggests that the source turns are designed by the primary narrator to build the suspense of the narration and that the supporting narrator's reactive comments are the conventionalised and relevant response to turns of that nature. The clear division of narrator roles suggests order and organisation, rather than spontaneous emotional output.

The ordered nature of comments is further evidenced by the use of supporting narrators' comments in response to well-known and recycled narrative content (Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006 for same point regarding surprise tokens in conversations). Supporting narrators exclaim and call out in surprise or dismay even if those events are already known to them, which again suggests the exclamations and emotive cries have discourse functions. In excerpt (22) above, "King" Fred is described as running away after learning of his foolish behavior. This section of the story is repeated just 10 turns later. The narrator reiterates the interaction with the white men, but with some extra detail added. Even though MP hears this for the second time within a very short time period, she still responds with just as emotionally laden comment, as shown in line 6 of example (23) below where MP exclaims 'oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!'.

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[71] The consequences of this for person reference choice have already been extensively discussed, with primary narrators usually casting characters into semantically simple descriptive categories such as *the old man* and *the girl* and *the initiate* (§5.4.2).

(23)  1  SP     nhanu        wantantu
                2sgNOM       IGNOR
                *"how are you?" (they asked King Fred)*

      2         (0.6)

      3  SP     ngayu        waatha-ngka          ngay        wini-na
                1sgNOM       go-PRES.CONT         1sgNOM      frighten-NF
                *"I'm going, I'm frightened"*

      4         (.)

      5  SP     way    ngampula      [na-
                hey    1plincNOM     ?
                *hey we all ?-"*

      6  MP     **[apa    ngulu     wini-na     nga'a-lu          [maampa-laka**
                INTJ     3sgNOM    fright-NF   dem.dist1-DM      ♀C-PATHOS
                *oh dear, he was frightened, that one, my poor son!*

      7  LH     huuuuhaaahh

      8         (.)

      9  LH     chilpu
                old man
                *the old man*

     10  SP     hm

     11         (.)

     12  MP     **apa    maampa    tha'i-na    il'a    aachi-nya   ulmpay**
                oh      ♀C        hit-NF      light   burn-NF     nothing
                *oh if son had hit that right spot the light would burnt them to nothing*

     13  SP     ngu'ula
                2plNOM
                *(the whitemen says)"you lot*

     14  SP     nhanu        ngi'i         tha'i-ka
                2sgNOM       dem.prox      hit-FUT
                *if you will hit this"*

     15         (1.3)

     16  SP     ngu'ula      maka-ka
                2plNOM       die-FUT
                *(the whitemen says)"you lot will die"*

     (23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:24:13-00:24:39)


A final piece of evidence for the planned and ordered nature of comments lies in the way different classes of recipients deal with them. In example (23), MP's comment in line 6 elicits

a response from the main recipient of the narrative (besides the author). The primary narrator's daughter LH is quiet through much of the story, making her laughter (line 7) and production of 'the old man' (line 9) in (23) notable (compare also (22), where LH also joined in the laughter (line 5) in response to MP's comment). As in these examples, supporting narrators' comments are places where audience members overtly respond to the narration, providing confirmations or showing their own reactions. This again supports the idea that supporting narrators comments work in tandem with the primary narrator to ensure audience comprehension: they are aimed at filling gaps or drawing together information delivered in the main line of narration (see comments in relation to example (20)), rather than just working to display the supporting narrator's own engagement and comprehension of the story (see Atkinson and Drew 1979; Clayman and Heritage 2002 with similar points for media interview contexts). This idea is supported by looking at who the comments are addressed to. Supporting narrators' comments are directed talk, typically co-occuring with shifts in body orientation and in eye-gaze selecting the target recipient (eye-gaze is common tool for addressing talk, see Goodwin 1981, Lerner 2003 and Rossano 2012. They are sometimes addressed towards the primary narrator and sometimes to the audience. When directed towards the audience, they often elicit a recipient token, an acknowledgement of comprehension such as, a nod or a confirmative in the form of 'yes' or a repetition etc. For example, in example (23) MP immediately before and through the delivery of her comment in line 6 looks up addresses the comment to LH. LH displays comprehension by laughing and saying *chilpu* 'old man', and following this SP adds the backchannel *hm*. In contrast, supporting narrator comments directed to primary narrators are typically not acknowledged with overt confirmations. Instead, the confirmation is implicitly expressed through the primary narrator providing further detailed narration of the particular events under comment. In (21), for instance, after MP exclaims 'that one, son, I cry out for poor son!', SP adds further details regarding "King" Fred's ongoing efforts to open the mine. Similarly in (22) following MP's admonishment 'don't run away with fright son!', then SP adds 'he took cover' before going onto the detail the whitemen's account to the remaining group of what would happen when the denotation occurred. So, while supporting narrator comments are not overtly acknowledged by the primary narrator, they are consequential for the trajectory of the narration. In this sense, the comment encourages further narration of details relevant to the important sequence that they highlight. Thus, like elaborations above, these comments have a continuer type function, encouraging the primary narrator to continue the current explication.

To conclude, supporting narrator comments work in tandem with the primary narrator's development of the main line of narration. While supporting narrator comments have features of high emotion, they have been shown to have a performative nature, both in terms of planned distribution and conventionalised narrator role arrangements. These comments at least part of the time have been shown to aid in filling gaps or drawing together information delivered in the primary narrator's main line of narration to ensure recipient comprehension. Supporting

narrator comments overtly and forcefully display stance and interpretative responses to the narrative events, but in ways which are aligned with, and derivative of, the primary narrator's narration. Kin-terms have been shown to aid in this stance taking. Kin-terms are useful tool for this work as they can be construed and manipulated in different ways for required affect.

### 6.3.3 Questions

In addition to continuer moves, secondary narrators can also initiate eliciting moves, namely questions in general, discussed in this section, as well as more specific repair-initiating moves, to be discussed in the next section. As to general questions, supporting narrators prompt for topic: *you talk which way?; what story?* They prod at the primary narrator for extra details: *where?*; *saw what?* They query details already provided: *do you mean…?*; *did he really?.* These requests for more information or to reiterate information already provided are one of the important interactional constructions in multi-party narration. The questions exert a retrogressive force on the narration, requesting that the primary narrator return to prior talk and correct or clarify details or provide new details. Even in the formal context of narration, supporting narrators use a wide array of everyday conversational request devices: all varieties of question constructions, including *wh/*ignorative forms (e.g. *wantuna* 'where/somewhere', *wantila* 'when/sometime'), declarative, alternate formulations, open initiators and tag forms etc. In this section, I will show that questions by secondary narrators are not just about obtaining information, but have broader interactional functions: the proffering and uptake of questions invokes a shift to a different participation framework of the narration, in which supporting narrators routinely, in choral style co-participation, work over details of the narrative events, typically already known to all participants. These highly interactive sequences are rich in overt person references as part of the embellishment and embroidery of the details of the narrative, a pattern which stands out very clearly against the general pattern of minimised person reference elsewhere in the narratives.

The excerpt in (24) below, from the *Waiting for a ride* narrative, illustrates some of the typical features of questions by secondary narrators. In line 8, DS as a secondary narrator asks "what did those two say, the two Islanders?". This question tacitly selects the prior speaker MB (as in this case, this is the primary narrator almost without exception) through the particulars of the context in which question is utilised (§2.3) (Lerner 2003; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). The question is produced 32 turns into the narrative, following MB's reporting of an interaction between herself and a husband and wife pair travelling from the Torres Strait Islands. The characters in the narrative, including MB, are stranded in the bush for the night. MB asks the Islander husband and wife "how will you two, all sleep?" (line 1-4). But the punchline is missing so to speak, with MB continuing the narration and laughing at the predicament being described (line 7), but not actually reporting the Islander pair's response. At this point, DS asks MB what was said (line 8).

(24)  1  MB     ngayu-lin                  pampa  way
                1sgNOM-2duincACC  ask      INTJ
                *I ask them, "hey"*

      2         (.)

      3  MB     wantantu   ngu'ul    pa'amu=
                IGNOR      2plNOM    two
                *"how will you two?*

      4  MB     =all   wuna-tha
                all sleep-FUT
                *all sleep?"*

      5         (1.0)

      6  MB     ngampula       got-im  yuma    mukan  pal'ana-na=
                1plincNOM   got-him  fire     big       prepare.fire-NF
                *we made a big fire*

      7  MB     =haaahuhhhh=
                *haaahuhhhh*

      8  DS     =hm **pula**        wantantu   **pa'a** inga-na **pa'amu thathimalu**
                hm  3plNOM   IGNOR    two-  say-NF  two        islander
                *hm what did those two say, the two Islanders?*

(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride:*00:53:20-00:53:30)

   The first thing to note about DS's question is the use of overt person references, namely *pula* 'they' and a lexical NP headed by the ethnonym *thatimalu* 'islander'. In many questions the speaker will employ a full lexical person reference for referents of all statuses in the discourse, including locally subsequent ones (see §6.2.1). The appearance of overt person forms in this context fits with the cross-linguistic observation that it is common for "full" reference formulations (or a redoing of an "initial" reference form) to be provided at the start of new action in the interaction or a new topic in the discourse (Fox 1987:62-63; Schegloff 1996:455). In this case, it is the new action of asking a question.

   A second feature of the secondary narrator's question in (24) is that it nicely fits in with the topical development of the narrative. The events in the story were experienced by MB, who is the primary narrator, while the other four participants (DS, EG, MP and MP) do not know the story prior to this telling and take a supporting role. At the point of the extract in (24), the scenario of a group of travellers stranded overnight near the old Lockhart River Airstrip has been well established. Immediately preceding (24), the characters have been told that they have to stay overnight away from the airstrip facilities, and the two Islanders have been singled out from the group as a key focus of the story. It is around this point that it begins to become apparent that this story will fall into the genre type of a *lawalawa* narrative (see §2.4.4): a

comedic story about interactions with outsiders, often Islander people, as in this instance. In line 1-4, MB highlights and problematises the Islanders' reaction to the news: she reports asking them "how will you two all sleep?". MB continues with the description of fire building work at the camp in line 6, without directly reporting the Islanders' response to her reported question in 1-4. At the end of this turn she laughs. It is then that DS asks the question. The laughter is potentially important here – laughter has been shown to invite participation of co-participants (Jefferson 1984) and restructure of the frame of the interaction (Goffman 1961). DS' question is a pertinent one and demonstrates understanding of the direction of the story. The use of *thathimalu* 'Islander' in this context – where something more semantically minimal would have sufficed in securing reference – highlights the most topical aspect of the identity of these referents. It highlights their outsider status, which is crucially relevant to their reactions in the unfolding scenario (see discussion of the use of ethnonyms in *lawalawa* narratives in §5.4.3).

The topical nature of the question, as well as the reference form used, suggest that its function is not just to fill gaps in the secondary narrator's comprehension of the narrative events. Even if there is no firm evidence against a purely information-driven interpretation of the question in (24), there are many instances of questions posed on matters that are well-known to the secondary narrator (compare also the discussion of questions and hedges in globally initial mentions (§5.6.3.1), where they were shown to function as a collaborative device and a potential comprehension aid to the audience). A relevant example can be found in (25), also from the *Waiting for a ride* narrative. Sometime following (24) as the narrative recycles back to the events of the evening stranded in the bush, SP asks 'those two, how are they not frightened?' (line 4 in (25)). In this case, the fearful state of the husband-wife pair has already been established and reiterated through the preceding discourse, including by SP herself in the sequence following (24), which is some 32 utterances preceding this question (see line 5 in (26) for this instance). Rather than being driven by an information imperative, the question posed by SP highlights important information about the emotional state of the characters in response to the situation they find themselves in. MB follows up the question by reiterating in more detail her interaction with the Islanders over their concerns with sleeping outside (the first part of this is shown in (line 6-8)). Much like the work we observed for supporting narrators' elaborative utterances (§6.3.1), in this case we can see how questions function to highlight meaningful information, ensuring the important points are emphasised and 'driven home' to the audience. In this way questions do pull at the narration to return to prior talk, but they do so ultimately in the aid of successful production and comprehension of the story.

(25)   1   MB      yuma-na     mukana   pal'ana-na
                   fire-?         big        prepare.fire-NF
                   *we made a big fire*
       2           (.)

3    DS      hmmm=

4    SP      =pula        pa'amu  wantantu    ngampa  wini-na
             3plNOM       two      IGNOR      NEG      fright-NF
             *those two, how are they not frightened?*

5            (0.6)

6    MB      pula         nga'a-l              pa'amu
             3plNOM       dem.dist1-DM         two
             *those two*

7            (0.4)

8    MB      aa     ngay        inchi-nya-lana    ngampa   wini-mpu
             ah     1sgNOM      tell-NF-3plACC    NEG      fright-IMP.PL
             ngampula          wuna-tha
             1plincNOM         sleep-FUT
             *I speak to them, 'don't be frightened, we will sleep'*
       (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:54:01-00:54:12)

More generally, the uptake of questions routinely marks a shift to another format of storytelling, where multiple co-narrators join in, often simultaneously, and work over the details of the story. The interactive sequences initiated by questions are often hot-spots for person references, which are part of the recycling and elaboration that supporting narrators contribute in these spaces in the narration. To illustrate this pattern, the first part of the sequence following DS' question in example (24) is shown below in (26). Responses to questions are typically taken up in, and incorporated directly into, the reporting of the story in the narrated mode. As it is here, with the MB's immediate response to the question about the Islanders' reaction is to launch into a representation of the reported speech of the two Islanders: "oh dear!" (line 3) and "something will find us lot- us all!" (line 7). The sequence that follows recycles and elaborates on content already established. What new content there is, is in the inclusion of small details about the scenario, and the elucidation of the emotional state of the Islanders. In line 5 SP adds 'he was frightened' (speaking of the Islander husband) which sums up the emotion behind the reaction presented in the speech of the Islanders. In line 10-11 EG and MP reiterate that the old man from the husband-wife pair is from Masic Island in the Torres Strait – a detail already established early in the story. In doing so they further emphasise the participants' Islander origin and experience of the world. In line 16, EG elaborates on MB's previous description of fire building, by describing the Islander old man standing by the fire built for him. Through this sequence there are 5 overt references to either the pair of Islanders or the Islander old man: SP in line 5 use *ngulu* 'he/she/it', MP uses demonstrative pronoun *nga'a-l* 'that/those one(s)' in line 8,  EG *chilpu* 'old man' in line 10, 13 and 16. The person references are one aspect of the repetition and embellishment found in this sequence. This is in stark contrast to the long

sequences of ellipsed references to locally subsequent referents discussed in §6.2. In this sense, the overt person references found in question-initiated sequences stand out against the general pattern of minimised reference formulation in other spaces in the narration.

(26)  1   DS   hm   **pula**        wantant  **pa'a-**   inga-na   **pa'amu thathimalu**
               hm   3plNOM   IGNOR   two-       say-NF    two        islanders
               *hm what did those two say, the two Islanders?*

      2        (0.2)

      3   MB   apa
               INTJ
               *"oh dear!"*

      4        (1.0)

      5   SP   **ngulu**        wini-na
               3sgNOM    frighten -NF
               *he was frightened*

      6        (.)

      7   MB   nganan-             ngampulan     [ngaani  ngachi-ka
               1plexcACC     1plincACC     IGNOR  find-FUT
               *"something will find us lot- us all!"*

      8   MP   [**nga'a-l-ki**              xxxxx
               dem.dist1-DM-DUB     ?
               *those/that one might*

      9        (.)

     10   EG   **chilpu**        kalma[-na  lo
               old.man      come-NF    GEN
               *the old man came*

     11   MP   [kalma-na   Masic
               come-NF    Masic
               *came from Masic (island)*

     12   SP   nyii=
               yes
               *yes*

     13   EG   =**chilpu**       kalma-lu   [**chilpu-lu**
               old.man      come-?      old.man-ERG
               *the old man came, the old man*

     14   SP   [nyii
               *yes*

     15        (0.4)

16  EG  **nga'a-l**      **chilpu**      yuma      nga'a
        dem.dist1-DM    old.man       fire      dem.dist1
        *that old man at the fire there*
(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:53:08-00:53:36)


The higher density of person reference (also observed in §6.3.1 and §6.3.2 above, and further in chapter 8) is not the only characteristic that distinguishes question-initiated sequences. Sequences following questions are also characterised by a certain style of co-production. More than one narrator speaking simultaneously is routine in this context, resulting in choral-style sequences. They feature overlapping between turns (see line 7-8 and 10-11 above) or micro pauses between turns and latching of turns (see line 5-7, 8-10, 11-13) (see further below in (27)). As a general rule, Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u multi-party narration follows widely held turn organisational preference of one speaker talking at a time with, sometimes with notably long pauses between turns[72], or at least minimal overlapping of terms (Levinson and Torreira 2015; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Stivers et al. 2009). By contrast, in post-question sequences it is common to have more than one narrator speaking at a time (as shown in (26), and in (27) below), and this is not in any way treated as problematic interactionally by the narrators[73]. In the excerpts in this section, all four co-narrators in the narrative participate in concert with each other. The question by DS in (25) (along with SP's further question in (26)) generate a lengthy and highly interactive sequence which largely halts the narration of subsequent events in the story for no less than 60 turns – only the first 11 turns of this sequence are shown in (26). The length of this sequence is unusually drawn-out, but the type of narrative "work" carried out by the co-narrators is typical of such post-question spaces in the narrative. These sequences function to build up and emphasise important information in the story. To illustrate briefly, a further small section of this sequence is shown in (27).  DS reiterates 'those ones as frightened (line 1). This is confirmed by MB (line 3). SP repeats twice that Islander man sits up till daybreak (line 2, line 5). This contrasts with MB description of herself and his wife sleeping (line 8). DS adds further detail to this, specifying their position close to the fire (line 10). The building up of the situation by redoing and enhancing details helps to construct key background to the Islanders' reaction to the situation they find themselves in. The way that the multiple co-narrators construct the narrative in concert with each other also simultaneously functions to display their mutual engagement in, and mutual understanding of meaningful

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[72] Use of transitions and gaps between turns/utterances is an important stylistic device in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrative. Long dramatic pauses versus rapid fire narration are used for different effect. Walsh (2016), McGregor (2005) and Muecke (1982) all note pauses as a common information packaging and rhetorical device in Aboriginal Australian narrative.

[73] Note that there are other activities in conversation that have been described as being achieved chorally rather than serially, e.g. greetings and leave takings (Lerner 2002; Schegloff 2000) and congratulations (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987).

pieces of information in the emergent story. Choral co-production in English conversational settings has been understood as an affiliation device where a co-participant associates themselves and displays agreement with what is being said in another turn (Lerner 1987). This function shows strong similarities to that observed in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration.

(27)  1  DS    **nga'a-l**          wini-na=
                dem.dist1-DM    fright-NF
                *that one is frightened*

       2  SP    =pa'anama    paacha[na
                sitdown          daylight
                *sit down till daylight*

       3  MB    [wini      nyii
                fright     yes
                *frightened yes*

       4        (.)

       5  SP    pa'anama   [paachana
                sitdown       daylight
                *sit down till daylight*

       6  EG    [oh   **nga'a-lu**    xxxxx
                oh    dem.dist1-DM
                *oh that one*

       7        (1.0)

       8  MB    **wayimu**    wuna-na   **ngayu**    **<nga'a-l>**
                woman          camp-NF   1sgNOM   dem.dist1-DM
                *the woman and I  sleep*

       9        (1.0)

      10  DS    yuma    yinchu
                fire       close
                *close to the fire*

       (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride:*00:53:51-00:53:57)

To conclude, beyond the response to a question proffered by a supporting narrator, questions often initiate extended collaborative sequences, featuring choral co-production, which highlight and embellish important aspects of the unfolding story. Person reference plays a crucial role in this embellishment, as reflected in the predominance of overt reference types in such sequences, and the bias towards topic-fitted forms. Questions appear to invoke a shift to a different participation framework (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986); a framework where supporting

narrator talk dominates and where highly collaborative discussion is typical, if not interactionally required.

### 6.3.4 Other-initiated repair

A second type of eliciting move by supporting narrators are repair initiating moves, where they take corrective action to deal with issues in hearing or understanding the primary narrator's production of the story. They ask primary narrators about what was said and what was meant by what was said etc. using corrective initiating utterances like *huh?, what did you say?, who?, which old man?*. Such corrective actions are termed repair initiators, since they initiate a sequence which works to repair some issue in the preceding talk of another speaker (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) (see also §5.6.1 and §5.6.3.1 for some earlier discussion of repair). Other-initiated repair sequences are crucial in multi-party narration because they deal with the fundamentally cooperative nature of this task: establishing and maintaining mutual understanding and coordination of knowledge states across the co-narrators. This is important for the delivery of a successful narrative by a group of participants with varying knowledge of the events being narrated (§2.2). As will be shown in the coming discussion, other-initiated repair sequences in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, specifically and most clearly person reference repairs, initiate long sequences that interrupt the ongoing course of the narration far beyond the correction of the trouble source. This shows notable similarities to the pattern described in §6.3.3. These sequences work hard at ensuring and confirming mutual understanding and coordination, long after it has been jeopardised by a trouble source. This pattern goes against preferences for repair actions to minimise disruption to the interaction as observed in cross-linguistic work on conversation (Dingemanse et al. 2015), and points to different interactional priorities in this special multi-party narrative setting (§5.2).

Another noteworthy feature is that – except when dealing with a local source of trouble – there is a strong dispreference for other-initiated repair to be made in response to a globally initial mention of a person (§5.6.3.1). Supporting narrators tend only to request more identifying information well after the globally initial mention, even if they do not know who is being talked about. This puts the action of repair-initiators on person references resolutely in the domain of subsequent reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. Both of these features, namely the length of repair sequences and their locality relative to the trouble source, will be discussed in this section: (1) What is the relationship between the nature and severity of the trouble source and the cost in progressivity to the narrative? Here the contrast will between local and global trouble types. (2) What is the proximity of the repair initiator relative to the trouble source? Here the contrast is between immediate and delayed corrective actions.

A first example of an other-initiated repair sequence is found in (28), from the *Susie and Cilla* narrative. This is an example of a local reference issue on a subsequent reference to a main character. Local trouble sources are smaller locally-situated issues in audibility, speech

production and reference tracking. In (28) the trouble source occurs at a transition point between the speech event and narrative activity (line 1-6). The storytelling is briefly halted due to some nearby commotion. SP restarts the storytelling with use of an ellipsed person reference, despite the break in thematic continuity (see also §6.2.3). This causes the co-narrators some difficulty in tracking the reference in line 6, 'tied up his/her piece of clothing now'. DS and MB immediately work to remedy this issue by producing repair-initiators in line 8 and 9. This is typical: to date all local trouble sources are observed to be dealt with in the immediately following turn or the turn after this. In (28) DS uses the request initiator 'who?' (line 8) and with overlapping production MB uses the request initiator and partial repeat of the trouble source utterance 'who tied up that one?' (line 9). These repair-initiation formulations provide direct instruction on the part of the utterance that was not understood – the formats used by DS and MB are commonly used resources in other-initiated repair sequences for person reference, both in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u and cross-linguistically (Dingemanse, Blythe and Dirksmeyer 2014; Dingemanse et al. 2015). In the following turn, SP provides the solution with the kin-term *kamichu* 'grand-daughter' in a nominal predicate, 'he/she is (my) grand-daughter'. MB confirms comprehension of the solution with the use of personal name *Priscilla* (line 14) – this utterance is also potentially used to elicit further confirmation from SP, which it does in the following turn with SP saying 'yes' (line 16). As has been found cross-linguistically, person reference repair in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u follows a model of upgrading reference choice along a scale of increasing semantic specificity of person until the referential problem is resolved to the satisfaction of the narrators/recipients (Levinson 2007). In (28) the narrators progress from an initial problematic ellipsed reference (line 6), to a kin-term (line 11), and then to a personal name until the reference problem is resolved (line 14). In addition to maxi-mentions for globally initial references (see §5.6), other-initiated repairs are the context with the highest density of most semantically specific person reference information in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. Repair sequences are rich in kin-terms, and they are one of the only contexts where personal names are routinely found (e.g. the repair in (28) features one of a few personal names employed in this narrative – the others are employed in maxi-mentions and in another repair context).

(28)    1    SP      yea[h
        2    DS      [yeah
        3            (1.0)
        4    SP      inga-n
                     say-NF
                     *(I) said*
        5            (2.5)

| 6 | SP | taywa | ngungangku | ali-nya-na |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | clothes | 3sgGEN | pick-NF-now |

*(she) tied up her piece of clothing (singlet) now*

| 7 |  | (0.4) |
|---|---|---|

| 8 | DS | **waa'i-[ncha-lu** |
|---|---|---|
|  |  | IGNOR-?-ERG |

*who?*

| 9 | MB | **[waa'i-ncha-lu** | nga'a-lu | ali-nya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | IGNOR-?-ERG | dem.dist1-DM | pick-NF |

*who tied up that one?*

| 10 |  | (.) |
|---|---|---|

| 11 | SP | **ngulu** | **kamichu** |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | 3sgNOM | DC |

*grandchild/she is (her) grandchild*

| 12 |  | (1.5) |
|---|---|---|

| 13 | SP | [them- |
|---|---|---|

| 14 | MB | **[Priscilla-lu** | ali-nya |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | Priscilla-ERG | pick-NF |

*Priscilla tied (it) up.*

| 15 |  | (.) |
|---|---|---|

| 16 | SP | yuway |
|---|---|---|

*yes*

(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:19:30-00:19:43)

The length of the repair sequence in (28) is interesting from a cross-linguistic perspective. Recent typological work on other-initiated repair sequences in conversational interaction has shown a strong preference for a quick solution of interactional troubles and a rapid return to the preceding interaction (Dingemanse et al. 2015). In this study, a diverse set of 12 languages show a strong preference for a standard two-utterance repair sequence (repair initiation and solution) which is on average no longer than the single utterance which is being fixed. Dingemanse et al. (2015) propose a principle of Conservation governing other-initiated repair: "the shared cost of repair is no more than the lone cost incurred in the trouble source turn" (Dingemanse et al. 2015:8). Examples like (28) show that other-initiated repair in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration – and this is a crucial difference in the speech exchange system under consideration – does not fit the pattern found in the conversational data explored in Dingemanse et al. (2015). The repair initiation and the following solution are nearly always longer than the trouble source turn. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, the narrators do not rapidly close the sequence once the solution is offered and confirmed. Instead, the normal

pattern is for the co-narrators to revisit and confirm many aspects of immediately prior talk. In (29) below, which immediately follows (28) above, the other-initiated repair sequence does not close immediately to resume the narrative, even though the specific reference tracking issue is resolved. Instead, many of the details of the event described in the trouble source are worked over collaboratively: line 18, 22, and 27 reiterate that the singlet is used to tie up molluscs; line 27-40 reiterate the type of molluscs being collected, *akya* and *nyakun*. In this sense, much as for general questions (§6.3.3), the turn in which the repair sequence is initiated acts as a pivot which suspends the narration and shifts the participation framework into a setting in which the co-participants work together to confirm of multiple current aspects of the narration, ensuring and reaffirming convergence in knowledge states before resuming the narration.

(29)   17          (.)

     18   SP    yuway   katha-n

                yes       pick-NF

                *yes (she) tied it*

     19          (.)

     20   SP    tha-

     21          (0.3)

     22   SP    *that inside part*

     23   MB    ah

     24          (0.2)

     25   MB    yuway

                *yes*

     26          (.)

     27   SP    katha-na    ayka

                pick-NF     mollusc

                *tied up the molluscs*

                (1.4)

     28   MB    °xxxxx°

     29          (0.2)

     30   SP    aa

     31          (.)

     32   MB    hm       ayka-thu         xxxxx

                hm       mollusc-MOD   ?

                *hm must be ayka* (mollusc species)

                (.)

| 33 | SP | pa:::tha | nga'a-lu | [full |
|----|----|----------|----------|-------|
|    |    | tin | dem.dist1-DM | full |

*that tin is full*

| 34 | | (.) |
|----|--|-----|

| 35 | MB | ayka | minya= |
|----|----|------|--------|
|    |    | mollusc | animal |

*ayka (mollusc species)*

| 36 | DS | =nyakun |
|----|----|---------|
|    |    | mollusc |

*nyakun (mollusc species)*

| 37 | | (0.2) |
|----|--|-------|

| 38 | EG | °ayk-° |
|----|----|--------|
|    |    | mollusc |

*ayka (mollusc species)*

| 39 | | (.) |
|----|--|-----|

| 40 | MB | nyakun | ayka | kulka |
|----|----|--------|------|-------|
|    |    | mollusc | mollusc | many |

*many ayka and nyakun*

(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla:*00:19:43:00:19:59)

To be clear, the extended nature of the sequence in (28)-(29) is not a result of the proceeding halt in narration before the trouble source. Example (30) is another case from the same narrative, but in a context where the narration is unbroken. Once again there is a reference tracking issue with DS being unable to identify the referent of the third-person pronoun *ngulu* (line 1). The local issue is cooperatively dealt with using a targeted repair-initiator format closely following the trouble source (line 8), and it is resolved in the following turns (line 10). But, once gain the sequence doesn't close here, instead SP reiterates more information about the referent (line 14-16) and DS and MB reiterate and repeat and confirm further details (line 18-22). This small local trouble source, as in (29), exerts influence over progress of narrative. It delays progress of the individual primary narrator's trajectory, but opens up another preferred mode in the interaction, that of joint-telling (§2.2).

| (30) | 1 | SP | ngulu | been- |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|
|      |   |    | 3sgNOM | been |

*she had*

| | 2 | | (0.8) |
|--|---|--|-------|

3  SP    pungana    waayiali-la      chu'uchi-ku
        fish       throw.PROG-NF  small-DAT
        *chucked (a line) for the small(fish for bait)*
4        (.)
5  SP    chan[chamu-ku
        garfish-DAT
        *for garfish*
6  EG    [hm
7        (1.3)
8  DS    waa'i-nchu-
        IGNOR-?
        *who?*
9        (.)
10 SP    ngulu      Cilla mukana  ilpi-na
        3sgNOM    Cilla big       return-NF
        *Cilla was big and had returned (from school)*
11       (0.2)
12 DS    hmhum
13       (.)
14 SP    mukan
        big
        *big*
15       (0.5)
16 SP    he been lo [at] school (.) come back for holiday
17       (0.4)
18 DS    yeah  chanchamu
        *yeah garfish*
19       (.)
20 MB    him hook them chanchamu
21       (0.2)
22 DS    hm
23       (1.0)
24 SP    kuyi  nga'a-l          inga-na  away ngana
        then  dem.dist1-DM     say-NF  INTJ 1plexcNOM
        *then that one says "hey we"*

(04Sep08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:17:21-00:17:42)

Example (28) and (30) show instances of local trouble sources resulting from reference tracking difficulties. There are other types of trouble sources, however, specifically issues around the actual recognition of the identity of a character. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, trouble retrieving and securing the identity of a character are not addressed immediately at the globally initial mention. Supporting narrators tend to only request identifying information well after the globally initial mention, often making this a long-held issue left unaddressed through numerous subsequent references in the narration (see Garde 2003 and 2008a on high tolerance for unresolved reference in Bininj Gunwok). With this patterning, supporting narrators appear to wait for more information to be forthcoming, or to see if they can resolve the trouble independently, without recourse to other-initiated repair (see related discussion in Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977 regarding preference for self-repair). If further recognitional information is not provided, then supporting narrators request more information further along in the emerging narration – usually in contexts where there is increasing contextual pressure for recognition. Once again, this is an interesting pattern in terms of cross-linguistic work on other-initiated repair, albeit once again in a conversational setting. Extensive research has shown that it is rare for a repair not to be initiated in the next turn, or at least very shortly following a trouble source (Bolden 2009; Dingemanse et al. 2015; Kendrick 2015; Robinson 2006; Schegloff 2000). Even then, there tends to be some delay: transitions (the space between turns) before repair initiators have been repeatedly observed to be notably longer than those before other types of turns (Kendrick 2015; Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977; Robinson 2006). The explanations proposed for these small inter-turn delays are related to the proposed motivations for the much longer delays observed with Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators in requesting identifying information: extra time is used to search for late recognition and to see if the speaker resolves the problem themselves (Kendrick 2015; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977).

To illustrate the delay in resolving recognitional issues in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, we will return to the case of the Islander old man in the *Waiting for a ride* narrative. This referent is one of the main characters, if not the main character in this story. He is first referenced as part of a husband and wife pair, by the main narrator MB using a kin dyadic construction 7 turns into the narrative, as shown in (31). The globally initial reference to the referent individually occurs 38 turns into the narration, produced by supporting narrator SP using a free pronoun shown in (32). Following this, there are many subsequent mentions, both locally subsequent and locally initial, using forms that are not typically recognitional, e.g. pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, human classificatory terms, and ethnonyms. This continues till 83 turns into the narrative, when a repair-initiating turn is delivered by supporting narrator DS, shown in (33).

(31)  MB        ngayu (.)  **thathimalu    ma'a    muuyu** and   anthaya pa'amu
                 1sgNOM    islander        DYAD  H         and   girl    two
                 *I, islander husband and wife, and two girls*
                 (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*)


(32)  SP        **ngulu**            wini-na
                 3sgNOM              frighten -NF
                 *he was frightened*
                 (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*)


(33)   1   MB      piipi (.)  nga'a-lu-ku[74]        store  manager    ngampulungku-ku
                   F          dem.dist1-DM-GEN       store  manager    1plincGEN-GEN
                   *father, for that one was our store manager*
       2           (0.5)
       3   DS      whose is that **thathimalu    manthal**    now
                   whose is that  islander       name        now
                   *what is that islander's name now?*
       4           (0.8)
       5   MB      °eh°
       6           (0.5)
       7   DS      **old man-laka**
                   old.man-PATHOS
                   *the poor old man?*
       8           (.)
       9   SP      °xxxxx°
      10           (0.5)
      11   MB      °**andrew** aa°
      12           (1.0)
      13   DS      hey?
      14           (0.5)
      15   MB      °**steven[son**°
      16   SP      **[stevenson**
      17  (0.5)
      18   SP      **andrew steven[son**
      19   MB      **[andrew stevenson**

---

[74] MB produces a flat handed point on *nga'alu* and again on *manager* indicating the direction of Old Site, and therefore the store of which the referent was the manager.

| 20 | | (.) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | DS | **andrew stevenson** | yeah | **nga'a-lu** | **chilpu** now= |
| | | personal.name | yeah | dem.dist1-DM | old.man now |

*Andrew Stevenson, yeah that old man now*

| 22 | MB | =**chilpu** | **nga'a-l** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | old.man | dem.dist1-DM |

*that old man*

(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:54:56-00:55:12)


In excerpt (33) DS asks 'what is that islander's name now?' (line 3). Following hesitation from MB (line 5), DS reiterates the repair-initiating request using an alternate person reference designation to identify the referent 'the poor old man?' (line 7). This elicits the first recognitional pieces of information about this person in the narrative: MB's hesitant delivery of the referent's first name 'andrew ah' (line 11), and then the referent's last name 'stevenson' (line 15) when the first name alone is not adequate. Circumspection is an important force in this other-initiated repair sequence, particularly given DS's direct request for a name rather than other recognitional information available (say a kin-term triangulation or semantically specific description) (see §5.7). This slows down the resolution of the issue, and generates the circumlocutory style sequence seen in (33). MB's response is produced with hesitation and with sotto voce delivery, signalling dispreference for the use of personal names (§5.7.3). SP and DS both repeat the man's personal name, indicating mutual understanding has been achieved (line 18, 21). In DS's turn, she overtly acknowledges recognition with 'andrew stevenson, yeah, that old man now' (line 21). The solution to trouble being repaired comes to end with MB repeating in confirmation 'that old man' (line 22). Note, that while provision of the character's personal name is problematic, as shown in (33), the primary narrator had many other ways of construing reference earlier on which would have provided identifying information to the co-narrators – as is achieved with many other characters which circumspection applies to.

If we look at the broader context in the narrative, the request initiating repair in (33) comes at a juncture in the story where the identification of people in the stranded group becomes increasingly problematic. In the preceding turn, the father-son relationship between the boy in the group and the community store manager has just been clarified (see line 1 of (33)). The father/store manager is shortly due on the scene to collect the stranded group. The potential ambiguity of two important adult male referents may motivate the timing of DS's repair. It certainly makes the identity of the islander man increasingly notably absent in the discourse in comparison to the recognitional information just provided for the store manager. While the trouble-source is more nebulous than in example (28) or (30), and it does not bear as straightforward a relationship to a single trouble source point, it is still occasioned by the

preceding context. There is an increasing contextual pressure for recognition in this context after dozens of non-identifying references in the preceding narration.

As with the other-initiated repair sequences described in (28) and (30), the narrative following (33) does not resume immediately at the juncture it left off, which was the description of the arrival of the store-manager, but instead turns to other outstanding issues and reconfirms preceding narrative content. The very start of this sequence is shown in (34). Directly after the repair to resolve the identity of the old man, DS follows up with a question about the islander man's wife, shown in line 1 of (34). After this, all five co-narrators return to and reconfirm key events already narrated, e.g. the old islander man's fear as he waits through the sleepless night, and the white airport manager giving them food for their dinner. In fact, it takes 33 turns until the narration resumes at the point it left off. As also observed in (29) and (30), once the repair initiator pivots the participants to addressing issues of prior talk, then they tend to remain 'in this space', and speakers tend to expand the sequence to deal with other related matters. So, the pattern is the same as that observed above, but notably more extended. This suggests that the more severe the issue being repaired, the longer the joint work that is done to ensure the coordination of knowledge states. This suggests that the more that is revealed of a mismatch in presumed shared knowledge between the co-narrators in their joint storytelling task, then the harder they work ensure and confirming mutual understanding and coordination.

(34)   1   DS      and **kulnta   kuunchi**?
                   and   wife        relative
                   *and his wife (countrymen)?*
       2           (.)
       3   MB      paapa    kuunchi-lu    kaalnthi-nya    ngathan=
                   M        relative-ERG  send-NF          1sgACC
                   *his mother sent him with me*
       4   MB      =xxxx    no got=
       5   MB      =ngathangku      kungkay-lu    piipi-ku
                   1sgGEN           north-ABL     F-DAT
                   *from the north, to my place to his father*
       6           (1.1)
       7   MB      piipi-ku
                   F-DAT
                   *to his father*
       (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:55:14-00:55:20)

Another instance of a delayed correction of character recognition, followed by an extended sequence, can be found in example (35) below, from the *Mitpi kuunchi* narrative. The *Mitpi*

*Kuunchi* narrative primarily describes an encounter of a group of Umpila people with the ghost of an ancestor. DS is the primary narrator and EG takes a supporting role. In the lead up to the encounter, an old man tells a story which is implied to have conjured the spirit. The old man is introduced around 100 utterances into the narrative by DS who says, 'that old man arrived'. Details describing the set up and arrangement of a camp occur in the following 6 utterances. Then the old man announces "I'm going to give you lot a story". He begins to tell the story – the start of this is line 1 in example (35). It is at this juncture, two utterances into the old man's story, and 14 utterances after the globally initial reference, that EG interrupts with a request for clarification of the old man's identity (who has been not been identified beyond use of *chilpu* 'old man') via a question about his land affiliation/origins. At initial mention it is not clear what role the old man will have in the narrative, but his significance increases as he begins delivering the story within the narrative. Additionally, once DS shifts to this story-within-story, it is probably clear to EG that no further identifying information about the storyteller will be quickly forthcoming. In this case EG does not directly request the old man's name or kin-relationship, but she uses indirect request for information about his home territory[75] (line 2). The question is treated by DS as a request initiating repair regarding the man's identity. In response, she first says *chilpu* 'old man' delievered with a co-speech gesture that points in the direction of the Lockhart River cemetery, confirming the man's deceased status (line 4). She then adds additional specificity using kin-term *muka* to start with (line 6), and then a personal name, Jimmy Jealous (line 8-10). EG acknowledges recognition at this point with an 'ah' (line 12). DS provide further information on identity of the old man by triangulating kin relation to a third-party. EG then proffers an explanation of why she didn't know who DS was talking about, and here she identifies her kin relation to the old man (line 17) – an account for not identifying the referent and interrupting the progressivity of the narration.

(35)  1  DS   ngana        uu-   ukapi-chi  ngana        wantantu
               1plexcNOM   first- first-COM  1plexcNOM   IGNOR
               tha'i-mi-na    kaarika-[pinta
               hit-RFL-NF   spear-COM
               *before we used to fight each other with spears*
      2  EG   [**chilpu    nga'a-l        wantu-ku?**
               old.man    dem.dist-DM    where-GEN
               *where is that old man from?*
      3        (0.5)

---

[75] As can often be the case, there is difficulty teasing apart and blurred boundaries between some cases of repair-initiation and questions. This is one such case. It is treated by DS as a repair-initiation regarding identity of the referent and so is discussed in these terms here.

| 4  | DS | **chilpu** |
|----|----|----|
|    |    | old.man |
|    |    | *old man* |
| 5  |    | (1.4) |
| 6  | DS | **muka-laka** |
|    |    | MBe-PATHOS |
|    |    | *mum's older brother poor thing!* |
| 7  |    | (0.8) |
| 8  | DS | **manthala   ngungangku** |
|    |    | name        3sgGEN |
|    |    | *his name* |
| 9  |    | (1.4) |
| 10 | DS | **Jimmy Jealous** |
| 11 |    | (0.3) |
| 12 | EG | aa |
|    |    | ah |
| 13 |    | (0.9) |
| 14 | DS | **ngachimu  for [this lot there** |
|    |    | FF           for this lot there |
|    |    | *he is grandfather to this lot here* |
| 15 | EG | [°xxxxx° |
| 16 |    | (1.8) |
| 17 | EG | °ngayu     chu'uchi ampa-  ngayu     kiika-na    **ya'athu-ku**° |
|    |    | 1sgNOM    small    ?       1sgNOM    look-NF     By-DAT |
|    |    | *I was a small one then, I looked at younger brother.* |

(12Aug07:*Mitpi kuunchi*:00:05:54-00:06:16)

EG's repair initiation in (35) leads to a sequence of 24 utterances, which details not only the old man's identity, but in which EG and DS plot other key characters' relationship to him and other people present, e.g.*;* '(he was) Ellen and Ada, Lilla's mother's father, who was like a father for them'; 'the two fathers, ah- mother's father and mother's mother were there'; 'small mothers had all been there too' etc. Given the length of sequence it is too long to reproduce here, but the point is the same as for the preceding examples. The *Mitpi kuunchi* case is another instance of a particularly long post other-initiated repair sequence, but the example is typical of the work that co-narrators do within this context. In Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, other-initiated repairs initiate extended and highly collaborative sequences which include cross-checking and confirmation of multiple aspects of the narrative events being described, well beyond the resolution of the problem person reference. In contrast to the cross-linguistic

preference for quick resolution of repairs noted in everyday conversation (Dingemanse et al. 2015), Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators show no urgency or need to return to the activity of narrating the story events. This could be a result of the different interactional pressures of the narrative context in general, but it is more likely a product of the strong cultural preference for joint telling in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u story-telling specifically, of which we have already observed has extensive influence on narrative organisation (§2.2; §5.2; §5.6, §6.3.1-6.3.3).

These sequences are not minimal and there is no attempt made to halt this input by the primary narrator, and no sign that this is not a preferred or appropriate outcome resulting from the interruption of the repair. This is evidence that ensuring comprehension across co-narrators is a highly prioritised activity in multi-party narrative in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, and perhaps more broadly (see discussion of priority activities in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:720). The nature of the post other-initiated repair sequences certainly demonstrates that the joint interactional work undertaken in these spaces has priority over the progressivity of the narration.

The discussion of the two cases above also suggested a relationship between the nature of the trouble source and the cost in progressivity to the narrative. Small reference tracking issues are associated with shorter interruptions, while issues around the identity and recognition of characters are associated with extended sequences (of 32 turns in the case of the Islander man in (33), and 22 turns in the case of the old man in (35)). Co-narrators appear to work extra hard to ensure and confirm mutual understanding after it has been jeopardised by this type of trouble source. Additional evidence that these two types of comprehension issues are treated differently by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators is the proximity of the repair initiation to the trouble source. Local comprehension issues are tackled immediately by supporting narrators, while issues identifying a character are notably delayed. This suggests some reluctance or dispreference to display a lack of comprehension or lack of common ground of this type. This dispreference may be due to the idea that this action undermines some baseline assumption of shared knowledge of fundamental aspects of the social world – of which there is near matching knowledge between the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytellers, given the size of community and the life-time of common ground. In addition, the strong cultural preference for joint narration could mean that participating co-narrators maintain a public display of comprehension about some fundamental aspects of the narrative, particularly through the early stages of narration as they wait for key thematic information about people and place and genre to become clear through the primary narrator's storytelling. Displays of a lack of shared knowledge and shared comprehension of could be viewed as counter to the fundamental collaborative nature of the co-telling task they are currently undertaking. The priority of the co-telling is clear from the discussion in this section: in the length of sequences that follow both questions (§6.3.3) and repair initiators (§6.3.4), and the energy the co-tellers expend in jointly working over the details

of the story, ensuring and reaffirming their convergence in knowledge states before resuming the narration.

**6.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has described fundamental aspects of the pattern of person mentions subsequent to globally initial mention. The first half of the chapter focused on describing the basic pattern of anaphora, and the second half zoomed in on how secondary narrators specifically use person reference in their contributions to the narrative.

In the first half, the picture was largely one of minimal person reference. Characters are most often tracked through narration with the use of no overt references at all, particularly in contexts of thematic continuity which are prevalent in many narratives (§6.2.3). Minimal overt references of free pronouns and bound pronouns are relegated to certain contexts with specific functions: free pronouns are employed to signal shifts in participant configurations (§6.2.3), while bound pronouns to highlight the viewpoint of a current participant (§6.2.5). In contrast to the tendency for none to minimal person reference, perspective shifts (e.g. reported speech constructions) are loaded with overt and semantically specific person references like kin-terms, which provide interpretative cues to perspective shifts, and aid other interactional goals associated with that moment of the storytelling situation. While this pattern was elucidated specifically in relation to narrative and person reference, much of what was described here applies more broadly to reference formulation in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u.

The second half of this chapter moved onto the question how supporting narrators contribute to the narration, even when they often have no first-hand knowledge of the story or have never heard the story before. As already mentioned, the cultural preference for collaborative storytelling, which is expected and considered pro-social, overrides any issues that epistemic access might pose (§2.2-2.3). Embellishment and embroidery of person reference information is one avenue co-narrators have for fulfilling the preference for joint narration. The discussion in §6.3 discussed the special use of overt person references by co-narrators inhabiting a supporting role in the storytelling. Four types of contributions made by supporting narrators were explored: elaborations (§6.3.1); comments (§6.3.2), questions (§6.3.3); and repair initiators (§6.3.4). Each of these contributions is associated with a specific type of overt person reference, motivated by the interactional and discourse structure within which they occur. Given this, the discussion also looked beyond the person reference choice itself to the social-interactional goals within the context of use. Collaborative goals were shown to be central. Elaborations, comments and questions were shown to display engagement in, and comprehension of, the narration. They are also highly topical, working to highlight key parts of narrative and build on the action of the story that the primary narrator is producing. These topical functions ensure that the important themes and aspects of the story are emphasised and 'driven home' to the audience. In this sense, supporting narrators work in tandem with the

primary narrator to ensure audience comprehension. Questions and other-initiated repairs were shown to act as a pivot which suspends the narration and shifts the participation framework into a setting in which the co-participants work together to confirm of multiple current aspects of the narration. The highly interactive sequences that follow are often hot-spots for person references, which are part of the recycling and elaboration that supporting narrators contribute in these spaces. Once again, they highlight meaningful thematic issues and ensure successful narration. The interactional and extended nature of these post-question/repair sequences demonstrate that joint telling has interactional priority over rapid narrative progressivity in this multi-party narrative setting.

# Chapter 7  Narrative organisation and person mention

*alright*
*them ku'unku'unchi*
*nganan*
*iingkanana, 'away*
*anthaykamu palu kalmampu'*
*'ngampula,*
*pakayma malngkanaku waathaka ngampula'*

"Alright. Those old women. To us, called out, 'Hey! Young girls, you come here'. 'We all, we all will go down to the beach'."

—— Thematic transition of place in the *I'ira* narrative told by Dorothy Short

## 7.1 Introduction

How do multiple narrators, with different access and knowledge of the story, coordinate to craft a successful and coherent narrative? The preceding chapters have shown how person reference formulation is strongly implicated in this, in manifold ways: in the analysis of maxi-mentions as a structure of incremental person reference that affords collaboration (§5.6.3.1); in the provision of interpretive cues for successful comprehension in places with complex representations of perspective (§6.2.4); in the deployment of self-associated kin-terms to bolster a narrator's right to deliver key parts of the narration (§5.5.1; §6.2.4; §6.3.2), and to affiliate with and elucidate a co-narrator's narration (§6.3.3). This chapter will examine the relationship between person reference and joint narration from a broader perspective, specifically how person reference plays out across the thematic organisation of entire narrative events.

The focus of the discussion will be on the management of thematic transitions within a narrative, i.e. the launch of a new thematic sequence and the close of such sequences. It will be shown that the launch of new thematic sequences, specifically those which constitute an important change of location in the story, is associated with marked linguistic devices, including a high density, and marked presentation, of person references. These zones of high density serve as waypoints in the comprehension of the narrative, in which the primary narrator establishes the basic characters and actions for the coming thematic sequence. The zones tend to be preceded by high levels of collaboration in the closure of the previous thematic sequence, but there is little collaboration within them, except where the primary narrator fails to provide sufficient person reference and comprehension breaks down. This chapter is organised as follows. Section 7.2 provides background information about the thematic organisation of narratives, and the criteria used to identify thematic transitions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u

narration. The focus will be on place transitions, which have been shown to be central in narrative structure in other Australian languages, and are equally central in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u. Section 7.3 provides a basic quantitative profile of person reference in the focused corpus, showing that place transitions are generally distinctive in terms of the density of person reference, though less so for multi-party narratives than for single-party narratives. Section 7.4 is a qualitative study of how exactly person reference and related linguistic devices function in typical and atypical thematic transitions, as well as the closure of sequences preceding such transitions. Section 7.5 concludes by showing how deviant patterns of referential density in some multi-party narratives can be explained in terms of a principle of recipient design, confirming observations from the literature, as well as earlier chapters.

## 7.2 Narrative organisation

This section provides background information on thematic transitions, in general, as well as applied to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2. discuss various approaches to narrative structure in the literature, and how these relate to this study. Sections 7.2.3-7.2.4 discuss the basic methods and criteria used to identify thematic transitions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, specifically place transitions which are the focus of this study.

## 7.2.1 Schematic-episodic approach to narrative structure

The structure of narratives has been studied in a number of fields, including anthropology, cognitive psychology and linguistics, and much of this research has suggested that narratives are organised into smaller meaningful units, which together form an abstract pattern underlying the narrative. Earlier work in anthropology focused on supposedly universal structures of myths and folktales (Lévi-Strauss 1955, 1979; Malinowski 1926; Propp 1968), while more recent work has looked at how the structure of narratives reflects differences in language and culture (Bauman 1977, 1986; Sherzer 1983, 1990). Work in the cognitive sciences continues the universalist strand, often regarding narratives as having invariant structural features. Specifically, such studies have postulated abstract discourse structures, known as 'macrostructures' (mental story schemas), based on studies of participant identification, memory, recollection and reconstruction of narratives, often using invented narratives rather than real-life story telling (van Dijk 1976; Kintsch 1977; Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977). This body of work is sometimes referred to as the story-schema approach (see Bamberg 1987:6, as well as Klapproth 2004:137-162). A closely related body of work is an episodic approach to narrative structure, which branches over multiple fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, sociology, and psychology (Chafe 1979; Givón 1983; Grimes 1975; Hinds 1977, 1979; Ji 2002; Johnson and Mandler 1980; Longacre 1979; Mandler and Johnson 1977; Prince 1973). This approach largely looks at breaking a narrative down into units or episodes as determined by their content and their semantic relationship to each other. One of the best-known bodies of

work in this tradition is that undertaken by Labov and colleagues (Labov 1972; Labov and Fanshel 1977; Labov and Waletzky 1967), who posit a universal narrative structure centered around the narrator's build up to a complicating action and its resolution. All of these approaches have ways to delineate episodes, classically defined as a type of semantic unit governed by a cohesive theme or topic, with thematic discontinuities defining boundaries between units. Such boundaries have also been shown to correlate with marked linguistic behavior (Fox 1987; Hinds 1977, 1979). For instance, Fox (1987) proposes that morphosyntactically marked features, specifically in the domain of participant tracking, tend to occur at boundaries of episodes and thus function as formal markers of these boundaries.

In the Australian context, there have been a number of studies of narrative that use an episodic approach, including several within the Cape York region. There are two findings that stand out, one relating to person reference in episode boundaries, and another relating to the nature of episodes and their semantic relations within the larger narrative. First, there are several studies confirming an association of marked morpho-syntactic strategies with the beginning of a narrative episode, mainly in the domain of person reference. Stirling (2008) looks at the distribution of a marked reference expression (labelled double reference clauses) in Kala Lagaw Ya. She finds that there is a strong tendency for double reference to occur in the initial clause of an episode, as well as in "highlight" or "highpoint" episodes (following the tradition initiated by Labov, as discussed above). Likewise, Verstraete and De Cock (2008) find that new narrative episodes in Umpithamu (identified with methods from Johnson and Mandler 1980 and Prince 1973) are signalled by lexical marking of the subject in the first clause for a non-speech act participant, or by a switch to a new pronominal subject for speech act participants. They argue that lexical subjects are rare overall in Umpithamu, and actually serve to signal the start of a new discourse episode. McGregor (1992, 1998, 2006), in a number of studies on Gooniyandi and Warrwa, posits the Expected Actor Principle, according to which the episode protagonist is, once it has been established, the expected actor of each main narrative clause within the episode. This has specific morphosyntactic implications, in the sense that expected actors remain unmarked within episodes, while any other actor receives ergative marking. Gaby's (2008) work on Kuuk Thaayorre, finally, shows that a very similar principle applies to ergative marking in Kuuk Thaayorre.

A second finding to come out of the Australian work relates to the semantic categorisation of episodes and how they fit together to build up the narrative. Much of this work has led to positing culturally-specific narrative structures – either as adaptations of supposedly universal story schemas or as novel culturally-specific structures (Carroll 1996; Heath 1984; Hoffmann 2015; Klapproth 2004; McGregor 1987, 1988a; McGregor and Hodge 1989; Verstraete 2011). What is particularly relevant to our study of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives is that motion or journey is often identified as a basic structuring device for narratives, organising both episodes and relations between them (e.g. Green 2014 and 2016 on Central Australian languages, Heath

1984 on Nunggubuyu, Hoffmann 2015 on Jaminjung, Klapproth 2004 on Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara; and McGregor 1987 on Gooniyandi). This will be discussed in more detail in §7.2.2.

Both the episodic and the story-schema approaches to narrative structure more or less leave out consideration of the interactive element of narration (see Mandelbaum 2003 for further discussion on this point). This absence is rooted in a theoretical stance. Narrative episodes and story-schemas are to varying degrees viewed as the underlying models driving narrative representations, and as such these structures are taken to be exogenous to the occasion of storytelling[76].

The examination of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives in this chapter will take a more interactional approach to narrative structure. The focus will also be on thematic continuities and discontinuities, as well as the linguistic markers associated with them, but the basic aim is not to discover an ideal underlying narrative structure. Instead, this study will explore how launching a new topic or thematic sequence is developed and negotiated interactionally between co-narrators within the unfolding narration[77]. In this approach, places of thematic discontinuity are zones within the narration where the opening of a new topic in the story is negotiated by co-narrators, which can also fail or be contested. Accordingly, these places will be referred to as thematic *transitions* (rather than the beginning of an episode or unit), i.e. zones rather than single points in the narrative, and interactional spaces rather than articulations of underlying structure.

### 7.2.2 Identifying thematic transitions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives

This section briefly outlines the methods and criteria used to identify thematic transitions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, as the first analytical step in exploring the linguistic and interactional management of these transitions. Research on narrative episodes has typically examined shifts in major thematic or ontological categories of person, time, place and activity (Chafe 1979; Givón 1983; Grimes 1975; Hinds 1977, 1979; Ji 2002; Johnson and Mandler 1980; Longacre 1979; Mandler and Johnson 1977; Prince 1973). For this study, each of these categories was examined in turn within the focused corpus of narratives (§2.6.2), and shifts of place turned out to be the most meaningful thematic junctures, in line with other work on Australian languages that has identified motion a basic structuring principle for narratives (see

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[76] Some specific models in this tradition may well be broadly rooted in notions of recipient comprehension and include interactionally influenced units. For instance, in the Labovian tradition, narratives were elicited stories about life threatening events (Labov 1972). Accordingly, they were analysed as the product of elicitation questions, and interactional functions were posited for some types of units, for instance the evaluation following the complicating action. But fundamentally, the analytic work undertaken in this tradition looks to discover and describe underlying abstracted macro-structures.

[77] As Mandelbaum (2003: 610-611) sums up insights from Sacks lectures (1992 and elsewhere in 1974, 1978): "rather than seeing something as outside the occasion of the storytelling as structuring it, we can look at the storytelling itself to see at each point, interactants work together to structure it".

§7.2.1 and §2.4.2). The analysis in sections 7.3 and 7.4 will further confirm the central importance of place, in the sense that place-based transitions are also where marked person reference tends to cluster, together with other linguistic markers of transitions.

Shifts in person and activity are problematic for defining thematic transitions in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u, for different reasons. Shifts in person or character configuration would be difficult to use given the focus of this study on person reference. Using person shift as a diagnostic would lead to circular reasoning, with person categories defining both thematic transitions and their linguistic correlates. Shifts in activity, on the other hand, turned out to be so frequent in most narratives that they are very unlikely to be useful in examining thematic sequences. And while it may be possible to reduce the number of thematic sequences by distinguishing between different types of events on the basis of aspectual properties, this would pose serious analytical difficulties and make it very difficult to replicate across different narratives.

Shifts in time and place, by contrast, are far better candidates for examining thematic transitions. In fact, the two often coincide: 94% of place shifts identified (see Table 7.1 below) also involve a time shift. The difference between the two is mainly how explicitly speakers attend to them. Time shifts are usually communicated implicitly in the narration, while place transitions are typically overtly attended to. In addition, place shifts are also the most consistently clear type of thematic transition observed in narratives of all genres in the corpus (§2.6). This is why place shifts are taken as our basic criterion for thematic transitions: they are consistently present, they tend to be overtly marked, and as will be shown in the next sections, they correlate with the marked morphosyntactic choices one would expect at thematically important transitions (with one principled exception).

This is in line with the fact that place transitions have been widely noted as being of particular cultural and structural significance in Aboriginal Australian narrative (Bavin 2003:18; Green 2014, 2016; Haviland 1991; Heath 1984; Hoffmann 2015; Klapproth 2004; McGregor 1987, 2005:31; Michaels 1986; Munn 1973; Myers 1991) (§2.4.2). For instance, Klapproth (2004:257) notes in Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara, linguistic encodings of motion event descriptions often function as defining structuring devices at the beginnings of the stories and mark the start of new episodes within the narration. Heath (1984), in a detailed analysis of one Nunggubuyu narrative, similarly finds that the start of narrative episodes is recurrently marked by place transitions. Relatedly, Hoffmann (2015) notes that in Jaminjung mythological narratives the geographical setting of the plot organises the narrative, rather than a logical time sequence of events. As will be shown in this chapter, much of this is strikingly similar to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration.

In practical terms in this analysis, place transitions are defined as a change in location or setting in the storyline of a narrative. For instance, the *I'ira* narrative, a story about the narrator learning how to make a traditional foodstuff as a child, has two place transitions. Both of these

are relocations around the general Old Mission area: (i) the narrative opens at the Clarmont village in the Old Mission; (ii) the action moves to the beach; and (iii) concludes with the characters' return to the Old Mission (see further discussion of this narrative in §7.4.1). The two shifts in location in this narrative constitute a thematic transition of place in the story, in that there is discontinuity in the setting between the preceding and the following narration. Or, taking a more interactional perspective of this discussion, the place transitions launch a sequence in the narration which is thematically unified by the characters' maintenance of a particular place or location. Instances where characters in a story move around a scene are not counted as place shifts, even when these include specification of locational waypoints or destinations within a setting. For example, in the *I'ira* narrative mentioned above, the beach is the second setting in the narrative. Within this setting, various participants move between the back of the beach by the fireside and the waterline, but the general beach setting is maintained, so these small changes in location and orientation of participants are not taken as a place shift in the main narrative organisation. Place transitions and the remaining thematic sequence are delimited from one another on thematic criteria, i.e. when the shift in location is finished or the destination achieved.

The same basic criteria of identifying location changes in the storyline were applied systematically across all narratives in the focused corpus (§2.6.2). Table 7.1 lists the number of place transitions identified in each of the 12 narratives. The number of place transitions per

| Narratives | Number of place transitions |
|---|---|
| Buthen Buthen | 11 |
| I'ira | 2 |
| Kawutha ngachinya | 10 |
| King Fred | 9 |
| Midwife | 2 |
| Minya Charlie | 3 |
| Night Island | 3 |
| Waiting for a ride | 6 |
| Wapa2 | 4 |
| Wuungka | 2 |
| WW2 | 7 |
| Yuuka2 | 2 |
| **Total** | **61** |

**Table 7.1** Counting place transitions in the focused corpus narratives

narrative varies greatly depending on the nature of the story, with ten and eleven identified respectively for the *Kawutha ngachinya* and *Buthen Buthen* narratives, through to just two in the *I'ira* narrative (as described above). There is some correlation between genre type and place transitions, e.g. *ngaachi* narratives and *before time* myths have travelogue or odyssey qualities as they recount travels through the landscape, and therefore involve relatively more place transitions (§2.4.2).

All place transitions identified by the simple criteria just outlined were entered into a spreadsheet for both quantitative (§7.3) and qualitative analysis (§7.4), regardless of the type of narrative or the nature of the linguistic phenomena with which they co-occur. This approach means that the two main analytical steps in this chapter remain independent, viz. identifying thematic transitions and exploring if and how these define specific linguistic features.

Section 7.3 will present a quantitative analysis of the typical linguistic features associated with place transitions transition. Section 7.4 will present qualitative data on person reference density associated with each of these identified place transitions.

## 7.3 Density of person reference

This section provides a first quantitative approximation of the linguistic features of place transitions, showing that they are distinct from the surrounding narrative in terms of the presence of overt person reference, though less so for multi-party narratives than for single-party narratives (§7.5). The high density of person references in place transitions stands out in stark contrast against a backdrop of zero or minimal person reference that predominates through large swathes of other parts of the narration (§6.2). To measure differences in person reference, I used an adapted version of the typological notion of referential density (Bickel 2003) and applied this to the narratives in the focused corpus (§2.6.2). In order to understand differences in interactants' behviours the contributions of all narrators and recipients are counted. In sections 7.4 and 7.5, these quantitative findings are followed up with a qualitative analysis, exploring functional motivations for the morphosyntactically distinct status of place transitions, as well as explaining the difference between single- and multi-party narratives in this regard.

### 7.3.1 Referential density and coding decisions

Bickel and colleagues (Bickel 2003; Bickel 2005; Bickel and Stoll 2009; Noonan (*ms*) 2003) introduced the notion of referential density (RD) as a typological measure to explore cross-linguistic differences in the ratio of overt to possible argument NPs in discourse[78]. In this section I adapt this measure to explore variation in the distribution of overt person reference NP expressions in the focused corpus of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives (§2.6.2). This will allow

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[78] Bickel et al.'s goals are different to mine in this study. They explore the idea that for a range of reasons, namely the structure of the grammar and ethnographic factors, a language may incline its speakers to focus more on the internal structure of the event or more on the participants in the event, resulting in typological differences in referential density.

for a comparison of person reference loading at place transitions as compared to the rest of the narration.

Bickel et al.'s RD measure takes the ratio of how many arguments are possible in each predicate and how many of these are filled by an overt NP (Bickel 2003:708). This measure is shown in Figure 7.1.

$$RD = \frac{N \text{ (overt argument NPs)}}{N \text{ (available argument positions)}}$$

**Figure 7.1** Referential density measure

Bickel et al. use standardised stimuli in their investigation of RD, like the Pear Stories in Bickel (2003), Bickel (2005) Bickel and Stoll (2009), and the Frog Story in Noonan (2003). This means that the set of predicates used by speakers is limited, and they are able to explore and code the valence frame of all predicates used in the particular given instances. This study takes a somewhat different approach to RD, based on the different goals of the study and the more varied nature of the data used. Such differences lead to the inclusion and exclusion of different material in the counts, which are outlined in the remainder of this section.

A first difference relates to the nature of the referent: given that this study is focused on person reference, I will only count the ratio of overt NPs referring to persons to the available argument positions to refer to persons. For example in (1) there are two available arguments for overt person reference, the subject and object arguments of the verb *tha'ina* 'hit/killed'. In this case, only the subject slot is overtly filled, i.e. *'those two boys'*. Thus, this example has an RD ratio of 1 overt person reference argument NP to 2 available argument positions.

(1)  **pula        pa'amu pulthunu-kamu-lu** (.) tha'i-na
     3plNOM    two        boy-NSG-ERG            hit-NF
     *those two boys killed (the sorcerer).*
     (20Aug07:*Wapa2*)

A second difference relates to argument role: counts will be restricted to a ratio of overt NPs with S, A, O syntactic functions to the available S, A, O slots for that predicate[79]. For counts of all argument positions to be undertaken, extensive work on argument structure would be required, specifically whether dative, locative or comitative arguments are licensed by the verb. The vast majority of human participants fill S, A, or O argument positions, however, which means that relatively few instances of person reference instances are lost because of this restriction.

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[79] These refer to semantic-syntactic argument roles: S the argument of a single-argument clause, i.e. intransitive clause; A the agent argument and O the object argument in a multi-argument clause, i.e. transitive clause.

A third difference relates to the status of independent NPs. To illustrate, example (2) shows an instance of a syntactically independent NP referring to a person in line 3; in this instance the person reference *ngulu* 'she/he/it' in *ngulu too* does not stand in a clear syntactic relation to the following clause[80]. In typological work on RD, syntactically independent NPs are part of a raft of discourse material excluded in the counts, along with meta-pragmatic comments, false starts, repetitious clauses, appositional elaborations, and even sometimes reported speech clauses[81]. The choice to exclude these is part of an effort to remove stylistic and interactional features that could be an artifact of specific styles of discourse or speaker variation. I decided to include syntactically independent NPs (counted as 1 overt argument for 1 position), for two related reasons. One is that this study has shown consistently that they are not simply 'noise' in the data, but functionally significant in the narration, as in §6.3, and as will be further shown in §7.4.1. The other reason is that it is precisely these very types of intra- and inter-textual differences in production that this study wishes to explore. In terms of the counts these nonverbal clauses are treated as S without a predicate.

(2)  1   MB    hm  wupunpunyuma  nga'a-l        aa'i-na
              hm  children .RDP   dem.dist1-DM  play-NF
              *hm those children play*
     2         (0.6)
     3   EG    ngulu        too
              3sgNOM
              *he too*
     (23Jun08:*Minya Charlie*:00:18:26-00:18:30)

Taking into account these differences, the RD measure used for person reference in this study is shown in Figure 7.2:

$$RD = \frac{N \text{ (overt S-A-O argument NPs + syntactically independent NPs)}}{N \text{ (available S-A-O argument positions)}}$$

**Figure 7.2** Person referential density measure employed in this study

Before we can turn to the results of the counts using these measures, I will first discuss some specific coding decisions. As in previous studies of RD, all NPs have been counted alike, so no distinction was made between NPs headed by nouns, pronouns, ignoratives. Coordinated NPs

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[80] In some instances, there are ambiguities between constructions which could alternatively be analysed as syntactically independent NPs versus dislocated topics with resumptive pronouns following. This warrants further work, but for now such cases had a limited impact on the RD counts presented.

[81] Reported speech clauses were moved from counts in Bickel 2005 study, though not in Bickel 2003 study as far as I can tell.

are treated as one NP. Multiple verb forms that do not truly constitute separate clauses are counted as only having one set of argument positions: for instance, in the chaining of verbs to express duration of the event, the whole chain is counted as having only one argument set of argument positions. The predicate needs to have its own predicative force, so to speak, for the argument positions to be counted. There is no comment in previous studies of RD about the treatment of nominal predicates and their arguments. These are included in the counts for this study.

Finally, it should be noted that narrative opening sequences have been excluded from the counts. While they have not been discussed in detail, opening sequences appear to be a distinct sequence type. Typically the opening utterances of a narrative are high-density areas for person references, as it is here that main characters are often introduced (§5.4.1). Opening sequences are excluded from the counts in a systematic way, i.e. using a standard measure for all narratives in the corpus. Specifically, all narrative material up to the first place transition was excluded for every narrative, which also implies that comparisons between the narratives are not affected.

### 7.3.2 Referential density results

The counts of RD demonstrate very clearly that place transitions are structurally distinctive, in the sense that they constitute zones of high overt person reference. This section presents these results compiled into several tables: Table 7.2 summarises the RD results, Table 7.3 shows the detailed narrative-by-narrative results, and Table 7.4 compares RD results for single-party and multi-party narratives (which will be the topic of discussion in the final section of this chapter).

Table 7.2 shows the difference in RD value between thematic transition areas and other areas across all narratives in the focused corpus. Thematic transition areas have an averaged RD value of 0.78 while other areas has a value of 0.52, a significant difference of 0.26 ($\chi 2$=111.5135, df=1, p<0.001).

| Thematic transition areas | Person references |
|---|---|
| Thematic transitions | 61 |
| Total person references | 399 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 509 |
| **RD** | **0.78*** |
| **Non-transition areas** | **Person references** |
| Sections between thematic transitions | 63 |
| Total person references | 725 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 1408 |
| **RD** | **0.52*** |

\* difference is statistically significant (p< 0.001)

**Table 7.2**  RD in thematic transition areas and non-thematic transition areas

The counts in Table 7.3, which break down RD on a narrative-by-narrative basis, shows that there are substantial differences in person reference density between specific narratives. Regardless of this variation, however, thematic transition areas are consistently more loaded with person reference information than the body of thematic sequences. Due to space restrictions, Table 7.3 is divided into two consecutive tables, showing results for single-party and multi-party narratives.

| SINGLE-PARTY | I'ira | Kawutha Ngachi | Night Island | Wapa2 | WW2 | Yuuka2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Thematic transition areas** | | | | | | |
| Thematic transitions | 2 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 2 |
| Total references | 31 | 118 | 8 | 21 | 27 | 9 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 39 | 131 | 12 | 23 | 36 | 13 |
| **RD** | **0.81** | **0.90** | **0.66** | **0.91** | **0.75** | **0.69** |
| | | | | | | |
| **Non-transition areas** | | | | | | |
| Sections between thematic transitions | 3 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 3 |
| Total references | 42 | 103 | 15 | 57 | 32 | 13 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 147 | 207 | 30 | 109 | 58 | 41 |
| **RD** | **0.29** | **0.50** | **0.50** | **0.53** | **0.55** | **0.32** |

| MULTI-PARTY | Buthen Buthen | King Fred | Midwife | Minya Charlie | Wait for a ride | Wuungka |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Thematic transition areas** | | | | | | |
| Thematic transitions | 11 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 2 |
| Total references | 45 | 59 | 6 | 17 | 44 | 14 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 71 | 71 | 7 | 21 | 63 | 22 |
| **RD** | **0.63** | **0.83** | **0.86** | **0.81** | **0.70** | **0.64** |
| | | | | | | |
| **Non-transition areas** | | | | | | |
| Sections between thematic transitions | 10 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 3 |
| Total references | 28 | 50 | 75 | 119 | 115 | 76 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 72 | 72 | 118 | 212 | 179 | 163 |
| **RD** | **0.38** | **0.69** | **0.64** | **0.56** | **0.64** | **0.47** |

**Table 7.3** Person RD in the focused corpus narratives

Across these two tables (single-party and multi-party), the RD values at thematic transition areas vary from 0.91 (*Wapa2*) to 0.63 (*Buthen Buthen*) and at other areas from 0.69 (*King Fred*) to 0.29 (*I'ira*). Inter-speaker variation does not account for these differences. Narratives produced by the same speaker still display the same differences in RD values. For example, Dorothy Short is the narrator of the *Kawutha ngachinya* narrative and the primary narrator for the bulk of the *Buthen Buthen* narrative. In *Kawutha ngachinya* the RD value at thematic transition areas is 0.90 RD and elsewhere 0.50 RD, while in the *Buthen Buthen* narrative the RD value at thematic transition areas is 0.63 RD and elsewhere 0.38 RD. These two narratives display some of the highest and lowest RD values at thematic transitions areas, despite being produced by the same narrator.

The clearest inter-text differences in RD correlate with whether a narrative has a single narrator, or is collaboratively constructed by multiple narrators. In single-party narratives there is typically a more pronounced difference in RD between the thematic transition areas and the non-thematic transition areas. For a strong case in point, see the *I'ira* narrative figures in Table 7.3 above. This is a single-party narrative where thematic transitions have an RD value of 0.81 and non-transition areas have value of 0.29. This means that in this narrative, on average transition spaces have nearly three times more person references filling the available person reference slots. By comparison, most multi-party narratives, while still consistently having higher RD values through transitional spaces, display somewhat less difference between thematic launches and the thematic sequences themselves. This is evident in Table 7.3, where the smallest differences are found in multi-party narratives like *King Fred* and *Waiting for a ride*.

Single-narrator narratives not only have more marked contrast between thematic transitions and the non-transitional areas, but on average they have slightly higher RD values associated with thematic transitions. Table 7.4 provides figures on average differences: the averaged RD value in single-party narratives is 0.84, in contrast to multi-party narratives with an RD value of 0.72. The differences in RD values are significant according to statistical analysis ($\chi2=10.2877$, df=1, $p<0.01$). These RD differences result from the different interactional forces at play in the different participation frameworks. The forces behind these different design features will be discussed in §7.5 at the end of this chapter.

## 7.4 Thematic transitions of place

The previous section has used a basic quantitative measure of person reference to establish that place transitions are morphosyntactically different from the surrounding narrative material. This section explores these differences. The focus will be on identifying the morphosyntactic and interactional features associated with place transitions that explain these differences, as well as explaining what their role is in the interaction. Section 7.4.1 will discuss the launch of place transitions, showing how person reference interacts with represented speech and

|  | Single-party | Multi-party |
|---|---|---|
| **Thematic transition areas** | | |
| Thematic transitions | 28 | 33 |
| Total references | 214 | 185 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 254 | 255 |
| **RD** | **0.84*** | **0.72*** |
| **Non-transition areas** | | |
| Sections between thematic transitions | 29 | 34 |
| Total references | 262 | 463 |
| Total SAO argument slots | 592 | 816 |
| **RD** | **0.44**** | **0.57**** |

\* difference is statistically significant (p < 0.01)

\*\* difference is statistically significant (p < 0.001)

**Table 7.4** Differences in RD across all single-party and multi-party narratives

discourse markers to foreshadow the dynamics between the characters in the thematic sequence to come. Section 7.4.2 will discuss the closing of thematic sequences preceding place transitions, and how this is reflected in differences in narrator collaboration. Section 7.4.3 will delve further into the nature of narrator roles throughout place transitions. Section 7.4.4 will discuss the significance of atypical place transitions, which do not use marked person reference formulations.

### 7.4.1 Launching a place transition

This section will show how the launch of place transitions is typically associated with marked morphosyntactic devices, including specific patterns of person reference. In line with the aims of this study, I will not just identify the patterns, but also try to demonstrate how they help in accomplishing the interactional goals narrators have in thematic transitions. Specifically, I will argue that place transitions serve as waypoints in the development of the narrative, and that the typical morphosyntactic devices used provide new chunks of information to aid supporting narrators in their comprehension and ongoing collaboration. The analysis will distinguish between two slightly different types of place transitions – major place transitions and perspective-place transitions – which use the same repertoire of linguistic devices, but in different configurations, reflecting differences in the nature of the transition involved.

Major place transitions are transitions where the main group of characters move from one setting to another in the narrative world, but without any notable change in the participant constellation or perspective. They launch a sequence in the narration that is thematically unified by the characters' maintenance of a particular place or location within the story. Major place

transitions are linguistically marked by sequence-initial discourse markers, by the use of a specific form of represented speech in which overt person references feature prominently, and by prosodically detached person references.

The most immediate observation about major place transitions is they are not realised in one utterance or turn, but tend to be spread over multiple turns. Major place transition sequences are often more than ten utterances long, with some instances extending to forty or more utterances (see example (3) and (4) below for cases in point). The length of these sequences does not reflect or communicate thematic aspects of the story, like the distance travelled or the characters' experience of the transit to the new setting. Instead, the consistently extended nature of these sequences provides an initial clue that they have important structural and interactional functions in the organisation of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives. As suggested above, what is being considered here is clearly better characterised as zones or sequences dealing with shifts in place, as opposed to a single point in the narrative organisation.

The first device associated with the launch of a major place transition are discourse markers. They can be Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u forms, such as *ngam* 'ok' and *wa'a* 'alright', or English forms like 'alright' and 'now'. They are located in sequence initial position. The close distributional association with place transitions suggests that they have some role in signalling the narrator's disengagement from the previous topic, and indicate a new direction in the narration. Excerpt (3) illustrates this pattern with an example from the *I'ira* narrative. In this place transition, the participants move from Clarmont village at the Old Mission to a nearby beachside setting, which is the location of the main narrative action in this story. An initial discourse marker 'alright' opens the sequence (line 1): it stands alone intonationally, immediately preceding a represented speech frame (line 3-7).

(3)   1   DS    alright
                *alright*
      2         (.)
      3   DS    **them    ku'unku'unchi**
                them      RDP.oldwoman
                *those old women*
      4         (1.0)
      5   DS    **nganan**
                1plexcACC
                *us*
      6         (.)
      7   DS    iingka-na-na
                call-NF-now
                *called out now*

8            (0.9)
9    DS     away
             INTJ
             *hey"*
10           (1.1)
11   DS     **anthay-kamu** palu  kalma-mpu
             girl-NSG      here  come-IMP.PL
             *"young girls come here"*
12           (1.0)
13   DS     **ngampula**
             1plincNOM
             *"we all"*
14           (1.3)
15   DS     pakay-ma  malngkana-ku    waatha-ka  **(nga)ampula**
             down-DIR  beach-DAT       go-FUT     1plincNOM
             *will go down to the beach, we all*
16           (.)
17   DS     **ngayu**
             1sgNOM
             *I*
18           (.)
19   DS     **ngayu      ngu'ulana** mi'a-ka     mayi i'ira
             1sgNOM    2plACC     show-FUT food mangrove
             *I will show you lot the mangrove food*
20           (0.9)
21   DS     **ngu'ula    nganan**
             2plNOM    1plexcACC
             *you lot, us all*
22           (2.2)
23   DS     kuupachi-ka  **ngu'ula**
             help-FUT      2plNOM
             *will help you lot.*
(7 turns intervening)
24   DS     **ngana**     waathi-nya    malngka-nguna  **nga'a-l   ku'unchi**
             1plexcNOM  go-NF         beach-LOC       dem.dist1  old.woman
             kalma-na
             come-NF
             *we go down to the beach and that old woman comes.*
(05Apr05:*I'ira*:00:00:37-00:01:21)

Discourse markers are the most immediately striking of the devices associated with the launch of major place transitions, due to their prominent position and their packaging as intonationally and syntactically independent from the surrounding narration. The association of discourse markers with discourse boundaries is widely noted cross-linguistically, and variously analysed depending on the analytical perspective: discourse markers are used by speakers to display intention to initiate a new topic (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1997, Fraser 2009), to signal discourse segment boundaries (Erman 1987, Schiffrin 1987), or they may reflect production difficulties at various discourse boundaries (Nicholson 2007), due to the extra cognitive load on speakers. It is not clear which perspectives apply best to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration – but the third perspective is tantalising given some association with hesitations, repeated words and dislocated utterances (as can be seen in example (3); dislocation and repeats will be discussed below).

Example (3) also illustrates a second typical feature of place transitions, namely the presence of represented speech. Represented speech at place transitions is thematically programmatic, presenting the change of place associated with a major place transition as imminent, before it is actually realised. In (3) the shift to the beach is proposed in the speech of a group of old women – the main group of characters who initiate most of the action in the narration: line 9 "hey"; line 11 "young girls, you come here"; line 13-15 "we all will go down to the beach" etc. Such future projections of place shifts typically constitute the main organising component in the launch of the new thematic sequence. Thus, the represented speech sequence in (3) is 11 utterances long (line 2-23), making up the bulk of the narration in this place transition, which totals 18 utterances (line 1-24). In this sense, in place transitions the focus is typically on the imminent departure of the characters to a new setting for the coming scene, and not on their journey or even their arrival at the new scene setting. Represented speech not only proposes the new location for the coming action, it also typically outlines the motivation for moving to this location, and who will do what there (see also below on the role of person reference in this function). For example, in the *I'ira* narrative in (3), the beach setting is proposed (line 15 "will go down to the beach, we all"), the activity of making a traditional mangrove food at this location is outlined (line 19 "I will show you lot the mangrove food"); and the roles of the old women as instructors and the girls as students is established (line 21-23 "you lot, us lot (those old women) will help you lot"). Again in (3), the phrasing in these long sequences of represented speech typically appears to be generic and idealised, often produced by a group participant. The word choices do not reflect a specific participant's perspective of the events (as can be seen in represented speech elsewhere in the narration, see §6.2.4 and §7.4.2); instead, they function more like a summary of the action to come. On the whole, represented speech elsewhere in the narratives has a much more diverse set of forms, e.g. it is often unframed, features dialogue between characters, and includes assessments and character-specific responses to narrative events. The thematically programmatic form of represented speech at

place transition is suggestive of its special functions in this distribution: the narrator is signalling the launch of a new thematic sequence, and providing a programmatic summary to aid a supporting narrator's second order co-telling in the coming sequence.

A third feature of interest in place transitions is a close association of represented speech with overt person reference (also noted elsewhere, see §6.2.4). This association is again nicely illustrated by (3). This example features 11 overt person references, in a sequence of 11 reported speech utterances: for instance, in the frame of represented speech in line 3-line 5 *them ku'unku'unchi* 'those old women' and *nganan* 'us'; and within represented speech itself in line 11-23 *anthaykamu* 'the young girls', *ngampula* 'we all', *ngayu* 'I', *ngu'ulana* 'you lot' etc. In principle, ellipsis would be available to the narrator in this sequence, given that the general nature of the participant constellation is not altered throughout the represented speech sequence (see further in §6.2.1 on patterns of zero anaphora). In spite of this, ellipsis is limited, with all but two syntactic slots available filled and even some person reference repeats (*ngampula* 'we all' in line 13-15 and *ngayu* 'I' in line 17-19).

The higher density of overt person references in this context can be explained using the same principles invoked in previous discussions of represented speech (§6.2.4). Given that sequences of represented speech are complex perspective shift environments, additional person reference information aids the recipient in interpreting the alternating perspectives. There is a further layer in this context, however: given that these sequences occur at transitional points in the thematic organisation of the narration, extra attention to who will do what in the coming sequence has notable comprehension benefits. Thus, the dynamic between the characters that holds throughout the coming sequence is often built up in the represented speech found in the launch of the sequence. In the *I'ira* narrative, for example, the character roles of the old women and the girls are clearly outlined in the represented speech in example (3): the old women are the teachers and the girls are the students. The old women address the girls and tell them what will happen – this is made explicit in the framing clause (line 3-7), with the source of the speech as the subject NP (*them ku'unku'unchi* 'those old women') the addressee the object NP (*nganan* 'us') and a speech predicate *iingkana* 'said'. The girls remain voiceless in represented speech here and throughout the coming sequence. The use of overt person references plays a crucial role in the development of such character dynamics, emphasising and cementing the roles and relationships between the characters (§6.2.4).

In addition to being heavily loaded with overt person reference forms, represented speech constructions at major place transitions also typically feature single clauses extended across multiple intonation units. This has consequences for person reference formulation, as it often generates multiple prosodically detached person references, which is a second marked feature of person reference in major place transitions. In example (3), for instance, the framing clause that identifies speakers and recipients of the speech is spread across three intonation chunks in line 3-7. The same applies to represented speech itself, with person references intonationally

separated from the clauses to which they belong. For example in line 13 *ngampula* 'we all' is separated from the remainder of the clause in line 15 'will go down to the beach', and in line 21 *ngu'ula nganan* 'you lot' is separated from its predicate 'help' in line 23. From an interactional perspective, intonationally separating person references has an effect of putting emphasis on the detached item (Hopper and Thompson 1973). Within the launch of the thematic sequence, this helps to introduce important characters for the upcoming sequence in a prominent way, and contributes to the development of character dynamics at a key thematic waypoint.

In summary, major place transitions are characterised by the use of discourse markers, reported speech, and overt and prosodically detached person reference. To round off this discussion, we will consider one further example of a place transition from the *Suzie and Cilla* narrative. This is a transition in which narrator and her granddaughter go searching for *nyakun* molluscs. It features all the typical devices associated with major place transitions. A discourse marker is employed in sequence initial position, with the use of *ngam* 'ok' in line 1. The bulk of the place transition consists of programmatic reported speech, in which the granddaughter proposes the excursion and its purpose (line 1-7). There is a rich use of overt person references throughout, with pronouns (line 1, 5, 7, 11 and 13) and a kin-term (line 3). Person references are intonationally detached, as in line 5 (line 3 is an address use, so this is less clearly detached). As above, these devices serve to mark the transition, establishing basic thematic information about the sequence to come, and emphasising characters and their relationships.

| (4) | 1 | SP | ngam | **ngulu** | inga-na |
| | | | INTJ | 3sgNOM | say-NF |
| | | | *ok she said* | | |
| | 2 | | (0.9) | | |
| | 3 | SP | **miimi** | | |
| | | | MM | | |
| | | | *"grandma!"* | | |
| | 4 | | (.) | | |
| | 5 | SP | **ngali**-ku | | |
| | | | 1duincNOM-DAT | | |
| | | | *"we two* | | |
| | 6 | | (0.5) | | |
| | 7 | SP | nyakun | api-ka | kuyi | kalu-tha-**li** |
| | | | mollusc | gather-FUT | again | carry-FUT-1duincNOM |
| | | | ngaachi-ku | | |
| | | | place-DAT | | |
| | | | *will pick up some more now for home"* | | |
| | 8 | | (.) | | |

| 9 | DS | hm |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | | (1.3) |
| 11 | SP | **ngulu** waathi-nya |
| | | 3sgNOM go-NF |
| | | *she went* |
| 12 | | (.) |
| 13 | SP | **ngayu** wiika-na-thu **ngungana** |
| | | 1sgNOM follow-NF-MOD 3sgACC |
| | | *I followed her* |
| 14 | | (.) |
| 15 | DS | hm= |
| 16 | MB | =yuway |
| | | *yes* |

(04Sept08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:20:31-00:20:45)

Major place transitions as illustrated in example (3) and (4) are the most common type in the corpus. However, there is a second type, which will be referred to as perspective-place transitions. These are short perspective shifts where the narration briefly shifts to the perspective of a participant in a different setting in the story. Their linguistic profile is closely related to that of major place transitions, marked by the same repertoire of devices, but in a different configuration, reflecting the different nature of the thematic transition.

To illustrate, we will discuss example (5), drawn from the *WW2* narrative. This excerpt is a shift to the perspective of a group of boys. At this point in the story several different groups of characters are located in different places, hiding from the army planes circling above. The boys are hiding in the dunes behind the beach. The shift to the boys' perspective and activities is only for 5 utterances (line 1-9), just before the narration describes the departure of the planes and returns to the location of the main group of participants. In this type of transition, the shift in location is implied rather than explicitly narrated, as is the case in (5) – that is, the different groups of characters have already been established or are understood to be in different locations, without the specifics of the location being described. Line 1 signals the shift to away from the main group of characters to the boys' perspective and location, with the utterance *pulthunu now* 'the boys now'. The combination of a syntactically independent person reference (pulthunu) followed by a discourse marker (now) is a typical formulation used to launch perspective-place transitions. The person reference signals the perspective to which the narration is about to shift, in this case that of the boys.

(5)    1    MB      pulthunu    now

                    boy         now

                    *the boys now*

       2            (0.2)

       3    MB      pula        puntha-na

                    3plNOM      emerge-NF

                    *they come out*

       4            (1.1)

       5    MB      paa'i-na    malngka-nguna

                    stand-NF    beach-LOC

                    *and stand up on the beach*

       6            (1.2)

       7    MB      yulway-na   ngana

                    wave-NF     1plexcNOM

                    *(they) waved, "we*

       8            (1.4)

       9    MB      pama

                    aboriginal

                    *are aboriginal people"*

       10           (1.5)

       11   MB      kalma-nha-na

                    come-CAUS-NF

                    *(they) brought (them) closer*

(05Apr04:*WW2*:00:04:02-00:4:13)


The use of discourse markers in second position is an interesting contrast to major place transitions, where the discourse marker comes first. The key difference appears to be that the sequence-initial discourse marker launches a sequence of global significance in the narrative organisation, signalling a key thematic disjuncture. In instances where the discourse particle follows the independent person reference, by contrast, it appears to function to introduce the character, or to direct the recipient's attention to the relevant character whose perspective we are moving to. Accordingly, the sequences initiated by these formulations are of local significance, relevant to that section of the story, but not a major thematic transition in the narrative. For example, the sequence in (5) brings to an end the middle part of the *WW2* narrative which deals with the threat of the circling planes. The story then moves on to what happens when everyone returns to camp: in this following part of the narrative the sequence in (5) and the boys as characters have no direct bearing on the events described. In sum, while perspective-place transitions invariably have marked person reference formulation, they are

different from major place transitions in that they are not always heavy in person reference content throughout the whole sequence.

A second typical feature of perspective-place transitions, shared with major place transitions, is the presence of represented speech. In this context, represented speech has a slightly different profile, befitting its role: it helps to encode the perspective shift, providing direct access to the viewpoint of the character, i.e. the boys in (5). The speech itself is typically not programmatic, but represents an aspect of the event as it occurs. In (5), for instance, the boys emerge from their hiding spot and then in line 7 wave to the planes, communicating with their wave 'we are aboriginal people' (i.e. not Japanese soldiers or military personnel). This is in stark contrast to the thematically programmatic represented speech discussed above for major speech transitions. Another part of the profile of represented speech here is that it tends to occur without a framing clause. Instead, it relies on context and the use of deictic elements to code the change of perspective. Looking at (5) again, in line 7, the boys wave and then represented speech is directly launched with *ngana* 'we'.

The discussion in this section has looked at how narrators deal with the task of launching a new thematic sequence. Both types of place transitions discussed in this section have been shown to be clearly marked with linguistic devices that signal their disjuncture from what proceeded, and foreshadow the nature of the sequence being initiated. Person reference is central in these devices. The formal marking of thematic transition also aids in the organisation of the action of storytelling: in the joint collaborative production of the narrative they function as waypoints in the development of the collaborative narration, and provide new chunks of information to aid supporting narrators in their comprehension and ongoing collaboration.

### 7.4.2 Pre-place transitions

To better understand the nature of place transitions, I now turn attention to the environment immediately preceding them. Part of the process of launching a place transition is the closing of the prior thematic sequence. This discussion will explore the techniques that narrators use to disengage from one thematic sequence before launching the next. In parallel with the thematically programmatic nature of patterns found at major place transitions, narrators signal the exit with an array of thematically backward looking narrative material (compare §6.3 on backward and forward forces in narration). These sequence endings bring a topic to a close with the addition of clarifying information and evaluative commentary, by repeating and emphasising important aspects of the preceding narration, or explicitly articulating the outcome of the preceding sequence.[82] This pattern is not unique to the narratives of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u

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[82] This only applies to major place transitions. The narration preceding perspective-place shifts, as exemplified in (3) is not so clearly or consistently associated with sequence closing material. This fits the nature of these transitions: as a short shift away from the perspective, and hence location, of one group to another, rather than a genuine thematic closing. In this way, these are perhaps best thought of an insert into a thematic sequence rather than a closing of one sequence and an opening of another.

speakers. It appears to be indicative of the nature of closings in interaction in general, with such features widely observed in research on topic/sequence terminations in conversation and a range of other discourse contexts (Button 1990; Jefferson 1984; Maynard 1980; Schegloff 2007:181-194).

In this section, we follow on from the discussion of the examples in §7.4.1 and see how these specific thematic sequences are closed. The section from the *I'ira* narrative discussed above in example (3) is located at the beachfront near the Old Mission, and deals with the old women gathering up the young girls (including the narrator) and taking them to the beach to prepare a traditional food stuff. The close of this sequence illustrates the characteristic association of thematic endings with evaluative content. Example (6) shows the close in lines 1-9, which precedes the characters' return to the Clarmont Village at the Old Mission – a place transition that is launched in lines 11-13. The close describes the girls tasting the mangrove food stuff they have just prepared for the first time. They say it is good (line 3), ask for more (line 5-7) and reiterate that is good (line 9). The assessment of the food as *miintha* 'good' is the only overtly evaluative content in the whole sequence. It is also the culmination of the action in this section of the story. The traditional food staple is "good", and is therefore deemed worth the effort to produce, and important cultural knowledge for this younger generation to retain. The high cultural and nutritional value of traditional bushfoods is not just the theme of this sequence, but the main theme interwoven through the whole narrative. This is reiterated throughout this narrative and particularly associated with the close of thematic sequences. For instance, the next thematic sequence closes with the following narration: *We ate the food that truly belongs to us. We ate it with the turtle and dugong and it was really good and our bellies were full. We told the three, "this food is sweet!" Oh our bellies are sore, we ate too much of that good sweet mangrove that is ours*. It is such closing comments that work to make the significance of the narration clear to the recipients of the story. In this case, one of the young girls in the story is now an elder telling this story to several of her grandchildren. She emphasises both the high cultural value of traditional bushfoods and her gratefulness to the elders for teaching her the traditional ways of life. Both points are messages she wishes to impart to her audience in the present, creating an interesting symmetry between the narrative itself and the interactional setting of the speech event.

(6)     1    DS      **ngana**            kantha-nya       mayi i'ira
                     1plexcNOM    eat-NF            food mangrove
                     *we ate the mangrove*

        2            (.)

        3    DS      ↑oh   mayi miintha-ma
                     oh     food good-PRED
                     *"oh the food is good!"*

| 4  |    | (1.2)     |           |          |                   |       |
|----|----|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|-------|
| 5  | DS | **nganan**    | pampa-na  | kuyi     | ngangka-la        |       |
|    |    | 1plexcACC | ask-NF    | then     | give-NF           |       |

*(they) asked us and then gave us more*

| 6  |    | (1.0)     |            |        |                       |        |
|----|----|-----------|------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|
| 7  | DS | mayi      | ngangka-na | kuyi   | kantha-nya kantha-nya |        |
|    |    | food      | give-NF    | then   | eat-NF      eat-NF    |        |

*(they) gives (us) more food and then (we) ate and ate*

| 8  |    | (1.0)     |
|----|----|-----------|
| 9  | DS | miintha-ma |
|    |    | good-PRED |

*"(it) is good"*

| 10 |    | (0.8)     |
|----|----|-----------|
| 11 | DS | al-       |
| 12 |    | (0.6)     |
| 13 | DS | **ngana**     | punthi-na | **ngulu** | inga-na | away |
|    |    | 1plexcNOM | finish-NF | 3sgNOM | say-NF  | INTJ |

*we finished and she called out, "come here"*

(05Apr04:*I'ira*:05:25-05:42)

This illustrates a broader pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives, although the assessment is manifested in a wide variety of forms in the corpus. The assessment can be evaluative content produced from a character's perspective within the story, as with the *I'ira* narrative above in (6). It can take the form of affective responses using interjections and other emotionally laden terminology, like a supporting narrator exclaiming *apa* 'oh dear' in response to the events in the sequence or a character saying *ngayu winina* 'I was frightened'. The assessment can highlight positive or negative outcomes of the events, or people within events, like a narrator commenting *nga'alu kampinu miniku wanana pikimunu* 'that man was lucky he got away from the wild pig', or a character commenting *ngana puuya aai'na ngula ngana waathaka festivalku* 'we were happy as we were then able to go to the festival'. The crucial commonality across all instances is that the assessment provided functions to make sense of the preceding action, as we saw in (6). In a broad sense this pattern is familiar from Labov's narrative model, in which evaluative units are located towards the end of a narrative structure (Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967). Labov describes these units as fulfilling a 'so what?' function, providing a justification for the point of the narration and the narrative's longer hold on the interactional floor than most turns of talk (Labov 1972:360-375; Labov and Waletzky 1967:28-35). Additionally, as noted earlier, the general association between sequence closings and assessment is familiar from work on conversation. For instance, jokes and figurative

expressions that display a stance towards what has just been reported are routinely used to close a topic (Drew and Holt 1998; Jefferson 1984:211), as are generic assessments with some evaluative dimension (Button 1990; Maynard 1980; Pomerantz 1984: Schegloff 2007:186), and affective responses (Schegloff 2007:186).

There are other aspects of example (6) worth highlighting, namely the formulation of person reference. These patterns are not characterising features of closings per se, but they contrast with the use of these devices at the opening of these sequences (§7.4.1). In this sense, they provide further evidence for the special nature of the narration at place transitions. As discussed above, in (6) the assessment is delivered by the characters themselves, in two chunks of represented speech: *"oh the food is good!"* (line 3); *"(it) is good"* (line 9). This is not an uncommon pattern. Represented speech found at these sequence closings has a different profile to that noted at place transitions (§7.4.1). First, it is typically unframed, as in (6), and therefore does not usually include overt reference to the source and target of the speech. Second, the content of the speech is backward-looking, commenting upon something that is pertinent to the closure of this sequence. And finally, the speech at closures is not generic as in the launch of place transitions, but tends to represent genuine words, or at least the perspectives and attitudes of specific characters.

The other noteworthy aspect of (6) concerns the use of ellipsis, particularly in relation to human referents. Unlike the launch of place transitions, where the reported speech shows a notable use of overt person references (§7.4.1), in closings there is a much higher rate of ellipsis. In (6), for instance, there are two overt pronoun references (line 1 and 5), even though it has 6 predicates which report on activities of human referents, which together license 9 argument slots for overt person reference. The prevalence of ellipsis is typical of closing sequences, and also fits with the general pattern of ellipsis discussed in §6.2.1. The maintenance and predictability of participant configurations is a prime environment for ellipsis in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u discourse. In the case of (6), the character dynamics and participant configurations in this setting have already been well established throughout the preceding sequence, right from its launch illustrated in (3). The old women are the instructors and the girls are the students following and observing their instructions. Once this has been established, very minimal reference is required to make apparent who is doing what. In (6), if it is the girls 'we' who are eating in line 1, then the use of the accusative 'us' in line 5 makes it immediately clear that the askers and givers are the old women – which is commensurate with the established roles. The minimal use of overt person reference in this and other closing sequences is then directly juxtaposed with the launch of a new sequence, which is extremely rich in person reference (line 1-9 vs. line 11-13 in (6) show this juxtaposition). This contrast in person reference formulation is usually quite striking, and as the launch of the new place transition gets underway it may well function as an aid in cueing recipients and co-narrators to the nature of this interactional space.

Example (7) below shows a further aspect of the closure of thematic sequences, one that is specifically associated with multi-party narratives. In multi-party contexts, sequence closure is not achieved solely by the primary narrator, but the result of the joint action of the group of co-narrators. Specifically, it is the supporting narrators who add crucial information about the significance of the sequence being closed. The excerpt in (7) shows the final utterances of the sequence from the *Suzie and Cilla* narrative initiated in (4), a multi-party narrative, unlike the *I'ira* narrative in (6). The sequence leading up to (7) reports on the actions of the two participants, the narrator and her granddaughter: at the start of the sequence, they leave the main group (example (4)) and feverishly collect mollusc shells in the mangrove scrub. Towards the end of this sequence they notice they have become disoriented and try and retrace their steps by looking for their footprints. It is here, at the end of the account, that the meaning of the preceding sequence becomes apparent. This explanation is initiated by the primary narrator (SP), but properly explicated by the supporting narrators (MB, DS and EG). In line 1-3, SP describes how the characters try to figure out whose footprints belong to whom. In line 5, SP proposes an explanation for the presence of footprints that aren't theirs, with *pama?* 'aboriginal person?'. This implies someone has been following them. In line 7, MB upgrades this proposed explanation with the expression 'a big person', the idiomatic expression for a human sorcerer. In lines 10-13 DS, MB and EG go further to suggest the footprints might be an *awu* 'devil', a non-human supernatural being, which is an even more frightening prospect than a human sorcerer. Devils and sorcerers are known to disorient and entrap people who are alone in the bush, separated from their group of kinsmen, and so the presence of a sorcerer or devil fits the immediately prior narration provided by the primary narrator SP. The co-narrators take this information implicit in the narration and make it explicit, by drawing the conclusion that it must be a devil following the characters. This can be regarded as a type of upshot of prior narration by the primary narrator; upshot comments have been noted as a common strategy in topic/sequence closing in conversational interaction (Drew and Holt 1998:502; Schegloff 2007:186). Note that following the pattern of assessment distribution described above, the final contribution in this sequence consists of EG producing an affective response to this explanation: in line 15 EG crys out *hey yakay* 'hey oh dear!' in response to increasingly emphatic declarations that it must be a devil following them.

| (7) | 1 | SP | nga'a-l | | waatha | tha'u | nga'a | ngungangku |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | dem.dist1-DM | | go | foot | dem.dist1 | 3sgGEN |
| | | | *that one went, his/her footprint there* | | | | | |
| | 2 | | (0.4) | | | | | |
| | 3 | SP | kungkay-ma | paxx | waathi-nya | | | |
| | | | north-DIR | ? | go-NF | | | |
| | | | *went northwards* | | | | | |

4           (0.7)
5    SP     pama
            aboriginal
            *a person* (implies sorcerer)
6           (.)
7    MB     pama        mukana-
            aboriginal   big
            *a big person*
8           (.)
9    SP     tsk    [wantu-ku
                    where-DAT
            *tsk go for somewhere*
10   DS     [or    awu
                    devil
            *or a devil?*
11          (.)
12   SP     might be    a[wu
                         Devil
            *might be a devil*
13   MB     [AWU-KI
            devil-DUB
            *might be a devil!*
14          (0.4)
15   EG     hey    yakay
            hey    INTJ
            *hey oh dear!*
16          (0.8)
17   SP     ngayu        inga-na
            1sgNOM     say-NF
            *I said*
18          (1.0)
19          ngali          ilpi-cha-li
            1du.incNOM   return-FUT-1du.incNOM
            *we two will go back.*
(04Sept08:*Susie & Cilla*:00:21:26-00:21:40)


Thus, co-tellers collaboratively interpret, explain and confirm the upshot of the preceding events in the closing utterances of a sequence (see §6.3.1-6.3.2 for related discussion). Primary

and supporting narrators work in tandem to produce these sequences: the supporting narrators drawing heavily on primary narrator output to produce the correct interpretation; and the overt confirmation of comprehension and ratification of a section of narration by supporting narrators appears to allow a primary narrator to then successfully commence a new chunk of narration.

In sum, the closure of thematic sequences fundamentally serves to make sense of the preceding narration. This can take the form of assessments in represented speech in single-party narratives (as in (6)), or co-tellers collaboratively interpreting, explaining and confirming the upshot of the preceding events in multi-party narratives (as in (7)). There are further ways in which closing utterances are composed in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, for instance with simple summaries and repetition of key parts of the preceding story, or resolution of outstanding issues from the sequence (see (8) below for a partial example of a clarificatory sequence). The contrast between formulation patterns in a sequence closure and those in the immediately following launch of a place transition may work to convey the transitional nature of this narratorial space, both to co-narrators as well as recipients. In this sense, these two processes are part of one and the same interactional process, as the exit from one sequence signals the launch of the next.

### 7.4.3 Narrator roles and place transitions

Place transitions are not just distinctive in terms of the distribution of specific morphosyntactic patterns, but also in terms of distribution of narrator roles, which is strikingly different from the way these roles are distributed elsewhere in narratives. As established in previous chapters, narrator roles can rapidly shift and be renegotiated during the narration (§2.3; §5.4.2; §6.3): a primary narrator delivering the bulk of one part of a narrative can give way to another teller for other sections of the narration, and supporting narrators are more or less active through different sections of the narration, querying and prodding the primary narrator for more details at one point, and then having more of a passive recipiency style role elsewhere. Place transitions are special in this regard, in that primary narrators typically initiate and produce all the narrative content, while supporting narrators markedly and rapidly shift into a recipient role at their outset. This is a clear pattern in the corpus: of all the place transitions in the multi-party narratives in the corpus, 28/33 are launched and solely produced by the primary narrator of the story.

This can be exemplified with two excerpts, both from the *King Fred* narrative. SP is the primary narrator of the story, and so delivers the bulk of the new narrative content and drives the narrative forward. MP maintains a supporting narrator role for much of the narration, and LH is another participant in this narrative context, functioning as an audience or recipient of the narrative (§2.3) – she does not actively feature in either of the two examples. Excerpt (8) below is the second major place transition in the story following the initial narrative launch sequence. In this place transition, the main group of characters, led by "King" Fred, relocate

down to the beachfront from a hinterland camp. The place transition has some of the markers noted above in §7.4.1: the place shift is proposed in represented speech by a character (see King Fred's speech in line 3-13) and overt person references proliferate, with 8 overt person references in 6 utterances comprised of 7 predications. All the narrative content throughout this sequence is produced by SP. She launches the transition as she recounts "King" Fred's declaration that the weather at the beach has improved (line 3), that he will go down to the beach (line 6-8) and fish for everyone (line 10), and that they are to follow him (line 13). "King" Fred's departure (line 15) is followed by the migration of the rest of the group down the beach throughout much of the following sequence.

(8)   1   MP    ngaachi   nga'a-lu        kungkayi  i- inchinya
                place        dem.dist1-DM   north          tell-NF
                *that place in the north (you) say*

      2            (0.8)

      3   SP    **ngulu**     inga-na   **nganan**       ngaachi paayna-ma-na
                3sgNOM   say-NF    1plexcNOM   place    calm-VBLZ-NF
                *he said to us "the place (beach) has calmed"*

      4            (1.2)

      5   MP    yuway=
                yes
                *yes*

      6   SP    =**ngayu**   waatha-ka  pakay-ma      malngka-nguna
                1sgNOM   go-FUT    down-DIR     beach-LOC
                *I will go down at the beach"*

      7            (1.6)

      8   SP    ngaachi nga'a-l        minya-ku
                place    dem.dist1-DM   animal-DAT
                *"to that place for meat"*

      9            (3.0)

   10   SP    inga-na **ngulu**    **ngay**    pungan wutha-ka   **ngampulana**=
                say-NF 3sgNOM   1sgNOM   fish      spear -FUT   1plincACC
                *he said "I will spear fish you lot"*

   11   MP    =hm

   12            (.)

   13        **ngu'ula**   paala   kalma-mpu
                2plNOM   behind  come-IMP.PL
                *"you lot come behind!"*

   14            (0.6)

15 SP **ngulu** ukapi waathi-nya
      3sgNOM first go-NF
      *he went down first*
(23Mar07:*King Fred*:17:10-17:41)

Just as SP's role in this excerpt is typical of a primary narrator, this example also illustrates typical secondary narrator behaviour at thematic transitions. Supporting narrators, while routinely co-telling other sections of a narrative, maintain a notably low profile through thematic transitions, inhabiting a passive recipient or audience role. Their verbal output consists of confirmations and backchannel style utterances, along with other minimal audience type responses such as nods and laughter. In (8), for instance, MP's only verbal contributions are a confirmative *yuway* in line 5 and *hm* in line 11. These display comprehension by the supporting narrator, but do not actively contribute to or influence the unfolding narration as they do elsewhere.

MP's shift into passive mode at the launch of the place transition is clear in contrast to the preceding narration. The closing of the previous sequence in part consists of a clarificatory question produced by SP and following joint work by MP and SP, as shown in example (9). The target of the question is the name of the camp that is the setting of this sequence, which SP has struggled to recall. SP solicits assistance from MP with 'Eileen yard hey?' in line 1. MP confirms in line 3 but adds that she doesn't know the traditional language name for it in line 7, and further supports SP's assertion that it is that place in the north in which the previous camp was made in line 12. After the location has been ratified by MP multiple times throughout (9), SP launches the next place transition sequence in line 14, shown fully in (8).

(9) 1 SP °Eileen yard hey?°
    2      (0.4)
    3 MP Eileen yard
    4      (.)
    5 SP Eileen yard
    6      (1.1)
    7 MP manthal pama-lu wan- ngaani inchi-ngka ngungana
            name aboriginal-ERG ? IGNOR tell-PRES.CONT 3sgACC
            *I don't know what aboriginal people call it*
    8      (1.3)
    9 SP kuuna-mp [wuna-na
            neutral.dem-1plincNOM sleep-NF
            *we all stayed there*

10  MP       [yuway
          *yes*
11          (0.4)
12  MP       ngaachi  nga'a-l              kungkayi   inchi-nya
          place     dem.dist1-DM       north        tell-NF
          *that place in the north (you) say*
13          (0.8)
14  SP       **ngulu**      inga-na       **nganan**          ngaachi  paayna-ma-na
          3sgNOM    say-NF       1plexcNOM    place       calm-VBLZ-NF
          *he said to us "the place (beach) has calmed"*

(23Mar07:*King Fred*:16:51-17:13)

In the same way as MP's active participation in (9) is invited through SP's directed clarificatory question, MP's passive role in the launch of this sequence (in (8)) is also cued by SP. This cue comes from eye-gaze behavior[83]. Directly preceding the launch of the place transition, SP and MP alter their eye-gaze patterns, respectively enacting typical speaker and recipient eye-gaze behavior associated with the launch of extended tellings (Mandelbaum 2013). In the closing utterance of the thematic sequence preceding example (8) (which is represented in line 1 of (8) and produced by MP), SP shifts from looking at MP to holding a neutral mid-distance gaze that is undirected. At the end of MP's turn, MP also shifts eye-gaze, specifically directing her line of sight towards SP. This is a marker of the imminent verbal launch of the place transition in the following utterance (line 3), with 'he said to us "the place (beach) has calmed"'. SP's outward gaze and MP's gaze directed towards SP is maintained throughout the sequence shown in (8), except for a quick eye flick from SP towards MP at line 10 to check that she is following. At this point, SP is rewarded with confirmation of comprehension by MP with a *hm* at line 11, and then immediately returns to her neutral outward gaze. This patterning fits with recipient eye-gaze patterns for extended tellings: in regular turn-by-turn conversation, recipients are not normatively required to gaze at the speaker (Rossano 2012; Rossano, Brown and Levinson 2009), but with the launch of the extended telling or story, recipients are expected to gaze at speakers (Mandelbaum 2013). MP maintains this directed gaze, while SP disengages from MP, not actively inviting her into the discourse and seemingly performing the narrative outwards at an invisible non-present audience. This contrasts with eye-gaze patterns in other more jointly produced sections of the narration. For example, in the clarificatory sequence in (9), which directly precedes the place transition in (8), SP directs eye-gaze to MP (and to LH as an audience member), while MP meets SP's gaze. This directed and

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[83] The organisation of primary and supporting narrator roles at thematic transitions is also displayed through other aspects of "body talk" such as body orientation or gesture, but here we will just briefly discuss eye-gaze behavior and how it displays narrator roles (§2.3)

mutual eye-gaze is typical of interactive sequences in the narration, and beyond that, actually facilitates co-teller participation: eye-gaze by the primary narrator sanctions participation.

There is also a principled exception to the pattern observed here, which concerns perspective-place transitions (introduced in §7.4.1 above). In a handful of cases, these are initiated by supporting narrators rather than primary narrators, which confirms their different status. There is an example from the *King Fred* narrative, illustrated in example (10). The transition in (10), which follows the one shown in (8) above, creates a switch in perspective and location between the group of aboriginal people on the beach (line 1) and a group of white men filling the oil on a small lighthouse (line 3). This shift describes the lighthouse men's observation of the aboriginal people's activities from off-shore and serves as a precursor to their arrival on the scene later in the narrative. The perspective-place shift has the typical markers associated with this type of transition noted above in §7.4.1, i.e. detached person reference, and unframed represented speech signalling the change in perspective, and therefore, location. In terms of narrator roles, this perspective-place transition is initiated by the secondary narrator MP in line 3-5, with a direct launch into the represented speech '"Aboriginal people have gone over there, what is that big thing"'. The sequence further reports on their observations of the aboriginal people's activities in line 7. This is followed up with confirmatory descriptions by SP and MP of the boat and lighthouse where the lighthouse men are situated in line 9-13 and beyond.

(10)   1   SP      **ngulu**        tha'i-na
                   3sgNOM     hit-NF
                   *he hit it*

       2           (1.0)

       3   MP      **pama**
                   aboriginal
                   *"Aboriginal people"*

       4           (1.2)

       5   MP      waathi-nya     ngungku    ngaani   mukan
                   go-NF              dem.dist2   IGNOR   big
                   *"have gone over there, what is that big thing"*

       6   (.)

       7   MP      mach-   ngaachi  iichanyi     ma'a     machachi-ngka
                   hold-    place    beachside   hand     hold.PROG-PRES.CONT
                   *"beachside they are hitting?"*

       8           (0.2)

9   SP      ngulu       kawutha mukana
            3sgNOM    ship        big
            *it is a big ship*

10          (1.6)

11  SP      nhi'ilam-
            one
            *one*

12          (0.6)

13  SP      il'a
            light
            *(with) the (one) light* (i.e. lighthouse/signal buoy)

(4 intervening utterances)

14  SP      ngulu       tha'i-na  kuu[yulu
            3sgNOM    hit-NF   thing
            *he hit the thing*

15  MP      [hm

16          (2.0)

17  SP      pama        wantantu   nhaya-ka   ngi'i
            aboriginal  IGNOR      break-FUT  dem.prox
            *pama "how will we break this thing?"*

(23Mar07:*King Fred*:00:20:30-00:21:04)


As can be expected, the eye-gaze behavior of MP and SP in (10) also differs from that discussed for major place transitions. At the same time, however, it equally demonstrates how eye-gaze is used by co-narrators to organise participation in these transitional spaces. Immediately preceding and throughout this shift, MP directs eye-gaze at SP, with SP returning this gaze. This is an instance of a supporting narrator, seeking confirmation and approval from primary narrator for any major move or contribution. In this case, MP gazes directly at SP in order to gauge the reaction to her contribution. SP returns MP's gaze and shows support for MP's narration with the following confirmative description of the men's location on the lighthouse (line 9-13) (see §6.4.1-6.4.2 regarding confirmative role of elaborations and additions to co-narrators content).

This brief discussion of eye-gaze behavior associated with the two types of place transitions has provided a window into how narrator roles are organised in these sequences, and therefore also a better understanding of how multi-party narratives are coordinated. Cued in part by the primary narrator's eye-gaze as well as an array of other devices discussed in §7.4.1, supporting narrators typically align as passive recipients at major place transitions, attentive and receptive to the new narrative content produced by the primary narrator. The inhabiting of this recipient

role is clear through their responding eye-gaze behavior and their restricted verbal output at these junctures. However, once the new setting, events and character dynamics are established by the primary narrator, then supporting narrators go about contributing their usual elaborative comments, querying and embroidery work as discussed elsewhere in this study (§6.3). This creates a structured ebb and flow in types of output in the narration, with new thematic sequences the domain of the primary narrator, and then the mid to later parts of a sequence are zones in which supporting narrators join in the co-telling in more active ways.

### 7.4.4 Atypical place transitions

To round off the analysis of place transitions, I will focus on a small number of cases that do not have the typical features identified in §7.4.1-§7.4.3. This can be due to a number of reasons. One, relatively trivial, is that a small number of shifts in location do not constitute major thematic junctures; accordingly, these do not show the features marking such junctures. Another reason may be that the launch of a place transition fails interactively – often through lack of the typical morphosyntactic markers – and supporting narrators need to become active and work through the details to restore comprehension. Both of these situations demonstrate that these morphosyntactic markers serve as important structural and comprehension cues, in the sense that their absence can be taken as an indication of the absence of a major thematic juncture, leading to interactional problems if the primary narrator did intend to launch a place transition.

The first example shows that not all place transitions are intended as a major thematic juncture in the narrative, and are not taken as such by the supporting narrators. Example (11) is drawn from the *Preparation of dancing* narrative, co-narrated by EG, DS, MB, and SP. In the narration preceding it and the first two lines of the excerpt, the narrators are talking about some dried pandanus fibre (used for dance garb) that went missing during preparations for an important local dance festival. This is consequential in the context of this narrative, and also of social consequence to the narrators, as a recent event. In line 1 EG proposes that the responsible party may be a woman who stands in a mother-child kin relationship to DS with '(it) was given to her mother' – it is clear from earlier context who this woman is. The reference *paapa* 'mother' is also co-produced with a point in the direction of the woman's house, providing further identifying information. EG's proposal is confirmed and upgraded by DS in line 2 with '(she) took (it)'. The actual place shift occurs in the next utterances. In line 4, SP reports that they will go down (to the school grounds) to look for the mother and the pandanus "somewhere down there we will go by and by". In line 7-9 EG and SP go down to the school and ask the suspected woman where the pandanus is, to which they are told that she has 'nothing'. In line 11, SP reiterates that 'she' (the mother) might have taken it, which brings this place shift to an end.

(11)  1  EG      paapa    [ngungangku  °ngangka-n°
                 M         3sgGEN        give-NF
                 *(it) was given to her mother*

      2  DS      [kali-na
                 take-NF
                 *(she) took (it)*

      3          (.)

      4  SP      ngalu        ngku       pakaya  ngana-ki          waatha-ka
                 somewhere   dem.dist2  down    1plexcNOM-DUB     go-FUT
                 ngula
                 by&by
                 *"somewhere down there we will go by and by"*

      5          (1.5)

      6  DS      ku[yi ngam
                 then  INTJ
                 *then ok*

      7  EG      [°waathi-ny°  ngul  no ulmpaya    ngayu      pamp-  pampa-na  [u-
                 go-NF          ?    no nothing    1sgNOM     ask    ask-NF
                 *(we) went ?(she said) "no nothing", I asked (her)*

      8  SP      [pampa-na  ngung[ana
                 ask-NF      3sgACC
                 *asked her*

      9  EG      [yeah    ulmpaya
                 yeah    nothing
                 *yeah nothing*

     10          (0.2)

     11  SP      paapa    kuunchi-lu      kali-na-ki
                 M         relative-ERG   take-NF-might
                 *her mother might have taken (it)*

     12          (0.8)

     13  DS      kuyi  ngulu        inga-na-na=
                 then  3sgNOM      say-NF-now
                 *then he said now*

     14  DS      =ngampa
                 NEG
                 *"no"*

     15          (0.2)

16      DS    ngampa waatha-ka **kaala**   inga-na ngampulana   now
              NEG     go-FUT    MBy     say-NF 1plincACC     now
              *"no, we will not go", uncle said to us now*
(05Jul07:*Preparation for dancing*:00:11.13-00:11:33)

This example shows that some shifts in place are not major thematic disjunctures, and accordingly are not packaged as such. The excerpt in (11) has none of the markers associated with thematic transitions of place: there is no use of a sequence-initial discourse marker, the special form of generic represented speech is absent (though reported speech features), as is the heavy person reference loading and marked person reference formulations. Also, the supporting narrators, EG and SP, do not align as passive recipients. Quite the opposite, they are more active through this section than the primary narrator DS. It seems apparent to all the co-narrators that this part of the narration is concerned with the action of assigning blame (regarding the missing pandanus), and not with the launch of a new thematic sequence in the narration.

The second example to be discussed demonstrates the same properties of thematic junctures, but in a different way. Unlike in (11), this section of narration is intended as a major thematic juncture in the story, but the transition is not packaged as such (i.e. with the usual markers) by the narrator (MB). This results in notable comprehension difficulties on the part of the co-narrators, and effectively derails the transition. Example (112 comes from the *Waiting for the ride* narrative, which is led by MB as the primary narrator. The narration immediately before this excerpt describes the state of a party of stranded travellers and the arrival of a tractor driver to rescue them. Unlike in example (11), the preceding utterances clearly suggest a closure of this sequence, by reiterating and emphasising the state of one of the stranded characters (see lines 1-2). The place transition then describes the travellers setting out for their home at the Old Mission (in line 3). This sequence is initiated by MB, the primary narrator, with the utterance in line 3 'the water goes and we go now as it is low tide'; in other words, they can cross the river they have been camping by and go on their way. This is followed up in the next utterance in line 5 'they went and slept (on the way) home'.

(12)   1   MB      waani    nga'a-lu=
                   sort     dem.dist1-DM
                   *that a little bit*
       2   EG      =°pulthunu uuli-ma-na°=
                   boy          hungry-VBLZ-NF
                   *the boy is hungry*
       3   MB      =waata  pakay-ma  **ngana**       waathi-nya-na   yuw'atha-ma-na
                   water   down-DIR  1plexcNOM   go-NF-now       low.tide-VBLZ-NF
                   *the water goes and we go now as it is low tiding*

4          (.)

5    MB    **pula**        waathin-    go sleep home=
          3plNOM      go-NF        go sleep home
          *they went- and slept (on the way) home*

6    DS    =hm

7          (.)

8    EG    aa
          *ah?*

9          (0.6)

10   SP    well **ngulu**        wuna-nhi-la    kukuku
          well  3sgNOM    sleep-?-NF      from.there
          *well he slept from there*

11         (0.6)

12   SP    till    ngaachi ngachi-nya=
          till    place      find-NF
          *till (he/they) found (home)*

13   MB    =mail-[ku
          mail-DAT
          *(came) for the mail*

14   SP    [nga'a=
          dem.dist1
          *there*

15         (.)

16   EG    yuway
          *yes*

17         (.)

18   SP    **piipi pulangku**  xxxxxx?
          F       3plGEN    ?
          *their dad* [undecipherable]?

19   MB    [mail-ku    kalma-nha-na=
          mail-DAT  come-CAUS -NF
          *bring the mail*

20   DS    =**piipi** been stop old Mission
          F
          *(his) father has stayed at the Old Mission*

21   SP    no    [**piipi**
                F
          *no (his) father*

22  DS      [only **wupunyu**
                child
            *only (his) child (was there)*

23          (.)

24  SP      aa **wupunpunyuma**    [ngu'u   xxxxx
            ah children.RDP        ?
            *ah (his) children*

25  DS      [**ngulu-lan**            kalma-nha-na     [kungkay-lu
            3sgNOM-3plACC   bring-CAUS-NF north-ABL
            *she brought them from the north*

26  EG      hm
            *hm*

27          (0.6)

28  DS      **paa[pa-lu**      kaalnthi-n   hey
            mother-ERG   send-NF     hey
            *(his) mum sends him, hey?*

29  MB      [**nga'a-lu**
            dem.dist1-DM
            *that one*

30          (1.6)

31  MB      mail-ku      waathinya:::  ali-nya     mail  ngana          pi'i-na
            mail-DAT  go-NF          pick.up-NF mail  1plexcNOM   wait-NF
            *went for the mail, collected it and we waited*

(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:56:55-00:57:28)

The launch of this journey features none of typical repertoire of devices that mark place transitions: there is no use of discourse markers, reported speech with heavy person reference loading, or marked person reference formulations. The lack of overt person reference is perhaps the most striking feature here, with the narrator providing two somewhat oblique references to people in line 3 and 5. What follows is some degree of confusion by the co-narrators about the events and people involved. The supporting narrators do not align as passive recipients, but overtly display a lack of comprehension. For instance,  EG in line 7 says 'ah?', potentially confused by the shift in MB's narrative between 'we' and 'they' in line 3-5 without any explication of who 'they' are. The supporting narrators also provide their own candidate understandings of the primary narrator's utterances. For instance, in line 10 SP reiterates MB's utterance but narrows 'they' to a single third-person '(s)he' pronoun, i.e. selecting the main character in the story instead. Furthermore, they initiate repair to try and resolve the identity of one of the characters: SP in line 18 initiates repair with 'their father?', followed by eight further

utterances trying to resolve this issue. These contributions derail the place transition launched by MB. The progression of the story and the usual details associated with place transitions are set aside for the supporting narrators to work through these issues collaboratively. This appears to stem directly from the lack of interpretive cues to aid in both signalling the nature of the narrative space and explicating key information about the forthcoming sequence.

Beyond the repair sequence (line 18-29), the primary narrator ultimately steps in and deals with the confusion, by backtracking in the story and re-narrating the lead up to this place transition. The first utterance of this re-narration is shown in line 31 'went for the mail, collected it and we waited'. For reasons of space the excerpt ends here, but what follows is a description of the stranded group packing up and waiting for the tractor driver to return from collecting the mail at the nearby airstrip, followed by crossing the river. The do-over of this part of the narration also lacks the typical features of a place transition launch, and is more like a summary in nature. It is collaboratively produced, with queries and elaborative confirmations by the co-narrators. This is typical of zones of narration following comprehension difficulties. As shown in §6.3.3 and §6.3.4, after such issues co-narrators tend to produce lengthy and highly interactive displays of mutual comprehension.

Atypical formulations and their interactional treatment provide important insights into the role of the typical morphosyntactic devices associated with place transitions. They demonstrate what the participants themselves find problematic and what was an expected or appropriate formulation (Drew 1997:95; Land and Kitzinger 2007; Schegloff 2007:103). This example suggests that the typical formal features associated with thematic transitions provide both important structural cues and cues for comprehension. Not marking an intended disjuncture, as in example (12), can lead to notable intrusions into the sequence by supporting narrators as they work to untangle storyworld events, specifically regarding who is who and who does what. In this sense, the packaging of the thematic transitions itself has direct implications for the degree, nature and distribution of supporting narrator input throughout the following sequence. It is not always unproblematic for narrators to launch these new thematic chunks. Instead, they are negotiated collaborative spaces that rely on both parties to play their part. If this does not happen, then the narrator roles in the launch and delivery of the sequence are notably altered.

## 7.5 Conclusion: Person reference in different participation frameworks

To round off this chapter, I will return to one unresolved puzzle from the preceding sections, namely the striking difference in referential density (RD) between single-party and multi-party narratives (see §7.3.2 and Table 7.4), which seems to make some multi-party narratives exceptional with regards to the generalisations discussed in this chapter. As already mentioned, these differences are due to two factors. On the one hand, RD levels are consistently higher at thematic transitions in single-party narratives than in multi-party narratives. In a complementary pattern, in multi-party narratives RD levels are also somewhat higher within

thematic sequences. In other words, there is less of a marked difference between RD values between thematic transitions and within the thematic sequences themselves. The consistency of this pattern strongly suggests that narrators formulate person reference output differently depending on the narrative participant framework (as was also noted in §7.4.4). As such, these differences can be attributed to a recipient design effect – recipient design being simply the way in which interaction is designed in orientation to co-participants and circumstances of talk (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 72; Schegloff 1972).

The discussion in §7.4.4 showed how formal features associated with thematic transitions (notably a high density of person reference information) provide both important structural cues and comprehension cues; without these, thematic transitions are not always successful. Most crucially, the discussion also showed how supporting narrators work to fill gaps in the narration and correct comprehension issues following such problematic thematic transitions. This provides a simple insight into the fundamental difference between multi-party and single-party narratives. Recipients of single-party narratives cannot work to fill gaps and correct issues; they are not sanctioned to carry out such activities in a single-party narrative format (see discussion in §2.2). In other words, different management of information and different comprehension requirements are at play for narrators in the structuring of multi-party narratives as compared to single-party narratives. To illustrate this difference briefly, the following discussion will present two contrasting examples.

The first excerpt is from *Waiting for a ride*. This narrative is interesting because it is at the more extreme end of multi-party narrative patterning within the focused corpus: it features the smallest difference in RD at transition points as compared to thematic sequences, respectively 0.70 RD versus 0.64 RD (see Table 7.3 in §7.3.2). In other words, there is almost no difference in person reference loading throughout the organisation of this narrative. However, the management of narrator roles remains as discussed earlier: thematic transitions are wholly led by the primary narrator, with supporting narrators aligning as passive recipients throughout the transition and then switching back into an active co-narrator role through the body of the thematic unit. The minimal difference in person reference loading through the thematic organisation of the narrative is largely down to the supporting narrators' contributions within thematic sequences. This can be exemplified with examples (13) and (14) below. Example (13) is the first place transition in the narrative – with just the first part represented below. It features a sequence-initial time reference (sometimes a feature of thematic transitions), as well as the typical reported speech, but is sparse in terms of overt references. They are not absent, but not necessarily highly prevalent in the way we saw in examples in §7.4.1: there are four overt person references (see line 5, 7 and 9) for the eight available person reference argument slots.

(13)   1   MB      ngaachi ngul-ma-na
                   place    dark-VBLZ-NF
                   *the place was getting dark*

       2   MB      aa-   ngulku-ngulku-[ma-na
                   ah    evening-VBLZ-NF
                   *it was evening*

       3   DS      [°wuna-na?°
                   sleep-NF
                   *sleep?*

       4          (0.8)

       5   MB      **para             nganana**      inga-na
                   white.person   1plexcACC     say-NF
                   *the white person said*

       6          (0.6)

       7   MB      **ngu'ula**   ngampa kuuna-l            wuna-tha
                   2plNOM    NEG    neutral.dem-DM sleep -FUT
                   *"you lot can't sleep here"*

       8          (0.5)

       9   MB      "**y[ou** all gotta go there"

      10   DS      hm

      11          (1.8)

      12   MB      atapa-nguna   wuna-na-thu
                   river-LOC     sleep-NF-MOD
                   *"at the river you should sleep"*

   (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:52:54-00:53:07)

Despite the lowish RD value, example (13) is not a problematic transition launch, in the way example (12) was in §7.4.4. The co-narrators do not intrude on or derail the transition. What they do is contribute more, and more actively build on the primary narrators' launch, in the following sequence. This is a typical pattern for multi-party narratives. The less detail provided by the primary narrator through the thematic transitions, the more the supporting narrators contribute. They do so with the usual repertoire of supporting narrator interactional moves, such as elaborations, comments, questions and repair-initiators (§6.3).

In the sequence following the place transition in (13) we see just this, with contributions that work to clarify and develop the profile of characters, and thus add to the overt person references and person reference information. The following four examples show this pattern. Example (14) shows an other-initiated repair sequence that follows directly after the excerpt in (13) (there are four intervening utterances). DS produces the repair-initiator *thathimalu?* 'Islander person?'

(line 3), which is confirmed by MB (line 5). This person reference repair sequence works to confirm (and emphasise, see §6.3 and particularly §6.3.3 and §6.3.4 for this point) the ethnicity of two of key characters, which is important to understanding their reactions to the unfolding situation. Crucially for the present discussion, this sequence features five overt person references: *ngayu* 'I', *nga'alu* 'that one', *ma'a muyu* 'husband and wife' in line 1, and *thathimalu* 'Islander person' in line 3 and 5.

(14)   1   MB   **ngayu**      **nga'a-lu**           pampa-na   **ma'a**   **muuyu**
                1sgNOM     dem.dist1-DM     ask-NF       DYAD    husband
                *I asked that husband and wife.*
       2              (0.4)
       3   DS   **thathimalu**
                islander
                *Islander person?*
       4              (.)
       5   MB   **thathimalu**
                islander
                *Islander person*
       (27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:53:12-00:53:16)

Example (15) below is a follow-up to the repair sequence above. SP requests more information on the identity of characters by asking where they come from. This utterance features a headless NP reference, *nga'al pa'amu* 'those two', to the Islanders (line 1). MB the primary narrator replies 'Masic', which is the name of one of the islands in the Torres Strait Islander group – once again this sequence both clarifies, and further emphasises, the character's Islander identity. Following up, another supporting narrator EG expresses some recognition or acknowledgement of the character(s) being discussed with *aa chilpu* 'ah the old man' (line 5).

(15)   1   SP   wantu-ku       kalma-na   **nga'a-l**       **pa'amu**
                IGNOR-GEN   come-NF    dem.dist1-DM    two
                *where did those two come from?*
       2              (0.3)
       3   MB   Masic
                place.name
                *Masic (island)*
       4              (0.5)

5    EG      °aa   **chilpu°**
             ah    old.man
             *ah the old man*
(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:53:17-00:53:20)


Further along in the thematic sequence started in example (13), we find the excerpts shown in (16) and (17). Both of these examples are drawn from a special type of highly collaborative sequence that follows questions and repairs (like those in the preceding two examples), discussed in detail in §6.3.3 and §6.3.4. Example (16) is an instance of a supporting narrator producing an exclamation regarding the state of character. In this case the frightened condition of the Islander man with the expression *nga'alu winina!* 'that one is frightened!' (line 4). Further in terms of person reference, in (17) the supporting narrator EG produces *chilpu* 'old man' (line 2) referring overtly to the character currently being discussed, albeit with ellipsed references in the surrounding discourse. This type of gap-filling reference is a common elaborative device employed by supporting narrators in the person reference domain (§6.3.1). As is the case in (17), the reference tends to occur as background or backchannel content in choral co-production sequences (§6.3.3, §6.3.4).


(16)  1   MB      ngayu       ngampa wuna-tha    ngaanta huhhahha=
                  1sgNOM      NEG      camp-FUT sleep
                  *"I won't be able to sleep"*
      2   DS      =hahha
      3           (.)
      4   DS      **nga'a-l**            wini-na!=
                  dem.dist1-DM    fright-NF
                  *that one is frightened!*
      5   SP      =pa'anama paacha[na
                  sitdown        daylight
                  *sit down till daylight*
      6   MB      [wini    nyii
                  fright   yes
                  *frightened yes*
(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:54:17-00:54:24)


(17)  1   MB      nhiina-na    paacha-na=
                  sit-NF         daylight
                  *(he) sat down till daybreak*

| 2 | EG | =°**chil[pu°** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | old.man | | | |
| | | *the old man* | | | |
| 3 | MP | [kaaw | paachan | | |
| | | ?east | daylight | | |
| | | *day break (from the east)* | | | |

(27Mar07:*Waiting for a ride*:00:55:26-00:55:29)

In contrast to the pattern just illustrated in examples (13)-(17), thematic transitions in single-narrator narratives tend to have a high percentage of argument slots filled with overt person references, like example (18) from the *Wapa 2* narrative. In the case of (18) all ten arguments are filled with person references: two arguments in line 3 with *nganu* 'you' and *ngali* 'we two', one argument in line 5 with *pula nga'al pa'amu* 'those two', two in line 7 *nga'al pama* 'those aboriginals' and *pula* 'they' and so forth. The *Wapa 2* narrative is told by MB, who is the primary narrator of the *Waiting for a ride* narrative from which the preceding examples (13)-(17) are drawn. This contrast highlights that despite having the same narrator, the narration is produced very differently in the two contrasting participant frameworks. Thematic transitions in single-party narratives are simply not crafted for feedback, and do not leave space for supporting narrators to contribute in their usual ways.

| (18) | 1 | MB | ngam | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | INTJ | | | | | |
| | | | *alright* | | | | | |
| | 2 | | (0.8) | | | | | |
| | 3 | MB | **nganu** | kalmi | **ngali** | | waatha-ka | |
| | | | 2sgNOM | come | 1duincNOM | | go-FUT | |
| | | | *"you come, we two will go"* | | | | | |
| | 4 | | (1.4) | | | | | |
| | 5 | MB | **pula** | **nga'a-l** | | **pa'amu** | waathi-nya | |
| | | | 3plNOM | dem.dist1-DM | | two | go-NF | |
| | | | *those two went* | | | | | |
| | 6 | | (1.1) | | | | | |
| | 7 | MB | **nga'a-l** | | **pama** | wana-na | **pula** | waathi-nya |
| | | | dem.dist1-DM | | aboriginal | leave-NF | 3plNOM | go-NF |
| | | | Wantichi | | | | | |
| | | | place.name | | | | | |
| | | | *(they) left that Aboriginal man, they went to Wantichi* | | | | | |
| | 8 | | (1.6) | | | | | |

9    MB    **yapu kuunchi-lu    nga'a-l**          palnta    machichi-la
           BE    relative-ERG    dem.dist1-DM    arm       hold.PROG-IMP.SG
           *the older brother to that one (said) "keep grabbing hold of my arm"*
10         (.)
11   MB    yaw    **ya'athu kuunchi    laka**
           yes    Zy/By    relative    PATHOS
           *"yes" said the poor younger brother*
12         (1.8)
13   MB    **pula**          waathi-nya:::    puntha-na
           3plNOM    go-NF          emerge-NF
           *they went, and came out (at the beach)*

(20Aug07:*Wapa2*:00:03:04-00:25:25)

More generally, these differences show once again, as observed throughout this study, how in multi-party narratives the work of narration is dispersed across multiple co-narrators, while in single-party narratives all the narrative work resides with a single narrator, with recipients inhabiting highly passive roles. This is an obvious and fundamental difference between these two participant frameworks. In this chapter, we have seen how the shared workload of multi-party narratives is ordered and structured around thematic transitions of place: primary narrators hold the floor throughout the transition and use heavy person reference marking as a device to signal the transition, while supporting narrators typically only contribute content within the body of thematic sequences, and in which their contributions, in part, work to specify and embellish person reference information. These two patterns are directly related: the more person reference detail provided by the primary narrator at the transition, the less the supporting narrator will have to contribute in the following sequence. Simply put, a primary narrator alters their management of information because supporting narrators are able to contribute and query. In this sense, single-party narratives are at the extreme end of the spectrum, because there is no division of labour between participants, and all the person reference 'work' is done by the primary narrator at the transitions.

In sum, different management of information and different comprehension requirements are at play in structuring a multi-party narrative. Primary narrators design the main thematic junctures in the story differently because the collaborative nature of narrative allows for high levels of recipient feedback, and vice versa, narrators in single-party narratives design the narrative without the option of the same type of feedback available. In this sense, differences in RD at thematic transitions are suggestive of an involvement strategy. This has been discussed elsewhere in this study, for instance for maxi-mentions (§5.6), which were observed to have a function in affording collaboration, providing an avenue for co-tellers to fulfill a strong local cultural preference for joint storytelling (§2.2). Thus, a primary narrator does not just shape

their contribution at thematic transitions because the secondary narrator *can* query or contribute in various ways, but to actually encourage participation of secondary narrators in the co-construction of the narrative.

# PART IV    CONCLUSION

# Chapter 8    Conclusion

*nga'amalu ngayu ngangkan kuku ingana*
*okay*
*finished now*
"That's all the words I will talk to you. Okay. Finished now."
—— The close of the *I'ira* narrative told by Dorothy Short

Many of the narratives of the last speakers of Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u examined in this study lament the changing of times and the loss of old ways. Such is often the way with stories of the older generation, but in this case there is a great weight behind it. The Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u of the north-eastern coast of CYP have witnessed incredible change in their lifetime and with it has come cultural and linguistic loss. Yet, the sentiment in the narratives studied, is offset by a considerable liveliness that is central to these distinctive highly interactive narratives. It is this vitality that has made studying the narratives of the last proficient speakers so enticing and valuable against the backdrop of language loss. This study has provided both the speech community and the research community with the first description of these special narratives, along with many structural and interactional aspects of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language system – from the analysis of different narrator roles and narrative genres (chapter 2), to a description of a changing person reference repertoire (chapter 3), to a highly ordered NP structure with unusual combinatorial tendencies (chapter 4), through to a systematic description of person reference formulation and usage (chapter 5-7). This adds notably to our knowledge of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u language, for which prior work had focused mainly on basic morphosyntax, lexicon and phonology (§1.5.2). In the following pages I present a short *précis* of the findings of this study, first regarding person reference (§8.1), and then more broadly regarding the organisation of the multi-party narratives (§8.2). To round off, I briefly outline a few implications of this study for future research (§8.3).

## 8.1 Person reference

The selection and formulation of person reference expressions is an important tool employed by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narrators to craft a story and manage the socio-interactional pressures of storytelling. This study demonstrated this through a detailed examination person reference across three distributional parameters: (i) global initial reference (chapter 5); (ii) subsequent reference (chapter 6); and (iii) reference at major thematic junctures (chapter 7). A significant part of the analysis was based on a set of person reference design principles that have been developed to account for cross-linguistic patterns in the formulation and interpretation of

referential expressions, namely recognition, minimisation, topic-fittedness and circumspection (first in a seminal paper on English and then extended to cross-linguistic work on person reference design in interaction: Enfield and Stivers 2007, Levinson 2007, Sacks and Schegloff 1979). This helped both to highlight the interactional nature of these narratives, and to relate the discussion to findings for other languages and wider theoretical issues. In Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u narratives, narrators were shown to prioritise topic-fittedness over all other principles, with restricted or less impactful orientation to minimisation, recognition and circumspection. Semantically general plural pronouns, introducing sets of characters in the opening utterances of a story, were noted to have special topic-fitted functions in organising participant groups and managing perspective. Default lexical references were made with descriptive terms that conveyed the topic of the story; the same applies to special uses of other expressions (e.g. ethnonyms, attribute descriptions, kin-terms, maxi-mentions) that aided in the action of storytelling itself. Kin-terms were shown to have a quite restricted usage, but when they were employed they achieved important pragmatic tasks that once again supported the action of storytelling, such as bolstering the narrator's authority to speak, supporting epistemic access, or developing the narrator's stance in relation to events. Many of the person reference functions highlighted these narratives as interactionally emergent, with reference choice shown to be operationalised in response to the immediate needs of the narrator in managing the socio-interactional delicacies of the speech event. These findings demonstrated the far reach of topic-fittedness as a conditioning pressure. In this sense, the present study adds considerably to our understanding of this principle, which has received limited discussion in other language accounts to date (one notable exception being Stivers 2007).

The actual patterns of person reference in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u are interesting in that they deviate from what has been posited for other languages (Blythe 2009a, Brown 2007, Enfield 2012, Enfield and Stivers 2007, Garde 2013, Haviland 2007, Levinson 2007, Sacks and Schegloff 1979, Senft 2007, Stivers 2007). These differences can be partially accounted for by the nature of narrative as opposed to everyday interaction, but in some regards can also be shown to be a result of the special nature of these narratives. Specifically, the cultural preference to co-tell the story has substantial collateral effects on multiple aspects of the narration, person reference included. Cross-linguistically, the usual way to formulate initial person reference is for a speaker to simultaneously orient to both the principle of recognition and minimisation, generating preferential use of personal names and kin-terms in different language settings (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; studies within Stivers and Enfield 2007). As outlined above, and examined in-depth in chapter 5 and chapter 6, in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration initial reference does not usually invite the recipient to recognise the identity of the character, even if many of these characters are personally known to the recipients. Instead, the use of semantically general referential options in both initial mention and other referential positions are shown to be part of involvement strategies to encourage co-telling. The analysis in chapter 5 showed that both the

incremental structure of the maxi-mention (a special multi-form expression), and the use of a pronoun in initial position within this construction, allows for multiple co-tellers to participate in the delivery of this construction – even if they do not know the exact identity of the person. The use of pronouns in initial third-person reference is a rare cross-linguistics pattern in itself, with pronouns resolutely employed for subsequent reference in most language systems (Enfield 2012:448, Levinson 2007:33). Moving from initial mentions, a similar pattern was also observed in the analysis of referential density at thematic junctures in chapter 7. This showed that sparse and semantically general person reference at thematic junctures, resulted in the co-tellers participating more in the following sequence. In both cases the primary narrator manipulates their management of person reference to allow supporting narrators to be able to contribute in the forthcoming narration.

Part of the avoidance of recognitional choices in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration is shown to be a result of taboos and cultural beliefs around the use of personal names, as is typical in Australian Aboriginal contexts. Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytellers depart from the usual way to solve these restrictions. Other Australian languages are noted to rely heavily on kin-terms in both conversation and narration, with this reference choice allowing speakers to navigate taboos but also provide a reference term that successfully identifies the referent (Blythe 2009a, 2010, 2012; Garde 2003, 2008a, 2008b, 2013; Stanner 1937; Thomson 1946). From this perspective, the highly circumscribed kin-term use in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narratives is a surprising result for an Australian language. The study demonstrated how the marked use of kin-terms was employed for powerful pragmatic affect. In chapter 5 and 6, kin-terms were shown to be selected for use at some of the most interactionally sensitive junctures of the narrative in order to manage consequential issues, such as rights to talk and interpretation of both real-world and narrative-meaning. In chapter 6, supporting narrators were shown to use self-associated kin-terms, highlighting social or genealogical proximity to the referent, to motivate and support their contribution to the narration.

Another crucial way that Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration departs from well-established cross-linguistic patterns is in regard to the principle of minimisation (Enfield 2012, Enfield and Stivers 2007, Levinson 2007, Sacks and Schegloff 1979). A widely adhered to person reference principle in most languages where person reference has been investigated, this is completely abandoned in many contexts in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. Embellishment and embroidery of person reference information is one avenue co-narrators have for fulfilling the preference for joint narration. In chapter 5, this is shown in the notably elaborate multi-form structure of maxi-mentions dedicated to globally initial mention. In chapter 6, a similar pattern plays out in subsequent reference, where the use of multiple coreferential expressions is found in the form of elaborative constructions, comments and exclamations, and question sequences. In these contexts co-tellers contribute to building up the referential profile of important characters, demonstrating that in a broader way co-telling outweighs economy of expression in person

reference. Co-telling also outweighs recognition of person reference. In chapter 6 it is demonstrated that co-tellers and recipients postpone dealing with problems achieving recognition of a character's identity until well after initial reference – contra to a widely established cross-linguistic preference for repair to be initiated in the turn directly following the trouble source (Bolden 2009, Dingemanse et al. 2015, Kendrick 2015; Robinson 2006; Schegloff 2000; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). This pattern in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration suggests that displays of a lack of shared knowledge and shared comprehension of some core elements is viewed as counter to the fundamental collaborative nature of the co-telling task the participants are undertaking. Participants continue to protect the image of common ground and shared telling despite a lack of comprehension.

Even if the person reference patterns presented in this study are unusual in the context of the available literature, they still provide strong support for the validity of the person reference design principles (of recognition, minimisation, topic-fittedness and circumspection). The principles are shown to respond in predictable ways to the interactional particularities of the Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u multi-party narrative form. In this sense, this study adds to the literature on person reference in an interesting way, not just in a new language setting, but also in a type of narrative that has not often been studied before. Interlocutors manipulate person reference formulations to achieve interactional goals associated with the specific context of use and in response to communicative norms, whether it is everyday interaction or narrative. In the case of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytelling, this study shows that underpinning the majority of the person reference uses are functions related to encouraging and supporting the strong cultural premium on co-telling stories.

## 8.2 Narrative

Narration by Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u storytellers provides a special analytical environment for the investigation of joint linguistic activity. This study has shown that it is a naturally occurring form of joint activity where the preference for collaboration outranks many other interactional concerns and processes. This was demonstrated in terms of person reference design, as outlined above, but the priority for co-telling is also manifested in manifold other ways within the organisation of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. In chapter 2, the expectation for multi-party production was shown to override any issues posed by the lack of epistemic access for interactants joining the co-telling, even if they have no knowledge of the events they are narrating. As part of the same discussion, we saw that if a co-participant does not collaborate enough, they are open to sanctions and demands to participate from the other narrators. To avoid such sanctions, multiple participants jostle for the floor and co-produce turns, recipients become narrators, and overlapping choral-style coproduction is typical through many sequences. In chapter 6, for instance, we saw that extended sections of overlapping talk were treated by interactants as expected and pro-social. In this discussion, close attention was paid

to the special work carried out by supporting narrators in elaborations, comments, questions and other-initiated repairs, all of which are shown to be important hot-spots for finely-tuned collaboration. While such collaboration may seem superfluous to the main line of the narration, it can actually be shown to have a central role in building up the major themes of the story. Person reference choices in elaborative comments tend to highlight the most topical aspects of the identity of the referents. Comments often present candidate understandings of preceding narration. In particular, exclamative comments are strategically distributed in order to add emotional charge and express stance at narrative highpoints. Sequences following questions and other-initiated repairs feature intricate recycling and repetition which narrows in on the most central aspects of the current narration. All these collaborations function to emphasise key themes in the story, but also often go beyond this, by filling in gaps and interpreting information delivered in the primary narrator's main line of narration.

The preference for co-telling a narrative becomes a particularly poignant issue in contexts where some narrators have little to no knowledge of the events they are assisting in the narrating. This issue was explored through a detailed analysis of the relationship between narrator roles and the launch of new thematic sequences, as discussed in chapter 7, which took observations from structural approaches to narrative analysis and reconciled them with interactional functions and goals (Chafe 1979; Givón 1983; Grimes 1975; Hinds 1977, 1979; Ji 2002; Johnson and Mandler 1980; Longacre 1979; Mandler and Johnson 1977; Prince 1973) Specifically, at such junctures, defined in terms of place shifts, primary narrators signal the nature of the interactional space with the use of marked linguistic devices (as predicted in Fox 1987) and hold the interactional floor. Supporting narrators inhabit unusually passive roles through these sections of the narration. Primary narrators deliver crucial information about the characters and their forthcoming actions in the coming sequence through these thematic shifts. Person reference information is central here. The study shows that it is the information provided at these junctures, particularly the person reference content, that is one of the key means for an unknowing supporting narrator to contribute. As with all interactional mechanisms, this can be manipulated by the interlocutors to varying affect. The study demonstrated that the more information is provided by the primary narrator in these sequences, the more a supporting narrator knows, but the less "new" (though ultimately derivative) content they have to add to the narrative stream. And vice versa, the less information provided, the more potential there is for comprehension issues to occur, but also for the supporting narrator to contribute. Place shifts are one of the key narrative spaces in which co-telling is managed and person reference is a vehicle for this.

### 8.3 Implication and future directions

This study has focused on narrative from the perspective of person reference, but the findings presented have wider implications. They speak to current typological research on interactional

norms, both within Australian languages and further afield. Recent work has suggested that interactional structure may be a locus of language universals (Dingemanse et al. 2015; Floyd et al. 2018; Holler et al. 2016; Levinson 2006; Levinson and Evans 2009; Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2010), but on the other hand Aboriginal conversational practices and narrative styles have been claimed to be culturally specific, and to differ substantially from, for instance, Australian English (Eades 1982, 1992, 2013; Liberman 1985; Samson 1980; Walsh 1991, 1994, 1997, 2016). Particularly relevant to this study are claims of a preference for multi-party conversation in Aboriginal Australian interaction, over the canonical dyadic speaker-listener unit (Liberman 1982, 1985; Walsh 1991, 2016). The empirical study of such largely ethnographic observations about conversational norms is a burgeoning topic of research in Australian languages, which raises questions about the tension between putative universals of interactions and language- or culture-specific intercational structure – Blythe (in press), Blythe et al. (2018), Gardner (2010), Gardner and Mushin (2015), Mushin (2012). The study of Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration presented in this thesis provides new evidence to add to this debate, with a detailed analysis of a distinctive form of interactive narrative. Within this narrative form, the interactional pressure to co-tell the story has been shown to exert considerable influence on what have often been thought to be general principles in person reference design (Enfield and Stivers 2007, Levinson 2007, Sacks and Schegloff 1979) and other-initiated repair behavior (Dingemanse et al. 2015, Kendrick 2015, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). While further targeted analysis is needed on the organisation of multi-party interaction specifically, these recent studies provide evidence of interesting similarities and differences, with multi-party talk practices noted in other Australian languages, in both conversation and narration. Questions and repairs in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration were shown to exhibit unusual response behaviours, with delays in repair-initiation following a trouble source and extended responses to questions. Relatedly, recent work on conversation in Murrinh-Patha and Garrwa also uncovered unusual response patterns. Questions were shown to be not responded to, or to have delayed responses (Blythe in press, Blythe et al. 2018, Gardner 2010). This behavior is explained in terms of specific preferences for seating positions, which limit the effectiveness of eye-gaze in recipient selection (Blythe 2018), along with the nature of conversation as non-focused talk and 'continuing states of incipient talk'. These explanations are not relevant to Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration, but they do nicely illustrate that when certain interactional parameters are altered from the more common (or better studied) patterns of focused dyadic talk, then related interactional pressures can be relaxed in response. In another study, Mushin (2012) showed that rights and responsibilities with respect to knowledge are different in Garrwa interaction, in the sense that claiming to witness an event is to also claim responsibility for it. This shows similarities and differences with Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u narration. It is similar in that narrating certain stories implies claiming a type of cultural ownership of this information. The management of these rights results in monologic narrative events, with highly

constrained and often disengaged audience behavior. However, it is quite different in that outside of these topics co-telling a narrative does not imply claiming epistemic access to the events being narrated, let alone epistemic authority. As this body of interaction research grows on Australian languages, further exploration of the similarities and differences in interactional norms will provide a stimulating avenue for future work.

Within the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u community, finally, an important direction for future work is also to explore multi-party talk in Lockhart River Creole, both in conversation and in narration. As already mentioned, Lockhart River Creole is the language of everyday interaction for most people in the community. The first step would be to consider to what degree the special narrative style documented for Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u is resilient in this situation of language shift. The field of language documentation has highlighted globally diminishing linguistic diversity, but it remains unclear what the loss of a language means for specific aspects of interactional practices. While studies of interaction have begun in recent years to turn attention to more diverse sets of languages, there is scant work to date in how interaction is affected by language change. Observations on storytelling in Lockhart River Creole during my extensive fieldwork in Lockhart River suggest that many aspects of the specifc storytelling practices found in Umpila/Kuuku Ya'u persevere in Creole. If multi-party narrative practices can be shown to be maintained in Lockhart River Creole, then by extension continuing an exploration of multi-party talk into Lockhart River Creole conversation would further enrich our understanding of this special form of narration and its relationship to wider communicative norms within this speech community.

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# Samenvatting

Sprekers van het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u, uit het noordoosten van Cape York Peninsula in Australië, beschrijven de manier waarop ze verhalen vertellen als "we all talk one time". Deze uitdrukking verwijst naar een sterk interactieve manier van vertellen, waarbij twee of meer sprekers om beurt praten, of zelfs samen beurten realiseren om gezamenlijk een verhaal te vertellen. Deze vertelstijl is niet uniek: interactief vertellen is in eerder onderzoek al voorgesteld als een algemeen kenmerk van de manier waarop Australische Aborigines verhalen vertellen (Walsh 2016). Dit fenomeen is echter relatief weinig onderzocht, met als uitzonderingen de studies van McGregor (1988, 2004), Haviland (1991) en Black (2010). Het doel van deze dissertatie is de bestaande leemte in de literatuur op te vullen, met een data-gedreven analyse van een groot corpus verhalen in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u.

Bij de analyse van verhalen ligt de nadruk op persoonsverwijzing, meer specifiek de vraag wat de selectie, distributie en formulering van persoonsverwijzende uitdrukkingen kan zeggen over hoe een verhaal geproduceerd wordt: hoe rechten en rollen onderhandeld worden bij de gezamenlijke productie van een verhaal; hoe perspectieven en attitudes van vertellers worden weergegeven; hoe communicatieproblemen en misverstanden worden opgelost tussen vertellers; en welke middelen gebruikt worden om het verhaal vorm te geven en specifieke thema's te ontwikkelen onder de verschillende vertellers. De analyse maakt gebruik van principes uit de conversatieanalyse, en van relevante methoden en concepten uit de domeinen van narratieve studies en interactionele taalkunde.

De dissertatie bestaat uit twee delen. Het eerste deel beschrijft de relevante structurele kenmerken van het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u. Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een algemeen overzicht van verhalen in deze talen, met aandacht voor manieren van vertellen, genres en het gebruikte corpus. In dit hoofdstuk worden ook een aantal basiselementen van de structuur van interactieve verhalen geïntroduceerd, zoals de verdeling van vertellersrollen (primaire en secundaire vertellers, onderscheiden op basis van duidelijke talige criteria). Tot slot geeft dit hoofdstuk ook aan dat de keuze tussen interactieve of monologische productie van verhalen sterk wordt beïnvloed door het recht van een persoon om over een onderwerp te praten, meer specifiek zijn of haar positie in het clan-gebaseerde landrechtsysteem. Hoofdstukken 3 en 4 bespreken de talige middelen die beschikbaar zijn voor persoonsverwijzing in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u. Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een overzicht van het basisrepertoire voor persoonsverwijzing, zoals verwantschapstermen, statustermen en pronomina. Bijzondere aandacht wordt besteed aan het systeem van verwantschapstermen, dat het grootste aantal termen omvat en de meest specifieke semantische distincties maakt binnen het gehele repertoire. Andere belangrijke elementen binnen dit repertoire zijn zogenaamde 'denizen terms', die zowel talige affiliatie als landeigenaarschap uitdrukken. Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de structuur van de nominale groep (NP),

de morfosyntactische eenheid die zorgt voor de integratie van persoonsverwijzingen in de structuur van zin en discours. De analyse in dit hoofdstuk toont aan dat NPs in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u duidelijker zijn afgebakend en gestructureerd dan wat vaak wordt beweerd over andere Australische talen. Daarnaast blijkt ook dat informatie in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u vaak over verschillende NPs verdeeld wordt, o.a. door beperkingen op het gebruik van verschillende modifiers in één enkele NP, en beperkingen op het gebruik van bezittelijke voornaamwoorden en lidwoorden bij specifieke woordklassen.

Het tweede deel van de dissertatie gebruikt persoonsverwijzing om interactieve verhalen te onderzoeken, in drie contexten: (i) initiële verwijzingen naar een persoon, (ii) daaropvolgende verwijzingen naar een persoon, en (iii) persoonsverwijzing bij thematische breuken in een verhaal. In al deze contexten blijkt de formulering van persoonsverwijzing een belangrijk middel te zijn waarmee vertellers in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u thema's ontwikkelen en onderlinge interactie regelen.

Hoofdstuk 5 bestudeert initiële verwijzingen naar personen. De analyse maakt gebruik van een aantal eerder gepostuleerde principes voor de formulering van persoonsverwijzende uitdrukkingen, ontwikkeld op basis van cross-linguïstisch onderzoek, en past deze toe op het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u. Uit de resultaten blijkt dat vertellers het principe van 'topic-fittedness' (waarbij de keuze van formulering is aangepast aan het behandelde topic of de beschreven activiteit) prioriteit geven over alle andere principes. In ongemarkeerde gevallen leidt dit tot een voorkeur voor enkelvoudige beschrijvingen, die personen beschrijven in termen van specifieke sociale rollen, en op die manier bijdragen tot thematische ontwikkeling. In dit hoofdstuk worden ook een aantal afwijkingen van dit principe besproken, meer specifiek het gebruik van speciale constructies die bestaan uit meer dan één verwijzing. Deze constructies hebben een dubbele functie, m.n. het thematisch belang van een persoon te markeren, en tegelijk ook samenwerking tussen de vertellers mogelijk te maken.

Hoofdstuk 6 bestudeert hoe verwijzingen na de initiële verwijzing functioneren. In dit hoofdstuk wordt bijzondere aandacht besteed aan sterk collaboratieve fases in het verhaal, waarbij verschillende co-referentiële uitdrukkingen gebruikt worden, gebaseerd op elaboratieve constructies, commentaren, uitroepen en vraagsequenties. In deze context spelen secundaire vertellers een belangrijke rol bij de ontwikkeling van het profiel van centrale karakters in het verhaal. Dit blijkt o.a. ook uit de bijzondere manier waarop problemen i.v.m. het herkennen van een referent worden behandeld: het oplossen van die problemen wordt vaak uitgesteld tot ver na de initiële persoonsverwijzing, terwijl die in vele andere talen onmiddellijk worden behandeld. Dit suggereert dat het benadrukken van problemen bij het begrip van het verhaal indruist tegen de fundamenteel collaboratieve aard van het gezamenlijk vertellen.

In hoofdstuk 7 wordt onderzocht wat de impact is van de bevindingen uit hoofdstukken 5 en 6 op de macro-structuur van verhalen. De nadruk hier ligt op de vraag hoe vertellers en hun publiek thematische transities in een verhaal behandelen. De analyse toont aan dat het begin

van een nieuwe thematische sequentie geassocieerd is met gemarkeerde vormen van persoonsverwijzing. Het hoofdstuk onderzoekt ook hoe verschillen in persoonsverwijzing tussen interactieve verhalen en de meer zeldzame monologische verhalen kunnen verklaard worden. De analyse toont aan dat primaire vertellers in interactieve verhalen thematische breuken anders vorm geven, specifiek om secundaire vertellers aan te moedigen aan het vertelproces deel te nemen.

De conclusie van deze dissertatie is dat persoonsverwijzing een cruciaal instrument is waarmee vertellers vorm geven aan narratieve structuur en interactie in het Umpila en Kuuku Ya'u. Meer in het bijzonder maakt persoonsverwijzing samenwerking tussen vertellers mogelijk. Dit is het duidelijkst wanneer vertellers met beperkte of zelfs geen kennis van de inhoud, toch een rol spelen in de ontwikkeling van het verhaal. Dergelijke observaties tonen aan dat de sterk uitgesponnen patronen van persoonsverwijzing secundaire vertellers toelaten een bijdrage te leveren, en op die manier een culturele voorkeur voor interactief en gezamenlijk vertellen te realiseren.

# Biographical note

Clair Hill studied Linguistics, English and Philosophy while undertaking a Bachelor of Arts dgree at the University of Sydney, Australia. She went on to specialise in Linguistics by undertaking an honours degree at the same instituation, graduating in 2002. Following this, she worked as a research associate at the University of Queensland and Macquarie University in 2003 and 2004. During this period, she began several intensive fieldwork based language documentation projects working on Umpila, Kuuku Ya'u and Kaanju in north-eastern Cape York Peninsula, Australia. This included being the principal investigator on the *Cape York Peninsula Language Documentation Project*, a collaborative endeavour undertaken by a team of five researchers working in five fieldsites documenting a dozen Cape York languages. In late 2006, Clair was awarded a PhD scholarship funded jointly by an ELDP major documentation project *Documentation of five Paman languages of Cape York Peninsula* hosted at University of Leuven and the Language and Cognition department at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. In 2010-2012 this funding was extended by the *Optional ergative marking and the architecture of case systems* project funded by the University of Leuven Research Council. Alongside her PhD project, Clair contributed to several long-term collaborative projects: *Categories across language and cognition* (2007–2013); *Online Language Community Access Pilot project* (2007–2010); *Lockhart River Language Learners Guide Project* (2010–2013); *Language, cognition and landscape* project (2011-2016). Notable in this research is the *Language, cognition and landscape* project which involved a two year position at Lund University between 2014 and 2016 and the commencement of field research in a new area of Australia, Manyjilyjarra in The Great Sandy Desert of Western Australia. Currently, Clair continues this connection with Lund University as a research affiliate. Her research topics include the study of meaning within narrative interaction and with semantic typology perspectives, and the relationship between language and culture.

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