

# 27 *Wambaya in motion*

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

As with many Australian languages, the first significant information we have about the non-Pama-Nyungan language Wambaya is from field notes collected by Ken Hale (1959). These notes are remarkably comprehensive—in only 57 widely spaced, handwritten pages, Hale managed to capture the core of Wambaya grammar; from verbless sentences, to possessive phrases, to verbal paradigms, to complex clauses—and, along with his 1960 field notes on the related dialect Gudanji, provided a valuable boost to the beginnings of my own fieldwork on the language in 1991. In this short paper I discuss the phenomenon of associated motion (e.g. Koch 1984; Tunbridge 1988; Koch and Simpson 1995; Simpson 2001; Wilkins 1991, 1998) as it is realised in Wambaya. I will show that, while the Wambaya system is similar in some respects to those of the Pama-Nyungan languages of the region, it shows some interesting differences that highlight its different diachronic source and make it worthy of inclusion in discussions of associated motion more generally.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First and foremost I would like to thank my Wambaya and Gudanji friends who so patiently taught me their language: Molly Grueman, Minnie Nimara, Mavis Hogan, Judy Holt, and Powder O'Keefe. Thanks also to Peter Austin, Ian Green, Harold Koch, David Nash, and Jane Simpson for comments and discussion on various aspects of this paper, and to Jane Simpson and Harold Koch for providing unpublished material. This work was begun while I was a research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, and an earlier version was presented at the Third International Workshop on Australian Aboriginal languages held there in April 1998. I would like to thank members of the Language and Cognition Group, especially Steve Levinson, David Wilkins and Felix Ameka, for creating such an enjoyable and stimulating intellectual environment which enabled this and other research to develop while I was there.

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, Hale's Wambaya notes contain no examples of the affixes that I am concerned with here, even in contexts in which their occurrence would be expected in present-day Wambaya (see §3.1 for examples). There are two possible explanations for this: (i) the use of the directional affixes may have developed in Wambaya since Hale's fieldwork (although Chadwick (1978, 1979) also reports the presence of these suffixes in Wambaya to encode both "direction and motion" (1979:685), meaning that they must have already developed by the time Chadwick did his fieldwork in the early-mid 1970s); (ii) more probably, the speaker from whom Hale collected his Wambaya data may have

## 2. Grammatical overview of Wambaya

Wambaya is a non-Pama-Nyungan language originally spoken in the Barkly Tablelands region of the Northern Territory. It belongs to the Barkly subgroup of the discontinuous Mirndi (also Mindi) language family, which also includes the Yirram (or West Mirndi (I. Green 1995)) languages spoken further to the west (see Chadwick (1979, 1984) for discussion). The Barkly group consists of Jingulu (Chadwick 1975, Pensalfini 1997 and this volume), Ngarnga (Chadwick 1978), and a chain of three dialects, Binbinka, Gudanji and Wambaya (Chadwick 1978; Nordlinger 1998). Wambaya is no longer spoken on a daily basis, and there are now no more than half a dozen fluent speakers, all elderly and living in the towns of Borroloola, Tennant Creek and Elliott.<sup>3</sup>

Wambaya is typologically different from most other non-Pama-Nyungan languages.<sup>4</sup> It is primarily dependent-marking, makes extensive use of case morphology, and marks noun classes by suffix rather than by prefix.<sup>5</sup> In addition Wambaya, like Warlpiri (Hale 1982, Simpson 1991), has a second-position auxiliary containing subject and object bound pronouns and markers of tense, aspect, mood (TAM) and direction. The structure of this auxiliary is given in (1):

- (1) SUBJ – (OBJ) – TAM (+ assoc. motion/direction)

As is clear from (1), the Wambaya auxiliary is simply a bundle of grammatical affixes; it contains no synchronic verbal root at all. All of the lexical verbal content in the clause is provided by a (largely) uninflected main verb which (given that basic word order is free) can appear before (2, 4), after (5), or separated from (3, 6) the auxiliary. Examples of typical Wambaya clauses include the following. In these examples, auxiliaries and verbs are given in bold.<sup>6</sup>

mixed in features of the closely related Gudanji dialect, which does not have any directional affixes (see §4 for further discussion). Such dialect mixing is extremely common among Wambaya and Gudanji speakers, making it quite difficult at times to separate characteristics of the two. Hale's Wambaya notes contain many other common Gudanji features, such as the use of *gabi* 'NEG' rather than *yangula* or *gywala*, *-ma* instead of *-a* for the past tense affix, the use of the auxiliary *nya* in singular imperatives where Wambaya would have no auxiliary, and the absence of the *-(j)ba* verbal inflection in future and imperative clauses.

<sup>3</sup> All of the Barkly languages are in such dire straits: the situation for both Gudanji and Jingulu appears similar to that for Wambaya, while there are only two known speakers of Ngarnga still alive and none of Binbinka at all.

<sup>4</sup> I am following common Australianist practice in assuming a genetic basis for Pama-Nyungan (O'Grady, Wurm and Hale 1966; Blake 1988; Evans 1988) and using 'non-Pama-Nyungan' to refer to the collection of language families from the northern region of Australia which do not belong to this group. Although they do not necessarily form a single language family, non-Pama-Nyungan languages generally share many typological properties not found in Pama-Nyungan languages, such as the use of prefixing as well as suffixing (Capell 1962; Blake 1990) and a predominance of head-marking rather than dependent-marking morphology.

<sup>5</sup> Except for some vestigial prefixes found on demonstratives, for discussion of which see Nordlinger (1998:107ff.).

<sup>6</sup> References after examples are to Nordlinger (1998). Other examples are taken from my fieldnotes. Abbreviations include: A – transitive subject; COMIT – comitative; F – feminine; HYP – hypothetical; I/II/III/IV – masculine/feminine/vegetable/neuter noun classes, respectively; INF – infinitive; LOC – ergative/locative case; M – masculine; NF – nonfuture; NP – nonpast; PR – present; RDP – reduplicand; RR – reflexive/reciprocal; S – intransitive subject.

- (2) *Ngajbi-ngajbi gin-a.*  
RDP-see 3.SG.M.A-PST  
'He looked around (the ground).' (p.235, ex.32)
- (3) *Jabiru-nu gin-a wurla dudiyarri*  
jabiru-LOC 3.SG.M.A-PST 3.DU.ACC spear  
*alag-ulu ngarri-yulu.*  
child-DU.ACC 1.SG.POSS-DU.ACC  
'The Jabiru speared my two kids.' (p.235, ex.33)
- (4) *Larlagbi g-a galyurringini-nmanji.*  
enter 3.SG.S-PST water.I-ALL  
'He got into the water.' (p.236, ex.34)
- (5) *Wara-nmanji gini-ngg-a yardi bulinja.*  
face.IV-ALL 3.SG.M.A-RR-NF put algae.IV.ACC  
'He put algae on his face.' (p.236, ex.35)
- (6) *Injannga ini julaji gi-n*  
where.from this.I.SG.NOM bird.I.NOM 3.SG.S.PR-PROG  
*ngarra bardbi?"*  
1.SG.OBL run  
'Where did this bird come to me from?' (p.237, ex.48)

The synchronic combination of an uninflected main verb together with a nonlexical auxiliary appears to have developed out of an original verb-classifying construction containing an uninflected coverb and inflected main verb, similar to that found in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt 1998, 2000) and other languages of the northern region, for example Wagiman (Wilson 1999), Marrithiyel (Green 1989), Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990), Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990), and Ungarinyin (Rumsey 1982). This is exemplified for Jaminjung in:

- (7) *Mooloorroo-ni gagawooli yoorrg gan-garra-ny Gilwi-ni*  
old.woman-ERG long.yam show 3SG.ISG-PUT-PST Gilwi-LOC  
'The old woman showed me yam in Gilwi.' (Schultze-Berndt 1998:20, ex.31).

In this construction an uninflected coverb (here *yoorrg*) co-occurs with one (here, *gan-garra-ny*) of a closed class of main verbs (usually ranging in membership from 20 to 40 verbs depending on the language), which has subject and object pronominal prefixes and TAM, as well as some lexical semantics (translated here as 'PUT'). The Wambaya auxiliary appears to have developed from a reduction of this original main verb into a sequence of person-number prefixes and TAM suffixes, with the original coverb class being reanalysed as the synchronic main verb (see I. Green 1995 for some further discussion). This history is reflected in the prefixing of the subject and object bound pronouns to the TAM markers (in Pama-Nyungan languages such as Warlpiri, these person markers are suffixed rather than prefixed).

There are a few correspondences that can be found between Wambaya auxiliaries and Jaminjung main verbs which support this diachronic picture.<sup>7</sup> Compare for example

<sup>7</sup> Although there are admittedly not as many of these as one might like, and surprisingly few correspondences between Wambaya main verbs and Jaminjung coverbs.

Jaminjung *ga-rooma-ny* '3SG-COME-PST' with Wambaya auxiliary *g-amany* '3SG-PST.TWD', and Jaminjung *ga-jga-ny* '3SG-GO-PST' with Wambaya *g-any* '3SG-PST.AWY'. The claim that their original status was as main verbs is also supported by Chadwick's (1978, 1979) report that an auxiliary could function alone as the main predicate of the clause in Wambaya. By the time of my work on Wambaya this had become very unusual, although there are a very small number of examples, all containing the directional affix *-uba* 'NP.AWY', in which this is the case:

- (8) *Injani ny-uba?*  
 where 2.SG.S-NP.AWY  
 'Where are you going?'

In present-day Wambaya 'Where are you going?' would more usually also contain the motion verb *yarru* 'come, go':

- (9) *Injani ny-uba yarru?*  
 where 2.SG.S-NP.AWY go  
 'Where are you going?'

The dearth of inflection on (synchronic) verbs in modern-day Wambaya is consistent with their source as uninflected coverbs. Verbs in Wambaya have only two (finite) forms: the *-ba* form, which occurs in positive future-tense clauses and in imperative clauses,<sup>8</sup> and the unmarked form (also the citation form) which occurs in all other contexts.<sup>9</sup> Nonfinite (subordinate) verbs take one of a small set of suffixes which mark tense relative to the main clause and in some instances switch-reference (Austin 1981a). These suffixes and their functions are discussed in detail in Nordlinger (1998); examples include (30) and (31) below.

### 3. The category of associated motion

As indicated in (1), the Wambaya auxiliary contains prefixed subject and object bound pronominals and suffixes marking TAM, some of which also mark associated motion and direction. The category of associated motion, whereby a single complex predicate expresses both a main event and another event involving motion (or direction) of one of the participants, has been discussed for a number of Australian languages and appears to be particularly prevalent in the central Australian region. Koch and Simpson (1995), for example, discuss associated motion systems in Kaytetye (see also Koch 1984), Wakaya, Warumungu and Warlpiri (see also Simpson 2001); and Wilkins (1991, 1998) describes the system for Mparntwe Arrernte.<sup>10</sup> Given its prevalence in the region, and especially in

<sup>8</sup> See Nordlinger (1996) and Nordlinger and Bresnan (1996) for more detailed discussion of the function of this verbal suffix.

<sup>9</sup> Regular verbs belong to one of two phonologically determined verb classes, which differ slightly in the forms of their unmarked inflections and in the nature of the stem to which the *-ba* suffix attaches. Vowel-final verb roots (e.g. *daguma-* 'hit') add a thematic consonant *-j-* before the *-ba* inflection (*dagumaj-ba* 'hit-FUT/IMP') and remain uninflected in the unmarked form (*daguma* 'hit'). Consonant-final verb roots, on other hand (e.g. *ngaj-* 'see'), have no thematic consonant in the future/imperative (e.g. *ngaj-ba* 'see-FUT/IMP') and take the unmarked inflection *-bi* (*ngajbi* 'see').

<sup>10</sup> Other Australian languages for which related phenomena have been reported (although not always referred to as such) include Adnyamathanha (Tunbridge 1988), Yidiny (Dixon 1977), Diyari (Austin 1981b), Margany (Breen 1981:322), Pitta Pitta (Blake 1979a:204) and Kalkatungu (Blake 1979b:92).

languages such as Warumungu and Wakaya which border Wambaya's traditional territory, it is hardly surprising that we find the category of associated motion in Wambaya also. However, Wambaya is a non-Pama-Nyungan language and, as such, is an interesting addition to this collection of otherwise Pama-Nyungan languages (see §4).

Wambaya has two series of associated motion/direction affixes: AWAY and TOWARDS (abbreviated AWY and TWD). These are portmanteau inflections, also encoding tense (past and nonpast) and imperative mood:<sup>11</sup>

(10) Tense and motion/direction portmanteaux:

	PAST	NON-PAST
TOWARDS	- <i>amany</i>	- <i>ulama</i>
AWAY	- <i>any</i>	- <i>uba</i>

(11) Imperative and motion/direction portmanteaux:

	SG	DU	PL
TOWARDS	<i>ga</i>	<i>gurlama</i>	<i>girrama</i>
AWAY	<i>gama</i>	<i>gurli</i>	<i>girri</i>

In Nordlinger (1998) and below I refer to these as directional affixes although they have in fact two functions, (i) as markers of direction (e.g. 'away') and (ii) as markers of associated motion (e.g. 'go and do'). The function of the affix in any given clause depends on the main verb that it combines with, as we will now see.

### 3.1 As markers of direction

Basic motion verbs in Wambaya such as *yarru* 'go/come', *gangga* 'go back/come back', *bardbi* 'run', *baba* 'fly', and *junku* 'crawl' are direction-neutral; they are unspecified as to the direction of the motion they encode. These verbs readily occur with no further specification, in which case the direction is usually recoverable from context.<sup>12</sup>

(12) *Ngaj-ba gurl garrunyma baba-wuli-jangka.*  
see-FUT DU.IMP road.ACC brother-DU-DAT

*Yarru wurl-agba.*  
go 3.DU.S-HYP

'You two watch the road for your two brothers. They might come.' (p.226, ex.12)

(13) *Injani gurlu-n yarru?*  
where 2.DU.SNP-PROG go?  
'Where are you going?' (p.227, ex.18)

<sup>11</sup> Chadwick (1978:67) mentions the existence of directional markers in Wambaya and provides a few examples of their use with motion verbs and with *yabu* 'have'. The forms that he gives for these suffixes are identical to those given here (with the exception that *-ulama* 'nonpast, towards' is given as *-ulamany*). Chadwick (1979:685) calls them markers of "direction and motion" and provides one example of their use with the non-motion verb *ngajbi* 'see' to mean 'go and see' (1979:681). He provides no further examples or discussion of their use or of their possible diachronic source.

<sup>12</sup> In these examples, the English translations are those that are appropriate for the context in which the utterance was given. Outside of context, however, the other interpretation (i.e. with the opposite direction) would be equally plausible.

- (14) *Gangga g-a ngurarramba-ni.*  
 return 3.SG.S-PST night-LOC  
 'He came back last night.' (p.153, ex.5–81)

More usually, however, these verbs co-occur with one of the directional affixes in the auxiliary establishing the direction of the motion event. The affixes in this function, therefore, are equivalent to those which are usually glossed 'hither' or 'thither' in other languages.

- (15) *Iligirri-nmanji ngurr-uba yarru.*  
 river.IV-ALL 1.PL.INC.S-NP.AWY go.FUT  
 'We're all going down to the river.' (p.152, ex.5–74)
- (16) *Igima g-amany yarru nanga langga-ngani*  
 that.one.SG.NOM 3.SG.S-PST.TWD go 3.SG.M.OBL north-ABL  
 'He came to him from the north.' (p.250, ex.3)
- (17) *Gangga murnd-ulama ngarli-nka.*  
 return.FUT 1.DU.INC.S-NP.TWD talk-DAT  
 'We will come back to talk.' (p.153, ex.5–77)

These directional affixes usually take the speaker as their deictic centre. However, as is clear from examples such as (16), when the discourse is told from another's perspective these affixes can take the location of this discourse participant as their reference point.

Imperative constructions with motion verbs always require the presence of a directional marker:

- (18) *Yarru gama dawurdawurra-ni!*  
 go SG.IMP.AWY hill.country-LOC  
 'Go away to the hill country!' (p.252, ex.24)

Interestingly, Hale's Wambaya notes do not contain directional markers even in this context; having directional adverbials instead (19a). The presence of the Gudanji imperative (singular) auxiliary *nya* in these examples suggests that Hale's Wambaya speaker may have spoken a variety mixing Wambaya and Gudanji features (see fn.2). Example (19a) is taken from Hale (1959:30); (19b) shows the translation into modern Wambaya:<sup>13</sup>

- (19)a. *Yarru nya bangarni . . .*  
 go SG.IMP this.way  
 'Come here . . .'
- b. *Yarru ga.*  
 go SG.IMP.TWD  
 'Come here.'

The use of these affixes in their directional function is extremely common with the verb *yabu* 'have' to express induced motion such as 'take' and 'bring'. The combination of *yabu* with a direction marker is the only way to express these meanings in Wambaya, and this is the only example of a non-motion verb combining with a directional affix in its direction-marking function (see §3.2). Examples include:

<sup>13</sup> I have adapted Hale's examples to the practical orthography used throughout the rest of this paper.

- (20) *Yabu ng-aji lagurra juruma.*  
 have 1.SG.S-HAB.PST hole.IV.ACC stomach.IV.ACC  
 'I used to have a deep stomach (i.e. I was very thin).' (p.134, ex.4-318)
- (21) *Yabu gun-uba gujinganjanga-nmanji.*  
 have 3.SG.M.A-NP.AWY mother.II-ALL  
 'He will take (her) to (her) mother.' (p.163, ex.6-16)
- (22) *Yabu ga!*  
 have SG.IMP.TWD  
 'Bring it here!' (p.153, ex.5-79)

In (20), in the absence of any directional affix, the verb *yabu* is interpreted as meaning 'have'. The addition of the 'AWAY' affix in (21), however, results in the meaning 'take', while the 'TOWARDS' affix in (22) leads to the interpretation 'bring'. Since the absence of a directional affix changes the meaning of *yabu* to 'have', directional affixes are usually obligatory with this verb if it is to have either of the meanings 'take' or 'bring'. However, in some textual examples it appears that the directional affix is omitted when the intended meaning of the verb is considered by the speaker to be clear from context:

- (23) *Yarru ngaya nyanyalu ngirr-aji wugbardi gambardarda-nima.*  
 go 3.SG.F.OBL tea.I.ACC 1.PLEX.A-HAB.PST cook early-JUST  
*Yabu ngirr-aji marndanga-nka.*  
 have 1.PLEX.A-HAB.PST white.woman.II-DAT  
 'We'd go to her (and) we'd make tea early in the morning. (Then) we'd take (it) to the white woman.' (p.254, ex.26-7)

Once again, Hale's Wambaya notes do not contain directional markers even in non-textual examples with *yabu*, where their presence would be expected in present-day Wambaya:

- (24) *Guyiga nya yabu.*  
 fire(wood) SG.IMP have  
 'Fetch firewood.' (Hale 1959:4)

### 3.2 As markers of associated motion

When these suffixes co-occur with non-motion verbs they do not mark direction, but mark associated motion of the kind 'go and do' or 'come and do'.

- (25) *Bungmanyi-ni gin-amany yanybi.*  
 old.man.I-LOC 3.SG.M.A-PST.TWD get  
 'The old man came and got her.'
- (26) *Ngajbi wurlu-ng-amany ngurra ngarl-warda.*  
 see 3.DU.A-1.O-PST.TWD 1.PL.INC.ACC talk-INF  
 'They came to watch us talking.'
- (27) *Mawula girri!*  
 play PL.IMP.AWY  
 'Go and play!'

- (28) *Nayirrundurna irri-n gajurru.*  
 women.NOM 3.PLSNP-PROG dance

*Gajurru ng-uba irraga-yili.*  
 dance 1.SG-NP.AWY 3.PLOBL-COMIT

'All the women are dancing. I'm going to go and dance with them.'

- (29) *Ngajbi ng-uba irra gayina irri*  
 see 1.SG.A-NP.AWY 3.PL.ACC what.ACC 3.PLSNP

*ngarra ngarlwi magi-nka.*  
 1.SG.OBL say country.IV-DAT

'I'm going to go and see them (to find out) what they will tell me about my country.'

Koch and Simpson (1995) discuss three different temporal relationships that can hold between the motion event and the main event in associated motion systems:

- concurrent** (overlapping, 'do on the way, do while going along');  
**prior** ('do after movement', 'go and do');  
**subsequent** ('do before going', 'do and go').

They discuss also a range of paths of motion (e.g. 'go', 'come', 'return', 'arrive', 'upward', 'downward', etc.) and manners of motion (e.g. quickly, steady, slow) that can be encoded. The combination of these various possibilities in some languages leads to complex systems of associated motion, such as that of Kaytetye represented in Table 1.<sup>14</sup>

**Table 1:** Associated motion in Kaytetye (after Koch and Simpson 1995)<sup>15</sup>

		Path				
Relative time	Gloss	Come	Go	Go away	Go back	Approach
1. Prior	move and do, do after moving	-yene-	-yene- ~ -nyeyene-		-y.alpe	-y.ayte-
2. Concurrent	do once on the way		-lp.VCV-			
	do repeatedly on the way	-yernalpe	-rr.ape- -rr.ap.eyne-			
	do all the way		-rrVCVrr.eyne -IVCVI.arre-			
3. Subsequent	do and move, do before moving			-rr.ayte -L.ayte	-rr.alpe -L.alpe	
4. Lexical			alpe-yene- 'go along'	artnpe- rrayte- 'run away'	artnpe- rralpe- 'run back'	ape-yayte- 'arrive'

<sup>14</sup> This table is reproduced from Table C2 on page 3 of the handout from Koch and Simpson (1995).

<sup>15</sup> The Kaytetye verb has the structure VerbStem (Assoc. Motion) (Aspect) Tense/Mood.



In contrast to the more elaborate systems of Kaytetye, Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1991), and Warumungu (Simpson 2001), the associated motion system in Wambaya is quite basic, consisting only of the binary opposition between ‘away, go’ and ‘towards, come’ and the single temporal relationship of ‘prior’.<sup>16</sup> Concurrent meanings such as ‘go while doing’ and subsequent meanings such as ‘go after doing’ are expressed through the use of a complex clause, with the motion verb in the matrix and the activity verb in the subordinate clause.<sup>17</sup>

- (30) *Yarru gi-n niŋi-ni.*  
 go 3.SG.SPR-PROG sing-LOC  
 ‘He’s walking (along) singing.’
- (31) *Gangga g-a alalangmiji-nnga Jabiru.*  
 return 3.SG.S-PST hunt-ABL jabiru.NOM  
 ‘Jabiru returned from hunting.’ (p. 236, ex.36)

In (30), the use of the locative case on the subordinate verb ‘sing’ marks the singing event as being simultaneous with the motion (main clause) event. In (31), the fact that the motion event follows the subordinate event is shown with the use of the ablative case affix on the non-finite verb.

In associated motion constructions, the motion event is subordinate to that expressed by the main verb. This is shown in Wambaya in (at least) two ways: (i) it is the main verb which determines the transitivity of the clause, as is obvious from transitive clauses such as (25) and (29); (ii) the goal of the motion in an associated motion construction is not marked with the allative case—the regular case for goals of motion verbs, as in (32)—but with the locative case, since it is the location of the non-motion main clause event (33):

- (32) *Yarru murnd-uba magi-nmanji ngarli-nka.*  
 go 1.DU.S-NP.AWY camp.IV-ALL talk-DAT  
 ‘We’ll go to camp to talk.’
- (33) *Ngarlwi murnd-uba magi-ni.*  
 talk 1.DU.INCS-NP.AWY camp.IV-LOC  
 ‘We’ll go and talk at camp.’

Examples (32) and (33) demonstrate the two main options for encoding a motion event followed by a non-motion event. In (32), the motion verb is the main verb with the non-motion (‘talking’) event expressed in a purposive subordinate clause. In this example the goal of the motion (‘the camp’) is encoded with the allative case, the regular case for goals of motion verbs. In (33) on the other hand, the motion event is expressed with an associated motion affix, while the non-motion verb is the main verb of the clause. In this case, the focus

<sup>16</sup> This raises the question of whether a single binary opposition between ‘come’ and ‘go’ can constitute a system of associated motion, rather than simply marking direction. In this function with non-motion verbs, these affixes quite clearly encode a secondary event: *ngajbi ng-uba* means ‘I will go and see’ and cannot mean ‘I will see/look (in a direction) away’ (this meaning would have to be expressed with the use of directional adverbials such as *yunumarrga* ‘(over) that way’), making a simple directional analysis of these affixes untenable.

<sup>17</sup> There may or may not be a directional affix on the main clause auxiliary in such clauses, as discussed for simple clauses in §3.1. Subordinate clauses never contain an auxiliary in Wambaya, and so there is no possibility for the presence of a directional affix in these clause types.

is on the talking (non-motion) event and the goal of the motion, also the location of the talking, appears instead in the locative case.

These two alternative constructions differ primarily with respect to the part of the complex event which is in focus. In the purposive complex clause in (32), the focus is on the motion event; in the associated motion clause in (33) it is on the non-motion event. This contrast in focus is made obvious in the following two lines which begin a short text describing a trip to check on someone's house in the bush.

(34) *Yarru ngurr-any gurdi-nmanji ngaj-barda.*  
 go 1.PL.INC.S-PST.AWY bush.IV-ALL see-INF  
 'We went out bush to have a look.'

*Ngarrga barrawu ngurr-any ngajbi.*  
 1.SG.POSS.ACC house.IV.ACC 1.PL.INC.S-PST.AWY see  
 'We went to have a look at my house.'

These two clauses contain very similar information but are quite different in their syntactic construction. The first clause is a regular complex clause with the motion verb in the main clause (accompanied by a directional affix in its direction function) and the 'seeing' event as subordinate. This construction is used here since at the beginning of the story the most important information is the fact that there was a motion event. In the second clause, once such a motion event has been established, the speaker uses an associated motion construction, subordinating the motion event and focussing instead on the reason for the motion: to have a look at her (newly built) house.

#### 4. Conclusion

The languages of Australia with inflectional associated motion systems are predominantly Pama-Nyungan (Warumungu, Kaytetye, Arrernte, Adnyamathanha, among others). Associated motion in non-Pama-Nyungan languages, on the other hand, is more commonly achieved through verb serialisation constructions, as for example in Gurr-goni (R. Green 1995), Kayardild (Evans 1995; Koch and Simpson 1995), and Marrithiyel (Green 1989). The Wambaya system however is clearly inflectional, as shown for example by the fact that the direction/associated motion affixes are portmanteau inflections also encoding tense and mood.<sup>18</sup> Associated motion in Wambaya, therefore, is much closer to the Pama-Nyungan style of associated motion found in other languages of the region, with a few notable differences:

- (i) The Wambaya system is significantly simpler than the systems of languages such as Warumungu, Kaytetye and Arrernte;
- (ii) The same affixes in Wambaya are used to mark both direction with motion verbs and associated motion with non-motion verbs. In Mparntwe Arrernte, for example,

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<sup>18</sup> Although, interestingly, there are a small number of examples in which a serialised construction appears to substitute for an associated motion construction, but this is very rare: *Yarru ngurl-aji lingbalingba* (lit. 'go 1.DU.EXC.S-HAB.PST bogey') 'We used to go and bogey'.

associated motion affixes have only this function and are never found with motion verbs (Wilkins 1998);<sup>19</sup>

- (iii) While the associated motion affixes in Wambaya are clearly inflectional, they are separate from the finite verb, being marked instead on the auxiliary.

Associated motion in Wambaya is clearly a result of the more general typological change from an uninflected coverb + inflected main verb structure to an uninflected main verb + auxiliary structure, rather than a separate development involving the grammaticalisation of motion verbs out of an original verbal compound, as has been argued for many Pama-Nyungan languages (Simpson 2001; Tunbridge 1988; Wilkins 1991). Determining the exact source of this system, however, will require some further detailed historical research. The other two dialects closely related to Wambaya—Gudanji and Binbinka—do not have any directional affixes at all,<sup>20</sup> having gone further than Wambaya in losing *all* lexical content, including motion, from the synchronic auxiliary.<sup>21</sup> The other two languages of the Barkly group—Ngarnga and Jingulu—do encode some direction in their verbal/auxiliary system, but there is no obvious correspondence in form between the markers of direction in these languages and the directional affixes in Wambaya.<sup>22</sup> The retention of some lexical content in the form of associated motion in Wambaya, then, may be a result of language contact with the surrounding Pama-Nyungan languages as speakers attempted to adapt their system in parallel with the associated motion systems encountered from the south (see I. Green 1995).

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<sup>19</sup> The existence of a set of affixes with these two different functions has been reported for Yidiny (Dixon 1977:219), although in Yidiny these affixes can also not co-occur with the motion verbs *gali-n* 'go' and *gada-n* 'come'.

<sup>20</sup> These dialects use directional adverbials to encode direction (Chadwick (1978:91), see also (19a) above). There are no data available to determine how they encode associated motion.

<sup>21</sup> For the most part, the TAM affixes in Gudanji and Binbinka correspond with the basic (nondirectional) affixes in Wambaya. However, interestingly, *-uba*, the 'nonpast away' directional affix in Wambaya, corresponds to *-uba*, the regular future tense affix in Binbinka (Chadwick 1978:64). This, and the two correspondences with Jaminjung main verbs discussed in §2, are the only clear cognates for the Wambaya directional affixes that I have been able to find in any of the Mirndi languages. More detailed research in this area is needed.

<sup>22</sup> Jingulu, also of the Barkly language family although a little more distantly related, has a three-way contrast between 'GO', 'COME' and 'DO' in the auxiliary. The Jingulu auxiliary, however, retains more main verb characteristics, frequently serving as the sole clausal predicate for example (Pensalfini 1997 and this volume), and may represent an intermediate stage between the original verb classifying construction (as in Jaminjung) and the associated motion system of Wambaya.

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