

## On manners and paths of refining Talmy's typology of motion expressions via language documentation

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The aim of this paper is to present a case study of the fruitful dialectic interaction between linguistic theory and in-depth language documentation. The theory to be addressed is Talmy's highly influential typology of motion expressions (Talmy 1985, 2000), with its dichotomy of "verb-framed languages" (where path is expressed as a semantic component of a motion verb) and "satellite-framed languages" (where path is expressed as a "satellite"). The language under investigation is Jaminjung, a Non-Pama-Nyungan language of northern Australia; data are based on my own fieldwork.

Jaminjung is mentioned in passing by Slobin (2004) as an example of a language which is neither verb-framed nor satellite-framed, but equipollent, because it gives equal weight to the expression of manner and path. Indeed, structurally, in Jaminjung (and neighbouring languages), both manner and path are expressed by members of the same open word class, uninflecting "preverbs". Since Talmy considers satellites to be a closed class, it is unclear whether the term applies to these preverbs, but assuming it does, it applies to both classes equally. Either manner or path preverbs or both can combine with inflecting verbs, which form a closed class with around 35 members and can also occur as simple predicates. In the example below, a semantically generic verb of motion (*gajgany*) is combined with two "preverbs", one expressing manner (*yugung*), one path (*walig*).

<i>jalis=malang</i>	<i>yugung</i>	<i>walig</i>	<i>ga-jga-ny</i>	<i>nu</i>
child=GIVEN	run	around	3sg-go-PAST	3SG.OBL

'the child ran around for him' (to dog, in Frog Story)

If one examines the actual use of manner and path expressions in Jaminjung texts, however, it appears that the narrative style corresponds more closely to that predicted for verb-framed languages, with path expressions outnumbering manner expressions by far. The precise picture depends on the text genres to be considered and on a number of methodological decisions regarding the definition of "manner" and "path", e.g. the question whether a preverb like *wurdbaj* 'search', which behaves exactly like a manner preverb, should be counted as one. A partial explanation of the patterns observed can be found in a boundary crossing constraint: it turns out that preverbs expressing a boundary crossing are not compatible with manner preverbs, while preverbs describing the shape or direction of a path are.

Documenting a language like Jaminjung can thus help to refine the typology of motion expressions: it points to the need of distinguishing at least two types of path expression, and of considering more carefully the definition of "satellite" on the formal side of the typology, and the definition of "manner" and "path" on the semantic side.

Slobin, D. I., 2004. [The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events](#). In S. Strömquist & L. Verhoeven (eds.), *Relating events in narrative, 2: Typological and contextual perspectives*. Mahwah: Erlbaum, 219-257.

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