

Reanalysis of Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's 88 Sentences

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A comprehensive analysis and comparison of the first thirteen Ngadju sentences in Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's original transcription, notes, and translations of eighty-eight elicited sentences (1982). This document contains comparisons with: the original Mirniny sentences; analysis and notes taken from Doug Marmion and Sonny Graham's Ngadju sketch grammar; analysis and notes taken from Marian Mullin (2017-2018); and original phonetic and semantic comparisons with Pitjantjatjarra.

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¹ Entries marked with a letter represent alternate translations provided by more than one informant in the original document.

KEY TO ENTRIES

- Analytic work performed by Troy Reynolds based on all preceding analyses and von Brandenstein's available audio field recordings (April-May 2024)
 - TR transcription: Modern transcription of the Ngadju sentence based on von Brandenstein's document
 - TR morphemic: Morphemic breakdown of the Ngadju sentence
 - TR gloss: Morphemic glossing of the Ngadju sentence
 - TR translation: Free translation of the Ngadju sentence
 - TR notes: Notes on the Ngadju sentence or another authors analysis
- Analytic work performed by Marion Mullin based on all preceding analyses, going up to number 13 (2017-2018)
 - NB: Mullins analysis is incomplete on entries 11 and 12, and stops on entry 13
 - MM transcription: Marion Mullin's transcription of the Ngadju sentence
 - MM morphemic: Marion Mullin's morphemic breakdown of the Ngadju sentence
 - MM gloss: Marian Mullin's morphemic glossing of the Ngadju sentence
 - MM translation: Marion Mullin's free translation of the Ngadju sentence
 - MM notes: Marion Mullin's notes on the Ngadju sentence
- Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's original list, likely based on elicited translations of a set of eighty-eight English sentences (von Brandenstein 1982)
 - VB transcription: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's transcription of the Ngadju sentence
 - VB translation: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's free translation of the Ngadju sentence
 - VB notes: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's notes
- Analytic work performed by Douglas Marmion and Sonny Graham based on all preceding analyses and Sonny Graham's personal knowledge of Ngadju (Marmion 2008). These are seemingly not straightforward analyses of von Brandenstein's examples, rather new translations of the English free translation, hence the sometimes notable differences from the source material
 - DM transcription: Doug Marmion and Sonny Graham's transcription of the Ngadju sentence
 - DM gloss: Doug Marmion's gloss of the Ngadju sentence
 - DM translation: Doug Marmion and Sonny Graham's free translation of the Ngadju sentence
 - DM notes: Doug Marmion and Sonny Graham's notes on the Ngadju sentence
- Analytic work performed by Troy Reynolds based on how each sentence would be analysed were it in Pitjantjatjarra (April-May 2024). Vocabulary and grammar taken from Goddard and Defina (2020), and Eckert and Hudson (1988). NB: The author is not a Pitjantjatjarra speaker and has constructed all Pitjantjatjarra sentences purely for comparative example purposes. They are not intended to be natural language examples
 - Pitj. phonetic morphemic: Pitjantjatjarra morphemic breakdown based on closest phonological forms found in Goddard & Defina (2020). i.e., approaching the Ngadju data as though they are Pitjantjatjarra for comparison
 - Pitj. phonetic gloss: Pitjantjatjarra morphemic glossing based on closest phonological forms found in Goddard & Defina (2020)
 - Pitj. phonetic translation: Pitjantjatjarra free translation based on closest phonological forms found in Goddard & Defina (2020)
 - Pitj. semantic morphemic: Pitjantjatjarra morphemic breakdown based on closest semantic forms found in Goddard & Defina (2020). i.e. a translation into Pitjantjatjarra
 - Pitj. semantic gloss: Pitjantjatjarra morphemic glossing based on Pitj. semantic morphemic
 - Pitj. semantic translation: Pitjantjatjarra translation based on Pitj. semantic morphemic
- Parallel Mirniny text included in the original von Brandenstein document

Mirniny transcription: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's transcription of the Mirniny sentence
Mirniny gloss: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's of the Mirniny sentence
Mirniny notes: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's notes on the Mirniny sentence

1. TR transcription: **Ngaju yayi yankun yarna don't want to**
 TR morphemic: ngaju yayi yanku + n yarna don't want to
 TR gloss: 1SG now go + PFV NEG don't want to
 TR translation: *I am not going right now, I don't want to*
- MM transcription: **Ngaju yai yankun yanar**
 MM morphemic: ngaju yayi yanku-n yanar
 MM gloss: 1SG now go/walk-NPAST CONT (yanaa = never)
 MM translation: *I go now; I don't want to go*
 MM notes: (= with final yanaa)
- VB transcription: **ṅad,u yäi yangun, yannaa "don't want to"**
 VB translation: I go now
- DM transcription: **Ngaju yankun yarna**
 DM translation: *I don't want to go*
 DM notes: Sonny also was able to provide the sentence in Ex. (25), using a different verb
ngaju nyina yarna (SG)
 1SG sit NEG
I don't want to sit
- Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **ngatji ya + nkuku + n ya + rna**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: want_done go + FUT + 2SG go + 1SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You want me to go later for you*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **ngayulu ya + nanyi wiya don't want to**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 1SG go + PRES NEG don't want to
 Pitj. semantic translation: *I am not going right now, I don't want to*
- Mirninny transcription: **Ngatu yarrarr (ng)anangu. Wanta-puttany**
 Mirninny gloss: leave-miss!

2. TR transcription: **Nguntu kanka muju yankun**
 TR morphemic: nguntu kanka muju yanku + n
 TR gloss: 2SG recently away go + PFV
 TR translation: *You went there recently*

MM transcription: **Nguntu kankaa muju yankun**
 MM morphemic: nguntu kankaa muju yanku-n
 MM gloss: 2SG recently before away go/walk-CONT
 MM translation: *You went yesterday*

VB transcription: **ṅundu kangaa mud,u yangun**
 VB translation: *You went yesterday*

DM transcription: **Nguntu kankaa muju yankun**
 DM gloss: 2SG before there(?) go
 DM translation: *You already went there ~ you went there before*

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **nyuntu kankara mutju ya + nkuku + n**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: 2SG spread_out_on_back lower_spine go + FUT + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You will go spread out on the small of your back*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nyuntu mungatu nyarratja ya + nu**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 2SG recently there go + PAST
 Pitj. semantic translation: *You went there recently*

Mirninny transcription: **Nguntu kankara nganangu**

3. TR transcription: **Matayi yaparti yurlu yankun**
TR morphemic: mata + yi yaparti yurlu yanku + n
TR gloss: 3SG + SBJ tomorrow here go + PFV
TR translation: *It will come here tomorrow*

MM transcription: **Mathai yaparti yulu yankun**
MM morphemic: Mathai yaparti yulu1 yankun-n
MM gloss: 3SG tomorrow come/here? go/walk - CONT
MM translation: *He will come tomorrow*
MM notes: VB wordlist: **yuulu** = here, hither; **yuulu yanku** = to come. Valma: **yurlu** = come.

VB transcription: **Madai yabardi yullu yangun**
VB translation: *He will come tomorrow*

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **matarri aapa tii yuu + lu ya + nkuku + n**
Pitj. phonetic gloss: overcast half tea shelter + ERG go + FUT + 2SG
Pitj. phonetic translation: *The shelter is making a shadow over the half cup of tea, so you will go*
Pitj. semantic morphemic: **tjirntungka pitja + ku + n**
Pitj. semantic gloss: tomorrow come + FUT + 2SG
Pitj. semantic translation: *Tomorrow you will come*

Mirninny transcription: **Matarri minyaka tantju yullu nganarri**
Mirninny notes: yullu < yun-lu

4. TR transcription: **Ngaju parnapun kulpirr**
TR morphemic: ngaju parna + pu + n kulpirr
TR gloss: 1SG earth + hit + PFV kangaroo
TR translation: *I cook the grey kangaroo in the ashes*

MM transcription: **Ngaju panaa puun kulpirr**
MM morphemic: Ngaju 5apu-u-n kulpirr
MM gloss: 1SG cook in ashes-?-? kangaroo
MM translation: 1SG ground+LOC ?aux. verb+?+PART? grey kangaroo

or
MM morphemic: ngaju pana-a ?-pu-u-n? kulpirr
MM translation: *I burn/cook him/it*
MM notes: VB. Affix Invent: **-a** = at, in, on (ALL, LOC) **panna'a** (on the ground)

VB transcription: **ngad,u panna-puun kulbir,**
VB translation: *I burn/cook him/it*
VB notes: kangaroo
TR notes: Von Brandenstein's notes indicate that the Ngadju sentence specifies a kangaroo, whereas the Mirniny sentence is a third person pronoun, recorded with the old-fashioned assumption of 'male'.

DM transcription: **Ngaju parnaapiny kulypirr**
DM gloss: 1SG cook grey.kangaroo
DM translation: *I'm cooking a grey kangaroo*

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **ngatji parna + pu + n kulpirr**
Pitj. phonetic gloss: want_done earth + hit + 2SG kangaroo
Pitj. phonetic translation: *You want to bury the kangaroo*
Pitj. semantic morphemic: **ngayulu kulpirr kurlku + ngka pawu+ rni**
Pitj. semantic gloss: 1SG kangaroo ashes + LOC cook + PRS
Pitj. semantic translation: *I am cooking the kangaroo in the ashes*

Mirniny transcription: **Ngatu parnapun maturu**
Mirniny notes: him
TR notes: Von Brandenstein's notes indicate that the Ngadju sentence specifies a kangaroo, whereas the Mirniny sentence is a third person pronoun, recorded with the old-fashioned assumption of 'male'.

5. a. Peter Flynn: TR transcription: **Karla naatikin, naatatakin puya**
 TR morphemic: karla naati + kin naata + ta + kin puya
 TR gloss: fire glow + SG_IPFV glow + CAUS + SG_IPFV smoke
 TR translation: *A fire is burning and burning*
 TR notes: This is the only token of **puya** in the corpus meaning ‘smoke’, elsewhere **puyu**, while **puya** is otherwise attested as ‘brother’

MM transcription: **Kala naatikin, naatatakin puya**
 MM morphemic: Kala naati-ki-n naata-ta-ki-n puya
 MM gloss: Fire glow+?+PART glow+HOR+?+PART smoke
 MM translation: *A fire burns/burned there*

VB transcription: **kalla naadigin, naadadagin puya**
 VB translation: *A fire burns/burned there*
 VB notes: ‘glowing’ ‘burning away smoke’

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **karla nyaa + ta kinkin**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: flame INT + LOC noise
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *Where is the noise and the flame?*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **waru nyarra + ngka kampa + ningi**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: fire DIST + LOC burn + PAST_CONT
 Pitj. semantic translation: *A fire was burning there*

Mirninny transcription: **Karla nakulikin, karla tarritarrilukin mutju**
 Mirninny notes: ‘burning’ ‘flames blowing up over there’

5. b. Roy Nain: TR transcription: **Karla munta naatikin**
TR morphemic: karla munta naati + kin
TR gloss: fire INTNS glow + SG_IPFV
TR translation: *A fire is really burning*

MM transcription: **Kala munta naatikin**
MM morphemic: kala munta naati-ki-n
MM gloss: fire very glow+?+PART
MM translation: *A fire burns/burned there*

VB transcription: **kalla munda naadigin**
VB translation: *A fire burns/burned there*
VB notes: munda ‘very’

DM transcription: **Karla ngarntinykiny puyu**
DM gloss: fire glowing smoke
DM translation: *Fire glowing (and) smoke*

or

DM transcription: **Karla munta ngarntinykiny**
DM gloss: fire there glowing
DM translation: *Fire there (is) glowing.*
DM notes: VB appears to have the one word appear twice, with different spellings **naatikin** and **naatatakinh**
TR notes: This is not an orthographic difference, rather a morphological difference.

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **karla munta nyaa + ta kinkin**
Pitj. phonetic gloss: flame sorry INT + LOC noise
Pitj. phonetic translation: *Excuse me, but where is the noise and the flame?*
Pitj. semantic morphemic: **waru nyarra + ngka mulapa kampa + ningi**
Pitj. semantic gloss: fire DIST + LOC INTNS burn + PAST_CONT
Pitj. semantic translation: *A fire was burning there*

Mirninny transcription: **Karla nakulikin, karla tarritarrilukin mutju**
Mirninny notes: ‘burning’ ‘flames blowing up over there’

6. TR transcription: **Manu punguwarnin**
 TR morphemic: manu pungu + warni+ n
 TR gloss: get hit + drop + PFV
 TR translation: *I get it and kill it*
 TR notes: Subject and object are implicit

MM transcription: **Manu pungu warnin**
 MM morphemic: manu pungu warnin
 MM gloss: ? to hit ?
 MM translation: *If I catch him I'll burn him*

VB transcription: **Manu puṅu-warnin.**
 VB gloss: caught being knocked over
 VB translation: *If I catch him I'll burn him*

DM morphemic: ma -nu pu -ngu warniny
 DM gloss: get -PAST hit -PAST throw
 DM translation: *Caught (and) knocked over (?)*
 DM notes:

The precise meaning of this was not clear to Sonny Graham. It is probably somewhat idiomatic, as suggested by VB's gloss. Nevertheless, although VB does not segment the verbs I have shown what seems a likely breakdown into morphemes (which seems to provide another example of the -ngu past morpheme), as well as what appears to be a complex predicate.

TR notes: Marmion's account for Ngadju temporal marking is inconsistent with the data. Although **-ngu** is an attested PAST suffix in some Wati languages, this morpheme found in Ngadju is invariably **nangu-** and is applied regardless of temporal position. The proposed suffix **-ngu** is also not found contrastively on other verbs in the past (or any other) temporal sphere.

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **manyu pu+ ngu + wa + rna + n**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: greedy hit+ PST + follow + 1SG + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You and I followed and hit it greedily*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **ngayulu witi + ra ilunta + nanyi**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 1SG get + SER kill + PRS
 Pitj. semantic translation: *I get it and kill it*

Mirniny transcription: **Ngatu mirniny manu punguwitjin**
 Mirniny gloss: *I caught the man and killed him*

7. TR transcription: **Nguntu marlpa ngalparu nanguwijan?**
 TR morphemic: nguntu marlpa ngalparu nangu + wija + n
 TR gloss: 2SG person many see + move_quickly + PFV
 TR translation: *Did you go and see the group of people?*
 TR notes: **-wija-** is generally analysed as indicating movement in conjunction with the preceding verb, in this case along the lines of ‘going and seeing’

MM transcription: **Nguntu marlpa ngalparu nangu’ijan?**
 MM morphemic: Nguntu marlpa ngalparu nangu-ija-n
 MM gloss: 2SG man many see/look + pl. marker? +
 MM translation: *Did you see those men?*

VB transcription: **ꞗundu marlba ꞗalbaru nꞗu’id,ꞗn?**
 VB translation: Did you see those men?

DM transcription: **Nguntu marlpa ngalparu nya-ngu -ija**
 DM gloss: 2SG man many see-PAST -?
 DM translation: *Did you see those men?*
 DM notes: **ngalparu** = lexical pluraliser; **-ngu** = past suffix; **-ija** = verbal plural suffix. SG clearly uses this as a verbal suffix -“making the verb plural to match the noun”. This suggests it is either a bound pronoun (3PL object) or a separate plural suffix.

TR notes: Marmion’s account for Ngadju temporal marking is inconsistent with the data. Although **-ngu** is an attested PAST suffix in some Wati languages, this morpheme found in Ngadju is invariably **nangu-** and is applied regardless of temporal position. The proposed suffix ***-ngu** is also not found contrastively on other verbs in the past (or any other) temporal sphere. Marmion’s treatment of **-wija** is interesting, but is not upheld by the observations of this morpheme in 1SG and 3SG clauses.

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **nyuntu marlpa ngalypuru nya + ngu itjanu**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: 2SG friend bee see + PST green
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *Did you see your friend the green honeybee?*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nyuntu arnangu tjurta nya + ngu**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 2SG person many see + PST
 Pitj. semantic translation: *Did you see the group of men?*

Mirninny transcription: **Nguntu mirninny nangu?**

8. TR transcription: **Marlpaku nguntunya nangu junginta**
 TR morphemic: marlpa + ku nguntu + nya nangu jungin + ta
 TR gloss: person + ERG 2SG + ABS see night + LOC
 TR translation: *The person saw you at night*
 TR Notes: The absence of a suffix on **nangu** is uncharacteristic for a Ngadju verb, and is not presently understood.

MM transcription: **Marlpaku nguntunya nangu junkinta**
 MM morphemic: marlpa-ku nguntu-nya nangu jungin-ta
 MM gloss: man -ERG you -ESS/OBJ see/look night - LOC
 MM translation: *He has seen you yesterday*

VB transcription: **Marlbaggu ɲundun,a naɲu d,uɲinda**
 VB gloss: man-by you-ESS seen night-at
 VB translation: *He has seen you yesterday*

DM morphemic: marlpa-ku nguntu -nya nha -ngu junkin -ta
 DM gloss: man-ERG 2SG -OBJ see -PAST night -LOC
 DM transcription: *(The) man saw you (in the) night (last night)*
 TR notes: Marmion's account for Ngadju temporal marking is inconsistent with the data. Although **-ngu** is an attested PAST suffix in some Wati languages, this morpheme found in Ngadju is invariably **nangu-** and is applied regardless of temporal position. The proposed suffix ***-ngu** is also not found contrastively on other verbs in the past (or any other) temporal sphere.

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **marlpa + ku nyuntu + nya nya + ngu tjunyi + nta**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: friend + PURP/GEN 2SG + OBJ see + PST soak + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *The friend saw you being soaked for them*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **arnangu + ngka nyuntu + nya nya + ngu munga + ngka**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: person + SBJ 2SG + OBJ see + PST night + LOC
 Pitj. semantic translation: *The person saw you at night*

Mirninny transcription: **Matalu nguntunya nangu kanka**

or

Mirninny transcription: **Peter, panatu nangu nguntunya pankarta**

9. TR transcription: **Munta kuwanan! Munta naa! Muju yana!**
 TR morphemic: munta kuwana + n munta naa muju yana
 TR gloss: INTNS listen + PFV INTNS see_IMP away stop
 TR translation: *Really listen! Really look! Go away!*
 TR Notes: **Kuwanan** is not an imperative construction, rather indicative, and **naa** and **yana** are irregular imperatives

MM transcription: **Munta ko'anan munta naa' muju yana'**
 MM morphemic: munta ko'ana-n munta naa' muju yana'
 MM gloss: Beyond listen-NPST beyond ?see? away ?never?
 MM translation: *Listen! Look! Go!*

VB transcription: **munda ko'anan! munda naa'! mud,u yana'!**
 VB translation: *Listen! Look! Go!*

DM transcription: **munta! kuninya! munta nyaa! muju yarna!**
 DM morphemic: there listen. IMP there see.IMP away go.IMP
 DM translation: *(Over) there! Listen! Look over there! Go away!*
 DM notes: Although these are clearly imperative utterances, they do not show any of the imperative or hortative verbal suffixes listed in Table 4.1.

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **munta kuya + rna + n munta nyaa mutju yana**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: sorry bad + 1SG + 2SG sorry INT lower_spine go
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *Sorry you and I are bad. Excuse me what? The lower back is going.*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **mulapa kuli + rra ma + ya + rra**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: INTNS listen + IMP away + go + IMP
 Pitj. semantic translation: *Really listen! Really look! Go away!*

Mirninny transcription: **Kuwana! Nuwa! Kutiyang!**

10. TR transcription: **Nguntu ngurra marlpa yamarti?**
TR morphemic: nguntu ngurra marlpa yamarti
TR gloss: 2SG known person near
TR translation: *Do you know the person nearby?*

MM transcription: **Nguntu ngurraa marlpa yamarti?**
MM gloss: 2SG know man near/close by
MM translation: *Do you know this one?*

VB transcription: **gundu gur,aa marlba yamardi?**
VB gloss: you in knowing man close by?
VB translation: *Do you know this one?*

DM transcription: **Nguntu ngurra(a) marlpa yamarti?**
DM gloss: 2SG know/understand man close
DM translation: *Do you know this man?*

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **nyuntu ngurra marlpa ya martu**
Pitj. phonetic gloss: 2SG home friend go true
Pitj. phonetic translation: *You and your friend truly go home*
Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nyuntu ninti arnangu + ku ila**
Pitj. semantic gloss: 2SG know person + GEN PROX
Pitj. semantic translation: *Do you know the person nearby?*

Mirninny transcription: **Mirninny yayin nangu?**
Mirninny gloss: man now seen?

11. TR transcription: **Ngajuja mayajunupirrin yayi junkujin**
 TR morphemic: ngaju + uja maya junu + pirrin yayi
 TR gloss: 1SG + DU language talk + DU_IPFV now
 junu + kuji + n
 talk + together + PFV
 TR translation: *We three were talking before, but now we've talked*

MM transcription: **Ngaju uja maya junupirrin yäi junkujin**
 MM gloss: 1SG *****
 MM translation: *We two talked*
 TR notes: Mullin leaves this free translation exactly as above with asterisks

VB transcription: **ḡad,uud,a maya t,unupir,in yäi t,ungud,in**
 VB gloss: we two language set-both-ing now happy-being.
 VB translation: *We two talked*

TR notes: It is unclear where von Brandenstein gets the meaning of *happy* here. Von Brandenstein himself defines **junkuji-** as *to talk together* in his wordlist (1980), and the morphology is transparent: **jun+kuji** talk+DU

DM morphemic: ngaju -ja maya juna -piriny yai ?
 DM gloss: 1SG -DU talk talk -PL(?) and(?) ?
 DM translation: *We two talked and ?*
 DM notes: SG explained ngajuja as 'we two', suggesting that -ja is a dual suffix, or a clitic as it also appears on a verb (see eg.? below). SG also uses nguntuja 2DU 'you two'. SG suggests that -piriny makes the verb plural, although this is probably more accurately reciprocal. SG thought yai might have the meaning 'and'.
 TR notes: Sonny Graham's position that **-piriny (-pirrin)** is a plural marker is largely accurate, as it is a dual imperfective marker, while Marmion's observation that **-ja** is a pronominal plural is also upheld by the data

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **ngatji + tja mayu tju + nu piri + n**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: want_done + ASSOC flavour put + PST scratch + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You scratched and put the flavour you wanted*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nganarna wangka + ngi wangka + ngu kuwari**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 1PL talk + PST_CONT talk + PST now
 Pitj. semantic translation: *We were talking before, but now we've talked*

Mirninny transcription: **Ngatuja tunuping**
 Mirninny gloss: we two set-both-ing [language]

12. a. Peter Flynn

TR transcription: **Ngajukuja kumpa kuwanan**
 TR morphemic: ngaju + kuja kumpa kuwana + n
 TR gloss: 1SG + DU adjacent_time listen + PFV
 TR translation: *We two heard it*

MM transcription: **Ngajukuja kumpa koanan**
 MM gloss: ngaju-kuja kumpa koana-n
 MM morphemic: 1SG*****
 MM translation: *We two heard it*
 TR notes: Mullin leaves this free translation exactly as above with asterisks

DM morphemic: ngaju -kuja kumpa kuninya
 DM gloss: 1SG -DU before heard
 DM translation: *We two (already) heard it*

VB transcription: **ɲad,ukud,a kumba koanan**

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **ngatji + kutja kumpu**
kuya + rna + n
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: want_done + heat_in_fire urine
 bad + 1SG + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You and I are bad and want the urine to be boiled*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **ngali mungatu kuli + rnu**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 1DU recent listen + PST
 Pitj. semantic translation: *We two heard it*

Mirninny transcription: **Ngajuwuja kuliya kowanin**

12. b. Williams² TR transcription: **Ngajuwuja kuwanan**
 TR morphemic: ngaju + wuja kuwana + n
 TR gloss: 1SG + DU listen + PFV
 TR translation: *We two heard it*
 TR notes: Recorded as simply ‘Williams’ but very likely Phyllis Williams cf. von Brandenstein (1980)

MM transcription: **Ngaju’udha kowanan**
 MM morphemic: ngaju - udha kowana-n
 MM gloss: 1SG*****
 MM translation: *We two heard it*
 TR notes: Mullin leaves this free translation exactly as above with asterisks

DM morphemic: ngaju -uja kuninya
 DM gloss: 1SG -DU hear
 DM translation: *We two heard (it)*

DM notes: SG uses same dual form as VB (1980:146), in the second sentence with the velar stop reduced (acc. to VB’s orthography) to a glottal stop. In SG’s speech, the velar stop in this position was commonly reduced to zero, giving the form **ngajuja**.

VB transcription: **ɲad,ukud,a koanan**

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **ngatji + kutja kuya + rna + n**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: want_done + heat_in_fire bad + 1SG + 2SG
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *You and I are bad and want it to be heated on the fire*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **ngali mungatu kuli + rnu**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 1DU recent listen + PST
 Pitj. semantic translation: *We two heard it*

Mirniny transcription: **Ngajuwuja kuliya kowanin**

² Recorded as simply ‘Williams’ but very likely Phyllis Williams cf. von Brandenstein (1980)

13. a. Peter Flynn
- TR transcription: **Nguntungarri yirni patakin?**
 TR morphemic: nguntu + ngarri yirni pata + kin
 TR gloss: 2SG + PL word bite + SG_IPFV
 TR translation: *Were you all singing a song?*
 TR notes: Mullin stops her analysis here.
- DM morphemic: nguntu -ngarri yini partakiny
 DM gloss: 1SG -PL before song sing
 DM notes: This example uses the plural form of the second person pronoun, the suffix **-ngarri**
- VB transcription: **ḡunduḡar,i yirni padag(!)in?**
 TR notes: It is unclear what von Brandenstein is indicating with (!). Potentially, this is marking for the use of **-kin** in a clause with a plural agent.
- Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **nyuntu ngarri + Ø irni pata kinkin**
 Pitj. phonetic gloss: 2SG lie + IMP loose shake_off noise
 Pitj. phonetic translation: *Lie down and noisily shake it loose*
 Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nyura inma inka + ngi**
 Pitj. semantic gloss: 2PL song sing + PST_CONT
 Pitj. semantic translation: *Were you all singing a song?*
- Mirninny transcription: **Nguntungarri wartuta patanu?**

13. b. Roy Nain

TR transcription: **Nguntungarri kumpa yirni pajakin?**

TR morphemic: nguntu + ngarri kumpa yirni pata + kin

TR gloss: 2SG + PL adjacent_time word bite + SG_IPFV

TR translation: *Were you all recently singing a song?*

DM morphemic: nguntu -ngarri kumpa yini partakiny

DM gloss: 2SG -PL before song sing

DM notes: This example uses the plural form of the second person pronoun, the suffix **-ngarri**

VB transcription: **ṅunduṅar,i kumba yirni pad,ag(!)in?**

VB notes: “song biting” = “singing”

TR notes: It is unclear what von Brandenstein is indicating with (!)

Pitj. phonetic morphemic: **nyuntu ngarri + Ø kumpu irni patja kinkin**

Pitj. phonetic gloss: 2SG lie + IMP urine loose bite noise

Pitj. phonetic translation: *Lie down and noisily shake the urine loose*

Pitj. semantic morphemic: **nyura inma inka + ngi**

Pitj. semantic gloss: 2PL song sing + PST_CONT

Pitj. semantic translation: *Were you all singing a song?*

Mirninny transcription: **Nguntungarri wartuta patanu?**

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on the above thirteen sentences, several observations can be made:

- In terms of vocabulary, Ngadju and Mirniny share far more features with each other than either does with Pitjantjatjarra. This supports prior typological claims which position Ngadju and Mirniny within the same language family, distinct from the Wati/Western Desert family (O’Grady, Voegelin, and Voegelin 1966; Walsh 1981; Wurm 1972). This can be observed with even a cursory glimpse at the vocabulary in each example, e.g.:

Ngadju: **Ngajukuja kumpa kuwanan**

Mirniny: **Ngajuwuja kuliya kuwanin**

Pitjantjatjarra: **Ngali mungatu kulirnu**

- In comparison to Wati family languages to the north, Ngadju employs a significantly smaller inventory of verbal suffixes. Ngadju also contrasts with Wati languages in its employment of an aspect-marking system rather than a tense-aspect system. This absence of obligatory tense-marking is demonstrated succinctly by sentences 1-3 which use identical verb-forms regardless of temporal placement:

1. **Ngaju yayi yankun yarna don’t want to**

I am not going right now, I don’t want to

2. **Nguntu kanka muju yankun**

You went there recently

3. **Matayi yaparti yurlu yankun**

It will come here tomorrow

Notably, marking of temporal placement rests entirely on the choice of temporal descriptors, here **yayi** *now*, **kanka** *recently*, **yaparti** *tomorrow*. These three example utterances also exemplify a lack of (at least obligatory) bound pronouns (see below for further explanation). The three sentences beginning the eighty-eight English sentences used as an elicitation tool by von Brandenstein present a concise method of taking a snapshot of a language’s pronominal and temporal structures.

Importantly, many uninflected Ngadju verbs display a superficial similarity to Wati verb-forms inflected for tense, however this is misleading. The verb **yanku-** for example is consistent between all temporal spheres and agents, as are indeed all Ngadju verbs, e.g. **junu-** *to speak*, **nangu-** *to see*, **kuwana-** *to listen/understand*, **nyina-** *to sit/be*, **ngarlku-** *to eat*, **yanku-** *to go/come*. At face value, these verb-forms may appear immediately to comprise a verb root and a tense marking, e.g. (hypothetical analyses loosely drawn from Ngaanyatjarra verbal morphology (Glass & Hackett, 2003, p. 6)):

junu-	<i>talk/speak/tell</i>	*ju+nu	*talk+PAST
nangu-	<i>see</i>	*na+ngu	*see+PAST
kuwana-	<i>hear/listen/understand</i>	*kuwa+na	*hear+PRES
nyina-	<i>sit/be</i>	*nyi+na	*sit+PRES
ngarlku-	<i>eat</i>	*ngarl+ku	*eat+FUT
yanku-	<i>go/come</i>	*yan+ku	*go+FUT

This analysis however does not account for the functional and distributive observations made for their use for one important reason: these verb-forms are entirely consistent and do not change in any temporal position, as evidenced by the above examples involving **yanku-**.

In another contrast with Wati languages, there is no evidence for enclitic pronouns in Ngadju, with grammatical person marked entirely by free pronouns. Of note to the analyst, although the suffix **-n** is formally identical to the common 2SG subject suffix in many Wati languages, the above three **yanku-** examples make it clear that this suffix does not perform this function due to its use with three pronouns contrasting by person. In light of no observable temporal or pronominal verbal suffixes, the option of an aspectual function is left and is the likeliest candidate. The Ngadju suffix **-n** is instead a perfective suffix across all grammatical numbers and persons, alongside a small set of perfective allomorphs consistently applied to a few small verbal categories: **-nu**, and **-ng/ngu** (no tokens of which are in the above thirteen

sentences, but which form a minority of consistent examples in the corpus). Were it to be the case that Ngadju verbs are not marked for aspect, and factoring in the observable lack of pronominal or temporal marking, Ngadju would be argued to be neither tense nor aspect-marked, as is von Brandenstein's indirect claim. This is extremely unlikely, and an essentially unheard of phenomenon in Australian, if not global languages (Dixon 1980, p. 269).

The Ngadju perfective contrasts with an imperfective which agrees with number only and importantly not person. The following table draws from the broader Ngadju corpus as the full complement of forms is not demonstrated in the above thirteen sentences. There is significant allomorphy among the plural suffixes while the remaining numbers are consistent, a quality shared by the noun and descriptor plural suffixes, with which the verb plural suffixes share formal similarities, e.g., **-ngarri** N_PL, **-ngarri** DESC_PL. This suggests that the formally similar suffixes marking for grammatical number are historically derived from a single source, which is likely to be grounded in lexemes describing space:

- The verb **ngarri-** *to lie down*, is formally identical to the noun, descriptor, and pronoun plurals **-ngarri**, **-ngarri**, **-ngarri** respectively, and significantly similar to the imperfective plural **-ngarrin**.
- The descriptor **ngalpa** *big* may be less transparently connected to the irregular imperfective plural suffix used only on **nyina-** *to sit* **-lpan**.

These examples, in particular the first, strongly suggest that Ngadju grammatical person is less purely numeric in a European sense and more mass/space-based, i.e., **-ngarri** might be more accurately represented as *spread out* rather than the Indo-European-centric *plural*, while **-lpan** would likewise better be understood as *a big group* rather than a straightforward plural.

The **-lpan** suffix is only found on a single verb, the common **nyina-** lexeme with broad multifaceted meanings ranging from the act of sitting to abstract states of being. The remaining suffixes are formally similar, varied primarily by their first segment, and based on preliminary analysis are selected based on a verbal class system. Further analysis of these allomorphic features are being undertaken.

SG	DU	TR	PL
-kin	-pin	-pirrin	-lpan
			-jarran
			-karran
			-ngarrin
			-warran

Of these observed suffixes, tokens of only **-kin** IPFV_SG and **-pirrin** IPFV_TR are found in the above thirteen examples, however they do demonstrate their contrastive quality against the perfective **-n**.

e.g.,

5. a) **Karla naatikin, naatatakin puya**
A fire is burning and burning
- b) **Karla munta naatikin**
A fire is really burning
11. **Ngajuja mayajunupirrin yayi junkujin**
We three were talking before, but now we've talked

Notably, the phoneme /n/ is found at the end of almost all indicative verb forms in the Ngadju corpus, while the imperative lacks this segment, e.g.,

ngaju nyinan *I sit*,
ngajungarri nyinan *we sit*,
ngaju nyinakin *I am sitting*,
ngajungarri nyinalpan *we are sitting*,
nyina! *sit!*

These observations provide scope for two alternative analyses at the underlying morphological level:

1. The segment /n/ is in itself a modal suffix ***-n** marking for indicative mood and the imperfective suffixes are vowel-final, e.g., ***-ki-** rather than **-kin**. This analysis however assumes that the perfective marker is null, contrastive with imperfective suffixes in the same position, e.g., ***nyina+∅+n** compared with ***nyina+ki+n**. The assumption of a null perfective is problematic however, as the Ngadju single imperative is more transparently **-∅**. This analysis is more similar to but distinct from that proposed by von Brandenstein (1980:16-17, 26-28). In von Brandenstein's account, Ngadju verbs agree non-obligatorily for number with the suffixes ***-ki-** 1SG, etc, followed by the near-universally appended participle **-n** and its allomorphs, e.g., ***nyina+n** sit+PART and ***nyina+ki+n** sit+1SG+PART. In von Brandenstein's account, no aspectual or temporal verbal morphology is identified in these sequences, and all temporal placement is held by free descriptors, e.g. **kumpa** *recently*. In von Brandenstein's account, all indicative clauses are in a participial construction, while some arbitrarily include a numeric marking with no other discernible function, applied indiscriminately. Von Brandenstein's account does not recognise the aspectual nature of these verbal features and is insufficient in capturing the nature of Ngadju verbs.
2. The preferred analysis presented here identifies the final segment /n/ appended to a verbal stem as a perfective suffix **-n**, while the imperfective suffixes vary and are also /n/-final, e.g. **-kin**. This analysis avoids the assumption of a null suffix and its complications regarding the imperative, and simply assumes a degree of euphony or simple coincidence regarding the final segments of all indicative verb-forms.

Analysis option 1

ngaju nyina + **∅** + **n**
 1SG sit + PFV + INDIC
I sit

vs

Analysis option 2

ngaju nyina + **n**
 1SG sit + PFV
I sit

ngaju nyina + **ki** + **n**
 1SG sit + SG_IPFV + INDIC
I am sitting

vs

ngaju nyina + **kin**
 1SG sit + SG_IPFV
I am sitting

This analysis is preferred as it provides a simpler account avoiding over-analysis of the syllable into smaller segments, while avoiding the assumption of a null suffix, although it provides no conclusive account for the universal /n/-final in indicative verbal forms other than coincidence or euphony.

APPENDIX: EXAMPLE PASSAGE

This appendix is intended to exemplify the frequency of the Ngadju verb forms explored above. The following passage is taken from von Brandenstein's original fieldwork, conducted in 1970 with Gerdie Newman aka Gertie. Mrs Newman was approximately sixty years old at the time, i.e., born c.1910. The original audio of this conversation also available and was used for the transcription, which differs in many places from that presented in von Brandenstein's work. The entire passage is presented here with translation to exemplify the IPFV verb-forms in blue and the PFV verb-forms in yellow. The full passage is then interlinearised utterance-by-utterance with comparison of the two transcriptions and analysis notes.

Title in AIATSIS Folder	Title in von Brandenstein 1980	Title in Logan	Speakers	Date & Place Recorded	Notes
GerdieNewmanYarn	Reminiscence I, p. 44-49	CD 3: 3 Gerdie Newman	Gerdie Newman	Esperance, 6th August 1970	Tape 35 - F - 2, Diary XIX84a - d

Paarru ngaju **junukin** maya. Ngaju wamuka **nyinajunukin** nyakinya. Kumpa ngaju kanka mijalta **yankun** wanganalayi wamurti wangara ngalpa **yaalykin**. Ngaju kaparra ngalpirringkayi **nangukin** kaparra nyakinya ngalpirringkayi yamurti **yukanangukin**. Ngaju naku karra mawun yumpulyi jajakin **nangukin**. Yayi paarru nyakinya too much **nangukin**. Everywhere ngaju **nangukin** wartu-wartu ngalpa. Nganawanya wamu-wamula ngaju anyway **nyinawangkakin** maya. Matalu nyakinya yapurru palayi tuli **nyinalpan** ngalpurru nganawala wamuka. Purtayi ngaju by and by nguntungya jula **junun** yayi ngaju parurnu ngananya. Ngaju purta ngaju yaparti parraru kaalunykiti ngalparti **wijanku**. Wamuwamungu **yanarpunkin** ngaju pana mataluwarti ngarntarti wamurti **kaning** ngarntaka wamu paninya purru jurrka mijalta ngalpaka yayi. Ngaju wanna naku all julayangarrinya nanjarr yapurru Warnarntarrala kuninyala jula **ngarlkun** yapurru paninya. Wanti kajakarra **junukin** nurrutan matayi ngarnka ngalpa kuninya ngaju **nangukin**. Purta nguntungayi kuwanarra. Nganya nyakinya maya ngaju **junukin**nya. Ngaju not **karntijunukin**. Mala kuninya ngaju wamu-wamunya kunminya **junukin** maya. Nganawanya jangurru. Ngaju nyakinya munta ngaju **nyinanta** munta kalurru **yurrkakin**. Wilu **nyinakurtartakin** purta wilu kaaju **kaning**. Nyakinya mijal ngalpangarri yamarti nganala wamuka. Mankankarrila **nyinan** walyila wamu. Ngajuja piyu **wanakin** junginta kumpana. Paarrulpa nyakinya pujingarri ngajungarri all mamalungarri murrnyarr. Nganawanya wamu which way all yakujarra wanji wamuji wamu-wamujarra yaanjin **nangukin** karntilijanya **nyinalpan**. Kunminya purlki yaanjan. Nyakinya yankalyija **nyinalpan**. Kuni ngaju kumpal munta **junun** maya nguntungarri purta nganya inirtamu kuwanarra kunirti. Rimal ngaju **yankun** rimiliny walyi marlun.

*I'm just **talking**. I'm **sitting and talking** about this in the camp. A while ago I **went** down to the camp by the water where the sea was **roaring**. I was **looking** at the big boats, **standing there looking** at these big boats nearby. Incomplete due to several undefined lexemes: I was **looking** at them for a long time. Now I was **looking** at this and it was all too much for me. I was **looking** around everywhere with my eyes wide open. In my Country I'm **speaking** Language anyway. They **are** all just drunk down here in my camp. Later, by and by I will be myself again after **talking**. Tomorrow I might head out to the Big Racecourse Goanna Country again. I was **getting** away from my own Country, and now I have **come** to their strange Country down here in the south by the sea. I want to visit all the penguins down in Warnarntarra and **eat** the meat that is down there. I'm **talking** about the little boy a long time ago, where he was on the big cliff where I was **watching** him. Listen to this later, all of you! I'm the one here who is **saying** this. I am not **speaking** it incorrectly. It's the correct language of my Country that I'm **speaking**. It's my mouth. After **sitting** here I'm really **shivering** with the cold. Summer is **waiting** and later summer will **come**. These big waters are close to me in the camp. It **is** a bad camp with Tigersnakes. We two were **leaving** scared last night. These cats, us, and the dads all together. It's my camp, where all the women from all these Countries are. I'm not **looking**, but there **are** strangers here. There are no familiar faces. These ones **are** others. Have a really good, proper listen to what I've **said** here later on. I'm alone, I just **go** on, on my own, poor old me.*

APPENDIX: INTERLINEARISATION

KEY TO ENTRIES

- VB: **Bold text:** Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's transcription, re-transcribed into modern orthography.
Italicised text: Carl-Georg von Brandenstein's free translation
- TR: **Bold text:** new transcription in modern orthography, based on the original audio recording.
Italicised text: New free translation
- XM: Morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown
- XG: Glossing of morphemes
- NB: Notes on above passage.

- 1) VB: **Paarru ngaju junukin maya.**
TR: **Paarru ngaju junukin maya.**
XM: **paarru ngaju junu + kin maya**
XG: just 1SG talk + SG_IPFV language
VB: *I just talk.*
TR: *I'm just talking.*
- 2) VB: **Ngaju wamuka nyina-junukin nyakinya.**
TR: **Ngaju wamuka nyinajunukin nyakinya.**
XM: **ngaju wamu + ka nyina + junu + kin nyaki + nya**
XG: 1SG camp + LOC sit + talk + SG_IPFV PROXIM + ABS
VB: *I sit and talk in camp here.*
TR: *I'm sitting and talking about this in the camp.*
- 3) VB: **Kumpa ngaju kanka mijalta yankun warngaralayi yamarti warngara ngalpa yaalykin.**
TR: **Kumpa ngaju kanka mijalta yankun wangaralayi wamurti wangara ngalpa yaalykin.**
XM: **kumpa ngaju kanka mijal+ ta yanku + n wangara + layi wamu +**
XG: adjacent_time 1SG recently water+ LOC go + PFV sea + LOC camp +
rti wangara ngalpa yaaly+ kin
ALL sea big roar + SG_IPFV
VB: *Long ago I went to the water, close by the sea with the big sea roaring.*
TR: *A while ago I went down to the camp by the water where the sea was roaring.*
- 4) VB: **Ngaju kaparrangalpanjarrn (=ngalpankarrana) nangukin, kaparrangalpanjarra yamarti nangukin.**
TR: **Ngaju kaparra ngalpirriny yayi nangukin kaparranyakinya ngalpirriny yayi yamurti yukanangukin.**
XM: **ngaju kapa + rra ngalpi + rri+ ny yayi nangu + kin kapa + rra**
XG: 1SG bark + PL big + PL+ see + SG_IPFV bark + PL
nyaki + nya ngalpi + rri+ ny yayi yamurti yuka + nangu + kin
PROXIM + ABS big + PL+ ABS now near stand + see + SG_IPFV
VB: *I saw the big boats, saw the big boats close.*
TR: *I was looking at the big boats, standing there looking at these big boats nearby.*
NB: Von Brandenstein records that **kaparra** (lit. pieces of bark) is an idiomatic term for boats.
- 5) VB: **Ngaju karra mawun 'never' nangukin.**
TR: **Ngaju naku karra mawun yumpulyi jajakin nangukin.**

- XM: **ngaju naku karra mawun yumpulyi jaja + kin nangu + kin**
 XG: 1SG visit long_time distant_time + SG_IPFV see + SG_IPFV
 VB: *I had never seen a big boat before.*
 TR: Incomplete due to several undefined lexemes: *I was looking at them for a long time.*
- 6) ³VB: **Yayi parru nyakinya ‘too much’ nangukin (07) ‘Eberywhere ’ ngaju nangukin wartu, wartu ngalpa(ku nangukin).**
 TR: **Yayi paarru nyakinya too much nangukin / everywhere ngaju nangukin wartu-wartu ngalpa.**
 XM: **yayi paarru nyaki + nya too much nangu + kin / everywhere**
 XG: now just PROXIM + ABS too much see + SG_IPFV everywhere
ngaju nangu + kin wartu + wartu ngalpa
 1SG see + SG_IPFV eye + eye big
 VB: *Now I just see ‘too much’ of them. / ‘Everywhere’ my eyes are looking (looking with) big eyes.*
 TR: *Now I was looking at this and it was all too much for me / I was looking around everywhere with my eyes wide open.*
- 8) VB: **Nganawala wamu-wamula ngaju ‘anyway’ warngkakin maya.**
 TR: **Nganawanya wamu-wamula ngaju anyway nyinawangkakin maya.**
 XM: **ngana + wanya wamu + wamu + la ngaju anyway nyina + wangka +**
 XG: 1SG + GEN camp + camp + LOC 1SG anyway sit + talk +
kin maya
 SG_IPFV language
 VB: *In my homeland I talk the language ‘anyway’.*
 TR: *In my Country I’m speaking Language anyway.*
- 9) VB: **Matalu nyakinayapurr tuli nyinalpan ngalpurru nganawala wamu(ka).**
 TR: **Matalu nyakinya yapurru palayi tuli nyinalpan ngalpurru nganawala wamuka.**
 XM: **mata + lu nyaki + nya yapurru palayi tuli nyina + lpan**
 XG: 3 + PRON_PL PROXIM + ABS down not_yet drunk sit + PL_IPFV
ngalpurru ngana + wala wamu + ka
 many 1SG + GEN camp + LOC
 VB: *Down here they are all drunk in my camp.*
 TR: *They are all just drunk down here in my camp.*
- 10) VB: **Putayi ngaju ‘by and by’ nguntunya jila junankayi (puta) ngaju parrunu ngana(w)anya.**
 TR: **Purtayi ngaju byand bynguntunya jula junun yayi ngaju parurnu ngananya.**
 XM: **purtayi ngaju byand by nguntu + nya jila junu + n yayi ngaju parurnu**
 XG: later 1SG by and by 2SG + ABS talk + PFV now 1SG again
ngana + nya
 1SG + ABS
 VB: *In talking more to you later I’ll be again myself.*
 TR: *Later, by and by I will be myself again after talking.*
- 11) VB: **Ngaju putayi yaparti parrunu kaalunkiti ngalparti wijanku.**
 TR: **Ngaju purta ngaju yaparti parrarukaalunykiti ngalparti wijanku.**
 XM: **ngaju purta ngaju yaparti parraru kaaluny + kiti ngalpa + rti**
 XG: 1SG later 1SG tomorrow again goanna_sp + product_of big + ALL

³ Sentences 6 and 7 from von Brandenstein’s text have been kept as a single sound file as run into each other without a break.

wija + n + ku
move_quickly + PFV + IRR

VB: *I would soon, tomorrow, drive again to the big Racehorse-goanna-country.*

TR: *Tomorrow I might head out to the Big Racecourse Goanna Country again.*

12) VB: **Wamu-wamungu yanarpunkin ngaju pana mataluwarti ngantarti wamu-wamurti kaningy, ngantana(ku?) wam(u) pan(i)nya yapurru, jurrka mitalta ngalpaka, yayi.**

TR: **Wamu-wamungu yanarpunkin ngaju pana mataluwarti ngarntarti wamurti kaning ngarntaka wamu pani yapurru jurrka mijalta ngalpaka yayi.**

XM: **wamu + wamu + ngu yanarpun + kin ngaju pana mata + lu + warti ngarnta + rtiwamu + rtikani + ngngarnta + kawamu pani yapurru jurrka mijal + ta ngalpa + kayayi**

XG: camp + camp + ABL get away + PFV 1SG REL 3 + PRON_PL + ALL strange + ALL camp + ALL go + PFV strange + LOC camp REL down south water + LOC big + LOC now

VB: *Always wanted to get away from home, going there to some strange home, to a strange home down in the south on the big water, now.*

TR: *I was getting away from my own Country, and now I have come to their strange Country down here in the south by the sea.*

13) VB: **Ngaju 'wanta' nangu 'all' julayangarrinya nanjarr yapurru Wanantarrala, kuninya(kuni)la jila ngarlkun, yapurru paninya.**

TR: **Ngaju wanna naku all julayangarrinya nanjarr yapurru Warnarntarrala kuninyala jula ngarlkun yapurru paninya.**

XM: **ngaju wanna naku all julya + ngarri + nya nanjarr yapurru Warnarntarra +**

XG: 1SG want_to visit all penguin + PL + ABS meat down Warnarntarra + la kuni + nya + la jula ngarlku + n yapurru pani + nya
LOC REL + ABS + LOC eat + PFV down REL + ABS

VB: *I want to see all, the penguins and the game went down at Wannantarra, which is where I can eat it down there.*

TR: *I want to visit all the penguins down in Warnarntarra and eat the meat that is down there.*

14) VB: **Wanti (ka)jaku karra junukin ma(ya ma)kulutan, matayi nganka(')a ngalpa(')a, kuninya(la nga)ju nangukin.**

TR: **Wanti kajakarra junukin nurrutan matayi ngarnka ngalpa kuninyla ngaju nangukin.**

XM: **wanti kaja karra junu + kin nurrutan mata + yi ngarnka**

XG: boy small long_time talk + SG_IPFV 3 + SG_SBJ large_rock_shape
ngalpa kuni + la ngaju nangu + kin
big REL + LOC 1SG see + SG_IPFV

VB: *Talking once long ago to a little boy on a high cliff where I saw him.*

TR: *I'm talking about the little boy a long time ago, where he was on the big cliff where I was watching him.*

15) VB: **Puta ngunjunga(rr)i kuwana(ka)rra(').**

TR: **Purta nguntungayi kuwanarra.**

XM: **Purta nguntu + ngayi kuwana + rra**

XG: later 2SG + PL hear + PL_IMP

VB: *Later you all listen!*

TR: *Listen to this later, all of you!*

16) VB: **Nyakinya ngaju maya junukin-ija.**

TR: **Nganya nyakinya mayangaju junukininya.**

- XM: **nga + nya nyaki + nya maya ngaju junu + kin + inya**
 XG: 1SG + ABS PROXIM + ABS language 1SG talk + SG_IPFV + ABS
 VB: *This is what I say.*
 TR: *I'm the one here who is saying this.*
- 17) VB: **Ngaju 'not' karntijunukin.**
 TR: **Ngaju not karntijunukin.**
 XM: **ngaju not karnti + junu + kin**
 XG: 1SG not wrong + talk + SG_IPFV
 VB: *I am not telling it wrong.*
 TR: *I am not speaking it incorrectly.*
- 18) VB: **Mala kuninya wamu-wamu(wa)nya kunminy(a) junukin maya.**
 TR: **Mala kuninyangaju wamu-wamunya kunminya junukin maya.**
 XM: **mala kuni + nya ngaju wamu + wamu + nya kunminya junu + kin**
 XG: standard REL + ABS 1SG camp + camp + ABS familiar talk + SG_IPFV
maya
 language
 VB: *Right is what I put in my familiar home language.*
 TR: *It's the correct language of my Country that I'm speaking.*
- 19) VB: **Nganawanya jangurr.**
 TR: **Nganawanya jangurru.**
 XM: **ngana + wanya jangurru**
 XG: 1SG + PRON_GEN mouth
 VB: *My mouth belongs to me!*
 TR: *It's my mouth.*
 NB: This may be a metaphorical convention meaning 'language', similar to English 'tongue'.
- 20) VB: **Ngaju nyakina, -munta ngaju nyinanta mantal(a) kalurru yurrkakin.**
 TR: **Ngaju nyakinya munta ngaju nyinanta munta kalurru yurrkakin.**
 XM: **ngaju nyaki + nya munta ngaju nyina + nta munta kalurru yurrka + kin**
 XG: 1SG PROXIM + ABS INTNS 1SG sit + PRIOR INTNS cold
 shiver + SG_IPFV
 VB: *I this, - if I sit there too long I shiver with cold.*
 TR: *After sitting here I'm really shivering with the cold.*
- 21) VB: **Wilu(r)u nyina-kurjatukun, puta wiluwu yuka- (ka)ningy.**
 TR: **Wilu nyinakurtartakin purta wilu kaaju kaning.**
 XM: **wilu nyina + kurtarta + kin purta wilu kaaju kani + ng**
 XG: summer sit + wait + SG_IPFV later summer go + PFV
 VB: *Summer is waiting, later on summer is going to stay.*
 TR: *Summer is waiting and later summer will come.*
- 22) VB: **Nyakinyang mital ngalpa yamarti ngarrin nganala wamuka.**
 TR: **Nyakinya mijal ngalpangarri yamarti nganala wamuka.**
 XM: **nyaki + nya mijal ngalpa + ngarri yamarti ngana + la wamu + ka**
 XG: PROXIM + ABS water big + PLnear 1SG + COMcamp + LOC
 VB: *This big water is lying too close to my camp.*
 TR: *These big waters are close to me in the camp.*
- 23) VB: **Marngkanarrilanyinan walyila wamu.**

- TR: **Mankankarrila nyinan walyila wamu.**
 XM: **mankan + karri+ la nyina + n walyi+ la wamu**
 XG: snake_sp + PL + COM sit + PFV bad + COM camp
 VB: *The camp is a bad sort with Tigersnakes.*
 TR: *It's a bad camp with Tigersnakes.*
- 24) VB: **Ngaj(uku)ja piyu (nyina-)wuwanakin junginta kumpana.**
 TR: **Ngajuja piyu wanakin junginta kumpana.**
 XM: **ngaju + ja piyu wana + kin jungin + ta kumpa + na**
 XG: 1SG + PRON_DU fear leaving + SG_IPFV night + LOC before + ABS
 VB: *We are both frightened thinking of them before at night.*
 TR: *We two were leaving scared last night.*
 NB: Although **wuwunakin** makes contextual sense here, the form is undeniably **wanakin** based on impressionistic and spectrographic analysis
- 25) VB: **Paarru (taru)rrpany pujingarri,ngajungarri 'all', ma(rri)-ma(rri)lungarrin murrnyarr.**
 TR: **Paarrulpa nyakinya ujingarri ngajungarri all mamalungarri murrnyarr.**
 XM: **paarrulpa nyaki + nya puji + ngarri ngaju + ngarri allmamalu+ ngarri**
 XG: PROXIM + ABS cat + PL 1SG + PL all father + PL
murrnyarr
 together
 VB: *So quite a lot of cats, we all, rush about mixed up together.*
 TR: *These cats, us, and the dads all together.*
- 26) VB: **Nganawanya wamu 'which way all' yakujarra wamu-wamu(ja)jarra yuwunjan nangukin, karntilija nyakinya nyinalpan.**
 TR: **Nganawanya wamu which way all yakujarra wanji wamuji wamu-wamujarra yaanjin nangukin karntilijanya nyinalpan.**
 XM: **ngana + wanya wamu which way allyaku + jarra wanji wamu + ji**
 XG: 1SG + GEN camp which way all woman + PL INTER camp +
wamu + wamu + jarra yaanjin nangu + kin karnti + lija + nya
 camp + camp + PL NEG see + SG_IPFV wrong + NOM + ABS
nyina + lpan
 sit + PL_IPFV
 VB: *'Which way all' the women with local homes don't look at my camp. They are the wrong type of people here.*
 TR: *It's my camp, where all the women from all these Countries are. I'm not looking, but there are strangers here.*
- 27) VB: **Kunminya purlki (kuninya) yuwunjan.**
 TR: **Kunminya purlki yaanjan.**
 XM: **kunminya purlki yaanjan**
 XG: familiar face NEG
 VB: *There are no familiar faces.*
 TR: *There are no familiar faces.*
- 28) VB: **Nyakinya yanka(karra) (w)alyija(rra)nyinalpan.**
 TR: **Nyakinya yankalyija nyinalpan.**
 XM: **nyaki + nya yanka + lyija nyina + lpan**
 XG: PROXIM + ABS other + NOM sit + PL_IPFV
 VB: *These others are bad ones.*
 TR: *These ones are others.*

- 29) VB: **Kuniny ngaaju kumpal munta junukin maya, nguntuna(rr)ilu puta ngannya
maya kuwanarra' kunirti.**
 TR: **Kuniny ngaju kumpal munta junun maya nguntungarri purta nganya
inirtamu kuwanarra kunirti.**
 XM: **kuni + ny ngaju kumpalu munta junu + n maya nguntu + ngarri**
 XG: REL + ABS 1SG enough INTNS talk + PFV language 2SG + PL
purta nga + nya ini + rtamu kuwana+ rra kuni + rti
 later 1SG + ABS word + listen + PL_IMPREL + ALL
 VB: *What I have been saying there (on tape) you all listen later to what is my language.*
 TR: *Have a really good, proper listen to what I've said here later on.*
- 30) VB: **Rimil, ngaju yankun rimili-ngy walyimarlun.**
 TR: **Rimil ngaju yankun rimiliny walyimarlun.**
 XM: **rimil ngaju yanku + n rimiliny walyi marlun**
 XG: lonely 1SG go + PFV lonely bad poor_fellow
 VB: *Alone! I go being on my own, poor bad me!*
 TR: *I'm alone, I just go on, on my own, poor old me.*

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