Where Prosody Meets Pragmatics
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Prosodic Person Reference in Murriny Patha Reported Interaction ☆

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Abstract

This chapter deals with the pragmatic role of prosody in deixis. For recipients of conversational narratives, referential tracking is particularly challenging when the storyteller reports dialogue from prior conversations. When Murriny Patha storytellers need to avoid the name of an individual participating in the prior discourse, prosodic reference assists story recipients keep track of who had been speaking to whom.

Murriny Patha is a polysynthetic language from the Northern Territory of Australia, spoken predominantly in the Aboriginal community of Wadeye. The language is unusual for having grammaticalized the "sibling" category of its kinship system. As such, Murriny Patha verbs make a three-way opposition between groups of siblings (gender unspecified), groups of all male non-siblings, and groups of non-siblings that include at least one female. In Wadeye, every Aboriginal person can be related to every other by means of real or classificatory kinship links. Murriny Patha speakers observe many taboos on pronouncing the personal names of certain individuals. Kinterms and the kin-based verbal morphosyntax provide conversationalists with referential resources for referring to persons whose names should be avoided. For reporting prior interaction, prosody provides further resources.

Passages of a storyteller's talk that are "globally" marked with distinctive prosody are interpreted by story recipients as hailing from a "storyworld" of prior discourse. Stark changes in the bundling of global prosodic features are usually

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(though not always) interpreted as signalling prior speaker change. In a different fashion, pairs of referential items may be "locally" marked either similarly, or dissimilarly, in order to mark coreference, or non-coreference, respectively. Both global and local prosodic reference assists the teller in providing a referentially coherent storytelling, while maintaining the appropriate restrictions on naming certain individuals within the story.

1. Introduction

Communication cannot be successful unless a hearer can perceive who and what the current speaker is referring to. Keeping track of who is being spoken about in prior reported interaction adds a layer of complexity to an already complex task. Occasionally, this additional complexity prompts narrators to produce something "extra" in their talk, so as to provide a coherent storytelling. Recent cross-linguistic studies of person reference in interaction (Enfield and Stivers, 2007) reveal that certain referential practices have universal applicability, although different languages and cultures show variation in how they are applied. However, as a referential practice, distinctive prosodic marking is virtually unreported.[1] The present paper forms part of a study of person reference in naturally occurring Murriny Patha conversations recorded by the author between 2004 and 2007. When speakers of this Aboriginal language tell each other stories, they use elaborate global prosodic marking to distinguish between speakers of reported prior talk. They also use local prosodic features to mark vocative expressions in reported speech as addressing the same or different reported addressees.

2. Linguistic and Ethnographic Background

Murriny Patha is spoken by approximately 2500 Aboriginal people, predominantly at the community of Wadeye in the Northern Territory of Australia. The language has grown to be the *lingua franca* of a region where several more endangered languages are also spoken. Murriny Patha is spoken fluently by all Aboriginal people of all generations. Although Wadeye is the largest rural Aboriginal community in Australia, the community is small enough that all adults know each other by name.

The language itself is highly polysynthetic. Speakers thus recruit verbs as well as nominal expressions for referring to persons. Verbs are highly complex words that are implicated in both reference and predication at the same time. Murriny Patha has a rich system of verbal cross-reference (Walsh, 1976; Street, 1987; Blythe, 2009). Central to the efficacy of this system is the language's three-way distinction between groups of non-siblings that are all male, groups of

[1] An exception is Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999).

non-siblings that include at least one female, and groups of siblings for which the gender is unmarked (cf. 1–3, respectively).[2]

1	*dani*	*-nintha*	*-riwak*	*-dha*	*-dharra*
	3S/DUS.PSTIMP	-DU.M.NSIB	-follow	-PST	-moving
	"The two male non-siblings were following it." (♂♂)				
2	*dani*	*-ngintha*	*-riwak*	*-dha*	*-dharra*
	3S/DUS.PSTIMP	-DU.F.NSIB	-follow	-PST	-moving
	"The two non-siblings at least one of whom was female were following it." (♂♂ or ♀♂)				
3	*parrane*	*-riwak*	*-dha*	*-dharra*	
	3DU.SIBS.PSTIMP	-follow	-PST	-moving	
	"The two siblings were following it." (♂♂, ♀♀ or ♀♂)				

Like all traditionally oriented Aboriginal groups in Australia, the Murriny Patha have an extensive classificatory kinship system (Stanner, 1936; Falkenberg, 1962; Falkenberg and Falkenberg, 1981) that enables all individuals to refer to each other using kinterms. In conversation, kinterms are frequently used as reference forms and as terms of address.

Although personal names are frequently used for initial reference to third persons, there are reasons for not doing so. Naming taboos between various in-laws, between opposite-sex siblings and cousins, as well as death taboos massively impact on speakers' choices for referential expressions. In the event of a naming restriction (or otherwise) kinterms allow a speaker to show circumspection (Levinson, 2007),[3] by avoiding pronouncing a restricted name.

3. Person Reference, Footing, and Worlds of Interaction

In interactional studies, person reference falls within the broader domain of word selection. The interest is in why speakers choose particular combinations of words rather than others. A recurrent theme in person reference research is how conversationalists design their talk so their recipients recognize the referents and at the same time not use excessively complicated expressions to do so. It has been shown that two preferences or design principles – Minimization and Recognition (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979; Levinson, 1987, 2000, 2005, 2007; Schegloff, 1996, 2007; Hacohen and Schegloff, 2006) – play a part in shaping person references in conversation. Minimization

[2] Abbreviations used in this paper: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, DU = DUAL, IO = indirect object, M = masculine, F = feminine, NFUT = non-future, NSIB = non-siblings, PAUC = paucal, PST = past, PSTIMP = past imperfective, S = singular, S = subject, SIB = siblings.

[3] Circumspection is Levinson's (2007: 31) conversational maxim requiring speakers observe "local constraints" (culturally and/or situationally specific constraints) on referring to persons and avoid selecting the default means of referring. In the context of Levinson's work on Rossel Island (and also in Wadeye) circumspection accounts for speakers' avoidance of restricted names.

states that reference is preferably achieved using single or minimal reference forms. Recognition states that reference is preferably achieved using recognitionals – reference forms that invite the recipient to identify the person being referred to from amongst the universe of people that they know about.[4] Proper names (particularly first names) have been identified as the "basic" recognitional forms because such forms are additionally minimal (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979: 17). Much of the CA work deals with how speakers incrementally relax Minimization in favor of Recognition until successful reference is achieved (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996, 2007; Hacohen and Schegloff, 2006).

In reported interaction, we can see how conversational narrators minimize the units of speech production while maximizing the referential information required for referents to be recognizable. The present work shows that even while animating the prior talk of reported interactants, narrators still tell stories in ways that satisfy the above preferences.

Reported interaction is referentially complex because of the cognitive load placed on interlocutors by the interpretive shift in *footing*. Goffman (1981: 227) defines *footing* as "the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance . . . ". Changes in *footing* involve the shift in alignment that speakers take toward themselves, in how they manage the production or the reception of utterances. This shift in footing is regularly accompanied by a shift in deictic center.

Reported speech has become a focus for conversation analysts and interactional linguists (e.g., Holt and Clift, 2007). It is particularly the cross-pollination between studies of prosody and conversation analysis (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Günthner, 1999; Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999) that has advanced research beyond the syntax of reporting structures. Like the quotative expressions associated with *direct* and *indirect* reported speech, prosodic and paralinguistic marking of passages of talk can also cue the shifts in footing associated with reported speech.

In tackling the referentially complex world of reported speech, conversationalists must realize that reported passages of speech hail from some time or place (real or imaginary), other than the here-and-now. The *reporting* analogy may be extended to the world of *reported interaction* that is alien to the talk unfolding between the current conversationalists. We may thus distinguish the setting of the *unfolding interaction* from the *storyworld* setting (Günthner, 1999) of the reported

[4] The Schegloff and Sacks' treatment of these two preferences (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996, 2007; Hacohen and Schegloff, 2006) differs slightly from that of Levinson's (1987, 2000, 2005, 2007), particularly with regard to Minimization. The Sacks and Schegloff preference for Minimization states that reference "should preferably be done with a single reference form" (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979: 16). Levinson's Minimization (or Economy in his 2007 treatment) states that reference should preferably be done with "'shorter' expressions (with less units of speech production)" rather than longer ones (Levinson, 1987: 72). For my Murriny Patha data, it is easier to construe Minimization as preferring *shorter* reference forms, and not necessarily *single* forms. Levinson also identifies an additional sense for Minimization – "semantically general expressions are preferred to specific ones" (*ibid*). This is also an important principle in Murriny Patha conversation (Blythe, 2009). However, for the present paper we will construe Minimization as dealing only with less units of speech and not with referential semantics.

interaction. Recipients of unfolding talk must be cognizant of a storyteller's shift in *footing* between the *world of unfolding interaction* and the *storyworld* of reported interaction.

4. Indexical Cues for Reported Speech

There are three indexical cues that Murriny Patha speakers use to signal that utterances should be interpreted as reported speech: quotative expressions such as speech verbs, *ill-fitting vocative* expressions and *globally marked prosodic reference*.

4.1. Quotative expressions

As well as cuing an utterance as reported speech, quotative expressions frequently provide referential information as to who produced the utterance (as in *ngay warda ngemngeng*, "I then said", Fragment 2.1). Once initial reference has been established, storytellers frequently desist with this cue, and adopt one or both of the other cues.

```
774 Phyl .hh <<hi> mange penintha> d↓amatha;=ngay warda ngemngeng.
            mange    =penintha     damatha      ngay    warda   ngem      -ngeng
            action   =3DU.M.NSIB   really       1S      then    1SS.NFUT  -say
                  "Really it was their own doing", I then said.
```

Fragment 2.1. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB3b).

4.2. "Ill-fitting" vocative expressions

The second indexical cue is a noticeable lack of fit between the addressee of the reported talk and the recipients of the unfolding talk. The interpretative shift in footing is normally cued by an attention-seeking address term (perhaps a kinterm or a name) that does not fit any members of the current audience.

```
774   Phyl f1   .hh <<hi> mange penintha> d↓amatha;=ngay warda ngemngeng.
                          "Really it was their own doing", I then said.
775             (0.13)
776   Eliz      °Mm¿°
777             (0.85)
778 →Phyl f2    kanggurl; (.) ku yitj nenangga°dh°athani thaminy ngayya;
                "Granny ((paternal grandfather's sister)), you didn't show my
                daughter's son the right thing."
779             (1.7)
780   Phyl f2   thambinyikatwathanam;
                "You made a mistake."
781             (2.5)
782   Eliz      kitiyi;
                Oh dear!
```

Fragment 2.2. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB3b).

Fragment 2.2 is extracted from a dyadic conversation in which Phyllis is telling her classificatory "daughter" Elizabeth a story. The story is about G, Elizabeth's deceased son. Phyllis ordinarily calls Elizabeth *wakal*, "child" or *newuy*, "daughter". In line 778, Phyllis uses the kinterm *kanggurl*, "paternal grandfather's sister", as an address term, to cue a deictic shift in footing, thereby marking the following talk ("You didn't show my daughter's son the right thing, you made a mistake") as hailing from the storyworld. The kinterm *kanggurl* does not fit the relationship between Phyllis and Elizabeth, but it does fit the relationship between Phyllis and Elizabeth's deceased son G.[5] Because the quotative expression in line 774 makes clear that Phyllis had been the prior reported speaker (f_1 in the transcript), lines 778–780 are hearable as the subsequent reported speaker's reply (f_2). In which case, the best fit for *kanggurl* is that of G as reported speaker and Phyllis as reported addressee.

Thus *ill-fitting* vocative kinterms not only cue sections of talk as alien to the here-and-now, they also index the relationship between reported speaker and reported addressee, and provide helpful clues for the recipients of a story to work out who in the storyworld was actually speaking. This indexing of storyworld participants was achieved without a quotative expression (e.g., "G said to me"). The reporting of the prior talk (and all of the referential information required to make sense of it) is embedded into the reported talk itself. From the perspective of word selection, this is an extremely efficient use of referential resources. A monomorphemic word *kanggurl* is used to index two storyworld participants and to temporally locate the utterance as "not now". Fewer words have been used (minimization) to convey the information required for Elizabeth's recognition of the referent. Elizabeth's reaction token *kitiyi*, "oh dear" (line 783), points to her comprehension of the story, rather than confusion about reference (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006). As we will see shortly, the indexical power of these ill-fitting address terms increases with prosodic marking and with it, the likelihood of them achieving recognition.

4.3. Globally marked prosodic person reference

The third of the reported speech cues is the distinctive *global* prosodic (and/or paralinguistic) marking of passages of speech, making the talk audibly different from the surrounding non-reported talk. When this happens, narrators of a story generally take on vocal characteristics of the reported interactants and cast these storyworld voices differently from their own storyteller's voice. Selting (1996: 234) contrasts *global* with *local* prosodic marking: *global* marking is "the use of a prosodic parameter like pitch or loudness for a stretch of talk or an entire turn-constructional-unit: it usually entails more than one accent." On the other hand, "'local'

[5] The four "grand-parent" terms (*kanggurl*, *kawu*, *thamuny*, and *mangga*) are reciprocal, so both "grandparents" and "grandchildren" address each other with the same kinterm. Thus G addresses his "grandmother", Phyllis, as *kanggurl* (his classificatory "father's father's sister") and Phyllis also addresses G as *kanggurl* (her classificatory "brother's son's son").

refers to the use of a prosodic parameter in smaller segments of speech, like for instance the pitch movement in and shortly after an accented syllable or the use of increased loudness in an accented syllable to constitute an extra-prominent accent (*ibid*).”

In the same conversation, Phyllis uses a lot of global prosodic marking (pitch register, tempo, loudness and perceptually isochronous timing) and paralinguistic marking (creaky and excited voice quality) to report prior speech. These *globally marked* passages of reported talk sound different to her *narrator's voice*. The indexical function of global marking is to mark the voices of storyworld participants as sounding different, firstly from the narrator's own voice and secondly from each other.

In the following story, Phyllis and Elizabeth are reminiscing about a funny event that took place when Elizabeth's now-deceased son was still alive. In this story, rather than using the correct name to refer to a species of mollusc, *ku tjipmandji*, (*Acanthopleura spinosa*, “spiny chitons”) two young boys innocently use a rude name that they overheard adults use dysphemistically. We start some way into the story, at Fragment 2.3.[6]

```
579  Eliz     ⌈Ha ha ha ha ha⌉ ah
580  Phyl     ⌊Ha ha ha ha ha⌋
581           (0.6)
582  Eliz     .hh (clap)
583           (0.14)
584  Eliz     <<creaky> ah¿>
585           (0.25)
586  Phyl     .hhhh
587  Eliz           Dey⌈:i;⌉                                    ⌈Mm;⌉
588  Phyl     <<creaky>⌊ A ⌋a> bematha bamninthabat; <<high> ⌊ya>⌋
                        The two men fell down [laughing].
589           (1.2)
590  Phyl     ku tha-
              What the-
591  Phyl f1  <<<exc, <hi>> thangguwanu °k°ar°d°u nanggalwa
592           wurdanbun'guyetjitj>↓ninthaya;>
              “Who taught them that and why?”
593  Phyl     .hh [0.4]
594  Phyl f2  <<creaky> ya kardu kardininthawalkthamarltha panarda
595           dimurnurdi⌈:;⌉>
              “Ah the two skinny necks were looking around there on the
              edge [of the reef],”
596  Eliz               ⌊Mm⌋;=
597  Phyl f2  <<creaky, exc> Meninthardarripurlthakardi.>
                              “They uncovered them.”
598           (1.2)
599  Phyl f1  Na:::; yu; <<lento, hi> ngarrawa kuyu;>
              Isn't that right, yeah. "Where [were] the ku-things?"
```

[6] A “skinny neck” is someone who is always looking around, trying to get something – for example, food, money, etc.

```
600            (1.0)
601  Phyl f2   <<low> Ya ku kem panguwardawangu ngarra kalpa;>
                      "They were over there on the reef."
602  Eliz      Mmh ⌈ha ha ha ha ha ha⌉
603  Phyl          ⌊Mha ha ha ha haa ha⌋⌈xxx⌉
604  Eliz                    <<allegro>⌊num⌋enungguyirrilartnunamenunarne- >
                                       "You lot will be picking yourselves
                                        molluscs off the reef."
605            (.)
606  Eliz      Ha ha ha
```

Fragment 2.3. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB03b).

In Fragment 2.3, Phyllis reports a dialogue between a woman and a man (Phyllis's daughter and Elizabeth's son). Phyllis animates the voices of the two reported interlocutors by ascribing to each participant different voice qualities and pitch registers. The turn spanning lines 590–592 includes a same-turn self-initiated repair (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977). The truncated utterance in line 590, *ku tha-* sounds like the beginning of *ku thanggu*, "what thing of the *ku*-class?"[7] Although the repair solution (lines 591–592) no longer contains the nominal classifier *ku* (for animates), the utterance (*thangguwanu* °k°ar°d°u *nanggalwa wurdanbun'guyetjitj↓ninthaya;*, "Who told them that and why?") still expresses amazement at the two boys having learnt an improper name for the aforesaid molluscs, *ku tjipmandji*, which are of the animate "*ku*" class. However more significantly, whereas the truncated utterance was produced at the speaker's normal register without any particular voice quality, it was subsequently replaced with a question that is globally marked with excited voice quality and high-pitch register.[8] This replacement suggests that the real trouble-source lies in the unmarked talk not being hearable as animating prior speech and thus being potentially ambiguous as to whose voice is being animated (i.e., Phyllis's voice, as narrator, or someone else's). Phyllis has thus replaced the unmarked talk with the prosodically marked talk, in order to cue the deictic shift in footing.

The answer to the question is produced with a turn spanning two intonation units (lines 594–595 and line 597), which are both marked globally by creaky voice. This animates the voice of the second reported speaker (Phyllis's daughter, f_2 in the transcript). In line 599, a second question, *Ngarrawa kuyu*, "'Where [were] the *ku*-things?'" (i.e., "where were the molluscs?"), is also pitched at a high register (though this time it is produced slower). The match in relative pitch register with the question in lines 591–592 suggests that both of these reported questions were produced by the same reported speaker (Elizabeth's son, f_1 in the transcript). The answer to this second question (line 601) is noticeably contrasted by a drop in relative register, "They were over there on the reef".

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[7] All Murriny Patha nouns belong to one of ten nominal classes. The nominal "*ku*" class has a very wide range of denotata: animals, meat foods, flesh, spirits, dead bodies, non-Aboriginal human beings, totemic sites, and women's genitalia (Walsh, 1997).

[8] The pitch drops to a normal register three syllables before the end of the turn, though the excited voice quality is maintained throughout.

Such phonetic detail brings the storyworld interaction to life. Note that lines 593, 598, and 600 contain notable silences (0.4, 1.2, and 1.0 sec, respectively). Each of these silences intervene between turns that are globally marked with different bundles of prosodic features. The two turns marked with high-relative register are both questions, whereas the two turns that are not marked with high-relative register (though are prosodically marked with other features) are the corresponding answers. Here Phyllis not only uses prosody to report question and answer sequences, she also accentuates the inter-turn silences, thus clearly demarcating the turns.

We can think of the use of global prosodic marking as a referential practice (Hanks, 1990) because indexically, it keys the deictic shift in footing required to make the talk interpretable as alien (i.e., it brings the participant frame that is native to the storyworld into the here-and-now).

As with the ill-fitting vocative kinterms, global prosodic marking is also referentially efficient because it pushes the reporting of talk into the reported talk, thus rendering quotative expressions obsolete. By losing quotative expressions, the referencing is more minimal. At the same time, the deictic information required for recognition is maintained.

5. Locally Marked Prosodic Reference

In this same story about the molluscs, and again in contexts of reported speech, certain local prosodic marking is recruited, not for cueing changes in footing, but rather for referential disambiguation. Referentially, Fragment 2.4 is very complex. The events center around two pairs of male non-siblings – a pair of boys and a pair of men.

```
515 Phyl  thu:~↑yke:~↓m:;
          "Thuykem" ((Woman's name)).
516       (1.0)
517 Phyl  Wul↑gume:~↓n:; (0.35) than'guriwaknintha;=be ku warda °k°anyire
518       mamnintha.
            wulgumen    tha      -n'gu          -riwak    -nintha
            old woman   2S/DUS   -2DU/PAUCIO    -follow   -DU.M.NSIB
            be          ku       warda  kanyire         mam             -nintha
            right       animate  now    around.here     3S/DUS.say.NFUT -DU.M.NSIB
          "Old woman, follow the two male non-siblings, there's stuff
          of the ku-class around here", the two male non-siblings said.
519       (1.23)
520 Phyl  wakal::, (0.7) nan ↓n°ig°unu; (0.3) kalany↓ga:::t; (.) antania pana.
            wakal       nan    =nigunu    kalanygat       antonio      pana
            progeny     indef  =3SF       woman's name    boy's name   medial
          Young fellow(s), what's her name's [son], Kalanygat's [and] that
          Antonio.
521       (2.5)
522 Phyl  Hha:~↑ <<exc, hi> ku terert nan'guninthayu bamninthangkardu.>
                          "Hey you two blokes, the two boys saw lots of ku-things."
523       (2.3)
524 Phyl  <<exc, hi> thangguguwa.> (.) ↓ku murriny wiye nyinda mangannin thartyu,
                     "What ku-things?" They got those things with a rude name.
525       (1.5)
```

Fragment 2.4. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB03b).

In the turn spanning lines 515–518, Phyllis uses reported speech to launch into a story. This turn is exceedingly complex: referentially, interactionally, prosodically, and pragmatically. "*Thuykem, wulgumen, thanguriwaknintha. Be ku warda kanyire" mamnintha*. – "'Thuykem, old woman, follow the two male non-siblings. There is stuff of the *ku*-class around here', the two male non-siblings said." This marks the start of the story about the two boys and the molluscs.[9] The personal name, *Thuykem*, is not Elizabeth's name so the misfit between audience and addressee flags the turn as reporting prior talk. This is confirmed by the framing speech verb *mamnintha* (line 518), "the two male non-siblings said". The imperative verb *than'guriwaknintha*, "follow the two male non-siblings", suggests that there are two male participants that the reported addressee is being instructed to follow. Clearly these two participants are not the same two males as those expressed by the speech verb *mamnintha* (because the verb is not reflexive). That makes four male participants introduced in this initial turn at talk. The two verbs *than'guriwaknintha* and *mamnintha* are typical "locally subsequent" reference forms, though here they are used in "locally initial" position. Using polysynthetic verbs for first-mentions effectively flags these participants as persons of interest.[10] The vagueness places the onus on Elizabeth to infer who is being spoken about. That these people are "first-mentioned" in this vague way leads to the inference that their names should not be mentioned, and that she should consider who might fall into this avoidance category.

Elizabeth has two problems to deal with and a number of clues. The first problem is to identify the two pairs of males. Prosody would not help to address this problem. Her second problem is with interpreting the subject of the verb *than'guriwaknintha*, as there is no telling from the verbal morphosyntax whether one person is being addressed or two.[11] It is here that the local prosodic

[9] The ambiguous reference to "stuff of the *ku*-class" (see footnote 7) not only projects a story as forthcoming, but also projects the direction that the story will take. The vague reference is interpretable in a number of ways: as the men announcing their intention to go hunting for animals or fish, as a warning that the young boys may run into trouble from some dangerous animals, or perhaps that the boys might find things that could be problematic for them to talk about. This humorous story deals precisely with problematic referencing to things of this nominal "*ku*" class.

[10] In English conversation, the typical "locally subsequent" reference forms are pronouns whereas "locally initial" forms are typically full noun phrases (Fox, 1987; Schegloff, 1996). Schegloff (1996: 451) suggests that using a locally subsequent form in locally initial position presents the referent as someone that hearers should know or be able to readily access. For example (as Levinson, 2007: 33 points out), in 2003 the then US Administrator in Iraq, Paul Bremmer, began a press conference to announce the capture of Saddam Hussein by referring to him for the first time with a pronoun: "Ladies and Gentlemen, we got him".

[11] Murriny Patha generally marks number in verbs rather than on NPs. However in this case, morphosyntactic constraints on verbal number marking make it unclear whether the subject of this particular verb should be singular or dual. In short, the *non-sibling number markers* have two available slots in the verbal template, and these slots are shared by number markers that specify both subjects and objects. When a predication involves both non-sibling subjects and non-sibling objects, the object specifying number markers outrank their subject specifying counterparts, leaving the number of the subject underspecified (see Blythe, 2009).

marking provides the clue. There are two vocative expressions used as summonses, *Thuykem* (line 515), a woman's name, and *wulgumen* (line 517), "old woman". The prosodic iconicity of these expressions tells her that each term addresses the same person, and not two different people.

We will firstly deal with the identity of the two pairs of males. Line 520 is an elaboration on the two males that *Thuykem* was instructed to follow in line 517. These are the same two boys that innocently referred to the aforementioned molluscs with the rude name. Phyllis has difficulty producing line 520. Because she has forgotten one of the boys' names, she refers to him as *wakal*, "child", which is unmarked for gender; though in this case, *wakal* can only be a male child because the verb *than'guriwaknintha* (line 517) clearly states that two male non-brothers must be followed. The drawn-out final lateral of *wakal* with its slightly rising, "continuous" contour (Du Bois *et al.*, 1993) is hearable as incomplete. As such, it projects further talk. This and the subsequent 0.7-sec pause are hearable as hesitation phenomena associated with a word search. The word *nan* is a word-search-word. However, here *nan* is not searching for the name of the little boy. Phyllis has also momentarily forgotten the name of his mother as well. Here *nan niyurnu,* "what's her name's" completes the referential expression that stalled before the pause – effectively, *wakal nan niyurnu*, "what's her name's child". *Kalanygat* is the name of the mother. *Kalanygat* is thus a self-repair, effectively replacing the word-search-word *nan*. The elaboration thus reads: "Kalanygat's son". In terms of Phyllis and Elizabeth's shared common ground (Clark, 1993, 1996; Enfield, 2006), this is a reasonably specific identification of the second boy (Bobby, see Figure 2.1). The other boy, her own daughter's son, she refers to by name – *Antania pana*, "that Antonio" (Figure 2.1).

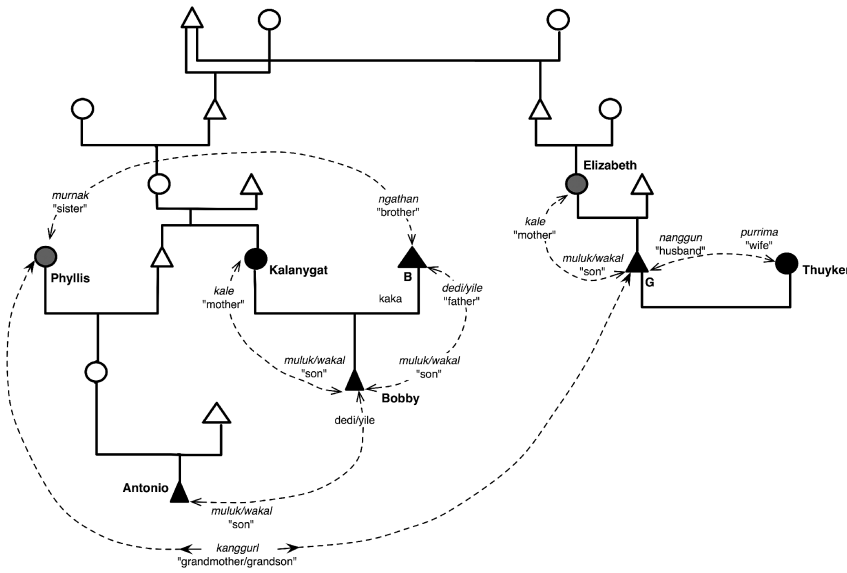

Figure 2.1. Relevant kinterms superimposed onto the genealogy of the persons referred to in Fragment 2.4.

The two address terms in lines 515 and 517 give clues as to the reported speakers. *Thuykem* is Elizabeth's daughter-in-law, the wife of her deceased son, G (see Figure 2.1). Because the preceding talk had been a reminiscence about this deceased son, he is topically salient. He is therefore likely to be one of the two male reported speakers expressed by the speech verb *mamnintha* in line 518. As Elizabeth's deceased son, his name should not be mentioned in her presence.[12]

The second address term *wulgumen* suggests that the relationship between the reported speaker and reported addressee is familiar. *Wulgumen*, "old woman" is a borrowing from either Aboriginal English or Kriol (or from an earlier pidgin). In Murriny Patha society senior women are treated with respect and reverence and thus *wulgumen* can be an honorific. Honorifics such as *wulgumen* are frequently used as endearing vocatives to address people who are actually younger than senior women (they are frequently used to address small children). At the time, *Thuykem* was not an old woman, so the use of *wulgumen* as a term of address underscores a reasonable degree of familiarity.

Because the dual masculine speech verb, *mamnintha*, suggests that two men produced the talk in lines 515 and 517, then it is fair to assume that the 1-sec gap (line 516) should be interpreted as prosodically marking the change of reported speaker, since we have already seen (in Fragment 2.3) that Phyllis uses sizeable gaps to prosodically mark speaker change. One of the reported speakers must be G, the deceased son of Elizabeth. Because the two men are in the same story and because Phyllis has not elaborated on the identity of the second speaker, we can speculate that there may be a good reason why she does not – perhaps she cannot mention him by name. It later transpires that the second reported speaker is the man B in Figure 2.1, the husband of the aforementioned Kalanygat and the father of the young boy Bobby. As husband of Phyllis's sister-in-law, B is Phyllis's classificatory brother. As her opposite-sex sibling, his name is restricted. Although she does not mention him by name, the references to his son and his wife suggest that he might have been there. In the next fragment, Phyllis supplies further clues as to the identity of these two men.

[12] Even though the formal restrictions on personal names are lifted after mortuary ceremonies that generally take place a year or two after a death (Marett, 2005: 61), names are avoided indefinitely if the conversation is taking place in the company of close kin of the deceased. Elsewhere in this conversation, when Phyllis refers to this person explicitly, she does so as *kanggurl ngay*, "my brother's son's child" (see Figure 2.1), and never by name.

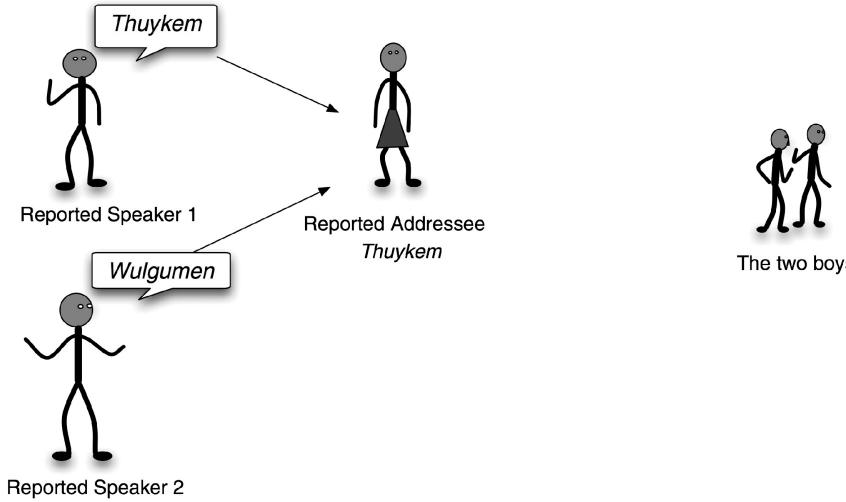

Figure 2.2. The reported interaction in Fragment 2.4. The repeated speakers are G and B.

Elizabeth's second problem is deciding whether or not *Thuykem* (line 515) and *wulgumen* (line 517) are being used to address a single person or two. It is demonstrable that Phyllis has used prosody to cue a co-referential reading (Figure 2.2 thus represents Elizabeth's interpretation of the interaction being reported in Fragment 2.4). Even though the two terms of address are not globally marked as being different in any way from the surrounding talk (i.e., in terms of register, loudness, tempo or voice quality, etc.), the two utterances are nonetheless cast in a similar fashion, with attention-grabbing pitch-peaks on syllables that do not ordinarily attract stress. Both of these words normally bear stress on the first syllable (*Thúykem*, *wúlgumen*). As such, it is the first syllables that would be expected to have higher fundamental frequencies and higher intensities than the second syllables. Both of these address terms are attention grabbing because of the noticeable shifts in peak pitch to their next-to-right syllables. These shifts in pitch make the utterances hearable as mimicking summonses for the reported addressee's attention.

However, the two forms have much more in common prosodically than mere shifts in peak pitch. Impressionistically, the two words *sound the same*. This is perhaps surprising because segmentally, the two words are quite dissimilar – *Thuykem* is disyllabic and *wulgumen* is trisyllabic. *Thuykem* has two voiceless stops and *wulgumen* is voiced throughout. In spite of these differences, acoustic analyses show that it is no accident that the two words sound the same.

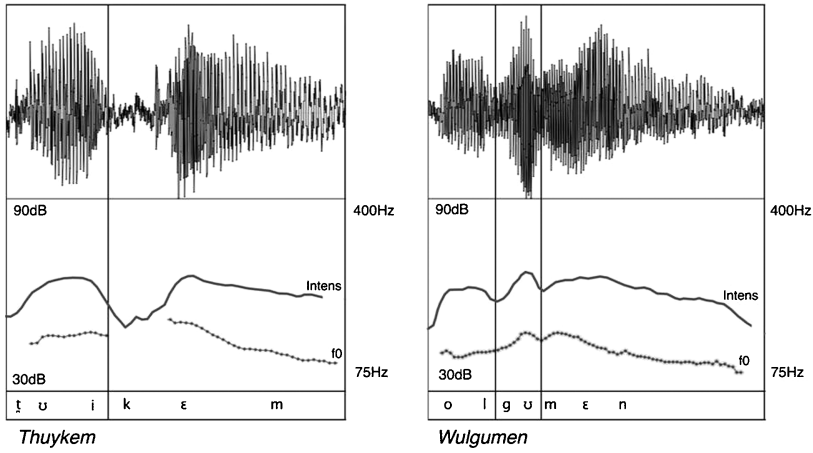

Figure 2.3. Acoustic analyses of the two address terms *Thuykem* (line 515) and *wulgumen* (line 517) in Fragment 2.4.

The first address term, the name *Thuykem*, has a marked intonation pattern (see Figure 2.3) consisting of two pitch-glides – an upward glide followed by a downward glide. The first syllable of *Thuykem* consists of a diphthong, which being a long syllable, is well suited to bearing a pitch-glide as a suprasegment. By contrast, only the final syllable of the trisyllabic word *wulgumen* bears a downward pitch-glide. Because each word ends with a downward pitch-glide, it is possible to compare these final syllables along the same parameters. If we compare where the long first syllable in *Thuykem* starts and then stops, with various mean measurements for the first and second syllables of *wulgumen*, we can begin to see why the two words sound so similar. Comparing the beginning of the upward pitch-glide of *Thuykem*, (i.e., the minimum pitch of the first syllable) to the mean pitch of the first syllable of *wulgumen*, we get 135 Hz and 128 Hz, respectively. Comparing the maximum pitch of the first syllable of *Thuykem* to the mean pitch of the second syllable of *wulgumen*, we get 156 Hz and 153 Hz, respectively. In terms of upward pitch movement, these values make for a very close match on an absolute scale. Comparing the two downward pitch-glides (the last syllables of each word) in terms of mean pitch, we get 133 Hz versus 127 Hz, which are very close indeed.

The duration of the initial pitch-glide in *Thuykem* (0.23 sec) is a close match to the duration of the first two syllables of *wulgumen* (0.25 sec). These words also match very closely in terms of their total duration: 0.66 sec versus 0.75 sec. With regards to intensity, the first syllable of *Thuykem* (61.6 dB) almost exactly matches the mean intensity of syllables one and two of *wulgumen* (61.7 dB).

Thus, in terms of absolute pitch, duration, and intensity these words are very similar, even though they are segmentally dissimilar. In each word, we see a prosodic mutation in the service of discourse prominence, where each word summons the attention of the reported addressee. Moreover, *wulgumen* prosodically assimilates the preceding word, *Thuykem*. I suggest that the function of this prosodic assimilation is referential. Recall that the verb *than'guriwaknintha*, "follow the two male non-siblings", was ambiguous as to whether the second person subject should be interpreted as singular or dual. My consultants assured me that there was only one addressee, because they knew the story. I'm suggesting the narrator deals with the ambiguity inherent in the verb by making these two address terms sound the same. She makes them sound the same, because they are in fact addressing the same person. In order to make this point clear to her audience she needs some other mechanism, beyond the verbal morphosyntax, to force this interpretation.[13]

In the same narrative, there are two further examples demonstrating that distinctive prosodic marking of short pieces of talk can have a referential function. All of the examples have in common that various referential items either assimilate with or dissimilate from each other prosodically, and in each case the prosodic marking seems to be doing disambiguation. It seems then that what we have is a genuine referring strategy for which we can isolate a governing principle.

Locally Marked Prosodic Reference:

1. Coreference between two or more referential items may be signaled by locally marking prosodic features in an assimilatory fashion.
2. Non-coreference between referential items may be signaled by locally marking prosodic features in a dissimilatory fashion.

Fragment 2.5, which continues the same story from exactly where we left it at the end of Fragment 2.4, demonstrates how certain kinterms can be prosodically marked to signal both coreference and non-coreference. In Fragment 2.4, there were two male reported speakers, G and B, addressing one female reported addressee (recall Figure 2.2). In that fragment, the function of the Locally Marked Prosodic Reference was signalling to the recipient of the story that there was only one reported addressee and not two, and that each man was addressing her personally. However in Fragment 2.5, one reported speaker (*Kalinygawurrkwurrk*, Phyllis's own daughter) addresses two male reported addressees (the same two men, G and B) (see Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

[13] The phenomenon has parallels with Cruttenden's *tonal harmony*, where the intonation patterns of parenthetical appositive NPs harmonize (Cruttenden, 1997: 71).

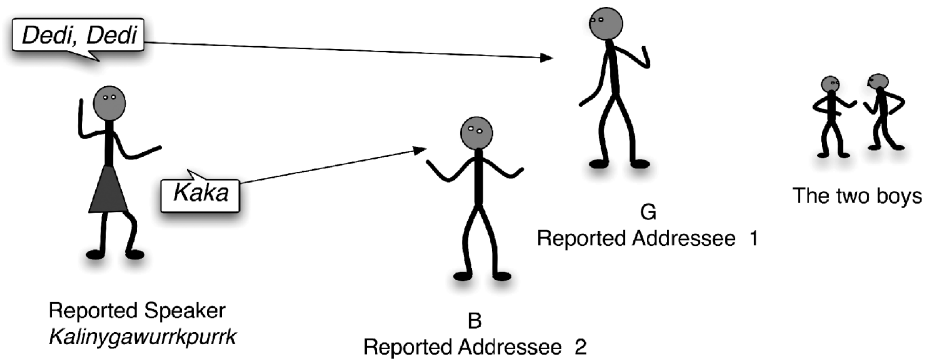

Figure 2.4. The reported interaction in Fragment 2.5.

```
524 Phyl     <<exc, hi> thangguguwa.>
                        "What ku-things?"
525          (.)
526 Phyl     ↓ku murriny wiye nyinda mangannin thartyu,
             They got those things with a rude name.
527          (1.5)
528 Phyl     <<creaky> Aa::~↑hi̬>
529          (0.95)
530 Phyl  f1 <<hi> de↑di:~↓;>
                   "Daddy",
531          (0.37)
532 Phyl     ↓kalinygawurrkpurrkkathu dimkay.
             Kalinygawurrkpurrk called out.
533          (1.6)
534 Phyl  f1 de↑di~↓;
             "Daddy."
535          (0.6)
536 Phyl  f1 kaka~↓;
             "Uncle."
537          (0.9)
538 Phyl  f1 <<creaky, hi> nan'gudharrpunintha pernintha nyinda;>
                           "Ask those two male non-siblings,
539          (0.1)
540 Phyl  f1 Thanggu°g°u ngarra kalpa damninthangkarduyu.
             'what sort of ku-things were you two male non-siblings looking
             for on the reef.'"
541          (1.9)
542 Phyl  f2 <<piano, hi> Ya perenintha thanggu thangkugu damninthangka>↓rdu;
                         "You two male non-siblings, what- what ku-things did
                         you two male non-siblings see?"
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Fragment 2.5. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB03b).

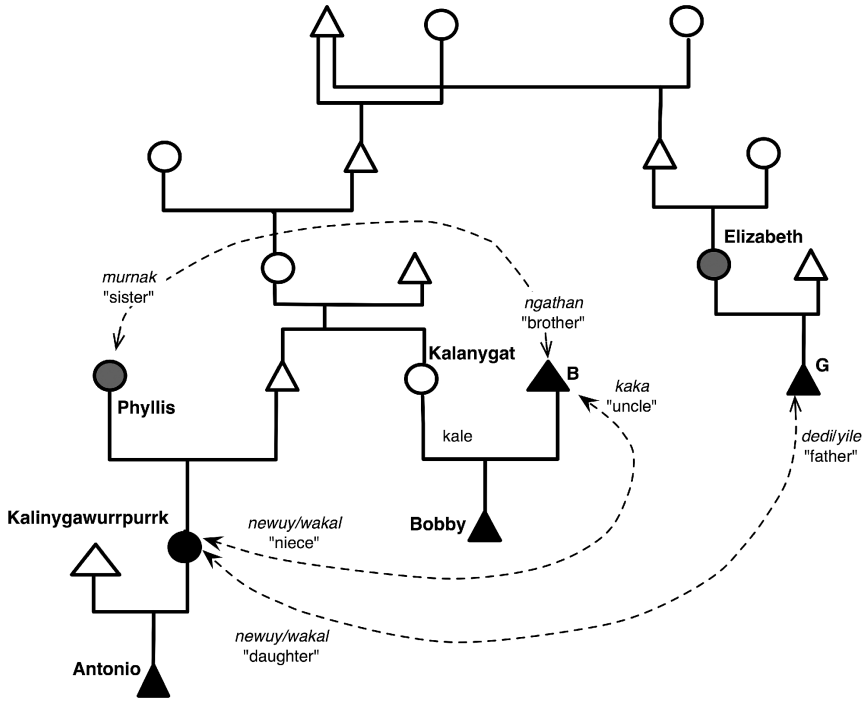


Figure 2.5. Kinterms superimposed onto the genealogy of the persons referred to in Fragment 2.5.

In lines 530, 534, and 536, *Kalinygawurrkpurrk* (f_1 in the transcript) calls out three vocative kinterms. Each kinterm is prosodically marked to sound like a call for someone's attention.[14] Two of these kinterms are the same (*dedi*, "father") and the other is different (*kaka*, "mother's brother"). Lines 538 and 540 instruct the reported addressees to ask the same two boys encountered previously, what it was they had seen on the reef.[15] Again, because of morphosyntactic constraints on the Murriny Patha verb template, *nan'gudharrpunintha* is underspecified for subject number. The question is then, how many reported addressees are there – one "father" and one "uncle", or two

[14] For each of these words, the stress is normally on the first syllable. As such, the first syllables would be expected to have higher maximum pitch and higher intensity than the second syllables. However, here we see a deviation from that pattern.

[15] Unlike Gooniyandi (McGregor, 1994), Murriny Patha has no syntactically "indirect" reported speech. Rather than rendering the reported talk in the third person, as would be the norm for English ("Ask the two males what they saw on the reef."), this imperative construction renders the (doubly embedded) reported talk directly, i.e., "Ask the two males, 'What did you two males see on the reef?'".

"fathers"[16] and one "uncle"? There are in fact two reported addressees (G and B). I claim that Elizabeth can deduce this from the phonetics of the two tokens of *dedi*.

In their interactional prosodic study of repeated turns in sequence closing environments, Curl *et al.* (2006) performed acoustic analyses of repeated turns.[17] The first element of these "doubles" consists of an initial speaker's recognizable move toward topic closure. When this turn fails to initiate anything more substantial than minimal uptake from its recipient,[18] the initial speaker repeats the closing move, with the same words (and in fact with the same syllables). It is thus a "redoing" of the prior turn. They found that, consistently, the repeated element in the double is lower is pitch than the initial element. If we compare the two instances of *dedi*, for each syllable, the second one (line 534) has lower maximum pitches than the equivalent syllables in the prior (line 530) version (181 Hz vs. 209 Hz for the first syllables and 197 Hz vs. 226 Hz for the second syllables).

They also found that the pitch range for the second element of the double, relative to the first, is typically compressed. This too is true of the second instance of the word *dedi* (197−106 = 91 Hz) relative to the first (226−90 = 136 Hz). Finally, they found that the repeated element in the double is systematically shorter in duration than the first. Again the duration of the second *dedi* is shorter (0.52 sec vs. 0.69 sec). Thus these acoustic measurements of overall pitch, pitch range, and duration (Figure 2.6) are entirely consistent with the phonetic features described by Curl *et al.* for their repetitions, and so support an interpretation of the *dedi* in line 534 being a "redoing" of the prior *dedi*, in line 530.

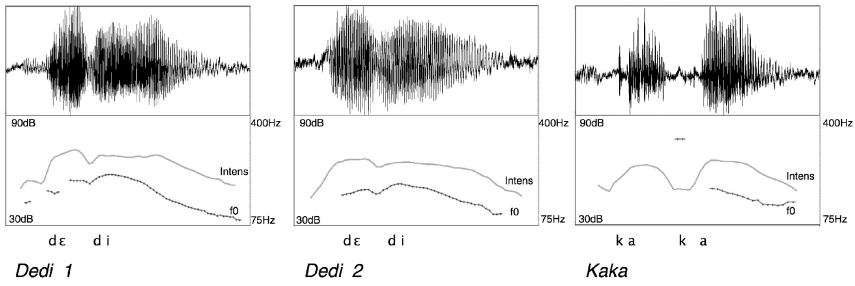


Figure 2.6. Pitch-trace and intensity of the kinterms *dedi* (lines 530 and 534) and *kaka* (line 536), in Fragment 2.5.

[16] Because of same-sex sibling merger, the Murriny Patha ego addresses and refers to both "father" and "father's brother" with the same kinterms *yile* or *dedi*. By contrast, the equivalent of "uncle", *kaka*, is used only for ego's "mother's" brother, and not ego's "father's" brother.

[17] For other prosodic analyses of repetition in talk-in-interaction see Couper-Kuhlen (1996); Curl (2002, 2004, 2005).

[18] Either there was no uptake at all, or there was just a continuer, for example, *ah huh*.

However, there is more than one way of interpreting this redoing. Phyllis could be reporting Kalinygawurrkpurrk's having twice summoned the attention of her (classificatory) father. In which case, the redone *dedi* should be construed as a second summons, produced in pursuit of a more adequate response (Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984).[19] The other possibility is that Kalinygawurrkpurrk only produced a single *dedi* as a summons. The redone *dedi* would then be construable as Phyllis's re-reporting of her daughter's solitary summons. Both of these interpretations are entirely consistent with there being only one person for whom this kinterm *dedi* actually fits. That is, each *dedi* must be construed as addressing the same person, and not two separate men who happen to be brothers; because regardless of how the redoing is conceived of, it is been phonetically designed to be hearable as a second version of something that came before, rather than a new version of something altogether different.

Although on absolute scales, the second instance of *dedi* is phonetically different from the first (i.e., lower register, narrower pitch range, and shorter duration), which makes it sound different from the previous version, on relative scales the two *dedi*s show prosodic similarity. With respect to each other, the same syllables are higher and louder. However, on the same relative scales, the kinterm *kaka* is prosodically cast as significantly different.

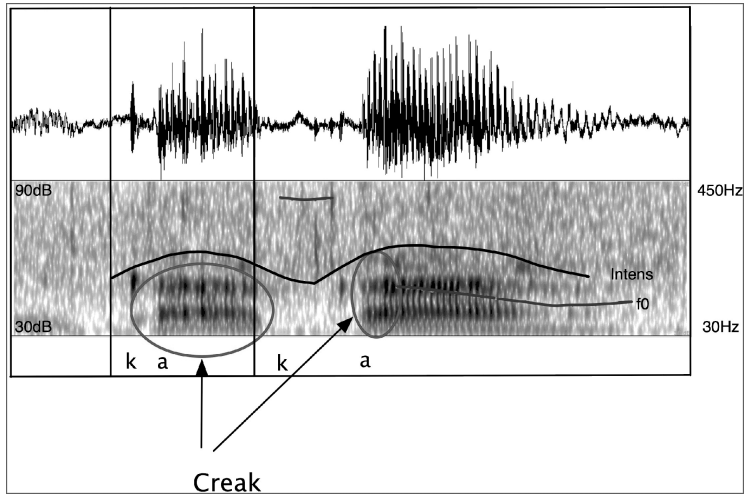


Figure 2.7. Spectrogram showing creak in *kaka* (line 536) of Fragment 2.5.

[19] The following fragment comes from a telephone interview on the radio show Sunday Night Safran. In lines 1–3, the interviewer JS, announces his guest, JR, and then issues him a summons (line 3). When no response from JR is forthcoming (lines 4–6), the summons is reissued at line 7. The

Both *dedi*s have first syllables of higher intensity than their second syllables, while the second syllable of *kaka* has higher intensity than its first. Both *dedi*s have second syllables with higher fundamental frequencies (perceivable as higher pitch) than their first syllables. The second syllable of *kaka* is perceivable as lower in pitch than its first syllable.[20] Thus, with respect to loudness (the perceivable correlate of intensity) and pitch (the perceivable correlate of fundamental frequency), the two tokens of *dedi* show similarity in how their first syllables relate to their second syllables. However, by these same relative scales, the two *dedi*s are differently cast from the kinterm *kaka*. The phonetic difference is further accentuated by the presence of significant creak in the first syllable of *kaka*. Thus, in terms of Locally Marked Prosodic Reference, the differences between *kaka* and *dedi* reinforce the referential constraint made by the singular quotative speech verb *dimkay* (line 532) that the two terms of address should be construed as being produced by a single reported speaker, summoning the attention of two separate reported addressees; and *not* the scenario that we saw in Fragment 2.4 where two separate reported speakers used different vocative expressions to summon a single reported addressee.

On the other hand, even though the two tokens of *dedi* were prosodically cast so as to sound different from each other in terms of absolute register, in terms of relative pitch, they were prosodically cast as the same. This prosodic assimilation (in relative terms) reinforces the referential interpretation; that the second *dedi*, as a redoing of the first *dedi*, is to be construed as necessarily addressing the same person, and *not* the alternative possibility where the reported speaker Kalinygawurrkpurrk might be individually addressing separate classificatory "fathers".

---

reissued summons has a considerably narrower pitch range than the prior version and has a much lower register.

```
1  JS   ↓we have↓ (0.7) ↓John Ron↓↑son¿ (0.5) author¿ (0.35) and filmmaker¿
2       (0.36)
3  JS   joining us from ↑Lon↓don; (0.13) Hello ↑Joh:n;          ← Summons
4       (2.6)
5  FB   John's at Starbucks;
6       (0.3)
7  JS   ↓Hello Jo⌜hn;↓⌝                                        ← Reissued Summons
8  JR            ⌊(See⌋ uh) well; wanting to get to Starbucks and ⌜ah
9  FB                                                           ⌊Ha ha
10      ha ha ha.
11 JR   ya called jist a- jist as I was headin' ou:t;
```

[20] The fundamental frequency was traceable for the second syllable of *kaka* but not for the first. There is significant creak in the first syllable (and also briefly at the beginning of the second syllable, see Figure 2.7). Due to this creak, the speaker's vocal cords would have been moving too slowly to secure a reliable pitch trace. I thus played a recording of this word to six linguists and asked each of them which of the two syllables had the highest or lowest pitch. Four of them thought the second syllable was lower than the first, one thought they were of equal pitch, and the other abstained. Speculatively, it may be that hearers orient to the second syllable's falling pitch contour, in judging it to be lower in pitch than the first.

Locally Marked Prosodic Reference constrains the number of possible readings, thus amplifying the deictic power of the ill-fitting kinterms. Again, embedding the person referencing that explicates the reported speech, into the reported speech itself, allows the narrator to do more referencing with fewer words.

Recall that the narrator, Phyllis, could not name the two men, G and B, in Elizabeth's presence. The use of kinterms as terms of address, in the context of reported speech, indexes the relationship between the reported speaker and the reported addressee. Because Elizabeth knows that the reported speaker Kalinygawurrkpurrk is Phyllis's own daughter, she also knows that Kalinygawurrkpurrk used to be in a "daughter" relationship to her deceased son and used to address him with the kinterms *yile* or *dedi*, "father" (see Figure 2.5). Using this kinterm as a vocative expression, not only indexes G as a likely reported addressee for the reported interaction in this Fragment 2.5, it also supports the prior indexing of G as one of the two reported speakers who was previously addressing his wife *Thuykem*, in Fragment 2.4. Similarly, Kalinygawurrkpurrk was in a "niece" relationship to B (Figure 2.5). Her use of *kaka*, "mother's brother", as an address term indexes this relationship and cues him as a likely candidate for being the other reported speaker in Fragment 2.4.

Other clues are the mention of B's son Bobby through the use of a kinterm anchored from his wife (line 520 of Fragment 2.4), and that the two reported speakers in Fragment 2.4 were able to address the person *Thuykem* in such a familiar way. The context tells Elizabeth that the second man was a good friend of G, and that Phyllis should not say his name. As Phyllis's opposite-sex sibling, B fits on both counts. All of these clues zoom in on B as the being the second reported speaker in Fragment 2.4 and the second reported addressee in Fragment 2.5.

There is a third example of Locally Marked Prosodic Reference in this narrative. In Fragment 2.6, Elizabeth's son G does as Kalinygawurrkpurrk had suggested (in Fragment 2.5) and asks one of the two boys what sort of things of the *ku*-class they had found on the reef. The fragment reports the dialogue between G and his classificatory daughter's son, Antonio. Because G and Antonio stood in a classificatory "maternal grandparent" relationship, they address each other with the reciprocal kinterm *thamuny* (in this case "mother's father" vs. "man's daughter's son", see Figure 2.8).

```
604 Phyl      <<len, acc> ↑Awu bematha kanggurl ngay pangu
605           wurdamnawal>tjidamhath°a°.
              Oh my brother's son's son was laughing at him so much his
              sides were aching.
606           (0.6)
607 Eliz      Mhm_=
608 Phyl  f1  =<<breathy, singsong> th(h)a↑m(h)u:~↓ny.>
                                    "Grandson".
609           (1.55)
610 Phyl  f1  << breathy, singsong> Ku thang↑gu kama::~↓.>
                                    "What sort of ku-things might they be?"
611           (1.4)
612 Phyl  f2  <<hi, exc, creaky> Kharda °da°↑matha *tha*muny;>
                                "Right here grandpa."
```

```
613            (1.3)
614 Phyl  f2   <<hi, exc, creaky> Ku terertniminya.>
                                 "[there are] lots and lots of them."
615            (0.26)
616 Phyl  f2   ma⌈ml⌉etetwurran ngarra kalpa:ya: mamnaward⌈a;=a⌉wu:;=
               "They were all sticking to the reef", he said to him. Oh!
617 Eliz         ⌊m-⌋                                 M⌊m:; ⌋
618 Phyl       =ku be: pe:nintha °ku° wu⌈rdamninthardarrerndernwarda pangu.⌉
                The two men had pains in their backs from laughing about those
                ku-things.
619 Eliz                                  ⌊  Mmh:mh  mh  ha  ha  ha  ha  ha  ⌋ ha
620            (1.2)
621 Phyl       <<creaky> thamuny thamuny wangu.>
                         [laughing] at his daughter's son.
622            (0.7)
623 Phyl  f1   <<singsong> ya tha↑ma:~ny↓;>
                           "Hey grandson."
624            (1.3)
625 Phyl  f1   <<hi, creaky, piano> thambinyikatwa;>
                                     "You made a mistake."
626            (1.3)
```

Fragment 2.6. Spiny Chitons (2004-08-08JB03b).

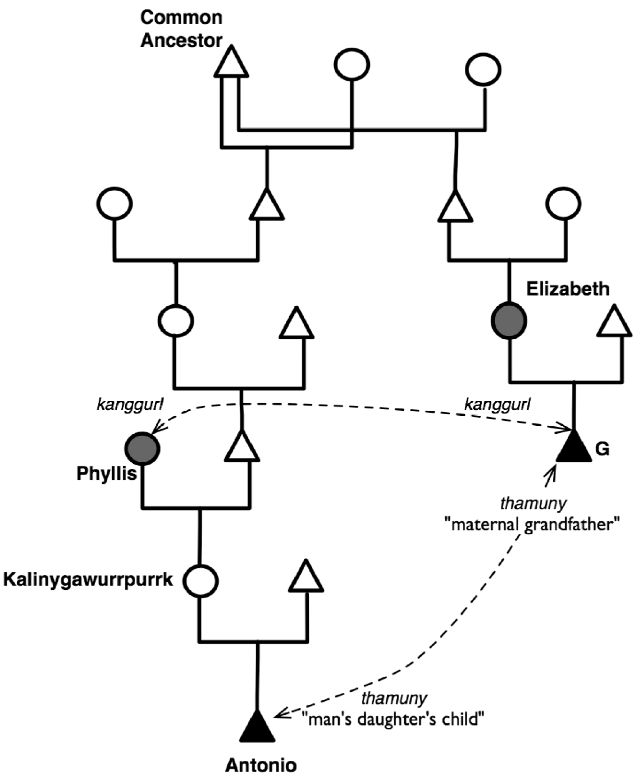


Figure 2.8. Fragment 2.6 reports interaction between Phyllis's grandson, Antonio, and Elizabeth's son, G. Antonio and G address each other with the kinterm *thamuny*.

The problem for the recipient of this story is keeping track of which line of talk hails from the grandfather and which hails from the grandson. Because the kinterm *thamuny* is reciprocal, the issue is who were the reported speakers and who were the reported addressees. Both global and local prosodic marking provide clues. First we will consider the global marking.

The immediately prior reported interaction had been between Elizabeth's son, G, and Phyllis's daughter, Kalinygawurrkpurrk.[21] In line 605, Phyllis refers to G with the self-anchored kinterm, *kanggurl ngay*, "my grandson" ("br.so.so"). As a topically salient participant who has already been instructed to ask the young boys what they had found,[22] in terms of the story's coherent unfolding, he is the most likely person to have produced the kinterm *thamuny* in line 608. This kinterm and the subsequent question, *Ku thang↑gu kama::∼↓.*, "What sort of *ku*-things might they be?", are both produced with breathy voice and with an excited, singsong voice quality, characterizable by exaggerated pitch excursions. This reported turn sounds like an adult speaking to a young child. The utterance is hearable as mimicking the "grandfather's" question to the "grandson".

The first two TCUs (lines 612 and 614) that form part of the "grandson" Antonio's answer, also have an excited voice quality, though it is somewhat differently manifest. These turns both have creaky rather than breathy voice. Although the peak pitch is not particularly high, the pitch range is narrower than the prior talk (gone is the singsong intonation), making the lines perceivable as having the high register one might associate with a child. The third TCU of Antonio's reply (part of line 616) sees a shift to isochronous timing.[23] The *thamuny*, in line 623, sees a return to the singsong intonation that we saw in lines 608 and 610, which was attributable to the "grandfather", G. This singsong intonation is sufficient to flag the following TCU, *thambinyikatwa*, "you made a mistake", as also hailing from G (even though *thambinyikatwa* bears none of the other prosodic characteristics previously attributed to him). Thus, the global marking of reported speech adds further precision to the deictic clues provided by these vocative kinterms, which would otherwise be ambiguous due to their reciprocality.

As well as being prosodically similar on a global level, the two "daughter's son" *thamuny*s (i.e., those in lines 608 and 623 that hail from the grandfather G and address the grandson Antonio) show local similarities (see Figure 2.9). In terms of duration, the words are closely matched. Similarly in terms of mean pitch, each syllable is very close (147 Hz vs. 153 Hz for the first and 174 Hz vs. 172 Hz for the second). In terms of absolute register, this is a nearly perfect

[21] This interaction was discussed in Fragment 2.3.

[22] Lines 538 and 540 of Fragment 2.5.

[23] The referential function of the isochronous timing in this passage is discussed in Blythe (2009). Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999: 474) also note that the particular "prosodic formatting of a voice may well 'evolve' during the stretch of the speech being reported. When this happens, the left- and righthand boundaries may end up being different . . . ".

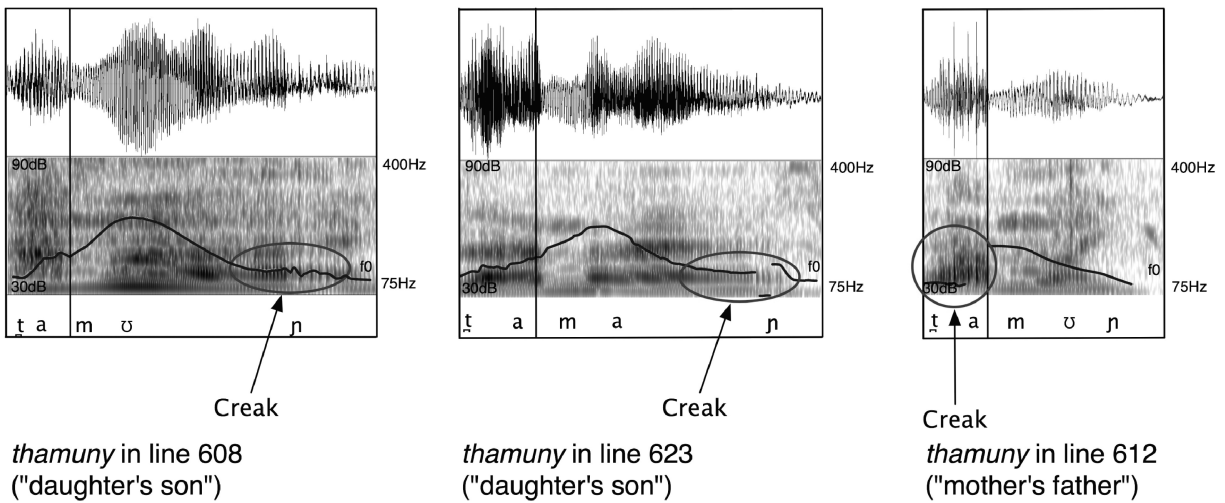


Figure 2.9. Acoustic analyses of *thamuny* (“daughter’s son”) in lines 608 and 623 versus *thamuny* (“mother’s father”) in 612 of Fragment 2.6.

match. In each, the second syllable has higher pitch than the first. Additionally in each word, as the downward pitch-glides in the second syllables are drawn out, there is some audible creak. As a result of the creak the pitch trace wavers (see Figure 2.9).

By contrast the duration of the "mother's father" *thamuny* (i.e., the address term in line 612 that hails from the "grandson") is significantly shorter than the other two. The mean pitch of the second syllable does not match with either of the others. Whereas the two *thamuny*s hailing from the grandfather had some creak in the second syllable, this *thamuny* has such strong creak in the first syllable that the fundamental frequency is untraceable. Nonetheless, as a result of the creak the first syllable is strongly perceivable as higher in pitch than the second, which was the opposite of the pattern for the two "daughter's son" *thamuny*s. In terms of local prosodic marking, this "mother's father" *thamuny* is the polar opposite of the "daughter's son" *thamuny*s. So in this fragment, Locally Marked Prosodic Reference echoes the deictic cues provided by the global prosodic marking, in that the talk directed toward the grandson bears hallmarks of sameness, whereas the talk directed toward the grandfather bears hallmarks of difference.

6. Conclusion

In conversation, when a narrator tells a story where the participants are known by all present, the narrator generally provides the information that their recipients require to recognize who is being spoken about. Interlocutors design talk for their recipients so that they can adequately identify the people they need to identify and hence, follow the gist of the story. If the story reports prior dialogue, recipients usually need to understand not only what was said, but also who said it and to whom. One way of providing this information is by framing the reported speech with a quotative expression, for example, "John said to me".

Other ways of conveying this information do not rely on appending extra words next to the reported speech. Narrators can use global prosodic marking to mimic the speech of reported interlocutors, and to mimic the sequences of turns in the interaction being reported. Alternatively, narrators can use address terms that do not fit any of the co-present conversationalists and use the lack of fit to cue the talk as temporally and referentially alien to the unfolding interaction. In this regard, vocative kinterms are particular effective because rather than indexing a single person (like a name does), they index the relationship between the speaker and their addressee. These two methods render quotative expressions redundant. Once initial reference has been established, quotative expressions are frequently dispensed with and subsequent indexation of reported interlocutors is done using more minimal referential strategies. Global prosodic marking and ill-fitting vocatives are referential strategies that satisfy Minimization (which is here construed as

using fewer linguistic units) because fewer words are required to convey the deictic information required for successful reference.

These two methods for cuing reported speech transport the reported talk, its deictic frame and the storyworld itself into the world of unfolding interaction, as though it were happening live. The characteristic prosody and realistic use of address terms presents the reported interaction as though the voices of actual people are currently engaged in conversation. This makes for lively, engaging, and dramatic storytelling – much like a radio play. Minimization has a direct application to this dramatic delivery. Phyllis's storytelling is vibrant, partly because she wastes little time with explanatory quotative expressions.[24] The storytelling is fast and punchy, and very "now"! While quotative expressions do bring the reported talk into the here-and-now, framing speech verbs also remind the hearer that the talk being reported took place previously. On the other hand, prosodic marking presents the talk as if it were taking place in front of the audience for them to witness.

Fragments 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6 each contain reported interaction where the attention of reported addressees is being summoned. Prosodically, each of the vocative expressions – "Thuykem!", "Old woman!", "Daddy!", "Uncle!", "Grandson!" – depart from their expected first-syllable stress patterns. Each sound as though someone is calling out from a short distance away. Locally Marked Prosodic Reference amplifies the indexical power of these ill-fitting vocatives, "tuning" them in such as way as to mark them as either *same* or *different* – "These ones sound the same because they are being used to address the same person, whereas that other one sounds different because it is being used to address someone else".

With prosodic reference, we find that speakers use much more of their talk for referring than mere referential expressions. With global prosodic reference, it is not noun phrases or pronominal affixes that are being recruited for referring, but entire reported turns at talk. It is contrastive oppositions between how these turns sound – high versus low, creaky versus breathy, childlike versus adultlike – that conveys who is saying what. With Locally Marked Prosodic Reference, it is not so much noun phrases that are recruited for reference, but pairs of noun phrases. Similar sounding pairs are used to mark coreference; different sounding pairs can mark non-coreference. As we saw in Fragment 2.6, it is not even necessary for the individual items in these pairs to occur within the same turn at talk. This is person referencing that is not particularly tied to individual expressions. Just as the prosodic domain is above the level of segments, prosodic reference takes place above the level of referential expressions.

Even though the domain of application is to passages of talk larger than individual expressions, we nonetheless find that referential principles such as Recognition and Minimization still apply. Because prosodic reference is not tied to individual expressions, it does not particularly require recognitional expressions for achieving recognition. This makes it extremely useful if the "basic

[24] In this story about the molluscs, Phyllis reports over 40 turns at talk, by seven different reported speakers. To do this she uses only 12 quotative expressions.

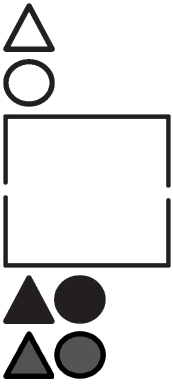
sort for recognitionals" (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979: 17) – names – need to be avoided, as the Murriny Patha name taboos require. Prosodic person reference allows speakers to pack "extra" referencing into their talk, without having to produce extra words. This is referencing that is highly efficient. It maximizes the likelihood of achieving recognition, while minimizing the expressive means – person reference with a short, sharp punch.

Key to Transcription

⌈, ⌊, ⌉, ⌋	Overlapping speech.
(0.9)	Silence (i.e., 0.9 sec).
(.)	0.1 sec of silence.
–	An abrupt cut off, usually a glottal stop.
=	Latching between different speakers; or, disjoined transcription of the same of the turn after a point of possible completion.
xxx xx	Indiscernible speech.
hh	Audible aspiration.
.hh	Audible inhalation.
(h)	Word internal laughter particle; or, a breathy syllable.
°Text°	Utterance is softer than surrounding talk.
Str<u>e</u>ss	Stress is marked by underlining.
:	Colons (without underlining or adjacent underlining) indicate lengthening or drawl.
→	Point of interest relevant to discussion.
↓, ↑	Marked shift to higher or lower pitch.
:~↓	A downward pitch-glide.
:~↑	An upward pitch-glide.
?	Fully rising terminal intonation.
.	Fully falling terminal intonation.
¿	Mid-high rising terminal intonation.
;	Mid-low falling terminal intonation.
,	Slightly rising terminal intonation.
–	Flat terminal intonation (neither rises nor falls).
<u>x</u>:	Rising-falling intonation.
x<u>:</u>	Falling-rising intonation.
<<hi> text>	Bracketed utterance produced at high-pitch register.
<<low> text>	Bracketed utterance produced at low-pitch register.
<<creaky> text>	Bracketed utterance produced with creaky voice.
<<exc> text>	Bracketed utterance produced with an excited voice quality.
<<breathy> text>	Bracketed utterance produced with breathy voice.

`<<singsong> text>`	Bracketed utterance produced with singsong intonation.
`<<piano> text>`	Bracketed utterance produced softly.
`<<allegro> text>`	Bracketed utterance is quick and lively.
`<<lento> text>`	Bracketed utterance is slow.

Symbols Used in Kinship Diagrams



Male

Female

Sibling relationship

Spouse relationship

Key persons referred to in the relevant conversation

Conversationalists

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