

“Now the story’s turning around”: Associated motion and directionality in Ende, a language of Papua New Guinea

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1 Introduction

Associated motion was first described by Koch (1984) in Kaytetye (Pama-Nyungan, Australia). In Kaytetye, associated motion is a grammatical category expressed by a set of dedicated affixes, which associate the main verb with a secondary event of motion. This motion event is oriented temporally in relation to the main verb. In the first example below, the motion occurs before the action of the main verb, while in the second, the motion follows the action of the main verb.

- (1) *Alperre-le=lke enpe-layte-nke.*
foliage-LOC=then cover-**DO&GO**-PRS
‘He covers him with leaves before he goes off.’
(Kaytetye; Koch & Turpin in prep:10)

- (2) *Are-nke=lke re, re wethapenye are-yene-nke weye-le=pe.*
look-PRS=then he:ERG he thus look-**GO&DO**-PRS animal-ERG=FOC
‘The animal then goes to have a look.’
(Kaytetye; Koch & Turpin in prep:5)

Associated motion has since been explicitly described in other Australian languages including Adnyamathanha (Tunbridge 1988) and Arrernte (Wilkins 1989, 1991), and in several languages of South America (Guillaume 2016) including Cavineña (Guillaume 2008) and Mojeno Trinitario (Rose 2015). Prototypical associated motion systems such as these have dedicated affixes whose only function is to code motion associated with a verb event.

Languages may also have directional systems, where they have one or more morphemes that code direction. The direction may be oriented in absolute space or oriented deictically. For example, Matukar Panau (Austronesian, Papua New Guinea) has directional morphemes which code a seaward or inland distinction, as well as morphemes which code path to or away from the deictic centre (Barth & Anderson 2015). Directionals prototypically code path, and do not code motion.

However, Belkadi (2015) described a phenomenon in Quechua and several north African languages where deictic directional morphemes can give rise to associated motion readings. That is, with the right pragmatic context, a deictic directional morpheme can express a separate, secondary motion event that is oriented temporally in relation to the main verb.

- (3) *t-cdh =d di tamyra*
3SGF-dance.PRF =**VEN** in wedding
‘She danced at the party and came back.’
(Taqbaylit Berber; Belkadi 2014, cited in Belkadi 2015:59)

While this function of directionals has been identified in the past (Payne 1982; Haviland 1993; Lichtenberk 2003:160-166; Bourdin 2006), Belkadi (2015) was the first to explicitly link it to associated motion as a grammatical category, terming it *deictic associated motion*.

This paper presents the deictic associated motion system in Ende, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea. Ende is one of six varieties in the Pahoturi River language family in southern New Guinea. Papua New Guinea is a known hotspot of linguistic diversity, and southern New Guinea even more so (Evans 2012; Evans & Klamer 2012). Associated motion has only been briefly described in one Papuan language, the isolate Yéli Dnye of Rossel Island (Levinson 2006:PAGES). Belkadi (2015:69) mainly surveyed languages in North Africa and was concerned that deictic associated motion may be “quite geographically concentrated”. Here, we explicitly identify deictic associated motion in a geographically and genetically unrelated language to those surveyed by Belkadi (2015). We hope through this paper to encourage other linguists to investigate similarly non-prototypical uses of directional morphemes in languages they are working on, both in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere.

Our second aim for this paper is for it to encourage debate as to whether systems such as that in Ende and elsewhere are best described as a special type of associated motion, or as a case of directionality that, although non-typical, still falls under that grammatical category. Indeed, in section 6, we present examples that do not fit neatly into either straight directionality or associated motion. Non-canonical, arguably borderline cases such as that in Ende are the best arenas for developing robust descriptive and theoretical parameters.

2 Form

The form of the Ende venitive is quite simple. It is a prefix with three allomorphs: *i-* before consonants, *y-* before vowels word-initially, and *ey-* before vowels in non-word initial position.¹ However, the distribution and interpretation of the prefix within the Ende verbal complex is less straightforward. This section explains each of these aspects in turn.

2.1 Allomorphy

The form of the venitive prefix can be summarized by the phonological rules in (1). We can arbitrarily assign the prefix with an underlying form *I-*, which is realized as *y-* /j/ when word-initial and immediately preceding a vowel, (2), as *ey-* /ej-/ when word-medial but still before a vowel, (3), and as *i-* elsewhere, that is when immediately preceding a consonant, (4).

- (4) I --> j / #_V
 I --> ej / C_V
 I --> i / elsewhere.

¹In this paper, the standard Ende orthography is used for in-text language examples. The IPA equivalents of non-transparent orthographs include: <ä> = /ə/, <dd> = /d̪z/, <ll> = /l/, <ng> = /ŋ/, <ny> = /ɲ/, <tt> = /t̪s/, <y> = /j/, <z> = /z/-/d̪z/.

²1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, A = agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADV = adverb(ial), ALL = allative, AUX = auxiliary, COM = comitative, COP = copula, DAT = dative, DUR = durative, EXCL = exclusive, FOC = focus, FUT = future, HAB = habitual, INCL = inclusive, INS = instrumental, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative, NMLZ = nominalizer/nominalization, NOM = nominative, NSG = nonsingular, P = patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRS = present, PST = past, REC = recent past, REM = remote past, S = single argument of canonical intransitive verb, SG = singular, SIM = similative, VEN = venitive, VOC = vocative.

- (5) *Ag me yuwenyan.*
 ag=me ju\weɲ/an
 morning=LOC take/REC.VEN.1|3SGA>3SGP²
 ‘In the morning, he brought it back.’
 (B. Zakaé 2016a: 12)

- (6) *Gall deya\gllae/nalla gänyo.*
 gaɽ deja\gɽaj/naɽa gəɲo
 canoe paddle/REM.VEN.DUR.1|2NSGA>3SGP here
 ‘We paddled the canoe here.’
 (W. Warama 2016: 27)

- (7) *Skul a sens de biwenyän.*
 skul=a sens=de bi\weɲ/ən
 school=NOM change=ACC take/FUT.VEN.3SGA>3SGP
 ‘Education will bring change here.’
 (E. Sali 2018: 95)

Sometimes, the quality of the high *i*- allomorph affects other vowels in the verb through a process of vowel assimilation. A similar pattern has been observed for the form of the venitive in related Idi (Gast 2017). Central vowels are more prone to assimilation but this is not universal. For example, the first central /ə/ in the verb root /ɲəsməɽ/ ‘to return’ is realized as /ə/ without venitive inflection, but as /i/ with venitive inflection (8). The second central /ə/ in the root is unchanged.

- (8) a. *Missionaries a dängüsmällän*
 miʃənəriz=a də\ɲəsməɽ/ən
 missionaries=NOM return.PL/REM.3PLS
 ‘The missionaries returned (to New Zealand).’
 (K. Dobola 2018: 161)

- b. *Diba ikol me abo ma we dingismällän.*
 diba ikol=me abo ma=we di\ɲisməɽ/ən
 that danger=LOC then home=ALL return.PL/REM.VEN.3PLS
 ‘They returned home from that danger.’
 (M. Sowati 2016: 20)

Similarly, the /a/ in the auxiliary root /gag/ raises to /e/ in the presence of the venitive morpheme. In (9b) a harmonic effect is observed in which the suffix vowels /e/ and /o/ raise to /i/ and /u/ respectively as well. However, this process is not exclusive to the presence of the venitive. Verb roots with high vowels such as /spun/ ‘to throw’ also trigger high suffix vowels (10). Also note how the allative clitic /we/ harmonizes to /wi/ after the high vowel in /ju/ ‘fire’ (10, cf. 8b)

- (9) a. *Sali bo dāräng a angde Puinde bom ikop dägageyo, ...*
 sali=bo dərəŋ=a aŋde pwinde=bom ikop dəgəgejo
 Sali=3.SG.POSS dog=NOM when Puinde=3.SG.ACC see AUX/REM.3NSGA>3SGP
 ‘When Sali's dogs saw Puinde, ...’
 (W. Kurupel 2017a: 37)

- b. *Däbem matta diḡegiyu gänyowe de.*
 däbem maḡsa diḡeg/iju gəḡo=we=de
 that.ACC shoulder AUX/REM.VEN.3NSGA>3SGP here=ALL=FOC
 ‘They shouldered that (man) back this way.’
 (W. Kurupel 2017a: 76)

- (10) *Yu wi daspuniyu.*
 ju=wi daḡspun/iju
 fire=ALL throw/REM.3NSGA>3SGP
 ‘They threw him into the fire.’
 (W. Geser 2017: 66)

2.2 Distribution

The venitive prefix is limited in its distribution in two ways. The first is semantic: the venitive prefix does not occur in verbs with first- or second-person patients. The second is structural: the venitive prefix supersedes any patient agreement prefixes and can precede a transitive root extension, but not an intransitive one.

The semantic constraint is evidenced by contrasting the (a) and (b) examples in (11) and (12). In (11), the main verb *datramän* ‘he led me’ has a first person patient and is identical in the venitive context, *gänyo* ‘here’ (11a), and the andative context, *do* ‘there’ (11b). In (12), however, the main verb differs in the two contexts, realized as *ditramän* ‘he led him here’ in the venitive context, *gänyaolle* ‘towards here’ (12a), and as *dätramän* ‘he led him there’ in the andative context, *duli* ‘there’ (12b).

- (11) a. *Ngänäm gänyo datramän.*
 ḡənəm gəḡo daḡtram/ən
 1.SG.ACC here lead/REM.3SGA>SGP
 ‘He brought me here.’
 (C. Soma 2018: 25)

- b. *Ngänäm danglläbänän abo datramän do sel ma we.*
 ḡənəm daḡḡəbən/ən abo daḡtram/ən do sel ma=we
 1.SG.ACC get/REM.3SGA>SGP then lead/REM.3SGA>SGP there cell place=ALL
 ‘He got me and then took me to jail.’
 (Y. Sowati 2018: 22)

- (12) a. *Gänyaolle dindugän bogo. Ngämo mang bom ngattong ditramän.*
 gəḡaorɛ dḡindug/ə bogo ḡəmo maḡ=bom ḡaḡḡon diḡtram/ən
 n
 towards.h run/REM.3 3.SG. 1.SG.P brother=3. first lead/REM.V
 ere SGS NOM OSS SG.ACC EN.3SGA>
 3.SG.P
 ‘He ran this way. He brought my brother first.’
 (P. Wäziag 2018: 59)

- b. *Ine da däbe llig kälsre de dätramän duli.*
 ine=da dəbe ḡig kälsre=de dəḡtram/ən duli
 duli

water=NOM that child small=ACC lead/REM.3SGA>3SGP there
 ‘The water took that small child there.’
 (T. Warama 2016: 21)

This semantic constraint is confirmed in elicited paradigms, such as the one for *kapu* ‘to carry’. Compare the two paradigms and note the distinction in the third non-dual patient forms (bolded) and the homophony elsewhere. For simplicity, this paradigm only shows forms with a third person singular agent in the remote past tense.

Table 1: *Elicited paradigm of kapu ‘to carry’ with a third singular agent in remote past*

| Patient | <i>daolle</i> ‘towards there’ | <i>gänyaolle</i> ‘towards here’ |
|---------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1SGP | <i>kapu dagän</i> | <i>kapu dagän</i> |
| 2SGP | <i>kapu dagän</i> | <i>kapu dagän</i> |
| 3SGP | <i>kapu dägagän</i> | <i>kapu digegän</i> |
| 1DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 2DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 3DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 1PLP | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> |
| 2PLP | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> |
| 3PLP | <i>kapu dägnegän</i> | <i>kapu dignigän</i> |

There are two structural constraints for the venitive prefix. First, the venitive prefix supersedes patient agreement prefixes. Second, the venitive prefix can precede a transitive root extension, but not an intransitive one. The first structural constraint is partially exemplified above, in that we see the venitive prefix *i-* immediately precede the root in the same position of the third person patient prefix *ä-*, (9) and Table 1.

The venitive prefix supersedes the third person patient prefix *ä-* even in intransitive verbs. There are two types of intransitive verb roots: some take intransitive prefixes. These consist of an intransitive tense prefix (e.g., *g-* ‘remote past’) and an intransitive root extension (*o-* or *u-*). Other intransitive verb roots take transitive prefixes. In these cases, they take a transitive tense prefix (e.g., *d-* ‘remote past’), which is followed by either a default patient prefix (*ä-* ‘third nondual’) or a transitive root extension (*a-*). Intransitive verbs may have a split paradigm in which nonplural subjects occur with the intransitive template and plural subjects occur with the transitive template. An example of each of these is listed in Table 2, for the remote past.

Table 2: *Intransitive verb types (andative/neutral)*

| | Intransitive template | Transitive template | Split template |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Subject | <i>irängän/ir</i> ‘to come out’ | <i>nglla</i> ‘to swim’ | <i>pällättän/pällätt</i> ‘to start walking’ |
| 1SGS | <i>guirängän</i> | <i>dänglla</i> | <i>gopällättän</i> |
| 2SGS | <i>guirängän</i> | <i>dänglla</i> | <i>gopällättän</i> |
| 3SGS | <i>guirängänän</i> | <i>dängllawän</i> | <i>gopällättänän</i> |
| 1DUS | <i>guirängäneya</i> | <i>dängllaeya</i> | <i>gopällättäneya</i> |

| | Intransitive template | Transitive template | Split template |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Subject | <i>irängän/ir</i> 'to come out' | <i>nglla</i> 'to swim' | <i>pällättän/pällätt</i> 'to start walking' |
| 2DUS | <i>guirängäneya</i> | <i>dängllaeya</i> | <i>gopällättäneya</i> |
| 3DUS | <i>guirängäneyo</i> | <i>dängllaeyo</i> | <i>gopällättäneyo</i> |
| 1PLS | <i>guir</i> | <i>dängllaebeya</i> | <i>däpällätt</i> |
| 2PLS | <i>guir</i> | <i>dängllaebeya</i> | <i>däpällätt</i> |
| 3PLS | <i>guirän</i> | <i>dängllaebeyo</i> | <i>däpällättän</i> |

The venitive prefix supersedes the default patient prefix in the intransitive roots that take the transitive template, but the venitive is not marked in the intransitive form. Compare the andative/neutral forms above with the venitive forms below. Those with structural changes are bolded.

Table 3: *Intransitive verb types (venitive)*

| | Intransitive template | Transitive template | Split template |
|---------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Subject | <i>irängän/ir</i> 'to come out' | <i>nglla</i> 'to swim' | <i>pällättän/pällätt</i> 'to start walking' |
| 1SGS | <i>guirängän</i> | <i>dinglla</i> | <i>gopällättän</i> |
| 2SGS | <i>guirängän</i> | <i>dinglla</i> | <i>gopällättän</i> |
| 3SGS | <i>guirängänän</i> | <i>dingllawän</i> | <i>gopällättänän</i> |
| 1DUS | <i>guirängäneya</i> | <i>dingllaeya</i> | <i>gopällättäneya</i> |
| 2DUS | <i>guirängäneya</i> | <i>dingllaeya</i> | <i>gopällättäneya</i> |
| 3DUS | <i>guirängäneyo</i> | <i>dingllaeyo</i> | <i>gopällättäneyo</i> |
| 1PLS | <i>guir</i> | <i>dingllaebeya</i> | <i>dipällätt</i> |
| 2PLS | <i>guir</i> | <i>dingllaebeya</i> | <i>dipällätt</i> |
| 3PLS | <i>guirän</i> | <i>dingllaebeyo</i> | <i>dipällättän</i> |

The second structural constraint of the venitive prefix is that the venitive prefix can precede transitive root extensions but not intransitive root extensions. A root extension is defined as a prefix that immediately precedes and is conditioned by a verb root but has no other semantic contribution. In the transitive template, the transitive root extension is *a-*. In the intransitive template, the root extension is *o-* or *u-*. When a verb root lexically specifies a root extension, it fills the slot where the third person patient prefix *ä-* may go. For illustration, compare the paradigms of the verbs *nglla* 'to swim' and *ergod* 'to crawl' in the remote past tense. The root *nglla* in 'to swim' is preceded by *ä-* but the root *ergod* in 'to crawl' incorporates the root extension vowel *a-*.

Table 4: *Intransitive verbs with and without root extension (andative/neutral)*

| | Transitive template (without root extension) | Transitive template (with root extension) |
|---------|---|--|
| Subject | <i>nglla</i> 'to swim' | <i>ergod</i> 'to crawl' |
| 1SGS | <i>dänglla</i> | <i>dargod</i> |

| | Transitive template (without root extension) | Transitive template (with root extension) |
|---------|---|--|
| Subject | <i>nglla</i> ‘to swim’ | <i>ergod</i> ‘to crawl’ |
| 2SGS | <i>dänglla</i> | <i>dargod</i> |
| 3SGS | <i>dängllawän</i> | <i>dargodän</i> |
| 1DUS | <i>dängllaeya</i> | <i>dargodeya</i> |
| 2DUS | <i>dängllaeya</i> | <i>dargodeya</i> |
| 3DUS | <i>dängllaeyo</i> | <i>dargodeyo</i> |
| 1PLS | <i>dängllaebeya</i> | <i>dargodaeb</i> |
| 2PLS | <i>dängllaebeya</i> | <i>dargodaeb</i> |
| 3PLS | <i>dängllaebeyo</i> | <i>dargodaebän</i> |

When these two verbs are in a venitive context the *ä*- prefix in *nglla* ‘to swim’ is superseded by *i*-, but the *a*- root extension in *ergod* ‘to crawl’ is not superseded. Rather the venitive precedes the root extension and, following the phonological rules listed in (4), is realized as *ey*-.

Table 5: *Intransitive verb types with and without root extension (venitive)*

| | Transitive template (without root extension) | Transitive template (with root extension) |
|---------|---|--|
| Subject | <i>nglla</i> ‘to swim’ | <i>ergod</i> ‘to crawl’ |
| 1SGS | <i>dinglla</i> | <i>deyargod</i> |
| 2SGS | <i>dinglla</i> | <i>deyargod</i> |
| 3SGS | <i>dingllawän</i> | <i>deyargodän</i> |
| 1DUS | <i>dingllaeya</i> | <i>deyargodeya</i> |
| 2DUS | <i>dingllaeya</i> | <i>deyargodeya</i> |
| 3DUS | <i>dingllaeyo</i> | <i>deyargodeyo</i> |
| 1PLS | <i>dingllaebeya</i> | <i>deyargodaeb</i> |
| 2PLS | <i>dingllaebeya</i> | <i>deyargodaeb</i> |
| 3PLS | <i>dingllaebeyo</i> | <i>deyargodaebän</i> |

Though the venitive prefix can precede transitive root extensions, it cannot precede intransitive root extensions, as already shown in Table 3.

2.3 Interpretation

Interpretation of the venitive morpheme is not always straightforward as the venitive morpheme is homophonous with three other morphemes: the non-singular patient prefix, one allomorph of the third nondual patient prefix, and the irrealis circumfix. This section details each of these homophonies in turn.

The non-singular patient prefix (*e*)*y*- always precedes the transitive root extension and co-occurs with first/second non-singular and third dual patients, as shown bolded in Table 6 (repeated from Table 1).

Table 6 (repeated from 1): *Elicited paradigm of kapu ‘to carry’ with a third singular agent in remote past*

| | Patient <i>daolle</i> ‘towards there’ | <i>gänyaolle</i> ‘towards here’ |
|------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1SGP | <i>kapu dagän</i> | <i>kapu dagän</i> |
| 2SGP | <i>kapu dagän</i> | <i>kapu dagän</i> |
| 3SGP | <i>kapu <u>dä</u>gagän</i> | <i>kapu digegän</i> |
| 1DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 2DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 3DUP | <i>kapu deyagän</i> | <i>kapu deyagän</i> |
| 1PLP | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> |
| 2PLP | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> | <i>kapu deyagnegän</i> |
| 3PLP | <i>kapu <u>dä</u>gnegän</i> | <i>kapu dignigän</i> |

In cases where the patient is first/second non-singular or third dual, the structure of the verb is identical in the andative and venitive contexts.

A similar pattern of homophony occurs with one allomorph of the third non-dual patient prefix. The default allomorph of this morpheme is *ä* /*ə*/, as shown underlined in Table 6. However, this morpheme harmonizes with the root, being realized as *i-* when the root begins with /i/ or contains /i/ in its first syllable. For these verbs, the andative and venitive forms of the root are identical in the remote past.

Table 7: *Elicited paradigm of pitt ‘to sew’ with a third singular agent in remote past*

| | Patient <i>daolle</i> ‘sew and take away’ | <i>gänyaolle</i> ‘sew and bring here’ |
|------|--|--|
| 3SGP | <i>dipittän</i> | <i>dipittän</i> |
| 3DUP | <i>deyapittän</i> | <i>deyapittän</i> |
| 3PLP | <i>dipittnigän</i> | <i>dipittnigän</i> |

However, these verb roots are distinguishable in the recent past where the venitive form and andative form take different tense prefixes.

Table 8: *Elicited paradigm of pitt ‘to sew’ with a third singular agent in recent past*

| | Patient <i>daolle</i> ‘sew and take away’ | <i>gänyaolle</i> ‘sew and bring here’ |
|------|--|--|
| 3SGP | <i>nipittän</i> | <i>ipittän</i> |
| 3DUP | <i>yapittän</i> | <i>yapittän</i> |
| 3PLP | <i>nipittnigän</i> | <i>ipittnigän</i> |

Finally, the venitive morpheme is homophonous with the irrealis circumfix, which is realized with an identical *i-* or (*e*)*y-* prefix and a subject/agent number suffix *-alle* (singular) or *-allo* (non-singular). In irrealis contexts, the verb is identical in andative/neutral and venitive contexts, see Table 9.

Table 9: *Elicited paradigm of ngos ‘to return’ with a third singular agent in irrealis*

| | Patient <i>daolle</i> ‘if he returns (patient) there’ | <i>gänyaolle</i> ‘if he returns (patient) there’ |
|------|--|---|
| 1SGP | <i>bangosalle</i> | <i>bangosalle</i> |
| 2SGP | <i>bangosalle</i> | <i>bangosalle</i> |
| 3SGP | <i>bingisalle</i> | <i>bingisalle</i> |
| 1DUP | <i>beyangosalle</i> | <i>beyangosalle</i> |
| 2DUP | <i>beyangosalle</i> | <i>beyangosalle</i> |
| 3DUP | <i>beyangosalle</i> | <i>beyangosalle</i> |
| 1PLP | <i>beyangosnegalle</i> | <i>beyangosnegalle</i> |
| 2PLP | <i>beyangosnegalle</i> | <i>beyangosnegalle</i> |
| 3PLP | <i>bingisnigalle</i> | <i>bingisnigalle</i> |

3 Motion and path

In this paper, we understand motion as fundamentally involving the displacement of an entity (Frawley 1992:171). In their canonical form, directionals do not code motion, but only path (Guillaume 2016:13-14). Jackendoff (1983:163) describes how path may consist of a “path-function” and a “reference-object” or “reference place”. In the following example, “from” is the path function and “under the table” is the reference place:

- (13) *The mouse ran from under the table.*
(Jackendoff 1983:163)

Critically, here, path does not encode motion. Rather, motion is encoded by the semantics of the verb. Similarly, Talmy (1975:181) defines path as “the respect in which one object is considered as moving or located to another object”.

4 Directionality in Ende

As outlined in section 2, Ende has one directional, which codes orientation towards the deictic centre. Terms by which this is known in the literature include venitive, ventive, cislocative, centripetal and hither, and can be contrasted with motion away from the deictic centre, referred to as andative, itive, translocative, centrifugal and thither. In Ende, the deictic centre may be the speaker (14). It may be the location the speaker is, was, or will be in, or the typical place the speaker is in; usually the village of Limol, where much of the corpus was recorded (15). In narratives, a third-party protagonist may be the deictic centre (16 and 17). Figure 1 shows the context in which example (16) was uttered.

- (14) *Däbe walle ddage deyaope, abo tutu*
däbe waɾe d̥zage deja\ope/ abo tutu
 that water branch cross/REM.VEN.1|2SGS then hill
dingkälne
di\ŋkəl/ne
 climb/REM.VEN.DUR.1|2SGS

‘I crossed that river and climbed that hill (coming back home).’
(S. Kurupel 2017: 29)

- (15) *Ngämi Baebol skul i yaralla ngäna abo gänyaolle*
) *ḡämi bajbol skul=i ja\ɾ/aɾa ḡəna abo gəḡəoɾe*
 1.NSG.EXCL.NOM bible school=ALL go/REC.1NSGS 1.SG.NOM then towards.here
Llimoll e dedam yaran, naentin eiti wan.
ɾimoɾ=e dedam ja\ɾ/an najntin ejti wan
 Limol=ALL here go/REC.VEN.1|3SGS nineteen eighty one
 ‘We went to bible school, and then I came back here to Limol, in 1981.’
 (D. Sobam 2018b: 122)

- (16) *Ge lla da abo yaran abo, mälla da wa llig a nablennegan abo.*
ge ɾa=da abo ja\ɾ/an abo məɾa=da wa ɾig=a na\bɾe/negan abo
 this man= then go/REC then woman=A and child= greet/REC.3S then
 NOM .VEN.3 CC ACC GA>3PLP
 SGS

‘Then this man came and greeted his wife and child.’

(D. Sobam 2018a: 77-78)



Figure 1: #15 Real Return (San Roque et al. 2012)

- (17) *Ine ulle da bogo ade gongällbä a tater ngädnanngä deyarn*
ine uɾe=da bogo ade gə\ḡəɾbən/ a tater=iḡoɾ ḡədnan~ḡəd deya\ɾ/
 water big=N 3.SG. then rise/REM.3 and mat=SIM ADV=roll.PL go/REM
 OM NOM SGS nan nən
 UR.3SG
 S

‘The water rose up and came rolling in like a mat.’

(J. Sowati 2016: 8)

As shown in examples (14-17), the Ende venitive is often found with motion verbs, and adds a path specification to the motion already expressed by the verb. However, it may occur with stative verbs with no motion component, denoting the orientation of the event, as in (5).

- (18) *Ubi didämawän gänyaolle.*
 ubi di\dəma/wən gəɲaotɛ
 3.NSG.NOM sit.PL/REM.3PLS this.way
 'They sat down facing this way.'
 (T. Warama 2018: 99)

Of note, Talmy (1975:181) considers “motion” to encompass events such as sitting, as his definition of motion is where “one object [is] moving or located with respect to another object”.

In Ende, verbs of transfer such as ‘haul’ and ‘carry’ entail motion. As such, when the Ende venitive is used in these contexts, it adds a path specification to the motion entailed by the verb, as in the following examples.

- (19) *Käsre mälla da gobällän wayati deyangmereyo.*
 käsre məɾa=da go\bət/ən wajati deja\ŋmer/ejo
 then woman=NOM go.PL/REM.3PLS watermelon haul/REM.VEN.3NSGA>3PLP
 ‘Then the women went and hauled the watermelons back here.’
 (J. Dareda 2016: 93)

- (20) *Däbem matta digegiyu gänyowe de Kurupel pate.*
 däbem maʃsa di\geg/iyu gəɲo=we de kurupel pat=e
 that.ACC shoulder AUX/REM.VEN.3NSGA>3SGP here=ALL FOC Kurupel body=ALL
 ‘They carried him on their shoulders here to Kurupel.’
 (W. Kurupel 2017a: 76)

Many narratives in the Ende corpus involve a departure and a return to a place, usually the village of Limol, where much of the corpus was recorded. The title of this paper quotes Ende speaker Wendy Bewag, who, on the first author’s quizzical attempts at trying to transcribe the unexpected high vowel which denoted the venitive, remarked, “Now the story’s turning around.” That is, the switch from unmarked verbs to venitively marked verbs signal to the hearer that the path of the action has now switched towards the deictic centre. In the following examples, the verb is first used in a neutral sense (21), and then oriented to the deictic centre to indicate that the protagonists are now returning (22).

- (21) *Gall dagllaenalla do gongkaemam Parade.*
 gaɾ da\gɾaj/naɾa do go\ŋkajm/mam Parade
 canoe paddle/REM.DUR.1|2NSGA>3SGP there start/REM.1|2PLS Parade
 ‘We paddled the canoe (away from the village) until we got to Parade.’
 (W. Warama 2016: 9)

- (22) *Gall deyagllaenalla gänyo-o, Eramang gall tap ma.*
 gaɾ deja\gɾaj/naɾa gəɲo-o eramang gaɾ tap ma
 canoe paddle/REM.VEN.DUR.1|2NSGA>3SGP here-VOC Eramang canoe moor place

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|---------|--------|------|-------|
| Karama | COP.wh | 3.sg. | COP. | cut/R | AU | AU | fishing | hook=A | that | take |
| popo | ere.PST | nom | who. | EM.D | X/R | X.R | | CC | | .out/ |
| | .SGS | | PST.S | UR.3 | EM. | EM. | | | | REM |
| | | | GS | SGA | 3NS | 3NS | | | | .VE |
| | | | | >SGP | GA | GA | | | | N.3 |
| | | | | | >3. | >3S | | | | NSG |
| | | | | | SG. | GP | | | | A>3 |
| | | | | | P | | | | | SGP |

‘Karama Popo was the one who cut me open. They cut and cut and took the fish hook out.’

(W. Bewag 2017: 63)

In Ende, the motion and corresponding path can be metaphoric, as in the following example:

| | |
|------|--|
| (25) | <i>Oke, ge ttoen a oba taem e deyarän, deyarän, deyarän.</i> |
| | oke ge [ʃojn=a oba tajm=e deja r/ən deja r/ən deja r/ən |
| | okay this story=NO 3.NSG time=AL go/REM.VE go/REM.VE go/REM.VE |
| | M .POSS L N.3SGS N.3SGS N.3SGS |

‘Okay, this story has been coming all the way to their time.’

(R. Kurupel 2017: 16)

In this section, we have described how the Ende venitive is used in a classic directional sense; that is, where it codes path only. Any motion or non-motion is expressed not by the directional morpheme, but by the semantics of the host verb. We now turn to examples where the Ende venitive codes not only path, but also associates a motion event with the main verb.

5 Deictic associated motion in Ende

When the Ende venitive is combined with a verb that has no motion semantics, it adds a secondary motion event to the clause, in addition to a path specification. In the following example, the speaker is escaping from a bright light which is pursuing him through the forest.

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| (26) | <i>Däbe ngäna ddone deyangttäneg ada llo tubu deya o kupkup deya.</i> | |
| | däbe nɣəna dʒɔne deja ŋʃə/nəg ada ɾo tubu deja o kup~k deja | |
| | | up |
| | COP.t 1.SG. not count/REM.VE like tree stump COP. or DIM~h COP.PS | |
| | hat.P NOM N.1 2SGA>3P PST. ole T.SGS | |
| | ST.SG LP SGS | |

.S

‘I didn’t count how many small logs or potholes there were as I was coming back.’

(S. Kurupel 2017: 48)

In (26), when the venitive directional is added to the verb ‘count’, the resulting reading is that there is concurrent motion associated with the counting. In other words, the speaker is in motion while he is counting. Here, the venitive codes two things: motion, and orientation of that motion towards the deictic centre. Similarly, in (27), when the venitive is added to the verb ‘hide’, the resulting reading is that there is prior motion associated with the hiding. Pragmatics and context determine which temporal reading will be generated.

- (27) a. *Mänmän komlla ten ada gotbaneg “Ibi tatuma ibi wi dag.*
a än,
 mänmän komça ten ada go\|tba/ne ibi tatuma ibi=wi dag
 =a gən
 girl.PL=N two ten like.this plan/REM. 1.NS washing.p go=AL COP.P
 OM 3PLS G.IN lace L RS.PL
 CL.N S
 OM
 ‘Twenty girls were planning, “Let’s go bathe.”’
- b. *Käsre ada gognegän, tatuma gobällän.*
 käsre ada go\|g/negən tatuma go\|bəʃ/ən
 then like.this AUX/REM.3PLS washing.plac go.PL/REM.3PLS
 e
 ‘Then they went like this, they went to the bathing spot.’
- c. *Lla da ditgewän ada mänmän, “Gidre! Gidre!”*
 ʃa=da di\|tge/wən ada mänmän gidre gidre
 man=NOM hide/REM.VEN.3PLS like.this girl.PL enemy enemy
 ‘Men had come and hid, and the girls went, “Enemy! Enemy!”’
 (P. Wäziag 2016: 1)

We will now consider the moving entity or figure of the motion event (Talmy 1975:181). Associated motion of intransitive subjects (as in 26 and 27) are rare in the Ende corpus. However, association motion of either transitive subjects alone, or transitive subject and transitive object together, are more common.

We first consider associated motion of transitive subject and transitive object together. As discussed in section 4, in Ende, verbs of transfer such as *kongkom* ‘carry’ and *matta dägag* ‘shoulder’ entail movement. Often the subject and the object move together (as in 19 and 20). Given that the verb of transfer already entails movement, by our definition the venitive in these sentences is coding path only, and not motion. However, in the following examples, the host verb does not entail motion. Rather, the motion event associated with the main verb is expressed by the directional morpheme alone.

- (28) *Mani di niyagnegnan.*
 mani=di ni\|yag/negnan
 money=ACC search/REC.VEN.DUR.3SGA>3PLP
 ‘She searched for and brought back money.’
 (S. Kurupel 2018: 315)

- (29) *Gaguma we abo bidaebneyo.*
 gaguma=we abo bi\|d/ajbnejo
 yamhouse=ALL then dig.out/IRR.VEN.3NSGA>3PLP
 ‘They would dig the yams and bring them to the yamhouse.’
 (J. Dareda 2017: 74)

- (30) *Ngämo lla da nge yaddänan a imneimne ngäna wätät yu.*

each temporal ordering. In Ende, context and pragmatics determine which temporal reading is generated.

6 Other functions of the directional morpheme

There are several examples in Ende where the venitive denotes not motion, but the assumption or intention of motion. The following is an excerpt of a naturally occurring conversation, recorded on tape:

- (39) *Ao, nga beyantämonaemeya*
ao ŋa beja\ntəmon/ajmeja
yes now wait/FUT.VEN.1NSGA>3PLP
'Yes, now we will wait for them to come.'
(P. Madura 2016: 21)

Here, motion is associated with the host verb 'wait'. The figure of the event is the object; namely, the girls who are washing. However, the motion has not yet occurred, and indeed, may not; for example, the girls may not come back to the waiting speaker.

- (40) *Llig kläkle olle ignigan.*
ɽig kləkle oɽe i\g/nigan
child small.PL call AUX/REC.1|3SGA>3PLP
'I called the children over.'
(K. Baewa 2018: 331)

Here, the subject calls towards the object to come (i.e., move), but there is no entailment that the object will necessarily carry out the motion coded by the directional.

Other examples are better translated as "so as to come..." rather than concurrent or subsequent motion. This could be seen as a sort of path-oriented intentionality. Consider the following example:

- (41) *Gänyeri tutu wi deyaspun.*
gənyeri tutu=wi dejas\pun/
this.way land=ALL throw/REM.VEN.1|2SGA>3SGP
'I threw it onto the shore (so as to return home).'
(D. Kurupel 2017: 52)

This could be translated as 'I threw it and came.' However, in this example, the immediately following part of the story recounts how the protagonist struggled with the crocodile on the shore. Hence, it is better translated as 'I threw it on the ground (so as to return home)', or 'I threw it on the ground (towards home)'. Speaker Wendy Bewag explained that the venitive here indicates that the story "is turning around", that movement back to the deictic centre is permeating the remainder of this story. This is in contrast to uses of the directional in examples (26-35), which involve two distinct events per clause.

7 Discussion

When the Ende directional morpheme is used with verbs that already entail motion, such as motion and transfer verbs, it codes path. When it is used with verbs that do not entail motion,

it codes path and motion. This motion is temporally ordered with the main verb, in that it can be either prior, concurrent or subsequent. Which temporal ordering is selected is a matter of context and pragmatics.

Indeed, in discussing deictic associated motion, Belkadi (2015) strongly emphasises the role of pragmatics. She writes that the exclusion of deictic associated motion with motion verbs “suggests that the phenomenon is primarily derived pragmatically, as a kind of ‘last-resort’ interpretation” (Belkadi 2015:60). Faced with a deictically orientated non-motion and typically non-path-taking verb, speakers “seek among the implicatures” of the directional and construct the most pragmatically likely meaning (Hooper 2002:297). As Haviland (1993:43) writes, motion coded by directionals is a matter of inference, not syntax.

The examples in section 5 of this paper are clearly the phenomenon labelled by Belkadi (2015) as deictic associated motion. However, there are other examples in Ende discussed in section 6 which are not clearly temporally ordered, and are better expressed as coding the assumption or intention of motion. Exactly which reading a sentence gives rise to is driven by “contextual coercions” (Belkadi 2015:52) and “inferential ingenuity” (Haviland 1993:42).

Part of a first-year linguistics student’s ABCs, as it were, is to learn to look for phonemes. If two phones occur in complementary distribution, then, like Clark Kent and Superman, they are allophones of the same phoneme. In the case of the Ende venitive, associated motion readings arise where the host verb has no motion semantics, whereas deictic directional readings arise when the host verb does have motion semantics. Hence, it could be argued that the associated motion and the directional functions of the directional morpheme are two sides of the one coin; two functions of the same underlying form.

Even if this is the case, we argue that the non-typical function of Ende directionals is still a type of associated motion. It fulfils the definition of associated motion, in that it associates a motion sub-event with the main verb, and that associated motion event is temporally ordered in relation to the main verb. This function of directionals has been termed “displaced directionality” (Lichtenberk 2003:160-166), “time referentials” (Payne 1982) or no specific term at all (Haviland 1993:43). The lack of convergence on a common term means that papers are scattered orphan-like throughout the literature. The benefit of explicitly tying this function of directionals to associated motion creates a justifiable connection to the associated motion literature, and allows this function of directionals to be discussed and evaluated against canonical associated motion.

The lack of a converged-upon term for this phenomenon means that linguists may not be aware that these functions of directionals are possible at all. Indeed, perusing the directionality sections of two grammars of neighbouring southern New Guinea languages, it is unknown whether the directionals in these languages can give rise to deictic associated motion readings, as this potential function is not discussed, confirmed nor denied (Döhler 2016:263-262; Carroll 2016:198-199). We propose that by converging on deictic associated motion for this function of directionals, it makes explicit a warranted link to the recent re-flowering of associated motion in the typological literature. This will both allow and encourage fieldworkers to explicitly test for it in languages they are working with.

8 Conclusion

Ende has one directional morpheme, which codes motion towards deictic centre. When the directional morpheme is inserted into a verb of motion or transfer, it codes path only. When it is inserted into a verb that is not of motion or transfer, it associates a secondary motion event with the host verb. This motion event can be prior, concurrent or subsequent with the main verb. The directional can also code the assumption or intention of motion. Despite a lean directional system with one morpheme only, Ende speakers use context and pragmatics to give rise to a feast of possible meanings.

While this function of directionals has been observed in the past (e.g., Payne 1982; Haviland 1993:43; Lichtenberk 2003:160-166) we argue here that this phenomenon warrants analysis as a special type of associated motion, as posited by Belkadi (2015). This makes explicit a justifiable link to the wider associated motion literature, and “turns the story around” for this function of directionals, which has been hitherto buried under nonce terminology. As such, we hope that linguists will become aware of this use of directionals, and be inspired to search for it in languages they are working with. This function of directionals is arguably at the margins of what associated motion can be conceptualised to be, and hence we intend that this paper provide a fertile basis for discussion and debate.

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