

Nunggubuyu myths and ethnographic texts

Jeffrey Heath

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Introduction

1. GENERAL

These texts were recorded, chiefly at Numbulwar Mission (Northern Territory) in the period 1973 to 1977. As a Research Fellow of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies I was there working on several languages, but with primary emphasis on Nunggubuyu.

I have previously published or completed grammar-text-dictionary volumes on other languages (Ngandi, Ritharngu, Warndarang, Mara). My Nunggubuyu work will be of similar structure but in three volumes.

It may seem unusual that the texts are first to appear, but this is no accident. I believe that a substantial text collection is the publication of greatest long-range value which a field linguist can produce, for several reasons.

First, despite claims sometimes made to the contrary, a dictionary or grammar by itself will tell us little about the people who speak the language, while a text collection can tell us quite a bit in conjunction with ethnographic reports. Secondly, a large textual corpus is needed to illustrate and substantiate claims made by the linguist on lexical and grammatical points.

Pursuing the first argument, I would claim that Australianist linguists have not, in most cases, done even a minimally adequate job to date in obtaining and publishing myths and ethnographic texts of significant value to (social and linguistic) anthropologists, or indeed to the present-day Aboriginals and their descendants. Such neglect would be less serious were it not for the fact that most nonlinguistic social anthropologists in Australia have, to a greater extent than anthropologists working in many other regions, labored under serious linguistic difficulties which have made it very difficult for them to achieve a full understanding of native cultural systems. Of course, the publication of myths and ethnographic texts is only part of an adequate ethnography, but it certainly is one part of it, so if social anthropologists have typically been unable to record and publish sufficient texts in Aboriginal languages it behooves linguists to provide assistance. I do not think there is a single anthropologist working on traditional Aboriginals who could not profit from this kind of linguistic assistance.

As for the second point, even if our goal is limited to the usual kind of grammatical and lexical descriptions, I would argue strongly that a large textual corpus is a sine qua non of an adequate description of a language. For one thing, when reading other linguists' grammars and dictionaries, we have a right to expect documentation of the points made. If we simply "trust" the author, we will end up taking on blind faith many points which may turn out to be false, or at least susceptible to alternative interpretations not mentioned by the original author. In essentially every case I know of where a second linguist undertook a restudy of a language previously studied by the first linguist, important and basic factual and interpretative discrepancies have arisen. Both for the benefit of subsequent fieldworkers and library readers wishing to achieve a thorough knowledge of this language, and demanding knowledge of how I arrived at particular judgements or conclusions, this text collection can go a long way toward resolving doubts--or raising them. No fieldworker has the right to expect that his/her judgements will be upheld by posterity; hence every fieldworker has an obligation to present original data.

In the dictionary and grammar volumes (soon to appear), numerous cross-references will be made to words and passages in this collection. By sending readers back to the texts, they will be encouraged (and hopefully forced) to study word meanings and grammatical points in context, and in the flow of real discourse. I hope in some grammatical sections simply to list all relevant textual passages and suggest that the reader examine those passages and come to his/her own conclusions. In this fashion, the reader can (and indeed must) acquire a relatively good direct feeling for the data, and can hopefully proceed to analyse or reanalyse whatever points are of personal interest. Since the reader will find the material already partly processed (through transcriptions, word glosses, etc.), he or she will not have to repeat the original linguist's fumbling first steps, and may be able in a reasonable amount of time to arrive at the same level of understanding achieved by the original linguist in nearly two years of work.

2. FORMAT AND TRANSCRIPTION

I have numbered the texts consecutively from 1 to 171. All texts are divided into paragraph-type subdivisions (though some have just one such subdivision), numbered 1.5, 171.1, and so forth. Such subdivisions are purely for convenience of reference and do not necessarily correspond to inherent structural divisions in the narrations. Occasionally a cross-reference like 1.5.2 is used; the last number indicates which line of the subdivision is intended.

A paragraph translation is provided after each subdivision. All texts have interlinear word translations directly under the Nunggubuyu text. In addition, the first six texts only have a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (with abbreviations for most affixes)

between the Nunggubuyu text and the word translations. Readers should be cautioned from the outset that the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses will be difficult to understand for readers who have not yet seen the forthcoming grammar. However, a reasonable understanding of the flow of discourse and the nature of word meanings can be gotten from the interlinear word glosses, and broader patterns of syntax, discourse, and narrative structure can usually be obtained from the somewhat freer paragraph translations. A list of abbreviations, most of them used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, is provided separately.

In the Nunggubuyu transcriptions, morpheme boundaries are shown by the hyphen -. In addition, a boundary = is given in verb forms (and predicate adjective forms with verbal rather than nominal prefixes) directly before the main verb (or adjective) stem. I do not suggest that = differs from - in any significant way (e.g. phonologically); instead, the use of = is simply designed to make it easier for readers to identify the main stem. I hope this will help readers analyse the word structure, but more importantly it will facilitate identification of stems so that readers can find them in the dictionary and obtain more information about the range of forms and meanings which they (the stems) have. I do not do this with (nonpredicative) nouns, demonstratives, etc., mainly because in most cases these words have relatively transparent morphological structures. In a verb form like n^ga-n^gu=bura-n^ga-n^g 'I will sit down', the location of the stem would not be immediately apparent without the = boundary (especially since =n^ga-n^g also happens to be a verb form meaning 'will eat' and could be confused with the suffix complex -n^ga-n^g in n^ga-n^gu=bura-n^ga-n^g).

For similar reasons, the apostrophe ' has been used at morpheme boundaries to indicate that a morpheme-initial vowel has been lost (by a phonological rule combining two adjacent vowels into a single vowel, usually long). In n^ga-n^gu=bura-n^ga-n^g we do not find this since all morphemes begin in consonants. On the other hand, consider an underlying form /ngawu=ala-i/ 'I am scratching it'. On the surface this occurs as ngawa:li:, where the colons indicate long vowels. I write this as n^gawa='li:-', with apostrophes indicating that morpheme-initial vowels have been swallowed up by the preceding vowels. Without the ' symbol, readers might think that the stem here was /=li-/ or /=la-/ , but the ' tells them that the stem must be something like /=V₁V-/ with an initial vowel. With a little experience, readers will learn to guess that /=ala-/ is the most probable base form of the stem, since the disappearing vowel at the beginning of a verb stem is usually /a/ (not /i/ or /u/), and since the long i: ending is typical of a large verb class whose stems basically end in /a/.

Vowels are these:

i i: u u:

o:

a a:

Of these, all but o: are reasonably productive. o: occurs as a contraction of /a-u/ in certain demonstrative forms like o:-'ba-ni

/a-uba-ni/ 'that one (ANA class)', and need not be indicated in dictionary entries. It is also used as a trail-off vowel in interjections with final stylistic lengthening, hence baba 'my father', vocative (calling) form babao! or babao:::!. Consonants:

stops	b	dh	d	<u>d</u>	j	g
nasals	m	nh	n	<u>n</u>	n ^y	n ^g
rhotics			r	<u>r</u>		
laterals	lh		l	<u>l</u>		
glides (semivowels)			y	w		

A fuller description of these sounds will be given in the grammar; a few short remarks will suffice here. b and m are bilabial; the dh-nh-lh series is interdental and strongly laminal (nh is rare); the next column (d, etc.) is apicoalveolar and similar to English sounds (except that r is a tap); the next column (d, etc.) is retroflexed and these consonants are often perceived as having an r-colored onglide (r is an approximant like American English r); j and n^y are laminals articulated in the alveolar or postalveolar region (j is usually not released when syllable-final, unlike English ch as in lurch); g and n^g are velars. Glides (semivowels) are listed in the columns shown for convenience only; morphophonemically there are two distinct underlying w sounds, w₁ (becoming g after stop or nasal) and w₂ (becoming b), but this need not concern us here.

Some phonological rules which may disguise the identity of stems are the vowel-contraction rule illustrated above, and a series of consonantal alternations: b/w (underlying w₂), dh/lh (underlying lh), d/r (underlying r), j/y (underlying y), and g/w (underlying w₁). In a few stems the alternations work differently (and b, g, dh, and j must be taken as underlying or basic).

Abstract morphophonemes are /G/ and /N/ at the end of certain prefixes. /G/ always disappears but behaves like /g/ (e.g. in causing hardening of following continuants to stops with the formulae just given); /N/ disappears before another nasal consonant and assimilates to the point of articulation of certain other consonants. Readers of the texts need not worry about these symbols unless they are interested in morphological structure.

Nunggubuyu is not especially hard to transcribe, except that vowel length is unstable, often merged in normal speech (at least in some positions), and subject to surface stylistic and intonational skewing. I have normalised vowel-length transcriptions so that, except for extreme stylistic lengthening (shown as :::), a given word is transcribed with the same vowel length pattern in all its occurrences even though the actual pronunciation is variable.

I have chosen to use an orthography which is both linguistically accurate and pedagogically appropriate. All phonemic contrasts are indicated, but the symbols used are all found on ordinary typewriters. In particular, I have chosen n^g for the velar nasal, avoiding both the usual symbol n̄ with its diacritic and the usual "practical" digraph ng, which invites confusion with the cluster consisting of an n followed by a g. Similarly, n^y represents the laminoalveolar nasal, and underlining is used for the retroflexed consonants. In the case of interdentals like dh, the h (really a diacritic) is not raised since there is no true h phoneme in the language; hence dh can only be the interdental form of d and there is no need to raise the h.

This orthographic system is rather similar to those which have been experimented with by literacy people at Numbulwar (Rev. Earl Hughes, Kathie Warren, and Michael Hore). As of last report, the orthographies in use in the local literacy and bilingual programs were still in experimental stages and no final practical orthography had been agreed on.

Slight discrepancies between my orthography and whatever practical orthography is eventually decided on should not cause major problems. It is probable that the Nunggubuyu material in my publications (including this one) will reach the Nunggubuyu people through modified versions prepared by the local literacy people. In the texts presented here I have not "weeded out" false starts, intrusive English words, or grammatical errors by the narrators. In primers and other works used in the Nunggubuyu schools, it will be necessary to eliminate such elements and produce highly edited and normalised texts, and any necessary orthographic modifications can be introduced as appropriate. On the other hand, any Nunggubuyu who has attained literacy in the language should have little trouble working through my transcriptions.

3. NUNGGUBUYU PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

Somewhat more than two hundred Aboriginals living at Numbulwar Mission, and smaller numbers on Groote Eylandt and at Ngukurr (Roper River) settlement speak this language. At the time of my fieldwork, most people older than thirty (especially the women) had only a limited knowledge of English and there were some virtual monolinguals. Most of the children speak Nunggubuyu but are also learning English. English spoken by the older people tends to be in large part based on the creole spoken at Ngukurr and elsewhere in the area; that spoken by the younger people is mainly standard English learned from Australian schoolteachers and mission staff.

Local patrilineal clans are associated with particular territories (estates) as owners; this territorial association also involves association with particular totems and ritual or (public) song performances. Core Nunggubuyu-speaking clans are these:

Mandha:yun ^g moiety	Yirija moiety
Murun ^g un	Nunggargalug
N ^g almi	Nun-dhiribala

The two (patrilineal) moieties thus subsume the four clans shown, and the moieties can be extended to categorise persons from neighboring "tribes." Moreover, because of the "brotherhood" relationships among clans linked by the travels of particular totemic beings, each of the four clans can be associated with a number of "brother" clans in neighboring "tribes." To some extent the four clan terms can themselves be used in a wide sense to cover such assemblages of brother clans; this is more often done with the clan name Murungun than with the others.

Each clan probably had around forty or fifty people prior to white contact, and if anything the average clan population is increasing in recent decades due to improved medical care. Most of the clans were themselves divided into smaller subclans, often without names (or with special names which were used only rarely); see text 72.

Major rituals were circumcision (Mandiwala), mortuary (Ya:di), Gunabibi, and Madayin (Ru:l). All were and are male dominated and all include secret episodes performed and seen only by initiated males. However, much of the Mandiwala and Ya:di are public. Nowadays these two rituals typically involve the didjeridu-accompanied wungubal type of singing, though in the past the Mandiwala involved the simpler type of singing practised by the Warndarang and Mara peoples to the south. Gunabibi is in large part a fertility ritual; the Madayin is more solemn.

Both the wungubal songs, and specific portions of the various rituals, are owned by particular clans or their headmen. Men whose mothers were in a given clan are the junggayi (we may translate this as 'managers') of the clan, a status distinct from but about as important as that of the 'owners' (bunggawa) of the clan itself. See also text 49.

In addition to the major communal rituals (which not only involve virtually all mature Nunggubuyu men, but also usually attract visitors from other communities), there were minor rituals such as the increase rites of texts 58 and 59.

In addition to the four core Nunggubuyu clans, it appears that the Man̄gura clan just to the north on the coast of Blue Mud Bay was fully or partly Nunggubuyu-speaking, though the older people in the clan also speak Ritharngu and the clan has close marital and ritual relations to Ritharngu clans. Moreover, in recent times, due to the extinction of Warndarang and the sharply reduced vitality of Ngandi, the Nunggubuyu language has spread to several clans whose territory is near the mouths of the Rose and Roper rivers, south of the core Nunggubuyu territory. Many of these people are now classified by anthropologists and others as "Nunggubuyu," but their clan ancestors were not. Such clans as the Nunggan̄ulgu, Nung-gumajbar, and Nunggayin̄balan̄y (Yirija moiety), and the inland and coastal Numamudidi (Mandha:yung), are in this category. As indicated in the notes to text 72, a formerly Dhay'yi-speaking clan found well to the north has also been largely swallowed and absorbed by the Nunggubuyu.

In this region the primary linguistic division is between the Yuulngu and non-Yuulngu languages. Yuulngu is a tightly-knit

family in the northeast of the Arnhem Land Reserve; it includes the Ritharngu and Dhay'yi just north of the Nunggubuyu. Non-Yuulngu languages of the area form another genetic group, but one which is much more internally diverse. It has not yet been adequately classified genetically and has been referred to simply as the "prefixing" languages pending a more authoritative classification. It includes the Nunggubuyu and the immediately adjoining languages in the west, south, and east.

I have previously published a volume on Ngandi and have some unpublished grammatical and textual material on Anindhilyagwa; these are to the west and east of Nunggubuyu, respectively. It is clear that these go back to a common ancestor, and it is possible to reconstruct many specific forms (including affixes) for the proto-language. It is not yet clear whether any other languages such as Ngalakan (farther west) will have to be added to this genetic group.

To the south we find a group consisting of Warndarang, Mara, Alawa, and perhaps other languages like Mangarayi. Present indications are that this group is not only typologically but also genetically a unit. It is also clear that this group is genetically related to the group containing Nunggubuyu, and some concrete verb forms can be reconstructed, but the genetic distance at this level seems considerable.

At a much greater depth still, it is probable that all of these languages (including the Yuulngu group) are genetically related. However, the Yuulngu languages are more closely related genetically to languages well to the south in Central Australia than they are to the immediately adjoining non-Yuulngu (prefixing) languages.

Nunggubuyu and all adjoining languages, including Ngandi and Anindhilyagwa, are definitely mutually unintelligible. Nunggubuyu people who have not actually learned neighboring languages cannot understand them; in the cases of Ngandi and Anindhilyagwa even cognate forms have often been disguised by phonological or analogical changes.

Because Nunggubuyu does not grade into these neighboring languages, there is absolutely no code-switching among them in the texts, though an occasional direct quotation is given in Anindhilyagwa when appropriate.

Nunggubuyu has borrowed some words (either directly or via other Aboriginal languages) from the Macassan (Indonesian) sailors and hunters who used to work seasonally in the Gulf (texts 166 to 168). To my knowledge the lexical borrowings are limited to nautical terms and a few others (almost all nouns) and are not extensive.

On the other hand, a fair amount of English (including creole) borrowings have already taken root, including about twenty important verb stems (typically with thematic suffix -dha-, as in =wirindha- 'to clothe' from creole wirim 'to wear'). Transitive stems, moreover, usually contain the creole transitive suffix -im as in this example. In addition to assimilated borrowings of this type there are other English borrowings, including particles like too ('also'), jaldo ('only', from creole that'll do), and now. However, some passages simply involve partial code-switching

as the narrator attempted to explain a point to me in English. In this event there might be a Nunggubuyu expression, followed by the same thing in English for my benefit, as a kind of aside. On the other hand, sometimes the speaker would use an English word (or English loanword with Nunggubuyu affixes), then realise that an intrusive English word had crept in, and finally he would give the closest true Nunggubuyu equivalent.

We will not present a grammatical sketch of the language here. However, we should note that this is a language with an elaborate noun-class system, usually marked in prefixes (on nouns and verbs). For humans, we have MSg, MDu, FSg, FDu, and Pl (three or more regardless of gender). For nonhuman nouns we have several classes which are labeled by a capitalised form of one of the actual prefixes (though other prefix variants occur as well): NA, NEGARA, ANA, MANA, WARA. WARA can also be used for humans, especially for indefinite plural. Subtypes of ANA, ANA(\emptyset) and ANA(wu), are distinguished only by different patterns of agreement in verb forms.

Nunggubuyu is extremely complex in its nominal and verbal morphology. Unfortunately, it is difficult even to give meaningful glosses to individual morphemes, since often the meaning of the whole set of affixes on a word is not merely the sum of the individual meanings but rather is a special configurational meaning.

4. NARRATORS

Reuben (Mindhiwugag), formerly called Young Reuben to distinguish him from another man, was a very old man of the Nun^ggan^gulgul clan (which is often combined with the Nun^g-gumajbar). Hence his ancestors probably spoke Warndarang, but he himself has spoken only Nunggubuyu since his childhood. He died around 1975. His texts tend to be short and somewhat perfunctory.

Johnnie (Nan^guru) was also an old man but was still alive when I left in 1977. He was from a clan whose territorial centre was Wanmari, between the Rose and Roper Rivers. His ancestors clearly spoke Warndarang, but he had no useful knowledge of that language and instead spoke Nunggubuyu and Mara (both quite well). Like Reuben, he was an authority on Warndarang-style circumcision singing (in Johnnie's case, for the Mambali semimoietiy, roughly related to the Ngalmi clan of the Nunggubuyu). I obtained texts from him in both Mara and Nunggubuyu and the Mara ones will be published in my volume on that language. Whereas Reuben can be said to have been heavily Nunggubuyu-ised culturally, this was less so of Johnnie and his mythical texts (even when recited in Nunggubuyu) show narrative style and mythological substance characteristic of the Warndarang and Mara groups to the south. Most of his texts were extremely long and full.

Ma:di was for most of his life the leader of the entire Nunggubuyu community (see text 161 in particular). He was of the Murungun clan, though he had actually been adopted into the local Murungun clan and his ancestors had been from farther north. He died in 1977, aged around sixty. He was an outstanding narrator who gave relatively full and interesting texts, and who

enjoyed using colorful and exotic vocabulary. His dramatic myths are especially excellent (e.g. texts 7, 13, 43), and readers who listen to the original tapes will recognise him as a master of intonation as well as other aspects of narrative technique.

Laran^gana was also of the Murungun clan and was of about the same age, but he was living when I left. His texts are of considerable ethnographic interest. Linguistically, his style involved a considerable amount of mumbling, false starts, and partly unintelligible passages, and readers interested in the language per se should start with texts by other narrators. Readers interested in ethnographic aspects of the texts should find Laran^gana's texts of high value.

Ga:gadug (Laran^gana's wife, rather younger than he) contributed some energetic texts, spoken at normal speech rates (i.e. relatively fast, with less self-monitoring and fewer pauses than most others). Her texts are thus more natural linguistically than some others. I was able to find no major differences between her grammar and lexicon and those of the male narrators, so there do not appear to be any highly crystallised female speech patterns.

Milton (Gabanja) of the Ngalmi clan was probably nearing forty when I worked with him; he was the first narrator I recorded. His texts were given enthusiastically and showed stylistic features similar to those used by Ma:di, but Milton's versions of myths were usually briefer than those obtained from Ma:di and other older speakers.

Dick (Da:bulug), brother of Milton, also in Ngalmi clan, aged about thirty during my fieldwork. He had helped me transcribe some of Milton's texts and had observed my difficulty with rapidly or unclearly spoken material. Dick therefore spoke very carefully and slowly when I recorded material from him; his texts are thus not difficult to transcribe and include few false starts, but are much slower in speed than normal Nunggubuyu.

Yurumura, brother of Milton and Dick, aged near thirty. A particularly intelligent and interesting narrator and informant whom I worked with toward the end of my fieldwork. He contributed a number of concise ethnographic texts, permitting me to round out the text collection reasonably well.

All of these people provided useful material, each with his or her own special individual features. I was fortunate that I arrived in time to have access to Ma:di and Reuben before they died, but even the younger narrators gave interesting texts. I regret that I was not able to work with certain other men and women in the community, but there just was not enough time in view of my other obligations.

I was assisted in transcribing these texts, and in carrying out basic grammatical and lexical analysis, by the following men: the above narrators, especially Dick, Milton, Ma:di, and Yurumura; also Jibulungu, Muji, and Dirjuna.

Further acknowledgements are due to Kathie Warren, Michael Hore, Colin Gilchrist, and other mission staff at the Anglican (Church Missionary Society) Numbulwar Mission, and to Rev. Michael Gumbili at Ngukurr. At AIAS my major debts are to staff in the resources, technical, secretarial, and publications departments.

5. OTHER LITERATURE

Some cross-references to other published literature are made in the notes and comments to individual texts. Here we give a brief, but more general treatment of available resources.

For the Nunggubuyu specifically there is as yet no general ethnographic work. However, van der Leeden's essay on Nunggubuyu mythology contains useful background ethnographic material (1975), and this is the most pertinent reference currently available. It is hoped that van der Leeden will soon publish additional material from his substantial fieldwork at Numbulwar. His clan terms are the names of clan territorial centres; his symbols for sub-moieties are converted into my clan names as follows: M_aI = Murun^gun clan(s), M_bI = Ngalmi (centre: Anba:li) and inland Numamudidi (centre: Amalilib); M_aII = Nun-dhiribala (centre: Wurindi) and Nun^gargalug (centre: Waldhar); M_bII (originally mainly Warndarang-speaking) = Nun^gan^gulgu, Nun^g-gumajbar, and Nun^gayin^ybalan^y.

Van der Leeden gives background information on the Gunabibi and Ru:l rituals (see also my texts 46-48 and 57, below), and presents summaries of several myths. His stories A and B are variants of my texts 3-5; his story C is a distinct myth closely related to A and B; his story D is a version of my texts 6-7; his story E is the same as my text 8; his story F does not correspond directly to any of my texts. van der Leeden and I worked independently but he had worked with some of the same men who narrated texts for me (Ma:di, Reuben).

However, the largest previous collection of Nunggubuyu texts (consisting entirely of myths) was published by mimeo at Numbulwar by Rev. Earl Hughes in two small volumes (Hughes 1969, 1970). In the 1969 volume the correspondences to my texts are these: Hu 2 = He 1 and 2; Hu 5 = He 3-5; Hu 6 = He 15-16; Hu 7 = He 11-12; Hu 8 = He 13; Hu 9 = He 10; Hu 13 = He 17; Hu 14 = He 6-7; Hu 16 = He 8. (Hu = Hughes; He = Heath.) The others (Hu 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 15) do not correspond exactly to my texts, but I do have a version of Hu 10 which I was unable to prepare for publication at this time. Hu 4 corresponds to a text I am publishing in my volume on Mara.

In Hughes (1970), here abbreviated Hu₂, the correspondences are: Hu₂ 1 = He 35; Hu₂ 5 is related both to He 3-5 and (more particularly) to He 43; Hu₂ 6 and 7 should be connected to He 39. The others are not directly related. Hu₂ 72 is a Nunggubuyu version of a major myth for the Anindhilyagwa-speaking people of Bickerton Island (Turner 1974).

As this last point suggests, some of the texts here "belong" in a sense to non-Nunggubuyu peoples in the area, chiefly to the south (Warndarang, Mara, etc.) but also to some extent to the east (Anindhilyagwa). "Tribal" boundaries mean very little in this area and we cannot easily establish boundaries between Nunggubuyu and non-Nunggubuyu mythology since the Nunggubuyu have always been aware of myths of adjoining people (some myths, of course, actually cut across tribal boundaries and so are joint property, but the Nunggubuyu also know myths which do not involve their own territory and some texts in this collection are of that type). We should therefore briefly mention non-Nunggubuyu sources which may be of value here.

For the Anindhilyagwa-speaking people we have the aforementioned Turner (1974), which discusses several myths which link those people with the Nunggubuyu on the mainland; this reference is most pertinent in connection with my texts 29 (Jajabun, same as Turner's "Blaur") and 35.

For the area to the south we can mention two articles by Capell on mythology and one by Elkin on the Yabuduruwa ritual. Capell (1960a), "Myths and Tales of the Nunggubuyu," deals partly with what I consider "core" Nunggubuyu myths but also with myths of formerly Warndarang-speaking people in the Rose and Roper River areas who now speak Nunggubuyu. His text 1 and commentary thereto deal with the Gunabibi mythology (cf. my texts 30-33), but he also mentions Goanna (my texts 25-26). His texts 2 and 3 relate to my texts 1-2; his text 4 to my texts 18-19 (his commentary also involves Nagaran, cf. my texts 27-28); his text 5 is a fragment of the Goanna myth (my texts 25-26); his text 6 really includes material from several distinct myths, including a python (unfortunately unidentified--perhaps the olive python but a distinct myth from my texts 102), groper fish (my text 23), and the two men who fell into a hole (= one of my Mara texts referred to above, also found in Hughes (1969), text 10). Capell's text 7 is related to my text 14, his 8 to my 11, his 9 to my 12, and his 10 to my 17.

Capell's other article (1960b), "The Warndarang and Other Tribal Myths of the Yabuduruwa Ritual," is primarily useful for its lengthy Warndarang text on Goanna, which should be consulted by readers interested in my relatively concise texts 25-26. Capell's article also has some short texts from tribes inland, to the west, which are not directly relevant to us.

For the southern area my own materials on the Ngandi and Mara languages are also of use. In the Ngandi volume (Heath 1978a), text 10 is a "rainbow serpent" myth which is related, though not identical in substance, to my texts on Gunabibi mythology, particularly texts 32-32, though in my texts it is mosquitoes and not a serpent who does the destruction. Actually, the Ngandi text relates to the Mambali semimoity Gunabibi tradition, while the Nunggubuyu texts relate to the Murun^gun tradition (cf. van der Leeden 1975:49, 56), so the connection is not direct.

In the forthcoming Mara volume I have a few myth texts dealing with the Gunabibi mythology, a large Olive Python myth, and a number of others not directly related to attested Nunggubuyu texts. The Olive Python text is distinct from the local Nunggubuyu version (my texts 1-2); it contains segments related to the fragment of the Sand Goanna myth in my texts 25-26 (particularly 25) in which the two mothers-in-law in my text are identified as the two Pythons in the Mara version.

For the southern and southwestern area Elkin (1971) should also be consulted; it deals with the Yabuduruwa ritual, which is not practised by the core Nunggubuyu clans but which involves mythology which is represented to a limited extent in the present collection. It includes English summaries of southern versions of the Sand Goanna myth, differing somewhat from Capell's version (cf. Bern 1979), and a lengthy summary of the Nagaran story (cf. my texts 27-28).

Relatively little published material is available on the peoples immediately to the north (i.e. the southern groups of Yuulngu-language speakers) such as the Ritharngu. I have some myth material in Ritharngu but it did not appear in my published text collection because my principal Ritharngu informants regarded all mythical material as at least slightly secret. For more northerly Yuulngu groups, and to some extent for the whole Yuulngu area, see Berndt (1951, 1952) and Warner (1969).

References given above have focused on mythological traditions and are thus mainly relevant to my myth texts (1 to 45). For background on material culture, kinship relations, and so forth readers may consult some of the same publications already mentioned along with some others. Some general works on Australian Aboriginals are Elkin (1938) and its subsequent editions, R. M. and C. H. Berndt (1965), and Maddock (1974). Relatively general ethnographic works on neighbors of the Nunggubuyu are Turner (1974) and Warner (1969), both already cited (Warner's book was originally published in 1937), and Thomson (1949) is also worth examining. On material culture of the nearby Groote Eylandters see Tindale (1925-26) and forthcoming publications by D. Levitt on ethnobotany. See Specht (1958) for an introduction to ethnobotany on the Top End of Arnhem Land using taxonomy which is now rather outdated. Biernoff (1978) is useful for understanding human/land relationships in the area. For some general background on the recent history of Aboriginals in the region see R. M. and C. H. Berndt (1954), but this work deals chiefly with groups north of the Nunggubuyu. As for Nunggubuyu music (particularly wungubal type with didjeridus, see texts 65-68), much has been recorded by A. Moyle and J. Stubington and some by myself and van der Leeden. It is mostly on deposit at the Institute in Canberra and is accessible to scholars but we have not yet produced definitive word transcriptions and there is no comprehensive general publication on it, though a brief introduction is available in the form of Biernoff (1974). (Biernoff is a social anthropologist, not a musicologist or linguist.) Discs containing Nunggubuyu and other music from the region from A. Moyle's collections are available from the Institute and (in the United States) from Humanities Press.

As for the Nunggubuyu language, the dictionary and grammar in the present multiple-volume work can be expected to materialise soon. A Nunggubuyu-English dictionary is available (Hughes 1971) but it needs revision and uses morpheme-boundary and transcriptional conventions which are quite distinct from mine. For the grammar, I have previously published an article on the demonstrative system (Heath 1980c); there are some other references but I do not consider their data and analyses sufficiently accurate to recommend them.

Other works on neighboring languages which I have published or am publishing are given under my name in the bibliography. All of the major publications contain text collections including at least some ethnographic texts comparable to those in this volume.

It is important to note that the textual material in this volume is not secret-sacred, though some myths and rites dealt with contain such material not presented here. Some publications just mentioned describe secret material and care should be exercised in their use.

Abbreviations

a	one series of pronominal prefixes (subscript)	Mult	multiple
Abl	ablative	NA	a noun class
Abs	absolute	NC	noun class
All	allative	N ^g ARA	negative
ANA	a noun class	Nonsg	a noun class
ANA(wu)	subclass of ANA	Obl	nonsingular
ANA(∅)	subclass of ANA	Origin	oblique
Anaph	anaphoric	p	originative
Aug	augment	Pa	punctual (subscript)
Aux	auxiliary	Pergr	past
b	one series of pronominal prefixes (subscript)	P1	pergressive
Ben	benefactive	Poss	plural
c	continuous (subscript)	Pot	possessive
Centrif	centrifugal	Pres	potential
Centrip	centripetal	Pron	present
Contr	contrastive	Prox	pronoun
Dat	dative	Purp	proximate
der	derivational (subscript)	Q	purposive
Dimin	diminutive	Rdp	question, interrogative
Dir	directional	Recip	reduplication
Dist	distant	Refl	reciprocal
Du	dual	Rel	reflexive
Emph	emphatic	Sg	relative
Evit	evitative	sp.	singular
Ex	exclusive	spp.	species
ex.	example	Transv	species (plural)
exx.	examples	WARA	transverse
F	feminine	wu	a noun class
Fut	future	∅	(subscript) see ANA(wu)
Gen	genitive	xxx	zero; no simple gloss
Imm	immediate	< >	unintelligible
In	inclusive	~~~~~	completion of word
Inch	inchoative verbaliser	—	transcription uncertain
Inst	instrumental	--	English or creole elements
Loc	locative	=	interruption (in text);
M	masculine	-	double morpheme boundary
MANA	a noun class		boundary before root of verb
			or predicative noun
			normal morpheme boundary

Myths and stories

TEXT 1 OLIVE PYTHON AND THE TWO BOYS
Milton (Gabanja)

1.1 majbarwar, ba-gu wini-n^gamba=n^gambi:-ni nu:-'bi-ni na-wulmur-wa:,
python there they bathed those two circumcised
wini=wulmur wini=wulmur lha:ltag lha:ltag, ma-wulu-wulan^y=jiryira-n^gi
3MDu_a=circumcised recent MANA_a-Rdp-blood-drip-Pa₂
they were circumcised recently blood dripped down
bu-gu-ni mana-wa:n^g, mana-wulan^g, ma-wulu-wulan^y=jiryira-n^gi aba
Anaph--All MANA_c- MANA_c- (as above) now
to there whatchamacallit blood blood dripped down then
wu-gu-ru an-uwa-ga:-'la wa:-'rlha:-'r=lhuddhulwa:-' ana:-gugu,
ANA-Pron-ANA ANA_c-Dist-Loc-Centrip ANA_a-Rdp-water=rise-Pa₂ ANA_c-water
(as for) it after that water rose up water

wu-la=lalagi:-'ni, wu=lan^gadba-n^gi-maga: wu=wayama-n^gi-maga:
ANA_a-Rdp=lift-Refl-Pa₂ ANA_a=emerge-Pa₂-Ø ANA_a-proceed-Pa₂-Ø
it kept rising up it emerged it went along

ana-win^yig wu=lan^gadba-n^gi wan^ggu=na-ni
ANA_c-small(Sg) ANA_a=emerge-Pa₂ ANA/3Pl_a=see-Pa₂
small one it emerged it saw them

wan^ggu-mal=na-ni wu-gu-ni ya:-ji
ANA/3Pl_a-sky=see-Pa₂ 3Nonsg-Pron-MDu Prox-Loc.
it looked up at them (as for) them two here

wini-wudhu=wudhi-Ø arwar, a-mun^gala,
3MDu_a-Rdp=perch-Pa₂ ANA_p-fork
they were still up in tree above (in the) tree fork

Olive Python. Two unmarried boys were bathing (in a billabong). They had been circumcised just a short time before, and the blood was still dripping (into the water of the billabong). (The blood aroused the pythons.) The water began to rise up like a flood. A small python came up to the surface and poked its head out. It swam along, and looking up it saw them (the two boys), who (by then) were up in the fork of a tree (hanging over the billabong).

1.2 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g bu-gu-ni ma-dhi=dhilila-n^gi aba
MANA-Pron-MANA-Contr Anaph--All MANA_a-Rdp=drip-Pa₂ now
as for it to there it was dripping then

n^gi-ga n^gar-ibi-yun^g n^gi=warubaj n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
F-Pron F-mother-3Poss 3FSga=nearby 3FSga-Rdp=go-Pa₂
(as for) her its mother she was nearby she kept going

n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi yin^gga an-uba-ni
she kept going nearly that ANA_c-Anaph-ANA

wa:-'rlha:-'r=lhuddhulwa:-' aba wini-jan^ggal=n^gambi-n^y
 (see 1.1) now 3MDu_a-leg=bathe-Pa₁
 water rose up then their legs went into water
 mari n^ga wan^gi:=m^gbildhi-n^y wan^gi:=m^gbildhi-n^y
 N^gARA/3Pl_a=strike-Pa₁
 and and then it struck them two

wan^gi=wa-n^g, wan^gi=n^ga-n^g adaba, wan^gi=lharga-n^g,
 N^gARA/3Pl_a-hit-Pa₁ =eat-Pa₁ now =swallow-Pa₁
 it hit them it ate them then it swallowed them
 n^gi-yama=yama:-' n^gi-yama=yama:-' wan^gi=n^ga-n^g
 N^gARA_a-Rdp=do that-Pa₂ (see above)
 it kept doing that it ate them

wan^gi=wa-n^g wan^gi=wa-n^g dum! dum! dum! wan^gi=wa-n^g,
 (see above) it hit them gulp! it hit them

wan^gi=n^ga-n^g nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g adaba yu:-gu-ni,
 M-Anaph-MDu-Abs now Dist--All
 it ate them those two then to there

It (blood) kept dripping that way (into the water, further arousing the pythons). Then the mother (python) approached (rising up from deep in the billabong). The water was still flooding upward, and the two boys (sitting in the tree) suddenly had their feet underwater. It (the mother python) attacked them, hit them (i.e. rendered them unconscious), and ate them. It swallowed them. It did that--it hit and ate them. It did that to those two (boys).

Note: The last part of 1.2 was spoken very excitedly. The verb form =wa-n^g can mean 'bit' as well as 'hit, killed' (the two verbs are distinct but have homophonous Past₁ forms); the speaker said later he meant 'hit, killed' but either will fit the context.

1.3 wuna:-'ga:-'=garan^gga:-' nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
 3Pl/3MSg_a-Rdp-Ben=look-Pa₂ M-Anaph-MSg-Abs
 they looked for him that one

na-dugdabala-yun^g, na-dugdabala-yun^g wuna:-'ga:-'=garan^gga:-'
 M-doctor fell-a-Sg (see above)
 doctor (English word) they looked for him

n^ga da-gi ni=wali-n^y, ni=wali-n^y, ni=wali-n^y aba
 Imm-MSg 3MSg_a=arrive-Pa₁ now
 and then there he is he arrived he arrived then

niwu=mi-n^y manjar, adaba ni=wuri^guldh^gi-n^y, ni=wuri^guldh^gi-n^y
 3MSg/ANA(wu)_a=get-Pa₁ 3MSg_a=disappear-Pa₁
 he picked it up branch then he disappeared

adaba, ni=wuri^guldh^gi-n^y aba ni-n^galba=walga-n^y,
 now 3MSg_a-billabong=smash-Pa₁
 then he disappeared then he plunged into the water

They (kinspeople of the two boys) began looking for the doctor (magician). They looked for him, then there he was. He came out (to them). He took a branch with leaves and magically transported himself (by swishing it through the air). He disappeared into the water (and traveled underwater, chasing the python).

1.4 ba-gu mana-wa:n^g, mana-lhalharan^g, xxx--,
 Anaph-Loc MANA_c-what's it? MANA_c- (unclear)
 there whachamacallit bark fibre
 ni-n^gunin^y=jiri:-'ni mana-lhalharan^g, ni-n^gunin^y=jiri:-'ni
 3MSg_a-groin=adorn-Refl-Pa₂ he covered his waist bark fibre he covered his waist
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: da-ji-ruj alagala,
 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ Imm-Loc-Loc halfway
 he went along further on on the way
 ni-yan=dhawiwa:-', "yaga:" ni=yama:-'-maga:,
 3MSg/ANA_a-voice=ask-Pa₂ 3MSg_a=do that-Pa₂-∅ Q he said
 he asked it he said
 "jujuj!" wu=yama:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-ma:rny
 go ANA_a-do that-Pa₂ ANA_c-Anaph-ANA-Abs ANA_c-snake
 keep going! it said that snake
 ana-lhiribala,
 ANA_c-under
 underground

He put some bark fibre (used to make string) there, around his waist. He went along (in the water, underground). A little further on, along his way, he asked it (a snake), "Well? How much further?" That snake, under the ground, said "Keep going!"

1.5 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi-maga::: ya:-wi
 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂-∅ Prox-WARA
 he kept going here it is

wani-yan=dhawiwa:-' lirag, "jujuj!",
 3MSg/WARA_a-voice=ask-Pa₂ he asked it blue-tongued lizard keep going!
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi-maga::: ni-waya=wayama-n^gi-maga:::
 (see above) he kept going he kept going
 nima-yan=dhawiwa:-' n^gan^gga, "jujuj!" nin^ggu=yami-jga:-'
 3MSg/MANA_a- ANA/3MSg_a=say-Caus-Pa₂
 he asked it dragonfly keep going! it told him
 an-uba-ni-yun^g, ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni=wayama-n^gi
 (see 1.4) (see above) that he went along he went along

lhiri-lhiribala-wala-waj lhiri-lhiribala-wugij ni=ya-n^ggi
 Rdp-under-Abl-Pergr Rdp-under-only 3MSga=go-Pa₂
 along below below only he went
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, ni-yan=dhawiwa:-' ma:rn^y
 (see above) 3MSg/ANA(Ø)a-voice=ask-Pa₂
 he went along he asked it snake

da-ji-ruj alagala, "jujuj!" wu=yama:-'wugij,
 (see 1.4) go ANA_a=do that-Pa₂-only
 further on on the way keep going! it still said

He went along and there it was--a blue-tongued lizard. He asked it ("How far?"). "Keep going!" (it said to him). He continued on his way. He asked a dragonfly. It told him, "Keep going!" He continued along, underground. He went along and asked a snake further along the way. (Like the others,) it said only "Keep going!"

Note: The correct noun class for n^gan^gga 'dragonfly' is MANA, as in the form 'he asked it' in the fourth line of this segment. However, in the following 'it told him' and 'that' (lines 4-5) the noun class is switched to ANA incorrectly. The speaker's confusion is due to the fact that snakes (ma:rn^y, ANA class) are the most prominent animals in this part of the text.

1.6 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-waya=wayama-n^gi
 (see 1.5)
 he went along

adaba nin^ggu=lhan^garma:-' adaba, n^gu=lhan^garma:-',
 now ANA/3MSga=reach-Pa₂ 3MSg/N^gARA_a=reach-Pa₂
 then it caught up to him then he caught up to it
 ana:-'malibil aba ba-ni ana:-'malibil ying ga adaba
 ANA_c-(place n.) now Anaph-ANA
 Amalibil then it is there Amalibil nearly then
 n^gu=lhan^garma-n^y ba-gu, ba-gu adaba ana:-'bulu aba
 3MSg/N^gARA_a=reach-Pa₁ Anaph-Loc ANA_c-dirty
 he caught up to her there there then dirty water then
 nin^ggu=n^gawa-n^y, abulu aba
 ANA/3MSga=cover-Pa₁
 it covered him dirty water then

niwa:-'bulu=lharma-n^gi-wugij niwa:-'bulu=lharma-n^gi-wugi :::j
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=dirty=chase-Pa₂-only
 he still followed the dirty water

n^ga ba-gu n^gu=mi-n^y ya:-gi:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj-bugij
 3MSg/N^gARA_a=get-Pa₁ Prox-N^gARA-Centrip-Abs-Abl-Pergr-only
 and there he got it it was still going along here
 ni-yama=yama:-' n^ga, ni-yama:-' n^ga
 3MSga=Rdp=do that-Pa₂ 3MSga=do that-Pa₂
 he was doing that and then he did that and then

da-gi n^gu=rulbu=wana-ga-n^y, n^gu=mi-n^y,
 Imm-N^gARA 3MSg/N^gARA_a-back=hold-Pa₁ (see above)
 there it is he held it by the back he got it
 n^gu-wala=walarhi-jga:-' n^ga, n^gu-gu-gulmun^g=ga:yu:::-'
 3MSg/N^gARA_a-Rdp=flip-Caus-Pa₂ 3MSg/N^gARA_a-Rdp-belly=cut-Pa₂
 he flipped it over and then he cut up its belly

He kept going on and on. Then it (muddy water) came up to him (so he knew the python had just passed by). Then he caught up to it. He was just about to reach it, there at Amalibil. Then the muddy water was all around him. He kept following the muddy water. He caught it there. It was moving along this way. He did this, he held it there, by the back, and flipped it over (so that it was belly up). He cut up its belly.

1.7 adaba ba-ni n^gu-gulmun^g=ga:yu:-', n^gu-gu-gulmun^g=ga:yu:::-'
 Anaph-ANA (see end of 1.6)

then it's there he cut up its belly he cut up its belly
 n^ga, mari nima-lhan^ga-lhan^gaj=gaba:-' man-uba-mi mana:-'l wur
 3MSg/MANA_a-Rdp-guts=tie-Pa₂ MANA_a-Anaph-MANA MANA_c-
 then and he tied up the guts that bark fibre
 ana:-'ji nima=nima:-'yin^yung nima-lhan^ga-lhan^gaj=gaba:::-'
 ANA_c-Prox-Loc 3MSg/MANA_a=hold-Pa₂-Rel (see above)
 here which he had with him he tied up the guts

n^ga, n^ga ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y ba-gu
 3MSga=emerge-Pa₁ Anaph-Loc

and then he emerged there

niwu-lhal=na-n^y "ana:-'ni yagu amalibil"
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-country=see-Pa₁ ANA_c-Prox-ANA (place n.)
 he saw the country this but Amalibil

ni=yama-n^y, "amalibil yagu ana:-'ni n^ga=lhan^gadbi-n^y",
 3MSga=do that-Pa₁ 1Sga=emerge-Pa₁
 he said Amalibil but this I emerged

He cut up its belly and tied up the guts (including the stomach containing the two boys). He tied up the guts with that bark fibre which he had with him. He tied up the guts, then he came up from underground. He saw the country there. "This is Amalibil," he said (or thought). "This is Amalibil, (where) I have come out."

Note: A freer translation of the ending would be 'He recognized the place where he came out as Amalibil'.

1.8 n^gijan^g ba-ga:-'la-wala-waj-bugij ni:=gi-n^y
 more Anaph-Loc-Centrip-Abl-Pergr-only 3MSga=return-Pa₁
 again along that way still he returned

lhiri-lhiribala-wala-waj, n^gijang ni-waya=wayama-n^gi
 Rdp-under-Abl-Pergr (see 1.5)
 along below again he kept going

ni-waya=wayama-n^gi lhiri-lhiribala-wala-waj
(see above)
he went along along below

lhiri-lhiribala-wala-waj ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-waya=wayama-n^gi
(see above)
along below he went along

ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-yara-yalga=yalgiwi:-'ni ana-ma:rn^y
3MSg_a-all-Rdp=pass-Refl-Pa₂ ANA_c-
he went along he went past (them all) snake

da-ji ma-lhan^gan^y=n^galn^gala-n^gi n^gun^yju ya:-ni n^ga
Imm-Loc MANA_a-guts(shine)-Pa₂ similar Prox-ANA and then
there the guts were shining just like it is here up to

o:-'wa:-ni, mana-ma-dhan^gaj mana-n^gudan, ni-waya=wayama-n^gi
ANA_p-Dist-ANA MANA_c-MANA_dder-guts MANA_c-guts (see 1.5, etc.)
that guts guts he kept going

ni-waya=wayama-n^gi wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ba-gu
3Nonsg-Pron-Pl-Contr Anaph-Loc
he kept going as for them there

wuna:-'garan^gga:-' wara-garn^yirrimba wara-wuruj
3P1/3MSg_a-Ben=look-Pa₂ Pl-crowd Pl-human
they watched for him crowd of people people

wuna:-'ga:-'garan^gga:-' ba-ni:-'la
3P1/3MSg_a-Rdp-Ben=look-Pa₂ Anaph-ANA-Centrip
they looked for him there it comes

wa:-'rlha:-'r=lhuddhu_lwa:-' wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:: na
ANA_a-Rdp-water-rise up-Pa₂ ANA_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂
water rose up (cf. 1.1) it went now (English)

da-ga-waj ana:-gugu aba wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
Imm-Ø-Pergr ANA_c-water now ANA_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂
up to there water then it went

Then he went back again along the same route, underground. He continued on and on. He passed by all the snakes (and other animals he had spoken to). The guts were shining brightly. They were as long as the distance from here to over there (speaker pointed to a tree ten metres away). He (the magician) kept going. As for them (the kinspeople of the boys), all the people were watching (waiting) for him. Then they saw the water in the billabong swell up to around there (speaker indicated manually how high the water was above normal level), it went along.

1.9 aba wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi more! more!
now ANA-Pron-ANA-Contr ANA_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂
then as for it it went vigorously

more!, an^gudu aba wa:-'rlha:-'r=lhuddhu_lwa:-' ana:-gugu,
powerful (see 1.1, 1.8) ANA_c-water
vigorously then water rose up water

wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ba-gu wuna:-'ga:-'garan^gga:-'
3Nonsg-Pron-Pl-Contr Anaph-Loc 3P1/3MSg_a-Rdp-Ben=look-Pa₂
as for them there they looked for him

"da-gi:-'la aba ni:-'gi:-na" wu:=yama-n^y
Imm-MSg-Centrip 3MSg_a-return-Pres 3P1_a-do that-Pa₁
there he comes now he is returning they said

war-ubu-ru-yun^g wara-garn^yirrimba-lhan^gu,
Pl-Pron-Pl-Abs Pl-crowd-many
those crowd of people

Then it (i.e. the water) went along. The water rose up even more strongly. They went (to) the water. They were looking for him. Then they said, "Here he comes!" The crowd of people said that.

Note: It is conceivable that wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi 'it went' in 1.8 and 1.9 is mistranscribed for wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi 'they (the people) went'; in this event the first wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g 'as for it' in 1.9 should be 'as for them' (same transcription). This does not materially affect the sense of the narrative.

1.10 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-waya=wayama-n^gi aba wu-gu-ru
3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ now ANA-Pron-ANA
he went along then (as for) it

wa:-'r=lhuddhu_lwa:-' ana:-gugu na adaba wu=run^ggal-ma-n^y na,
ANA_a-water=rise up-Pa₂ ANA_c-water (Eng.) now ANA_a=big-Inch-Pa₁
water rose up water now then it became big now

wu=run^ggal-ma-n^y, aba ya:-ji arwar wu-lhagula:=ra-n^gi
ANA_a=big-Inch-Pa₁ Prox-Loc above ANA_a-lip=flow-Pa₂
it became big then here above it overflowed

ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y wani=ya-n^y-bugij mana-n^gudan
3MSg_a=emerge-Pa₁ 3MSg/3P1_a=give-Pa₁-only MANA_c-guts
he emerged he gave them still guts

man-uba-ma-yun^g wani=ya-n^y yu:-gu-ni, wani=ya-n^y, wirima='rgi:-ni
MANA_c-Anaph-MANA-Abs (see above) Dist--All (see above) 3P1/MANA_a=pull-Pa₂
that he gave them that way he gave them they pulled it

na mana-n^gudan man-uba-ma-yun^g wirima='rgi:-ni adaba n^ga
(Eng.) MANA_c MANA_c-Anaph-MANA-Abs (see above) now
now guts that they pull it then and

yuwa:-gu adaba wa:=rira-n^gi a:-'ban-duj aba wa:=rira-n^gi.
Dist-Loc 3P1/3P1_a=dry-Pa₂ ANA_p-ground-Loc (see above)
there then they dried them on the ground then they dried them

He (the magician) went along. Then the water (in the billabong) rose up, it got bigger. It came up here and overflowed the banks. He came out. He gave those guts (containing the two boys) to them. They pulled the guts onto the bank. (After freeing the two boys, still alive,) they dried them out on the ground.

Comments on text 1

The olive python, which is primarily terrestrial but can also be found in water, is the focus of local versions of the Rainbow Serpent myths which occur in much of Australia. This version is thematically related to the myth of the Wa:gilak (Wawilak) Sisters in the Yuulngu area to the north (Warner 1937), in which an outraged python swallows the two women and their children after menstrual blood pollutes a billabong. On the swallowing motif in Aboriginal myth see Hiatt's article in Hiatt, ed. (1975). Olive python myths are also important among the Mara and related groups to the south (see my forthcoming volume on Mara); they are tightly integrated with circumcision and other rituals.

The Nungubuyu version is a popular public story, known to everyone, and associated only loosely and indirectly with specific ritual performances. Despite this secularisation, the formal structure of the myth exhibits features typical of narratives about major cult totems. For example, the magician must pass by, and briefly interact with, a miscellany of snakes, lizards, etc.; this recalls similar sequences in Mara and Warndarang cult-totem myths. However, Milton had some difficulty remembering the 'correct' list of snakes and other animals for this myth; his list is incomplete and vague. If this myth were still functioning as a major cult-totem myth, this list would be highly significant; that it has become fuzzy further indicates that the myth has come to focus on its dramatic events.

The myth is, of course, primarily about the ritual transition connected with circumcision. It differs from similar myths, notably that of Emu and Gecko, in its amorphous personalities and in its simple, intense dramatic development.

Text 2 is another version of the same myth, told by Milton's brother Dick; it may be of some interest in showing the extent to which the same myth varies from one narrator to another. Another version is story #2 in Hughes (1969).

TEXT 2 OLIVE PYTHON AND THE TWO BOYS Dick (Da:bulug)

2.1 an-uba-ni, n^gari-muwaj, n^gara-n^gari-muwaj majbarwar,
ANA_c-Anaph-ANA N^gARA_{der-name} N^gARA-N^gARA_{der-name} python
that named named
nu:-'bi-ni, na-nung-garagu-wa:, wara-n^gura=guldha-n^gi, n^ga ba-gu
M-Anaph-MDu M--uncircumcised-Du 3Pl/3Pl_a-penis=cut-Pa₂ Anaph-Loc
those two two young boys they circumcised them and there
wini-bu=buri-ø, a-ran^ga-duj, wini=lha-n^ga-n^y a-ran^ga-duj,
3MDu_a-Rdp=sit-Pa₂ ANA_p-wood-Loc 3MDu_a=stand-Aug-Pa₁
they were sitting in a tree they stood up in a tree
wini-lha=lha-y, ma:-'rlha:-'r=lhuddhuwa-n-di::: n^ga,
3MDu_a-Rdp=stand-Pa₂ MANA_a-Rdp-water=rise up-Aug-Pa₂
they were standing water rose up and then

mari n^ga wan^gi=n^ga-n^g, n^gara-majbarwar wan^gi=n^ga-n^g,
N^gARA/3Pl_a=eat-Pa₁ N^gARA_c-python
and and then it ate them olive python it ate them
That (story?). (The snake) named 'olive python'. Those two young (uncircumcised) boys. They (the men) circumcised them. They (the boys) were sitting in a tree. They stood up, they were standing in a tree (over a billabong). The water (tide) rose up (because the python had been aroused by blood dripping into the billabong). The python ate them.

Note: In the form 'water rose up' Dick used MANA class subject while Milton had used ANA class subject in the same verb form (see 1.1, 1.8, 1.9). Milton's choice is more normal, agreeing with (ana:-)gugu 'fresh water'; Dick was thinking of (mana-)lhagayag 'saltwater' and similar MANA class nouns which are not appropriate to this myth but in real life are much more likely than 'fresh water' to co-occur with the verb 'to rise up'.

2.2 adaba lhiri-lhiribala adaba n^gi=ya-n^ggi,
now Rdp-under N^gARA_a=go-Pa₂
then underground then it went
n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, n^gi=yayama-n^gi n^gi-ga
-Rdp- N^gARA_a=proceed-Pa₂ N^gARA-Pron
it went it went along
lhiri-lhiribala, lhiri-lhiribala, ni-ga:-'yun^g nu:-'ba-gi
underground MSg-Pron-Contr M-Anaph-Sg
as for him that (man)
na-mirara-yun^g, na-mirara-yun^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=n^gambi-n^y
M-magician-Sg (see above) 3MSg_a=bathe-Pa₁
magician as for him he entered water
o:-'ba-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, o:-'ba-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj,
ANA_p-Anaph-ANA-Centrip-Abs-Abl-Pergr along there

yi:-majbarwar ni=ya-n^ggi lhiri-lhiribala,
N^gARA_p- 3MSg_a=go-Pa₂ Rdp-under
python he went underground

Then it went along underground (or underwater). It kept going, underground. As for him, the magician, he jumped into the water (and went) along that way. He went (toward) the python, under the ground.

Note: yi:-majbarwar in the last line is short for yi:-majbarwar-wuy 'to (toward) python'. The use of punctual N^gARA class prefix yi:- (rather than continuous n^gara-) strongly suggests that a local case ending is to be supplied.

2.3 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, ni-yan=dhawiwa-n^y, wulin^ymiri,
3MSg_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂ 3MSg/NA-voice=ask-Pa₁
he went he asked it green tree snake

"yaga: n^gara-majbarwar", "jujuj!" ni=yama-n^y,
 N^gARA_c- go NA_a=do that-Pa₁
 Q python keep going! it said
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: ni-yan=dhawiwa:-' n^guda-lhardharg,
 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ 3MSg/NA_a-voice=ask-Pa₂ (frozen compound)
 he went along he asked it king brown snake
 "yaga:" "jujuj!" n^gi=yali-n^y,
 N^gARA_a=move far away-Pa₁
 Q keep going! it was moving far away
 wu=gilin-bugij ana:-gugu, ni=ya-n^ggi-yin^yun^g,
 ANA=clean-only ANA_c-water 3MSg_a=go-Pa₂-Rel
 it was still clear water (through) which he was going
 ana-lhiribala an-uwa:-gu ni=ya-n^ggi-yin^yun^g
 ANA-under ANA_c-Dist-Loc (see above)
 underground there where he was going
 wu=gilin-bugij ana:-gugu,
 ANA=clean-only (see above)
 it was clear water

He went along. He asked it, a green tree snake. "How far is the python ahead?" "Keep going," it said. He kept going and asked a king brown snake, "How far?" "Keep going," it said. It (the python) was moving quite a distance ahead, so that the water through which he was going was clean (not muddy). The water there was still clean.

Note: Since the verb =lhawiwa- 'to ask' is normally transitive there are some difficulties in interpreting Dick's form ni-yan=dhawiwa:-' (or -n^y) 'he asked (it)' several times in 2.3 and 2.4 (below) with several object nouns in different noun classes. With 'king brown snake' (above) and 'black whip snake' (below) the prefix ni- is legitimate since these are NA class nouns and ni- is the 3MSg/NA_a- prefix. However, 'green tree snake' (above) is normally WARA and 'file snake' (below) is normally ANA(wu), so we should get wani- and niwu-, respectively (cf. transitive wani-yan=dhawiwa:-' above, 1.5, with Milton as speaker). Either Dick has assimilated these two nouns temporarily to the NA class (or the ANA(\emptyset) class, which also takes ni- as prefix with 3MSg subject), or else for Dick =lhawiwa- is intransitive with 3MSg_a intransitive prefix ni-. In favor of the assimilation hypothesis is the form ni=yama-n^y (top line of this page), with NA (identical to 3MSg) prefix ni-, apparently with 'green tree snake' as subject. However, this class assimilation is highly irregular and incorrect.

The adjectival noun gilin 'clean' (in wu=gilin-bugij, above) is the English word 'clean'; here it can be translated 'clear'.

2.4 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, ni-yan=dhawiwa:-'
 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ (see 2.3 and note above)
 he went along he asked it

wulin^ymiri "jujuj!" wu:=yama:-' wara-wulin^ymiri,
 go WARA_a=do that-Pa₂ WARA_c-
 green tree snake keep going! it said green tree snake
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: ni-yan=dhawiwa:-' rabara-wulma
 (see above) (see 2.3 and note above) (frozen compound)
 he went along he asked it black whip snake
 "jujuj!", ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: ni-yan=dhawiwa-n^y wa:n^g
 go keep going! he went along he asked it what's it?
 n^guda-lhardharg, "jujuj!", ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: ni-yan=dhawiwa-n^y
 go king brown snake he went along he asked it

He kept going and asked a green tree snake. "Keep going!" it said, the green tree snake. He kept going and asked a black whip snake. "Keep going!" He kept going and asked, whatchamacallit, a king brown snake. "Keep going!" He went and asked it (file snake).

Note: Although the correct WARA class prefix is used in wu:=yama:-' (top line of this page), with 'green tree snake' as subject, it is not clear whether Dick has remembered the correct noun class three words earlier in the word 'he asked it', which appears to show 3MSg/NA_a- prefix. See comment to preceding segment.

2.5 wa:n^g, lhun^yin, "jujuj!", ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::
 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂
 what's it? file snake go! he went along
 ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y da-ji-ruj, alagala ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y niwa:-
 3MSg_a=emerge-Pa₁ Imm-Loc-Loc 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-
 he emerged farther on on the way he emerged he recog-
 -'-n^gun^yju=n^gun^yji-jga:-' o:-'ba-ni a-lha:l, niwa:-'n^gun^yju=
 -Ben-Rdp=same-Caus-Pa₂ ANA_p-Anaph-ANA ANA_p- (see above)
 nized it that country he recog-
 =n^gun^yji-jga:-' o:-'ba-ni a-lha:l, ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y, an-uba-ni:-'la
 nized it that country he emerged after that
 ni=lhid-i-n^y ni=n^gambi-n^y ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga
 3MSg/ANA(\emptyset)a=pierce-Pa₁ 3MSg_a=bathe-Pa₁ 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂
 he went through he bathed he went on and
 wa:n^g, alagala, n^gijan^g ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: alagala
 what's it? on the way more he went along on the way
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi adaba wa:-'r=lhagabunulg, ana:-gugu,
 he went along then ANA_a-water=dirty ANA_c-water
 water

Whatchamacallit, file snake. "Keep going!" He went and came out farther along the way; he recognized it (country). He came out, then dove in the water again. He went along and--. He went on, and came to some muddy water.

2.6 adaba warubaj, n^gar-uba-gi n^gara-majbarwar,
now near N^gARA_c-Anaph-Sg N^gARA_c-python
then (it is) near that python
adaba warubaj, n^gar-uba-gi n^gara-majbarwar n^gi=ya-n^ggi,
N^gARA_a=go-Pa₂
then near that python it went
ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, an-uba-ni--, amalibil ana-lha:l,
3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ ANA_c-Anaph-ANA (place n.) ANA_c-country
he went along that Amalibil country
n^gu=walarhi-jga-n^y, n^gara-majbarwar, amalibil,
3MSg/N^gARA_a=flip-Caus-Pa₁ N^gARA_c-python
he flipped it over python Amalibil
ana-lha:l wi:ya!
ANA_c-country finish!.

Then the python was getting closer. That python was nearby. It was going. He continued going. (At) that country, Amalibil, he flipped it over, that python. Amalibil, the place. That's all.

Comments on text 2

This is another version of the same text given as text 1; see comments at the end of that text for background. The present version is somewhat elliptical in comparison to text 1; for example, Dick does not discuss the magician's return to the original billabong and the retrieval of the two boys. Such omissions are not uncommon in texts given without prompting from an audience; narrators will often elaborate a text when pressed by spectators but this was usually not done in my recording sessions.

TEXT 3 EMU AND GECKO Milton (Gabanja)

3.1 yamin^yji, lhullhabala ni:-'n^ga-n^gu=buri-∅
(place n.) 3MSg_a-camp-Epen=sit-Pa₂
gecko lizard lhullhabala he was camping
lhullhabala, lhullhabala ba-ni ni:-'n^ga-n^gu=buri-∅,
Anaph-ANA (see above)
lhullhabala it is there he was camping
n^gi-ga n^gara-wa:yin, wan^gi:-'=gama-ji-∅ win^yig win^yig
FSg-Pron FSg-emu FSg/3Pl_a-Ben=steal-Pa₂ small child child
(as for) her emu she robbed them

wiri-n^yung, ni=warga-n-di-maga: ana-dhi:ndi
small-Sg 3MSg_a=throw-Aug-Pa₂-∅ ANA_c-cane grass spear
child he was throwing
wu-waya=wayama-n^gi-maga::: niwu-walwara=ra-ni
ANA_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂-∅ 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-shrub(?)=spear-Pa₂
it went along he threw it at the bush
niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni-maga::: 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂-∅
he was eating it
Gecko lizard. He was staying at the place Ihullhabala (also pronounced Lhulabala). He was camping there at Ihullhabala. As for Emu (his wife), she stole a child from them (the people). He (the boy) was throwing a little spear made from a kind of cane grass. He threw it at the bush (n^ga:lig) to knock down the berries. He was eating them.
3.2 "go!: baba::: rigao:::!", "go!:", n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
FSg-Pron-Contr
hey! father! mother! hey! as for her
n^gi-yama=yama:-' n^gi:-'da:=da-n^gi n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
3FSg_a-Rdp=do that-Pa₂ 3FSg_a-Rdp=shout-Pa₂ FSg-Anaph-Sg-Abs
she said she shouted that
wa:n^g wa:yin wa:yin, wu-gu-ni adaba yagu
3Nonsg-Pron-MDu now
whatchamacallit emu emu (as for) them two then but
yuwa:-gu wuna:='ru-n^y, wuna:='ru-n^y adaba
Dist-Loc 3Pl/3MSg_a=abandon-Pa₁ then
there they left him
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, wa:='ri ambunu=yang^ga-ni,
MSg-Anaph-Sg-Abs ANA_a=not 3Pl/3MSg_b=hear-Pa₂
that (boy) not they remembered him
(The boy called out) "Go!: Father! Mother!" As for her (Emu), she called out "Go!:" That whatchamacallit, Emu, was doing that. Those two (the parents of the boy) on the other hand had left him (the boy) behind there. They left him behind, they forgot about him.

Note: "Go:;" is a common shout used while hunting or traveling to let one's companions know where one is; the companions normally respond with the same shout. In this myth the boy's parents have gone on ahead by themselves and have neglected the boy, who is trying to reestablish voice contact with them. Emu realises this and will now impersonate his mother in order to steal (i.e. kidnap) him.

3.3 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi-maga::: guj!
3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂-∅ throw
he kept going (he) threw spear

ni=warga-n-di, "riga:::! babao:::!, go!:", n^gi-ga
 3MSg_a=throw-Aug-Pa₂ FSg-Pron
 he threw (it) mother! father! hey! (as for) her
 n^gar-uba-gi wa:yin n^guna:-'ga:-'=gada-n^gi,
 FSg-Anaph-Sg 3FSg/3MSg_a-Rdp-Ben=shout-Pa₂
 that (woman) emu she shouted to him
 ni-yama=yama::: -n^ga, niwu-walwara=ra-n^g,
 3MSg_a-Rdp=do that-Pa₂ (see 3.1) -Pa₁
 he was doing that and then he threw it at the bush
 ana-n^ga:_lig, niwu-walwara=ra-n^g guj!,
 ANA_c- throw
 bush with berries he threw it at the bush (he) threw spear
 ni=warga-n^g ana-dhi:ndi-miri an-uba-ni-yun^g,
 3MSg_a=throw-Pa₁ ANA_c-cane grass spear-Inst ANA_c-Anaph-ANA-Abs
 he threw (it) by means of cane grass spear that

He went along throwing the cane grass spear at the n^ga:_lig bushes. (He said,) "Mother! Father! Hey!" As for that Emu, she kept calling out to him. He was doing that. He threw the spear at a n^ga:_lig bush. He did that with a cane grass spear.

3.4 n^ga ya:-ji n^gi-man=burdi-∅ n^ga
 Prox-Loc 3FSg_a-∅=crouch-Pa₁
 and then here she bent down and then
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la-waj, niwu-walwara=ra-n^g
 Prox-Rdp-Loc-Centrip-Pergr (see 3.1) -Pa₁
 along this side he threw it at bush
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la-waj, adaba ba-gu niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni,
 (see above) Anaph-Loc 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂
 along this side then there he was eating it
 "riga:::! babao:::!, go!:", ba-gu-miri yagu, n^gi-ga
 Anaph-Loc-Inst FSg-Pron
 mother! father! hey! right there but (as for) her
 ba-gu n^gi=julubi-'n^y a-n^ga:_li-duj,
 Anaph-Loc 3FSg_a=put in-Refl-Pa₁ ANA_p-bush with berries-Loc
 there she jumped in (and hid) in the bush

a-n^ga:_lig niwu-walwara=ra-m-bugij ba-gu
 ANA_p-bush 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-shrub(?)=spear-Pa₁-only Anaph-Loc
 (in) the bush he threw spear at bush again there

n^gi=julubi-'n^y, ba-gu n^ga n^gi=burda-n^ga-n^y,
 (see above) 3FSg_a=crouch-Aug-Pa₁
 she jumped in (and hid) there and then she bent down

She bent down (to hide) here, on one side (of the bush). He threw the spear on this (other) side of the bush. He was eating it (and calling) "Mother! Father! Hey!" She jumped in and hid right there in (that same) bush. He threw the spear at it again. She jumped in and hid right there, there she bent down.

3.5 aba ya:-ji:-'la niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga,
 now Prox-Loc-Centrip 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂
 then along here he was eating it and then
 n^gijan^g wa-ga-ga:-'la ni=wilibilin^gi-n^y
 more Dist-Rdp-Loc-Centrip 3MSg_a=go around-Pa₁
 again other side he went around (circular motion)
 niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga, n^gijan^g an-uwa-ga-ga:-'la
 (see above) ANA_c-Dist-Rdp-Loc-Centrip
 he was eating it and then again other side
 ni=wilibilin^gi-n^y niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga, ba-gu-miri
 (see above) (see above) Anaph-Loc-Inst
 he went around he was eating it and then right there
 n^gunu=bilharga-n^y gudbij!
 3FSg/3MSg_a=grab-Pa₁ grab
 she grabbed him (she) grabbed (him)

He was eating (the berries) along here (on one side of the bush). Then he moved in a circular direction around the bush to the far side, eating (berries). He went around to the far side, eating. Right there she (Emu) grabbed him.

3.6 "n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj! ana:-'ni n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj!
 1Sg-Emph ANA_c-Prox-ANA
 (it's) me! this (it's) me!
 n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj! n^ga:-rigan-dhara-yun^g! n^ga:-rigan-dhara-yun^g!
 FSg-mother--your your mother your mother!
 n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj!, n^ga:-rigan-dhara-yun^g!
 (see above) (see above) (see above)
 (it's) me! your mother!
 ana:-'ni n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj! n^gaya-waj!", wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
 (see above) ANA-Pron-ANA-Contr
 this (it's) me as for it
 wu=mudadbi-n^y adaba ana-win^yig,
 ANA_a=be silent-Pa₁ now ANA_c-small
 it was quiet then child

(Emu said to the boy,) "It's me here! It's me! Your mother! It's me here!" As for it, the little one, it was silent then. Note: In the last two lines of this segment, the noun class for 'boy' is suddenly shifted to the ANA(∅) class instead of MSg (as in earlier segments). Since the ANA class is normally nonhuman, this practice (not uncommon when referring to babies) is analogous to the use of the pronoun 'it' in English referring to babies.

3.7 aba n^gi=wargu-ri-n^y ya:-nu:-'wuy,
 now 3FSg/ANA(∅)a=carry on back-Aug-Pa₁ Prox-ANA-Concrete-All
 then she carried it on her back this way

$n^g_i=wargu-ri-n^y$ $win^g_i-yan^g_ga=y-a-n^g_i:::$ aba na-yamin^yji
 (see above) 3FDu-Rdp=go-Pa₂ now MSg-
 she carried it on back they (two) went then gecko
 wun^gunu=lan^garma-n^y, "n^ga-mini=mugardhi-n^y", "way!
 3FDu/3MSg_a=reach-Pa₁ 1Sga-∅=be finder-Pa₁
 they (two) reached him I found it oh dear!
 ya:-ni yaga: yi-n^gu-da:rawa::: bara:-'=gama-ji-∅
 Prox-ANA truth-Epen-thief 2Sg/3Pl_a-Ben=steal-Pa₂
 (it is) here ∅ dishonest (thief) you robbed them
 bara:-'=gama-ji-∅ a:-da-nu:-'
 ANA-Imm-ANA-Concrete 3Nonsg-Pron-Pl-Oblique
 you robbed them that theirs
 wa:-da-wu:-', a-ji-ga-ruj nun^gga:='maji-∅
 WARA-Imm-WARA-Concrete Q-Loc-Q-Loc 2Sg/ANA(wu)_a-rob-Pa₂
 those (indefinite) where? (further on) you stole it
 ya:-ni yaga: yi-n^gu-da:rawa:::, ya!,
 Prox-ANA (see above) (not a real word)
 (it is) here ∅ dishonest ∅
 yi-n^gu-da:rawa::: yaga: ya:-ni",
 dishonest ∅ (it is) here

Then she carried it on her back and shoulder. The two of them went along. Then they caught up with Gecko (at the camp). (Emu told him,) "I found (this boy, so he is mine)." (Gecko answered,) "Oh dear! You lying thief! You stole (it) from them! It is theirs, (it belongs to) those (people). Where did you steal it? You dishonest thief!"

Note: The form $n^g_i=wargu-ri-n^y$ (top line, this page) involves the child as ANA(∅) direct object, while in the fifth line from the top of the page we get ANA(wu) object for the same child in $nun^g_ga:='maji-∅$. The combination of the Emu (FSg) and the child (ANA) is treated as FDu in two verb forms (lines 1 and 2 of this page) on the principle that a nonhuman entity plus a human entity constitutes a dual noun retaining the gender of the human entity. Here 'human' and 'nonhuman' must of course be understood in Nunggubuyu terms; Emu and Gecko are 'human' as personified totemic beings, while 'child' is depersonalised (and loses gender) as mentioned in the note to the previous segment. (When talking about a real emu or a real gecko we use N^gARA and NA nonhuman classes, respectively, which are similar but not identical to FSg and MSg. That Gecko as well as Emu is personalised here is shown, inter alia, by the prefix wun^g unu- in line 2, this page; here the object can only be 3MSg, cf. win^gini - when the object is changed to nonhuman NA class.)

3.8 "da-nu:-'wuy da-ju:-' ba=wayigi:-na
 Imm-ANA-Concrete-All Imm-Loc-Concrete 2Sgb=play-nonPa₂
 that way there play!

da-ju:-' n^ga:mba:='nma-n^g wa:n^g,
 (see above) 1InPl/WARA_b=hunt-honPa₁ there we will look for whatchamacallit
 wara-wa :n^g wara-wul_wul wul_wul wul_wul war-u-muwaj
 WARA_c- WARA_c- WARA_c- WARA-WARAder-name
 whatchamacallit tadpole tadpole named
 wul_wul".

tadpole
 (Gecko said to the child,) "Go play over there. We will all go looking for whatchamacallit, tadpoles, over there. They are called tadpoles."

(General comments on this text are given with the comments on text 5, below.)

TEXT 4 EMU AND GECKO (SEQUEL)

Dick (Da:bulug)

4.1 na-yamin^yji, na-yamin^yji n^gara-wa:yin,
 MSg- FSg-
 gecko emu
 n^gu=yami-jga-n^y, "wa:-da-wu:-'
 3MSg/3FSga=do that-Caus-Pa₁ WARA-Imm-WARA-Concrete
 he told her that (child)
 wu-gu-ra:-' bara-- , nun^ga:-'=gama-ji-∅, nun^ga:-'=
 WARA-Pron-WARA-Oblique 2Sg/3Pl- 2Sg/3FSga-Ben=steal-Pa₂
 theirs (false start) you robbed her you robbed
 =gama-ji-∅ wa:-da-wu:-' a-ji-ga bara=lan^garma-n^y,
 WARAS- ANA-Loc-which? 2Sg/WARA=reach-Pa₁
 her that where? you found it
 a-ji-ga bara=lan^garma-n^y, wa:-da-wu:-' wara-win^yig",
 (see above) (WARA_c-small (Sg))
 where? you found it that child
 ni=yama-n^y na-yamin^yji, ni-yama-n^y na-yamin^yji,
 3MSga=do that-Pa₁ MSg-
 he said gecko he said gecko
 Gecko told Emu, "That (child) is theirs. You stole it from them--from her. Where did you find that (child)? Where did you find it, that child?" Gecko said that.
 Notes: "Her" in "You stole it from them--from her" is presumably the child's true mother.
 The noun class for 'child' is initially WARA, which is morphologically similar but not identical to the human 3Pl class. The use of WARA here is another device to avoid explicit gender marking for the child; cf. the use of the ANA class in 3.6. Later in this text (below) we find the MSg marking.

4.2 "war-a:-wa n^gaya-wi n^ga=mungardhi-n^y
WARA-Prox-WARA 1Sg-Oblique 1Sg=be finder-Pa₁
this mine I found (it)
n^ga=mungardhi-n^y" n^gi=yama-n^y, n^gara-wa:yin, ni-ga
I found (it) she said 3FSga=do that-Pa₁ FSg- MSG-Pron
MSg- MSg-Pron-Contr 3MSga=do that-Pa₁ WARA-Imm-WARA-Concrete
gecko as for him he said that
bamba=lharga-n^g, yu:-gu-ni" ni=yama-n^y, ni=yama-n^y,
2Sg/WARA_b=send-nonPa₁ Dist--All (see above)
send it! to there he said he said
na-yamin^yji, "girjag!, war-a:-wa, n^gaya-wi" n^gi=yama-n^y
MSg- WARA-Prox-WARA 1Sg-Oblique 3FSga=do that-Pa₁
gecko no! this mine she said
n^gara-wa:yin,
FSg-
emu

Emu said, "This is mine! I found (it)!" But Gecko said, "Send that (child) back to them (the people)!" Gecko said that. Emu replied, "No! This (child) is mine!"

4.3 n^gara-wa:yin n^gi=yana-n^ggi adaba yu:-gu-ni, hunting,
FSg- 3FSga=go-Pa₂ now Dist--All
emu she went then to there hunting
n^gi=yana-n^ggi, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-yamin^yji n^gadugu, nima=ma:ndha-n^gi,
MSg-Pron-Contr MSg- 3MSg/MANA_a-make-Pa₂
she went as for him gecko rope he made it
n^gadugu, nima=wi-ni nima=ma:ndha-n^gi:::,
3MSg/MANA_a=hit-Pa₂ (see above)
rope he made it (rope) he made it
nima:-'ra=wurdhi-n^y, yin^gga ana:-'nu:-'wuy
3MSg/MANA_a-all=cover-Pa₁ ANA_c-Prox-ANA-Concrete-All
he covered it all nearly this way

n^gara-alir, six o'clock, nima:-'ra=wurdha-n^gi, mana-n^gadugu,
NGARA_c-sun (see above) MANA_c-rope
sun late afternoon he covered it all rope

(The next morning) Emu went that way, hunting. As for Gecko, he (stayed home and) made some rope (from bark fibre). He made it (properly). Then, when it was about to become late afternoon, with the sun along this way (speaker points to spot near western horizon) he buried the rope in the sand.

Note: The combination of =ya- 'to go' with juxtaposed English word 'hunting', is now rather common in the sense 'to go hunting'. The 'hunting' word is, in Nunggubuyu, best taken as a noun with adverbial functions.

4.4 adaba wuru=ya-y, yin^gga wu=lalma:-', yin^gga wu=lalma:-',
now 3Pla=sleep-Pa₂ ANA_a=dawn-Pa₂
then they slept nearly it dawned nearly it dawned
yin^gga n^gi=ya-n^ggi hunting, n^ga:-emu, ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=ya-n^ggi,
3FSga=go-Pa₂ FSg- MSG-Pron-Contr 3MSga=go-Pa₂
nearly she went hunting emu as for him he went
nima=ma:ndha-n^gi ni-ga:-'yun^g, nima=ma:ndha-n^gi:::,
3MSg/MANA_a=make-Pa₂ MSG-Pron-Contr 3MSg/MANA_a-Rdp=make-Pa₂
he made it as for him he was making it
yin^gga ana:-'nu:-'wuy six o'clock,
ANA_c-Prox-ANA-Concrete-All late afternoon
nima:-'ra=wurdha-n^gi,
(see 4.3)
he covered it all
They slept (i.e. one night passed). When it was about to dawn, she (Emu) went off hunting. Gecko went and made some more rope. He was making it, then when the sun was getting over toward this way (speaker points), in the late afternoon, he buried it again.

4.5 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, adaba nima=wi-ni, adaba
ANA_c-Anaph-ANA-Centrip-Abl now 3MSg/MANA_a=hit-Pa₂
after that then he made it (rope) then
nima=wi-ni, nima=rulundha-n^gi nima=wi-ni, nima=wi-ni,
(see above) 3MSg/MANA_a=roll-Pa₂ he made it (rope) he rolled it (English loanword) he made it
nima-wini=wi-ni::: n^ga ma=jarmayarmaj, ma=jarmayarmaj, yin^gga
-Rdp- MANA_a=long
he made it and it was long nearly
wuru=yi-n^ga-n^y, yin^gga wuru=yi-n^ga-n^y, yin^gga wu=lalma-n^y,
3Pla=sleep- 3Pla=sleep-Aug-Pa₁ ANA_a=dawn-Pa₁
they slept nearly they went to sleep nearly it dawned
n^gi=ya-n^ggi yamba n^gi-ga, adha:dhari wu=lalma=lalma:-',
3FSg=go-Pa₂ FSg-Pron behind ANA_a-Rdp=dawn-Pa₂
she went because (as for) her later it was dawning
After that (i.e. the next day) he made some more rope, he was rolling (the bark fibre, on his thigh). He made it, it was quite long then. They went to sleep. Just before dawn (he made it), because she (Emu) went away, before it dawned.

Note: The particle yin^gga 'nearly' can also add an element of suspense and excitement and this seems to be its function with 'she went' here and in 4.4. Forms like yin^gga wu=lalma-n^y 'it was about to dawn' in this segment (4.5) are the best Nunggubuyu counterparts to English (just before it dawned; the combination adha:dhari wu=lalma=lalma 'it was dawning behind (later)' is a sort of converse of this.

4.6 adaba n^gi-ga n^gi=ya-n^ggi n^gara-wa:yin, yin^gga
now FSg-Pron 3FSg_a=go-Pa₂ FSg-
then (as for) her she went emu nearly
n^gi-ga n^gi=ruma-n^y, ni-ga man-uba-ma-yun^g
3FSg_a=go-Pa₁ MSg-Pron MANA_c-Anaph-MANA-Abs
(as for) her she went (as for) him that
mana-n^gadugu, nu-marang^g=a-n^y nu:-'ba-gi na-yamin^yji
MANA_c-rope 3MSg/3MSg-hand=give-Pa₁ MSg-Anaph-Sg MSg-
rope he handed it to him that gecko
na-win^yi-n^yun^g, na-wiri-n^yun^g, nu-marang^g=a-n^y n^ga,
MSg-small-Sg MSg-small-Sg boy boy he handed it to him and then

Then she went (hunting), Emu. She was about to go. (When she had gone), he (Gecko) handed that rope to him. Gecko handed it to the boy. He handed it to him.

Note: In the last line of this segment we see two roots for 'small' (hence 'child'), winyig (cf. 3.1, 4.1) and wirig (cf. 3.1). The first of these is more emphatically diminutive than the other.

4.7 "bamba=lhan^garma-∅-maji: wara-wuruj, n^ga
2Sg/3Pl_b=reach-nonPa₁-if WARAc-human
if/when you reach them people (indefinite) and then
bama:-'ra:='ndarmi-jga-n^g an^ggu-mal=bulan^ybaj-gala
2Sg/MANA_b-all=shake-Caus-nonPa₁
shake it (rope)! when it will be three times
bama:-'ra:='ndarmi-jga-n^g, bama:='ndarmi-jga-n^g
shake it (rope)! shake it (rope)!

(Gecko said to the boy,) "If/when you reach the people, then shake the rope. Do it three times. Shake the rope."

4.8 n^gun^yju n^ga:-'yun^g n^ga=marbuy-yun^gguyun^g, n^ga=marbuy-yun^gguyun^g
similar 1Sg-Contr 1Sg_a=know-Purp
like as for me so I will know so I will know
n^ga:-'yun^g, aba an-uba-ni ba=rabala-n^g yamba
now ANA_c-Anaph-ANA 2Sg_b=go out-nonPa₁
as for me then that go out! because
bamba=na-n^g, nu-ga-wi-n^yin^yung wara-wuru-wuruj", wi:ya!
2Sg/3Pl_b=see-nonPa₁ 2Sg-Pron-Oblique-Gen Pl-Rdp-human
you will see them your people finish
"(Shake it) so I will know too. Then go out (of the rope),
because you see your people." That is all.

TEXT 5 EMU AND GECKO Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

5.1 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga,
3MSg_a=Rdp=go-Pa₂ he went and then
ni=warga-n^g, wu=ralthi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y niwu=lalaga-n^y,
3MSg_a=throw-Pa₁ ANA_a=land-Pa₁ 3MSg_a=run-Pa₁ 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-lift-Pa₁
he threw (it) it hit ground he ran over he lifted it
niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga,
3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂ he ate it and then

ni=lalagi-'n^y, "rigao! babao:::, go::: go:::",
3MSg_a=lift-Refl-Pa₁ he got up mother! father! hey! hey!

He (the boy) was going along. He threw (the cane grass spear). It came down to the ground (i.e. he knocked some n^ga:lig berries off their bush with the spear). He ran over and picked them up. He was eating them. Then he got up (to go). (He called out,) "Mother! Father! Hey!"

5.2 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ni=warga-n^g, ni=warga-n^g,
(see 5.1) (see 5.1)
he went he threw it
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ba-gu, ni=wali-n^y,
Anaph-Loc 3MSg_a=arrive-Pa₁
he went there he arrived
niwu=lalaga-n^y, niwu-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::
(see 5.1) 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=get-Pa₂ (see 5.1)
he lifted it he got it he ate it
n^ga:lig n^ga:lig, n^ga:lig ana:-'ni, n^ga:lig
bush with berries ANAc-Prox-ANA this
xxx, "baba! rigao! gao!" di-ni-ruj,
(unclear) Imm-MDu-Loc
father! mother! hey! they (two) were further on

He went along. He threw it again, and again. He went along until he arrived there. He picked it (berry) up. He was collecting and eating the n^ga:lig berries. This is n^ga:lig. (He called out,) "Father! Mother! Hey!" They (his parents) were further on.

5.3 ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y guj!
3MSg_a=run-Pa₁ throw
he ran (he) threw
ni=warga-n^g, ni=warga-n^g, wu=waya=wayama-n^gi wu=ralthi-n^y,
3MSg_a=throw-Pa₁ ANA_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ ANA_a=land-Pa₁
he threw (it) it went along it landed

ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi niwu-waran^ggi=mi-n^y,
 3MSg_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂ 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-spear=get-Pa₁
 he went he picked up the spear (shaft)

niwu=lalaga-n^y, ni=wardi-n^y
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=lift-Pa₁ 3MSg_a=scratch-Pa₁
 he lifted it he scratched its skin

niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ya:-ji-ji:-'la::: n^ga,
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂ Prox-Rdp-Loc-Centrip
 he ate it this side and then

niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ni=lalagi-'n^y, "riga:::n^g babao!, go:::!",
 3MSg_a=lift-Refl-Pa₁
 he ate it he got up mother! father! hey!

He darted along. He threw (the cane grass spear). It went along and hit the ground. He went and picked up the spear. He lifted the berries and scratched their skin (to remove the bristles). He ate them on this side (of the n^ga:lig bush). He ate them, then got up and called out, "Mother! Father! Hey!" (But) they were going along (near) there.

<u>5.4</u>	guj!	ni=warga-n ^g ,	ni=jarari-n ^y	ni=jarari-n ^y
	throw	3MSg _a =throw-Pa ₁	3MSg _a =go-Pa ₁	
	(he) threw (it)	he threw it	he went	

ni=jarari-n^y ni=jarari-n^y ni=jarari-n^y ni=jarari-n^y ni=jarari-n^y
(see above)
he went

ni=jarari-n^y, a-n^ga:li-duj, niwu=lalaga-n^y
(see above) ANA_p-bush with berries-Loc 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=lift-Pa₁
he went at the bush he lifted it

ya:-ji-ji:-'la niwu=lalaga-n^y, niwu=mi-n^y,
 (see 5.3) (see above) 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=get-Pa₁
 this side he lifted it he got if

niwu-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, "babababa:::
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=get-Pa₂ 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-Rdp=eat-Pa₂
 he was getting it he was eating it

rigans! go...!" she was going v v

ilgan : go!!!!, aba malan^{a-n'} anay ni := 'di-n^y, ni := 'di
now ♂-far 2Mg ill-^y

mother! hey! now far away then far away he shouted

n̥ar-ib-i-yun^g, *guj!* *ni=warga-n^g*,
 FSg-mother-3Poss throw 3MSG_a=throw-Pa₁
 his mother (he) threw (it) he threw (it)

ni-way-a=wayama-n ⁶ i 3MSga-Rdp=proceed-Pa ₂ he went along	ba-gu, Anaph-Loc there	wu=r <u>alhi-n</u> y ANA _a =land-Pa ₁ it hit ground
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— 1 — grande

He threw it. He moved around quickly. At the n^ga:lig bush he picked up (the spear or the berries), on this side. He was collecting and eating (the berries). "Father! Mother! Hey!" Far away (from them) he called out, he called out (to) his mother. He threw (the spear). He went along, (he was) there. It (the spear) landed.

5.5 n^ei=yabi-n^y n^gi=yabi-n^y n^gi=yabi-n^y n^gi=yabi-n^y
3FSga=run-Pa₁
she ran

n^gi=yarbi-n^y, *n^gi=julubi-'-n^y*, *n^gara-wa:yin*, *n^gara-wa:yin*
3FSga=put in-Refl-Pa₁ FSg-
she jumped in (and hid) emu

$n^g_i=julubi-$ '-n ^y , (see above)	$n^g_i=julubi-$ '-n ^y , ni=jarara-n ^g i-wugij 3MSga=go-Pa ₂ -only
she jumped in (and hid)	he was still moving

ni=jarara-n^gi ni=jarara-n^gi niwu=lalaga-n^y
he was moving 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=lift-Pa₁ he lifted it

ya:-ji-ji:-'la, niwu=lalaga-n^y, n^gijan^g ya:-ji-ji:-'la
 Prox-Rdp-Loc-Centrip (see above) more (see above)
 this side he lifted it again this side

niwu=lalaga-n^y,
(see above)
he lifted it

She (Emu) darted along. She jumped in (the bush and hid). Emu jumped in and hid. He (the boy) was still moving along. He picked it (spear or berries) up on this side (of the bush). Again he picked it up on this side.

5.6 "way! way! way! way! way! way! way!", "n^gaya-waj n^gaya-waj
oh! 1Sg-Emph (it's) me!

n^gaya-waj n^gaya-waj, n^gaya-waj ana:-'ni marig!,
ANA_c-Prox-ANA
this (my) son!

n^gaya-waj, *n^gaya-waj* *n^ga:-rigan^g* *n^ga:-rigan^g*, *n^gaya-waj*
 (it's) me! mother (it's) me!

ana:-'-ni n^ga:-rigan^g,
 ANA_c-Prox-ANA FSg-
 this mother

(The boy shouted,) "Oh dear!" (But Emu tried to reassure him, saying:) "It's me! It's me here, my son! It's me, (your) mother! It's me, mother!"

Note: *n̥ga:-rigan* is normally '(my/our) mother' with first person possessor, but can mean '(your) mother' when addressing a small child. Compare 3.6.

5.7 *n^gi=yarbi-n^y, n^gunu=bilharga-n^y, n^gunu=mi-n^y,*
3FSG_a=run-Pa₁ 3FSG/3MSG_a=grab-Pa₁ 3FSG/3MSG_a=get-Pa₁
she ran she grabbed him she got him

n^gunu=wargu-ri-n^y, adaba n^gi:='gi-n^y,
3FSG/3MSG_a=carry on back-Aug-Pa₁ now 3FSGa=return-Pa₁
she carried him on back and shoulders then she went back

n^gi:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga ba-gu, alagala
3FSG_a-Rdp-with=go-Pa₂ Anaph-Loc halfway
she went with (him) and then there on the way

n^gi:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi, ni-ga na-yamin^yji, na-yamin^yji
(see above) MSG-Pron MSG-
she went with (him) (as for) him gecko

ragij ni=buri-∅, ni=bura-n^ga-n^y,
3MSG_a=sit-Pa₂ 3MSG_a=sit-Aug-Pa₁
first (at place) he sat he sat down

She ran and seized him. She carried him on her back and shoulders. She went back (to her and Gecko's camp) with him then. There, at a place on the way back, she went with him. Gecko (Emu's husband) was sitting there first (i.e. before Emu). He (had) sat down.

5.8 "yay!, yagu nu-ga-wi, bara:-'=gamaji-∅ yagu
 2Sg-Pron-Oblique 2Sg/3Pl_a-Ben=steal-Pa₂ oh! but yours you robbed them but
 a:-da-nu:-' bara:-'=gamaji-∅, "ana:-'-ni
 ANA-Imm-ANA-Concrete (see above) ANA_c-Prox-ANA that you robbed them this
 n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung ana:-'-ni
 1Sg-Oblique-Gen (see above) mine mine this
 n^ga-mini=mugardhi-n^y, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung, na:-'-gi na-marig",
 1Sg_a-∅=be finder-Pa₁ MSG-Prox-Sg MSG-son I found (him) mine this (boy) (my) son

(Gecko said to Emu,) "Oh! You have stolen that (boy), you stole (him) from them (the people)!" (Emu replied,) "He is mine! I found him, he is mine! This boy, my son!"

Note: a:-da-nu:-' ('that') and ana:-'-ni ('this') may refer to the boy (with a switch to the nonhuman ANA class), but it is fairly likely that they refer to second and first persons, respectively. a:-da-nu:-' is often used in apposition to a second person pronoun, and ana:-'-ni is likewise used with a first person pronoun (cf. English 'you there'). Cf. 3.7 (a:-da-nu:-') and 5.6 (ana:-'-ni).

5.9 "girjag! girjag! bara:-'=gamaji-∅ bara:-'=gamaji-∅,
 (see 5.8)
 no! no! you robbed them

"girjag! n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung, jurg! jurg! jurg! jurg!
 1Sg-Oblique-Gen push
 no! mine (he) pushed (her)

wini=jurjurga-n^yji-n^y, gudbi:::j!, "girjag!
 3MDu_a=push-Recip-Pa₁ grab
 they shoved each other (he) grabbed (her) no!

n^gaya-wi wara:-'-wa", finish.
 1Sg-Oblique WARA-Prox-WARA
 mine this

(Gecko said,) "No! You stole (the boy) from them!" (Emu said,) "No! (He is) mine!" They started shoving each other. Gecko grabbed Emu. (Emu said,) "No! This (boy) is mine!" The end.

Notes: Note the shift of noun class for the boy from MSG to WARA in the last line here (cf. 4.1 and accompanying note).

Reuben stopped at this point. Since I knew there was more to this myth I then asked Reuben to continue it, and the remainder of text 5 is what he narrated as the sequel to the preceding.

5.10 n^gi=ruma-n^y, n^gi=ruma-n^y n^gamugijgaj, n^gara-wa:yin,
 3FSG_a=go-Pa₁ FSg-
 she went morning (early) emu
 a-marya-wuy ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=buri-∅,
 ANA_p-food-All MSG-Pron-Contr 3MSG_a=sit-Pa₂ to food as for him he sat
 wani-yara=nara-n^gi, na-ni-n^yara-yun^g, na-yamin^yji,
 3MSG/3Pl_a-all=watch for-Pa₂ MSG-MSG_{der}-father-3Poss MSG-
 he kept an eye out for them the father gecko
 he father na-ni-n^yara-yun^g, wani=nara-n^gi:::, (see above) 3MSG/3Pl_a=watch for-Pa₂
 he (was) the father the father he watched for them
 nuga, stone, niwu=rad-ba-n^g, mana-n^gadugu,
 3MSG/ANA(wu)a=tie-Aux-Pa₁ MANA_c-rope
 stone he tied it rope
 nima-lharga-n^g,
 3MSG/MANA_a=send-Pa₁ he sent it (lowered it)

Emu went to get some food the next morning. As for Gecko, the father, he waited for them, he stayed (at the camp). He stayed behind. He tied a stone to a section of rope, and sent it (lowered it toward the ground).

5.11 nima-lharga=lharga-n-di nima-lharga=lharga-n-di
 3MSG/MANA_a-Rdp=send-Aug-Pa₂ he was sending it (down)

nima-lharga=lharga-n-di nima-lharga=lharga-n-di
 (see above)
 he was sending it (down)

nima-lharga=lharga-n-di nima-lharga=lharga-n-di, aba
 (see above) now
 he was sending it (down) then
 Ø-aban=balga-n^y, ni=yama-n^y, "i!: all right",
 MANA/ANA_a-ground=smash-Pa₁ 3MSg_a=do that-Pa₁
 it (rope) hit the ground he said yes!
 nima='rgi-n^y na, nima='rga='rgi:-ni:::
 3MSg/MANA_a=pull-Pa₁ 3MSg/MANA_a-Rdp=pull-Pa₂
 he pulled it now (English) he kept pulling it
 n^ga, ma=wali-n^y, "all right, all right" aba ya:-ji,
 MANA_a=arrive-Pa₁ now Prox-Loc
 and then it arrived then here
all right aba ya:-ji,
 then here

Now he fed out the rope (downward). Finally the rope (and the stone) hit the ground below. He said, "Yes! All right!" He pulled it back up to him then, it came back. (He said,) "All right, here now."

5.12 nu=rad-ba-n^g nu=rad-ba-n^g, nu=lharga-n^g
 3MSg/3MSg_a=tie-Aux-Pa₁ 3MSg/3MSg_a=send-Pa₁
 he tied him he sent him
 na, nu=lharga-n^g, ni-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi
 now (English) he sent him he went
 nu-lharga=lharga-n-di nu-lharga=lharga-n-di
 3MSg/3MSg_a-Rdp=send-Aug-Pa₂ nu-lharga=lharga-n-di
 he kept sending him

nu-lharga=lharga-n-di nu-lharga=lharga-n-di nu-lharga=lharga-n-di
 (see above)
 he kept sending him

nu-lharga=lharga-n-di, nu-lharga=lharga-n-di nu-lharga=lharga-n-di
 (see above)
 he kept sending him

nu-lharga=lharga-n-di nu:-'ba-gi-yung n^ga,
 MSg-Anaph-Sg-Abs
 that (boy) and then
 niwa:-'ban=bann^ga-n^y, "yin^gga bawu=lan^garma-n^g
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a-ground=tread on-Pa₁ 2Sg/ANA(wu)b=reach-nonPa₁
 he stepped on the ground nearly you will reach it
 ana:-'ban, bama:='ndarmi-ga-n^g,
 ANA_c-ground 2Sg/MANA_b=shake-Caus-nonPa₁
 ground shake it!

He (Gecko) tied up (the boy). He let him down (with the rope). The boy reached the ground. (Gecko had told him:) "When you reach the ground, shake (the rope)!"

5.13 well, niwu=lan^garma-n^y ana:-'ban,
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=reach-Pa₁ ANA_c-ground
 he reached it ground
 nima:='ndarmi-ga-n^y, nima:='ndarmi-ga-n^y, "i!: all right",
 (prefix emended) yes!
 he shook it

nima=lhari-n^y nima=lhari-n^y he been let 'em go,
 3MSg/MANA_a=release-Pa₁ (English creole)
 he let it go he let it go
 nima='ru:-', nima=lharga-n^g,
 3MSg/MANA_a=abandon-Pa₂ 3MSg/MANA_a=send-Pa₁
 he abandoned it he sent it away

Well, he (the boy) reached the ground. He shook it (the rope). (He thought:) "Yes! All right!" He released the rope (i.e. untied himself). He abandoned it, he threw it away.

5.14 aba ni=rulmurdi-n^y, ni-waya=wayama-n^gi--,
 now 3MSg_a=run-Pa₁ 3MSg_a-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂
 then he ran he went along
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni-waya=wayama-n^gi wiyindang^gan^y,
 (see above) (place n.)
 he went along Wiyindang^gan^y
 wiyindang^gan^y, this one country, that one, wiyindang^gan^y,
 (creole)
 Wiyindang^gan^y this man's territory that man's Wiyindang^gan^y
 there ni=wali-n^y, ba-gu wara-wuruj wuru=buri-Ø,
 3MSg_a=arrive-Pa₁ Anaph-Loc WARAc-human WARA_a=sit-Pa₂
 he arrived there people they sat
 "wa:::y! ya:-gi:-'la n^ganu-gi=wa-n^g!
 Prox-Sg-Centrip 1Sg/3MSg_a-excrement=bite-Pa₁
 oh dear! here he comes! (expression of excitement)
 n^ganu-gi=wa-n^g! n^ganu-gi=wa-n^g!", his mother ba-gu
 Anaph-Loc
 there

wuru=buri-Ø wara-mij-bibi-yun^g,
 3Pl_a=sit-Pa₂ Pl-Pl-mother-3Poss
 they sat his mothers

Then he ran along (to) the place Wiyindang^gan^y, the territory of this man--that man. (A man of the Murungun clan was present at the recording; Wiyindang^gan^y is in Murungun country.) He arrived there. The people were sitting (living) there. (His mother said,) "Oh my goodness! Here he comes!" His mothers (Mo, MoSi, etc.) were there.

Note: Expressions with -gi=wa- 'to bite excrement' can be used to indicate great excitement, anxiety, etc.; "My goodness!" or "Excuse me!" are suitable translations in different contexts. They are rapidly spoken and often show phonetic distortions.

5.15 *n^gi-yama=yama:-'* *n^gi-bu=buri::-*^ø *n^gi-ga:-'yun^g*
 3FSga-Rdp=do that-Pa₂ 3FSga-Rdp=sit-Pa₂ FSg-Pron-Contr
 she was doing that she was sitting as for her
n^gi:='gi-n^y *adha:-'dharwara-wuy,* *n^gi=yaran^garan^gga:-'*
 3FSga=return-Pa₁ Rdp-late afternoon-All 3FSga=look around-Pa₂
 she returned late in the day she looked around
aba n^gi=yaran^gga-n^y *n^gi=yaran^gga-n^y* *n^gi=yaran^gga-n^y*, "yay!"
 now 3FSg=look-Pa₁
 then she looked
 oh!
yaga: a-ni-ga-wuy nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g", "xxx *wa:='ri*
 Q-ANA-Q-All MSg-Anaph-Sg-Abs (unclear) ANA_a=not
 ø to where? that (boy) not
n^ganu=na-ni, *n^ganu=na-ni wa:='ri", "ari* *nunu=lharga-n^g,*
 1Sg/3MSgb=see-Pa₂ I saw him I saw him not 2Sg/3MSga=send-Pa₁
 maybe you sent him
nunu=lharga-n^g, numba=maga-n^{g",}
 2Sg/1Sgb=tell-nonPa₁
 you sent him tell me!
 She (Emu) was doing that. She was sitting (at some place away from her and Gecko's camp). She went back (to the camp) late in the day. She looked around (and could not find the boy). (She said to Gecko,) "Oh! Where did that boy (go)?" (Gecko said,) "I haven't seen him." (Emu said,) "I wonder if you sent him away. Tell me!"
5.16 *ba-ni:-'la,* *wu=lalma-n^y,* *n^gi=lhamari-n^y,*
 Anaph-ANA-Centrip ANA_a=dawn-Pa₁ 3FSga=follow-Pa₁
 after that it dawned she followed
n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi::: *n^ga* *wiyindan^gan^y,* *wura:='ran^gga-n^y*
 3FSga-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ she went on (place n.) 3Pla=look-Pa₁
 and then Wiyindan^gan^y they looked
ya:-gi:-'la n^gi=wayama-n^gi, *n^gi=lhamara-n^gi,*
 Prox-Sg-Centrip 3FSga=proceed-Pa₂ (see above)
 here she comes! she kept going she followed
n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi, *"n^giri:-'dabali-n^y",* *yuwa:-ni*
 3FSga-Rdp=proceed-Pa₂ 2Pl/1Sgb-Ben-take out-nonPa₁ Dist-ANA
 she kept going take (him) out for me! it is there
wirin^ga-na-n^y *yuwa:-ni:-'li* *n^giwa:-'ban=bann^ga-n^y,*
 3Pl/3FSga=see-Pa₁ Dist-ANA-Centrif 3FSg/ANA(wu)a-ground=smash-Pa₁
 they saw her over there she hit the ground
 After that, it dawned (the next morning). She (Emu) went in pursuit (following the probable route of the boy). She kept going to the place Wiyindan^gan^y. They (the people) looked and saw her coming. She kept going after (the boy). (She told the people,) "Bring (the boy) out (from the camp) for me!" They saw her land on the ground some distance away from there.

5.17 *"n^giri:-'dabali-n^y* *n^giri:-'dabali-n^y,* *n^giri:-'dabali-n^y*
 2Pl/1Sgb-Ben=remove-nonPa₁ take (him) out for me!
n^gawa:='n^gga-n^gun-magi *ya:-ni:-'la* *n^gawa:='n^gga-*
 1Sg/ANA(wu)a=bring down-Evit-lest Prox-ANA-Centrif
 else I will bring down the sky here it comes else I will bring
 -n^gun-magi, *n^giri:-'dabali-n^y*, *n^giri:-'dabali-n^y*, *ala been put-'em*
 (creole) down the sky take (him) out for me! they put
 manba, *ala been put-'em* manba, *ala been put-'em* gari string, mabur,
 armband having string
mijburgulan, ja!, alabat been give it 'im now,
 (creole) string ornament (not a real word) they gave him to her then
wunu=ya-n^y-- wirin^ga=ya-n^y,
 3Pl/3MSga=give-Pa₁ 3Pl/3FSga=give-Pa₁
 they gave him they gave her
 (Emu said,) "Bring him out for me! Or else I will bring down the sky! Bring him out for me!" They put armbands on the boy. They used string, a string ornament (worn around the head and shoulders). Then they gave (the boy) to him--or rather, to her.
 Note: wunu=ya-n^y in the last line is an error with 3MSg object instead of correct 3FSg object (with 'to give' the object marked in the prefix complex is the semantic indirect object).

5.18 *aba n^gi:='gi-n^y,* *n^gi:-'n^yji:='gi-n^y* *lha*
 now 3FSga=return-Pa₁ 3FSga-with=return-Pa₁ (creole)
 then she went back she went back with (him) to
yamin^yji-wuy n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ygi::: *n^ga* *n^gunu=lhan^garma-n^y*
 gecko-All 3FSga-Rdp=go-Pa₂ to gecko she went 3FSg/3MSga=reach-Pa₁
 and then she reached him
ni=yaran^gga-n^y n^ga *da-gi:-'la* *n^gunu=widhi-ya-y,*
 3MSg₁=look-Pa₁ he looked Imm-Sg-Centrip 3FSg/3MSga=carry-Aug-Pa₂
 and then there she comes she carried him under arm
"ya:-ni yaga: da:rawa", wugalij,
 Prox-ANA (it is) here ø dishonest (thief) turtle or dugong
wugalij n^gi-yara=widhi-ya-y, *n^gi-yara=widhi-ya-y*
 3FSg/ANA(ø)a-all=carry-Aug-Pa₂ she carried lots of it under arm
da-ji, wugalij, *n^gi:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi* *ni=yaran^gga-n^y,*
 Imm-Loc there turtle or dugong 3FSga-Rdp-with=go-Pa₂ 3MSga=look-Pa₁
 she kept going with (it) he looked
ni=yaran^gga-n^y ya:-gi:-'la *n^gi-yara=widhi-ya-y,*
 3MSga=look-Pa₁ Prox-Sg-Centrip (see above)
 he looked here she comes she carried lots of it under arm

Then she went back with him (the boy) to Gecko (i.e. to the camp). She went along, and caught up with Gecko. He looked (and saw her) coming along, carrying him (the boy) under her arm. (He said to her,) "You thief!" She was (also) carrying dugong, lots of it, under her arm. She was going along with it. He looked (and saw her) coming with lots of it under her arm.

Note: The term *wugalij* is, technically, a suprageneric term covering dugong (sea cow) as well as marine turtles; however, it focuses on dugong and in this story Emu is carrying (sacred) dugong meat given to her by the people to be delivered to Gecko.

5.19 *n^gunu-ga-gari=yura-n^gi* *n^gunu-ga-gari=yura-n^gi*
 3FSg/3MSg_a-Rdp-behind=carry-Pa₁
 she came along with him

n^gar-ibi-yung^g *n^gar-uba-gi*, "ya:-ni" *yaga:*
 FSg-mother-3Poss FSg-Anaph-Sg Prox-ANA
 his mother that (it's) here Ø
da:rawa, ya:-ni yaga da:rawa", lhigidi, *he been tie 'em up*
 thief here Ø thief stringybark he tied it up
(creole)
niwu=waba:-', *yuwa:-ni* *n^gun'yju ya:-ni*,
 3MSg/ANA(wu)a=wrap-Pa₂ Dist-ANA similar Prox-ANA
 he wrapped (tied) it up it is there like it is here

She came along with him. That mother (Emu). (Gecko said,) "You thief!" He tied up some stringybark (bark of stringybark tree, *Eucalyptus tetradonta*) into a bundle (as a torch). It was about this long (speaker indicates two points representing the length of the stringybark torch).

5.20 *aba wini=wi-n^yji-n^y,* *aba n^gu-na-n^ga:-'*,
 now 3MDu_a=hit-Recip-Pa₁ 3MSg/3FSg_a=burn-Aug-Pa₂
 then they (two) had a fight then he burned her
n^gu-na-n^ga:-' *n^gu-na-n^ga:-'* *n^gar-uba-gi*
 3MSg/3FSg_a-Rdp=burn-Aug-Pa₂ (see above) FSg-Anaph-Sg
 he kept burning her he burned her that (woman)
n^gara-wa:yin, n^gu-wara=na-n^ga:-', *an-uba-ni*
 FSg- 3MSg/3FSg_a-all=burn-Aug-Pa₂ ANA_c-Anaph-ANA
 emu he burned her all over that
wini=wi-n^yji:-ni, aba na-a:n^g *wunu=walwalji-n^y*
 3MDu_a=hit-Recip-Pa₂ MSg- 3Pl/3MSg_a=fight over-Pa₁
 they fought then whatchamacallit they fought to get him
nu:-'ba-gi-wuy na-wiri-n^yun^g, *wini-win^yji=wi-n^yji:-ni:::*
 MSg-Anaph-Sg-All MSg-small-Sg 3MDu_a-Rdp=hit-Recip-Pa₂
 to/for that (boy) the boy they kept fighting
n^gu-wara:-'ra=na-n^ga:-' *n^ga, n^gu-wara:-'ra=na-n^ga:::-'*
 3MSg/3FSg_a-Rdp-all=burn-Aug-Pa₂ he burned her all over
 and then he burned her all over

wini:'ji-n^y, *adaba wi:ya!*.
 3MDu_a=cease-Pa₁ now
 they stopped (fighting) then finish

Then they (Emu and Gecko) had a fight. He (Gecko) burned her. He burned that Emu, he burned her all over. They were fighting over control of that little boy. They were fighting, he burned her all over. Then they stopped. The end.

Comments on texts 3-5

The narrative of Emu and Gecko (and the little boy), though not directly related to major ritual performances, is one of the best known myths among the Nunggubuyu and in many ways goes to the heart of Nunggubuyu culture. van der Leeden (1975) has given a provocative structural analysis of this myth and established connections between it and certain other thematically related Nunggubuyu myths, and serious students of Nunggubuyu mythology will find his article essential. He interprets the myth in terms of the structuring of the two Nunggubuyu moieties (Gecko and the boy in the Mandha:yung^g, Emu in the Yirija moiety); discusses the specific territorial 'tracks' covered in the myth (described only in outline in the present versions); analyses the apparent contradiction between Emu's horizontal movement and the vertical movement of the boy made possible by Gecko as transformations of a single inland-coastal axis; and discusses the phallic and uterine aspects of some of the symbols involved.

On one level, the myth is associated with male initiation (e.g. circumcision); as in real initiation rites, the boy is taken away from his normal domestic surroundings, undergoes dramatic experiences, and is eventually brought back in a new status. The present myth can thus be compared in part to other myths of this general type, such as the olive python myth (texts 1 and 2, above).

Emu is a very large, flightless bird similar to a cassowary or ostrich; it is by far the largest bird in the area and the only one which is totally without flight. Emus normally live in groups, and the possessive maternal propensities of this Emu are related to this. Emus are (or were until recently) hunted by stealth and camouflage.

The term *yamin^yji* 'gecko' covers a variety of gecko lizard species, mostly light-colored, around ten cm (four inches) long excluding the tail. At least one species of gecko is notable for its intrusions into human camps (and, nowadays, houses), and although it is quite harmless and inoffensive this intrusive feature is surely responsible in part for the awe with which it is held by Aboriginals in this area. It is also noteworthy that geckos are most noticeable at night or around dawn and sunset. Geckos are strongly associated with lightning; there is no noun other than *yamin^yji* for 'lightning'. The burning torch used by Gecko in this myth is relevant here (though it also may have phallic connotations, and Gecko's control of fire additionally suggests greater mastery of nature than Emu has).

The mention of tadpoles in 3.8 is unclear within the versions

presented here, but in van der Leeden's longer version it is made clear that prior to kidnapping the boy, Emu has made daily expeditions to hunt tadpoles; it is not difficult to make the connection between the tadpoles and the uninitiated little boy.

Another loose end is the dugong meat in 5.18. In van der Leeden's account, the people give Emu some sacred dugong meat along with some other, nonsacred meat, of which the sacred meat is designed to be delivered to Gecko while the nonsacred meat is for Emu. This relates to a formal ritual differentiation of various types of meat (including different 'cuts' of dugong).

Another rather long version of this myth is story #5 in Hughes (1969).

The exact meaning of the verb =an^gga- in 5.17, glossed 'to bring down the sky', is not fully clear to me. Certainly it is a threat of some drastic physical calamity but I am not sure just what is visualised. (Cf. 7.14.)

TEXT 6 EMU AND BROLGA Milton (Gabanja)

- 6.1 emu, wa:yin, wa:yin mari wa:n^g, wundardha,
 emu and whatchamacallit brolga
 win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi win^gima-walga=walga:-' ya:gun^y ya:gun^y
 3FDu_a-Rdp=go-Pa₂ 3FDu/MANA_a-Rdp=smash-Pa₂
 they (two) went they were smashing it sedge sp.
 ya:gun^y
 sedge sp.
- Emu and Brolga. They went along (together). They were smashing (roots of) a sedge sp. (*Scirpus litoralis*).
 Note: This sedge is found in brackish swamps near Numbulwar and elsewhere. Its roots are edible but must be pounded with a stone before eating. (For general comments on this myth see comments at the end of text 7.)
- 6.2 win^gima-walga=walga:-' n^ga n^gi-ga
 3FDu/MANA_a-Rdp=smash-Pa₂ FSg-Pron
 they were smashing it and then (as for) her
 n^ga:-'=gamaji-∅ n^gara-wa:yin, yu:-gu-ni
 3FSg/3FSg_a-Ben=steal-Pa₂ FSg-Dist-All
 she stole it from her emu to there
 yi:-gudargu-wuy, n^ga:-'=gamaji-∅ aba n^ga:-'=n^ga-n^g,
 NEARA_p-brolga-All (see above) now 3FSg/3FSg_a-Ben=eat-Pa₁
 to brolga she stole it from her then she ate it from her
 ana-nuga, n^ga:-'=n^ga-n^g, n^gi-ga n^gara-wa:yin-gala,
 ANA_c-stone (see above) FSg-Pron FSg-emu-Abl
 stone she ate it from her (as for) her from emu

They were smashing (pounding) them. Then Emu stole it (the stone) from her (Brolga). She stole it from Brolga.

Notes: The noun nuga 'stone' is usually in the MANA class; here it is in the ANA class and means specifically 'stone used as an implement'.

There is some difficulty in deciding whether the words for 'emu' and 'brolga' here are to be taken as FSg (humanised) or as in their usual nonhuman NEARA class. The prefix n^gara- can be either FSg or the continuous form of the NEARA prefix, and there is no difference in verbal concord between the two. In favor of the FSg interpretation is the occurrence of 3FDu forms in 6.1 and 6.2 (the nonhuman NEARA class does not normally have overt nonsingular forms). However, the form yi:-gudargu-wuy 'to (for) Brolga' in 6.2 is clearly a NEARA form (prefix yi:-).

Ablative 'from Emu' at the end of 6.2 represents the occasional use of the Abl suffix to explicitly mark subject, contrasting with the Allative 'to Brolga' marking the indirect object.

- 6.3 aba win^gi=wi-n^yji:-ni wun^ga:ri, wun^ga:ri
 now 3FDu_a=hit-Recip-Pa₂ fight (noun)
 then they fought fight
 win^gi=win^yji=wi-n^yji:-ni n^ga ya:-ji n^gu-dan=bagiwa-n^y
 (see above) Prox-Loc 3FSg/3FSg_a-guts=hit-Pa₁
 they fought then here she hit her in the guts
 ya:-ji n^gu-waraga=wagiwa-n^y, ama-rulbu-ruj, ama-rulbu-ruj,
 3FSg/3FSg_a-upper back=hit-Pa₁ MANA_p-back-Loc
 here she hit her in the upper back in the back
 aba wu-nuga=lhalhari-n^y an-uba-ni ana-nuga.
 ANA_a-stone=fall-Pa₁ ANA_c-Anaph-ANA ANA_c-stone
 then the stone dropped out that stone

They had a fight then. They were fighting. She (Brolga) hit her (Emu) in the guts, she hit her in the back, so the stone fell out.

Note: wun^ga:ri is a noun, used here in adverbial function as an adjunct to the verb =wi-n^yji- 'to fight'.

TEXT 7 EMU AND BROLGA Ma:di

- 7.1 adaba, a:n^g, win^gi=buri-∅, a-wararan^yin^y
 then whatchamacallit they (FDu) sat_c (place n.)
 n^ga *wu-gambara, yi:-wa:yin mari yi:-gudargu, n^ga
 and then head (of river) emu and brolga and then
 ba-ma-miri aba ba-ma-miri **win^gi=yajala-n^gi
 it is right there then it is right there they uprooted sedge_c
 mana-ya:gun^y ba-ma-miri, ba-ma-miri win^gi-yaja:='jala-n^gi:::,
 sedge sp. it is there they were uprooting them_c

Then they were living at the place Waran^yin^y, at the head (source, of a river). Emu and Brolga. Right there they were digging up roots of ya:gun^y (Scirpus litoralis, a sedge).

* -ambal with ANA_pder prefix ** -wajala-

- 7.2 n^ga girjag n^gi-ga, n^gi=mandagi-n^y
and then no! she she wanted more food_p
n^gara-n^gari-minigi-yun^g n^gara-gudargu, n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi:::
woman of mandha:yun^g moiety brolga she went along_c
wulmungur n^gima=ra-wa-n^g, ma=wura:yun^g, n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi
(place n.) she tried it_p they were small she went along_c
wuwandawanda n^gima=ra-wa-n^g, ma=wura:yun^g,
(place n.) she tried it_p they were small
n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga yuran^g, n^gima=ra-wa-n^g,
she went along_c and then (place n.) she tried it_p
n^gima=ra-wa-n^g n^ga *ama-n^gagara-yiriwu-yin^yun^g,
she tried it_p and then very big
mana-ya:gun^y, **ama-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g,
sedge sp. big (Pl)

But no! (i.e. that food was not good enough). She, Brolga, wanted more food, that person of the mandha:yun^g moiety. (Emu was in the yirija moiety.) She (Brolga) went along. She tried out (the sedges) at the place Wulmungur, but they were too small. She went along, and tried them out at Wuwandawanda, but they were (again) too small. She went along, then at the place Yurang she tried them out. They were nice and big, the sedges.

* MANA_p prefix ama- plus frozen compound (root -yiriwu-)
** MANA_p prefix ama- plus Pl form (irregular) of run^ggal 'big'.

- 7.3 n^gima=yala(n^gi) n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi::: n^ga,
she shook it off_c she dug up sedge_c and then
n^gima-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi::: n^ga, n^gima=ru-ba-n^g,
she cut it_c and then she cooked it_p
n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi::: n^gima-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi:::
she dug up sedge_c she cut it_c
n^gima=ru-ba-n^g, n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi adhuwayu-wugij yagu ana:-'ni,
she cooked it_p she dug up sedge_c short time only but this
n^gi:-'n^yji=:gi-n^y, n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi,
she went back with (sedges)_p she went along_c

She shook the mud off the roots. She dug up the sedges, cut them, and cooked them. She dug them up, cut them, and cooked them. She did that for a little while, then went back (to the camp) with the sedges.

- 7.4 *n^gima:-'n^yja=mamari-n^y muga n^gara:-'gi, n^gu=mamari-n^y,
she concealed the food_p indeed this (FSg) she hid her

n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga, n^gi=wali-n^y, i:::
she went along_c and then she arrived_p (meaningless)

n^gima-walga=walga:::-' n^gi-ga n^gima=walga:-' n^gi-ga
she smashed it_c she she smashed it_c she

n^gima=walga:-', **win^gi=nun^g-gu::::-'ba-ni
she smashed it_c they (FDu) were there for a long time

n^ga win^gi=buri-∅, n^gima-walga=walga:::-' n^ga,
and then they sat_c she smashed it_c and then

She (Brolga) hid the sedge food, she hid (it from) her (Emu). She went along and arrived (at the camp). She was pounding the roots (with the stone). Both of them were pounding the roots. They were there for a long time.

* -wan^yja- 'food' as compounding initial.

** nun^g-guba-ni, 'long-time', adjectival noun containing Gentilic nuN- and a modified form of o:-'ba-ni 'that' (ANA class, Anaphoric).

- 7.5 n^gijan^g n^ga am-uba-mi-yum-bugij ba-gu-wugij
again and then still that (MANA_p) still there

n^gi=yajala-n^gi *n^gara-n^gar-irija-yun^g, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
she dug up sedge_c woman of Yirija moiety as for her

n^gara-n^gari-minigi-yun^g am-uda-mi-yun^g-guy yuram-bugij
woman of Mandha:yun^g moiety to that (MANA_p) still at Yurang

n^gi=rulmurdi-n^y, n^ga yuran^g, n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi:::
she ran_p and then (place n.) she dug up sedge_c

Again, (at) those (sedges), still there, she (Emu) was digging up sedges, that Yirija woman (Emu). As for that Mandha:yun^g woman (Brolga), she ran back to those (sedges), at Yurang again. She dug up the sedges.

* FSg-FSg_p-der-(moiety name)-Sg. The following form n^gara-n^gari-minigi-yun^g has the same structure.

- 7.6 n^gima-man^ga=ma-n^gi:::, n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi::: n^ga, wurugu
she got it_c she dug up sedge_c and then later

wa:='ri *an^giw:i:='jan^ga-ni, n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi::: n^ga, wurugu
not she thought about it then later

wa:='ri an^gi=jingibaddha-n^gi an^giw:i:='jan^ga-ni, n^gi-yaja=:jala-n^gi
not she thought about (Eng.) she thought about it she dug up sedge_c
n^ga, adaba n^gima-walga:-' ragij-gaj,
and then then she smashed it_c first (at place)

She (Emu) was digging up sedges (at their camp). She collected them and dug them up. She did not think it over very much (i.e. did not plan well). She dug up the sedges. She was there first.

* from /an^giwu-i=jyan^ga-ni/. The stem=jingibaddha- in the following line is from creole English jingibad 'to think'.

7.7 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi:-'n^yji=wala-n^gi, n^gi-ma-walga=walga::-' as for her she arrived with_c she smashed it_c
 n^gi-ma-walga=walga::-' , n^gi-ga n^gara-gudargu, n^gi-ma-walga=walga::-' she smashed it_c she brolga she smashed it_c
 n^ga, n^ga n^gi-ga wu-nuga=mamalan^g, ana-nuga, and then she stone was good stone
 n^gara-n^gari-minigi-yun^g, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g ana:-'ni woman of Mandha:yun^g moiety as for her this (ANA)
 wu-nuga=ala:di n^gara-n^gar-irija-yun^g ana-nuga, stone was bad woman of Yirija moiety stone
 wu-nuga=lharundharum^g, n^gi-ma-walga:-'yin^yun^g, stone was rough which she was pounding (with)_c
 Brolga came back with (the sedges) and pounded them. She had a good stone, that woman of the Mandha:yun^g moiety (Brolga). As for her (Emu), this stone of hers was no good. The Yirija woman('s) stone. The stone she was using to pound the sedges was too rough (to be much good).

7.8 adaba "ari muga" *n^gi=yami-jga-n^yji:-ni n^gi-ga:-'j-baj, then maybe indeed she told herself_c by herself "n^gan^ga:-'=gamaja:-' n^gara:-'gi" n^gi=yama-n^y, I will steal from her_c this (FSg) she said_p "n^gan^ggu=n^ga-n^g" n^gi=yama-n^y, i::: I will eat it_p she said_p (meaningless)

n^gi-yaja:=jala-n^gi n^ga n^gi=malga-n^g, n^gi=malga-n^g she dug up sedges_c and then she did at night_p n^ga ana-yuran^g, n^gi-yaja:=jala-n^gi::: n^ga, adaba and then (place n.) she dug up sedges_c and then then n^gi-ga n^gi-ma-walga-n^y n^gi-ma-walga-n^y n^gi-ma-walga-n^y n^ga, she she smashed it_p and then

Then she (Emu) said to herself, "Why not? I will steal (the good stone) from this woman!" She said (to herself), "I will swallow it!" She (Brolga) continued to dig up sedges (every day). She got up and left very early (when it was still dark). She dug up sedges at the place Yuran^g. Then she pounded up some sedges.

* =yama- 'to do that; to say' plus Causative -jga- means 'to tell'; this is followed by Reciprocal -n^yji-, here in Reflexive sense.

7.9 n^gijan^g "wa:='ri n^ga:mbu=wala_lara-n^g, more not we are satisfied n^guru-marya=marya:di:-'wugij", n^gi=yama-n^y araga we are still hungry (always) she said_p suddenly an-uba-ni:-'la ana-nuga n^ga:-'mi-n^y mari n^ga, after that stone she took from her_p and and then

jan^ggaw! n^giwu=mi-n^y, mari gab! n^giwu=n^ga-n^g, ya:-nu:-'wuy grab she got it_p and gulp she ate it_p this way adaba n^giwu=n^ga-n^g am! n^giwu=n^ga-n^g adaba ya:-ji wu=buri-Ø, then she ate it eat she ate it_p then here it sat_c ya:-ji wu-nuga-n^gu=buri-Ø ana-nuga, ama-gulmun-duj, here stone sat_c stone in the belly

(Emu went on) more, "We are not satisfied (from hunger). We are still hungry, all the time!" She said that. Suddenly then she took the (good) stone from her (Brolga). She (Emu) grabbed it and swallowed it, this way (into her belly). She swallowed it so that it, the stone, was sitting in her belly.

7.10 adaba, aba wa:='muluguguri-n^y adaba then then it became twilight_p then *n^gi=yadhalaliga:-'wugij n^gi=buri-Ø, n^gi-yama=yama:-' n^ga she was still oblivious_c she sat_c she did that_c and then n^gi=yaran^ggaran^gga:-' yuwa-ga:-'la **n^gi=badawarawi:-ni she looked around_c from there she scanned the horizon_c n^gi=yaran^ggaran^gga:-', n^gi=yaran^ggaran^gga:-' n^ga she looked around_c she looked around_c and then an-uwa-ga:-'la n^gi=badawarawi:-ni n^ga, wa:='ri from there she scanned horizon_c and then it was absent n^gijan^g ana-nuga, more stone

Then it got dark out. She (Brolga) was unaware of what had happened. She was doing this, looking around (for the stone). Over there she looked, and over there, scanning the entire horizon. But the stone was not there any more.

* =wadhalaliga- with /w/ → y (as also with =waran^ggaran^gga-). ** =badawarawi- a frozen compound with -baG- 'eye' and reduplication of =ra-wu- 'test, taste' in Refl form =ra-wi'-'. Ma:di tended to drop the w between two a-vowels and to reduce it to y before i-vowel, hence something like n^gi=badaa^grayi:-ni.

7.11 "yan^gu-n^yun^g, yan^gu-n^yun^g, yu:ga yan^gu-n^yun^g wara-da-wa who? Q who? those (indef.)

*n^gambi:-'n^gu=juluba-n^y yu:ga wa:-da-wa yan^gu-n^yun^g", they hid (it) from me_p Q those who?

**n^giwu-waraga=raga-n^g yuwa:-gu n^gi=rulmurdi-n^y yuwa:-gu she looked around for it_p there she ran_p there n^gi=rulmurdi-n^y "yaga: yan^gi-n^yun^g n^gambi:-'n^gu=juluba-n^y she ran_p Q who? they hid (it) from me_p yan^gi-n^yun^g an-uba-ni ana-nuga yan^gi-n^yun^g n^gambi:-'n^gu=juluba-n^y, who? that stone who? they hid (it) from me_p

*n^gi=yama:-', n^ga-ra-gudargu
she said_c brolga*

(Brolga said,) "I wonder who hid it (the stone) from me?" She looked all over for it. She ran there, and there. "Well, who hid that stone from me?"

* /n^gambi-aG=juluba-n^y/ 3Pl/1Sg_a-Ben=put in (hide)-Pa₁ with Epenthetic -n^gu- automatically inserted.

** =waraga=ragu- 'look all over for' may involve a reduplication of =ragu- (if so, -wa- is segmentable).

7.12 *n^gi-ga *n^gi=lha-y_x, "ari nu-ga-waj numba:-'=gamaji-∅*
she she stood_c maybe it is you! you stole from me_c
nu-ga-waj nun^ggu=juluba-n^y, n^gu=yami-jga:-'
it is you! you put it in (hid it)_p she told her_c

yi:-wa:yin-guy yu:gu-ni, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g "yij-gubulu true",
to emu to there as for her truth

n^gi=yama-n^y n^gi-ga:-'yun^g "yij-gubulu true", an-uba-ni-yun^g
she said_p as for her truth that (ANA)

aba n^giwu=n^ga-n^g, ya:-ji adaba wu=buri-∅ ama=gulmun-duj,
then she ate it_p here then it sat_c in the belly

She (Brolga) stood up (and said,) "I wonder if it was you (Emu) who stole it and hid it from me?" She said that to Emu. As for her (Emu), she said "That is true." Then she swallowed it, so that it was sitting in her belly here.

* This word is not clearly audible and I do not guarantee that I have correctly identified it.

7.13 *n^gi-yama=yama:-' ying^gga n^giwu=mi-n^y ana-ran^gag n^giwu=mi-n^y*
she did that_c nearly she got it_p wood she got it_p
*ying^gga *an^ga:-'mbal=wadja-n^gi adaba ya:-ji*
nearly she was going to hit her on the head then here
an^ga:-'mbal=wadja-n^gi,
(as above)

She was doing that. Then she (Brolga) picked up a stick. She was just about to hit her (Emu) here, on the head. She was about to hit her.

* /an^gu-ambal=wadja-n^gi/ containing =wadja- 'to hit' (used in place of =wu- after a compounding initial), -ambal- 'head' as compounding initial, Pa₂-n^gi and 3FSg/3FSg_b prefix. The form is past potential ('would have', 'was about to', etc.), hence the b form of the prefix.

7.14 *adaba "yagi! yagi! yagi! yagi!", numba:-'mbal=wadji-∅*
then don't! you hit me on head
numba:-'mbal=wadji-∅ yagi! yagi! yagi! yagi! yagi!,
you hit me on head don't!

n^gawa:='n^gga-n^gun-magi, n^gawa:='n^gga-n^gun-magi a:-'ni:-'la a-n^gubunun^g
lest I bring down sky this coming cloud

n^gawa:='n^gga-n^gun-magi n^gawa:='n^gga-n^gun-magi, n^gawa:-'=gada-n^gan-magi,
lest I shout to it

"ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y" n^ga=yama-n^gun, n^gawa:-'=gada-n^gan-magi,
come! p lest I do that lest I shout to it

**n^gara-manda=gala:di-ya-n^gun-magi wara-wuruj", n^gi=yama-n^y,*
lest I destroy them all people she did that

Then (Emu said,) "Don't hit me on the head! Don't hit me! Or else I will bring down (the clouds and sky)! I will call them! I will say, 'Come here!' I will call them down! I will destroy all the people!" She said that.

* 1Sg/3Pl_a-group=bad-Factitive(cause to be)-Evitative-lest with =ala:di- 'bad' and Factitive -wa-.

7.15 *"ya:-ji ya:-ji ya:-ji numba-rulbu=wadja-n^g, ya:-ji ama-rulbu-ruj*
here hit me on back!_p here at back

ya:-ji ya:-ji numba-rulbu=wadja-n^g", jajajaja! mari n^gi=wudhi-n^y,
here (sound) and she hit it_p

ya:-ji:-'li n^gi-rulbu=wadji-n^y, daj! mari n^ga an-uba-ni-yum^g ana-nuga
from here she hit it on back_p hit and then that stone
an-u-gu-ni an-uba-ni-yum^g n^gi=warga-n^g mari n^ga baj! wu=garaji-n^y n^ga
to there that she threw_p and then jump it jumped_p then
yuwa:-ni wu=murgulhi-∅ ana-nuga, n^giwu=n^ga-n^y-jin^yun^g
it's there it lay_c stone which she ate_p

(Emu told Brolga), "Hit me here, on the back (not on the head)!" Jajajaja! (sound of Brolga hitting Emu). She (Brolga) hit her (Emu) here, on the back. She (Emu) then threw out (i.e. coughed up) that stone, it jumped out. It was lying over there, the stone which she (Emu) had swallowed.

Note: We find oscillation in this text, as in others (such as text 6), between FSg and (nonhuman) N^gARA as the noun class for Emu or Brolga as mythical beings. In many morphological contexts FSg and N^gARA are indistinguishable anyway, so transitions are easy. Prefix n^gi- in transitive verbs, twice in line 2 of this segment, clearly has N^gARA (not FSg) object, though the subject could be either FSg or N^gARA; contrast this with n^ga:-'=mi-n^y 'she took it from her' in 7.9, where the pronominal prefix must be /n^gu-/ instead of /n^gi-/ and thus specifies the object as 3FSg. In the nouns themselves, prefix yi:- can only be N^gARA (see 7.12, 7.18), but we sometimes find prefix n^gara- with overt case suffix present--a characteristic of 3FSg, uncommon but attested with N^gARA (see 7.16, 7.18, etc.). We find a tendency, but no more than that, for the nonhuman forms to occur toward the end of the text, where Emu and Brolga are undergoing transformations converting them from humanoid beings into their presently observed forms as large birds.

7.16 an-uba-ni-yun^g adaba n^gi=yama-n^y, adaba n^gara-wa:yin-jin^yung
 that then she said_p then of emu
 *n^ganu=maga-na ana-story na:-'gi n^gara-wa:yin-jin^yung,
 I will tell him_c story this (man) of emu
 "yulwulun^g guybulun^g gu:::y n^gamban^ggu=wadja=wadji-wu-ma-na:::,
 scrub it will hit me_c
 a::: n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: madin^yja:::r yulubu:::n,
 (meaningless) I will go_c scrub trees scrub
 n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: a-wuru-wurugu::: n^gan^ggu=milga-na:::
 I will go_c billabongs I will do it to them all_c
 abalamiyamiya::: n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: n^gamban^ggu=wuri=j=badji:::-'
 plains I will go_c it will hit me in the chest
 That is what she (Emu) said. I will tell him (Heath) the words
 of Emu (which followed): "The Scrub will injure me! I will
 go through various scrub trees. I will go to all of the
 billabongs, and the plains! The scrub trees will hit me in the
 chest!

Note: Emu's description of the behavior she has doomed herself to is expressed in highly poetic language involving unusually long and complex words (see 'it will hit me_c' in line 3 of this segment) and some nominal epithets normally limited to song language (e.g. yulubun, yulwulun^g guybulun^g guy). This material is recited by Ma:di in a song-like register, though so far as I know it is not in the normal repertoire of Nunggubuyu songs. This register continues in the segments below and applies to Brolga as well as Emu.

* The prefix n^ganu- is an emendation; on the tape it sounds like n^gan^gu- (3MSg/3FSg) but this would appear to be in error. The 'him' object is the linguist.

7.17 n^gan^y=ja:-ri::: n^gand=a:gi:-na, a:::
 I will go_c I will return_c (meaningless)
 n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: n^gan^ggu=milga-na::: a:::
 I will go_c I will do it to them all_c
 n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: ana-wuru-wurugu n^gan-daba=rabali:::-'',
 I will go_c billabongs I will go out_c
 n^gi=yama:-', n^gi-ga n^gara-wa:yin, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj,
 she said_p she emu all that
 ana-lha:wu n^gi-ga-wi-n^yin^yung,
 word(s) hers

(Emu continued,) "I will go out and come back! I will go to all the billabongs! I will (then) go out from them!" Emu said all that, those were her words.

7.18 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g, n^gara-gudargu-yin^yung n^gijan^g adaba
 as for her of brolga more then

n^gan^y=jambi:-na, yi:-gudargu-yin^yung, "a:::
 I will speak_c of brolga (meaningless)
 *wugu:-'ganda:::r wulu:-'-lami::: wuju:-'jaln^gan
 paperbark trees rivers(?) small creeks
 **n^gan^ggu-ra=ra:-'na::: a::: n^gan^ggu-n^gurbu-n^gurbulwa-na:::
 I will sing loudly at it_c I will sing loudly at it_c (?)
 ***n^ga-rin^yji-rin^y=jaljali:-' n^gambambi-la=lalaga-na:::
 I will be far away_c they will get me up_c

I will go on and speak about Brolga. (She said,) "I will sing out loudly at the paperbark trees, the rivers and creeks! I will stay far away (from the people). They will make me go up (into the air)!

Note: The exact meaning of some of the words is unclear, hence the queries with some interlinear glosses.

- * This and the following two items are of the form Rdp-ANA_{der}-(stem). Reduplication of nouns formed with a derivational noun-class prefix is rare in ordinary speech, hence this construction is a special one used in this register.
- ** Apparently a reduplication of =ra- 'to shout at, to swear at', but here implying song.
- *** The root is =yaljala-, otherwise unattested but clearly related to =yala- 'to be far away'. The derivational prefix -rin^y- is a specific feature of Brolga's speech and is otherwise unattested; cf. occurrences in 7.19.

7.19 a::: n^ga-rin^ygi-rin^y=gurami:-'na:::, a:::
 (meaningless) I will fly around_c
 n^gan^g-guru=wurami:-'na:::, a::: n^gan^g-gara:-'ragara=lha-ra
 I will go around_c I will stand always_c
 n^ga-lumbu=lumburugali:::-', ama-lala:::
 I will peck in ground_c (?) herb species with edible roots
 ama-munYugu::: *n^gama-nin^ygi-nin^y-ga=gardi:::-'
 (similar to preceding) I will poke around in ground for them_c
 i::: n^gan^ggu=milga-na::: an-ju:-'jaln^ga:::n,
 (meaningless) I will do it to them all_c small creeks (see 7.18)
 an-ulu:-'lami:::, an-ugu:-'ganda:::r, ana-wuru-wurugu:::
 rivers(?) paperbark trees billabongs
 n^ga-a-rin-daba=rabali:::,
 I will go out_c
 (Brolga continued,) "I will fly around in circles; I will stand up; I will peck in the ground to get the root nuts of lala and munYugu herbs; I will poke (with my long bill) in the ground for them! I will do that in all the creeks and rivers, around the paperbark tree swamps, in all the billabongs!
 I will go out from them!

* For expected n^gama-nin^ygi-nin^y=gardi:::-' involving a

reduplication of -nin^y=garda- from root / =warda-/. Ma:di has added an additional reduplication within the root itself, hence -nin^y-ga=garda- (and, with the regular reduplication, -nin^ygi-nin^y-ga=garda-). This internal reduplication is not regular, and in any event it should produce the form -nin^y-ga=warda- (instead of -nin^y-ga=garda-) since the intervocalic /w/ has no reason to harden to g. In other words, we have a kind of surface reduplication which goes against the normal rules of Nunggubuyu phonology, but in an interesting way!

- 7.20 n^gan^y-jama=yama-na n^gan^ggu=milga-na::: a:::
I will do it_c I will do it to them all_c (meaningless)
- n^gambambi-yan^yja-yan^y=jan^ga-yi::: n^gambambi-la=lala_caga-na:::
they will hear my voice_c they will make me go up_c
- n^gambambi-n^gujbu=n^gujbi:-na:::, a::: n^gan^g-guru=wurami:-'na
they will frighten me away_c I will go around_c
- n^gan^y-jama=yama-na an-ugu:-'gandar n^gan^ggu=milga-na, an-ugu:-'gandar
I will do that_c paperbark trees I'll do it to all_c
- an-ruju:-'jaln^ga:::n, an-ul^gu:-'lami::: n^gan^ggu=milga-na::: ama-lala:::
small creeks rivers (?) plant sp.
- ama-mun^yugu::: ama-wiriyalal n^ga-lumbu=lumberugali:-' ",
herb species herb species I will peck in ground_c (?)
- n^gi=yama:-' n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-gudargu ana-story
she said_c as for her brolga words
- da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj,
all that
- (Brolga continued,) "I will do that to them all! They (the people) will hear my voice! They will make me go up, they will frighten me away! I will go around in circles! I will do that! I will go to the paperbark trees, the creeks and rivers! I will peck in the ground for roots of lala, munyugu, and wiriyalal!" Brolga said all of those words.

- 7.21 wara-min^y-n^gambara-yin^yun^g nambi-maga=maga:-' nu-ru,
of the elders they told us_c we (ExPl)
- ya:-ni n^gaya-waj n^ga=yambi:-na, n^ga-yan^y=jabi:-'na mari
it is here it is me I speak my voice goes in and
- wurugu muji ji, ni-ga-waj, n^ga-yan^y=jabi:-'na ana:-'ni
later (man's n.) it is him my voice goes in this (ANA)
- wubuy-miri, n^ganu=maga-na mari ana-English-gala,
in Nunggubuyu language I tell him and in ('from') English
- muji ji aniwu=r alga-ya-n^g ni-ga-waj ani=magi:-'na mari
(man's n.) he will open it_p it is him he will tell story_c and
- muji ji, English-gala aniwia='rari:-'yin^yun^g anu=maga-na.
in English he who will write it_c he will tell him_c

(This story) was of the elders (now dead). They told us. Now here I am, speaking. My voice goes in (to the tape recorder). And later Muji ji (a Nunggubuyu man who worked with Heath as a translator), he (will translate). My voice goes in, in the Nunggubuyu language. I tell him the story, and Muji will translate ('open') it. It is he who will narrate it, he will tell it to the man who will write it down in English.

Comments on texts 6 and 7

The myth of Emu and Brolga is rather straightforward dramatically. Both are initially depicted as women engaged in pounding and grinding up the large, edible roots of the sedge Scirpus litoralis, which grows in brackish swamps. Around the end of the dry season, by which time the water level is reasonably low and the roots have grown in size, these are harvested and prepared for eating by the Nunggubuyu. Brolga is more adept at this than Emu; she travels around looking for the best gathering locations while Emu stays close to the camp, and she has a grinding stone which is superior to Emu's. Emu's jealousy builds up, and suddenly she steals Brolga's stone. This impetuous and greedy act is in keeping with Emu's character, as revealed also in the myth of Emu and Gecko (texts 3-5).

Indeed, as van der Leeden notes (1975), this myth shares some structural features with the Emu and Gecko myth and can be regarded as a transformation (and simplification) of it, with Brolga taking over the roles of Gecko and the little boy. My one quarrel with van der Leeden's presentation of the Emu and Brolga myth is his misidentification of ya:guny as 'pandanus' instead of Scirpus litoralis. The word for pandanus is maguj, which sounds somewhat like ya:guny. The confusion is easy to understand, but the transcription and gloss are given correctly by Hughes. Nunggubuyu would not confuse them. Pandanus roots would make no cultural sense in this myth since the Nunggubuyu have never made ethnobotanical use of pandanus roots; on the other hand, Scirpus is in fact harvested as indicated.

Another version of this myth is given in Hughes (1969), story #14. See also Berndt and Berndt (1965:333-4) and refs. there.

Brolga is a large bird species which characteristically soars in circles high in the sky, creating an unforgettable visual spectacle. By using its bill it uproots various sedges and other herbs at the edge of billabongs, presumably including Scirpus (but of course not pandanus). It is the subject of the major public song cycle of the Ngalmi (Nun^ggaran^gsari) clan of the Mandha:yun^g moiety. For comments on Emu see comments at the end of text 5.

TEXT 8 GECKO AND DEVIL Dick (Da:bulug)

- 8.1 yamin^yji, ana-lha:l amin^yjama, ana-lha:l, an-uba-ni,
gecko country (place n.) country that

na-yamin^yji niwu=riba:-', waragu, ana-badirin^ya wu=ya-n^ggi,
 gecko he sharpened it_c axe devil it went_c
 yuwa-ga:-'la, yi:-warwar-wala, ana-badirin^ya wu=ya-n^ggi,
 from there from stringybark scrub devil it went_c
 yi:-warwar-wala, niwu=riba:-',
 from stringybark scrub he sharpened it_c

Gecko. (At) that place, Amin^yjama. Gecko was sharpening his axe. A 'devil' (ghost) went along, from the stringybark scrub.

Note: warwar is a kind of thick scrub formed by closely packed, stunted stringybark trees (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*), characteristic of the inland estate of the Numamudidi clan. This area is supposed to be dangerous and full of 'devils' (badirin^ya), who are the ghosts of dead people (but unlike our ghosts are corporeal). It would probably have been better to use the term badang^u instead of waragu for 'axe' since waragu tends to refer to modern metal axes instead of old-fashioned stone axes (which of course are involved in this myth), but the two terms are often interchanged.

8.2 n^ga *nin^gga:-'-dhud=jan^ga-n^g an-uba-ni-yun^g, ana-waragu,
 and so it heard his loud sound_p that axe
 an-uba-ni-yun^g, nin^gga:-'-dhud=jan^ga-n^g ana-waragu, ni=yarbi-n^y,
 that (see above) axe he ran_p
 na-a:mun^y, nu=walga-n^y, na-yamin^yji, na-yamin^yji
 fly he smashed him (fly)_p gecko gecko
 **na-ni-muwa-jun^g yamin^yji,
 named gecko

It (the devil) heard him (Gecko) making a loud sound (sharpening the axe). It heard him making a loud sound sharpening the axe. Fly ran along (and buzzed around Gecko). He (Gecko) smashed him. Gecko, that is his name.

* /nin^ggu-aG-lhud=yan^ga-n^g/
 ** /na-niG-muwaj-yun^g/ with MS_{der} prefix -niG-

8.3 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, warubaj aba wu=ya-n^ggi, ana-badirin^ya
 after that nearby then it went_c devil
 wu=ya-n^ggi warubaj, ni=yama:-' ni=n^gurni-n^y, warubaj
 it went_c nearby he did that_c he looked back_p nearby
 wu=ya-n^ggi ana-badirin^ya, yin^gga ana-warubaj wu=ya-n^ggi, aba
 it went_c devil nearly nearby it went_c then
 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=mindhi-n^y, na-yamin^yji, mari ni=wa-n^g,
 that (MS_g) he flashed_p gecko and he killed it_p
 After that, the devil came close (attracted by the stench of the smashed insect). He (Gecko) did this, he looked back over his shoulder. It (devil) was going along not far away. It was coming very close. Then that Gecko flashed (lightning) and killed it.

8.4 wu=n^gawi-'-n^y n^gijan^g wu=lalagi-'-n^y, ni=ga aba na-yamin^yji,
 it died_p more it got up he then gecko
 ni=wuwalga-n^y, yu:-gu-ni, ni=wuwalga-n^y alil an-uba-ni
 he ran_p to there he ran_p (place n.) that
 ana-lha:l, alil, ana-lha:l, ba-gu ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, ni=rarara-n^gi,
 country there he sat_p he waited for it_c
 ana-badirin^ya,
 devil

It (devil) died, then got up again. Then he, Gecko, rushed that way, to the place Alil. There he sat (stopped), and waited for it, the devil.

8.5 yin^gga ana-warubaj wu=ya-n^ggi, ni=wa-n^g, n^gijan^g,
 nearly nearby it went_c he killed it_p more
 ana-badirin^ya, an-uba-ni:-'la ni=wa-n^g wu=n^gawi-'-n^y,
 devil that he killed it_p it died_p
 ni=wuwalga-n^y n^gijan^g, ni=wuwalga-n^y, ana-lha:l, ba-ni-yun^g
 he ran_p more country it is there
 ana-lha:l, niwu=wurdha-n^gi, marin, niwu=wurdha-n^gi marin,
 country he buried it_c pandanus basket he buried it_c

It was coming very close. He (Gecko) killed it again. After that he killed the devil and it died. He ran along again, to that country (name forgotten). He covered up a pandanus basket in the sand.

8.6 niwa:=ru-n^y, n^gijan^g ni=wa-n^g ba-gu,
 he abandoned it_p more he killed it_p there
 niwu=wurdha-n^gi-ruj a-marin, n^gijan^g an-uba-ni:-'la
 where he buried it_c pandanus basket more after that
 ni=wuwalga-n^y, na--, wa:n^g, amin^yjama,
 he ran_p (false start) whatchamacallit (place n.)
 amin^yjama ba-gu ni=lu:lhi-n^y, mari ni=lu:lhi-n^y, n^ga
 (place n.) there he waded_p and he waded_p and so
 wa:-'=badbir, an-uba-ni ana:-'la, ala, wa:-'=badbir,
 it was shallow that river river it was shallow

He went away from it (pandanus basket). He killed it (devil) there, where he had buried the pandanus basket. Again after that he ran along, (to) whatchamacallit, the place Amin^yjama. There he went walking through the water, it was shallow, that river.

8.7 ni=wuwalga-n^y, ni=wuwalga-n^y, amin^yjama, gada! niwan^gala,
 he ran_p (place n.) oops! (place n.)
 arba:ri, arba:ri, ni-n^galba=walga-n^y, ni=rararbi-n^y,
 (place n.) he jumped into water_p he went down to water_p

adaba ba-gi ni=bura:-', na-ni-gubulu na-yamin^yji.
then he is there he sits his body gecko

He rushed along, (to) the place Amin^yjama. Oops, I mean Niwan^gala. (Or rather) Arba:ri. He went down to the water and plunged in. There he sits now (as a dreaming), Gecko's body.

Comments on text 8

Gecko, whose most significant myth is that given in texts 3-5, above, here reappears in a comparatively minor episode involving a 'devil' (ghost). Gecko's role as the dispenser of lightning has been discussed previously. Devils, who inhabit the stringybark scrub and other inhospitable terrain, are regarded as malevolent beings and appear in a number of myths, legends, and song cycles.

A similar version of this myth is given in Hughes (1969), item 16; Hughes' version differs only in minor details from this one.

TEXT 9 DEVILS AND FEATHERED STICKS Laran^gana

9.1 a-country n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung a-lha:l murun^gun, murun^gun
place mine country (clan n.)
dibuldibul, wara-badirin^ya, badirin^ya mu:gar,
devil (English creole) devils devil devil
*ana-nun^g-gubuyu-wala, wara-mu:gar, wu-gu-ru
in the Nunggubuyu language devils they
wara-white men-jin^yung, a:-da-nu:-' dibuldibul wuru=yama-n^y,
of white men that devil they did that^p
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara-badirin^ya badirin^ya,
as for them devils devil

(At) my country, (the country) of the Murun^gun clan (of the Mandha:yun^g moiety). Murun^gun devil(s). In Nunggubuyu they are called "badirin^ya" or "mu:gar." The white men call them "dibuldibul." As for them (Aborigines), they call them "badirin^ya."

* ANA_c-Gentilic-Nunggubuyu-Abl. Actually, the usual term for the language is wubuy, while nun^g-gubuy is the usual expression for the Nunggubuyu people (this is sometimes, but not often, pronounced nun^g-gubuyu). Here I think Laran^gana is using the English word 'Nunggubuyu'; the normal expression would be ana-wubuy-wala. The Ablative case is commonly used with language names in this sense; the Instrumental can also be used (see 7.21).

9.2 wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' ba-ni
they danced_c it is there

adaba wuwarawaralhulu, xxx, a-garan^gari ya:-ji,
now (place n.) (unclear) (place n.) here

wurindi ana-wurindi, ana-garan^gari wu-gu-ra:-' ya:-ji
(place n.) (place n.) theirs here

bandhara wu:=bura:-'
middle they sit

They (devils) danced and danced. There at the place Warawaralhulu (a burial ground). The place Garan^gari is here (i.e. on one side), the place Wurindi (is over here). Garan^gari is theirs (i.e. of the Ng^galmi, or Nun^g-garan^gari, clan). Here, in between those two places (Garan^gari, Wurindi) they (devils) stay.

9.3 wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
they danced_c

wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' badirin^ya wara:-'-wa dibuldibul,
devil those (WARA) devil

wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' adaba dha:mbu:::lg xxx
then feathered stick (unclear)

wuru=ma-n^gi wa:n^g ba-ni:-'la wuru=ma-n^gi,
they got it_c whatchamacallit there it comes they got it

They (devils) danced and danced. Those devils. They danced, they got feathered sticks. They got that whatchamacallit, from there.

9.4 "a-ni-ga-wuy adaba n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g", "ya:-nu:-'wuy
to where? now we (InPl) will go_p this way
n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g", ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba, ba-ma:-'la
we will go_p this way they went_c then there it comes
yamba mana-saltwater mana-lhagayag mana:-'-ma, ma=buri-∅,
because saltwater saltwater this it sat_c
araga an-uba-ni badirin^ya yamba wu=ya-n^ggi, dreaming,
suddenly that devil because it went_c totemic object
murun^gun dreaming, dreaming, wu:=ya-n^ggi yu:-gu-ni,
(clan n.) they went_c to there

They decided to go in a certain direction. They went along this way then, because the saltwater was coming up at them over there. This saltwater was there. Then that devil went along because of that. (It formed) a totemic object (dreaming), of the Murun^gun clan. They (devils) went along to there.

Note: There seems to be switching in noun-class marking here. The words for 'devil' can be in the ANA or WARA class (for singular or plural referent). In this text the WARA form predominates (in contrast to text 8, above), but it appears that an-uba-ni in line 4 of this segment refers to 'devil' and this is clearly an ANA form. Although the intransitive verbal prefixes wu- (ANA) and wu:- (WARA) are difficult to distinguish, I take the immediate following form as wu- and the others as wu:-.

9.5 wu:=ya-n^ggi ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba lha:l
 they went_c this way they went_c then country
n^ga wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi lha:l, wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
 and then they made it_c country they danced_c
wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wu:-lhagar=malmalgi-n^y aba yuwa:-wa
 they danced_c they made a line_p then there they are
yuwa:-wa aba wu:=rabali-n^y malgayang^u yuwa:-wa-waj
 then they came out (place n.) they are along there
n^ga ya:-wa-waj,
 and then they are along here

They (devils) went along this way, and they made a place. They were dancing, and they formed a line. Over there and over there (speaker points to two locations to indicate length of line). They came out at the place Malgayan^gu. Along there and along here (indicates length of line).

9.6 wu:=ya-n^ggi aba juj!, wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' yuran^g,
 they went_c then go they danced_c (place n.)
 that dreaming now, n^ya:lig nan^yabali,
 that totemic object native cat (devil) (name of other devil)
ni=bura:-' yuran^g, ba-gi nan^yabali ni=bura:-'
 he sits (place n.) it is there (name of devil) he sits
ya:-ma mana-magul, ana-n^gujija-yin^yun^g
 it is here fish trap (with dam) related to fish
wuru-maya=maya:-' ana-song,
 they sang_c

They went and danced at the place Yuran^g. Those dreamtime beings (and the totemic landmarks they left), Native Cat and Nan^yabali (devils). He (Nan^yabali) is there at Yuran^g. There he stays. There is a fish trap (dam in creeks used to trap fish in a basket) here (i.e. close to Nan^yabali ?). They sang about fish.

9.7 ana-yuran^g-gala aba wuru=ya-n^ggi ya:-nu:-'wuy,
 from (place n.) then they went_c this way
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wuru=maya:-' dha:mbulg yagu
 they went_c they sang feathered stick but
badirin^ya song, dha:mbulg song, any kind yan^ggawu song,
 devil feathered stick whale
lhamal guru song, a:n^g, n^gan^yjabana dreaming
 shark whatchamacallit porpoise
wuru=maya:-' juj!
 they sang_c go

From Yuran^g they came in this direction. They went along, singing of feathered sticks, a devil song. Feathered sticks, or any other clan song: whale, shark, porpoise--that dreaming. They sang along.

9.8 algur-yan^gi, wuru=wann^ga:-' adaba, *n^gujija-wala,
 all kinds they danced_c then from fish
lhulun^gu, murgun^yala, wuru=wann^ga:-' aba wu:=ya-n^ggi
 mullet sp. mullet sp. they danced_c then they went_c
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj ana-song ana-murun^gun wu:=ya-n^ggi,
 all those song (clan n.) they went
dha:mbul bugij wuru=wana-na ana-dha:mbulg,
 feathered stick only they hold it feathered stick
 They danced (the dances of) all kinds (of totems). Fish: several kinds of mullets. They went along dancing all of the Murun^gun clan songs. They hold feathered sticks.

* This word seems to have started as the simple noun n^gujija 'fish', with Ablative -wala added as an afterthought. Normally the Ablative should have a noun-class prefix (for 'fish' a-, or occasionally ana-). The sense of the Ablative here is unclear; perhaps 'about, concerning' (though this is usually Relative -yin^yun^g).

9.9 da-ji-wugij wu:=ya-n^ggi wu:=yama:-' n^ga wilili,
 still there they went_c they did that_c and then (place n.)
wi:=lhan^garma-n^y, wura:-'ragara=lha-n^ga-n^y aba wuru=maya:-',
 they reached it_p they all stood up_p then they sang_c
yu:-gu-ni wiri=na-ni ana=lha:l ana-magala:ba wiri=na-ni
 to there they saw it_c country (place n.) they saw it_c
ya:-nu:-'wuy yu:-gu-ni,
 this way to there

They went along doing that at that same place, and then at the place Wilili. They reached it. They all stood (stopped) and sang. They saw the place Magala:ba (Bickerton Island), over in that direction.

9.10 "a-ni-ga-wuy n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g", juj!
 to where? we (InPl) will go go
adaba wuru=wann^ga:-', ana-wilili-wala an-uba-ni
 then they danced_c from (place n.) that
wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' warayi, an-uba-ni:-'la wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
 they danced_c (place n.) after that they danced_c
war-uba-wi wu:-lhagar=malmalgi-n^y man^ggurudu,
 those they made a line_p (place n.)

They decided to go in a certain direction. They went away from Wilili, dancing. They danced at Warayi. After that those (devils) danced and formed a line at Man^ggurudu.

9.11 wu:-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi adaba wuruwuryi, mari
 they went_c then (place n.) and

*wu-wunda=yalalaga-na dreaming wara-badirin^ya, wuruwuriy^yi,
it juts out devil (place n.)

an-uba-ni:-'la ana-wuruwuryi-wala wu:=lalagi:-'ni
after that from (place n.) they got up_c
wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' alhargan, badirin^ya-wugij n^ga
they danced_c (place n.) still devil and then
wa:-da-wu:-', ana-dreaming wu-nuga=yalalaga-na an-uba-ni:-'la
those dreaming stone projects out after that

wu:=lalagi:-'ni,
they got up_c

They (devils) went along to Wuruwuryi. It (stone) just out there, a dreaming (totemic object) for the devils. The place Wuruwuryi. Then they got up and went from Wuruwuryi. They danced at Alhargan. The same devils. There is a dreaming there, a stone jutting out. After that they got up and left.

* The root is =jalalaga- (see also line 4 of this page).

9.12 n^ga adaba a-wiyindan^gan^y aba, wiyindan^gan^y ba-ni
and then then (place n.) then (place n.) it is there
aba ana-dha:mbulg wuru=ruruga-n^y ba-ni
then feathered stick they erected it_p it is there
*wura:-'ra-n^gu=buri-n^y ba-wa, wu:-wann^ga=wann^ga:
they put them all_p they are there they danced_c
wu=lalma-n^y an-uwa-ga:-'la ying^gga adaba ya:-ji, "wi:ya!
it dawned_p from there nearly then here finish
adaba, wu=lalma-n^y yamba, n^ga:mba:='gi-n^y",
now it dawned_p because we will return_p

Then they planted (erected) the feathered sticks, there at Wiyindan^gan^y (tip of Cape Barrow). They put them all down there. They were there, dancing. Then it started to dawn. (The sunlight) was coming, it was almost there. "That is all now, because it has dawned. We will go back."

* /wuru-wara=bura-n^y/ with Multiple -wara- marking multiple object (feathered sticks). Epenthetic -n^gu- is inserted before roots beginning with stops under certain conditions.

9.13 wura:='gi-n^y n^ga arn^galg, ya:-ni a:-'ban-guy
they returned_p and then (place n.) it is here to ground
dhid! wu:-n^gara=dhidi-n^y, dreaming ba-gu
go through they all went through ground there
wu:-waragara=lha-ra, arn^galg yuwa:-ni a-wiyindan^gan^y
they all stand (place n.) it is there (place n.)
n^gaya-wi-ruj murun^gun, yuwa:-wa:-'la
at my (country) (clan n.) they are coming there
wu:=lalagi:-'ni wuwararalhulu-wala malan^ga-n^yanaj jujuj!,
they got up_c from (place n.) far away go

wi:ya! adaba.
finish now

They went back. At the place Arn^galg, they went into the ground here. They all went into the ground. They form a number of dreamings (trees?) standing up at Arn^galg. At Wiyindan^gan^y (Cape Barrow), at my clan territory, Murun^gun clan. They got up and came (originally) from way over there, from the place Wuwararalhulu. That is all now.

Comments on text 9

In one sense this is a myth, in that the devils are treated as dreamtime beings and leave behind totemic objects such as trees (dreamings). However, these devils are also thought to emerge even now at night and wander around in something like this fashion.

These particular devils are of the Murun^gun clan and are not to be directly identified with 'devils' in other myths or stories. The significance of the text is that it describes the mythical background for the major Murun^gun song cycles, in which dha:mbulg 'feathered stick' is the most prominent item but which also involves the mullets, porpoises, and other Murun^gun clan totems mentioned here (and others not mentioned). The songs and the corresponding dances re-enact this journey of the devils. The narrator of this text, Laran^gana, is the major elder songmaster for these cycles. (See also text 41, below.)

The 'feathered stick' is a long, straight piece of wood about the size of a shepard's staff, with strings attached to one end (usually the strings are quite long). Clumps of feathers are attached at various points in the strings. All of the species (trees, birds) involved in the manufacture are Murun^gun clan totems, and this type of feathered stick is now used solely in these singing and dancing performances. (Some other clans in the region also have one type or other of feathered stick, but they are not identical to the Murun^gun type.)

TEXT 10 JABIRU, THE BLIND MAN, AND THE BOY Milton (Gabanja)

10.1 anji, n^gi=ya-n^ggi anji, ba-gu n^gi=wudhi-∅ aba ragij,
jabiru she went_c jabiru there she perched_c then first
a-wurugu-ruj a-n^gagara-wugag, a-n^gagara-wugag wurugu,
at a billabong huge huge billabong
a-n^gagara-wugag wurugu, ba-gu xxx n^gi=buri-∅, *n^gara-n^gari-gay
huge billabong there she sat_c her nest
adaba ba-gu, ba-gu n^gara-n^gari-gay,
then there there her nest

Jabiru (crane) went along. She was perched there first (i.e. before the others arrived), at a huge billabong (pond). She sat there, (at) her nest.

* Contains root /-ay/ 'nest' and 3FSg_{der} /-n^gariG-/ as well as 3FSg n^gara-. Without derivational prefixes, /-ay/ takes the form a:y (see below, 10.6).

- 10.2 ni-ga ni-wiya-yun^g, ni-wiya-yun^g mari ni-n^yara-yun^g aba
he son and father then
*na:-'na:-'na=nima:-' wandulu-miri wandulu,
he held him by the arm_c by means of walking stick walking stick
adaba wini=ya-n^ggi bu-gu-ni n^ga, wa:='ri aba
then they (two) went_c to there and then not then
na-ni-n^yara-yun^g ani=waran^gga:-' ni-yama=yama:-',
father he looked he did that_c
na:-'na:-'na=nima:-' n^ga
he held him by the arm_c and then

A boy and his father. He (the boy) held him by the arm. By means of a walking stick (staff) (the old man walked). The two of them went along to there (the billabong). The father could not look (i.e. was blind). He did like this (groping along). He (the son) held him by the arm. (I.e. the father was old, blind, and decrepit.)

* Reduplication of /-ana=nima-/ with /-ana-/ 'arm' and /=nima-/ 'to hold', plus 3MSg/3MSga prefix /nu-/. The compound /-ana=nima-/ is irregular in that the retroflexion of the first nasal induces retroflexion of the second, hence -ana-nima-.

- 10.3 ya:-ni:-'la, "guda:::rg! guda:::rg! guda:::rg!"
it is here coming (call of brolga)
n^gi=yama:-' wa:n^g-guy a-wurugu-wuy, "ya:-ni:-'la
it did that_c to whatchamacallit to billabong it is here coming
n^ga n^gi=yambi:-na ya:-gi adaba bu-gu-ni nan^y=ja:-ri:
and then it speaks it is here then to there we (InDu) will go_c
bu-gu-ni a-wurugu-wuy, a-wurugu-wuy nan^y=ja:-ri: o:-'ba-ni
to there to billabong to billabong we will go_c that
n^ga, ba-ni n^ga ana:-gugu nan^g-gal=n^gu-yi:",
and then it is there and then water we (InDu) will drink_c

Then along here came the sound of the brolga singing, "guda:::rg!" It was doing like that, toward the billabong. (The boy said to his father,) "The brolga is calling from over in that direction. It is over here. Let's go that way to the billabong. We will go to that billabong and there we will drink some water."

Note: Brolgas (see texts 6 and 7) are large birds who tend to stay near billabongs and whose call is loud and conspicuous. Here the boy and his father hear a brolga calling and infer that a billabong is nearby.

- 10.4 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga da-ni
they (MDu) went_c and then it is there

ana-wurugu wu-wurugu=walhi:-'ni, adaba ni=jarari-n^y, "ya:-ji
billabong it stretched out_c then he moved_p here
ba=bura:-' ala", "i:!", ni=yama-n^y,
sit!_c all right? yes! he said_p

They both went along. There was the billabong, stretching out widely. Then he (the boy) went on further. (He told his father,) "You stay here. All right?" "Yes," he said.

- 10.5 aba ni-ga na-ni-wiya-yun^g adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, o:-'ba-ni
then he son then he went_c that
ana:-gugu na:-'=galima-n^y, na:-'=galima-n^y ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
water he got water for him he went_c
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g adaba yuwa-ga:-'la n^gi-wudhu=wudhi-∅,
as for her then from there she was perched_c

As for the son, he went along. He collected some water for him (in a paperbark container). He got it for him (the father) and went along back. As for her (Jabiru), she was sitting up in a tree then.

- 10.6 a:-'y-wala arwar yuwa:-gu n^ga:='riba:-', n^gi-wudhi-∅
from nest above there he did not see her_c she perched_c
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^gara:-'nji, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
that (FSg) jabiru they (MDu) went_c
aba ni=walima-n^y ni-waln^ga:-'l=n^gu-ni ni=burda-n^ga-n^y adaba,
then he got water_p he drank_c he stooped down_p then
ni-waln^ga:-'l=n^gu-ni ni=burda-n^ga-n^y ana:-gugu::: n^ga,
he drank_c he stooped down_p water and then

He did not see her up in her nest. She perched (there), that Jabiru. He (the boy) went along. He got some water. He drank. He stooped down (to drink). He drank the water.

Note: wini- 3MDu_a in the second line is an error; emend to ni- 3MSg_a. The boy (the son of the old man) is the only subject.

- 10.7 aba nin^ggu-lili=galhari-n^y ana:-'ji,
then it made him feel bloated_p here
nin^ggu-lili=galhari-n^y xxx ni-dan-gara=gayi-n^y
(see above) (unclear) he was hurt in the guts_p
ni-dan-gara=gayi-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: aba ni=yi-n^ga-n^y,
(see above) he went_c then he fell asleep_p

ni-ya=ya-y ni-ya=ya-y ni-ya=ya-y ni-ya=ya-y
he slept_c he slept_c he slept_c he slept_c

Then it (the water) made him feel a little bloated and dizzy here (in the belly). He was feeling funny in the guts. He went along, but then he fell asleep. He slept for a long time.

10.8 adaba n^gi-ga, n^gunu=na-n^y budubud! n^gi=gara-ji-n^y
then she she saw him_p jump down she jumped_p
an-uba-ga:-'la rrrr! da-gi:-'la-wugij n^gi=yama:-'
from there (flies) she is still coming there she did that_c
n^gi:-'na=waldha-n^gi aba n^gi=ralhi-n^y,
she stretched out her wings_c then she landed_p

Then she (Jabiru) saw him. She flew down quickly from there. She was coming toward him. She did that, she stretched out her wings (to fly). She landed.

10.9 aba da-gu:-' n^giwa:-'dha:-'dhida-n^gi
then there she is she poked herself through it (ground)
n^ga, n^gunu-nana-na-ni ni-yama=yama:-' ni-ga:-'yun^g
and then she saw him_c he did that_c as for him
ya:-gi ni-n^gulu-n^gulu=walarlha-n^gi, n^giwa:-'dhidi-n^y
he is here he was lying on his back_c she poked through it_p
n^giwa:-'dhidi-n^y n^giwa:-'dhidi-n^y n^giwa:-'dhidi-n^y
(see above)
n^giwa:-'dhidi-n^y yingga ana-mal-gan^yba-duj,
(see above) nearly another time

Then she poked through the mud (in which the boy had fallen). She saw him. As for him (the boy), he was like this, lying face up. She poked through it (the mud) several times. She was about to poke through it again.

Note: Jabiru has a general idea where the boy is because she sees a bulge in the mud at the side of the billabong. However, she has to poke with her long bill into this area several times before she actually hits the boy.

10.10 mari ya:-ji:-'li n^gunu-lhumu=wuldha-n^gi
and from here she severed him at the waist_c
n^gunu=balhu-n^y adaba, adaba n^gunu=n^gu-ni, n^gunu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni
she cut him up_p then then she ate him_c she ate him_c
adaba wulam-bugij ma:-'ra=mun^ymulhi-/, wulam-bugij wulam-bugij,
then blood only it (blood) lay_c blood only blood only

Then she cut through him at the waist, along here. She cut him up (with her long bill) and ate him. There was nothing but blood lying there.

10.11 ya:-ji ni-mun=barwara-n^gi ya:-ji
here he felt twinge in shoulder here
ni-mun=barwara-n^gi ni-mun=barwara-n^gi, ni-munbu=mun=barwara-n^gi
(see above) he felt twinge in shoulder
"ari na-ni-gi nu:-'ba-gi, n^gan^gga:-'bu-ma-na something,
maybe (my) son that (boy) it kills (him) for me something awful

ari n^gan^gga:-'bu-ma-na an-uba-ni wa:n^g,
maybe it kills (him) for me that whatchamacallit
ga:n^ggan^yun^g"
fearsome thing

He (the father) felt a twinge in his shoulder, here. He was struck by the premonition that some monster was attacking his son.

Note: There is a common notion that, even now, Aboriginal people can 'feel' that a close relative is in danger or dying, even at a great distance. This usually takes the form of a sharp twinge in a body part. Some living Aboriginals claim that they felt such a sign and later learned that a relative of theirs had died at that instant in some distant location. The term gan^ggan^yun^g means 'monster', 'some awful thing', or the like with emphasis both on its unknown identity and its dangerous qualities. English 'something' is used by Milton in the same sense.

10.12 n^galbalan^g niwu=mi-n^y yi:-jung^g, nuga, nuga,
quick he picked it up_p this kind stone
nima=mi-n^y nuga, aba ni-ba=ga:yi:-'n^y
he picked it up_p stone then he cut himself in the eye_p
ya:-ji:-'li, ni-ba-ba=ga:yi:-'ni n^gijan^g ni-ba-ba=ga:yi:-'ni
from here he cut himself in the eye_c more (see above)
ni=baguma-n^y ni=yama-n^y, "buwe::!" ni=yama-n^y,
he closed his eyes_p he did that_p ouch! he said_p
ni=yama-n^y ni=waran^gga-n^y aba n^gun^yju a:-'ni
he said_p he looked_p then like this (ANA)
wura:=ran^gga-na-yi: ni=yama-n^y, wura:=ran^gga-na-yi:
like they look he did that_p like they look
ni=yama-n^y,
he did that_p

Quickly he picked something like this up. A stone, he picked up a stone. Then he slashed it across his eyes. He cut himself along here, over the eyes. He kept cutting his eyes some more. Then he blinked, and shouted "ouch!" Then he was able to look (i.e. his vision returned), just like they (most people) can see.

Note: In niwu=mi-n^y 'he picked it up' at the beginning of this segment, Milton uses ANA(wu) object, but this is only because he has not yet come up with the concrete noun, namely nuga 'stone'. Once he comes up with the noun the noun class shifts to MANA, hence nima=mi-n^y in the second line.

10.13 aba ni=ya-n^ggi o:-'ba-ni a:-gugu-wuy nu-mundhu-mun=dharma-n^gi
then he went_c that to water he followed his tracks_c
xxx, ni=waran^gga-n^y n^ga, ya:-ma mana-wulan^g
(unclear) he looked_p and then it is here blood

ni-wula=mun^ymulhi-∅ nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-wiri-n^yun^g,
he lay as blood_c that (boy) boy

Then he (the old man) went to that body of water. He followed his (i.e. his son's) footprints. He looked around (and saw) blood. The blood of the boy was lying there.

10.14 aba n^gi-ga:-'yun^g yuwa-ga:-'la n^gunu=na-ni, n^gijan^g
then as for her from there she saw him_c more
ni=waran^gga-n^y yu:-gu-ni ni=yama-n^y "way! gada
he looked_p to there he did that_p oh! oops!
ya:-ni:-'la ana-ga:n^ggan^yun^g n^gan^gga:-'bi-ni-yin^yun^g
here it comes something awful which killed (him) for me_c
na-ni-gi",
(my) son

Then she (Jabiru) saw him from over where she was. He (the old man) looked over that way, and said, "Oh my goodness! Oh dear! Here comes that monster which killed my son!"

10.15 adaba nima:-'ln^ga=wann^ga:-' aln^ga, nima:-'ln^ga=wann^ga:-'
then he stepped in the mud_c mud he stepped in the mud_c
a:-gugu-ruj n^gijan^g bu-gu-ni ni-waln^ga:-'l=n^gu-ni n^ga,
in the water more to there he drank_c and then
aba nima:-'ln^ga:-'ln^ga=wann^ga:-' nima:-'ln^ga:-'ln^ga=wann^ga:-'
then he stepped in the mud_c he stepped in the mud_c
aln^ga::: n^ga, ni=lhidi-n^y julub! ni=lhidi-n^y
mud and then he went through_p go in he went through_p
adaba ama:-'ln^ga-ruj aba yuwa:-gu lhiribala, ya:-ji aba
then in the mud then there under here then
nima=wana^gaga:-' man-uba-ma mana-wa:n^g, mana-nuga, n^gun^yju
he held it_c that whatchamacallit stone similar
a-la:ma-yi:, a-la:ga-yi:,
like shovel spear like stone spear

Then he got down in the mud at the side of the water. Again, in that direction, he drank. He was down in the mud. He went down into it, hiding. He was there, in the mud under the surface of the water. He held here (in his hand) that whatchamacallit, a (sharp) stone. Like a shovel spear--(or rather,) a stone spear.

Note: a-la:ma-yi: in the last line, with ANA_p prefix, is emended from ama-la:ma-yi: on the tape at the speaker's request; he had just been using a MANA class noun and accidentally used a MANA_p prefix here. A stone spear has a sharp flint spearhead; a shovel spear has a thin flat metal blade. Milton first said 'shovel spear' but then changed this to 'stone spear' as the more appropriate comparison.

10.16 nima=wana^gaga:-' ba-gu adaba lhiribala ya:-ji:-'la
he held it_c there then under here coming

n^gu=na-ni ni=yama:-' ni=walarha-n^gi-yala,
she saw him_c he did that_c he lay face up_c

He (the old man) was holding it (the stone). She could see him over here under the surface there. He was like this, lying on his back face up (under the surface).

10.17 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^giwa:-'dhida-n^gi adaba,
as for her she poked through it (ground)_c then
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g aba n^gunu=na-n^y yagu an-uwa-ga:-'la araga
as for her then she saw him_p but from there suddenly
arbidi n^gi-ga, arbidi arbidi n^giwa:-'dhida-n^gi,
anyway she suddenly anyway she poked through it_c
da-gi:-'la ni=yadhalaliga-n^y n^gijan^g n^ga
she is there coming he was unconcerned_p more and then
n^gi=yama-n^y yu:-gu-ni ya:-nu:-'wuy, n^gijan^g ya:-nu:-'wuy
she did that_p to there this way more this way
n^gi=yama-n^y,
she did that_p

As for her (Jabiru), she poked through the surface of the mud then. She saw where he was (i.e. she saw the bulge in the mud where he was hiding). She was poking around in it erratically. She was coming close, but he did not react. She did it (poke through mud) this way and that, again she did it over this way.

Note: The word arbidi, usually translated as 'anyway' in local creole and semi-creolized English, suggests the suspension of a normal restriction on some form of behavior; here I render it as 'erratically' in the paragraph translation.

10.18 n^gijan^g *an^gi=garaaja-n^gi-yun^g guyun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la aba
more so that she could jump from there then
an-uwa-ga:-'la ni=garaji-n^y ni-ga mana:-'ln^ga-wala, mari
from there he jumped_p he from mud and
gudbij! n^gu=bilharga-n^y adaba n^gu=balhu-n^y ya:-ji:-'li,
grab he seized her_p then he cut her upp from here
n^gu=balhu-n^y, wi:ya! adaba n^gu=balhu-n^y ya:-ji:-'li
he cut her upp finish then he cut her upp from here
n^ga wi:ya!.
and then finish

Then, just as she was about to jump (at him) from there, suddenly he jumped out of the mud there. He grabbed her (Jabiru) and cut her up along here and here. That is all.

* Purposive -yun^gguyun^g added to a Past Potential verb form.

Comments on text 10

Jabirus are tall cranes with very long bills; they tend to feed in mud at the edges of water bodies. The myth as a whole is fairly

straightforward; in its succession of outrageous attack (by Jabiru) and following retaliation (by the old man) it parallels such other myths as those of Olive Python and the two boys (above) and Crow and the two women (below). The triadic arrangement of the boy, his father, and (female) Jabiru also recalls that of the myth of Emu and Gecko (above), though Jabiru is not explicitly depicted as having maternal interests in the boy.

Although the old man's cutting up Jabiru at the end is clearly reminiscent of the magician's cutting up Olive Python to recover the two boys (texts 1 and 2), in the present myth there is no indication that the old man brought his son back to life. Instead, killing Jabiru is presented as an act of vengeance; it also may be an explanation for the color pattern of jabirus.

A very similar version is in Hughes (1969), item #9.

TEXT 11 CROW AND TWO WOMEN
Milton (Gabanja)

11.1 na-wuwag, na-wuwag, ba-ni n^g_a ni=buri- \emptyset
 crow it is there and then he satc
 wa: n^g , wumilij, wumilij, wa: n^g_i - n^g unu= n^g_u -ni
 whatchamacallit (place n.) they (FDu) ate it (WARA)c
 wu-gu-rn g_i :-'yun g n g ar-ubi-rn g_i -yun g n g_a :-run g gal-wa::: n g_a ,
 as for them (FDu) those (FDu) two big women and then
 n g ara-n g ari-n y ina-yum-bi:yun g n g ara-n g ari-n y ina-yum-bi:yun g
 two father's sisters
 win g_i -bu=buri- \emptyset ba-gu:::
 they (FDu) satc there

(Story of) Crow. He was staying there at whatchamacallit, at the place Wumiliij. As for them, two adult women, they were eating them (shellfish). They were in the father's sister relationship to him. They were staying there.

Note: The word for 'shellfish' is not even mentioned; the use of WARa object in the verb 'they ate it', without explicit mention of the noun, normally suggests either the noun lha:du 'mud-whelk shell' or wulburu 'round yam species (*Dioscorea*)'. Here the coastal location is sufficient to point to mud-whelk shells (which are still commonly gathered by women). However, some ellipsis of this type is perhaps to be expected in recounting a very well known myth like this one.

The kinship relationship specified means that the two women are a generation older than Crow and in the same clan.

11.2 ni-ga:-'yun^g ni-bu=buri-∅ yuwa:-gu nima-ma=ma:ndha-n^gi
as for him he sat_c there he was making it_c
wa:n^g, wa:n^g nima-ma=ma:ndha-n^gi, wa:n^g jagu,
whatchamacallit but

ni-bu=buri:::-', wa:n^gi-n^gunu=n^gu-ni-maga: wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g
he satc they (FDu) ate it_c as for them (FDu)
wa:n^gi:=nma:::-',
they (FDu) looked for it_c

As for him (Crow), he sat there making a whatchamacallit (type of spear). He was making that what-the-heck-do-they-call-it? He was sitting (there). They (the two women) were out gathering and eating them (turret-shells).

Note: *wa:n^g* *jagu* (second line of this segment, preceding page) is an intensive form of *wa:n^g* 'whatchamacallit' and indicates real self-annoyance; it contains *yagu* 'but' in a phonologically tightly knit unit with *wa:n^g*.

11.3 *win^gi:=gi:-ni o:-'ba-ni a-gara-ruj,*
they (FDu) returned, that in hole

win^gi-da=da-n^gi-maga::: o:-'ba-ni a-gara-ruj
they defecated. that in hole

wingi-da=da-n^gi-maga: wa:n^gi:='nma:-', ni-ga:-'yun'
(see above) they looked for it, as for him

yuwa:-gi na-wuwag ni-bu=buri-∅ wa:n^gi:='nma:-'-maga:,
he is there crow he sat_c they looked for it_c

They came back, then they defecated into a hole (which they had dug out). They were out looking for them (shells), while Crow was sitting over that way (some distance away).

11.4 *win^gi-da=da-n^gi-maga:* *n^gijan^g di-rn^gi:-'la*
they defecated. more they are coming there

adaba, "wangurag! wangurag! ya:-mao:::, *nimba:-'=da-ya-n^g!
then bandicoot it is here spear (it) for us! ^p

nimba:-' =da-ya-n^g!, wangurag ya:-mi ya:-mi
(see above) bandicoot it is here

nimba:-' =da-ya:::-n^g"
spear (it) for us! p

They were defecating into the hole some more. Now they were coming along not far away from him. They shouted out to him (Crow), "(Hey!) There is a bandicoot here! Spear it for us (to save us)!"

Note: Bandicoots are small terrestrial burrowing animals. The two women had filled up the pit with a certain substance (see below) and covered it with grass, so that a bulge was visible; the women were pointing to it and telling Crow that this was the outside of a bandicoot burrow. Bandicoots are not dangerous; the idea was to hunt it for its meat.

* Benefactive form with root =ra-.

11.5 "yu:ga yan^gi yu:ga lhabarao!", "girjag!", "aliyun^g mabur",
 Q what? Q coolamon no! Q string
 "girjag!, wangurag! wangurag! ba:='ni-n^y nimba:-'da-ya-n^g",
 no! bandicoot come!_p spear (it) for us!_p
 "aliyun^g wangurag", "yo:!",
 Q bandicoot yes!

(Crow said,) "What is it? Is it a coolamon (paperbark container)?"
 (The two women said,) "No!" "Is it some string?" "No! Bandicoot!
 Come and spear it for us!" "You mean it's a bandicoot?" "Yes!"

Note: Obviously Crow is slow to understand, as well as rather gullible. This type of exchange is ironically repeated later in the myth.

11.6 aba ni=wuwalga-n^y an-uwa-ga:-'la, mana-wingil
 then he ran_p from there spear with wooden prongs
 ni:-'n^y ji=wuwalga:-' mana-wingil, ni-waya=wayama-n^gi
 he ran with (it)_c (see above) he went along_c
 ni-waya=wayama-n^gi ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y
 he went along_c he ran_p he ran_p
 n^ga ya:-ni, n^ga ya:-ni, "ya:-ma
 and then it is here and then it is here it is here (MANA)
 n^ga yigaj, ma:='bin^yburda:-', ma:='bin^yburda:-' yigaj
 and then indeed it is bulging indeed
 ya:-ma", "n^gama=ra-ya-n^g ala n^gama=ra-ya-n^g",
 it is here I will spear it_p all right? I will spear it_p

Then he rushed over from there with his wooden-pronged spear.
 He ran along. Then he was at that place. (They said,) "Look!
 Here it is (just as we said)!" (He said,) "I will spear it.
 All right?"

Note: wingil is an old-fashioned spear with a couple of wooden prongs or barbs at the business end; it has evolved now into a spear type with iron prongs. The particle yigaj in this segment is used to indicate confirmation of the presence of an object which has been suspected or claimed to be present but has not yet been definitely observed.

11.7 yin^gga anima=ra-ni-yun^gguyung "yagi! *nu-gi=wa-n^g! nu-gi=wa-n^g
 nearly for him to spear it don't! oh dear!
 nu-gi=wa-n^g! yagi numa=ra-yi-∅ yagi numa=ra-yi-∅, bama=wann^ga-n^g,
 don't spear it! step on it!_p
 ba-mum=bula-gi-n^yja-n^g bama=wann^ga-n^g,
 your feet will go together step on it_p!
 an^ggu=wula-gi-n^yja-n^g ana-lhuganda,
 they (legs) will go together_p lower leg

He was about to spear it, but they said, "Don't! Put your legs and feet together and stomp on it!"

* See note to 5.14, above. In the present form the prefix is phonologically distorted (as often with -gi=wa-) from n^gunu- (1Sg/2Sg_a or 1ExPl/2Sg_a) to nu-.

11.8 mari n^ga ni=garaji-n^y nima:-'y=wann^ga-n^y, mari
 and and then he jumped_p he stepped on nest_p and
 n^ga nima:-'y=wann^ga-n^y bu-gu-ni-miri adaba, ni=ya-n^ggi
 and then he stepped on nest_p to there then he went_c
 lhiribala-wuy ni=rararbi-n^y, ni=rararbi-n^y adaba,
 downward he went down in_p then
 bu-gu-ni-miri,
 to right there

Then he jumped onto and stomped on the burrow (of the bandicoot). He went right down into it, down there.

11.9 mari ma-n^garan=gabi-n^y yu:gu-ni mana-n^ggurya,
 and it all jumped up_p to there excrement (MANA)
 ma-n^garan=gabi-n^y, wama:-'ra-walga=walga:-', wun^guna:='ru-n^y
 (see above) it (MANA) hit all of them they left him_p
 da-ju:-'
 there

Then the excrement all came flying up, splattering against all of them. They (the two women) abandoned him (Crow) there.

Note: The two women had laid a trap for Crow. They had dug a pit to use as a toilet and has used it over a period of time, then they had covered it with grass to make it look like the burrow (nest) of a bandicoot. In order to make sure that Crow actually jumped into it they had (see 11.7) insisted that he not merely spear the bandicoot but rather that he stomp on it.

11.10 wu-gu-rn^gi win^gi=ruma-n^y yuwi-rn^gi:-'la win^gi-bu=buri-∅,
 they (FDu) they went_p there they come they sat_c
 win^gi-bu=buri:::-', "ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y!, nan=duma-n^g,
 they sat_c come! let's go!_p
 miljir ya:-gi nani=ma-n^g miljir,
 crooked branch it is here let's get it!_p crooked branch
 As for them (the two women), they came along this way and sat.
 They sat for a long time. (One said to the other,) "Come! Let's go and get this crooked branch here!"

Note: miljir can refer to the part of a tree where the trunk starts to branch out or to any other large, sharply bent piece of wood. It functions here as a long pole with a "hook" on the end.

11.11 win^gini=wagiwa-n^y na-miljir, aba
 they broke it off_p crooked branch then

win^gi-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga ba-gu, aba
 they (FDu) went_c and then there then
 wun^gunu-mum=biririmini-n^y ya:-ji, ama-mu:n^g
 they tangled up his hair_p here hair (of head)
 wun^gunu-mum=biririmini-n^y aba wun^guna:='rgi-n^y,
 (see above) then they pulled him_p
 wun^guna:='rga:='rgi:-ni wun^guna:='rga:='rgi:-ni mari ya:-ji
 they pulled him_c they pulled him_c and here
 wun^gunu-wad=bari-n^y wa-ga-ga:='la, wun^gunu-wad=bari-n^y,
 they threw him down_p far side they threw him down_p
 They broke off the crooked branch (from a tree) and went along
 there (where Crow was). They worked the hook of the crooked
 branch into his hair and twisted it around. (Crow's hair was
 covered with sticky excrement.) They jerked him out of the
 hole (by pulling on the crooked branch) by the hair. Then they
 dumped him unceremoniously outside the hole.

11.12 aba ba-gu aba wun^guna:='ru-n^y, wun^guna:='ru-n^y
 then there then they abandoned him_p
 ba-gu, n^gunu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni n^gara-ya:g, n^gunu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni
 there it (N^gARA) ate him_c meat ant (N^gARA) it ate him_c
 n^gunu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ana:='ni n^ga, mari ya:-ji yaga:
 it ate him_c this (ANA) and then and here ∅
 *ni-ja-janda-n^gu=duma-na ya:-ji ama-rulbu-ruj, ba-ma
 he has black on his back here on the back it is there
 nima:='jarga-n^y, adaba wi:ya! adaba.
 he missed it_p now finish now

Then they just left him there. Meat ants were eating him here,
 and here on the back. He is now black-backed. He missed it. End.

Notes: Meat ants are social ants who build large mounds and
 who will devour a carcass in large numbers.

The significance of 'he missed it_p' in the last line is not
 fully clear; apparently 'back' is the implied direct object and
 the sense is then something like 'he lost his (original) back'.

For general comments on this myth see comments to text 13.

* Reduplication of /-janda=duma-/ 'to have black back, to
 be black in the back', with Epenthetic -n^gu- inserted.

TEXT 12 CROW AND TWO WOMEN (SEQUEL)

Milton (Gabanja)

12.1 adaba nima=ma:ndha-n^gi ni-ga:='yun^g mana:='n^ybaj
 then he made it_c as for him other
 mana-wingil, nima=ma:ndha-n^gi mari ya:-ji
 wooden-pronged spear he made it_c and here

nima:='ran^ggi=ruruga-n^y, nima:='ran^ggi=ruruga-n^y, "bu-gu-nu:-'
 he erected spear_p to there
 nimbin^gi=ya:-ri: a-n^gujijao:::! nimbin^gi=lalalhi:-'',
 you (FDu) go!_c (to) fish you get in water and spear fish!_c

Then he (Crow) made another wooden-pronged spear. He made it
 and stood it up. (He told the two women,) "You two go get some
 fish! Go stand in the water and spear some fish!"

Note: This kind of fishing is done especially in shallow
 saltwater in a beach area.

12.2 aba wu-gu-rn^gi:='yun^g win^gi=ya-n^ggi, win^gi-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
 then as for them (FDu) they went_c they went_c
 adaba wu-gu-rn^gi:='yun^g--, adaba ni-ga:='yun^g ba-gu niwu=buri-n^y
 then as for them then as for him there he put it_p
 ana:='madharn^gga maguj nima=ma:ndha-n^gi maguj,
 barracuda pandanus he made it_c pandanus

Then the two of them (women) went along. They--. He (Crow)
 put a barracuda down there. He made it (a fake barracuda) out
 of (wood of) pandanus tree.

12.3 mana-n^gan^yjabal *ana:='n^yjabal ana-laga mari ana:='-ji
 armpit armpit lower body and here
 ma-lan=dharari-∅-yin^yun^g, mari nima=buri-n^y
 having top of head (=fin) sticking out_c and he put it_p
 man-uba-ma mana-maguj adaba wu=yama-n^y, amadharn^gga guburg,
 that pandanus then it did that_p barracuda identical
 aba an-uba-ni amadharn^gga win^gi:='n=jama-n^y wu-gu-rn^gi,
 then that barracuda they (FDu) thought they (FDu)

The armpit (i.e. pectoral fin), the lower body and tail, and
 here the top of head (fin) sticking out of the water. He put
 that piece of pandanus wood (in the water). It was like this,
 just like a real barracuda. They (two women) thought it was
 a barracuda.

Note: In the first word of the second line I am taking
 -lan- as the compounding form (before consonant dh) of la:n^g
 'top of head'. It is possible, however, that it is la:n 'knee'.
 I know that it means 'dorsal fin' in this context and I assume
 that 'top of head' is more appropriate than 'knee' here. Several
 other terms for fish body parts are specialised uses of human
 body-part terms, as the use of 'armpit' for 'pectoral fin'
 indicates.

12.4 "ya:-ni ya:-ni nimba:='da-ya-n^g!
 it is here it is here spear (it) for us!_p
 gurgin! gurgin!" aba wun^guna:='gadi-n^y win^giwu=na-n^y,
 barracuda then they shouted to him_p they saw it_p

"gurgin gurgin ya:-ni nimba:-'da-ya:::n^g", "yu:ga yan^gi
barracuda it is here spear (it) for us! _p Q what?
yu:ga an-uba-ni::: yu:ga lhabara", "girjag!, nimba:-'da-ya-n^g
Q that Q coolamon no! spear (it) for us! _p
nimba:-'da-ya-n^g! ya:-ni gurgi:::n!", "yu:ga gurgi:::n",
it is here barracuda Q barracuda
"yo!:",
yes!

(The women said to Crow,) "Here is a giant barracuda! Spear it for us!" They shouted to him, they saw it. "There is a giant barracuda here, spear it for us!" (Crow said,) "What is it? What is that thing? Could it be a coolamon?" "No! It is a giant barracuda. Spear it for us!" (Crow said,) "You mean it's a giant barracuda?" "Yes!"

12.5 ni=yarbi-n^y jaw! nima=mi-n^y man-uba-ma-yun^g jaw!
he ran_p grab he picked it up_p that grab
ni=yarbi-n^y adaba man-uba-ma-yun^g, mana-wingil,
he ran_p then that wooden-pronged spear
ni:-'n^y ja:-'n^y ji=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga ya:-gi
he continued with (it)_c and then he is here
ni:-'n^y ji=lha-n^ga-n^y, "n^gan^ggu=ra-ya-n^g adaba", "girjag! girjag!",
he stood with (it)_p I will spear it_p now no! no!
He hurried along. He picked up that thing. He went along and picked up that wooden-pronged spear. He continued along with it. He was right there, close by. He stood up with it (in his hands). (He said,) "I will spear it now!" (The women said,) "No!"

12.6 "yagi ana:-'ni ni:n^gi=yami-∅, *nimbin^gi=galwara-n^g
don't this you (FDu) will do that you (FDu) sit!_p
nimbin^gi-lan-n^gu=bujigan^yja-n^g", n^gi-ga da-ji:-'lu:-'
you (FDu) put knees together!_p she coming there
**an^gi=bagawaga:lu:-', n^gi-ga:-'yun^g, n^ga
she was about to be facing (Crow) as for her and then

"nimbin^gi-n^gara-n^gu=baguma-n^g", n^ga win^gi=baguma-n^y,
you (FDu) both close eyes!_p and then they (FDu) closed eyes_p
(Crow told them,) "Don't be like that (in that position)! Sit with your knees together!" One of them was turning toward (Crow) and was about to make eye contact with him. But he told them to close their eyes, and they closed them.

Note: The woman who was turning toward Crow would have seen that his spear was aimed at them had Crow not made her close her eyes.

* =galwara- means 'to sit on ground with legs together, knees raised, and hands on knees'.

** Stem -bagawaga:la 'to be facing (something)', an adjective here used as predicate, based on ba-ga:-'la 'from there'.

12.7 ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=yalhalha-n^gi ni=yalhalhi-n^y
as for him he held spear ready_c he held spear ready_p
man-uba-ma-yun^g yin^gga amban=ra-ni-yun^gguyun^g "a:::
that nearly for him to spear them (meaningless)
gada! gada! gada!, n^gan^ggu-ragar=dhulhuwi-n^y
oops! it pushed my spear along_p
n^gan^ggu-ragar=dhulhuwi-n^y wu-dhan^gun^y wu-dhan^gun^y, n^gijan^g
(see above) wind wind more
nimbin^gi=baguma-n^g-bindi:yun^g,
you (FDu) really close your eyes_p

He (Crow) held his spear raised, ready to shoot. He was just about to fling that (spear). (One of the women took a peek and saw him doing this.) (Crow said,) "Oh! Oops! The wind pushed my spear along (out of position). Now close your eyes and keep them closed!"

12.8 aba win^gi=baguma-n^y-bindi:yun^g n^gijan^g, win^gi=baguma-n^y
then they really closed eyes_p more they closed eyes_p
win^gi-yama=yama::-' mari n^ga ya:-ji ni=warga-n^g,
they did that_c and and then here he threw (it)_p
ya:-ji:-'li n^ga n^gara:-'n^yba-jun^g-guy yu:-gu-ni,
from here and then to other one (FSg) to there
nima-ju=jura-n^gi nima-ju=jura-n^gi nima-ju=jura-n^gi man-uba-ma-yun^g
he shoved it_c that
n^ga ma-n^gunin^y=n^gambi-n^y a:-'ban-duj,
and then it was immersed to groin_p in ground

Then they (two women) closed their eyes tightly again, they did that. Then he threw one spear over this way (at one woman) and one over there at the other. He rammed those spears through, they went all the way through their groin areas and deep into the sand beneath the water.

12.9 ni=wuwalga-n^y "wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g!" ni=yama:-',
he ran_p (cawing) he did that_c
wani=wurama:-' "wa:::g! wa:::g!" adaba yu:-gu-ni,
he went around past them_c then to there
ni=wuwalga:-' o:-'wa:-ni a-wumilij a:-'ni, nima:-'ba=ma:ndha-n^gi
he ran_c that (ANA) to (place n.) this he made sand_c
adaba ba-gi:-'la ni=wudha-n^ga-n^y "wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g!"
then here he comes he perched_p (cawing)

He rushed along, cawing. He flew around them, cawing. He flew rapidly to that place Wumilij here. He made a sand formation, then he perched over this way, cawing.

12.10 wani=na-ni wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g yu:-gu-ni yu:-gu-ni
he saw them_c as for them (FDu) to there to there

wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g, wani-nana-na-ni adaba ya:-mi-waj
as for them (FDu) he saw them_c then here it goes
wani-nana-na-ni adaba ya:-mi-waj, wani-nana-na-ni::: adaba
he saw them_c then here it goes he saw them_c then
ya:-mi-waj, mana-lhagayag wani-nana-na-ni yin^gga, ana:-'-ni-waj
here it goes saltwater he saw them_c nearly this going
adaba wani:='ru-n^y, aba mana-lhagayag win^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, win^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y
then he left them_p then saltwater they (FDu) died_p
adaba n^gar-ubi-rn^gi n^ga:-run^ggal-wa:, n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yum-bi:yun^g.
then those (FDu) two big women his two father's sisters

He saw those two (women) over that way. He looked at them as the (saltwater) was up to here, then up to here, then up to here. Now he could barely see them. It was up here (over their heads). Then he left them there. They died in the sea, those two big (adult) women, his two father's sisters.

Note: The two women were still alive after being speared, but were pinned down by the spears (which had gone through them and been embedded in the ground under the water). As the tide came in the water went over their heads and they drowned.

TEXT 13 MEAT ANTS, CROW, AND TWO WOMEN Ma:di

13.1 n^gan^y=jambi:-na yi:-ya:-jin^yun^g, yi:-lhanda-waj, ni-ga
I will speak_c about meat ant in antmound it (NA)
xxx yi:-lhanda-wud^yjirwud^yjir-yin^yun^g yi:-da-gu:-' ,
(unclear) of tall antmound that (NA)
yi:-lhanda, n^gini-gara=yu-n^ga-na wa-ga-ga:-'la, n^gijan^g
antmound it (ant) makes hole far side more
wa-ga-ga:-'la n^gini-ga-gara=yu-n^ga-na,
far side it (ant) makes hole

I will speak about meat ants. (See note to 11.12, above.) In antmounds. Of tall antmounds. They (meat ants) makes little holes in one side of those antmounds, and also they make holes in the other side.

13.2 n^gijan^g ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^gini-ga-gara=yu-n^ga-na,
more this side it makes hole
n^gi-gara=wawalhi:-'yin^yun^g, ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^gini-ga-gara=yu-n^ga-na,
which has a wide open hole this side it makes hole
adaba *n^gi-yadi=wawalhi:-', ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gima:-'di=yu-n^ga-na,
then it has wide open path this way it makes path
ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gima:-'di=yu-n^ga-na,
this way it makes path

Also on this side they make holes. They have wide open holes (to enter or exit from antmound). They make holes on this side, they have an opening to go through then. They make a route this way and this way.

Note: The antmounds of meat ants routinely reach a height of 1½ metres and can go much higher.

* Contains adi 'path, road'.

13.3 yu:-gu-ni n^gima:-'di=yu-n^ga-na, ya:-nu:-'wuy
to there it makes path this way

n^gima:-'di=yu-n^ga-na, a:-'n^yba-duj n^giwu-gara=yu-n^ga-na-ruj
it makes path at other (place) where it makes hole
yi:-mulun^g-an^ybaj ba-gu *n^giwu-gara=lhan^garma-na
few others there it reaches hole

In that direction they make their paths, this way they make paths. A bunch of other (meat ants) make holes there at another place, they reach the holes.

* Here gara 'hole' is morphological direct object.

13.4 n^gi=yama-na-wugij n^ga n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
it does that only and then that

*n^gara-wuruj-dhan^gu, n^gara-garn^yirimba-lhan^gu,
big group large crowd
n^giwu-gara=lhan^garma-na ba-gu-ruj n^ga,
it reaches hole there farther and then
n^giwu-gara=lhaganma-na,
they share hole

They keep doing that. Then a big crowd of them (meat ants) come to the hole, further on over there. They use the same holes.

* Normally the noun stem -wuruj- means 'human'; Ma:di is using a word for 'crowd' (with suffix -lhan^gu) normally restricted to humans, here loosely to indicate the large number of ants.

13.5 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=raga:-'na-yin^yun^g an^ybaj mana:-'di
as for it which goes in front other path

n^gima=ma:ndhi:-', n^gara-ya:g, n^gara:-'-gi, ana:-'-ni
it makes it meat ant this (NGARA) this (ANA)
n^giwu=milga-n^y, ana-lha:l,
it did it to them all_p country

As for the ants which went in front (i.e. which dug the holes), they go and make another hole. These meat ants, they do this in all the countries (locations).

13.6 juy! wunumbi-yaj, arga:-'rgali, ana:-'-ni ana-wagi-yaj,
go northward in the west this southward

ana:-'ni ana:-'rwi-yaj, n^gi=yama-na-wugij na
 this to top it does that only now (English)
 *wara-wuruj, wa:='ri an^gi:='dhara-maga: n^gara:-'gi n^gara-ya:g,
 people not it is few this meat ant
 n^gi=yarawindi, ana-lha:l, n^giwu-lhal=an^gari:-', n^gi=bura:-',
 it is many country it takes care of country it sits
 da-gi:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj, n^gara-ya:g, da-gi-yun^g, n^gara-ya:g,
 all that meat ant that meat ant

(Meat ants can be found) going to the north, over in the west,
 here to the south, up here in the hills (to the west and northwest).
 It keeps doing that. The people. These meat ants are not few
 in number, they are numerous. They occupy (many) countries.
 All those (meat ants). Those meat ants.

* This occurrence of wuruj differs from that commented on
 in 13.4 since here we get the 3Pl or WARA prefix wara-,
 while in 13.4 we get the N^gARA class prefix typical of
 meat ants. It is possible, though, that this is another
 expression in which 'people' is used for meat ants as a
 way of marking plurality ('meat ant', like other nonhuman
 nouns, is not usually directly marked for plurality).

13.7 n^gijan^g an^ybaj, ama:-'ma:-'la ma:-'=buda:-'
 more other this one (MANA) coming it bulges
 nima=ma:ndha-n^gi, ni-ga-waj, na-wuwag, n^ga wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g
 he made it_c it is him! crow and so as for them (FDu)
 lha:du wa:n^gi=n^gu-ni wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g,
 mud-whelk shell they (FDu) ate it (WARA) as for them (FDu)
 n^gara-n^gajiwan^ggu-wa:, ana-ramalgaruj,
 two old women (place n.)

Furthermore, another (story). This thing (excrement?) is
 bulging. He made it (spear). Him, Crow. As for the two women,
 they were eating mud-whelk shells, the two old women, at the
 place Ramalgaruj.

Note: This segment is somewhat confused and involves
 anticipations of elements that enter into the narrative later on.

13.8 wa:n^gi-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga win^giwu-gara=yu-n^ga:-'
 they (FDu) ate it_c and then they made hole_c
 n^gun^yju a:-'ni-yi: a-mission-ji:, laundry, win^gi=ya-n^ggi
 similar like this like the mission toilet they went_c
 win^gi=malga-n-di ba-gu, wun^gunu=mamari-n^y
 they did it in early morning_c there they hid (it) from him_p
 mana:-'mi wun^gunu-ma=mamara-n^gi,
 this (MANA) they hid (it) from him_c
 They ate them (mud-whelks), then made a hole (for a toilet), like
 the toilet at this mission. They went and did it (defecated) early
 in the morning there, not letting him (Crow) see it.

13.9 n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ba-gu, win^gima-yijimdh-a-n^gi
 she went along there they used it (English loan)
 mana-laundry, mana-n^gguriya gada, win^gi-yama=yama::-' n^ga
 toilet excrement oops! they did that_c and then
 adaba wu-gara:^{ndhar-wi-'-n} ma:='ndhar-wi-'-n^y,
 then hole filled up_p it (excrement) filled up_p
 mari win^gima:='mba:='mbamadha-n^gi mada-miri::: n^ga,
 and they (FDu) covered it_c by means of grass and then
 win^gima:='ru-n^y,
 they abandoned it_p

She (emend to 'they'?) went along. There they used the toilet.
 They were doing that (defecating), so that the hole filled up.
 The toilet was filled up. They covered it with grass and left
 it there.

Note: Ma:di is using -n^gguriya 'excrement' also in the sense
 of 'toilet, defecating area'.

13.10 yin^gga muga, n^gurudhu win^gi=yama-n^y
 nearly indeed game animal they did that_p
 win^gima:='da:-'di=yu-n^ga:-' n^ga ya:-nu:='-wuy
 they made path_c and so this way
 win^gima:='da:-'di=yu-n^ga:-' n^ga yu:-gu-ni
 (see above) and then to there
 win^gima:='da:-'di=yu-n^ga:-', win^gi=malga-n^g,
 they did it in early morning_p
 win^gi=malga-n^g n^ga win^gima=na-n^y o:-'ba-ni-yun-duj,
 (see above) and then they saw it_p at that (place)

They did that, (making) it seem like (the burrow of) a game
 animal (bandicoot, see below). They made little tracks this way
 and that (coming out of the 'burrow'). They did this early in
 the morning (when it was still dark, so Crow would not see it).
 They saw it (the excrement) at that place.

13.11 aba ni-ga yuwa:-gu a-yiwa:duj *ni=yalamalhi-∅
 then he there at (place n.) he was on top_c
 ba-gu n^ga, wun^guna:='gada-n^gi adaba, wun^guna:='gada-n^gi
 there and then they shouted to him_c then they shouted to him_c
 adaba, win^gima=wann^ga-n^y "ari **nama:-'y=wann^ga-n^y
 then they stepped on it_p maybe we (InDu) will step on it_p
 yagu ari nambama:='nba-n^g",
 but maybe it will do it to us_p

He (Crow) was then over there at Yiwa:duj, on top there. They
 (the two women) shouted to him. They were standing over it (the
 toilet area). (They said,) "We two might step on it, but then
 it might do it to us (mess us up)."

* -walamalha- 'to be on top (of raised flat surface)'
** Suffix -n^g (nonPa₁) becomes -ny here by an irregular assimilation to the following y.

13.12 wun^guna:-'gada-n^gi "balwal! balwa:::l!"
they (FDu) shouted to him_c bandicoot bandicoot
ya:-mi ya:-mi balwal balwal numba:-'da-ya:::n^g
it is here bandicoot spear (it) for us!_p
numba:-'da-ya:::n^g gada, nama:'ru-n^gun-magi" win^gi=yama:-',
(see above) oops! lest it leave us they (FDu) did that
adaba ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=rilmurdi-n^y ni=rilmurdi-n^y ni=rilmurdi-n^y
then as for him he ran_p he ran_p he ran
ni=rilmurdi-n^y
he ran_p

They (two women) shouted to him (Crow), "There is a bandicoot here! Spear it for us! Spear it, or it will get away from us!" They said that. Then he ran (over there).

13.13 "yu:ga yan^gi:::", "balwal balwa:::l!", n^gijan^g
Q what? bandicoot more
ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y n^ga ba-gu-ruj ni=lha-n^ga-n^y,
he ran_p and then there further on he stood up_p
"yan^gi", "balwal balwal ya:-ma ya:-ma nama:'ru-n^gun-magi",
what? bandicoot it is here lest it leave us
wurugu ni-n^galn^y=jabo-n^y n^ga win^giwu:-'j=ga:ndiri-n^y,
later he hooked spear to woomera_p and then they (FDu) protested_p
(Crow said,) "What is it?" (They said,) "A bandicoot!" He continued running, then a little further on from there he stopped. (He said,) "What is it?" "There is a bandicoot here, (spear it) or it will get away from us!" Then he hooked up the spear to the woomera (spearthrower). But they protested at this.

13.14 "e! e! e! yagi! yagi! yagi! nun^y=jami-∅, bama:-'y=wann^ga-n^g
(shout) don't! you do that step on its nest!_p
bama:-'y=wann^ga-n^g, ba=garaja-n^g", niwu=buri-n^y ana-dhudabada mari
(see above) jump!_p he put it_p wire spear and
n^ga an-uwa-ga:-'la ni=garaji-n^y mari n^ga
and then from there he jumped_p and and then
nima:-'wann^ga-n^y,
he stepped on its nest_p
(They said,) "Oh! Don't do that! Jump on it and stomp on its nest!" So he put the wire spear down. Then he jumped down from there and stomped on its burrow.

Note: The term 'wire spear' is applied locally to a modern spear with iron prongs, similar to the older wooden-pronged spear. Actually, the wooden-pronged spear is more appropriate here and Ma:di is using 'wire spear' loosely (see 11.2, 11.6).

13.15 brrd! mari n^ga ni-bu=buln^yurn^yurwa:-' wun^gunu-nana-na-ni:::
(splash) and then he was splattered_c they (FDu) saw him_c
n^ga ni:'ri, mari na-miljir win^gini=mi-n^y, na-miljir
and then he was absent and crooked branch they got it_p
win^gini=mi-n^y, mari "nan^y=jamin^ggara-n^g, nana:'rgi-n^y"
and what will we (InDu) do?_p let's pull him_p
He splattered (in the excrement). They were looking at him, but then he was gone (covered in the excrement). They got a crooked branch (see 11.10). They decided to pull him (Crow) out.

13.16 n^ga wun^gunu-mum=biririmini-n^y ya:-ji
and then they tangled up his hair_p here
*wun^gunu-mun^ggu-mun^g=gururuga-n^y mari wun^guna::='rgi-n^y mari
they tangled up his hair_p and they pulled him_p and
n^ga yuwa:-gu, wun^gunu=murgulhi-n^y, n^ga
and then there they laid him down_p and then
"nan^y=jamin^ggara-n^g", n^ga yi:-ya:-duj, wun^gunu=murgulhi-n^y
what will we do?_p and then in meat ant they laid him down_p
yi:-ya:-duj,
in meat ant

Then they worked the hook of the crooked branch into his hair (which was covered with exrement) and twisted his hair around on the hook. Then they pulled him out (by the hair) and laid him down there. Then they decided to set him down among the meat ants.

* A rare reduplication (-mun^ggu-) of a punctual verb form.

13.17 ba-gu adaba n^gunu=yar-bi-ni n^gunu=wun^yja:-' n^gunu=yar-bi-ni,
there then it washed him_c it licked him_c it washed him_c
n^gunu-yarba=yar-bi-ni n^gunu-yarba=yar-bi-ni n^gunu-yarba=yar-bi-ni
it washed him_c

n^gunu-wun^yju=wun^yja:-' n^ga,
it licked him_c and then

Then they (meat ants) washed him, they licked (the exrement off) him. They kept washing and licking him.

13.18 ni-riri=riri-∅ ni-riri=riri-∅ n^ga, ni=lalagi-'-n^y,
he was drying off_c and then he got up_p
wi:ya! ni:'gi-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi a:-'n^ga-ruj, xxx,
finish! he returned_p he went_c in camp (unclear)
yin^gga ana-n^gamugijgaj di-rn^gu:-' win^gi=malga-n^g
nearly early morning there they (FDu) are they did at night
ana-marya-waj,
at food

He dried off. Then he got up and went back to his camp. Early the next morning (before dawn) those two were out gathering food.

13.19 nima:-'rya:='rya-n^gi nima:-'rya:='rya-n^gi nima:-'rya:='rya-n^gi
 he carved it_c
 nima=buri-n^y, yin^gga bi-rn^gi:-'la wa:='mulugugura-n^gi aba
 he put it_p nearly there they come it was late afternoon_c then
 nima:-'ra-n^gu=juluba:-', nima=juluba:-' mana-ma-n^gumij
 he hid them all_c he hid them_c pieces
 *mana-ma-gang, n^gijan^g yin^gga bi-rn^gi
 whatchamacallit parts more nearly they (FDu) are there
 win^gi=ya-n^ggi adaba
 they went_c then

He carved out (the spear shaft). Then he put it down. They were coming (back) in the late afternoon (after a day of gathering food). He concealed them both (i.e. two spears), the pieces, the whatchamacallit (i.e. spear shafts). They were almost there, they were coming then.

* Derivative of wan^g 'whatchamacallit' with MANA_{der} prefix.

13.20 nima:-'ra-ma-n^gi nima:='ryara-n^gi mana:-'n^ybaj, ni=yarbi-n^y
 he got them all_c he carved them_c other he ran_p
 mana-ma-garan^gay nima=wuldh-i-n^y, mana-ya:l, i::: yin^gga
 spear shaft he cut it_p tree sp. (meaningless) nearly
 bi-rn^gi win^gi=malga-n^g adaba nima=aba-n^y
 they are there they did in early morning_p then he wrapped it_p
 nima-aba=aba:-' nima-aba=aba:-' n^ga, nima=juluba-n^y,
 he wrapped it_c and then he hid them_p

He took them both and carved them, another (i.e. the second) one. He went quickly (over there) and cut down a sapling of a tree sp. (Macaranga tanarius) as a spear shaft. When they went away in the early morning (he worked on the spears). He wrapped them up and concealed them (when they came back late in the day).

13.21 "ana:-'ni n^gan^y=ja:-ri: a-n^gujija", ni=ya-n^ggi
 this I will go_c fish he went_c
 a-n^gujija ni-ga-wi-ruj-bugij ni-rana=ra-ni::: ana-lharduj
 fish at his (place) only he speared it_c (place n.)
 ni-rana=ra-ni::: n^ga, o:-'ba-ni-yun-duj maguj nima=lhi-n^y,
 he speared it_c and then at that pandanus he chopped it_p

He (Crow) decided to go for some fish. He went fishing at his usual place. He was spearing them at the place lharduj (a beach). He was spearing it. Then he cut down a pandanus tree.

13.22 mari niwu-raya-ra=yu-n^ga:-', niwu-ba-bagalan^y=ju-n^ga:-'
 and he cut the teeth in it_c he cut the eyes in it_c
 niwu-yudu-yudur=ju-n^ga:-', niwu-mulu-mulugun=ju-n^ga:-',
 he cut the nose in it_c he cut the fins in it_c

niwu-laga-laga=yu-n^ga:-' n^ga, *win^gi-yaran^gga:-'
 he cut tail area in it_c and then they (FDu) looked_c
 wu-yamar=galadhi-Ø, wu-yamar=galadhi-Ø ana:-'-ni,
 it was lying broadside (to them)_c this
 (He was carving it.) He carved out the teeth, the eyes, the nose area, the fins, the tail area. They (the two women) looked, and (they saw it) lying their with its side broadside to them.
 * =waran^gga-.

13.23 ni-rana=ra-ni ni-rana=ra-ni n^ga,
 he speared it_c and then

wun^guna:-'ga:-'=garan^gga:-' n^ga, n^gara-n^gajiwanggu-wa: n^ga,
 they looked for him_c and then two old women and then
 ni-yara-wad=bari-n^y, "ni-rn^gi:-'ruj numa-wurugu=na-ni,
 he threw them all down_p at our (ExFDu) place you (Sg) saw billabong_c
 wa:='ri, *ni:n^giwa:-'=mamaga, ni:n^giwa:-'=mamaga",
 not we have reserved it

He (Crow) was spearing them (fish). Then they (the two women) were looking at him, the two old women. Then he dumped them (fish) down. (They said to him,) "You saw the billabong in our territory (and fished in it). No. It is reserved for us."

* Unusual use of Benefactive -aG- with an adjectival noun stem, creating a form which takes transitive prefixes.
 This word is not in the scope of the preceding negation.

13.24 win^gi-yama=yama:-' win^gi-yangga=ya-n^ggi:::, win^gi=jarari-n^y
 they did that_c they went_c they moved_p
 adaba, "ni-rn^gi:-'yun^g na:n^gima-wurugu=na-yi:",
 then as for us (FDu) we will see billabong_c
 win^gi-yangga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga, araga a:-'ndhur-gaj-bugij
 they went_c and then suddenly still straight
 win^gi=ya-n^ggi win^gi-yaran^gga-n^y mari n^ga wu-lhaj=galadhi-Ø
 they went_c they looked_c and and then wood lay across_c
 wu-lhan^y-n^gu=duma:-', ana:-'madharn^gga, win^giwu=na-n^y,
 wood was dark_c barracuda they saw it_p

They sait that. They went on, the moved on. (They told him,) "We (two women) will look at the billabong." They went on, then straight ahead they looked (and saw) the black, wooden barracuda lying across their way (i.e. with its side to them).

13.25 "yu:ga na=mara-n^g", "girjag! girjag! girjag!
 Q we (InDu) will crouch_p no!
 girjag!, nan^gga:='ru-n^gun-magi nan^gga:='ru-n^gun-magi,
 no! lest it leave us
 nana:-'=gada-n^g "", win^gi=yarbi-n^y n^ga wun^guna:-'=gada-n^gi,
 let's shout to him_p they ran_p and then they shouted to him_c

"numba:-'da-ya-n^g! numba:-'da-ya-n^g!, gurgin! gurgin!
spear (it) for us!"_p barracuda
numba:-'da-ya-n^g! numba:-'da-ya-n^g! numba:-'da-ya-n^g!"
(One of the women said to the other,) "Why don't we crouch low
(to catch the fish with our hands)?" (The other said,) "No!
That way it will get away from us. Let's shout for him (Crow)!"
They shouted to him, "Barracuda! Spear it for us!"

13.26 *ni=yadhalaliga:-'wugij, ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=yilbali-n^y,
he paid no attention still_c as for him he played trick_p
ni-ga n^gun^yju wun^gunu=mamari-n^y, ni-ga:-'yun^g wani=mamari-n^y too,
he similar they hid from him_p as for him he hid from them_p
He pretended to ignore them (did not react to their shouts). He
played a trick on them. He, just as they had hidden (the
excrement) from him, he deceived them too.

Note: The form ni-ga:-'yun^g can be translated 'he too' as well
as 'as for him'; Ma:di and some other speakers now often add
English too in the former sense.

* =wadhalaliga-.

13.27 win^gi=yama:-' win^gi=yama:-' "gurgin! gurgin!
they did that_c barracuda
numba:-'da-ya-n^g", "yu:ga mabur", aba an^ybaj ana-lha:wu
spear (it) for us!"_p Q string then other word(s)
ni=yambi:-ni ni-ga:-'yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la wani=maga:-', ni-ga:-'yun^g
he spoke_c as for him from there he told them_c as for him
*niwu-mi=jan^ga-n^g yaga: araga ana-a:n^g ana:-'madharn^gga,
he heard name_p Ø suddenly whatchamacallit barracuda

They (two women) kept saying, "Barracuda! Spear (it) for us!"
(But he said, pretending to misunderstand,) "Is is some string?"
(He went on like that,) speaking other words. However, he really
heard (them say) the (correct) name, whatchamacallit, barracuda.
* -mij- plus /=yan^ga-/.

13.28 "gurgin! gurgin! numba:-'da-ya:::n^g!", "yu:ga lhabarao!",
barracuda spear (it) for us!"_p Q coolamon
ni-ga:-'yun^g an^ybaj adaba ana-lha:wu *wani:-'ni, yin^gga n^gijan^g
as for him other then word(s) he gave them_c nearly more
bi-rn^gi:-'la win^gi:'di-n^y, "gurgin! gurgin! numba:-'da-ya-n^g!",
there they come they shouted_p barracuda spear (it) for us!"_p
(They shouted,) "Barracuda! Spear it for us!" (He said,) "Is it
a coolamon (container)?" He was giving them other (i.e. incorrect)
words. He was coming closer to them. They were shouting,
"Barracuda! Spear (it) for us!"

* Pronominal prefix wani- 3MSg/3Pl_a plus verb form =i-ni
(root -i/-yi/-u- 'to give to').

13.29 "yu:ga ana:::n^y", ni-ga ana:-'ji:-'li ni=yama:-'
Q yamstick he from here he did that_c
na-wuwag, wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g win^giwu=maya:-' an-uwa-ga:-'la,
crow as for them (FDu) they named it_c from there
an-uwa-ga:-'la mana-madhala-gala, ni-ga an^ybaj ana-lha:wu wani:-'ni,
from there from beach he other words he gave them_c
n^gijan^g win^gi=yarbi-n^y n^ga "gurgin! gurgin! numba:-'da-ya-n^g!
more they ran_p and then barracuda spear (it) for us!"_p
numba:-'da-ya-n^g! gurgi:::n!", barracuda

(Crow said,) "Is it a yamstick?" He was on this side of them,
saying that, Crow. As for them, they were calling out the
name ('barracuda') from over there, from the beach. He (Crow)
kept giving them other words. They ran along and (said),
"Barracuda! Spear it for us!"

13.30 "yu:ga n^gurao:::!", n^gija:::n^g, "gurgin! gurgin!
Q fire more barracuda

numba:-'da-ya:::n^g", "yu:ga liwao:::!", wurugu n^ga ni-ga
spear (it) for us!"_p Q paperbark later and then he
*a:-'n^yba-gan^yba-jin^yun^g wani-yara=maga:-' wani-yara=maga:-'
of various others he told them_c
a:-'n^ybaj-gan^ybaj-gala-waj, ni=magi:-'ni,
along the various others he told_c

(Crow:) "Is is a fire?" Once again (they said,) "Barracuda!
Spear it for us!" "Is it some paperbark?" It went on like that.
He was telling them (the names of) several other things, all
the other things. He was telling (them) that.

* Irregular reduplication -an^ybaj-gan^ybaj- from an^ybaj 'other'.
The jg cluster may simplify, as in this case, to g.

13.31 "gurgin! gurgin! numba:-'da-ya-n^g!", "yu:ga n^gurao:::!
barracuda spear (it) for us!"_p Q

n^ganamba:-'biln^gin^yjao:::n^g!", "gurgin! gurgin!
I will build fire for you (Pl)_p barracuda

numba:-'da-yao:::n^g!", "yu:ga gurgin", "yo!: yo!: yo!: yo!:,
spear (it) for us!"_p Q barracuda yes!

"Barracuda! Spear it for us!" "Is it fire (that you want)?
Shall I build you a fire?" "Barracuda! Spear it for us!"
"Is it a barracuda" (he said, finally). "Yes!"

13.32 ni=yama-n^y mari n^ga jan^ggaw!, mana-ma:guru,
he did that_p and and then grab wooden-pronged spear
nima=n^gargiwa-n^y, mana-wingil, an-uwa-ga:-'la
he pulled it out_p wooden-pronged spear from there

ma-mar=bilwila-n^gi-yin^yung ma=yama:-' wil! wil! wil! wil! wil!
which was quivering_c it did that_c fly
wil! wil! wil!, wil! wil! wil! wil! niwa:-'ban=bann^ga-n^y
fly he hit ground_p
ni=rabali-n^y wil! wil! wil!,
he came out_p

He said that, then grabbed his wooden-pronged spear. He pulled it out (of the ground). From there it quivered (and flew him along with it). He went flying along, then he hit the ground. He appeared to them (the two women).

13.33 "a-ni-ga a-ni-ga a-ni-ga a-ni-ga" "ya:-ni ya:-ni
where? it is here

ya:-ni", n^gijan^g n^ga "ana:-'ni n^gan^ggu=ra-ya-n^g-maji:
more and then this if I spear it.
n^ga n^gangga:=jarga-n^g, araga nimbin^gi=mara-n^g",
and then I will miss it_p suddenly you two (FDU) crouch!_p
mari n^ga win^gi=mari-n^y, n^gi-ga ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^gi=mari-n^y
and and then they crouched_p she this side she crouched_p
n^ga "nimbin^gi-lan=banaga-n^yja-n^g",
and then you two hold your knees!_p

(Crow said,) "Where is it?" "Over here!" He went on and said, "If I spear it like this, I might miss it. Why don't you two crouch down?" They crouched, one on this side (and the other on the far side). Then (he said,) "Hold your knees together!"

13.34 mari n^ga ya:-ji na-la:n ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, na-la:n
and and then here knee it sat down_p knee
ya:-ji ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-nu:-'wuy
here it sat down_p as for it this way
wu-lhaj=galadhi-Ø bandhara, wu=waladhi-Ø bandhara, wu:::yarbi-n^y,
wood lay across_c middle it lay across_c middle it ran_p

Here one knee went down, here (the other) knee went down. As for the wooden object (the 'barracuda'), it was lying across in the middle.

13.35 "yagi n^gi:-ragar=ni:-', yagi n^gi:-ragar=ni:-',
don't you see my spear!
n^gawa:=jargi-Ø-magi nimbin^gi-n^gara-n^gu=baguma-n^g nimbin^gi=yama-n^g,
lest I miss it you both shut eyes!_p do that!_p
nimbin^gi-ba=diriwan^yja-n^g n^gun^yju n^gan^ggu=ra-ya-n^g",
you two close eyes tightly_p similar I will spear it_p
(He told them,) "Don't look at my spear! Otherwise I will (lose concentration and) miss it. Shut your eyes like that! Shut them tightly, while I spear it!"

13.36 yin^gga ni-n^galn^y=jaba-n^y aba
nearly he hooked spear to woomera_p then
wani=ra-ni-yun^gguyun^g araga, "i! *nu-gi=wa-n^g!, n^gijan^g
for him to spear them suddenly (shout) oh dear! more
**nun^ggu=wurura-n^gi wara-wuruj-ba:-wuy wara-wuruj-ba:-wuy,
you pointed it_c to two humans to two humans
ari yagu numba=ra-ya-n^g",
maybe but you will spear us_p

Now he hooked his spear up, ready to throw it. He was about to spear them. (One of them saw him out of the corner of her eye and said,) "Oh! Oh dear! You were pointing it at (us,) the two humans! Maybe you are going to spear us (, not the barracuda)!"

* -gi=wa-, see note on 5.14 (above).

** The form has ANA(wu) object; the exact sense and morphology are unclear. This is apparently the only ex. I have of this verb in the texts.

13.37 "girjag! n^gan^ggu-ragar=dhulhuwi-n^y n^gan^ggu-ragar=dhulhuwi-n^y
no! it pushed my spear along_p
n^gan^ggu-ragar=dhulhuwi-n^y ya:-ni:-'la wu-dhan^gun^y" ni=yama-n^y,
(see above) here it comes wind he did that_p
n^gijan^g n^ga yin^gga "nimbin^gi-ba=diriwan^yja-n^g n^ga",
more and then nearly you two close eyes tight!_p and then
n^gijan^g n^ga n^gi-ga yin^gga n^gi=yama-n^y ba-ni
more and then she nearly she did that_p it is there
n^gi=baguma-n^y, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=baguma-n^y yin^gga
she shut eyes_p as for her she shut eyes_p nearly
win^gi-ba=diriwan^yji-n^gy,
they (FDU) closed eyes tight_p

(Crow answered,) "No! This wind coming along here pushed my spear away from where I wanted to aim it." He said that. Then (he said), continuing, "Why don't you two keep your eyes tightly closed?" Then one of the women did that, she shut her eyes. As for her (the other), she also shut her eyes. They closed their eyes tightly.

13.38 ma-gu-ru mana:-'n^ybaj ya:-ji ma=lha-n^ga-n^y, yin^gga
it (MANA) other here it stood up_p nearly
ana:-'ji-ji:-'la-yin^yung yu-gu-ni ma=lha-n^ga-n^y, jarg!,
of this side to there it stood_p stab-
"way!, nu-gi=ya-n^g! n^gijan^g nun^y=jamin^gga-n^g ni-gi,
oh! oh dear! more what did you do!_p (my) son
numba=ra-n^g",
you speared us_p

One (spear) had been erected over here (i.e. in one spot), the one for this side was erected over there. He threw the spear through them. (The two women cried out,) "Ouch! Oh dear! What have you done, son! You have speared us!"

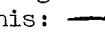
13.39 "wa:::g!, wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g!" *wani:-'du-n^gu=jura-n^gi
(cawing) he pushed spear into them_c
an-u-gu-ni niwa:-'ban=galhara-n^gi, "wa:::g! wa:::g!" adaba
to there he pierced ground_c (cawing) then
ya-ga-waj ana:-'ban wu=buri-∅, ya:-ni-waj,
this far ground it sat_c it is along here

He (Crow) was cawing, "Waag!" He pushed the spear through them. He pushed them all the way until the spear had entered into the ground. He was still cawing. Now the ground was this high (over the spearhead; speaker indicates about 75 cm.), like along here.

* The compounding initial is -adu- 'spear'.

13.40 "wa:::g! wa:::g!", *ni=yaya jarda-n^gi n^ga
he pushed to bottom_c and then
*wu-n^gul-waj, win^gi-yaran^ggi=lha-y, yin^gga
at waist they stood with spear shaft_c nearly
win^gi=n^gargiwi-'n^y n^ga girjag!, aba ma-gu-ru
they pulled themselves out_p and then no! then it (MANA)
ma=yali-n^y yamba niwa:-'ban=galhari-n^y-jin^yun^g ma=yama-n^y-jin^yun^g,
it went far_p because which he pierced ground_p which did that_p

He cawed again. He rammed it through to deeply below the surface of the ground. The 'waist' of the spear shaft was about through them. They tried to pull themselves out but they could not. It (the spear) which was jammed into the ground like that went in deeply.

Note: As this narrator visualises the scene, Crow has thrown one huge spear with two large wooden prongs diverging slightly from each other like this:  . Each woman is pinned down by one of the prongs, and Crow has thrust the spear so deeply into the ground that the 'waist' of the spear (where the two prongs join the main shaft) is where the spear is going through their bodies now.

13.41 ma=nimbinimbi ma=buri-∅, ni-yang^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga
it was firm it sat_c he went_c and then
yuwa-ga:-'la ni-bu=buri-∅ ama-magabang^g-gala a-yiwa:duj,
from there he sat_c from sandhill (place n.)
"wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g! wa:::g!" ni=yama:-',
(cawing) he did that_c
ni=yama:-' adaba,
he did that_c then

It (the spear) was firmly planted (i.e. could not be moved). He (Crow) went along from there, from the sandhill, at the place Yiwa:duj. He was cawing. He did that then.

13.42 "wudijbululu::: n^gangu-naya=na-yi:
calm wind I will see it_c
n^gambambi-wana:-'na-yi:::, wan^ggu-rulbu-rulbu=walandha:-'
they will see (it) for me_c its back will lie across_c
ana-wu:ji:::, ana-wunurunuru:::, ana-walmadha, wa:::g!, wa:::g!"
fog fog fog (cawing)
ni=yama:-'
he said

(Crow sang,) "I will see the calm wind! They (people) will see signs of me! The fog will be broadside (to me)! Caw!" he said.

Note: This partly spoken, partly sung routine is similar to the laments of Emu and Brolga at the end of text 7, and other analogous textual passages. Some of the epithets for 'fog' used here are uncommon except in song and poetic speech. The form 'they will see (it) for me_c' would normally be n^gambambi:-'na:-'na-yi:, but the form given here shows a longer form /-wa:G-/ of the Benefactive prefix, normally /-aG-/ , at least in the reduplicative segment /-wa:Gna-/ .

13.43 wani-nana=na-ni::: aba ma:=n^gari-n^y, wani-nana=na-ni:::
he saw them_c then tide came in_p he saw them_c
ya-ga-waj, wani-nana=na-ni::: ya-ga-waj, wani-nana=na-ni::: ya-ga-waj,
this far he saw them_c this far
mana-lhagayag an-u-gu-ni ana:-'rwi-yaj ma=ya-n^ggi-yin^yun^g,
saltwater to there upward which went_c

He watched them. The tide came in. He watched them up to here (in the water), he watched them up to here, up to here, up to here. The saltwater was moving upwards, that way.

13.44 wani-nana=na-ni::: ya:-ni-waj, wani-nana=na-ni:::
he saw them_c it is along here he saw them_c
aba ya:-ni-waj, wani-nana=na-ni::: aba win^gi=n^gambi-n^y,
then it is along here he saw them_c then they were submerged_p
yuwa:-gu adaba win^gi=n^gambi-n^y yu:-gu-ni lhiribala-wuy,
there then they were submerged_p to there downward
win^gi=buri-∅, win^gi-yina-n^gu=buri-∅, da-ni-yun^g.
they sat_c their heads sat_c that
He watched them (as the saltwater was) along here, and along here. Then they were underwater, they were underwater there, (going) down. They were (below), their heads were (below). That is that.

Comments on text 13

This is one of the most widely known and most popular stories among the Nunggubuyu; it is not closely bound to major rituals, though it is certainly a dreamtime episode and it has left behind totemic objects at and near Wumilij. The structure of the narrative is fairly simple, involving an initial episode culminating (if that is the word) in Crow's jumping into a pile of excrement after being tricked by the two women (his clan, but one generation elder). Crow then turns the tables on the two women by tricking them with a wooden 'barracuda', and it is easy to see that the correspondences linking the two episodes are quite detailed.

Crows are, of course, scavenging birds and are the most prominent such scavengers around human camps in this coastal region (further inland the fork-tailed kite has this distinction). Therefore crows have somewhat the same intrusive status as gecko lizards (see texts 3-5). The role of bandicoots in this story appears due simply to the fact that these animals construct underground burrows and thus fit into the requirements of the first episode. I do not have any special insight into the choice of barracuda as the fish, other than the fact that this species is rather long and thin, which seems appropriate in terms of the visual arrangements suggested.

For a similar version see item #7 in Hughes (1969).

TEXT 14 SILVER GULL, SWAMP PHEASANT, AND MEAT ANT
Laran^gana

14.1 n^gambalbalu ana-lha:l, n^gun^yju wu-gu-ru ana-ramalgaruj,
(place n.) country similar it (place n.)

na-wuwag ni-ga:-'yung n^gambalbalu n^gara-ya:g, o:-'wa:-ni
crow as for him (place n.) meat ant that
ran^yjirij, an-uba-ni a:-'la n^gambalbalu,
(place n.) that river (place n.)

The place N^gambalbalu. Similar to the place Ramalgaruj, Crow (was there). Meat Ant was at N^gambalbalu. That place Ran^yjirij, that river N^gambalbalu.

14.2 n^guji ja aba n^gi=wi-ni, n^gi-wini=wi-ni::: ana:-'n^ga
fish then she killed it_c she killed it_c camp
n^ga an-uba-ni n^gi:-'n^ga-n^gu=buri-∅, ama-lhan^gada o:-'ba-ma
and then that her camp sat_c jungle that
a-n^gambalbalu, n^gi=buri::-' n^guji ja::: lhulun^gu yagu,
(place n.) she sat_c fish mullet sp. but
ya:! munhal algur-yan^gi algur-yan^gi n^gi=wi-ni
(meaningless) perchlet any kind any kind she killed it_c
n^gi=wi-ni,
she killed it_c

She (Meat Ant) was killing fish. She had her camp there, in that rainforest area, at N^gambalbalu. She was there, killing fish-- perchlets, all kinds of fish.

14.3 aba n^ga:~~r~~'ru:->, ni-ga na:-'nn^gina-yung ni=ya-n^ggi
then he abandoned her_c he husband he went
yu-gu-ni, gari baby win^yig, gujuju, adaba
to there having (creole) small baby then
n^gu=lhama-n^y n^gara-n^gari-mara-yung n^gu=yaba-n^y, n^ga
he begat her_p daughter she bore her_p and then
n^gi-bu=buri-∅ ba-gu a:-'n^ga-ruj aba xxx n^gu-ran^ga=ran^gara-n^gi,
she sat_c there in camp then (unclear) she took care of her_c
He, her husband, had left her. He went that way. (They) had a small baby. He (the husband) had begotten a daughter. She (Meat Ant) had borne her. She (Meat Ant) stayed there in the camp, she took care of her (the baby).

14.4 n^gu-wara:-'ra=yaba:-' ana:-'ni::: xxx,
she put on her arm_c this (unclear)
n^gu-wara:-'ra=yaba:-' xxx, n^gu-lan^g=gaba-n^y,
she put on her arm_c (unclear) she put (it) around her head_p
n^ga n^gu-bi=yaba-n^y, n^gi=buri-∅-wugij adaba
and then she put (it) around her waist_p she only sat_c then
n^gi::=:wilijbili j n^gi=wilijbili j an-uwa:-gu n^ga wa:n^g,
she was beautiful there and then whatchamacallit

She put (armband, manba) on her (daughter's) arms. She did that, and wrapped (string belt, bu:dhun^g) around her head. She put (string belt) around her waist. Then she (the daughter) stayed there, beautiful (i.e. with splendid decorations).

14.5 n^ga n^gara-ya:g n^gi=ya-n^ggi adaba yu:-gu-ni
and then meat ant she went_c then to there
a-n^guji ja-wuy, n^gijan^g n^gari-mara-yung ba-gu n^gi=buri-∅
to fish more daughter there she sat_c
Then Meat Ant went that way, to (get some) fish. Her daughter continued to stay there (at the camp).

14.6 wu-gu-ni wini=ya-n^ggi a:-gugu-wuy an-uwa-ga:-'la,
they (MDu) they went_c to water from there
na-jarag mari na-wubug, wini=ya-n^ggi an-uwa-ga:-'la
silver gull and swamp pheasant they went_c from there
n^gala:ligi wini=ra-n^g, an-uwa-ga-ga:-'la nu:-'ba-gi
green turtle they speared it_p far side that (NA)
wini=balhu:-' yigaj an-uba-ni ana:-'n^g, ba-gu
they cut it up_c there! that (ANA) whatchamacallit there

winiwu=rad-ba-n^g an-uba-ni, ana-lhamugu, winiwu=rad-ba-n^g, they tied it up_p that bark canoe they tied it up_p
As for them (two men), they came (onto the mainland) for drinking water. Silver Gull and Swamp Pheasant. They came from that way and speared a green turtle. They butchered it over on that side. Whatchamacallit, they tied up their stringybark canoe.

Note: The two men had come from somewhere distant and had been hunting in a canoe in the Gulf near the camp of Meat Ant.

14.7 wini=ya-n^ggi a:-gugu-wuy winiwa:-'lhaga=lharma-n^gi
they went_c to water they hunted for it_c
wini=waran^gga-n^y araga wirin^ga=na-n^y "way! ya:-wu-ru
they looked_p suddenly they saw her_p oh! they are here
wuruj-buruj", "nagang a:-da-nu:-' *nu=nun^y-jan^gi-mayi",
people you (Sg) that where are you from?
"n^ga:-rigan^g ya:-gi n^gi=ya-n^ggi, a-n^guji-a-wuy
I (my) mother she is here she went_c to fish
n^gi=ma-ni", n^gara-ya:g n^gi=yama-n^y
she got it_c meat ant she did that_p

They went looking (on the mainland) for drinking water. They looked, and there they saw her (the daughter). (Young Meat Ant, the daughter, said,) "Oh dear! There are people here!" (They said to her,) "Where are you from?" (i.e. her clan affiliation, etc.) (She said,) "My mother is here with me, but she went that way and get some fish." Meat Ant (the daughter) said that.

* Based on yan^gi-mayi 'what country?' from yan^gi 'what?'. To this is added Gentilic /nuN-/ to give nuny-jan^gi-mayi 'person of what country?', and 2S^ga prefix /nuN-/ at the beginning. This form is a common question used to establish the social identity of a stranger.

14.8 an-uba-ni:-'la aba wu-gu-ni wirin^ga=mi-n^y, na-jarag
from there then they (MDu) they got her_p silver gull
mari na-wubug, yirija-wa: n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
and pheasant of Yirija moiety (Du) as for her
n^ga:-da-gi-yun^g n^gari-minigi-yun^g n^ga n^gara-ya:g,
that one (FSg) of Mandha:yun^g moiety (FSg) and then meat ant
After that Silver Gull and Swamp Pheasant grabbed her. They (the two men) were both of the Yirija moiety, while she was of the Mandha:yun^g moiety, Meat Ant.

Note: The point is that the men were not in the proper relationship to the young Meat Ant to legitimately marry her. The fact that there are in opposite moieties by itself would favor their marriage, but as Laran^gana explains in the next segment their specific kin relationships are not proper.

14.9 mari n^ga-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g muga wini=yama:-' muga,
and (their) mother in law indeed they did thatc indeed

n^gun^yju wu:=yama-na wa:-du-ru, wara-mand-irija wu-gu-ru,
similar they do that those (Pl) of Yirija moiety (Pl) they
mand-irija-walij ana-gaja:li wu=yama-na wara-mandha:yum-balij
Yirija pair mother in law it does that Mandha:yun^g pair
yagu wu-gu-ni yirija-wa: na:-di-nu:-' wrong, wa:='ri
but they (MDu) of Yirija moiety those (MDu) improper not
ana:-'n^g
whatchamacallit

And they (the two men) called her mother-in-law (a taboo relationship in which contact of any kind is forbidden). They were like those people (at Numbulwar) of the Yirija moiety. They (the two meat ant people) were like that, a Mandha:yun^g pair, but they (the two men) were Yirija. They were wrong, not (proper).

Note: Laran^gana's explanation here is somewhat confused and not fully articulate, but the gist of it is that the two men were not in the proper kinship relation to the meat ant girl to have legitimate sexual relations with her.

14.10 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wirin^ga=ya:rigi:-ni bu-gu-nu:-',
they (MDu) went_c they transported her_c to there
n^ga yi:-ba-gi yi:-n^gala:ligi-ruj, winiwu=mi-n^y n^ga
and then that (NA) at green turtle they put it (ANA)_p and then
wirin^ga=yaba-n^y
they put her in_p

They (the two men) went along, they took her that way. Back where the green turtle (whom they had killed and butchered) was, (where) they put it (the canoe). They put her in.

14.11 aba an-uba-ga:-'la n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gu=ragu-ni,
then from there as for her she looked for her_c
"a-ni-ga-wuy n^gi=ya-n^ggi, a-ni-ga n^gi=ya-n^ggi ala",
to where? she went_c (to) where? she went_c all right?
n^gi=yarbi-n^y yu:gu-ni ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gi-lharu=ja-n^ggi
she ran_p to there this way she traveled on foot_c
She (the meat ant mother) came along looking for her (the daughter). "I wonder where she went? Where did she go, huh?" She rushed along this way and that, on foot.

14.12 n^gi=waran^gga-n^y ya:-ni:-'la wu=yama:-' n^gi=ya-n^ggi
she looked_p here it comes it did that_c she went_c
ana-mu:n, n^gi=ya-n^ggi-yin^y ni-ga:-'yun^g da-gi:-'la-yun^g
foot which she went (with) as for him there he comes
ni-ga:-'yun^g da-gi:-'la-yun^g, na-walyi-n^y un^g na-walyi-n^y un^g,
as for him there he comes man

wini=wula-wa: na-walya-wa:, na-wubug mari na-jarag,
they are two two men pheasant gull

She (mother meat ant) looked. She went along with her feet
doing like this. (Then she saw them.) One of them was there,
the other there, the two men, Swamp Pheasant and Silver Gull.

Note: The deictic forms glossed 'there he comes', in this
context, mean 'there he is (was)' with the specification that
Meat Ant is moving toward them.

14.13 adaba n^gi-ga:-'yun^g wirin^ga=mi-n^y adaba wirin^ga=ya:rigi:-ni
then as for her they got her_p then they transported her_c
an-uba-ni, n^gi-ga n^gu=ragu-ni wirin^ga=yaba-n^y, aba
that she she looked for her_c they put her in_p then
an-uwa-ga:-'la n^gi=rulmurdi-n^y n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi
from there she ran_p as for her she proceeded_c
da-ju:-' ana:-'nan^y n^giwu=wana^gaga:-', anan^y,
there yamstick she held it_c yamstick
n^gi:-'n^y ji=wayama-n^gi-wugij n^gi:-'n^y ji=wayama-n^gi-wugij,
she proceeded with (it) only_c

They had gotten (kidnapped) and carried away (the daughter).
She (the mother) looked for her. They had put her (the
daughter) in (the canoe). Then she (the mother) came running
along, holding a yamstick (sharp digging stick).

14.14 du-ra:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj du-ra:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj
all those
n^gi=rabali-n^y n^gima:-'ban=bann^ga-n^y aba bu-ru-waj
she came out_p she hit the ground_p then they are along there
wuru=madhanda-n^gi, "gao:::! nimbina:='ni-n^y! nimbina:='ni-n^y!
they paddled_c hey! come (MDu)!_p
nimbin^a:='ni-n^y! nimbini:='dada-n^g nimbina:='ni-n^y nimbina:='ni-n^y!
come!_p go up!_p come!_p
ga:!, n^giri=yarbi-n^y! n^ga:-da-gu:-' ",
hey! bring (her) to me! that (FSg)

They were all along there. She (the mother) came out and
landed on the ground (after leaping). They (the two men with
the young Meat Ant) were paddling along out of her reach. She
shouted, "Hey! Come here! Come onto the shore! Come here!
Bring her to me, that (girl)!"

14.15 aba n^ga wini=madhanda-n^gi n^ga, wini=madhanda-n^gi
then and then they paddled_c and then they paddled_c
adaba yu:-gu-ni ana-lhamugu, a-lhu:n^y-jin^yun^g, wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi
then to there bark canoe of stringybark tree they made it_c
o:-'ba-ni a:n^g, wi:-rana=ra-ni
that whatchamacallit they built ('speared') it_c

wara-min^y-n^gambara,
elders

They paddled along that way, (in) the bark canoe. A canoe made
from stringybark, they had made it. They built it, the old
people (now dead).

Note: Until a few decades ago the Nunggubuyu made simple
canoes from strips of bark from the stringybark tree, Eucalyptus
tetradonta. In recent times, more durable dugout canoes
(mana-rangag) have been used; they were introduced by the
Macassans.

14.16 wini=madhanda-n^gi wirin^ga=yaba-n^y na-jarag mari na-wubug,
they paddled_c they put her in_p gull pheasant
an-uba-ni wini=madhanda-n^gi ana-minindhiri-wuy ana-riljiwulun^ga
that they paddled_c (place n.) -to (place n.)
an-uwa:-ni, ana:-'n^ga ba-ni wini=buri-∅,
that camp it is there they (MDu) sat_c

They paddled. They put her (the daughter) in. Gull and Pheasant
paddled along there, to the island of Minindhiri and the island
of Riljiwulun^ga. They stayed there, their camp was there.

14.17 wini-madha=madhanda-n^gi wini-madha=madhanda-n^gi ,
they paddled_c
wini=madhandi-n^y wini=madhandi-n^y wini=madhandi-n^y, "gao:::!
they paddled_p hey!
nimbin^a='ni-n^y nimbina:='ni-n^y! *n^giri:-'=juri:-'
come (MDu)!_p take (her) to me!_c
n^ga:-da-gu:-' ", "girjag!", "wa:::y!"
that (FSg) no! oh dear!

They (the two men, with young Meat Ant) paddled along, they
kept paddling. (The mother, back on the shore, shouted,) "Hey!
Come back! Bring her to me, that girl!" (But they said,)
"No!" (The mother shouted,) "Oh dear!"

* The stem is /-yura-/ , not /-jura-/ .

14.18 adaba wini=madhanda-n^gi-wugij *wini=bu-gu-nu:-'
then they paddled only they were that way
adaba, wirin^ga=yari:-ni, ga:::y! ba:='ran^gga-n^g mari:::g!"
then they took her away_c oh! look! daughter
n^ga wa:='ri an^gi=waran^gga:-', n^gijan^g n^ga
and then not she looked more and then
n^gi:=di-n^y **mal-gan^yja:bugij, "ga:::!, ba:='ran^gga-n^g!"
she called_p once hey! look!_p

They were still paddling, they were (going) over that way.
They took her (the daughter) away. (The mother, still on shore,
shouted,) "Oh! Look, my daughter!" But the daughter was not
looking. She (the mother) called out again once, "Hey! Look!"

Note: The mother_i wants her daughter_j to see her_i stabbing her_i own eyes (see next segment).

* From bu-gu-nu:-' 'to there', normally an adverbial noun without pronominal prefixes, but here with 3MDua wini-.

** /malg-/ 'times' plus an'yja:bugij 'one'.

14.18 n^gi=waran^gga-n^y n^gi=yama-n^y, mari jarg! ya:-ni:-'la-yun^g
she looked_p she did that_p and jab along here
ama-mun^gbarg n^gi-ba=galhari-'-n^y, n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, ya:-ji
eye she hurt herself in the eye_p she died_p here
wu-nuga=lha-ra, mari ya:-ji wu-nuga=lha-ra, dreaming
stone stands and here stone stands totemic object
adaba an-uba-ni dreaming, mari ba-ni n^gi-nuga=lha-ra,
then that and it is there she stands as stone
wi:ya!.
finish

She (the daughter) looked like this (at her mother). Then suddenly she (her mother) jabbed at her own eyes. Here, in the eyes, she hurt herself (with the point of the yamstick). She died. There is one stone here, and another over here (representing the two men), that is a dreaming (totemic site). Also over there she (mother Meat Ant) is standing in the form of a stone. That is all.

Comments on text 14

Perhaps the most significant background point to be made is that the capture of the girl by the two men is made all the more heinous by their inappropriate kinship relationship to her, though Laran^gana seems to be unclear on the details of this point. To capture, and take as wife, a woman in the taboo 'mother-in-law' kinship category is an almost unthinkably horrifying act in this society. The notion of the barbaric capture of a young woman recurs in other texts, notably those dealing with the capture of a human girl by a crocodile or a water buffalo (see below). This is, of course, a female counterpart to the myths involving the capture of a young boy (as in the Olive Python myth, texts 1-2, and the myth of Emu, Gecko, and the Little Boy, texts 3-5, above). However, in the male versions the boy is normally eventually returned to his kinspeople and reintegrated into his society after a symbolic initiation, while this element is largely absent from the female versions. (Female initiation is, to my knowledge, much less elaborate in ritual than male initiation.)

This myth occurs also in Hughes (1969), item #8, differing only in small details from this version. In Hughes' version one of the men first notices the presence of the young Meat Ant by seeing her reflection in the water as he drinks.

TEXT 15 MANN^yAMANN^yIRI Laran^gana

15.1 adaba a-n^gujija ni=ya-n^ggi, ambugambu-wala, na-mann^yamann^yiri,
then (to) fish he went_c from (place n.) (man's n.)
ya:-gi na-ni-muwa-jun^g mann^yamann^yiri, ni=ya-n^ggi
he is here named (man's n.) he went_c
a-n^gujija adaba, ni=n^gadugumbi:-ni ba-gu
(to) fish then he fished with line and hook_c there
ni-warga=warga-n-di ana-n^gujija n^ga wura:yum-bugij yagu
he got plenty_c fish and then only small (Pl) but
wun^ya:n^yum-bugij,
only small (Pl)

And then Mann^yamann^yiri went for fish, from the place Ambugambu. This is his name, Mann^yamann^yiri. He went for fish. He was fishing with line and hook. He got a lot of fish there, but they were small ones, little ones only.

15.2 "a-ni-ga-wuy n^gan=duma-n^g, ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gan=duma-n^g
to where I will go_p this way I will go_p
wa:n^g-guy yilila-wuy" aba ni=madhanda-n^gi
to whatchamacallit to (place n.) then he paddled_c
yilila-wuy, ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi
to (place n.) he paddled_c
ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi mana-ran^gag,
dugout canoe

He decided to go in a certain direction, to Yilila. Then he paddled along to Yilila, (in) a dugout canoe.

15.3 xxx ni=warga-n^g, ni=guda-n^gi yilila
(unclear) he threw (fishline)_p he caught it_c (place n.)
adaba, yi:-yambirgu a-n^gujija ni=guda-n^gi, run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yung
then parrot fish fish (see above) big (Pl)
ni-yama=yama:-'yin^yung na-yambirgu, ana:-'mun^ggu
which did that_c parrot fish sweetlip emperor
ana-n^gujija, ana:-'ni run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yung, n^gijang^g ni=ruma-n^y,
fish this (see above) more he went_p

He threw out the fishline and caught (fish) then at Yilila. He caught parrot fish, big ones like that (speaker shows size with manual gesture). Parrot fish, sweetlip emperors, these big ones. Again he (got up and) went.

15.4 ni-ga:-'yun^g na-wuruyambi ni=buri-∅ ragij yuwa:-gu adaba
as for him (man's n.) he sat_c first there then
nu=wagara-n^gi nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, na-ni-muwa-jun^g wuruyambi,
he headed for him_c that (MSg) name (man's n.)

ni-ga:-'yun^g man^yamann^yiri ana:-'ji:-'la-yun^g ni=madhanda-n^gi
as for him (man's n.) along here he paddled_c
ana:-'ji:-'li, na-ni-muwa-jun^g, ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi
from here name he paddled_c
na-waljuri-jun^g, na-mann^yamann^yiri,
frilled lizard (man's n.)

As for Wuruyambi, he was there first. He (Wuruyambi) went toward him (Mann^yamann^yiri). That man, named Wuruyambi, and as for Mann^yamann^yiri, he was paddling along from this side. His name was Mann^yamann^yiri, also called Waljuri-jun^g (human Sg form of waljurig 'frilled lizard').

15.5 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi
he went_c he paddled_c
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y ya:-ni n^garilan^guwa
he fished with line and hook_p it is here (place n.)
aba ni-n^gada=n^gadugumbi:-ni::: n^gijan^g ni:='bi-n^y
then he fished with line and hook_c more he jumped_p
yuwa:-ni wurgungi ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y n^gijan^g ni:='bi-n^y,
it is there (place n.) (see above) more he jumped_p
wuyuwara aba ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, ni:='bi-n^y adaba
(place n.) then he fished with line and hook_p he jumped_p then
ana-wuyuwara-wala aba wa:n^g, ribimbi,
from (place n.) then whatchamacallit (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi:-ni, n^gijan^g ni:='bi-n^y,
he fished with line and hook_c he jumped_p he jumped_p

He (Mann^yamann^yiri) went along paddling. He dropped his hook and line, here at N^garilan^guwa. Then he moved over there to Wurgungi and did it again. Then he moved over to Wuyuwara and did it. Then from Wuyuwara he shifted again to whatchamacallit, Ribimbi. He dropped the hook and line, then moved again.

Note: Most of these place names are small rocky islands or other fishing spots in the Gulf.

15.6 "a-ji-ga n^gan^y-jiga=wa-n^ga-na ya:-ji n^gan^y-jiga=wa-n^ga-na"
where? I will make fire_c here (see above)
adaba ni=yabi-'-n^y, aba ni-yiga=wa-n^ga:-' aba ni-ga nu=na-n^y
then he entered_p then he made fire_c then he he saw him_p
an-uwa-ga:-'la ana:-'n^g-gala, ana-wuruyambi
from there from whatchamacallit (place n.)

*na-wuruyambi-yun^g, nu=na-n^y "yan^gi-n^yun^g war-uwa:-wa
(man's n.) he saw him_p who? that (WARA)

wu:-madha=madhand:-' ", ni=ruma-n^y ama-nuga ni=wudhi-∅ arwar,
they paddle he went stone he perched_c on top

ama-nuga yuwa:-gu ni=wudhi-∅ ma-nuga=waladha:-' ma=yama:-',
stone there he perched_c stone juts out it did that_c
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
he went_c

ni=midar-bugij ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
he was sneaking he went_c

He (Mann^yamann^yiri) decided to make a fire at a certain place (on the shore). He went onto (the land). He made a fire. Over there, at the place Wuruyambi, the man Wuruyambi saw him. (Wuruyambi wondered,) "Who is that paddling there?" He went over (near the other man) and got up on an overhanging ledge where the rock juts out like this. He went along stealthily.

* Both this, a human name, and the preceding word, a place name, share the stem wuruyambi. It therefore takes ANA prefix in the first form and MSg na- in the second. To further distinguish the two forms, human Sg -yun^g is added to the second form, though this suffix is uncommonly used with personal names.

15.7 ni-ga ni-yiga=wa-n^ga:-' adaba, ni-yiga=wa-n^ga:-',
he he burned fire_c then (see above)

ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni=rabali-n^y, aba ni-ga
he went_c he came out_p then he

an-uwa:-gu ni-yiga=wa-n^ga:-'-yin^yun^g ana-lhalbin^gn^guru, aba
there who made fire_c (place n.) then
niwu=ragu-ni a:-gugu, n^ga ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=wali-n^y
he looked for it_c water and then as for him he arrived_p
na-marbuy-yun^g na, knower now (English)

He (Mann^yamann^yiri) built a fire then. He went along and came out (at a place). He, the one who was building a fire, there at the place Lhalbin^gn^guru. He was looking for (drinking) water. As for him (Wuruyambi), the one who knew about (the country?), appeared to him then.

15.8 "way!" nu=lhan^garma-n^y, "wuruj ya:-wa:-'la wuruj!",
oh! he reached him_p human here they come human

"ana:-'ni na-ga-waj yagu na-ga-waj, na-ga-waj-baj", ni-ga:-'yun^g
this we (InDu) but we ourselves as for him

na:=mbamadhi-n^y maya:li an-uba-ni-yung, "a-ni-ga
he deceived (covered) him_p trick that where?

ana:-gugu", "yuwa:-ni:-'la ana:-gugu ba=rulmurda-n^g",
water there it comes water run!_p

"Oh dear!" (said Mann^yamann^yiri as the other man approached). "There is someone coming here!" (Wuruyambi said,) "It's just you and me." He (W) tricked him (M). M said, "Where is water?" W said, "The water is over there. Run there!"

15.9 ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y ni=yarbi-n^y
 he ran_p
 ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, ni=yarang^ga-n^y aba, aba ni-ga nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g,
 he sat_p he looked_p then then he that (MSg)
 nu=n^gun^yju-ga-n^y, ba:::gu-ruj n^ga, ni=yarbi-n^y
 he recognised him_p there further on and then he ran_p
 n^ga o:-'wa:::gu ama-malwad, araga an-uba-ni ni=julubi-'-n^y
 and then there tree sp. suddenly that (ANA) he hid_p
 adaba ba-gu, julub! ni-nin^y=jabi-'-n^y n^ga ya:-ni-waj,
 then there hide he hid in scrub_p and then it is along here
 n^ga ya:-ni-waj a-waraga-waj, n^ga nu=ragu-ni
 and then it is along here on upper back and then he looked for him_c
 n^gijan^g ni:='ri, "a-ni-ga-wuy ni:='nibi-n^y",
 more he was absent to where? he got lost_p.

He (M) ran along (toward the water). He stopped and looked around. He noticed that man (W, sneaking after him). He (M) ran on a little farther. Then there, in some malwad trees (*Thespesia populnea*, a tree with dense foliage found near coastal rainforest and mangroves), he went in and hid, there in the rainforest scrub. Up to here, the upper back. Then he (W) looked for him, but couldn't find him. "(I wonder) where he disappeared to?"

15.10 niwu-mi-n^y na waragu, aba ni=jarari-n^y
 he got it_p now (English) axe then he walked_p
 an-uwa-ga:-'la, na:-'ga:-'ga=ragu-ni yuwa:-gu ni=yarbi-n^y yuwa:-gu,
 from there he looked for him_c there he ran_p there
 ni=yarang^ga-n^y ni=yarang^ga-n^y ni=yarang^ga-n^y yigaj ni=yama-n^y
 he looked_p there! he did that_p
 ya:-nu:-'wuy nu=yalgiwa-n^y ya:-gi-waj ni=buri-∅
 this way he passed him_p he is along here he sat_c
 ni=yarang^ga-n^y na
 he looked_p now (English)

He (W) picked up an axe then. He went along from there, looking for him over there. He went along, looking. There! He went right past him (M), he (M) was sitting (there). He (W) looked.

15.11 ya:-gi "wu::!" na-warang^gal warang^gal, na-a:mun^y,
 it is here (buzzing) blowfly bush fly
 nu=wuruma-n^gi, "wu::!", "yagi yagi yagi!" wa:='ri
 it buzzed around him_c don't! not
 anu=na-ni ni=yarba-n^gi mari ya:-ji:-'li, dhid! ni=warga-n^g
 he saw him he ran_c and from here pierce he threw_p
 finish,
 that's all

There was a blowfly, or a (common) bush fly. It buzzed around him (M). He (M) tried to get rid of it. He (W) didn't see him, (but) ran along from this side. He threw (the axe), piercing him (M).

Note: W detects the presence of the concealed M by noticing the buzzing of the fly around M, and throws the axe in the direction of the noise.

15.12 ba-gu-waj aba ni=n^gawi-'-n^y, na:='ru-n^y,
 along there then he died_p he abandoned him_p
 na-wuruyambi wuruyambi nu=wi-ni, na-mann^yamann^yiri aba
 (man's n.) (man's n.) he killed him_c (man's n.) then
 nu=lhi-n^y, aba ana-lhamugu lhalbin^yn^guru wu-radba=radbidha:-'
 he chopped him_p then bark canoe (place n.) it is tied
 nuga, dreaming wu=yama-na, ba-ni ana-lhamugu,
 stone totemic site it does that it is there bark canoe
 an-uba-ni:-'la ni=yarbi-n^y yuwa:-gu yuwa:-gu ama-nuga-ruj aba,
 after that he ran_p there at stone then
 Around there he (M) died. He (W) left him (M) there. Wuruyambi killed Mann^yamann^yiri, he cut him with an axe. Then the bark canoe (of M), it is moored at the place Lhalbin^yn^guru, a stone dreaming, like this. The bark canoe is there. Then after that he (W) ran away. A stone there.

15.13 "wuruj yuwa:-wa n^gara=wi-ni, yuwa-ga:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi,
 human they are there I killed them_c from there they went_c
 n^ga-gu-ri:-'wuy n^gijan^g ba-ga:-'la n^garambi=wagara-n^gi,
 to us (InPl) more from there they came toward us (InPl)_c
 bu-gu-ni wuru=yarbi-n^y mi-ni-wiya-yun^g ba-gu
 to there they ran_p sons there
 (W said to the others,) "I killed somebody over there, who came toward here, toward us. He came toward us over there." The sons (of W and M) ran over there.

15.14 wuru-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga wuru=warang^gga:-'
 they went_c and then they looked_c
 wunu=n^gun^yju-ga-n^y "yagu na:-'gi n^ga-gu-ri-n^yin^yun^g,
 they recognised him_p but this (MSg) ours (InPl)
dreaming wuru-jung^g, nunu=wi-ni nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, "yin^gga
 human he killed him_c that (MSg) nearly
 n^gaya any^ybaj yamba yagu:::",
 I other because but

They (the sons) went over there and looked. They recognised him (M). "But this man is our (kinsman). A dreaming man, he (W) killed him (M)." (Wuruyambi said,) "But I (did it) because (I thought it was) someone else."

15.15 mari n^ga lhalbin^yn^guru ni-ga ni=n^gawi-'-n^y, ni-ga yuwa:-gi
and then (place n.) he he died_p he is there
na-wuruyambi arwar, o:-'wa:-gu ama-nuga o:-'wa:-gu, da-ni-yun^g
(man's n.) on top there stone it is there

wini=wi-n^yji:-ni man^yamann^yiri mari wuruyambi, ni-ga
they (MDu) fought_c (man's n.) and (man's n.) he
lhalbin^yn^guru ana-lhamugu wu=radbidhi-∅, niwa:='riba-n^y
(place n.) bark canoe it was tied up_c he lost it_p
adaba, wi:ya!.
then finish

Then he (W) died there at Lhalbin^yn^guru. He, Wuruyambi, is on top (on the ledge). Right there the two of them fought, Man^yamann^yiri and Wuruyambi. He (is) at Lhalbin^yn^guru. The bark canoe was tied up there, he (M) lost it there. That's all.

TEXT 16 FRILLED LIZARD (=MANN^yAMANN^yIRI)
Ma:di

16.1 na:-'n^yba-jung^g, n^ganamba=maga-na, ni=n^gadugumbi:-ni,
other (MSg) I will tell you (Pl)_c he fished with line_c
na-waljuri-jung^g, niwu-wini=wi-ni ana-walgu:::,
frilled lizard (human MSg form) he hit it_c small crab sp.
o:-'wa:-ni:-'la a-Groote Eylandt-gala, niwu-wini=wi-ni:::,
from that from Groote Eylandt he hit it_c
aba lhamugu muga lhamugu, ni=madhandi-n^y,
then bark canoe indeed he paddled_p

I will tell you (about) another man. He was fishing with hook and line. Frilled Lizard (same as Mann^yamann^yiri). He was killing small crabs. He was killing them; he paddled this way, from Groote Eylandt, in a bark canoe.

16.2 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::, nun^yadinimaji
he went_c he paddled_c (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi:::-n^y n^ga girjag!, wu=wirig, wu=wura:yung^g,
he fished with line_p and then no! it is small they are small
n^gijan^g ni=yarbi-n^y yu:gu-ni aljiyan^ybaj-guy ni=madhandi-n^y,
more he ran_p to there to (place n.) he paddled_p
ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::, an^yira, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
he paddled_c (place n.) he fished with line_p
ni=n^gadugumbi:::-n^y n^ga girjag! wura:yung^g, n^gijan^g ni=madhandi-n^y,
he fished with line_p and then no! small (Pl) more he paddled_p
yu:gu-ni aljiyan^ybaj-guy, ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::, amabira,
to there to (place n.) he paddled_c (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, n^ga girjag! wura:yung^g, ni=lalagi-'-n^y,
he fished with hook_p and no! small (Pl) he got up_p

26 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, amabira, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y
he went_c (place n.) he went in water_p
n^ga girjag! wura:yum-bugij,
and then no! only small (Pl)

He paddled along. He dropped the hook at Nun^yadinimaji and fished, but no! The fish were small. He went to Aljiyan^ybaj, paddling, and he fished at An^yira, but again they were small. He paddled to Aljiyan^ybaj and fished at Amabira, but again they were small.

16.3 ni=lalagi-'-n^y, malgida niwu-rilji=wurama:-'
he got up_p (place n.) he went around island_c
ni=guda-n^gi wirig, ni=guda-n^gi wirig, ni=guda-n^gi wirig,
he caught it_c small
ni=guda-n^gi wirig, ni=guda-n^gi wirig, girjag! wura:yum-bugij,
no! only small (Pl)

ni=madhandi-n^y, yu:gu-ni a:-'n^ybaj-guy abiyaiba,
he paddled_p to there to other (ANA) (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, ni=n^gadugumbi:::-n^y n^ga wura:yum-bugij,
he fished with line_p and then only small (Pl)

He got up (and went). At Malgida he went around the island. He caught a number of small (fish). Just small ones still. He paddled to another place, Abiyarba. He fished. Just small ones.

16.4 juj!, n^gijan^g ni=ruma-n^y aljiwiriduj miyamandawuyi,
go more he went_p (place n.) (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, ni=yama-n^y ni=gudi:::-n^y n^ga
he fished with line_p he did that_p he caught it_p and then
wun^ya:n^yum-bugij, na-yambirgu ana:-'mun^ggu ana-a:n^y,
very small (Pl) only parrot fish sweetlips emperor whatchamacallit
ana-gulagulag, na-wurabadji ana-a:n^y, ni=guda-n^gi
baby parrot fish parrot fish sp. whatchamacallit he caught it_c
n^ga araga wura:yum-bugij, n^gijan^g ni=madhandi-n^y,
and then suddenly only small (Pl) more he paddled_p
yumbururu, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, wu=wura:yum-bugij,
(place n.) he fished with line they were still small

He went then to Aljiwiriduj and Miyamandawuyi. He fished with hook and line. He caught them, like that, but they were still small. Parrot fish, sweetlips emperors, various kinds of other parrot fishes, etc. He caught them, but they were small ones. Again he paddled. He fished at Yumbururu. Still small ones.

16.5 n^gija:::n^g ni=madhandi-n^y, n^yirin^yira ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
more he paddled_p (place n.) he fished with line_p
wu=wura:yum-bugij, n^gijan^g ni=jarari:::-n^y lhajida, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
it was only small more he moved_p (place n.) he fished_p

wu=wura:yum-bugij, n^gijan^g ni=jarari-n^y, amagurara, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y
it was only small more he moved_p (place n.) he fished_p
n^ga wu=wura:yum-bugij, n^gijan^g ni=madhandi-n^y n^ga amabira,
then more he paddled_p then (place n.)
gada! a:n^g jangira, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y n^ga
oops! whatchamacallit (place n.) he fished_p then
wu=wun^ya:n^yum-bugij, n^gijan^g ni=jarari-n^y ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::
it was only small more he moved_p he paddled_c
n^ga, yuwamumaji, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, n^ga girjag! wu=wura:yum-bugij,
then (place n.) he fished_p then no! only small (Pl)

Again he paddled. He fished at Nyirin^yira. Still small ones.
He moved and fished at Amagurara. Still small ones. He paddled
farther. He fished at Amabira--I mean Jangira. Very small ones
still. He moved farther, paddling. He fished at Yuwamumaji.
But no! Small ones only.

16.6 n^gijan^g ni=madhandi-n^y n^ga minargu, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
more he paddled_p and then (place n.) he fished_p
"a-ni-ga-wuy n^gan=duma-n^g wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy", ni=jarari-n^y
to where? I will go_p to other side he moved_p
mirin^ga, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, n^ga girjag! wu=wura:yum-bugij,
(place n.) he fished_p and then no! it is only small (Pl)
niwu_rilji=wurama:::-n^y n^ga, a:n^g,
he went around island_p and then whatchamacallit

rilji-maragarj yi:-ba-gi, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y n^ga girjag!,
dangerous island that he fished_p and then no!

wura:yum-bugij n^ga ni=jarari-n^y a:n^g yidhuwaba
only small (Pl) and then he moved_p whatchamacallit (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, n^ga girjag! wu=wura:yung,
he fished_p and then no! it was small (Pl)

He went along and fished at Minargu. He decided to go to the
far side of it. He went and fished at Mirin^ga. But no! They
were still small ones. He went around the island. He fished at
the dangerous island there, but no! Just small ones. He moved
and fished at whatchamacallit, Yidhuwaba. No! Small ones only.

16.7 "*n^gand-a:galawaja-n^g, wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy, ran^yjuga-wuy",
I will go across_p to other side to (place n.)
adaba ni:=galawaji-n^y ran^yjuga-wuy, ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::
then he went across_p to (place n.) he paddled_c
n^ga, ran^yjuga, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, adaba malan^ga-dun^ggal,
and then (place n.) he fished_p then quite big
n^gijan^g ni=ruma-n^y a:n^g, lhunuba ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
more he went_p whatchamacallit (place n.) he fished_p

adaba run^ggal, n^gijan^g ni=madhandi:::-n^y n^ga manbalaran^ga,
then big more he paddled_p and then (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, adaba malan^ga-dhabarj,
he fished_p then quite big

He decided to cross over to the far side, to Ran^yjuga. He went
across to Ran^yjuga. He paddled. He fished. They were fairly big
now. He went farther. He fished at whatchamacallit, Lhunuba. They
were big now. Again he paddled on and fished at Manbalaran^ga. He
fished. They were fairly big.

* /alawaja-/

16.8 ni-yama=yama:::-' n^ga burbuyulu, ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
he did that_c and then (place n.) he fished_p
adaba run^ggal, ni-yama=yama:::-' n^ga wan^ggalan^gur,
then big he did that_c and then (place n.)
ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y, adaba n^gagara-wugag, ni='galawaji-n^y,
he fished_p then huge he crossed_p
ni='galawaji-n^y ribimbi ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y adaba
he crossed_p (place n.) he fished_p then
run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g *niwu=lhalawayiwa:-' na-yambirgu,
big (Pl) it was abundant_c parrot fish

an-uba-ga:-'la ni=madhandi-n^y lhalbin^yn^guru ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y,
from there he paddled_p (place n.) he fished_p
ana-n^gagara-yiriwu-yin^yun^g adaba ni=n^gadugumbi-n^y ni=guda-n^gi
huge then he fished_p he caught it_c

ba-gu ni-n^gada=n^gadugumbi:-ni,
there he fished_c

He kept doing that. He fished at Burbuyulu. They were big then.
He did that. He fished at Wan^ggalan^gur. They were very big then.
He went over and fished at Ribimbi. They were big. There were
lots of parrot fish. From there he paddled and fished at
Lhalbin^yn^guru. Very big (fish). He fished with hook and line
and caught them there.

* Form and exact meaning unclear.

16.9 adaba ni-yiga=wa-n^ga:-' ba-gu, ni=wiln^gin^yji:::-n^y,
then he made fire_c there he built fire_p
ni-yigi-yiga=wa-n^ga:::-', ni-nan^ga=na-n^ga:::-',
he made fire_c he burned it_c
ni-yigi-yiga=wa-n^ga:::-' n^ga adaba *niwa:-'ni=jara-n^g
and then then he smelled ashes_p

ana-madjur-wala, na-wuriyambi,
from (place n.) (man's n.)

He (Frilled Lizard) set a fire, built it up, and cooked (fish)
on the open fire. Then, over at Madjur, the man Wuriyambi smelled
the coals.

Note: There is some brief extraneous matter on the tape after ba-gu (first line of this segment) as Ma:di shouted something in another language to a man passing by.

* Contains -anig- 'coals, embers' and =yara- 'to smell, to detect'.

16.10 "ma! ma! ma! ma! ma:::!" "n^gambi:-'dhala=wali:::-n^y
(sound of fire crackling) they rubbed my country_p
durmala::: n^gawa:-'=jarbi-n^y, yalana-ala gun^guna-ala gurumbura-ala,
NE wind I rushed for it_p from (place names) from (place n.)
n^gan^ggu=lan=dhararmi-jga:::-n^y n^ga=lan=dhawararma-n^y
it made my head aware_p I became aware of (it)_p
n^gan^ggu-lam=badji:::-n^y, ran^ggarban^ga::: ban^yan^gi::: guyurayura",
it struck my head_p NE wind NE wind NE wind
ni=yama:-', ana:-'ni wu-gu-ru ana-durmala, ni-yama=yama:-',
he did that_c this it (ANA) NE wind he did that_c
The man (Wuriyambi) heard the sound of the fire crackling. He sang, "They have come to my country, from Yalana and Gun^guna. I rushed (eagerly) for it! Northeast wind, it came to my consciousness with great force! Northeast wind!" He sang that. The northeast wind. He said that.

Note: This is another song-like passage with several song epithets for 'northeast wind' (durmala is the ordinary term) and some fairly complex and difficult verbal expressions. In the third line we have /=lhararma-/ and stem-variant /=lhawararma/. The exact sense of the word glossed 'they rubbed my country' (line 1) is unclear.

16.11 adaba niwu-yiga=lharmi-n^y adaba ni-yimi-yimun=dharmi:-'ni
then he followed the fire_p then he followed by smell_c
n^ga, adaba ni=yaran^gga-n^y n^ga da-gi ni=rabali-n^y,
and then then he looked_p and then there he is he went out_p
ni=rabali-n^y, "n^gaya-waj yagu ana:-'ni:::, n^gawa:-'ni=jara-n^g
he went out_p it is me! but this I smelled coals_p
n^ga=ya-n^ggi yuwa-ga:-'la" ni=yama:-',
I went from there he did that_c

He (Wuriyambi) went toward the smell of the fire. He looked (and saw Frilled Lizard). He (W) came out to him there. (He said,) "It's me! I detected the smell of the fire and came here," he said.

16.12 ni-yara=yarbi-n^y nu=ya-n^y, ni-yara=yarbi-n^y nu=ya-n^y,
he ran all around_p he gave him_p
araga niwu-bi=lharmi-n^y, ni=rulmurdi-n^y ni=rulmurdi-n^y
suddenly he went behind it_p he ran_p he ran_p
ni=rulmurdi-n^y ni=rulmurdi-n^y n^ga yuwa:-gu ni=julubi-'n^y,
he ran_p he ran_p and then there he hid inside_p

ni=julubi-'-n^y na-waljuri-jung^g, ni=julubi-'-n^y,
he hid inside_p Frilled Lizard he hid inside_p
He (Frilled Lizard) ran along, and gave him (a look). He ran along and gave him a look. Then he (Frilled Lizard) went behind it (tree). He hid inside (a clump of trees). Frilled Lizard.

16.13 ni-ga:-'yun^g ni-yalhaga=lharmi:::-n^y yuwa:-gu,
as for him he went looking_p there
ni-yalhaga=lharmi-n^y yuwa:-gu, ni-yalhaga=lharmi-n^y n^gijan^g
he went looking_p there more
n^ga yu:-gu-ni ni-yalhaga=lharmi-n^y n^gijan^g n^ga
and then to there he went looking_p more and then
yu:-gu-ni ni-yalhaga=lharmi-n^y argali-n^yi n^ga
to there westward and then
yuwa-ga:-'la, n^gijan^g n^ga laundry ni=jima-n^y, ni=jima-n^y
from there more and then toilet he farted he farted_p
araga ni=wuruma-n^yji-n^y nu-gi=yara-n^g
suddenly they (NA) swarmed together_p it (NA) smelled his excrement
a:mun^y, ni:='rgi-n^yji-n^y n^ga ba-ga:-'la
bush fly (NA) they (NA) pulled each other_p and then from there
na-wuriyambi-yala, adaba ni-ran=dharari-∅ an-uba-gu
from (man's n.) then it (NA) swarmed around_c there
ni-man=burdi-∅-ruj, nu=wuruma-n^gi ni-ran=dharari-∅,
where he was crouching_c it (NA) swarmed on him_c (see above)

As for him (Wuriyambi), he went searching over there, and over there (for Frilled Lizard). He looked around, to the west, and this way. Then he (Frilled Lizard) farted. Then suddenly the bush flies swarmed together. They smelled the fart from over there where Wuriyambi was. They raced in a swarm to there, where he (Frilled Lizard) was squatting. They swarmed at him.

16.14 araga bu-gu-ni-wugij ni-ran=dharma-n^gi-wugij
suddenly only to there he followed its (NA) swarm only_c
ni=yaran^gga-n^y da-gi ni-man=burdi-∅, ni=lalag-i-'-n^y-bugij
he looked_p he is there he crouched_c he got up only_p
mari, dhangid! ya:-ji nu-yudur=dhi-n^y, nu=lhi-n^y adaba,
and chop here he chopped his nose_p he chopped him_p then
mari *ni-ga-ga=garaji:-'ni nu=guguji-n^y mari gab! nu=n^ga-n^g,
and he jumped (?) he held him up_p and eat he ate him_p
ni=n^gandhalgalhi-n^y, he swallowed_p

Then he followed the swarm of flies. He looked, and there he (Frilled Lizard) was crouching. He had gotten up (after being disturbed by the flies), and he (Wuriyambi) chopped at him (with an axe) across the nose. He killed him, then he held up the body and ate it. He swallowed.

* Form and meaning unclear. Possibly related to =garaja- 'to jump (down)', but analysis unclear.

- 16.15 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g madjur wuru=buri-∅ wara-gujuju
as for them (place n.) they sat_c babies
n^ga *n^ga-ra-n^garina-yum-bi:yun^g, adaba ni=jarari-n^y,
and then (his) two wives then he moved_p
ni-yan^gga=y-a-n^ggi::: n^ga ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, yuwa:-gu
he went_c and then he sat_p there
rama-ramali, "m::! i::!" him cough, (coughs),
far in east (noises) he coughed

As for them (the relatives), they were at Madjur. The young children and the two wives. He (Wuriyambi) went along and stopped there, in the east. He coughed.

Notes: There is some ambiguity as to whether we are dealing with Wuriyambi's two wives, or with the wives of both Wuriyambi and Waljuri-jung^g (Frilled Lizard). At any rate, the various relatives referred to here are related to both men.

Wuriyambi is coughing (and belching) because of the body of Frilled Lizard which he has swallowed.

* n^ga- FSg prefix; -ran^g- prefix for second/third person form of kin terms; stem -n^garina-; -yung- marking third person possessor with kin term (3Poss); Dual -wi:yun^g with kin terms. Kin term morphology is highly idiosyncratic.

- 16.16 "yan^gi n^gijan^g a:-da-nu:-' num-barga=wargad-bu-ma-na yan^gi,
what? more that you belch what?
yan^gi yamba an-uba-ni num=bi-ni xxx ana-run^ggal
what? because that you killed it_c big (something)
num-barga=wargad-bu-ma-na", win^gi=yama:-', (coughs),
you belch they did that_c
wu:-man^yja=ma-n^yji:-ni, wu:-man^yja=ma-n^yji:-ni wara-wuruj,
they got each other_c people
wu:-man^yja=ma-n^yji:-ni wu:-man^yja=ma-n^yji:-ni,
(see above)

They (the two women) said, "What is that? You are belching. What is it? You must have killed (and eaten) something very big." The people gathered themselves together.

- 16.17 adaba wuna:-'galhaga=lharmi-n^y, ana-rilji-rilji
then they searched for him islands
wiri=milga-n^y, ana-Groote-jin^yun^g wandhilagu
they did to it all_p people of Groote Eylandt Wanindhilyagwa
wanun^gujarabi wara-a:n^g wara-min^y=n^gambara,
(clan n.) whatchamacallit elders
wuna:-'galhaga=lharmi-n^y, wu:-yama=yama:-' ana-yidhuwaba
they searched for him_p they did that_c (place n.)

wu:-yama=yama:-' ana-ran^yjuga, wu:-yama=yama:-' ana-ribimbi
they did that_c (place n.) they did that_c (place n.)
wu:-yama=yama:-' n^ga, ana-lhalbin^yn^guru wura:='ran^gga-n^y
and then (place n.) they looked_p
n^ga nin^ggu=wi-ni-yin^yung ni-mari=murgulhi-∅,
and then which it killed him_c his mark lay_c
ni-mari=murgulhi-∅ ning^ggu=wi-ni,
it killed him_c

They looked around for him (Frilled Lizard). They went to all the islands. The Wanindhilyagwa people of Groote Eylandt, the Wanun^gujarabi clansmen, the old people, they looked for him. They did that at Yidhuwaba, at Ran^yjuga, at Ribimbi. They looked at Lhalbin^yn^guru. There was a mark there (e.g. blood) where something had killed him (Frilled Lizard).

- 16.18 "gada! ya:-ni-yun^g nin^ggu=wi-ni yu:ga", adaba
oops! it is here it killed him_c Q then
wuru-walhaga=lharmi-n^y wunu-mundhu-mun=dharma-n^gi::: n^ga,
they searched_p they followed his foot(prints)_c and then
wu:=yama-n^y wura:-'n^g=gurama-n^y, arga:-'rgali
they did that_c they went around obstacle_p in the west
wuru=waladha-n^ga-n^y n^ga, wu:=yimun^y-gi-'-n^y, (coughs),
they stood across_p and then they sniffed_p
ni=wargad-ba-n^y-jin^yun^g n^ga, ni-yarawuj=ban^yja-n^ga-n^y
he who belched_p and then he emitted a smell_p
ni-wuril=wan^yja-n^ga-n^y,
he emitted a smell_p

(They said,) "Oh! Here, something killed him, didn't it?" Then they looked around. They followed the footprints like that. They made a detour (in a curving motion). Out in the west they moved across. They took a whiff as he (Wuriyambi) coughed, belched and emitted the smell (of the dead man).

- 16.19 mari n^ga ana-n^gura, rama-ramali adaba wu:=yarbi-n^y,
and and then fire in east then they ran_p
wi:=lha:ga:::-n^g walambala, wi:=lha:ga:::-n^g, gan^gijiyun^g,
they lit fire_p (place n.) they lit fire_p (place n.)
an-uba-ga:-'la wiri=lha:ga:::-n^g walgawalgan^g, gada!, lhagudumu,
from there they lit fire_p (place n.) oops! (place n.)
ana-lhagudumu-wala an-uba-ni:-'la wiri=lha:ga-n^g n^ga, miligij
from (place n.) from there they lit fire_p and then (place n.)
n^ga ju:::y!, n^ga wurayu-wuy, wu:=yi-n^yji-n^y
and then go and then to (place n.) they gave each other_p
garbin, *wu:=dhabid-bi-n^yji-n^y,
ring (of fire) they were joined together_p

They (the people) ran over in the east and set bushfires, at Walambala, at Gan^gijiyung, over there at Walgalgan^g--I mean Lhagudumu. Over there at Lhagudumu they set bushfires. At Miligij, then they went to Wurayu. They joined up the bushfires in a circle.

* It is not clear whether the subject is 'they' (wu:-) or 'it' (wu-, i.e. the fires), but this makes no difference to the story.

16.20 wura:='wan^ggi:-ni-wugij "n^gambi:-'-'dhal=wali-n^y
they only listened_c they rubbed my country_p
gurumbura-ala, n^gawa:-'=jarbi-n^y, guyurayura, n^gan^ggu-lam=badji-n^y
from (place n.) I rushed for it_p NE wind it hit my head_p
ni=yama:-', "n^gan^ggu-lan=dha--, "da-nu:-' n^ga,
he did that_c (cf. 16.10) it is there and then
da-nu:-' n^ga nun^ggu-lam=badji-n^y, ana:-'-ni adaba
it is there and then it hit your head_p this then
n^garambi:-'=dharga-n^g ya:-ni ga:n^ggan^yun^g,
they sent (it) for us (InPl) it is here unknown thing
n^ga-ra-n^garina-yum-bi:yun^g win^gi=yama:-',
two wives they (FDu) did that_c

They (the people) listened. (Wuriyambi sang,) "They have come to my country, from Gurumbura, I rushed out for the north-east wind, it hit me on the head." He sang that. "It hit me on the head." His two wives said, "There! They sent this unknown (awful) thing here for us, it hit you on the head!"

16.21 xxx wu:=yal^ghi-n^y wu:=yal^ghi-n^y mari n^ga
(unclear) they went past_p and and then
yuwa-ga:-'la n^gima=barawudi-n^y n^gi=malmali-n^y
from there she threw it (MANA)_p she danced circumcision_p
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g ya:-ji:-'la n^gi=malmali-n^y, n^gima=barawudi-n^y
as for her here coming (see above) she threw it down_p
wa:n^gi:-'ga:lhudi-n^y wara-gujuju, wu-gu-rn^gi-n^yin^yun^g,
they (FDu) cleared ground for them_p babies theirs (FDu)
wa:n^gi:-'ga:lhudi-n^y win^gi=malmali-n^y yuwa:-gu win^gi=malmali-n^y
(see above) (see above) there they danced_p
yuwa:-gu, win^gi=malmali-n^y ya:-ji win^gi=malmali-n^y,
there they danced_p here they danced_p

They (most of the people) went on some distance away. Then she (one of the two wives) started a circumcision performance, she danced the women's circumcision dance for the children. She (the other wife) danced over on this side. The two of them cleared the ground for the young children (to make a ritual ground), their own (children). They did that and danced over there and here.

Note: 'she threw it' refers to a specific action performed in this ritual, but I am not sure exactly what it is.

16.22 xxx *wura:-'ra:-'mba:='mbada-n^gi adaba dum!, dum!
(unclear) they all burst_c then pop!
dum! dum! dum! dum! adaba wan^ggu-na-n^ga:-' ana-n^gura,
pop! then it burned them_c fire
n^ga-ra-n^garina-yun^g n^gi-gulmun^g=ambadi-n^y, n^ga n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
wife her belly burst_p and then as for her
n^ga-ra-n^garina-yun^g n^gara:-'n^yba-jun^g n^gi-gulmun^g=ambadi-n^y,
wife other (FSg) her belly burst_p
wara-mij-buruyag,
children

Then one by one they (Wuriyambi, his wives, presumably also their children) burst open (because of the fire). Pop! Pop! The fire burned them. One of the wives had her belly burst open. Then the second wife had her belly burst open. The children (did the same).

* Here the stem =ambada- is reduplicated directly. The alternative is to reduplicate the derivational prefix, here -(w)ara-, hence wura:-'ra:-'ra:='mbada-n^gi.

16.23 ni-ga:-'yun^g wura:-'wa:='wan^ggi:-ni::: mari
as for him they listened_c and
n^ga ni:='mbadi-n^y ni-gulmun^g=ambadi-n^y, ni:='bi-n^y
and then he burst_p his belly burst_p he jumped_p
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g nu=n^ga-n^y-jin^yung, dum! mari n^ga ni:='bi-n^y
that (MSg) whom he ate_p pop! and and then he jumped_p
n^ga yuwa:-gu ni=murgulhi-∅, na-waljuri-jun^g,
and then there he lay_c frilled lizard (human MSg form)
wi:ya!.
finish

As for him (Wuriyambi), they listened (to hear him burst). Then he burst, his belly burst open. That one whom he had eaten jumped out (from the belly) and lay their (dead), Frilled Lizard. That is all.

Comments on texts 15 and 16

The major protagonists are a) a man called Mann^yamann^yiri or Waljuri-jung^g (the latter is the human MSg form of 'frilled lizard') who comes over to the Nunggubuyu mainland from Groote Eylandt, and b) a man named Wuruyambi, variant Wuriyambi, who is already living on the mainland. Both are of the Yirija moiety, and Wuruyambi is of the Nun-dhiribala clan of the Nunggubuyu. They are apparently in the angi relationship (so that one, apparently Wuruyambi, is in the father-in-law category toward the other). The hostility of Wuruyambi for Mann^yamann^yiri is thus probably related both to tribal rivalries and to tension associated with potential marriage claims (though these are not explicit).

Although one of the men is sometimes called 'Frilled Lizard',

the form used is (na-)waljuri-jung with MSg prefix and with human Sg suffix -yun^g, instead of the normal (nonhuman) form (wara-)waljurig. It appears that this is simply a human who happens to be named after an animal species (as some living people are), and this man is not equated with the animal species in the same way as the protagonists in the Emu and Brolga story, for example. Moreover, the name MannYamannYiri (a pure proper name) is also used for this man.

This myth is not as easy to analyse structurally as some of the others. I would call attention, however, to the parallelism between the farting and belching incidents, both of which function as signs which precipitate dramatic events. The retrieval of the body of Frilled Lizard after the bursting of Wuriyambi's belly is parallel to similar retrievals (live or dead) seen in several of the earlier myths (e.g. Olive Python and the Two Boys, texts 1 and 2).

Hughes (1969) gives a version very similar to text 16 and told by the same speaker, Ma:di, about a decade before my version was recorded; it may thus be consulted by those interested in changes over time in myth narration. It is item #6 in Hughes' book. Hughes' version differs in that Wuriyambi is called by a different name, Bimbi. There are also some discrepancies between myself and Hughes as to the identification of the subject (Frilled Lizard or Wuriyambi) in some ambiguous verb forms marked only for 3MSg subject. In particular, Hughes' translation has the flies swarming around Wuriyambi and has Wuriyambi hiding in the bushes, whereas I understand Frilled Lizard as being the relevant 3MSg referent here (see especially the end of 16.12, where this seems clear). I can make no conceptual sense out of the myth on Hughes' reading.

TEXT 17 MUNUNYULU AND THE HONEY Dick (Da:bulug)

17.1 na-munun^yulu, an-uba-ni, ana-lagu ni-ga-wi, na-munun^yulu an-uba-ni (man's n.) that (ANA) honey is his ana-lagu, *wun^gunu-wa:=jadhi-n^y, ni-ga-wi an-uba-ni na-munun^yulu, honey they (FDu) reserved for him_p is his that (man's n.) ana-lagu, wun^gunu-wa:=jadhi-n^y, ni-ga-wi, adaba wini=wuldha-n^gi honey is his then they (MDu) cut it_c nu:-'bi-ni, nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g, wini=wuldha=wuldha-n^gi wini=wuldha-n^gi those (MDu) those they cut it_c mari wu=rabi:-ni, an-uba-ni ana-lhu:n^y, wu=rabi:-ni, mari n^ga an-uba-ni and it fell_c that stringybark it fell and then that ana-lagu wa:='dbar-wi-'-n^y, wu=dhilila-n^gi, wu=dhilila-n^gi honey it spilled_p it dripped_c an-uba-ni ana-lagu wu=dhilila-n^gi, that honey it dripped_c That honey was for the man Munun^yulu. The two women had reserved it for him (by marking the tree). Meanwhile, two other men unrelated

to Munun^yulu were cutting down that stringybark tree (Eucalyptus tetradonta). It fell. Then the honey dripped out.

Note: Local honey bees (Trigona spp.) nest in hollow trees, among other locations. Because the bees are rather small and inconspicuous, and because their hives are not exceptionally abundant, the Aboriginals often mark a tree when they notice bees entering a hive. This marking (verb =yadha-) not only enables them to find the correct tree later, it also warns other people that that tree is reserved for the original finder (or someone designated by the finder). Taking honey from someone else's marked tree is a flagrant offense.

* =yadha- (see note above) with long form of Benefactive prefix, /-wa:G-/

17.2 wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi as for them (FDu) they went_c

win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi juy! n^ga ba-gu, go then there

n^gar-ubi-rn^gi n^gara-manum-ba:, 'a:-da-nu:-', ni-ga-wi na-munun^yulu, those (FDu) two women that (ANA) his (man's n.)

ana-lagu, "num^gunu-wa:=jadhi-n^y ni-ga-wi", honey we (ExFDu) reserved it for him_p his

n^ga:-yabadi-n^yun^g, wun^ga:ri, na-yabada-wa:, second-born (FSg) fight two second-born (MDu) fight

wu-gu-ni, n^gara-mala:mari-jun^g, mari na-mala:mari-jun^g, wu-gu-ni they (MDu) first-born (FSg) and first-born (MSg) they (MDu)

wa:='ri ana-wun^ga:ri, it was absent fight

Now they (two women) went along and along. There, those two women. "We have reserved the honey for Munun^yulu, it is his." The second-born man and woman had a fight then. The first-born man and woman did not fight.

17.3 wuru=lharma-n^yji-n^y, wu-gu-ni:-'yun^g wini=ya-n^ggi, they (Pl) chased each other_p as for them (MDu) they (MDu) went_c

adha:dhari, wa:ni-mun=dharma-n^gi, wu-gu-ni:-'yun^g, behind they followed their footprints_c as for them (MDu)

wini=lharma-n^yji-n^y, na-yabada-wa:, they (MDu) chased each other_p two second-born

wini-lharma=lharma-n^yji:-ni::: n^ga, n^gu=ra-n^g, n^gu=ra-n^g they were chasing each other_c and then he speared her_p

la:ma-miri, ana:-'ndhiri, wa:='bi:-ni, by means of shovel spear heart it jumped_c

n^gu-nan^ga=na-n^ga:-' n^gura-miri::: n^ga, an-uba-ni ana:-'ndhiri, he burned her_c by means of fire and they that (ANA) heart

wa:='bi:-ni yu:gu-ni, it jumped to there

They got into a chase. The two of them (first-born) came behind, following the tracks of the other two. As for them, the two second-born, they were in a chase (the man chasing the woman). He speared her with a shovel spear. Her heart jumped out. He burned her. Her heart jumped out, over there.

Note: *n̄gura* 'fire' can also mean 'firewood'.

17.4 ni-ga:-'yun^g an-uba-ni na-walyi-n^yun^g ni=wuwalga:-', as for him that (ANA) man he ran_c
 ni=wuwalga:-' n̄a ba:::gu-ruj, ni=buri-∅ adaba,
 he ran_c and then there further on he sat_c then
have a spell, ni=buri-∅, ni=wuri=jan^gayan^gi:-ni, n̄u=rangara-n̄i:
take a rest he sat_c he took a rest_c he waited for her_c
yin^gga ana-warubaj, n̄u=ra-ni, n̄u=na-n̄a:-' adaba n̄ura,
nearly nearby he speared her_c he burned her_c then fire
niwu=lhalmba:ri-ga:-'wugij adaba n̄u=na-n̄a:-', n̄u=nangara-n̄a:-'
he lit it only he then he burned her_c he burned her_c
adaba an-uba-ni n̄ura-miri, n̄i=nagi:-ni da-ju:-' adaba
then that by means of fire she burned_c there then
ni=wuwalga:-', ni=wuwalga:-' n̄a ba:::gu-ruj, ni=buri-∅
he ran and then there further on he sat_c
n̄ijang, ni=wuri=jan^gayan^gi:-ni, n̄u=rangara-n̄i ba-gu,
more he took a rest he waited for her_c there
As for that man (the one chasing the woman), he ran along. There, a little farther on, he stopped and waited for her. When she was getting close he speared her. He burned her (with) fire. He lit it and burned her. She was burning there. Then he ran away a little bit further on. Again he stopped for a while and waited for her.

Note: The woman comes back to life after being 'killed'.

17.5 *yin^gga ana-warubaj* ni=ya-n̄gr̄, n̄u=ra-ni ana-la:ma,
nearly nearby he went_c he speared her_c shovel spear
n̄u=ra-ni ana-la:ma, n̄i=n̄awi:-'ni niwu=ma-n̄i, ana-n̄ura,
he speared her shovel spear she died_c he got it_c fire
niwu=la:dhi-ga:-', ni=wuwalga:-', ni=yayama-n̄i, ni=yayama-n̄i
he set it he ran_c he proceeded_c
ba:::gu-ruj, ni=buri-∅, n̄u=rangara-n̄i n̄ijang,
there further on he sat he waited for her_c more

When she was getting close he speared her (with) a shovel spear. She died. He got some fire, he lit it. (He burned her.) He kept running along. Further on he stopped and waited for her.

17.6 n̄u=rangara-n̄i::: *yin^gga ana-warubaj*, n̄u=ra-ni,
he waited for her nearly nearby he speared her_c

n̄u=ra-ni, n̄u=na-n̄a:-' n̄ura, niwu=la:dhi-ga:-', n̄u=na-n̄a:-'
 he speared her_c he burned her_c fire he lit it_c he burned her_c
n̄ura-miri, ni=wuwalga:-', ni=yaya=wayama-n̄i:::, lan^ggalayaji,
by means of fire he ran_c he proceeded_c (place n.)

ana-lha:l, ni-n̄alba=walga-n^y a:-gugu-ruj,
 country he dived in_p in water

He waited for her. When she was coming near he speared her. He burned her with fire, he lit it. He ran along. At Lan^ggalayaji he jumped into the water.

17.7 n̄a ni=lhidi-n^y-bindi:yun^g n̄a, yu:-gu-ni,
 and then he went through really_p and then to there

ni=lhidi-n^y n̄a yu:-gu-ni,
 he went through_p and then to there

na-ni-jina-jun^g, na-ni-jina-jun^g, ni=lhidi-n^y,
 his head he went through_p
adaba ni=n̄awi-'-n^y, ana:-gugu ya:-ji:-'li wu=yabi-'-n^y,
 then he died_p water from here he went in_p
a-yimur-gala, mari ni=n̄anya-n^y-jin^yun^g ana:-gugu, wa:-'r=yabi-'-n^y,
 from nose and which he breathed_p water water went in_p

He went all the way through (the surface of the water), to there. He went through there. His head went through (i.e. he was totally underwater). He died (by drowning). The water went in through her, through his nose. The water went in, which he breathed.

Note: The relative clause *ni=n̄anya-n^y-jin^yun^g* is difficult to translate exactly. It may well be in apposition to 'nose', hence 'which he breathed with', though it could also be in apposition to 'water', hence 'which he breathed in'. Relative clauses need not be in apposition to a particular head noun and are often difficult to render precisely in English.

17.8 ni=yayama-n̄i n̄unu-raga=ragu-ni, n̄unu=ragu-ni, n̄a
 he proceeded_c she looked for him_c she looked for him_c and then

da-gi n̄unu-mun=na-n^y, ni-mun=n̄aln̄ala-n̄i, mari
 he is there she saw his foot his foot was shining_c and
mana-madjar, n̄una:=dhuga-n^y, n̄unu=n̄argiwa-n^y, n̄unu=rabali-n^y,
 sharp stick she stabbed him_p she pulled him out_p she took him out_p
outside n̄unu=murgulhi-n^y, ya:-nu:-'wuy, ni=murgulhi-∅,
 she laid him down_p this way he lay down_c

wini=lharma-n^yji-n^y, malangara-n^yanay-wala, malangara-n^yanay-wala
 they chased each other_p from far away

wini=lharma-n^yji-n^y, wu-gu-ni:-'yun^g nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g,
 they chased each other_p as for them (MDu) those (MDu)

na-n̄ambara-wa:, wa:ni-mun=dharma-n̄i n̄a,
 two adults they followed their (MDu) tracks_c and the

wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, wa:ni-mari-na-ni,
they (MDu) went_c they saw their marks_c

He kept going. She was looking for him. There! She saw his foot (sticking out of the water, or visible just under the surface). His foot was clearly visible. She stabbed him (with) a sharp fighting stick. She pulled him out of the water and set him down. He was lying down this way. The other two, the older man and woman, came after the first two, following their tracks. They came and saw the marks (where the attacks had occurred).

17.9 "ya:-gi-yun^g n^gu=na-n^ga:-' ", wini=yama:-' juy!,
she is here he burned her_c they (MDu) did that_c go
wini=ya-n^ggi-wugij, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga,
they went only_c they went_c and then
wirin^ga=lhan^garma-n^y, wirin^ga=lhan^garma-n^y nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g, adaba
they reached her_p they reached her_p those (MDu) then
an^yja:bu, wuru=buri-∅, "n^ga:nu=n^gu-yi:", n^ga:nu=n^gu-yi:",
together they sat_c let's eat him!_c
wunu=n^gu-ni nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, alalij,
they ate him_c that (MSg) that (FSg) eel-tailed catfish
wunu=mun^gala-dha-n^gi ba-gu, "yagi na:-da-gu:-' nu:n^gunu=n^gi:-'",
they put him on platform_c there don't that (MSg) you (MDu) eat him

"Here is where he burned her!" they said. Then they kept going. They went along and caught up with her (the woman who had killed the man). Those two (the first-born man and woman) reached her. They (the three of them) stayed there together. (They said,) "Let's eat him!" They ate that man. That woman. The Catfish people (Yirija moiety). They put him up on a platform there. (The first-born man said,) "Don't you two women eat him!"

17.10 adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, na-walyi-n^yun^g,
then he went_c that (MSg) man
wani=manda:gi:-ni, ni=ya-n^ggi alalij, war-uba-wa
he assembled them_c he went_c catfish those (WARA)
war-umu:-'muwaj war-uba-wa war-umu:-'muwaj alalij, lhu:ru,
named (Pl) catfish sleepy cod

wani=munduga:-', wani=manda:gi:-ni, war-u-mandag,
he assembled them_c he assembled them_c group of people
Then he (the first-born man), that man, went. He got a group of people together. Catfish. Those people were called Catfish people. He (also) got the Sleepy Cod (people) together. That group.

Note: The Catfish people were of the Yirija moiety, the Sleepy Cod people were of the Mandha:yun^g moiety.

17.11 wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g, wun^gunu=n^gu-ni adaba,
as for them (FDu) they (FDu) ate him_c then

wun^gunu-n^gagara=walga:-', ana-lan^ggalayaji, wun^gunu=n^gu-ni,
they (FDu) crushed his bone_c (place n.) they ate him_c

wun^gunu=n^gu-ni aba, wun^gunu=ja:du-ga-n^y, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
then they finished him_p that (MSg)

ni=mun^gala-dhi-∅-yun^yun^g, adaba wun^gunu=ja:du-ga-n^y, ni-ga:-'yun^g
he who lay on platform_c then they finished him_p as for him
wani=manda:gi:-ni, n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yum-bi:yun^g,
he assembled them_c two aunts (FaSi-s)

n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yum-bi:yun^g wani=manda:gi:-ni, ni=ya-n^ggi,
he assembled them_c he went_c

aba wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g win^gi-wara:-'ra=yabi:-'-ni:::, n^gi-ga
then as for them (FDu) they (FDu) put on own arm_c she
n^gi-wara:-'ra=yabi:-'-ni:::, adaba win^gi=ya-n^ggi, win^gi=ya-n^ggi
she put on own arm_c then they (FDu) went_c

aba o:-'ba-ni a-ring place-guy
then that to ritual ground

As for them (the two women), they ate him (the dead man) then. They smashed his bones (to eat the marrow). They ate him at the place Lan^ggalayaji. They finished him off, that man who was lying on the platform. As for him (the other man), he gathered them, his two father's sisters. He went (with them). As for the two women, they put (armbands) around their arms. She (one of them) put them around her arms. The two women went there, to the ritual ground.

17.12 win^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga o:-'ba-ni, "nagan^g
they (FDu) went_c and then that you (Sg)
ya:-ji:-'la ba=lha-n^ga-n^g, nu-ga:-'yun^g ya:-ji:-'la ba=lha-n^ga-n^g,
here coming you stand up!_p as for you here coming stand!_p
mana-larda, nambambi=ra-yi:, n^ga:-'yun^g, ya:-ji:-'la
spear they will spear you_c as for me here coming
n^gan=dha-n^ga-n^g anamba=na-yi:, nu-gu-rn^ga:-',
I will stand up_p I will see you (Pl) you (FDu)
n^gana=warn^gayu-n^y yamba, n^ga=wuyuwuya, n^ga=wuyuwuya, anamba=na-yi:,,
I pitied you (Pl)_p because I am grieving I will see you_c

They (two women) went. There (he said to them,) "You (Sg) stand over here, and you (the other woman) stand over here. They (the relatives of the dead man) will throw spears at you. I will stand over here. I will look at you two, because I feel sorry for you. I am very sad. I will look at you."

17.13 na-landhur-jun^g yuwa-ga-ga:-'la, ni-ga:-'yun^g, wun^gunu=rad-ba-n^g,
dog (MSg form) that side as for him they tied him_p
wara=ra-ni, an^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:bugij-gaj
they speared them_c one at a time

an^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:bugij-gaj wara=ra-ni,
 one by one they speared them_c
 wara:-'ja:='jarga:-', wara:-'ja:='jarga:-', "nagan^g, yagi,
 they missed them_c you (Sg) don't!
 n^gunu=ra-yi-∅, nagan^g, wa:='ri yamba, banu=ra-ni,
 I spear you you not because you speared him
 da-gu:-'wugij, da-gu:-'wugij na:n^gu=ra-yi:",
 there she is only we (ExPl) will spear her_c
 wuru=yama-n^y,
 they did that

Dog (name of the still living first-born man) was on the other side (out of the firing line). As for him (the dead man), they (the two women) tied him (i.e. his bones) up (and gave them to the relatives). Then they (the relatives) speared them, one at a time. They threw spears at them and missed them. They said to one of the women, "I will not throw spears at you, because you did not spear him. Just that woman there, we will spear her."

Note: This is a standard ordeal by spearing, where the victim stands some distance away from the vengeful attackers and allows them to throw spears at him/her.

17.14 war-ubu-ru-yun^g, wara:-'rawindi, wara-garn^yirimba
 those (Pl) many large group
 wirin^ga:-ja:='jarga:::−, wirin^ga=wa-n^g-- n^gu=wa-n^g,
 they missed her_c they killed her_p he killed her_p
 man^gandayayagu-n^yun^g, niwu=barawudi-n^y wulmuwari, n^gu=wa-n^g
 left-handed (Sg) he threw it_p boomerang he killed her_p
 ya:-ji:-'li, n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, "n^ga:-'yun^g, n^ga:-muruyun^g,
 from here she died_p as for me elder sister
 na:n^gi=_rugu-n^gun^yju=n^gun^yju, na:n^gi=_rugu-n^gun^yju=n^gun^yju,
 we (ExFDu) will be dead likewise
 na:n^gi=n^gawa-'-n^g",
 we (ExFDu) will die_p

That bunch of people, many of them, threw spears and missed her. Then they killed her. The left-handed man threw a boomerang and killed her. Along here (speaker indicates where boomerang hit the woman). She died. Then her elder sister said to the people, "Me too! Her elder sister! The two of us will die together!"

17.15 niwu=mi-n^y na-man^gandayayagu-n^yun^g, ni=warga-n^g
 he got it_p left-handed (MSg) he threw (it)_p
 ana-wulmuwari, n^gu=wa-n^g, n^gu-wala=guldhi-n^y ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g,
 boomerang he killed her_p he cut her neck_p here coming
 n^ga aba n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, ni-ga na-ni-wiya-yun^g, ba-gu
 and then then she died_p he son there

wani=na-ni, ni=lha-y, mari ya:-nu:-'wuy, wara-wuruj
 he saw them he stood_c and this way people (WARA)
 wu:-n^gara=lima-n^y,
 they turned off_p

The left-handed man picked up and threw the boomerang. He killed her (the second woman). He cut her across the neck with the boomerang, along here. Then she died. The son (i.e. the brother's son of the two father's sisters) was standing over there, and he saw them. Then the people went off in another direction.

17.16 ya:-ji:-'la wu:-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
 here coming they all stood_p as for them
 ya:-ji:-'la wu:-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y, wara-wajar, wara-wajar
 here coming (see above) noncombatants
 mob, wu-gu-ra:-' ya:-ji:-'la, wara-manda=maragarij, ya:-ji:-'la,
 group they here coming dangerous group here coming
 wara-manda=maragarij wu-gu-ru ya:-ji-ji:-'la wara-mulun^g-an^ybaj,
 dangerous group they this side others
 wi:ya!. enough

Over here they stood. Over here, on one spot, were the people who were just watching and not throwing spears. Over here, at another spot, were the people who were throwing the spears, another bunch. That is all.

Comments on text 17

The two men who are protagonists at the beginning are the first and second sons of an unidentified man who is the brother of the two women (who are in turn first and second daughters of another man). The different behavioral propensities of elder and junior siblings are certainly one theme of this myth. It is also notable that the two men are the initial transgressors and that the second woman commits violence against one of them only to punish him; then she is in turn punished by the spearing ordeal. It is interesting that the first-born woman shows a more dramatic act of solidarity with her recently killed sister than the first-born man shows when his brother is killed.

The chasing scene, in which the woman comes to life each time she is killed, is directly reminiscent of a similar scene in text 8.

Hughes (1969), item 13, is a very similar version with a few additional complications, and this version should be examined by persons seriously interested in this myth. Here the two women are called 'Stick Insect' after a lange mantis-type insect common in the region. This insect is normally immobile and well camouflaged in vegetation; it is also associated with devils (ghosts). Hughes' item 12 is another myth involving malicious Stick Insect (this myth is not present in my collection).

FORK-TAILED CATFISH AND GREEN TURTLE
Johnnie (Nan^guru)

18.1 ana-muluwa, ni=lalagi'-n^y na=ran^ggalwalbalg, nan^guru,
(place n.) it got up_p catfish catfish
ni=lalagi'-n^y an-uba-ga:-'la ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
it got up_p from there it went_c it went_c
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wa:n^g, ni:='ru-n^y
whatchamacallit it left it
ba-ni ga:n^ggan^yun^g, an-uba-ga:-'la ni=lalagi'-n^y,
it is there something awful from there it got up_p
wama=ya:rijgi:-ni maduwa, ma:='gi-n^y,
it (MANA) took them_c tide it returned_p

Catfish got up at the place Muluwa and set off in this direction. He went along, he left some awful thing (monster?) behind. He got up and left. The tide took them (the Catfish people) along, it was coming back out.

Note: The catfish species in question is a fork-tailed (not eel-tailed) type, Hexanematichthys leptaspis. The most common term is nan^guru, which is also the name of the narrator (a member of the mambali-semimoity group, originally Warndarang-speaking, based at the place Wanmari, and called n^galmiyarajara by the Nunggubuyu). The narrator begins with the NA class forms for 'catfish', as appropriate, but then shifts to Pl.

18.2 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wuru=garini-n^y, wuru=garini-n^y adaba
they went_c they looked back_p then
"wu-malan^ga=n^yanay n^gu:=ya:-ri:, mana:-'-ma lhagaya-bugij
it is far away we (InPl) go this (MANA) only saltwater
n^gu:=ya:-ri:, ma:='gi:-na", wama:='gi-jgi-n^y ma:='n^ggari-n^y,
we go it returns it made them return_p it came in_p
ya:-ma wururi, ma:='laldhi-∅ wirima=du:lwi:-ni,
it is here dugong grass it floated_c they sang for it_c

They went along, looking back over their shoulders. (They said,) "We are going far away. This is just saltwater. It (the tide) is coming back in." It (the tide) went out, it took them back. There (they saw) some dugong grass (a kind of flat sea-grass eaten by dugong). They sang its song.

Note: Brief encounters with various plant and animal species are typical of this kind of myth (dealing with cult totemic beings associated with circumcision and/or mortuary rituals). When the Catfish group sings a song for a given species, they are creating a portion of the ritual that is still performed by living Aboriginals. Indeed, in conjunction with recording these narratives I also recorded much of the non-secret singing (in Warndarang and Mara).

18.3 juj! wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:=ya-n^ggi yagu wa:n^g,
go they went but whatchamacallit
wirin^ga=na-ni, yirdhi wini=na-n^y, wini=du:lwi-n^y,
they saw it (N^gARA) marine catfish they saw it (NA) they sang for it_p
juj! wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wura:='ran^gga-n^y ya:-ni wa:='laldhi-∅
go they went_c they looked_p it is here it floated_c
gariwa, gariwa wuru=du:lwi:-ni, wura:='ran^gga-n^y ya:-ni
flatback turtle they sang for it_c they looked_p it is here
munhal, munhal ya:-ni wuru=du:lwi:-ni wu=la:bi-n^yji:-ni
perchlet it is here they sang for it_c (?)

They went along. They saw a marine catfish (fork-tailed, perhaps Netuma thalassina). They saw it and sang its song. They went along. They looked and there (they saw) it floating along, a flatback turtle. They sang its song. They looked and there was a perchlet. They sang its song.

Notes: Johnnie guessed wrong in anticipating the noun class of yirdhi as N^gARA, then uses the correct NA class forms.

I do not understand the final word. Johnnie gave the Mara equivalent as dajur+u-mindini, but I do not have dajur in my Mara vocabulary.

18.4 wura:='ran^gga-n^y ya:-ni, ma=rijbi:-ni,
they looked_p it is here (ANA) it (MANA) floated_c
gadara, wirima=du:lwi-n^y wura:='ran^gga-n^y ya:-ni ayij,
coconut they sang for it_p they looked_p it is here jellyfish
wara=na-ni wani=du:lwi:-ni wara:=-'yij, na-catfish, ma:='gi-n^y
they saw it_c it sang for it_c jellyfish it returned_p
mana-maduwa wama=jujurgi-n^y, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
tide it drove them_p they went_c

They looked, and there was a coconut floating past. They sang its song. They looked: there was a jellyfish. They saw it. Catfish sang the song of jellyfish. The tide went back out, driving them along. They went along.

18.5 wuru=garini-n^y, "yowey! wara-wadiri:::
they looked back_p yes! (creole) Wadiri (tribe)
n^gara:='ru-n^y wara-wanbaga", wara=du:lwi-n^y
we left them behind_p (=Wadiri) they sang for them_p
wara-wanbaga, "ya:::", wara=du:lwi-n^y, wara=du:lwi-n^y
(=Wadiri) (sound) they sang for them_p they sang for them_p
wara-wanbaga
(=Wadiri)

song: rajuwanbaga
(=Wadiri)

wu:=yama:-' mana-mandiwala wirima=lharma-n^gi,
they did that_c circumcision ritual they began circumcision_c

wara:='ru-n^y, wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
they abandoned them_p they went_c they went_c
wururi ya:-ma ma=rijbi:-ni,
dugong grass it is here it floated_c
song: ma jama ja gandurugandu buluyuruyur
(songwords)

wirima=du:lwi:-ni, juy! wu:=ya-n^ggi, wama-gari=yuri-n^y,
they sang for it_c go they went_c it (tide) carried them behind_p
They looked back. "Yes, we have left the Wadiri people behind!"
They sang the song for them (the Wadiri): "rajuwan**baga**..." They
did that, they performed the circumcision song cycle. They left
them (the Wadiri) behind and went along. Some dugong grass floated
past. (They sang:) "majamaja, gandurugandu, buluyuruyuru..."
They sang its song. They went along. It (the tide) carried them
along behind it.

Note: The Wadiri, also known as Yanyula (Anyuwa, etc.), are an ethnolinguistic group ('tribe') now living mainly at Borroloola community, and were originally concentrated on the Gulf coast near Borroloola and on the offshore islands there; the Mara and Warndarang separate them from the Nunggubuyu. The mythical events narrated in this text begin with the departure of the Catfish beings from the Wadiri region and end in Warndarang country; they briefly skirt past coastal Nunggubuyu territory on the way.

* ANA_{der}- prefix /uG-/ plus rulbu 'back(bone)'.

** Compounding initial /aG-/ 'ground' plus wadbir 'dry'.

18.7 "maduwa mana:-' -ma ma=ya:-ri: n^ga:mbu=jarari:-'",
tide this it goes we (InPl) will move quickly,

wu:=yami-jga-n^yji:-ni, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, da-nu:-'
they told each other_c they went_c it is there
wuru=na-n^y
they saw it_p

song: girigigiwu n^galn^galanguyi
 tern
 wu:=yama:-', wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wuru=na-ni-maga:
 they did that_c they went_c they went_c they saw it_c
 gariwa wu=walandhi-/, ya:-ni, wu:=yama:-'
 flatback turtle it floated_c it is here they did that_c
 yan^ga-yan^gi wa:-du-ra:-'lu:-', wuru=na-n^y, gariwa,
 who? (Pl) those coming they saw it_p turtle
 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wa:n^g, wa:n^g
 they went_c whatchamacallit whatchamacallit but
 wuru=na-n^y,
 they saw it_p

P
They said to each other, "The tide is going. We will go along quickly." They went along. There, they saw it (tern). They sang: "girigigiwu, ngalngalanguyi." They went along, they saw a flatback turtle floating past. There, they did that. Who are those people coming here? They saw it, the flatback turtle. They went along, they saw whatchamacallit.

Note: The sentence "Who are those people coming here?" has nothing to do with the narration. As we were recording the text a couple of people walked by, and Johnnie broke away from the narrative to ask me who it was.

18.8 xxx, "yay! ma:='n^ggari:-na, a-ni-ga-wuy
(unclear) hey! it (tide) comes in to where?
n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g", wu:=yama-n^y wama=rijbi-jga-n^y
we (InPl) will go_p they did that_p it made them float_p
argali-n^yi, ma:='n^ggari-n^y, wama=rijbi-jga-n^y n^ga wa:n^g,
westward it (tide) came in_p it made them float_p then whatchamacallit
wuluminy^ygira, "wuluminy^ygira ana:-'ni, ana-lha:l", wu:=yama-n^y,
(place n.) (place n.) this country they did that_p
wu:=ruma-n^y ya:-nu:-'wuy wunumbi-yaj, maduwa n^gijan^g ma:='gi-n^y,
they went this way northward tide more it returned_p
wiri=na-n^y magala:ba ya:-ni:-'la ana-magala:ba, "Bickerton
they saw it_c (place n.) here it comes (place n.) (place n.)
magala:ba ana:-'ni", ma:='n^ggari-n^y wama=jujurgi-n^y
(place n.) this it (tide) came in_p it drove them_p
argali-n^yi,
westward

(They said,) "Hey! The tide is going in. Where will we go?"
The tide took them along, floating, as it came in, westward. They

said, "This place is Wuluminygira." They went along to the north. The tide was going back out. They saw the place Magala:ba (Bickerton Island). "This place is Bickerton, Magala:ba." The tide came in, driving them westward.

18.9 wu:=yama:::n^ga wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, a:-'ni,
they did that_p and then whatchamacallit but this
rama-ramali-jala wama=jujurgi:-ni ma:='n^ggari:-ni an^gudu,
from east it drove them_c it (tide) came in_c heavily
wama=yura-n^gi adaba a-lha:l-wuy, "ana:-'ni wubiringin^ya
it carried them_c then to the country this (place n.)
ana-lha:l, wubiringin^ya, yay! yaga: a-ni-ga ana-wa:n^g,
country (place n.) hey! how far? it is where? whatchamacallit
ana-majandula, yuwa:-ni:-la ari n^giri=wagari:-'
(place n.) there it comes maybe we (InPl) head for it
wagay",
southward

Then whatchamacallit, this (place). From the east the tide came in and drove them along, it carried them powerfully, deep (into the land), toward the country. (They said,) "This place is Wubiringin^ya. Hey! Where is the place Majandula? Maybe that is it over there, we are heading for it."

18.10 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi lha:l an^yba:j wiri=na-n^y,
they went_c country other they saw it_p
"wuluminjira ana:-'ni, ya:-ni n^giri=wagari:-'
(place n.) this it is here we head for it
wuluminjira", wu:-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y wura:='ran^gga-n^y yuwa:-ni
(place n.) they all stood up_p they looked_p it is there
ana-majandula, "ya:-ni:-la gu-ru-waj ana-rilji,
(place n.) here it comes hey you! (Pl) island
yan^gi=mayi ana:-'ni, majandula ari", wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
what place? this (place n.) maybe they went_c
ya:-ni wu:-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y, "majandula ana:-'ni
it is here they all stood up_p (place n.) this
n^guru=wali-n^y",
we arrived_p

They went along and saw another place. "This is Wuluminjira, we are approaching Wuluminjira." They all stopped and looked. Over there was Majandula. "Hey you! Coming up here is an island, what is it? Maybe Majandula." They went along and they all stopped there. "This is Majandula, we have arrived."

18.11 n^gija:::n^g, wama=riji-bi-jga-n^y ma:='n^ggari-n^y,
more it made them float_p it (tide) came in_p

wu:=ya-n^ggi "yay!, yan^gi=mayi ana:-'ni ana-lha:l", "wuban^gidiyu
they went_c hey! what place? this country (place n.)
a:-da-nu:-' wuban^gidiyu, wuban^gidiyu ana:-'ni, yu:ga",
that (place n.) this Q
n^gijan^g adaba ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=yama-n^y, ma:='gi-n^y,
more then this way they did that_p it returned_p
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, "yay! wuluminjira a:-da-nu:-'
they went_c hey! (place n.) that
wuluminjira, yu:ga, da-nu:-' ana-wa:n^g,
(place n.) Q it is there whatchamacallit
n^giri-yaga=agari:-", "i:!"
we head for it yes!

Again the tide came in and made them float. They went along. (One of them said to the others,) "Hey! What place is this?" (The others said,) "That is Wuban^gidiyu. This is Wuban^gidiyu, isn't it?" Then the tide went back this way. They went along. "Hey, that place is Wuluminjira. Isn't it? That whatchamacallit is there, we are heading for it." "Yes!"

18.12 n^gala:ligi wini=na-n^y, wini=du:lwi-n^y na-n^gala:ligi,
green turtle they saw it_p they sang for it_p green turtle
"yan^ga-yan^gi nu-gu-ru", "nu-ru-waj ana:-'ni, nan^guru-wan^g
who? (Pl) you (Pl) it is us (ExPl)! this catfish (Pl)
nu-ru-waj ana:-'ni nu:=ya:-ri:", "yu:ga, a-ni-ga-wuy nu:=ya:-ri:",
it is us! this we (ExPl) go Q to where? you (Pl) go
"nu:=ya:-ri: wanmari-wuy burunju-wuy, i:::
we (ExPl) go to (place n.) to (place n.) (meaningless)
a-ni-ga-wuy nu:=ya:-ri:" "na:mba:='dada-n^g wuyagiba
to where? you (Pl) go we will go up on shore_p (place n.)
n^ga na:mbu=yama-n^g n^ga wa:n^g-guy
and then we (ExPl) will do that_p and then to whatchamacallit
wanmari na:mbu=yama-n^g, burunju" "yu:ga", wu:=lalag-i-'-n^y,
(place n.) we will do that_p (place n.) Q they got up_p
They saw Green Turtle and sang for it. (Turtle asked them,) "Who are you?" "This is us, Catfish people. It is us, we are going." "Where are you going?" (The Catfish answered,) "We are going to Wanmari and Burunju. And where are you going?" (The Turtles answered,) "We will go up onto the dry land at Wuyagiba, we will do that (and go) to Wanmari and Burunju." (The Catfish said,) "Really?" They got up and continued going.

18.13 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, mayanjiyanji, wura:='dadi-n^y,
they went_c (place n.) they went onto shore_p
mayanjiyanji, wura:='ran^gga:-' wara-badirin^y wan^ggu=na-n^y
(place n.) they looked_c devils (ghosts) it saw them_p

They went along and went onto the land at Mayanjiyanji. They looked (and saw) some devils. It (a devil) saw them. (The devil said to the other devils,) "Over there! Some people! These people have come from the south, from Muluwa." It said that, it saw them (Catfish people) and called out to them, "Hey! Who are you?" It went along there. (One of the Catfish people said to the others,) "Hey! There is someone over there, it shouted. Here come some people." They went. Who is that man?

Notes: The "Who is that man?" at the end has nothing to do with the story; someone went past us on a motorcycle during the recording session.

The term badirin^ya 'devil, ghost' (see texts 8 and 9) can be applied loosely to Dreamtime 'people' who are not specifically associated with particular animal species. Here both the Catfish people and the new group of 'devils' are referred to as wuruj 'human(s)'. 'Devil' can take either WARA or ANA class agreement for the singular; verb forms like wan^ggu=na-n^y 'it (devil) saw them (Catfish people)' above clearly have ANA; I am not sure whether wara-badirin^ya (last line of preceding page) is a specifically Pl form here or just a variant of ANA class ana-badirin^ya. I should add that in texts like this where several groups (e.g. Catfish people) are involved and in which each group consists of a set of homogeneous, undifferentiated individuals, the distinction between Sg and Pl is often blurred morphologically.

numbu:=ya:-ri: juy!", "nagan^g a-ni-ga nu-n^gu=bura:-'',
 you (Pl) go!_c go you (Sg) it is where? you (Sg) sit
 ba-gi-yaj adaba, "ya:-ni n^ga=bura:-'', "yu:ga", "wi:yao!",
 there he goes now it is here I sit Q finish!

(A devil said,) "There are people here. You all, where are you going?" (Catfish people said,) "To Burunju and Wanmari." (The devil said,) "Is that so?" They (Catfish) went up on the shore at Wuyagiba. They left it (Wuyagiba) behind. (The devil said,) "Goodbye! You go!" (Catfish people said to him,) "Where will you be?" There he goes now! (The devil answered,) "I am staying here." "Is that so?" "Goodbye!"

Note: "There he goes now!" is another extraneous comment on the motorcycle rider going past.

18.15 wu:=yami-jga-n^y ana-badirin^ya, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
they told it_p devil they went_c
wa:n^g, wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, wura:='dadi-n^y, wu:=yama-n^y
whatchamacallit but they went on shore_p they did that_p
wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, ana-wuyagiba-ala adaba ya:-nu:-'wuy
whatchamacallit but from (place n.) then this way
wu:=yama-n^y, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wuyimaragu, ba-ni:-'la
they did that_p they went_c (place n.) there it comes
wu:-n^gara=gallhi-n^y, wu:=yama-n^y, mawuradgu, wu:=yama-n^y,
they all floated_p they did that_p (place n.) they did that_p
wa:n^g, awunbunji, amala, awunbunji,
whatchamacallit (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)

They (Catfish people) said that to the devil. They went along. What the heck is the name of that place? They went onto the land, what the heck is its name? From Wuyagiba they came along this way, like that. They went (and stopped at) Wuyimaragu. They floated along there, like that. They did that at Mawuradgu, at Awunbunji, at Amala.

18.16 adaba wiri=yagara-n^gi wa:n^g-guy, "yay!
then they headed for it_c to whatchamacallit hey!

yan^gi-mayi ana:-'ni yiyandawaj", wu:=yama-n^y, yiyandawaj,
what place? this (ANA) (place n.) they did that_p (place n.)

wu:=yama:-' awunbunji, wiri=wa-n^g an-uba-ni wiri=wa-n^g
they did that_c (place n.) they hit it_p that they hit it_p

wiri=wa-n^g wiri=wa-n^g, ran^ga-bugij wirima:-'ragara:='ru-n^y,
only dugout canoe they abandoned them all_p

*a-badawadad "n^gu:=ya:-ri: ya:-nu:-'wuy", wu:=yama-n^y wulgu,
solid ground we (InPl) go this way they did that_p (place n.)

"lha:l an-uba-ni n^gawu=maya-na wulgu, da-wu:-'
country that I call it (place n.) they are there (WARA)

muru-murun^gun ya:-nu:-'wuy n^ga-gu-ru da-wu:-' wuruj,
(clan n.) this way we (InPl) they are there human

muru-murun^gun ya:-nu:-'wuy n^ga-gu-ru",
(clan n.) this way we

Then they headed for (a place,) whatchamacallit? (They said,) "Hey! What is this place? It is Yiyandawaj." They said that, at Yiyandawaj. They did it at Awunbunji. They hit it (solid ground). They left behind their dugout canoes (and proceeded on foot). There was solid ground. "We are going this way," they said. They did that at Wulg^gu. "I call this place Wulg^gu. There are some people of the Murun^gun clan over that way (not far away), so we will go this way."

Note: The Murun^gun people referred to are the Ngandi-speaking Nun^yjirpi clan who belong to the Murun^gun semimoiet (a constellation of clans of the Mandha:yun^g moiety cutting across 'tribal' boundaries in the region). The Catfish people are of the Mamba:li semimoiet, which (in Nunggubuyu terms) is the other semimoiet within the Mandha:yun^g patrilineal moiety. The Catfish people are trying to avoid running into the Murun^gun. The specific place near Wulg^gu where the Murun^gun (Nun^yjirpi) were staying was N^gun^yin, as Johnnie told me later.

* /aG-/ 'ground' (not ANA_p prefix a-) plus wadawadad 'strong'.

18.17 wu:=lima-n^y ya:-nu:-'wuy, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi gungunja,
they veered off_p this way they went_c (place n.)
gungunja ana:-'ni yiriwiri^yi, ma:labiri ana:-'ni ana-lha:l
(place n.) this (place n.) this country
wu:walarhi:-' yiriwiri^yi, ni-man=dha:yi-n^y
it stretches out_c (place n.) they (NA) formed long line_p
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi "yay!, abanaraya a:-da-nu:-' abanaraya",
they went_c hey! (place n.) that (place n.)
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ya:-ni ana-walan^galba wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
they went_c it is here (place n.) they went_c

They changed direction, this way. They went along (and stopped at) Gungunja. This place Gungunja, (and) Yiriwiri^yi, (and) Ma:labiri, this place which stretches out flat to the horizon, Yiriwiri^yi. They (Catfish people) formed a long line and went along. "Hey! That place is Abanaraya." They went along. Here was the place Walan^galba. They went along.

18.18 wa:-num^ggu-nung^g-garagu ya:-wu-ru wara-na-n^y,
uncircumcised boys they are here they saw them_p
"a-ni-ga-wuy nu:=ya:-ri:", "wanmari-wuy, nu-gu-ru" "ya:-ni
to where? you go? to (place n.) you (Pl) it is here
nuru=bura:-'', "yu:ga", wu:=yama:-' wanmari, wuru=bura-n^ga-n^y
we stay Q they did that_c (place n.) they sat_p
ba-gu::: "girjag! xxx n^gu:=ya:-ri: yuwa:-ni, burunju-wuy,
there no! (unclear) we (InPl) go it is there to (place n.)

yo:!", ba-gu wan^ggu=yambi:-ni, ana=lhun^yin, "nu-gu-ra:-'j-baj",
yes! there it spoke to them_c file snake you yourselves
ni-ga na-n^gala:ligi ba-ga:-'la ni:='gi-n^y, ya:-ni:-'la
it (NA) green turtle from there it returned_p here it comes
aba ama-madhala-guy, wuyagiba-wuy,
then to beach to (place n.)

There they (Catfish people) saw some young, uncircumcised boys (of their own Mamba:li semimoiet). (They boys asked them,) "Where are you all going?" "To Wanmari. (And) you?" (They boys said,) "We are staying here." "Is that so?" They said that. They (Catfish people) stopped there, at Wanmari. "No! We are going over there, to Burunju. All right!" There the file snake spoke to them, "You yourselves (should stay at Burunju)." On the other hand, Green Turtle went back, along this way, to the beach at Wuyagiba.

18.19 "gao! gao!", wuna:-'=gadi-n^y ya:-ji:-'li
hey! hey! they shouted to him_p from here
nu-wala=galhari-n^y lhawul^gulg, ni=wi-ni lhawul^gulg
it jabbed him in throat_p sharp-bladed grass he hit it_c
yi:-jin^yun^g mada, ya:-ji:-'li nu-wala=galhara-n^gi,
this kind grass from here it jabbed him in the throat_c
"a-ni-ga-wuy ya:-ni:-'li n^gani-yala=galhari-n^y ala:di
to where? it is from here it jabbed me in throat_p bad
a:-da-nu:-' ana-mada, lhawul^gulg n^gani=n^ga-n^y
that grass sharp-bladed grass I ate it_p
n^ga:='gi:-nao::: wuyagiba-wuy adaba ama-madhala-guy", "yo:!",
I go back to (place n.) then to beach yes!
ba=ya:-ri: juy! nu-ra:-'j-bugij na:mbu=ya:-ri:",
you go!_c go we (ExPl) only we will go_c
They (Catfish people) shouted to him (Green Turtle). Along here, in the throat, he was jabbed by blades of a sharp grass (Imperata cylindrica). He hit it (i.e. broke it off) and tried to eat it. Along here, in the throat, it jabbed him. "Where is it? Along here, in the throat, it has jabbed me. That grass (Imperata) is no good! I ate it, but now I am going back (to the coast)! I am going back to the beach, to Wuyagiba!" (Catfish people said,) "Yes! Go (that way)! Just we will go along."

Note: Green Turtle has been accompanying the Catfish people during the latter part of their travels. At Wanmari, Green Turtle (accustomed to soft seaweeds and sea-grasses) tries to eat a conspicuously sharp-bladed grass, Imperata, with predictable unfavorable results. Green Turtle then returns hastily to his coastal habitats, while the Catfish people continue to Burunju.

18.20 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, wurugu,
they went_c billabong

wura:='mbargali-n^y, wu:=ya-y "ya:-nu:-'wuy adaba n^ga:mbu=ya:-ri:
they sat together_p they slept_c this way then we (InPl) will go_c
n^ga:mbu=yama-n^g yo!:", wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
we will do that_p yes! they went_c they went_c
ya:-ni ana-wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, wa:n^g yagu
it is here whatchamacallit whatchamacallit but
an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, ba-ni-yun^g yagu wiri-maya=maya-na,
that country it is there but they call it
wu:yama-n^y warajal, warajal ana:-'ni ana-lha:l, ya:-ni
they did that_p (place n.) this country it is here
ana-lharagamana, da-ji wura:-'ragara:='ru-n^y lharagamana
white clay (paint) there they left it all_p white clay
n^ga ran^gag,
and then wood

They went along (and stopped at) a billabong. They stopped together and spent the night there. (Next day:) "Let's go this way, like this! All right!" They went along. They did it at this whatchamacallit place, what is its name? They call it that, like that, Warajal. This place is Warajal, there is white clay (for body painting) there. They left it there, white clay, and some trees.

18.21 ana-warajal-ala adaba ya:-nu:-'wuy wiri=yagara-n^gi,
from (place n.) then this way they headed for it_c
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wurugu, ya:-ni ana-wurugu, wura:='ran^gga-n^y,
they went_c billabong it is here billabong they looked_p
"ya:-mi:-'la yigaj mana-nuga, ba-ni na
here it comes (MANA) there! stone it is there now (English)
ana-burunju", wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi juy!, adaba ala n^gagara-wugag
(place n.) they went_c go then river huge
wu:-ya-n^ggi,
they went_c

Then from Warajal they came this way, heading for it (Burunju). They went along, and there was a billabong. They looked ahead. "Coming up here are stone (hills), there! That must be Burunju." They went along. There was a wide river there. They went along.

18.22 wu:-n^gara-n^gara=ja-n^ggi:::, burunju ana:-'ni burunju,
they all went_c (place n.) this (place n.)
wuru=garini-n^y wu:-n^gara=jama:-' wura:-'ragara=lha-n^ga-n^y,
they looked back_p they all did that_c they all stood upp
"ya:-ni adaba n^ga:mbu=bura:-' wi:ya!", wu:yama-n^y,
it is here now we (InPl) will sit_c finish! they did that_p
burunju, ana:-'ni ana-lha:l, "yu:ga", ya:-nu:-'wuy
(place) this country Q this way

bana:-'=garangga-na na-n^galagin^yi, burunju, i:!, ba-ni
look at him!_c (man's n.) (place n.) yes! it is there
na wuru=buri-∅, burunju, wi:ya! adaba burunju.
now (English) they sat_c (place n.) finish! then (place n.)
They all went along. This place was Burunju. They looked back, like that. They stopped. "Here we will stay. That is all," they said. This place, Burunju. "Is that so?" Look at N^galagin^yi coming this way! Burunju. Yes! There they stayed, at Burunju. That is all.

Note: "Look at N^galagin^yi coming this way!" is another extraneous comment as the man by this name came toward us. (N^galagin^yi, incidentally, was my Anindhilyagwa informant.)

TEXT 19 FORK-TAILED CATFISH AND GREEN TURTLE
Ma:di

19.1 n^gala:ligi, n^gala:ligi adaba n^ganu=maga-na n^gala:ligi,
green turtle now I will tell him_c green turtle
wara-mamba-mamba:li-yin^yun^g, a-dreaming aba yi:-n^gala:ligi,
of the Mamba:li-semimoity people totem then green turtle
ni=malala:di na:-'gi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wini:-'n^gara=ya-n^ggi
he didn't know this (NA) he went_c they (MDu) went together
yi:-nan^guru, wini:-'n^gara=ya-n^ggi na-nan^guru, ana-wuyagiba-yin^yun^g,
catfish they went together catfish of (place n.)
wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, they went_c

I will tell him (Heath) now (about) Green Turtle, a totem of the Mamba:li semimoity people (of the Warndarang, Mara, and other southern tribes). About Green Turtle, he was ignorant. He went along. He and Catfish went along together. Catfish, of (from) the place Wuyagiba. They went along.

Note: There is some fluctuation between using NA and MSg for Green Turtle and Catfish here, to the extent that we can distinguish these two classes. Prefix yi:- twice in this segment is clearly NA class; on the other hand, 3MDu verb forms occur. Ma:di, the speaker, belongs to the Murun^gun clan located around Cape Barrow, related totemically to the Murun^gun-semimoity clans to the south. See note to 18.16.

19.2 ni=ya-n^ggi n^ga ni:='dadi-n^y adaba, a:-'n^g-guy
he went_c and then he went on shore_p then to whatchamacallit
adaba na:-'gi ni=ya-n^ggi niwu=yan^ga-n^g, burunju, burunju-wuy
then this (MSg) he went_c he heard it (place n.) to (place n.)
adaba na:-'gi na-n^gala:ligi ani=ya-n^ggi adaba burunju-wuy,
then this green turtle he would go then to (place n.)
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: an-uba-ga:-'la::: alagala, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
he went_c from there on way he went_c

ni='galawaJa-n^gi niwu=dubardha-n^gi ana-wa:n^g ana-yu:l,
he crossed_c he cut through it_c whatchamacallit bushland
He (Green Turtle) went onto the land then. To whatchamacallit?
Then this one (Turtle) thought about ('heard') the place Burunju.
This one, Green Turtle, was going to go to Burunju then. He
came along this way. On the way, he crossed over, he cut through
the open bushland.

19.3 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga wa:n^g, ni=yanbi-'-n^y
he went_c and then whatchamacallit he did it_p
niwu=lhan^garma-n^y, ana-wunbunji, ana-wunbunji adaba ba-gu--,
he reached it_p (place n.) then there
lhawul^gulg ni=n^gu-ni lhawul^gulg, ni-n^gunu=n^gu-ni aba
sharp grass he ate it_c he ate it_c then
lhawul^ggu:::lg aba ni=n^gu-ni ba-gu lhawul^gulg an-uba-ni-yun^g
sharp grass then he ate it_c there that
ba-gi ni=murgulha:-' too, na-n^gala:ligi, wu=yama-na
it is there it lies down also green turtle it does that
billabong

He (Green Turtle) went along. Whatchamacallit, he did it, he
reached the place Wunbunji there. He ate some sharp-bladed grass
(Imperata cylindrica). Sharp-bladed grass there. There is some
of it over there (near where we are sitting) also. Green Turtle.
A billabong like this (speaker spreads arms widely indicating
great width of billabong).

19.4 ni-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga, adaba an-uba-ga:-'la, aba
he ate it_c and then then from there then
lhawul^gulg nu-walwa=galhara-n^gi, nu-walwa:-'lwa=galhara-n^gi
sharp grass it jabbed him in throat_c it jabbed him in throat_c
lhawul^ggu:::lg n^ga, lhawul^gulg yamba ni=n^gu-ni, aba n^gijan^g
sharp grass and then because he ate it_c then more
ba-ni:-'la ni:=gi-n^y,
there it comes he returned_p

He was eating it. Then, after that, the sharp grass jabbed him in
the throat, because he ate the sharp grass. Then he went back.

19.5 ni-ji=warumi-'-n^y, n^gijan^g adaba ni-ji=warumi-'-n^y aba
he turned back_p more then he turned back_p then
wuyagiba-wuy, wuyagiba-wuy, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga
to (place n.) he went_c and then
wuyagiba aba ni=jalburdi-n^y aba ba-gi wuyagiba ni=bura:-',
(place) now he jumped in_p then he is there (place n.) he sits
mayan^yjiyan^yji, na-n^gala:ligi, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi
(place n.) green turtle he made it_c

He turned back. He turned back then and returned to Wuyagiba.
He went along, and jumped into the water there at Wuyagiba. He is
still there (as a totemic site). Green Turtle, he made the place
Mayan^yjiyan^yji.

19.6 ni-ga:-'yun^g aba nan^guru-wugij, nan^guru-wugij ni=yaldhi-n^y
as for him then only catfish he went past_p
adaba ni-ga:-'yun^g, araga n^ga ni=min^yn^galgi:-ni
then as for him suddenly and then he went in between_c
ni=ya-n^ggi ni=yama:-' ni=min^yn^galgi:-ni, ni-yama=yama:-'
he went_c he did that_c he went in between_c he did that_c
n^ga ana-wa:n^g, wunuwarir,
and then whatchamacallit (place n.)

As for Catfish, only he went on farther. As for him (Catfish),
he went through the middle (of the bushland), taking a shortcut.
He did that at whatchamacallit, Wunuwarir.

19.7 ni-yama=yama:-', walang^galba, ni=n^gu-ni-yin^yung,
he did that_c (place n.) he who ate it_c
niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi-yin^yung, walang^galba, ana-walan^galba-wala,
he who made it_c from (place n.)
marbamarbingu, ana-marbamarbingu-wala, adaba wanmari, adaba
(place n.) from (place n.) then (place n.) then
ba-ni niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi wanmari adaba,
it is there he made it_c (place n.) then

He (Catfish) did that at the place Walang^galba, which had been
made by the one who ate it (the grass, i.e. Green Turtle). From
Walang^galba (Catfish went to) Marbamarbingu, and from there to
Wanmari. Then he (Catfish) made it, Wanmari.

19.8 ni=bura-n^ga-n^y ni=bura-n^ga-n^y ni=bura-n^ga-n^y ni=bura-n^ga-n^y
he sat_p
n^gijan^g n^ga an-uba-ga:-'la aba ni=lalagi-'-n^y brrrd!,
more and then from there then he got up_p (noise)
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga, a:n^g mana-mandiwala
he went_c and then whatchamacallit circumcision ritual
aba nima:='ru-n^y ya:-mi-yaj wa:n^g-gaj
then he left it_p here it goes along whatchamacallit
wuyagiba-waj, aba ana:-'ni wu-gu-ra:-'bilhan^gu wudildil
along (place n.) then this it in turn (ANA) mortuary ritual
niwu=lharma-n^gi wudildil, niwu=du:lwi:-ni wudildil
he performed it_c he sang for it_c mortuary ritual
niwu-du=du:lwi:-ni n^ga ana-burunju, ni=bura-n^ga-n^y adaba
he sang for it_c and then (place n.) he sat_p then

ana-burunju, ba-gi adaba ni=bura:-', ana-burunju, ana-wanmari, (place n.) he is there now he sits (place n.) (place n.)
He stopped there for a while. Then he got up and left. He went along and left the circumcision ritual track along there, from Wuyagiba (to Wanmari, etc.). In addition (to the circumcision ritual), he performed the mortuary ritual. He performed its song cycles. He stopped at Burunju. He is there now (as a totemic site), at Burunju, and at Wanmari.

19.9 aba ni=ga na-n^gala:ligi, ni:='gi-n^y adaba n^gijan^g
then he green turtle he returned_p then more
ni:='gi-n^y yu:-gu-ni wuyagiba-wuy ni=ga na-n^gala:ligi, wa:='ri
he returned_p to there to (place n.) he green turtle not
an-u-gu-ni-maga: ani=wuguwuguni-maga: ani=ya-n^ggi.
to there (not) he was permanent he went

(But) Green Turtle went back there again, to Wuyagiba. Green Turtle did not stay there (inland, e.g. at Wanmari) for good, he did not go there (to stay).

Comments on texts 18 and 19

This myth is somewhat different in style from the rather more dramatic myths which precede it. It belongs to the genre of myths concerning major cult totemic beings whose travels and deeds are re-enacted in major rituals--in this case, both the circumcision and mortuary ritual cycles. This particular myth is most directly relevant to clans of the Mamba:li semimoity among the Warndarang and Mara ethnolinguistic groups to the south of the Nunggubuyu, but the Nunggubuyu are familiar with the myth and its rituals and the Nunggubuyu often used Warndarang rituals for their own circumcisions. I have recorded extensive samples of associated circumcision (mandiwala, mandiwa) and mortuary (wudildil, dildil) singing from Johnnie and other singers; the words are in Mara and Warndarang to the extent they are intelligible.

These myths tend to be dull from a Western viewpoint, and consist mainly of accounts of the places which each totemic being stopped at and of the other totemic beings which it encountered. In general, each stop for a major totemic being involves the creation or modification of the physical landscape, the naming of the site, and perhaps leaving behind a ritual site which Aboriginals now use for their ceremonies.

In this myth the most significant dramatic event is the ill-advised attempt by Green Turtle, who is accompanying Catfish, to eat a sharp-bladed grass species, and his subsequent hasty retreat to a more familiar coastal location. In long versions by a narrator like Johnnie, who is himself much concerned with the relevant rituals, this dramatic event is merely a small part of the narration, and he takes great pains to correctly narrate the more mundane parts of the myth, notably the sequence of sites visited and of totemic beings encountered. Ma:di, a Nunggubuyu man and important ritual leader, puts a little more emphasis on

the grass-eating episode. In shorter versions (unpublished) from younger men the grass-eating incident is foregrounded still further and the sequence of locations deemphasised. In one version by a younger man Green Turtle here becomes Hawksbill Turtle (n^galhuwa).

TEXT 20 KING BROWN SNAKES Johnnie (Nan^guru)

20.1 n^guda-lhardharg wini=lalagi-'-n^y ana-dhalan^gara, wini=ya-n^ggi
king brown they (MDu) got up_p (place n.) they went_c
wini=ya-n^ggi an-uba-ga:-'la, n^ga ya:-ni wa:n^g, wini=yama-n^y
from there then it's here whatchamacallit they did that_p
wa:n^g, dhalan^gara-ala wini=lalagi-'-n^y wini=yama-n^y n^ga bamburuwi,
from (place n.) they got up_p then (place n.)
adaba winiwa:='ru-n^y, wini-yangga=ya-n^ggi:::, n^ga ya:-ni
then they (MDu) left it_p they went_c and then it is here
wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, xxx, wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu, wini=ya-n^gi
whatchamacallit but (unclear) but they went_c
wagi-yaj wini=ya-n^ggi, wini=yama-n^y n^ga wa:n^g, wini:='galawaji-n^y,
southward they went_c they did that_p then they crossed_p

Two King Brown snakes got up at the place Dhalan^gara and came this way from there. They did that at Dhalan^gara. They got up at the place Bamburuwi, then left it; they went along, then whatchamacallit? What the heck is it? They went along south, they went across the land.

Note: king brown snakes are large and deadly; the term n^guda-lhardharg is a frozen compound meaning 'rough-waist'.

20.2 wini-yangga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga ya:-ni wa:n^g, wini=
they went_c then it is here whatchamacallit they (MDu)
=rabali-n^y, wini=rabali-n^y, an-uba-ga:-'la wini=lalagi-'-n^y, wini=
came out_p from there they got up_p when they
=rabali-n^y-gala, wini=yama-n^y n^ga wuran^gulyu, gada! wa:='ri
came out_p they did that_p then (place n.) oops! not
ana-wuran^gulyu wini=rabali-n^y wini=yama-n^y miladan^ga, ana-lha:l
(place n.) they came out_p they did that_p (place n.) country
miladan^ga, an-uba-ga:-'la wini=ya-n^ggi, winiwu=wagara-n^gi, wa:n^g-guy
(place n.) from there they went_c they went to it_c to what's-it?
a:-'ni yagu a-wa:n^g, wini=yama-n^y n^ga wa:n^g,
this but whatchamacallit they did that_p and then
wa:n^g yagu, ana-miladan^ga-ala wini:='galawaji-n^y n^ga
whatchamacallit but from (place n.) they crossed_p then
wini=yama-n^y n^ga wa:n^g-guy, winiwu=wagara-n^gi,
they did that_p and then to whatchamacallit they headed for it_c

wuran^gulyu, wuran^gulyu winima=du:lwi-n^y,
(place n.) they sang for it (MANA)_p

They went along and came out there at whatchamacallit place. After they came out they got up (and left again). They did that at the place Wuran^gulyu. Oops! Not Wuran^gulyu. They came out like that at Miladan^ga, the place Miladan^ga. After that they headed for Wuran^gulyu. They sang its song (i.e. of rituals).

20.3 xxx an-uba-ga:-'la wini=ruma-n^y wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
(unclear) from there they went_p they emerged_p
wa:ni=rarji-n^y wara-mij-bura:yun^g wini=ya-n^ggi na,
they unloaded them_p children they (MDu) went_c now (English)
wini=lalagi-'-n^y wa:n^g, abanaraya, abanaraya wini=yama-n^y,
they got up_p whatchamacallit (place n.) they did that_p
wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: nadun^gudun^gu, wini=rabali-n^y, wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
they went_c (place n.) they came out_p they emerged_p
winiwu=du:lwi-n^y, nadun^gudun^gu, wini-n^gara=manji-n^y
they sang for it (ANA)_p (place n.) they both bathed_p
an-uba-ga:-'la,
from there

After that they went along and emerged up into the open. They vomited out (unloaded) some children. They (the two snakes) went along then, they got up (and left). They did that at Abanaraya. They went along and came out at Nadun^gudun^gu. They went into the water after that.

20.4 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wini-n^gara=ja-n^ggi n^ga
they went along_c they both went_c and then
wa:n^g ya:-ni, wini=rabali-n^y, wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
whatchamacallit it is here they came out_p they emerged_p
wa:n^g yagu, marumaru, marumaru wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
whatchamacallit but (place n.) they emerged_p
ba-gu wini=n^gan^yji:-ni, wa:ni=rarji-n^y
there they vomited_c they (MDu) unloaded them_p
wara-gilyirin^ggilyiri, "nu-ru-waj ana:-'-ni gilyirin^ggilyiri",
(name of people) it is we (ExPl) this (name of people)
"a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri:, wagi-yaj yilagala-wuy",
to where? we (ExMDu) go southward to (place n.)
wini-n^gara=manji-n^y an-uba-ga:-'la, wini=yama:-' mindibur,
they both bathed_p from there they did that_c (place n.)
wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y, mindibur wini=yama-n^y, wa:n^g,
they emerged_p (place n.) they did that_p whatchamacallit
balgani wini=rabali-n^y wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
(place n.) they came out_p they emerged_p

They both went along. There they came out, they emerged out. At whatchamacallit, Marumaru. They came out and vomited them out there, the Gilyirin^ggilyiri. (The Gilyirin^ggilyiri said,) "We are the Gilyirin^ggilyiri." (The two snakes said to each other,) "Where shall we go? South, to Yilagala." Then they went into the water. They emerged at Mindibur. (Later on) they came out at whatchamacallit, Balgani.

Note: The Gilyirin^ggilyiri (or Ngilyirin^ggilyiri) are the human-like beings in the major myths related to the secret Gunabibi ritual; some short texts concerning them more directly are presented later.

20.5 wini=yaran^gga:-', wini-n^gara=manji-n^y, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
they looked_c they bathed_p they went_c
ana-ragij wu:=yiyin^ymi:-ni "yi!" wara-gilyirin^ggilyiri,
first (in place) they called out 'yi!' (name of people)
ana-nayirinji, wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y naburgunguyan^ga, naburgunguyan^ga,
(place n.) they emerged_p (place n.)
"way! nu-ru-waj yaga: ana:-'-ni, yan^gi-mayi ana:-'-ni
oh! it is we (ExPl) this what place? this
naburgunguyan^ga yu:ga", wini=ruma-n^y, wini-n^gara=gadadi-n^y,
(place n.) Q they (MDu) went_p they both went on shore_p
mann^galyi, wini:=dadi-n^y, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wagi-yaj
(place n.) they went on shore_p they went_c southward
winiwu=lhami-n^y, wumayamaya, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
they chased it (ANA) plain they went_c
wa:n^g, milan^yja,
whatchamacallit (place n.)

They (two snakes) looked around. They both went into the water and went along. Up ahead the Gilyirin^ggilyiri were calling out, "yi!" They (snakes) came out at Nayirinji. They came out (again) at Naburgunguyan^ga. (The Gilyirin^ggilyiri said,) "Oh! This is us here. What is this place? Is it Naburgunguyan^ga?" They (snakes) went away, they both went up onto the shore at Mann^galyi. They went south, heading for the plains. They went on. There was the place Milan^yja.

20.6 wa:ni=lhan^garma-n^y ba-gu, wara-badirin^ya an^yja:bu-n^yung,
they reached it_p there devil one
"ni-ni-waj yaga: ni:ni=ya-n^ggi, yu:ga", "a-ji-ga:-'la
it is us (ExMDu) Q we (ExMDu) went_c Q from where?
ni:ni=ya-n^ggi wunumbi-yala, dhalan^gara-ala, yu:ga, a-ni-ga-wuy
you (MDu) went_c from north from (place n.) Q to where?
ni:ni=ya:-ri:", "yilagala", wa:ni=yami-jga:-' wara-badirin^ya,
you (MDu) go (place n.) they told it_c devil
"yu:ga", wini=ruma-n^y wagi-yaj, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: nyawalgor,
Q they went_p southward they went_c (place n.)

wini=yaran^gga:-', wini=jarari-n^y, wagi-yaj, wini=yama-n^y,
 they looked_c they moved_p southward they did that_p
 wini=rabali-n^y, walgalga, n^ganiwan^ggiri, n^ganiwan^ggiri
 they came out_p (place n.) (place n.)
 wini=rabali-n^y,
 they came out_p

They caught up with one devil (ghost). (They said,) "It is us two. We have come. All right?" (Devil:) "Where did you two come from? From the north, from Dhalan^gara? Where are you going?" (Snakes:) "Yilagala." They said that to the devil. (Devil:) "Is that so?" They (two snakes) went south. They went to Nyawal^gur. They took a look. They moved again, south, like that. They came out at Walgalga. (Correction:) They came out at N^ganiwan^ggiri.

20.7 "da-wu:-' wuruj!" wini=yama-n^y
 they are there (WARA) human they (MDu) did that_p
 wini=yaran^gga-n^y "yay!" "ma:='la:di mana-bagalan^g
 they looked_p hey! it (MANA) is bad eye
I can't look, yu:ga yagi n^ga:='ran^ggi-∅" "yo:!, da-ji ba=bura:-"
 I cannot see Q not I will see yes! there you will sit_c
 juj! wini=ruma-n^y, "a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri:, wagi-yaj"
 go they (MDu) went_p to where? you (MDu) go southward
 "yu:-gu-ni wagi-yaj ni:ni=ya:-ri: wa:n^g-guy yilagala-wuy,
 to there southward we (ExMDu) go to whatchamacallit to (place n.)
 yo:!", wini=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu,
 yes! they (MDu) went_c whatchamacallit but
 wini=lhan^gadbi-n^y, "yan^gu-n^gum-ba: nu-gu-ni", "ni-ni-ya:
 they emerged_p who? (Du) you (MDu) it is we (ExMDu)
 ana:-'ni n^guda-lhardhar-ba:", "yu:ga, a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri:"
 this two king brown snakes Q to where? you (MDu) go
 "wagi-yaj", wini=yama-n^y wa:n^g, wa:n^g yagu,
 southward they did that_p whatchamacallit but
 lhiribala-wuy adaba wini=ya-n^ggi,
 downward then they went_c

They said, "Oh! Someone is over there (not far away)!" They looked (and saw it). (It was Shark, mulur.) (It said,) "My eyes are no good, I cannot see. Is that so?" (They said,) "Yes! You stay right there!" They started to go. (Shark said,) "Where are you two going, south?" "We are going south, to Yilagala. Yes!" They went along. They emerged at whatchamacallit. (Another snake said,) "Who are you two?" (They answered,) "It is us, two king brown snakes." "Where are you two going?" "We are going south." They said that. At whatchamacallit place. They went down (toward the coast).

20.8 *a-wunubaryi-n^y u-wala wini=ya-n^ggi lhiribala-wuy
 from (place n.) they (MDu) went_c downward
 wini=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wini=waran^gga-n^y, ya:-gi wunu=na-n^y
 they went_c they looked_p he is here they saw him_p
 na-an^yba-jun^g na-n^guda-lhardhar-jun^g "yay! yan^gu-n^gum-ba:
 other (MSg) king brown snake (MSg) oh! who? (Du)
 nu-gu-ni gay! ana:-'ni ma:='la:di mana-bagalan^g, mana:-'ma
 you (MDu) oh! this (ANA) it is bad eye this (MANA)
 mana-bagalan^g ma:='la:di yagi n^ga:='ran^ggi-∅", "yu:ga, nu-ga-waj
 eye it is bad not I will see Q it is you
 nu-n^gu=gabuji", "i:, n^gaya-waj yu:ga",
 you are blind (creole stem) yes! it is me Q

From Wunubaryi they went down toward the coast. They went along. They looked, and there they saw another King Brown. (It said,) "Oh! Who are you two? My eyes are no good, I cannot see!" (They said,) "Is that so? You are blind!" (It said,) "Yes, I am. Yes?"

* The place name is wunubaryi, with Ablative -wala. The extra -n^yu- is an optional incremental ending used sporadically with place names designating locations in the Mara-language area (which now includes much of the former Warndarang area), at least for this speaker. It is really the Mara Locative suffix -n^yu(r), treated here as part of the stem.

20.9 wini=lalagi-'-n^y wagi-yaj, wini=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
 they (MDu) got up_p southward they went_c
 wini=yama-n^y wa:n^g, wa:n^g, "a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri:"
 they did that_p whatchamacallit to where? you (MDu) go
 "ya:-nu:-'wuy ni:niwu=wagari:-' yilagala-wuy, yu:ga",
 this way we (ExMDu) head for it to (place n.) Q
 "juy! nimbini=ya:-ri: yo:!" wini=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wuruguri,
 go you (MDu) go! c yes! they (MDu) went_c slow
 wini=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wa:ni=lhan^garma-n^y badirin^ya,
 they went_c they (MDu) reached it (WARA)_p devil (WARA)
 wini=yama-n^y "yay! gu-waj! ya:-wa wuruj",
 they did that_p hey! hey you! it is here (WARA) human
 "a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri: gay!" "wagi-yaj, yu:-gu-ni
 to where? you (MDu) go hey! southward to there
 ni:ni=ya:-ri: yilagala-wuy yu:ga",
 we (ExMDu) go to (place n.) Q

They (two king brown snakes) got up and went south. At whatchamacallit place. (Someone said to them,) "Where are you two going?" "We are going this way, toward Yilagala. Right?" (The other said to them,) "Fine! You two go (that way)!" They went along slowly. Finally they ran into a devil. They said (to each other) "Hey you! Someone is here!" (The devil said to them,) "Where are you two going?" "We are going south, to Yilagala. OK?"

20.10 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wunu=lhan^garma-n^y na-n^guda-lhardhar-jung,
 they (MDu) went_c they reached him_p king brown (MSg)
 na:-'n^yba-jun^g, "n^gaya-waj ana:-'ni! n^gaya-waj yaga:
 other (MSg) it is me! this (ANA) it is me! Ø
 na-n^guda-lhardharg" "ni-ni-waj n^guda-lhardhar-ba:",
 king brown snake it is we (ExMDu) king browns (MDu)
 "a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya-n^ggi, a-ji-ga:-'la ni:ni=ya-n^ggi",
 to where? you (MDu) went_c from where? you (MDu) went_c
 "yuwa-ga:-'la wunumbi-yala, ni:ni=ya:-ri: wa:n^g-guy,
 from there from north we (ExMDu) go to whatchamacallit
 yilagala-wuy, yu:ga, juy! nagan^g a-ni-ga ba=bura:-"
 to (place n.) Q go you (Sg) it is where? you will sit_c
 "ya:-ni", "yo! da-gi ba=bura:-" nagan^g, ni-ni
 it is here yes! he is there you will sit_c you (Sg) we (ExMDu)
 yu:-gu-ni ni:ni=ya:-ri: wagi-yaj",
 to there we (ExMDu) go southward

They went along. They ran into another King Brown. (It said,) "It's me, King Brown!" (They said,) "It's us! King Browns!" (It said,) "Where did you go? From where did you come?" "From the north we are going toward Yilagala. Right? (We will) go. You, where will you stay?" (It said,) "Here." (They said,) "Fine! You stay here, while us two go south."

20.11 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wa:n^g wini=lhan^garma-n^y,
 they went_c whatchamacallit they reached it (ANA)_p
 murbungula, wu=waran^gga:-' wan^ggu=na-n^y, "yay! yan^gu-n^yum-ba:
 euro it looked_c it saw them_p oh! who? (Du)
 nu-gu-ni", "ni-ni-waj ana:-'ni n^guda-lhardhar-ba:",
 you (MDu) it is we (ExMDu) this two king browns
 "way! n^ga-gu-ra:-'j-baj yu:ga muru-murun^gun-balij, n^gi!,
 oh! we (InPl) ourselves Q pair of Murun^gun clan yes/no?
 n^ga-gu-ra:-'j-baj muru-murun^gun, a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni=ya:-ri:",
 we ourselves of Murun^gun clan (Pl) to where? you (MDu) go
 "ya:-nu:-'wuy wagi-yaj yilagala-wuy, yo!:",
 this way southward to (place n.) yes!

They went along. They ran into Euro (hill kangaroo, Macropus robustus). It looked and saw them. (It said,) "Oh! Who are you two?" (They said,) "It's us, two king brown snakes." (It said,) "Hey! We are all in the Murun^gun clan, aren't we? We are Murun^gun. Where are you two going?" (They said,) "This way, south, to Yilagala."

Note: n^gi! with rising intonation (line 5 of preceding segment) is a tag question marker used mainly in languages south of Nunggubuyu and in local English creoles.

20.12 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wirin^ga=na-n^y n^gara-margij,
 they went_c they saw it (N^gARA) eaglehawk
 "ya:-wi:-'la wuruj gu-waj, yay! dilyag! dilyag!
 they (WARA) are here coming human hey you! hey! (noise)
 n^gi=yama:-', ya:-wi:-'la wuruj!", wini=ya-n^ggi-wugij,
 it did that_c they went only_c
 wirin^ga=lhan^garma-n^y, "yan^gu-n^yum-ba: nu-gu-ni", "ni-ni-waj ana:-'ni,
 they reached it_p who? (Du) you (MDu) we (ExMDu) this
 murun^gun-ba: n^guda-lhard har-ba:", "way! yu:ga a-ni-ga-wuy
 two of Murun^gun clan two king brown snakes hey! Q to where?
 ni:ni=ya:-ri:", "yilagala-wuy, ana:-'ni n^ga-gu-ra:-'j-baj, yu:ga",
 you (MDu) go to (place n.) this (ANA) we ourselves Q
 They (two snakes) went along and saw an eaglehawk (wedge-tailed eagle). (One snake said to the other,) "Hey you! There is someone coming up over here. It was going 'dilyag! dilyag!', someone is coming up over here." They kept going and caught up with it. (It said,) "Who are you two?" "It is us two, two king brown snakes, of the Murun^gun clan." "Oh! Where are you going?" "To Yilagala. This is all of us, right?"

20.13 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wunu=lhan^garma-n^y na-jiwajiwangala,
 they went_c they reached him (man's n.)
 wini=wawan^ggi-n^y u::: an-u-dhan^gun^y, ana-wulmuwari niwu=wi-ni,
 they listened_p (sound) wind boomerang he hit it_c
 dag! dag! dag! dag! dag! "yay! gu-waj ya:-wi:-'la
 (sound) hey! hey you! they are here coming
 wuruj! wagi-yan^gu, ya:-wi:-'la wagi-yan^gu,
 human from south they are here coming from south
 They went along, and ran into the man Jiwajiwangala (of the Mamba:li clan or semimoity). They listened, the wind could be heard blowing. He (J) was knocking a boomerang, knock-knock! (One king brown to the other:) "Hey you! There is someone coming up this way, from the south."

20.14 ni=ya-n^ggi::: wani=na-n^y, "yay!, yan^gu-n^yum-ba: nu-gu-ni",
 he went_c he saw them_p hey! who? (Du) you (MDu)
 "ni-ni-waj yaga: ana:-'ni n^guda-lhardhar-ba:
 it is we (ExMDu) Ø this two king brown snakes
 *bandiyan-ba:", "ayi! n^gaya-waj ana:-'ni
 two king brown snakes (meaningless) it is I this
 jiwajiwangali" "a-ji-ga:-'la nun^y=ja-n^ggi", "wagi-yan^gu", "yu:ga",
 (man's n.) from where? you went_c from south Q
 "wagi-yan^gu", "yu:ga, a-ni-ga-wuy nun^y=ja:-ri: nagan^g" "mirimiriji
 from south Q to where? you go_c you (Sg) (place n.)

ya:-nu:-'wuy argali-n^yi n^ga=ya:-ri:, mirimiriji, nu-gu-ni",
this way westward I go (place n.) you (MDu)

"yilagala-wuy", "yo!: wi:ya!"
to (place n.) yes! finish!

He (Jiwajiwangala, see 20.13) went along and saw them (the two snakes). "Hey, who are you two?" "It's us here, two king brown snakes." (J said,) "It's me here, Jiwajiwangali" "Where have you come from?" "From the south." "Where?" "From the south." "Is that so? Where are you going?" "(To) the place Mirimiriji. I am going west, (to) Mirimiriji, and you two?" "To Yilagala." "Goodbye!"
* Stem bandiyan from creole and Aboriginal languages to south.

20.15 juy!, wini-n^gara-n^gara=ja-n^ggi::: la:ga
go they (MDu) both went_c stone spear
wini=n^gan^yji:-ni, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, da-gi n^gara-margij,
they vomited_c they went_c it is there eaglehawk
dilyag! dilyag! n^gi=yama:-', "ya:-gi:-'la, ya:-wa
(sound) it did that_c here it comes here they are (WARA)
gu-waj wuruj, wuruj ya:-wa, yan^gu-n^yun^g nagan^g", "n^gaya-waj
hey you! human who? (Sg) you (Sg) it is I
yaga: ana:-'ni, margij, yu:ga, nu-gu-ni: a-ji-ga:-'la
Ø this eaglehawk Q you (MDu) from where?
ni:ni=ya-n^ggi", "ni-ni-waj ana:-'ni n^guda-lhardhar-ba:,
you (MDu) went_c it is we (ExMDu) this two king browns
a: n^ga-gu-ra:-j-baj muru-murun^gun-balij yu:ga",
(meaningless) we (InPl) ourselves pair of Murun^gun clan Q
"a-ni-ga-wuy ni:ni-ya:-ri:" "yilagala-wuy", "yo!: wi:yo!: wi:ya!",
to where? you (MDu) go to (place n.) yes! finish! finish!

They they both went along. They vomited out stone spearheads (i.e. made a flint quarry). They went along, and there not far away an eaglehawk was making its dilyag! sound. (One snake to the other:) "Hey you! Someone is coming up here! Who are you?" "It's me, Eaglehawk! And you two, where have you come from?" "It's us, two king browns. We are all (you included) Murun^gun, aren't we?" "Where are you two going?" "To Yilagala." "Fine! Goodbye!"

20.16 wini=ruma-n^y, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi winima=na-n^y da-mi
they went_p they went_c they saw it_p it is there
mana-nuga ya:-nu:-'wuy, "gu-waj ya:-mi:-'la mana-nuga, ari
stone this way hey you! here it comes stone maybe
ba-ni ana-lha:l wu=bura:-', ana-yilagala", wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
it is there country it sits (place n.) they went_c
wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, ya:-ji:-'li wini-n^gara=lhid-i-n^y aban,
they went_c from here they both went through_p ground
julub!, mari ya:-nu:-'wuy winima=burumdhin^y wini=lan^gadbi-n^y
go in and this way they put it (English loan) they emerged_p

wini=yama:-' wini=yaran^gga:-', mana-nuga,
they did that_c they looked_c stone

They went along, and there they saw a stone (hill) coming up to them (i.e. they were moving toward it). (One said to the other:) "Hey you! Here is a stone coming up, maybe that place Yilagala is there." They went along, and from here they both went through the ground. They put it (stone hill) down there. They emerged (from the ground) like this, and looked (and saw) the stone.

20.17 "yaga!: nun^y=jamin^ggari:-na nagan^g, ya:-ni adaba
∅ you (Sg) do what? you (Sg) it is here now
na-n^gu=bura:-' ya:-ji yilagala ana:-'ni ana-lha:l,
we (InDu) will sit_c here (place n.) this country
yilagala, ya:-ji na-n^gu=bura:-', ana:-'ni, ana-n^gurmu ya:-ni,
(place n.) here we will sit_c this (place n.) it is here
ya:-ni:-'la ana-wunubaryi", wini=yaran^gga:-' mana-nuga
here it comes (place n.) they (MDu) looked_c stone
ya:-nu:-'wuy ma=yama:-', "adaba ya:-ni na-n^gu=bura:-'
this way it did that_c now it is here we will sit_c
ala", "i!:", wini=lha-n^ga-n^y, wini=lha-n^ga-n^y-jin^yun^g
all right? yes! they stood up_p which they stood up_p
wini=bura-n^ga-n^y,
they sat_p

"Well, what do you think? We will stay here, here at this country, Yilagala. Let's stay here. Here is the place N^gurmu, and coming up here is Wunubaryi." They looked and saw a stone (hill) coming up, they did that. "Now let us stay here, all right?" "Yes!" They both stopped. They stayed at the place where they stopped.

20.18 "yowey!, agaduj ana:-'ni jujuj! ana:-gugu,
yes! (creole) deep this go water
ya:-ji adaba na-n^gu=bura:-', ana:-'ni yilagala, yilagala
here now we (InDu) will sit_c this (place n.)
ana:-'ni an-u-muwaj yu:ga, ya:-ji adaba na-n^gu=bura:-'', "yo!: ya:-ji
this named Q here now we will sit_c yes! here
na-n^gu=bura:-', i!:, ana-yilagala, ya:-ni, yu:ga, yuwa:-ni-ni:-'li
we will sit_c yes! (place n.) it is here Q from there (ANA)
yay!, ya:-ni ana-yilagala na-n^gu-bu=bura:-'',
hey! it is here (place n.) we will sit_c

"Yes! This water is good and deep! Here we will stay, at this place Yilagala. This place is named Yilagala." "All right, let's stay here at this place Yilagala. Along from there, here at Yilagala we will stay."

20.19 ba-ni adaba wini-bu=buri-∅, yilagala, an-u-muwaj,
it is there then they sat_c (place n.) named

that name now yilagala, "yilagala ana:-'ni na=bura:-', that's the name (place n.) this we (InDu) sit
 yu:ga, yagi yamba an-u-gu-ni na=rumi-∅, wuruj wa:-da-wu:-' Q not because to there we will go human those (WARA)
 arawindi na-n^gu=bura:-' yilagala, yo:!, ya:-ji-wugij many we (InDu) will sit_c (place n.) yes! only here
 na-n^gu=bura:-" that place now two-fella been sit-down
 we will sit_c there they (Du) stopped
there now, yilagala that name.
 (place n.)

They stayed there then at Yilagala, that was the place's name. "We will stay at Yilagala, all right? We will not go there, (there are) many people over there. We will stay at Yilagala, all right? We will stay here." Right at that place those two stopped, at the place called Yilagala.

TEXT 21 KING BROWN SNAKE AND WATER PYTHON
 Ma:di

21.1 adaba n^gijan^g n^guda-lhardharg, n^ganu=maga-na,
 now more king brown I will tell him
 wini=na-n^yji-n^y-jin^yun^g, *yi:-yalja, n^gi-ga
 they (MDu) who saw each other_p water python she (N^gARA)
 ana-lhiribala an-uwa:-gu an-u-n^gudu-ruj, n^gi-ga ba-gu n^gi=buri-∅,
 down there deeply she there she sat_c
 lhal-yirija an-uba-ni-yun^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g
 country of Yirija moiety that (ANA) as for him
 ana-lhal-mandha:yun^g-gala yuwa-ga:-'la arwar_ala,
 from country of Mandha:yun^g moiety from there from on top
 na-n^guda-lhardharg,
 king brown snake

Now I will tell him (Heath) another one. King Brown. The two who saw each other, (King Brown snake) and Water Python. She (Python) was staying down there (along the coast), in Yirija territory. As for him (King Brown), he (came) from up there, from Mandha:yun^g territory.

Note: In the form yi:-yalja the noun class is clearly N^gARA (rather than human FSg), but for the remainder of the text it is unclear whether N^gARA or FSg is used for Water Python and whether NA or MSg is used for King Brown since the prefix forms used are ambiguous. For convenience I will gloss Water Python forms as 'she' and King Brown forms as 'he'.

* Stem alja.

21.2 adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, yin^gga muga na-n^guda-lhardharg
 then he went_c nearly indeed king brown

ni:-'n=jama-n^y, wu=lhal-mandha:yun^g an-uba-ni ni-ga-wi-wugij
 he thought_p it was Mandha:yun^g country that it was only his
 ana-lha:l, adaba ni=ya-n^ggi-wugij an-uwa-ga:-'la, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
 country then he only went_c from there as for her
 adaba n^gi=ya-n^ggi ana-yirgamayi-yala, yirgamayi-yala n^gi-ga
 then she went_c from (place n.) from (place n.) she
 n^gara:-'lja,
 water python

Then King Brown went along. He thought that he was still in the territory of the Mandha:yun^g moiety, that it was still his (country). He kept coming this way. As for her (Water Python), she went from Yirgamayi, Water Python.

21.3 ni-ga na-n^guda-lhardharg, na-n^guda-lhardharg ni-ga:-'yun^g
 he king brown as for him
 a:-'n^g-gala yuwa:-ni:-'la ni=ya-n^ggi, ban^gganaruj-gala,
 from whatchamacallit there it comes he went_c from (place n.)
 ni=jarari-n^y adaba ni=ruma-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
 he moved_p then he went_p he went as for her
 an-uwa-ga:-'la adaba n^gi=ya-n^ggi arwi-yaj, ya:-ji yin^gga
 from there then she went_c upward here nearly
 wu=lhal-yirija-wugij an-uba-ni n^gi=yama-n^y,
 it was only Yirija country that she did that_p
 King Brown for his part came from whatchamacallit, from Ban^gganaruj. He moved along quickly. He went along. As for her, she came up (toward the inland hills). She was still in Yirija moiety territory.

Note: At this stage, King Brown (Mandha:yun^g) and Water Python (Yirija) are still in the territory of their own moiety. Thus Ban^gganaruj is in the territory of the Mandha:yun^g clan known as N^galmi, while Yirgamayi belongs to the Yirija clan known as Nun-dhiribala.

21.4 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 they (MDu) went_c
 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^ggi
 they (MDu) went_c
 =ya-n^ggi, ni-ga ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi na-n^guda-lhardharg ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 he he went_c king brown he went_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, ni=yawan^ggi-n^y n^ga,
 he listened_p and then
 ba-ma:-'la mana-n^gugu a:::, an-uwa-ga:-'la
 there it comes (MANA) flood (sound) from there
 ma=yama:-', n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=yawan^ggi-n^y n^ga a:::
 it did that_c as for her she listened_p and then (sound)

mana-n^gugu ma=yama:-'
flood it did that_c

They both went along. King Brown went along. He listened, and (heard) the floodwaters coming. They (floodwaters) were humming. She (Water Python) likewise listened (and heard) the floodwaters humming.

21.5 ni-ga:-'yun^g na-n^guda-lhardharg, ni-ga:-'yun^g,
as for him king brown as for him
ni-waya=yambi:-ni-yin^yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la, ni-ga ni=lhara-n^gi-wugij
which made little noises_c from there he he only went fast_c
an-uwa-ga:-'la na-n^guda-lhardharg ni=lhara-n^gi-wugij ni=ya-n^ggi,
from there king brown he only went fast_c he went_c
ni=lhara-n^gi-wugij ni=lhara-n^gi-wugij
he only went fast

King Brown, the one who was making little noises over there, he went quickly. He came quickly from there.

21.6 araga n^ga wini=na-n^yji-n^y, n^gun^yju ni-ga
suddenly and then they saw each other_p similar he
ya:-ni:-'la wu-ran^ga=dha-ra, n^gijan^g n^gi-ga:-'yun^g ya:-ni
here it comes (ANA) tree stands more as for her it's here
araga wini=na-n^yji-n^y, ni-ga:-'yun^g ni-yina=dabali-n^y
suddenly they saw each other_p as for him his head came out_p
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi-yina=dabali-n^y araga ni='ga:gi-n^y
as for her her head came out_p suddenly he went backwards_p
ni=yama-n^y, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi='ga:gi-n^y bu-gu-nu:-',
he did that_p as for her she went backward_p that way
n^gi='ga:gi-n^y,
she went backward_p

Suddenly they (King Brown and Water Python) saw each other. As though he were over here where that tree is, and she was here (measure of distance). He stuck his head out (to look), and so did she. Then he retreated (pulled his head back under), and so did she. (I.e., they were afraid when they saw each other.)

21.7 "wara:-'wa:-'la wuruj yu:ga, n^gara=gugudi-n^y ana-lha:l",
these coming human Q I trespassed on them_p country
n^gi-ga n^gi=yama-n^y, ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=yama-n^y, araga an-uba-ga:-'la
she she did that_p as for him he did that_p suddenly from there
araga ni=barumi-'-n^y-bugij araga ni=yama-n^y-bugij
suddenly he coiled self up only_p suddenly he did that only_p
ya:-nu:-'wuy-wugij ni=yama-n^y ni-ji=warumi-'-n^y,
this way only he did that_p he turned back_p

"I wonder if I have trespassed on the land of those people over here," he and she thought to themselves separately. Then he (King Brown) coiled himself up, and this way he came back (retracing his steps).

21.8 ni=yajilga-n^g ni=lhidi-n^y, ba-ga:-'la-waj,
he went through_p he went through surface_p along from there
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=yajilga-n^g ba-ga:-'la-waj n^gi=lhidi-n^y
as for her she went through along from there she went through_p
yu:-gu-ni yinin^gugararuj-guy, n^gi=lhan^gadbi-n^y, yuwa-ga:-'la
to there to (place n.) she emerged_p from there
n^gi=lhan^gadbi-n^y, n^gi=garini-n^y, n^gijan^g n^gi=lhidi-n^y,
she emerged_p she looked back_p more she went through_p
He went through, along here he went under the surface. She did the same over here, toward Yinin^gugararuj. She came out into the open, looked back (toward where King Brown had been), and went through (again).

21.9 ba:::gu-ruj n^gi=lhan^gadbi-n^y, n^gijan^g wurugu
there farther on she emerged_p more later
ba:::gu-ruj n^gi=lhan^gadbi-n^y, adaba n^giwu=ma:ndha-n^gi
there farther she emerged_p then she made it_c
ana-billabong wu=yama-na-yin^yun^g, n^gi=lhan^gadbi-n^y aba yuwa:-gu
which does that she came out_p then there
n^gi=bura:-', ni-ga:-'yun^g ni='ga:gi-n^y, ni=lhidi-n^y
she sat_c as for him he went backwards_p he went through_p
n^ga ban^gganaruj-gala, gada! andargara-wala, ba-ni:-'la,
and then from (place n.) oops! from (place n.) there it comes
andargara-wala ni=garini-n^y ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y, yu:-gu-ni,
from (place n.) he looked back_p he emerged_p to there
ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gijan^g an-uba-ga:-'la ni=lhidi-n^y, amalharuj,
this way more from there he went through_p (place n.)
A little farther on, she came out into the open. Then (after going some distance underground) she emerged later, she made a billabong like this (speaker stretches arms widely apart to indicate great width of billabong). She stayed there. As for him (King Brown), he went back. He went underground, then from Ban^gganaruj-- or rather Andargara--he looked back (to where Water Python had been). He came out, going this way. He went under again at Amalharuj.

Note: The place names in 21.8 and 21.9 are in the territories appropriate to the two protagonists, Water Python in Yirija moiety country and King Brown in Mandha:yun^g.

21.10 n^gijan^g wurugu ana:-'malharuj-gala n^ga, ban^gganaruj
more later from (place n.) and then (place n.)

ni=lan^gadbi-n^y, ba-gi-miri adaba ni=bura:-', wa:=ri
 he emerged_p he is right there now he sits not
 n^gijan^g an-u-gu-ni ani='gi:-ni ban^gganaruj aba ni=bura:-'
 more to there he went back (place n.) then he sits
 ba-gi-miri, ni=wuguwuguni, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj
 he is right there he is permanent she too
 yinin^gugararuj n^gi-bura:-', ba-gi-miri.
 (place n.) she sits she is right there

Then, after Amalharuj, he (King Brown) came out at Ban^gganaruj, and that's right where he is now (as a totemic site). He did not go back very far that way, he is at Ban^gganaruj for good. She also (Water Python), she is right there at Yinin^gugararuj.

Comments on texts 20 and 21

It would not be quite correct to say that these two texts are versions of the 'same' myth. However, it could be said that the two myths in question are regional variants, and they are probably related historically to each other in some fashion.

Johnnie's version (text 20) is similar in style to his text 18; both deal with major cult totems for particular semimoieties (constellations of 'brother' clans) in the area in which Mara and Warndarang were the major languages originally; both myths also are closely related to circumcision and mortuary rituals and their songs (the present myth, text 20, relating to the Murungun semimoietiy). The rather repetitious chronicling of locations passed and other totemic beings passed by is characteristic of this genre.

Ma:di's version (text 21) is related to text 20 insofar as King Brown is cast in the role of a representative of a social category, but here it is the entire moiety (Mandha:yun^g) rather than a specific semimoietiy or other subdivision. Moreover, Water Python appears in text 21 as a complementary being representing the other moiety (Yirija). Although here King Brown is based in countries of the Ngalmi clan, and Water Python in those of the Nun-dhiribala, the clan associations are not foregrounded and moieties are clearly involved.

It is noteworthy that the 'final' locations in which King Brown and Water Python end up, and indeed the other locations visited in text 21, are unrelated to the countries mentioned in text 20.

A major theme in these myths and others similar to them is the long search for a final resting place (which the protagonists seem to have in mind all along, though they have never seen them before). These terminal points normally represent current major ritual sites, and the locations visited by the totemic beings on their way are important in establishing ritual relationships among the various clans which own those local sites.

Another prominent theme is the tension among semimoieties (text 20), and (in Nunggubuyu terms) among moieties (text 21). In the latter, King Brown and Water Python are frightened by each other at their accidental encounter, and both try very hard to remain

their own moiety's territory. Similarly, in text 20 the two King Brown beings keep their distance from other beings of other semimoieties, such as the humanoid being of the rival Mamba:li semimoietiy mentioned in 20.14. At the end, in 20.19, they point out that the final site they have chosen is free of other people, in contrast to other nearby sites which are already occupied. In addition, in their various encounters with other beings along the way, a feeling of camaraderie is generated when they discover that the other beings are of their own Murungun semimoietiy.

The king brown snake is *Pseudechis australis*. The water python is probably *Liasis fuscus*; it is similar to, but not identical to, the Olive python (*Liasis olivaceus*), seen in the first few texts above.

TEXT 22 KING BROWN SNAKE AND GROPER FISH Milton (Gabanja)

22.1 na-n^guda-lhardharg, ni=ya-n^ggi wa:n^g-gala,
 king brown snake he went_c from whatchamacallit
 lhuliyan^gan^y-gala, lhuliyan^gan^y, ana-lha:l lhuliyan^gan^y, lhuliyan^gan^y
 from (place n.) (place n.) country
 ana-lha:l, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, ba-ma mana-gara,
 country he made it_c it is there (MANA) hole
 nima-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi, lhuliyan^gan^y ni=lan^gadbi-n^y, ni=ya-n^ggi:::,
 he made hole_c he emerged_p he went_c
 ba-ma mana-ya:l, ma:-'ragara=lha-ra, an-ubu-gu-ni
 it is there tree sp. they (MANA) all stand to there
 nan=duma-n^g-maji: nambani=wa-n^ga-na, na-n^guda-lhardharg,
 if you and I go_p he will bite us (InDu)_c king brown snake
 King Brown snake went out from whatchamacallit, from the place
 Lhuliyan^gan^y. He made that country. There is a hole there, he made
 it. He came out at Lhuliyan^gan^y and went along. There are a lot
 of ya:l trees (*Macaranga tanarius*) there. If you and I go there
 sometime, a king brown snake will bite us.

22.2 an-uba-ni ana-lhuliyan^gan^y, ni=ya-n^ggi:::, ni-gara-lhan^gadbi-n^y
 that (ANA) (place n.) he went_c he emerged at hole_p
 alagala, ni=lan^gadbi-n^y ni-waya=wayama-n^gi::: da-ji-ruj
 on the way he emerged_p he proceeded_c there farther
 ni=lan^gadbi-n^y, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, gu:gu gu:gu n^gajal n^gajal,
 he emerged_p he made it_c water spring of water
 n^gajal niwu-wara=ma:ndha-n^gi adaba,
 spring he made them (ANA) all_c then
 That (place) Lhuliyan^gan^y. He went along and came out from a hole
 along the way. He came out and continued going. A little farther
 on he came out and made some water, some springs of water.

22.3 ni=wayama-n^gi:::, ni=gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y, ni=waya=wayama-n^gi:::
 he went along_c he emerged at hole_p he proceeded_c
wuwandawanda, ni=gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y, ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
 (place n.) he emerged at hole_p he emerged_p
 ni=waya=wayama-n^gi::: ya:-nu:-'wuy adaba, ni-ji=wara-n^ga-n^y
 he proceeded_c this way then he changed course_p
 adaba anba:li-wuy ni=ya-n^ggi na, ni=ya-n^ggi adaba
 then to (place n.) he went_c now (English) he went_c then
 anba:li-wuy, niwu:ma:ndha-n^gi, ni=yama:::n^y ni=gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
 to (place n.) he made it_c he did that_p he emerged at hole_p
 ni=yama-n^y ni=gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y, ni=yama-n^y ni=gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y,
 he did that_p he emerged at hole_p he did that_p he emerged at hole_p
 ni=waya=wayama-n^gi-maga::: ni=gara=lhan^gadba-n^gi, ni=waya=wayama-n^gi:::
 he proceeded_c he emerged at hole_c he proceeded_c
 wa:n^g, andararabarabalu adaba, ni=lhan^gadbi-n^y ba-gu,
 whatchamacallit (place n.) then he emerged_p there

He (King Brown) went along and came out from a hole. He went along some more and came out at a hole. He came along this way then, he changed course and headed toward the place Anba:li. He went along then, to Anba:li. He made that place. He came out of a hole, then did it again, then again. He kept going and coming up from holes. He kept going (to) Andararabarabalu then, he came out there.

Note: Anba:li is the territorial center of the Nunggubuyu Ngalmi clan. The other locations mentioned in the text so far, along with Ramiyun^g mentioned in 22.4, also belong to this clan; Yirgamayi in 22.4 belongs to the Nun-dhiribala clan and hence to the opposite moiety (Ngalmi is Mandha:yun^g, Nun-dhiribala is Yiriya).

22.4 andararabarabalu an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, adaba ya:-ji
 (place n.) from there then here
 lhiribala ni=ya-n^ggi yinga ana-ramiyun^g adaba lhiribala ya:-ji
 below he went_c nearly (place n.) then below here
 ni=ya-n^ggi, ni=waya=wayama-n^gi::: adaba wa:n^g,
 he went_c he proceeded_c then whatchamacallit
 yirgamayi-wala ba-ni:-'la ni=ya-n^ggi, an-u-gu-ni ni=ya-n^ggi,
 from (place n.) there it comes he went_c to there he went_c

The place Andararabarabalu. After that, he came along here, toward the coast. The place Ramiyun^g. He kept coming here, along the coast. He went from Yirgamayi. He went that way.

22.5 araga n^gi-ga n^gara-maldhana, n^gi-gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y ba-gu
 suddenly she groper she emerged from hole_p there
 adaba n^gara-maldhana n^gi-ga ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gi=lima-n^y,
 then groper she this way she changed direction_p

ni-ga:-'yun^g ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=lima-n^y o:-'ba-ni
 as for him this way he changed direction_p that (ANA)
 na-n^guda=lhardharg ba-gi aba ni=bura:-' altogether,
 king brown he is there now he sits for good (creole)
 ni=bura:-' adaba ba-gi, an^yja:bu-ruj, n^gi-ga n^gara-maldhana
 he sits now he is there together she groper
 adaba ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gi=lima-n^y, n^gi-gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y
 then this way she changed direction_p she emerged from hole_p
 adaba, n^gi-gara=lhan^gadbi-n^y.
 then she emerged from hole_p

Then Groper (a very large rock cod fish) came up out of her hole there. (Groper and King Brown saw each other and were frightened.) She (Groper) went back this way, and he (King Brown) went back over this way, King Brown. He is staying there (as a totemic object) for good. They are together. Groper changed direction and went over this way. She came out of her hole.

Comments on text 22

This is fairly obviously a variant of text 21, with Groper in place of Water Python and some of the locations changed slightly. The clan affiliations are the same in the two texts, and the locations mentioned are not far apart (one, Yirgamayi, is mentioned in both).

The narrator in this text, Milton, actually belongs to the Ngalmi clan (of which King Brown is a major totem). The narrator in text 21 belonged to the Murun^gun clan, also in the Mandha:yun^g moiety, and was a much older and more ritually prominent man.

TEXT 23 GROPER FISH Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

23.1 n^gi-ridhi=ridhi:::-∅, maldhanan^g n^gara:-'-gi, o:-'ba-ni
 it hovered_c groper this (NGARA) that
 a:-'n^gurgi, maldhanan^g, n^gi=rabali-n^y, n^gi=rulmurdi-n^y ba-ni:-'la
 (place n.) groper it went out_p it ran_p there it comes
 n^ga ana:-'n^gurgi an-uba-ni:-'la maldhanan^g n^gar-uba-gi
 and then (place n.) that coming groper that (NGARA)
 n^giwu:ma:jga:-', n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga ya:-ji, ya:-ni
 it made it_c it proceeded_c and then here it is here
 n^gi=ridha-n^ga-n^y, lhiribala, n^gariwin, n^gi=ridha-n^ga-n^y,
 it hovered_p below (place n.) it hovered_p
 Groper (large rock cod fish) was hovering in the water. Groper came out at the place An^gurgi. That Groper made it (the place). It kept going, then it stopped still in the water here, along the coast, at Ngariwin.

Notes: =ridha- 'to hover' is used for fish who are 'hovering' or 'treading water' without moving in the water. Ngariwin is a reef.

23.2 *n̄gi-ridhi=ridhi:::-∅ da-ju:-' n̄gi-ridhi=ridhi:::-∅*
 it hovered_c there it hovered_c
da-ju:-'wugij wini=lhiri-∅ nun^g-garagu-wa:,
 there only they (MDū) were holding on_c two uncircumcised
wini=wula-wa:, adaba ba-ni:-'la n̄gi=rulmurdi-n̄y,
 they are two then there it comes it ran_p
n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi::: n̄ga yuwa:-gi yamalbura, Edward Island,
 it proceeded_c and then there it is (place n.) (place n.)
yamalbura n̄gi=ridha-n̄ga-n̄y,
 (place n.) it hovered_p

It stopped still in the water there. The two uncircumcised boys were still holding on (to its tail) there, the two of them. Then it (Groper) moved again. It kept going, and there it was at Yamalbura (in English: Edward Island). It stopped still in the water at Yamalbura.

23.3 *n̄gi-ridhi=ridhi-∅ ba-gu::: wirin^ga-wana=wana_paga:-' ba-gu,*
 it hovered_c there they held it_c there
na-nun^g-garagu-wa: wirin^ga-laga=wana_paga:-',
 two circumcised they held her by the tail_c
wirin^ga-laga-laga=wana_paga:-' n̄ga, n̄gar-uba-gi n̄ara-maldhanan^g,
 they held her by the tail_c and then that (N^gARA) groper
n̄gijan^g n̄gi=rulmurdi-n̄y, n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi
 more it ran_p it proceeded_c it proceeded_c
n̄ga o:-'wa:-ni, n̄ga o:-'wa:-ni a-murgumurguli, n̄gi=yabi-'-n̄y,
 and then that (ANA) (place n.) it went in_p

It (Groper) stopped still in the water there, they (the two boys) were holding on to it. They were holding it by the tail, that Groper. Then it moved quickly again. It went along, and there at Murgumurguli it went in (to a river, from the Gulf).

23.4 *n̄gi=yabi-'-n̄y n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi::: wa:n^g, wa:n^g*
 it went in_p it proceeded_c whatchamacallit
yagu, yiriwarar n̄gi=ridha-n̄ga-n̄y, ba-gi, n̄gi-ridhi=ridhi-∅
 but (place n.) it hovered_p it is there it hovered_c
ba-gu n̄gijan^g n̄gi=rulmurdi-n̄y, n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi::: walimbalimbar,
 there more it ran_p it proceeded_c (place n.)
n̄gi=ridha-n̄ga-n̄y n̄gi=ridha-n̄ga-n̄y n̄gi-waya=wayama-n̄gi waragaji,
 it hovered_p it proceeded_c (place n.)
ana-waragaji-wala, yaralibina, ana-yaralibina,
 from (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
n̄amaran^guru, wi:ya!
 (place n.) finish!

It went in. It went along and stopped at Yiriwarar. It stopped, then again it went along to Walimbalimbar. It stopped (there) in

the water, then continued on to Waragaji. From Waragaji (it went to) Yaralibina. And Nyamaran^guru. That is all.

Comments to text 23

Two versions of this text were obtained at different times from the same speaker, Reuben (deceased), an old man of the Nun^ggan^gulgu clan (Yirija moiety, probably originally a Warndarang-speaking group now absorbed by the Nunggubuyu). There are no gross overall differences but there are some differences in the list of places mentioned in Groper's itinerary. Text 23 gives the list as An^gurgi, Ngariwin, Yamalbura (Edward Is.), Murgumurguli, Yiriwarar, Walimbalimbar, Waragaji, Yaralibina, Nyamaran^guru. The list in the other version is this: An^gurgi, Amawiduj, Malmali, Ngariwin, Nyinbindi, Yamalbura (Edward Is.), Yiriwarar, Wayimbalyimbal, Nadururu, Waragaji, Kangaroo Island (in English), the jetty at Ngukurr settlement (formerly Roper R. Mission), Yaralibina, NalinYa, Nyamaran^guru, then back to NalinYa (where the two boys killed Groper).

In any event, the general direction is clear: from An^gurgi (on the coast between Numbulwar and Cape Barrow) along the coast southward past Edward Island down to the mouth of the Roper R., then up the river itself some distance inland. The track of Groper constitutes a mythical and ritual link among several clans of the Yirija moiety (in Nunggubuyu terms--but most of these clans were originally speakers of Warndarang and perhaps other languages). Unless there is more to the myth than Reuben has revealed, it would appear that this clan linkup is the major function of the myth in view of its limited dramatic content. Nevertheless, the inclusion of two uncircumcised boys, as in the Olive Python myth above, suggests a connection with the circumcision ritual.

TEXT 24 MILKFISH Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

24.1 *ni=yarbi-n̄y ni-n̄ara=duma-n̄y ama:jiya, ama:jiya,*
 it ran_p they (NA) all went_p (place n.)
ama:jiya-ala ba-gi:-'la, ni-n̄ara=gara_p-ba-n̄g na-yimida:ri,
 from (place n.) there it comes they all jumped_p milkfish
ni-n̄ara=gara_p-ba-n̄g yimida:ri ama:jiya, an-uba-ni:-'la yiwarga,
 they all jumped_p milkfish (place n.) from that (place n.)
ni=garaji-n̄y yiwarga, an-uba-ni:-'la ni=garaji-n̄y, a:n^g,
 it jumped_p (place n.) from that it jumped_p whatchamacallit
a:n^g, ni=garaji-n̄y n̄ga ba-gi:-'la, ni-n̄ara=gara_p-ba-n̄g
 it jumped_p and then there it comes they all jumped_p
a:n^g, yiwarga yiwarga yiwarga yiwarga an-uba-ni,
 whatchamacallit (place n.) that (ANA)
 Milkfish (Chanos chanos). They all went to Ama:jiya. Then they jumped over to Yiwarga. Then they jumped this way. At Yiwarga.

Notes: The locations are in the immediate vicinity of Numbulwar, the site of the present Anglican mission where most Nunggubuyu live. This territory technically belongs to a small, almost vanished clan of the Yirija moiety known as Nun^gayin^ybalan^y, which however is closely affiliated with other Yirija clans including Reuben's own near y Nun^gan^gulgu clan and the originally Warndarang-speaking Marawalwal clan (the 'Joshuas'). Reuben is having some difficulty remembering the exact sequence of locations visited by Milkfish.

The noun class here is clearly (nohuman) NA rather than (human) MSG, Pl, etc. To indicate plurality, therefore, Reuben must add derivational Multiple prefix -n^garaG- after the NA prefix on verbs. Actually, Reuben's articulation is sufficiently lax that it is not easy to tell whether the prefix is -n^garaG- or the semantically and phonologically similar Multiple prefix -wara-/waraG-.

24.2 yiwarga-ala, wun^gun^ymana, wun^gun^ymana ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y
from (place n.) (place n.) they landed_p
n^ga wun^gun^ymana-ala an-uba-ni:-'la ni=garaji-n^y, ya:-ni
and then from (place n.) from that it jumped_p it is here
ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y, a:n^g ni=garaji-n^y ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y
they landed_p whatchamacallit it jumped_p they landed_p
ya:-ji, a:n^g ana:-'ji:-'li ni=garaji-n^y nun^ganan^gga,
here whatchamacallit from here it jumped_p (place n.)
nun^ganan^gga ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y, *ni=yan^ygali-n^y ba-gi
(place n.) they landed_p it moved around_p there it is
ni-n^gara=ban^ygala-n^gi ba-gi,
they moved around_c there it is

From Yiwarga they landed on the ground (or water) at Wun^gun^ymana (in English, 'Little Creek', near Numbulwar). From Wun^gun^ymana they jumped up and landed over here. Whatchamacallit, they landed here. From here they jumped up and landed at Nun^ganan^gga. They swam around in the water there.

* =wan^ygala-, seen also in ni-n^gara=ban^ygala-n^gi (line 6).

24.3 n^gijan^g an-uba-ni:-'la ni-n^gara=ban^ygala-n^gi ni=garaji-n^y,
more from that they moved around_c it jumped_p
ni=garaji-n^y, ya:-ni a:n^g, n^garin^gimadhir,
it jumped_p it is here whatchamacallit (place n.)
ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y, ni-n^gara=ban^ygali-n^y ba-gu, an-uba-ni:-'la
they landed_p they moved around_p there from that
ni=garaji-n^y n^gumbulwar, ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y n^gumbulwar, ba-ni:-'la
it jumped_p (place n.) they landed_p (place n.) there it comes
amaburugu, n^ga an-uba-ni:-'la, ni-n^gara-n^gu=garaji-n^y,
(place n.) and then from that they jumped_p
nawulgulu, gada! wa:n^g, nawulgulu, ni-n^gara=garar^g-ba-n^g,
(place n.) oops! whatchamacallit (place n.) they jumped_p

ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y ba-gi, ni=wani^ygali-n^y,
they landed_p there it is it moved_p

After that they moved around in the water and jumped over here, at Ngaringimadhir, they landed. They swam around in the water there. From there they jumped to Numbulwar, they landed there. After that, Amaburugu. Then they jumped at Nawulgulu. Oops, I mean-- Yes, Nawulgulu. They jumped up and landed. They moved around.

24.4 an-uba-ni:-'la ni-n^gara=garar^g-ba-n^g, nan^ggalaguyidba,
from that they jumped_p (place n.)
ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y, ni-n^gara=ban^ygali-n^y ba-gi, n^ga
they landed_p they moved around_p there it is and then
an-uba-ni:-'la, ni=yalgarwi-n^y ni-wad=bari-'-n^y ba-gu,
from that it crawled_p it threw itself down_p there
ni=garaji-n^y yuwa-ga:-'la, ni-n^gara=garar^g-ba-n^g an-uba-ni:-'la,
it jumped_p from there they jumped_p from that
ni=wuwalga-n^y, ni-n^gara=dalhi-n^y ni=wani^ygali-n^y, ba-gu:::
it ran_p they landed_p it moved around_p there
n^ga, an-uba-ni:-'la dhalin^ybindi.
and then from that (place n.)

After that they jumped and landed at Nan^ggalaguyidba. They swam around there. Then they crawled along, dropping down, over there. They jumped from there, they rushed away, they landed and moved around in the water there. Then (finally) the place Dhalin^ybindi.

Note: The sequence ni=yalgarwi-n^y ni-wad=bari-'-n^y in line 3 is not clear on the tape, but was the way Reuben gave it to me during the transcription/analysis section. He probably emended his own text to some extent here.

Comments on text 24

This is a highly schematic outline of the travels of Milkfish, who left behind a number of important totemic sites in and around Numbulwar. The sites include some reefs and small rock outcrops in the Gulf not far from the coast. The final location, Dhalin^ybindi, is in the clan territory of the Marawalwal (the 'Joshuas') and links this clan with the Nun^gayin^ybalan^y clan whose territory includes Numbulwar Mission itself.

TEXT 25 SAND GOANNA Milton (Gabanja)

25.1 wara-wada:bir wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wu:-mal=malmala-n^gi,
sand goanna it (WARA) went_c it did circumcision dance_c
*wa:-'lwa:='lwarwara-n^gi, wu:-mal=malmala-n^gi:::
it twitched legs_c it did circumcision dance_c
wiri=lhan^garma:-'-maga: da-ni ana-dabururug, ana-dabururug
it reached it (ANA)_c it is there grasshopper grasshopper

wiri=lan^garma:-'wiri=lharma-n^gi ba-gu, wiri-lharma=lharma-n^gi-maga:::, it reached it_c it chased it_c there it chased it_c

Sand goanna (*Varanus gouldii*) went along doing the circumcision dance (and song). It was twitching its legs (as Nunggubuyu men do in this dance performance). It ran into a grasshopper, and chased it along there.

* Prefix really should be *wura:-* from /wuru-/.

25.2 wu:=ya-n^ggi-maga:, wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi-maga::: da-ni
it went_c it went_c it is there
wi:=lan^garma:-', ana-lha:l, wi:=du:lwi:-ni, wu:=yama=yama:::-'
it reached it_c country it sang for it_c it did that_c
wi:=du=du:lwi:-ni-maga:::, juy! wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi-maga::: aba
it sang for it_c go it went_c then
yu:=gu-ni wagi-yaj wu:=lharu=ja-n^ggi, wu:=lharu=ja-n^ggi adaba,
to there southward it walked_c then
wagi-yaj,
southward

It went along, it reached that country over there. It sang the song for that country, like that. Then it went along that way, to the south, walking long distance, southward.

25.3 wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi-maga::: aba wa:n^g yiriwarar,
it went_c then whatchamacallit (place n.)
ba-ni yiriwarar adaba, wu:=buri-∅, ba-ni:-'la-yun^g
it is there (place n.) then it sat_c it is coming there
aba "ya:-ni:-'la-yun^g n^ga ba:'ni-n^y aba na=n^gama-n^g
then here it comes and then come!_p let's swim!_p
ya:-ni:-'la-yun^g" da-ji n^ga gulmu-mundur, gulmu-mundur
here it comes there and then heavy belly
da-ji, gari ma:bu,
there having (creole) egg

It went along. Then there at Yiriwarar it stopped. Along there--. "Along here, come on! Let's swim over here!" A pregnant one was there (not far away), having an egg.

Note: In other words, there were actually two sand goannas, male and (pregnant) female. They have just come up to a river which they must cross somehow and are trying to find a way.

25.4 wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: adaba wa:-'n^yji=n^gama-n^y,
it went_c then it swam with (it)
wu:=waga:-' man-uba-ma-yun^g wu:=waga:-', maraga,
it set out fishtrap that (MANA) (see above) fishtrap
wu-gu-rn^gi:-'yun^g n^ga:-_run^ggal-wa: araga, win^gi=rabali-n^y
as for them (FDu) two big women suddenly they came out_p

ana:-'ji:-'la ana:-'rwar-wala aba yu:=gu-ni win^gi=dhirida-n^gi
here coming from on top then to there they (FDu) went downc
wa:n^g-guy ban^yilaja-wuy, bi-rn^gi adaba win^gi=bura:-'
to whatchamacallit to (place n.) they are there now they sit
wu-gu-rn^gi n^ga:-_run^ggal-wa:,
they (FDu) two big women

It (Sand Goanna) went along, it swam with it (the other one). It set out a fishtrap. However, two big women came out there, from higher up (farther inland), they came down to Ban^yilaja. They are there now (as dreamings), the two big women.

Notes: The scene is now the Roper R. near its mouth into the Gulf. The male Sand Goanna is building a kind of dam across the river to cross it with; this dam is similar to that used in making fishtraps (weirs), but is not being used for that purpose here. The Sand Goannas intend to use it as a sort of bridge.

25.5 "gaga! gaja:li! gaja:li! gaja:li! gaja:li!
oh! mother in law!

yagi yagi yagi n^giri:-'=gani-∅" "araga wi:ya!,
don't you (Pl) come for us (ExPl) suddenly finish!
*na-gi=wa-n^g" win^gi=yama-n^y, aba win^gi=yaldhi-n^y jal^g!,
excuse us! they did that_p then they went past_p go past
"ba:=ni-n^y adaba ba:=ni-n^y numba-janda=wana^gama-n^g adaba
come!_p now come!_p hold my back!_p now
na=n^gama-na wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy",
we (InDu) will swim_c to far side
(Sand Goanna said to the women,) "Oh my goodness! Mother(s)-in-law! Don't come toward us!" (The women, already trampling over the two goannas and their dam, said) "Oh! Goodbye! Excuse us!" They said that and went past (over the bridge and into the distance). (The male goanna to his pregnant companion:) "Come on! Hold on to me, on my back! We will swim over to the other side."

Note: Some of this, notably the quotations, is spoken so rapidly it is almost unintelligible on the tape. I cannot guarantee that n^giri:-'=gani-∅ is the correct transcription of the relevant word on the tape, but it sounds close and seems to make sense. In any event, the two women did not see the goannas, who were presumably fully or partly submerged. They used the dam to cross the river, but in the process trampled the dam down and ruined it for the two goannas, who then had to swim across with the pregnant female clutching the back of the male.

The mother-in-law relationship is one of total avoidance, and the recognition that their mothers-in-law were in contact with them was traumatic for the goannas.

* Truncation of n^gana-gi=wa-n^g, literally 'We ate your excrement'. Prefix truncation is common with -gi=wa-, which is used in hastily pronounced expressions indicating great surprise, consternation, etc.

25.6 wu:=n^gama:-' aba n^gin^ggu-rulbu=wanaga-n^y, an-uba-ni
it swam_c then it (ANA) held her back_p that (ANA)
ana-manun^g, adaba wa:-'n^yja-'n^yji=n^gama:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g wu-gu-ru
female then it swam with (her)_c that (ANA) it
ana-walya::: n^ga, wa:='dadi-n^y adaba, a-wu-n^gar-duj
male and then it went on shore_p then on bank
adaba n^ga wa:='dadi-n^y *wu-n^gar-duj.
then and then it went on shore_p on shore

It (male Sand Goanna) swam, it held her by the back, that female one. Then it swam (across) with her, that male did. It went up on the shore then, on the bank (of the river).

Note: There is inconsistency in noun-class assignment in this text. Theoretically, wada:bir 'sand goanna' is WARA class and should remain so regardless of sex or number. This pattern is used at least through 25.2 (cf. wara- prefix on the noun itself at the beginning of 25.1, and WARA/ANA(wu)a transitive prefix wiri- or wi:- several times in 25.1 and 25.2). Actually, wa:='lwa:='lwarwara-n^gi (line 2 of 25.1) seems to have ANA_a prefix /wu-/ rather than WARA_a prefix /wuru-/, but as noted in my comment I take this as a sporadic, irregular contraction rather than as a real noun-class shift. However, by 25.6 the speaker has shifted into a more impersonal mode, using ANA class forms for 'the male' and 'the female' (goannas). The first clear case of ANA forms is the prefix n^gin^ggu- in line 1 of 25.6, but then both 'the female' and 'the male' appear with explicit ANA class prefixes and the remaining verb forms show ANA class agreement. Just where the switch occurs is problematic since wu:- in several verb forms (25.3, 25.4, beginning of 25.6) could have been misheard for wu- (wu:- is a regular contraction of WARA_a wuru-, while wu- is the ANA_a intransitive prefix). The form wa:-'n^yji=n^gama-n^y in line 1 of 25.4 looks like /wu-/ rather than /wuru-/, but we have already seen irregular prevocalic contraction of /wuru-/ in 25.1, so this is not conclusive evidence for an early switch to ANA forms. My impression is that the clear switch begins with n^gin^ggu- in 25.6, though it may have been facilitated by the 'ambiguity' of several earlier verb forms.

* Root /-n^garg-/ with ANA_{der} prefix /uG-/ and Locative /-ruj/.

TEXT 26 SAND GOANNA Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

26.1 wayimbalyimbal, ba-ni:-'la wa:n^g-gala,
(place n.) there it comes from whatchamacallit
nawarwar-wala, wara-goanna, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: "a-ji-ga:-'la-yun^g
from (place n.) goanna it went_c from where?
na=n^gama-n^g, a-ji-ga:-'la-yun^g na=n^gama-n^g, ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g
we (InDu) will swim_p along here

ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g, nimba-n^gala=j=banaga-n^g, nimba-n^gala=j=banaga-n^g,
along here hold me by the back_p
wa:-'ba:-'=buda:-' ana:-gugu, him swell-up water,
it (ANA) is swelling up water the water is swelling up
might-be something come on, ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g na=n^gama-n^g
maybe something happening along here we will swim_p
ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g na=n^gama-n^g",
along here we will swim_p

At the place Wayimbalyimbal. Sand Goanna came this war from Nawarwar. (One said to the other,) "Where shall we swim (across the river)? Along here! You hold me by the back! The water is high here, there might be some trouble. Come on! We will swim across along here!"

26.2 two-fella been swim now, swim, wu:-n^gama=n^gama:-' n^ga
they (Du) swam then it swam_c and then
wa:='dadi-n^y, wa:='dadi-n^y, mangrove that side, mangrove
it went on shore_p
wu:-n^gara=gadadi-n^y, wu:-n^gara=ja-n^ggi::: wu:=murgulha-n^ga-n^y,
they went on shore_p they went_c it lay down_p
xxx wu:=murgulha-n^ga-n^y, wu:=buri:::-∅
(unclear, in English) it lay down_p it sat_c
milwin milwin milwin, xxx milwin,
sandfly (unclear, in English)

two-fella been get-up now,
they (Du) got up then

The two of them swam then. They were swimming (across the river). They went up on the bank on the far side, where some mangrove trees were. They went on the bank, went along, then lay down and stayed there. There were some sandflies (very tiny, stinging flies). They got up (and left, because of the sandflies).

Note: wa:='dadi-n^y (line 1 of this segment) shows the contracted form /wu:-/ from WARA_a prefix /wuru-/. This is not regular before vowel-initial stems, but does occur occasionally in rapid speech and is not uncommon for this speaker. We expect wura:='dadi-n^y, also wura:='galawaji-n^y in 26.4. Although wa:='dadi-n^y here in 26.2 can also be /wu:adadi-n^y/ with ANA_a prefix, there is no real evidence in text 26 for a noun-class switch such as commented on at the end of text 25.

26.3 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: come-out lha plain,
it went_c they came out onto the plain (creole)
wu:=rabali-n^y, "a-ni-ga-wuy", wabanda, two-fella been go:::,
they came out_p to where? (place n.) they (Du) went
sand goanna wabanda, ana-abanda-ala::: wuwann^ya, wuwann^ya
(place n.) from (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)

there, wu:-bu=buri-∅ there wuwann^ya, wuwann^ya wu:-bu=buri-∅
it sat_c (place n.) it sat_c
wu:=lalagi-'-n^y an-uba-ni:-'la, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi yamiri,
it got up_p from that it went_c (place n.)

They (two Sand Goannas) went along, they came out (from the forest) into the plains. They decided to go to Wabanda. The Sand Goannas went along to Wabanda. From Wabanda (they went to) Wuwann^ya. They stayed there. Then they got up and went to Yamiri.

26.4 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ana-yamiri-yala, galawan^ya,
it went_c from (place n.) (place n.)
ana-galawan^ya-ala, ana-galawan^ya-ala an-uba-ni:-'la
from (place n.) from that
wa:='galawaji-n^y, wa:='galawaji-n^y, wu:=rabali-n^y man^ggurwala,
it went across_p it came out_p (place n.)
wu:=rabali-n^y man^ggurwala, wu:=ya-n^ggi wu:=wayama-n^gi wu:=ya-n^ggi:::,
it came out_p (place n.) it went_c it proceeded_c it went_c
wanim, wurayguran^yji, stop there.
whatchamacallit (creole) (place n.) they stopped there

They went along from Yamiri, to Galawan^ya. From that place Galawan^ya they cut across the land and came out at Man^ggurwala. They went along, they kept going. Whatchamacallit, Wurayguran^yji. They stopped there.

Comments on texts 25 and 26

These are comparatively brief accounts of Sand Goanna, a major cult totem for the guyal semimoieties in the Warndarang and Mara area to the south. For a somewhat longer version in Warndarang by a man who was a major ritual leader for this semimoieties, see Capell (1960b).

Comparison of the present two versions is interesting. Milton (text 25) emphasises a single dramatic incident in the long travels of the two goannas, where they cross the Roper R. and nearly drown due to the unintentional mischief of two adult women who are in the mother-in-law (taboo) relationship to them. On the other hand, Reuben pays considerable attention to mentioning the various locations which the two goannas visit, and gives only a perfunctory account of what they did at each location; the two big women are not mentioned. These features are rather characteristic of the two narrators, and reflect their points of view as to what is crucial in a text being given to a white stranger rather than major differences in their knowledge of the mythical episodes themselves (though it may be that Milton is more fuzzy on the sequence of countries for this particular text since he is younger and from a more northerly clan than Reuben).

The sand goanna (Varanus gouldii) is a very large goanna lizard which can reach several feet (more than one metre) from snout to end of tail. It has a variety of color forms, some of which are

lexically labeled. It is often yellowish or brownish and fairly well camouflaged; it is hunted mainly with dogs who tree it or trap it in its burrow before the hunter dispatches it. For some speculations about the symbolic status of (cold-blooded) goannas in Australian totemism, see von Brandenstein (1978).

Incidentally, the English expressions used by Reuben in text 26 (most actually from local English creole) are not typical of his Nunggubuyu; most are glosses of Nunggubuyu expressions for my benefit. There are some genuine English (or creole) borrowings now used in normal Nunggubuyu, but the kind of English used in this text is of a different nature.

TEXT 27 NAGARAN AND HIS DOGS Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

27.1 all right, wu:-ya=ya-y wu=lalma-n^y, wu:-ya=ya-y
they slept_c it dawned_p
wu=lalma-n^y, "ya:-ji nimbin^gi=bura:-', *n^gambi:='jga-n-ji:,
here you (FDu) will sit_c I will take dogs hunting_c
lha goanna", **wari:='jga-n-di, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
to goannas (creole) they took dogs hunting_c he went_c
wani=wi-ni, wani=wi-ni wa:=yara-n^g,
he killed it (WARA)_c they (WARA) smelled it (WARA)
***wa:-landha-landhurg n^gara-n^garigay, mari na-gamawinduj
dogs (dog's n.) (dog's n.)

nimbalaraya, wara=wi-ni wani=wi-ni,
(dog's n.) they (WARA) killed it (WARA) he killed it (WARA)_c
All right then. They (some people) spent two nights at a place. (The adult man said to his two wives,) "You two stay here, while I go hunting (for goannas) with the dogs." They (emend to: He) took the dogs hunting. He went along and killed it (goanna). They (the dogs) detected it. The dogs, named Ngarigay (female), Gamawinduj (male), and Nimbalaraya (second male). They (dogs) killed it, he killed it.

Note: The term for 'dog' (landhurg) is in the nonhuman WARA class. However, individual named dogs are treated as MSg or FSg according to actual sex for morphological purposes. The man, who is not named in the text itself, is Nagaran.

* Stem /=ijga-/ , with 'dog' as direct object. Goannas, notably the sand goanna, wada:bir (see text 26), WARA class, are the usual prey of this type of hunting.

** This is how it appears on the tape recording, but it should be wani:='jga-n-di 'He (not They) took dogs hunting'.

*** Nonhuman nouns do not normally take a reduplicated Pl. However, dogs are privileged animals as being the only traditional domestic animal, and sometimes take morphological patterns characteristic of human nouns.

27.2 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: juy! ni=ya-n^ggi wani:=jga-n-di
 he went_c go he went_c he took dogs hunting_c
 bu-gu-nu:-' ramali-yaj ni=ya-n^ggi::: wani=wi-ni, wani=wi-ni,
 to there eastward he went_c he killed it_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga, wa:-yan^y=jan^ga-n^g
 he went_c and then they (WARA) heard its (WARA) voice_p
 ana:-'la ana:-'n^gurgi, wara-yan^y=jan^ga-n^g dulmurg!,
 river (place n.) they (WARA) heard its voice_p run

He went along, hunting with the dogs. He went that way, east. He killed it (a goanna). He went along. They (the dogs) heard the sound of a goanna, at the river An^gurgi. They ran.

27.3 wura:='rgi-n^yji-n^y numbalariwan^g, n^gara-n^garigay
 they pulled each other (raced)_p (dog's n.) (dog's n.)
 na-mawinduj, wura:='rgi-n^yji-n^y wuru-manba-man=bayama-n^gi:::
 (dog's n.) they raced_p they proceeded as group_c
 n^ga ba-gu, wa:=lhan^garma-n^y, "galan^ymargadada!"
 and then there they reached them (chant)

galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada!"
 (chant)

ana-ragij aba wu:=yama:-', ana:-'la-ruj ana:-'n^gurgi,
 first (in place) then they did that_c in river (place n.)
 They (dogs) raced along. (Their names:) Numbalariwan^g, N^garigay, Mawinduj. They raced as a pack. There, they reached them (some people, much smaller than the giant Nagaran). They (the small people) were calling out "galan^ymargadada" (their name). They were doing that, first (in that place). At the river An^gurgi.

Note: Reuben has inexplicably changed the names of the dogs somewhat from the first listing in 27, but this is not significant in terms of the dramatic structure of the text.

27.4 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=jarara-n^gi-wugij
 he went_c as for him he moved_c
 ni=ya-n^ggi-wugij ni=jarara-n^gi-wugij, ni=wayama-n^gi "yu:ga yan^gi
 he only went_c he only moved_c he proceeded_c Q what?
 an-uba-ni-yun^g wu:=yara-n^g", ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ba-gu,
 that (ANA) they (dogs) smelled it_p he went_c there
 ya:-gi ni:='dadi-n^y mana-magaban^g ni=widi-n^y,
 he is here he went up slope_p sandhill he climbed_p
 ni=wawan^ggi-n^y, wani-yan^y=jan^ga-n^g malan^ga-n^gyanaj
 he listened_p he heard their voice_p far away
 wani-yan^y=jan^ga-n^g malan^ga-n^gyanaj,
 (see above) far away

As for him (Nagaran), he went along, he kept going. "What have they (dogs) smelled?" He went there, up on a sandhill. He listened and heard the voice of them (the small people), far away.

27.5 "galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada!
 (chant)

galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada! xxx n^gujiya-yi:-wugij
 (chant) (unclear) only like fish
 ni=waran^gga:-' yu:-gu-ni:::, wu:-yina=n^gala-n^gi-yin^yun^g
 he looked_c to there they whose heads were shining_c
 wu:-n^gara=_lan^gaba:bi:-ni, higher-up yu:-gu-ni lhiribala-waj
 they all bobbed up and down_c upward to there downward
 arwi-yaj,
 upward

(The small people called out,) "Galan^ymargadada!" They were like fish. He (Nagaran) looked over that way, (at) the ones whose heads were gleaming brightly. They were bobbing up and down (on the surface of the water). (They stretched out) upstream and downstream (in a long line).

27.6 ni=yarbi-n^y an-uwa-ga:-'la ni=wayama-n^gi-wugij mari ni=mari-n^y,
 he ran_p from there he only proceeded_c and he crouched_p
 ni=mari-n^y ni=mari-n^y*ni-_lan=n^gadadi-n^y, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj
 his knees went up on shore_p they themselves
 wara-landha-landhurg wara=wa-n^ga:-', ni=warga-n-di aba
 dogs they bit them_c he threw_c then
 wani=yarawa:-', wani=barawuda-n^gi wani=yarawa:-', wani=ma-n^gi
 he threw them_c he threw them_c he threw them_c he got them_c
 yu:-gu-ni wani=yarawa:-', wani=barawuda-n^gi yu:-gu-ni, xxx
 to there he threw them_c he threw them_c to there (unclear)
 wani-yara=yarawa:-'
 he threw them_c

He ran along from there. He kept going. Then he squatted in the river (blocking it, as when Aboriginals do this to catch fish in a small creek). His knees extended up onto the shore (since he was a giant). The dogs were biting them (the small people). He (Nagaran) threw them (onto the shore, like small fish). He threw them over there.

* Stem /-adada-/ with n^g inserted by phonological rule.

27.7 argi wu:-n^gara=jaldha-n^gi, wunu=jaln^ga:-'-ni,
 some they all went past_c they escaped from him_c
 "galan^ymargadada! galan^ymargadada!" wu:=yama:-' wani-yara=yarawa:-'
 (chant) they did that_c he threw them_c
 wani-yara=yarawa:-' ya:-nu:-'wuy n^ga, wani-yara=yarawa:-'
 this way and then he threw them_c
 yu:-gu-ni::: n^ga argi wu:-malan^ga=jaldhi-n^y, wi:ya!.
 to there and then some they went past_c finish!

Some of them managed to slip past and escape from him. They were calling out, "Galan^ymargadada!" He was throwing them (on the shore), this way and that. Some of them got past him. That is all.

Comments on text 27

In this somewhat curious text, the giant Nagaran and his dogs are out hunting for goannas, and think they have found some only to discover that they are a group of small human-like beings chanting in a river. Nagaran and the dog's proceed to massacre them, though a few manage to escape. This text did not seem to be widely known or commonly narrated. With particular reference to the wanton massacre scene, I would point out rough similarities to other texts recorded from speakers of Nunggubuyu and other regional languages (see the Mosquito texts, below) in which a group of people (of relatively amorphous personality) are attacked and massacred by giants, mosquitoes, rainbow serpents, or the like. These incidents tend to be associated with secret rituals such as the Gunabibi.

The name Nagaran does not occur here; I was told later that this was a Nagaran text. If so, it is related to text 28 about Nagaran (=Garangu), which has clear affinities to Nagaran myths (Elkin 1971).

TEXT 28 GARANGU (=NAGARAN) Dick (Da:bulug)

28.1 nu:-'ba-gi na-garangu, ni=ya-n^ggi o:-'wa:-ni:-'la n^ga
that (MSg) (man's n.) he went_c that coming and then
malan^ga-n^yanay, amalhalagan^ybaj, ni=ya-n^ggi, na-garangu, ni=ya-n^ggi
far away (place n.) he went_c (man's n.) he went_c
ba-ga:-'la ya:-nu:-'wuy, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: na-garangu:::
from there this way he went_c (man's n.)
ba-ni lha:l wu=bura:-' ana-lha:l, ba-ni
it is there (ANA) country it sits country it is there
ni=bura-n^ga-n^y,
he sat_p

That man Garangu went along. Over there, far away, at the place Amalhalagan^ybaj. He came from there, this way, Garangu. There is a place there, he sat down.

28.2 ni-bu=buri:::Ø ni=yayigi:-ni:::, n^gijang ni=ya-y
he sat_c he played_c more he slept_c
ni=_lalagi-'-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: da-ji-ruj alagala,
he got up_p he went_c there farther on on the way
ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, na-garangu ni-yaya:-'yigi:-ni::: n^gijang ni=ya-y,
he sat down_p (man's n.) he played_c more he slept_c
n^gijang ni=_lalagi-'-n^y,
more he got up_p

He stayed there, playing (dancing and singing, as in a corroboree). He spent the night there, then the next day he got up and left. Farther on, along his route, he stopped, played some more, spent the night, and got up and left (the next morning).

28.3 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^gi::: n^gijang da-ji-ruj, ni=bura-n^ga-n^y,
he went_c more there farther on he sat down_p
ni-yaya:-'yigi:-ni n^gijang na-garangu:::, n^gijang ni=_lalagi-'-n^y,
he played_c more (man's n.) more he got up_p
adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, ni=ya-n^ggi adaba ba-ga:-'la ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
then he went_c then from there he went_c
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga da-ji-ruj,
he went_c he went_c and then there farther on
na-garangu, ni-yama=yama:-' man^gajara, ni=wali-n^y man^gajara,
(man's n.) he did that_c (place n.) he arrived_p (place n.)

He went along. A little farther on he stopped and played some more. Then Garangu got up again and went. He came this way. A little farther on the way, Garangu did that at the place Man^gajara, he arrived.

28.4 n^ga ni-n^gul=walarhi-n^y, na-garangu, ni-yal=n^gawi-'-n^y,
and then he lay down face up_p (man's n.) he got tired_p
na-garangu, adaba ni-n^gul=walarhi-n^y, ni=_lan=dharara-n^ga-n^y,
(man's n.) then he lay face up_p his knee stuck out_p
na-garangu, an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, ba-gu ni=yayigi:-ni, n^gijang
(man's n.) after that there he played_c more
ni=_lalagi-'-n^y n^gamugijgaj, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: aliran^ya,
he got up_p early morning he went_c (place n.)
ana-lha:l, ni=bura-n^ga-n^y ba-gu ni-bu=buri:::Ø n^gijang,
country he sat down_p there he sat_c more
ni=yayigi:-ni n^gijang ni=ruma-n^y wa:n^g-guy, balamu
he played_c more he went_p to whatchamacallit (place n.)
ana-lha:l, balamu, ni=ya-n^ggi na-garangu n^ga ba-gu, ni=yayigi:-ni,
country he went_c (man's n.) and then there he played_c

Then he lay down, face up. He had gotten tired, Garangu. His knee was sticking up. Then, later, he played some more. He got up early in the morning (before dawn) and went to the place Aliran^ya. He stopped there and stayed for a while. Again he played, and again he went. Garangu went to the place Balamu and played there.

28.5 n^gijang ni=ruma-n^y, n^ga aln^ga:ri aln^ga:ri, ba-gu
more he went_p and then (place n.) there
ni=yayigi:-ni, n^gijang an-uba-ni:-'la-wala ni=ruma-n^y, ba-ni
he played_c more after that he went_p it is there
ana-lha:l, wa='nibi-n^y, n^ga ba-gu, n^gara-badirin^ya-yun^g
country it got lost_p and then there devil (FSg)

an-uba-ni-yun^g, n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yun^g, n^gi-yara-n^gu=bujurbujur
that (ANA) girl she was covered with sores
n^gi-yara-n^gu=bujurbujur, n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yun^g, ba-gu n^gi=buri-∅,
girl there she sat_c

Again he went. At Al^ga:ri, there he played. Then again he went. There is a place there, I have forgotten its name. That thing there was a devil (ghost) girl, who was covered with unsightly sores (i.e. disfigured by disease). That girl was staying there.

28.6 na-ni-n^yara-yun^g mari n^gar-ibi-yun^g, yu:-gu-ni wini=ya-n^ggi,
(her) father and (her) mother to there they (MDu) went_c
a-lagu, wini=ya-n^ggi yu:-gu-ni malan^ga-n^yanay, n^gi-ga
honey they (MDu) went_c to there far away she
n^gi=bujurbujur yamba mari, ba-gu n^gi=buri-∅, n^gi=buri-∅,
she was covered with sores because and there she sat_c she sat_c
ni-ga--, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-ga na-garangu ni=waran^gga-n^y n^ga
he he went_c he (man's n.) he looked_p and then
ya:-gi, raman ni=wulwuli:-'ni raman,
she is here painted feathers he painted on self_c feathers
na-garangu, mari wugudari, na-garangu ni=yaran^gga-n^y ya:-gi
(man's n.) and headdress (man's n.) he looked_p she is here
n^gu=na-n^y, n^gu=na-n^y,
he saw her_p

Her father and mother had gone away over that way, looking for honey. They went far away, but she stayed there because she was covered with sores. He (Garangu) looked and (saw her) there. He painted himself up with white-painted feathers, and put on a headdress (as in men's secret ritual). He looked and (saw her) there nearby.

28.7 "ana:-'ni n^ga=bujurbujur, n^ga:-'ra-n^gu=ji:ji",
this (ANA) I am covered with sores I am all sores
n^gi=yama-n^y n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yun^g,
she did that that (FSg) woman girl
ni-ga na-ni-n^yara-yun^g mari n^gar-ibi-yun^g, wini=ya-n^ggi a-lagu,
he father and mother they (MDu) went_c honey
wini=malala:di nu:-'ba-gi na-garangu ni=ya-n^ggi, an-uba-ni-yun^g
they did not know that (MSg) (man's n.) he went_c that (ANA)
ana-lha:l, ni=ya-n^ggi ni=yaran^gga-n^y n^gu=na-n^y, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g,
country he went_c he looked_p he saw her_p that (FSg)
n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yun^g,
girl

"I am all covered with hideous sores," she said. That female, that girl. Her parents had gone for honey and did not know (about Garangu). Garangu went to that place, looked, and saw that girl.

28.8 "aliyun^g nun^g-gara-n^gu=ji:ji", ni=yama:-' na-garangu,
Q you are all sores he did that_c (man's n.)
i:!", n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=yama-n^y, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=yama-n^y
yes! as for her she did that_p as for her she did that_p
n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, "all right, wa:-'=gayigi-n^y, before
woman I will play for you_p
n^gan^y=jaldha-n^g an-u-gu-ni, wa:-'=gayigi-n^y, nimba=na-yi:",
I will go past_p to there (see above) watch me!_c

"Are you all sores then?" Garangu asked. As for her, the female, she said, "Yes!" (He said to her,) "All right then, I am going to perform ('play') for you, before I go that way (on my journey)."

Note: The English loanword before as a clause-introducer is somewhat shocking in view of the rarity of English loans of this type. It is, however, occasionally heard (especially among younger speakers), perhaps since there was no exact Nunggubuyu counterpart previously.

28.9 ni=ya-n^ggi yu:-gu-ni na-garangu, ni=yama-n^y, mari
he went_c to there (man's n.) he did that_p and
n^gu-wara=wurlhi-n^y n^gu-ba=burlhi-n^y, "adaba nimba=na-yi:",
he rubbed her all over_p he rubbed her eye_p now watch me!_c
ni=yama-n^y na-garangu, ni='ga:gi-n^y n^ga yuwa-ga:-'la,
he did that_p (man's n.) he went backwards_p and then from there
ana-wugudari niwu=lha-n^gi-jga-n^y, mari niwu=wanbi-n^y,
headdress he made it stand up_p and he did (it) to it_p
n^gunu=na-ni adaba,
she saw him_c then

Garangu went that way, like that. He rubbed her body all over, and rubbed her eyes. "Now look at me!" he said. Garangu moved back (backwards, away from her). Over there, he made the headdress stand up (on his head). He did it. She could see him then.

Note: The girl had been blind in addition to being covered with sores and generally sickly.

28.10 mari n^ga yuwa-ga:-'la mana-wilbilg ma=yambi-n^y
and and then from there tapstick it spoke_p
ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g mana-wilbilg, mana-wilbilg, ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g,
his tapstick his
ni-ga:-'j-baj-miri ni:-'=bad_i:-'ni, o:-'ba-ni da-ji
he himself he tapped sticks for himself_c that (ANA) there
ni-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' da-ji, wa:'ri an^gu=na-ni, n^gunu=na-ni-wugij
he danced_c there not he saw her she only saw him_c
ni=yama-n^y, jal^g! ni=yaldhi-n^y, na-garangu, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
he did that_p go past he went past_p (man's n.) as for her
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^ga:-'=gayigi-n^y-gala n^gara-mani-n^yun^g adaba
that (FSg) after he played for her_p woman then

an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-ji:ji wa:='ri, ana-ji:ji adaba wa:='ri,
that (ANA) sore it was absent sore then it was absent
Then, from over there, his tapsticks cracked together. He was
tapping the sticks together by himself. He danced there. He
could not see her, but she could still see him. Then he went past
(out of sight), Garangu. As for that woman, after he performed
for her there were no sores any more (she was cured).

28.11 aba ni=yaldhi-n^y na-garangu, ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::,
then he went past_p (man's n.) he went_c
yuwa:-gu malan^ga-n^yanay, ni=ya-y na-garangu ba-ni
there far away he slept_c (man's n.) it is there
a-lha:l-uj a-lha:l, balamu ana-lha:l, ni=ya-y,
at the country country (place n.) country he slept_c
na-ni-n^yara-yun^g mari n^gar-ibi-yung^g wini:='gi-n^y, "way!
father and mother they (MDu) returned_p oh!
ya:-ni-yun^g nan^gga:='bi-ni, ya:-ni-yun^g n^gin^ggu=wi-ni,
it is here it hit (her) for us_c it is here it hit her
na-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g n^gara-marig, mari n^gara-n^gari-yi,
our (InDu) (woman's) daughter and (man's) daughter
nan^gga:='bi-ni", wini=yama-n^y nu:='bi-ni-yung^g
it hit (her) for us they (MDu) did that_p those (MDu)
na-ni-n^yara-yun^g mari n^gar-ibi-yun^g,
father and mother

Then he went past (out of sight), Garangu went. Garangu spent the night there, far away, at the country Balamu he slept. The parents of the girl came back (to the camp). "Oh dear! Something has hurt my (daughter), I feel it here, it has hurt her, our daughter!" They said that. That father and (that) mother.

Note: When a close kinsman is being hurt, Aboriginals believe that they receive a kind of telepathic signal of this by a twinge in the shoulder or the like, even a great distance from the actual violence. See text 10, where this is a prominent feature.

The Nunggubuyu kinship system does not lend itself to indicating the joint kinship relationship of a husband and wife to anyone else, as English does (e.g. 'my son' and 'your son' = 'our son'). Hence in Nunggubuyu 'our son' comes out as 'our son₁ and son₂' where two distinct 'son' terms are used (one for male Ego, the other for female). On the other hand, English lends itself far less easily than Nunggubuyu to joint relationships involving a sibling pair (e.g. brother and sister) as point of departure.

28.12 "ana:-'ni yagu garangu, na-ni-muwa-jun^g,
this (ANA) but (man's n.) named (MSg)
n^gani:-'gayigi:-ni, na:-gi-yun^g, adaba yuwa:-gi ni=yaldhi-n^y,
he played for me_c this (MSg) now he is there he went past_p

ni=yaldhi-n^y aba yuwa:-gi", ni=yama-n^y, balamu, ni=yama-n^y,
he went past_p now he is there he did that_p (place n.) he did that_p
n^guludji, n^guludji, ba-ni nima:='ru-n^y
(place n.) it (ANA) is there he left it (MANA)_p

mana-muluyurug, mana-muluyurug nima:='ru-n^y, ni=ruma-n^y gamanin^ya,
nail-tailed wallaby he left it_p he went (place n.)
ba-ni:-'la aba ni=dhiridi-n^y, ni=dhiridi-n^y yamalbura,
there it comes (ANA) then he went down_p (place n.)
ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: yamalbura ba-ni,
he went_c (place n.) it is there

"This man (who helped me) is named Garangu, this man performed for me. Now he has gone away, he is over that way." He (Garangu) did that at Balamu, and at N^guludji. He left behind some nail-tailed wallabies (*Onychogalea fraenata*) there, at Gamanin^ya. After that he went down toward the coast. He went to Yamalbura (Edward Island, in the Gulf).

28.13 ni=n^gul=walarlhi-n^y aba ni=ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g, ana-lha:l
he lay down face-up_p then his country
niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, ni=ya:lhuda-n^gi, wurugu ba-ni wu=bura:-',
he made it_c he cleared ground_c billabong it is there it sits
an-uba-ni:-'la-wala "n^ga-n^gu=jalburda-n^g" ni=yama:-'
after that I will jump into water_p he did that_c
na-garangu, "yagi ana:-'ji n^ga=bura-n^gi-∅ n^ga-n^gu=jalburda-n^g",
(man's n.) not here I will sit (see above)
ni=yama-n^y, ni=ya-n^ggi, ama-lhagaya-guy, ni=lu=lu:lha-n^gi
he did that_p he went_c to saltwater he waded in_c
ya:-ni --
it is here

He lay down face-up. He made his country. He cleared off the ground (and made a billabong). There is a billabong there (now). After that (he said to himself,) "I will go into the water." Garangu said that. "I will not stay here, I will go into the water." He said that. He went to the sea and waded along here--

Note: There is a break here as one tape ran out and I replaced it on the tape recorded. Dick waited a minute or two while I did this, then began again.

28.14 ama-lhagaya-guy, ni=ya-n^ggi na-garangu, ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
to saltwater he went_c (man's n.) he went_c
n^ga, wilibili, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l wilibili, an-uba-ni
and then (place n.) that (ANA) country (place n.) that (ANA)
niwu=yalgiwa-n^y, n^gijang ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi an-uba-ni na-garangu
he passed it_p more he went_c that (man's n.)
n^ga wa:n^g, lambarin^ya, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l,
and then whatchamacallit (place n.) that country

Garangu went to the sea (the Gulf). He went to Wilibili, that place Wilibili, and passed it. Then Garangu went there to whatchamacallit, the place Lambarin'ya.

Note: These are reefs or small rocky island in the Gulf.

28.15 niwu=yalgiwa-n^y, n^gijan^g ni=dhiridi-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
he went past it_p more he went down_p he went_c
n^ga wa:n^g, wa:n^gjagu an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, an-uba-ni
and then whatchamacallit but that country that
wu-wara-n^gu=duma:-'ruj, na-nijura ana-wa:n^g, an-uba-ni
where it was black_c coral whatchamacallit that
niwu=yalgiwa-n^y, ni-lu=lu:lha-n^gi::: n^ga, ni:=ndhadha-n^ga-n^y,
he passed it_p he waded inc and then he sat up_p
ni:=ndhadha-n^ga-n^y n^ga,
he sat up_p and then

He passed (Lambarin'ya) and went down. He went to whatchamacallit, what is that country? He went past that place. He was walking through the water. Then he sat up (so his head was above the surface of the water).

28.16 wi:-nana=na-ni an-uba-ni ana-wugudari, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
they saw it_c that headdress elders
wiri-nana=na-ni an-uba-ni ana-wugudari, wu:=ya-n^ggi ana-wugali-baj,
they saw it_c that headdress they went_c among dugong
wuru=n^gurga-n-di, wura:='ran^gga:-' yagu ya:-ni
they hunted in canoe_c they looked_c but it is here
wa:='ndhadhi-∅, ni:='ndhadhi-∅ yamba ni-ga na-garangu,
it sat up_c he sat up_c because he (man's n.)
wiri=na-ni wu=duma:-' an-uba-ni ana-wugudari,
they saw it_c it was black_c that headdress

They saw the headdress. The elders (old people, now dead) saw that headdress. They were out there in canoes, hunting dugong (and turtles). They looked, and here it (headdress) was sticking up out of the water, because Garangu himself was sitting up. They saw it, it was black, that headdress.

28.17 ni-ga:-'yun^g na-garangu ni=yama-n^y "ari wara:-'-wuru
as for him (man's n.) he did that_p maybe these (Pl)
n^gambi:-'na:-'na-yi: ana:-'ni ana-wugudari" ni=yama-n^y
they see (it) for me this headdress he did that_p
na-garangu, "n^gan=duma-n^g n^gam=balarlha-n^g, labda
(man's n.) I will go_p I will lie down_p after (creole)
n^gam=balarlha-n^g", ni=yama-n^y, na-garangu, ni=walarhi-n^y adaba,
I will lie down_p he did that_p (man's n.) he lay down_p then
na-garangu, wi:ya!.
(man's n.) finish!

As for Garangu, he said to himself, "Maybe these people can see my headdress." He said that. "I will lie down (so they can't see me)," he said. Garangu lay down then. That is all.

Comments on text 28

The track of Nagaran begins here in the middle reaches of the Roper R. and proceeds down to the coast from there. It is, thus, located chiefly in Warndarang territory south of true Nunggubuyu country, though it is known to many Nunggubuyu men such as the present speaker. The headdress worn by Nagaran (wugudari) is typically used in performances of men's rituals in this area, and in general this appears to be the kind of text which is normally closely associated with ritual enactments. See Elkin (1971).

Nagaran's act of compassion, healing the sick and blind girl, is rather striking in view of the recurrently hostile and violent relations between 'people' and major totemic beings, not to mention the frequent texts in which a young boy or girl left alone in the camp by neglectful parents is kidnapped by strangers.

TEXT 29 JAJABUN Dick (Da:bulug)

29.1 nu:-'ba-gi ja jabun, na-ni-muwa-jun^g, ni-bu=buri-∅ n^ga
that (MSg) (man's n.) named (MSg) he sat_c and then
o:-'wa:-ni, a-dhalaguru, ana-lha:l, dhalaguru an-uba-ni ana-lha:l,
that (ANA) (place n.) country (place n.) that country
ni-bu=buri-∅, ni=wiriwiri-wugij, ni-bu=buri-∅ ni-da=da:la-n^gi,
he sat_c he was alone only he sat_c he sang ritual song_c
nima-wada=wada-n^gi mana-wilbilg, ni-bu=buri-∅ ba-ni
he clapped (sticks)_c tapstick he sat_c it is there
na-jabu:::n adaba,
(man's n.) then

That Ja Jabun, that was his name. He was staying there at the place Dhalaguru, that country. He stayed there, he was still by himself. He was singing Madayin ritual songs (with tapsticks but without didjeridu accompaniment). He was clapping the tapsticks together. Ja Jabun was there then.

29.2 adaba ni=lalagi-'-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga,
then he got up_p he went_c and then
amagulhu, ba-ni n^gijan^g ni=bura-n^ga-n^y, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l,
(place n.) it is there more he sat down_p that (ANA) country
ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yum^g ana-lha:l an-uba-ni na-jabun, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
his country that (ANA) (man's n.) he went_c
n^ga ba-ni ni=da:la-n^gi, ni=yayigi:-ni ba-ni,
and then it is there he sang ritual song_c he played it is there

ni=wayigi:-ni, na-jajabun,
he played_c (man's n.)

Then he got up and went to Amagulhu. He stopped there at that place. That was his country, Jajabun('s). He went along, singing those madayin ritual songs. He played (danced and sang) there.

29.3 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, ni=dhiridi-n^y ama-lhagaya-guy,
after that he went down_p to saltwater
ni=ya-n^ggi adaba, lhamugu-miri, ni-madha=madhanda-n^gi:::, he went_c then by means of bark canoe he paddled_c
da-ji-ruj, niwu=na-n^y n^gura, wu=nagi:-ni, ba-ga:-'la there farther on he saw it_p fire it burned (intr.)_c from there
niwu=du:lwi-n^y, ni=du:lwi-n^y, ana-n^gura, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi he sang song for it_p fire he made it_c
adaba song, an-uba-ni-yung^g, ana-n^gura, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: then that (ANA) fire he went_c
mun^gurjira, ana-lha:l, ba-ni nima=wadi-n^y mana-wilbilg, (place n.) country it is there he clapped it_p tapstick
ni=da:la-n^gi, he sang ritual song_c

After that he went down to the sea (the Gulf). He paddled along in a stringybark canoe. A little farther on he saw a fire burning. He came along and sang the 'fire' song. He made a song for it, that fire. He went along to the place Mun^gurjira, and there he beat the tapsticks together.

29.4 bandhara-wala-yaj-bugij ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=ya-n^ggi,
only along the middle this way he went_c
ya:-nu:-'wuy niwu=na-ni ana-lha:l, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l niwu=na-ni, this way he saw it_c country that country he saw it_c
ya:-ni:-'la-yum^g-gala-yaj ni=ya-n^ggi, bandhara-wala-yaj, along this he went_c along the middle
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ni-yara-n^gu=du:lwi:-ni, na-yin^ggu_ubandi, he went_c he sang for them all_c barramundi
na-yin^ggu_ubandi, n^gara:-'la, ba-ni:-'la ni=du:lwi:-ni, water python there it comes he sang for it_c

He went along in the water near the coast, this way. He saw that country. He came along this way, in the water near the coast. He went along, singing the ritual songs for them all: barramundi fish (Lates calcarifer), water python (Liasis fuscus), etc.

29.5 ni=ya-n^ggi-wugij, ni=ba-ga:-'la, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, he only went_c he (was) from there he went_c
ni=dadi-n^y, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga waldhar, ana-lha:l he went on shore_p he went_c and then (place n.) country

an-uba-ni waldhar, ba-ma mana-n^gadhu nima=buri-n^y, that it is there (MANA) cycad he put it_p

adaba ba-gu na-landhur-ba: wani=lhan^garma-n^y, then there two male dogs he reached them_p

Then he came this way. He went onto the shore. He went to the place Waldhar. There he put down some cycad palms (Cycas sp.). Then he ran into two male dogs there.

29.6 ni=ya-n^ggi, a-rilji-wala ni=ya-n^ggi, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, he went_c from island he went_c that country

win^yig ana-rilji, na-garangu-yin^yun^g ni-bu=buri-∅, ni-bu=buri-∅ small island of Garangu he sat_c he sat_c

n^ga adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g, niwa:='wu-ba-n^g, niwa:='wu-ba-n^g and then then that he disliked it_p

yamba an-uba-ni ana-lha:l adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, ya:-nu:-'wuy, because that country then he went_c this way

ni=ba-ga:-'la, argali-n^yi, ni=ya-n^ggi waldhar, he (was) from there westward he went_c (place n.)

wani=lhan^garma-n^y, wara-buwarbuwar, buwarbuwar war-uba-wa he reached them_p (clan n.) (clan n.) those (WARA)

war-u-muwaj, wara-wuru-wuruj, wani=lhan^garma-n^y, named (WARA) people he reached them_p

He came from an island. There is that place, a small island, of Garangu (emend to: Jajabun). He stayed there. But then he disliked that place. He came this way because he did not like that place. He came this way, west, to Waldhar. He ran into the people of the Buwarbuwar clan, those people.

Notes: Dick here confuses Jajabun with Garangu (unless I am mistaken), having given the Garangu text shortly before this one. See also below for another ex. of this.

Here buwarbuwar is the Nunggubuyu pronunciation of the name of the Buarpwuwar, a minor clan in the Ritharngu-speaking area to the north and northwest of the Nunggubuyu region.

29.7 ba-ni:-'la adaba na-landhur-ba:, wani=wanaga:-' there it comes then two male dogs he held them_c
na-lumbaljagi mari n^gara-wa:n^g, n^ga=malala:di yamba (dog's n.) and whatchamacallit (FSg) I do not know because n^gar-uba-gi, n^gara-n^gari-muwa-jung^g only lumbaljagi-wugij, that (FSg) named (FSg) only (dog's n.) n^ga:-lumanumbi n^ga:-landhur-jung^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-walyi-n^yun^g lumbaljagi, (bitch's n.) bitch as for him man

He was coming, holding two dogs (one male, one female). (Their names were) Lumbaljagi (male) and whatchamacallit--I do not know that female one's name. Only Lumbaljagi. (Now I remember:) Her name was Lumanumbi. As for the man (i.e. the male), Lumbaljagi.

Note: Dick later decided that Lumanumbi (cf. above) was not the correct name of the female dog, and gave the name as Wun^gan^garin^y.

29.8 aba an-uba-ni:-'la wani=ya:rigi:-ni n^ga ba-ma
then from that he carried them_c and then it is there
mana-n^gadhu, mana-n^gadhu, winima-n^gulu=raya:-',
cycad cycad they (MDu) urinated on it (MANA)_c
winima-n^gulu=raya:-', mana-n^gadhu, adaba wu:=ya-n^ggi arwi-yaj,
they urinated on it_c cycad then they went_c upward
yu:=gu-ni, wuru-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: da-ji-ruj alagala,
to there they went_c there farther on on the way
ana-lha:l, wa:n^g, wa:n^g, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, wa:n^g
country whatchamacallit that country
jagu, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, wa:n^g,
but that country

Then he carried them (the dogs). They (two dogs) urinated on some cycad palms there. Then they went uphill, that way. They went along, and at a spot along the way (there was) a place. Whatchamacallit. Whatchamacallit, that place.

29.9 n^gawu-mi=dagu-na an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, ba-ni n^ga
I look for its name that country it is there and then
ana-lha:l o:-'ba-ni a-lha:l-uj, ni=ya-n^ggi n^ga ba-gu
country that in country he went_c and then there
ni=da:la-n^gi, ni=da:la-n^gi ba-ni::: n^gijan^g ni=lalagi-'-n^y,
he sang ritual song_c it is there more he got up_p
ni=lalagi-'-n^y aba yu:=gu-ni a-lhal-an^ybaj-guy,
then to there to another country

I am trying to remember the name of that place. It is there, at that country. He went along and performed the Madayin ritual song there. He got up again and (went) there, to another place.

29.10 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi an-uba-ni
he went_c that
na-garangu da-ji-ruj wani=lhan^garma-n^y wuru-wuru,j, n^gijan^g
(man's n.) there farther on he reached them_p people more
ba-gu ni=da:la-n^gi, n^gijan^g ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga,
there he sang ritual song_c more he went_c and then
walbarimun, an-uba-ni ana-lha:l, walbarimun,
(place n.) that country (place n.)

He went along, that Garangu (emend to: Jajabun). A little farther on he caught up with some people. He performed the Madayin ritual songs. Then he went again (to) that place, Walbarimun.

29.11 ba-wa wara-landhurg, wara:-'rawindi,
it (WARA) is there dog many (WARA)
ba-wa wara-dreaming ba-wa, wara-dreaming
it is there totemic object (WARA) it is there
wa:-landhurg ba-wa wu:-waragara=lha-ra, na-garangu-yin^yung,
dog it is there they all stand of (man's n.)
gada! na-jajabun, na-jajabun-jin^yung, ba-wa wara-landhurg
oops! (man's n.) of (man's n.) it is there dog
wani-waragara:='ru-n^y,
he abandoned them all^p

There are a lot of dog dreamings (totemic sites associated with dreamtime dogs) there. Of Garangu--oops! I mean, of Jajabun. He left all those dog (dreamings) there.

29.12 ba-ni na-yadbuwa ni=du:lwi-n^y,
it is there (ANA) cuttlefish he sang for it_p
ni=da:li-n^y adaba, mana-mun^gulu mari na-yadbuwa,
he sang ritual song_p then seaweed and cuttlefish
ba-ni n^ga ma:-'ra-raba=rabali:-' mana-murn^ymurj
it is there and then they (MANA) all come out bubble(s)
algur-yan^gi, murn^ymurj, ba-ni aba na-garangu ni=bura:-',
anything bubble(s) it is there now (man's n.) he sits
gada! na-jajabun n^ganu-mij=gajarga-n^y, n^ganu-mij=gajarga-n^y,
oops! (man's n.) I missed his name_p
*na-jajabun-jun^g,
(man's n.)

There he sang the ritual song for cuttlefish, he sang the ritual songs. Seaweed and cuttlefish shells, bubbles, all sorts of things all come out there. (Seaweed and cuttlefish shells are common beach debris.) Garangu (error) is there now (as a totemic object). Oops! I mean Jajabun, I got his name wrong. Jajabun.

* Here Absolute suffix /-yun^g/, normally not used with personal names, is used in an emphatic context.

29.13 ana:-'ni ana-gararag, ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yung ana:-'ni
this (ANA) ritual poles his this
ana-gararag, ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yung, na-jajabun wunu-wadi=lharma-ni,
ritual poles his (man's n.) they follow his path
na-jajabun, wuru=da:li:-', wunu-wadi=lharma-ni na-jajabun,
(man's n.) they sing ritual song (see above) (man's n.)
ni-ga-waj yamba, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi an-uba-ni ana-song, ni-ga-waj
it is he because he made it_c that it is he
jajabun, wi:ya!.
(man's n.) finish!

He has these ritual poles. They (the people) followed his path (i.e. his route). They (people) sing the ritual songs, they followed the past of Jajabun, because he created those songs. That is all.

Note: gararag is a complex of two upright poles planted in the ground with forked openings at the top, and one straight pole laid across them horizontally. Portions of the Madayin ritual, notably certain song/dance performances which are viewed by women and children as well as men (unlike most of the ritual, which is limited to initiated men), are performed in a special dancing ground with a pole complex of this type. See text 57.

Comments on text 29

This text is undoubtedly highly schematic and abbreviated; there are presumably other incidents in the myth which are secret knowledge and cannot be revealed publicly. The myth is the foundation of the local version of the Madayin (or ru:l) ritual, 'owned' chiefly by the Nun^ggargalug clan (Yirija moiety) and their affiliates in nearby language regions (Anindhilyagwa, Ritharngu). The N^galmi (of the Mandha:yun^g moiety) also own a portion of this ritual.

In this particular Madayin tradition, a single male totemic being, known here as Jajabun (but also as Bilawur), travels from Groote Eylandt in the Gulf (Anindhilyagwa territory) over Bickerton Island, into the Nunggubuyu-speaking mainland area (notably Waldhar, the clan center for the Nun^ggargalug), and eventually goes on into Ritharngu territory to the north. The ritual links thus established among various clans in the region are of great significance, and this ritual is generally regarded as the most important of all secret rituals for these people (even more important than the Gunabibi, certainly more important than the circumcision or mortuary rituals). The various species mentioned here, such as cycad palms (which are common at Waldhar and unknown in most of the rest of Nunggubuyu country, though found on Groote Eylandt and in the Ritharngu area), each have their songs (including some public songs) associated with the ritual.

TEXT 30 GILYIRIN^g GILYIRI Laran^gana

30.1 n^garugalij dreaming, gilyirin^g gilyiri, da-ni:-'lu:-'
dugong (name of people) there it comes
alra, dreaming n^gi=bura:-', mari yimunguni, waran^ybu,
(place n.) it (N^gARA) sits and (place n.) (place n.)
nother side, a-yimunguni-yin^yun^g country, dreaming
far side of (place n.)
n^gi-yara:-'ba:-'=buda:-', nu-ga-waj-maji: ba=ya:-ri: yu:-gu-ni,
it (N^gARA) bulges if it is you you will go_c to there

you been look,

A dugong dreaming site. The Gilyirin^g gilyiri (group of people in myth for Gunabibi ritual). Over there at the place Alra it (dugong) sits, and at Yimunguni, and at Waran^ybu on the far side of Yimunguni. The (dugong) dreaming bulges out (of the ground). If you (Heath) go there, you could see it.

30.2 nuga, nuga, dreaming n^garugalij, gilyirin^g gilyiri, mari
stone dugong (n. of people) and
mana-n^gadugu, ba-ma dreaming, mari ana-wulmuwari,
rope it (MANA) is there and boomerang
mana-gunabibi-yin^yun^g, ba-ni, ana-waran^ybu, malayin^ya,
of Gunabibi ritual it (ANA) is there (place n.) (place n.)
malayin^ya, long way wu-gu-ru ya:-ji-ji:-'li, wu=bura:-' bla
(place n.) it (ANA) from along here it sits of (creole)
nuga, waran^ybu,
stone (place n.)

A (large) rock, the dugong dreaming. The Gilyirin^g gilyiri people. Also rope is there as a dreaming, and the boomerang--the sort used in the Gunabibi ritual. It is there, Waran^ybu. Malayin^ya (a place), a long way from here, having lots of rock. Waran^ybu.

Note: The Gilyirin^g gilyiri are proceeding southward along the coast from Lulmara (see 30.3) to Wargujaja and Walgundu, via such places as Waran^ybu. The order of presentation of place names in this text is not exactly chronological order (which, however, was established afterwards). The Gilyirin^g gilyiri hunt dugong (with harpoons and rope) at various places, leaving behind a number of dreaming sites (dugong, rope, etc.).

30.3 n^ga wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba an-u-gu-ni:::, xxx n^gaya-wi
and then they went_c then to there (unclear) mine
ana-country ana:-'n^ybaj ana-country, ba-ga:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi
other country from there they went_c
ba-ga:-'la lulmara-ala, wirin^ga=ra-ni n^ga:-n^garugalij
from there from (place n.) they speared (harpooned) it_c dugong
ana-dreaming, i::: xxx, n^ga wu:=yaldhi-n^y
dreaming (meaningless) (unclear) and then they went past_p
ya:-wa:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi ju:::j! wu:=ya-n^ggi
here they come (WARA) they went_c go they went_c
"gagagagagagaga!" waran^ybu wu:=yama-n^y, xxx nuraran^g xxx,
(sound) (place n.) they did that_p (unclear) (place n.)
wululya mari n^ga, o:-'wa:-gu na-lhan^ganig,
(place n.) and and then there salt
Then they went that way. Another country of mine (my clan). They came from Lulmara and speared dugong, the dreaming. They came along here. They went to Waran^ybu, saying "Gagaga!" Also at Nuraran^g and Wululya, and there where the salt is.

30.4 *yu:-gu-ni-yin^yung* ba:='galawaja-n^g, man^gajara-wuy,
of that way you (Sg) will go across_p to (place n.)
ya:-ni ana-wululya *yu:-gu-ni*, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::,
it is here (place n.) to there they went_c
lharagula, alligator, n^gilagulagu, n^gin^gawininyji,
crocodile (songword) (songword)

You (Heath?) will go across that way, to the place Man^gajara.
Over here, at Wululya. They went that way. Crocodiles (were
there). (Songwords for crocodile from Gunabibi.)

Note: Nunggubuyu lharagula 'crocodile' can apply either to the
marine (estuarine) species or the smaller freshwater (Johnson's)
crocodile. The term alligator is common in local English but is
technically incorrect.

30.5 ya:-ni lha:n^y *wiri=wuldhi-n^y*, n^ga:-lharagula-yin^yung,
it is here tongue they cut it_p of crocodile
ba-ni, early fell_a wu:=lalagi:-'ni::: n^ga
it is there early morning they got up_c and then
a:n^g, namaygambi namaygambi::: *yarn^galana*:::
whatchamacallit (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
bun^ymabun^yma::: namaygambi country, Roper higher-up, low-down
(place n.) (place n.)

lhiribala-aj, wargujaja, jalbur!, Roper mouth, ala,
down (place n.) go into water river

They cut out the tongue of the crocodile. In the morning they got
up (and went to) whatchamacallit. The places Namaygami,
Yarn^galana, Bun^ymabun^yma (sung as in Gunabibi). The place
Wargujaja, down (i.e. toward the coast) from Roper River Mission
(=Ngukurr settlement), near the mouth of the Roper R.

30.6 river, wura:='dadi-n^y aba wa-ga-ga:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi
they went on shore_p then far side they went_c
now, wa-ga-ga:-'la wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji-ji:-'li wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
far side as for them from along here as for them
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wara-gilyirin^ggilyiri::: walgundu,
they went_c (n. of people) (place n.)
yimurn^yugambani::: yimurn^yugambani yimurn^yugambani waruwarumani,
(place n.) (place n.)
na-yawraln^g, ba-gi adaba, ni=lha-ra wilin, yi:-whitebark,
(man's n.) he is there now it stands whitebark whitebark
you savvy whitebark, wilin, wini=buri-n^y ni=lha-ra, wi:ya!
whitebark they put it_p it stands finish!

They went onto the shore at the Roper R. They were on the far side.
Some of them were on this side (of the Roper). They, the
Gilyirin^ggilyiri, went to Walgundu, Yimurn^yugambani, and Waruwaru-
mani. The man Yawraln^g is a whitebark dreaming there now. You

know whitebark. It is there now, they put it there. Finish.
Note: Locally, the term whitebark is given to Eucalyptus
papuana, better known Australia-wide as the ghost gum.

TEXT 31 GILYIRIN^gGILYIRI
Milton (Gabanja)

31.1 gilyirin^ggilyiri wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:=ya-n^ggi an-uwa-ga:-'la
(n. of people) they went_c from there
wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: yuwa:-ni:-'la wa:n^g-gala
they went_c there it comes from whatchamacallit

lulmara-wala wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: da-ji-ruj,
from (place n.) they went_c there farther on
n^gibagalharin^y, wini=balhu:-' ba-gu n^gala:ligi,
(place n.) they cut it up_c there green turtle

The Gilyirin^ggilyiri people went along. They came from there,
from whatchamacallit, from the place Lulmara. They went along,
and a little farther on at the place Ngibagalharin^y they cut up
a green turtle (which they had killed).

31.2 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: guluruj, ba-gu guluruj ba-gu
they went_c (place n.) there (place n.) there
wini=balhu:-' n^gala:ligi, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wumili^j
they cut it up_c green turtle they went_c (place n.)
adaba, wu:-lan^ggu=yabi-'-ny adaba wumili^j, yuwa:-gu,
then they went into river mouth_p then (place n.) there
wumili^j, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: aba
(place n.) they went_c they went_c then
wumili^j ba-gu wu:=buri-∅,
(place n.) there they sat_c

They went along, to Guluruj. There at Guluruj they cut up a green
turtle. They went along, then went into the river mouth at
Wumili^j. They went there and stayed (for a while).

31.3 warugan^ga, warugan^ga adaba ba-gu wu:=buri-∅,
(place n.) then there they sat
wirimama:ndha-n^gi man-uba-ma mana-wa:n^g, wumili^j,
they made it_c that (MANA) whatchamacallit (place n.)
wani=gudi-n^y adaba ba-gu, wani=gudi-n^y nan^yja-miri
he caught them_p then there he caught them_p by means of net
nan^yja, mana-ma-muwaj nan^yja.
net named (MANA) net

They stayed at Warugan^ga. They made that whatchamacallit (net).
At Wumili^j he (a giant man) caught them with a fishnet. That is
its name, fishnet.

TEXT 32 GILYIRIN^EGILYIRI AND THE MOSQUITOES
Milton (Gabanja)

32.1 wara-gilyirin^Egilyiri wirima=lharma-n^Ei gunabibi,
(n. of people) they performed it_c Gunabibi ritual
walgundu walgundu ana-lha:l walgundu, wirima-lharma=lharma-n^Ei
(place n.) country they performed it_c
ba-gu aba n^Ei-ga wan^Ei-yandha-yan=dharma-n^Ei warubaj
there then it (WARA) it followed their voices_c nearby
n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi, n^Eara-mula, n^Eara-mula, mari n^Ea
it went_c mosquito mosquito and and then
wan^Ei=yiba-n^y "wa::!" n^Ei=yama-n^y,
it massacred them_p (noise) it did that_p
The Gilyirin^Egilyiri people performed the Gunabibi ritual at the place Walgundu. They performed it there. They (mosquitoes) heard them and flew toward where their voices were coming from. They (mosquitoes) were getting closer. Mosquitoes. Then they (mosquitoes) overwhelmed them with spears. They (mosquitoes) made the "Wa::!" noise (i.e. droning).

32.2 wan^Ei=yiba-n^y adaba ba-gu wan^Ei=wargalha-n^Ei,
it massacred them then there it speared them repeatedly_c
ana-la:ma ba-gu wan^Ei-warga=wargalha-n^Ei
shovel spear there it speared them repeatedly_c
wan^Ei-warga=wargalha-n^Ei wara:-'wa argi wu:-n^Eara=jaldha-n^Ei
these (WARA) some they all went past_c
war-uba-wa wara-gilyirin^Egilyiri:::, argi wan^Ei=ra-ni-yin^yung
those (WARA) (n. of people) some which it speared_c
an-uba-gu war-u-n^Eagara ba-wa wu:-n^Eagara=mun^ymulha:-'
there bone (WARA) it is there bone (WARA) lies

They (mosquitoes) massacred them with spears there then, they kept throwing spears at them. Shovel spears (type of spear with metal blade). They were throwing spears at them. A few of them (Gilyirin^Egilyiri) got away. Those Gilyirin^Egilyiri. The others, the ones whom they (mosquitoes) speared, are lying there in the form of bones.

32.3 n^Ea=marbuy n^Ea=gaya n^Ea=marbuy n^Eara=na-ni ba-gu,
I know I I know I saw them_c there
n^Eara-n^Eagara=na-ni ana-n^Eagara ba-gu n^Eawu=na-ni, n^Eawu=na-ni
I saw bones_c there I saw them_c I saw them_c
ba-gu ana-n^Eagara n^Ea=marbuy war-uba-wa wara-gilyirin^Egilyiri,
there bone (ANA) I know those (WARA) (n. of people)
wan^Ei=ra-ni n^Eara-mula.
it speared them_c mosquito

I know this (myself). I saw the bones there (myself). I saw the bones there (of) the Gilyirin^Egilyiri. The mosquitoes speared them.

TEXT 33 GILYIRIN^EGILYIRI AND THE MOSQUITOES
Ma:di

33.1 adaba n^Ea=yambi:-na, n^Eijan^E wurugu n^Eanu=maga-na,
now I speak more later I tell him
yi:-mula-yin^yung^E, wara-people wu-gu-ru, wu:=buri-∅ wargujaja,
about mosquito people they they sat_c (place n.)
wargujaja wu:=buri-∅ ba-ni adaba wu:=buri-∅ ragij
they sat_c it is there then they sat_c first (at place)
wargujaja, n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi::: n^Ei=ya-y *wu:=ya-∅-ruj
(place n.) it went_c it slept_c where they slept_c
n^Ei-ga:-'yun^E ba-ni,
as for it it is there

Now I speak. Again I will tell him (Heath), about mosquitoes. They, the people (Gilyirin^Egilyiri), were staying at the place Wargujaja. They were at Wargujaja first (i.e. before the mosquitoes were). They (mosquitoes) went along, and slept in the places (on the way to Wargujaja) where they (the people) had slept earlier. They (mosquitoes), there.

* Locative -ruj added to wu:=ya-y, 'they slept_c'.

33.2 n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi::: n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi:::
it went_c
n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi:::, a-wagi-yaj a:-'nu:-'wuy n^Ei=ya-n^Egi
it went_c southward this way it went_c
ya:-nu:-'wuy, n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi
this way it went_c it went_c

n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi n^Ei-yan^Ega=ya-n^Egi n^Ea,
it went_c and then
namayigambi-yala n^Ei=yawan^Egi-n^y n^Ea, ba-wa,
from (place n.) it listened_p and then they are there (WARA)
wu:=lhagarari-∅, wan^Ei-yan^y=jan^Ea-n^E ana-galij,
they made noises_c it heard their voice_p fun
wara-wuru-wuruj,
people

They (mosquitoes) went along, southward, this way. At the place Namayigambi, they listened, and there they (the people) were. They (people) were making loud noises, having a corroboree (fun), and they (mosquitoes) could hear their voices.

33.3 adaba n^Ei-dha=gurama:-', arga:-'rgali n^Ei-dha=gurama:-'
then it went around_c in west it went around_c

yuwa-ga:-'la adha:dhari n^gi-yangga=ya-n^ggi n^ga yuwa:-ni,
 from there behind it went_c and then it is there
 milwalambala, milwalambala adaba ba-ni n^ga, ba-ni
 (place n.) then it is there and then it is there
 n^gi=w^l-bi:-'ni n^gara-mula, mari wan^gi=yiba-n^y wan^gi=_ra-ni,
 it painted itself_c mosquito and it massacred them_p it speared the
 wan^gi=ja:du-ga-n^y adaba wan^gi=_ra-ni wara-wuruj, n^gara-mula,
 it finished them_p then it speared them_c people mosquito
 Then they (mosquitoes) went around (surrounding the people). They
 went around in the west, behind (the people). There at the place
 Milwalambala. There they (mosquitoes) painted themselves up (as
 warriors). The mosquitoes attacked them viciously and speared
 many of the people. Mosquitoes finished them off, spearing them.

33.4 ba-ni ana:-'rgi wu:-n^gara-n^galba=walga:-' ana:-'la-wuy, an-^u-gu
 there some all jumped in water_c to river to them
 ana-yarara, argi adaba wan^gi=_ra-ni wan^gi=ja:du-ga-n^y, wara-wuru-
 (place n.) some then it speared them_c it finished them people
 wan^gi=_rana=_ra-ni::: n^ga, n^ga adaba, n^ga wini=wula-wa: wini=wiri,
 it speared them_c then then two (M) they were alive
 n^ga wini-man=n^gama-n^y, n^ga alagala a-badbir, wini-yaragara=lha-n^y
 then both swam_p then on way solid ground both stood up_p
 ya:-ni-waj wini-yaragara=lha-n^ga-n^y, ana-yarara, wini-yaragara=lha-n^g
 along here both stood up_p (place n.)

Some (people) jumped into the water (to flee), into that river, at
 the place Yarara (a sandbar). Others were speared by the mosquitoes.
 They wiped (most of) them out, they speared them. Two men (who
 survived) were in the water swimming. Along the way (i.e. some dis-
 tance away), the two stood up together, with (the water of the river)
 up here (i.e. up to their chests).

33.5 n^ga wini=garini-n^y n^ga "wara:-'wa yagu
 and then they looked_p and then these (WARA) but
 n^gara:-'gi a:n^g yu:ga", wirin^ga=maya:-' mula,
 this (N^gARA) whatchamacallit Q they sang it_c mosquito
 wirin^ga=maya-n^y, araga xxx adaba wirin^ga=du:lwi-n^y
 they sang it_p suddenly (see note) then they sang for it_p
 yuwa-ga:-'la yarara-wala,
 from there from (place n.)

song: gurgawubi::: gurgawubi:::
 manawubi::: manawubi:::
 gurgawubi::: gurgawubi:::
 manawubi::: manawubi:::

They (two men) looked and (said,) "What on earth (did) these
 (mosquitoes) do to these (people)?" They sang the mosquito song.

They sang for them (mosquitoes), there at Yarara: (songwords for
 'mosquito').

Note: The xxx in line 3 above represents an irrelevant
 digression in English, omitted here. The quoted segment in lines
 1-2 appears somewhat muddled and incomplete.

33.6 wan^gi=ja:du-ga-n^y wara-people, him finish-'em-up,
 it finished them off_p people it finished them off
 after all-about sing-'em-about, wirin^ga=dugubaddhi:-'
 later they often sing they talk about it (loanword)
 all-about talk-about now this-one-here song, n^gara-mula,
 they discuss mosquito
 wu:-yama=yama:-' n^ga ana:-'ni adaba lha:l,
 they (Pl) did that_c and then this (ANA) now country
 "ya:-nu:-'wuy nan=duma-n^g", adaba wini=ruma-n^y, n^ga
 this way we (InDu) will go_p then they (MDu) went_p and then
 ya:-nu:-'wuy wini=ruma-n^y, which-way country this-way,
 this way they (MDu) went_p

They (mosquitoes) were massacring the people. Since then, they
 (people) often sing (to commemorate these dreamtime events), they
 talk about it. They perform this song. Mosquitoes. They
 (the two men who survived) did that, at this country. They decided
 to go this way, and went. Which country? This one.

Note: the 3Pl form wu:-yama=yama:-' (line 4 of this segment)
 was emended by the speaker later to 3MDu wini-yama=yama:-'.

33.7 ju:::y!, wini=ya-n^ggi adaba wini=wuguwuguni
 go they went_c then they were permanent
 wini=wula-wa:-wugij, two men, wini=wula-wa:-wugij wini=ya-n^ggi
 only two only two they (MDu) went_c
 aba n^gi-ga wan^gi=ja:du-ga-n^y, n^gara-mula, ana-yarara,
 then it it finished them off_p mosquito (place n.)
 n^ga Kangaroo Island, wini=garaji-n^y, juj!.
 and then they jumped_p go

They went along, they (stayed there) for good. Just two men.
 They went along. They (mosquitoes) had finished off most of the
 others. Mosquitoes. At the place Yarara. Then they jumped
 (across) at Kangaroo Island.

Comments on texts 30 through 33

These texts relate directly to that portion of the Gunabibi
 ritual associated with the Murun^gun clan and its affiliates in
 the region. There are other Gunabibi myths involving distinct
 locations associated with the clans of the Mamba:li semimoity,
 chiefly in the Warndarang-Mara region; some of these will appear
 in my forthcoming work on Mara (Pacific Linguistics). For other
 remarks on the Nunggubuyu-area Gunabibi see van der Leeden (1975),

and for extensive material on versions of the ritual farther north (Top End of Arnhem Land) see Berndt (1951). For a Ngandi myth involving the present (Murun^gun) Gunabibi tradition, see Heath (1978a:229-232), where a rainbow serpent (instead of mosquitoes) attacks the people at Walgundu (Ngandi walkundu).

As noted in connection with 30.2, above, the Murun^gun myth begins in the north, in Nunggubuyu country at Lulmara (if not farther north). The Gilyirin^ggilyiri, a largely undifferentiated group of human-like beings, travel south along the coast to the area around the mouth of the Roper R., in Warndarang and Mara territory. There are various incidents along the way, all now reproduced in the Gunabibi in some fashion, but the most dramatic incident is of course the massacre by the mosquitoes around Walgundu and Wargujaja, dealt with in texts 32 and 33. Text 31 deals, in unfortunately perfunctory fashion, with another incident (before the Gilyirin^ggilyiri reach Walgundu) in which a giant sweeps some of them out of the water with a net, as though he were catching fish.

The Gilyirin^ggilyiri are sometimes associated with mermaids, especially by my Mara informants. I did not hear this connection among my Nunggubuyu informants, but I do not know just how (if at all) the Gilyirin^ggilyiri are physically visualised.

In this type of myth, associated with a highly secret ritual, it is quite probable that only the outer shell (i.e. public knowledge) was offered to me. Presumably there are other, more significant incidents, and inner interpretations of the incidents which were revealed, which were kept from me.

Much of the Gunabibi singing itself is secret, but certain parts of it are public; this includes the brief fragments of song in the present texts.

TEXT 34 MOON AND NATIVE CAT (ORIGIN OF DEATH) Laran^gana

34.1 wugayuwani^{yun^g}, wini=buri-∅ na-labama mari na-n^ya:lig,
(place n.) they (MDu) sat_c moon and cat
wulambag, wara-wulambag wa:-da-wu:-' mari na-labama ya:-gi,
cat cat that (WARA) and moon it is here (NA)
labama n^ga-gu-ru wara-wuru-wuruj labama, white men new-moon,
moon we (InPl) people moon moon
wini=maya-na na:-'-gi labama, n^ga-gu-ra:-'yun^g labama, n^galindi,
they call it this (NA) moon as for us (InPl) moon moon
Moon and Native Cat were staying at the place Wugayuwani^{yun^g}. That Native Cat there and this Moon. We, the people (i.e. Aboriginals) call it "labama," and white people call it (new) moon. We (call it) "labama" or "n^galindi."

Note: The common term for 'native cat' is n^ya:lig and for 'moon' is labama. Laran^gana also gives less common synonyms, perhaps because he knew I was interested in exotic vocabulary. He includes me (Heath) here in 1InPl pronominal forms.

34.2 da-gi-yun^g ni=wula-wa: na-n^galindi mari na-labama, ni-ga:-'yun^g
that (NA) two (NA) moon and moon as for it
na-n^ya:lig, mari wulambag, two names, wini-bu=buri-∅
cat and cat they (MDu) sat_c
ana-wugayuwani^{yun^g} an-uba-ni::: wini-bu=buri-∅ adaba
(place n.) that (ANA) they (MDu) sat_c then
*winiwi:-'=jan^ga-n^g, wini-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ana-lagu wini-ya=ya-y
they thought of it_p they ate it_c honey they slept_c
aba wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba mij-bura:yun^g adaba ni-ga ni=warga-n-di
then they went_c then children then he he had lots_c
ni-ga wara-mij-buruyag wa:ni=lhama:-'-yin^{yun^g}, ni-ga na:-'-gi
he children which they begat_c he this (MSg)
na-labama ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj, ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj na-n^ya:lig,
moon he too cat

That one (moon) is called in two ways, "n^galindi" and "labama." As for it (cat), "n^ya:lig" and "wulambag," two names. The two of them (Moon and Native Cat) were staying at that place Wugayuwani^{yun^g}. They thought about honey and ate some. They spent some nights there. They went, the children. He (Moon) had a lot (of children), as did he (Native Cat), which they had begotten. Both Moon here and Native Cat (had lots of children).

Note: Because the nonhuman NA class and the human MSg class are often indistinguishable, it is difficult to say whether (and if so where) the transition to MSg occurs here. Both Moon and Native Cat are clearly MSg later on in the text, but in 34.1 it may well be that they are still NA. Indeed, the two synonyms for 'native cat' are in different noun-classes (n^ya:lig is NA, wulambag is WARa), and this difference is visible in 34.1; later on, however, wulambag turns up in the humanised MSg form na-wulamba-jun^g, even taking human Sg /-yun^g/.
* /winiwu-i=jan^ga-n^g/.

34.3 wini-bu=buri-∅ ana-wugayuwani^{yun^g} an-uba-ni:::, aba
they (MDu) sat_c (place n.) that then
winiwi:-'=jan^ga-n^g "gu-waj! nan=duma-n^g yu:-gu-ni
they thought of it (see 34.2) hey you! let's (InDu) go!_p to there
a:-'la-wuy, ba-ni n^ga wugayuwani^{yun^g} lha:l,
to river it is there and then (place n.) country
a-wugayuwani^{yun^g}, wini=yama-n^y, ni-ga-waj ni=yama-n^y
they (MDu) did that_p it is he he did that_p
murun^gu-n^yun^g, ni-ga murun^gun n^ya:lig, wulambag,
of Murun^gun clan he of Murun^gun clan cat cat
ni-ga:-'yun^g labama, mamba:li, na-n^galindi,
as for him moon of Mamba:li clan (semimoity) moon
They were both at Wugayuwani^{yun^g}. They thought about it. (Native Cat said to Moon,) "Hey! Let's go to the river! The place

Wugayuwanyung^g is there." They said that. He, the one of the Murungun clan, Native Cat, said that. The other one, Moon, was of the Mamba:li clan (or semimoietry).

34.4 n^ga ni=n^gambi-n^y na:-'gi mamba:li-yun^g, and then he went into water_p this of Mamba:li clan julub! a:-gugu a-billabong wu=yama:-' wu=buri-∅ run^ggal ala, go in water billabong it did that_c it sat_c big big ni=n^gambi-n^y, ni=ya-y, na:-'ga:-=garan^gga:-' n^gijan^g ni=ya-y, n^gijan^g he bathed_p he slept_c he looked for him_c more he slept_c more ni=ya-y ni=waran^gga-n^y yuwa:-gi:-'la niwu=binima-n^y, he slept_c he looked_p there he comes he hid behind it_p ni=julubi'-n^y, yuwa-ga:-'la na-labama ni=julubi'-n^y he went in and hid_p from there moon he went in and hid_p niwu=binima-n^y, ni-yara:=ran^gga:-', he hid behind it_p he looked_c

Then he (Moon) went into the water, the one of the Mamba:li clan. He went into the water. The billabong (pond) was like this (speaker stretches arms out wide), it was big (wide), a river. He went into the water. He (Native Cat) spent the night there, then looked for him (Moon). He spent another night there. He (Moon) was hiding (behind trees), he had gone in (to the trees) and hidden. From over there Moon went in and hid behind them. He (Native Cat) looked around.

Note: Moon is playing a trick on Native Cat. Moon went into the water, then secretly came out of the water out of Native Cat's sight. Native Cat thinks Moon is still in the water and is concerned for Moon's welfare.

34.5 "yagu yuwa:-gi:-'la yagu da-nu:-' n^ganjal ya:-ma, but there he comes but it is there WiMoBr it (MANA) is here yu:ga nun^y=jamin^ygari-n^y n^ganjal, yagu da-nu:-' nagan^g, Q you did what?_p WiMoBr but it is there you (Sg) nun^g=gawali-n^y yagu yu:ga, ba:=ni-n^y ba:=ni-n^y ba:=ni-n^y! you told lie_p but Q come!_p n^gaya:-'bilhan^gu yin^gga, nagan^g nun^g=gawali-n^y yu:ga", I in turn nearly you (Sg) you told lie_p Q (Native Cat called out,) "Are you out there somewhere, cousin? What have you done, cousin? Are you out there? Are you tricking me? Come here! I in turn (am about to go into the water). Are you deceiving me?"

Note: We now see that the two men are classificatory WiMoBr-s of each other, a fairly strong avoidance (respect) relationship commonly called "cousin" now in local English.

34.6 ni-ga:-'bilhan^gu na-n^ya:lig n^ga, na-wulamba-jun^g, he in turn cat and then cat (MSg form)

na-n^ya:lig, jalbur! ni=n^gambi-n^y, cat jump into water he went into water_p na:-'ga:-=garan^gga:-' na:-'ga:-=garan^gga:-' na:-'ga:-=garan^gga:-' he looked for him_c he looked for him_c he looked for him_c ni=ya-y n^gijan^g ni=ya-y, n^gijan^g ni=ya-y n^gijan^g ni=ya-y, he slept_c more he slept_c more he slept_c more he slept_c mana:-'mi-ruj aba, ni=lhundi-n^y, in this one (MANA) then he gave up_p

Then Native Cat, in turn, Native Cat plunged into the water and looked for him (Moon). Several days passed. Finally, on that day, he gave up (and drowned).

Note: mana:-'mi-ruj (last line of this segment) normally means 'today' (i.e. 'at this day'), but here the whole text is in the (dreamtime) past tense so it means 'that day'.

There are some ambiguities here as to who is the subject of "he slept," Moon (on shore waiting for Native Cat to emerge) or Native Cat (in the water looking for Moon). The overall sense of the text, however, is not affected by this.

34.7 aba *ni-mabunu-la=lalagi-'-n^y yuwa-ga:-'la aba ana:-'ni then he came up as corpse_p from there then this ana-n^gagara ana:-'ni, ni-mabunu-la=lalagi-'-n^y, "way! bone this he came up as corpse_p oh! n^ganu-gi=wa-n^g", yagu na:-'gi wani:-'gajij=gala:di-wa-n^y I ate his exrement!_p but this (MSg) he ruined them_p wara-wuru-wuruj yu:ga, wuru-n^gawi-'-n^y, wuru-n^gawa=n^gawi:-'na, people Q they died_p they die

Then his (Native Cat's) body rose up to the surface of the water as a rotting corpse (or bundle of bones). These bones. (Moon exclaimed to himself,) "Oh dear! I am sorry for what I did to him!" This one (Cat) ruined them, the people (Aborigines), didn't he? They died then, they keep dying now.

Note: In other words, the death of Native Cat was the first death and set a precedent; now all people must die eventually.

* Here the reduplication occurs at the beginning of the verb root =lalaga- and disregards the compounding initial -mabunu-.

34.8 ni=yama-n^y da-ni na-n^ya:lig, he did that_p he is there cat n^ga:ni:-'gajij=gala:di-wa-n^y wara-garn^yirimba wara-wuru-wuruj he ruined us (InPl)_p crowd of people people nu-ru n^ga:ni:-'gajij=gala:wi-wa-n^y ari nu-gu-ri:-'wuy we (ExPl) he ruined us (InPl)_p maybe to you (Pl) yu:-gu-ni wa:-dhurabada-wuy wani:-'gajij=gala:di-wa-n^y to there to white men he ruined them_p

ya:-nu:-'wuy, na-labama-yin^yung n^ga na-n^ya:li-jin^yung
 this way of moon and then of cat
 winiwu=ma:ndha-n^gi *n^gawa=n^gawi-j n^ga *wuri=j=guldhi-n^y,
 they (MDu) made it_c death and then thirst
 wi:ya!
 finish!

That Native Cat did that, he ruined us all. We Aboriginals, all of us. He ruined us all, perhaps also you all (whites). (Maybe) he ruined the whites that way, (and us Aboriginals) this way. Concerning Moon and Native Cat. They (two) made death and thirst. That is all.

* These two items are precious exx. of the very rare abstractive nominal form based on verb roots; the first ('death') is formally related to reduplicative adjectival forms, while the second ('thirst') is simply a prefixless past punctual verb form.

Comments on text 34

This is the only explicit origin-of-death myth that I know of in this area. Its basic dramatic structure is transparent; Moon and Native Cat (both adults with families, related to each other as WiMoBr-s, hence in a strong respect relationship) go to a billabong or river, and Moon tricks Native Cat into thinking that he (Moon) is drowning in the water, whereupon Native Cat goes into the water to find Moon and ends up drowning. Moon's deceit, and Native Cat's foolishness and gullibility, have condemned men since then to mortality.

The important remaining question is why these two characters rather than others occur in the myth. Moon's role is connected with the cyclical 'death' (setting) and 'rebirth' (rising) of the moon on a daily basis, and also its dwindling and then expansion during the course of a lunar month (new moon to full moon and back again). This double cyclicity suggests deception.

Native cat is a species of wild cat in the region, notable for its large white spots; it is not to be confused with the recently introduced domestic cat. The native cat is a predator, which among other things will go into freshwater to obtain its prey. This semi-amphibious quality is probably what we need to know in order to understand the role of this species in this myth.

This myth seems to be fairly widespread in the region and is not closely linked to local rituals or (other) local myth traditions. A close parallel is reported for the Maung ethnolinguistic group (on islands off the Top End of Arnhem Land several hundred kilometres away) by Berndt and Berndt (1965:336). I have also recorded a brief, incomplete version from a Ritharngu informant (unpublished).

TEXT 35 LONG-TAILED RAY Milton (Gabanja)

35.1 rabarayala, ni=ya-n^ggi yuwa:-ni:-'la wa wa:n^g-gala,
 ray sp. he went_c there it comes from whatchamacallit
 bamburuwi ana-lha:l bamburuwi, ba-ni:-'la ni=ya-n^ggi,
 (place n.) country (place n.) there it comes he went_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: an-uwa-ga:-'la niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi da-ji-ruj
 he went_c from there he made it_c there farther
 alagala, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi aba ana:-'nba:li
 on the way he went_c he went_c then (place n.)
 niwu=lhan^garma-n^y,
 he reached it_p

Long-tailed Ray (a species of ray, dark-colored with long tail) came along from there, from the place Bamburuwi. He came along from there. He made (a place) a little farther on, along his way. He went along, and arrived at the place Anba:li.

35.2 a-bululurij-gala ba-ni:-'la adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, ni=yama-n^y
 from (place n.) there it comes then he went_c he did that_p
 adaba ya:-ni:-'la ya:-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj bu-gu-ni
 then here it comes along here to there
 ni=ya-n^ggi niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi ana-lha:l an-uba-ni, an-uba-ni
 he went_c he made it_c country that (ANA) that
 niwu-lhal=ma:ndha-n^gi na:-da-gi-yun^g na-rabarayala,
 he made country_c that (MSg) ray sp.

From Bululurij he came along this way, along here, like that (sliding along). He went there, he made a country there, that long-tailed ray.

35.3 aba ya:-ji:-'la wa:n^g, ba-ni
 then along here whatchamacallit it is there
 ni=murgulha-n^ga-n^y a-wulwul, ana-lha:l a-wulwul, ba-ni,
 he lay down_p (place n.) country it is there
 ba-ni ni=murgulha-n^ga-n^y, n^gijan^g ni=ruma-n^y n^gijan^g
 it is there he lay down_p more he went_p more
 ba-ni ni=murgulha-n^ga-n^y, a:-'nba:li-ruj na,
 it is there he lay down_p at (place n.) now (English)
 anba:li, anba:li adaba,
 (place n.) then

Then along here he lay down, at Wulwul, the place Wulwul. There he lay down. Then again he went, and lay down there at Anba:li.

35.4 n^gijan^g ni=ruma-n^y n^gijan^g ba-ni ni=murgulha-n^ga-n^y,
 more he went_p more it is there he lay down_p

ni=yama-n^y adaba yu:-gu-ni ni=jala_la=warga-n^g
 he did that_p then to there he slid along ground_p
 wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy adaba, ni=buri-Ø adaba ana-garan^gari
 to other side then he sat_c then (place n.)
 ni=bura-n^ga-n^y na, ana-run^ggal niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi,
 he sat down_p now (English) big (ANA) he made it_c
 ana:-'rijbila aba niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi niwu=bura-n^gi, mana-man^garag
 (place n.) then he made it_c he put it down_c sand
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la ma=bura:-', nima=bura-n^gi,
 this side it (MANA) sits he put it (MANA)_c

Again he went, and lay down there. He did that then, going that way, he slid (glided) along the ground to the far side. Then he stayed there, at the place Garan^gari, he stopped there. He made a big place there, he made Arijbila, he put it down. There is sand on this side, he put it there.

35.5 araga nin^ggu=wa-n^g, wa:n^g, lhawul^gulg
 suddenly it (NA) hit him_p whatchamacallit sharp grass sp.
 ari muga na:'dhuga-n^y, na_rabarayala, adaba
 maybe indeed it (NA) pierced him_p ray sp. then
 ni=lalagi-'-n^y yu:-gu-ni wa:n^g-guy, ni=yama:::n^y
 he got up_p to there to whatchamacallit he did that_p
 yuwa:-ni, na-balaman-duj adaba a-lha:l na-balaman-duj,
 it is there at (man's n.) then country at (man's n.)

Then he was hit by blades of the sharp grass lhawul^gulg (*Imperata cylindrica*, see texts 18 and 19). It must have jabbed him, that long-tailed ray. Then he (ray) got up and went that way. He did that (slid along) to Balaman's country.

Note: Balaman (Rex is his English name) is the headman of the Man^gura clan, whose territory is in the lower reaches of the Walker R. which runs into Blue Mud Bay north of Nunggubuyu country.

35.6 na:-'dhal=ma:ndha-n^gi ba-gu na:-'n^gu=buri-n^y
 he made country for him_c there he put (it) down for him_p
 wa:n^g, wa:n^g, wa:n^g, arijbila, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj
 whatchamacallit (place n.) it (ANA) also
 ana-garan^gari arijbila, niwu=buri-n^y, n^gagara-wugag,
 (place n.) (place n.) he put it down_p vast
 o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj wara-mi:::n^y-nambara-waj,
 in the old days at the time of the elders

He (ray) made his (Balaman's) country for him, he put it down there for him. Whatchamacallit, Arijbila too, (and) Garan^gari. He put them down. Huge (places). Back in the old days, long ago, when the old people were alive (i.e. in the dreamtime).

35.7 aba yu:-gu-ni, aba ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=jalburdi-n^y
 then to there then this way he plunged into water_p
 aba yu:-gu-ni wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy aba ni=ya-n^ggi, ni=yama:::n^y
 then to there to far side then he went_c he did that_p

n^ga wa:n^g, aruwura-waj aruwura,
 and then whatchamacallit through (place n.) (place n.)
 ba-ni adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, aruwura, ni=yama-n^y,
 it is there then he went_c (place n.) he did that_p

Then he jumped into the water, going to there, this way. He went (over) to the far side (i.e. to Bickerton Island). He went like this (gliding along). He went along to whatchamacallit, the place Aruwura.

35.8 aba ni=garaji-n^y wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy, adaba yuwa:-ni
 then he jumped_p to far side then it is there
 a-wa:n^g, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, a-lang^gulhu, a-lang^gulhu,
 whatchamacallit he made it_c (place n.) (place n.)
 o:-'ba-ni wu:=bura:-' wa:-dhurabada-ruj, adaba ni-ga-waj
 that they (Pl) sit_c at white men then it is he
 niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi rabarayala, aba yu:-gu-ni ni=garaji-n^y,
 he made it_c ray sp. then to there he jumped_p
 wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
 to far side he went_c he went_c he went_c
 niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi an-uba-ni,
 he made it_c that (ANA)

Then he leapt to the far side (i.e. to Groote Eylandt). It is there, the place Lan^gulhu, Lan^gulhu (variant pronunciations), he made it. That (place), where the white men stay. He (ray) made it, long-tailed ray. Then he jumped over that way, to the far side (of the island). He went along, he made that (place).

35.9 ya:-nu:-'wuy ni-n^gara=ga:gi:-ni na-mulun^g-argi-yun^g,
 this way they (NA) returned_c some of them (NA)
 ni-ga adaba ni=yabi-'-n^y an^gurgu-wala, an^gurgu, ana-lha:l
 he then he went in_p from (place n.) (place n.) country
 an^gurgu, wara-min^y-n^gambara wiri-maya=maya:-', bu-gu-ni
 (place n.) elders they called it_c to there
 adaba ni=ya-n^ggi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: aba niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi
 then he went_c he went_c then he made it_c
 yu:-gu-ni na, niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi juju:::j!,
 to there now (English) he made it_c going (far away)
 ana-lha:l ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yung ni-ya:-n^gu=bura:-', na_rabarayala,
 country his he sits for it ray sp.

Many of them (rays) came back this way. He (one ray), however, went into the land at An^gurgu. That is what the old people called it (that place). He went that way. He made that country there. He made it and kept going. His country. Long-tailed ray.

Note: For the first time it is here made clear that there is actually a pack of rays rather than a single individual. Most of the rays turn back, while one of them continues to the final location on Groote Eylandt.

35.10 a:-'ni:-'la bamburuwi-wala ni=ya-n^ggi, ba-ni:-'la, this (ANA) coming from (place n.) he went there it comes ana:-'nba:li a-garan^gari, ba-ni, aba ni=ya-n^ggi yu:-gu-ni (place n.) (place n.) it is there then he went_c to there ni=yama:-:n^y na-yiwandharn^gan^y ni=lha-n^gi-jga-n^y, an-uwa:-ni, he did that_p (place n.) he made it stand up_p that yiwandharn^gan^y ni=lha-n^gi-jga-n^y, (place n.) he made it stand up_p

He went along this way, from Bamburuwi, along there at Anba:li and there at Garan^gari. He went that way, to the place Yiwandharn^gan^y (Central Hill is the English term). He erected that place Yiwandharn^gan^y.

Note: This is a major location on Groote Eylandt. Bamburuwi, Anba:li, and Garan^gari were mentioned earlier as locations passed by early in long-tailed ray's journey; the speaker is here backing up somewhat.

35.11 yiwandharn^gan^y ni=ya-n^ggi::: adaba ni=bura-n^ga-n^y na, (place n.) he went_c then he sat down_p now (Eng.) ni=bura-n^ga-n^y wa:n^g, aba ana-garan^gari n^gijan^g he sat down_p whatchamacallit then (place n.) more ana:-'n^ybaj niwu=lhan^garma-n^y na, na-yiwandharn^gan^y, aba other (ANA) he reached it_p now (Eng.) (place n.) then garan^gari niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi an^ybaj na, (place n.) he made it_c other now (Eng.)

He went to Central Hill and stopped then. He had also stopped at Garan^gari. He reached another (place) then. Central Hill. He made Garan^gari, another place, then.

35.12 bu-gu-ni wa:n^g-manamana, wu-n^gara=ja-n^ggi wu-gu-ru, to there whatchamacallit they all went (ANA)_c it (ANA) minindhan^gu minindhan^gu warbarbira algur-yan^gi an-uba-ni xxx, eagle ray devil ray all kinds that (unclear) wu-n^gara=gabi:-ni-yin^yun^g, Ø-lhal=ma:ndha-n^gi adaba ana-lha:l, which jumped_c it made country_c then country

They (other rays) went that way, to whatchamacallit: eagle rays (Aetobatus), devil rays (Manta), all kinds. They made a country, the ones which had jumped.

35.13 bu-gu-ni lan^gij, na-lan^gij, na-lan^gij, to there shovelnose ray shovelnose ray niwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, ana-lha:l too, na-warga bu-gu-ni, aba it (NA) made it_c country sawshark to there then ni-manga=mangarwa-y ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, adaba wa:n^g, he took it (NA) with him_c he went_c then whatchamacallit ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi adaba wa:n^g a-n^gurguriba, n^gurguriba, he went_c then whatchamacallit (place n.) (place n.) n^gurguriba adaba, ni=wali-n^y na-rabarayala aba ba-gi (place n.) then he arrived_p ray sp. then he is there ni=bura:-'. he sits

Over there, shovelnose ray. It too made a country. Sawshark went there (also). He (long-tailed ray) took it (sawshark) with him and went along to whatchamacallit, N^gurguriba. Long-tailed ray arrived there, he is still there now (as a totemic site).

Comments on text 35

Although this text has relatively few dramatic moments, the travel of long-tailed ray (unfortunately unidentified at this point) is of considerable ritual significance since it links mainland (including Nunggubuyu) clans with clans on Bickerton Island and Groote Eylandt (speakers of the Anindhilyagwa language). The ray begins at Bamburuwi, which is in the territory of the Nun^yjirpi clan in the Ngandi-speaking area (upper Rose R., west of Nunggubuyu country). It then passes through the territory of the Ngalmi (also called Nung^g-garan^gari), an important Nunggubuyu clan of the Mandha:yun^g moiety (relevant places are Anba:li, Bululurij, and Aribjila, the latter being an important burial ground). The ray makes a brief detour northward to the territory of the Man^gura clan, a bilingual Nunggubuyu-Ritharngu clan in the Walker R. area of Blue Mud Bay. Ray then crosses over the saltwater of the Gulf a short distance to Bickerton Island and Groote Eylandt, where it stops. It is accompanied, at least in its travels in the saltwater, by other kinds of rays who then turn away and do not complete the journey with long-tailed ray.

A somewhat longer and richer version of this myth can be found in Hughes (1970), item #1. Anindhilyagwa-language versions of the myth are presented in Turner (1974:81-90). These sources should be consulted by persons interested in this myth since they show a number of elaborations and changes.

TEXT 36 BLUE-TONGUED LIZARD AND DRAGONFLY Milton (Gabanja)

36.1 wa:-lirag, gara wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi gara, gara, mada mada blue-tongue hole it made it_c hole grass

yi:-jun^g, mada, wiri-ga-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi
 this sort of thing grass it (WARA) made hole_c
 wu:-rulgulha-n^gi ana:-'ni::: n^ga, wu:-rulgulha-n^gi
 it (WARA) made shelter_c this (ANA) and then it made shelter_c
 wa:-lirag, wu:-rulgulha-n^gi wubadad wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi
 blue-tongue it made shelter_c grass shelter it made it_c
 wubadad, an-uba-ni-yun^g wubadad,
 grass shelter that grass shelter

Blue-tongue was making a hole. It was making a hole (with) this kind of thing, grass. It was making a shelter, a grass shelter (for rain). It made it.

36.2 a:-'ni n^ga mada mada wu:=rulgulha-n^gi, anbana time,
 this (ANA) and then grass it made shelter_c rain
 anbana n^gara:-'gi anbana n^gi-wara=rabi:-ni aba, wu:=rulgulha-n^gi,
 rain this (N^gARA) rain it fell_c then it made shelter_c
 adaba ba-gu wu:-ya=ya-y lhiribala, wa:-lirag, wu-gu-ru,
 then there it slept_c inside blue-tongue it
 wa:-lirag, mari n^gangga bu-gu-ni n^gan^gga,
 blue-tongue and dragonfly to there dragonfly

It (Blue-Tongue) made a shelter of this grass. It was the rain time (wet season), this rain was falling. It (Blue-tongue) made a shelter then there, and it spent some nights inside it. Blue-tongue, and also Dragonfly (went) there.

Note: The expression anbana time 'wet season' is a loanblend modeled on local English rain-time.

36.3 wa:-'n^gga:-'n^gara-n^gu=buri-∅ ba-gu n^ga, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g
 they (ANA) sat together_c there and then as for it (MANA)
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la mana-n^gangga ma=rulgulha-n^gi, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
 this side dragonfly it made shelter_c as for it (WARA)
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la wa:-lirag, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji mana-n^gangga,
 this side blue-tongue as for it (WARA) here dragonfly
 wu-yama=yama:-' araga, mana-n^gangga-wala wu-gu-ru aba
 they (ANA) did that_c suddenly from dragonfly it (WARA) then
 ya:-nu:-'wuy ∅=buddha-n^gi wa:-lira-guy,
 this way it covered it with fire_c to blue-tongue

The two of them sat there together. Dragonfly was here on one side making its shelter, and Blue-tongue was here on this (other) side (making its shelter). They were doing that. Then suddenly Dragonfly covered Blue-tongue with fire and burning wood and debris.

Note: In the first word "They sat together" we get ANA as the combined class of 'dragonfly' (MANA) and 'blue-tongue' (WARA). This may also be the case in "they did that_c" in line 4, but the prefix wu- (ANA) may have been misheard for wu:- (WARA).

36.4 wun^ga:ri yagu adaba wun^ga:ri, wu=wi-n^yji:-ni
 fight but then fight they (ANA) hit each other_c
 adaba wun^ga:ri ana-lirag, wu-win^yji=wi-n^yji:-ni wun^ga:ri
 then fight blue-tongue they hit each other_c fight
 wun^ga:ri wun^ga:ri wun^ga:ri wa:-lira-gala ya:-ji:-'la,
 from blue-tongue along here
 n^gan^gga-wala ya:-ji:-'la ma=riyaldhi-n^y yu:-gu-ni
 from dragonfly along here it (MANA) got angry_p to there
 ∅=wi-ni wa:-lira-guy,
 it hit it_c to blue-tongue

There was a fight. They hit each other. There was a fight, Blue-tongue (and Dragonfly) hitting each other. Blue-tongue (hit Dragonfly) in one direction, and Dragonfly got angry from this side and hit Blue-tongue in that direction.

36.5 ∅-gara:='nmardi-n^y an-uba-ni a-gara, yin^gga wu=yama:-'
 it wanted hole_p that (ANA) hole nearly it did that_c
 ∅=lalaga:-', ∅=lalaga:-' n^ga "girjag!", ana-n^gangga
 it lifted it_c and then no! dragonfly
 wu-gu-ru, adaba wu-gu-ru ∅-gara=ma:ndhi-n^y adaba a-wa:n^g,
 it (ANA) then it (ANA) it made hole_p then whatchamacallit
 wa:-lira-jin^yun^g aba ∅-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi, wa:-lira-jin^yun^g aba
 of blue-tongue then it made hole_c of blue-tongue then
 ∅-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi.
 it made hole_c

It (Dragonfly) was anxious to have a hole (burrow). It did that, it lifted it (shelter of Blue-tongue). Then (Blue-tongue said,) "No!" But Dragonfly made that hole (burrow), the one belonging to Blue-tongue. It made the hole of Blue-tongue, it made that hole (burrow).

Notes: The ∅- prefix seen several times here means nonhuman (here MANA, WARA, etc.) class subject acting on nonhuman object, and involves merger of several noun classes. After several such forms, when the word for 'dragonfly' reappears (line 2), it has suddenly become ANA rather than MANA class, an irregular and probably incorrect usage. The ANA pronoun wu-gu-ru (twice line 3) can mean 'dragonfly' or 'hole, burrow' here; I think the first is 'dragonfly' and the second 'hole'. (Theoretically, one of them could even be 'blue-tongue' since the WARA personal pronoun is identical to the ANA personal pronoun.)

Comments on text 36

This unusual text seems not to be widely known in the community. Essentially, Dragonfly is jealous of the more sturdy and better-made shelter ('hole') made by Blue-tongue (a large terrestrial lizard) and tries to usurp it in somewhat the way Emu steals Brolga's stone (texts 6, 7).

TEXT 37 LONG-NECKED TORTOISE AND BANDICOOT
Milton (Gabanja)

37.1 yi:-malaban^gu, wini-ma=ma-n^gi wa:-dalma:ran^g
mussel (NA) it (WARA) got it_c tortoise
yi:-ma:mbal ma:mbal ma:mbal, wini-ma=ma-n^gi aba ba-gu
mussel mussel it got it_c then there
wuguwuguni ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-wangurag adaba yuwa:-gu
permanent as for it (MANA) bandicoot then there
ma:='dadi-n^y mana-wangurag adaba,
it went up slope_p bandicoot then

Freshwater mussels (shellfish in billabong). Long-necked tortoise (*Chelodina* sp.) was collecting mussels for a long time. Then bandicoot went up the slope that way (toward tortoise).

37.2 Ø-na-n^ga:-' adaba wu-gu-ru, Ø-a:gamba:-' adaba,
it burned it_c then it it cooked it in oven_c then
mana-wangurag wu-gu-ru, wu-gu-ru wa:-dalma:ran^g wuguwuguni, ba-gu
bandicoot it tortoise permanent there
n^ga wu:-bu=buri-Ø a:-gugu-ruj-bugij wini-ma=ma-n^gi
and then it (WARA) sat_c only in water it (WARA) got it (NA)
wurugu wurugurij, wini-ma=ma-n^gi wu:-yama=yama:-'
later slow it got it_c it did that_c
wu:-yama=yama:-' wini-ma=ma-n^gi,
it did that_c it got it_c

It (bandicoot) cooked them (mussels), it cooked them in a stone oven then, bandicoot. On the other hand, tortoise was still there in the water (collecting mussels). It was slowly getting them, like this, it was getting them.

Note: The pronoun wu-gu-ru (lines 1 and 2 of this segment) is normally 'ANA, WARA, or (human) 3Pl. Here the first and perhaps second occurrence appear to refer to bandicoot (MANA class); this may be an instance of the sporadic extension of this pronoun to other nonhuman classes, facilitated by the use of the pronominal prefix Ø in preceding verb forms (this prefix indicates nonhuman subject and object but other than this blurs noun-class distinctions).

In line 4, wurugu 'later' makes little sense; perhaps this was a false start (note that wurugurij 'slow' follows immediately).

37.3 wa:='di-n^y, ma:='di-n^y aba
it (WARA) shouted_p (error) it (MANA) shouted_p then
mana-wangurag "ga::! adaba wa:-'ni=n^gawi:-'na ana-n^gura:::
bandicoot hey! now coals are dying fire
wa:-'ni=n^gawi:-'nao::! ba:='ni-n^y adabao::! nani:='gamba-n^g",
coals are dying come!_p now let's cook it!_p

adaba wa:='dadi-n^y aba wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, da-wi:-'la
then it climbed_p then as for it (WARA) there it comes (WARA)
wini=widhi-ra-n^gi, n^gijan^g wu:=waran^gga-n^y n^ga
it carried it under arm_c more it looked_p and then
araga, mana-wangurag ma-gu-ru ma:='ran^gga-n^y n^ga araga,
suddenly bandicoot it (MANA) it looked_p and then suddenly
Bandicoot shouted (to tortoise) then: "Hey! The fire is dying
out! Come here! Let's cook the mussels!" Then it (tortoise)
climbed (to bandicoot). It came along to there, holding them
(mussels) under its arms. It looked and (saw) bandicoot there.
It (bandicoot) looked (and saw tortoise).

Note: In this text, Milton frequently reduces WARA_a verbal prefix wuru- to wu- (normally the ANA_a form), as in wa:='dadi-n^y
'it climbed_p' (top line, this page). However, we are dealing with a WARA class noun, as shown in da-wi:-'la 'there it comes' (same line). The form wa:='di-n^y in line 1 of this segment (preceding page) is a noun-class error and is corrected by the speaker immediately to ma:='di-n^y (with bandicoot as subject).

37.4 adaba wa:-dalma:ran^g wu-gu-ru wu:-dhan^gumil^m=balhi-'-n^y
then tortoise it (WARA) it got its genitals cut_p
adaba, mana-dhan^gumil^m ma:='rwar-wi:-'ni ya:-ji,
then male genitals it was (partly) separated_c here
mari n^ga wa:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji-n^y wa:-dalma:ran^g adaba
and and then it (WARA) got into a chase_p tortoise
yu:-gu-ni ama-wangura-guy, ma:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:::n^y
to there to bandicoot it (MANA) got into a chase_p
wa:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:::n^y Ø-ara=bala-n^gi adaba julub! ma=yabi:-'ni
it (WARA) got into a chase_p it rubbed it_c then hide it went in_c
a-gara-waj a-gara-waj a:-maga:, a-gara-maga: ma=yabi:-ni "m-m-m"
in hole whatchamacallit hole it went in_c (sound)

Then tortoise's (male) genitals were cut up (by bandicoot). Its genitals were (partly) cut off (i.e. were dragging along the ground), along here. Then tortoise started chasing bandicoot and the two of them got into a chase. It (tortoise) brushed against it (bandicoot), but it (bandicoot) went into (a burrow). It made a noise: m-m-m::: (inside the burrow).

37.5 "da-mu:-'waj da-mu:-'waj da-mu:-'waj"
there it goes (MANA) there it goes

Ø=lharma-n^gi yu:-gu-ni ma=rabala-n^gi yu:-gu-ni
it chased it_c to there it came out_c to there
ma:-'n^yji=wayama-n^gi ma=yarba-n^gi-maga::: yuwa:-gu,
it (MANA) proceeded with (it) it ran_c there
a-gara, ma=yabi:-'ni, ma-lharma=lharma-n^yji:-ni
hole it went in_c it (MANA) got into chase_c

wu:-lharma=lharma-n^yji:-ni wu-gu-ru aba wu-gu-ru
it (WARA) got into chase_c it (WARA) then it (WARA)
wu:-dhan^gumilm=balhi-'-n^y yamba wara-wa:n^g, wa:-dalma:ran^g,
it got its genitals cut_p because whatchamacallit tortoise
"There it goes," (said tortoise). (I.e., tortoise heard bandicoot making noises in burrow and located it that way.) It (tortoise) chased it that way. It (bandicoot) came out, going that way, and kept running along with (tortoise). Over there, it (bandicoot) went into a hole (burrow). They were both involved in a chase, because tortoise had gotten its (male) genitals cut up.

37.6 julub! ma-gu-ru ma=yabi:-'ni-maga: mana-wa:n^g,
go in it (MANA it went inc whatchamacallit
mana-wangurag, wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni-maga:::
bandicoot it (WARA) got into chase_c
wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-wa:n^g,
it (WARA) got into chase_c that (WARA) whatchamacallit
wa:-dalma:ra:::n^g, julub! ma=yabi:-'ni-maga:, julub!
tortoise go in it went in_c go in
ma=yabi:-'ni-maga:, wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni::: n^ga,
it went in_c it (WARA) got into chase_c and then
wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni adaba, adaba ma=yabi:-'n^y
it (WARA) got into chase_c then it (MANA) went in_p
ma-gu-ru mana-wangurag altogether --, ma-wuguwuguni.
it (MANA) bandicoot permanent(ly) (creole) it was permanent
Then it (bandicoot) went in (to a burrow). Tortoise was chasing it (all over the place). It (bandicoot) went into (a burrow). It (tortoise) was chasing it and chasing it. Finally bandicoot went into (a burrow) and stayed there for good (out of the reach of tortoise).

Comments on text 37

In this somewhat unusual text, bandicoot plays the role of a malicious trickster, and the slow-moving freshwater tortoise is the victim. Neither species is prominent elsewhere as an actor in Nunggubuyu myth, to my knowledge, and this myth seems to be a minor one which many people do not know. Bandicoot (or rather, a pile of excrement covered with grass which two women tell Crow is a bandicoot's nest) occurs in texts 11-13, but the context is entirely different.

It appears that, at the beginning of this text, bandicoot is usurping the camp area and fire of tortoise, and cooking its (tortoise's) mussels.

TEXT 38 VARIED LORIKEET (PARROT) Milton (Gabanja)

38.1 mana-lindirij, n^gunu=yambi:-na, ma-waya=wayama-n^gi:::
lorikeet I speak to you (Sg) it (MANA) proceeded
ma-n^galba=walga-n^y, Ø=ma:ndha-n^gi lha:l, ya:-nu:-'wuy
it (MANA) jumped into water_p it made it_c country this way
ma=wayama-n^gi::: wa:n^g, amalibil, ma-n^galba=walga-n^y
it proceeded whatchamacallit (place n.) it jumped into water_p
ba-gu, Ø=ma:ndha-n^gi lha:l, ma-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, guliyawu,
there it made it_c country it proceeded_c (place n.)

ba-ma ma=bura:-' adaba guliyawu, adaba wi:ya!
it is there it sits now (place n.) now finish!

Varied lorikeet (large, brightly colored parrot in large flocks). I tell you. It went along and jumped into the water, making a country. This way it came along, whatchamacallit, the place Amalibil. It jumped into the water there and made a country. It continued on to Guliyawu. It is there now, at Guliyawu. That is all.

TEXT 39 DIDILMARAN^gGA Milton (Gabanja)

39.1 jidilmaran^gga ana:-'ni wu=ya-n^ggi, yi:yarwar-in^yun^g
(name) this (ANA) it went_c of stringybark scrubland
wu-bu=bura:-', wu-raman=n^gala:-'
it sits it has emu feathers painted on it gari
raman, wu-yara=ya-ri:, wu-yara=ya-ri: wu=n^gawi:-'na
painted emu feathers it goes it dies (WARA)
wara-ba-badirin^ya, wan^ggu-n^gagara=raka-na
devils it (ANA) looks for its (WARA/Pl) bones
n^gagara, n^gagara Ø-mana=ma-ni::: aba Ø-n^yuyu=n^gu-yi::: yuwa:-gu.
bone bone it gets it now it eats it there
Didilmaran^gga here went to Yi:warwarin^yung (descriptive place name: 'of dense stringybark-tree scrubland'). It sits there, with white-painted emu feathers on it. It goes along. When devils (i.e. deceased people) die, it looks around for their bones, picks them up, and eats them there.

Notes: Milton pronounced the name jidilmaran^gga but everyone else insists it is didilmaran^gga. This is the name of some emu-like spirits who wear white-painted emu feathers (and down), as men do in some rituals. The place Yi:warwarin^yung is in the stringybark-tree scrubland, an inland area notorious for devils (ghosts). However, here 'devil' (badirin^ya) seems to mean simply 'human who has just died' (and has not yet been fully buried).

40.1 na-rabulhin^y ni=yama-n^y, mari n^ga-rara-mambunana,
 (man's n.) he did that_p and (woman's n.)
 n^ga:-wiri-n^yung wirin^ga=wana^ga:-', mani-n^yung,
 girl they held her female
 wara-yuru=yura-n^gi wara-yuru=yura-n^gi wara-yuru=yura-n^gi
 they transported them_c
 wara-yuru=yura-n^gi, a:n^g-gala, n^garbiyamayi-yala
 they transported them_c from whatchamacallit from (place n.)
 wa:=lharga-n^g n^ga "ya:-ma:-'li yigaj mana:-'di,
 they sent them_p and then here it goes (MANA) there! path
 ya:-ma:-'li n^ga yigaj ana:-'nu:-'wuy, ana:-'nu:-'wuy
 here it goes and then there! this way this way
 yagi ni:ni=rumi-∅ n^ga ya:-nu:-'wuy-wugij
 don't you (MDu) will go and then only this way
 rama-ramali-wugij n^ga nimbini=ya:-ri:,
 only in the east and then you (MDu) go!

Rabulhin^y did that, and Mambunana. They had a girl, a female child. They (people) took them along from Ng^garbiyamayi. (They said to Rabulhin^y and his family,) "The path (you should take) goes along here. Don't go this way (here), go this (other) way!"

Notes: Rabulhin^y is said to have been a man of the Nung^gargalug clan, and Mambunana (his wife) a woman of the inland (Ngandi-speaking) Numamudidi clan. The first few places mentioned are in the Ngalmi clan territory, but they end up in the dangerous, devil-infested scrubland of the Numamudidi clan.

40.2 n^ga ba-ni ana:-'malibil, n^ga ana-wumajbar",
 and then it is there (place n.) and then (place n.)
 wunu=yami-jga-n^y, ni-ba=gala:di, aba ran^ga-miri
 they did that to him_p he was blind (bad-eyed) then with wood
 wuna:-'ndagu=wana^ga:-', mari wini=wudhi-∅, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
 they held him by arm_c and they perched (MDu)_c they (MDu) went_c
 amawurwurduj, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ri:ma, arga:-'rgali aba
 (place n.) they went_c (place n.) in west then
 n^gijang ni=lima-n^y,
 more he veered off_p

"There is the place Amabil, and Wumajbar," (they said to Rabulhin^y). They said that to him. He was blind (or: He had poor eyesight). (He walked) with a stick. They held him by the arm (to help him walk). The two of them (R and his wife M) were in the high country. They went along to Amawurwurduj and Ri:ma (places), in the west. Then he (R) veered off (i.e. took the wrong path).

40.3 adaba wirin^ga-bar=a=waruga-n^y war-uba-wi-yun^g, wara-badirin^ya,
 then they led her in zigzag_p that (WARA) devil (WARA)
 wini=ya-n^ggi::: arga:-'rgali-yaj-bugi:::j, a:n^g,
 they (MDu) went_c only westward whatchamacallit
 mun^ggalmung^ggal, arga:-'rgali-yaj-bugi:::j n^ga, adaba n^ga
 (place n.) only westward and then then and then
 yi:-warwar-wuy n^ga wini=ya-n^ggi a:-'n^g-guy,
 to stringybark scrubland and then they (MDu) went_c to whatchamacallit
 ayindur-wuy,
 to (place n.)

A devil (ghost) led her (M) in a crooked direction. The two of them (R and M) went westward still, to Mun^ggalmung^ggal. (They) still (went) westward, into the dense stringybark scrubland. They went to whatchamacallit, Ayindur.

Note: R and M are now in dangerous country inhabited by devils (ghosts, deceased humans).

40.4 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga adaba ni=wuryara-n^gi, adaba
 they went_c and then then he dreamed_c then
 ni-lha=lha-y, adaba yuwa:-gu ama:-'di-ruj ni-lha=lha-y,
 he stood_c then there in road he stood_c
 na-marambadin^y, na-marambadin^y ni-lha=lha-y, wani:-'ga:-'garan^gga:
 (devil's n.) he stood_c he watched for them_c
 ni=yaran^gga-n^y n^ga di-ni:-'la,
 he looked_p and then there they (MDu) come

The two of them went along. Then he (Marambadin^y, a devil) had a dream-like experience (and felt R and his wife coming). He was standing there in the road, Marambadin^y. He stood looking for them. (Finally) he looked and there were the two of them coming up to him.

40.5 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 he went_c he went_c he went_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, "yu:ga a:-da-nu:-' ni:ni=n^gawi-'-n^y, a:-da-nu:-'
 he went_c Q that (ANA) you (MDu) died_p that (ANA)
 aliyun^g ni:ni=n^gawi-'-n^y", n^ga ni=yama-n^y, "wa:='ri yagu
 Q you (MDu) died_p and then he said_p no but
 ana:-'ni n^ga=marawa:-', n^ga=marawa:-' yagu ana:-'ni
 this (ANA) I changed course_c I changed course_c but this (ANA)
 n^ga=marawa:-' n^gaya-waj ana:-'ni, rabulhin^y, wuryunun^ggu
 I changed course_c it is I this (ANA) (man's n.) (man's n.)
 n^gaya-waj ana:-'ni",
 it is I this (ANA)

He (Marambadin^y) went along and asked them, "Are you two humans who have just died?" He (R) said; "No! I went off course. I am Rabulhin^y or Wuryunun^ggu" (two names for same man).

40.6 "gada! gada! gada! gada! gada! gada!, ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y
oops! come!_p
ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y ba:='ni-n^y, wura:-'na:='nibi:-na-aj,
come!_p when they are lost
ba:='ni-n^y, mari n^ga wara-mi-da-n^garina-yun^g
come!_p and and then (his) wives
ni-riwagi:-ni-yin^y un^g wunu-gari=lhidi-n^y
he who was walking in bush_c they closed him off from behind_p
wuru=waran^gga-n^y wirin^ga=maraga:-' n^gara-mambunana wara-gujuju,
they looked_p they took from her_c (woman's n.) children (WARA)
(The devil Marambadin^y said to Rabulhin^y), "My goodness! Come here! When they (people) are lost in the bush (they come here). Come!" Then his (Marambadin^y) wives came around behind the man walking in the bush (R) and blocked his escape. They looked (and saw the children of Mambunana). They took the children from Mambunana.

40.7 wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y
they moved_p
wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y n^ga ni-ga-wi-ruj a:-'n^ga-ruj, mari
they moved_p and then at his at camp and
wuna:-'=diga-n^g, wuna:-'=diga-n^g n^ga lhiribala yuwa:-gu
they dug for him_p and then under there
wunu=buri-n^y, mari wirin^ga-lhan^gan^y=jabo-n^y, mari
they put him_p and they gave her milk_p and
wara:-'ja:-'julu wu:-lhagara=n^gawi:-'ni-yin^y un^g wara-bu-bu=bura-n^gi
skeletons they who had died_c they put it_c
arwagarwar ana:-'ra, n^ga wi:ya!,
on top loose things and then finish!

They all went on until they reached his (Marambadin^y) camp. Then they (Marambadin^y's wives) dug out a place to stay for him (Rabulhin^y), and put him inside there. They gave her (Mambunana) some milk. The skeletons (devils), the ones who had died, put some loose clothing (over them), and that was that.

40.8 wa:='muluguguri-n^y wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi an-uwa-ga:-'la
it was twilight_p they all arrived_c from there
wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi, ana:-'ji:-'la wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi, an-uwa-ga:-'la
they all arrived_c along here they all arrived_c from there
wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi, an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi, wu:-yama=yama:-'
they all arrived_c from there they all arrived_c they did that_c

It got late in the afternoon. They arrived from all directions, from this way and that. They (all the devils) did that.

40.9 "yin^gga an-uwa-ga:-'la ambu:=ya:-ri: wara-mi-ni-marig,
nearly from there they will go_c your daughters

bu-gu-ni-yaj-bugij nambara:-'gara=yuri:-', ana-lagu,
only along that way you (Pl) transport for them!_c honey
ana-n^gura, ana-liwa, ana:-gugu bu-gu-ni-wugij
fire paperbark water only that way
nambara:-'gara=yuri:-' bu-gu-ni-wugij",
you transport for them!_c only that way
(Marambadin^y said to his wives,) "Let your daughters go over that way (i.e. to the single boys' camp). Take them (the single boys) honey, firewood, paperbark, water. Take these things for them over that way.

40.10 "yin^gga n^gura riga:::n^g!", wu:=yama:-' bu-gu-ni-wugij
nearly fire mother! they did that_c only that way
wara:-'gara=yura-n^gi wara-mij-gulmur-wuy-wugij,
they transported for them_c to bachelors
wu:-yama=yama:::-' n^ga, bu-gu-ni wunu-ran^gga=wu-ni,
they did that_c and then to there they secretly gave him_c
lhiribala-wuy,
to inside

(Marambadin^y continued,) "They (the boys) said, 'Hey mother! How about some firewood?'" They (the wives) took (these things) over to the bachelors (circumcised single boys). They did that. Then they secretly gave (some things) to him (R) there inside.

Note: Marambadin^y and his wives are going to help R and his family escape from the devils. Marambadin^y pretended to send his wives with food and supplies to the single boys' camp, but actually they secretly give the things to R and his family, still hiding in a hole or tunnel which has been dug for them.

40.11 wu:-ya=ya-y wuru-maya=maya:-' gada!
they slept_c they sang_c oops!
wuru-waya:='yijgi:-ni, n^ga wu:-lhagara=yi-n^ga-n^y
they played_c and then they all slept
wu:-lhagara=n^gawi-'n^y, niwu-malna-mal=na-ni, niwu-malna-mal=na-ni
they all died_p he saw the night sky
an-u-malg, adaba n^gi:='bi-n^y n^gara-miyiri,
night sky then it (N^gARA) jumped_p star
They spent the night. They (devils) were singing. Or rather they were playing (dancing). Then they all went to sleep. They all 'died'. He (Marambadin^y) looked up and saw the night sky. Then a star appeared.

40.12 ba-ni:-'la yin^gga n^gi:='bi-n^y aba wani=lalaga-n^y,
there it comes nearly it jumped_p then he lifted it_p
n^ga wirin^ga=widhi-ri-n^y, mi-da-n^garina-yun^g, n^gi-ga
and then they carried her under arm_p wives she

wirin^ga:-'ndagu=wana^ga-n^y, na-rabulhin^y ni-ga wirin^ga:-'na=nima-n^y, they held her by arm_p (man's n.) he they held her by arm_p
aba wu:=jarari-n^y, wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y then they moved_p they went_c they moved_p
wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y, ardha, they moved_p (place n.)

After that it (another star) appeared. Then he (Marambadin^y) got them (the humans) up. They (the wives) carried her (the little girl, daughter of R) in their arms. The wives (did that). As for her (Mambunana), they held her by the arm (to help her walk). As for him, Rabulhin^y, they held him by the arm (to help him). Then they set off on their journey. They went along and along. (They arrived at) the place Ardha.

40.13 wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y, they moved_p
min^yjimin^yjirdaruj, wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y (place n.) they moved_p
wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y amalibil, wu:=jarari-n^y (place n.) they moved_p
wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y wu:=jarari-n^y aran^garbin, n^ga (place n.) and then
"ya:-ma:-'li yigaj mana-adi, ma=wilbili:-', it (MANA) is along here there! path it flies around
wu:=ya-n^ggi-yin^yun^g, they who went_c

They went again and reached the place Min^yjimin^yjirdaruj. They set off again and went to Amalibil. They set off again and went to Aran^garbin. (Marambadin^y said,) "The road comes along here, it spreads (flies) out, where they (people) have gone.

40.14 ya:-ma:-'li n^ga du-ru wumajbar here it goes and then they are there (place n.)
wuru=bura:-', ya:-wa:-'la aba n^gambi=ragu-n^gun-magi they sit there here they come (WARA) now lest they pursue me
n^ga:-'gi:-na", adaba ni:='gi-n^y, n^galbalam-bugij min^yn^gu-wugij I go back then he returned_p only quickly only night
n^ga ni=yi-n^ga-n^y, aba wu:=lhagara-yi-n^ga-n^y, and then he slept_p then they all slept_p
wu:=lhaga-lhagara=ya:-:'y n^ga, they all slept_c and then

(Marambadin^y continued,) "It (the path) goes along this way from here. They (the people) are staying at Wumajbar. I am afraid they might pursue me, so I am going back (to the devils' camp)." Then he went back quickly under cover of night. He and his wives (went back) and went to sleep. They slept all night.

40.15 "ya:-ji n^ga wuruj wu:=marawa:-' n^ga xxx", here and then human they strayed_c and then (unclear)
"yo!: adaba n^gara=yura-n^gi, n^gara=lharga-n^g", mari n^ga yes! now I transported them_c I sent them away_p and and then
wu:=lalagi-'-n^y, wa:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji-n^y they got up_p they (WARA) got into a chase_p
wa:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:::-n^y adaba ni-ga wa!, ni=wali-n^y, (see above) then he arrive he arrived_p
wumajbar, ni=wali-n^y aba wumajbar, (place n.) he arrived_p then (place n.)

(The other devils said,) "The humans have gone off in some other direction (i.e. have gotten away)." (Marambadin^y said,) "Yes! I took them (away), I sent them away." Then they (the other devils) got up and set off in chase after the humans. But then he (R) arrived at the place Wumajbar (rejoining the main human group).

40.16 "n^ga=marawa:-' ayindur, n^gani=yura-n^gi I went off course_c (place n.) he transported me_c
marambadin^y", ni=yama-n^y, wu:=lhamari-n^y n^ga (devil's n.) he did that_p they (WARA) came behind_p and then
girjag!, wu:=lhundi-n^y aba ni-ga ni=wali-n^y wa!, no! they (WARA) gave up_p then he he arrived arrive da-ni-yun^g. that

(R told the people at Wumajbar,) "I went astray at Ayindur. Marambadin^y took me (out of trouble)," he said. They (the other devils) came after him, but no! (They could not catch him before he reached safety.) They gave up the search. He (R) arrived (at Wumajbar). That (is the story).

Comments on text 40

Devils (deceased humans), such as those who inhabit the stringybark scrubland in the territory of the inland Numamudidi clan (see text 8), are normally malevolent beings hostile to living humans. In this striking myth, a small group of humans who go astray and unintentionally wander into this region are protected by the devil Marambadin^y, who conceals them and helps them escape while the other devils are singing and dancing at night.

TEXT 41 YIWIYIWUJ AND FEATHERED STICKS Laran^gana

41.1 na-yiwiywuj, na-yiwiywuj, bla--, a:n^g, (devil's name) of (creole) whatchamacallit wunan^gamayi, gada! no-more wunan^gamayi, wuwarawaralhulu, (place n.--error) oops! not (place n.) (place n.)

wuwarawaralhulu ni=ya-n^ggi yuwa-ga:-'la gadjira-ala,
(place n.) he went_c from there from (place n.)
wuwarawaralhulu ni=ya:rijgi:-ni murugu,
(place n.) he transported it_c type of feathered stick
murugu, ana-wun^gubal, wuru=maya:-', murun^gun, wuru=maya:-'
song they sang_c (n. of clan) they sang_c
whole-lot, everybody, ara:-'rawindi,
all many

Yiwiywuj (name of one of the Murungun clan devils). From whatchamacallit, the place Wunan^gamayi. Oops! Not Wunan^gamayi, rather the place Wuwarawaralhulu. He came this way from Gadjira. He carried his own special type of feathered stick (murugu) to Wuwarawaralhulu. (He was with a large group of devils.) They were singing public songs (i.e. those with didjeridu and tapstick accompaniment), of the Murungun clan. All of them (were doing that).

Note: Yiwiywuj and the devils are coming south from the coastal region north of Nunggubuyu country (e.g. Gadjira, apparently in the Dhay'yi-speaking area) and are now entering Nunggubuyu country.

41.2 wuru=maya:-' an-uba-ni, wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:::-',
they sang_c that (ANA) they danced_c
wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wu=lalma-n^y, an-uwa-ga:-'la, adaba da-ji
they danced_c it danced_p from there then there
ni=lhamara-n^gi adaba, adha:dhari, ni=lhamara-n^gi, adaba
he came after_c then behind he came after_c then
dha:mbulg wu-gu-ra:-'bilhan^gu ya:-ni wuru=mi-n^y,
feathered stick it in turn (ANA) here it is (ANA) they got it_p
adaba war-uba-wi murun^gun devil-devil wu:=ya:rijgi:-ni,
then those (WARA) (n. of clan) devil(s) they transported it_c
ana-dha:mbulg bla wiyindan^gany-guy, wiyindan^gany-guy
feathered stick of (creole) to (place n.)
aba wu:=ya-n^ggi, wiyindan^gany-guy wu:=ya:rijgi:-ni
then they went_c to (place n.) they transported it_c
dha:mbulg,
feathered stick

They (devils) were singing and dancing. Then it dawned. He was not far away, coming behind (them). Then they (devils) picked up feathered sticks, it in its turn. Those devils, of the Murungun clan, took them (feathered sticks) to the place Wiyindan^gany. They went to Wiyindan^gany (Cape Barrow) and took them, feathered sticks.

Note: The devils sing and dance out in the open at night, but must retreat to their sanctuary during the daytime (i.e. at dawn).

41.3 murugu, ama-mu:n^y-jin^yun^g,
type of feathered stick of head hair (mu:n^g)

*am-i:-jin^yin^y-jin^yun^g wini=ma:ndha-n^gi wara-wuru-wuruj
of this type (MANA) they made it (NA)_c people
blackfellow, wara-wuru-wuruj, wini=ma:ndha-n^gi, ni-ga
Aboriginal people they made it_c he
ni=wana^gna, na-yiwiywuj, yiwiywuj,
he holds it (n. of devil)

They (devils) made the murugu type of feathered stick, with some head hair of this sort (Laran^gana points to head hair). Those people, Aboriginals, made them. Yiwiywuj holds (emend: held) them.

Note: By saying blackfellow Laran^gana means simply that Yiwiywuj and the other devils were, in a general sense, Aboriginals rather than white men.

* Shows double occurrence of Relative -yin^yun^g; an ex. of the 'this/that sort of thing' demonstrative construction.

41.4 mari yiwin^ymala, wini=wula-wa:, wini=ya-n^ggi, wa:='ri
and (n. of devil) they are two they went_c not
ana-dha:mbulg, devil-devil, wuru=maya:-', wu-gu-ni, wuru=maya:-'
feathered stick devil(s) they sang_c they (MDu) they sang_c
wu-gu-ru-- olden time(s) o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj wara-min^y-n^gambara-aj,
they (Pl) long ago through elders
ana:-'ni wa:='ri an-in^y-n^gan^galhu-maga:, o:::ld people,
this not deceptive words in old days
o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj,
long ago

There was also Yiwun^ymala (another devil, companion of Yiwiywuj). There were two of them. They went along, without feathered sticks. The (other) devils were singing. The two of them (sang). They (the other devils) sang. That was long ago, at the time of the old people (i.e. the dreamtime or similar ancient period). No kidding. Long ago.

41.5 wuru=ma:ndha-n^gi ana:-'ni ana-dha:mbulg devil-devil,
they made it_c this feathered stick devil(s)
ni-ga:-'yun^g na-murugu wini=ma:ndha-n^gi
as for it (NA) type of feathered stick they made it_c
devil-devil two dreaming, wuru-jun^g wuru-jun^g,
devil(s) two dreamtime beings human (Sg)
wini=ma:ndha-n^gi ni-ga:-'yun^g, aba ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=ya-n^ggi aba
they made it_c as for him then this way they went_c then
n^gaya-wi-wuy a-lha:l, wara-murun^gun, wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
to my country of Murungun clan (WARA) they danced_c
wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
they danced_c

wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-', wiri:='mbalalhi-n^y, ana-yuran^g adaba
they danced_c they passed it_c (place n.) then
wiri=lan^garma-n^y,
they reached it_p

They (devils) made this feathered stick. Also this special kind murugu, they made it, the two devils, the two dreamtime human beings. They made it (murugu). Then they came in this direction, to my country, the Murungun clan (devils). They were dancing and dancing. They went through the country, and reached the place Yuran^g.

41.6 wunu=lan^garma-n^y, an^yba-jun^g wuru-jun^g, na-n^ya:bali,
they reached it_p other (Sg) human (Sg) (name)
na-ni-muwa-jun^g ya:-gi, wunu=mi-n^y adaba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
named (MSg) he is here they got him_p then that (MSg)
wunu=mi-n^y, adaba wu-gu-ru na wu:=ya-n^ggi
they got him_p then they (WARA) now (English) they went_c
an^yja:bu, na-n^ya:bali, na-n^ya:bali ni-ga:-'yun^g yuran^g
together (name) as for him (place n.)
ni=buri-Ø yuran^g, murungun an-uba-ni nu-ri-'-n^yin^yung,
he sat_c (place n.) of Murungun clan that (ANA) ours (ExPl)
ana-yuran^g, "a-ni-ga-wuy n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g ya:-nu:-'wuy n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g",
(place n.) to where? we will go_p this way we (InPl) will go_p
They ran into another man, named N^ya:bali. This is his name. They took him (with them), they took that man. Then they all went along together. N^ya:bali stayed at the place Yuran^g, a place of the Murungun clan, ours. They decided to go (in a certain direction).

41.7 adaba wuru=ya-n^ggi-wugij, wu-gu-ru wu:=ya-n^ggi na
then they only went_c they they went_c now (Eng.)
country, ana-lha:l, aba wu:=ma:ndhi-'-n^y na
country then they made selves_p now
wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba, wa:='ri ana:-'nu:-'wuy ambu:=ya-n^ggi:::
they went_c then not this way they went
wa:='ri ana:-'nu:-'wuy ambu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:=yama-n^y,
not this way they went they did that_p
n^guradiba yidhuwaba o:='ba-ni wiri=lnarma-n^gi,
(place n.) (place n.) that (ANA) they chased it_c

They were still going along. Then they made themselves into a place. They went along. They did not come this way (south). They did that, they went toward the places N^guradiba and Yidhuwaba.

Note: These are islands in the Gulf near Cape Barrow.

41.8 yagu ya:-ji-ji:-'la wu:=bura:-', wu-gu-ru ya:-ji-ji:-'la
but this side they sit they this side

wu:=yama:-', wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wuru=maya:-' yuwa-ga:-'la,
they did that_c as for them they sang_c from there
wara-balamu, wara-murun^gun, wu-gu-ru him sing-'em,
(n. of tribe) of Murungun clan (Pl) they (they) sang it
devil-devil wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji:-'li him devil-devil again,
as for them from along here devils too

They (Yiwiwuj and companions) were here on this side, and they (devils) were singing like this over on this (other) side, from there. Those devils from Balamu country, of the Murungun clan, they were singing. The others, on this side, were also devils.

Note: Balamu is the Nunggubuyu name for most Northeast Arnhem Land people (speaking such Yuilngu languages as Dhay'yi and Dhuwal), excluding the Ritharngu. The devils had come south from the Balamu area, cf. note to 41.1 above. The Murungun clan of the Nunggubuyu ethnolinguistic group has 'brother' clans in the Balamu area and elsewhere and all of these can be called Murungun. At this stage the small group of devils including Yiwiwuj and the main group of devils are keeping a certain distance from each other.

41.9 wuru=maya:-', wa:-_devil-devil wuru=maya:-' an-uwa-ga:-'la,
they sang_c devils they sang_c from there
dha:mbulg wuru=maya:-', yiwiwuj murugu,
feathered stick they sang_c (n. of devil) feathered stick type
wura:='wan^ggi:-ni::: "du:::", na-lhambilbilg, "e:::"
they listened_c (sound) didjeridu (sound)
wu:=yama:-', wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji:-'li ana-wiyindan^gan^y-gala,
they did that_c as for them from here from (place n.)
"du::: du::: yayayaya:::",
(sound) (sound)

The devils were singing from over that way. They were singing the feathered stick (song). Yiwiwuj (was singing) of the murugu feathered stick. They could hear the sound (du:::) of the didjeridu (drone-pipe, musical instrument). Over here, from the place Wiyindan^gan^y (Cape Barrow, on the mainland), they were doing that. (Sound of the didjeridu, and of men chanting.)

41.10 wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-' ana-yuran^g-gala wilili, murungun
they danced_c from (place n.) (place n.) (clan n.)
country wilili, an-uba-ni:-'la wu:=lalagi:::-n^y
(place n.) from that they got up_p
warawi, my country, murungun, wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
(place n.) (clan n.) they danced_c
an-uba-ni:-'la wa:_devil-devil, xxx, wuruwuryi,
from that devils (unclear) (place n.)
wu:-wunda=yalalaga-na wu:=yama:-' ya:-nu:-'wuy
they jut out (rocky ledge over shore) they did that_c this way

aba wu:=yama:-' -wuy,
then to where they did that_c

They (devils) danced. From Yuran^g they went to Wilili, a Murun^gun clan country. Then they got up and went to Warawi, (also) Murun^gun, my (clan's) country. They danced. After that, the devils went to Wuruwuryi. The place where the rocks jut out over the water. They did that. To the place where they did that.

41.11 "yuy::!" wu:=yama:-' ya:-nu:-' -wuy, wara-wuru-wuruj,
(sound) they did that_c this way people

nuga wu=jalalaga-na jarmayarmaj jujuji!, "adaba
stone it juts out long go now
n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g n^ga:mbu=wann^ga-na" wuru=wann^ga:-'
we (InPl) will go_p we (InPl) will dance_c they danced_c
adaba an-u-gu-ni, wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
then to there they danced_c
n^ga wuluyi, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g country, wuru=wann^ga:-'
and then (place n.) mine they danced_c

wara-murung^gun, wara-murun^gun-jin^yun^g, wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
of Murun^gun clan of people of Murun^gun clan they danced_c
They chanted, "Yuy!" They did that, the people, coming this way. There is a long rock jutting out (over the water). They went. They decided to go and dance. They danced, (going) that way. They danced and danced, at the place Wuluyi, my (Murun^gun) country. The Murun^gun (devils) danced, (the country) of the Murun^gun people. They danced.

41.12 n^gijan^g an-uba-ni:-'la wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
more from that they danced
wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' "du:::", yayayayaya!" wu:=yama:-'
(sound) (sound) they did that_c
an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-balaybalay-alà wu-gu-ru, wara-balamumu-yin^yun^g,
from there from (place n.) they of the Balamumu
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wiyindan^gan^y-gala too wu:=yama:-',
as for them from (place n.) they did that

Then they danced some more. They called out "Yayayayaya!" and made the sound (du:::) of the didjeridu. Those (devils) from the place Balaybalay, of the Balamumu people (in the north), and also those (devils) from Wiyindan^gan^y. They all did that.

Note: A distinction is made here between those devils who have come down from the Yuulngu language family area of Northeast Arnhem Land (e.g. the place Balaybalay), and those who originated in Nunggubuyu country at Wiyindan^gan^y (Cape Barrow). See also note to 41.8, above.

41.13 "du::: yayayayaya!" wu:=yama:-', aba wuru=maya:-'
(sound) (sound) they did that_c then they sang_c

adaba, wu:=yama:-' aba wuru=maya:-', wuru=wilbil^ga-n^gi
then they did that_c then they sang_c they tapped sticks_c

adaba wuru=maya:-', wuru-maya=maya:-' wuru-maya=maya:-'
then they sang_c they sang_c

wuru-maya=maya:-' wa:-'n^ga=mudi-n^y, min^yngu-wugij, wu:=ya-n^ggi
they sang_c it got dark_p only night they went_c
adaba min^yngu-wugij an-ubu-gu-nu:-' wuru=maya:-',
then only night to there they sang_c

wuru-maya=maya:-' wuru-maya=maya:-' wuru-maya=maya:-' alhargan,
they sang_c (place n.)

alhargan aba wi:=lhan^garma-n^y,
then they reached it_p

They chanted and played the didjeridu. They sang like that. They sang and clapped the tapsticks together (as accompaniment). They sang and sang. It got dark (at night). Still at night, they sang (going) that way. They sang and arrived at Alhargan.

41.14 "ya:-ni nuga wu=jalalaga-na" wuru=wururi-n^y
it is here stone it juts out they pointed at it_p
"yuy::!" yayayayayayaya! du::: yayayayaya!" "ya:-nu:-' -wuy
(sound) (sound) (sound) (sound) this way

n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g" wuru=yama:-' wuru=ruma-n^y adaba,
we (InPl) will go_p they did that_c they went_p then
wuru-maya=maya:-' wuru-maya=maya:-' wuru-maya=maya:-'
they sang_c

wuru-maya=maya:-' ana:-'lhargan-gala wuru=lalagi-'-n^y,
from (place n.) they got up_p

n^gundhun^gundharn^ginamaji, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g ana-lha:l, murun^gun,
(place n.) mine country (clan n.)

o:-'ba-ni a-house-duj, wu=lha-ra n^gawu=buri-n^y
that (ANA) in house it (ANA) stands I put it down_p

n^gaya-wi, a:-gugu-ruj,
(at) my at water

They noticed the rock jutting out, they pointed at it. They chanted and played the didjeridu. They decided to go in a certain direction. They went. They sang and sang. They got up from the place Alhargan (and left). (They went to) the place Ngundhun^gundharn^ginamaji, my country, of the Murun^gun clan. There near that house. It (the house) is standing there, I put it there at my water place.

Note: The speaker, Laran^gana, had built a camp at the location indicated and is using that camp to help the audience identify this location.

41.15 wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi an-uba-ni wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-'
they went_c that (ANA) they danced_c

wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-', amadumbi, amadumbi adaba wuru=wann^ga:-'
they danced_c (place n.) then they danced_c
aba ya:-nu:-'wuy, wu:=yama:-' aba wuru=wann^ga:-' ya:-nu:-'wuy,
then this way they did that_c then they danced_c this way
country now wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba yu:-gu-ni, n^ga yuwa:-gu.
they went_c then to there and then there
"du:::!" ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=yama-n^y, "yayayayaya!"
(sound) this way they did that_p (sound)
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g "du:::!", an-uwa-ga:-'la,
as for them (sound) from there

They went along and danced at the place Amadumbi (a peninsula). They danced along this way. They went there, to a certain country. They went that way. Over there some were playing the didjeridu. Over from that way (separately) some were chanting. They (the first group) were playing the didjeridu.

41.16 adaba warubaj, warubaj adaba na-lhambil^gbilg wu-gu-ru
then nearby nearby then didjeridu they
wuru=maya-n^y aba "dag! dag!" mana-wilbilg adaba
they sang_p then (tapping of sticks) tapstick then
warubaj, wu:=yama:-', wara-warubaj, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji:-'li
nearby they did that_c nearby (Pl) as for them from here
ana-wiyindan^gany-gala aba warubaj, wuru=wann^ga:-' an-uba-ni:-'la:
from (place n.) then nearby they danced_c from that
wuru=wann^ga:-' wuru=wann^ga:-', a:n^g, amajida,
they danced whatchamacallit (place n.)

Little Creek an-uwa-ga:-'la a:-gugu, gu:gu,
(place n.) from there water water

Then the devils who were singing were getting closer (to the other group of devils). The clapping together of the tapsticks could be easily heard, not far away. They were getting closer. As for the other group on this side, the ones from Wiyindan^gany, they dancing nearby. Then they danced at the place Amajida, called "Little Creek" (in local English). From there (they went to) fresh water.

41.17 (wailing noises), wu=rugu-ni aba wu:=yama:-',
they wept_c then they did that
"dhiri:::dag! dhiri:::dag! dhiri:::dag! du:::!" "yayayayaya!"
(sound) (sound) (sound)
wu:=lalagi-'n^y, wu:=jarari-n^y adaba, wu=lalma:-' aba xxx
they got up_p they moved_p then it dawned_c then (unclear)
n^gi-ga n^gara-miyiri n^gi:='bi-n^y, ba:-ga:-'la n^gi:='bi-n^y
it (N^gARA) star it jumped_p from there it jumped_p
n^ga lhiribala n^ga n^gi:='bi-n^y, n^gara-banumbil n^gara-miyiri,
and then under and then it jumped_p morning star star

Some of them were weeping and wailing. They were playing the didjeridu and chanting. They got up and moved away. It was getting light in the morning. The star, the morning star (Venus) suddenly came up from under the horizon and became visible.

Note: "dhiri:::dag! dhiri:::dag! dhiri:::dag! du:::!" is an imitation of the actual sounds made by the didjeridu player blowing into the didjeridu. These sound sequences are standard and known to all Nunggubuyu; hence it is possible here for Larangana to indicate the precise tune being played simply by reciting the didjeridu-player's sounds.

41.18 adaba wu:=jarari-n^y wuru=wann^ga:-' adaba wuru=jarara-n^gi
then they moved_p they danced_c then they moved_c
wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-'wugij wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-'wugij,
they only danced_c
wu:=wurja-n^gi-wugij wuru=wann^ga:-'wugij wuru=wann^ga:-'wugij,
they clapped hands only_c they only danced_c
a:n^g wugun^yur, "du:::!" nuga, wu=jalalaga-na,
whatchamacallit (place n.) (sound) stone it juts out
aba wu:=lalagi-'n^y aba ya:-nu:-'wuy wuru=ruma-n^y, adaba
then they got up_p then this way they went_p then
wu:=yama-n^y, they did that_p

Then they moved away. They danced as they went, they were still dancing. They were still clapping their hands and dancing. At whatchamacallit, Wugun^yur. They played the didjeridu. There is a rock jutting out (there). Then they got up and came this way (west). They did that.

41.19 murugu, na-murugu aba ni=ruruga-n^y
type of feathered stick then he erected it_p
na-yiwiywuj ni=lha-ra, ba-gu, na-yiwiywuj wuru=wann^ga:-'
(n. of devil) it stands there (n. of devil) they danced_c
na-yiwiywuj ni=maya:-' ni=ruruga-n^y na-murugu,
of (n. of devil) he sang_c he erected it_p feathered stick
maguj, yi:-jin^yun^g, maguj, mana-maguj, ni=lha-ra,
pandanus this type of thing pandanus pandanus it (NA) stands
wuru=wann^ga=wann^ga:-' n^ga "du:::!" "a-ni-ga-wuy
they danced_c and then (sound) to where?
n^ga:mbu=jalburda-n^g, n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g, a-ni-ga-wuy
we (InPl) will go into water_p we (InPl) will go_p to where?
n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g ya:-nu:-'wuy adaba", adaba wu:=ruma-n^y,
we will go_p this way now then they went_p
Yiwiywuj erected a murugu feathered stick, which stands there. They danced. The feathered stick of Yiwiywuj, he sang and erected it. Of pandanus (wood), like this, it stands (as a totemic object).

They danced and played the didjeridu. They decided to go and to go into the water at a certain place. They went.

- 41.20 adaba wuru=maya:-' adaba juj!, mana-madhalag, mana-lhan^gada,
then they sang_c then go beach jungle
ana:-'dadin wu=wurag, aba ama-lhagaya-guy aba wu:=ya-n^ggi
shore it was abandoned then to saltwater then they went_c
yu:-gu-ni, aba lha:l wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu:=ma:ndhi:-'ni
to there then country as for them they made themselves_c
an-uba-ni nuga, wu:=ruma-n^y "gagagagagagaga::!" du::!"
that stone they went_p (sound) (sound)
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g "du::!" yuwa-ga:-'la, "gagagaga!" wuru=wann^ga-n^y
as for them (sound) from there they danced_p
wuru=wann^ga-n^y wuru=wann^ga-n^y wuru=wann^ga-n^y
they danced_p
wu:-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y,
they all stood up_p

Then they sang and went into the beach, into the jungle (rainforest). The shore (i.e. the land) was left behind. They went into the sea there. They made themselves into a country there, that rock (on the coast). They went along. One group (of devils) was playing the didjeridu (in one place), and the others were playing the didjeridu (some distance away). They were dancing and dancing. They all stood up.

- 41.21 n^gijan^g n^ga mal-gan^yja:bugij, wuru=wann^ga-n^y
more and then one time they danced_p
wuru=wann^ga-n^y wuru=wann^ga-n^y wuru=wann^ga-n^y n^ga wu=lalma-n^y,
and then it dawned_p
"n^gijan^g wu=lalma-n^y na, adaba wu=lalma-n^y adaba, n^gijan^g
more it dawned_p now (Eng.) now it dawned_p now more
wu=lalma-n^y, n^gijan^g wu=lalma-n^y, n^ga:mbu=yamin^ggara-n^g.,
it dawned_p more it dawned what shall we (InPl) do?_p

Then one (more) time they danced. Then it became light in the morning. (Yiwiywuj said,) "It has dawned again. It has dawned again. What shall we do?"

- 41.22 "du::! yayayayayaya! yay!, yay!, adaba wi:ya!,
(sound) (sound) now finish!
wu=lalma-n^y yamba, adaba n^ga:mba:='gi-n^y", big mob,
it dawned because now we (InPl) will return_p many
a-devil-devil aba wa:='gi-n^y wara-wuru-wuruj-guy,
devil(s) then it (ANA) returned_p to humans
aba, wu:=ya-n^ggi yu:gu-ni aba a:-'dadin-guy, wura:='gi-n^y,
then they went_c to there then to shore they returned_p

wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga wuru-waragara=lha-n^ga-n^y, n^ga
they went_c and then they all stood up and then
n^gun^yju yuwa:-ni Little Creek, n^ga ya:-ni,
similar it is there (place n.) and then it is here
wuru=wann^ga:-'yin^yun^g, mana-maguj, man-i:-jin^yun^g,
they who danced_c pandanus this kind of thing (MANA)
wara-wuru-wuru,j, humans

(They chanted and played the didjeridu.) (Yiwiywuj said,) "That is all now! Because it has dawned, we must go back." Many devils went back that way to where the people were. They went to the shore (i.e. the dry land). They went back there. They stood up. About the same distance as from here to Little Creek (i.e. a few hundred metres). Pandanus, this kind of thing (tree). The people.

- 41.23 wara-mulun^g-argi "a-ni-ga-wuy n^ga:mbu=ruma-n^g,
other group to where? we (InPl) will go_p
madhalag run^ggal na wiyindan^gan^y, wu:=yama:-'
beach big now (Eng.) (place n.) they did that_c
wyiindan^gan^y, wu:=yama-n^y ana-wu:jun^g wiri:='mbalalhi-n^y,
(place n.) they did that_p (place n.) they passed it_p
wu:=yama:::n^y country, wu:=yama:::n^y n^ga ana:-'rn^ggal^g,
they did that_p they did that_p and then (place n.)
wu:=dhidi:-'n^y-duj, wuru=maya-n^y ba-gu wuru=wurji-n^y
where they closed themselves up_p they sang_p there they clapped_p
"ya::! ya::!, du::! ya::!, gay! ya:::y!, gay! yay!", wi:ya!,
(sound) (sound) (sound) finish!

finish,
that is all

One group decided to go to the place Wiyindan^gan^y, where the beach was big. They did that, at Wiyindan^gan^y. They went across the place Wu:jun^g. They did that at Arn^galg, where they closed themselves up (in the ground). They sang and clapped their hands and made the chants and played the didjeridu. Then it was all over.

- 41.24 xxx yamba, aba a:-'ban-guy now, wuru=lhidi-n^y,
(unclear) because then to ground they went in_p
war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-garn^yirimb, wuru=lhidi-n^y, adaba
those (WARA) crowd they went into ground_p then
wi:ya! adaba lhiribala yuwa:-gu a:-'ban-guy, nuga, nuga aba
finish! then inside there to ground stone stone then
him sit, xxx, xxx, ni-ga:-'yun^g yuwa:-gu na-murugu ni=lha-ra,
it sits (unclear) as for it there feathered stick it stands

ama-lhagaya-duj, bla miyamandar, you savvy miyamandar,
in saltwater of (creole) tree sp.

ya:-ji ni=ruruga-n^y ni=ruruga-n^y, na-yiwiwuj, aba finish.
here he erected it_p (n. of devil) now

They went through the surface of the ground then. That crowd
(of devils) went through into the ground. That way all. (They
went) inside (under the ground) there. There is a rock there.
As for feathered stick, it stands out there in the sea (the Gulf).
There is a lot of miyamandar tree there. Do you (Heath) know
that tree species? He erected it (murugu feathered stick),
Yiwiwuj did. That is all.

Note: miyamandar (*Pemphis acidula*) is a coastal tree sp.,
often found on small islands and near beaches. Apparently the
totemic site associated with Yiwiwuj has specimens of this tree
around it.

Comments on text 41

This is essentially a variant of text 9 above, by the same speaker.
In this version he puts more emphasis on the point of view of the
'devil' Yiwiwuj, who is not mentioned by name in the earlier
text. See also the comments to text 9.

TEXT 42 DUGONG AND GREEN TURTLE Yurumura

42.1 ana:-'ni yi:-n^garugali-jin^yung mari yi:-n^gala:ligi-yin^yung,
this of dugong and of green turtle
ana-lha:wu wara-mi:::n^y-n^gambara-waj ana:-'ni ana-lha:wu
word among elders this word
wu:=yama:-', wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: na-n^gala:ligi mari
they did that_c they (MDu) went_c green turtle and
n^gara-n^garugali_j, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga
dugong they (MDu) went_c and then
wini=lhan^garma-n^yji-n^y, wini=lhan^garma-n^yji-n^y,
they reached each other_p

This is the story of Dugong and Green Turtle. This is a story
told by the old people when they were alive. They (Dugong and
Turtle) went along (separately). Dugong and Turtle went along,
and ran into each other.

42.2 adaba ni-ga ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga, adija,
then he he went_c and then kurrajong₁
adija adaba ni-ga niwu=mi-n^y, na-n^gala:ligi, niwu-man^ga=ma-n^gi:::
then he he got it_p green turtle he got it_c
adaba niwu-n^gunu=n^gu-ni, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-n^garugali_j
then he ate it_c as for her dugong

n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga n^giwu=mi-n^y, n^gima=ma-n^gi adaba
she went_c and then she got it_p she got it_c then
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g yarawug,
as for her kurrajong₂

For his part, Green Turtle collected (edible pods of) kurrajong₁
tree (*Brachychiton diversifolium*). He was collecting them and
eating them (i.e. the little nut-like seeds inside the pods).
As for her, Dugong, she went along and got some (edible pods of)
kurrajong₂ tree (*Brachychiton paradoxum*).

Note: These two trees have similar large, hard seed pods
which break open along one side, exposing the edible seeds as they
ripen. Aboriginals eat these seeds, especially those of kurrajong₂
(yarawug). However, kurrajong₂ in particular has its seeds
covered with fine yellow bristles inside the outer shell of the
pod. When eating these seeds, Aboriginals must be very careful
with these bristles, and above all must not let them get into
their eyes (e.g. if the wind is blowing) since they can cause
great pain and perhaps permanent injury. Kurrajong₁ is not so
dangerous--a point which is crucial to this text.

42.3 n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga yuwa:-gu, ama-dhagala:lij-duj,
she went_c and then there at edge of water
wini:=m^bargali-n^y aba winima=n^gu-ni,
they (MDu) sat together_p then they ate it (MANA)_c
winima-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: wini-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, an-uba-ni:-'la-ala,
they ate it (MANA)_c they ate it (ANA_c) from that
adaba n^gijang^g wini:-'=diyal^ydh^yji-n^y, wini:-'=diyal^ydh^yji-n^y,
then more they got angry at each other_p
an-uba-ni:-'la-ala, mari n^gi-ga ama-ma-magulag, ama-ma-magulag o:-'ba-ma
from that and she skin (MANA) that
ni-ga--, nima-wingi=winguda-n^gi ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj,
he he cleaned it off_c as for him

She (Dugong) went along. There, at the edge of the sea, the two
of them sat together and ate them (the kurrajongs). After that,
they got into an argument. After that, he (Turtle) cleaned the
skin (bristles) off of the seeds.

42.4 mari n^ga adaba wini=lharma-n^yji-n^y, n^gi-ga
and and then then they chased each other_p she
an-uwa-ga:-'la n^gi=yarbi-n^y mari n^ga, n^gunu-ba=jibari-n^y,
from there she ran_p and and then she poked him in eye_p
n^gunu-ba=jibari-n^y, n^gunu-ba=jibari-n^y mari ni-ga
and he
ni-ga=garaji:-'ni mari ni-ga:-'yun^g n^gu-ba=jibari-n^y,
he jumped_c and as for him he poked her in eye_p
yagu ni-ga, ni-ga na-n^gala:ligi, n^guna:='ndi-n^y,
but he he green turtle she injured him slightly_p

n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y} ni-ga na-n^gala:ligi, *n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y}*, *n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y}*
 (see above) he green turtle (see above) (see above)
ni-ga na-n^gala:ligi xxx *n^gara-n^garugalij-gala*, *n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y}*,
 he green turtle (unclear) from dugong (see above)

Then the two of them got into a chase. She ran at him from over there and (tried to) poke him in the eye, but he jumped out of the way. He in turn poked her in the eye. She just barely grazed him when she tried to poke him in the eye (because he jumped). She barely injured Green Turtle.

42.5 *ni-ga ana:-'ji:-'li na-n^gala:ligi, n^gu=manbaga-n^y*,
 he from here green turtle he hurt her repeatedly_p
adaba yigaj wa:='ri yaga:, ni-ga wulguy--, *ni:ni=lharma-ni*
 then there! not \emptyset he indeed we (ExPl) chase him
na-n^gala:ligi, ni:ni=ra-yi:, wani-na-yi: wara-wuru-wuruj,
 green turtle we spear him he sees them people
yin^gga ba-ni:-'la ama:-'r-n^gu=bawalhi:-'maji man-uba-ma-yung
 nearly there it comes if the sea is clear that (MANA)
mana-lhagayag, yin^gga ba-wa:-'la wani-na-yi:
 saltwater nearly there they come (WARA) he sees them
wara-wuru-wuruj, adaba ni=yarba-ni, n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y} yamba,
 people then he runs she grazed him_p because
n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y} n^gi-ga n^gara-n^garugalij,
 she grazed him_p she dugong

For his part, Green Turtle really got her (i.e. really injured her in the eye with repeated thrusts). Now there is nothing (no eyesight for Dugong). As for him (Turtle), indeed we (Aborigines) chase him and try to spear him. However, he can see people (paddling in canoes toward him trying to harpoon him). If the saltwater is clear, he can see them coming, then he swims away quickly. This is because she (Dugong) just grazed him (and did not harm his vision). Dugong just grazed him.

42.6 *ni-ga, adaba n^gu=manbaga-n^y, n^gara-n^garugalij-maji:,*
 he then he hurt her repeatedly_p if dugong
ya:-ma all right warang an^gi=yawan^ggi-n^y,
 it (MANA) is here indeed ear she will listen_p
an^gima-li=jan^ga-n^g, an^gima-li=jan^ga-n^g man-uba-ma-yung mana-rangag,
 she will hear canoe that (MANA) dugout canoe
but mana-bagalang, yagi n^garan^gi=ni-∅, n^gi-ga adaba--,
 eye not she will see us (InPl) she then
n^gu=manbaga-n^y yamba, n^gu-ba=burdhi-n^y, n^gi-ga
 he hurt her repeatedly_p because he buried her eye_p she
n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y}, *wini-ba=burdhi-n^y ji:-ni.*
 she grazed him_p they buried each other's eye_c

He (Turtle) really got her (in the eye). If there is a dugong out there (in the sea), she can hear (but not see), (with) this, her ear. She can hear the canoe coming, that dugout canoe. But she cannot see us, because he (Turtle) really got her (in the eyes). He caused her eyes to be closed up, while she just grazed him. They tried to close up each other's eyes.

Comments on text 42

This is a good example of a "Just So Story" which functions mainly to explain differences between green turtles and dugongs. These two animals are both hunted in the sea with dugout canoes and harpoons, and the manner of hunting and even cooking is very similar in the two cases. (Dugongs are large, porpoise-like animals which feed on certain seagrasses and other marine vegetation near the coast.) Dugongs have exceptionally acute sense of smell, and hunters must approach them in total silence; green turtles, on the other hand, have less well established powers of hearing but can often detect the canoe approaching them visually.

The myth has a variety of related versions. One, told to me by Ma:di (unfortunately in a text too muddled to be worth reproducing in detail), simply has Dugong eating seeds from kurrajong₂ (which has dangerous bristles covering the seeds) and getting them in her eyes, causing blindness, while Green Turtle eats seeds from the less dangerous kurrajong₁ (see note to 42.2 above) and retains his vision. In the present version, the two kurrajong species are mentioned, but Dugong's loss of sight is then accounted for by a fight scene in which the kurrajong species are not explicitly dealt with. Apparently in this version Yurumura pictures Dugong and Green Turtle both eating from a supply including the two types of kurrajong seeds; they then start a row and perhaps throw the kurrajong seeds at each other.

To the best of my knowledge, this myth is not associated with a specific totemic site and is not directly related to the more significant myths or rituals.

The usual term for 'green turtle' is NA class, and for 'dugong' N^gARA class. In this text, except possibly at the end when Yurumura is talking about real turtles and dugongs hunted by people, the noun class forms used are MSg and FSg, respectively. That is, the corresponding human noun classes are used, as in some other texts. Although NA and MSg, and N^gARA and FSg, are often indistinguishable, the prefix in *n^guna:=^{'ndi-n^y}* 'she just grazed him' (42.3-6) has 3FSg subject and 3MSg (not NA) object; with NA object we would get *n^gini:=^{'ndi-n^y}*. Only at the very beginning do we get the prefix *yi:-* of the NA and N^gARA classes (line 1 of 42.1).

TEXT 43

DOG AND DEVILS
Ma:di

43.1 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga, landhur-jung^g wunu=wana^gaga:-' he went_c and then dog (MSg) they held him_c landhur-jung^g, landhur-jung^g, wunu=wana^gaga:-', n^ga dog they held him_c and then wini=wali-n^yji-n^y, wini-wan^gja=wali-n^yji-n^y, they (MDu) painted each other_p they painted each other on arm_p n^ga wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu=riwagi:-ni, ana-badirin^ya, and then as for it (ANA) it walked around_c devil ana-n^gala:ja, wu=riwagi:-ni stick insect it walked around_c

He, dog, went along. They (two) were holding him, a male dog. The two of them were painted on their forearms. As for it, Stick Insect, a devil, it was out walking around in the bush.

43.2 n^ga wini=wili-n^y arwagarwar-ala-waj, and then they (MDu) flew_p around on top wil-wil-wil-wil-wil! n^ga dhud! wini=yalamalha-n^ga-n^y (flying) and then stop they (MDu) were on platform_p yuwa:-gu a-mun^ggala-ruj arwar, a-mun^ggala, wini=wudha-n^ga-n^y, there on platform on top platform they (MDu) perched_p n^ga wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi and then it (ANA) went_c wu-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-badirin^ya it went_c that (ANA) devil

They (two) flew around up high. Then they stopped (landed) and stood there up in a tree platform (above the ground). Then it (devil) went along. That devil.

43.3 n^ga araga--, araga wini=rugi-n^y, ni=rugi-n^y ni-ga and then suddenly they (MDu) cried_p he cried_p he na-wiri-n^yun^g, araga ni-ru=wadbar-wi-'-n^y ana-ru: yu:-gu-ni, small boy suddenly his tears dropped down_p tears to there ni-ru=wadbar-wi-'-n^y n^ga yi:-jin^y, ya:-ji (see above) and then this kind of thing here Ø-ara=bali-n^y, n^ga wu=yama-n^y, wu=yama-n^y n^ga it rubbed it_p and then it (ANA) did that_p and then Ø=yara-n^g, wu=waran^gga-n^y n^ga da-ni, it smelled it_p it looked and then it is there (ANA) di-ni wini=yalamalhi-Ø, "ajijan^ginan^gi:::" they (MDu) are there they were on platform_c (sound) wu=yama-n^y, it did that_p

Suddenly the two of them started to cry. The little boy (one of the two) started to cry. His tears dripped down (on the ground). This kind of thing (tears). They (tears) were smeared on it (the tree trunk), like that. It (devil) smelled them (tears). It looked (up) and there were the two of them up in the tree platform. It (devil) made the sound "Ajijan^ginan^gi:::"

43.4 wu=wayama-n^gi-yaj mari dhan^ggid! adaba Ø=lhi-n^y, as it proceeded_c and chop then it chopped it_p ana-ran^gag, Ø=madhari-n^y Ø=madhari-n^y Ø=madhari-n^y, ying^gga wood it chopped it_p nearly wu-ragar=bayama-n^gi mari n^gijan^g wurugu dulmurg!, it went along forcefully_c and more later run wini=wili-n^y arwagarwar-ala-aj, they (MDu) flew_p around on top

It (devil) came along and began to chop down the tree. It was chopping and chopping. It (tree) was about to crash down, but then they (two) flew away. (They flew) around up high.

43.5 wil-wil-wil-wil! an^yba-duj wini=yalamalha-n^ga-n^y, (flying) at other they were on platform_p n^gijan^g wurugu wu=yarbi:-n^y Ø=madhari-n^y, Ø=madhari-n^y more later it ran_p it chopped it_p Ø=madhari-n^y Ø=madhari-n^y ying^gga wu-ragar=bayama-n^gi ying^gga nearly it went along forcefully_c nearly wu=rad-bi:-'ni, n^gijan^g wurugu ni=rulmurdi-n^y, it was tied up_c more later he ran_p wil-wil-wil-wil-wil! wini=yalamalha-n^ga-n^y, (flying) they (MDu) were on platform_p

They flew around and perched up in another tree. Again it (devil) ran along and began to chop down that tree. It chopped and chopped. It (tree) was about to crash down and be tied up. Again he, the dog, fled. The two of them took off again and flew around, then landed in another tree.

43.6 aba n^ga wini=yama:-'-wugij, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g then and then they did that only_c as for it (ANA) wa:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni-wugij, wan^ggu=lharma-n^gi-wugij it was only engaged in a chase_c it only chased them_c an-uba-ni ana-badirin^ya, wil-wil-wil-wil-wil! wini=wudha-n^ga-n^y, that (ANA) devil (flying) they (MDu) perched_p wini-yara=bali-n^yji-n^y muga, dhan^ggid!, wil-wil-wil! they (MDu) painted each other_p indeed chop (flying) n^gijan^g wini=rulmurdi-n^y n^ga, yuwa:-gu-ruj, more they (MDu) ran_p and then over there farther on

They kept doing that. As for it (devil), it kept chasing them, that devil. They (two) flew around and perched in a tree. They had body paint smeared on them. It (devil) chopped at the tree. Again they flew away (and stopped) over there, farther on.

43.7 wil-wil-wil-wil! n^ga girjag! an^gudu more
 (flying) and then no! strongly strongly
 wini=ya-n^ggi, araga wa='gi-n^y landhur-jun^g-bugij
 they went_c suddenly it returned_p only dog
 nin^ggu=mi-n^y, nin^ggu=mi-n^y, ama-gara-wuy nin^ggu-yara=yarijgi:-ni:::
 it got him_p to hole it transported him_c
 n^ga adaba yuwa:-gu wu-n^gu-dun-duj nin^ggu=buri-n^y,
 and then then there at burrow it put him_p
 nin^ggu=buri-n^y yuwa:-gu wu-n^gu-dun, landhur-jun^g,
 it put him_p there burrow dog

They flew around. Instead of stopping, they continued farther and farther, more deeply (into the bushland). Then it (devil) went back (giving up the chase). It got the dog (who could not fly) and that was all. It took him (the dog) back to its hole, and put him there in a corner of the burrow.

43.8 wini:='gi-n^y wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wunu-raga=ragu-ni,
 they (MDu) returned_p they went_c they looked for him_c
 wunu=ragu-ni adaba wini:='gi-n^y, wunu=ragu-ni
 they looked for him then they (MDu) returned_p they looked for him_c
 n^ga ni:='ri, nin^ggu=mi-n^y, wini=yawan^ggi-n^y
 and then he was absent it got him_p they (MDu) listened_p
 n^ga ba-gi a-gara-ruj, "n^ga::: o:::, n^go:::"
 and then he is there in hole (howl)
 adaba ni=n^gara-n^gi
 then he howled_c

They (two) went back (to find the dog). They were looking around for him. They went back and looked for him. He was not around. It (devil) had gotten him. The two of them listened, and there he (the dog) was in the hole (i.e. they heard him). He was howling.

43.9 wani=ragu-ni, "ya:-gi ni=n^gari:-", nan^y=jamin^ggara-n^g
 he looked for them_c he is here he howls what will we do?_p
 n^ga nagan^g da-ju:-' ba=bura:-' n^ga n^gaya:-' j-bugij",
 and then you (Sg) there sit!_c and it is I only
 adaba n^gambari-n^yung, "n^go:::, n^go:::", aba ni=yabi-'-n^y
 then elder (howling) then he entered_p
 mana-gara,
 hole

He (the dog) was looking for them (two). (The two of them said to each other,) "He is howling in here. What shall we do? Here, you just stay there where you are and I alone (will go in)." The elder one of the two went into the hole where the howling was coming from.

43.10 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni=lha-n^ga-n^y,
 he went_c he went_c he stood up_p
 ni=yawan^ggi-n^y, da-gi-ruj, "n^go::!: n^go::!:",
 he listened_p he is there farther on (howling)
 ni=n^gara-n^gi, da-gi-ruj ni=yama-n^y, ni-yama=yama:-'
 he howled_c he is there farther on he did that_p he did that_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wu=mun^ymulhi-∅ n^ga wu-lhagara=ya-y
 he went_c they (ANA) lay_c and then they (ANA) slept_c
 ya:-ji-ji:-'la ya:-ji-ji:-'la, ana:-'ra-n^gu-ji:ji-yin^yung,
 this side this side all having sores (ANA)
 ana:-'ra-maja-maji-yin^yung, ana-badirin^ya,
 all healed (without sores) devil

He went along and stood (stopped). He listened. He (the dog) was a little farther on, howling. He was howling like that. He (the one who had just entered the hole) went along like that. They (devils) were lying down sleeping on this side and this (other) side. Some were covered with sores, some were without sores. Devils.

43.11 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 he went_c
 "n^go:::", aba ni=warubaj, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 (howling) then he was nearby he went_c
 n^ga ba-gu-ruj, "n^go:::", wurugurij n^ga
 and then there farther on (howling) slow and then
 nu=lhari-n^y, nu=gujguji-n^y, wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 he untied him_p he lifted him_p they (MDu) went_c
 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, yin^gga wan^ggu-marir=jan^ga-ni,
 nearly it (ANA) heard them rustling_c
 an-uba-ni ana-badirin^ya, "biri:::r! biri:::r!" wu=yama:-'
 that (ANA) devil (sound) it did that_c

an-u-jan^g, wini=lha-y, ni=lha-y, yin^gga
 voice (ANA) they (MDu) stood_c he stood_c nearly
 wu=n^gandarda-n^gi,
 it (ANA) snored_c

He (the rescuer) went along. He heard the dog's howling nearby. Gently he untied him and picked him up. The two of them went along. Those devils (sleeping) nearly heard the rustling of their feet as they walked. The sound (of his steps) was rustling. They both stood still. It (devil) was snoring.

43.12 ni=ya-n^ggi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
 he went_c he went_c
 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi nu=guguji:-ni-wugij n^ga, adaba ma=wadi-n^y
 he lifted him only_c and then then it broke_p
 ma-gara=wawalha-n^gi-yin^yun^g, ma=dhidi:-'ni adaba mari n^ga
 hole which was open_c it shut_c then and and then
 n^gijan^g dhid! ma=dhidi-'n^y, yin^gga ni-yara=wildha-n^gi
 more shut it shut_p nearly he touched it (ANA)_c
 yagu, "biri:::r! biri:::r!", wu=yama:-', ni=lha-y,
 but (sound) it did that_c he stood_c

He (the rescuer, with the dog) went along. He was still holding him up. Then the opening of the hole collapsed and closed up the hole. It was closed (so they could not get out). He almost ran into it (one of the devils), and he was making rustling noises. He (the rescuer) stood still.

43.13 ni-yama=yama:-' n^ga, nima-n^yi=ra-wa-n^g, mana-gara
 he did that_c and then he enchanted it_p hole
 adaba nima-n^yi=ra-wa-n^g, n^ga aba ma-gara=wawalhi-n^y,
 then he enchanted it_p and then then hole opened_p
 nu=lharga-n^g, wurugurij ni-ga:-'yun^g ni=rabali-n^y, mari
 he sent him away_p slow as for him he came out_p and
 nima=dhidi-n^y nima-n^yi=ra-wa-n^g dhid! nima=dhidi-n^y,
 he closed it_p he enchanted it_p close he closed it_p

Then he applied magic (by singing chant) to it. He applied magic to the hole, and the hole opened up. He sent him (the dog) through. Gently he (the rescuer) came out through the hole. He closed up the hole, again by magic.

Note: The verb -n^yi=ra-wu- is also used for cursing someone by magic. It is often translated as transitive 'to sing' in local English, hence 'I sang him', etc.

43.14 wu=yama:-' n^ga araga nin^ggu=yara-n^g,
 it did that_c and then suddenly it smelled him_p
 wura:=ran^gga-n^y n^ga ni:='ri na-landhur-jun^g, mari
 they looked_p and then he was absent dog (MSg) and
 n^ga wu=lalagi-'n^y, "biri:::r! biri:::r!", aba ni-ga
 and then it got up_p (sound) then he
 yuwa:-gi, ni=wayama-n^gi gud! ni=yama-n^y, nu=gudga-n^y,
 he is there he proceeded_c goad he did that_p he goaded him_p
 wini:='rgi-n^yji-n^y
 they (MDu) pushed each other (raced)_p

Then it (a devil) detected him. He looked and saw that the dog was missing. He got up. He heard the rustling noises, and saw that he (the rescuer) was over there. He (the rescuer) was prodding him (the dog, to get him to move faster). They (two) raced.

Note: The form 'they looked_p' in line 2 of this segment is the 3Pl or WARA prefix form, and should be emended to the ANA form (wa:='ran^gga-n^y) here since 'devil' is consistently ANA class in this text. (As it happens, the same word 'devil', i.e. badirin^ya, can be WARA and has WARA class prefixes in some other texts).

43.15 wu-n^gara=dabali-n^y mari n^ga ma=yama:-'
 they (ANA) came out_p and and then it (MANA) did that_c
 mana-wulmuwari wu=warga-n-di, wu=warga-n-di ya:-nu:-'-wuy,
 boomerang it threw (it)_c this way
 wu=warga-n-di yu:gu-ni, wu=warga-n-di ya:-nu:-'-wuy wu=warga-n-di
 it threw_c to there it threw_c this way it threw_c
 yu:gu-ni, ya:-nu:-'-wuy yu:gu-ni, ya:-nu:-'-wuy, wurugurij
 to there this way to there this way slow
 n^ga wu-wala=bawalha-n^gi-yin^yun^g mari julub!,
 and then hollow log which was open_c and go in and hide
 wini=yabi-'n^y adaba a-wala-guy,
 they (MDu) went in_p then to hollow log
 lhiri-lhiribala-ala-a-j-bugij wini=ya-n^ggi n^ga
 only along inside they (MDu) went_c and then
 a:-'n^ybaj-baj ni=rabali-n^y n^gijan^g, wini=rabali-n^y,
 along other he came out_p more they (MDu) came out_p
 They (devils) came out. They (devils) threw boomerangs like that.
 They threw (them) this way and that way. (They, the dog and his rescuer) were going slowly. So they jumped into a hollow log which had an opening there, they went into the hollow log. They went along inside it. At another place he (the rescuer) came out. They both came out.

43.16 i::: wura:=ran^gga-n^y n^ga araga
 (meaningless) they looked_p and then suddenly
 ya:-wi-ni, wu=lhundi-n^y araga an^yja:bugij
 they (MDu) are here it (ANA) gave up_p suddenly one
 wu=lhamari-n^y, nin^ggu=wi-ni wu=yama:-' nin^ggu=wi-ni
 it came behind_p it (tried to) kill him_c it did that_c it killed him_c
 wu=yama:-' nin^ggu=wi-ni, girjag!, ana-badirin^ya,
 it did that_c it killed him_c no! devil

They (devils) looked, and there they (two) were. They (most of the devils) gave up (and went back). Just one (devil) came after them. It tried to kill him, but it could not. The devil.

43.17 wara-min^y-n^gambara ana-lha:wu, nambi-maga=maga:-'
 elders words they told us (ExPl)_c
 an-i:-jin^yun^g n^ga=yama-na n^ga=magi:-'na-yi:, ana-yimbaj
 this kind of thing I do that like I speak today

ana:-'ni wu:=yama:-' n^ga n^gambi=maga:-'
 this they did that_c and then they told me_c
 nu-ru nara:='ndiri-n^y niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi n^ga,
 we (ExPl) we did not want them_p we wanted it_c and then
 "numba=maga-na, lha:wu, a-lhawadhwara-yin^yun^g",
 tell (it) to us!_c words of dreaming
 nu:=yama:-' adaba nambi=maga:-', wara-mana_nu:::n^g n^ga
 we (ExPl) did that_c then they told us_c women and then
 wara-walya-walya, nambi=maga:-', da-ni-yun^g.
 men they told us (ExPl)_c that

The old people (now dead) told us this story, this kind of thing, like what I am saying now. They said this, they told me about it. We did not want them--or rather, we wanted it (story). We said to them, "Tell us about the dreamings (totems)." Then they told us, women and men, they told us. That is it.

Comments on text 43

The basic outline is as follows: two humanoid beings capable of flying (not identified further) who have a male dog with them on the ground, are attacked by a devil who is unable to capture the two flying beings but does manage to capture the dog. The two flying beings then return, and the elder of the two stages a daring rescue of the dog, who is being kept in some kind of underground cave with an open entrance to it.

The word for 'dog' here is given consistently in the human MSg form. However, this does not mean that the figure here is a humanoid 'Dog', like humanoid Emu and other characters in other texts; dogs (the only traditional domestic animals) often take human Sg suffix.

Dramatic rescues, whether from devils or other harmful creatures, are common in these texts. In addition to those which follow immediately, cf. text 40, texts 3-5, etc.

At the beginning of the text, the devils here are identified specifically as n^gala:ja. The ordinary meaning of this term is 'stick insect' and certain other very large mantis-like insects which are normally well camouflaged in green vegetation. These insects are often connected with devils. In Hughes (1969), item 13 is the same as my Munun^yulu text (my text 17) but identifies the two women as stick insect devils; Hughes' item 12 is another brief text about stick insect devils.

However, the text collected by Hughes which corresponds to the present text is not these but Hughes (1970), item 5. This involves a number of significant changes: instead of two flying beings there is just one ordinary boy with his dog; the dog is captured by two old women, who then take the dog and the boy to their cave. The rest of the text is similar to mine; the boy unites his dog at night and they make their escape. The little boy in Hughes' version is reminiscent of the little boy in other myths, notably in the Emu and Gecko myth (my texts 3-5).

TEXT 44 BUFFALO STEALS GIRL Milton (Gabanja)

44.1 ana-mu:ri, n^gin^gga:-'na=mi-n^y wa:n^g, mani-n^yun^g,
 buffalo it took her arm_p whatchamacallit woman
 mani-n^yun^g n^gin^gga:-'na=mi-n^y n^galan^yji-n^yun^g, wuman^gumang^gu,
 it took her arm_p girl lovemaking
 wu:-lhagara=ya-/ruj ba-gu n^gin^ggu-guj=gujguji:-ni n^ga
 where they were sleeping_c there it lifted her_c and then
 n^gin^ggu=lalaga-n^y n^gin^ggu=wargu-ri-n^y adaba, ba:::gu-ruj,
 it lifted her_p it carried her on back_p then there farther on
 wu=ya-n^ggi wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi adaba bu-gu-nu:-', adaba
 it went_c it went with (her)_c then to there then
 n^gin^ggu-wanba:='nbi:-ni n^gin^ggu-lirbi=lirbi-ma-n^gi,
 it did it to her_c it had fun with her_c

Buffalo. It grabbed a woman, a girl, by the arm, in order to have an illicit affair with her. It picked her up, there where they (the people) were sleeping (i.e. at their camp). It lifted her up and carried her away on its back. A little farther on, it went along with her and then, over there, it (put her down and) did it to her, it had fun with her.

Note: These are euphemisms for "it copulated with her". The 'rude' word is =da-.

44.2 wa:-'ra:-'ra=wi-n^yji:-ni wun^ga:ri, n^gar-uba-gi
 they (ANA) hit each other_c fight that (FSg)
 n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, wu-yama=yama:-'maga::: wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi:::
 woman it did that_c it went with (her)_c
 n^gin^ggu-wad=bara-n^gi, aba n^gi-ga n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y,
 it put her down_c then she that (FSg) she died_p
 n^gin^ggu-wudu=wudayi-jga:-', n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yun^g n^ga:-da-gi-yun^g,
 it wasted her_c girl that (FSg)
 ana-mu:ri ana:-'ni, wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi, da-ji
 buffalo this (ANA) it went with (her)_c there
 n^gin^ggu-warga=warga-y an-uba-ni n^gin^ggu=yadha-n^gi-maga:,
 it carried her on back_c that (ANA) it put her down_c
 n^gijan^g wa:-'n^yji=lalagi:-'ni n^gin^ggu=warga-y,
 more it got up with (her)_c it carried her on shoulder_c

They were fighting. That woman (fought it). It (buffalo) was doing that. It went along with her. It put her down (and raped her). That (woman) died then, it wasted her. This buffalo (still) went along with that girl (on its back). It carried her there on its back, then put her down. Again it got up and carried her along on its shoulder.

44.3 ya:-nu:-'wuy n^gin^ggu=bura-n^gi ama_rulbu-wuy,
 this way it put her down_c to back
 n^gin^ggu=warga-y-maga::: yin^gga Ø_ruluj=ganmarda-n^gi adaba
 it carried her on back_c nearly it desired shade_c then
 ana_ruluj n^gijan^g ba-gu wa:-'n^yji-n^gu=buri-Ø n^gijan^g wu-gu-ru
 shade more there it sat with (her)_c more it (ANA)
 ba-gu, wu-bu=buri-Ø-maga: ba-gu wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji-n^gu=buri:::-Ø
 there it sat_c there it sat with (her)_c
 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g ya:-ji n^gi-wala=walarlha-n^gi n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
 as for her here she lay on back_c that (FSg)
 n^gara-man^yung n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yung,
 woman that (FSg) girl

It put her on its back, this way. It carried her on its back. Then it wanted to get some shade, so it sat there in the shade with her. It stayed with her (in the shade) a long time. She was there lying on her back, that woman, that girl.

44.4 wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi-maga: n^gijan^g n^gin^ggu=warga-y-maga:::
 it went with (her)_c more it carried her on back_c
 n^gin^ggu=warga-y-maga::: yin^gga an-uba-ni ana_ruluj
 it carried her on back_c nearly that (ANA) shade
 Ø_rulun^y=na-ni, bu-gu-ni wa:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi ba-gu,
 it saw shade_c to there it went with (her)_c there
 n^gin^ggu-dhan^y=bara-n^gi, wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji-n^gu=buri-Ø-maga:::
 it put her down_c it sat with (her)_c
 n^gin^ggu-wanba:=nbi:-ni-maga:::, wa:-'n^yji=lalagi:-'ni,
 it did it to her_c it got up with (her)_c
 wa:-'n^yji=lalagi:-'ni adaba, wa:-'n^yja:-'n^yji=lalagi:-'ni-maga:
 it got up with (her)_c then it got up with (her)_c
 n^gin^ggu=warga-y ama_rulbu-wuy,
 it carried her on back_c to back

It went along with her, carrying her on its back. Then it saw the shade, and went over there with her. It dumped her (on the ground) and stayed with her. It did it (copulated) with her. It got up with her and carried it on its back.

44.5 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wuru-mun=dharmi-n^y, wuru-mun=dharmi-n^y
 as for them (Pl) they followed its foot_p they followed its foot_p
 an-uwa-ga:-'la, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wuru-mundhu-mun=dharma-n^gi
 from there they went_c they followed its foot_c
 wura:=ran^gga-n^y da-ni wu-lha-y, da-ni n^gi-ga ba-gu
 they looked_p it is there it stood_c it is there she there
 n^gi=murgulhi-Ø n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^gara-n^galan^yji-n^yung,
 she lay down_c that (FSg) girl

As for them (the people, relatives of the girl), they tracked its footprints. They came along, following its track. They looked, and there it was, standing over there. She, that girl, was lying down there.

44.6 adaba wuru=ra-ni an-uba-ni wuru=wargalha-n^gi,
 then they speared it_c that (ANA) they speared it repeatedly_c
 wuru-warga=wargalha-n^gi::: wura:-'ra=wulguldh-a-n^gi::: n^ga,
 they speared it repeatedly_c they cut it up_c and then
 adaba wi:ya! an-uba-ni:-'la-wala adaba, wi:ya!
 now finish! from that now finish!

Then they speared it (buffalo). They speared it repeatedly (they riddled it with spears). They cut it to pieces. That is all now.

TEXT 45 CROCODILE STEALS WOMAN
Milton (Gabanja)

45.1 wara-wa:n^g, wara-wa:n^g, wara-wa:n^g, lharagula,
 whatchamacallit crocodile (N^gARA class)
 lharagula, wuman^guman^gu n^gi=lhawadbi-n^y wuman^guman^gu,
 lovemaking it came out stealthily_p lovemaking
 n^gara-wuru-jun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gi=lhawadbi-n^y, n^ga:-'na=mi-n^y--,
 human (FSg) that (FSg) it came out_p it got her arm_p
 yuwa-ga:-'la lharagula-wala yu:-gu-ni, n^ga:-'na=mi-n^y adaba
 from there from crocodile to there it got her arm_p then
 wuman^guman^gu n^gi:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi adaba yu:-gu-ni,
 lovemaking it went with (her)_c then to there

Whatchamacallit, crocodile. It came out (of the water) stealthily to have an affair with a woman. It came out and grabbed a human woman by the arm. The crocodile did that to her. It grabbed her by the arm and took her over there to make love with her.

Note: The WARA noun class prefix with the 'whatchamacallit' word (line 1) turns out to be wrong; the noun 'crocodile' which Milton was trying to remember is in the N^gARA class.

45.2 n^gu=yaba-n^y ya:-ji n^gu=wargu-ri-n^y ama_rulbu-wuy
 it put her in_p here it carried her on back_p to back
 adaba, n^gu-bu=bududuga:-' n^gu-warga=warga-y, aba
 then it carried her piggyback_c it carried her on back_c then
 ama-gara-ruj *n^gu=yabi-'-ga-n^y adaba, n^gi-ga-wi-ruj
 in hole it made her go in_p then at her
 n^gi-ya=ya-Ø-ruj, ama-gara,
 where she slept_c hole

It (crocodile) put her inside. It carried her on its shoulder and back then. It carried her piggyback. It put her in the hole, where she stayed at night.

* =yabi-'-(j)ga- is the causative of =yabi-'- 'to enter', itself a high-frequency reflexive of =yaba- 'to put inside'.

45.3 ba-gu adaba, ba-gu adaba n^gu-wanba:=nbi:-ni
there then it did it to her_c

n^gu-lirbi=lirbi-ma-n^gi, yin^gga wa:='mbulwi:-ni war-uba-wa-yun^g
it had fun with her_c nearly it (WARA) was born_c those (WARA)
wara-gujuju yagu, lharagula-wugij, yin^gga wa:='mbulwi:-ni yagu
babies (WARA) but only crocodile nearly it was born_c but
war-uba-wa-yun^g wara-gujuju n^gi=ya-n^ggi-maga:::,
those (WARA) babies it went_c

There it (crocodile) did it to (copulated with) her, it had fun with her. Then some babies were born, but they were (baby) crocodiles. Those babies. It (adult crocodile) went.

45.4 n^ga:-'-dha=gararja-n^gi-maga: an-uba-ni ana-lhan^gaj,
it spilled (it) out for her_c that (ANA) small fish
ana-n^gujija n^gi=wi-ni-yin^yun^g n^gi=n^gu-ni-yin^yun^g, "ga::!"
fish which it killed_c which it ate_c (sound)
n^ga:-'-dha=gararja-n^gi war-uba-wa-yun^g ana-wun^ya:n^yun^g
it spilled (it) out for her_c those (WARA) small ones (ANA)
an-uba-ni-yun^g ∅=n^gu-ni,
that (ANA) it ate it_c

It dumped out some small fish for her (the woman). Some small fish which it (adult crocodile) had killed and swallowed. It made a noise doing that. It spilled them out (by regurgitation) for her, it (crocodile) ate those little ones (fish).

Note: It appears that war-uba-wa-yun^g in line 3 should be emended to an-uba-ni-yun^g 'that' in ANA class (not WARA class). It seems to refer to the small fish, rather than to the baby crocodiles (which are given in WARA class in 45.3).

45.5 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gi=n^gu-ni,
as for her that (FSg) she ate it_c
n^gi-rugu-rugu=wa-n^ga:-', adaba n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
she bit (ate) them (ANA) raw_c then that (FSg)
n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, n^gi-yama=yama:-' n^giwi:-'ji:-'=jan^ga-ni
woman she did that_c she thought_c
n^gi-bu=buri:::∅, adaba n^giwu-ga-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
she sat_c then she made hole_c as for her
n^ga, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^gara-mani-n^yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
and then that (FSg) woman that (FSg)
n^giwu-ga-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi, lharagula-wugij yamba *n^gu-yaba=yaba:-'
she made hole_c only crocodile because she bore it_c
n^gara-n^gari-mara-yun^g, n^gu-yaba=yaba:-' lharagula-wugij,
(woman's) daughter she bore it_c only crocodile

As for her (the human woman), she ate them (the fish) raw. That woman did that. She started thinking. She stayed there for a long time. She was making a hole (to escape through). That woman was making a hole, because she had given birth to crocodiles only. She had those crocodile daughters.

* Normally 3FSg subject on N^gARA object (here 'crocodile') would be prefix n^gi-, with n^gu reserved for the reverse or for 3FSg on 3FSg. Here, however, N^gARA (crocodile) is treated as 3FSg for agreement purposes, perhaps because the agreement is really with 'daughter', a kin term which is normally human. Note, though, that the usual nonhuman number system is used; although 'daughter' here really refers to a plurality of crocodile daughters, the form remains overtly Sg (or rather, unmarked for number and treated as Sg in agreement).

45.6 adaba n^giwu-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi n^giwu-ga-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi
then she made hole_c she made hole_c
n^gi-yadha:-'=dhida-n^gi da-gi:-'la-maga: n^gi-yadha:-'=dhida-n^gi
she closed (it) for it_c there it comes she closed (it) for it_c
n^gi-yaba:-'=badawadad-ga:-'-maga:, yin^gga ba-gi--, yin^gga
she made (it) strong for it_c nearly it is there nearly
na-lharagula-yun^g nu:-'ba-gi ni=ya-n^ggi, da-nu:-'wuy--,
crocodile (human MSg) that (MSg) he went_c that way
ba-ni:-'la wa:-'la:-'=lalma:-' adaba, a-lhan^gaj-baj
there it comes (ANA) it dawned_c then among small fish
adaba n^gi=ya-n^ggi, n^gi-yalhaga=lharma-n^gi, n^gi-yalhaga=lharma-n^gi,
then it went_c it hunted (fish)_c

Then she (woman) made a hole. She closed it up for it (crocodile). It (crocodile) was coming, so she (woman) closed it, she made it solid. (I.e., she concealed the hole when the adult crocodile was nearby.) That male crocodile was right there. Then he went that way. Later it dawned (several times). (I.e. several days passed.) Then it (crocodile) went hunting for the small fish.

Note: In the middle of this segment, the noun class of the (adult) male crocodile who has kidnapped the woman changes from N^gARA (the general noun class for 'crocodile') to human MSg, unusual for a nonhuman noun but perhaps appropriate for a text in which an adult male crocodile engages in eminently masculine behavior toward a human woman. However, by the end of this segment 'crocodile' is back in the N^gARA class.

45.7 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g adaba adha:dhari n^gi-rigi=riga-n-di adaba yuwa:-gu--,
as for her then behind she dug_c then there
a-wa;n-duj, adaba n^gi=wali-n^y na, n^gi=wali-n^y adaba
at whatchamacallit then she arrived_p now (Eng.) she arrived_p then
yuwa:-gu n^gi=rabali-n^y na, n^yju wara-goanna-yi:>--,
there she came out_p now (Eng.) similar like goanna lizard
wara-wada:bir-yi: yaga: wu:-dhi=dhidi:-'na, n^gi=yama-n^y,
like goanna ∅ it (WARA) is blocked she did that_p

As for her (the woman), she stayed behind (in the burrow) and dug her hole. Then she finally arrived there (outside the burrow). She came out then. Like a goanna lizard. Just like a goanna is covered up (i.e. in a burrow). She did that.

45.8 n^gi-yaba:-'badawad_a-ga::-' n^ga, n^gi=rabali-n^y, mari
she made it strong for it_c and then she came out_p and
n^gi-ya:=dhidi-n^y, n^gi-yadha:-'dhida-n^gi, aba n^gi=wuwalga-n^y,
she closed (it) for it_p she closed (it) for it_c then she ran_p
wara-garn^yirimba wara-wuru-wuruj, n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi:::
crowd people she proceeded_c
da-ji-ruj, n^gi-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^gi=yaran^gga-n^y
there farther on she proceeded_c she looked_p
ya:-wu-ru, n^gi=rabali-n^y ba-gu dhawad_a!, n^gi=rabali-n^y,
they are there (Pl) she came out_p there come out she came out_p
She made it (hole) strong for it (crocodile), then she came out through it. She closed it up for it (crocodile). Then she fled. The people (were some distance away). She kept going, farther on. She kept going. Then she saw them over here. She came out to them.

45.9 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^ga:-lharagula-yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
as for it crocodile (Sg) that (FSg)
n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, n^ga:-lharagula n^gi-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ba-gu,
it went_c crocodile it went_c there
n^gi-yalha:-'lhaga=lharma-n^gi n^gi-yama=yama:-'wugij, "a-ji-ga:-'li,
it was hunting_c it did that only_c from where?
a-ji-ga:-'la-yun^g n^gi=ya-n^ggi", n^gi=yama-n^y n^gi=rabali-n^y
from where she went_c it did that_p it came out_p
n^gi=yama:-' n^gi-yalhaga=lharmi-n^y n^gi=yaran^gga-n^y wu-gara=wawalha-n^gi,
it did that_c it hunted (fish)_p it looked_p hole was open_c
As for it, the crocodile, that one went along, the crocodile went there. It was hunting, like that. (It asked itself,) "How did she get out?" It went out and went hunting. It was hunting. Then it looked (and saw that) the burrow was open.

Note: It may be that the crocodile saw a woman going along and wondered whether it was the same woman it had kidnapped, then returned to its burrow to check on it.

45.10 aba a-mu:n-gala-waj n^gi=lhamari-n^y, a:-'rawuj-gala-waj
then along (on) foot it went after_p along the smell
n^gu-wara:-'rawuj=dharma-n^gi::: n^gun^yju ya:-wu-ra:-'la wuru=buri-^g
it followed her by smell_c similar here they come they sat_c
n^ga ya:-ji, n^gi=rabali-n^y an-uwa-ga:-'la, mawungarara-wugij
and then here it came out from there only in the open
n^gi=rabali-n^y, "way! ya:-ni:-'la yin^gga an-uba-ni
it came out_p oh! here it comes (ANA) nearly that (ANA)

ana-ga:n^ggan^yun^g, n^gan^gga:-'na=mi-n^y-jin^yun^g da-ni:-'lu:-'
awful thing which got me by arm_p there it comes
wu=ya:-ri:", n^gi=yama:-' n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g,
it goes she did that_c that (FSg) woman
"albal_a:::n^g!"
fast!

Then it (crocodile) went after (her) on foot (i.e. on the ground, out of the water). It tracked her by the scent she had left on the ground. It came out into the open about as far from the people as these people here are from us here. It came out into the open. (The woman, who had rejoined her people, exclaimed,) "Oh dear! That monster which seized me by the arm (and abducted me) is right over there coming toward us!" She said that, that woman. "(Kill it) fast!"

45.11 adaba a-la:ma wirin^ga=ra-ni, wirin^ga-warga=wargalha-n^gi
then shovel spear they speared it_c they speared it repeatedly_c
wirin^ga-warga=wargalha-n^gi wirin^ga-warga=wargalha-n^gi n^gi-ga
it (N^gARA)

n^gi=ya-n^ggi-wugij n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, lan^yun^yun^g,
it went only_c that (N^gARA) forward
wirin^ga=wargalha-n^gi-maga: wirin^ga-warga=wargalha-n^gi
they speared it repeatedly_c they speared it repeatedly_c
wirin^gga-warga=wargalha-n^gi n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g la:ma-wugij
they speared it repeatedly_c that (N^gARA) only shovel spear
wu-nin^ybi-nin^y=baragala-n^gi la:ma-wugij aba, wu-gu-ra:-'j-bugij
it formed bunch_c only shovel spear then themselves only
adaba, ana:-'rgi wirin^ga:-'ra:-'ra=wulguldha-n^gi badan^gu-miri:::
then some (ANA) they cut it all up_c with ax
n^ga, badan^gu-miri aba wirin^ga:-'ra=wulguldha-n^gi.
and then by means of ax then they cut it all up_c

Then they (the people) speared it over and over (with) shovel spears (spears with metal blade heads). It was still going forward (not yet dead). They kept spearing it, riddling it with spears. The shovel spears were bunched (in its skin). Then some of them (people) cut it up into pieces with an ax.

Comments on texts 44 and 45

These two texts obviously belong together; both involve the capture of a human woman by a feared animal (buffalo, crocodile) for sexual purposes, and the eventual slaughter of the animal by the woman's relatives. The obvious differences between the two are that in the crocodile version (text 45) the woman has (crocodile) children and eventually escapes, while in the buffalo version (text 44) the woman dies at an early point.

In a certain fashion, these two texts resemble some of the myths

presented above insofar as a capture and recapture (or at least retribution) is involved. However, from the point of view of the speaker, these two texts are not myths in the usual sense; they are not dreamtime events involving totemic beings who shaped the physical landscape and the social order. Rather, these two are 'true stories' (this is Milton's own expression, in English), meaning that these events are alleged to have been witnessed by actual human beings within living memory. (At least, when Milton was younger he heard these stories from persons who claimed to have witnessed the events.) This does not imply that other 'myths' are untrue in Milton's view, but only that he can directly and personally vouch for their authenticity in a way which is not possible with ordinary myths.

These stories reflect a certain dread toward the two animals involved--crocodiles (notably the marine crocodile, though *lharagula* is also applied to the less dangerous freshwater crocodile) for obvious reasons; buffaloes (a recently introduced but now plentiful species) because of their frequent hostile encounters with Aboriginals. (Aborigines often hunt buffaloes with guns now, and the buffaloes may charge at a human if they spot one; buffaloes also may stray into human camps at night.) In addition, the more subtle theme of the human group's loss of its young women (through wife-stealing, or even ordinary marriage) seems to be present though not in a crystallised fashion.

Rituals and corroborees

46.1 wura:-'jiga=lharma-n^yji:-ni wura:-'jiga=lharma-n^yji:-ni
 they followed each other by fire_c
 ana-n^gura, wu-gu-ru wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi an-uwa-ga:-'la-yin^yun^g
 fire they they wanted them_c of from there
 wara:-'jiga=lharma-n^gi, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji:-'la-yin^yun^g
 they followed them by fire_c as for them of over here
 wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi ana-wagi-yan^gu-yin^yun^g, wara:-'jiga=lharma-n^gi,
 they wanted them_c of from south (see above)
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la-yin^yun^g wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yun^g
 as for them of from there they who wanted them_c
 ana-ramali:-'la, war-uba-wi-yun^g wuru=milgi:-ni
 from east those (WARA) they went visiting_c
 wara:-'jiga=lharma-n^gi,
 they followed them by fire_c

(In the old days) they (Aborigines) used to find where each other was by seeing their fires in the distance (and heading for them). They (one group), from over there, followed the fire of (the other group), they wanted (to meet with) them. On the other hand, the group over here wanted to meet with the others. The ones (over here,) in the south, wanted them and located them by their fires. The ones over there, the ones who wanted them, came visiting from the east, following (the others) by their fires.

Note: Smoke rising from campfires can often be seen at a great distance and is the most common way by which one group of Aboriginals spotted another group living nearby.

46.2 wa:=lhan^garma:-', *wuru=maga-n^yji:-ni-yun^gguyun^g a-lha:wu,
 they reached them_c to tell each other_c words
 wara-manda=n^gun^ymaa:-'yun^gguyun^g wara-wuruj, wu:=yamin^ggari:-ni
 to examine the group_c humans (WARA) they did what?_c
 "a-ji-ga-ruj ya:-wa wu:-mulu=murgulha:-'',
 where? (farther on) they are here (WARA) they lie down
 wuru=yama:-' wi:-lhal=maya:-', aran^gali, yin^ymalamar,
 they did that_c they named country_c (place n.) (place n.)
 "ya:-wa wu:-mulu-n^gu=bura:-' amabara, lhirinbij,
 they (WARA) are here they sit (place n.) (place n.)
 wu:=yama:-', wu:-mandan^gun^ymaa-n^yji:-ni wara-wuruj.
 they did that_c they examined each other_c humans (WARA)

They caught up with them. So they could speak to each other and size them up. Those people had done what? "Where are they? Here they are, lying down," they (one group) said. They mentioned the name of the country: Aran^gali, Yiny^ymalamar, or whatever. "They are staying here at Amabara, (or) Lhirinbij, (or whatever)," they said. They sized each other up, the people.

* Most often, Purposive suffix -yun^gguyun^g in the sense 'in order to' will take a Past Potential inflection, but here the inflection is Past (Active) Continuous. Ditto in line 2.

TEXT 47 RITUALS
Ma:di

47.1 wu:=yama:-' wuru=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, they did that_c they who wanted each other_c wara-min^y-n^gambara, ana-wunumbi-yaj, ana-wagi-yaj, ana:-'rgali-n^yi, elders northward southward westward ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g mana-madhalag, nu-ri:-'-waj ana-lha:l this (ANA) coming beach among us (ExPl) country ana-lha:l wurindi, Bickerton, Groote Eylandt, country (place n.) (island) wa:-nu-magala:ba-yun^g, wa:-nundhilagu, wa:='ri people of (place n.) people of Groote not ambu:=yami-jga-n^yji:-ni, wu:-dir=n^gawi:-'ni, wa:='n^ybaj they did that do each other they were afraid_c it is other ana-lha:wu, a:-'ni-wugij n^ga=yambi:-ni-wugij wu:=yama:-' words only this I spoke only_c they did that_c wuru=yambi:-ni, bu-jun^yun^g-jun^yun^g, da-ni-yun^g, wu:=yama:-', they spoke_c that kind of thing that (ANA) they did that_c They did that, the ones who wanted (to be with) each other, the elders (now dead). North, south, west, along here on the beach (i.e. in the coastal area), among us at the place Wurindi. (Also Bickerton Island and Groote Eylandt, their people. They did not say that (i.e. did not talk openly) to each other, they were afraid. The words were different (i.e. no-one else's business). They just said these things (i.e. public myths), like I have been saying. They said that, that kind of thing.

47.2 wura:='dandi-n^yji:-ni an-u-gu-ni ana:-'n^ybaj-guy, they sent each other messages_c to there to other (ANA) an-uwa-ga:-'la wara:='gada-n^gi wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yun^g, from there they shouted for them_c they whom they wanted_c wara-wuruj, "yaga: nu:=yamin^ggari:-na", "n^gu:=ya:-ri:", people Ø what are you (Pl) doing? we (InPl) go wu:=yama:-', wu:=yama:-', wu:-lhawu=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, they did that_c they who wanted each other's words_c an-uba-ni-yun^g, wura:='gadi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, that (ANA) they who shouted to each other_c wura:='dharma-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, mana-ya:di, ana-walag, they who followed (it) for each other_c mortuary ritual coffin

an-uba-jun^yun^g, wu:=yama:-', wu:-lhawu=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, that kind of thing they did that_c they who wanted each other's words_c ana-lha:wu, wu:=yama:-', da-ni-yun^g, words they did that_c it is there

They sent each other messages, over to that other (place). They came calling to them, the ones whom they wanted to be with, the people. "How about it, what are you doing?" "We (inclusive) are going (for a ritual)." They said that, the ones who wanted to hear each other's words and who came in search of each other's words. The Ya:di (mortuary) ritual, the coffin (ritual). That kind of thing, they did that, the ones who wanted to hear each other's words. They did that, there.

47.3 wara-balamu-wala, wara-bararbuy-ala, wara-dhamalamir-ala, from (clan/tribe n.) from (clan n.) from (clan n.) wa:-dhuwili-yala, wu:=yama:-', wiri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yun^g from (clan n.) they did that_c they who wanted it (ANA)_c ana-lha:wu, ana:-'la ana-bambiliwar-in^yun^g wa:-nun^ggulan^ggur, words river of (place n.) (clan/tribe n.)

wara-babul, wu:=wagari-n^yji:-ni wu:=yama:-', (clan n.) they headed for each other_c they did that_c wu:=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g wu:-yan^y=jan^ga-n^yji:-ni, they who wanted each other_c they heard each other's voice_c an-uba-jun^yun^g, da-ni-yun^g, wu:=yama:-', that kind of thing it is there they did that_c

(They came) from the Balamumu clan/tribe (i.e. the Nunggubuyu term for speakers of the Dhuwal, Dhay'yi, and similar Yuulngu languages), from the Bararbuy, Dhamalamir, and Dhuwili clans (in the Yuulngu area to the north). The ones who wanted those words (i.e. rituals). The Nun^ggulan^ggur people from the Roper River area (e.g. Warndarang speakers), the Babul clan (upper Roper R.). They headed for each other (came together) like that. The ones who wanted (to get together with) each other heard each other's voices. That kind of thing, they did that.

47.4 wuru=marbuy-a-n^yji:-ni, wuru=marbuy-ma:-'yun^gguyun^g, they informed each other_c in order that they know_c wu:=yama:-', wu:=yama:-' wuru=wabi:-'ni-yin^yun^g, they did that_c they who did it_c wiri:-'=jan^ga-ni-yin^yun^g, an-uba-ni-yun^g-ga-jin^yun^g, war-uba-wi-yun^g they heard the words_c of long ago those (WARA) wa:-yan^y=jan^ga-ni-yin^yun^g wara-bun^ggawa, wu:=yami-jgi:-'ni-yin^yun^g, they who heard their voices_c bosses they who told themselves_c an-uba-ni-yun^g wu:-yan^g=ala:di-yi:-'ni-yin^yun^g yagu wa:='ri, that (ANA) they whose voices were bad_c but not

wiri:='la:di-ya:-'yin^yung yagu wa:='ri, da-ni-yum^g, wu:=yama:-' , they who made it (ANA) bad_c but not it is there they did that_c They let each other know, so that they (the others) would know. They did that. The ones who were doing it, those who heard the words, the ones who listened to what the bosses (elders, leaders) said, the ones who said it to themselves. But not the ones with bad voices, not the ones who fouled up (the words). That is how it was.

47.5 wura:='dharga-n^yji-n^yji:-ni ana-lha:wu, wi:=lharga-n-di they sent (it) to each other_c words they sent it_c ana-lha:wu, da-ni-yun^g, wu:=yama:-' , war-ubu-ru-yun^g words it is there they did that_c those (Pl) wiri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi ana-lha:wu yagu, wu:=ya-n^ggi, war-ubu-ru-yun^g they wanted it_c words but they went_c those (Pl) wa:='ri ambiri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi yagu, wa:='ri ambu:=ya-n^ggi, not they wanted it but not they went wu:=yal=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung, wuru-bari=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung -- they who were tired_c they who were tired of walking_c They sent the word (message) to each other, they sent the word. That is how they did it. Those people (i.e. some of them) wanted the words (the ritual) and they went. Those (other) people did not want it and they did not go--the ones who were tired, the ones who were tired from walking. (Interruption.)

47.6 da-ni-yun^g, ana-lha:wu, wu:=ya=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yung it is there words they who wanted each other's words_c war-ubu-ru-yun^g wu:=ya-n^ggi, wa:='ri ana-lha:wu those (Pl) they went_c not words ambu:=ya=n^gan^ybandi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yung, wa:='ri ambu:=ya-n^ggi, they who wanted each other's words not they went wu:=yal=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung, wuru=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung, da-ni-yun^g, they who were tired_c they who died_c it is there Those are the words. The ones who wanted to hear each other's words (rituals), they went. The ones who did not want to hear each other's words did not go, the ones who were tired, the ones who were dying (i.e. very tired). That is how it was.

47.7 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'n^yba-jin^yung, an-uba-ni as for it (ANA) of other (ANA) that (ANA) na:--gi-yin^y-jin^yung n^gani=yajgindha-n^gi-yin^yung, of this man (MSg) which he asked me_c (verb = creole ajgim 'ask') wa:='ri ambi:=lirbi-ya:-' wara-min^y-n^gambara, wa:='ri not they had fun with it elders not ambiri=wagiwa:-' , wa:='ri ambu:-lhawu=rabala-n^gi ana-lha:wu, they broke it off not they came out (with) words words

wara-wuru-wuruj-baj, wara-mij-buruya-baj wara-mana_num-baj, among people among children among women wara-mij-gulmur-waj, wara-n^gala-n^galany^yji-waj, wa:='ri, among bachelors (circumcised) among girls not

As for these other (words), the ones which this man (Heath) asked me about, the old people did not use to take them lightly. They did not blurt them out, they did not divulge those words (ritual secrets) among the people, among the children, among the women, among the young men (circumcised but unmarried), among the girls. Not at all.

47.8 nu-ru wu-wan^yja:='ri yamba an-i:-jin^yung we (ExPl) it is absent because this kind of thing wu:=yamba=yambi:-na-yin^yung, nu-ru an-ubu-jun^yung, ana:-'-ni which they speak (about) we (ExPl) that kind of thing this (ANA) wu-gu-ru ana-yimbaj, ya:-ni yamba wiri=wana_nga-na, it (ANA) today it is here because they hold it wu:-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni n^ga-gu-ru wara-min^y-n^gambara, wara-mana_nun^g they were afraid_c we (InPl) elders women n^gara:--n^gu-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni, wara-walya-walya we were afraid of them_c men n^gara:--n^gu-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni, wara-mij-buruyag (see above) children n^gara:--n^gu-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni, n^ga-gu-ra:-'yun^g-miri as for us (InPl) n^gu:-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni-miri, na:-muruyun^g-gan^g, we were afraid_c elder brothers n^gara:--n^gu-dir=n^gawi:-'-ni, we were afraid of them_c We here--. This thing which they talk about is absent (cannot be revealed). Because they (elders) still 'hold' (keep control of) it (ritual) today. They were afraid, we elders were afraid. We were afraid of the women, the (uninitiated) men, the children. Even among ourselves, we were afraid of our older brothers.

47.9 wa:='ri a:-da-nu:-' ambu:=yama:-' ambiri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi, wara-min^y-n^gambara, not that they did that they wanted it elders war-uba-wi-yun^g-ga-jin^yung, wu:-lhaga-lhagara=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung, of the time of those people they who all died_c wuru-n^gawa=n^gawi:-'-ni-yin^yung, wu:=ja:du-ga-n^yji:-ni-yin^yung, they who died_c they who finished each other off_c lha:l-ugij wu=many^ymaji wu=bura:-' , xxx, ana:-'-ni n^ga=yambi:-na only country it is deserted it sits this I speak

^gani=yama-ni, ya:-ni today, ^gani=yama-ni, yagi ^giyan^g
 he asks me it is here he asks me not more
ana-more ^gani=yami-∅ na:-'gi, finish!,
 further he will ask me this (MSg) that is all

The old people did not do that, they did not like that. Back in those days. Now there is just abandoned country (there). (I.e. the people have moved to settlements away from their traditional land.) This (language) that I am speaking, what he (Heath) asks of me, he will not do it any more (i.e. he will not ask me about ritual matters). That is all.

Note: Ma:di had misunderstood my discussion with him before this taping was made; he thought I wanted him to spill ritual secrets on the tape and is explaining that he cannot do that.

47.10 adaba ^ga-lha:bi-n^y, ^gijan^g wu=wili_bilin^gi:-na yamba
 now I refused_p more it goes around because
 ana-lha:wu, yu:-gu-ni a:-'la:di-wuy, a-trouble-wuy, wa:='ri
 words to there to bad thing to trouble not
 wara-mananung-guy ambu:-wara:-'wa:='wang ga-n^y-jin^yung,
 to women they who do not listen
^ga-dir=^gawi:-'na, ^gaya, ana:-'ni, ^ga-dir=^gawi:-'na,
 I am afraid I this I am afraid
 wu=yama-na ana-lha:wu ana:-'ni ana-yimbaj, ana:-'ni
 it does that words this today this (ANA)
^ganu=maga-na, na:-'gi wani-yama=yama-ni-yin^yung, da-ni-yun^g,
 I tell him this (MSg) he who asks them it is there
 I refuse to say any more. Because the words go around and go to (create) trouble. Not to the women, they cannot hear it. I am afraid, me here, I am afraid. The words are like that today, these words that I tell him, this man who will do that. That is how it is.

47.11 ma:lamburg nura:-'dha:-'=dharma-n^yji:-ni::: ^ga
 proper we followed (it) for each other_c and then
 wu:=buri-∅, wu=ma:lambur-bugij wu=malam-bugij wa:='ri ^gijan^g
 they sat_c it was only good it was only good not more
^ggu-bar=wari-∅ ^ggu-bar=wari-∅, wa:='ri ^gijan^g
 it was crooked not more
^ggu-bar=wari-∅, ana-yinag, ambiri=lalibijga:-',
 it was crooked head they divulged it
 ambiri-bar=waru-ga:-', ana:-'ni wu=yama:-',
 they made it crooked this it did that_c
 war-uba::::wi-yun^y-ga-jin^yung,
 in the time of those (Pl)

(What I have told you is) all right. We used to come together (for rituals). They stayed (there), everything was all right. There

was nothing crooked (improper) in the head, they did not divulge the secrets or foul them up. This is how it was in those days.

47.12 wa:='ri ^gijan^g wara-wuruj, an-ubu-jun^yung
 not more people (WARA) that kind of thing
 ambara=ji:bu-ga:-', wiri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yung^g,
 they brought them close they who wanted it_c
 wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yung^g, *yi:-wi:-ga-jin^yung^g-bugij,
 they who wanted them_c of grey-haired ones only
 wu:-n^gara-n^gu=buri-∅, mi-jiwan^ggu-wa-jin^yung wu:-n^gara-n^gu=buri-∅,
 they all sat_c of among old men they all sat_c
 an-uba-gu, ana-lha:wu, wu:=yambi-n^yji:-ni, da-ni-yun^g,
 there words they spoke to each other it is there
 ya:-ni:-'li ^ga=yambi:-na, ana:-'garay n^gan^y=ja:-ri:
 here it goes I speak tomorrow I will go_c
 yu:-gu-ni a:-'n^ybaj-guy, wurugu n^ga-dan=gayi-n^y yamba
 to there to other (place) later I hurt my guts_p because
 ana:-'ni ana-yimbaj,
 this (ANA) today

They (elders) did not let them (others) get close to that kind of thing, the ones who wanted to hear it, the ones who wanted to be with them. Only for the old, grey-haired men sitting there. They spoke to each other there. Here I am speaking. Tomorrow I will go somewhere else, because I have gotten sick here today.

* Based on wi:g 'grey hair', hence yi:-wi:-gaj 'among grey hair'; to this is added Relative -yin^yung^g and -wugij 'only'.

47.13 ^ganu=maga-na, ^ga-dir=^gawi:-'na, ^ga-dir=^gawi:-'na
 I tell him I am afraid I am afraid
 ana:-'ni, wa:='ri yamba n^gan^g=garan^gga:-' mana-bagalang^g
 this not because I looked eye
 ma:='la:di, ^ga-ba=gala:di, da-ni-yun^g, wa:='ri ana-yaralali
 it is bad I have bad eye it is there not side
 yamba, wara-min^y-n^gambara ambu:-yamba=yambi:-ni,
 because elders they spoke
 an-ubu-jun^yung^g-jun^yung^g, ana-yaralali, o:-'ba-ni-yun^g,
 that kind of thing side that (ANA)
 wu:=wawan^ggi:-ni-yala-wa-jin^yung^g, wu:=wawan^ggi:-ni-yala-wa-jin^yung^g
 they who were along there listening_c
 o:-'ba-ni-yun^g wara-wuruj-dhan^gu wara:-'wa wara-garn^yirimba,
 that (ANA) all the people those (WARA) crowd
 bu-jun^yung^g-jun^yung^g, wu:=wawan^ggi:-ni
 that kind of thing they listened_c
 I tell him this. I am afraid of this. Because I could not look, the eyes are bad. That is it. Because the old people did not speak

on the side about that kind of thing. All of those people who were there listening for that kind of thing, that crowd, (did not hear the secrets).

47.14 wa:='ri ana-wadawadad ana-lha:wu ambiri=lharma-n^gi
not strong words they chased it
ambu:=yambi:-ni, adaba war-uba-wi-yun^g "i:;" wu:=yama:-'
they spoke then those (WARA) yes! they did that
wura:='ndarma:-', ba-ni-yum-bugij n^ga, wa:='ri
they agreed_c it is only there and then not
ambiri=lalibija:-', ana-lha:wu, da-ni-yun^g, "wu:=yama-na,
they divulged it words it is there they do that
ana-yimbaj, n^ga:mbu=yambi-n^yji:-na lha:wu,
today we (InPl) will speak to each other_c words
wara-lhalma-lhalmar-yin^yung wu:=yama:-' wara=maga:-',
of strangers they did that they told them_c

They did not go after the strong (i.e. secret) words, they did not speak (them). Those people said "Yes!," they agreed (to tell certain designated individuals). That is how it was. They did not divulge it widely, the words. "They do that now, we will speak among ourselves the words, (with) the strangers." They said that, they told them.

47.15 wa:='ri-yin^yung ambura:-'wa:='wan^ggi:-ni-yin^yung,
(they) who not they who listened
ana-lhal-an^yba-du-jin^yung wuru-bu=buri-∅, wara:='gara-n^gi-yin^yung
of in another country they sat_c they who headed for them_c
adaba wi:-lhawu=wana^yga:-'yin^yung n^ga, war-uba-wi-yun^g
then they who held the words_c and then those (WARA)
ba-wi-yun^g wu:=magi:-'ni wara=maga:-', ana-lha:wu,
they (WARA) are there they told_c they told them_c words

The ones who did not (want to) listen stayed in another country. The ones who came to the ones who held the words, they (the holders) told them the words.

47.16 nambi=yanbi-n^y nambi=n^gan^ybandi-n^y,
they did it to us (ExPl)_p they wanted us_p
"n^gana:='gi:-ni ana:-'ni, n^ga=ya-n^ggi, n^gawuwuyarbi,
I fetched you (Pl)_c this (ANA) I went_c (?)
nu-gu-ri:-'wuy, n^ga:mbu=bura:-', yu:=gu-ni, numbura:='ni-n^y,
to you (Pl) we (InPl) will sit_c to there you (Pl) come!_p
wa:='dbir-ma-n^y ana-marya, n^ga:mbu=n^gu-yi:", wu:=yama:-'
it dried up_p food we (InPl) will eat it_c they did that_c
wura:='n^yja=n^gun^ymaa:-'ala, "i!: n^ga:mbu=ya:-ri: muga
after they examined with food_c yes! we (InPl) will go_c indeed

ana:='ni ",
this (ANA)

They (the old people) did it to us, they wanted (invited) us. (One of them might say,) "I have come here to fetch you all. I have come to you. We will stay (together) over there. Come with me! The food has dried up, we will eat it." They said that after they checked out the food supply. "All right! We will go!"

Note: The usual time for large ritual congregations is toward the end of the dry season when the floodwaters have dried up. Vegetable food, notably certain tubers and roots, can easily be obtained around some of the larger billabongs at that time of year.

47.17 adaba wu:=ya-n^ggi wu:=lalagi:-'ni, war-uba-wi-yun^g-guy
then they went_c they got up_c to those (WARA)
adaba wuru=buri-∅-wuy--, wi:-lhal-an^ga=ran^gara-n^gi-wuy,
then to (where) they sat_c to (where) they waited in the country_c
wara:='gan^ga=ran^gara-n^gi-wuy, wiri=yagara-n^gi,
to (where) they waited for them in the camp_c they headed for it_c
da-ni-yun^g, wu-gu-ru an-uba-ni, an-in^y-mulun^guwa-yin^yung
it is there it (ANA) that (ANA) of wild (dangerous) words
wuru-win^yji=wi-n^yji:-ni-yin^yung, wuru-n^gawa=n^gawi-'-jga-n^yji:-ni-yin^yung,
they who fought_c they who made each other die_c
wa:='ri ana-da-nu:-' ambiri=dugubasha-n^gi amba:=yambi:-ni,
not that (ANA) they discussed it they spoke to them_c
ambu:=yambi-n^yji:-ni, wu:=ya-y wiri:='ru:-',
they spoke to each other_c they slept_c they abandoned it_c
Then they got up and went to where those people were staying, to where they were waiting in the camp taking care of the country, to where they were waiting for them in the camp. They headed for it over there. On the other hand, the people who used wild (angry, murderous) words, the one who fought all the time and who killed each other, they did not discuss it (secret ritual) publicly and did not speak to them. They just slept (if there was fighting) and left it (ritual) aside.

47.18 ama-larda-yun^gguyun^g wu:-dir=n^gawi:-'ni,
for spear they were afraid
wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni-yun^gguyun^g, ama:-'lwa-jun^gguyun^g wara-mij-buruyag
in order to spear each other_c for neck children
war-ubu-ru-yung wara-mananun^g war-ubu-ru-yung, wara-mij-gulmur
those (Pl) women those (Pl) bachelors
war-ubu-ru-yung, da-ni-yun^g ni-ga-wi-miri nu:-'ba-gi-yung,
those (Pl) it is there by him that (MSg)
ni-dir=n^gawi:-'ni, da-ni-yun^g, ana-lha:wu, wu-lhawu=yama:-',
he was afraid_c it is there words words did that_c

wuru=maga-n^yji:-ni, wuru=marbuy-a-n^yji:-ni,
they told each other_c they informed each other_c
wuru=marbuy-un^gguyun^g n^gun^yju, ana-lha:wu,
so that they knew similar words

They were afraid about spears, about spearing each other in the neck. Those children, those women, those young men. That one (man), he was afraid. The words were like that. They told each other, they informed each other so that everyone would know the words (the knowledge).

47.19 ya:-ni n^ga=yama-na n^ga=yambi:-na yimbaj, ana:-'garay
it is here I do that I speak today tomorrow
n^gan^y=ja:-ri:, *n^ga=wugubadhi:-', ran^yjirij-guy,
I will go_c I walk about (from Eng.) to (place n.)
n^gamugijgaj yagu yagi wu=lalmi-∅-yaj, a-n^gujija
early morning but not when it will dawn fish.
n^ga=n^gadugumbi:-na, n^gan^y=ja:-ri:, da-ni-yun^g, Thursday
I will fish with hook_c I will go_c it is there
ana:-'garay muga Wednesday ana:-'garay, Friday, Saturday,
tomorrow indeed tomorrow
a:-'garay n^gan^y=ja:-ri: Saturday **n^gan=da:gi-n^y, an-uwa-ga:-'la,
tomorrow I will go_c I will return_p from there

I am saying this here now, but tomorrow I will go walkabout to the place Ran^yjirij. Early in the morning, when it has not yet dawned. I will catch fish with hook and line. I will go. That is that, tomorrow Thursday. Or rather tomorrow is Wednesday. Then Friday and Saturday. I will go tomorrow and come back from there on Saturday.

* This should probably be in the future, hence n^gan^g=gugubadhi:- assuming that w in this loanword becomes g (not b) after nasal or stop.

** /=a:gi-/ with d inserted by phonological rule.

47.20 da-ni-yun^g, wuru=maga-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, ana-lha:wu,
it is there which they told each other_c words
ano:-'ba-ni-yung-ga-jin^yun^g wara-mi-jiwan^ggu, wara-mananun^g,
of long ago old men women
wura:=wan^ggi:-ni-yala, wara-mananu:::n^g wara-n^gala-n^galan^yji,
after they listened_c women girls
wara-mij-buruyag, da-ni-yun^g, an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-Roper-wala-yin^yun^g,
children it is there from there of Roper R.
n^ga=malala:di a:-da-nu:-' ana-lha:wu, war-uwa:-wa:-'la
I am ignorant that (ANA) words those coming (WARA)
ana-wagi-yan^gu ana-Borroloola-ala, ana-Limmen-gala, n^ga=malala:di,
from south from (place n.) from (place n.) I am ignorant

ana-lha:wu,
words

That is the words which they told each other in the old days-- old men, women, when they listened. The women and girls, the children. That is how it was. However, I do not know (much) about the words (myths, customs) down there around the Roper River (e.g. Warndarang). I am likewise ignorant of those people in the south around the Limmen Bight River and the town of Borroloola.

47.21 ya:-ni:-'li all-right numbulwar-ala n^ga
it is here going from (place n.) and then
n^gaya-wi yu:-gu-ni Cape Barrow-wuy n^ga yu:-gu-ni
(to) my to there to (place n.) and then to there
a:-'n^g-guy, wurindi n^ga juy! wunumbi-yaj,
to whatchamacallit (place n.) and then go northward
n^ga=marbuy, ana-lha:wu, wu-gu-ru ana-waga-waga-yin^yun^g
I know words it (ANA) of in the south
n^ga=malala:di a:-da-nu:-' ana-lha:wu, wara-yigul mob
I am ignorant that (ANA) words (n. of tribe) Pl (creole)
n^ga=malala:di, wa:-ridhi-ridharn^gu n^ga=malala:di wara-n^ganda-n^gandi
I am ignorant Ritharngu (tribe) I am ignorant Ngandi (tribe)
n^ga=malala:di, wa:-rimbi-rimbarn^ga n^ga=malala:di a:-da-ni
I am ignorant Rembarnga (tribe) I am ignorant that (ANA)
ana-lha:wu,
words

I know the words (knowledge) all right from here, at Numbulwar, through my country to Cape Barrow and over there to whatchamacallit, Wurindi, northward. However, I do not know much about the words (of the tribes) in the south--the Yugul bunch. I am ignorant of the Ritharngu, the Ngandi, the Rembarnga. I do not know those words.

Note: The Yugul were on the Roper R. to the south and appear to have spoken a dialect similar to Warndarang and Mara; it was not recorded and is now extinct. The other 'tribes' (groups of clans speaking the same primary language) are to the west and northwest of the main Nunggubuyu territory. Ma:di's own clan territory includes Cape Barrow, while Wurindi belongs to another clan but was the most important general ritual congregation area for the central Nunggubuyu clans (who are collectively called num-burindi 'people of Wurindi' by the Mara to the south).

47.22 n^gijan^g n^ga=maraa-∅-maji:, n^gan^y=jambi:-na-maji:,
more if I go off course_p if I speak_c
a:-'n^ybaj-guy n^gan^y=jambi:-na n^gan^y=ja:-ri:,
to other (place) I will speak_c I will go_c
n^ga=malala:di-yi:-'na ana-lha:wu yamba, wa:='ri
I will make myself ignorant_c words because not

^gan^y-jamba=yambi:-ni ano::-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj wara-min^y-n^gambara-waj,
 I spoke long ago among elders
 a:-da-nu:-', n^ga ana-yimbaj wu:-n^gara-n^gara=gambulwi:-ni-ruj
 that (ANA) and then today where they were all born_c
 ana:-'ni ana-yimbaj, wu:=yama-na, wa:='ri
 this (ANA) today they do that not
 n^gan^g=gawan^ggi:-ni-wugij, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g-bugij a-language,
 I only listened only mine

a-lha:wu, an-ubu-jun^yun^g-jun^yun^g wura:-'ra:-'ra:='nbi:-'ni-yin^yun^g,
 words that kind of thing which they did_c
 wuru-wara=wuryuwi:-'ni-yin^yun^g,
 which they conversed (about)_c

If I speak about some place away from (where I am familiar with the knowledge), if I go (through speech) to some other (unfamiliar) place, I will make mistakes. Therefore I did not speak (about those places). (I spoke about) long ago, when the old people were alive. Nowadays, here (at Numbulwar) where they (the living people) were all born, they do that (pass on knowledge). I did not listen (to stories about the other places). Just my own (clan's) words, that kind of thing which they did it about, which they talked to each other about.

47.23 n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g-jin^yun^g-bugij jaldú,
 of mine only that'll do (creole)
 o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-ga-jin^yun^g n^ga-yamba=yambi:-ni-yin^yun^g yigaj,
 of long ago which I speak there!
 na-Dr. Brandl, ana-lha:wu, bu-jun^yun^g-jun^yun^g ana:-'ni
 (name) words that kind of thing this (ANA)
 n^gawu=yan^ga-yi: ana-lha:wu n^gaya, wa:='ri wara:-'n^yba-jin^yun^g
 I hear it words I not of others (Pl)
 wara:-'n^yba-jin^yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:-wala=wali:-'
 from there they arrive
 wara:-'n^yba-jin^yun^g, wa:='ri n^ganggu=yan^ga-n^g mari ya:-gi,
 of others not I hear it and he is here
 n^ga=yambi:-na-yin^yun^g, a:-'ni a-yimbaj, ana-lha:wu.
 which I speak this (ANA) today words

Only about my own (I speak). I talk about long ago, like that! The words (I told) Dr. Brandl, that kind of thing. I understand ('hear') this language, but not that of others (i.e. other clans far away). I do not understand it (their knowledge). He (Heath) is here. This is the language I speak here today.

Comments on text 47

This very long and rambling text was given in a rather slow and hesitant style. As noted in 47.9, Ma:di had misunderstood my

request as aimed at prying out esoteric ritual knowledge. Since he had, at an earlier time, revealed such material to other field-workers and had been berated for doing so by other ritual leaders, he was sensitive to this matter and was plainly uncomfortable as he produced this text. Parts of it are difficult for me to construe, either at sentence level or in terms of the coherence of larger sequences. The text is nonetheless interesting for a number of phraseological and linguistic points which I will not deal with here.

TEXT 48 FEATHER MESSAGES FOR GUNABIBI RITUAL Yurumura

48.1 gagawar, gagawar gagawar ana-gagawar, gagawar
 message feather message feather
 wuru=lharga-n-ji: an-u-gu-ni, mana:-'ma mana-gunabibi
 they send it (ANA) to there this (MANA) (n. of ritual)
 wuru=lir-u-ma-na, ana:-'ji, n^ga wurugu little bit
 they begin Gunabibi ritual here and then later
 badag ma=bura:-', wa:='ri wurugu ambirima=ja:du-ga-n^g,
 long time it sits (MANA) not later they finish it up
 wurugu o:-'ba-ni-yun^g wura:-'=garan^gga-na a-gagawar
 later that (ANA) they look for it (ANA) message feather
 o:-'ba-ni-yun^g a-lhabag wu-gu-ni wu:=lharga-n-ji:,
 that (ANA) feather to there they send it (ANA)

Gagawar (feather used as message to bring clans together for Gunabibi ritual). They send it there. They begin performing this Gunabibi (a major secret ritual) here. It (Gunabibi) remains for quite a long time. They do not finish it up later (i.e. quickly). Then they (others who have heard that a Gunabibi is starting) wait for the gagawar. They send that feather there (to them).

48.2 o:-'ba-ni a-gagawar, wu:=lharga-n-ji:, wu-gu-ni
 that message feather they send it (ANA) to there
 a-lhal-an^ybaj-guy wan^gga:='gi:-na, wara-wuruj,
 to other country it fetches them humans (WARA)
 *wu:-wala:='li-n^yji:-na::: yingga an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:-n^gara=ja:-ri:,
 they assemble together nearly from there they all go
 wu:=milgi ana:-'ji wu:=bura:-', ba-ni-yun^g mari
 they are a crowd here they sit it is there and
 wuru=lha-ra adaba wirima=ja:du-ga-na, mana-gunabibi.
 they stand now they finish it up (n. of ritual)

They send that gagawar there to other countries and it summons the (Aboriginal) people. They assemble together, they come in numbers from over there. They sit as one big crowd. They stay (stand) there, (until) they complete the Gunabibi ritual.

* /=wa:la-/.

Comments on text 48

The Gunabibi is one of the two major rituals, the other being the Madayin (Ru:l); the circumcision (mandiwala) and mortuary (ya:di) rituals are briefer and less esoteric. A Gunabibi can take several months to perform, generally involves the gathering together of a number of clans from several tribes (ethnolinguistic groups), and in the old days was typically done toward the end of the dry season. When a ritual of this sort was planned, it was usually informally announced well ahead of time, and at the appropriate moment (perhaps after some preliminary parts of the ritual had already carried out), the gagawar feather was sent to designated men and clan groups in the region as an official invitation to come.

TEXT 49 RITUAL 'MANAGERS'

Yurumura

49.1 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, ana-ga:gu-yin^yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
that (MSg) of MoMo(Br) that
na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g, na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g, wini-n^gun^yju-n^gun^yju,
manager they (MDu) are similar
wini=bun^gawa-ma-na jun^ggayi-n^yun^g mari nigarari-jun^g,
they become bosses manager₁ and manager₂
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g-maji:, ani:-'ra:='ri-maji:, ani:-'ra:='ri-maji:
if that (MSg) if he is absent
nu:-'ba-gi na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g, ani:-'ra:='ri-maji: nu:-'ba-gi
that (MSg) manager₁
na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g, na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g ani:-'ra:='ri,
he will be absent

That one (nigararij) is of the mother's mother's (brother's) country (i.e. clan). The manager₁ (manager for mother's clan) and he (manager₂, i.e. manager of mother's mother's clan) are the same kind of thing, they are (sort of) bosses. Manager₁ and manager₂. If that one, manager₁, is absent... (continues in 49.2).

49.2 ana:-'n^yba-duj-maji: ani=bura:-', ba-gi-yun^g
if in another (place) he will sit_c he is there
nigarari-jun^g ambunu-yan=dhawiwa-na an-uba-ni-yun^g, ana-ru:l-in^yun^g
manager₂ they will ask him_c that (ANA) about Ru:l
yagu ana-lha:l-in^yun^g, ni-ga-waj aniwu=fix-'em-up-dhi:-'
but of country it is he he will fix it up
ba-gi nigarari-jun^g a-ga:gu-yin^yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
he is there manager₂ of MoMo(Br) that (MSg)
ani:-'ra:='ri-maji: nin^ggu=yaba-n^y-jin^yun^g, na-jun^ggayi-n^yun^g.
if he is absent he whom it (ANA) bore_p manager₁
If he (manager₁) is staying somewhere else, they will ask the manager₂ who is right there about the Ru:l ritual or about the

country (of his MoMo's clan), and it is he, manager₂, who will fix things up if that manager₁, who was 'borne' by that country, is absent.

Comments on text 49

The structure of ritual performances in this part of Australia, as is known to all Australianists, is based on the complementary ritual division of labor between the 'owners' and 'managers' (the latter also called 'lawyers' locally) of each clan and its rituals and territory, as well as the interdependence among clans (and moieties). A boy growing up as a member of one (patrilineal) clan will eventually become a clan headman or other senior ritual leader of his own clan territory and its associated rituals and songs; this relationship is called 'owner' (or 'boss', but this later term is imprecise). Normally bun^gawa is the Nunggubuyu term for this, but it can also mean any kind of proprietary or authoritarian status, and indeed in 49.1 it is applied to 'managers' to emphasize their significance.

The primary 'managers', or managers₁, are men whose mothers were members of the clan in question. Therefore a Nunggubuyu man becomes an 'owner' of his father's clan and a 'manager' for his mother's clan (which includes his MoBr, MoFa, MoBrSo, and so forth). There is also a subsidiary 'manager' relationship, here labeled manager₂, which indicates the relationship between a man and the clan of his MoMo, MoMoBr, MoMoBrCh, etc. This clan includes a number of avoidance relations and this managerial relationship is somewhat difficult to put into practice, but can be called into action when no manager₁ for the clan in question is available.

Managers have the general function of supervising the activities of the owners in ritual; it is the managers who punish individual owners for ritual mistakes, desecration of important sites, etc. They are best described as watchdogs or gadflies. In addition, certain specific activities in concrete ritual performances, notably the painting of clan totems on the bodies of dancers, can only be done by managers.

The expression nin^ggu=yaba-n^y 'it (country) bore him' (end of 49.2) is a very common expression to indicate the relationship between a man and his mother's clan (represented by its territory). It is used here to differentiate the manager₁ (jun^ggayi), to whom it applies, from the manager₂ to whom it does not apply.

TEXT 50 MORTUARY RITUAL

Laran^gana

50.1 "ni=n^gawi-'-n^y, walyi-n^yun^g, ni=n^gawi-'-n^y gu-ru-waj!",
he died_p man he died_p hey you (Pl)!
(wailing sound), that-kind now, this-kind now, (wailing sound),
like that
gari blood now, old people, olden times, n^gijan^g ran^gag,
having (creole) more wood

ni=n^gawi-'-n^y, nu:nu=ma-n^gi,
he died_p we got him_c

no-more that-kind now, liwa,
not like that paperbark they wrapped him_c

(They say,) "A man has died! Hey you all, he has died!" They wail then. This kind of thing (imitates wailing). He (the dead man) had blood (i.e. had perhaps been speared). In the old days. Then (they got) a tree. He died, and we (Exclusive) got him (his body) They wrapped him up in paperbark. Not this sort of thing (points to something), rather paperbark. They wrapped him.

50.2 wunu=warga-y adaba, wunu=yura-n^gi, waragu,
they carried him_c then they transported him_c axe
waragu, ran^gag cut'em, nu:na:-'=diga-n-di nu:nu=wudha-n^gi
wood we (ExPl) dug for him_c we hung him up_c
arwar now, no-more cover-it-up, arwar, mani-n^yun^g, pickaninny,
above not bury above woman baby
wara-bigfe-big-fella blackfella, wara-oldme-old-men, young-boy,
adults (reduplicated) Aboriginal old men
oldwo-old-woman, arwar-wugij yigaj,
old women only above there!

They carried him, they took him (to a burial location). We cut some wood with an axe. We dug in the ground for him. (At this stage) we hung him up (on a tree platform), we did not bury him (at this stage). Above (not in the ground). Whether it was a woman, child, adults, Aboriginal, old men, young boy, old women, (all the same). (All of them) were put on top there.

50.3 ana-rulwuj wunu=rabi-jga:-' wunu-waba:='ba:-',
shade they made him fall down_c they wrapped him
anba:li, wunan^gamayi, wuwarawaralhulu, country name,
(place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
wuwarawaralhulu, anba:li bla nun^g-garan^gari,
(place n.) (place n.) of (creole) (n. of clan)
wunan^gamayi bla nun^g-garan^gari, arugaru man^gura,
(place n.) of (n. of clan) (place n.) (n. of clan)
cemetery, him-put'em, tie'em-up, deadfe-dead-fella,
(they) put him dead ones (reduplicated)

wara-wuru-wuruj wuru=n^gawi:-'ni, nu-ru, wara-mij-buruyag yagu
people they died_c we (ExPl) children but
wara-wuru-wuruj wara-min^y-n^gambara wu:=n^gawi:-'ni-yin^yun^g,
people (adults) elders they who died_c

In the shade they (eventually) brought him down and wrapped him up. At a place like Anba:li, Wunan^gamayi, or Wuwarawaralhulu. (These are) the names of the countries (clan burial grounds). Anba:li and Wunan^gamayi are for the Nun^g-garan^gari (N^galmi) clan. Arugaru

wunu-waba:='ba:-', liwa,
they wrapped him_c paperbark

wunu-waba:='ba:-',
they wrapped him_c

for the Man^gura clan. They put the dead people up in a tree (in the first stage). The ones who have died. We (Aborigines), children or adults, the ones who have died.

Notes: Wuwarawaralhulu, one of the places mentioned, is the major burial ground for Larangana's own clan (Murun^gun). Note Larangana's emphasis in this text on the basic identity of mortuary procedures for dead persons of any age or sex.

50.4 nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi nu:nu=bura-n^gi nu:nu--, nu:nu=wurdha-n^gi,
we (ExPl) went_c we put him_c we buried him_c
a:-'ban-guy a-gudugudu-wuy, a-gudugudu-wuy wunu=wanbi:-ni,
to ground to sacred burial ground they did it to him_c
dreaming, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g, mana-maliri ma=lha-y, ya:-ji
ours fighting stick it stood_c here
wirimia=ruruga:-', n^gijan^g mana:-'n^ybaj
they stood it up_c more other (MANA)
wirimia=ruruga:-'-yin^yun^g, gudugudu wiri:'ru-n^y
which they stood up_c sacred burial ground they abandoned it_p
wu=wurag,
it was left alone

We went along and put him down into the ground in the sacred burial place, we buried him. They did that to him in the burial ground, a totemic site. They put one long fighting stick upright here, and then later another one (near it). Then they left the sacred burial ground alone.

50.5 wara:-'n^ybaj wu:=yama:-' wu:=n^gawi:-'ni,
others (WARA) they did that_c they died_c
wa:=yura-n^gi-wugij n^gijan^g ya:-nu:-'wuy, wara:-'ba:='ba:-'
they only transported them_c more this way they wrapped them_c
an^ybaj adaba yargari yuwa-ga:-'la an^ybaj ya:-ji:-'li,
other then (place n.) from there other from here
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g malan^ga-n^yanay, yuwa:-ni gudugudu,
as for it far away it is there sacred burial ground
nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g, ya:-ji:-'li wara=ma-n^gi bu-gu-nu:-'
ours (ExPl) from here they took them_c to there
wara=yura-n^gi, lha a-gudugudu, "him go
they transported them_c to (creole) sacred burial ground
cemetery, wara-white men, nu-ra:-'yun^g gudugudu,
as for us (ExPl) sacred burial ground
nu-ra:-'yun^g wara-wuru-wuruj wara-oldme-old-men,
as for us Aboriginals old men

Some others died like that. They still took them this way and wrapped them up at another place, perhaps Yargari over there or somewhere else from here. Our (clan) burial ground is far away. They took them (dead people) from here to that burial ground. "He

goes to the cemetery," (say) the white people. As for us, we call it gudugudu (burial ground). Us old Aboriginals.

50.6 wuru-maya=maya:-', wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:::-', wunu=yabi-'-jga:-',
they sang_c they danced_c they made him enter_c
wunu=yabi-'-jga:-' an-uba-ni ana-walag wunu=rarja-n^gi,
that (ANA) coffin (hollow tree) they removed him_c
wunu=rabali:-ni, wunu-waba:=ba:-' a:-'ni-wuy wunu=wurdha-n^gi,
they took him out_c they wrapped him_c to this (ANA) they buried him_c
wunu=wurdha-n^gi, ni=wurag, wi:ya! adaba finish,
he was left alone finish! then

They sang and danced (the Ya:di ritual). They put him into the log coffin, them they brought him out again and wrapped him up. Then they buried him in this (ground). Then he was left alone. That was all.

50.7 na:-'n^yba-jun^g mani-n^yun^g, yagu walyi-n^yun^g, yagu
other (MSg) woman but man but
mij-buruyag, mi-jiyang^gu, n^ga:ja-n^gajikwan^gy, ga-gadhuwa,
children old men old women young children
yuwa-ga:-'la a:-'n^ybaj-gala, yuwa-ga:-'la a:-'n^ybaj-gala,
from there from other from there from other
ba-ni n^ga anba:li, wunan^gamayi, wuwarawaralhulu,
it is there and then (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
arugaru, nu-ri:-'n^yin^yun^g ana-gudugudu, yigaj
(place n.) ours (ExPl) sacred burial ground there!
cemetery nu-gu-ru, different nu-gu-ra:-'yun^g da-nu:-',
you (Pl) as for you (Pl) it is there
different, an^ybaj ana:-'ni nu-ra:-'yun^g an^ybaj,
other this (ANA) as for us (ExPl) other
nu-ga:-'yun^g an^ybaj, wi:ya!
as for you (Sg) other finish!

Another one. A woman, or a man, or children, (or) old men (or) old women, (or) children. From there, from a different place. There at the place Anba:li, or Wunan^gamayi, or Wuwarawaralhulu, or Arugaru (burial grounds for different clans), all of those burial grounds. You (white men) call it 'cemetery', you are different. We (Aboriginals) are different (from you). That is all.

TEXT 51 MORTUARY RITUAL
Yurumura

51.1 man-uba-ma-yun^g mana-ya:di, wara-min^y-n^gambara
that (MANA) mortuary ritual elders
mana-ya:di, war-uba-wa-yun^g wu:=n^gawi:-'ni wara-wuruj,
mortuary ritual those they died_c people

wa:='ri ana:-'ban-guy ambara=wurdha-n^gi, wara=mun^gala-dha-n^gi,
not to ground they buried them they put them on platform_c
mun^gala, wara=mun^gala-dha-n^gi wunu=bura-n^gi arwar
platform they put them on platform_c they put him_c on top
ama-mun^gala-ruj ni-bu=buri:-'ø n^ga, an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi,
in platform he sat_c and then from there they went_c
That Ya:di (mortuary) ritual. The old people (now dead) had the Ya:di. Those people who died. They did not bury them in the ground (immediately), they put them in a tree platform. They put him (the dead man) on top, on a platform. He stayed there for a while. They came (back to the camp) from there.

51.2 wunu=waba:-' wuna:='ru:-', n^gijan^g an-uwa-ga:-'la
they wrapped him_c they abandoned him_c more from there
wura:='gi:-ni, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga wunu=ma-n^gi,
they returned_c they went_c and then they got him_c
wunu-waba=aba:-' n^ga aba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g wunu=ya:ri jgi:-ni
they wrapped him_c and then then that (MSg) they transported him_c
n^ga wunu-yiguru-n^gu=bura-n^gi, ni-bu=buri:-'ø
and then they put him down as wrapped bundle_c he sat_c
n^ga, yin^gga wa:='dabadaba:dha-n^gi, adaba
and then nearly a long time passed_c then
wa:-'=dharga-n^yji:-ni lha:wu,
they sent to each other_c words

They wrapped him up (in paperbark) and left him there. Then, some time later, they went back. They went and got him. They wrapped him up and took him along and put him down in the form of a wrapped bundle. He stayed there for a long time. Then they sent the word to each other (that it was time to complete the burial).

51.3 ya:-nu:-'wuy ama-madhala-guy, ya:-nu:-'wuy a-yu:l-wuy,
this way to saltwater this way to bushland
ya:-nu:-'wuy wagi-yaj, yu:-gu-ni wunumbi-yaj, ya:-nu:-'wuy
this way southward to there northward this way
argali-n^yi, "yuwa:-gu n^ga:mbu=bura:-' wa:n^g,
westward there we (InPl) will sit_c whatchamacallit
anba:li, yagu wurindi, yagu waldhar, yagu yuwa:-gu
(place n.) but (place n.) but (place n.) but there
wiyindan^gan^y", wuru=yama:-' wura:='dandi-n^yji:-ni,
(place n.) they did that_c they sent word to each other_c
(They sent word) to the coastal areas, to the interior bushland, to the south, to the north, to the west. "We will all stay at whatchamacallit, Anba:li, or Wurindi, or Waldhar, or there at Wiyindan^gan^y (depending on the clan of the deceased)," they said. They sent word to each other.

51.4 adaba wu:-n^gara=ja-n^ggi an-uwa-ga:-'la adaba wuru=lha-y
then they all went_c from there then they stood_c
wuru=lha-y adaba man-uba-ma-yun^g mana-ya:di adaba,
then that (MANA) mortuary ritual then
man-uba-ma-yun^g mana-walag, walag man-uba-ma walag, walag wirima=ma:jga:
that (MANA) coffin that coffin they made it
man-uba-ma-yun^g *na-ni-n^gagara-yun^g na-ni-n^gagara-yun^g
that skeleton man
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, yuwa:-gu wunu-n^gagara=yabi-'-jga:-',
that (MSg) there they made his bones go in_c
wunu-n^gagara=yabi-'-jga:-' ama-wala-guy,
to coffin

Then they all came and stood (stayed). They stood (for) that Ya:di (mortuary) ritual then. They made the coffin (from a hollow tree) and put the bones of that man in it.

* n^gagara 'bone' in the derivational noun-class form for MSg class ni-n^gagara, plus MSg inflectional noun-class prefix na- and human Sg suffix -yun^g.

51.5 aba an-uba-ni-yun^g wuru=wann^ga:-', wuru=wann^ga:-'
then that (ANA) they danced_c
wara:-'rawindi wara-wuruj mananun^g-gala walya-walya-ala
many people (WARA) from women from men
aba wuru=wann^ga:-' run^ggal, run^ggal, run^ggal wun^gubal,
then they danced_c big song
wun^ggan^y run^ggal wuru=wann^ga:-'.
corroboree big they danced_c

Then they danced. Lots of people, women and men. They danced and had a gigantic corroboree with singing and dancing.

TEXT 52 MORTUARY RITUAL Ma:di

52.1 "yaga: n^gu:=ya:-ri: ya:di, a-ji-ga-ruj,
ø we (InPl) go mortuary ritual where farther on?
ama-lhan^gada-ruj, a-ji-ga-ruj, ya:-ji n^ga
in the jungle where farther on? here and then
n^ga:mbu=bura-n^ga-n^g ya:-ji", malgayan^gu niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi
we (InPl) will sit_p here (place n.) we wanted it_c
malgayan^gu, niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi ya:-ni numbulwar, nuru=buri-ø,
(place n.) we wanted it_c it is here (place n.) they sat_c
miyan^gala, nuru=buri-ø,
(place n.) we sat_c

"Where shall we go for the mortuary (Ya:di) ritual? Somewhere in the jungle (rainforest). We will stop (sit down) over here," (we said). We liked the place Malgayan^gu. We also liked Numbulwar and stayed here. We also stayed at Miyan^gala.

52.2 ni-ga na-bun^gawa-yun^g nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, walag aba walag
he boss (MSg) that (MSg) coffin then
niwu=lha-n^gi, a-wala-ba-wawalhu-jin^gun^g, niwu=wuldha-n^gi,
he cut it down_c of wide open coffin he cut it off_c
wiri-yiwi=yi-wi-ni::: n^ga, yalgur-miri
they scorched it_c and then by means of tree orchid
wiri-walba:'l-bi-ni n^ga, wiri=wurbar-wi-ni,
they smeared it on it_c and then they applied red ochre to it_c
wiri=wurbar-wi-ni, yalgur-miri wiri-walba:'l-bi-ni
by means of tree orchid they smeared it on it_c
n^ga, wuru=maya:-', *wiri=yan^yja-n^gi
and then they sang_c they performed its song and dance_c
wuru=wann^ga:::-' n^ga,
they danced and then

That boss (leader) then cut down a hollow log (as a coffin). He cut it so that it had an open side. They scorched it on the surface with fire. Then, using material from tree orchid roots, they spread (the fixative) on it (the hollow log coffin), and then applied red ochre on it. They smeared the fixative from tree orchids on it (then put the ochre on top). They sang and danced, for it (the log coffin).

* /=wan^yja-/.

52.3 wiri-wala=galhara-n^gi, wuru=wann^ga:::-' n^ga,
they poked the coffin they danced_c and then
wu-gu-ru wuru=wann^ga:-' wara-mandha:yun^g
they they danced_c those of Mandha:yun^g moiety (Pl)
ana-mandha:yun^g yagu warmin, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-yirija yagu
Mandha:yun^g (ANA) but Saratoga fish as for it (ANA) Yirija moiety but
ann^galbiya, wuru=wann^ga:-', wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara-mandha:yun^g
eel-tailed catfish they danced_c as for them Mandha:yun^g (Pl)
yagu wara-mand-irija yagu wara-mand-irija yagu dhumbala
but Yirija (Pl) but Yirija (Pl) but sail
wirin^ga=wann^gi-jga:-', ana-walag wara-min^y-n^gambara, nuru=wann^ga:-',
they danced for it_c coffin elders we danced_c
They poked at the coffin (as they danced around it). They danced. The people of the Mandha:yun^g moiety danced. The Mandha:yun^g (song/dance) is Saratoga fish (*Scleropages*), while the Yirija one is Catfish (*Neosilurus* sp.). The Mandha:yun^g or the Yirija. The Yirija danced the Sail dance. The old people. We danced.

Note: Sail is specifically the dance of the Nun-dhiribala clan.

52.4 an-uwa-ga:-'la na:-nara=nara-n^gi n^ga
 from there we (ExPl) waited for them_c and then
 wuru-n^gara=bala-n^gi, na:-nara=nara-n^gi wa:='ri
 they all arrived_c we waited for them_c not
 wara:-'wa *ambu:-manda=biri-maga:, mana-ya:di,
 these (WARA) they are small group mortuary ritual
 yuwa-ga:-'la wunumbi-yala, ramali:-'la, wagi-yan^gu, ba-gu-miri
 from there from north from east from south right there
 argali:-'la ana:-'ni wa:='mbalal wa:='mbalal wun^gubal
 from west this (ANA) it was excellent song
 wun^gubal ana:-'ni wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-', nuru-wann^ga=wann^ga::-' n^ga,
 this (ANA) they danced_c we danced_c then

After that we waited for them (people from other areas). They all arrived, we waited for them. These were not just a small group. (That is, there were many who came.) The mortuary ritual. From the north, east, south, and there from the west. It was splendid, a wonderful corroboree. They danced and danced. We danced.

* From wirig 'small (Sg)'.

52.5 n^gijan^g nuru-wann^ga=wann^ga:-' aba agaray, ana-min^yn^gu
 more we danced_c then next day night
 wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga::-' n^ga, n^gijan^g wurugu ana-min^yn^gu
 they danced_c and then more later night
 wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga::-' n^ga, n^gijan^g wurugu ba-ni:-'la
 they danced_c and then more later there it comes
 wu=wululha-n^gi wuru-wann^ga=wann^ga::-' n^ga wu=lalma::-' ,
 it became bright_c they danced_c and then it dawned_c
 wu=yama:-'wugij wu:wann^ga=wann^ga::-' n^ga yin^gga
 they only did that_c they danced_c and then nearly
 n^gi=langada-n^gi, aba wiri-wala=jabi-'-jga:-'
 it (NEARA) was rising in sky_c then they made (bones) enter_c
 ana-wala-guy, ana-n^gagara wiri-yaba=yabi-'-jga::-' n^ga,
 to coffin bone they made (bones) enter_c and then
 They danced right through the night to the next day. Again they danced through the second night. Then after that it began to get light out, and then it dawned, and they were still dancing. They kept dancing, until it (the sun) had risen well into the sky (i.e. mid-morning), then they put the bones in the hollow tree coffin.

52.6 an-uwa-ga:-'la wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni
 from there they shouted 'yay!'_c
 wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni wu:=riga-n-di, wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni
 they dug hole_c they shouted 'yay!'
 wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni wi:-yarba=yarbi:-ni mari
 and

"go:::! yay!" wi:=ruruga:-', wiri=wadbada-n^gi,
 hey! (shout) they stood it up_c they tapped it_c
 war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-n^gaya=n^gayi wara-widow-yin^yung
 those (Pl) survivors (bereaved) the bereaved

wuru-wuruj=barbi:-ni:
 they shook body in front of coffin_c

After that they (the dancers) shouted 'yay!' several times. They made a hole (in the ground) and kept shouting 'yay!'. They shouted "go:::! yay!" They stood it (the coffin) up and tapped on it with sticks. The bereaved (i.e. close kin of the deceased) danced, shaking their chests back and forth against the coffin.

Note: 'yay!' is a shout uttered in unison by the dancers at various points in the songs.

52.7 wara-mananun^g, aba wura:='gi:-ni, nu:=ra:jara-n^gi
 women then they returned_c we dispersed_c
 adaba, wu-gu-ru o:-'ba-ni a-walag wara-bu-bun^ggawa
 then it (ANA) that (ANA) coffin bosses
 wi:=nara-n^gi-wugij ba-gu, mari n^gijan^g mal-galagala,
 they watched over it_c there and more medium time
 wiri=n^gargiwa:-', wunu=yura-n^gi a:-'rijbila, n^gun^yju
 they pulled it out_c they transported him_c (place n.) similar
 anba:li, da-ni-yung^g.
 (place n.) it is there

The women went back. We broke up (and most of us went back to our camps). However, some bosses (of the ritual) stayed and watched over that coffin. Some time later they pulled it out of the ground and took it to the place Arijbila, or perhaps Anba:li. That is how it was.

TEXT 53 MORTUARY RITUAL Ma:di

53.1 ana-jan^gawili, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, wa:='ri an-u-dan^gag,
 large tree sp. as for it (ANA) not wood (ANA)
 wi:=lala:di-jga:-'wugij, a-wumurn^y-ji:, wi:=lala:di-jga::-'
 they only skinned it_c like humpy they skinned it_c
 n^ga adaba *wu-gam-bugij, wu-liwa-wugij,
 and then then only whatchamacallit (ANA) only bark (ANA)
 mari wi:-ruju=ruja-n^gi wi:-ruju=ruja-n^gi n^ga
 and they scraped it_c and then
 ana-magula-garwagarwar-in^yung wiri-ba=barawuda-n^gi::: n^ga,
 top part of skin they threw it_c and then
 n^ga wu=lhribala-yin^yung, wi:=yi-wi-ni,
 and then what is inside (under) they scorched it_c

wi:-yiwi=yi-wi-ni::: n^ga,
they scorched it_c and then

Jan^gawili tree (a large, unidentified sp.). Not the wood part. They just took the bark ('skin') off, like a humpy (bark shelter from bark of stringybark tree). They stripped off the bark, just the bark part. They scraped it and got rid of the top (outer) part of the bark and (kept) the inner bark. They seared it with fire.

* wa:^g'whatchamacallit' with derivational noun class prefix, anticipating wu_-liwa.

53.2 mari wiri=baruma:-' an-uwa-ga:-'la, mari ana:-'ji:-'la
and they rolled it up from there and here coming
wiri=baruma:-' mari wa:-yaba=yabi-'-jga:-' wara-ba-badirin^ya,
they rolled it up_c and they made them enter_c devils (corpses)
*war-un^gu:-'n^gagara ana-n^gagara, wara-mij-buruyag
skeletons bone children
wu:-lhagara=n^gawi:-'ni-yin^yun^g, ano:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj,
they who all died_c long ago

ana-Groote Eylandt, ana-Bickerton, ana:-'ni-ni:-'la ana-Arnhem Land
(place n.) (place n.) this side (ANA) (place n.)

ana-lha:l-ala, wu:=yama:-', wara-n^gaga-n^gagara=rabi-jga:-',
from country they did that_c they made their bones fall down_c

They rolled it (the bark) up on that side and this side, then they put the dead bodies ('devils') inside. The skeletons. The children who died long ago. On Groote Eylandt, on Bickerton Island, over here (on the mainland) in Arnhem Land, from all the countries. They did that same thing, they brought down the bones (from the tree platforms where the bodies were initially put).

Note: The two islands (Groote and Bickerton) were inhabited by speakers of the Anindhilyagwa language. The term 'Arnhem Land' is used locally to mean the northern and central parts of the Arnhem Land reserve; technically, Numbulwar itself is within the reserve but the reference here is to the Yuulngu groups.

* Reduplicated plural of /uG-n^gagara/ 'bones of Pl noun', containing derivational noun class prefix. Actually, the corpses are not yet skeletons in the English sense since there is still dried skin, etc., left ('mummy' would be more apt but there is no suggestion of chemical or other preservation).

53.3 mari a-wundan^y-jin^yun^g raja wu:-yiri=yira-n^gi:::
and of young wallaby canine tooth they decorated it_c
n^ga, yi:-warmin-jin^yun^g raja wu:-yiri=yira-n^gi
and then of Saratoga fish canine tooth they decorated it_c
n^ga, a:-'rjambal-in^yun^g anda:lburu-yin^yun^g
and then of antelopine kangaroo of female antelopine kangaroo
raja wu:-yiri=yira-n^gi n^ga,
canine tooth they decorated it_c and then

They decorated it (bark coffin) with canine teeth from a young agile wallaby, or a Saratoga fish, or a male or female antelopine kangaroo.

53.4 maran^gara wu:-yiri=yira-n^gi n^ga, wu=milyir
shell they decorated it_c and then it was decorated
adaba, wu:-yiri=yira-n^gi mari ana:-'ji:-'la ra:n-miri
then they decorated it_c and here coming by means of vine sp.
xxx wiri-wa=warga:-' ra:n-miri::: n^ga,
(unclear) they sewed it up_c by means of vine sp. and then
mari wu:n^y-miri wiri=wala-n^gi, wiri=wala-n^gi
and by means of beeswax they smeared (it) on it_c
na-ra:n, ana:-'ji:-'la ra:n-miri wiri-wa=warga:::
vine sp. here coming by means of vine sp. they sewed it up_c
mari wu:n^y-miri wiri=wala-n^gi, war-uba-wi-yun^g
and by means of beeswax they smeared on it_c those (WARA)
wu:-warawuj=ban^yji-∅-yun^gguyun^g, wara:-'rawuj=ganibi-ga:-'
so that they smelled bad_c they lost their (bodies') smell_c
wara-badirin^ya, a-wuril.
devil(s) rotten (ANA)

They decorated it (bark coffin) with shells (from shellfish). It was nicely decorated. They put (leaves of) a vine sp. (Flagellaria indica, whose leaves are also used for armbands) on it. They smeared beeswax on it. They sewed it up with (leaves of) that vine sp., in order to get rid of the unpleasant, rotten smell of the body.

TEXT 54 MORTUARY RITUAL FOR LAWMAN (RITUAL LEADER)
Yurumura

54.1 an-uba-ni-yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji:, nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji:,
that (ANA) if that (MSg)
ani=n^gawa-'-n^g, ani=n^gawa-'-∅-maj: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
he will die_p if he dies_p that (MSg)
na-dalgara-yun^g, ani=n^gawa-'-∅-maj: yagu
ritual leader (N^galmi clan) if he dies_p but
ana-law-yin^yun^g niwu=wana_gana lawman ana-law-yin^yun^g
of law he holds it of law
niwu=wana_gana, ana-wun^gubal, mari ana-madayin,
he holds it song (public) and (n. of secret ritual)
ni-yara=marbuy-in^yun^g, yagi ana-lhal-an^ybaj-baj wunu=wurdhi-∅,
he who knows much not in other country they will bury him
If that dalgara (N^galmi clan headman for Madayin ritual) dies, the lawman who holds the law (ritual knowledge) and the public songs and the Madayin, who knows everything, they cannot bury him elsewhere.

54.2 yu:-gu-ni ambunu=ya:rijgi:-na o:-'wa:-ni,
to there they will transport him_c it is there (ANA)
a-dreaming-guy o:-'ba-ni-yun^g,
to dreaming (i.e. to sacred burial ground) that (ANA)

arijbila might-be arijbila, arijbila-ruj ba-gu ani=wurdhi:-'-na,
(place n.) maybe at (place n.) there he will be buried_c

ni-ga:-'j-bugij an-uba-gu ambunu=bura-n^g ani=wurdhi:-'-na,
only himself there they will put him_p he will be buried_c

Instead, they must take him there to the dreaming (i.e. to the
sacred burial ground), maybe Arijbila. At Arijbila he will be
buried. He will be buried by himself, they will put him there.

54.3 war-uba-wa-yun^g ambu:=n^gawa-'-∅-maji: wa:='ri-yin^yun^g
those (WARA) if they die_p which not

ana-law, wa:='ri-yin^yun^g ana-madayin, wa:-dhurabada-yin^yun^g
law which not (n. of ritual) of white man

wiri=yanaga-na ana-law, war-uba-wi-yun^g ya:-ji-yaj
they hold it law those (WARA) around here

ambu:=wurdhi:-'-na,
they will be buried_c

If someone dies who has no (Aboriginal) law, who has no (profound
knowledge of) the Madayin ritual, who has adopted the white man's
customs, someone like that will be buried around here (at the
nearest convenient place).

54.4 wa:='ri-yin^yun^g an^gga:='ri-yin^yun^g ana-law yagi an-u-gu-ni
which not which will not law not to there
wu:=rumi-∅ ana:-'rijbila wu:=wurdhi:-'-∅, an-uba-ni-yun^g,
they will go (place n.) they will be buried that (ANA)

ana-wadawadad, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ba-gi-yun^g ani:='n^yja:bugij-bugij
strong (ANA) that (MSg) he is there he will be only one

aniwu=wanaga-na-yin^yun^g a-law, an-uba-gu ani=wurdhi:-'-na
he who will hold it_c law there he will be buried_c

ana:-'rijbila-ruj.
at (place n.)

The ones (dead people) who are without (Aboriginal) law will not go
to Arijbila and will not be buried (there). That place is powerful
(i.e. only for ritually powerful men). That man (the dead ritual
leader buried in the sacred ground) will be there by himself, the
one who will hold the law. He will be buried at Arijbila.

Comments on texts 50 through 54

Traditional burial practices have been altered somewhat in recent
times, particularly with reference to details of the disposition of
the corpse, though the basic ritual structure is intact. The texts

agree that there are at least two major stages in the burial,
namely an initial period in which the corpse is allowed to decom-
pose in part in a tree-platform (50.2, 51.1), and a subsequent
permanent burial in a hollow-tree coffin (50.6, 51.4, 52.2). The
former can be done in any appropriate location, while the latter
was traditionally done in a sacred clan burial ground; text 54
claims that this must still be done (even in the case of a burial
ground quite remote from the present mission at Numbulwar) in the
case of certain clan ritual leaders.

Some of the texts give more details about intermediate stages
between the tree-platform and the final burial. Text 51 indicates
that following the partial decomposition of the corpse in the
platform, the bones are collected in paperbark bundles and kept
(in a tree) for a considerable period. Text 53 describes the
procedure of putting the bones in a preliminary bark coffin
(distinct from the final hollow-tree coffin). Although the order
of application of these last two stages is not given (since they
are mentioned in distinct texts), it appears that in a complete
burial sequence the paperbark bundle stage precedes the bark
coffin stage if both are put into operation for the same corpse.
Finally, text 52 indicates that a preliminary burial using the
hollow-tree coffin (walag) may be made in one site and that the
body and coffin may later be transported to a sacred burial place.

The term Ya:di is applied to the mortuary ritual, especially
those portions (at varying stages in the burial sequence) which
involve singing and dancing. The songs in question are public,
didjeridu-accompanied clan songs (wun^gubal), and indeed the Ya:di
is the most appropriate occasion for full-scale performances of
these songs and their accompanying dances. Part of this performance
was originally the burning of the deceased's camp and the ritual
cleansing by fire of the surviving relatives; this is still done
except that cabins and homes are now simply cleansed rather than
burned. (Cleansing involves waving branches whose tips are on
fire around the buildings.)

Further details can be gleaned from the texts and require no
commentary. For additional background material see Warner (1969:
402-432), who deals with groups somewhat to the north, and Turner
(1974:79-81, 104-159) on Groote Eylandt.

TEXT 55 CIRCUMCISION Ma:di

55.1 ama-nun^g-garagu-yin^yun^g, n^gan^y=jambi:-na, ana-yimbaj,
of uncircumcised boys I will speak_c today
n^ga=magi:-'-na, o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj, ma:-'ra:-'ragu=yarba-n^gi,
I will tell_c long ago uncircumcised boys ran_c
a:-'n^ybaj-guy, o:::-'gu-ni, nirima-lharga=lharga-n-di, da-ni-yun^g,
to other place to there we sent them_c it's there
wirima-lan=guldha-n^gi, mari wirima=lharga-n-di, mari
they cut them in knee (paint)_c and they sent them_c and

wuru-wuri j=barbi:-ni an-uba-gu-yin^yun^g,
 they shook chests (in dance) of there
 wara-mi-da-n^gujba-yun^g, wara-mi-da-n^ganja-yun^g,
 brothers-in-law male taboo relatives
 wara-mi-da-n^gangur-yun^g, da-ni-yun^g,
 MoMoBr-s it is there

I will speak now about uncircumcised boys (as circumcision novices). In the old days, the uncircumcised boys went over there, we sent them (to the ritual ground). They 'cut' them in the knees (i.e. painted their legs with white clay, lharamagama, over the knees and a red ochre, bulbar, under the knees) and they (the adults) sent them. Then various relatives (of the novices)-- brothers-in-law, avoidance relatives, and MoMoBr-s--danced by shaking their chests vigorously.

Note: The term *nun^g-garagu* (root /-aragu/) with MANA class functions as a collective term for 'uncircumcised boys'; strictly speaking it may be a term for 'penis with intact foreskin' since it has the same noun class (MANA) as *n^guyi* 'penis', but it functions as a human collective term. It can also take specifically human forms like *na-nun^g-garagu-n^yung* 'uncircumcised boy (Sg)'.

55.2 adaba wa:=lharga-n-di, wura:-'ragu=wayama-n^gi,
then they sent them_c uncircumcised boys proceeded_c
na-labama, an^yja:bugij, wini=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi, wuru=wala-n^gi
moon one they wanted it (NA)_c they arrived_c
an-uwa-ga:-'la, wuru=manda:gi:-'-ni-yin^{y un}g, wara:='gi:-ni-yin^{y un}g,
from there they who assembled themselves_c whom they gathered_c
war-ubu-ru-yun^g, wuru=mala-n^gi-yin^{y un}g, da-ni-yun^g,
those (WARA) they who danced circumcision ritual_c it is there
wuru=waran^gga:::-', ba-ni:-'la ana-n^gura, adaba wi:=lha:ga-n-di,
they looked_c there it comes fire then they set it_c

55.3 "da-ma:-'lao:::! mana-nung^g-garagu, wu=warubaj,
there they (MANA) come uncircumcised boys it (ANA) is near
ana-n^gura, wi:=lha:ga-n-ji:", wuru=waran^gga:-',
fire they are setting it they looked_c
ni=wardha-n^gi-yin^yun^g nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=raga:-'-ni
he who worked (Eng. loan)_c that (MSg) he went in front_c
adaba, wani:-'ra:-'ragu=wayami-jgi:-ni-yin^yun^g, "ya:-ma:-'lao!
then he who made the uncircumcised boys proceed_c here they come!

mana-nun^g-garagu", aba ragij wirima:=lhuda-n^g_i, mana-magumin^y_{in}, uncircumcised boys then first they cleared off_c circumcision ground
wirima-yarba=yarbi:-ni, wirima-yarba=yarbi:-ni, wirima=bura-n^g_i, they took them_c they put them_c

ana-badugu, ana-marya, wu:=ya-n^ggi-mira:dhu,
circumcision food offering food due to them going_c

"There come the uncircumcised boys! The fire is near them, they (adults) are setting fires." They looked. The (adult man) who was involved in that was going in front (of the boys), the man who was taking the boys along. "Here come the uncircumcised boys!.. Then they (adults) cleared off the circumcision ritual ground. They took them (the boys) and put them there. (They had) some special circumcision food (e.g. water lily corms) which they had gotten by going (to collect it).

55.4 wara:-' =na-n^ga:-', wuru=n^gu-ni, n^gijan^g
they burned (it) for them_c they ate it_c more
ana-mulun^g-argi wugalij, wara:-' =na-n^ga:-',
others (ANA) dugong and turtle they burned (it) for them_c
wuru=n^gu-ni, n^gijan^g ana-mulun^g-argi, ayag,
they ate it_c more others (ANA) water lily pod (WARA)
wari:= 'ba:-', an-uba-ga:-'la, majargun, mananun^g,
they crushed it (WARA) from there women's dance women
wuru=mal_mala-n^gi, wuru-mal=mal_mala-n^gi:::,
they danced circumcision dance_c they danced circumcision dance_c
wu=lalma:-',
it dawned_c

They cooked (special food) for them and they ate it. Sometimes it was (meat of) dugong (or turtle), they cooked it for them and they ate it. Sometimes seed pods of water lily, they crushed it (to make a mush or damper). Also the women's dance in the circumcision ritual (majargun), they danced it.

55.5 n^ga wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g n^gamugijgaj, wara-walya-walya,
 and then as for them morning men
 wuru=wulwuli:-'ni, wuru-wul=wulwuli:-'ni::: n^ga,
 they painted themselves_c they painted themselves_c and then
 o:-'ba-gu-yin^yun^g a-ragi-jin^yun^g, mari o:-'wa-ga:-'la-yin^yun^g
 of there of in front and of from there
 wa:=ya:rijgi:-ni-yin^yun^g, "ambalaman yagu mana:-'ma,
 they whom they transported_c good but this (MANA)
 mana-mandiwala", aba wuru=ya-y, wa:-lhagara=ya-n^gi-jga:-',
 circumcision ritual then they slept_c they put them to sleep_c
 As for them, the men, in the next morning (early) they painted
 themselves, the ones where were from there to start with and the
 ones (who came) from some other place, the ones who were taken

(there). "This is a good mandiwala (circumcision ritual)." Then they slept. They made them sleep.

55.6 an-u-gu-ni adaba "wa!: wa!:", wu:=yama:-', to there then (sound) they did that_c, mana-magumin^{yin}-guy, wa:=yuru=yura-n^gi::: n^ga, to circumcision ritual ground they transported them_c and then wa:=ya-n^gi-jga:-', adaba "gunamanda_manda" wara:-'=jami-jga:-', they put them to sleep_c then (song) they did it for them_c, "gunamanda_manda": n^ga, wu:=rabala-n^gi na_raman-jin^{yin}^g, (song) and then they came out_c of painted feathers wu:=yama:-' n^ga wi:ya!, wura:='gi:-ni adaba they did that_c and then finish! they returned_c then wuru=bura-n^ga-n^y, they sat down_p

Then they (women) called out "Wa!: Wa!:" in that direction (toward the boys), toward the ritual ground. They (men) took them (boys) and put them to sleep. Then they (men and women) sang for them the word "gunamanda_manda." Then they (men) came out with painted feathers on. They did that (danced) and then they went back and sat down.

55.7 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wa:-nun^ggu-nun^g-garagu adaba ba-gu-wugij as for them uncircumcised boys (Pl) then there only wuru=buri-∅, ying ga wa:-'n^ga=mudi-n^y, wa:-'n^ga=muda-n^gi, wu-gu-ru they sat nearly it got dark_p it got dark_c they yuwa:-gu wara-mamba-mamba:li, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji there of Mamba:li clan (Pl) as for them here wa:-nun^ggargalu-jung, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji wara-muru-murun^gun, of Nun^ggargalug clan as for it (MANA) here of Murun^gun clan mu:='lan^ybaj ya:-mi-yun^g-gaj mana-madhalagar, it (MANA) is three it (MANA) is along here song with boomerangs wirima=lharma-n^gi-yin^{yin}^g, wuru=wul_wuli:-'ni-yin^{yin}^g, which they chased (performed)_c which they painted themselves (for)_c wuru=malmala-n^gi-yin^{yin}^g, which they danced_c

As for the uncircumcised boys, they just stayed there. It was getting dark. There were different clan songs (for different clans), the Mamba:li there, the Nun^ggargalug here, and the one of the Murun^gun clan, all three of them which they performed, painted themselves for, and danced.

Notes: Here 'uncircumcised boys' (line 1) is in the regular human Pl form (reduplicated) rather than the MANA form. The word for Nun^ggargalug clan (line 4) includes Pl prefix wa:- and Sg suffix -yun^g and should probably be emended to wa:-nun^ggargalug.

55.8 wuru-mal=malmala-n^gi::: n^ga, ba-ni:-'la they danced_c and then there it comes wu=wul

ulha-n^gi, adaba yarbada, yarbada::: n^ga wi:ya! it became bright_c then (n. of song) and then finish!
wirima:-'d=bara-n^gi, ni-ga wunu=gujguji:-ni, wunu=balhu:-', they put them (MANA) down_c he they picked him up_c they cut him_c ni-ga:-'yun^g wunu=gujguji:-ni, wunu=balhu:-', ana:-'rgi, as for him they lifted him up_c they cut him_c other (ANA) na-wula-wa:, ni-ga wunu=balhu:-' ni-ga:-'yun^g wunu=balhu:-', two (MDu) he they cut him_c as for him they cut him_c

They danced the circumcision ritual dance. Then it started getting light (in the morning), and they did the Yarbada song. Then that was all. They put them (uncircumcised boys) down. They picked him (one boy) up and circumcised him. Then as for him (another boy), they picked him up and circumcised him. Sometimes they did two boys (at one time), they circumcised one and then the other.

55.9 wu:=yama=yama:-', wuru=wangiri-∅-mira:dhu they did that_c from them staying up at night_c wuru=malmala-n^gi-mira:dhu, wurugu wuru=ya-y, from them dancing circumcision dance_c later they slept_c ba-gu, ba-gu-wugij, wara:-'=n^gurga-n-di wugalij, there there only they hunted dugong/turtle for them_c dugong/turtle wara:-'da-ni, n^ga adaba lhan^ggu they speared (it) for them_c and then then meat wuru-wara=wana_ga:-' xxx, they held it all_c (unclear)

They did that after staying up all night dancing the circumcision dance. Then they finally went to sleep and slept there (at the circumcision ground). (Later) they hunted some dugong for them, they speared (harpooned) them for them, (so that) they had a lot of meat.

55.10 aba wu:=ra:jara-n^gi, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wunumbi-yaj then they scattered_c as for them northward wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'rgali-n^yi, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-n^gugur-wuy, as for them westward as for them to (place n.) ana-old mission-guy, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wagi-yaj, wu:=ra:jara-n^gi, to old mission as for them southward they scattered_c wara:-'wa yagu, run^ggal run^ggal wara-wuruj, these (WARA) but big people (WARA) ma:-da-mu:-' mana-nun^g-garagu, ma:='mbalal, n^ga ba-gu that (MANA) uncircumcised boys it was nice and then there wu-gu-ru wuru=buri-∅ wuru=buri-∅, they they sat_c they sat_c

After that they (the people who had come for the ritual) scattered. Some went north, others west, others to Ngukurr (Roper R. settlement) or to the old mission (former site of Roper R. settlement, near present-day Ngukurr), some went south. They went their separate ways. There used to be a lot of people (at circumcisions), that circumcision ritual was very nice. Then they (the visitors) stayed there (for a while, before scattering).

55.11 wurugu wa:=nara-n^gi, wuru=ji:ji yamba,
later they waited for them_c they were wounded because
wa:=nara=nara-n^gi, yin^gga wuru=maji-ma:-', aba wu:=ya-n^ggi,

they waited for them_c nearly they became healed_c then they went_c
wu-gu-ru ana-wagi-yaj wu-gu-ru ana-wunumbi-yaj wu-gu-ru
they southward they northward they
ana:-'rgali-n^yi, wu-gu-ru ana-Roper-wuy, aba wu:=ya-n^ggi,
westward they to (place n.) then they went_c

They waited for them (the boys) for a while because they were hurting from the circumcision operation (for a few days after). Eventually they (the boys) were healed and they (the spectators) went (home). Some went south, others north, others west, others to Roper R. They went.

55.12 wu:=yama:-' wu:=ra:jara-n^gi aba a-lha:l-waj,
they did that_c they scattered_c then along country
wuru=buri-∅, wu-gu-ru, ana-wagi-yaj, wu-gu-ru ana:-'lagala,
they sat_c they southward they on the way
wu-gu-ru ana-n^gugur-wuy, ana-old mission-guy, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
they to (place n.) to old mission as for them
ana:-'rgali-n^yi, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uba-gu-miri ana:-'nu:-'wuy
westward as for them right there this way
ana:-'rwi-yaj, wu:-n^gara=ja-n^ggi wu:=ra:jara-n^gi, adaba,
upward they went_c they scattered_c then
wara-wuru-wuruj, wara-min^y-n^gambara, da-ni-yun^g.
people elders it is there

They dispersed through the various countries. They stopped (at their own countries). Some south, some on the way (i.e. not very far to the south), some to Ngukurr, some to the old (Roper R.) mission, some west, some at that same place up (inland) this way. They went, dispersing then. The people, the old people. That is all.

TEXT 56 CHOOSING A CIRCUMCISOR Yurumura

56.1 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, na-nun^g-garagu-n^yu-maji: a-n^ganggur-yun^g
that (MSg) if uncircumcised boy his MoMoBr

nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g anu-n^gura=guldhi:-'yin^yun^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g,
that (MSg) he who will circumcise him_c as for him
ani=murgulha-n^ga-n^y-jin^yun^g, ra-n^gujba-yun^g,
he who will lie down_p his brother-in-law
anu=gujguji-n^y-jin^yun^g, ra-n^gujba-yum-bugij ani:='ma:mi:-na,
he who will hold him up only his brother-in-law he will be alone_c
n^gar-uba-gi-yin-jin^yun^g n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yun-jin^yun^g
of that (FSg) of his sister
ani:-'n^yji=ya-ra.
he will sleep with (her)_c

If there is an uncircumcised boy (at the proper time for circumcision), it is his mother's mother's brother who should circumcise him. On the other hand, it is his (the boy's) brother-in-law (here: sister's husband) who should lie on the ground holding him (the boy) up (as he is circumcised). Only the sister's husband (can do that), him alone, the one who sleeps with his (the boy's) sister.

Note: 'to sleep with' here does not have the explicit sexual sense it does in English; it is the common way of indicating that a man and a woman are married.

Comments on texts 55 and 56

The Mandiwalा ritual (circumcision) is the first ritual into which boys are introduced, usually at an age such as eight or eleven (I do not have exact information on the usual age). Strictly speaking, the performances should be modeled on those of the Mandiwa ritual among the Warndarang and Mara ethnolinguistic groups to the south; some Nunggubuyu men can perform the appropriate songs, but sometimes men from the south are induced to lead the performances. (I have recorded some circumcision singing as part of my Warndarang and Mara song corpus.) Nowadays there is a tendency to use public, didjeridu-accompanied clan songs (wung^gabal) instead of the traditional circumcision songs in this ritual. In theory, in a given circumcision only one, two, or perhaps three initiates should be circumcised, all belonging to the same clan or to 'brother' clans, nowadays belonging at least to the same patrimoietry. Although circumcisions are of less significance than major rituals like Gunabibi or Madayin (Ru:l), and involve only certain segments of the community (members of the clan in question and their 'managers', see text 49), they are nonetheless widely publicised and highly entertaining events.

Typically, at circumcision the boys pass into the category of wulmur 'young man, bachelor', and go to live in a special camp with their peers until they marry. In the past there was also a period of more radical exclusion, during the 'liminal' phase of the larger circumcision process, described briefly in text 55; this is no longer very feasible and to my knowledge is not ordinarily expected of children living in settlements.

There are apparently some similar, but much less elaborated, rites de passage for girls, but I have no texts concerning them.

57.1 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj--, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj wu=yama-na
it too it does that
ana-ru:l, ana-madayin, ana-madayin-jin^yun^g wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
(n. of ritual) (= preceding) of (n. of ritual) as for it
wu=yama-na, ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g, ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g,
it does that big (Pl)
yuwa:-gu-wugij arwar, wa:='ma:mi:-na, nura:='yigi:-na, arwar-ugij
only there on top it is separate we play (=dance) only on top
min^y-n^gambara-wugij mi-jiyan^ggu, yij-garwar-ugij
only elders old men only top words (top business)
yuwa:-gu nura:='yigi:-na,
there we play

As for it, the Ru:l or Madayin ritual, it is like that, it is big (i.e. important, secret-sacred). We dance (that ritual) only on top (i.e. in the secret men's dancing area), just (us) mature men. We dance there, the 'top' business.

57.2 an-u-gu-ni nu:=jalburdi:-' ana:-'n^ga-wuy, an-uba-ni
to tr re we go down to camp that (ANA)
wu=wurag adaba an-i-d^gi gu-run^ggal, an-uba-ni adaba,
it is separate now big we s (big business) that now
adaba a-garara-jin^yun^g, ar : -gu nura:='yigi:-na, an-uwa:-gu
now of forked sticks t we play there
ana:-'n^ga-ruj, nuru=da:l yin^yung adaba, o:-'wa:-gu-yin^yun^g--
at camp which we u now of there
a:-'n^ga-ruj,
at camp

We come down to there, (from the ritual ground) to the camp. However, the big (secret) business is separate. There at the forked stick place we dance (the public dances), near the camp, we sing it (with tapstick accompaniment). In the camp, the (songs and dances) for that place.

57.3 wara-mananun^g wara-mij-bura:yun^g, wara-gujuju, arbidi
women children babies anything
adaba wiri-yan^y=jan^ga-yi: an-uba-ni nuru=da:li:-' nura:='yigi:-na
now they hear the voices that we sing we play
an-uwa:-gu ana:-'n^ga-ruj, an-uwa:-gu adaba arbidi
there at camp there now anything
wuru=wawan^ggi:-na wara-mananun^g wu-gu-ru wuru=wann^ga-na too,
they listen women they they dance

an-uba-ni ana-garara-jin^yun^g nuru=da:li:-' -yin^yun^g, wara-mana_nun^g
that of forked stick which we sing women

adaba wuru=wann^ga-na an-uba-ni-yun^g,
now they dance that

Women, children, babies--anyone can hear us singing (and watch) us playing (dancing) there near the camp. Anyone can listen. Women dance too, that (dance) at the forked stick place (where) we sing with tapsticks. Women dance that.

57.4 an-uwa:-gu ana:-'rwar--, ana-lhiribala, ana:-'n^ga-ruj,
there on top (error) below at camp
arbidi adaba nuru=da:li:-', wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uwa:-gu an-uba-ni
anything now we sing as for it there that
an-i-dun^ggu-run^ggal, yuwa:-gu-waj-bugij arwar-waj, wu=wurag,
big business only around there around on top it is separate
yagi wuru=wawan^ggi-Ø wara-mana_nun^g, wara-mij-bura:yun^g.
not they will listen women children

On top--I mean, down in the camp, we sing any songs (i.e. not the secret ritual songs). On the other hand, the top business (i.e. the secret songs and dances) are separate, (performed) only up there (at the secret dancing ground). Women and children cannot listen (to that).

Comments on text 57

For the Nunggubuyu, the Madayin or Ru:l ritual is the most secret and most important of the men's rituals; it is slightly more secret and sacred than the Gunabibi. Some of the songs are nonsecret and have been recorded and transcribed; other music and most of the dances are quite secret and cannot be observed by anyone other than initiated males.

The music is quite distinct from that of the usual clan songs (wun^gubal) sung in the camp. Whereas the wun^gubal songs are lively in pace and are accompanied by tapsticks and didjeridus, the Madayin songs are sombre and are accompanied only by the tapsticks. Almost all of the words are epithets for the totemic object commemorated by the particular song; there are few verbs or particles and those which do occur usually do not have the normal Nunggubuyu inflections.

Jajabun (text 29) is the primary myth on which the ritual is based; this particular myth links the relevant Nunggubuyu clans with clans (Anindhilyagwa-speaking) on Bickerton Island and Groote Eylandt, and with one or two Ritharngu-speaking clans to the north. Farther north in Arnhem Land, there are other versions of the Madayin based on different local myth traditions. These are described by Warner (1969) as the "Nara" rituals (cf. Nunggubuyu n^ga:rag, another term for Madayin).

Additional references are van der Leeden (1975) on the Nunggubuyu, and Turner (1974) for Groote and Bickerton. Turner's "Blaur" is Jajabun (also called Bilawur).

TEXT 58 INCREASE RITES
Yurumura

58.1 an-uba-ni-yun^g, wuru-yara=ya-ri::: wura:='ran^gga-na
that (ANA) they go they look
n'a wu-wan^yja:='ri an-uba-ni-yun^g, ambu:=lhan^garma-n^g,
and then there is no food that (ANA) they (not) reach it
adaba wuru=ya:-ri: yu:-gu-ni o:-'ba-ni-yun^g a-dreaming-guy
then they go to there that (ANA) to dreaming
wuru-yara=ya-ri::: --, wuru-yara=ya-ri: n'a ba-gu
they go they go and then there
wura:-'ragara=lha-ra, adaba wiri=yagiya-na manjar,
they all stand then they break it off branch (with leaves)
(About) that thing. They (people) go and look around. They catch
no food. They go to that dreaming place. They go along and stop
there. Then they break some branches (with leaves) off (trees).
58.2 manjar wiri=wagiya-na, manjar, ana-manjar an-uba-ni-yun^g
branch they break it off branch branch that (ANA)
wiri=yagiya-na, wu:-yara=ya-ri: wuru-yara=ya-ri: n'a
they break it off they go and then
wu:=yama-na, wiri-yara=wuli:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-manjar,
they do that they rub it that (ANA) branch
wiri-yara=wuli:-' wiri-yara=wuli:-', "jangu!"
they rub it (sound)
*numba:-'-gan^yja=ya-n^g, an^ggu-wan^yja:='rawindi-ma-n^g"
make food for us! ^p there will be much food ^p
wu:=yama-na, "jangu!" wu:=yama-na,
they do that (sound) they do that
They break off some branches. They go and do that, they rub the
branches on it (dreaming, e.g. a particular rock) with that branch.
They rub it. They call out, "Jangu! Make food abundant for us!
Let there be a lot of food!" They say that. "Jangu!"
Note: jangu! has no 'meaning' and is used only in this context.
* Root /=yu-/ , see also 59.1, 59.4. The speaker here later
suggested an emendation to numba:-'-gan^yja:='rawindi-wa-n^g
'make food abundant for us!', but both forms are all right.
58.3 adaba wu:=jalburdi:-' ana-n^galba-wuy, adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g
now they go into water to billabong then that (ANA)
wu=warawindi-ma-na, adaba wu:=lhan^garma-na arawindi,
it becomes many then they reach it (ANA) many
an-uba-ni-yun^g, dalma:ran^g yagu wada:bir yagu n^gujija,
that (ANA) tortoise sp. but sand goanna but fish
wu:=lhan^garma-na wu-wan^yja:='rawindi-ma-na, "jangu!"
they reach it there is much food (sound)

wu:=yama-na yamba.
they do that because

Then they go into the water in a billabong. Then that (game,
vegetable food, etc.) becomes abundant. They catch a lot of it.
Long-necked tortoises, or sand goannas, or fish (whatever they
want). There is plenty of food, because they said "Jangu!"

TEXT 59 INCREASE RITES
Ma:di

59.1 n^gijan^g a-dreaming-jin^yun^g, wara-min^y-n^gambara
more of dreaming elders
wara:-'gara=yu-n^ga:-', ana:-'nba:li, ana-wurindi-yala
they produced lots (of it) for them_c (place n.) from (place n.)
wu:=ya-n^ggi, nu:=lhaayi:-ni n^gun^yju n^ga
they went_c we (ExPl) stretched out in line_c similar and then
wara:-'wi n^ga wara:-'wa mi-jiwan^ggu::: n^ga,
these (WARA) and then these (WARA) old men and then
mij-gulmur, adaba nuru-wadji=lharma-n^gi, wa:-dalma:ran^g,
bachelors then we hunted freshwater game_c tortoise sp.
ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ba-ma ma=lhalawuda:-', man^garabi,
as for it (MANA) it is there (MANA) it is dreaming root nut
madiga, wu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi lhulmu,
root nut they went_c (place n.)

Now about the dreaming place. The old people (in the old days)
had a lot of food for them (other people). At the place Anba:li.
They went (there) from Wurindi. We stretched out (in a long line)
like here (one group of people) to here (another group). The old
men and young men. We hunted freshwater game, tortoises and so
forth. There is a root-nut (Eleocharis dulcis) dreaming there.
They went to the place Lhulmu.

59.2 nu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga ni=raga:-'ni-yin^yun^g adaba
we (ExPl) went_c and then he who went in front_c then
niri-waga=wagiwa-na mada::: ana-manjar n^ga,
we break it off grass branch (with leaves) and then
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi "jangu!"
he went_c (sound)
dalma:ran^g", ni=yama:-', ni=lhan^ggarurbi:-ni, an^yba-jun^g,
tortoise sp. he did that_c he made a track_c other (human Sg)
an^yba-jun^g "jangu!" dalma:ran^g", an^yba-jun^g "jangu!" dalma:ran^g"
(sound) tortoise sp. other (sound) tortoise sp.
war-uba-wi-yung n^ga wu:=lhamadhaman^yji:-ni "jangu!"
those (WARA) and then they each did it_c (sound)

dalma:ran^g, numba:-'gara=ya-n^g numba:-'gara-n^gu=bura-n^g", tortoise sp. make it for us! ^p put it down for us! ^p
wu:=yama:-', nu:=yama:-' nu-ru n^ga,
they did that _c we (ExPl) did that _c we (ExPl) and then

We all went along. The one in front then (broke off branches). We break off branches (with leaves still on them). He (the leader) went along and called out "Jangu! Tortoises!". He made a track (in the ground, pointing to the place where the tortoises should materialise). Then other men did the same thing, they all did it. They said, "Jangu! Tortoises! Make some for us, put them there for us!" They said that. We said that, ourselves.

59.3 "jangu! dalma:ran^g lhun^yin" nu:=yama:-'
(sound) tortoise sp. file snake we (ExPl) did that _c
"numba:-'gara=ya-n^g" ana:-'rgi wuru-wan^y=a-ni mari
make it for us! ^p some (ANA) they saw food _c and
mulun^g-argi "jangu! numba:-'gara=ya-n^g lhu:ru, lhu:ru
some (Pl) (sound) make it for us! ^p sleepy cod
mada", wu:=yama:-' wuru-wan^y=a-ni-yin^yun^g ana-n^gujija,
long-tom fish they did that _c they who saw food _c fish
nu:=yama:=::' n^ga, adaba wura:-'dji=lharma-n^gi,
they did that _c and then then they hunted freshwater game _c
mari n^ga nama:-'gara=yu-n^ga:-' man-uba-ma
and and then it produced (it) for us _c that (MANA)
ma=lhalawuda:-'yin^yun^g "jangu!" nu:=yama:-'yin^yun^g,
that thing which is dreaming (sound) which we did that _c

"Jangu! Tortoises, file snakes!" we said. "Produce them for us!" Sometimes they were after food (fish). Some of them said, "Jangu! Produce some sleepy cod and long-toms (freshwater fish) for us!" They said that, the ones who were after fish. We did that. Then they (the old people, then living) went hunting for freshwater game, and that dreaming (root-nut) which is there produced (game) for us. The dreaming, the one which we said "Jangu!" to.

59.4 nuru=warga-n-di, wa:-_dalma:ran^g, ana-lhun^yin, ana-a:n^g,
we got lots _c tortoise sp. file snake whatchamacallit
wara-lhu:ru wa:=ra-ni-yin^yun^g, dalma:ran^g wa:=ra-ni
sleepy cod which they speared _c tortoise sp. they speared it _c
n^gijan^g, algal wirima=wana^gaga:-'yin^yun^g, ana:-'ni n^ga
more different which they held _c this (ANA) and then
ana-lha:l-lhan^gu, n^gijan^g wara-badirin^ya wu:=dhidi-'-n^y-duj,
countries more devil(s) where they were enclosed _p
"jangu! n^gujija, n^ga-n^gu=guda-n^g, numba:-'gara=ya-n^g, jangu!
(sound) fish I will catch it _p produce (it) for me! (sound)
wugalij, n^gan=da-ya-n^g numba:-'gara=ya-n^g",
dugong (and turtle) I will spear it _p produce (it) for me! _p

We got lots of tortoises, file snakes, (and) sleepy cods which they speared. They speared tortoises. Different things. They held it (dreaming). In the various countries. Also in that place where the devils (ghosts) are enclosed (in the daytime). (They used to say,) "Jangu! I will catch some fish! Produce it for me! Jangu! Dugong! I will spear it, produce it for me!"

59.5 wara-badirin^ya ana:-'rn^ggalg, n^gaya-wi-ruj ana-lha:l,
devil(s) (place n.) at my country
wa:=yami-jga:-' n^gijan^g, wara=jangu-wa:-', wugalij
they told them _c more they did 'jangu!' to them _c dugong/turtle
wa:='mban^gan^yji:-ni, n^gun^yju a-yan^gi aba wuru=wargalha-n^gi
it came to surface _c similar what? then they speared it often _c
nuru=n^gu-ni na_rabarayala, n^ga:-du:mbi, ana-n^gujija,
we (ExPl) ate it _c long-tailed ray spikeless ray fish
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj wu:=yama:-' ana:-'nba:li, wara-dalma:ran^g,
they too they did that _c (place n.) tortoise sp.
ana:-'lgal ana-yan^gi ana-n^gurudhu mana-argarg, na-numma,
different what? bird (=game) darter (bird) pied goose
Devils, at the place Arn^ggalg, in my country. They (people) told them (devils), they did "Jangu!" to them. Then the dugong came up to the surface, so they (the people) could spear them and we ate them. Also long-tailed rays, spikeless rays, fish. They did that too at Anba:li. Tortoises, various other things, birds, darter ducks, pied geese (=magpie geese).

59.6 ana:-'rgi-yin^yun^g wirima=wana^gaga:-', wara=ma-n^gi,
of some they held it (MANA) _c they got it (WARA)
ana-lhun^yin, wara-dalma:ran^g, wuru=warga-n-di, ana:-'rgi
file snake (ANA) tortoise sp. they got lots _c of some
ana-wur-jin^yun^g n^gijan^g wura:='gurgan^yji:-ni, n^ga:-yarudu,
of bushfire more they set bushfires _c female wallaby
ana-gambalala, wura:='gurgan^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g wu:=ra-ni,
male wallaby which they set bushfires (for) _c they speared it _c
n^gara-anda:lburu, ana-lha:nda, ana:-'rjambal
female kangaroo young kangaroo kangaroo
ana-n^gagara-yiriwu-yin^yun^g, wuru=warga-n-di,
huge they got lots

Sometimes they grabbed them (with their hands), file snakes or tortoises. They got a lot of them. Some (game) they hunted by setting bushfires (in a ring around the animals, to confuse them and smoke them out): male and female agile wallabies; male, female, and juvenile antelopine kangaroos, some quite big. They speared them and got lots of them.

59.7 ana:-'rgi wu-n^gan^gga, wara=wi-ni n^gijan^g,
some burrow (ANA) they hit it (WARA) more

wara-wada:bir, wara-wada:bir mana-wangurag ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj
goanna bandicoot various others

wuru-wadji=wadja-n^gi, ma:rn^y, n^gijan^g majbarwar,
they killed freshwater game_c snake more olive python

alja, lirwag, wara-lirwag,
water python blue-tongued lizard blue-tongued lizard

wura:-'dji=wadja-n^gi wara-min^y-n^gambara,
they killed freshwater game_c elders

Sometimes they killed sand goannas in their burrows, also bandicoots and other (burrowing animals). They also killed freshwater game--snakes (such as) olive pythons and water pythons. They killed blue-tongued lizards. The old people used to kill freshwater game.

59.8 adaba wu=yinan^gan^yji:-ni wara-wuruj,
then it (ANA) was cooking on open fire people (WARA)

wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj ana-n^guji-ala an-uwa-ga:-'la, wu:=yama:-',
it (ANA) also from fish from there they did that_c

na-yin^ggulbandi, wa:-julurbi, wara-midhurun^gu,
barramundi fish Burnett salmon fork-tailed catfish sp.

ana-waln^gari, ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj, na-rabarayala,
salmon sp. various others long-tailed ray

n^gara-wariyil, ana-ga:mbuma, ana-maninig, ana-marbidi,
ray sp. ray sp. ray sp.

wuru=wargalha-n^gi wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
they speared it repeatedly_c it too elders

mana-madhal-a-jin^yun^g, mana-lhagaya-jin^yun^g, mana-ran^ga-jin^yun^g,
of beach of saltwater of dugout canoes

wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj,
it too

They also had fish cooking itself on open fires, those people.
They did that: barramundi, salmon, catfish, various things, several
ray species. They speared them, them (fish, rays) also. The old
people did that. (Fish and rays) of the beach, of the (deeper)
saltwater, and of dugout canoes (i.e. hunted in the sea with such
canoes). Them too.

59.9 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj wu:=yama:-' wuru-wadji=lharma-n^gi-yin^yun^g
it too they did that_c which they hunted in water

wa:-dalma:ran^g ana:-'rjambal, ana-n^gurudhu ana-a:n^g
tortoise sp. kangaroo game whatchamacallit

wuru=warga-n-di, xxx, wara-wuruj, ana:-'n^ya
they got lots_c (unclear on tape) people camp

nuru=buri-∅ ana-a:n^g, ana-magandaruj, mari
we (ExPl) sat_c whatchamacallit (place n.) and

ana-wuwandawanda, mari ana:-'lumayij, nuru=buri-∅
(place n.) and (place n.) we (ExPl) sat_c

In addition there were the animals which they hunted in fresh
water: tortoises, etc. They got lots of terrestrial game
animals, such as antelopine kangaroos. The people. We stayed
at places like Magandaruj, Wuwandawanda, and Alumayij.

59.10 an-ubu-gu-ni wu:=ya-n^ggi an-u-gu-ni
to there they went_c to there

wura:-'n^yji-n^gu=dhirida-n^gi ana:-'n^ya-wuy, wuru=wargu-ri-n^yji:-ni,
they went down with_c to camp they carried load_c

wu-gu-ru wu:=walgal, wara-mananun^g, mana-lhalabun,
they they were separate women water lily sp.

mana:-'ran^ga, ana-yiwujun^g, ana-wudan,
water lily sp. young water lily root water lily root

mana-man^ggawuja, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj wara-mananun^g,
rough water lily root they also women

mana-man^ggarabi, wirima=ma-n^gi, mana-madiga, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj,
root nut they got it_c root nut it (MANA) also

wura:-'n^yji-wara=wari-∅ wara-wuruj, mijimid n^gurudhu,
they went crookedly with_c people mixed with (creole) game

dalma:ran^g a:n^g wirima=wana^gaga:-'yin^yun^g
tortoise sp. whatchamacallit they who held it (MANA)_c

wara-mulun^g-argi, wara-mananun^g, wara=ma-n^gi.
others women they got it (WARA)

They went down that way to the camp with their load (i.e. the
carcasses of the animals they had killed). The women were separate
(i.e. obtained other kinds of food). (They got) various kinds of
water lily roots (root corms, seed pods). They got root nuts
(Eleocharis dulcis), it too. They went around (in zigzag
trajectory, looking for food). Sometimes they got game, tortoises,
those who held it (dreaming?). Some women got them.

Comments on texts 58 and 59

Increase rites of this type seem to have been comparatively
unimportant in this region, which is relatively well endowed with
vegetable and animal foods, and of course it is almost always
possible to obtain fish, turtles, and dugong from the sea.
However, such rites do occur in the area and these texts describe
some of the mechanics. The word jangu! is a standardised cry
used in the performance, which takes place in special ritual
grounds and involves making diagrams in the ground.

TEXT 60 RAINMAKING
Yurumura

60.1 wara-wuru-wuruwuj, wara-wuru-wuruwuj ana:-'nbana, wuru=ma:ndhi:-',
people rain they make it

wu-nuga, wu-nuga wuru=ma-ni, wu-nuga dreaming wuru=ma-ni
rainstone they get it rainstone they get it
yuwa-ga:-'la, dreaming wuru=ma-ni ana:-'nbana, wu-nuga,
from there they get it rain rainstone
adaba wu:=ya:rijgi:-na, n^ga wuru=yirwudi:-', nuga-miri,
then they transport it and then they scrape it by means of stone
wuru=yirwudi:-' nuga-miri, ana:-'nbana,
they scrape it by means of stone rain

The (Aboriginal) people make rain. They get a special dreaming stone (rainstone) from there. They get that rain(-stone) and take it (somewhere). They scrape it, with a rock.

60.2 wuru-yirwi=yirwudi:-' n^ga adaba wuru=lhalwulhi:-',
they scrape it and then then they soak it
a-bulayi-wuy, mari wu:=rulgulhi:-', mada wiri=ma:jga-na
in billycan and they make shelter grass they make it
wu:=riga-n-ji: wu=ganga wuru=ma:jga-na, wu:-n^yi=ra-wu-ma-na,
they dig trench they make it they enchant it
adaba wu:=lhang^garurbi:-na, adaba wuru=yambi:-na, lha:wu-miri,
then they make tracks on ground then the speak by speech
"amu:='la-wa: mana-min^yn^ganga, ba=ya-ra" wuru=yama-na,
it will be two night sleep!^p they do that

They keep scraping it and then they soak it in a billycan (i.e. in any container filled with water). Then they make a shelter (i.e. a ritual 'shade') and they dig a trench in the ground. They perform magic on it. Then they draw tracks in the ground (pointing to where rain should go). Then they talk, in words. They say, "You sleep (i.e. remain dormant) for two nights!"

60.3 wura:='garan^gga-na::: wu-n^gubunun=dabali:-', ana-n^gubunun^g,
they look for it cloud comes out cloud
adaba wu=ma:jgi:-'na an^gabana, adaba wu=wara=rabi:-na,
then it makes itself rain then it all falls
wu=wara:='ra=rabi:-na::: ying^gga ana:-gugu wu=run^ggal-ma-na,
it all falls nearly water it gets big
ana:-gugu wu=run^ggal-ma-na wiri=na-yi:, adaba wuru=magi:-'na,
water it gets big they see it then they tell
wuru=magi:-'na, "n^gaya-waj n^ga=bura-n^gi" wuru=yama-na, adaba
they tell it is I I put it down^c they do that then
wa:='ji:-' ana:-'nbana, wu=ja:du-gi:-'na, ba-ni-yun^g mari.
it ceases rain it is finished it is there and

They look (wait) for it. Then the clouds (rainclouds) come out. Then rain is made, it rains. The water (on the ground) gets big. They (everyone) see it. Then they (the ones who made it) speak up. "It is I who put (made) it," someone says. Then the rain ends, it is over. That is that.

TEXT 61 MAKING THE NORTHEAST WIND
Yurumura

61.1 ana-durmala wuru-yara=ya-ri::: n^ga, adaba
NE wind they go and then then
wiri=n^gan^ybandi:-' wura:='ran^gga-na n^ga wa:='ddhari:-',
they want it they look and then it is calm
wuru-bu=bura:::' n^ga an-uba-ni-yun^g wu:=ya:-ri:-maji:, aba
they sit and then that (ANA) if they go then
an-uba-ni-yun^g ambiri=n^gan^ybanda-'-maji: ana-wu-dhang^guny,
that if they want it^p wind
ambu:-yara=ya-ri::: adaba nu:-'bi-ni wara=yami-jga-na
they will go^c then those (MDu) they do that to them
na-jiwin^y mari na-du:la "nimbinawa:-'r=wudi-n^y" wu:=yama-na,
(man's n.) and (man's n.) you two dig for water!^p they do that
The northeast wind. They go along and they decide that they would like to have it. It is very calm. They stay (there). Then they go. If they want the wind, they go and tell those two men, Jiwiny and Du:la (men of the Dhalwang^g clan, well to the north of Nunggubuyu country), "You two dig for water!"

61.2 wini-yara=ya-ri::: adaba winiwa:-'r=wudi:-na,
they (MDu) go then they dig for water
winiwa:-'r=wudi:-na:::, winiwa:-'r=wudi:-na an-uba-ni-yun^g,
they dig for water that (ANA)
wini=yalima-na n^ganji-miri, wini=barawudi:-' adaba
they get water by means of baler shell they throw it then
ana:-gugu, "ba=yarba-n^g yimbaj durma la", wini=yama-na,
water run!^p today NE wind they do that
an-uba-ni adaba run^ggal run^ggal adaba wu=ya:-ri: durmala run^ggal,
that (ANA) then big then it goes NE wind big
wu=wayama-na wu=dhang^guny run^ggal adaba, ya:-ji:-'la-wugij wu=ya:-ri:
it proceeds wind big then only coming here it goes
mari wini=lhang^garurbi:-na, "buluwunu"
and they make tracks on ground NE wind (Dhay'yi language)
wini=yama-na, ya:-ji:-'la wu=ya:-ri:.
they (MDu) do that coming here it goes
The two of them go and dig a well for some water. They get it in a baler shell (used as container) and throw the water. They say,

"Northeast wind! Run today!" Then there is a big northeast wind. The big wind runs along this way. The two men make marks in the ground (pointing to where the wind should blow). They say "buluwunu" ('northeast wind' in the Dhay'yi language, which is spoken by the Dhalwangu clan). Then it blows this way.

TEXT 62 MAKING THE NORTHWEST WIND
Yurumura

- 62.1 ni-ga:-'yun^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-ba:ra, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-ba:ra,
as for it (NA) NW wind
- yagi-maji:, yagi-maji: wara-man^gura, wara-man^gura yagi-maji:,
if not men of (clan n.)
- yagi-maji: wini=lhargi-∅, wara-man^gura yagi-maji: wini=lhargi-∅,
they send it (NA)
- nu-ru-waj nun^yju-nun^y-jul, nun^yju-nun^y-jul,
it is we (ExPl)! people of bushland (yu:l)
- n^galma-n^galmi, might-be, ari, ari n^ga-yaya-waj, nu:-yara=ya-ri:::,
(clan n.) maybe maybe it is me! we go
- nu:-yara=ya-ri: wa:='ri ana-wu-dhan^gun^y an^ggu=yarba-n^g, yagu
not wind it runs but
- mula nan^gi=wa-n^ga-na, n^gara-mula-maji:
mosquito it (NgARA) bites us (ExPl) if mosquito
- n^gara:-'rawindi namban^gi=wa-n^ga-na, adaba, n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri:::,
many it will bite us then I will go_c
- As for it, the NW wind. If the Man^gura clan (most northerly of Nunggubuyu clans) do not send it, it is we, the bushland (inland) people, the Ngalmi clan, maybe me (who sends it). We are going along (in the bush) and the wind is not blowing, or if lots of mosquitoes are biting us, I will go then.
- Note: The NW wind is the primary monsoon wind and is dominant in the wet season. When there is no wind the mosquitoes can be quite bad. NW wind is sent by the Man^gura (whose territory is on the coast of Blue Mud Bay to the north, but who are closely affiliated with Ritharngu-speaking groups further inland to the northwest of the Nunggubuyu). The Ngalmi clan is related to the Man^gura (i.e. in the semimoity system they would be in the same semimoity), and the Ngalmi can substitute for them in sending this particular wind. The category of 'bush (inland) people' is in opposition to 'beach (coastal) people'; among the major Nunggubuyu clans the Ngalmi and Nunggargalug are bush people and the Nun-dhiribala and Murungun are beach people (the Nun-dhiribala are also associated with 'jungle').
- 62.2 n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri::: adaba n^gani:-'n^ga=ma:jga-na, ni-gan^ga
I will go_c then I will make camp (NA)_c its camp

- na-ni-gan^ga adaba n^gani=ma:jga-na, n^gani=ma=ma:jga-na:::,
its camp (NA) then I will make it_c I will make it (NA)_c
- n^gani=ma=ma:jga-na::: n^ga, ani=yama-na n^gun^yju
and then it (NA) will do that_c similar
- ama-barawu-yi: ama-ma-jinag, an-u-gu-ni, na-ni-jinag
like boat its (MANA) head to there its (NA) head
- ni-ga:-'yun^g an-u-gu-ni ana:-'dha:dhari, ni-gardha, n^gun^yju
as for it (NA) to there behind its (NA) tail similar
- yaga: yi:-n^garugalij, yi:-n^garugalij-ji: ardha, n^gani=yami-jga-n^g,
∅ dugong like dugong tail I will do that to it_p
- I will go and will construct its (NW wind's) camp (i.e. trench, as in ritual ground). I will make its trench, it will be like a boat, (with) its prow, that way, its (NW wind's) head. As for the rear part, its tail, shaped like a dugong's tail (i.e. like the tail of a whale). I will do this to it.
- 62.3 adaba n^gani=ma:jga-na da-ji n^gani=ma:jga-na::: da-ji
then I will make it (NA)_c there I will make it_c there
- ana-wun^gubal n^ga=maya-na, ana-wun^gubal, ana-wun^gubal da-ji
camp song I will sing_c there
- n^ga=maya-na, n^ga=maya=maya-na:::, n^ga=maya=maya-na::: adaba
I will sing_c then
- n^ga-n^gu=jarara-n^g, n^gan^ggu=wuldha-n^g, walag, ama=yama-na,
I will move_p I will cut it_p hollow log it (MANA) will do that_c
- mana-walag an-u-gu-ni n^gama=ya:rijgi:-na n^ga
hollow log (coffin) to there I will transport it (MANA)_c and then
- yuwa:-gu, n^ga n^ga-n^gu=bura:-' mana-walag,
there and then I will sit_c hollow log
- I will make it (trench) there, and will sing the camp songs. I will go and cut a hollow log (of stringybark, E. tetradonta), a tubular section like a coffin, like that. I will take it there (to the trench). I will stay there (with) the hollow log.
- Note: The hollow log is placed in the trench, in the middle, with the ends pointed to the head and tail of the trench. The prefix on 'I will sit' in the last line is unclear on the tape and may not be first singular.
- 62.4 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, lhanda, lhanda n^gani=wuldha-n^g
after that antmound I will cut it (NA)_p
- ni=yama-na, ya:-ji n^gani=bura-n^g, an-uba-ni:-'la-wala,
it does that here I will put it from that_p
- wuyaran^gal n^gan^ggu=ma-n^g, n^gan^ggu=wurdha-n^g, wilwag, n^gan^ggu=wurdha-n^g,
wild grape I will get it_p I will cover it_p tree sp. I will cover it_p
- lhu:n^y lhigidi, lhigidi n^gan^ggu=wurdha-n^g,
stringybark bark of stringybark tree I will cover it_p

adaba n^gan=dhan^ggarurbi-n^y, manjar
 then I will mark line on ground branch with leaves
 n^gan^ggu=wagiwa-n^g lhu:n^y n^gan^ggu=wagiwa-n^g,
 I will break it off stringybark
 n^gani:-'n^ga=wadiji-wi-n^y, mari n^gan^g=guwalga-n^g,
 I will strike its trench (NA) and I will run
 After that I will cut down a chunk of antmound, like this, and I
 will put it (at base of the tail of the trench). I will also get
 some (branches) of wild grape bush, of wilwag tree (Persoonia),
 and bark from stringybark tree, and will cover them up (in the
 trench). I will then walk in a line, making marks on the ground
 (from base of tail, walking away from the trench in the direction I
 want the NW wind to blow). I will break off some branches of a
 tree and will brush them on the ground in the trench, then I will
 run along.

62.5 n^gam-baya=wayama-ni::: n^ga yuwa:-gu, an-uwa-ga:-'la
 I will proceed_c and then there from there
 n^gand=a:gi-n^y yagi n^ga=yarbi-∅, wurugu:::rij n^gan^y-jara=ya-ri:::
 I will return_p not I will run slow I will go_c
 ba-gu, ana:-'ji:-'la-maji: n^gan^y=jarba-n^g, ya:-ji:-'la ani=yarba-n^g,
 there if along here I will run_p here coming it will run_p
 aba ya:-ji:-'la-wugij, aba--, n^gam-baya=wayama-ni finish!,
 then only here coming then I will proceed_c

I will keep going, (stopping) there, then I will come back (to the
 trench). I will not run (in this direction), I will go slowly.
 If I were to run in that direction, the wind would blow in that
 direction. Only in this direction (i.e. southward)(do I want it
 to blow). I will keep going, then that is finished.

62.6 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, "ba=yarba-n^g an^yjarmalan^y, ba=lha-n^ga-n^g
 from that run!_p (place n.) stand!_p
 an^yjarmalan^y, ba=lha-n^ga-n^g n^gururubal, ba=lha-n^ga-n^g bunuri,
 (place n.) (place n.)
 ba=lha-n^ga-n^g wurun^gguyuna, ba=lha-n^ga-n^g madhulmar,
 (place n.) (place n.)
 amamadulbu-wala ba=yarba-n^g" n^gan^y=jama-n^g,
 from (place n.) I will do that_p

After that, I will say (to the NW wind): "Blow (hard)! Stop at
 (list of place names)! Run from the place Amamadulbu!"

Note: The first few places named are well to the northwest of
 Nunggubuyu country and move in order closer to the Nunggubuyu.
 An^yjarmalan^y is said to be near Maningrida; N^gururubal is the main
 centre of the Wa:gilak clan (Ritharngu language) and Bunuri is said
 to be nearby; Wurun^gguyuna is said to be in Man^gura clan country;
 finally, Amamadulbu is in Ngalmi clan country (Nunggubuyu).

62.7 "ba=ya-ra ba=ya-ra ama:-'ma-ruj, amu:='lan^ybaj
 sleep! at this (MANA) it (MANA) will be three
 mana-miny^gan^ga, mana:-'ma-ruj ba=lan^g-garagara=lha-n^ga-n^g,
 sleep at this (MANA) you (Sg) stand up as clouds!_p
 mana:-'ma-ruj ba=lan^g-garagara=lha-n^ga-n^g, mana:-'ma-ruj
 at this (MANA)

ba=mindhi:-', mana:-'ma-ruj, mana:-'ma-ruj ba=yarba-n^g",
 flash (as lightning)!_c run!_p
 ani=yarba-n^g adaba.
 it (NA) will run_p then

(I will tell the NW wind,) "Sleep (i.e. do nothing) two nights, and
 a third night. This day (i.e. the fourth), stand up in the form
 of clouds! On this day you will flash (as thunder and lightning).
 On this day you will blow!" It will blow ('run') then.

TEXT 63 MAKING THE SOUTHEAST WIND Yurumura

63.1 n^gan^y=jambi:-na, ana-yimbaj n^gan^y=jambi:-na ana:-'ni,
 I will speak_c today this (ANA)
 na:mba-jin^yun^g, na:mba-jin^yun^g mari nan^yjawara-yin^yun^g, wu-gu-ni-n^yun^g
 of (man's n.) of (man's n.) theirs (MDu)
 a-dreaming, o:-'wa:-ni ana-lha:l-uj wu=bura:-', amagulhu, dhalagurba,
 that at country it sits (place n.) (place n.)
 an-uba-ni-yun^g-maji:--, yagi-maji: ana-wu-dhan^gun^y wu=yarbi-∅,
 if that if not wind it will run
 wu:=ya:-ri: n^ga wara=yambi:-na na-yiwan^ggu-wa:, nu:-'bi-ni
 they go and then they talk to them two old men they (MDu)
 na:mbaj wunu=maga-na, na:mbaj ni-yara=ya-ri::: n^ga,
 (man's n.) they tell him he goes and then
 I will talk now. Na:mbaj and Nan^yjawara (Groote Eylandt men). Their
 dreaming, it is in their country at Amagulhu and Dhalagurba. If there
 is no wind, they (people) go talk to those two old men; they talk
 to Na:mbaj. He goes along.

63.2 adaba wani=ma-ni wara-n^ganji, adaba n^ganji-miri an-uba-ni
 then he gets it baler shell then by baler shell that
 wiri:-'r=wudi:-na, wiri:-'r=wudi:-na an-uba-ni adaba, ana-lhawa:lig,
 they dig for water that then well
 wiri:-'rwa:-'r=wudi:-na::: aba wu=bulbayi:-na, wu=bulbayi:-na,
 they dig for water then it bubbles up
 wu=bura:-' an-uba-ni ama-lhagaya-duj, mana-lhagayag ya:-ma:-'la-yun^g
 it sits that at saltwater saltwater it is here coming
 ma-wad=bari:-'na, n^ga ya:-ji, ba-gu-miri wu=bura:-',
 it (MANA) drops down and then here right there they sit

ama-dhagala:li-duj,
at edge of water

With a baler shell they dig a well in the ground. It (water) comes bubbling up, near the sea (i.e. on the edge of the land). The saltwater comes this way and drops down (on the freshwater), right there, at the edge of the sea.

63.3 ba-ni wiri:-'r=wudi:-na an-uba-ni gu:gu adaba
it is there they dig for water that water then
wu=bulbayi:-na, an-uba-ni-yun^g wura:=lima-na, wura:=lima-na,
it bubbles up that they get water
ba-ni n^ga wiri:-'r-n^gu=barawudi:-' an-uba-ni ana:-gugu,
it is there and then they throw water that water
mari ni=yambi:-na an-uba-ni lha:wu, "ba=yarba-n^g: wu-dhan^gun^y mariga",
and he speaks that words run! wind SE wind
ni=yama-na, an-uba-ni niwa:-'r-n^gu=barawudi:-' xxx "yimbaj
he does that that he throws water (unclear) today
ba=yarba-ni", ani=yama-n^g--, ni=yama-na,
run! he will do that^c p he does that
They dig for water there. It bubbles up and they get it and throw it. He (Na:mbaj) speaks those words: "Run! Wind, SE wind!" He says that and throws the water. "Run, today!" He says that.

63.4 n^ga yimbaj ma=yarba-ni man-uba-mi mana-mariga
and then today it (MANA) runs that (MANA) SE wind
ana-wu-dhan^gun^y aba ana:-'ji:-'la wu=yarba-ni, yagu "amu:'la-wa:
wind then along here it runs but it will be two
mana-min^yn^gan^ga" ani=yama-Ø-maji:, ani=ya-ra, wuru=ya-ra,
sleep if he will do that^p he will sleep^c they sleep
ama:-'n^yba-duj, ma=jirarji:-', an-uba-ni ana-wu-dhan^gun^y.
at other (MANA) it (MANA) blows hard that wind

Today (i.e. that same day) that SE wind blows, the wind. It comes running (blowing) along here. Or (maybe), if he tells it, "Let there be two nights (before you blow)," he will spend one night, they (all) sleep, and on the next day it (SE wind) blows, that wind (blows).

Comments on text 63

In conjunction with the immediately preceding texts, this text shows how certain men (as headmen of certain local clans) are considered to have the power of controlling certain winds (and other natural phenomena related to their clans).

The southeast wind (mariga) is a relatively cold, dry wind which becomes the prevailing wind in the dry season, especially the first few months (e.g. April). It comes in off the Gulf of Carpentaria, which is perhaps why the increase rite here involves water. The water is thrown in the direction the wind is supposed to follow.

TEXT 64 LIST OF MURUN^gUN CLAN DREAMINGS Ma:di

64.1 a-dreaming n^ganu=maga-na, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g,
dreaming (totem) I will tell him^c ours (ExPl)
lha murungun tribe, a:n^g-jin^yun^g
of (creole) (n. of clan) of whatchamacallit
a-wiyindan^gan^y-jin^yun^g, a-dreaming a-wu:jun^g-jin^yun^g, ana-miliya,
of (place n.) of (place n.) bony bream
mari ana-win^yig, adhagag, ana-murungun, ana-n^gagara
and small (ANA) young bony bream of Murungun clan bone
arawindi,
many
I will tell him (Heath) about our dreamings (totems), of the Murungun 'tribe' (clan). Of whatchamacallit, the places Wiyindan^gan^y and Wujung^g (Murungun clan centers). There is bony bream fish (Fluvialosa erebi) and its juvenile form. They are Murungun. Lots of bones (in those fish).

64.2 n^ga wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g langaj, mari lhulun^gu,
and then as for it very small mullet and mullet sp.
ana-murungun, ana-wura:yun^g, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, na-yibuwa,
of Murungun clan small ones as for it young mullet sp.
run^ggal-in^yun^g, ana-murungun, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, na-nigimilharma,
big ones of Murungun clan as for it mullet sp.
ni-ga:-'yun^g na-run^ggal-in^yun^g, na-murungun, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g
as for it (NA) big ones of Murungun clan mine
ana-dreaming, xxx,
totem (unclear)

Then there are various kinds of mullets, small ones and big ones (list of terms given). Of the Murungun clan, my dreamings.

64.3 madugay, lhagabilayu, ma:mbani, warambaldu,
shark sp. shark sp. shovel-nosed ray sp. hammerhead shark
lhamalguru, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj ana-murungun, ana-lha:l,
shark sp. all that along there of Murungun clan country
ana-dreaming Ø-ara=ma:jga:-'yin^yun^g, yambirgu, amun^ggu,
it which made it^c parrot fish emperor sp.
garawara, a:n^g wurabadji, yarbidhi,
emperor sp. whatchamacallit parrot fish sp. fish sp. (tuskfish?)
yimawuru, malawuru, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj, yimin^yjari,
emperor sp. great trevally all that along there fish sp.
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-waj, ana-murungun, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g,
all that along there of Murungun clan ours

an-un^gubal nuru-maya=maya-na-yin^yun^g,
clan song which we sing

Then there is shovel-nosed ray and several types of sharks, all Murun^gun. The ones which made the (Murun^gun) country, the dreamings. Then there are two types of parrot fish, three emperors, great trevally, and other (marine) fish, all of them ours, Murun^gun.

64.4 mari nan^yja, net nan^yja, wu-gu-ru "net" wirima=maya-na and net net they they call it wa:-dhurabada, nu-ra:-'yun^g wara-wuru-wuruj nan^yja, white men as for us (ExPl) (Aboriginal) people net wara-murun^gun, wuru=guda-n^gi ana-n^gujija, wu:=rarja-n^gi, Murun^gun (people) they caught it_c fish they took it out_c mana-murun^gun, ma=mandha:yung, of Murun^gun clan (MANA) it (MANA) is of Mandha:yung moiety

Also net. The white people call it 'net', we call it 'nan^yja'. The Murun^gun people caught fish (with the net) and took them out (of the net). It (net) is Murun^gun, it is Mandha:yung.

Note: The Murun^gun clan is part of the Mandha:yung patrilineal moiety.

64.5 n^gijan^g, wu:=wann^ga:-' wara-badirin^ya, ana-warugunda more they danced_c devils (place n.) wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi, ana:-'rn^ggalg wu:=dhidi-'-n^y, they made it_c (place n.) they (WARA) were covered up_p wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi wu:=wann^ga:-' an-un^gubal, ana-dha:mbulg, they made it_c they danced_c clan song feathered stick xxx --, wuru=ma:ndha-n^gi wu:=wann^ga:-', ana-dreaming, (false start) they made it_c they danced_c da-ni-yung, wuru=ma:ndha-n^gi, it is there they made it_c

In addition, the devils danced and made the place Warugunda, and were covered up (in the ground) at Arn^galg, which they made. They danced the clan songs (corroboree), feathered stick. They danced and made a dreaming (totemic site). It is there, they made it.

64.6 jaladi, n^gun^yju a:-'n^g-ji:, onion, ma=yama:-' onion sp. similar like whatchamacallit it did that_c ma:-'ra=gayag, mari lhagayag, ya:-ma lhagayag, it is bad-tasting and saltwater it is here (MANA) saltwater da-ma:-'la-yung-gala-waj, ana-mandha:yung nu-ru, it is along there (MANA) of Mandha:yung moiety we (ExPl) ana-dreaming Ø-ara=ma:jga:-' ana-lha:l, njura amuwangga, it made it_c country coral type of coral da-ni:-'la-yung-gala-waj, maragu, da-ni:-'la-yung-gala-waj, it is along there (ANA) twister it is along there (ANA)

yinin^gira man^garag, da-ni:-'la-yung-gala-waj, Ø-ara=ma:ndha-n^gi sandbar sand it is along there it made it all_c ana-dreaming, wingil, ma:guru, da-ni:-'la-yung-gala-waj, two-pronged spear (=wingil) it is along there (ANA)

Then there is jaladi yam, like an onion, it tastes bitter. And saltwater, all that there, of the Mandha:yung moiety, (of) us. It made the dreaming country. Two kinds of coral, those too. Also twister (small tornado-like storm). Also sandbar, (made of) sand, that too. It made the dreaming (places). Two-pronged wooden spear too.

64.7 n^garugalij, nirin^ga=lhaganma-n^y an^yja:bugij n^giwu=ma:ndha-n^gi dugong we shared it_p one it made it_c ana:-'ni:-'la-yung n^ga, ana-yan^gurgaran^yun^g, ana:-'ni:-'la-yung this coming and then (place n.) this coming ana:-'mamarj, ana-wiyayi ana-ran^yjirij ana:-'ni:-'la-yung (place n.) (place n.) this coming n^giwu=ma:ndha-n^gi, an^yja:bugij, n^garugalij, ana-lha:l ana:-'ni it made it_c one dugong country this (ANA) n^giwu=ma:ndha-n^gi ana-dreaming, n^gara-n^garugalij, it made it_c dugong

Dugong. We shared it (divided it up). One (dugong) made all this (country) along here--the places Yan^gurgaran^yun^g, Amamarj, Wiyayi, Ran^yjirij. One (dugong) made all this. The dugong made these dreamings, these countries.

64.8 na-n^gala:ligi na:-da-gu:-' wu-gu-ra:-', n^garugalij-bugij, mari green turtle that (NA) is theirs only dugong and n^gara-a:n^g, n^ga:-yulumangani n^gara-n^gan^yjabana, whatchamacallit dolphin sp. (long-nosed) dolphin sp. (short-nosed) nu-ra:-' n^ga:-da-gu:-' n^gi-ga=garaji:-'yin^yun^g, it is ours (ExPl) that (N^gARA) it which jumps_c ana-garawara, ana-wundhulmir, ana-yalabura, ana-manan^gari, spangled emperor fish tuna (?) swordfish (?) young yalabura da-ni:-'la-yung-gala-waj ana-dreaming, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g, it is along there (ANA) ours (ExPl) wara-muru-murun^gun-jin^yun^g, of Murun^gun (people)

(But on the other hand,) green turtle is theirs (not ours). (It belongs to the Numamudidi clan.) Just dugong (is ours). And two dolphins (long-nosed and short-nosed) are ours, those which jump a lot. (Also) spangled emperor fish and several large fish (tuna, swordfish, etc.). All those dreamings are ours, of the Murun^gun clan.

64.9 da-ni-yung^g, n^ga=magi:-'na n^ga-yan^y=jabi:-'na, ana:-'ni it is there I tell my voice goes in this

n^ga=magi:-'na n^ga=yan^y=jabi:-'na nun^g-gubuy-miri,
 I tell my voice goes in by means of the Nunggubuyu lang.
 mujiji, mujiji mari ani=yama-na mujiji, English-gala
 (man's n.) and he will do that_c (man's n.) in English
 ani=yambi:-na, n^ga=yaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g-jin^yun^g, n^ga=magi:-'na
 he will speak_c I of mine I tell
 n^ga=dugubadhi:-' ana-dreaming, an-ubu-jun^yun^g nu-ru
 I talk about (English) that kind of thing we (ExPl)
 ana-lha:l-in^yun^g ø-ara=ma:jga:-'yin^yun^g, ni-ga:-'yung mujiji
 of country it which made it_c as for him (man's n.)
 mari anu=maga-na na:-'gi, aniwa='rari:-'yin^yun^g
 and he will tell him_c this (MSg) he who will write it_c
 aniwu-yan^g=arari:-'yin^yun^g, English-gala.
 he who will write the voice_c in English

That is how it is. I tell (the story) and my voice goes in (the tape recorder). I tell this in Nunggubuyu. Mujiji (a bilingual man) will say that in English, he will speak. This is my (story), I tell about it, I talk about the dreamings of that kind, the ones who made our (clan) countries. He, Mujiji, will tell this man (Heath), the one who will write down the sounds in English.

Comments on text 64

The manner in which this list is constructed suggests that there is a collection of small 'clusters' of dreamings (totems) rather than an undifferentiated list. These clusters are generally compatible with natural zoological groupings, whether overtly recognised in the higher levels of animal taxonomy (dugong/turtle) or not (mullets). However, these clusters also show up in the clan songs themselves; thus certain songs involve a number of mullet terms, others involve the cluster including parrotfish and tuna-type fish, and so forth. The major totems which link most of the songs together are the devils (ghosts) with their feathered sticks (texts 9, 41). These devils did some fishing and dugong-hunting and most of the Murungun clan totems mentioned here are marine creatures.

TEXT 65 THE CREATION OF THE NEW BROLGA SONG CYCLE Yurumura

65.1 ni:ni=ya-n^ggi, adaba, nu:-'ba-gi-yung na-mu:gar-in^yun^g,
 we (ExMDu) went_c then that (MSg) about dead man
 n^ga=yaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g na:-muruyun^g na-run^ggal-yung, na-n^gambari-n^yun^g
 mine elder brother big (MSg) elder
 ni:ni=ya-n^ggi adaba yu:-gu-ni, ni:ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga
 we went_c then to there we went_c and then
 yuwa:-gu, ni:ni='mbargali-n^y, adaba n^gani=yami-jga-n^y, "wun^gubal
 there we sat together_p then he did that to me_p clan song

nan^ggu=lhan^garma-n^g, wu=gadhuwa, wu=gadhuwa wun^gubal
 we (InDu) will reach it_p new one (ANA) clan song
 nan^ggu=lhan^garma-n^g, n^gani=yami-jga-n^y,
 he did that to me_p

He and I went, about the dead man. Me and my big elder brother went there (i.e. to the burial ground). We stopped and sat there. He said to me, "Let's get a new clan song."

Note: In this text the main protagonists are D (the deceased), the narrator Y, and Y's elder brother M. As it happened, M himself died shortly before this text was recorded, so his name does not appear, but the incident narrated (i.e. shortly after the death of D) had taken place many years earlier when M and Y were both living. It is possible that na-mu:gar-in^yun^g in line 1 really means 'the dead one' and refers to M instead of D. All of the men involved were of the N^galmi or N^garan^gari clan; M was not Y's full brother but was a classificatory brother and clan-mate.

65.2 "ba:='ni-n^y nan^y=ja:-ri: yu:-gu-ni,
 come!_p we (InDu) will go_c to there
 wu:-wurdhu=wurdhi:-'na-wuy, o:-'wa:-ni wu:-wurdhu=wurdhi:-'na-wuy,
 to where they are buried that (ANA)
 nan^y=ja:-ri: bu-gu-ni", ni:yama-n^y, adaba ni:ni=ya-n^ggi
 to there he did that_p then we (ExMDu) went_c
 ni:ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga, o:-'ba-ni wu:-wurdhu=wurdhi:-'na-ruj,
 and then that where they are buried
 adaba ni:ni='mbargali-n^y, ni:ni=mudadbi-n^y n^ga
 then we sat together_p we were silent_p and then
 ni:ni-yara='rangga:-', ni:ni-yawa='wanggi:-ni:::
 we looked_c we listened_c
 (M said to me) "Come! Let's go there, where they are buried." He said that. We went, and stopped and sat there where they are buried (i.e. at the clan burial ground). We were silent, we looked and listened.

65.3 "ya-ya-ya-ya-ya!" wu=yama-n^y an-uba-ni ana-mada,
 (sound) it (ANA) did that_p that grass
 ana-mada::: mari--, an-uba-ni ana-wa:n^g ana-manjar,
 grass and that whatchamacallit leaves (on branches)
 wu-waragara=lhi-ø, wu-waragara=lhi-ø, yin^gga wu-waragara=lhi-ø,
 it all stood_c nearly
 adaba ni:ni-n^gara=dabi:-ni, ni:ni-n^gara=dabi:-ni,
 then we (ExMDu) fell down_c
 ni:ni-yawa='wanggi:-ni:::, dar! dar! dar! nima=wadi-n^y
 we listened_c (sound) he hit tapsticks_p
 mana-wilbilg,
 tapstick

Grass and foliage on trees were swishing back and forth in the breeze, making a rustling sound; the grass was standing up (and moving back and forth). We two (M and Y) fell down (in a trance). We listened, and heard him (D) beating tapsticks.

Note: Tapsticks are part of the musical accompaniment in wun^gubal (clan songs) of the type described in this text.

65.4 dhawad^u! ni=rabali-n^y nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g, come out he came out _p that (MSg) he who died _p ni=rabali-n^y nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g, ni=mawungarara he came out _p he was in open ni=ya-n^ggi adaba ni=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga ni=lha-n^ga-n^y, he went _c then he went _c and then he stood up _p ni-ni ni:ni-lhagara=ya-y-ugij ni:ni=mun^ymulhi-∅-wugij, we (ExMDu) we both only slept _c we only lay down _c ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga ni=lha-n^ga-n^y, he went _c and then he stood up _p

He came out, that man who had died (D). He was out in the open (clearly visible). He went along and stopped (standing up). Us two (M and Y) were still lying down asleep. He (D) went along and stopped.

65.5 nani=yami-jga-n^y, "nimbin*i*=lalagi-'-n^y, yan^gi he did that to us (InDu) _p you two get up! _p what? an-uba-ni ni:ni=n^gan^ybandi:-", ni:niwu=n^gan^ybandi-n^y--, that (ANA) you (MDu) want it we (ExMDu) wanted it _p "ni:niwu=n^gan^ybandi:-' wu-gadhuwa wun^gubal", nu:nu=yami-jga-n^y we want it new one (ANA) clan song we did that to him _p nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g, "nuga, da-ju:-' that (MSg) he who died _p stone there nimbin*i*=bura:-', nimbin*i*=buguwugunu:-'ma-n^g" ni=yama-n^y, you (MDu) sit! _c you two face that way (away) _p he did that _p

He said to us, "Get up! What do you two want?" We wanted it--. We said to that one who had died, "We want a new (brolga) clan song." He said, "Stay there (next to) the stone, and look away (from me)."

65.6 ni:ni=wilibilin^gi-n^y ni:ni=buguwugunu:-'ma-n^y yu:-gu-ni, we (ExMDu) turned _p we faced that way _p to there ying^gga ni:ni=yaran^gga-n^y, "nimbin*i*:=ran^gga-n^g" ni-ga ni=yama-n^y, nearly we looked _p you two look! _p he he did that _p n^gijan^g ni:ni=yaran^gga-n^y yagu ni:='ri adaba, n^ga more we looked _p but he was absent then and then nu:-'ba-gi ni:='nibi-n^y, ni=mawur yamba, ni:='nibi-n^y, that (MSg) he was lost _p he was spirit because he was lost _p We turned and faced away from him. We were about to look. He said, "Look now!" We looked, but he had vanished, being a spirit.

65.7 ni:ni-yara:='ran^gga:::', ni:ni-yawa:='wan^ggi:-ni, adaba we looked _c we listened _c then wu-waragara=hi-∅ n^gijan^g ana-mada::: n^ga ana-ran^gag, it all stood _c more grass and then wood war-uba-wa-yun^g wuru=warubaj wuru=ya-n^ggi war-uba-wa-yun^g those (WARA) they were nearby they went _c arawindi, arawindi wara-wuru-wuruj, wani=ya:rijgi:-ni many people he transported them _c an-uwa-ga:-'la wuru-walba=wal-bi:-'ni, wuru-wiri=wirindhi:-'ni from there they were painted _c they wore it (Eng. loan) _c wura:-'ra:-'ra=yabi:-'ni ana:-'nbalan^y now, they put on their arms _c feather decoration

We looked and listened. Grass and trees were standing (rustling in the wind). Many (dead) people were coming along, near us, he (D) brought them from there. They had body-paint on them, and were wearing a decoration made from lorikeet feathers on their arms then.

Note: =wirindha- (English wear, via local creole) means roughly 'to clothe', hence is passive in the sense 'to be clothed'.

65.8 adaba warubaj wuru=ya-n^ggi, ya:-nu:-'wuy arwi-yaj, then nearby they went _c this way along on top ni:ni=yawan^ggi:-ni, ya:-ji mana-wilbilg nima=wa-n^g, dar! dar! dar!, we listened _c here tapstick he hit it _p (sound) wirima=wadi-n^y, nu:-'ba-gi ni=rabali-n^y ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g they tapped it _p that (MSg) he came out _p he who died _p na-wuru-jung^g ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ba-gu, "nimbin*i*=bagawaga:la-ma-n^g human (MSg) he went _c there you two face this way! _p nimbin*i*:=ran^gga-n^g", ni:ni=wilibilin^gi-n^y ni:ni=yaran^gga-n^y, look! _p we (ExMDu) turned _p we looked _p nu:nu=na-n^y, we saw him _p

Close to us they (dead people) came, above us. We listened; he (D) hit the tapsticks, they all beat the tapsticks. He (D) came out, the dead man, he came (and stopped) there. (He said to us,) "You two face me, look!" We turned and looked, we saw him.

65.9 "nimbin*i*:=ni-n^y", ni=yama-n^y "yu:-gu-ni nimbin*i*=ya:-ri: you two come! _p he did that _p to there you two go! _c yu:-gu-ni nimbin*i*=ya:-ri: o:-'wa:-ni, a:-'bala-wuy", ni=yama-n^y, that to clearing he did that _p a-ring place-guy ni:ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga ba-gu, "xxx to ritual ground we went _c and then there (unclear) nimbin*i*:=mbargala-n^g", ni:ni:=mbargali-n^y, "yu:-gu-ni you two sit together! _p we sat together _p to there

nimbina:='ran^gga-na", wu-gu-ru war-ubu-ru wu:-n^gara-n^gu=julubi-'-n^y,
you two look! _c they those (Pl) they all jumped in _p
wu:-n^gara-n^gu=julubi-'-n^y wuru=wal-bi:-'ni-yin^yun^g,
they who painted themselves _c

He said, "You two come! Go that way, to that clearing!" He said that. We went along to the ritual ground. (He said) there, "You two sit down together!" We sat down together. (He said to us,) "You two take a look!" Those (dead people), the ones who were body-painted, all jumped onto (the dancing ground).

65.10 "nimbini-n^gara-n^gu=buguwugunu:-'ma-n^g" xxx
you two face away! _p (unclear)

ni:ni=yawan^ggi-n^y yagu, ba-gi:-'la na-lhambil_{bilg}
we listened _p but there it comes (NA) didjeridu
ni:='mbadi-n^y, na-lhambil_{bilg} adaba ni:='mbadi-n^y, aba
it (NA) burst _p then then
n^gara:-'gi-yung n^gara-gudargu, n^gara-gudargu n^gara-n^gari-gadhuwa,
this (N^gARA) brolga new one (N^gARA)

xxx n^gi=rabali-n^y wuru=maya-n^y, wirin^ga=rabali-n^y,
(unclear) it came out _p they sang _p they took it (N^gARA) out _p
(He said to us,) "You two look away from us!" We listened, and suddenly (we heard) the didjeridu coming toward us, bursting (with sound). Then the new brolga (song and dance) came out, they sang, they brought it out (i.e. displayed it for the first time).

Note: In the last line we have =rabala- 'to come out' and its transitive counterpart =rabali- 'to bring out'; the two have the same past punctual (Past₁) form =rabali-n^y.

65.11 ni:ni-yawa:='wan^ggi:-ni::: "n^gijan^g ana:-'ni ana-wun^gubal
we listened _c more this clan song
wa:='n^ybaj, wu-gadhuwa ya:-ni:-'la wun^gubal", ni:ni=yama-n^y,
it was different new here it comes clan song we did that _p
adaba n^gara:-'gi wirin^ga:='n^ybij-ga-n^y, wirin^ga:='n^ybij-ga-n^y
then this (N^gARA) they changed it _p
n^gara:-'gi-yung n^gara-gudargu, wirin^ga=gadhuwa-wa-n^y, ni-ga-waj
this brolga they made it new _p it is he!
now mu:gar-in^yun^g, n^gu=lhan^garma-n^y n^gara:-'gi mari n^gaya
dead man he reached it (N^gARA) this and I _p
n^ga=wiri-gaj, ni-ga ni=n^gambara n^gaya n^ga=wirig,
back when I was small he he was elder I I was small
ni-ga-waj n^gara:-'gi n^gu=lhan^garma-n^y,
it is he! this he reached it _p

We listened, and said to ourselves, "This song is different, it is a new song!" They changed this brolga (song), they renewed it. It was he (M), now dead, who found it, when I was small. He was older than I was. It was he (M) who found it (i.e. who got it from D).

65.12 nambi:-'ga:-'=gayigi:-ni::: n^ga an-uwa-ga:-'la wu=lalma:-'
they played for us _c and then from there it dawned _c
adaba, wu=lalma:-' adaba wu=wululha-n^gi, adaba ana-n^gurudhu
then it was bright colored _c then bird
wa:='di-n^y, ying^ga an-uba-ni wa:='di-n^y, n^ga nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
it shouted _p nearly that and then that (MSg)
ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g, na-mu:gar-in^yun^g, ni-yang^ga=ya-n^ggi
he who died _p dead man he went _c
nani=yami-jga-n^y, "nimbini=buguwugunu:-'ma-n^g" ni=yama-n^y,
he did that to us _p you two face away! _p he did that _p
ying^ga ni:ni=buguwugunu:-'ma-n^y, "nimbini=wilibilin^gi-n^y
nearly we faced away _p you two turn! _p
nimbina:='ran^gga-n^g ba-ga:-'la", ni-ga ni=yama:-' ni:ni=yaran^gga-n^y
you two look! _p from there he he did that _c we looked _p
yagu ni:='ri adaba war-ubu-ru wura:='nibi-n^y adaba,
but he was absent then those (Pl) they were lost _p then
They performed for us, then it dawned, it got bright and the birds sang. That dead man (D) came and told us, "Look away!" We did. "Turn around and look now!" We looked, but he and the others had vanished.

65.13 aba wu-gu-ru wu=lalma-n^y, ni-yang^ga=ya-n^ggi n^ga
then it it dawned _p he went _c and then
ba-gu xxx ni=n^gawi-'-n^y-jin^yun^g "nimbini=ya:-ri:-maji:--,
there (unclear) he who died _p when you two go _c
nimbini:='gi-n^y-maji: an-u-gu-ni ana:-'n^ga-wuy, namba:ni=maga-na
when you two return _p to there to camp you (MDu) tell them! _c
war-uwu-ru, wara-wuru-wuruj, ana:-'ni-yin^yun^g ana-wun^gubal,
those (Pl) people about this (ANA) song
n^gana:-'=jura-n^gi, "da-ni wu-gadhuwa wun^gubal
(which) I transported to you _c it is there new one clan song
ni:niwu=lhan^garma-n^y", nimbini=yama-n^g,
we (ExMDu) reached it _p you two do that! _p
It dawned, and he (D), the one who had died, came there (and said to us,) "When you two return to your camp, tell those people about this song which I have brought you. Say to them, 'There it is, the new (brolga) song, we two have found it'.

65.14 " "n^ganamba=yiyi:-na yuwa:-gu numburu=munduga-na
we will show (it) to you (Pl) _c there assemble! _c
wara-wuru-wuruj numbu:=ja:dug wara-wuru-wuruj
people you (Pl) will be complete people
numburu=munduga-na, a-ring place-duj numburu=yi-wi:-'na-yun^gguyun^g,
you (Pl) assemble! _c at ritual ground so you (Pl) will be scorched _c

manjar mada nimbiri=na-n^ga-na,
leaves with branches grass you (Pl) burn it!^c
nimbi:=dhawawa^uuma-n^g, bandhara numbu:-n^gara-n^gu=bura-n^ga-n^g
you (Pl) go around it! middle you all sit down!^p
numburu=wani-bi:-'na wu-n^gu=ban-miri,
you (Pl) get warm by fire! by means of smoke

(D continued,) "(Tell them,) 'We will show it (new song and dance) to you. All of you people come together at the ritual ground, so you will be (ritually) scorched. Burn some branches and grass, and go around them in a circle. Sit down, all of you, in the middle (i.e. near the burning grass) and get warm in the smoke!'"

Note: Ceremonial purification of the possessions and kin of the deceased are still a basic part of mortuary ritual; here the purification is part of the mortuary activities following D's death.

65.15 " "yagi--, n^gun^yju-yun^gguyun^g, numburu=ma:lambur-bugij
don't similar - for you will be all right

n^ganamba:-'=gayigi:-na na:ni=maya-n^g, ana:-'-ni
we will play for you (Pl) we (ExMDu) will sing^c this^p
nimbi-yan^y=jan^ga-yi: wu=gadhuwa wun^gubal, n^gara:-'-gi
you (Pl) hear the voice! new one clan song this (N^gARA)
n^gara-n^gari-muwaj, gudargu, gudargu n^gara-n^gari-muwaj
named (N^gARA) brolga named
adaba wirin^ga:='n^ybij-ga-n^y n^gi=gadhuwa wu=gu-ru
then they changed it^p it (N^gARA) is new it (ANA)
da-nu:-' yigaj ana-oldfella ana-wun^gubal,
that (ANA) look! old one (song) clan song
wu=gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ni wu=gadhuwa wa:='n^ybaj
as for it (ANA) it is here it is new it is different
adaba, gudargu n^gari=gadhuwa".
now brolga new one (N^gARA)

(D continued,) "(Tell them,) 'Don't--. So you will be all right (ritually cleansed), the two of us will perform and sing for you. Listen to this new clan song, named brolga! It has been changed (from the old brolga songs). There is the old one, and now there is a new, different one, a new brolga song!'"

Comments on text 65

This is one of the interesting texts in the volume; it is the only one in which a narrator reports his own direct contact, through dreams, with ghosts or other supernatural beings.

The N^galmi clan has been noted in this area for its brolga songs and dances; unfortunately, some of the key young singers and didjeridu-players have recently died. In this text, Yurumura (now one of the leading living brolga singers) relates how he and his classificatory brother, Madigan^gga (himself recently deceased), had

'found' the new style of brolga singing which they now perform. The older style is still sung, though chiefly by other singers of this clan. The new style is recognised as belonging, in a sense, to these two men and knowledgeable Nunggubuyu are adept at recognizing the 'stamp' of individual 'composers' in cases like this. Of course, the notion of 'composition' is not fully appropriate here, as this text stresses.

Specifically, renewals or transformations of old song cycles into new ones are ideally legitimised, as in this case, as products of revelation from recently deceased men, especially those who in life were leading performers of the older styles. This situation should be distinguished from the composition of totally new song cycles following individual dramatic experiences; thus Laran^gana, a leading camp-song performer for the Murun^gun clan, composed a cycle for butcherbird (gurudug) to commemorate an occasion when he became lost in the scrub and was led back to his camp by the songs of a butcherbird.

TEXT 66 COMMENTS ON DIFFERENT DIDJERIDU STYLES Yurumura

66.1 n^gan^y=jambi:-na ana-yimbaj, n^gan^y=jambi:-na ana-yimbaj
I will speak^c today
lhambilbil-jin^yung^g, na-mulun^g-argi-yung^g na-lhambilbil^g,
about didjeridu some (NA) didjeridu
ni-yara-n^gu=jarmayarmaj, ni-yara-n^gu=jarmayarmaj na-lhambilbil^g,
it (NA) is all long didjeridu
ana-mulun^g-argi-yung^g ana-wun^gubal, ni-yara-n^gu=jarmayarmaj,
some (ANA) camp song
wuru=lhamuri:-'yin^yung^g, na-lhambilbil^g nu:-'ba-gi-yung^g,
they who play didjeridu didjeridu that (NA)
ni-lhud=jambi:-na-yin^yung^g, wurugu:::rij, wuruguri j nu:-'ba-gi-yung^g
it (NA) which speaks with force slow that (NA)
na-ni-dhud, ni=n^gururuwa-na, na-lhabagiyung^g nu:-'ba-gi-yung^g
its power (NA) it rumbles opening of didjeridu
na-lhambilbil^g,
didjeridu

I will speak now, about didjeridus (drone-pipes used in clan-based public camp songs, wun^gubal). Some didjeridus are long, (for) certain camp songs. The didjeridu players (have) the (long) didjeridus. Those didjeridus have a loud, heavy, slow sound. The end (opening where music comes out) rumbles (like thunder), powerfully, those didjeridus.

66.2 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yung^g, n^gara-gudargu-yin^yung^g
as for it (N^gARA) that (N^gARA) of brolga

ni-ga na-lhambil**bilg**, dhamungur yamba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
 it (NA) didjeridu short because that (NA)
 na-lhambil**bilg** ni=dhamungur, ni=wirig ni=dhamungur,
 didjeridu it (NA) is short it is small
 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g wu:=lhamuri:-'-yin^yun^g, an^gudu nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
 that (NA) which they play deep that
 ni-ragal=jambi:-na-yin^yun^g ni-yara=ya<-ri:>--,
 it (NA) which makes sound it (NA) goes
 an^gudu arwar, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-ni-dagalg, wuru=lhamuri:-'-yin^yun^g,
 deep on top that its sound (NA) which they play

As for Brolga (theme of a major Ngalmi clan song cycle), the didjeridu is short (for that song cycle). That didjeridu is short, it is small, which they play on. It makes a penetrating sound, its sound goes up high, that didjeridu which they play.

Note: an^gudu 'deep' is used elsewhere to indicate deep penetration into a region (e.g., inland); it does not have the connotation of the English word deep in this particular context.

66.3 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-lhambil**bilg**, yu:-gu-ni ama-waran^g-guy,
 that (NA) didjeridu to there to ear
 ni=yabi:-'-na nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-ni-dagalg, n^gara-gudargu-yin^yun^g,
 it (NA) goes in that its (NA) sound of brolga
 n^gi-ga, adaba war-uba-wa-yun^g wani=ma:yla-wa-na
 it (N^gARA) then those (WARA) it (NA) makes them deaf (creole root)
 adaba wani-lhud=gari-jga-na, war-uba-ru-yun^g
 then it (NA) makes them deaf (without power) those (Pl)
 wuru=maya-na-yin^yun^g wara-mulun^g-an^ybaj, n^gara-gudargu-yin^yun^g,
 they who sing others (Pl) of brolga
 ni-ga na-lhambil**bilg**, ni:=n^ybaj yamba.
 it (NA) didjeridu it (NA) is other because

That didjeridu (music) goes into the ears. Its sound, for the Brolga (songs), makes the other men, the singers, almost deafened. Because that didjeridu, for Brolga, is different (from other didjeridus).

TEXT 67 OLD PEOPLE LOSE THEIR VOICES Yurumura

67.1 wara-mulun^g-argi-yun^g, wara-mulun^g-argi-yun^g wuru=maya-na-yin^yun^g
 some (Pl) they who sing
 wuru=maya-na-yin^yun^g, wuru=maya-na-yin^yun^g n^ga,
 and then
 wuru-walagala:='la:di-zi:-'-na, wura:-'la=gala:di-zi:-'-na,
 they become halfway bad (error) they become bad in throat

wura:-'la=galarma-na, wura:-'la=galarma-na, adaba, adaba
 they become bad in throat then then
 wuru=yiwan^ggu-dhi:-na yamba, wuru=yiwan^ggu-dhi:-na yamba adaba
 they become old because because then
 now, wuru=yiwan^ggu-ma-na adaba, wuru=old-fella-ma-na yamba adaba
 they become old then they become old
 wuru=yiwan^ggu-dhi:-na,
 they become old

Some people who sing, they are getting bad in the throat (i.e. they are losing their good singing voices), because they are getting old.

Note: In line 3 (last line, preceding page) 'they become bad in throat' seems to be what Yurumura was trying to say; the first attempt involves alagala 'halfway' and seems to be an error.

67.2 adaba wuru=maya-na-yin^yun^g an-uba-ni ana-wun^gubal aba
 then they who sing that camp song then
 wu:-lhud=gari, wu:-lhud=gari adaba, labda yagi,
 they are without power now after (that) not
 yagi adaba nara=ya:rijgi-∅ wara-mi-jiyan^ggu, adaba
 not now we transport them old men (yiwan^ggu) now
 wugu-wu-gadhuwa young-people adaba ambu:=ya:-ri: ana-show
 young (people) then they will go show
 an-u-gu-ni, amburu=maya-na, ana-wun^gubal-maji: ambiri=wana-ga-na
 to there they will sing if camp song they will hold it
 wara-mij-gulmur, bachelors

Now the men who sing those camp songs are without power (in their singing voices). After that (i.e. when they grow old), we do not take them (to the corroboree ground), the old men. Instead, young men will go to the show (i.e. the corroboree grounds), and they will sing the camp songs if they know ('hold') them, the young men.

67.3 amburu=maya-∅-maji:, yagi adaba nara=ya:rijgi-∅
 if they sing_p not now we will transport them
 wara-mi-jiyan^ggu, an-u-gu-ni ana-wun^gubal-wuy, adaba ya:-ji
 old men to there to camp song now here
 amburu=bura:-', mij-gulmur aba na:m̄ba=ya:rijgi:-na, an-u-gu-ni,
 they will sit_c bachelors then we will transport them to there
 wuru=yiwan^ggu wuru=yiwan^ggu-ma-na yamba now.
 they are old they become old because

If they (bachelors) sing, we will not take the old men to the corroboree (camp song) ground. Instead, they will stay here (in the camp). We will take the bachelors there, because they (the old men) are becoming old.

TEXT 68 N^EALMI CLAN DANCING
Yurumura

68.1 an-uba-ni-yun^g, an-uba-ni-yun^g wuru--, that (ANA) they-- (false start)
ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g, ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g ana-wun^gubal, big ones (ANA) camp song
ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g ana-wun^gubal an-uba-ni-yun^g, that
ø=wana-na-yin^yun^g, an-uba-ni-yun^g niri:='ru-na, niri:='ru-na which it holds we abandon it

wa:='ri na:mbu=maya-n^g, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g nura:='yigi:-na-yin^yun^g not we (ExPl) sing it as for it which we play
ana:-'rbidi, nura:='yigi:-na-yin^yun^g ana:-'rbidi, anything

The "big" camp songs, which it (dreaming? ritual?) holds, we leave it behind, we do not sing it. As for it (camp songs and related dances), the ones which we perform ('play') can be any kind.

68.2 an-uwa:-gu nuru=wann^ga-na nura:='yigi:-na, only, there we dance we play
nuru=maya-na, gudargu=wugij nura:='yigi:-na, xxx nura:='yigi:-na- we sing only brolga we play (unclear) we play
arbidi-yin^yun^g, nu:-rawa=ra-wi:-'na, nu:-rawa=ra-wi:-'na of anything we practice (train)
nura:='yigi:-na, n^Eijan^g an-uba-ni-yun^g ni:=n^Ean^ybandi:-'maj:, more that if we want it
an-uba-ni old-fella old-fella nuru=maya-na, nuru=maya-na that we sing
old-fella old-fella, nu-ru wara-n^Ealmi-yin^yun^g, we (ExPl) of N^Ealmi (clan) people

We dance and perform ('play') there. We sing and dance, only the Brolga song cycle (of N^Ealmi clan). We perform, anything (i.e. also other cycles). We practice (performances). If we want those old ones (songs, presumably the "big" ones mentioned in 68.1), we sing the old ones, (we) the N^Ealmi clan.

68.3 xxx wara-n^Ealmi, young-people, wa:-young-people (unclear) N^Ealmi (clan n.)
wara-ga-gadhuwa, n^Eaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g n^Eaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g wara-group, young people mine
wuru=marbuy yamba, wuru=marbuy yamba ana-law, they are knowledgeable because customs, rituals
ana-old-fella-old-fella-yin^yun^g, n^Eaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g wara-group, of old ones (ANA) mine

might-be nuru=maya-na gudargu, mari nuru=maya-na old-fella old-fella maybe we sing brolga and
wun^gubal, a-law-yin^yun^g, nuru=maya-na, still camp song of (our) customs/rituals we sing
melaba hold-'em-up, an-uba-ni niri=yana-na-wugij, we (ExPl, creole) maintain that we only hold it
nuru=marbuy yamba nu-ru young-people, wara-ga-gadhuwa, we are knowledgeable because we (ExPl) young people
wara-group n^Eaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g, mine

(Us) young people, of N^Ealmi clan, my group (generation?). Because they know (the songs, etc.), because they know the (Aboriginal) 'law' (rituals, customs, proper behaviour) and the old ones (songs). Maybe we sing Brolga, or else we sing the old songs of our law. We still hold (maintain) them, because we know about them, us young people, my group.

Note: Yurumura himself was actually approaching middle age and was using 'young people' in a broad sense, possibly (as is not uncommon) in opposition to 'old people' now deceased. In Yurumura's usage, the loanword old-fella has full (trisyllabic) plural reduplication, which is not regular (even for such loans) in Nunggubuyu nouns.

68.4 might-be murun^gun, nun-dhiribala, nun^Egargalug, wa:='ri, (clan n.) (clan n.) not
wa:='ri amburu=marbuy-maga:, some-fella young-people, they are knowledgeable some
wuru=malala:di, mari wara-murun^gun wuru=malala:di, only they are ignorant and (clan n.) people
old-people, adha:dhari, an-u-gu-ni-maji: nu-ru na:mbu=ya:-ri: behind if to there we (ExPl) we will go
wara-n^Ealmi, n^Eaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g wara-group, only young-people (clan n.) people mine
na:mbu=ya:-ri:, wara-mi-jiyan^ggu, old-people, yagi nara=ya:rijgi-ø, we will go old men not we will take them
ya:-ji-yaj-gaj amburu=bura:-', back around here they will sit_c

Perhaps people of the Murun^gun, Nun-dhiribala, or Nun^Egargalug clans (will sing). They do not know (the songs and dances), some of the young people (of those clans) do not know. Murun^gun do not know, only the old people (of that clan) know. Us, the N^Ealmi, if we go there (to the dancing ground), it will be us young people, we will not take the old men, they will stay around here.

Note: Actually, the clans mentioned here do have some men of Yurumura's age who can perform in these corroborees, though perhaps the N^Ealmi are one of the stronger clans in these performances.

68.5 only young-people, an-u-gu-ni, melaba handle-'em
to there we (creole)
ana-law yamba, nu-ru young-people nu-ru-waj adaba,
because we it is we! now
na:mbu=ya:-ri: aba wa:-old-people, yagi nara=ya:rijgi-∅,
we will go_c now not we will transport them
ya:-ji amburu=bura:-'.
here they will sit_c

Only young people (from our clan) go there, because we (young people) can handle the law. It is we, young people, we will go. We will not take the old people (there), they will stay here.

Note: It is true that in some other clans, such as the Murungun, the active wungubal singers were older than most of the active wungubal (Brolga cycle) singers of the Ngalmi clan.

Kinship, social relations, and naming practises

TEXT 69 FIGHTING
Ma:di

69.1 an^ybaj n^gijan^g n^ganu=maga-na, ana-story an^ybaj
other more I will tell him_c other
n^ganu=maga-na, a-wun^ga:ri-yin^yun^g, nu:-_ri=_ri-n^yji:-ni
I will tell him_c of fight we speared each other_c
nu-ra:-', wara-min^y-n^gambara, da-ni-yun^g, an^ybaj n^gijan^g
us (ExPl) elders it is there other more
niwu=bura-n^gi, na:-'-n^gu=bura-n^gi, na:-'-n^gu=bura-n^gi
he put it down_c he put (it) down for him_c
an^yba-jung^g,
other (Sg)

I will tell him (Heath) another story, about fighting. We used to
fight each other, (we) the old people. (Someone) decided on
(a fight), he proposed it to another man.

69.2 yuwa-ga:-'la niwu-lhawu=yura-n^gi, an^yja:bu-n^yun^g,
from there he transported the words_c one (human Sg)
n^ga nu=maga:-', ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g ana-country na-mil-jun^g,
and then he told him_c his relative
na:-'lgur-n^yung, ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g na:-'lgur-n^yun^g, nu=maga:-',
relative his relative he told him_c
"yu:ga", "i:!", na:nima=yibanda-n^g" ni-ga:-'yun^g
Q yes! we (ExMDu) will hurl it (MANA)_p as for him
ni=yama:-',
he did that_c

One man (i.e. a messenger) delivered the message. He told the
other man, a relative of his, "How about it?" (The other man said,)
"Yes! He and I will hurl spears (at each other, in a fight)."

69.3 na:-'ga:-'=garan^gga:-' n^ga da-gi:-'la, "ya:-gi:-'la
he looked for him_c and then there he comes here he comes
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, nini:-'-n^gu=bura-n^gi-yin^yun^g, xxx --,
that (MSg) he who put it down for you_c (false start)
n^ga nimbini:-'=na-n^yji:-na-wugij, yagi ni:ni=_ri-n^yji:-∅
and then you (MDu) will only face each other_c don't spear each other!
nimbin=wunda:-'wugij, ana-lha:wu, wu-lhawu=wala:di ana-da-nu:-'
only quarrel!_c words words are bad that (ANA)
ala:di an^ggu:-'n^y=mamala-maga: mari", wu:=yama:-'
bad words will (not) be pleasant and they did that_c
war-uba-wi-yun^g wara:='lan^ggara-n^gi-yin^yun^g, wara-wundu-wundul,
those (WARA) they who restrained them_c nonfighters
wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yun^g, wu:=yama:-',
they who wanted them_c they did that_c

He (the challenged man) waited and watched out for him (the challenger). Then he (challenger) was approaching. (The people in the camp of the challenged man said to the challenged man,) "Here he comes, the one who challenged you. You two should confront each other and have a verbal quarrel with bad words, but you should not fight with spears!" They said that, the nonfighters who were restraining them, the ones who loved them.

69.4 *wini:-'na-n^yji:-ni, wini:-'na-n^yji:-ni ni-ga*
they (MDu) faced each other he
na:-'n^yba-jung an-uwa-ga:-'la ni=lamumundhi:-ni adaba,
other (human Sg) from there he was stubborn_c then
"ba=warga-n^g!" ni=yama:-', nima:-'gada-n^gi ni-ga
throw! p he did that_c he shouted for it (MANA)_c he
nu:-'ba-gi-yung, "ba=warga-n^g!", numba=ra-ya-n^g", "yaga:, yu:ga
that (MSg) throw! spear me! p Ø Q
numa=n^gan^ybandi:-' mana-larda banu=ra-ya-n^g",
you want it (MANA) spear you will spear him_p

The two men confronted each other. The other one, on that side, was insistent (on fighting). He said, "Throw it!" He called out for it (spear). That man said, "Throw it! Throw the spear at me!" (Someone said,) "How about it? Do you want a spear so you can throw it at him?" (I.e., someone gave him a spear.)

Note: I am not sure exactly where the boundary between the last two quotations occurs; I do not think it can be construed as a single quotation.

69.5 *n^ga wurugu girjag! ni-ragar=badaddhi:-ni,*
and then later no! he held spear ready to throw_c
wunu=yami-jga:-'ala, a-lha:wu, o:-'wa-ga:-'la,
after they did that to him_c words from there
wu:-yama=yama:-' n^ga, "n^ganu=ra-ya-n^g, n^gana:='jarga-n^g",
they did that_c and then I will spear him I will miss him_p
ni=yarba-n^gi ni=wa:yi:-ni, wub! nu=ra-ni,
he ran_c he faced spearing ordeal_c spear he speared him_c
ma-n^gulha, ma-n^gu-dharan^g, jal^g! ma=yaldha-n^gi, n^gijan^yja:bugij wub!
blade end shaft pass it went past_c more one spear
nu=ra-ni, jal^g! ma=yaldha-n^gi, ma-n^gulha mu:='la-wa: ma=garan^gay-wa:
he speared him_c it went past_c shaft two two shafts
nu=ra-ni, wa:='ri ana-la:ma anu=ra-ni,
he speared him_c not shovel spear he speared him

Then later, no! (I.e. he did not throw just yet.) He held the spear ready (attached to woomera), after they told him that, those words, from there. (He said,) "I will throw the spear at him and miss him." He (the other man) ran and faced the ordeal by spearing. He (the spearer) threw a spear at him. Whoosh! The spear (shaft) went past. He threw two spearshafts at him. He did not try to spear him with shovel spearheads (blades).

69.6 *i::: n^ga, adaba mulun^g-an^ybaj,*
(meaningless) and then others
wa:-lan^ga-lan^gari-yin^yun^g, wa:-lama-lamumun^y-jin^yun^g, n^gijan^g
violent (Pl) stubborn (wild) (Pl) more
wura:-'n^gu=buri-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g "ya:-gi:-'lao!, wun^ga:ri
they who proposed (it) for each other_c here he comes fight
ya:-wi-ni:-'lao! nimbi:-'n^gu=bura-n^gi,
here they (MDu) come they proposed (it) for you (Sg)_c
*n^gambi:-'n^gu=bura-n^gi, *wara-mulun^g-uda-wi-yun^g-gaj,*
they proposed (it) for me_c that bunch (of people)
wara-wulu-wulan^ybaj wara-mulun^g-uda-wi-yun^g-gaj, ba-ga:-'la amburu=ya:-ris
from there they will go_c
wara-mara-maragarj, na:mba:='gulhan^yji:-nao!", wu:=yama:-',
dangerous (Pl) we (ExPl) will race_c they did that_c

Then there was another bunch of people, violent and wild ones. The ones who challenged each other to the fight. (Someone said,) "Here he comes! There will be a fight! Here the two of them come, they have challenged you (Sg) and me. The violent ones will come here from there! We (ExPl) will rush along!" They said that.
* A derivative based on the immediate demonstrative stem (-u)da-.

69.7 *wara:-'ga:-'garan^gga:-' du-ra:-'la,*
they looked for them_c there they come
ni:-'n^yji=lharma-n^yji:-ni wani=raganma:-', wa:='ri yagu
he got into a chase_c he confronted them_c not but
ambu-yama=yama:-', adaba wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni wu-dhan^y,
they did that then they speared each other_c blade
ana-la:ma, mari wu=yaldha-n^gi wurugu, wu-gu-ni
shovel spear and it went past_c later they (MDu)
an-uwa-ga:-'la wa:ni=jira-n^gi mari
from there they (MDu) threw spears at them (Pl)_c and
wu=yaldha-n^gi wurugu,
it went past_c later

They were looking for them and (then) there they were, coming up. One of them got into a chase and confronted them (his enemies). They did not talk, but started spearing each other (with) shovel spears (i.e. with spears having blades, not simply blunt spear shafts as in 69.5). They (the spears) went past (i.e. missed). Then the two men (on one side) threw spears at them (the other group), but they (the spears) went past.

69.8 *mana-lhalun^ggu, ana-la:ma, ana-wardhambal, ana-wubirgilin,*
hook spear shovel spear stone spear wooden spear
a:n^g ana-dhi:ndi, ana-walgay adaba
whatchamacallit cane grass spear fish spear then

wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj nu:=ri-n^yji:-ni
they speared each other_c it is along there we had spearfight_c
nu-ru ano:-:'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj ana-bush n^ga:-'ra-maya=maya:-'
we (ExPl) long ago I named them (ANA) all_c

an-u-muaj, walgay n^gijan^g ana:-'n^ybaj, nirima-yibi=yibanda-n^gi
named (ANA) fish spear more other we hurled it (MANA)_c
guyara, wariman, n^gijan^g, lhalung^ggu,
stone spear stone spear more hook spear

Hook spears, shovel (metal-bladed) spears, stone (flint-bladed) spears, wooden-pronged spears, cane grass spears, wooden-pronged freshwater fish spears. They speared each other (with) all those. We speared each other, long ago in the bush (time). I gave their names (i.e. of the spears). Wooden-pronged fish spear was another one. We hurled stone (flint) spears. Also hook spears.

69.9 n^gijan^g ana:-'rgi na-ba-gala:di-yin^yun^g nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g,
more some blind (bad-sighted) man that one

nima:='jarga:-' adaba ni=iyandi-∅, wunu=ra-ni
he missed with it (MANA)_c then he was struck_c they speared him_c

ni=iyanda-n^ga:---n^y, ni=yan^gi:-ni n^ga ana-yaralali
he was struck_p he was wounded_c and then side

yagu ni=wiri, an-uba-ni-yun^g ni=yan^gi:-ni yagu,
but he was alive that he was wounded_c but

wunu=manbagas:--windi:yun^g adaba ni=n^gawi:-'ni,
they did it repeatedly to him_c then he died_c

Sometimes there was a man who was blind (or had bad eyesight and could not easily see spears coming). He dodged it (one spear), but then he was struck (by another). They speared him, he was hit, he was wounded on the side but still alive. But then (if) they did it to him several times, he died.

69.10 war-a-min^y-n^gambara wu:-ri=ri-n^yji:-ni, mana-larda,
elders they speared each other_c spear

wirima=yibanda-n^gi, wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni wura:='gi:-ni,
they hurled it (MANA)_c they speared each other_c they returned_c

wuru=ma:lamburg wuru=buri-∅, wura:='mbalaman wuru=buri-∅,
they were proper they sat_c they were good they sat_c

wa:='ri-yun^gguyung^g ana-wun^ga:ri an-uba-ni-yun^g
so that there not be fight that (ANA)

wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g, ambiri:='dharma-n^gi,
they who speared each other_c they chased (them) for it (ANA)

ambu:=yama:-',
they did that

The old people (now dead) used to spear each other, they hurled spears. Then they went back (to their camps) and were all right

(i.e. did not fight). They stayed there in peace, so that there was no fighting, so that the ones who had speared each other would not pursue them (their enemies) for it (fighting) like that.

Note: The negation wa:='ri in line 4 negates both ana-wun^ga:ri 'fighting', and the verbs 'they chased (them) for it' and 'they did that' in lines 5 and 6. This negation is seen by the form of the pronominal prefixes in these two verb forms, and by the use of the continuous form of the noun-class prefix in ana-wun^ga:ri. The relative clause 'they who speared each other' in line 5 is not affected by the negation since it represents the subject noun phrase of the negated verbs at the end.

69.11 adaba wuru=ma:lamburg wuru=buri-∅, ana-galij,
then they are proper they sat_c happiness
ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj, wuru=wayigi:-ni, an-un^gubal,
various others (ANA) they played_c clan song
ana-wulu-wulan^gur, ana:-'n^yba-gana:n^ybaj, wura:='yigi:-ni adaba
corrobories various others they played_c then
ana-galij, wu:=munduga:-' wu:=yama:-',
happiness they assembled_c they did that_c
Then they stayed there in peace. There was happiness. They performed various kinds of clan songs and corrobories. They played (danced) and were happy. They congregated (for rituals).

69.12 war-uba-wi-yun^g wara:-'n^ybaj wara-mulguru wu:=wala-n^gi
those (WARA) others (WARA) strangers they arrived_c
wara:-'=gayigi:-ni, an-uwa-ga:-'la wara:-'n^ybaj wara-mulguru
they played for them_c from there others strangers
wu:=wala-n^gi, wara:-'=gayigi:-ni, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu:=yama:-'
they arrived_c they played for them_c as for them they did that_c
ana-wungali, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara:-'=gayigi:-ni,
exchange as for them they danced for them_c
ana-wulu-wulan^gur, ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj, wara:-'=bann^ga:-',
corrobories various others (ANA) they danced for them_c
wara-min^y-n^gambara, nu-ru, n^ga:-'yun^g too, n^ga:-'yun^g too,
elders we (ExPl) as for me as for me
n^ga=yama:-', n^ga-wulmur-waj,
I did that_c when I was a bachelor

Those people, from distant places, arrived and they (the local group) performed dances for them. Some other strangers arrived and they performed dances for them too. Then they did some trading (of objects). They danced corroborees for them, all kinds. They danced for them. The old people. Us (living people), me too. I did that when I was a young man.

69.13 nuru=manma-n^yji:-ni an-un^gubal, nuru=marbuy-a-n^yji:-ni
we helped each other_c clan song we informed each other_c

nuru=marbuy-un^g guyun^g n^gun^y ju, a:-'ni nuru=maya-na-yin^y un^g,
so that we knew similar this (ANA) which we sing
nu:=yama:-', wara-mi-jiwan^g gu wu:=yama:-',
we (ExPl) did that_c old men they did that_c
nambi=marbuy-wa:-', wuru=maya:-'yin^y un^g war-ubu-ru-yun^g
they informed us (ExPl)_c which they sang_c those (Pl)
nu-ra:-'yun^g --, na:-yan=dharma-n^gi, adha:dhari
as for us (ExPl) we (ExPl) followed their voice_c behind
nu-ra:-'yun^g nuru=maya:-' too,
as for us (ExPl) we sang_c

We cooperated and taught each other the corroboree songs, so that we knew them. The ones (songs) which we sing, we did that. The old men did that, they taught them to us, the songs which they used to sing. We imitated them, and we sang the songs after them.

- 69.14 ana:-'rgi wun^ga:ri, nura:-'na:-'na-n^y ji:-ni, wa:='ri
some (ANA) fight we faced each other_c not
amburu=maya:-', wa:='bidin^gudha-n^gi, wura:-'na:-'na-n^y ji:-ni
they sang it was quiet_c they faced each other_c
wun^ga:ri, "ari gu-ru-waj, wun^ga:ri", wa:='ri
fight maybe hey you! (Pl) fight not
amburu=wala_lara-n^gi, wura:-'na:-'na-n^y ji:-ni,
they were happy they faced each other_c
- Sometimes there was fighting. We confronted each other. They did not sing, there was silence. They faced each other and there was fighting. "Hey you all, (how about) a fight?" They were not happy, they confronted each other.

- 69.15 "ari, ari lhal-n^gargu n^ga:mbu=ri-n^y ji:-na",
maybe maybe when? we (InPl) will spear each other_c
yij-gubulu, an-uba-ni-yun^g wu:=yama:-' wuru=n^gun^y ju-ga-n^y ji:-ni
truth that (ANA) they did that_c they did same to each other_c
adaba yij-gubulu an-uba-ni-yun^g, aba, "yo:!, n^ga:ma=yibanda-n^g
then truth that (ANA) then yes! we will hurl them_p
n^gamugijgaj, n^ga:mbu=ri-n^y ji:-nao!", wu:=yama:-'
early morning we (InPl) will spear each other they did that_c
wara-min^y-n^gambara,
elders

"When then will we have a spear fight?" (They said that.) This is the truth, they said that sort of thing. They did the same thing to each other. That is the truth. (They said,) "Yes! We will throw spears early tomorrow morning. We will spear each other." They said that, the old people.

- 69.16 n^ga ana-yimbaj ana:-'ni nu-ri:-'wuy, wu:=yama-na
and then today this (ANA) to us (ExPl) they do that

n^ga, wu:-nun^y-jan^gi-mayi, ana-lha:wu,
and then they are of what place? words
n^giri-yanba:='nbi:-ni yaga:, n^giri-walmba:='lmbalndha-n^gi,
we (InPl) did that to it (ANA)_c Ø we (InPl) talked about it_c
yagu wa:='ri wura:='wala-n^gi nimbi=magao-'!, wura:='wala-n^gi,
but it is not they lied_c they told you_c they lied_c
nimbi=maga:-', yi-jan^g-galij, a:-da-nu:-', ana-lha:wu.
they told you_c lies that (ANA) words

Nowadays, in our time, they still do that. People from which place? Words (only), we (InPl) did it to the words, we talked about it (fighting). But nothing, they (the ones who talked about spearfighting) lied (i.e. they were making empty threats), they told you lies. Lies, those words.

TEXT 70 FIGHTING WITH BICKERTON ISLANDERS Reuben (Mindhiwigag)

- 70.1 num-burindi, Bickerton mob, nuru=buri-Ø,
people of Wurindi (place n.) B. Islanders we (ExPl) sat_c
nuru-bu=buri:::Ø, da-ni:-'la wun^ga:ri, da-ni:-'lu:-'
we (ExPl) sat_c there it comes fight there it comes
"numbu=lharma-n^y ja-n^g, numbu=lharma-n^y ja-n^g" Bickerton-gala,
you (Pl) chase each other!_p from (place n.)
Bickerton, Bickerton-gala wu:=lharma-n^y ji-n^y, lhalun^ggu:::
they chased each other_p hook spear
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji:-'la ana:-'ji:-'la ana:-'ji:-'la
as for them here coming
nu-ra:-'yun^g, dhi:ndi, dhi:ndi::: wu:=wargalhi-n^y ji:-ni,
as for us (ExPl) cane grass spear they speared each other_c
ana:-'ni, wu:=wargalhi-n^y ji:-ni:::,
this (ANA) they speared each other repeatedly_c

The people of Wurindi (i.e. the core Nunggubuyu-speaking clans) and the Bickerton Island mob (speakers of the Anindhilyagwa language). We were staying there. Then a fight came up. (Someone said,) "You all have a chase!" They chased each other, from Bickerton. As for them (The Bickerton Islanders), they had hook spears, and were on one side. As for us (Wurindi people), we had cane grass spears. They (both sides) speared each other, they threw lots of spears at each other.

- 70.2 wu:=lharma-n^y ji:::n^y, ana:-'ni nu:=wi-n^y ji:-ni,
they chased each other_p this (ANA) we (ExPl) hit each other_c
nu:=wi-n^y ji:-ni, ana:-'ni, wu:=wi-n^y ji:-ni girjag!, wa:='ri
this they hit each other_c no! not
ambu:=yiwandi-Ø, wi:=lharga-n-di-wugij, da-ni-yun^g
they were struck they sent it only_c it is there

wu:=wi-n^yji:-ni, *nu:=ra:-'ni Bickerton-gala,
they hit each other_c we (ExPl) swore_c from (place n.)
a:-da-ni-yun^g, wu:=wi-n^yji:-ni wu:=wi-n^yji:-ni::: n^ga,
that (ANA) they hit each other_c they hit each other_c and then
n^ga wi:ya!, n^ga wu:=wambalam an-uba-ni-yun^g, adaba,
and then finish! and then they were good that (ANA) then
wi:ya!, a:-da-ni-yun^g,
finish! that (ANA)

They chased (and threw spears at) each other. We here fought each other. They fought each other, but no-one was struck (by a spear), they just threw (sent) them (past.). They hit each other. We swore (at each other) over at Bickerton. They fought each other. Then finish! (It was all over.) Everything was all right then.

* This form seems incorrect as shown; perhaps we should change it to a reciprocal form.

70.3 mari wiri=barawudi-n^y yu:-gu-ni, wiri=barawudi-n^y yu:-gu-ni
and they threw it_p to there they threw it_p to there
wulmuwari "a-a-a-a-a-a!" mari, wirima-yina=bagiwa-n^y
boomerang (sound) and they broke its (MANA) head_p
mana-a:n^g mana-ran^gag, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g, wirima-yina=bagiwa-n^y,
whatchamacallit dugout canoe mine (see above)
n^gijan^g n^ga wu:=yaldhi-n^y bu-gu-nu:-', xxx
more and then they went past_p to there (unclear)
wuru-n^galn=jaba-n^y, guj! garab! wirima=n^gar-ba-n^g
they hooked spear onto woomera_p lift spear they speared it (MANA)_p
wirima-yina-bara=ra-n^g n^gijan^g mana-ran^gag
they drilled hole in its head (MANA)_p more dugout canoe
n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g, wulmuwari wu=yaldhi-n^y yu:-gu-ni
mine boomerang it went past_p to there
a:n^g, wunu=wa-n^g na-wuru-jun^g, xxx
whatchamacallit they hit him_p human (MSg) (unclear)
wu:=warga-n^g, yu:-gu-ni ama-lhagaya-guy, wulmuwari, wu:=warga-n^g,
they threw_p to there to saltwater boomerang they threw_p
wi:ya!.
finish!

Then they threw a boomerang that way. Whoosh! It damaged the prow of my dugout canoe. Then they went over that way, and hooked spears up to their woomeras (ready to strike). They threw spears and made a hole in the prow of the canoe, mine. Boomerangs flew past and hurt (or killed) a man. They threw them toward (canoes in) the saltwater. They threw boomerangs. That is all.

Comments on texts 69 and 70

Text 69 here describes the process whereby one or more men could challenge one or more others to a pre-arranged spearfight, due to

any of various grievances. There are actually several episodes involved, since Ma:di was interested in describing various forms of traditional fighting and was not discussing a specific historical event. There is a kind of mock spearing in which the spears thrown have their blades removed (69.5), but also some more serious spearing in which, despite a certain ritualisation and the attempts of onlookers to restrain the combatants, men were sometimes seriously wounded or killed. The kind of fighting described here is distinct from more dramatic forms of warfare in which one group would ambush and massacre another at night.

Text 70 refers to the occasional hostilities which broke out during periods, before the move to Numbulwar Mission in 1952, when the core Nunggubuyu clans (the Num-burindi) lived as partly unwelcome guests on Groote Eylandt. They were living in and around Angurugu, a mission most of whose population were Anindhilyagwa speakers who had moved over to Groote from Bickerton Island. This matter is also dealt with in a historical text from Ma:di.

TEXT 71 SORCERY Laran^gana

71.1 mulun^guwa, wuru-wuruj, wuru-wuruj bla ridharn^gu
murderer people of (creole) (n. of language)

talk language, wu:-waya=wayama-n^gi n^ga yuwa:-wi-waj
language they proceeded_c and then there they go
wara-n^ganda-n^gandi-wuy, wu:-waya=wayama-n^gi n^ga
to (n. of tribe) they proceeded_c and then to there
wa:-ridhi-ridharn^gu-wuy, arwagarwar-in^yun^g,
to (n. of tribe) of on top

A murderer (by sorcery). The Aboriginal people (but not whites, have them). Of the Ritharngu language. They went along over there, to the Ngandi and Ritharngu tribes, in the interior.

71.2 ana:-'rwagarwar-in^yun^g, an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:=waljarba-n^gi,
of on top from there they traveled farc
nu:-'ba-gi wunu=hunt 'em-dha-n^gi-yin^yun^g, na-wuru-jun^g,
that (NA) the one whom they hunted_c human (MSg)
you watch-'em nambi=watch 'em-dha-n^gi nambi=watch 'em-dha-n^gi-wugij,
they saw us (ExPl) (loan) they only saw us_c
nambi=na-ni-wugij wa:='ri wurugu yin^gga wunu=n^gun^yju-ga:-',
they only saw us_c not later nearly they recognised him_c
On top (in the interior), they traveled over a long distance. That man whom they were hunting for. They watched us (searching for that man), they were still watching us. Nothing (i.e. they found no one). Then later they found (recognised) him.

71.3 "da-gu:-'waj da-gu:-'waj, n^ga:nu:=-ma-na-yin^yun^g
there he goes he whom we (InPl) will kill_c

adaba", wu:=yama:-', wara-wuru-wuruj wara-mulungguwa,
 now they did that_c people murderers (sorcerors)
no-more wild-fella, wild-fella, mulungguwa blackfella,
 not murderer Aboriginal
countryman, nungg-gubuyu, ridharngu, ni=yambi:-ni-yinyung,
 relative (kin) Nunggubuyu (n. of language) he who spoke_c
 (The murderers said to each other,) "There he goes now, the one
 whom we are to kill." Those Aboriginals said that, the murderers.
 Aboriginal murderers, people from this area (i.e. with direct or
 indirect kinship or ritual links to us). He (murderer) who
 spoke Nunggubuyu or Ritharngu (languages).

Note: This segment is somewhat muddled at the end because of the shift to English expressions, which Laran^gana had little control over. Perhaps what I have transcribed as 'wild-fella' is really his attempt to say 'white-fella', in which case his point is that these Aboriginal murderers who traveled great distances to assassinate another Aboriginal were distinct from the white men who occasionally killed Aboriginals in earlier days.

71.4 ni-yangga=ya-nggi:::, ana:-'rara-yinyung, he been kill-'em now
 he went_c of daytime
wardhambal, ana-wardhambal, ama-nuga-yinyung, yuwa-ga:-'la,
 stone spear stone spear of stone from there
a-larnginyja-yinyung, mari ngari-laga, wi:=yada-ngi, adaba
 of (place n.) and stone spear they joined it_c then
nambi=ra-ni now oldme-old-men
 they speared us (ExPl)_c old men (reduplicated)
wara-oldme-old-men olden-times o:-'ba-ni-yung-gaj, wa:=ra-ni,
 old men long ago they speared them_c

He (murderer) went along then in the daytime. He killed him (the victim) with a stone spear (flint-bladed). From there, the place Larn^ginyja (flint quarry north of Nunggubuyu country). They attached it (flint spearhead) to make a sharply pointed stone spear. Then they speared us old people, in the old days. They speared them.

71.5 aba ni=ngawi:-'ni now, yingga nga-ra-ngarina-yung
 then he died_c nearly his wife
ya:-ji ni:='ndhadhi-∅, wiringa-wanja=wanaga:-' da-ji, (wails)
 here he sat up_c they held her by arm_c there
ngi-rugu=rugu-ni, "gab! gab! gab! ba=mudadba-ng ba=mudadba-ng",
 she cried_c quiet! be silent!_p be silent!_p
na:-'gi ani=lalagi:-'ny, wani=wiri", wiringa=yami-jga:-'
 this (MSg) he will get up_p he will be alive they told her_c

Then he (the victim) died (i.e. fell down unconscious). They were holding his wife by the arm (to console her) there, while he (the victim's body) was over here. (The murderer said to the bereaved

wife,) "Quiet! This man (the deceased) will get up and be alive."

71.6 ngar-uba-gi-yung ngara-mani-nyung, one-girl anyja:bu-nyung,
 that (FSg) woman one (human Sg)
anyja:bu-nyung mani-nyung, wangi-nana-na-ni::: aba ngura now
 one woman she saw them_c then fire
wura:-'nam=bilnginyja-ngi, wiri=na-nga:-' wa:='ri ambu:=yama:-'
 they built fire_c they burned it_c not they did that
wu:=yama:-', o:-'ba-ni wu-dhan, dhid!
 they did that_c that (ANA) scar close up (verb)

That woman (the wife), the one woman, watched them (the murderers). Then they started a small fire. They burned it (the blade of a shovel spear). Not like this, like this (i.e. they held the blade in the fire to make it hot). Then they inserted it there (into the thigh of the victim), making a nearly invisible scar as they closed up the external wound.

71.7 i::: nyunyunyunyunyunyuny u wu=bunnyurnyurwa:-'
 (meaningless) (sound) it sizzled_c
adaba ana-la:ma, wiri=ngargiwa-ny, ngijang wiri=na-nga:-',
 then shovel spear they pulled it out_p more they burned it_c
ngijang wu:=yama:-' ma-lingu-miri, dhid!
 more they did that_c by side (askance) close up
bunnyurnyurnyurnyur aba winyig wu:=yama:-' adaba,
 (sound) then small it did that_c then

Then it (the hot spearhead) sizzled (in the flesh of the victim). The shovel spearhead. They pulled it out, held it in the fire to make it hot again, and again put it in the body, from the side. They were sealing it (the wound) up. It was sizzling. Then it (the external scar) was very small (nearly undetectable).

71.8 adaba wi:ya!, aba wiri:='ru:-', aba ni=lalagi:-'ny
 then finish! then they abandoned it_c then he got up_p
nu:-'ba-gi na-mulungguwi-nyung, wuru=yama:-' ari might-be
 that (MSg) murderer (MSg) they did that_c maybe
three four men, might-be two men, wini=wula-wa:, wuru=wulalwulal,
 they are two they are three
might-be wuru=marangaryja:bugij aba wura:='ga:gi-ny,
 they are five then they (Pl) went backward_p

Then it was all over. They (the murderers) left it (the fire). Then that murderer got up (and went). They did that. Maybe two, three, four, or five men (murderers). They went backward (i.e. they left).

71.9 yuwa-ga:-'la ni=burdi-∅ ni=julubi:-'ny yuwa:-gu
 from there he lay on belly_c he jumped in_p there

ni=julubi-'-n^y yuwa:-gu ni=julubi-'-n^y, him plant-'em self,
 he jumped in_p there he jumped in_p he hid
 ni=julubi:-'ni, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g ba-gu,
 he jumped in_c as for her woman there
 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g wirin^ga-ba=badja-n^gi n^gi=buri-∅,
 that (FSg) they hit her on the eye_c she sat_c
 Over there he (the victim) lay on his belly. He (one of the
 murderers) jumped into (the bushes) and hid. So did the others,
 they hid. As for her, the woman (the victim's wife) there, they
 hit her in the eyes (i.e. they put some blood from the victim on
 her head around her eyes to make her forget what she had seen).

71.10 "way!" ni=n^gan^yga:-'ni now, aba ni=yama:-',
 hey! he breathed_c then he did that_c
 ni:='mbalaman, ni=n^gan^yga:-'ni adaba ana-n^gura
 he was good he breathed_c now fire
 wuna:-'ganam=biln^gin^yja-n^gi adaba ana-n^gura, mari waddy,
 they built fire for him_c then fire and tree (creole)
 ran^gag, wura:-'nam=biln^gin^yja-n^gi n^ga, wa:='ri
 tree they built fire_c and then not
 an^ggu-yama=yama:-'yin^yun^g, ana-strong-fella-yin^yun^g, a-nini-jin^yun^g,
 it which did that powerful (big) one soft one
 "Oh!" (the victim's kin exclaimed). He was breathing now. He
 did that, he became all right (alive). He was breathing now.
 They built a fire for him. They built it (fire), not a powerful
 one like this, a fairly weak (soft) one.

71.11 ni=yama:-' ni=yaran^gga:-' ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=lalagi:-'ni
 he did that_c he looked_c this way he got up_c
 adaba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=yama:-', ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=yaran^gga:-'
 then that (MSG) he did that_c this way he looked_c
 ramali-ya:::j ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=yaran^gga:-', mana:-'ma
 eastward this way he looked_c this (MANA)
 mana-bagan^g, ma:='n^ybaj adaba n^gun^yju yi:-miyiri
 eye it (MANA) is other then similar star
 ma=devil-devil, aba ni=yaran^gga:-'yin^yun^g,
 it (MANA) is devil (ghost) then he who looked_c
 He (the victim) looked around like this. He got up and went
 this way, east. He looked around. His eyes were different
 (strange), like stars, like (the eyes of) devils (ghosts). The
 man who was looking around (the victim).

71.12 ni=yaran^gga:-' ni=yama:-',
 he looked_c he did that_c
 ya:-ni-yun^g, argali-n^yi aba ni=yaran^gga:-' ni=yama:-'
 it (ANA) is here westward then he looked_c he did that_c

ya:-nu:-'wuy, ni=yaran^gga:-' ni=lilhadbari-∅ bla
 this way he looked_c he hid behind tree_c of (creole)
 na-mulung^guwi-n^yun^g, na-wuru-jun^g, bla waddy a-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g
 murderer human (MSg) of tree big (Pl, ANA class)
 a-lhu:n^y-baj yagu a:-'m-baj, ni=julubi-'-n^y,
 among stringybark but through whatchamacallit he jumped in_p
 xxx, jaw! aba dulmurg!, wu=ran^ga=jama:-' adaba a:-'ni-yi:,
 (unclear) grab then run wood did that_c then like this
 He (the revived victim) looked this way, here. He looked to the
 west. He looked this way. He, the murderer, was concealed in
 the trees, the Aboriginal (murderer). Among big trees, stringybark
 trees, whatchamacallit. He went in and hid. He grabbed him (the
 victim) quickly, then fled (alone). The tree was like this (big).

71.13 ni=waya=wayama-n^gi ni=waya=wayama-n^gi ni=waya=wayama-n^gi
 he proceeded_c
 ni=waya=wayama-n^gi ni=waya=wayama-n^gi mari n^ga yin^gga ni=yama:-'
 he proceeded_c and and then nearly he did that_c
 araga an-uwa-ga:-'la aba wura:=bi:-ni araga an-uba-ni-yun^g,
 suddenly from there then they jumped_c suddenly that (ANA)
 jaw! "yagi numba=wu-∅", (laughs), him laugh wuru=n^garma:-',
 grab don't you will kill us! they laughed_c
 (laughs) "yagi numba=wu-∅", adaba wi:ya!,
 don't you will kill us! then finish!

He (the revived victim) kept going along. He was doing that, when
 suddenly they (the murderers) jumped out from there and grabbed
 him. (They said to him,) "Don't kill us!" They (murderers)
 laughed hideously. "Don't kill us!" That was all.

71.14 aba ni=ya-n^ggi, gari blood, wirima=ma-n^gi,
 then he went_c having (creole) they got it (MANA)_c
 "gab!", ya:-ji, n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, "yagi nu=magi-∅",
 be quiet! here woman don't you will tell him!
 I no-more tell-'em-about anybody, like-that, "yagi
 I will not tell anyone (creole) that kind of thing don't
 nu=magi-∅ wara:-'rawindi bara=magi-∅, aba
 you will tell him! many (Pl) you will tell them! then
 wini=wiri adaba wini=ya-n^ggi,
 they (MDu) were alive then they went_c
 Then he (revived victim) went along, with his blood showing now
 (from the wound). (The murderers warned his wife,) "Be quiet!
 Do not tell him! Do not tell everybody (that we have magically
 speared him)!" Then the two of them (the revived victim and his
 wife) were both alive and they went along (together).

71.15 wini-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: i::: n^ga wini=ya-y,
 they (MDu) went_c (meaningless) and then they slept_c
 nuru=ya-y, nuru=ya-y adaba ni=rirn^ga-n^y, "ya:-ni
 we (ExPl) slept_c then he became ill_p it is here
 sore n^gan^ggu=lhan^garma-n^y", ji:ji, mana:-'-mi-ruj
 it reached me_p injury at this one (MANA) (=today)
 adaba ni=murgulhi- \emptyset , yin^gga mana:-'-ma finish!,
 then he lay down_c nearly this (MANA)

They (revived victim and his wife) went along. They spent a night. We (all) spent a night, then another (after the original magical spearing). Then he suddenly became seriously ill. "I have been hit by a wound here," (the victim said). That same day he lay down. On that day it was all over (he died).

71.16 ni=n^gawi-'-n^y n^ga (wails) wuru-walgara=ra-wa-n^yji:-ni,
 he died_p and then they all wailed together_c
 (wails), "mulun^guwa yagu wunu=wi-ni mulun^guwa", him
 murderer but they killed him_c murderer
come-out now blood, n^ga ma=jiryira-n^gi, ba-ni-yun^g-gala
 and then it (MANA) dripped_c from that (ANA)
 a-la:ma-ala, adaba now liba wiri=ma-n^gi wa:='ri
 from shovel spear then paperbark they got it (ANA)_c not
 an-i:-jin^yun^g, wa:='ri xxx, ana-liba, yi:-midi-yin^yun^g,
 this kind of thing not (unclear) paperbark of (tree sp.)
 yi:-rijbar-in^yun^g, yi:-lhulwu-yin^yun^g, mari a-liba-yin^yun^g,
 of (tree sp.) of (tree sp.) and of (tree sp.)

Then he (the victim) died. All the people were wailing at each other (in the camp of the victim's relatives). "Some murderers have killed him!" The blood was dripping out now (from the wound, which reopened some days after the murderers made it with their spears and sealed it up). From that shovel spear (which the murderers had used). They got some paperbark, not this kind of thing (i.e. blanket). They got some paperbark from any of several paperbark trees (Melaleuca spp.).

Note: The noun liba (or liwa) is both the general word for 'paperbark' and the term for one of the paperbark tree spp.; both uses are seen here. The paperbark is used to wrap up the corpse as part of the normal mortuary customs (texts 50 to 54).

71.17 adaba wiri=ma-n^gi n^ga aba wunu=waba:-',
 then they got it_c and then then they wrapped him_c
 n^gadugu-miri, wunu=waba:-', wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, wiri=ma-n^gi
 by means of rope they wrapped him_c they went_c they got it_c
 ana-waragu wiri=ma-n^gi, wara-man^gga:dhira-yin^yun^g, ana-waragu,
 axe they got it_c of Macassans axe

wiri=ma-n^gi wu:='la-wa:, adaba wirim=wulguldha-n^gi
 they got it_c they were two then they cut it_c
 mun^gala now,
 platform

They got it (paperbark) and wrapped him up with rope. They wrapped him. They went and got an axe, or rather two of them, the kind brought to this area by the Macassans (Indonesian trepang-hunters who used to come seasonally into the Gulf). They cut up a tree, making a tree platform.

71.18 "nu:=riga-n-ji:-wugij wurugu", wirim=wulguldha-n^gi
 we (ExPl) only dig later they cut it up_c
 wirim=ruruga:-' wu:-rigi=riga-n-di ya:-ni-miri aba da-ni-yun^g
 they erected it_c they dug it's right here then it is there

wirim=ruruga:-', wirim=ruruga:-' ya:-ji
 they erected it (MANA)_c here
 wirim=ruruga:-' ya:-ji wirim=ruruga:-',
 they erected it_c here they erected it_c

"We are still digging. Later (we will do that)," they said. They were erected it (platform), digging. Here and there. They were standing it up here, here, here, and here (i.e. the four corners of square or rectangular platform).

71.19 mari wirim='ladhi:-ni, wirim='ladhi:-ni
 and they laid it (MANA) across_c
 ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g wirim-bu=bura-n^gi:::, mari,
 here coming they put it (MANA)_c and
 wuru-way='yajara-n^gi wuru-way='yajara-n^gi wuru-way='yajara-n^gi,
 they spread (it) out_c

gari bushes, manjar,
 having (creole) branches with leaves branch with leaves
 wuru-way='yajara-n^gi,
 they spread (it) out_c

They laid it (platform) across (the poles at the corners), along this way. Then they put it (platform) there. They spread out leaves with branches (as in making a bed) on the platform.

71.20 adaba wunu=ma-n^gi, ya:-ni aba wunu=ma-n^gi,
 then they got him_c it is here then they got him_c
 adaba wuru=yama:-', "hm! hm! hm! hm! hm! ga:::: wah!,
 then they did that_c (grunts) (chants)

birgar! birgar! garjulula midimidi:::, yay!",
 (chants) (songword) (songword) (chant)

Then they got him (the dead man). They did this: (repetition of shouts and chants used in mortuary ritual).

Note: These particular chants are for the Num^g-gargalug clan.

71.21 wuru=warga-n-di aba yu:-gu-ni, ama-mun^ggala-wuy,
 they moved quickly_c then to there to platform
 wuru=warga-n-di ama-mun^ggala-wuy, wunu=bura-n^gi adaba,
 they moved quickly_c to platform they put him down_c then
 ama-mun^ggala-wuy, wunu-lhara=lhari:-ni bla liba
 to platform they released him_c for (creole) paperbark
 an-uba-ni-yun^g, wiri=barawuda-n^gi yu:-gu-ni a:-'ban-guy,
 that (ANA) they threw it_c to there to ground
 ama-man^gara-guy,
 to sand

They went over to the platform (with the corpse) and put him down on it them. They let him go (from the paperbark covering). They threw it (paperbark) down on the ground, on the sand.

71.22 da-ni-yung^g mari ana:-'n^ybaj, n^gijang^g, ana:-'n^ybaj n^gijan^g
 it is there and other (ANA) more other more
 dhudabada, no-more dhudabada, a-wundan^y-jin^yun^g malganan^g,
 wire spear not of young wallaby shin bone
 a-n^gargu-yin^yun^g mari a:-'rjambal-in^yun^g, mari yi:-wa:yin-jin^yun^g,
 of wallaby and of kangaroo and of emu
 adaba wuru=ya-y-in^yun^g wu:=yama:-',
 then where they slept_c they did that_c

Then there was something else. A wire spear (spear with iron prongs). Not a wire spear (a recent commodity), the shin bone of a young wallaby (used as blade on spear). Of a wallaby, an antelopine kangaroo, or an emu. Where they were sleeping like that.

Note: The sense of this segment becomes clear below. It is the murderers who are using the shin-bone weapon and are preparing to attack the victim's camp.

71.23 ni-ga:-'yun^g nima=ma-n^gi ma-garan^ggay, juj!
 as for him he got it (MANA)_c spear shaft (MANA) go
 ni=yali-n^y, ma=yama:-'yin^yun^g ama:-'mi-yi:,
 he went far away_p it which did that (MANA)_c like this (MANA)
 wuru=ya-y-in^yun^g bid! bid! bid! bid! bid! bid! jarg!
 where they slept_c run spear (verb)
 ya:-ji:-'li yagu ya:-ji yagu ya:-ji, ya:-ji:-'li ana:-'rgi,
 from along here but here but here from along here some
 ya:-ji:-'li wuru=warga-n-di ana:-'rgi ana:-'ji:-'li, ya:-nu:-'wuy,

As for him (the main murderer), he got a spear (shaft) and went far away. (A spear) like this one. Where they (the victim's relatives), he went running along in little spurts. Then he speared (them) along here, here, or here (i.e. nape, throat, or belly).

71.24 yin^gga wu=lalma-n^y, wu=lalma:-', wu:-ya=ya-y, yin^gga
 nearly it dawned_p it dawned_c they slept_c nearly
 wu=lalma:-', adaba jarg! jarg! jarg! jarg! aba
 it dawned_c then spear (verb) then
 nin^gga:-'dha:=dhuga:-', "yagay! yagay! yagay!, ji:ji ji:ji,
 it (ANA) jabbed him_c ouch!
 ya:-ni ji:ji sore, xxx, adaba n^ga=n^gawa-'-n^g",
 it is here wound wound (unclear) now I will die_p
 It was before dawn. They (the victims) were (still) sleeping. Then (the murderers) started spearing them. It (spear) jabbed into one of the victims. "Ah! I am wounded! Here it is, a wound! I will die now!"

71.25 no-more galababala, o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj
 not doctor ('clever fella') long ago
 nothing, wa:='ri, wura:='ri wara-galababala, an-uba-ni
 not at all not they were absent doctors that (ANA)
 amburu=n^gargiwa:-', ana-malganan^g, mari ana-ju:ri,
 they pulled it (ANA) out shin bone and sharp wire
 xxx dhudabada n^gijan^g ana:-'rgi, ya:-ni, wa:='ri
 (unclear) wire spear more some it is here not
 aba amburu=magi-'-n^y,
 then they tell

There were no doctors (white) then, long ago, none at all, to pull out the wallaby shinbone (blade of spear) or the sharp wire, or sometimes a wire spear. They do not talk (about it).

71.26 ni=wiri, ni=ya:-'y, xxx, n^ga ni=n^gawi:-'ni,
 he was alive he slept_c (unclear) and then he died_c
 mani-n^yun^g too, mari walya-walya mari little-boy, single-boy,
 woman and men and boys bachelors
 young man, young boy, oldme-old-men too, wu:=yama-n^y
 old men (reduplicated) they did that_p
 ano:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj mulun^guwa yuwa-ga:-'la, wu:-yama=yama:::
 long ago murderer from there they did that
 He (the wounded man) was still alive. He spent one more night, then died. Sometimes women too, men, children, bachelors, young and old men (were speared and died). Things were like that in the old days, (when) murderers (came) from far away like that.

71.27 gari house now, bla Roper,
 having (creole) of (creole) (place n.)
 da-ni-wugij, wara=ra-ni-yin^yun^g
 it is there only they who speared them_c

mulunguwa, Roper, policeman, bla yurubanji, lhiribala
 murderers of (creole) (place n.) down
 alagala, manugani, bla ngugur, wara=ra-ni-wugij
 partway (place n.) of (place n.) they only speared them
 mulunguwa-wugij,
 only murderers

Those murderous men who used to spear other (men), the murderers (by sorcery or treachery), they still kill people and they now have houses at Roper R. (now Ngukurr settlement). There are policemen now at Roper and the place Yurubanji. (Actually the police station is at Roper Bar, near Ngukurr; Yurubanji is a private cattle station.). Down a little way at the place Manugani (former site of Roper R. mission), for Ngukurr. They used to spear them, those murderers.

71.28 somewhere, yuwa:-ga-waj, wara-oldme-old-men, proper danger, there it goes extreme

wuru=maragarij wu:=cheeky-fella, wara-wini=wi-ni
 they are dangerous/violent they are cheeky they killed them
 wu:=yama=yama:-' wa:='bi-n^y xxx nu-ri:-'-wuy ana-Rose River,
 they did that it jumped_c (unclear) to us (ExPl) (place n.)
 him yet wu:=yama-na-wugij, wu:=yama-na-wugij,
 it still they only do that they only do that

Somewhere (i.e. at some indefinite distant place) over there, the old men (i.e. the old, traditional Aboriginal men) are extremely dangerous and violent (prone to murder by sorcery). They used to kill people like that. It has changed a lot here at Rose River Mission (now Numbulwar Mission), but they still do it (occasionally).

71.29 mangimangi, glass, maragi, bla ngujiya
 sharp bone knife of (creole) fish
 warngulg, any-kind, wara=shoot-'em-dhi:-', malanga-n^yanay,
 ray spike they shoot them far away
 ana:-'ni ana-numbulwar, wu:=yama-na aba wu:=ngawi:-'-na
 this (ANA) (place n.) they do that then they die

war-uba-wi-yun^g too young, young-fella, yagu young-girl,
 those (WARA) very young but

wu:=yama-na-wugij, wuguwuguni,
 they do that only always

(Murderers use) sharp bones, glass, knives, stingray spikes, all kinds of things. They shoot them (with guns, too). Far away and here at Numbulwar, they do that and they (the victims) die. Those very young men and girls. They still do that, all the time.

71.30 wa:='ri ambu:-bu=bura-nga:::-n^g nu-gu-ri:-'-yi:
 not they sit like you (Pl)

wa:-dhu-dhudabada-yi: wara-munu-munanga-yi: ambu:=bura-nga-n^g,
 like white men like white men they sit
 too-old, old-man, ambu:=ngawi-'-n^y, wa:='ri, wu:=young-fella-waj,
 very old they die not while they are young
 wu:=ngawi:-'-na nu-ga-wi-yi: yagu ngaya-wi-yi:,
 they die like you (Sg) but like me

They do not sit (quietly) like you all, like the whites, they do not sit and die when they are very old. No. They die (violently) while they are still young, like you (Heath) or maybe like me.

Note: The forms 'they sit' and 'they die' in the first two lines of this page are in present negative form and are associated with wa:='ri on the last line of the preceding page (repeated in the second line on this page). When this text was made Heath was in his mid-twenties and bursting with youth, while Larangana (the speaker) was in his sixties.

71.31 something wu-gu-ru wrong, mangimangi, glass, different it (ANA) sharp bone

different an^ybaj an^ybaj wuru=ma-ni, yuwa-ga:-'la-yin^yun^g,
 other they get it of from there

long-way country Borroloola, this-way Roper, Katherine,
 (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)

somewhere, ya:-nu:-'-wuy, yuwa-ga:-'la, right-up lha
 this way from there all the way to (creole)
 Groote Eylandt, same, wu:=yama-na ana-Groote Eylandt
 (place n.) they do that

wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g adaba,
 as for it then

There are some very bad things: sharp bones, glass, various other strange things (used for murder). They get them. (People) from over that way, far away, Borroloola (town to southeast), closer this way at Roper R. (Ngukurr), Katherine (city to west), some strange place, this way and that, right across to Groote Eylandt. They do it at Groote Eylandt too.

71.32 wa:='ri ana:-'rbidi nga:mbu=ngawi-'-n^y, da-ni-yun^g
 not anyway we (InPl) die it is there

nguru-ngawa=ngawi:-'-na wara:-'rawindi, ngu:=young-fella-aj,
 we (InPl) die many (Pl) while we are young

wa:='ri nga:mbu-mi=jiwanggu-ma-n^g mari nga:mbu=ngawi-'-n^y
 not we become old men and we die

wa:='ri wara-white men-ji:
 not like white men

We do not just die anyway (i.e. without a specific cause). We die for that reason (sorcery), most of us, while we are young. We do not become old and die (naturally), like white men.

71.33 wa:='ri n^ga:mbu=n^gawi-'-n^y n^ga:mbu=yama-n^g, n^ga-gu-ru
 not we die we do that we (InPl)
wara-wuru-wuruj ana-Groote Eylandt-jin^yun^g, ana-yirgal-a-yin^yun^g,
 people of (place n.) of (place n.)
Maningrida Goulburn yagu Elcho, Maningrida Oenpelli, Darwin,
 (place n.) (place n.) but
Katherine, Pine Creek, Mataranka, Larrimah, Borroloola, ya:-ni
 it is here
 n^ga a:n^g, Elsey, Roper Valley,
 and then whatchamacallit

We do not die like that (as old people, of natural causes). We the Aboriginals, of Groote Eylandt, of Yirrkala, Maningrida, Goulburn Island, or Elcho Island, Maningrida, Oenpelli, Darwin, Katherine, Pine Creek, Mataranka, Larrimah, Borroloola, over here at Elsey Station and Roper Valley Station.

Note: Most of these places are far from Numbulwar and are known to this speaker only by reputation.

71.34 somewhere yuwa:-gu a-lhal-an^yba-duj Mountain Valley,
 there at other country
Mainoru, Roper, here Numbulwar, Groote Eylandt, aba mangimangi-wugij
 now only sharp bone
 yamba maragi-wugij mari glass mari a:n^g, adaba,
 because only knife and and whatchamacallit then
 wi:ya! adaba da-ni-yun^g-bugij, wi:ya!.
 finish! now only it is there finish!

Some other distant places: Mountain Valley, Mainoru, Roper River (Ngukurr), here at Numbulwar, Groote Eylandt. They still use sharp bones and knives, also glass. That is all. That is how it was.

Comments on text 71

The main part of the text describes the conventional way in which traditional killers by sorcery were supposed to operate. The murderer would spear the victim, resulting in a mortal wound. If a witness such as the victim's wife was present, the murderer would take some of the victim's blood and put it on her head around her eyes to make her forget what she had seen. The murderer then built a fire and put the blade of a spear into it to heat it. He would then insert it into the body of the victim, making a deep wound perhaps on top of the original thrust. The murderer then withdrew the spear from the body, heated the blade again, and this time inserted the blade only into the exterior part of the wound, thus sealing the wound up and making it invisible or inconspicuous. All of this is designed to permit the victim to be revived for a few days and then to die suddenly, unaware of the role of the murderer. The victim might pursue the murderer, vaguely aware of what had happened, but the murderer would disarm the victim and would induce

him by various means to forget the spearing incident. Eventually, after living normally for two or three days, the victim would suddenly die and the injury would open up.

When it has been decided that an individual must be assassinated, an assassin from a distant location is recruited. For this reason, the appearance of a stranger in an Aboriginal camp evoked, and to some extent still does, great fears among Aboriginals.

Distinct from this 'classic' murder procedure is a sudden massacre (usually pre-dawn) of an entire group of people in their camp. Here a group of murderers encircle the sleeping group and then descend on them without warning and kill as many as possible. This kind of killing is also mentioned in this text.

Numbulwar today is comparatively peaceful, in contrast to other Aboriginal communities in the area. At Numbulwar, liquor is forbidden in theory and to a considerable extent in practice, a phenomenon which is uncommon among the various nearby communities. Much of the fighting that can be seen at Ngukurr, Bamyili, etc., is open fighting with spears or other weapons and is not very similar to the stylised murders by sorcery described in this text.

As indicated in 71.32, deaths are not normally attributed to simple natural causes. Especially when the deceased is young, but not only in this case, death by heart attack or other illness is usually attributed to sorcerers, and suspicion may be directed specifically at a given individual or clan because of a history of past hostilities. Senior male elders are particularly feared because of their ritual power. There are certain traditional rituals for divining the identity of the murderer, but these are no longer commonly performed.

At Numbulwar especially, forms of stylised ritual 'fighting' have become quite common. In this event, a man with a grudge to get off his shoulder grabs one or more spears and runs through the camp (in daytime) haranguing the audience, and may make threatening gestures with the spear hooked onto the woomera ready to throw. This can be disconcerting to a fieldworker who is sitting on the sand next to the ostensible target of the spear, but the target usually remains impassive, knowing that the menaces are empty. In the old days the man who is the target would have had to be more apprehensive. Such ritualised fighting is probably not a post-European phenomenon entirely, but it has largely replaced the real spear fights which used to be moderately common.

Warner (1969) has useful material on warfare and fighting in northeastern Arnhem Land.

TEXT 72 MY KIN RELATIONS Ga:gadug

72.1 wuru=maya:-' na-daddy-yan^g, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g
 they sang_c fathers mine
wara-oldme-old-men, na-daddy-yan^g, nun-dhiribala, laybl wu-gu-ru
 old men fathers (n. of clan) together they

wuru=buri-∅, wu:=lhama-n^yji:-na, an^yja:bugij-bugij company,
they sat_c they beget each other only one associated
yargari, yargari::: mari n^gulur garayan^ga, mari wurindi,
(place n.) and (place n.) (place n.) and (place n.)
ana-dreaming one, dreaming, mari madamada baygurji, laybl
totem same and (place n.) (place n.) together
nu-ru ana-dreaming,
we (ExPl) totem

My fathers (i.e. male clan-mates of preceding generation) used to sing (clan songs). The old men of the Nun-dhiribala clan. They lived together. They have children (who remain in the clan). One single group. The places Yargari, N^gulur, Garayan^ga, Wurindi, Madamada, and Baygurji, all the same dreamings.

Note: The Nun-dhiribala clan is subdivided into two subclans, one centred at Wurindi and the other at the nearby place Yargari. I was told that the men Jilaga, Malayu, and Mun^gayana represent the Wurindi-based subclan and Wann^gala:di (Marcus) and Jawila (Old Bob) represent the Yargari-based subclan. For ritual purposes there are no major differences between the two subclans. Other locations mentioned, Madamada and Baygurji, are territorial centres for non-Nunggubuyu clans to the north, around the Koolatong River, owned primarily by clans which spoke Ritharngu and/or Dhay'yi. Ga:gadug (the narrator), a woman married to Laran^gana, was herself apparently from one of these northerly clans, though she grew up with the Nunggubuyu and speaks no Ritharngu or Dhay'yi. The clans mentioned (by their territorial centres) are closely affiliated as 'brother' clans for ritual purposes, symbolized by common totems (dreamings) and common (or at least associated) cycles of clan songs.

The Nun-dhiribala are one of the clans of the Yirija moiety.

72.2 na-daddy-an^g na-n^gamuri-yan^g, wara-oldme-old-men, an-un^gubal
fathers FaFa-s clan song
one, n^gijan^g an^yja:bugij, ana-dreaming, nu-ru leader-man leader, one,
same more one we
wara-oldme-oldmen, wuru=maya=maya:-, an^yja:bugij ana-dreaming nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g
old men they sang_c one ours (ExPl)
nun-dhiribala, nun^gudulbuy, nun-dhiribala, two, nuru=bura:-',
(n. of clan) (n. of clan) (n. of clan) we (ExPl) sit
an-un^gubal wuru=maya:-' yagu ana-lha:ra, ana-muwaj, an^yja:bugij-bugij,
clan song they sang_c but dreaming name only one

My fathers and father's fathers (i.e. male clan ancestors), the old men, shared the same songs and dreamings. We had the same ritual leaders. Both the Nun-dhiribala and the Nun^gudulbuy (the northern clan to which Ga:gadug herself belongs), we stay together. They all sang the same clan songs, had the same songs, the same names.

72.3 na-old-man-ba:, na-gala:-baba na-old-man-ba:, wara-oldme-old-men,
two old men father two old men old men

n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g wara-oldme-old-men na-daddy-yar^f, wu:=yama-n^y,
mine old men fathers they did that_p
yuwa:-gu ni:='la:di-yi:-'ni man^gajara, na-daddy, na-old-man-n^yun^g,
there he got bad_c (place n.) father old man
na-n^gararan^ggu, na-old-man, ni-ga:-'yun^g n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g
(n. of man) old man as for him mine
n^gani=lhama-n^y ya:-gi, na-maralhar,
he begat me_p he is here (man's n.)

There were two old men, my fathers. They did that. My father, the old man named N^gararan^ggu, died (became bad) at the place Man^gajara (near Ngukurr settlement). As for my true father (the one who begat me), named Maralhar, he is here.

72.4 ya:-gi ni-ga na-n^gararan^ggu, na-mabun^gujiji, ya:-gi
he is here he (man's n.) (man's n.) he is here
ni-ga:-'yun^g, three, na-n^gamuri ya:-gi, an^yja:bu-n^yun^g,
as for him FaFa he is here one
na-ga:rdhun, na-gu:mulug, ya:-gi na-n^gamuri n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g,
(man's n.) (man's n.) he is here FaFa mine
mari na-old-man, na-murmur, na-n^gamuri ya:-wi-ni-yum-ba:
and old man (man's n.) (man's n.) here they (MDu) are
wu-gu-ni, laybl, wini=wula-wa:-wugij na-n^gamuri-wa:,
they (MDu) together they are only two FaFa-s (MDu)

There is N^gararan^ggu, Mabun^gujiji, and him (Maralhar, see 72.1), three (fathers) altogether. Then there are my father's fathers. There is one here, Ga:rdhun. Also Gu:mulug, my father's father, the old man, also Murmir, the two of them are here together, just two father's fathers.

Note: Since Ga:gadug was herself middle-aged at the time of the taping, these FaFa-s are almost certainly classificatory, rather than being her direct ancestors. The men named in the last two segments are in the Nun^gudulbuy clan (see 72.1-2).

72.5 na-am^g-jin^yun^g, na-ja:ji-yin^yun^g
of whatchamacallit (MSg) of (man's English name)
n^gara-guman^y-jin^yun^g, na-jawila-yin^yun^g na:-da-gu:-' na-am^g-jin^yun^g,
of (n. of woman) of (man's n.) that (MSg) of whatchamacallit
na-Old Bob-jin^yun^g, na-jamba:mbunan^g-jin^yun^g, na-bi:bul,
of (man's n.) of (man's n.) (man's English name)
na-buguji, n^gara-midhurun^gu, n^ga:-ran^ggalgarin^y n^gara-midhurun^gu,
(man's n.) (woman's n.) (woman's n.) (woman's n.)
(I am a relation) of Ja:ji (Georgie?), of Guman^y, Jawila--that
whatchamacallit, Old Bob--, of Jamba:mbunan^g, of Bi:bul, Bugoji,
Midhurun^gu, Ran^ggalgarin^y.

Note: These are people from the Yargari-based subclan of the Nunggubuyu Nun-dhiribala clan.

72.6 xxx, one, ya:-wi-ni-yum-ba:-wugij wini=wula-wa:,
(unclear) they are only here (MDu) they are two

na-old-man-ba: na-n^gamuri-wa:, ana-country xxx,
two old men two FaFa-s (unclear)

ya:-ni nu-ru, ana-wurindi-yin^yun^g bu-gu-ni
it is here (ANA) we (ExPl) of (place n.) to there

laybl, an^yja:bugij-bugij,
together only one

(We are) the same (clan). Just the two old men here. The country. We are here. The people (subclan) over there at Wurindi are the same as us (i.e. one clan). (See note to 72.1)

72.7 na-ga:gu-wan^g na-granny-wan^g, a-yinbiya-yin^yun^g,
MoMoBr-s MoMoBr-s of (place n.)

nun^ggarbumaji Bickerton, yinbiya, granny mob, malabad,
(n. of clan) (place n.) Pl we (ExPl, creole)

nu-ru, na-granny-wan^g, a:-'n^g-jin^yun^g a-yinbiya
we (ExPl) MoMoBr-s of whatchamacallit (place n.)

nun^ggarbumaji, mari waldhar, three, da-ni-yun^g-gaj nu-ru
(place n.) and (place n.) it is there too we (ExPl)

ana-ga:gu, nu-ru, na-daddy-an^g waldhar, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
MoMo(Br)'s country we (ExPl) fathers (place n.) as for them

wara-oldme-old-men na-daddy-yan^g, n^gara:-(au)ntie-yan^g,
old men fathers FaSi-s

n^gara-auntie arawindi, wa:-oldwo-old-women.
FaSi many old women

My MoMoBr-s were from the place Yinbiya, and Nun^ggarbumaji on Bickerton Island (i.e. speakers of the Anindhilyagwa language). Then there is a third place, Waldhar (territory of the Nunggubuyu-speaking Nun^ggargalug clan). We had our MoMoBr-s too, and some fathers and fathers' sisters at Waldhar. Those old people, my fathers and fathers' sisters, lots of them, the old women.

Note: We would normally expect that Ga:gadug would find that her kin in the Waldhar-based Nun^ggargalug clan would be predominantly in the categories MoMo(Br), and such avoidance categories as MoMoBrSo and MoMoBrDa (=WiMo). Ga:gadug stresses, however, her kin categorised as 'Fa' and 'FaSi' in the immediately earlier generation. For various reasons such a clan could well have some persons whom Ga:gadug would classify as 'Fa' or 'FaSi' by regular application of the terminology; moreover, the avoidance system is gradually breaking down and some 'avoidance' categories are being reclassified to permit the relevant pairs of persons to interact. In this very brief discussion, Ga:gadug has greatly simplified the nature of her relationships with the Nun^ggargalug.

TEXT 73 OBTAINING A WIFE
Ma:di

73.1 n^gijan^g an^ybaj n^gan^y=jambi:-na, a-promise-jin^yun^g,
more other I will speak_c about bestowal

nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g, wunu=promise-dha-n^gi-yin^yun^g,
that (MSg) son in law he whom they promised_c

n^gar-ubi-rn^gi-yun^g n^ga-ran^g-gurumba-yum-bi:yun^g, n^gara-wula-wa:,
those (FDu) two mothers in law two (FDu)

ni-ga-wi-wugij nu:-'ba-gi na:-'n^yja:bu-n^yun^g, wun^gunu=promise-dha-n^gi,
(for) him only that (MSg) one (MSg) they promised him_c

war-uba-wi-yun^g wara:-'wuru-yun^g-gaj, ni-ga wara:-'n^yja:bugij
those (WARA) these (Pl) also he one (WARA)

wan^gi=yaba:-' n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-wula-wa: wan^gi=yaba:-',
she bore them (WARA) as for her two (FDu) she bore them_c

ni-ga-wi-wugij, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g,
(for) him only that (MSg)

I will tell (Heath) another story, about the bestowal (promising) of wives. That prospective son-in-law, the one whom they have promised (a wife to). There are two prospective mothers-in-law for him. They (i.e. their daughters) are only for him, they have promised him (their daughters as wives). All of these (daughters). If she gives birth to one (daughter), and she (the other woman) gives birth to two (daughters), they are all his, of that man.

Note: One or more women were bestowed on a man as his future mothers-in-law; these women were normally his real or classificatory MoMoBrDa-s. When they had female children, the latter would be designated as the man's future wives and would be delivered to him at or before puberty. A man was often in his thirties or late twenties before obtaining his first wife but could eventually have two or more. Ideally, when a man had a given woman bestowed on him as future mother-in-law, he had a right to claim all of her daughters as his wives; if this was put into practice the result was what is known in anthropology as sororal polygyny. However, the man might waive this right and permit another unmarried man, such as his own younger brother, to take the woman's second or third daughter.

73.2 wara-min^y-n^gambara, da-ni-yun^g ana-lha:wu, war-uba:::wi-yun^g-gaj,
elders it is there words back with them

n^ga wuguwuguni adaba mission yamba ana-yimbaj, ana:-'ni,
and then always now because today this (ANA)

aba an^yja:-'n^yja:bugij-bugij wara:='bun-dhi:-', wuru=ya-ra,
now only one by one they have them (loan) they sleep

ana-promise-jin^yun^g, war-uba-wi-yun^g wara:='rawindi-yin^yun^g
of bestowal those (WARA) of many

wi:-'j=gurag, wiri:='ru-n^y,
words are left behind they left it_p

That is how the customs ('words') were back in the days of those old people. Nowadays, because of the mission (which discourages polygyny, and to some extent encourages young men and women to choose their own spouses), they have them (wives) just one each, that they sleep (in the same camp, i.e. are married) one by one. That business about having many (wives) is a custom which they have abandoned.

73.3 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni:=maji-∅, na-wulmur-in^yung^g, adaba
that one (MSg) he stole_c bachelor then
na:-'dha:=dhuga:-' na:-'dha:=dhuga:-' na:-'dha:=dhuga:-'
he stabbed him_c
n^ga waljawaljiri, lhalun^ggu-miri, mari la:ma-miri,
and then bloody wound by means of hook spear and by shovel spear
nu:-'ba-gi wini-n^gun^yju=n^gun^yju-yin^yung^g yagu n^gun^yju-n^gun^yju
that (MSg) they (MDu) who were identical but identical
wini=ri-n^yji:-ni wini:=dhuga-n^yji:-ni, ya:-ni
they speared each other_c they stabbed each other_c it is here
ana-lha:wu wara-old-people-yin^yung^g,
words of the old people

Some bachelor stole (the woman's daughter). Then he (the rightful, promised husband) wounded him badly with a hook spear or shovel spear, making a gaping wound. They were both doing the same thing, throwing spears at each other, wounding each other with spears. This is how the customs were, among the old people.

73.4 xxx--, nu-ri:-'wuy aba wu=waryagaryag, wa:=ri na:-'gi
(unclear) to us (ExPl) then it is slight not this (MSg)
ambunu=guguda-n^gi, ana=promise-jin^yung^g, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^ga
they took from him concerning bestowal that (FSg) and then
wirin^ga-laga=wann^ga:-'yin^yung^g, mari n^gari-lhari-yun^g,
they who had second daughter_c and sister
n^gara:-'n^yja:bu-n^yung^g, n^gar-ibi-yun^g, wan^gi=yaba:-'yin^yung^g,
one (FSg) her mother she who bore them_c
ni-ga-wi-wuy-wugij n^ga nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g wunu=maga:-'wuy-wugij,
to him only and then that (MSg) only to him they called_c
war-ubu-ru-yun^g wu:-n^gara-n^gu=buri-∅, wara-mananun^g, ni=married-dha-n^gi,
those (Pl) they all sat_c women he married
ana-married, wunu=promise-dha-n^gi wara-mananun^g, ni:-'n^yji=ya-y-in^yung^g,
marriage they promised him_c women whom he slept with_c

Nowadays (in our times) this is only done infrequently. They did not (lawfully) take a man's wife from him. That second daughter, sister (of the man's first wife), borne by the same mother, they all stayed together (at his camp), they went only to that man whom they (the arrangers of the bestowal) had named. He was married, he had women to share his camp with.

73.5 an-uwa:::ga:-'la ana:-'n^ybaj-gala ana:-'ni n^gun^yju,
from there from other (ANA) this (ANA) similar
ana-numbulwar, an-uwa:-ni ana:-'lhargan, ana:-'ni,
(place n.) that (ANA) (place n.) this (ANA)
wunu=promise-dha-n^gi an-uba-gu na:-'nn^gina-yun^g ana=promise-jin^yung^g
they promised him there father in law of promised (wife)
ni=buri-∅ ana:-'lhargan, ba-ga:-'la n^ga:=gi:-ni, ya:-ji
he sat_c (place n.) from there I returned_c here
n^gunu=-ni, wurugu n^gunu=nara-n^gi-wugij, ana:-'rgi
she gave to him_c later she waited for him only_c some (ANA)
wun^gunu=nara-n^gi-wugij, n^gara-wula-wa:,
they (FDu) waited for him only_c two (FDu)
(For example,) perhaps the son-in-law takes his wife from over there at some other place. The son-in-law is here at Numbulwar; the girl's father (the man's prospective father-in-law) is living over there at the place Alhargan. I came back from there. Perhaps she (the mother-in-law) gave (her daughter) to him (the prospective son-in-law). She waited for him only (i.e. she held the daughter until puberty and did not give her to any other man). Sometimes two mothers-in-law waited for him only.

73.6 ana-yimbaj wa:=ri ana:-'ni ambu:=yama:-', an^ggu=yama:-',
today not this (ANA) they did that they did that
adaba ana-yimbaj wa:=n^ybaj-ma-n^y ana:-'ni yamba,
now today it has become different_p this (ANA) because
wu-gu-ru wura:=n^ybaj-ma-n^y, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
they they have become different_p as for them
wura:=n^ybaj-ma-n^y, wi:-'j=gan^ybij-gi-'-n^y, ana:-'ni, ana-lha:wu
(see above) words became different_p this words
adaba yamba wa:=n^ybij-gi-'-n^y, wu-lhawu=wany^ybij-gi-'-n^y,
then because it became different_p words became different_p
ana-lha:wu, ana:-'nba:li-yin^yung^g, mana-lhan^gada-yin^yung^g,
words of (place n.) of jungle
ana-waldhar-in^yung^g ana-yin^ymalamar-in^yung^g, ana-ran^yjuga-yin^yung^g,
of (place n.) of (place n.) of (place n.)
wara-man^gga-man^ggura-yun^g, ana-wiyindan^gan^y-jin^yung^g, ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g
Man^ggura clan of (place n.) along here (ANA)
ana-lalan^gi, gada! ana-milarjira, ana:-'n^gurgi milarjira n^ga
(n. of region) oops! (place n.) (place n.) (place n.) and then
ba-ga:-'la, ana-ran^yjirij-gala, wun^ganiyulma n^ga ba-ga:-'la
from there from (place n.) (n. of region) and then from there
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g n^ga numbulwar, ana-wun^ganiyulma, wu:=yama-na,
as for it and then (place n.) (n. of region) they do that
Nowadays they do not do that. Things are not like that, the people and the customs have changed. Everywhere: at Anba:li, in the jungle

(i.e. at Wurindi), at Waldhar, at Yin^ymalamar, at Ran^yjuga, among the Man^gura clan, at Wiyindan^gany (Cape Barrow), along this way at Lalan^gi, or rather Milarjira, at An^gurgi; also coming farther this way from Ran^yjirij in the Wunganiyulma area. They do that.

Note: The places mentioned in the beginning of the list are mainly sites in traditional core Nunggubuyu territory; then Ma:di moves south along the coast to around the Numbulwar area, mentioning locations of clans that originally spoke Warndarang.

73.7 wu:=yama:-' wara-min^y-n^gambara wu-gu-ru, wu-gu-ru arbidi they did that_c elders they anyway adaba ana:-'ni ana-yimbaj, wu:-run^g=arbidi-ma-n^y, now this (ANA) today they behaved anyway_p arbidi-wugij adaba, ana:-'rgi wiri=ma:jga-na, wu=ma:ndhi:-'na only anyway now some (ANA) they make it it is made right ana-gulgu, wiri=ma:ndhi:-', nu-ra:-'yun^g spouse (ANA) they make it as for us (ExPl) wara-min^y-n^gambara-yin^yun^g, na:-yan^y=jan^ga-ni-yin^yun^g, who elders we who heard their voices_c wara-mi-jiwang^ggu, war-ubu:::ru-yun^g wara-min^y-n^gambara-yin^yun^g, old men those (Pl) who elders nura:=wan^ggi:-na-yin^yun^g, nambi-maga=maga:-'yin^yun^g, we who listen we whom they told_c nambi=marbuy-wa:-'yin^yun^g, we whom they informed_c

The old people (now dead) did that. However, they (young people) nowadays behave in an unrestrained manner (without adhering to traditional restrictions). They just do anything they want. Sometimes they still do things right, marriages are made correctly. We (the older generation) who heard the old people speak, us old men whom the elders told and instructed and who listen (obey), we still do things the old way.

73.8 nuru=marbuy-ma-n^y ana-lha:wu, wara-mi-jiwan^ggu-yin^yun^g, we learned_p words of old men xxx-, ya:-ma bagalam-bugij, nara=na-yi:, n^ga it is here (MANA) only eye we see them and then girjag!, an^gudu wu:=ya:-ri:, wu-gu-ru, a:-da-ni ana-gadhuwa-yin^yun^g no! deep they go they that (ANA) new one (ANA) wiri=ma:ndha-n^gi, ana-promise-jin^yun^g, wara=gulgu-wa-na-yin^yun^g they made it_c of bestowal they who marry them an-uba-ni-yun^g, "n^gara:-'gi n^gan^gu=gulgu-wa-n^g" wu:=yama-na aba that (ANA) this (FSg) I will marry her_p they do that now an-uba-ni yij-gubulu, wiri:-'j=gubulu-wa-na. that (ANA) truth they make words true

We learned the words (customs, rules), from the old men. Here with our eyes, we see them. They do not go very deeply (i.e. they do not make big trouble about wives). They follow the new customs about obtaining wives. The men who marry women just say, "I will marry her." They say that, and they actually do it, it becomes true.

TEXT 74 WIFE BESTOWAL Yurumura

74.1 nu-ru, wa:-nun^ggu-nun^g-gubuy nu-ru, we (ExPl) Nunggubuyu people Nunggubuyu people we (ExPl) wara=promise-dhi:-' wuru=promise-dhi-n^yji:-na, they bestow them they promise (wives) to each other nu=promise-dhi:-' nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na:-'ngi-yun^g, na:-'ngi-yun^g he promises him that (MSg) father in law nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g nu=promise-dhi-n^y, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g that (MSg) he promised him that (FSg) niwa:-'n^gu=bura:-'yin^yun^g ana-promise, niwa:-'=jadha:-', he who sits for it (ANA) bestowal he is promised for it niwa:-'=jadha:-' n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yun^g na:-'ngi-yun^g that (FSg) his father in law nu=promise-dhi:-', he promises him

We, the Nunggubuyu people, bestow wives on each other. That one, the father in law (of the promised husband), he promised him (to deliver his daughter to him). That girl. The man who has been designated (as future husband). That girl. His father in law promises him (to deliver her).

Note: Actually, the bestowal itself is made by the girl's mother and mother's brother, who are in avoidance relationships to the future husband. The girl's father is obligated to raise the girl and see that she is delivered (traditionally, around puberty) to the pre-designated husband.

74.2 ni-yama=yama-na yin^gga n^gi-n^gari=n^gambara-ma-na, adaba he does that nearly she becomes adult now n^gu:=-yi:--, nu:=-yi: adaba wini=ya-ra, he gives her (error) he gives him now they (MDu) sleep n^gi=wiri-ga:::j wiri-gaj, yin^gga little-bit n^gi=n^gambara-ma-na when she is small when small nearly slightly she becomes adult yin^gga n^gi=run^ggal-ma-na, adaba n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gu=yuri:-' nearly she becomes big now that (FSg) he transports her a:-'n^ga-wuy, nu:=-yi: adaba na:-'ngi-yun^g yuwa:-gu adaba to camp he gives him now father in law there now na:-'nn^gina-yun-duj n^gu-wara:='radi-jga-na wini-yara=ya-ra at husband he raises her they (MDu) sleep

n^gi-yama=yama-na yin^gga n^gi=run^ggal-ma-na, adaba an^ga wini=ya-ra, she does that nearly she becomes big then camp they sleep
He (father in law) does that. Then she is getting to be an adult (i.e. reaching puberty), and he gives (her) to him. When she is still a child, but becoming a little bit adult (full-grown). Then he (her father) takes her to the camp (of her husband-to-be) and the father-in-law gives her to him. She stays there at the camp of her husband. He (the husband) raises her (until she is a true adult) and the two of them sleep in the camp. She is getting bigger and they sleep in the same camp.

74.3 n^gijan^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gi=lhamari:-'yin^yun^g
more that (FSg) she who comes behind
ana-mal-gadha:dhari-yin^yun^g, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^ga:-nun-daga-ragi-jun^g
of time after that (FSg) first one (FSg)
n^gijan^g n^gara:-'n^yba-jun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yun^g
more other (FSg) that (FSg) sister
n^gu-ga-gari=wann^ga-na, n^gijan^g ni-ga-wi-wugij n^gi=ya:-ri:
he begets her behind more (for) him only she goes
bu-gu-ni-wugij n^gijan^g,
only to there more

Then that girl (younger sister of the first) who comes behind her, at a later time. That first one, then her other sister; he (the father in law) has another daughter. She (the second one) also goes to the same place (same husband).

74.4 n^gijan^g n^gi=ya-ra, an^ga, wani=wulan^ybij-ga-na, wuru=wulan^ybaj,
more she sleeps camp he makes three they are three
wuru=wulalwulal yagu wuru=maran^g=any ja:bugij yagu win^gi=wula-wa:, they are four but they are one hand (=five) but they are two
war-ubu-ru-yun^g wuru-ga-gari=wann^ga-n^yji:-na, bu-gu-ni-wugij
those (Pl) they have more daughters to there only
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g wirin^ga-ga-gari=yuri:-' n^gi=raga:-'na-yin^yun^g
that (FSg) they transport her behind she who is first
She (the second daughter) also sleeps (at the husband's camp). Then he has three. There are three, then four or five, or maybe just two. The girl's parents keep having more daughters. They all go to the same husband; they (the parents) take her (each daughter) to where the first daughter is.

TEXT 75 AVOIDANCE OF MOTHER-IN-LAW Yurumura

75.1 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g adaba n^ga-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g
that (FSg) now his mother in law

n^ga-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^ga-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g,
his mother in law that (FSg) his mother in law
yagi ana-warubaj ana-warubaj yagi, ana-warubaj yagi n^gi=rumi-∅
not nearby not nearby not she will go
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g wini-ran^ggal=na-n^yji-∅ nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
that (FSg) they will see each other's face that (MSg)
na-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g, an-uwa:-gu-maji: ani=ya:-ri: an-uwa-ga:-'la
son in law if there he will go c from there
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la n^gi=ya:-ri:, ambini=raganma-n^yji:-na,
as for her from there she goes they will face each other c
an^gi-ran^ggal=n^garayi:-'
she will protect forehead (look away) c

That mother-in-law (or MoMoBrDa, etc.). His (a man's) mother-in-law. She should not get close to him; they should not see each other's faces (i.e. should not make eye contact). That son-in-law. If he (inadvertently) comes there (where she is), if she comes along and they (accidentally) face each other (briefly), she will quickly look away (to avoid the eye contact).

75.2 an^gi-ran^ggal=n^garayi:-', an^guna:-'dan^ggal=n^garayi:-'
she will protect forehead c she will protect forehead for him c
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-ran^g-gurumba-yun^g, yagi ana-warubaj
that (MSg) son in law not nearby
wini=raganma-n^yji-∅, malan^ga-n^yanay, ambini=ya:-ri:, they (MDu) will go
they will face each other far away as for him
n^gi-ga an^gi=ya:-ri: an-uwa:-gu an^gi=bura:-'maji: ni-ga:-'yun^g,
she she will go c there if she sits c as for him
janda-miri ambini=yi-n^yja-n^g, n^gi-ga
by means of back they will give each other p she
an^gi=buguwugunu:-'ma:-' ni-ga:-'yun^g.
she will face away as for him

She (mother-in-law) will look away from him, that son-in-law. They should not face each other at close range. They will go some distance away from each other. If she goes and sits over there, he (should go). They will turn their backs to each other. She will look away from him, and (so will) he.

TEXT 76 AVOIDANCE OF MOTHER-IN-LAW'S BROTHER Yurumura

76.1 ni-ga:-'yun^g nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, nu:-'bi-ni na-n^ganjali-yij,
as for him that (MSg) those (MDu) WiMoBr and SiDaHu
na-walya-wa:, nu:-'bi-ni *na-n^ganjali-gija, n^ganjali-yij,
two men those (MDu) WiMoBr and SiDaHu WiMoBr and SiDaHu

n^ganjal-yij, wu-gu-ni nu:-'bi-ni na-n^ganjal-yij,
 WiMoBr and SiDaHu they (MDu) those (MDu) WiMoBr and SiDaHu
 wu-gu-ni yagi wini=yambi-n^yji-∅, wu-gu-ni:-'yun^g, ba-gu
 they (MDu) not they will speak to each other they (MDu) there
 an^ybaj ambu:=ya:-ri:, a-ga:gu-yin^yun^g ba-gu an^ybaj ambu:=ya:-ri:
 other they will go_c of MoMo(Br) there other they will go_c
 yagu, a-banga-yin^yun^g ba-gu ambu:=ya:-ri:, ba-wa-yun^g mari
 but of SiCh there they will go_c they are there and
 ambu:=yambi-n^yji:-na,
 they will speak to each other_c

That man (the WiMoBr of another man). Those two, related to each other as WiMoBr and (the reciprocal,) SiDaHu. Those two should not speak (directly) to each other. Someone might go to another place, that of his MoMo and MoMoBr. Someone might go there, or to the place of his SiCh (sister's child). Someone might go there and speak with them.

Note: What I label here as 'WiMoBr' also includes such kinsmen as MoMoBrSo, and 'SiDaHu' also includes such kinsmen as FaSiDaSo. A man who travels to visit his MoMo(Br) is likely to find his 'WiMoBr-s' in the same location; although the visitor may speak to his MoMo(Br) and certain other kin without restriction, the 'WiMoBr-s' (as well as 'WiMo-s') must be avoided.

* The ending -yij seen in lines 1 and 2 is the regular dyadic suffix for kin-pairs. The synonymous ending -gi_{ja} is from the local creole and apparently reflects English 'together'. Some kin terms, such as banga 'SiCh' in the fourth line on this page (above), are also from the local creole; the Nunggubuyu for banga is marig.

76.2 wu-gu-ni nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g na-n^ganjal-yij, ambini=ya:-ri:-maji:
 they (MDu) those (MDu) WiMoBr and SiDaHu if they (MDu) go_c
 yagi wini=yambi-n^yji-∅, an^gga:='_{ri} ana-lha:wu,
 not they will speak to each other it will be absent words
 janda-wugij ambini=yi-n^yji:-na, ambini:-'_dagal=n^garayi-n^yji:-na,
 only back they will give each other_c they will look away_c
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g a-ga:gu-yin^yun^g ba-gu ambu:=ya:-ri:, ba-ni-yun^g
 as for them of MoMo(Br) there they will go_c it is there
 mari ambu:=yambi-n^y, ambu:=yambi-n^yji:-na
 and they (Pl) will speak_p they will speak to each other_c
 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, nu:-'bi-ni-yun^g, ni-ga an-u-gu-ni na:-'n^yba-jun^g
 that (MSg) those (MDu) he to there other (MSg)
 ambunu=yambi:-na ni-ga:-'yun^g, ambini=ya:-ri:-maji:
 they will speak to him_c as for him if they (MDu) go_c
 na-n^ganjal-yij yagi wini=yambi-n^yji-∅ an^gga:='_{ri}
 WiMoBr and SiDaHu not they will speak to each other it will not be

ana-lha:wu.
 words

If those two, WiMoBr and SiDaHu, go (and meet), they should not speak to each other. Words are not allowed. They should just turn their backs to each other and look away (avoiding eye contact). On the other hand, if someone goes to one's MoMo(Br)'s country, the two (e.g. man and his MoMoBr) can speak to each other. That man can speak to the other. However, if two men related as WiMoBr and SiDaHu to each other go (and meet, they should not speak to each other, words are not allowed.

Comments on texts 75 and 76

The strong avoidance relationships are between a man and his MoMoBrCh, MoMoBrSoCh, and MoMoBrSoSoCh, real or classificatory, since these men and women are potential wife-bestowers for him. (Strictly speaking, this is less true of MoMoBrSoCh, who are in the man's own generation, but the terminology is the same because of downward cross-generation skewing and the behavioral concomitants are also extended to some degree.) The relationship is much less significant in the case of two women; it is quite significant in the case of two men; it is most significant of all in the case of a pair consisting of a man and a woman, especially if there is an actual or definitely prospective affinal relationship.

The relationship is regulated essentially by shame and extreme deference rather than hostility. A man presents gifts periodically, through intermediaries, to important kinspersons in these relationships to him. In the event that a man accidentally stumbles into a close contact with an avoidance relative of these types, a compensatory small gift may be in order. The extent of avoidance/respect declines significantly when both parties are elderly; two men in the n^ganjal relationship can eventually sit and speak together in their old age, but maintain appropriate levels of deference and courtesy. Because the avoidance/respect system was traditionally closely bound up with the bestowal of wives, and because young men and women now usually pair up as spouses on their own (respecting only moiety exogamy and the like), the avoidance system has been gradually breaking down in the post-European period.

TEXT 77 BROTHER-SISTER AVOIDANCE Yurumura

77.1 nu:-'ba-gi na-ni-lhari-yun^g, na-ni-lhari-yun^g, mari
 that (MSg) brother brother and
 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yun^g, n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yun^g,
 that (FSg) sister
 an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-warubaj, ana-warubaj yagi na-walyi-n^yun^g
 that (ANA) nearby not man
 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni=rumi-∅ wara-min^y-n^gari-lhari-yu-maji:
 that (MSg) he will go if his sisters

ambura:='mbargali:-', wara-min^y-n^gari-lhari-yun^g,
they will sit together_c his sisters

That brother and his sister. That man should not go close (to her). If his sisters are sitting somewhere together, he should not go close to them.

77.2 yagi nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-ni-lhari-yun^g ni=rumi-∅ an-uba-gu
not that (MSg) sister he will go there
ana-warubaj ni=lha-n^gi-∅, ana-warubaj yagi ni=lha-n^gi-∅,
nearby he will stand nearby not he will stand
malan^ga-n^yanay ni=bura:-' yuwa:-gu, malan^ga-n^yanaj ani=lha-n^ga-n^g
far away he sits there far away he will stand_p
ani=yamba-n^g an-u-gu-ni ana-lha:wu, amban-i-yan=dhawiwa-n^g,
he will speak_p to there words he will ask them_p
yagi ana-warubaj ni=rumi-∅, wu-gu-ru wu:=yama-na, ana-law,
not nearby he will go they they do that sacred customs
wa:-nun^g-gu-nun^g-gubuy, nu-ru.
Nunggubuyu people we (ExPl)

That man will not go close to there. He will not stand nearby. He stays some distance away, over there. He will stop (stand up) far away and he will speak (to them). He will ask them a question, with words, (but) he will not go too close. That is how the Nunggubuyu people behave, us (the Nunggubuyu).

Note: By the age of around seven or eight, children are encouraged to form play groups chiefly with siblings or companions of the same sex; boys are eventually (i.e. after circumcision) sent to live in a bachelor's quarters away from their families. Brother-sister avoidance does not seem to have been as well developed for the Nunggubuyu as for groups farther north and south. In some Yuulngu (Murngin) languages, a man refers to his own sister as *midiku* 'no-good one', and the intensity of the psychological relationship of a man to his sister has been of anthropological interest since Warner's report that the man may spear his sister in a confused rage if any other man swears at her in his presence (Warner 1969:98ff.). My Mara informant likewise expressed displeasure at the lack of respect shown by the Nunggubuyu to their sisters.

TEXT 78 WIFE-EXCHANGE
Yurumura

78.1 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^gara-n^gari-mara-yun^g,
that (FSg) (woman's) daughter
n^gara-n^gari-mara-yu-maji:, n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yun^g
if her daughter his sister
n^gara-n^gari-lhari-yu-maji:, n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, ambirin^ga=yaba-n^g
if his sister that (FSg) they will bear her_p

n^gara-mani-n^yun^g an-uba-gu, mana-da:n-jin^yun^g, ba-gi-yun^g,
woman there of belly he is there
ba-gi-yun^g ni-ga:-'yun^g nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, ni-ga-maji: ambiuni:='-n^y
he is there as for him that (MSg) if he they give him_p
an-uwa-ga:-'la, ambiuni:='-n^y-maji:, ni-ga:-'yun^g n^gari-mara-yun^g
from there if they give him_p as for him SiDa
ana:-'ji:-'li ana-wungali wu:-n^gun^yju=n^gun^yju amban-i:='-n^y,
from here exchange they are equivalent he will give them_p
ni-ga ambiuni:='-n^y ni-ga:-'yun^g amban-i:='-n^y,
he they will give him_p as for him he will give them_p
ana-wungali.
exchange

Suppose that someone who is the true sister ('of the belly') of a man bears a daughter (the man's SiDa). Then if some people give that man (a wife), he will give them his new sister's daughter (as a wife for one of them). There will be an equal exchange, they will be even.

Note: There is an ideal of having men in the appropriate kinship relations exchange their sister's daughters, since a man has considerable influence in arranging the marriage of his sister's daughters. Two men arranging such a trade should ideally be in the relationship of MoMoBrSo and FaSiDaSo to each other (hence in avoidance relationship). Actual bestowal politics was actually rather more complicated than this simple exchange scheme indicates, and direct one-for-one trades were unusual. Typically, the giving of a woman from one group to another produced a strong but diffuse debt which would give the first group a strong claim to receiving a woman back from the second group as one became available later on, but this claim would not necessarily be implemented. Nowadays such exchanges are even more impracticable because the mission discourages pre-arranged marriages.

TEXT 79 WIFE-STEALING
Yurumura

79.1 nu:-'ba-gi-maji: ana:-'-gana=ma-n^g,
if that (MSg) he will seize (her) for him_p
ana:-'-gana=ma-∅-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na:-'n^yba-jung
if he seizes (her) for him_p that (MSg) other (MSg)
na-ni-lhari-yun^g-guy an-u-gu-ni, ya:-gi nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
to his brother to there he is here that (MSg)
na-ni-lhari-yun^g, yuwa-ga:-'la a:-'n^ybaj-gala-yin^yun^g,
his brother from there of from other (place)
ana:-'n^ybaj-gala-yin^yun^g-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ana:-'-gana=ma-∅-maji:,
if of from other (place) that (MSg) (see above)

*n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g ambini=ya-ra-yin^yun^g, ana:-'=jari:-na
that (FSg) they (MDu) who will sleep_c he will take (her) from him*

*an-uba-ni-yun^g aniwu=ma:ndhi:-' wun^ga:ri,
that (ANA) he will make it_c fight*

Suppose that a man seizes (the wife) of another man. He takes her from his (classificatory) brother (of another clan). That man is here, and that man from another country steals that woman, who is married to this man (they sleep in same camp). He takes her away from him. Then he (the husband) will make a fight.

79.2 *wun^ga:ri adaba aniwu=ma:ndhi:-' adaba ambini=wi-n^yji:-na,
fight then he will make it_c then they (MDu) will fight_c
ambini=wi-n^yji:-na nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g adaba, nu:-'ba-gi
that (MSg) then that (MSg)
an-uman^guman^gu=yin^yun^g ani=yarba-n^g, ni-ga yamba, ana:-'=gamaja:-',
about adultery he will run_p he because he will rob him_c
ana:-'=gamaja:-' yamba ana:-'=jari:-na n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
because he will take for him_c that (FSg)
ana:-'gana=ma-n^g n^ga-ra-n^garina-yun^g, adaba
he will seize (her) for him_p his wife then
an-uba-ni-yun^g wun^ga:ri, aniwu=ma:ndhi:-' ni-ga
that (ANA) fight he will make it_c he
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g *na:-'n^ga:-'bali-jung^g.
that (MSg) the owner of the camp*

Then he (the husband) will cause a fight. They (both men) will have a fight. That man, the one involved in the adultery, will flee then, because he will have stolen the other man's wife. There will be a fight, the proper husband (camp-owner) will make it.

* Root /-abal/ with /-an^ga-/ 'camp' as compounding initial.

TEXT 80 NAME-BESTOWAL
Yurumura

80.1 *nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji:, nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji:, n^gaya-maji:
if that (MSg) if I
n^ganu=lhama-n^g na-walyi-n^yun^g, ana-muwaj, an-uba-ni-yun^g
I will beget him_p man name that (ANA)
n^ganu=maya-n^g, na-n^gamuri-yin^yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, na-wiri-n^yun^g
I will call him_p of FaFa that (MSg) boy
adaba n^ganu-mij=gi-n^y an-uba-ni ana-muwaj, ana-muwaj
now I will give him name_p that (ANA) name name
ana-muwaj an-uba-ni n^ganu-mij=gi-n^y, yu:-gu-ni adaba
name that (ANA) I will give him name_p to there then
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-wiri-n^yun^g-guy n^ganu=lhama-n^g-guy,
that (MSg) to boy to him whom I will beget_p*

*n^ganu=lhan^garma-n^g-guy nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-walyi-n^yun^g,
to him whom I will find_p that (MSg) man*

If that man--, if I have a son, I will name him after his father's father. I will give that boy a name. (I will give a name) to that boy, the one whom I will have begotten, the one whom I will have found (i.e. begotten).

80.2 *n^ganu:-'n^y adaba ni-ga-wi, (interruption), n^gi-ga:-'yun^g
I will give him_p now (to) him as for her
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yu-maji:, n^gara-mani-n^yu-maji:
that (FSg) if woman
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gan^gu=lhama-n^g, n^gara-mani-n^yun^g yuwa-ga:-'la
that (FSg) I will beget her_p woman from there
ana-muwaj n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yun^g-gala, n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yun^g-gala
name from her FaSi
yuwa-ga:-'la, n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yun^g-gala yuwa-ga:-'la
from there from her FaSi from there
an^gu=maya-n^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g,
she will call her_p that (FSg) woman
n^gan^gu=lhama-∅-maji: n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g, yuwa-ga:-'la
if I beget her_p as for her woman from there
n^gara-n^gari-n^yina-yun^g-gala, an^gu=maya-n^g.
from her FaSi she will name her_p*

I will give him (a name). On the other hand, if I beget a woman (i.e. a daughter), her father's sister will name her. If I have a female child, her father's sister (i.e. my sister) will give her a name.

Note: In other words, when a child is born the person who chooses its name is its father if it is male, or one of its father's sisters if it is female. The name itself is normally that of a father's father (for male child) or father's father's sister (for female child), though it can also be taken directly from the set of clan songwords. In other words, the name-bestower and the ancestral namesake are both same-sex kinsmen from the same clan, in the first and second ascending generations, respectively.

TEXT 81 NAMING FROM SONGWORDS
Yurumura

81.1 *an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-muwaj, ana-muwaj, nu-ru, nu-ru
that (ANA) name name we (ExPl)
an-uba-ni ana-muwaj, ana-muwaj an-uba-ni-yun^g, ana-muwaj
that (ANA) name that (ANA) name
an-uba-ni-yun^g, nara=maya-na, a-wun^gubal-ala, a-wun^gubal-ala
that (ANA) we call them from clan song from clan song*

yuwa-ga:-'la nara=maya-na, a-wun^gubal-ala ana:-'n^ybaj, nara=maya-na,
 from there we call them from clan song other (ANA) we call them
 yuwa-ga:-'la a-madayin-gala, a-madayin-gala
 from there from (n. of secret ritual) from (secret ritual)
 n^gijan^g ana:-'n^ybaj ana-muwaj nara=maya-na.
 more other (ANA) name we call them

We (can) give them (new children) names from clan songs (public
 songs with didjeridu accompaniment). We can also give them names
 from songs associated with the Madayin ritual as well.

TEXT 82 I HAVE NAME FROM MADAYIN RITUAL
Yurumura

82.1 ana-muwaj n^gaaya, n^ga:-'ra=mayi:-'na, ana:-'ni
 name I I am called all this (ANA)
 na-yurumura-wan^g ana:-'n^g-gan^g, na-gungunmala-wan^g,
 (name) -Pl whatchamacallit-Pl (name) -Pl
 na-mamayina-wan^g na-liwurja, na-n^gadayn^gaday, na-wuraywuray,
 (name) -Pl (name) (name) (name)
 na-gungunmala, a-ru:1-in^yun^g, a-ru:1-wala--,
 (name) of (n. of ritual) from (n. of ritual)
 yuwa-ga:-'la a-madayin-gala, a-madayin-gala, a-madayin-jin^yun^g
 from there from (n. of ritual) of (n. of ritual)
 n^ga:-'ra-mayi:-'na mari a-wun^gubal-in^yung, wa:='ri
 I am called all and of clan song not
 ana-wun^gubal-in^yung n^ga=mayi-'-n^y ana-muwaj, a-madayin-jin^yun^g
 of clan song I am named name of (n. of ritual)
 n^ga=mayi:-'na, a-madayin-jin^yun^g.
 I am named of (n. of ritual)

I have several names which I am called by: Yurumura, whatchamacallit, Gungunmala, Mamayina, Liwurja, N^gadayn^gaday, Wuraywuray, Gungunmala, from the Ru:1 or Madayin ritual (two names for same ritual). I have several names from the Madayin ritual. And from public clan songs--I did not get a name from the clan songs. I am named from the Madayin.

Note: Yurumura's clan, the N^galmi (Nunggubuyu), owns a part of the local version of the Madayin or Ru:1 ritual. Among other things this means that the initiated men of this clan own both the secret and nonsecret songs associated with this ritual. These songs are very different from the didjeridu-accompanied public clan songs which all Nunggubuyu clans have; the Madayin songs are sung slowly, without didjeridus, and consist almost entirely of obscure song epithets (hence a virtual lack of recognisable morphology or grammar). Yurumura, in addition to his ordinary name, has several other ritual names which are taken from these song epithets. The ones mentioned here are from the nonsecret (but still sacred) public Madayin songs; he also has other names

taken from the secret Madayin songs, not revealed here. The secret names, and most of the nonsecret Madayin names, are never used in public to identify a given individual, and a man does not normally learn all his names (especially his secret ones) until after being initiated into the ritual itself. Names taken from the Madayin are, to Yurumura's point of view, more prestigious than names taken from the ordinary public clan songs. I was told that women do not have Madayin names (at least as their usual names).

TEXT 83 RITUAL NAME AS PROTECTIVE SHIELD
Yurumura

83.1 n^gaya ana:-'ni ana-muwaj, n^ga=mayi:-'na, wu=madayin,
 I this (ANA) name I am called it is Madayin
 yagi wara-wuruj, ana-wun^ga:ri-maji: ambu:=riyaldha-n^g,
 not people (WARA) if fight they will become angry_p
 yagi n^gambi:-'mbal=wadji-/, yagi n^ga:='rawali:-/, wu=yama-na
 not they will hit me on head not I will be bleeding it does that
 ana-law, n^gan^g=garawala-/maji: trouble amban^ggu=lharma-ni
 customs if I bleed_p it (ANA) will chase them_c
 a:-'n^ybaj-gala, from long-way country.
 from other far

I here have a name from the Madayin ritual (see preceding text). If there is a fight and they (people) get mad, the people will not hit me over the head (e.g. with a stick), and I will not bleed (because of being hit). That is how our custom works. If I bleed (because of receiving a blow), they (the villains) will get a lot of trouble from a far-away country.

Note: Yurumura is saying that because he has sacred names from the Madayin ritual, any severe injury which he might receive in a fight would be a kind of sacrilege (though it would not be if his names were from ordinary clan songs). If he were to receive a blow which drew blood, he is saying that the perpetrators would be punished in some fashion. By specifying a distant country, Yurumura means that he would not himself directly punish the perpetrators, but he and his clan-mates would call on distant kinsmen (probably those in the jun^ggayi or 'manager' relationship to his clan, namely men whose mothers were from Yurumura's clan).

TEXT 84 ORDINARY CLAN-SONG NAMES DO NOT PROVIDE PROTECTION
Yurumura

84.1 ana-wun^gubal-in^yun^g, ana-wun^gubal-in^yun^g wu-gu-ru, a:-da-nu:-'
 of clan song it (ANA) that (ANA)
 wu-gu-ru, wa:='ri, wu-nu-n^gu=gali^j, wu-nu-n^gu=gali^j, wu-nu-n^gu=gali^j
 it not it is fun (light)
 wu-gu-ru ana-wun^gubal-in^yun^g ana-da-nu:-', arbidi ambaru:='-ma-na,
 it (ANA) of clan song that (ANA) anyway they will kill them_c

wu-gu-ru ana:-'ni, ana-muwaj-maji: ana-ru:l-wala
it (ANA) this (ANA) if name from (n. of ritual)
an-uwa-ga:-'la, yagi wara-wuruj wara=wu-∅.
from there not people (WARA) they will kill them
That one (name) from ordinary clan songs is not (sacred), it is
just a light (fun) name. They can kill (hurt, hit) someone with a
name like that without any (ritual) trouble. If someone has a
Madayin (Ru:l) name, they cannot hurt (kill) them.

TEXT 85 WOMAN CANNOT (OPENLY) HAVE RITUAL NAME
Yurumura

85.1 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, ana-madayin-jin^yun^g ana-muwaj, yagi
that (FSg) of Madayin ritual name not
n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g n^gara-mani-n^yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la n^gi=mayi:-'∅,
that (FSg) woman from there she will be called
n^gi=mayi:-'∅ an-uwa-ga:-'la, n^gara-mani-n^yun^g n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g
from there woman that (FSg)
yagi wirin^ga=mayi-∅ an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-muwaj-gala,
not they will call her from there from name
wu=wa:n^g, wa:=n^ybaj wu=diyabala,
it is whatchamacallit it is other it is sacred ('dear-fella')
walyi-n^yun^g all-right, walyi-n^yum-bugij ani=mayi:-'na,
man only man he will be called
n^gara-mani-n^yun^g yagi n^gi=mayi:-'∅, ana-madayin-gala
woman not she will be called from (n. of ritual)
ana-muwaj.
name

That (i.e. any) woman cannot be called by a name from the Madayin ritual. They will not call her by that kind of name. It is too sacred. It is all right for a man, he can be called by such a name. However, a woman cannot be called by a name from the Madayin ritual.

Note: The sacred names are considered too powerful to be used to address or refer to a woman. My follow-up questioning on this point led to the following text.

TEXT 86 THEY CAN SECRETLY GIVE A WOMAN A RITUAL NAME
Yurumura

86.1 n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, ambirin^ga=maya-n^g --, ambirin^ga=maya-na
that (FSg) they will call her^p they will call her^c
all right, aba yagi n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g wirin^ga=mayi-∅
now not that (FSg) they will call her

wirin^ga:-'gadi-∅ ana-madayin-jin^yun^g ana-muwaj.
they will shout for her of (n. of ritual) name

They can give that woman a (ritual) name, all right, but they cannot call her by it (openly), they cannot call out to her (address her) with that (ritual) name.

TEXT 87 NICKNAMES
Yurumura

87.1 an-uba-ni ana-muwaj, wara-mulun^g-argi-yun^g, wara-mulun^g-argi-yun^g
that (ANA) name some (Pl)
wuru=mayi:-'na, wu-gubulu-windi:yun^g muwaj, ana:-'rgi-yun^g,
they are called real truth name some (ANA)
ana:-'rgi-yun^g wuru=mayi:-'na, wu-nun^g=arbidi,
some (ANA) they are called it is anyway (unrestricted)
wu-nu-n^gu=gali^j ana-muwaj wuru=mayi:-'na n^gijan^g,
it is light (not serious) name they are named more
wara-mulun^g-argi-yun^g, wa:=ri an-u-gubulu-maga: ana-muwaj,
some (Pl) not truth name
wu-nu-n^gu=gali^j, arbidi-yin^yun^g wuru=mayi:-'na,
it is light of anyway they are called
wu-nun^g=arbidi ana-muwaj ana:-'rgi wuru=mayi:-'na,
it is anyway name some (ANA) they are called
wara-mulun^g-argi.
some (Pl)

Some people are called by true names (bestowed in the proper fashion). Sometimes, though, people are called by names which are not serious and just come from anywhere (i.e. nicknames). Some people are called by just any name, not a true name.

Note: Everyone has true, properly bestowed names (taken from a clan song, a ritual song, a clan ancestor, etc.), but some individuals now are usually addressed and referred to by a name other than these true names.

TEXT 88 NAMING DOGS
Yurumura

88.1 war-uba-wi-yun^g wa:-landhurg, wa:-landha-landhurg
that (WARA) dog dogs
wara=maya-na, wara=maya-na, war-umu:-'muwaj,
they call them (WARA) named (Pl)
ama-gunabibi-yala, war-uba-wi-yun^g, n^gun^yju a-madayin-ji:
from (n. of ritual) that (WARA) similar like (n. of ritual)
wu:=yama-na war-uba-wi-yun^g war-u-muwaj wara=maya-na-yin^yun^g,
they do that that (WARA) named (WARA) which they name them

wa:-landhurg wu:=mayi:-'na,
dog it (WARA) is called

They (people) call those dogs by names. (Names) from the Gunabibi ritual, or sometimes the Madayin ritual. They (dogs) have those names, the ones which they (people) give them. Dogs have names.

88.2 yuwa-ga:-'la a-madayin-gala wu:=mayi:-'na,
from there from (n. of ritual) they are named

a-wun^gubal-ala wara=maya-na, a-ru:l-wala, wara=maya-na,
from clan song they call them from (n. of ritual) they call them

ama-gunabibi-yala wara=maya-na, *a-mandiwala-ala
from (n. of ritual) they call them from circumcision ritual

wara=maya-na, wa:-landha-landhurg, war-uba-wa-yun^g wu:=yama-na,
they call them dogs that (WARA) they do that

him really serious, war-uba-wa-yun^g wu:=mayi:-'na
that (WARA) it (WARA) is called

war-uba-wi wa:-landhurg,
that (WARA) dog

They (dogs) get names from the Madayin ritual (sometimes). They call them from ordinary clan songs, from the Ru:l (=Madayin), they call them from the Gunabibi or the circumcision rituals. They (people) give the dogs names. This is taken very seriously. That dog has a name.

* Noun-class error--should be ama- prefix.

88.3 him got ru:l, yagi wara-wuruj wara=wu: \emptyset ,
(n. of ritual) not people (WARA) they will kill it
yagi n^gijan^g, ana-badili, na-policeman-jun^g, na-policeman-ju-maji:
not more rifle policeman if policeman
an-uwa-ga:-'la ani=ya:-ri: yagi wani=wu: \emptyset ana-badili,
from there he will go_c not he will kill it (WARA) rifle
wa:-landhurg, ambani=wi-n^y-maji: war-uba-wa-yun^g ana-madayin-jin^yun^g
dog if he kills it_p that (WARA) of (n. of ritual)
wu:=mayi:-'na yagu ana-ru:l-in^yun^g yagu ana-wun^gubal-in^yun^g,
it (WARA) is called but of (n. of ritual) but of clan song
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-policeman-jun^g ambunu=ra-ya-n^g la:ma,
that (MSg) policeman they will spear him_p shovel spear
yagu ambuna='dhuga-n^g maragi.
but they will stab him_p knife

If a dog has a sacred name from the Ru:l (Madayin) ritual, no one can kill it. If a policeman comes (to kill some dogs to reduce the dog population), with a rifle, if he kills a dog that has a name from the Ru:l or Madayin ritual or from a clan song, they (the Aboriginal people) will spear him with a shovel spear or they will stab him with a knife.

Note: In discussing this matter afterwards, it became clear

that the retaliation for killing dogs was customary only for dogs with names from the Madayin (Ru:l), rather than those with ordinary clan-song names. Police used to come around and shoot dogs to control the population, and had some difficulties with the Aboriginals because the police did not understand that certain dogs were sacred. Dogs are affiliated with the clans of their (male) owners.

TEXT 89 PROCEDURE FOR PUNISHING KILLER OF SACRED DOG
Yurumura

89.1 nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g-maji: na:-'bali-jun^g
if that (MSg) if that (MSg) owner
wa:-landhur-jin^yun^g, ambani=yadha-n^g, yagi-maji:
of dog he will claim it (WARA)_p if not
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-policeman-jun^g aniwu=ma- \emptyset -maji:
that (MSg) policeman if he gets it (ANA)_p
ana-badili n^ga nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g anu=wi-n^y-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
rifle and then that (MSg) if he kills him_p that (MSg)
ni=mayi:-'na-yin^yun^g ana-madayin na-landhur-jun^g,
he who is named (n. of ritual) dog (MSg)
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na:-'bali-jun^g yagi-maji: nu=wu: \emptyset
that (MSg) owner if not he will kill him
na-policeman-jun^g, trouble anin^ggu=lharma-ni yuwa-ga:-'la
policeman it will chase him_c from there
wa:-jun^ggayi-yin^yun^g, ambunu='-ma-na,
of ritual managers they will kill him

If the owner of that dog, (the one who) claims it as him, if that owner--. When that policeman gets his rifle and shoots that (male) dog who has a name from the Madayin ritual, if the (Aboriginal) owner of the dog does not kill the policeman, he (the owner of the dog) will have a lot of trouble from his 'managers' (men whose mothers were from his clan).

89.2 adaba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g ni-ga na:-'bali-jun^g aniwu=ma-n^g-bugij
now that (MSg) he owner he will only get_p
la:ma anu=ra-ya-n^g na-policeman-jun^g, n^gun^yju
shovel spear he will spear him_p policeman similar
ni-ga:-'yun^g yagi-yun^g guyun^g wunu=lhamri- \emptyset ana-trouble.
as for him in order not they will chase him

Now that owner will get a shovel spear and will spear the policeman, in order that (those managers) will not pursue him (the owner) and (give him) trouble.

Note: Failure to punish the policeman would, in this instance, be a kind of sacrilege against the owner's own clan rituals and totems. The 'managers' (text 49) are the ones who punish such a man for a transgression against his own clan.

90.1 war-uba-wa-yun^y-jin^yun^g, wa:-landhur-jin^yun^g,
of that (WARA) of dog
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g-maji: anu=ra-ya-∅-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g,
if that (MSg) if he spears him_p that (MSg)
nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji: na:-'bali-jun-jin^yun^g wa:-landhurg
if that (MSg) owner's dog
anu=ra-ya-∅-maji: nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-policeman-jun^g n^ga
if he spears him_p that (MSg) policeman and then
ani=n^gawa-∅-maji: na-policeman-jun^g, an-u-gu-ni-maji: --
if he dies_p policeman if to there
an-uwa-ga:-'la-maji: ambu:=ya:-ri: wara-bu-bun^ggawa,
if from there they will go_c bosses

If that man, the owner of that dog (which the policeman has shot), if that man spears that policeman; and if the policeman dies; and if the bosses (i.e. higher police and court officials) come (to investigate), ... (continued in next segment).

Note: 'to there' in line 5 is an error and is corrected to 'from there'.

90.2 an-uwa-ga:-'la wara-policeman an-uwa-ga:-'la ambu:=ya:-ri:
from there police (Pl) from there they will go_c
mari wara-bu-bun^ggawa, ambu:=ya:-ri:-maji: an-uwa-ga:-'la
and bosses if they go_c from there
ambunu-yan=dhawiwa-n^g "a-yan^gi-yun^gguyun^g nunu=ra-n^g
they will ask him_p why? you speared him_p
na-policeman-jun^g", ambunu=yami-ga-n^g, "nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
policeman they will do that to him_p that (MSg)
na-landhur-jun^g anu=maya-n^y a-madayin-gala yamba
dog (MSg) he named him_p from (n. of ritual) because
yuwa-ga:-'la ni=mayi:-'ni, mari n^ganu=ra-n^g, ni-ga yamba
from there he was named_c and I speared him_p he because
nu=wa-n^g", yagi ana-jail-wuy ni=rumi-∅, ya:-ji-wugij
he killed him_p not to jail he will go only here
ani=bura:-'.
he will sit_c

If the police and bosses come from there, they will ask him (the owner of the dog), "Why did you spear the policeman?" They will say that to him. (He will answer,) "Someone named that (male) dog from the Madayin ritual. Because he was named that way, and because he (the policeman) speared him (the dog), I speared him." (Because the owner was within his rights,) he will not to go prison but will remain here (a free man).

Note: This text, like some of those which precede it, indicates ideal codes of behavior rather than actual statistical norms.

91.1 nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g na-landhur-jun^g ni=n^gawi:-'na, wa:=ri
that (MSg) dog (MSg) he dies not
ana-wun^gubal amburu=maya-n^g, arijbila-wugij, arijbila-wugij
clan song they sing only (place n.)
wiri=ma:jga-na, ni=mayi:-'na-yin^yun^g, wiri=ma:jga-na-wugij
they make it (ANA) he who is named they only make it
arijbila wi:ya!, wa:=ri ana-wun^gubal.
(place n.) finish! not clan song
(When) that (sacred) dog dies, they do not sing ordinary clan songs. Only at the place Arijbila (sacred burial site for the Ngalmi clan, to which this speaker belongs). They make it (grave), (for) the one (dog) who is named (from the Madayin ritual). Only at Arijbila. No clan songs.

Note: In other words, a sacred dog deserves a special funeral like that accorded to a significant ritual leader (text 54). Ordinary clan songs are not adequate for such a rite.

Animals and hunting techniques

92.1 arjambal, ⁿgar-ibi-yun^g bayir, ⁿgi-yama=yama-na:::
kangaroo his mother female euro it (N^EARA) does that
ⁿgi-yama=yama-na::: adaba da-ji Ø-ab-a:=^{'bum-dhi:-'} an-uba-ni
now there it has it (Eng. loan) that (ANA)
ana-gujuju, aba wu-gu-ru wu-wara:='radi:-' ya:-ji ama-da:n-duj,
baby (ANA) now it (ANA) it grows here in guts
wu-wara:='radi:-' adaba Ø=yaba-na, adaba wu-man=burda:-' aba
it grows now it bears it now it crouches now
Ø-yaba=yaba-na, Ø-yaba=yaba-na Ø-yaba=yaba-na Ø-yaba=yaba-na
it bears it
adaba wu=waradi:-' now,
now it grows

Antelopine kangaroo. A mother kangaroo. It (mother) does this, then it has a baby. It (baby) grows up here, in the belly (womb). Then it (mother) gives birth to it. It (mother) crouches down and slowly gives birth to it. Then it (baby) grows up.

Note: Milton has mixed two kangaroo spp. The antelopine kangaroo (*Macropus antelopinus*), known in Arnhem Land as the 'plains kangaroo' (though this label is elsewhere applied to a different sp.), is arjambal (ANA class) with anda:lburu (N^EARA) as the specifically female term. The hill-dwelling euro (*Macropus robustus*) is murbungula (ANA) with bayir (N^EARA) as female term. It is likely that Milton is talking about the antelopine kangaroo, so bayir should be emended to anda:lburu in line 1. Note also that Milton switches from N^EARA class to ANA class for 'female kangaroo' in line 4 ('it crouches'), influenced by the ANA class status of other kangaroo terms (including the class for 'baby kangaroo' in this segment).

92.2 an^yja:bugij an^yja:bugij ana-wa:n^g an-uba-ni-yun^g
one one whatchamacallit that (ANA)
ana:-'ji wu=bura:-', ana-lhiribala an^yja:bugij, Ø=yaba-na adaba
here it sits inside one it bears it now
aba n^ga wu-wara:='radi::-' ba-gu Ø-wun^yju=wun^yja-na,
now then it grows there it sucks it
Ø-lhan^gan^y=jabi-'-ga-na n^ga ba-gu wu-waln^ga:-'l=n^gu-yi:
it causes milk to go into it and then there it drinks
ba-gu ana-mi:mi, wi:ya! Ø-duguj=ba-n^ga-na mana-duguj
there milk finish! it bites (eats) fodder fodder
wi:ya! Ø-duguj=ba-n^ga-na mana-duguj,
finish! (see above) fodder

One (baby) at a time. That whatchamacallit (baby kangaroo) is there inside (the womb), by itself. It (mother) bears it and it grows and suckles at its mother's breast. It (mother) gives it milk, and it drinks milk. After a while it starts to eat fodder (grasses).

92.3 \emptyset -n^guyu=n^gu-yi: mana-duguj wu-gu-ru da-ji-wugij
it eats it fodder it (ANA) only there
wu-lhan^ga-lhan^gan=dhira:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-wa:n^g,
it milk-hangs that (ANA) whatchamacallit
ana-win^yig ana-wundan^y, wu-lhan^ga-lhan^gan=dhira:-' da-ji
small (ANA) young wallaby it milk-hangs there
n^ga ana-win^yig, wu-yama=yama-na::: adaba wu=waradi:-',
and then small (ANA) it does that now it grows

It (baby) eats fodder and still suckles at its mother's breast, that whatchamacallit, that small kangaroo. It sucks at the breast and does that, it grows up.

Note: Again Milton has mixed species, this time using a term for juvenile agile (sandy) wallaby (*Macropus agilis*); a more appropriate term here would be lha:nda 'young antelopine kangaroo'.

92.4 wu-yama=yama-na::: adaba wu=waradi:-' now yin^gga ba-ni
it does that now it grows nearly it is there
 \emptyset =ra-yi: an-u-n^gu-jir, adaba wu=garaji:-' aba yuwa:-gu
it builds it fur now it jumps now there
 \emptyset -n^guyu=n^gu-yi: wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g a-mada, a-mada, \emptyset -n^guyu=n^gu-yi:,
it eats it as for it (ANA) grass it eats it
a-mada aba \emptyset -n^guyu=n^gu-yi:
grass now it eats it

It does that, it (baby) grows up. Now it is starting to grow some fur on its body. Now it jumps (hops) around over there and eats some grass. It is eating grass now.

Note: The verb =ra- in line 2, here 'to build', is the same as =ra- 'to spear' in a different contextual sense.

TEXT 93 HUNTING WITH FIRE Ma:di

93.1 n^gijan^g ni:=lha:ga-n-di, ni:=lha:ga-n-di, adaba
more we (ExPl) set it_c then
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, wa:-'=badbir-ma:-' ana:-'ni aba wa:='ri
as for it (ANA) ground became dry_c this (ANA) then it was absent
ana:-'nbana wu:ja:du:gi:-'ni, n^gura, wara-wada:bir, nara=n^gu-ni
rain it was finished_c fire goanna we ate it_c
nara=wi-ni, wara-a:n^g, wa:lirag,
we killed it_c whatchamacallit blue-tongued lizard
an^yba-gan^yba-jin^yung nura:-'ra=wadja-n^gi, wara-waljurig,
of various others we killed all_c frilled lizard
yi:-dabulun, yi:-yanarag,
sand goanna (creole) young tree goanna

We also set fires (in bush, to hunt). The ground was dry, there had been no rain, it was finished (i.e. late in the dry season).

(We hunted with) fire. We killed and ate sand goannas, blue-tongued lizards, various things (which) we killed, frilled lizards, sand goannas, young tree goannas.

Note: Not all of these species were hunted by means of fire; Ma:di is speaking in general terms of the kinds of animals hunted in the mid and late dry season..

93.2 a:n^g, yi:-majbarwar, yi:-jalja, nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni
whatchamacallit olive python water python we ate all_c
yi:-lha:ma, nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni, ni:=na-n^ga:-'-yin^yun^g
young black-headed python we ate it all_c which we burned_c
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-n^gura, nura:-'ra=wadja-n^gi, wa:-lhudin^y,
as for it (ANA) fire we killed all_c mouse (WARA)
ni:=na-n^ga:-', nara=n^gu-ni da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj,
we (ExPl) burned it (ANA)_c we ate it (WARA)_c it is all along there
wi:ya!.
finish!

We ate lots of things--whatchamacallit, olive and water pythons, young black-headed rock pythons. We ate them all, we got them by setting fires. As for fires (set in bush to hunt animals), we got mice (including marsupial mice). We burned (fires) and ate them (mice), all of those animals. That is all.

Note: The object of 'burn' in lines 2 and 4 must be n^gura 'fire' because of the noun-class agreement, namely ANA(wu). The three python terms are NGARA, 'mouse' is WARA, and the collection of all animals (as in 'we killed all') is treated as ANA(\emptyset).

TEXT 94 FIRE GETS OUT OF HAND Reuben

94.1 nu:=yarba-n^gi, wiyindan^gan^y, niri=na-n^ga:-' ana-n^gura,
we (ExPl) ran_c (place n.) we (ExPl) burned it_c fire
niri=na-n^ga:-' nu:-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, niri=barawuda-n^gi,
we burned it_c we proceeded_c we threw it_c
wu=nagi:-ni, nu:-waya=wayama-n^gi::: niri=barawuda-n^gi, wu=nagi:-'ni,
it burned_c we proceeded_c we threw it_c it burned_c
nu:=yarba-n^gi, nu:-wuri=jabi:-'ni nu:=lha-y, a-wundan^y
we ran_c we had chests wrapped_c we stood_c young wallaby
adaba nura:-'n^g=garangga:-', a-wundan^y, nura:-'n^g=garangga:-',
then we looked around_c we looked around_c
We moved quickly. At the place Wiyindan^gan^y we set a fire (in the bush). We kept going and threw (burning stick) here and there, so that it (the grass) was burning. We kept moving along. We were wrapped up (i.e. had some protective covering for the fire and smoke over our upper bodies). We stopped there. We looked (and saw) a small agile wallaby there (running from the smoke and fire).

94.2 nu:=lha-y aba an-uwa-ga:-'la "wu::!"
we (ExPl) stood_c then from there (sound)
"wu-lhaln^y=jambi:-na an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-n^gura", wu-yiga=wayama-n^gi,
flame speaks from there fire fire proceeded_c
an-uba-ni-yun^g, "ay! ay! ay! wu=nagi-n^gun
that (ANA) oh! lest it burn!
wu=nagi-n^gun wu=nagi-n^gun wu=nagi-n^gun
lest it burn!

wu=nagi-n^gun n^gurao!" n^ga nu:=rilmurda-n^gi,
lest it burn! fire and then we (ExPl) ran_c

nuru=wayama-n^gi an-u-gu-ni ana-n^gura n^gawa:='ru-n^y,
we (ExPl) proceeded_c to there fire I abandoned it_p

We stood (not far from the fire). Then from there (we heard the noise of the fire,) "Wu::!" (Someone said,) "The fire is crackling over there, coming this way!" The fire kept coming. (Someone said,) "Oh dear! Watch out or it will burn (out of control), or you will fall down (and be burned)! Fire!" Then we ran away. We kept going that way, I left the fire behind.

94.3 xxx, "wu::!" wu=yama:-' ana-n^gura, an-uwa-ga:-'la
(unclear) (sound) it did that_c fire from there
nan^ggu=lharma-n^gi, ana-n^gura n^gijan^g wu=wirig, wu=nagi:-ni-yin^yun^g,
it chased us_c fire more it was small it which burned_c
an-uwa-ga:-'la wu-lhaln=jambi:-ni an-uwa-ga:-'la, malan^ga-n^yanay,
from there flame spoke_c from there far away
ba-ni:-'la, "wu::!" wu=yama:-', ana-n^gura, wu-lhaln=jambi:-ni,
there it comes (sound) it did that_c fire flame spoke_c
wu-lhaln=jambi:-ni, ana-n^gura, wu-yiga=wayama-n^gi an-uwa-ga:-'la,
fire fire proceeded from there
wu-yiga=wayama-n^gi an-uba-ni wuguwuguni,
fire proceeded_c that (ANA) permanent

The fire was howling. It came following us. The fire was fairly small, the one which was burning. The sound of the flames was coming from there. It was howling. The flames were making a sound. The fire kept coming from there, all the time.

94.4 an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-n^gura wu=nagi:-ni an-uba-ni-yun^g, mari
from there fire it burned_c that (ANA) and
wu=gara^gaja-n^gi niri:='mbalalha-n^gi, wu=yaldha-n^gi wu-yiga=yaldha-n^gi
it jumped_c we passed it_c it went past_c fire went past_c
an-u-gu-ni wu=yama:-', wu-yiga=wayama-n^gi ana-n^gura,
to there it did that_c fire proceeded_c fire
ana-bush-gaj nuru-bu=buri-∅, nuru-bu=buri-∅,
back in the bush we sat_c we sat_c

The burning fire was coming. Then it turned away, we got out of its way, it went past. It kept going that way. Back when we were in the bush.

94.5 ana-n^gura, a:-da-nu:-', wu-lhaln=jambi:-ni-yin^yun^g
fire that (ANA) flame which was speaking_c
wu=yambi:-ni xxx, wu-yiga=yabi:-'ni ana-n^gura xxx,
it spoke_c (unclear) fire went in_c fire (unclear)
ana-n^gura, xxx, "wu::!" wu=yama:-', ni=yama:-',
fire (unclear) (sound) it did that_c he did that_c
wi:ya!
finish!

That fire, the one which was making the noise. The fire went in. The fire was howling, like this (howls). He did that. That is all.

Note: This last segment is rather muddled and difficult to make full sense of.

TEXT 95 HUNTING EMUS AND KANGAROOS
Ma:di

95.1 wuru=ya-n^ggi wiri=yarada-n^gi, ana-wuru-wurugu,
they went_c they looked for it_c billabongs
ana-wurugu-lhama-lhamungur, wura:='rang^gga:-' n^ga
short billabongs they looked_c and then
n^gi-mungu-mun=gala-n^gi *n^gun^yju a-yan^gi, n^gara-wa:yin,
it (N^gARA) had foot visible_c similar what? emu (N^gARA)
They (people) went along heading for billabongs, short (small) billabongs. They looked, and there were the footprints of them (emus). A whole lot. Emus.
* n^gun^yju a-yan^gi is an expression meaning 'lots'.

95.2 adaba wu:_rulgul=ru^gulha-n^gi:::, ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^ga,
then they made shelter_c this side and then
ya:-ji-ji:-'la wu:_rulgulha-n^gi wa:='ri an^gi-mun=mun^ymulhi-∅-yala,
this side they made shelter_c not from where its foot lay
ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^gi=jalburda-n^gi-yala mana:-'di
this side from where it went into water_c path
man-uba-ma-yun^g, n^gi=yagamamaga, wura:='wa:='wan^ggi:-ni,
that (MANA) it (N^gARA) was out of area they listened_c
ba-gu n^ga wirin^ga:='jiguli-∅ aba wuru=wudhi-∅ a-mun^ggala,
there and then they waited for it_c then they perched_c tree platform
wuru=warang^gga:-' n^ga n^gubindi ba-gi:-'la, n^gi-man=jarba-n^gi,
they looked_c and then indeed there it comes herd ran_c
Then they made a shelter (to hide in). They made the shelter on one side, not where the footprints were, but on the other side near where the emus had gone into the water (to drink). That path (i.e. the tracks). They (emus) were not in the area at that time. They (people) waited in ambush for them, listening. They (people) were up in tree forks. They looked, and indeed a herd was coming.

95.3 *n^gi=wayama-n^gi a:-gugu adaba n^gi-yala=n^gu-ni, n^gi=wayama-n^gi it proceeded_c water then it drank_c it proceeded_c adaba jalbur! ya:-ji-ji:-'la n^gi-ga:-'yun^g jalbur!*
then go into water this side as for it (N^gARA) go into water ya:-ji-ji:-'la jalbur! aba n^gi-yala=n^gu-ni, n^gi=n^gambi:-ni this side go into water then it drank_c it bathed_c adaba, n^gi-yara=n^gambi:-ni n^gi=n^gambi:-ni adaba julub!, then all bathed_c it bathed_c then go in n^gi=yaljali:-'ni n^gi=yama:-' n^gi=n^gambi:-ni, n^gi=n^gambi:-ni, it shook self_c it did that_c it bathed_c

The emus kept coming to the water, and they drank. They kept coming and then one went into the water here, another here, another here. They were in the water, drinking. They went in and were shaking their bodies (to throw off water). They were in the water.

95.4 *wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji-ji:-'la arwar_u wuru=wudhi-Ø as for them this side on top they perched_c a-mung^gala-ala, wirin^ga=ra-ni, ana-la:ma an-i:-jin^yun^g from tree platform they speared it_c shovel spear this kind of thing ana-murn^gin^y, wirin^ga-nana=na-ni n^ga n^gi=rabi:-ni, n^gijang, shovel spear they saw it_c and then it fell_c more n^gara:-'n^ybaj wirin^ga=ra-ni, ba-gu-waj n^gi=rabi:-ni, n^gijang other they speared it_c there it fell_c more n^gara:-'n^ybaj wirin^ga=ra-ni, n^gi-riku=wulan^ybaj, other they speared it_c three were dead*

As for the people, they were sitting up in the trees on one side. They speared them (emus) with shovels spears, this kind of spear. They watched them (emus), and (saw) one of them fall. Then they speared another one and it fell there. Then they speared another one, so that three were lying there dead (or unconscious).

95.5 *adaba wuru-wunu-wu=na-n^ga:-', ma-lhanda=nagi:-ni, then they built campfire_c oven was burning_c wirin^ga-ji-jir=wanyja:-', n^gara-n^gari-n^gu-jir, wuru=walima:-' they pulled out its feathers its feathers (fur) they got water_c ana:-gugu wirin^ga=wurya-n^gi, wirin^ga-yarba=yar-bi-ni:::, water they poured on it_c they cleaned it off_c wirin^ga=yar-bi-ni wa:='ri an^gi=yaban-maga:-', they cleaned it off_c not it is dirt*

Then they (people) made a fire and an oven (with stones or antmound sections). They plucked out the feathers, then they got some water and used it to clean off the skin of the emus. They cleaned them so that they were not dirty on the outside.

95.6 *adaba ya:-ji wiri=dunbi(j)ga:-', mana-n^gu-dan, ana:-'man, then here they punctured it_c guts liver*

ana-n^gadan^gadag, ana-wara wiri=ma-n^gi, wuru-n^guyu-n^gu=yaba:-' spleen (?) lung they got it_c they put meat/fat in guts_c n^ga, wirima-n^gu=yudbiga:-' mana-ma-guwanim^a adaba, and then they cleaned out guts_c large intestines (colon) then wirima:=gamba:-' ma-gugulhanun^y, wirima=n^gu-ni, they roasted it_c small intestines they ate it_c Then they made an incision (in the belly area). They got the guts (general term), the liver, the spleen, the lungs. They put some meat and fat into the guts (i.e. the stomach). They cleaned out the large intestines. They also cooked the small intestines in the oven and ate them.

95.7 *n^gi-ga:-'yun^g wirin^ga:=gamba:-' n^gara-n^gari-gubulu, as for it they roasted it_c its body (N^gARA) wirin^ga:-'ga:=gamba:-' n^ga adaba wirin^ga=yirilibalaaa:-' they roasted it_c and then they cut it down middle_c wirin^ga=yirilibalaaa:-' wiri=barawuda-n^gi ana-lharbij, they cut it down middle_c they threw it_c thigh wiri=barawuda-n^gi ana-lharbij, they threw it_c thigh*

As for the main torso (of the emu), they roasted it (separately) in a large oven. Then they cut it open down the middle (from neck down belly). They threw one leg here, and the other over here.

95.8 *mari ya:-ji:-'li wirin^ga-wuri=jiririga:-' mana-man^gaj and from here they cut it down the front_c fat n^ga wirima-man^ga=ma-n^gi wirima-man^ga=ma-n^gi, wirima-ba=balhu:-' and then they got it (MANA)_c they cut it up_c n^ga wirima-lhara-lharin^y=ju-n^ga:-' n^ga and then they cut it into bits_c and then n^gara-n^gari-dhan^ggu-wuy, wirima-bu=bura-n^gi mana-man^ga:::j to its (N^gARA) meat they put it_c fat lhabara::: mana:-'n^ybaj ya:-nu:-'wuy a-lhabara::: mana:-'n^ybaj coolamon other (MANA) this way coolamon other yuwa:-gu ana-lhabara, aba wu:=yi-n^yji:-ni wirin^ga=n^gu-ni, there coolamon then they gave each other_c they ate it_c n^gara-wa:yin, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g n^ga emu as for them that (MSg) and then n^gu-rana=ra-ni-yin^yun^g wuna:='dalaga:ga-n-di, na:-'n^yja:bu-n^yun^g he who speared it_c they went with him_c one (MSg) da-ni-yun^g, it is there*

Then they cut it down the front. They got some fat and cut it into small pieces. They put the fat in with the meat, some in one coolamon (paperbark container), some in another. Then they shared it with each other, they ate the emu. Some went with the speaker.

95.9 *nijan^g wura:='gurgan^y ji:-ni, arjambal, wiri=wur-ga:-'*
 more they set fires_c kangaroo they set fires
ya:-ji-ji:-'la, ya:-ji-ji:-'la bandhara, yu:-gu-ni wu=yarba-n^gi n^ga
 this side middle to there it ran_c then
girjag! n^gura, ya:-nu:-'wuy wu=yarba-n^gi n^ga girjag! n^gura, ya:-nu:-'wuy
 no! fire this way then no! fire this way
wu=yarba-n^gi n^ga girjag! n^gura, aba n^gura-wugij an-u-gu-ni
 it ran_c then no! fire then only fire to there
wu=wadhang-a-n^y, araga araga ba-gu-waj-bugij, wuru=ra-ni,
 it filled area_p suddenly only along there they speared it_c
wuru=ra-ni, wuru=ra-ni, wuru=ra-ni, wuru=ra-ni,

Then they set bushfires; they made bushfires (to hunt) antelopine kangaroos. On one side they made the fires; it (kangaroo) was in the middle (of the fires). It ran over there but could not (escape), fire (was there). Similarly over this way, and this way. Fire was filling the whole area. Over there the people speared and speared it.

95.10 *ba-gu-miri aba wura:='gamba:-', wura:-'ga:='gamba:-' n^ga,*
 right there then they roasted it_c they roasted it_c then
wuru-da-dan=ma-n^gi::: n^ga, wuru=yirilibalawa:-', wura:='gamba:-'
 they got guts_c then they cut it in middle_c they roasted it_c
wuru-mundu=munduwa-n^y ji:-ni::: n^ga, adaba wu:-yi=yi-n^y ji:-ni n^ga
 they assembled_c then then they gave each other_c then
wuru=n^gu-ni, n^gara:-'nda:lburu, ana:-'rjambal, ana-lha:nda,
 they ate it_c female kangaroo kangaroo young kangaroo
ana-murbungula, n^gara-bayir, n^ga:-yarudu, ana-jidbiliri, ana-n^gargu,
 euro female euro female wallaby male wallaby wallaby
wuru=n^gu-ni adaba, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj ana-wur-jin^y ung
 they ate it_c then it is along that of bush fire
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g n^ga:-'ra-maya=maya-na, wura:='gurgan^y ji:-ni-yin^y ung,
 as for it (ANA) I call them all which they hunted with fires_c
wuru=n^gu-ni, ana-wurg ana-n^gura wiri=na-n^ga:-'.
 they ate it_c bush fire fire they burned it_c

They roasted it; they got the guts and cut it down the middle; they came together and shared it--antelopine kangaroos, euros, agile wallabies. All those they ate, I name them all, hunted with fires.

TEXT 96 COOKING KANGAROOS *Laran^gana*

96.1 *ana:-'rjambal, nu:=ra-ni, wa:-ridham^gu::: mari*
 kangaroo we (ExPl) speared it_c (n. of tribe) and
wa:-nun^ggu-num^g-gubuyu ana:-'ni wara:-'rawindi wara-garn^y irimba,
 Nunggubuyu (people) this (ANA) many (Pl) crowd

nu:=ra-ni, nura:-'ya:='yan^ganda-n^gi mana:-'yan^ga::: n^ga,
 we speared it_c we worked firestick_c firestick and then
ma=bu:la-n^gi nura:-'nam=biln^gin^y ja-n^gi,
 it smoked (MANA)_c we (ExPl) lit fire_c

Antelopine kangaroos. We (Aborigines) speared them. The Ritharngu and Nunggubuyu people (and other tribes) speared them. Lots of them (people). We speared them (kangaroos). Then we operated the firestick (or two-part firedrill) to make a spark with the firestick (firedrill). It (firedrill) was smoking (i.e. bits of dry leaves in the firedrill started to catch fire), then we set fire (to the larger campfire).

96.2 *nu:-rigi=riga-n-di nu:-yama=yama:-'* nura:-'na:-'nam=biln^gin^y ja-n^gi
 we (ExPl) dug_c we did that_c we lit fire_c
wa:-'ni=bada-n^gi mana-lhanda, nu:-yama=yama:-'
 fire (embers) burned well_c native oven we (ExPl) did that_c
nuru=bura-n^gi, adaba liba niri=ma-n^gi, liba,
 we (ExPl) put it_c then paperbark we got it_c paperbark
nuru=bura-n^gi nura:='gamba:-' adaba wu=wurag.
 we put it_c we roasted it_c then it was left alone
 We dug (in the ground) like that (making a small pit for the oven). We lit the fire (of the oven). The fire was burning fairly well then, the oven. We did that. Then we got some paperbark (and used it to cover the kangaroo meat). Then we put it (the meat) in the oven and roasted it (covered up with the embers, and either stones or antmound sections). We left it alone (to cook).

Comments on texts 92 through 96

There are a number of species of kangaroo and wallaby in the area inhabited by the Nunggubuyu. The two large kangaroos are the antelopine kangaroo, *Macropus antelopinus*, and the euro, *M. robustus*. The euro dwells chiefly in hills and is less significant for the Nunggubuyu than the antelopine kangaroo. The smaller wallabies are: agile (sandy) wallaby, *M. agilis*; the nail-tailed wallaby, *Onychogalea fraenata*, and the rock wallaby, *Petrogale* sp. All of these were hunted from time to time, especially the antelopine kangaroo and the agile wallaby. The most common technique was to set a number of grassfires in a large ring around the animals, who were confused and dumbed by the smoke and could be speared fairly easy. (Nowadays they are hunted with rifles.)

The emu is a large, flightless bird which tends to travel in herds. It is no longer frequently hunted, but in older times it was hunted using the technique discussed in text 95. Because emu herds tend to drink at the same place over a period of days or weeks, the secret was to detect emu tracks near a billabong; you could then set up an ambush.

Preparing kangaroos or emus for eating was a moderately complex matter. Normally the stomach was removed and cooked by itself, while some other internal organs were cooked separately; the main carcass was cooked in a large oven made on the spot in the ground.

I have collected a number of similar texts in other languages of the area (Ngandi, Dhuwal, Mara, etc.), and my text collections on these languages may be consulted for comparisons.

Because the Nunggubuyu were chiefly a coastal people for whom green turtles and dugong were major staples, the hunting of kangaroos and emus was a secondary source of meat.

TEXT 97 HUNTING GOANNA LIZARDS
Ma:di

97.1 wara-wada:bir-in^yun^g n^ga=magi:-'na, ana:-gugu a:-da-ni--, of sand goanna I will tell_c water that (ANA) ana:-'ni-yun^g wa:-_radhi, wari:-'jga-n-ji:, this (ANA) (dog's name, "Rusty") they take dogs hunting landhurg, wa:=yara-n-ji:, wara-ba=jijga-na dog it (WARA) smells it (WARA) it points to it landhurg, dog

I will tell about (hunting) goannas. That water (e.g. billabong). Rusty (speaker's dog). They go hunting with dogs. The dog smells (detects) it (goanna) and points to (indicates) it (to the hunter).

Note: 'sand goanna' is the large, common goanna in the area. There is no generic cover term for 'goanna', so wada:bir here represents, in effect, all goanna spp.

97.2 ana:-'rgi wu:=ya:-ri: wara=n^gujbi:-na some (ANA) it goes it drives it away wara:='lamalhi:-' xxx a-ran^ga-baj, da-ni-yun^g, it puts it up (in tree) (unclear) in tree it is there wara:-'rgi xxx wara-mara-mari=lharmma-ni n^ga wu:=murgulha:-', some (WARA) (unclear) it follows its marks and then it lies down Sometimes it (goanna) goes along on foot, it (dog) drives it up into a tree. That is how it is. Some dogs track down the goanna by following the trail, and there it (goanna) is, lying down (on the ground).

97.3 ana:-'n^ybaj, *wan^gga:-'=badawadad, mana-mariga ma:-da-ma other (ANA) ground will be firm SE wind that (MANA) ambi:=na-n^ga-na ana-n^gura, ambi:=lhayarbi:-na n^gun^yju they will burn it_c fire they will burn (grass)_c similar a-yan^gi yaga:, wu:=yama-na adaba wu-n^gangga ana-yimbaj what? Ø it does that then burrow today (now) wu:=riga-n-ji:, a:-'ban-baj wu=dhidi:-'na, w提醒-gara=yu-n^ga-na, it digs in ground it closes self up it digs out hole wara-goanna ana-yimbaj, today

Alternatively, if the ground is dry, at the season of the southeast wind (middle dry season), they (people) may set grassfires, lots of them. They do that now (at the present time of year). The goannas then dig burrows in the ground where they are concealed (to protect themselves from the flames). They dig out holes in the ground.

* /wan^ggu-/ variant of /an^ggu-/, ANA_b- prefix (for future tense); followed by /-aG-/ 'ground'.

97.4 adaba directly mal-dhamungu:::r then immediately short time

an^ggu-yigi-yiga-man^y ja=ma-n^yji:-na fires will get each other (double reduplication)_c ambiri=na-n^ga-na-yun^gguyun^g, ambiri=na-n^ga-na ana-mada-waj, so they will burn it_c they will burn it_c through grass mana:-'rn^yal ana-a:n^g, ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g ana-lha:1, spinifex grass whatchamacallit this coming (ANA) country wu-lhal-wara=wara:-' country extends crookedly

Then, a short time later, the fires will join up (in a ring, or partial ring). They (people) will be burning the grass, maybe spinifex grass (Triodia sp.), or whatchamacallit (other spp.). All along this area.

97.5 wara-wada:bir, lirag, yurman^ga, sand goanna blue-tongued lizard echidna amburu-wara=wadji:-', amburu:=-ma-na, mana:-'ma:-'la-yun^g, they will kill all_c they will kill it_c this coming (MANA) ana:-'ni::: w提醒=milga-n^y, ana-lha:1, an-uba-ni this (ANA) it (WARA) did it to all_p country that (ANA) ana:-'la, ana-murgumurguli-yin^yun^g an-uwa-ga-ga:-'la river of (place n.) that side ana:-'ji-ji:-'li:::, from this side

Goannas, blue-tongued lizards, echidnas (porcupines). They will kill all of those animals (using this fire technique). Along this place (beach). They (goannas) are found at all the countries, and at rivers, for example that at the place Murgumurguli. Over there and over here.

97.6 w提醒=milga-n^y mari wu-gu-ru ba:::gu-ruj they did it to all_p and it (WARA) there farther on w提醒=wilibilin^gi-n^y aba w提醒=wany baj-gi-'-n^y, wara-jurgubadu it (WARA) went around_p then it became other_p goanna sp. n^gijan^g wara-wada:bir-yi:, ba:::wi-ruj, more like sand goanna it is there farther on They (sand goannas) are at all the places. Somewhere a little

farther on, it went around and changed, the other big goanna sp. (*Varanus spenceri*). Like the sand goanna (*V. gouldii*). It (*V. spenceri*) is there, farther on.

97.7 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara:-'wa ana-wunumbi-yaj,
as for it (WARA) this (WARA) in the north
bu-jun^yun^g-bugij, wara-wada:bir, wu:=ya-n^ggi,
only that kind of thing sand goanna it went_c
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, wara:-'wa, xxx,
it (WARA) also this (WARA) (unclear)

As for this one in the north, the sand goanna type, it too went around. This type.

Note: Apparently *V. spenceri* (see 97.6, above) is found mainly to the south, while *V. gouldii* is common in this area.

97.8 an^gga:-'ra:='ri-ma-n^g wan^ggu=ja:du-gi-'n^y,
it (ANA) will become absent_p it (ANA) will become finished_p
*an^gga:-'=wulbul-ma-n^g ana-n^gura an^ggu-yiga=lha-n^ga-n^g
it (ANA) will become dry_p fire fire will stand_p
ambiri:-'=dhaln^gi jga-na ambiri=na-n^ga-na wara-wada:bir-waj,
they will set fire to it_c they will burn it_c among sand goanna
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, da-ni-yun^g.
it (WARA) also it is there

It (water) will disappear (from ground) and will finish up. The ground will be dry (in the dry season). Fires will start up, they (the people) will set fires in the area where goannas are. Finish.

* Contains /-a-/ 'ground', allomorph of /-aG-/.

Comments on text 97

Because the Nunggubuyu were mainly a coastal people hunting marine life, goannas were never a major part of their diet. However, they clearly hunted goannas from time to time and still do. When out looking for bush food, woman now sometimes take iron rods about half a metre long (or longer); these can be used to open up the entrances to goanna burrows or even to jab the goannas inside their burrows (the rods are also used to hunt rays on the beach). Men sometimes go hunting on land with their dogs, who are especially trained to detect goannas. The dogs sometimes succeed in treeing the goanna, making them easy prey for the hunter; at other times the dogs simply locate the goannas in their burrows and indicate the location to the hunter. As indicated at the end, goannas were also sometimes caught using the same fire-ring technique described in earlier texts dealing with kangaroos and other larger animals.

There are a number of goanna spp. in the area. In addition to the large sand goanna (of which the Nunggubuyu distinguish variants by color and maturity), there are various tree goannas, rock-dwelling goannas, and a water goanna.

Goannas (*Varanus* spp.) are large lizards, usually very long and slender. See also texts 25 and 26.

TEXT 98

FLYING FOXES AND OTHER FOOD

Ma:di

98.1 ma:='mbada-n^gi, ma:='mbada-n^gi, mana-ragala, ni=ya-n^ggi
it (MANA) burst_c paperbark sp. it (NA) went_c
na-malban^ggari nima=yara-n-di, n^ga nima=n^gu-ni,
red flying fox it (NA) smelled it (MANA)_c and then it ate it_c
nima=n^gu-ni mari mana-a:n^g, mana-liwa, n^gijan^g ma:='mbada-n^gi,
and whatchamacallit paperbark sp. more it burst_c
nima=n^gu-ni, mana-wirinbirin, wirinbirin mana-ma-muwaj, nima=n^gu-ni,
it ate it_c paperbark flowers named (MANA) it ate it_c
ni-ran=dharari-∅ adaba nima:='nma:-' ana-min^yn^gu,
its flock was visible_c then it looked for it_c night

The paperbark trees (*Melaleuca viridiflora*, stunted form) were in bloom. The red flying foxes (red fruit-bats, *Pteropus scapulatus*) scented the blooms and went there. They ate (the nectar). Also another paperbark tree (same species, straight tall form) was in bloom, and they ate its nectar (too). The paperbark flowers are called *wirinbirin*. They (flying foxes) ate them. The flocks of flying foxes were visible (flying around). They looked for the nectar at night.

Note: When paperbark trees are in bloom, they are usually descended upon by varied lorikeets (large parrots) in the daytime and by flying foxes (two species) at night. The odour of the flowers is sweet and quite noticeable. The flying foxes, which are simply large bats, spend the day quietly in a nesting area and emerge to feed at night.

98.2 mari yin^gga na-midi, ni:='mbada-n^gi, adaba ba-gi
and nearly paperbark sp. it (NA) burst_c then it is there
ni=yarawindi ni-ran=dharari-∅ yi:-midi-wuy,
it (NA) its flock was visible_c to paperbark sp.
ni-ga:-'yun^g, ni:-'la:='la:di, nima=n^gu-ni-yala
as for it (NA) it was bad (NA, plural) after it ate it (MANA)_c
yi:-midi-wala adaba ni:-'la:='la:di na-malban^ggari,
from paperbark sp. then it was bad red flying fox

Now another paperbark species (crooked form of *Melaleuca leucadendron*, common at Numbulwar) was in bloom also. At that time a lot of them (flying foxes) flew in a flock to that tree. As for them (flying foxes), they were not feeling good after eating the nectar of that particular tree. The red flying foxes were feeling bad.

98.3 adaba wini-ran=dharma-n^gi, wini=wi-ni
then they chased its flock_c they killed it (NA)_c
wini=n^gu-ni, wara-min^y-n^gambara, nu-ri:-'wuy, a:-da-nu:-'
they ate it_c elders to us (ExPl) that (ANA)

wara-wuru-wuruj-guy, da-ni-yung^g, na-malban^ggari,
to people it is there red flying fox
ma-yama=yama:::-' n^ga adaba n^gijan^g mana-wurugugu,
it (MANA) did that_c and then then more eucalypt flowers
nima=n^gu-ni na-malban^ggari, mana-wurugugu
it (NA) ate it (MANA)_c red flying fox eucalypt flowers
mana-man^gaj-bindiyun^g n^ga nima=n^gu-ni adaba, malban^ggari,
real fat and then it ate it_c then red flying fox
mana-wurugugu ma:='mbada-n^gi n^gijan^g, him footy-flower, da-mi-yung^g,
eucalypt flowers it burst_c more its flower that

Then they (people) went after the flying foxes and killed them and ate them. The old people, in our time, in the time of the (older) Aboriginal people. Red flying foxes. There were also eucalypt flowers doing that (blooming). The eucalypt flowers were really nectary, and they (flying foxes) ate them. The flowers were in bloom there.

Note: wurugugu applies mostly to the large flowers of the stringybark, Eucalyptus tetradonta, but can also apply to flowers of a few other eucalypts.

98.4 n^gijan^g ana-lagu-miri, adaba wu-n^gana=ju-n^gi:-'-ni,
more by means of honey then honey was produced_c
wurugugu adaba Ø-n^gana=ju-n^ga:-', mari madin^yjar,
eucalypt flowers then it produced honey_c and scrub trees
mari yambubug, mari a:n^g wirinbirin, ana-lagu
and flower sp. and whatchamacallit paperbark flower honey
n^gijan^g wu-n^gana=ju-n^gi:-'-ni adaba wuru=n^gu-ni,
more honey was produced_c then they ate it_c
wu-gal-gala:='ladhi-Ø adaba an-u-n^gu-galg, mana-wurugugu
bees stood across_c then bees eucalypt flowers
Ø-gal=galaga:-',
it makes bees excited_c

Now about honey. Honey (nectar) was made; the eucalypt flowers produced nectar. Also various scrub trees with bright flowers, and small flowering herbs (e.g. Comphrena sp.). Also paperbark flowers. Honey (nectar) was produced and they (people) ate (sucked) it. The honey bees flew in a line. The eucalypt flowers excited them.

98.5 n^gijang^g, ana:-'n^ybaj, adaba agalhal-alir, ana:-'galhal-alir
more other (ANA) then sun season sun season
adaba, mari an-uba-ga:-'la, adaba wuru=buri-Ø, mana:-'ma
then and from there then they sat_c this (MANA)
a:n^g adaba wuru=n^gu-ni, dalma:ran^g adaba
whatchamacallit then they ate it_c long-necked tortoise then
wara=n^gu-ni, lhunyin,
they ate it (WARA)_c file snake

Another thing. In the hot (sunny, dry) season. After that, they (people) used to stay (in a certain location). They ate this whatchamacallit (unclear). Then they ate freshwater tortoises and file snakes.

98.6 mari wu=lan^ggala-n^gi, ann^galbiya, dalma:ran^g
and fish rose to surface_c eel-tailed catfish tortoise
wura:-'dji=lharma-n^gi, mari wu=lan^ggala-n^gi lhu:ru,
they hunted freshwater game_c and fish rose to surface_c sleepy cod
ann^galbiya, mada, rilmin^yji, wuru=n^gu-ni
catfish freshwater long-tom fish spangled perch they ate it_c
warmin^g, wu=lan^ggala-n^gi, wu=n^gururuwa:-' xxx
Saratoga fish fish rose to surface_c it thundered_c (unclear)
anbana, wu=lhararma:-', n^gijang^g, an-uba-ga:-'la, wu-wara=rabi-n^y
rais fish were excited_c more from there it all fell_p
aba wargalg, xxx n^gijang^g wuru=n^gu-ni ana-n^guji, then puddle (unclear) more they ate it_c fish
Ø-man=dhulhuwa:-' ama-warajara, ma:='ra-n^gi, it surged in_c floodwaters it flowed along_c

Then the catfish rose up to the surface of the inland waters (this happens when the first major rains come in the wet season, and at this time these fish are hunted). They also hunted long-necked tortoises in the fresh water. The fish rose to the surface--sleepy cod, eel-tailed catfish, long-toms, spangled perch (known locally as 'bream'). They ate Saratoga fish. The fish were rising to the surface. The rain was pouring down, there was thunder, and the fish (who had been 'hibernating') were excited and rose to the surface of the water. There was much rainwater on the ground. They (people) ate fish. The floodwaters were surging along (as usual during the heavy rains).

98.7 mari wura:=ga:gi:-ni adaba wu=jalburda-n^gi
and they went backward_c then they went into water_c
mana-madhala-guy mari ba-ni-yung^g, mana-madhala-baj wuru=buri-Ø,
to beach and it is there along beach they sat_c
adaba n^gijan^g ba-ga:-'la ana-yu:l-wuy wura:='nma:-'
then more from there to bushland they looked for it
ama-madhala-gala, wuru=n^gu-ni ana-lagu, mari ana-a:n^g,
from beach they ate it_c honey and whatchamacallit
ana-marya aba wu-dhunu=dhunungarmi:-ni, mana-a:n^g, food then it bore fruit_c whatchamacallit (MANA)
ana-n^guru, (interruption), tree sp.

Then they (people) went back down to the coast and they stayed there on the coast. Then from there they went into the bushland (not far from the coast) looking for it (honey). They ate honey and (plant) food. A tree sp. (Malaisia scandens) was bearing fruit.

98.8 ana-n^guru, mana-wul^gulu^ggu, ana-lhungumada, ana-n^ga:raran^g,
 tree sp. tree sp. tree sp. tree sp.
 mana-lhalan^galhalan^gar, mana-lhunga, ana-wuyaran^gal, da-ni
 tree sp. tree sp. wild grape it is there
 aba Ø-anun^y=ju-n^ga:-' an^gana wu:wara=rabi:-ni-yala wuru=n^gu-ni,
 then it produced shoots_c rain after it all fell_c they ate it_c
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-madhala-baj, wuru=n^gu-ni, wara-wu:n^g,
 as for it (ANA) at beach they ate it_c black plum tree
 wara=n^gu-ni, ana-mun^yjuj, mana-wudba,
 they ate it (WARA)_c green plum tree cocky-apple fruit
 ana-wun^garagaga, ana-lhungumada, wu:-wara=n^gu-ni,
 tree sp. tree sp. they ate it all_c
 wu-wargal=galaldhi-Ø yin^gga, adaba ana-miral, wiri=n^gu-ni
 puddles floated_c nearly then grass potato they ate it_c
 miral, warda, wa:n^g, andi, lhawalala,
 grass potato yam sp. whatchamacallit yam sp. yam sp.
 wirima=n^gu-ni,
 they ate it (MANA)_c

(Fruit-bearing trees:) Malaisia scandens (n^guru), Glycosmis sp.
 (wul^gulu^ggu), other tree spp., Securinega virosa (lhunga), wild
 grape (vine, Ampelocissus sp.). It (grape) grows best after the
 rain has started to fall, and they (people) ate it then. They ate
 those foods from the coastal area. They ate black plums (Vitex
glabrata), green plums (Buchanania obovata), cocky-apples
(Planchonia careya), Antidesma ghaesembilla (wun^garagaga), and
one other tree sp. They ate all those. When there was rainwater
on the ground (wet season), they ate grass potatoes (Curculigo
ensifolia) and various yams (several spp. of Ipomoea).

Note: The list at the beginning consists of several shrubs
 found in low rainforest (not the high-canopy rainforest properly
 called 'jungle'). The three plum trees are more widely distributed
(counting cocky-apple as a plum). The yams mentioned at the end
are prostrate creepers with long edible roots. None of the spp.
mentioned in this segment were major staples.

98.9 adaba an-uba-ga:-'la, lhawumag, wulburu, wuru-wara=n^gu-ni,
 then from there yam sp. yam sp. they ate it all_c
 da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj ana:-'nbana-yin^yun^g wu-gu-ra:-'yung^g
 it is all along there of rain as for it (ANA)
 Ø-anun^y=ju-n^ga:-', ma=jirarja-n^gi, mana-mariga, wuru=buri-Ø,
 it produced shoots_c it (MANA) blew strongly_c SE wind they sat_c
 mana-madhala-baj, wuru=n^gu-ni an-ubu-jin^yun^g n^ga:-'ra=maya:-'yin^yun^g,
 at beach they ate it_c that kind which I named_c

After that they ate two yams, one long and one round (Dioscorea
spp.). All that in the rainy season, they (yams) produced shoots.
The southeast wind was blowing. They stayed near the coast and ate
the things which I have mentioned.

Notes: The southeast wind is dominant in the early part of the
dry season following the rains (i.e. while there is still a lot
of floodwater around). The two yams are a long thin yam which has
been referred to in the past as D. sativa var. sativa, and a round
yam known as D. sativa var. rotunda. There is little botanical
difference aside from root shapes. The round one must be leached
by soaking it in water before it is prepared for eating.

98.10 wuru=ma-n^gi wara-wu:n^g, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
 they got it_c black plum tree elders
 nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, warda, wiri=n^gu-ni,
 we (ExPl) ate it all_c it is along there yam sp. they ate it_c
n^ga:lig, wiri=n^gu-ni n^ga:lig, lhungumada, wuyaran^gal,
berry sp. they ate it_c berry sp. tree sp. wild grape
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, wun^gurudin, yiliwin,
it is along there wild banana wild orange tree
a:n^g, jin^ggulili, munn^gu, lhun^ggala:lur,
whatchamacallit conkerberry bush tree sp. tree sp.
miriran, wul^gulu^ggu,
tree sp. tree sp.

They, the old people, got black plums (see 98.8). We ate all of
those things. They ate a yam (Ipomoea sp.) and a berry (Solanum
sp.). Also fruits of a tree sp. and wild grapes (see 98.8). All
those things. Also wild bananas (Leichhardtia australis), wild
oranges (Capparis umberata), conkerberries (Carissa lanceolata),
Pouteria sericea (munn^gu), Mallotus nesophilus (lhun^ggala:lur),
Diospyros sp. (miriran), and Glycosmis sp. (wul^gulu^ggu).

Note: The last four spp. are shrubs or trees with small fruits,
mostly found along or near the coast.

98.11 da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj n^gara:-'nbana-yin^yun^g wu-gu-ra:-'yung^g
 it is along there of rain as for it (ANA)
Ø-anun^y=ju-n^ga:-', wa:='mbada-n^gi, adaba gari marya,
it produced shoots_c it (ANA) burst_c then having (creole) food
wu=yu-n^gi:-'ni aba marya, mana-lhan^gada wu-gu-ra:-'yung^g,
it was produced_c then food jungle (rainforest) as for it (ANA)
mana-lhan^gada-waj, wi:ya!.
at jungle finish!

All of those things produced shoots (flowers, fruits, etc.) around
the rainy season. They blossomed, then had fruits. The fruits
grew then. The ones in the rainforest. That is all.

Note: lhan^gada applies both to the dense, canopied coastal
jungle (as at Numbulwar) and to low, scrubby rainforest.

TEXT 99 HUNTING FLYING FOXES
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

99.1 malban^ggari ni-ram=barga-n^g, ni-ram=barga-n^g
red flying fox it moved in flock_p
na-malban^ggari:::, ni:ni=jaya-n^y wa:='di-n^y
red flying fox we (ExPl) shooed it away_p it shouted_p
an-u-mala ana:-'ni, yu:ga a-ji-ga:-'la, a:-'n^g-gala
sky this (ANA) Q from where? from whatchamacallit
yuwa-ga:-'la ni=ya-n^ggi, ni-ram=barga-n^g, ni-ram=barga-n^g
from there it went_c it moved in flock_p
na-malban^ggari, ni:ni-ran=dharmi-n^y, ni:ni-ran=dharmi:::-n^y,
red flying fox we (ExPl) chased flock_p
The red flying foxes came flying in a flock. We chased them away.
Something shouted. This sky. Where did they (flying foxes) come
from? They came from whatchamacallit, from over there. The flying
foxes came in a flock. We chased them.
Note: The transition between lines 2 and 3 of this segment
contains some unclear words, and the transcriptions themselves are
not certain.

99.2 da-gi, ni:ni-ran=dharmi-n^y da-gi, nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
it is there we chased flock_p it is there we went_c
nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi da-gi ni:ni=lhan^garma-n^y,
it is there we reached it_p
(imitates sound of flying foxes), ni=yambi-n^y da-gi,
it spoke_p it is there
malban^ggari malban^ggari, n^ga=widi-n^y, n^ga=widi-n^y
red flying fox I climbed_p
n^gani-wini=wi-ni n^gani-wini=wi-ni n^gani-wini=wi-ni
I killed it_c
n^gani-wini=wi-ni, wi:ya! n^ga n^ga=dhiridi-n^y, n^ga=rilmurdi-n^y,
I killed it_c finish! and then I went down_p I ran_p
We followed the flock of flying foxes and they were not far away.
We kept going. Finally we reached the area where they were (in
rainforest, etc.). We could hear them making their noises. The
flying foxes were there (not far away). I climbed up a tree, and
then another tree. I hit and killed them (with a stick). Finally
I came down and ran (to another tree).

99.3 n^gani-wini=wi-ni n^gani-wini=wi-ni n^gani-wini=wi-ni,
I killed it_c
na-malban^ggari, guririguriri ni=buri-∅, n^gani-wini=wi-ni:::,
red flying fox big crowd it sat_c I killed it_c
malban^ggari::: n^ga, n^gani-mulu-mulun^g=gaba:-' n^ga,
red flying fox and then I wrapped several up_c and then

n^gani-n^gal=wargu-ri-n^y, n^gani-n^gal=wargu-ri-n^y n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
I carried it on shoulder_p I went_c
n^ga:-'nja:='njarda-n^gi n^ga ba-ni mana-mangrove,
I went into dense scrub_c and then it is there mangrove trees
n^ga=rabali-n^y, n^ga:-'n^y ja:-'n^y ji=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga a:-'n^ga-ruj,
I came out_p I went with (it)_c and then at camp
I was killing them. A whole lot of flying foxes was there and I
was killing them (with a stick). Then I wrapped the ones I had
killed into a bundle (with paperbark) and carried them on my back
and shoulder. I went into dense scrub (to kill the flying foxes)
and came out. I went along with them and (put them down) at the
camp.

99.4 n^gani-yara-n^gu-dhan^y=bari-n^y ana:-'n^ga-ruj, aba
I dropped it all down_p at camp then
n^gani-mulum=balga:-', n^gani=jir-wi-ni.
I broke it (i.e. its wings)_c I scorched it_c
I dumped the bundle down back at the camp. I broke up the wings,
and briefly scorched the skin of the animals (to seal them up,
before cooking them in an oven).

Comments on texts 98 and 99

The two local spp. of flying fox (fruit-bat) are a large sp. with reddish-brown color, Pteropus scapulatus (malban^ggari), and a smaller, darker-colored sp., Pteropus gouldii (wangujba or wadun^ggu). All other bats are classified in a residual category; no distinction is made between cave-dwelling and tree-dwelling bats. The two fruit-bat spp., though the Nunggubuyu terms are in distinct noun classes, are clearly associated with each other, and in these texts the term for the reddish sp. is used as an implicit cover term for the two spp.

Flying foxes were only a minor part of traditional diet in coastal Arnhem Land.

Perhaps the most interesting ethnozoological point made in these two texts is Ma:di's suggestion (98.2) that one particular paperbark (Melaleuca) tree, M. leucadendron (massive, crooked form on old dunes) has a kind of drugging effect on the flying foxes which makes it easier to kill them. (I can attest that the flying foxes do not avoid this spp., since my caravan was under a grove of this sp. and since the shrieks of fighting flying foxes were conspicuous during evenings in the blossoming period of these trees.)

TEXT 100 EATING GREEN TREE ANTS AND HERMIT CRABS
Ma:di

100.1 n^gan^y=jambi:-na, lha:wu n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g, ana-yimbaj,
I will speak_c words mine today
yi:-mararan^y-jin^yun^g, nuru-bu=buri:::-', n^ga wini=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi
of green tree ant we (ExPl) sat_c and then they wanted it_c

war-uba-wi-yung^g wara-wuru-wuruj, adaba nura:-'ga=ragu-ni
 those (WARA) people then we went hunting
 nura:='ran^gga:-' da-gi ni-gulmum=budi-∅, nura:='ran^gga:-'
 we looked_c it is there its belly bulged out_c we looked_c
 yuwa:-gu ni-gulmum=budi-∅, nura:='ran^gga:-' ya:-gi
 there its belly bulged out_c we looked_c it is here
 ni-gulmum=budi-∅,
 its belly bulged out_c

I will speak some words now, of my own, about green tree ants. We stayed (in a camp) for a while. Then some of those people decided they wanted some of them (ants). We went around looking. We took a look, and saw its belly bulging out conspicuously here and there.

Note: Green tree ants are vicious stinging ants found chiefly in trees and jungle in moist environments (*Oecophylla virescens*). Ant colonies of this sp. form nests by tying several leaves from a tree (still attached to the branches) into a spherical shape, with the ant nest inside it. It is this spherical nest which is referred to by 'belly' here ('belly', in a derivational form, is also used for 'fruit, berry' in other contexts).

100.2 mari n^ga dar! ni:ni=n^gal=wagiwa:-', mari
 and and then break branch we broke it (NA) off_c and
 n^ga dulmurg!, nura:='n^yji=yarba-n^gi, mari n^ga
 and then run we ran with (it)_c and and then
 ama-lhagaya-guy, jalbur!, yu:-gu-ni aba ni:ni=n^gambi-jga:-',
 to saltwater go into water to there then we made it bathe_c
 ni:ni=n^gambi-jga:-' adaba mari n^ga ni:ni=wuyuda-n^gi,
 then and and then we rubbed it briskly_c
 ni:ni=wuyuda-n^gi n^ga, adaba ni-yara-gallha:='llha-n^gi,
 and then then it all floated_c

Then we broke off the branch, we broke the ants off (the branch). Then we quickly ran down to the saltwater with them and went into the water. We put the ants in the water. We were rubbing them in our hands. They were floating on the surface.

100.3 adaba na:-da-gu:-' na-maragari-jin^yun^g na:ni=n^gu-ni,
 then that (NA) dangerous, violent we ate it_c
 ni-ga-wi--, yi:-'ba-gi yi:-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g adaba ni:ni=n^gu-ni,
 it that (NA) big ones (NA) then we ate it_c
 na-mararan^y, wini=n^gu-ni war-uba-wi wara-wuruj-dhan^gu,
 green tree ant they ate it_c that (WARA) all people
 wara-mananun^g wara-walya-walya, ni:ni-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ni:ni=n^gu-ni
 women men we ate it_c we ate it_c
 aba na-mararan^y, wini-n^gal=wagiwa:-' ni:ni=n^gu-ni,
 then green tree ant they broke it off_c we ate it_c

Then we did (not) eat the vicious (biting) ones. We ate the big ones (the queens). All the people--women and men--ate the ants.

We broke them (i.e. the nests) off (from the tree) and ate them.

Note: I believe that negative wa:='ri should be inserted at the beginning as an emendation; the form of the prefix in 'we ate it' in line 1 of this segment, as well as the context, suggest this.

100.4 ana:-'rgi wa:='ri ambini=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi yagu wa:='ri
 some (ANA) not they wanted it but not
 ambini-n^gal=wagiwa:-', na-mararan^y, na:-'gi yaga:
 they broke it off green tree ant this (NA) ∅
 ano:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj wini:-'damar-n^gu=buri-∅, wara-min^yn^gambara
 long ago they loved it_c elders
 ano:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj, wara-old people, mari ana:-'lagala
 long ago and midway
 wa:-da-wi-ruj, mari ana:-'lagala wa:-da-wi-ruj, adaba
 at those (WARA) and midway at those then
 nu-ra:-'yun-duj, adaba ni:ni=n^gu-ni malan^ga-gan^yja:-'n^yja:bugij,
 at us (ExPl) then we ate it_c mainly one by one
 Sometimes they did not want the ants so they did not break off the branches (and eat the ants). Back in the old days, long ago, they used to like the ants a lot, the old people. In more recent times, in our day (i.e. among the older generation of living people), we used to eat them occasionally on an individual basis (i.e. there were no regular ant-hunting expeditions).

100.5 na:-'gi na-mararan^y, ana:-'rgi, adaba ana:-'rgi
 this (NA) green tree ant some (ANA) then some (ANA)
 n^yaran_c, yi:-n^yaran_c n^gijan^g, adaba n^yaran_c ni-ga:-'bilhan^gu,
 hermit crab hermit crab more then hermit crab it in turn
 mana-madhal_a-baj wini=na-n^ga:-', yuwa:-gu wuru=wiln^gin^yja-n^gi
 on beach they burned it_c there they built fire_c
 ya:-ji wuru=wiln^gin^yja-n^gi, yuwa:-gu wuru=wiln^gin^yja-n^gi,
 here they built fire_c there
 ya:-ji wuru=wiln^gin^yja-n^gi, balawudawuda, ana-n^gura,
 here huge fire

Sometimes (they ate) this green tree ant, and sometimes hermit crabs. Hermit crabs in their turn, as well. They (people) cooked them on an open fire on the beach. They built campfires over there and over here, great big fires.

100.6 wini:-'biln^gin^yja-n^gi-yin^yun^g, na-n^yaran_c ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj,
 which they built for it (NA) hermit crab it (NA) too
 mari n^ga ni-n^garan=dabala-n^gi niwu=yama:-'
 and and then it (NA) all came out_c it did that to it (ANA)_c
 ana-n^gura, aba wini=raga:-', wini-raga=raga::::'
 fire then they collected it_c they collected it_c

wini=ru-bi-ni, na:-'rgi ni=riga-n-di-yin^yung
they cooked it on fire_c some (NA) it which dug
wini:-'dharma-n^gi-yin^yung ni-bur=budi-∅-yin^yung,
which they chased for_c it which bulged

(The fire) which they built for the hermit crabs, them too. Then they (hermit crabs) came out (from the wet sand). They (people) picked them up and cooked them on the open fires they had built. Sometimes (they also cooked) the ones which sunk themselves into the wet sand, and which they (people) found by seeing bulges in the sand.

100.7 na-mararan^y ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj, wini=n^gu-ni,
green tree ant it also they ate it
ano::-ba-ni-yun^g-gaj, adaba ni=yama-na ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj
long ago now it does that it also
ni=yama-na na:-da-gi yagu wa:='ri ambini=n^gan^ybanda-n^g, wa:='ri
it does that that (NA) but not they want it not
na:ni=n^gan^ybanda-n^g, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara-mananun^g wa:='ri
we (ExPl) want it as for them women not
ambini=n^gan^ybanda-n^g, aba ara:-'mbalam-an-gaj-bugij nuru=n^gu-yi:,
they want it now back while only all good we eat it
wu=yama-na ana-yimbaj ana-lha:wu ana:-'ni, o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj
it does that today words this (ANA) long ago
n^ga wuguwuguni, wara-min^y-n^gambara-waj, n^ga nu-ri:-'wuy,
and then permanent among elders and then to us (ExPl)
ana-yimbaj, na-n^yaran, mari na-mararan^y.
today hermit crab and green tree ant

They also ate green tree ants, long ago. Nowadays they still do that (make nests, etc.), but nobody wants (to eat) them. We don't like them. The women don't like them, now that we have lots of good things (to eat). Things are like that nowadays. Long ago, in the time of the old people, and in our time (i.e. that of the present elder generation), (we ate) hermit crabs and green tree ants.

Comments on text 100

Neither green tree ants nor hermit crabs were ever significant parts of the diet of the Nunggubuyu. The ants, which are very abundant at Numbulwar Mission, are almost never eaten any more, and many of the younger and middle-aged people have never tried them.

Hermit crabs are still eaten occasionally. They are small crabs who take over an empty shell, such as a turret shell. They usually remain in the sand but emerge at certain times and can be collected in reasonably large numbers on the beach at low tide. The Nunggubuyu distinguish a predominant, smallish type (nYaran) from a larger type called wulharan^g.

TEXT 101 JUNGLE-FOWL (BIRD) Milton (Gabanja)

101.1 jadagag, jadagag, ni-yara=ya-ri::: aba yuwa-ga:-'la
jungle-fowl it (NA) goes then from there
ni-ga ni:='ndhadha:-' ni-ga:-'yun^g ni:='ndhadha:-', aba
it (NA) it sits up as for it (NA) it sits up then
niwa:-'ban=buduwudanijga-na aban aban, ba-gu adaba nu=yaba-na
it heaps up dirt dirt dirt there then it bears it
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, na-wirig a:-'ban-duj,
that (NA) small (NA) in ground

Jungle-fowl (bird sp.). It comes along from there and stops. It stops and heaps up dirt (making a hole in the ground with dirt piled up around it). Then it gives birth to a small one (lays egg) in the ground.

101.2 nu=wurdhi:-' adaba, na-ni-n^gu-gagalang^g ba-gu, a:-'ban-gala,
it buries it then its egg there from ground
aba niwa:-'ban=buduwudanijga-na ni=yama-na, ni=yama-na,
then it heaps up dirt it does that it does that
nu=wurdhi:-', nu-wurdhu=wurdhi:::-' n^ga aba ni:='nibi:-na
it buries it it buries it and then then it gets lost
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, adaba ba-gu ni-bu=bura:-',
that then there he sits

It (mother) buries it (egg) then. (It buries) its egg there, in the ground. It heaps up the dirt (on top of the egg) like this. It buries it, then disappears. That one (the baby bird in the egg) sits there.

101.3 ni-ga ya:-gi na-wujbi ni-ga:-'yun^g ya:-gi
it it is here female (NA) as for it (NA) it is here
na-walya, a:-'ni aba ni-nara=nari:-' o:-'ba-ni-yun^g
male this (ANA) then it waits for it that (ANA)
a-gagalang^g, yingga an-uwa-ga:-'la wu=lalagi:-'na an-uba-ni-yun^g,
egg (ANA) nearly from there it (ANA) gets up that (ANA)
an-uba-ni-yun^g wu=lalagi:-'na ana-win^yig, aba yira:-'gi-wuy,
it gets up small (ANA) then to this (NA)
yi:-ni-bibi-yun^g-guy, wu=ya:-ri: adaba nin^ggu-ga-gari=yuri:-' adaba
to its mother (NA) it goes then it follows behind it (NA) then
wu=waradi:-' adaba, na:-'gi-ruj, yi:-jadaga-duj, jadagag
it grows now at this (NA) at jungle-fowl jungle-fowl
na-ni-muwarz jadagag.
named (NA) jungle-fowl

Here is the female (the mother) and here the male (the father). They wait for that egg. Finally that (baby) gets up and goes to this one, its mother. It follows behind her. It grows up, and

now it is this, a jungle-fowl (mature one). It is called 'jungle-fowl'.

Comments on text 101

I will simply comment here on noun-class usage. This bird sp. is called *jadagag* (NA class), and the noun class is maintained in principle in all forms regardless of actual gender of the individual bird; male/female specification is normally by use of explicit adjectival nouns meaning 'male' and 'female' (101.3). The term for 'egg' of this species can either be a general word for 'egg', *gagalang*, in its normal form (ANA class, see 101.3, line 3), or can form a derivation and thus agree with 'jungle-fowl' as NA class noun (101.2, line 1). In this text, Milton starts out with NA class forms for 'egg' and 'baby' but then switches to ANA class.

Another feature of this text is the use of pronominal prefix *nu-* with verbs (101.1, line 3; 101.2, line 3); this normally requires 3MSg (human) object (and either 3MSg or NA as subject). We thus have human-like pronominal agreement here, presumably because the context (e.g. verbs like 'to give birth to' and 'to bury') normally involves human society. However, we are not dealing with 'personified' or humanoid beings (as in myth texts), and some clearly NA (not 3MSg) forms show up later in the text (*yira:-gi-wuy* and *yi:-jadaga-duj* in 101.3).

TEXT 102 STONEFISH Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

102.1 *ramurlhumurlhu, n^ga=lalalha-n^gi*
stonefish I speared fish_c I speared fish_c
ana:-'ni n^gujija, n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, n^ga=dhiridi-n^y,
this fish I went_c I went down_p
n^ga:='dadi-n^y, n^ga=ya-n^ggi, n^ga=jalburdi-n^y ala,
I went on shore_p I went_c I went into water_p river
a:-'la-wuy n^ga=jalburdi-n^y n^ga=lu:lhi-n^y n^ga=lu:lhi-n^y
to river I went into water_p I waded_p
n^ga=lu:lhi-n^y a:-'dadid, n^gani-mun=galhari-n^y na-ramurlhumurlhu,
shore it (NA) hurt my foot_p stonefish
n^gani:='dhuga-n^y na-ramurlhumurlhu, ana:-'ni, n^gani:='dhuga-n^y,
it stabbed me_p stonefish this (ANA) it stabbed me_p
finish!.

(I will talk about) stonefish. I was spearing fish (standing in the water, on the beach). I was spearing these fish. I went along, I went down (to the water) and back up on the shore. I went along, then went into the water (at another spot). I went into a (tidal) river and was wading in the water near the shore. Then the stonefish jabbed me in the foot. That is all.

Note: I had asked Reuben for a short text on stonefish and he responded with this hypothetical story. Had he actually ever

stepped on a stonefish he probably would have been dead in an hour or so. This fish remains in mud in shallow water (saltwater or brackish water near the mouths of tidal rivers), and is well camouflaged. It has spines in its back, and when annoyed it jabs the annoyer with these spines, which contain a poison. The sting is so painful that humans who step on one of these fish usually die from the pain and the shock. Young Aboriginals who live on the coast in this area are instructed to look out for stonefish and to learn to avoid them.

TEXT 103 GIANT CLAM Milton (Gabanja)

103.1 *yi:-nun^gga:ri, yi:-nun^gga:ri, a-wa:n^g ya:-ni*
giant clam whatchamacallit it is here
ni:-'n^yja-n^gu=bura:-' wa:n^g, wa:n^g n^gibagalharin^y mari
it (food) sits whatchamacallit (place n.) and
wiyayi, ni-yan^yja-n^gu=bura:-' yi:-nun^gga:ri yi:-'ba-gi-yun^g
(place n.) it (food) sits giant clam that (NA)
ni-ra-wara=wararadi:-'yin^yun^g yaga: ni-ra-wara=wararadi:-'yin^yun^g,
it which has crooked teeth Ø it which has crooked teeth
Giant clams (*Tridacna* sp.). It (edible) is here, at the places *N^gibagalharin^y* and *Wiyayi*. It (edible), giant clam, that one which has irregular 'teeth' (i.e. where the two parts of the shell meat when the mouth is closed).

103.2 *wini-n^guyu=n^gu-yi: yaga: yi:-'ba-gi-waj, mari*
they eat it Ø there it goes (NA) and
n^ga:ni-da-dan=ma-ni an-uba-gu n^ga:ni-rulbu=wada-n^g
we (InPl) will get its guts_c there we will tap its back_p
ana:-'ji mari ani=yama-n^g ani-ra=wawalha-n^g adaba mari
here and it will do that_p it will open its mouth_p then and
n^ga:ni-mana=ma-ni an-uba-ni ana-wa:n^g, mari
we will get it_c that (ANA) whatchamacallit and
n^ga:ni:-'dja:='djari:-' mari n^ga:ni=na-n^g good-tucker-maji:,
we will clean it off_c and we will burn it_p if it is good food
nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g n^ga:ni=na-n^g good-tucker-maji:, na-wa:n^g,
that (NA) we will burn it_p if it is good food whatchamacallit
na-nun^gga:ri, ambalamon na:-da-gu:-', ambalamo:::n.
giant clam good that (NA) good

They eat that (clam). We will get the guts (flesh). We will knock it hard on the back of the shell to get it to open its mouth up, then we get that whatchamacallit (flesh), clean it off, and if it is good to eat we will cook it on an open fire. That giant clam--it is delicious.

Note: This clam is also quite dangerous; it can crush a human hand or arm if its shell closes and catches it.

TEXT 104 HUNTING CROCODILES
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

- 104.1 lharagula, n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, n^ga:-lharagula
crocodile I went_c crocodile
n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^gan^gu=na-n^y, n^gan^gu=na-n^y,
I went_c I saw it (NGARA)_p
n^gan^gu=wa:lga-n-di, n^gan^gu=wa:lga-n-di:::, n^gan^gu=ra-n^g,
I sneaked up to it_c I speared it_p
n^ga:-lharagula, n^gan^gu=ra-n^g, n^ga:-lharagula n^gi=yarbi-n^y,
crocodile I speared it_p crocodile it ran_p
- Crocodile. I went (hunting for) crocodiles. I saw it, and quietly sneaked up toward it. Then I speared it. I speared the crocodile and it fled.
- 104.2 dhudabada, dhudabada-miri n^gan^gu=ra-n^g,
wire spear by means of wire spear I speared it_p
n^giwu-n^gul=wagiwa:-', n^ga:-lharagula, n^giwu-n^gul=wagiwa:-',
it broke part of spear_c crocodile it broke part of spear_c
n^giwu-n^gul=wagiwa:-' n^ga:-lharagula n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, xxx
crocodile that (NGARA) (unclear)
n^ga:-lharagula, n^giwu-wi-ni n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, (interruption),
crocodile it hit it_c that (NGARA)
- n^gi:-'da:-'du=ya-n^ggi n^gi:-'da:-'du=ya-n^ggi n^gi=yarbi-n^y, n^gar-uba-gi
it went (with) spear_c it ran_p that
n^ga:-lharagula, n^giwu-n^gul=wagiwa-n^y, n^gi-yama=yama:-',
crocodile it broke part of spear_p it did that_c
I speared it with a wire spear (modern spear with iron prongs). The crocodile broke off part of the spear (where the prongs branch out). That crocodile busted it. It (crocodile) went along with the spear (prongs) still in it. That crocodile ran along like that.
- 104.3 n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, n^gan^gu=n^gar-ba-n^g n^gan^gu=n^gar-ba-n^g,
I went_c I speared it_p
n^ga:-'ba:='baralhara-n^gi, n^ga:-'ba:='baralhara-n^gi n^ga
and then
n^gi:='nibi-n^y, n^ga:-'ba:='baralhara-n^gi n^ga-raga=ragu-ni:::
it got lost_p I poked around_c I looked for it_c
n^ga, yigaj! yuwa:-gu n^gi=julubi-'-n^y, n^ga:='ran^gga-n^y
and then there! there it jumped in_p I looked_p
da-gi n^gi=lhadbari-n^y, n^ga ya:-gi, n^ga=warga-n^g,
it is there it was partly visible_p and then it is here I threw_p
xxx da-gi, n^gan^gu=n^gar-ba-n^g, n^gar-uba-gi n^ga:-lharagula,
(unclear) it is there I speared it_p that crocodile
I went along and speared it (again). I was poking around (with a pole, trying to find it). It got lost (in water around mangroves). I was looking for it. Then I saw it jump into the mangroves. I

took a look and caught a glimpse of it (partly hidden in mangroves). I threw the spear, and speared it there, that crocodile.

- 104.4 n^gijan^g n^ga n^gan^gu=n^gar-ba-n^g, n^giwu-n^gul=wagiwa-n^y,
more and then I speared it_p it broke part of spear_p
n^gan^gu=n^gabara-n^gi n^ga:-'rga:='rgi:-ni wu=n^gardi-n^y,
I cut it_c I pulled it_c it was pulled out_p
n^gan^gu=n^yin^ygaldhi-n^y waragu-miri, n^gijan^g n^gan^gu=n^yin^ygaldhi-n^y,
I cut it on its nape_p by means of axe more I cut it on its nape_p
wi:ya! n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y.
finish! it died_p

I speared it then. It had broken off part of the spear. I started to cut up the crocodile. I pulled it (the spear, embedded in the crocodile) and it came out finally. I cut into the crocodile's back around its neck. Then finally it died.

Note: Crocodile hunting was not a major subsistence activity. There are two local spp., a large estuarine crocodile and the smaller and less dangerous freshwater (Johnston's) crocodile; both were hunted although the present text deals with the estuarine type. Although the Nunggubuyu clearly distinguish the two types, there is no lexical distinction and both are called lharagula (if necessary they can be distinguished by calling the estuarine type 'dangerous', maragarij).

TEXT 105 SHARKS, RAYS AND OTHER FISH
Ma:di

- 105.1 aja, wu=da-n^gi, ni:=ra-ni, marbidi,
shark sp. it bore young_c we (ExPl) speared it_c ray sp.
nu:=ra-ni, maninig nu:=ra-ni, rabarayala ni:ni:=ra-ni,
we (ExPl) speared it_c ray sp. we speared it_c ray sp. we speared it_c
wu=da-n^gi=yin^yun^g wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, ana-gadhuwa, nuru=n^gu-ni, yarba,
which it bore_c as for it (ANA) new we ate it_c ray sp.
manindhan^gu, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj
ray sp. as for it we ate it all_c it is along there
nu:=ra-ni,
we ate it_c

Small sharks. It (mother shark) bore (them). We speared them (young sharks). We speared various types of rays, the ones which they (their mothers) had borne, the young ones. We ate several kinds of rays, all those.

- 105.2 yambirgu, yagari, yibadun^ggu, mili,
parrot fish painted sweetlips fish mullet sp. mullet sp.
yimida:ri, walbalg, malawuru, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj
milkfish dart (fish) great trevally it is along there
nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni nu:='ra-ni-yin^yun^g, ana-dhurabada wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
we ate all_c which we speared_c wire spear as for it

mana-madhala-baj nuru=buri-∅, nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni,
at beach we sat_c we ate it all_c

(We ate) parrot fish (Choerodon sp.), painted sweetlips
(Plectrohinchus pictus), mullets (Mugil sp.), diamond-scaled
mullets (Liza vaigiensis), milkfish (Chanos chanos), darts
(Chorinemus spp.), great trevallies (Caranx sexfasciatus). We ate
all of those things, the ones which we speared, with wire spears.
We stayed along the beach and ate all of those things.

Note: This list of fish spp. consists of marine spp., including
both beach (shallow water) fish like mullets and some larger,
deep-water or shoals fish.

105.3 nuru=n^gadugumbi:-ni, yambirgu, n^gaja:lhuwa,
we fished with hook and line_c parrot fish trevally sp.
winjudu, wingarga, dhabidhabi, wurabadji,
golden trevally young barracuda batfish parrot fish sp.
yimawuru, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g nuru=guda-n^gi-yin^yun^g, ana-bigan^gi,
red emperor as for it (ANA) which we caught_c fishhook
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj n^ga:-'ra=maya=maya:-',
it is along there I named it all_c
nuru=n^gadugumbi:-ni-yin^yun^g,
which we fished with hook_c

We fished (for some kinds of fish) with hook and line: parrot
fish (see 105.2), a trevally (Caranx sp.), golden trevallies
(Gnathanodon speciosus), young barracudas, batfish, another kind of
parrot fish, red emperors (Lutjanus sebae). The (fish) which we
caught, (with) hooks, all those that I just named, the ones which we
got with hook and line.

Note: These are also marine fish, mainly deep water, including
some rather large spp. (the golden trevally is especially large).
Batfish, however, are common in estuaries.

105.4 waln^gari, catfish midhurun^gu, gingin,
salmon sp. fork-tailed catfish sp. catfish sp.
walmagara, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, nuru=buri-∅
fork-tailed catfish sp. it is along there we sat_c
mana-madhala-g nuru=n^gadugumbi:-ni nuru=n^gu-ni,
beach we (ExPl) fished with hook_c we (ExPl) ate it_c
Salmon (Eleutheronema tetradactylum), several spp. of fork-tailed
catfish. All those. We stayed (at) the coast, fishing with hook
and line, and eating (those fish).

Note: In local English, 'catfish' means 'fork-tailed catfish'
and is distinct from 'nailfish' (eel-tailed catfish). Of the three
spp. mentioned, midhurun^gu is a marine sp., while the two others
are primarily freshwater or riverine.

105.5 la:ygulhu, yiburdhiri, yirdhi,
fork-tailed catfish sp. (=la:ygulhu) (=la:ygulhu)

da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, dhuma:bina, maldhana,
it is along there coral trout groper
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj nura:-'ra=n^gu-ni nuru=n^gadugumbi:-ni-yin^yun^g
it is along there we ate it all_c which we fished with hook_c
nuru=guda-n^gi, na-nijura-waj, ana-nuga-waj.
we caught it_c around coral around rock
Also another fork-tailed catfish sp. (prob. Netuma thalassina).
All of those fish. Also coral trout (Plectropoma maculatum) and
gropers (rock cod). All those we ate, the ones which we got by
hook and line, (which) we caught around the coral shoals.

TEXT 106 HUNTING RAYS
Yurumura

106.1 wu:-yara=ya-ri: adaba wu:=ya:-ri:, yu:-gu-ni ama-lhagaya-guy,
they go then they go to there to saltwater

wura:-'lhaga=lharma-ni a-marbidi, n^ga an-uba-ni
they hunt ray sp. and then that (ANA)

wu:-yara=ya-ri: yagu wini=na-yi: wirin^ga=na-yi: du:mbi
they go but they see it they see it (NGARA) ray sp.

yagu rabarayala yagu marbidi,
but ray sp. but ray sp.

They (people) go along, to the saltwater (the sea). They hunt
for various kinds of rays. They see one of those rays.

Note: marbidi is a small ray with short, thick tail, probably
Dasyatis sp.; du:mbi is a light-colored ray said to lack a stinger,
often caught and handled by hand; rabarayala is a large, dark,
long-tailed ray sp. important in mythology (text 35).

In line 3, wini=na-yi: involves a noun-class anticipation
error (NA class, corrected in next word to NGARA class).

106.2 adaba wuru=ra-yi: an-uba-ni-yun^g, wuru=ra-yi:, adaba
then they spear it that (ANA) they spear it then
an-uba-ni-yun^g wuru=ya:rijgi:-na, wuru-yara=yarijgi:-na n^ga
that (ANA) they transport it they transport it and then
yuwa:-gu, wuru-wara=wulguldhi:-' n^ga, wuru-na-n^ga-na a-n^gura-wuy,
there they cut it all up_c and then they burn it to fire
an-uba-ni an-u-n^gaj wuru=n^gargiya-na,
that (ANA) fat (ANA) they pull it out

Then they spear that (ray) and take it (to the camp or a cooking
place). There they cut it up and cook it on a fire. They pull out
its fat.

106.3 wurugu wuru=buri:-' an-u-n^gaj yuwa:-gu, wurugu ana-raga-ragij
later they put it fat there later first (ANA)

wu-bangidi wurugu wuru=dhurma-na wuru-dhu=dhurma-na:::
 ray flesh later they mould with hands they mould it with hands
 g_a, adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g an-u-bangidi wuru=ya:rijgi:-na
 and then then that (ANA) ray flesh they transport it
 g_a yuwa:-gu, wuru=buri:-', adaba ana-raga-ragij wu-n^gaj,
 and then there they put it then first (ANA) fat (ANA)
 Later they put the fat there (in the fire). The first thing, the
 ray meat. They roll it in their hands, then they take that meat
 and put it in (the fire) there. That first, (then) the fat.

106.4 an-u-n^gaj wuru=ma-ni, adaba wura:-'ra=wulguldhi:-', wa:='ri
 fat (ANA) they get it then they cut it all not
 ana:-'rbidi amburu=balha-n^g, wa:='ri amburu=ma-n^g ana:-'rbidi
 anyway they cut it up not they burn it anyway
 ana-n^gura-wuy, wura:-'ra=wulguldhi::-' wuru=wuldhi:-', minha:ri,
 to fire they cut it all they cut it centre fat
 wu-midhiginda, mu:n, wuru=wulguldhi:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g
 fat next to centre fat outer fat they cut it up that (ANA)
 wu-muwaj, wu-muwaj an-uba-ni-yun^g wura:-'ra=wulguldhi:-'yung,
 named (ANA) that (ANA) it which they cut up

They get the fat and cut it up. They do not just butcher it up
 any old way. They do not just cook it any old way, throwing it on
 the fire. They cut it up (in a special way). They cut it up into
 three kinds of fat: a centre fat section, two intermediate fat
 sections on either side of the centre fat, and two sections of outer
 fat on the extremes. They cut up those things which I have named;
 they are the things which they cut up.

Note: The three terms for types of fat are used specifically
 for ray fat, although mu:n here is just a special use of the usual
 word for 'foot' (here ANA(θ) class instead of ANA(wu)).

106.5 adaba war:i:=-yi: yu:-gu-ni, war:i:=-yi:=-yi: n^ga
 then they give to them to there they give to them and then
 an-uba-ni-yun^g wuru=wajbari:-na wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uba-ni-yun^g,
 that (ANA) they choose as for it (ANA) that (ANA)
 after mari an-uba-ni-yun^g wuru=wulguldhi:-' aba an-u-n^gaj,
 and that (ANA) they cut it then fat (ANA)
 adaba wuru=lhin^yan^ga-na, wuru=ma:jga-na adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g
 then they make grease they make it then that (ANA)
 ma-n^gaj, adaba wuru=n^gu-yi:, wa:='ri ana:-'rbidi
 fat (ANA) then they eat it not anyway
 ambura:-'ra=wulguldha-n^g, an-uba-ni-yun^g an-u-n^gaj.
 they cut it all that (ANA) fat

Then they pass it out to the others. Everyone chooses (some meat
 or fat). Then they cut up the fat and make it into a grease-like
 substance. They eat the fat. They do not just cut the fat any old way.

TEXT 107

DRUGGING FISH Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

107.1 nura:='jaliga-na, ana-n^gujija, ana-yu:l-waj, ana-wurugu,
 we (ExPl) drug fish fish among bushland billabong
 nura:='ja:='jaliga-na::: lhan^ggi-miri nirima=walga-na:::,
 we drug fish by means of tree sp. we pound it (MANA)
 lhan^ggi, adaba nirima=lhalwulhi:-', nirima=lhalwulhi:-',
 tree sp. then we soak it (MANA)
 nirima=walga-na nura:='jaliga-na nirima=lhalwulhi:-',
 we pound it we drug fish we soak it

We catch fish by drugging them, in the bushland, in billabongs
 (ponds). We drug fish by means of cocky-apple tree (Planchonia
careya). We pound material from this tree and put it in the water.
 We drug fish.

Note: Chemicals from the tree have a stunning effect on the
 small fish in the billabong, who float to the surface and are
 easily caught.

107.2 nu:-yama=yama-na aba wu-lhagara=n^gawi:-'-na ana-n^gujija,
 we (ExPl) do that then it all dies fish
 aba ana-wa:n^g-gan^g, na-marbanan^g, ana:-'n^g ana-mada,
 then whatchamacallit (Pl) black bream whatchamacallit long-tom
 ana-wann^galbiya, mana-n^yuwar, ana-miliya.
 eel-tailed catfish sp. mouth almighty bony bream

We do that. Then all the fish die (or are knocked out). Those
 whatchamacallit (fish spp.): black bream, long-toms, eel-tailed
 catfish (Neosilurus ater), mouth almightyies, bony bream.

TEXT 108

FISH TRAPS Ma:di

108.1 wini-yanba:='nbi:-ni:::, na-ni-bal wini-n^garga=n^gargiwa:-',
 they did that to it (NA)_c its trunk (NA) they pulled it out_c
 wa:='ri na-ni-gambal, only ni-bal, wini-n^garga=n^gargiwa:::-'
 not its head its trunk they pulled it out_c
 xxx na-daran^ggi, wini-n^garga=n^gargiwa:::-' n^ga,
 (unclear) plant sp. they pulled it out_c and then
 yuwa:-gi-waj, wini=yaba:-' wini-n^garga=n^gargiwa:-' wini=yaba:-'
 there it goes they put it in_c they pulled it out_c they put it in_c
 wini-n^garga=n^gargiwa:-' wini=yaba:-' wu:=ya-n^ggi n^ga adaba
 they pulled it out_c (see above) they went_c and then then
 wini=rira-n^gi yi:-yalir-waj,
 they dried it_c around sun

They uprooted the trunk (stem), not the top, of daran^ggi plant

(unidentified reed or bamboo). They were uprooting those plants and putting them in (something) over there, drying them out in the sun.

108.2 ni=bujbuj-ma:-' ni-buj=bujbuj-ga-n^yji:-ni:::, adaba it (NA) dried_c they (NA) withered each other_c then ni=wadbir, adaba wini=ma:ndha-n^gi na-lhular, adaba it (NA) was dried then they made it_c fish trap then wini:='j-bi-ni wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni:::, wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni::: they weaved it (NA)_c they weaved it_c ana-wirig wa:='ri ana-run^ggal, wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni:::, small (ANA) not big (ANA) they weaved it_c wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni::: n^ga, *wini:='n^yga:-', and then they completed it_c

They (stems of the plant) dried and shriveled up. They were dried out. Then they (people) made a fish trap (a type of basket for catching fish). They weaved it together, a small one--not a big one. Then they had completed it.

* /in^yga-/

108.3 an-uba-gu na-ni-n^gu-bira-yin^yung wini-bira=aba:-', there of its anus (rear part) they wrapped its anus_c n^gijan^g n^ga wirig, na-ni-n^gu-n^gurudhu, n^gijan^g more and then small its small part more wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni:::, na-ni-n^gu-bira wini-bira=aba:-', they weaved it_c its anus they wrapped its anus adaba mabur-miri wini=rad-bi-ni, wini=rad-bi-ni, mari then by means of string they tied it_c and ya:-ji:-'la wini=rad-bi-ni, mari wi:-ran^ga=dad-bi-ni, here coming they tied it_c and they tied wood_c

They wrapped up the (massive) base (of the basket). Then they also did it to the finer outer parts. They kept weaving it. They wrapped up the base part and tied it up with string. They tied it up with string along here, and tied wood to it.

108.4 mari wiri-gara=wawalhi-jga:-', an-u-gul, an-u-gul and they opened up a hole_c fish dam wiri-gara=wawalhi-jga:-', adaba wu=yabi:-'ni na-marbunan^g, they opened up a hole_c then it went in_c black bream ana:-'n^galbiya, na-warmin, wa:=dalma:rang, ana-lhun^yin, eel-tailed catfish sp. Saratoga tortoise sp. file snake ana-mada wa:-lhu:ru, ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj, wu-n^gara=jabi:-'ni long-tom sleepy cod various others (ANA) it all went in_c adaba, nu:-'ba-gi na-lhular-wuy, then that (NA) to fish trap

They made a small dam with a hole (through which the water rushed rapidly), a fish trap. Then the various kinds of fish, including black bream, eel-tailed catfish, and Saratoga fish; also freshwater long-necked tortoises, file snakes, other fish such as long-toms and sleepy cods (mudfish), all went into the trap.

Note: wu-gul is the dam in the creek with the hole in it; lhular is the basket which the fish are trapped into as the water rushes them through the hole in the dam. Both wu-gul and lhular can be called fish-traps, but in different senses.

108.5 wu-yama=yama::::' n^ga ni=ya-y, wu=lalma:-', it (ANA) did that_c and then it slept_c it dawned_c wu-yama=yama::::' n^ga ni=ya-y, adaba n^gamugijgaj it did that_c and then it slept_c now early morning wini=yarada-n^gi wini=yarada-n^gi n^ga, adaba they went to see it (NA)_c they went to see it_c and then then xxx ni:='ndhar-wi:-'ni "n^yur::::!", (unclear) it (NA) filled up_c (sound)

They (fish) were doing that. Then two nights passed, and they (fish) kept doing that (getting caught in the trap). Early the next morning they (the fishermen) went to inspect the trap. It had become full (of fish), it was making the grunting noise.

108.6 yin^gga wan^ggu-maln^gu=na-ni an-uwa:-gu wuru=n^gala:ga-n-di-yin^yung nearly it saw their shadow_c there they who waded_c "n^yur::::!", ni=n^yurn^yurwa:-', adaba yu:-gu-ni wini:='rgi:-ni (sound) it (NA) made sound then to there they pulled it_c wini:='rga:='rgi:-ni wini:='rga:='rgi:-ni wuru=wulan^ybaj-gala, they pulled it_c from three wini:='rga:='rgi:-ni wini:='rga:='rgi:-ni n^ga yuwa:-gu and then there a:-'-badbir-uj, a:-'-wulbul-uj, mari wini=lhari:-ni on hard ground on dry (ground) and they untied it_c an-uwa-ga:-'la, wini=yaba:-'ala wini-lhara=lhari:-ni from there from their wrapping it_c they untied it wini-lhara=lhari:-ni wini-lhara=lhari:-ni, mari n^ga--, they untied it_c and and then Just as they (fish) saw the shadows coming of the men who were wading toward the trap, it (fish trap full of fish) made a grunting sound. They (people) pulled it until it was on the dry shore. They opened it up, where they had wrapped it up previously. They opened it up.

108.7 mari n^ga wu:=rarja-n^gi n^ga o:-'wa:-ni-waj, and and then they unloaded it (ANA)_c and then that going ana-n^gujija, nuru=n^gu-ni, dhid! aba wiri=dhida-n^gi n^gijan^g fish we (ExPl) ate it_c shut then they shut it up more

an-u-gu-ni, aba ni=garaja-^gi ana-a:y-wuy, na-warmin
to there then he jumped_c to nest Saratoga
ni=wuwalga:-',
it ran_c

Then they (people) unloaded the fish along there. We ate it.
They closed up that thing. Perhaps a Saratoga fish jumped away and
ran, to its nest.

108.8 wara-wuru j nu:-warga=wargu-ri-n^yji:-ni,
people (WARA) we (ExPl) carried each other on shoulder_c
na-lhular na:-'gi, wu=yabi:-'ni-yin^yun^g,
fish trap this (NA) which it (fish) went in (to)_c
wini:='j-bi-ni, ana-yimbaj ana-mal-jimbaj-duj aba nuru=malala:di,
they weaved it_c today in today's time now we are ignorant
all-right min^y-ngambara bu-ru-yun^g, wini:='jba:='j-bi-ni-yin^yun^g
elders they (Pl) are there who weaved it_c
wu:-lhagara=n^gawi-'-n^y, wi:ya!
they all died_p finish!

We went along carrying each other (i.e. carrying small children).
This kind of fish trap, into which they (fish) went. They used to
make it. Nowadays we (living people) do not know how to do that.
It was just the old people, those ones, the ones who made the traps.
They have all died. That is all.

TEXT 109 HUNTING AND COOKING RAYS
Ma:di

109.1 n^gijang n^ga=magi:-'na, a-n^guji ja-yin^yun^g, wuru=lalalhi:-'
more I will tell_c about fish they spear fish
wuru=warangga-na n^ga wu-lhalma-lhal=mun^ymulha:-', ana-marbidi,
they look and then it (ANA) lies on ground ray sp.
wuru-warga=wargalhi::::' wu:-raya=ra-yi:, wura:-'ra-n^gu=buri:-'
they spear it repeatedly they spear it they put it all
mana-madhala-baj aba wu:-rugu-wad=bari:-', wuru-bu=buri::::'
around beach then they drop it raw they put it

wu:-rugu-rugu=yarawa-na::: wu:-rugu-rugu=munduga-na::: n^ga,
they throw it raw they heap it up raw and then
I will tell another one, about fish. They spear fish (standing in
shallow water on beach). They look and (see) a small ray lying
there in the sand (under water). They throw spears at it. They
put them (rays) on the beach. They put them down, they throw them
and make a heap of them.

Note: Compounding initial -rigu- or -rugu-, related to the
noun digu 'raw', can mean 'dead, unconscious' as well as 'raw'. It
is common in contexts like this involving animals that have just
been killed or wounded and it need not be translated.

109.2 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj ana-manini:::g wu:-raya=ra-yi:
it (ANA) also ray sp. they spear it
wu:-raya=ra-yi: wuru-mundu=munduga-na::: n^ga yuwa:-gu arwar,
they spear it they heap it up and then there on top
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj n^gara-wariyil, wirin^ga-mundu=munduga-na:::
as for it (N^gARA) ray sp. they heap it up
n^ga yuwa:-gu arwar, ni-ga:-'yun^g xxx, ana-ga:mbuma:::
and then there on top as for it (NA) (unclear) ray sp.

wu:-rugu-rugu=munduga-na yuwa:-gu arwar, ana-yigama::: wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
they heap it up raw there on top ray sp. as for it
n^ga::: wuru-warga=warga-n-ji::: yuwa:-gu arwar,
and then they get plenty there on top
They also spear another small ray sp. and make a heap of it up
there (on the beach). They do the same with another ray sp. Also
another ray sp., they make a heap of it up there. Also another ray
sp. They get a whole lot of them up there.

109.3 da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj ana:-'ra-maln^gar, ana-lha:lha-jin^yun^g
it is along there small rays of recent (time)
n^ga wuguwuguni-wugij wu=bura:-' wu=man^gaj, ana-marbidi,
and then only permanent it sits fat (ANA) ray sp.
wa:='ri amburu=na-n^g, amburu=balha-n^g, a-n^gura-wuy-wugij
not they burn it they cut it up only to fire
*wu:-da=na-n^ga-na, ana:-'ji mana-gulmun^y-jin^yun^g wu=lhara-ma-na
they cook its guts here of belly it ripens
mari wu:=yama-na mara-miri *wu:-da=ralfa:-'na mari
and they do that by means of hand they open its guts and
wuru-n^gan^y=ma-ni an-u-n^gaj,
they get its fat its fat

All of those small and middle-sized rays stay there (in heaps),
recent or long-standing. They do not cook or cut the fat. They
cook the guts, the belly area, on a fire. When it gets done
('ripe'), they open up the guts by hand and take out the fat (and
some of the internal organs).

Note: Apparently all this means that the animal is cooked
briefly on an open fire before the guts and fat are removed.

* Both starred forms contain /-dan-/ 'guts' as compounding
initial. The second form is phonologically incorrect; it
should be wu:-dan=dalga:-'na with /nr/ → nd. The correct
form was given by the same speaker in the analysis section,
but it is possible that the 'incorrect' form is actually used.

109.4 adaba wa:='ri an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj ana-bush,
then not long ago bush (period)
wiri:-'na:-'ni=badi-ga:-' n^ga wuru=buddha-n^gi
they made fire burn_c and then they cooked it in ashes_c

a:-'ni-guy, ana-mar**bidi**, ana-maninig, n^gara-ga:mbuma,
to coals ray sp. ray sp. ray sp. (incorrect noun class)
n^gara-wariyil, wura:-'ra=wurdha-n^gi adaba nu:=dhurma:-',
ray sp. they buried it all_c then we moulded it_c
ana:-gugu-waj, adaba nura:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi yaga: a-rulwuj nuru=n^gu-ni,
among water then we went_c / shade we ate it_c
Long ago, in the bush time (i.e. when we were living in the bush),
it was not (like it is now?). They used to make a fire (with lots
of embers), and they would cook them--various spp. of ray--in with
the coals, partly covered. Then we would rub them in our hands
with water. Then we went with them to a shady place and ate them.

109.5 ni-ga na-rabarayala, na-rabarayala
it (NA) long-tailed ray sp.

na-n^gagara-yiriwu-yin^yun^g wini-warga=wargalhi::-' n^ga,
huge (NA) they spear it (NA) repeatedly and then
n^ga xxx mari *wini-wingidi=ya:yu-na, ana:-'-ji-ji:-'la
and then (unclear) and they cut up its meat this side
wini:-'n^yjabal=a:yu-na wini:-'n^yjabal=a:yu-na na-ni-jinag
they cut up its armpit its (NA) head
wini:='ru-na, rabarayala, ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj,
they abandon it (NA) ray sp. it (NA) also

As for long-tailed rays (a sp. of ray), the very big one, they
spear it. Then they cut up its meat. Over on this side, they cut
up its armpit region. They leave aside the head part. That
long-tailed ray.

* Contains a compounding initial related to /-wangidi-/ 'meat
of ray', and /=a:yu-/ 'to cut up'.

109.6 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj n^ga:-du:mbi, n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj,
it (N^gARA) also harmless ray sp. it also
wu:=yama-na *wirin^ga:-'n^ybal=a:yu-na *wirin^ga:-'n^yjal=a:yu-na,
they do that they cut up its armpit they cut up its shoulder
ana-yinag wu=wurag ba-gu ama-lhagaya-gaj an^yjabal-wugij
head it is left alone there back in saltwater only armpit
an^yjabal-wugij wiri=wana-ga:-'la, n^ga:-du:mbi
they hold it from there ray sp.
n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj, wu:=yama-na-wugij,
it also they only do that

Also there is a harmless ray sp. They (people) do that, they cut
up its armpit region and leave the head back in the sea. They just
keep the armpit region from there. That ray sp. They (people) do
that.

* Both starred forms contain (distinct) contractions of
/-an^yjabal-/ 'armpit' (cf. line 4 of this segment, and line
4 of 109.5).

109.7 da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj ana:-'ra-maln^gar, ana-a:n^g,
it is along there all small rays whatchamacallit
ana-manindhan^gu, wu:=yama-na wiri:-'n^yjabal=a:yu-na, m:::
eagle ray they do that they cut up its armpit (meaningless)
wa:-yarba, wu:=yama-na-wugij wara:-'n^yjabal=a:yu-na,
ray sp. they do that only they cut up its (WARA) armpit
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj, da-ni-yun^g.
it is along there it is there
All of those kinds of small and medium-sized rays. Also eagle
rays (*Aetobatus narinari*). They (people) do that, they cut up the
armpit part. Also another ray sp. with striped tail (possibly
Himantura uarnak).

Comments on text 109

It is fairly clear from this text that rays form a conceptual
category in Nungubuyu ethnozoology. The focal members are small
rays which can be found lying partly covered in sand in the water
off beaches and which can be speared easily. Probably mar**bidi**
is the ray par excellence in this sense and this term (applying
properly to a sp. of *Dasyatis*) can be used loosely to indicate all
similar rays. Next most focal is probably maninig, which is
apparently similar in size and behavior. The sp. called du:mbi is
similar but is said to lack a stinger (which is probably wrong,
technically). Shovelnose rays (notably lan^gij) are a specialised
category loosely affiliated with these. The cover term maln^gar,
which is not especially common, focuses on mar**bidi** and maninig but
also includes (to some extent) other smallish and mid-sized rays.
These range upward in size; rabarayala (with a long or whip tail)
can get fairly large, while eagle rays and manta (devil) rays
(arbarbira, not mentioned in this text) are so big they are rarely
hunted. The term wabidi, also rather uncommon, can apply as a
cover term for these large spp.

TEXT 110 FISHING IN CREEK
Ma:di

110.1 wuru=waran^gga:-' n^ga wu-malan^y=gala-n^gi ana-n^gujija,
they looked_c and then its fin was visible_c fish
ana-yibuwa, ana-langaj, ana:-'dhagag, wu=rayiba:-'
mullet sp. mullet sp. young bony bream it splashed around_c
ana:-'la:-'la-wura:yun^g, wirima-raga-raga=wanyja:-'
small rivers they pulled up (grass for) fish trap
wirimia-raga-raga=wanyja:-' wirima-raga-raga=wanyja:-' n^ga,
and then
ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-run^ggal yuwa:-gu adaba wirima:='ndhaga:-',
as for it (MANA) big (MANA) there then they set it out_c

They (people) took a look. The fins of fish were visible--mullets, small bony bream. They were splashing around in the water, in small creeks. They (people) pulled up (reeds, etc.) to make a fish trap (across the creek). They set it out, a big one.

- 110.2 wura:-'dhida-n^gi ana:-'la, yuwa:::ga:-'la
they closed (it) off for it_c river from there
- aba wuru=waga-n-di wuru-waga=aga-n-di
then they dammed up (fish)_c they dammed up (fish)_c
- wuru-waga=aga-n-di, wuru=jurjurgi:-ni wan^ggu=walga:-'
they pushed it_c it banged against them_c
- an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-lha:l Ø-raga=walga:-'
from there country it banged against fish trap_c
- wuru:::jur=jurjurgi:-ni wuru-jur=jurjurgi:-ni wuru=wi-ni ana:-'rgi
they pushed it_c they hit it_c some
- ana:-'rgi wuru=wi-ni xxx wuru-jur=jurjurgi:-ni
some they hit it_c (unclear) they pushed it_c
- aba an-uwa:-gu xxx mana-ma-gul-uj, wuru=lha-Ø-ruj,
then there (unclear) in fish trap where they stood_c
- They blocked the river for those fish. Then from over there they (the women) came downstream in the water walking toward the dam (driving the fish toward the dam). They (fish) bumped into them in that place, and bumped into the dam (fish trap). They (the women) kept driving them (fish) forward, hitting them (some of them) and pushing some forward. There at the trap, where they (the men) stood waiting.
- 110.3 adaba wu=yambi-n^y aba wu=warar-bi-ni-yin^yun^g ana-lha:l,
then it spoke_p then it which jumped_c country
- wan^ggu=walga:-', wu:-yama=yama::-' n^ga adaba wirima=rad-bi-ni
it bumped them_c they did that_c and then then they tied it_c
- dad!, aba wuru=buri-Ø an-uwa-ga:-'la wuru=mara-n^gi
tie then they sat_c from there they squatted in creek_c
- wuru=mara-n^gi ya:-ji:-'la aba wuru=rayiba:-',
here coming then they hit it with stick_c
- wuru=warga-n-di wara-wuruj, wu:-warga=wargu-ri-n^yji:-ni,
they got plenty_c people (WARA) they carried each other_c
- ana-n^guji ja wuru=warga-n-di-yin^yun^g ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-maraga
fish which they collected_c as for it (MANA) fish trap
- wuru=waga-n-di-yin^yun^g mari wuru=lharga:-'yin^yun^g,
which they pushed into trap_c and which they blocked_c
- Then they (fish) made noises and jumped around at that place. They bumped against them (people). They (people) did that and tied up (the trap). Then they squatted down in the (shallow) water and hit the fish with sticks. They got a lot of fish. They carried (fish), the fish which they got by pushing them and blocking them.

110.4 wuru=warga-n-di, nuru=n^gu-ni, wara-wuruj, wu=yi:wula-n^gi
they got lots_c we ate it_c people it cooked_c

wu=yi:nan^gan^yji:-ni ana-n^guji ja, nuru=n^gu-ni adaba nuru-bu=buri-Ø
it cooked_c fish we ate it_c then we sat_c

war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-min^y-n^gambara adaba ana-yimbaj wa:='ri,
those (WARA) elders now today not

na:mbu=bura-n^ga-n^g adaba ma=dhidi:-'ni,
we sit now it covered itself_c

nuru-waga=waga-n-di-yin^yun^g mana-ma-gul, wi:ya!.
which we drove to fish trap_c fish trap finish!

They got a lot of them (fish). We ate them. The people. They (fish) were cooking on an open fire, and we ate them. We stayed (in the bush). Those old people (did that). Not these days, we do not stay (there). That thing (fish traps) is no longer in use, the kind of fish trap which we drove fish into. That is all.

Comments on text 110

This text is related to the subject matter in text 108, told by the same speaker. In the present text more emphasis is placed on the process of driving the fish toward the trap, where they are caught in a basket or net as explained in text 108. The term ma-gul (or wu-gul) refers specifically to the fixed dam set across the creek to block the fish and force them through the channel containing the basket. The term maraga (optionally segmentable as ma-raga, though this is phonologically irregular--we expect *ma-daga) applies specifically to moveable materials held manually by the women, who start some distance upstream from the dam and then move in a line (extending across the stream) toward the dam. The women's bodies, along with the materials (branches, etc.) which they have with them, propel the fish toward the dam where they are caught in a net or killed with sticks by the men. In this fashion a large number of fish were caught (at selected times in the year when the creeks were of manageable size and certain fish spp. spawned in fresh water were returning to the sea).

TEXT 111 HUNTING DUGONG Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

111.1 n^ga=ya-n^ggi, n^gan^gu=ra-n^g, n^ga:-n^garugalij
I went_c I speared it (N^gARA)_p dugong

n^gan^gu=ra-n^g, n^gan^ga:-'=banaga:-' xxx
I speared it_p I held (it) for it_c (unclear)

n^gama:-'l-n^gu=barawudi-n^y, n^ga-waya=wayama-n^gi n^ga
I threw floater_p I proceeded_c and then

n^gama:-'l-n^gu=barawudi-n^y, n^gan^ga:-'=banaga:-', n^gan^ga:-'=banaga:-'
I held (it) for it_c

n^ga n^gi-yad=bari-'-n^y, n^gan^gu=ra-n^g, n^gi-jan^g n^gan^gu=ra-n^g,
and then it dropped_p I speared it_p more I speared it_p
I went along (in a canoe) and speared a dugong. I held onto (the
rope) for it (dugong) and tossed out the floater. I kept going,
holding on to the rope. It (dugong) dropped down (i.e. sounded,
like a whale). I speared it again (when it came up to breathe).

Note: Dugongs are large marine mammals like large porpoises or small whales. They are hunted by two men in a canoe, one paddling and the other doing the harpooning. When the shooter manages to harpoon a dugong, the dugong sounds (dives to deep water), but the harpoon has a rope attached. The men in the canoe hold onto their end of the rope; they throw out a buoyant floater attached to the middle of the rope. They follow the dugong until it comes up again to breathe and spear it again.

111.2 *n^gan^gu-laga=rad-ba-n^g, n^gan^gu-laga=rad-ba-n^g, n^ga:-n^garugalij,*
I tied up its tail_p dugong
n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni:::, n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni
it dropped_c
n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni n^gi-yadba:='d-bi-ni
it dropped_c
n^gan^gu-laga-laga=wana^ga:-', n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, n^gi=n^gawi-'-n^y, adaba
I held its tail_c it died_p then
n^ga=madhanda-n^gi an-uba-ga:-'la,
I paddled_c from there

I tied the tail of the dugong to the canoe. It sounded (dived down) several times, and then I got ahold of its tail (and tied it to the canoe). It finally died. Then I paddled back from there.

111.3 *n^gan^gu=lalaga:-' n^ga:-dhumbala, n^gan^gu=wuldhi-n^y,*
I lifted it_c sail I cut it_p
n^gan^gu=lal-ba-n^g, n^ga=warga-n^g ana:-'-ji:-'li mari an-uba-ga:-'la,
I split it_p I moved quickly_p from here and from there
n^ga-waya=wayama-n^gi n^ga ma:='dadi-n^y, ma:='dadi-n^y
I proceeded_c and then it (MANA) went on shore_p
mana-a:n^g mana-ran^gag, n^ga-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga:='dadi-n^y
whatchamacallit dugout canoe I proceeded_c I went on shore_p
n^ga:='dadi-n^y n^gan^gu=buri-n^y,
I put it down_p

I raised the sail, then cut it (sail) in half. I sped along this way and that. I kept going. Finally the canoe went up on shore. I went up on the shore and laid it (dugong) down there.

111.4 *n^ga=rilmurdi-n^y n^gama=ma-n^gi mana-lhuruman, mana-lhuruman,*
I ran_p I got it_c firestick
aba n^ga:='yan^gandi-n^y, n^ga:='yan^ganda-n^gi::: n^gama=ra-n^g,
then I operated firestick_p I operated firestick_c I made it_p

(a muddled portion of the text, much of it inaudible and untranscribable, is omitted here)

... n^gan^gu-barawuda-n^gi::: n^gan^gu-ba=barawuda-n^gi, ba-gu, aba
I threw it (N^gARA)_c I threw it_c there then
n^gan^gu=balhu:-', n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-' n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-'
I cut it up_c I cut it up_c I cut it up_c
n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-' n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-' n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-',
I cut it up_c
n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-' n^ga=wuldhi-n^y ardha, n^gan^gu-malan^y=jiririga-n^y,
I cut it up_c I cut it_p tail I cut up its back_p
n^gan^gu-malan^y=jiririga:::-n^y yuwa:-gu, xxx, n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:-'
there (unclear) I cut it up_c

111.4 *libilibalab::: n^ga, n^ga:='bi-n^y wa-ga-ga:-'la-wuy, n^ga:='bi-n^y,*
on side and then I jumped_p to far side I jumped_p
I ran along and got a firestick (or firedrill). I made a spark with the firestick. (muddled section) ... I threw it (dugong) down there and started to cut it up (butcher it). I cut off the tail. I cut up the back along a line there. I cut it up on one side. Then I switched (to the other side), to the far side.

111.5 *n^ga:='bi-n^y n^ga=wilibilin^gi-n^y n^gan^gu-ba=balhu:::-' n^ga,*
I jumped_p I turned around_p I cut it up_c and then
n^ga:='bi-n^y n^ga=n^galbalan^g n^gan^gu=ja:du-ga-n^y, n^galbalan^g n^ga
I jumped_p I was fast I finished it_p quickly and then
n^ga=wilibilin^gi-n^y, "n^galbalan^g n^gan^gu-dan-n^gu=balha-n^g
I went around_p quickly I will cut its guts up_p
n^gan^gu-dan-n^gu=balha-n^g,
I will cut its guts up_p

I switched, I went around (to the far side of the dugong). I cut it up. I moved around quickly and finished it. I moved around it quickly. (I said to myself,) "I will cut up its guts quickly."

111.6 *n^gan^gu=balhu-n^y n^gan^gu=balhu-n^y, mana-magali mana-magali,*
I cut it up_p stomach fat
mana-n^gudan n^gama-yara=yaraa:::-' n^ga, n^gama=wuldhi-n^y,
guts I threw it (MANA)_c and then I cut it (MANA)_p
n^galbalan^g wara n^gawu=balhu-n^y n^gawu=barawudi-n^y, n^galbalan^g,
quickly lung(s) I cut it up_p I threw it_p quickly
n^gan^gu=murgu-murgudi=lha-n^gi n^gara-n^gari-mawaru::: n^ga, finish.
I cut dugong ribs_c kidney fat and then

I cut up (the dugong). I tossed the stomach fat and the guts (to one side) and cut them up. I cut out the lungs and threw it away. I cut through the ribs (and got) the kidney fat. That is all.

Note: The stomach fat, kidney fat, and guts (possibly excluding the lungs) were cooked separately and eaten.

112.1 *wirin^ga-ga=galiyi:-na::: n^ga, wa:='ri n^gijan^g*
they paddle toward it and then not more
wan^gi=yawan^gga-n^g, an^gima-lhi=jan^ga-n^g, mana:-'-ma
it hears it hears paddle this (MANA)
ma-gara=wawalhi:-' mana-warang^g, n^gun^yju o:-'wa:-ni jetty n^ga
hole is open ear similar that (ANA) and then
ya:-ni, malan^ga-n^yanay nirin^ga=na-ni,
it is here far away we (ExPl) saw it_c

They (hunters in canoe) paddle slowly toward it (dugong). It still does not listen, it does not hear the paddles. Its ear is open (i.e. dugongs have sharp ears). We (hunters) saw it some distance away, about the same distance as from here over to the jetty (i.e. two hundred metres).

112.2 *aba wurugurij wiri:='ndandi:-' an-u-gu-ni nirin^ga=a:lga-n-ji:,*
then slow they move slowly to there we sneak up to it
mari n^gi:-'du=malambi:-na nirin^ga=ra-yi:, nirin^gi:-'yi:='-yi:,
and it shudders with spear we spear it we give to it
nirim^ga:-'l-n^gu=barawudi:-', mana-dugudugu, n^gijan^g
we throw out floater tree sp. (gutta percha) more
mana:-'dha:dhari-yin^yung^g nirin^gi:-'yi:='-yi:, nirima:-'l-n^gu=barawudi:-',
following one (MANA) we give to it we throw out floater

They (hunters) paddle very slowly (without speaking) that way. We (hunters) sneak up to it. Then we harpoon it and it shudders with pain. We feed out the rope for it (dugong) and we throw out the floater made from wood of the gutta percha tree (Excoecaria agollacha). Then we feed out another floater.

112.3 *adaba dugudugu-wugij ba-mi-yun^g n^ga*
then only gutta percha tree it is there (MANA) and then
ma:-'l=ari:-', nirima=lharma-ni adha:dhari nuru=madhandi:-',
floater flows along we chase it (MANA) behind we paddle
wara-wuru-wuruj, nuru=madhandi:-' adaba n^gi-lhun=n^gawi:-'-na aba
people we paddle now it stops struggling now
n^gi=gararawi:-na, n^gara-n^garugalij, n^gi-ga=gararawi:-na
it gives up dugong it gives up
nirim^ga=bilharga-na,
we seize it (MANA)

We see the gutta percha wood (the floater) moving along on top of the water and we go after it, we paddle along behind it. The people (do that). We paddle along. Finally it (dugong) stops struggling. The dugong gives up (and comes to the surface). We grab it.

Note: dugudugu is not, strictly, the gutta percha tree but is closely related to it (cf. wulibulu 'gutta percha').

112.4 *nirin^ga:='rgi:-na nirin^ga:='rgi:-na nirin^ga:='rgi:-na*
we pull it

nirin^ga:='rgi:-na nirin^ga=ra-yi:, nirin^ga-laga=rad-bu-ma-na,
we spear it we tie up its tail
adaba nirin^ga-laga-laga=wana^gaga-na n^gi=n^gawi:-'-na,
now we hold its tail it dies
nirin^ga-yimun^y=galhari:-' a-yimun^y-duj, mari nirin^ga-laga=rad-bu-ma-na
we jab its snout at snout and we tie up its tail
a-laga-ruj, aba nirin^ga:-'n^yji=nima-na wa:='ri na:n^gu=rad-ba-n^g
at tail now we hold it with not we tie it
nirin^ga:-'n^yji=nima-na,
we hold it with

We pull it in and harpoon it again (to finish it off if it is still struggling). We tie its tail (to the canoe). We hold onto its tail and it dies. We spear it in the head. We tie up its tail. We hold it along with (the canoe). We do not really tie it up, we hold it along with (the canoe).

112.5 *an-uwa-ga:-'la mana-ramba-wura:yun^g, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g*
from there small canoes as for it (MANA)
mana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yung^g ba-gu-waj nirin^ga=yaba-na,
big ones (MANA) along there we put it in
n^gara-n^garugalij, ma-waya=wayama-ni, aba ana:-'ji nirin^ga-lhimu=wuldhiji:-'
dugong it (MANA) proceeds now here we cut it at waist
ya-ga-waj nirin^ga=balhu-na ya-ga-waj nirin^ga:-'ra:-'ra:='yu-na
up to here we cut it up up to here we cut it all up
n^ga, an-u-dharin^y-jin^yung^g war-ubu-ru-yun^g wu:=yadhi:-'yin^yung^g
and then of pieces (cuts) those (Pl) they who claim it
wura:-'la:='lali:-na:::
they pick it up

From there (we tow the dugong back) if the canoes are small. On the other hand, if the canoes are big we put it (dugong) in there. It (canoe) proceeds (back to the shore). We cut up the dugong around the middle, up to here (speaker points at his waist). We cut it all up. Then the men who are entitled to certain cuts of the meat pick them up.

Note: Traditionally there was a comparatively fixed system for allocating cuts of dugong, largely on a kinship basis. Nowadays dugong are still commonly hunted, but the distribution of meat is more fluid and almost anyone who wants meat can get some.

112.6 *nirin^ga:-'ga:='gamba-na an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj nirin^ga:='gamba:-'*
we roast it (in oven) long time we roasted it_c
ano:=-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj wara-min^y-ngambara-waj, aba arbidi n^gun^yju
long time among elders now anyway similar

a-bulugi-yi: yaga: wuru-ba=balhu-na, wara-a:n^g
like bullock (Eng.) / they cut it up whatchamacallit
war-uwa:-wa wara-butcher niri^ga=yami-jga-na, arbidi-wugij adaba,
those (WARA) butchers we do that to it only anyway now
We roast (cook) it in a large oven in the ground. We used to roast
it (a certain way) back in the days of the oldtimers. Nowadays
they cut it up in a haphazard fashion, just like a bullock. Those
butchers. We do that to it (dugong), we cut it up any way.

112.7 n^gara:-'gi n^gara-n^garugalij wirin^ga:='gamba:-',
this (N^gARA) dugong they roasted it_c
nuru=muntuwa-n^yji:-ni, an-uba-ni-yun^g-ga-jin^yun^g, lhan^ggu
we assembled_c of long time ago meat
nirimia=bura-n^gi an-u-n^gu-gun^y, lhan^ggu nirimia=bura-n^gi,
we put it_c meat and fat layers meat we put it_c
ma-dun^guru ma-dun^guru, ana-lhan^ggu nu:=lhaga-bi-ni-yun^gguyung^g,
its shin meat we mixed meat and fat_c
da-ni-yun^g, n^gara-n^garugalig,
it is there dugong

They used to roast this dugong (in a large oven in the ground). We
used to gather together, long ago. We put it (fat) in with the
meat. We put the 'shin' (section of fat?) with the meat. We mixed
the meat and fat together, into layers. That is how it was done.

112.8 n^gara:-'gi wara-mi:::n^y-n^gambara-aj ano:::'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj
this (N^gARA) among elders long time ago
wara-old-people, ana-yimbaj arbidi adaba wirin^ga-butcher-a-na
old people today anyway now they butcher it
wirin^ga=balhu-na, arbidi-wugij wu:=yi-n^yji:-na
they cut it up only anyway they give to each other
wirin^ga=ja:lin-dhi:-' ana-lhan^ggu.
they share it (Eng. 'share-'em') meat

This (dugong), long ago in the old days, with the old people.
Nowadays they just cut them up in any fashion and they share the
meat (with everyone in the village).

Bush foods and medicines

TEXT 113 SEASONAL VARIATION IN FOOD GATHERING
Ma:di

113.1 *n^gan^y=jambi:-na an^ybaj ana-lha:wu, wa:='la:di-yi-'-n^y*
I will speak_c other words it was bad
yamba na-laran^gana-yin^yun^g, nu:=yamin^ggari:-ni, wara-people,
because of (man's n.) we did what?_c Aboriginal people
nuru=buri-∅, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g ana-lha:l-waj, an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj,
we (ExPl) sat_c ours (ExPl) among country long ago
nuru=wagari-n^yji:-ni, war-uba-wi-yun^y-jin^yun^g, wara-wuruj
we went toward each other_c of those (WARA) people (Pl)
wu:=ya-n^ggi n^ga nambi=maga:-', nuru=wagari-n^yji:-ni nuru=buri-∅,
they went_c and then they told us_c (see above) we sat_c
I will tell another story, because Laran^gana's version was no good.
(About) how things were for us, long ago, when we the Aboriginal
people were staying in our country. We used to come together.
Those people told us (to come together for a ritual), they went.
We came together and stayed (together).

113.2 *mana-yada-yadi, n^gun^yju war-uwu-ru*
mortuary rituals (redup.) similar those (Pl)
ana-Groote Eylandt-ji: an-uba-ni wuru=n^gawi-'-n^y, wu:=yama:-',
like (place n.) that (ANA) they died_p they did that_c
an-ubu-jin^yun^g, an-un^gubal, nura:-'=dharma-n^yji:-ni,
that kind of thing clan song we chased (it) for each other_c
nuru=wann^ga:-', wara-walya-walya-waj niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi an-un^gubal
we danced_c among men we wanted it_c clan song
nu:=ya-n^ggi yagu walya-walya-waj nu:=ya-n^ggi, wara-mananun^g
we (ExPl) went_c but among men we went_c women
nara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi yagu, mananun^g nara:-'ra=wana^gaga:-',
we wanted them_c but women we held them all_c
Mortuary rituals. For example, (perhaps) someone, one of those
people, maybe at Groote Eylandt, died. They (survivors) did that
kind of thing, they had a corroboree with clan songs. We followed
each other (came together for such a ritual). We danced. We, among
the men, liked the clan songs. We went along--, us men went along.
We wanted the women with us, however, we had them with us.

113.3 *nu:=ya-n^ggi::: nuru=wann^ga:-', nuru=wann^ga:-' n^ga*
we (ExPl) went_c we (ExPl) danced_c we danced_c and then
mana-yada-yadi::: n^ga nu:=lha-y, nura:='gi:-ni, adaba
mortuary rituals and then we stood_c we returned_c then
nuru=buri-∅, ana-lha:l-waj, an^yja:bu, wa:='ri nambu-raja=rajar-a-n^gi,
we sat_c among country together not we scattered_c
nu:=ya-n^ggi nuru-man=dharwadharwi:-ni-wugij an-uwa-ga:-'la
we (ExPl) went_c we went in big crowd only_c from there

nuru-n^gara=ja-n^ggi wu-n^garan-bugi:::j,
we all went_c only crowd

We went along (to the ritual area) and danced in the mortuary rituals. We stopped there (for a while), then went back and stayed in our country. We did not scatter in all directions; (we were) together. We went along, traveling in a large group from there.

Note: Most of the larger ritual congregations occurred in the middle and late dry season (roughly June to December) when roots and some other foods could be obtained in large quantities in and around large swamps and billabongs. Such congregations would include most or all Nunggubuyu-speaking clans along with delegations from various other neighboring clans on a flexible basis.

113.4 nuru=buri-∅ ana:-'ni ana-numbulwar, an-ugali j
we sat_c this (ANA) (place n.) dugong (and turtles)
nuru=n^gu-ni, nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: nura:='gi:-ni,
we ate it_c we ate it_c we returned_c
nura:='gi:-ni::: nu-ri:-'waj a-lha:l-waj nuru=buri-∅,
among us (ExPl) among country we sat_c
nuru=buri-∅, an-uwa-ga:-'la ana:-'n^ybaj-gala, nambi=yagara-n^gi,
from there from other they went toward us_c
ni:=na-n^ga:-'yin^yung, ana-n^gura, wi:-yiga=lharma-n^gi,
which we burned_c fire they chased fire_c
nambi=lhan^garma:-', ana:-'nu:-'wuy ana:-'rgali-n^yi-yin^yung,
they reached us_c this way of to the west
wura:='gurgan^yji:-ni wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, ni:-yiga=lharma-n^gi
they set fires in bush_c they too we chased fire_c
na:=lhan^garma:-', ana:-'la:-'la
we reached them_c rivers (redup.)

We stayed here at Numbulwar and ate dugong and turtles. Then we went back and stayed in our country. Then some people came from over there toward us, they went in the direction of the fires which we burned. Those people to the west also set fires, and we went toward the fires and caught up with them, at some rivers.

Note: Numbulwar is south of the traditional territory of the Nunggubuyu-speaking clans. Fires are important signals of the presence of Aboriginal parties because the smoke can be seen at some distance.

113.5 wu:=lharga:-', ana-n^guji ja, nuru=n^gu-ni, nura:='gi:-ni:::,
they trapped fish_c fish we ate it_c we returned_c
a-lha:l-waj nu-ri:-'waj nuru=buri-∅, xxx--,
among country among us we sat_c (false start)
nuru-n^gara=ja-n^ggi-wugij wu:=dha:lun-bugij, wa:='ri
we all went only_c they were only a bunch not
na:mba:-'ra:='ru-n^yji:-ni, wara-min^y-n^gambara, nu:=ya-n^ggi:::,
we abandoned each other all elders we went_c

ana:-'ni:-'la ana-bandhara ana-yan^gulgaran^yun^g, nuru=buri-∅,
this coming middle (=sea) (place n.) we sat_c
nu:=yaldha-n^gi niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yung, miyan^gala, nuru=buri-∅,
we passed_c which we wanted_c (place n.) we sat_c
niri=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi-yin^yung, an-uba-ni nu:=yaldha-n^gi yagu, wuyagiba,
which we wanted_c that we passed_c but (place n.)
nuru=n^gu-ni nuru-bu=buri-∅ ba-ni nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, nura:='gi:-ni,
we ate it_c we sat_c there we ate it_c we returned_c

They (people to west) were trapping fish in creeks. We ate that for a while. Then we came back to our own country and stayed there. Then we all went in a big group; we did not leave each other, us old people. We went along this way, along the sea, and we stayed for a while at the place Yan^gulgaran^yung. We stayed at Miyan^gala. We stayed at that place which we liked. We went on and stayed at Wuyagiba. We ate it (dugong?). Then we came back.

Note: These locations are to the south of the central Nunggubuyu clan territories and go as far south as the mouth of the Roper R., well into Warndarang territory.

113.6 ana-wudun^ymanji, niri=n^gu-ni wudun^ymanji, n^gun^yju
wild potato we ate it_c wild potato similar
ama:-'n^g--, ama-potato, ma=yama-na
whatchamacallit (MANA) potato it (MANA) does that
ma-lhami=jama-na n^gun^yju ama-potato-yi: mana-ma-dhamig
its taste does that similar like potato its taste (MANA)
wudun^ymanji, an-u-dhamig,
wild potato its taste (ANA)

We ate wild potatoes. They are sort of like potatoes, they have a taste like potatoes.

Note: This is an unidentified vine with a potato-like root that can be eaten; it is found in the Roper R. area and is absent or rare in Nunggubuyu territory. The root for 'taste' is /-lhamig-/; as a noun it takes derivational noun-class prefixes. Here it occurs once in MANA class form, once in ANA class form. This is because wudun^ymanji itself is ANA class, while the English loan 'potato' is MANA (presumably due to the influence of several native terms for edible roots which are in this class).

113.7 mararalba niri=n^gu-ni, majawarn^ya, niri=n^gu-ni, wajala
(place n.) we ate it_c (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
niri=n^gu-ni, ana-wudun^ymanji an^gulya niri=n^gu-ni, wa:='ri
we ate it_c wild potato (place n.) we ate it not
an-uba-ga:-'la an^ggu-wan^yja-n^gu=buri-∅, ya:-ni:-'la
from there food sat here it comes
a:-'n^g-gala, mararalba-ala n^ga yu:-gu-ni,
from whatchamacallit from (place n.) and then to there

rabiriyala n^ga yu:-gu-ni wu-wan^y ja-n^gu=bura:-',
(place n.) and then to there food sits

We ate it (wild potato, see 113.6) at Mararalba. We ate wild potato at Majawarn^ya and Wajala, we ate it at Angulya. There was none of that food over there. It is found only from Mararalba and Rabiriyala and going in that direction.

Note: These are places in the general area of the mouth of the Roper R.

113.8 ana-wudun^y manji, niri=n^gu-ni, n^gun^y ju ama-potato-yi:,
wild potato we ate it_c similar like potato
ma=yama-na, ma-lhami=jama-na, nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::,
it (MANA) does that its taste does that we ate it_c
nu:=ra:jara-n^gi, nura:='gi:-ni aba ana-lha:l-wuy nu-ru,
we scattered_c we returned_c then to country we (ExPl)
ana:-'nu:-'wuy, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uba-gu-miri wuru=buri-∅,
this way as for them right there they sat_c
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-u-gu-ni ana:-'n^ybaj-guy wiri=n^gan^y banda-n^gi-yin^y un^g
as for them to there to other which they wanted_c
wu:=ya-n^ggi, ana-yu:l-wuy, nu:=yama:-' n^ga,
they went_c to bushland we did that_c and then

We ate wild potatoes. They are like potatoes, the taste is like that. We ate (various things). We dispersed (into smaller groups or 'hordes') and went back to our own country, along this way (up the coast). Those other people stayed right there (near the Roper R.), and other people went off to whatever country in the bush they wanted. We did that.

113.9 ana:-'rgi ya:-nu:-'wuy a-yu:l-wuy nuru:='dada-n^gi
some (ANA) this way to bushland we went on shore_c
a-yu:l-wuy, nuru=buri-∅ a-yu:l-waj, nu:=dhirida-n^gi nuru=buri-∅
to bushland we sat_c among bushland we went down_c we sat_c
ya:-ji ama-madhal_a-baj, n^gun^y ju a:-'ni-yi: nuru=bura:-'yi:,
here on beach similar like this like we sit
nu:=ya-n^ggi::: o:-'wa:-ni, nuru=n^gu-ni a-marya, anba:li-waj,
we went_c that (ANA) we ate it_c food around (place n.)
wurindi-waj, wal dhaw-waj, yin^y malamar-waj,
around (place n.) around (place n.) around (place n.)
wurunguyuna-waj, aran^gali-waj, ba-ni-waj nuru=buri-∅,
around (place n.) around there we sat_c

Sometimes we went inland into the bushland (away from the coast). We stayed in the bush (for a while). Then we came down and stayed on the coast, like we are doing now (at Numbulwar). We went along and ate some food at Anba:li and several other places (list given). There we stayed.

Note: These places are mainly in core Nunggubuyu territory.

113.10 nuru=n^gu-ni ana-marya, nu:=munduga:-',
we ate it_c food we gathered_c
nu:-n^gara=ja-n^ggi=wugij, ana:-'rgi n^guji, nuru=n^gu-ni,
we all went only_c some (ANA) fish we ate it_c
nura:='n^galha-n^gi, yin^gulbandi, wara-midhurung^gu,
we speared it (fish) in trap_c barramundi fork-tailed catfish sp.
a-waln^gari, wara-wugana nuru:-'ra=n^gu-ni, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj
salmon sp. we ate it all_c it is along there
nu:=lharga:-'yin^y un^g wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, ana-manjar
it which we caught in trap_c as for it (ANA) branches with leaves
wi:=yiraladha-n^gi, wara-min^y-n^gambara, da-ni-yun^g, n^gadhu,
they put it across_c elders it is there cycad
wirim=lahalwulha-n^gi, mana-n^gadhu n^gijan^g, ana:-'la nirima=n^gu-ni
they soaked it_c cycad more river we ate it_c
n^gadhu, nirima=rala-n^gi.
cycad we shelled them_c

We ate (vegetable) food. We gathered together and went along. Sometimes we ate fish. We speared them in fish traps: barramundi, catfish, salmon--we ate all those, the ones which we caught in fish traps. The old people put branches across (the stream, to make a dam for a fish trap). In addition, they soaked nuts of the cycad tree in a river; we shelled them later and ate them.

Note: On fish traps see above, texts 108 and 110. On cycads, see texts below.

TEXT 114 WATER LILIES AND OTHER FOODS Laran^gana

114.1 an-uba-ni-yun^g n^gunu=maga:-', n^gunu=maga:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g
that (ANA) I told you (Sg)_c that
ana:-'galgi, wara=yan^gguri-yin^y un^g, yan^gguri a-wurugu,
yesterday about w. lily sp. lily sp. billabong
wu-gu-ru, yimadha:luj ya:-wa, madawunul, war-uwa-wa:-'la
it (WARA) (place n.) it (WARA) is here (place n.) it is on this side
ju:y! yuwa-wa-wa:-'la, yu:-gu-ni wunumbi-yaj, nu-ri:-'wuy
go it is on the far side to there northward to us (ExPl)
a-lha:l-wuy, wara-yan^gguri, littleone-little-one, wu-ganan^g,
to country lily sp. small ones (redup.) stem
wun^ya:n^y un^g, wudan,
small ones lily root corm

I told you (briefly) about water lily foods yesterday. Lilies (yan^gguri) in billabongs. There are some here at the places Yimadha:luj and Madawunul, near (this side) and far (far side), and up north in our country. Smallish lilies (yan^gguri). Small plants. Lily roots (wudan).

114.2 mana-yambiri, win^yig, yuwa:-gu lhiribala ma=buri-∅
 lily root corm small there under it (MANA) sat_c
 yambiri, wa:-yan^gguri-yin^yung, wirima=ma-n^gi
 lily root corm of lily sp. they got it_c
wara-oldme-old-men, xxx, ana-tucker wu=yama:-', ya:-ji:-'li
 old men (unclear) food it did that_c from here
 ya:-ji:-'li ya:-ji:-'li ya:-ji:-'li ya:-ji:-'li
 from here
 ma=yama:-' ma=yama:-' ma=yama:-', mana-yambiri ya:-ji,
 it did that_c lily root corm here

There were small root corms of this water lily sp. The old people used to get it, edible food like that. There were some here, here, here, here, here (pointing to several spots not far away). They (root corms) were like that, here.

114.3 leaf, manjar, ma-biril, mana-ma-biril mā=buri-∅,
 leaf water lily leaf lily leaf it sat_c
 yan^gguri, wa:-da-wu:-' an^ybaj wu-gu-ru, yambiri mari wudan,
 lily sp. that (WARA) other it (WARA) lily root corm and root corm
 mari yan^gguri wu:=lhiribala wu:=buri-∅, war-u-n^gu-gulmun^g nara=n^gu-ni
 and lily sp. it was under it sat_c its (WARA) belly we ate it_c
 wara=yiba:-', maddhang-a-miri wara-yibi=yiba:-', wara=na-n^ga:-' adaba
 they crushed it_c with grindstone they crushed it_c they burned it_c then
 a-n^gura, nara=n^gu-ni, wara-oldme-old-men, nu-ru-waj too nara=n^gu-ni,
 fire we ate it_c old men it is us! we ate it_c

The leaves, the water lily leaves, sat (on top of the water). That lily species and its root corms. The water lily (i.e. most of it) was under water. We ate the fruit ('belly'), they crushed it (i.e. they ground up the seeds from the seed pods, making a mush or damper). They cooked it on an open fire. We ate it. The old people (ate it), and us too--we (living people) ate it.

114.4 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara:-'yag, tucker, wuru=ma-n^gi wudan,
 as for it (WARA) large lily sp. food they got it_c root corm
 yiwujun^g, an-u-muaj, nindan, ayag, lha
 young root corm named (ANA) old root corm large lily sp. at (creole)
 wumajbar, ayag, mari mana-nindan, mari ana-yiwujun^g,
 (place n.) large lily sp. and old root corm and young root corm
 yan^gguri wudan, muaj, mari nindan bu-gu-ni n^gijan^g,
 lily sp. root corm name and old root corm to there more
 mari yambiri, ana:-'n^ybaj wumbadun^g, wara:-'ya-jin^yun^g
 and root corm other lily stem of large lily sp.
 niri=n^gargiwa:-', tucker, n^gam! n^gam! n^gam!,
 we pulled it out_c food eat

Also a larger water lily sp. (ayag). It was edible. They got the

root corms, called "yiwujun^g." Also nindan (old root corms), from the large water lily sp. At the place Wumajbar (a billabong). Young (yiwujun^g) and old (nindan) root corms. From the small water lily sp. there is the root corm (wudan), also old root corms, and root corms (yambiri). Another kind of thing is the water lily stem; we got the one from the large sp. and eat it.

114.5 mari madiga, wura:=ma-n^gi ana:-'la-waj,
 and root nut they got roots from ground_c around river
 ana-wumajbar, mana:-'ma:-'la-yung juju:::j!, yuwa:-ma
 (place n.) this coming (MANA) go it is there (MANA)
 ana-wunul, here somewhere, yuwa:-ni, ya:-ma
 (place n.) it is there (ANA) it is here (MANA)
 ama-madhala-baj n^ga guluruj yuwa:-ma, yuwa:-ma,
 around beach and then (place n.) it is there (MANA)
 warabarag, ama-lhan^gada wurindi, mana-madiga, wirima=n^gu-ni
 (place n.) jungle (place n.) root nut they ate it (MANA)

They also got the root nuts of a sedge (Eleocharis dulcis), they got them from the ground around rivers. There are some at the place Wumajbar, and along this way, over there at Wunul, around here, over at that place, around here along the coast, there at Guluruj, there at Warabarag, in the rainforest at Wurindi. They ate that root nut.

114.6 mari mana-mandhabi, marbuy, bushes, mana-marbuy, xxx
 and root nut sp. sedge sp. plant sedge sp. (unclear)
 mandhabi, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:gun^y, different, different
 root nut sp. as for it (MANA) sedge sp.
 ya:gun^y, nuga wirima=walga:-', nirima=n^gu-ni, an-uba-ni-yung-gaj,
 sedge sp. stone they pounded it_c we ate it_c long ago
 (We also ate) other root nuts (names given). Plants. That other root nut sp. As for that other sedge, ya:gun^y (Scirpus littoralis), they pounded it with stones and we ate it, in the old days.

114.7 mari jaladi wu:=riga-n-di wirima=n^gu-ni, mari lhawumag,
 and yam sp. they dug_c they ate it_c and yam sp.
 wu:=riga-n-di, nuru=n^gu-ni, mari wulburu, maragi wiri=ma-n^gi,
 they dug_c we ate it_c and round yam sp. knife they got it_c
 wu:=yama:-', him cook-'em, water, n^gamugijgaj, wura:=gi-n^y
 they did that_c he cook early morning they returned_p
 wara=ma-n^gi, wa:='mbalaman now, tucker, n^gam! n^gam! n^gam!,
 they got it (WARA) it (ANA) was good food eat

Also jaladi (a climbing vine with edible rootstock). They dug and ate it. Also lhawumag (a Dioscorea sp. with long edible root), they dug and we ate it. Also round yam (Dioscorea sp. with round root). They got a knife and did that. They 'cooked' (soaked, leached) it in water. Next morning they went back and got it. It was good; they ate it.

114.8 lhalgur, aran^yann^gu, wirima:='gamba:-'
mangrove tree sp. fruit of lhalgur they roasted it (MANA)_c
wirima=dhurma:-' n^guru, wura:='gamba:-', mangayan^ga,
they crushed it_c tree sp. they roasted it (ANA)_c tree sp.
jungle, wululugu, jiri jirig, munma, lhun^gala:lur, munn^gu, mari
tree sp. tree sp. tree sp. tree sp. and
miliba, a-yu:l-waj, wini=n^gu-ni na-miliba,
tree sp. around bushland they ate it (NA)_c tree sp.

They roasted the fruits of a mangrove (*Avicennia marina*). They crushed the fruits in their hands. N^guru (tree sp.). They roasted the fruits (in an oven). (They ate) fruits of several tree spp. from the rainforest (mangayan^ga = *Ganophyllum falcatum*; wululugu = *Glycosmis* sp.; jiri jirig = *Drypetes australasica*; munma = *Celtis philippensis*; lhun^gala:lur = *Mallotus nesophilus*; munn^gu = *Pouteria sericea*). Also, in the bush (away from the coast), they ate fruits of miliba tree (*Cansjera* or *Opilia*).

114.9 mana-wundhumug, nirima=n^gu-ni mana:-'-ma,
water lily sp. and its root corm we ate it_c this (MANA)
nirima=ma-n^gi ma-ganan^g, a-wudan-guy, a-yiwujun^g-guy,
we got it_c plant (MANA) to root corm to young root corm
wundhumug different, ma:='n^ybaj ma-gu-ru an^ybaj,
w. lily sp. it (MANA) is different it (MANA) other
mana-wundhumug, tucker, nirima=n^gu-ni, ano::-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj
w. lily sp. we ate it_c long ago
wara-oldme-old-men, wirima=n^gu-ni mana-wundhumug, mari mangawuja,
old men they ate it_c w. lily sp. and lily root corm

We ate another kind of water lily root corm. We got the plant and worked down to the root corm, sometimes a young root corm. That species, wundhumug, is different (from others mentioned earlier). It is good eating. We used to eat it, long ago. The old people used to eat that wundhumug, and also mangawuja (irregularly shaped water lily root corm).

114.10 xxx wirima=n^gu-ni, mana-mangawuja mari an^ybaj n^gijan^g tucker,
they ate it_c w. lily root corm and other more food
lha river, billabong, no-more billabong, river, anba:li yagu yuwa:-gu
at not (place n.) but there
wurindi, aran^ga, good-tucker, mana:-'n^ybaj wubun^yul, good-tucker
(place n.) w. lily sp. edible other plant sp.
mana:-'-ma nirima=n^gu-ni, tucker, mana-wubun^yul, wubun^yul,
this (MANA) we ate it_c food water plant sp.

In addition there was some food in rivers and billabongs--(or rather) not billabongs, (just) rivers. For example, the places Anba:li or Wurindi. There was another water lily sp. in these rivers called aran^ga. Also another one called wubun^yul. It is good, we ate it.

114.11 mari aran^ga, mari ama-madiga ama-man^ggarabi, mana:-'n^ybaj
and w. lily sp. and root nut (=madiga) other
lala, ama-marbuy-a-j-in^yun^g ama-lala, wirima=walga:-',
sedge sp. of around sedge sp. sedge sp. they pounded it_c
nirima=n^gu-ni, lagu, nuru=n^gu-ni, n^galyurwa, miniguya,
we ate it (MANA)_c honey we ate it_c honey bee sp. honey bee sp.
nabi, n^ga:nig, garamin^yanmin^yan, n^galyurwa, ana-lagu
honey bee sp. honey bee sp. honey bee sp. (see above) honey
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, nuru=n^gu-ni, wara-min^y-n^gambara, nu-ra:-'yun^g
as for it (ANA) we ate it_c elders as for us (ExPl)
wara-mij-bura:yun^g too nuru=n^gu-ni, nambi-lhama=lhama:-'yin^yun^g,
children we ate it_c we whom they begat_c
nu-gu-ru wara-white-men different nu-ra:-'yun^g different,
you (Pl) whites as for us (ExPl)
ana-lagu.
honey

Also another water lily sp. (in rivers). Also root nuts (*Eleocharis*) and some small plants with edible root nuts. They pounded them with stones, and we ate them. Honey: we ate it. (List of five spp. of *Trigona* honey bees.) We ate that honey. The old people, and us children too (in the old days). We, whom they (the old men) begat. You (Pl) whites (are) different. We are different (from you). (We ate bush) honey.

Comments on text 114

There is not much to say about the root-nut sedges and similar plants mentioned here, and honey is discussed more fully in later texts; I will comment here chiefly on the water lilies.

Botanically, local water lilies (hereafter just 'lilies') consist of at least two spp. of *Nymphaea*, one of *Nelumbo* which may be absent from Nunggubuyu country, and several spp. of *Nymphoides* (we disregard spp. not found in this general region). The *Nymphoides* spp. are very small and insignificant, and *Nelumbo* appears not to be known by the Nunggubuyu although it is found to the northwest around Oenpelli. Therefore all relevant lilies are spp. or variants of *Nymphaea*; this is true of the ones I have seen and, from descriptions, is true of spp. I have not seen (aran^ga, wundhumug). However, the water plant *Aponogeton elongatus*, not normally considered a water lily in English folk taxonomy, is usually mentioned in lists of Nunggubuyu lilies and seems to form part of a covert folk category with the (other) lilies.

The botanical classification of *Nymphaea* was unfinished during my fieldwork. There was general recognition of at least two local spp., a small one called *N. violacea* near the edges of billabongs, and a larger one called *N. gigantea*. Basically, the former correlates with the Nunggubuyu term yan^guri, and the latter with ayag (though ayag can also refer specifically to its seed pod). The other spp. (aran^ga, wundhumug) are presumably variants of one of these spp. or else closely related but distinct spp.

The text illustrates the elaborate taxonomy of root corms and seed pods, both of which were important food staples in the dry season and are still eaten by Nunggubuyu of all ages. For the root corms, *wudan* is the broadest term; *yambiri* is used only for *N. violacea*; *yiwujung* (immature) and *nindan* (over-mature) are terms for root corms applied mainly but not exclusively to the larger *N. gigantea*; *manggawuja* applies to a root corm with irregular surface. (Another root corm term is *jirigilil*, not in this text.) For the seed pods, the term *ayag* (as noted above) can apply to the pod of the larger sp., but is used only when the skin of the pod is very black. When there is a reddish tinge in the black it is called *dhalalirig*. Further special terms occur for the leaf, *-wiril* (usually *ma-biril*), and the edible stem, *wumbadung*. All of these terms are special water-lily part terms and are not used with non-lilies.

TEXT 115 CYCADS
Yurumura

115.1 *wu:-yara=ya-ri::: an-uba-ni-yun^g, wirima=n^gan^ybandi:-' -maji:*
they go that (ANA) if they want it (MANA)
man-uba-ma-yun^g, mana-n^gadhu, "ama-n^gadhu n^ga:ma=rali:-'",
that (MANA) cycad cycad we will shell it (MANA)
wu:=yama-na, adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g wu:=ya:-ri:, wu:-yara=ya-ri:::
they do that now that (ANA) they go they go
wura:='rangga-na n^ga da-ma, ma:='mbidha:-',
they look and then it (MANA) is there it (MANA) abounds
ana-mun^ggala-ruj, ana-mun^ggala-ala man-uba-ma-yun^g
at top of tree trunk from top of tree trunk that (MANA)
mana-ma-bal-uj, ma:='mbidha:-', man-uba-ma-yun^g,
at trunk it abounds that (MANA)

They go along, if they want to get some cycad nuts. They say, "Let's go shell some cycad nuts." Then they go. They take a look, and there it is with lots of nuts up high in the tree at the top of the trunk.

Note: Cycads (*Cycas* spp.) are short trees consisting of a solid trunk and a number of fronds (palm-like) coming out of the top of the trunk. The nuts occur on the female trees (the male trees have inedible cones) and are found at the top of the trunk.

115.2 *wirima-naya=na-yi: n^ga da-ma*
they see it (MANA) and then it (MANA) is there
mana-wur-bulululhu-jin^yun^g, mana-lharan^y-jin^yun^g, adaba wirima=ma-ni
shiny (ripe) one (MANA) ripe one then they get it
wirima-mana=ma-ni:::, wirima-mana=ma-ni::: n^ga, adaba
they get it (MANA) and then then
wirima=ya:rigi:-na wirima=ya:rigi:-na n^ga yuwa:-gu, o:-'ba-ni
they transport it they transport it and there that (ANA)

a-nuga-ruj wu-nuga=murgulha:-', ba-gu adaba wirima:-'n^y-n^gu=buri:-',
at stone stone lies down there then they put food (MANA)

wirima-rala=rali:-' wirima-rala=rali:-' wirima-rala=rali:-'
they shell it
mana-ma-gulag,
its (MANA) skin

They look at them (cycads). There is a shiny ripe one over there and they get it. They collect (the ripe ones). Then they take them over there where a stone is. They put the food (cycad nuts) down and work on it with the stone, peeling off the shell.

115.3 *wirima=barawudi:-', man-uba-ma-yun^g ma-gubulu-wugij,*
they throw it that (MANA) body (MANA) only
ma-gubulu-wugij wirima=buri:-' wirima-bu=buri::::'
they put it (MANA) they put it (MANA)

wirima:-'ra:-'ra-n^gu=buri::::' wirima-rala=rali:-' n^ga
they put it all (MANA) they shell it and then
wirima=ja:du-ga-na, adaba wirima=riri:-', yu:-gu-ni
they finish it (MANA) then they dry it out to there
wirima=riri:-' yi:-yalir-wuy, wirima=riri:-',
they dry it out to sun they dry it out

They throw it (skin) away. They only put the main part (body) there. They put them all there and peel off the skin (shell). When they are finished with them, they let them dry off in the sun.

115.4 *ma=anbi:-'na, ma=rira:-', ma-riri=rira::::'*
it (MANA) does that it dries off it dries off
n^ga, yin^gga ba-ma ma=wadawadan-ma-na
and then nearly it is there (MANA) it (MANA) becomes strong
ma=rira:-' ma=lhara-ma-na, little-bit, adaba man-uba-ma-yun^g
it dries out it becomes ripe then that (MANA)

wirima=ma-ni, wirima=ma-ni, adaba wirima=yuri:-',
they get it (MANA) then they transport it
ma-riri=rira:-', yin^gga ma=ma:ndhi:-'na, ma=murmbulhi:-'
it dries out nearly it makes itself good it gets hot
aba wirima=ya:riji:-na, wirima-yara=yarijgi:-na:::,
then they transport it they transport it

It (cycad nut) does that, it dries out. It becomes hard and partly ripe. Then they get it and take it (somewhere else). It keeps drying out and becomes good, it becomes hot (in the sun). Then they take it (there).

115.5 *wirima=lhalwulhi:-' a:-gugu-wuy adaba, a:-gugu-wuy*
they soak it to water then to water

wirima=lhalwulhi:-' ma-lhala=lhalwulha:::-', ma-lhala=lhalwulha:::-'
they soak it it soaks (MANA)
wirima=n^gun^ymawa-na, mana-min^yn^gan^ga, ya:-ma
they count it (MANA) sleep it is here (MANA)
wirima=lhalwulhi:-', mana:-'n^yba-duj, ma=lhalwulha:-',
they soak it at other (MANA) it soaks
a:-gugu-ruj-bugij ma=bura:-', mana:-'ma-ruj, ma=lhalwulha:-'wugij,
in water only it sits at this (MANA) it only soaks
yingga mana:-'ma-ruj, adaba wirima:=gi:-na,
nearly at this (MANA) now they fetch it

Then they immerse the cycad nuts in fresh water (to leach them). They soak them; they (nuts) are soaking in the water. They (people) count the nights. On this (first) night they immerse them in water; then another night they (nuts) soak; another night they are still soaking; then on this (fourth) night (i.e. day) they go and get them.

115.6 wirima=ma-ni an-uwa-ga:-'la ana:-gugu-wala,
they get it (MANA) from there from water
wulalwulal-wala mana-min^yn^gan^ga, ma=ya-ra, an-uba-gu
from four sleep it (MANA) sleeps there
ana:-gugu-ruj yingga mana:-'ma-ruj, adaba wirima=ma-ni,
in water nearly at this (MANA) now they get it (MANA)
adaba man-uba-ma-yun^g ma=lhara-ma-na, ba-ni-yun^g mari
now that (MANA) it (MANA) becomes ripe it is there and
adaba, wirima=ya:rijgi:-na an-u-gu-ni ana:-'n^ga-wuy,
now they transport it to there to camp
wirima=ya:rijgi:-na n^ga wirima:-'ra-n^gu=buri:-',
they transport it and then they put it all down (MANA)

They get the nuts out of the water after they lie there in the water for four nights. On this (fourth) day they get them out. By that time they (nuts) are ripe (ready to eat). Then they take them there to the camp and put all of them down in a pile.

115.7 adaba man-uba-ma-yun^g wirima=buddhi:-' a-n^gura-wuy,
then that (MANA) they cook it in ashes to fire
wirima-bu=buddhi:::-' n^ga, adaba wirima=walga-na,
they cook it in ashes and then then they pound it
wirima=walga=walga-na::: wirima=walga=walga-na::: n^ga, adaba
they pound it and then then
man-uba-ma-yun^g wirima=n^gu=yi:.
that (MANA) they eat it

Then they cook them in a fire covered up in the coals and ashes. After that they pound them (with stones to soften them up). Then they eat those (nuts).

TEXT 116 CYCADS
Ma.di

116.1 n^gijang^g ana:-'n^ybaj, ama-n^gadhu-yin^yun^g, wirima=rala=rala-n^gi:::
more other (ANA) about cycad they skinned it_c
wirima=rala=rala-n^gi::: yuwa:-gu, wirima='ramilba:ladha-n^gi,
there they piled it (MANA) up_c
wirima=rala=rala-n^gi::: yuwa:-gu wirima='ramilba:ladha-n^gi,
they skinned it_c there they piled it up_c
wirima=rala=rala-n^gi::: yuwa:-gu wirima='ramilba:ladha-n^gi,
they skinned it_c there they piled it up_c

Now another (story), about cycads. They used to remove the skins and make a pile there, they removed (more) skins and made (another) pile, and another.

116.2 adaba wirima='ru:-', ma=riri-∅, mana-ma-n^gu-bagalang^g,
then they abandoned it_c it dried off_c its (MANA) eye
ma=riri-∅ n^gima=na-n^ga:-' n^gara:-'lir, n^gima=na-n^ga:-' n^gara-alir,
it dried off_c it burned it_c sun it burned it_c sun
n^gara:-'gi n^gara:-'n^ybaj, adaba wu:=ya-n^ggi, wirima=rang^gguda-n^gi
this (N^gARA) other then they went_c they selected it_c
mana-ba-dun^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g bagaraag, wirima=munduwa:-'
big eyes cycad nut they examined it_c

Then they (people) left them (nuts) to dry off. The nuts ('eyes') were drying off. The sun heated them, this other (sun). Then they (people) went there and picked out the largest cycad nuts ('eyes'), they examined them.

116.3 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g man-uba-mi-yung^g wirima=lhalwulha-n^gi-yin^yun^g
as for it (MANA) that (MANA) which they soaked_c
wirima=walga:-'yin^yun^g, ya:-nu:-'wuy, aba wi:-nuga=ma-n^gi
which they pounded_c this way then they got stone_c
ana-nuga adaba wirima=walga:-', wirima=mun^gu=mun^yur-ga:-'
stone then they pounded it_c they made it soft_c
wirima=walga=walga:::-', wirima=walga=walga:-'
they pounded it_c
wirima:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni wirima=walga=walga:-'
they piled it up_c they pounded it_c
wirima:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni wirima=walga=walga:-' wirima:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni
they piled it up_c they pounded it_c
wu:=warga-n-di-yin^yun^g war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-wada,
they who got lots_c those (WARA) good food gatherers
Those were the ones which they soaked and pounded with stones. They came and got some stones and beat them to make them soft. They pounded them and made several piles of them. Those good gatherers, the ones who collected lots of nuts.

116.4 wirima=walga=walga:-' wirima:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni ,
they pounded it_c they piled it up_c
wirima-walga=walga:-' wirima:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni, n^ga aba
they pounded it_c they piled it up_c and then now
ana-mada wiri-mada=wanyja:-' wu:-rulgu=rulgulha-n^gi::: n^ga,
grass they pulled up grass_c they made shelter_c and then
ya:-ji-ji:-'la wu:-rulgu=rulgulha-n^gi wirima:=ga:-',
this side they made shelter_c they made bridge/dam_c

They kept pounding the nuts and making piles of them. Then they pulled up some grass and constructed small 'shelters' (enclosures) in the water.

116.5 mari wuru=wayajara-n^gi mari wirima=lhalwulha-n^gi, wirima=
and they laid out bed_c and they soaked it_c they
=lhalwulha-n^gi, wirima-yulu=yula:-'ni::: n^ga, n^gijan^g mana:-'n^ybaj
soaked it_c they stirred it up_c then more other (MANA)
wirima-yulu=yula:-'ni, war-uba-wi wara-wuruj, mana:-'n^ybaj wirima=
they stirred it up_c those (WARA) people other they
=yulu:-'ni, mana:-'n^ybaj wirima-yulu=yula:-'ni, mana:-'n^ybaj
stirred it_c other they stirred it up_c other
wirima=yulu:-'ni, juy! wara-wuruj, ma-gu-ru mana-bagaraag ba-gu,
they stirred it_c go people it cycad nut there

Then they laid out a kind of 'bed' for the nuts in the water (i.e. some grass underneath) and immersed them in the water. They stirred (agitated) those nuts, one after the other. Then the people got up and went away, (leaving) the nuts there.

116.6 ma:-'=wadawadan-ma:-' bagaraag ma-n^gu-bagalan^g-bugij,
cycads became strong_c cycad nut only eye
mana-ma-muwaj bagaraag, wirima=walga:-' a-nuga-wuy wirima=buddha-n^gi
named (MANA) cycad nut they pounded it_c to stone they cooked it_c
aba wirima=walga:-', maran^g-an^yja:bugi:::j mari maran^g-an^yja:bugij
then they pounded it_c one hand (=five) and one hand
mari a-mu:n-guy a-mu:n-guy ma=ya-y, mana-minⁿgan^ga, ma-gu-ru
and to foot to foot it slept_c night it (MANA)
mana-bagaraag,
cycad nut

The cycads became firm. Cycad nuts, just the 'eyes' (nuts), named bagaraag. They pounded them on a stone and cooked them in ashes. About twenty of them (hand, hand, foot, foot). They stayed there (soaking) one night, the cycad nuts.

Note: I assume that 'twenty' refers to the number of nuts and not the number of nights during which they soaked (usually about four, see below).

116.7 adaba wura:='gi:-ni wu:=lalagi:-'ni aba wura:='gi:-ni
then they returned_c they got up_c then they returned_c
nu:=ya-y, ama:-'ma wirima=n^gun^ymaa:-' ama-minⁿgan^ga,
we slept_c this (MANA) they counted it (MANA) sleep
wuru=ya-y, nuru=ya-y, nuru=ya-y, nuru=ya-y,
they slept_c we (ExPl) slept_c
da-mi-yun^g-gaj mu:='lal-mu:='lal, ma=ya-y mana-bagaraag
it is there (MANA) it (MANA) is four it slept_c cycad nut
mana-n^gadhu,
cycad

Then they (people) got up and went back there. We spent one night, we kept track of the nights. They--we slept for three nights. The cycad nuts spent four nights (in the water).

116.8 mana:-'ma adaba wirimi:='ba:-' mana:-'ma
this (MANA) then they ground it (MANA) this (MANA)
mana-ma-bibi-yun^g, wirimi:='ba:-', mana-ma-gugulhanun^y wurugu
its mother (MANA) they crushed it_c small ones (MANA) later
ma=raga:-'ni wirima=na-n^ga:-', wara-mij-bura:yun^g
it (MANA) went in front_c they burned it_c children (Pl)
wara:-'na-n^ga:-', mari wara-mi-ni-mara-yun^g, ma-gu-ru
they burned (it) for them_c and sister's children it (MANA)
mana-ma-gubulu lhanda-miri wirima:='gamba:-',
its body (MANA) by means of oven they roasted it_c
wi:-lhal=a:gamba:-' am-uwa:-mi-waj,
they made oven_c that going along (MANA)

They ground up the 'mother' (large) cycad nuts. Later they ground up the little ones, they (the large ones) came first. They cooked them on a fire, for their children and their nieces and nephews (sisters' children). The main (body) part of the nuts were roasted in a stone oven in the ground. They made an oven.

116.9 mari n^ga wuru=wuru=munduwa-n^yji:-ni, adaba nu-ru
and and then later they gathered_c then we (ExPl)
nura:-'dji=lharma-n^gi-yin^yun^g wa:-dalma:ran^g nuru=warga-n-di
which we hunted (freshwater game)_c tortoise sp. we got lots_c
ana-lhun^yin ana:-'n^ybaj-gana:n^ybaj, na-warmin
file snake various others Saratoga fish
nuru=guda-n^gi-yin^yun^g ana-n^gujija nu:=ra-ni-yin^yun^g
which we caught with hook_c fish which we speared_c
na-yin^gg

ul
bandi ana-a:n^g ana-marbidi na-rabarayala,
barramundi whatchamacallit ray sp. ray sp.
mana-madhala-jin^yun^g nu-ra:-'yun^g,
of beach as for us (ExPl)

And then they (people) assembled together. (We had) freshwater game such as tortoises, file snakes, and others; also fish such as Saratogas which we caught with hook and line, and fish which we speared such as barramundi and various beach-dwelling rays. Us.

116.10 an-ugalij nu:=ra-ni, nu:=ja_cburda-n^gi, dugong (and turtle) we (ExPl) speared it_c we went into water_c nura:='gi:-ni aba nambi=yami-jga:-' wura:='ra:='gi:-ni we returned_c then they did that to us_c they all returned_c an-u-gu-ni, nirima=n^gu-ni aba mana-n^gadhu wirima=wulguldha-n^gi to there we ate it (MANA)_c then cycad they cut it up_c mana-ma-gubulu mana:='rgi wirima=wulguldha-n^gi, its body (MANA) some (MANA) they cut it up_c

We speared dugong and turtles. We went into the water and came back. They told us. They came back to there. Then we ate the cycad nuts. They cut up the body of some of them (nuts).

116.11 ma-gu-ra:='yun^g wu:-yama=yama:-' yi:r wiri=ma-n^gi as for it (MANA) they did that_c dillybag they got it_c mana-bagaraag, wirima=yaba=yaba:-' aba yi:r-miri cycad nut they put it (MANA) in_c then by means of dillybag wiri-ya:=dhalwulha-n^gi, ma=lhalwulhi-/, maran^g-an^yja:bugij they soaked (it) for it_c it (MANA) soaked_c one hand (=five) maran^g-an^yja:bugij mari ya:-ma a-mu:n-guy five and it (MANA) is here to foot maran^g-an^yja:bugij maran^g-an^yja:bugij ma=ya-y five five it (MANA) slept_c ma-gu-ra:='yun^g mana-bagaraag, mana-n^gadhu, as for it (MANA) cycad nut cycad (tree)

They did that (to the) cycad nuts, they got dillybags (string bags) and put them (nuts) in. Then they soaked them with (in) the bags. Five, five, to the feet five, five (i.e. twenty) cycad nuts.

116.12 wirima-liba=waba:-' a:-miri, they wrapped (MANA) in paperbark_c by means of whatchamacallit lhulwu, wa:='ri na-warjara, lhulwu, yi:nini-jin^yun^g paperbark tree sp. not paperbark sp. (see above) soft one (NA) yi:-ba-gi a:-gugu-wa-jin^yun^g yigaj, wirima-liba=aba:-' that (NA) of around water indeed they wrapped it in paperbark_c adaba mana-n^gadhu-yin^yun^g ma-gu-ru, mari mabur-miri then of cycad it (MANA) and by means of string wirima=aba:-' walwur-miri, wirima-yigurun^g=gaba:-', they wrapped it_c by means of string fibre they wrapped bundle_c They wrapped up the nuts in paperbark from lhulwu tree (riverine form of Melaleuca leucadendron), not warjara (other Melaleuca sp.).

That lhulwu tree, the soft(-barked) one, in freshwater country (i.e. along riverbanks). They wrapped up the cycad nuts in paperbark and tied up the bundles with string (from kurrajong tree).

116.13 ana:-'r, wu=walgal, ama:-'n^g-jin^yun^g cycad damper it was separate of whatchamacallit (MANA) mana-ma-gargaya-jin^yun^g wirima=dhurma:='-yin^yun^g, a:r of its (MANA) juice which they crushed cycad damper ana:-'n^ybaj, niri=n^gu-ni, n^gijan^g, wi:=jimung=gaba:-' other (ANA) we (ExPl) ate it_c more they tied up coolamon_c mari wiri=na-n^ga:-', n^gura-miri. and they burned it_c by means of fire

Another way of making cycad food was to make a damper (like bread) from the juicy pulp which they got from grinding up the cycad nuts. We ate that cycad damper (a:r), it was different. They kept it in a coolamon (paperbark container) and cooked it on a fire.

Comments on texts 115 and 116

Cycad trees are briefly described in the note to 115.1. The nuts (fruits) of the female trees were a major staple farther north in Arnhem Land, on Groote Eylandt, and apparently farther south along the Gulf coast starting near Borroloola. Cycads occur in Nunggubuyu country at the place Waldhar (Nunggargalug clan), but are not found in the rest of Nunggubuyu country and seem to be absent from the areas to the immediate south (lower Rose and Roper R. areas). Cycads were therefore of limited significance to the Nunggubuyu.

The large round fruits (nuts) of the female trees can be called the 'eyes' of the tree (116.2), and the term bagaraag 'cycad nut' may contain baG- 'eye'. This is appropriate since the fruits cluster at the top of the trunk.

Texts on cycads also occur in my text collections on the Dhuwal and Ritharngu languages.

TEXT 117 EDIBLE PALMS Ma:di

117.1 wuru=marya:da-n^gi, na-lhalbij, na-jarwariwari-yin^yun^g they were hungry_c fan-palm₁ very long/tall (NA) wa:='ri ambini=lha-n^gi, yi:-ni-dhunudhunun^y-jin^yun^g not they chopped it down of its (NA) sapling yi:-dhama-lhamungur-in^yun^g wini=wuldu-n^gi, wini-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi of short ones (NA) they cut it_c they cut it up_c n^ga, wini-lalba=lal-bi-ni::: n^ga, na-ni-gambal and then they split it_c and then its (NA) head wini-mang^ga=ma-n^gi n^ga yi:r-miri they got it (NA)_c and then by means of dillybag

wuru=wajgi:-ni wini-yaba=yaba:::-' n^ga,
they put things in coolamon_c they put it in_c and then

They (people) were hungry. They did not chop down the tall fan-palms, just the short ones, the half-grown ones. They cut them down and split them open. They got the crown (i.e. the 'heart' of the palm) and put it in a coolamon.

Note: To keep the two fan-palm spp. distinct I will label lhalbij 'fan-palm₁' and wulida 'fan-palm₂'. See comments at end.

117.2 argi wini-rugu=wa-n^ga:-', argi lhanda wini:='gamba:-', some they ate it (NA) raw_c some oven they roasted it_c (interruption), argi lhanda wini:='gamba:-', lhanda-miri, some oven they roasted it_c by means of oven liwa-miri wini:='gamba:-', wiri:='dhuga:-', by means of paperbark they roasted it_c they stabbed it (ANA)_c magandar yagu lhulwu arbidi liwa, paperbark sp. (MANA) or paperbark sp. (NA) anyway paperbark wini:='gamba:-', wini:='di:-ni adaba wari:='-ni they roasted it_c they took it (NA) from fire_c then they gave them_c wara-mij-gulmur nambi:='-ni nu-ru too, da-ni-yun^g, bachelors they gave us_c we (ExPl) it is there (ANA)

Some of the palms they just ate raw on the spot. Some they roasted in an oven in the ground. They roasted them covered with paperbark (bark from any Melaleuca sp.). They slashed the side of a paperbark tree, perhaps magandar (M. cajaputi) or lhulwu (riverine form of M. leucadendron), or any kind of paperbark. They roasted the palm hearts, then they took them out from the fire and gave them to the young me, and to us too (when we were young).

117.3 ni-ga na-lhalbij, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-wulida, ana-wagi-yaj it (NA) fan-palm₁ as for it (NA) fan-palm₂ in south ya:-wa, wagi-yaj, wu:=yama:-'wugij wini-lhan^ga=lha-n^gi::: n^ga they are here in south they only did that_c they chopped it_c then a:-miri wubulubulu-miri wini-yaba=yaba:::-' by means of whatchamacallit by means of container they put it in_c n^ga, wini-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi::: n^ga, wini-radba=rad-bi-ni n^ga, na-ni-gambal then they cut it up_c then they tied it_c then its head wini-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: n^ga, wini-yaba=yaba:::-' wu=damadhan, wini-wulgu=they got it_c then they put it in_c it was full they cut =wulguldha-n^gi na-ni-gambal wini-man^ga=ma-n^gi wu=damadhan, it up_c its head they got it_c it was full

Fan-palm₁. As for fan-palm₂, in the south, these people (e.g. Warndarang) used to do that a lot; they chopped it (fan-palm₂) down, put it in wooden containers (from wood of lhi:rj tree), cut it up and tied it up. They got it (the heart), they put them in containers until they were full. They cut up the head (heart) of the palms.

117.4 adaba wini=n^gu-ni, na-wulida ni-ga:-'yun^g, ni-ga:-'yun^g then they ate it fan-palm₂ as for it (NA) as for it ni=yama:-'wugij lhanda-miri wini:='gamba:-', it (NA) did that only_c by means of oven they roasted it_c na-wulida ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj, yagu little-bit ni-lhamij=gala:di fan-palm₂ it as well (NA) but it has bad taste na-lhalbij, ni-ga:-'yun^g na-a:n^g na-wulida fan-palm₁ as for it (NA) whatchamacallit (NA) fan-palm₂ lhamin^y-mamalan^g, wini:='gamba:-', wini=n^gu-ni ana-wagi-yaj, good tasting they roasted it_c they ate it_c to south mari wara:-'wa ana:-'rga:-'rgali, ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g and these (WARA) in west this (ANA) coming ana-wunumbi-yaj nu-ri:-'n^yin^yung ana-lha:l wa:='ri, to north ours (ExPl) country it (ANA) is absent ni:='ri, it (NA) is absent

Then they ate it, that fan-palm₂ (just like fan-palm₁), it was just the same. They roasted it (fan-palm₂) in an oven in the ground. However, that fan-palm₁ for its part tasted a little bit bad, while fan-palm₂ is good-tasting. They used to roast it in an oven and eat it, in the south. Also those people here in the west, but going north from here in our (Nunggubuyu) country there is nothing, there are no fan-palms₂.

Note: At the end, ni:='ri can be taken as a correction for wa:='ri (with the wrong noun class for 'fan-palm₂'). Since wa:='ri is the general negative element, we might say that ni:='ri is more precise than wa:='ri.

117.5 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara-n^gabann^ga, nuru=marya:da-n^gi, as for it (N^gARA) palm sp. we were hungry_c nirin^ga-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi::: n^ga, ana-lhiribala-yin^yung we cut it (N^gARA) up_c and then of below n^gara-n^gari-dhalaman-jin^yung nirin^ga:='ru:-', yi:-yarwagarwar-in^yung its (N^gARA) lower part we abandoned it_c of on top yi:-n^gari-gambal-in^yung nirin^ga=ma-n^gi, nirin^ga=lal-bi-ni, its head we (ExPl) got it_c we split it_c n^gari-gambal-wugij nirin^ga=ma-n^gi::: n^ga, only its head we got it_c and then As for it, n^gabann^ga (another palm sp.), (when) we were hungry) we used to cut it open. We left the lower part of the palm alone and took the crown (the heart). We split up (the tree) and got just heart.

Note: The exact sense of n^gari-dhalaman (line 3) is not clear; other elderly informants felt that the word was misused here by Ma:di. The root, lhalaman, generally means 'sticky substance' (such as wax in ears).

117.6 narin^ga-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi n^gari-gambal-wugij
 we cut it up_c only its head
 narin^ga-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: n^ga, n^gari-gambal-ugij narin^ga-man^ga=ma-n^gi
 we got it_c then only its head we got it_c
 narin^ga-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi::: n^ga, xxx, n^gara-n^gabann^ga
 we cut it up_c and then (unclear) palm sp.
 n^gajan^ga, aba nu:=yi-n^yji:-ni narin^ga=n^gu-ni,
 more and then then we gave each other_c we ate it (N^gARA)_c
 n^gara-n^gabann^ga n^gi-ga:-'yun^g-gaj, wa:='ri ambirin^ga:='gamba:-'
 palm sp. it (N^gARA) also not they roasted it
 arbidi-wugij, narin^ga=n^gu-ni n^gara-n^gabann^ga narin^ga=n^gu-ni.
 only anyway we ate it_c palm sp. we ate it_c

We cut it up and took the heart only. That other palm sp. Then we passed it around and ate it. That palm sp. as well (as the two fan-palms). They did not roast it in an oven in the ground, we just ate it anyway (i.e. without cooking).

Comments on text 117

The smaller fan-palm₁, Livistona humilis, is common farther north (e.g. around Darwin) but extends south to Nunggubuyu territory (but no farther south in the coastal region). The somewhat larger fan-palm₂, Livistona loriphylla, is found south of the Rose R., hence mainly in Warndarang and Mara rather than Nunggubuyu country. (The Nunggubuyu sometimes visited these southern areas.) The third palm, n^gabann^ga, is said to occur to the north both on the mainland and on Groote Eylandt, and is tentatively identified as Ptychosperma elegans. Current taxonomic revisions on Palmae are likely to result in redesignations of these spp.

The eating of the hearts of young palms was only occasional in traditional Nunggubuyu subsistence, partly because these palms did not abound in Nunggubuyu country and partly because the hearts were not so relished that they made the work worthwhile. Ma:di prefaces his discussions of how palms were obtained with expressions like 'we were hungry', suggesting that these foods were resorted to in times of limited food resources.

All three spp. were eaten raw; the two fan-palms were sometimes cooked in the ground.

TEXT 118 EDIBLE MANGROVE FRUITS Ma:di

118.1 wuru-gali=ja:ra-n^gi n^ga, wiri-'r=wudi:-ni
 they had fun_c and then they dug for water_c
 wiri:-'r=wudi:-ni ana-lhawa:lig n^ga, adaba wirima-man^ga=ma-n^gi
 they dug for water_c well (water) and then then they got it (MANA)_c
 mana:-'ran^yann^gu, mana-lhalgur-in^yung, wirima-man^ga=ma-n^gi:::
 mangrove fruits of mangrove tree sp. they got it_c

ana-wunumbi-yaj wa:='ri, ya:-ni n^ga nuganan^gga
 to north not it (ANA) is here and then (place n.)
 n^ga yu:-gu-ni wagi-yaj, wirima-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: n^ga,
 and then to there to south they got it (MANA)_c and then
 ma-gu-ru ma:-'ni=bada-n^gi mana-lhanda,
 it (MANA) it burned_c oven

They (people) were having a good time. They dug wells for water. Then they got some (fruits) of a mangrove tree (Avicennia marina). They got it, not to the north of here (Numbulwar), rather around here, at the place Nuganan^gga (island in Rose R. estuary area), and there to the south. They got it (fruits of this tree). The oven was burning.

Note: aran^yann^gu (line 3, previous page) refers specifically to the fruits of this tree (lhalgur).

118.2 wirima:='gamba:-', wirima:='gamba:-', wirima:='gamba::::'
 they roasted it_c
 ma-naga=nagi:-ni::: n^ga adaba wirima:='di:-ni, adaba
 it (MANA) burned_c and then then they took it out_c then
 a:-gugu-wuy wirima:-'ra=lhalwulha-n^gi, wirima:-'ra=lhalwulha-n^gi
 to water they soaked it all_c
 yimbaj-bugij, adaba yimbaj-bugij wirima=dhurma:-',
 today only then today only they crushed it_c
 wirima-dhu=dhurma:-' wirima-dhu=dhurma:-' wirima-dhu=dhurma:-'
 they crushed it_c
 wirima-dhu=dhurma:-' adaba ma=yiwuj,
 then it was cool/refreshing

They roasted the fruits in the oven in the ground. They (fruits) were burning (i.e. being cooked). Then they (people) took them out of the oven and put them in fresh water to soak. On the same day (i.e. a few hours later) they began to grind the fruits. They were cooled off then.

Note: The last word here, ma=yiwuj, can mean 'it was cool' (not warm) or 'it was refreshing'. In this context it appears to refer mainly not to cool temperature, although of course the fruits do cool off in the water after being cooked, but rather to being leached of bitter-tasting acids or other substances which make them inedible without this preparation.

118.3 wirima=wurya-n^gi gu:gu-miri, adaba
 they poured on it (MANA)_c by means of water then
 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ma=yiwny-ma:-' wa:='ri
 as for it (MANA) it became cool/refreshing_c not
 ama:='ya-ma:-', wu:=yama:-' adaba
 it became bitter tasting they did that_c then
 wirima-n^garan-n^gu=dhurma:-' am-uwa:-mi-yaj mana-ma-n^garan
 they crushed heap_c that (MANA) along there heap of it

wirima-bu=bura-n^gi yuwa:-gu wirima-bu=bura-n^gi yuwa:-gu
they put it (MANA)_c there

wirima-bu=bura-n^gi ya:-ji, wirima-bu=bura-n^gi mana-ma-n^garan,
here heap of it (MANA)

mana:-'ran^yann^gu ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj,
fruit of mangrove it (MANA) also

They pour (fresh) water on top of the fruits, (which) have become refreshing (see note to preceding segment), not bad-tasting. They (people) used to do that. They would grind the fruits up in a heap. They would put them there, there, here, (several) heaps of those mangrove fruits.

118.4 wa:-'dha:=dharwara-ma:-' adaba nambi:-'ni
it became dusk_c then they gave us (ExPl)_c
an^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:bugij-gaj nirima=n^gu-ni, lhamin^y-mamalan^g
one by one we ate it_c good tasting
mana:-'ma ambalaman n^gun^yju wara-wulburu-yi:, mana:-'ran^yann^gu,
this (MANA) good similar like round yam sp. mangrove fruit
ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, wara-min^y-n^gambara, ya:-ni:-'li
it (MANA) also elders it (ANA) is from here
n^ga, nuganan^gga-ala numbulwar-ala n^ga yu:-gu-ni
and then from (place n.) from (place n.) and then to there
wagi-yaj, ana-wunumbi-yaj ma:='ri.
to south to north it (MANA) is absent

The day wore on and late afternoon or dusk arrived. They (the adults) gave us each (some of the cooked fruits) and we ate them. These fruits were good-tasting, pretty good, like wulburu yams (*Dioscorea* sp., see texts on yams below). From around here, from Numbulwar and the island Nuganan^gga down that way to the south, (but) there is none in the north.

Comments on text 118

Mangroves are a variety of trees (not closely related botanically) which form dense jungle-like areas on the banks of tidal rivers, in estuaries, etc. Some spp. like ana (*Rhizophora* sp.) have immense buttressed roots which are exposed at low tide. Except for the present sp. (*Avicennia*), mangroves do not provide edible vegetable foods.

The small green fruits of Avicennia were occasionally harvested in the old days as described here. This food was relatively insignificant in Nungubuyu subsistence, and although there are many trees of this sp. near the present Numbulwar Mission I have not observed anyone preparing this food and have been told that virtually no one eats it any longer. The present informant's enthusiasm for Avicennia was also shared by the man Laran^gana; both are in the Murungun clan, which has this as a minor totem and has a few songs about it.

TEXT 119

FRUITS OF N^gURU TREE (MALAISIA)

Ma:di

119.1 wu:=ya-n^ggi adaba, wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi n^ga, "wuwag
they went_c then they went_c and then crow
ya:-gi ni=da-n^gi" wini-gi-na-ni,
it (NA) is here it (NA) defecated_c they saw its (NA) excrement_c
"ana-n^guru-yin^yun^g ni=n^gu-ni n^ga ni=da-n^gi n^ga
of tree sp. it (NA) ate it_c and then it defecated_c and then
n^guru-waj, yay! ni=da-n^gi ni=da-n^gi ya:-gi ya:-gi,
around tree sp. hey! it defecated it (NA) is here
ari n^ga n^guru" adaba wu:=yabi:-'ni,
maybe and then tree sp. then they entered_c

They (people) went along. Someone saw crow droppings. "Crows have defecated here. They ate fruits of n^guru tree (Malaisia scandens) and then defecated here. Maybe there are (ripe) n^guru trees here." Then they went into the rainforest (to look for these trees).

Note: Malaisia is actually a shrub or woody vine, and is often found in coastal rainforest scrub.

119.2 wu:=yabi:-'ni wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi araga mana-lhan^gada
they entered_c they went_c suddenly jungle
ma=n^galn^gala-n^gi, mana-lhan^gada ma=n^galn^gala-n^gi, aba
it (MANA) was bright_c then
wu:-lhilgi=lhilgi-wi-ni::: gari manja-manjar-yi:::j
they broke it off_c having (creole) having foliage
n^ga, adaba wuru=buri-/, ana-lhabara wiri=bura-n^gi,
and then then they sat_c coolamon they put it_c
wuru-miri=mira:-'ni wu-milbarwa:::r n^ga
they rubbed it in hands_c its (ANA) small leaves and then
wu-gubulu wuru-waji=yaba:-' arbidi,
its (ANA) body they put it in together_c anyway

They went in (the scrub). Suddenly the rainforest was shining brightly (i.e. they saw bright-colored fruits on the trees). They broke off branches of the trees, leaves and all. They stopped (at a convenient place) and put down some coolamons (paperbark containers). They rubbed the branches briskly in their hands. The small leaves and the body (branches) were put in together (not sorted into separate heaps).

Note: -milbarwar (line 5) is a special term for leaves of certain plants including yams and this particular tree sp.

119.3 wuru-yaba=yaba::: wu=damadhan-maga:, wu:=ya-n^ggi
they put it in_c it was full they went_c
a:-'n^yba-duj wu:-yaba=yaba::: wu=damadhan-maga: ana-n^guru,
at other (ANA) they put it in_c it was full tree sp.

wu:-yaba=yaba:-' wu=damadhan-maga:, a-bulayi
they put it in_c it was full billycan (Eng. loan)
ana:-'rgi wu:-yaba=yaba:-' wu=damadhan-maga:, a-bulayi ana:-'rgi
some (ANA) they put it in_c it was full billycan some (ANA)
wu:-yaba=yaba:-' wu=damadhan-maga: mana-lhan^gada ma=wulululha-n^gi,
they put it in_c it was full jungle it shone_c
ma=nagi:-ni ma:-'mburu=nagi:-ni, red-one,
it (MANA) burned_c it (MANA) burned brightly_c

They kept putting the branches into the coolamons and filling them up. They went to another spot and did the same thing. Sometimes they put them in billycans instead of coolamons. The jungle was shining brightly, it was blazing with red (fruits).

Notes: Billycans are, of course, not a traditional artifact but have been in use for many decades in this area.

We have good exx. here of "color" terms, which are often verbs rather than nouns: =n^galn^gala- 'to be white, light-colored, or bright'; =wulululha- 'to be bright-colored' (especially of spotted or other multi-colored patterns); -amburu=nagi- 'to burn brightly'. Of these, =wulululha- is especially common in connection with ripe fruits, especially if they are reddish, yellowish, or of other bright colors. For =n^galn^gala- see 119.2 and 119.4.

119.4 wu=n^galn^gala-n^gi, ana-n^guru wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g mari aba
it (ANA) was bright_c tree sp. as for it (ANA) and then
wura:='gamba:-', wura:='ga:='gamba:-' yuwa:-gu wura:='ga:='gamba:-'
they roasted it_c they roasted it_c there they roasted it_c
ya:-ji wura:='ga:='gamba:-' yuwa:-gu wura:='ga:='gamba:-',
here they roasted it_c there they roasted it_c
wu:=yama:-' n^ga wura:='di:-ni, adaba lhagayag, wa:='ri
they did that_c and then they took it out_c then saltwater not
ana:-gugu ambura:='lima:-', lhagaya-miri wuru=walima:-',
fresh water they got water by means of saltwater they got water_c
It was bright, that n^guru tree. They roasted it in an oven in the ground, here and there (i.e. two or three ovens). They did that, then they took it out of the ovens. Then saltwater--they did not get fresh water, they got saltwater and used it.

119.5 aba lhagayag wuru=dhurma:-', wuru-dhu=dhurma:-'
then saltwater they crushed it_c they crushed it_c
wuru-ni=nini-ga:-' wuru-dhu=dhurma:---' mijimid
they made it soft_c they crushed it_c together (creole)
wu=milbarwar, wuru-waji=yala-n^gi bu-gu-nu:-'
its (ANA) leaves they mixed it with water_c to there
wu=milbarwar, wu=miliba, wuru-dhu=dhurma:-' wuru-dhu=dhurma:-'
its leaves its flower they crushed it_c they crushed it_c
wuru-dhu=dhurma:-',

Then they crushed the fruits (manually) with the saltwater, to make it nice and soft. They crushed it together with its leaves, and put everything, including leaves and flowers, there in with the saltwater. They kept crushing it.

119.6 mari wuru-ja=jan^ggaraga:-' n^ga o:-'wa:-ni n^ga
and they molded it into heap_c and then that (ANA) and then
a:-'ni mari da-ga-waj wuru-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi
this (ANA) and up to there they cut it up_c
wuru-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi wuru-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi, wu:=yama:-'
they did that_c
war-uba-wi-yun^g wu:=na-n^yji:-ni wara-wuru,j,
those (WARA) they saw each other_c people (WARA)
wuru-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi wuru-wulgu=wulguldha-n^gi war-uwa:-wi-waj
they cut it up_c those going (WARA)
ana:-'ni wan^ggu=milga:-' nambi:=-ni,
this (ANA) it was available to them all_c they gave us_c
*n^gara-n^garan-dhama-lhamungur-wugij, nuru=n^gu-ni wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj
only short heaps we ate it_c it also
ana-n^guru,
tree sp.

Then they made little heaps of it (with their hands), here and there. They cut it up like that. They did that, those people who were facing each other. They cut it up. There was some for all of those people, they (old people) gave some to us, small heaps of it. We ate that, n^guru as well (as other foods described in other texts).

* Here both dhamungur 'short' and n^garan- 'heap' are reduplicated. The initial n^gara- is not the N^gARA noun class prefix.

119.7 ana:-argi a:-'ni-guy nuru=buddha-n^gi
some (ANA) to coals we cooked it in ashes/coals_c
wu-garbidi nuru=n^gu-ni, nura:='di:-ni, a:-'ban-guy,
anything (ANA) we ate it_c we took it out_c to ground
nuru=buddha-n^gi, nu:=lhagugulhanun^ygi:-ni-yin^yung, ana-n^guru,
we cooked it_c which we had as light meal_c tree sp.
ya:-ni:-'li ana:-'ni n^ga n^guru-wugij,
it is from here (ANA) this (ANA) and then only tree sp.
ana-wunumbi-ya:::j n^ga juy! n^ga ran^yjuga,
to north and then go and then (place n.)
ana-wunumbi-ya:j ana-wagi-ya:::j ya:-ni:-'li::: n^ga juy!
to north to south it is from here and then go
n^ga wuyagiba, ana-n^guru, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj,
and then (place n.) tree sp. it (ANA) also

Sometimes we cooked it in hot ashes and coals (rather than in a pit oven), not in a special way. We took it out and ate it. We put it into the ground and cooked it in ashes and coals (then ate it). The times when we just wanted a light snack from that *n̄guru* tree. That tree sp. is found north from here (Numbulwar), at the place *Ran̄y juga* and farther north. North and south from here, for example at *Wuyagiba* (around mouth of Roper R.). That *n̄guru*.

119.8 ana:-'ni wu=gan^yjagan^yja, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj
this (ANA) it is prolific as for it (ANA)
nuru-n̄gu-n̄nu=n̄g u-n̄ni wara-min^y-n̄gambara, ana-n̄guru ana:-'ni, aba
we ate it_c elders tree sp. this (ANA) then
ana-yimbaj wa:='ri na:mbu=n̄ga-n̄g, wu=warga-n̄-ji: yagu
today not we eat it it (ANA) has many (fruits) but
da-ni yagu wa:='ri na:mbu=n̄ga-n̄g, marya yamba ya:-ni
that (ANA) but not we eat it food because it is here
nan̄gu=dhalaliga-n̄y wara-munu-munang^ga-yin^yun^g.
it attracted us (ExPl)_p of white people

These fruits (*n̄guru*) are found all over the place (are very abundant). We used to eat it, us old people, this *n̄guru* tree. However, these days we do not eat it any longer. It still has lots of fruits, but that--but we do not eat it, because we have come to like white man food.

TEXT 120 QUEENSLAND TAR TREE (WILD CASHEW)
Ma:di

120.1 ana-gin^yawuy, wa:='ri ana:-'ni, lulmara
tar tree it is absent this (ANA) (place n.)
wu-wan^yja-n̄gu=bura:-' guyundujbi, mari Koolatong n̄aya-wi
food sits (place n.) and (place n.) it is mine
n̄an̄gu=yaba-n̄-duj, ana-gin^yawuy, ama-balbi-yi:, wu=yama-na
where it bore me_p tar tree like tree sp. it does that
n̄a juy! wunumbi-yaj, wara-balamumu-wuy, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
and then go to north to (n. of tribe) as for it (ANA)
ana:-'ni:-'la ana-majan^ga-ala n̄a an-uba-ga:-'la n̄a
this coming (ANA) from (place n.) and then from there and then
ana:-'ni ana-lha:l-wuy nu-ri:-'wuy, wa:='ri ana-gin^yawuy,
this (ANA) to country to our it is absent tar tree
wu-wan^yja:='ri,
food is absent

Queensland tar tree (=wild cashew, *Semecarpus australiensis*). There is none at this place. There is some of that at Lulmara and Guyundujbi, and around the Koolatong River (north of Nunggubuyu country along the coast). There at the country which bore me (i.e. my mother's country). Tar tree, sort of like balbi tree (*Sterculia*

quadrifida), like that. It is found to the north, in the country of the Balamumu people (speakers of Dhay'yī, Dhuwal, and other Yuulngu languages). However, from the place Majan^ga (between Walker and Koolatong Rivers) this way, to our country, there is none of this tree, the tar tree, there is none.

Note: Observe compounding prefix -wan^yja- (lines 2, 7) agreeing with 'tar tree', indicating that it is a food source.

120.2 ba-ni-yaj, wiri-mana=ma-ni::: wa:='ri
there it (ANA) goes they get it not
ambara=ji:bu-ga-n̄g wara-mij-buruyag wara-n̄gala-n̄galan^yji,
they put them close children girls
min^y-n̄gari-n̄gambara-aj-bugij n̄a wirima=na-n̄g a-na
only among elder women and then they burn it (MANA)
wirima-mana=ma-ni::: wirima-man^ga=ma-n̄g i an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj
they get it they got it_c long ago
ari muga wirima=ma-ni,
maybe indeed they get it

At that place (i.e. to the north), they get it (tar tree). They do not let the children (boys) and the girls get too close to it (i.e. to where they are cooking it), just among the older women. They cook it on an open fire. They get it (tree). They used to get it; maybe they (still) do.

Note: 'tar tree' can be either ANA(*wu*) or MANA in noun class assignment. In the middle of this segment it changes to MANA.

120.3 ana-lha:wu-yin^yun^g n̄ambi-maga=maga:-' ana-story,
of words they told me_c words
wirima-man^ga=ma-n̄g i n̄a, adaba wa:='ri ambirimba=buddha-n̄g i,
they got it (MANA)_c and then then not they cooked it in ashes
wirima=ru-bi-ni ma-naga=nagi:-ni::: n̄a, wa:='ri n̄gijan^g--
they cooked it_c it (MANA) burned_c and then not more
ana:-'ji amban^ggu-ji=na-ni ana-n̄gura, a-bujinbala-yi:
here it got close to them fire like poison (Eng. loan)
wu=yama:-' an-u-n̄gu-ban, ba-mi-yun^g ama-gin^yawuy-ala
it did that_c its smoke (ANA) it (MANA) is there from tar tree
Ø=wan-bi-ni, (fire) warmed it_c

(This is) the story which they told me. They used to get it (nuts of tar tree). They did not cook it in ashes and coals, rather they cooked it on an open fire. It was burning. The fire did not get close to them (i.e. they stayed well away), like poison (i.e. the smoke could cause choking, etc.). The smoke was like that, poison. The fire kept it (nuts of tar tree) warm.

120.4 malang^ga-n̄y anay wu:-n̄gara-n̄gu=buri-Ø,
far away they sat_c

o:-:'wa:-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala wuru-dha=gurama:-'
 from that coming they went around_c
 wiri:='gadharga-n-di an-uba-ni-yun^g wu=bu:la-n^gi=yin^yun^g,
 they stayed away from fire_c that (ANA) it which smoked_c
 wirima:='di:-ni, wirima-la=lala:-'-ni:::
 they took it (MANA) out_c they shelled it (MANA)_c
 wirima-miri=mira:-'-ni mana-ma-n^gumi:::j n^ga, adaba
 they rubbed it in hands_c its (MANA) pieces and then then
 wirima=n^gu-ni, ambalamana=tucker,
 they ate it_c good food

They (people) remained far away (while it cooked). They went around (i.e. did not directly approach) from that place. They stayed away from the fire while it was smoking. Then (finally) they took them (nuts) out of the fire, shelled them, and rubbed them briskly in their hands (to crumble them), the little pieces. Then they ate them. Good food.

120.5 an-u-n^gu-ban-jin^yun^g wa:='ri ambiri=yanbi:-ni,
 of its smoke not they did that to it
 mana-ma-la-yin^yun^g ma=a:n^g, ma=maragarij.
 of its (MANA) outer shell whatchamacallit (MANA) it was dangerous
 mari mana-ma-n^gumij, wa:='ri n^gijan^g amburu=bajirin^yjirin^gi:='-ni
 and pieces (MANA) not more they poked selves in eye
 wa:='ri mana-bagan^g, wu:-dir=n^gawi:='-ni, ama-bagan^g ama:='-ma,
 not eye they were afraid_c eye this (MANA)

They did not do it (eat) the outer shell, which had been smoked. It was whatchamacallit, dangerous (inedible). The little pieces (they avoided, except for the edible parts). They did not rub their eyes (after handling the nuts), they were afraid (that they would damage their eyes). These eyes here.

Note: ma-an^g in line 2 may really be ma=an^g 'it (MANA) was whatchamacallit', that is, a nonverbal (adjectival) predicate form with intransitive pronominal prefix.

120.6 n^gijan^g an-uba-ni ambama-ba=jibara-n^gi yagu
 more that (ANA) it would get into their eyes_c but
 amburu=altogether amburu=wugiwuguni-maga:='
 they would be permanent (creole) they would be permanent
 yagi-maga: ambura:='ran^gga:='-, da-ni-yun^g.
 not they would look it is there

Moreover, in the event that it (tar tree, i.e. from rubbing eyes after handling it) got into their eyes, they would be permanent (permanently blinded), they would not be able to see. That is that.

TEXT 121 EATING ROOTS OF TREE SAPLINGS
 Ma:di

121.1 ni-ga:='yun^g na-yan^yjug, na-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g wa:='ri
 as for it (NA) tree sp. big ones (NA) not
 ambini=ma-n^g, wura:yun^g, ni-gulhunundhunun^g, niwa:='ban=galhari:='
 they get it small ones its (NA) sapling it pokes through ground
 wu:-rigi=riga-n-ji::: wini=n^gargiwa-na, yi:-lhi:r-ji:,
 they dig they break it (NA) off like kapok tree
 wu:-rigi=riga-n-ji: wini=n^gargiwa-na, yuwa:-gu wu:=riga-n-ji:
 there they dig
 wini=n^gargiwa-na, yuwa:-gu wini=n^gargiwa-na wini=n^gargiwa-na,
 they break it off there
 na-ni-dan^gag mari na-ni-manjar yu:-gu-ni wini=barawudi:='
 its (NA) wood and its (NA) leaves to there they throw it
 ni-gubulu-wugij wini=ma-ni, na-yan^yjug,
 only its (NA) body they get it tree sp.

As for yan^yjug tree (unidentified), they do not get the big (full-grown) trees, rather the small ones, the saplings (perhaps one metre high). It (sapling) has broken through the ground. They (people) dig it up and break it off, just like kapok tree (wild cotton, *Cochlospermum* sp.). They dig and break it off, then they do the same over there (with another sapling), and over there (another). They throw the wood and the foliage away, they just get the 'body' (the edible interior, especially under the ground).

Note: The roots of both this tree and *Cochlospermum* were eaten in this fashion, perhaps *Cochlospermum* more often.

121.2 mari wini=na-n^ga-na a-n^gura-wuy, wini=ru-bu-ma-na, wa:='ri
 and they burn it to fire they cook it not
 ambini=buddha-n^g, wini=ru-bu-ma-na, wini-rubu=ru-bu-ma-na
 they cook it in ashes they cook it they cook it
 ni-naga=nagi:-na n^ga adaba ni=murmbuli:='', ni=murmbuli:='',
 it burns and then then it gets hot

adaba nuga-miri wini=walga-na,
 then by means of stone they pound it

Then they cook it on an open fire, they cook in on a fire. They do not cook it covered in ashes. They cook it on the fire. It is burning, it gets very hot. Then they pound it with a stone.

121.3 wini-ran^yba-ran^y=balga-na::: wini-dha=dhawaruma-na,
 they pound its pulp they spin it around
 wini-n^gara-n^garan-bulu=wula-ga-na a-wagi-waj, na-nidhun^g,
 they multiply it (NA) to south tree sp. (error)

ni-n^guman ni-n^guman na:-'gi ni-n^guman,
 its (NA) edible root this (NA)
 lhamin^y-mamalan^g, na-yan^yjug ni-ga, adaba nambi:='-yi: ni:ni=n^gu-ni,
 good tasting tree sp. it (NA) then they give us we ate it_c
 an-uba-ni-yung^g-gaj yagu adaba wa:='ri ana-yimbaj na:ni=n^ga-n^g, adaba
 long ago but now not today we eat it now
 wara-munu-munang^ga-yin^yun^g mary-a-wugij yamba ya:-ni
 of white people only food because it (ANA) is here
 nuru=n^gu-yi: wa:='ri an-u-gu-ni ana-bush-baj nu-ri:='waj
 we eat it not to there in the bushland in our
 yuwa:-ni wa:='ri na:mbu-waraga=raga-n^g.
 it is there not we search

They pound it (with the stones) to make it soft (pulp-like). They spin them around. They repeat that (with the others). In the south, that nidhung^g tree (error?). Its yan^yjug tree. They give it to us. In the old days we used to eat that, but nowadays we do not eat it, because now we just eat white man food here. We do not go to our country over there to look for that tree.

Notes: Ma:di is indicating here that although he has been using the present tense, this ethnobotanical practice is no longer in use. The term nidhung^g in the last line of the preceding page refers to the 'freshwater mangrove', Barringtonia acutangula, which is found on the edge of freshwater billabongs. This was apparently an error for yan^yjug, the sp. being discussed here.

TEXT 122 KURRAJONG TREE
Ma:di

122.1 wirima-wulgu=wulguldhi:=-'n^ga, n^ga adaba now ana-ran^gag
 they cut it up (MANA) and then now wood
 wiri=ma-ni, adaba wirimu:='-ma-na wirimu:='mu:='-ma-na:=-, they get it now they hit it (MANA) they hit it
 wirima=buri:='-, n^gijan^g mana:='n^ybaj wirimu:='mu:='-ma-na, they put it down more other (MANA) they hit it
 yi:-n^garugali-jun^gguyun^g yi:-n^gala:ligi-yun^gguyun^g wu:=ra-yi:, for dugong for turtle they spear it
 wirimu:='mu:='-ma-na:=- n^ga adaba n^gun^yju ama:='-mi-yi: they hit it and then now similar like this (MANA)
 ama-rope-ji: yaga:, ma=yama-na, like rope it (MANA) does that

They cut it (kurrajong tree) down and then get the wood. They hit it (i.e. roll the bark fibre together to make some string). They put it down, then do it again with another one. For dugongs and green turtles, they spear them (with string of this type attached to the harpoon). They hit it (making rope), like this rope.

122.2 adaba wuru=ra-yi: an-ugalij, ana:='rgi
 now they spear it dugong and turtle some (ANA)
 wirima=lhurwa-na, wirima-lhurwu=lhurwa-na
 they twist it into rope they twist it into rope
 wara:='-dhu=dhurwa-na a-dhurabada-yung^gguyun^g,
 they twist it for them (error in redup. form) for wire spear
 wuru=malirimayi:-na-yun^gguyun^g, wuru=wani:-'na-yun^gguyun^g, so that they play games with rope so that they do it
 an-u-n^gadugu wuru=guda-n^gi, an-uba-ni-yung^g-gaj,
 its rope (ANA) they caught it_c long ago
 wara:='=dhurwa:=' an-u-n^gadugu n^gijang,
 they twisted it into rope for them its rope (ANA) more
 Then they spear (harpoon) dugong or turtles (with that string). Sometimes they make rope (twisting bark fibre together). They twist it into rope for them (other people), to make wire spears, or to play games with rope, to do it. They used to catch fish (with) the rope, in the old days. They made rope for them then.

122.3 da-ni-yun^g, mana-yarawug ma-gu-ra:='yun^g, wu-gu-ra:='yun^g
 it is there kurrajong tree as for it (MANA) as for it
 ana-tucker-yin^yun^g wirima=buddha-n^gi, mari wirima=buya:='-ni
 of food they cooked it in ashes_c and they blew it_c
 n^ga ma-gin-bugij wirima=buddha-n^gi, and then only its (MANA) nut flesh they cooked it in ashes_c
 ma-gu-ra:='yun^g mana-ma-n^gumij yu:-gu-ni wirima=barawuda-n^gi, as for it (MANA) little bits (MANA) to there they threw it_c
 mana:='-ma, ma-gu-ra:='yun^g, adaba wirima=n^gu-ni, this (MANA) as for it (MANA) then they ate it_c
 That (is what we did). As for the kurrajong tree (Brachychiton paradoxum, one of two kurrajong spp.), they cooked the nuts in the sand with ashes and coals; they blew on them (to blow away the fine bristles inside the pod covering the small nuts). They only cooked the flesh of the nuts, and they got rid of the little bits (the bristles). This (kurrajong food), they ate it then.

122.4 ma-ragal=jambi:-ni damur! damur! damur! damur!, it (MANA) made noise_c (noise)
 n^gun^yju ama-madiga-yi:, ma-gu-ra:='yun^g mana-yarawug, similar like root nut sp. as for it (MANA) kurrajong tree
 da-ni-yun^g ana-story, ana:='rgi wa:-ra:='la:='la:di-yin^yung^g, it is there words some (ANA) bad-toothed ones
 we no-more gari ra:, wirima=walg^ga:='-, nuga-miri, we not have tooth they pounded it_c by means of stone
 wirima=mun^yur-ga:='-, wirima=lhalwulha-n^gi yu:-gu-ni a:-gugu-wuy they made it soft_c they soaked it_c to there to water

mari wirima=n^gu-ni, wirima=n^gu-ni, mana-yarawug, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g, and they ate it_c kurrajong tree as for it (MANA) da-ni-yun^g. it is there

They (nuts in fire) made a kind of crackling sound, somewhat like that of the root nuts of the sedge madiga (Eleocharis dulcis). That is the story. Sometimes, those of us who do not have good teeth, they would pound the nuts with a stone to soften them up. Then they let the nuts soak a little in water, then they ate them. That kurrajong tree. That is all.

Comments on text 122

There are two kurrajong trees in the area, of which yarawug (B. paradoxum) is most important both for its edible nuts and its bark fibre (used in making string and rope). The other is adija (B. diversifolium), which can be exploited in the same ways, though its nuts are less esteemed. The two kurrajongs have fruits in the form of hard outer shells with many small nuts inside, covered with a fine 'fur' of tiny bristles. Aboriginals are very much afraid of getting these bristles in their eyes; they avoid rubbing their eyes after handling the nuts and usually avoid the food altogether when there is a good breeze blowing.

The two kurrajongs figure in the myth of Dugong and Green Turtle (text 42).

TEXT 123 EDIBLE GUM ON WATTERS Ma:di

123.1 min^yarn^g, min^yarn^g mari wurgala, binan^g mana-ma-muwaj, wattle sp. and wattle sp. wattle gum named (MANA) Ø-ran^ga=bali:-'-yin^yung mana-min^yarn^g mari mana-wurgala-yin^yung it which is smeared on tree wattle sp. and of wattle sp. Ø-ran^ga=bali:-', binan^g ya:-ma, mana-ma-muwaj, it is smeared on tree gum it is here (MANA) named (MANA) nirima=lhilgi-wu-ma-na, nirima=lhilgi-wi-ni an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj, we break it (MANA) off we broke it off_c long ago ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-wurgala-yin^yung nirima=lhilgi-wi-ni, as for it (MANA) of wattle sp. we broke it off_c ma=landhirn^gindi-Ø, ma=landhirn^gindi-Ø, it (MANA) was very high_c

A wattle tree sp. (Acacia torulosa), and another wattle sp. (unidentified). That which is smeared on its side is called binan^g (wattle gum), of either of those two wattle spp. This is gum, named thus. We break bits of it off--we used to break it off in the old days (speaking of the first wattle sp.). For its part, the second wattle sp. as well, we broke its gum off. It (tree) was high (tall).

Note: Acacia torulosa is very common on the dunes at Numbulwar

Mission; the gum is still frequently eaten by adults and children. The other sp. (wurgala) is apparently another Acacia sp. with flower spikes (not globular flowers) and with leaves like those of A. holosericea but even wider (and perhaps shorter).

123.2 mana:-'rgi mana-nini-jin^yun^g nirima=n^gu-ni, nirima=n^gu-yi:, some (MANA) soft one (MANA) we ate it_c we eat it mana-wadawadad-jin^yun^g nirima=lhalwulhi:-', ar-ma-mawura:duj strong one we soak it cold water ana:-gugu, ma=lhalwulha:-' ma-nini-ma-na n^gijan^g, mana-wurgala water it soaks it becomes soft more wattle sp. mari mana-binan^g, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g, mana:-'ma, gari tucker, and wattle sp. as for it (MANA) this (MANA) having food marya ambalaman, wa:='ri n^gijan^g na:mbu=barama-n^g food good not more we get constipated na:mbu-dan=barama-n^g na:mbu-dan=gaya-n^g, we get constipated guts we are hurt in guts Some of them, the soft ones, we ate (without treatment), we eat them. The hard ones we soak in cold water; it soaks there and becomes soft (then we eat it). The two wattle spp. These trees have edible (gum), good food. We do not get constipated (by eating the gum), it does not hurt our guts (i.e. give us indigestion). Note: binan^g can either refer to the wattle sp. Acacia torulosa (=min^yarn^g), as here, or to the edible gum of this and the other sp.

123.3 arbidi-wugij nirima=n^gu-yi: mana-binan^g mari mana-wurgala, only anyway we eat it wattle sp. and wattle sp. mana-nini-jin^yun^g nirima=n^gu-yi:, ba-gu-waj, nirima=lhilgi-wu-ma-na, soft one we eat it along there we break it off ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-wadawadad-jin^yun^g, nirima=yaba-na a-bulayi-wuy as for it (MANA) strong one we put it in to billycan mari ya:-ji nirima=lhalwulhi:-' a:-gugu-wuy nuru=waliima-na and here we soak it to water we get water ma=lhalwulha:-', ma-nini-ma-na, mana-wurgala ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g, it soaks it gets soft wattle sp. as for it (MANA) We eat it, (gum of) the two wattle spp., anyway (i.e. without special preparation). We eat the soft gum. We break it off from the tree there. As for the hard gum, we put it in a billycan and let it soak here in the water. We get water. It soaks, and gets soft, (gum of) one of the wattle spp.

123.4 binan^g mana-ma-muwaj binan^g, ya:-mi-yun^g, mana-ma-dan^gag wattle gum named (MANA) it is here its wood (MANA) ma:-da-mu:-' ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g min^yarn^g, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g that (MANA) as for it (MANA) wattle sp. as for it (MANA) mana-ma-dan^gag wurgala, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g binan^g its wood (MANA) wattle sp. as for it (MANA) wattle gum

mana-ma-muwaj ma:-da-mu:-' nirima-n^guyu=n^gu-yi:-yin^yun^g, binan^g.
named (MANA) that (MANA) it which we eat (MANA) wattle gum

It is called wattle gum (binan^g), this (part of the tree). As for that wood (tree) as a whole, (we call it) minyarn^g (*A. torulosa*), and also that other wood we call wurgala (other sp.). On the other hand, that thing which we eat (the gum) we call binang.

Note: In the middle of the text Ma:di had begun to use binang as a synonym for the species term minyarn^g, as in fact is sometimes done in ordinary speech. Here he clarifies the 'strict' senses of the terms, restricting binan^g to the edible gum and applying it to the gum of either of the two wattle spp.

TEXT 124 LONG DIOSCOREA YAM
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

124.1 wuru-man^ga=ma-n^gi ana-lhawuma:::g, wu:-rige=riga-n-di:::
they got it_c long yam they dug_c
n^ga, ana-lhawumag, wu:-rige=riga-n-di ana-lhawumag n^ga,
and then long yam they dug_c long yam and then
adaba wuru-wu=n^ga:-', wuru-wunu-wu=n^ga::: n^ga,
then they made campfire_c they made campfire_c and then
adaba wura:='gamba:-', ana-lhawumag, wura:='gamba:-',
then they roasted it_c long yam they roasted it

They used to get long yams. They dug (to uproot them), (they got those long yams. Then they made a big fire and roasted the yams (in an oven in the ground).

Note: This yam is *Dioscorea* sp., but distinct from another sp. of the same genus ('round yam') discussed in the following text. The classification of this genus was in the air when I left Australia; the present sp. is the one which has been referred to as *D. sativa* var. *sativa* in earlier literature.

124.2 aba wa:='gambi:-ni aba wu=nagi:-ni, wuru-bu=buri::: -'
then it was roasted_c then it burned_c they sat_c
wu:-nara=nara-n^gi o:-'ba-ni-yung a-lhawumag, wu:-yama=yama:-',
they waited for it_c that (ANA) long yam they did that_c
n^ga wu=lharan^g, adaba wura:='di:-ni, wura:='di:-ni
and then it was cooked then they took it out_c
yagu aba wu=lharan^g.
but then it was cooked

It (yams) was roasting, it was cooking. They (people) sat and waited for it, for that long yam. They did that. Then it (yams) was cooked (ready to eat). Then they took it out, it was ready.

TEXT 125 ROUND DIOSCOREA YAM
Ma:di

125.1 n^gany=jambi:-na, wara-man^ga=ma-n^gi:::, wara-mana=ma-ni:::
I will speak_c they got it (WARA)_c they get it (WARA)
wara-wulburu::: war-uba:::wi-yun^g-gaj now, wara-miny-n^gambara
round yam sp. back among them (WARA) elders
n^ga-- , ana-lha:lha:lhag wa:='ri/ambara=ma-n^g, wara-man^ga=ma-n^gi:::
and then recent (ANA) not they get it they got it_c
n^ga, wara:='ra=lhalwulha-n^gi, a:-gugu-wuy,
and then they soaked it all_c to water

I will speak. They used to get them (yams). They get the yams. Back among the old people (now dead), they used to get the round yams. In more recent times, they do not get them (often). They used to collect them and soak them all in (fresh) water.

Note: This yam has been referred to as *Dioscorea sativa* var. *rotunda*, but the classification may be revised. It is almost identical to the species described in the preceding text (long yam), except that the roots (yams) themselves are very different. The present type (round yam) has a large, round rootstock which must be leached before it can be eaten; the long yam of the other species need not be prepared in this fashion.

125.2 wu:-yiwi=yiwun^y-ma::: -' adaba ma-gu-ru ma-wu=nagi:-ni,
it (WARA) got cool_c then it (MANA) it (MANA) burned_c
mana-lhanda, wu:-yiwi=yiwun^y-ma::: -' adaba wara:='dadi:-ni,
oven it (WARA) got cool_c then they took it (WARA) on shore_c
wara:='dadi:-ni ana:-'dad-in-guy mana-lhanda-wuy,
they took it on shore_c to shore to oven
wara:='dadi:-ni::: n^ga, adaba wara:='gamba:-',
they took it on shore_c and then then they roasted it (WARA)_c
wirima:-'na:-'ni=galiya:-' n^ga wara:='gamba:-',
they opened up fire with stick_c and then they roasted it (WARA)_c
They (round yams) got cooled (and leached of their 'poison'). Then an oven was burning (on the ground nearby). They (yams) got cooled in the water, then they (people) took them up onto the shore, to the oven. They opened up the oven (in the sand in the ground) with a stick, (put the yams inside), and roasted the yams in the oven.

Note: For yiwuj 'cool' (line 1) see also 118.2.

125.3 wara:='gamba:-' n^ga ana-liwa wara:='mbamadha-n^gi,
they roasted it_c and then paperbark they covered it_c
liwa-miri, adaba wara:='mbamadha-n^gi,
by means of paperbark then they covered it_c
wa:-lhandalhanda-n^gi::: wu:-naga=nagi:-ni:::,
they waited long time for it_c it (WARA) burned_c

wa:-lhanda=lhanda-n^gi::: n^ga, wu:-yama=yama:-' n^ga,
they waited long time for it_c and then they did that_c and then
wara:-'ni=gara:-'ni n^ga wara:='dhuga:-', n^ga
they opened up fire_c and then they jabbed it_c and then
wu:=nini-bi:-ni, ana-ran^ga-miri, n^ga adaba wara:='di:-ni,
it (WARA) got soft_c by means of wood and then then they took it out_c
They roasted them (yams). They covered them up by means of paper-
bark. They waited (left them alone) for quite a while, they (yams)
were cooking. They (people) waited for them, then they did like
this, they opened up the fire (the oven), they jabbed into them
with wood. They (yams) had gotten soft. They (people) took them
out from the fire.

125.4 wara:-'da:='di:-ni::: n^ga, n^gi-ga n^gi=yalgal
they took them out_c and then she ~~she was separate~~
an-uwa:-gu wan^gi-yara=lhalwulha-n^gi a-lhabara-wuy, n^gi-ga:='yun^g
there she soaked them (WARA) all_c to coolamon as for her
ana:-'ji wan^gi-yara=lhalwulha-n^gi a-lhabara-wuy n^gi-ga:='yun^g
here she soaked them (WARA) all_c to coolamon as for her
an-uwa:-gu wan^gi-yara=lhalwulha-n^gi a-lhabara-wuy n^gi-ga:='yun^g
there she soaked them all_c to coolamon as for her
ana:-'ji wan^gi-yara=lhalwulha-n^gi,
here she soaked them all_c

They (people) took them (yams) out. Then several women, here and
there, separately put yams into coolamons to soak (in creeks).

125.5 wu:-yama=yama:-' n^ga adaba wu:-warigula=nini-ma:-'
they did that_c and then then it (WARA) softened skin_c
adaba wara-warigula=lala:-'ni war-u-barigulag,
then they peeled its (WARA) skin_c its (WARA) skin_c
wara-la=lala:-'ni: n^ga wu:-wara=waba:ru-wugij
they peeled it_c and then it (WARA) was all smooth-surfaced only
wu-gin-bugij, n^ga bu-gu-ni-wugij wu:-rama=rama:-'
its (WARA) flesh only and then to there only it was abundant_c
wu:-wara=lhiri-∅-wugij,
it (WARA) was stuck only_c

They (people) did that. The skin of the yams got soft, and they
(people) removed the skin, they peeled it. The yams were smooth-
surfaced (when the skins were removed), there was just the inner
flesh of the yams there, lots of them.

125.6 na-wirimil, xxx, ana:-'rjambal-in^yun^g,
shoulder blade (unclear) of antelopine kangaroo
ana-murbungula-yin^yun^g wini=ma:ndha-n^gi wirimil, malibi,
of euro they made it (NA) shoulder blade (=wirimil)

n^ga adaba *wara:='la-n^gi wara:='la:='la-n^gi:::
and then then they sliced it (WARA)_c they sliced it_c
wari:-'li:='la-n^gi::: wara:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni, wari:-'li:='la-n^gi:::
they sliced it_c they heaped it up_c they sliced it_c
wara:-'ra=lhulhuwi:-ni, wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi yagu, wari:='la-n^gi,
they heaped it up_c they wanted it_c but they sliced it_c
They prepared the shoulder blade of an antelopine kangaroo or a
euro (hill kangaroo). Then they sliced the yams (with the blade).
They wanted them, they sliced them up.

* Although it is conceivable that the root here is /=wa:la-/
'to put (things) together', I feel that it is really /=ila-/
'to slice' as in the following line (cf. also 125.7, below).
Perhaps Ma:di was having trouble with the VV-Contraction rule,
since the /a-i/ combination in this position is uncommon, but
the influence of /=wa:la-/ (which is appropriate contextually)
is undoubtedly a factor here.

125.7 ana:-'rgi wara-mulun^g-an^ybaj wara=n^gan^ybanda-n^gi yagu
some (ANA) others (Pl) they wanted it_c but
ga:ga-miri, ga:ga-miri wara:='la-n^gi, lhumbuyu,
by means of snail they sliced it_c snail shell with hole
lhumbuyu wara:-'n^ybaj n^gijan^g wara:='la-n^gi, wu:-n^garan=julu-bugij,
other (WARA) more they sliced it_c they were all only narrow
wara:='la:='la-n^gi::: n^ga, and then
they sliced it_c

Sometimes other people wanted them (yams) and sliced them with
snails, with shells of snails with holes bored into them (used to
cut yams). They sliced them up, they (yam slices) were thin.

125.8 wiri-mada-mada=wani^yja:=-' n^ga, wiri-mada=lhalwulha-n^gi,
they uprooted grass_c and then they soaked grass_c
mari wa:=rarja-n^gi, yuwa:-gu wan^gi=rarja-n^gi
and they took it (WARA) out_c there she took it (WARA) out_c
n^gi-ga:='yun^g wan^gi=rarja-n^gi n^gijan^g n^gi-ga:='yun^g
as for her she took it out_c more as for her
wan^gi=rarja-n^gi n^gijan^g aba wara=lhalwulha-n^gi,
she took it out_c more then they soaked it (WARA)_c

They pulled up some grass and soaked it. Then they removed them
(yams). One woman removed them over there, another woman removed
them (somewhere else), another woman did the same. They soaked
them.

125.9 adaba war-uba-wi-yun^g wara-yulu=yula:=-'ni
then those (WARA) they stirred it (WARA)_c
wara-n^garan=julu=yula:=-'ni buluru! buluru! buluru! buluru!
they stirred it (WARA) all_c (noise)

wara=yami-jga:-', wu:=yiwu-jun^g guyun^g, n^gi jan^g
 they did that to it (WARA)_c so that it (WARA) was cool more
 wara:='la:='la-n^gi::: yuwa:-gu wunumbi wiri-mada=wani^y ja:-',
 they sliced it_c there north they uprooted grass_c
 wara=lhalwulha-n^gi,
 they soaked it (WARA)_c

Then those (people) stirred the yams (in the water). They stirred them all up, they did this (imitation of sound) to them, so that they (yams) were cooled off. Then they sliced them up. Up there, in the north, they pulled up some grass and soaked them (yams).

125.10 wara:='rgi wara-lhumbuyu wu-gu-ra:='yun^g-gaj
 some (WARA) snail shell with hole it (WARA) as well
 wu:=yama:-', wara-wulburu wara=lhumbuyu-wa:-',
 they did that_c round yam they made snail shell with hole_c
 wara=yulu-ga:-'. ga:ga-miri, wara:='la-n^gi
 they made it (WARA) thin_c by means of snail they sliced it_c
 ga:ga-miri, wari:='la-n^gi, wu:=yama=yama:-' n^ga wa:=yura-n^gi,
 (see above) they sliced it_c they did that_c and then they took it_c

The other thing, the snail shells with holes, they also. They (people) did that, they made holes in snail shells and they sliced the yams up into thin slices with the snail (shell). They did that, they took them (yams, somewhere else).

125.11 adaba wa:=lhanda-n^gi nu:=ya::::-y
 then they waited long time for it (WARA)_c we (ExPl) slept_c
 nu:=ya-y yin^gga ba-ni:='la wa:='=lalma:-', mari wuru=malga-n-di,
 we slept_c nearly there it comes it dawned_c and they went early_c
 wuru=malga-n-di wura:='gi:-ni, wura:='gi:-ni::: wara-yaba=yaba::::-'
 they returned_c they put it (WARA) in_c
 n^ga, adaba nara=n^gu-ni nambi:='=jaba:-'yin^yung
 and then then we ate it (WARA)_c what they put in for us_c
 nara=n^gu-ni, war-uba-wi-yun^g
 we ate it (WARA)_c that (WARA)

Then they (people) waited for them (yams) for quite a while. We spent two nights. Then, on the third morning, they got up and went back early in the morning. They put them (yams) in (containers). We ate them (yams), the ones which they put in for us (children). We ate those (yams).

125.12 ana:='rgi wara=dhurma:-' a-marbidi-yi:
 some (ANA) they crushed it (WARA) in hands_c like ray sp.
 yaga: wuru-dhu=dhurma-na mari a-damba-yi:, aba
 they crush it (ANA) and like damper (Eng. loan) then
 wu-n^garan nara=n^gu-ni wara:='rgi,
 large quantity (WARA) we ate it (WARA) some (WARA)

Sometimes they crushed them (yams) in their hands, just as they crush rays, or damper (bread). We used to eat them (yams) in large quantities, some of them.

125.13 nara-n^gunu=n^gu-ni ana-Groote Eylandt, ana-wunumbi,
 we ate it (WARA)_c (place n.) to north
 ana:='rga:='rgali, ana:='ni:='li, an-uwa:-ni ana-wuyagiba-waj,
 in west this from here that (ANA) around (place n.)
 juy! ana-lha:l-lhan^gu, ana:='ni ana:='ni ana:='rwi-yaj,
 go all countries this (ANA) upward
 ana-Bickerton, ana-Groote,
 (place n.) (place n.)

We (Aborigines) used to eat them (round yams). On Groote Eylandt (to east), to the north, in the west, along from here, at Wuyagiba (to south), in all of the countries. Up here (inland, to the west), on Bickerton Island and Groote Eylandt (to the east).

Note: This round yam sp. is indeed abundant in a wide region and is prepared in much the same way throughout this region.

125.14 wara-wulburu, nara=n^gu-ni wara:='la:='la-n^gi,
 round yam we ate it_c they sliced it (WARA)_c
 *wa:=yila-n^gi, da-ni-yun^g lhawumag mijimid,
 they sliced it_c it is there long yam together (creole)
 ana-lhawumag wuru-yarba=yar-bi-ni::: n^gijan^g, wura:='gamba:-',
 long yam they cleaned it (ANA)_c more they roasted it_c
 lhanda-miri n^gijan^g wara-wulburu, wara-wulburu-wuy mijimid
 by means of oven more round yam to round yam together
 wara:='gamba:-'wuy, wura:='gamba:-',
 to (where) they roasted it (WARA)_c they roasted it (ANA)_c

We ate round yams, they sliced them up. That was that. Also long yams (see text 124), together (with round yams). They cleaned the long yams off. They roasted them (long yams) in an oven, in (an oven) where they were also roasting round yams.

* This is /yila-/ , yet another variant of the verb 'to slice' which shows up earlier in this text as /ala-/ and /ila-/ , and also has a variant /rila-/ .

125.15 wu-naga=nagi:-ni aba wura:='di:-ni,
 it (ANA) burned_c then they took it (ANA) out_c
 wura:='da:='di:-ni n^ga, wurugu wu:=lhagugulhanun^ygi:-ni-yin^yung
 they took it out_c and then later which they had as light meal_c
 ba-gu-waj wuru=n^gu-ni, ana:='dharwara-yin^yung, aba
 around there they ate it_c of dusk then
 wu-gu-ru wara-wulburu wara=lhalwulhi:-' ba-gu,
 it (WARA) round yam they soak it (WARA) there

They (long yams) were burning (cooking). Then they (people) took them (long yams) out. Then they ate them there (on the spot) as a light meal, around dusk. That (long yam), and also the round yams, they soaked them (round yams) there.

125.16 wura:-'n^yji-n^gu=buri-∅ nuru=n^gu-ni
they sat with (it)_c we ate it (ANA)_c
nambi-ya:=munduwa:-', nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni nuru=n^gu-ni aba
they divided (it) up for us_c we ate it (ANA)_c we ate it_c then
ana-mun^yjuj-- ana-lhawumag, wuru=munduwa:-'
green plum tree (error) long yam they divided it (ANA) up_c
ana-n^gargu, an-u-gubulu, an-u-dhurubuy, nuru=n^gu-ni,
how many? its body (ANA) its young (ANA) we ate it_c
nuru-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: n^ga -- (tape cut off)
we ate it (ANA)_c and then

They stayed with them, we (children) ate them (long yams). They (elders) divided them up and we ate them. Green plums--(or rather) long yams, they divided them up. How many? (i.e. lots of them). The body part, the young plants (i.e. the young yams), we ate them. (Text ended as tape ran out.)

TEXT 126 IPOMOEAE YAMS
Ma:di

126.1 run^ggal-wa:, lhawadhwara-wa:, dreaming-ba:
two big (women) two dreamings two dreamings
win^giwu=buddha-n^gi ana-a:n^g, ana-warda,
they (FDu) cooked it in ashes_c whatchamacallit (ANA) yam sp.
yuwa:-gu Groote Eylandt, "yagwala ygabdayna, adhamya
there (place n.) we we will cook it yam sp.
yg^wmanma", an-u-muaj warda, "adhamya",
we will get it named (ANA) yam sp.

Two Big Women, two dreamtime beings, they cooked the yams there, on Groote Eylandt. (In Anindhilyagwa language:) "You and I, let's go get some yams and cook them." Yams named warda (in Nunggubuyu), "adhamya" (in Anindhilyagwa).

Note: The yam in question is an Ipomoea, one of several edible yams in the area of this botanical genus. I believe it is I. velutina.

126.2 wa:='ri ana-Arnhem Land, wa-ga-ga:-'la Groote Eylandt,
not (place n.) far side
win^giwa:-'ga:='gamba::: n^ga, adaba win^giwa:='di:-ni, adaba
they roasted it_c and then then they took it out_c then
win^giwu=walga:-', win^giwu-ran^y=balga:-', nuga-miri,
they (FDu) pounded it_c they pounded mush_c by means of stone

win^giwu-ran^yba-ran^y=balga::-' win^giwu-bu=bura-n^gi yuwa:-gu,
they pounded mush_c they put it down_c there
win^giwu-bu=bura-n^gi yuwa:-gu,
they put it down_c there

They (Two Big Women) roasted them (yams) over on the other side (of the water), in Groote Eylandt, not in Arnhem Land (mainland). Then they took them out (from the oven) and pounded the soft substance (yams) with a stone. They pounded them and put them down there and there.

126.3 ana:-'rgi wa:='ri ambin^giwu=walga:-' ana-wura:yun^y-jin^yung,
some (ANA) not they (FDu) pounded it small ones (ANA)
ana-yiryiragi-jin^yung, win^giwu=bura-n^gi-wugij, adaba wiri=n^gu-ni,
small ones (ANA) they only put it down_c then they ate it_c
wara-people, ana-warda wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj, ana:-'-ni,
people yam sp. it (ANA) as well this (ANA)
niri-n^gunu=n^gu-ni an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj, wara-min^y-n^gambara-aj,
we (ExPl) ate it_c long ago among elders

Some, the small ones, they did not pound (since they were already soft enough anyway). They just put them down and ate them. In the old days, the people (not just dreamtime beings) used to eat that yam sp. We here used to eat them, long ago, when the old people (now dead) were around.

126.4 n^ga ana-lha:lhag, adaba ana-yimbaj wa:='ri
and then recent (ANA) now today not
ambiri=ma-n^g, adaba wara-munu-munan^ga-yin^yung marya yamba
they get it now of white people food because
nuru=n^gu-yi:, ya:-ni, wu-wara=gurag.
we eat it it is here it (ANA) is all left alone
In recent (modern) times, nowadays they (people) do not get (those yams) any more, because we eat white man food here. They (yams) are left alone (not obtained).

TEXT 127 BUSH MEDICINE
Laran^gana

127.1 an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj, wara-oldme-old-men, ano:':-ba-ni-yun^g-gaj
long ago old men long ago
wu-dan^gag wu:=yama:-', wi:=ruja-n^gi, wi:=ruju=ruja-n^gi
its (ANA) wood they did that_c they scraped it_c they scraped it_c
wi:=ruju=ruja-n^gi, wa:='ri ana-bulayi an-uwa:-ni, ana-liba
they scraped it_c not billycan that (ANA) paperbark
wi:=jimun^g=gaba:-', liba, wi:=lhalwa=lhalwulha-n^gi,
they made coolamon_c paperbark they soaked it_c

In the old days they old men used to do that, they used to scrape wood (of a tree, to make thin shavings). They scraped them. They soaked them in a coolamon made from paperbark, not a billycan.

- 127.2 black-one aba wu=yama-n^y wiri=dha:rindha-n^gi
dark then it did that_p they stirred it (Eng. loan)_c
aba wu=yama-n^y-jin^yun^g wu=yama-n^y-jin^yun^g, aba wu=black-one
then it which did that_p then it was dark
aba wura:-'la=n^gu-ni, an-uba-ni ana-sick ana:-'ji ana-lhiribala,
then they drank_c that (ANA) sickness here inside
mana-bin^yji, adaba wura:-'la=n^gu-yi: an-uba-ni-yun^g,
belly (creole) then they drink that (ANA)

It (liquid made of water plus medicinal wood shavings) turned dark. They (people) were stirring it, the (liquid) which did that (turned dark). Then it was dark, and they drank it (for) the sickness which was inside here, in the belly.

- 127.3 wuru=ya-y wuru=ya-y aba wuru=wadawadad
they slept_c then they were strong
wuru-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, adaba wa:='ri, aba number-one
they went_c then it was absent then best
ana-lhu:n^y, mari wu-dan^gag, wi:=ruja-n^gi,
stringybark tree and its (ANA) wood they scraped it_c
wura:-'la=n^gu-ni-yin^yun^g ana-lhu:n^y number-one,
which they drank_c stringybark

They slept twice. (I.e., two days passed.) They were strong (i.e. cured) enough to go walking around. There was no sickness. The best tree for that was stringybark (Eucalyptus tetradonta). They (people) scraped its wood, they drank (the liquid).

- 127.4 mari ana-a:n^g, ma-gu-ra--, and whatchamacallit (ANA) as for it (incomplete word)
ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g, banar ya:-ni an^ybaj tree
as for it (MANA) tree sp. it is here (ANA) other
ya:-ma:-'la yaga: n^gun^yju, wirima=ruja-n^gi ma-dan^ga:::g,
here it comes (MANA) Ø similar they scraped it_c its (MANA) wood
mari ma-magulag,
and its (MANA) skin

Also whatchamacallit, that tree, banar (Owenia vernicosa). Another tree species here, for example over here (near mission). They used to scrape its wood and its bark.

- 127.5 mana:-'ma mana-bagal^g eye, bagal^g, mun^gbarg,
this (MANA) eye eye eye
wuru-ba=guryi-'n^y wu:=yama-n^y n^gun^yju a-medicine
they poured (it) on selves_p they did that_p similar medicine

wu-da-nu:-' yaga:, wa:-dhurabada-yin^yun^g wara-white-men-jin^yun^g,
that (ANA) Ø of white people of white men

xxx wura:='ran^gga:-' ana-clean, n^gun^yju
(unclear phrase) they looked_c clearness similar
wura:='ran^gga:-' long-way malan^ga-n^yanay juju:::j!,
they looked_c far go

They used to pour (liquid medicine made with shavings of banar) over their eyes, this eye here (to relieve eye irritations). Like white man medicine (eyedrops). They could see clearly (after the medicine), they could see far away.

Comments on text 127

With this text we begin a series on native medicine, ranging from medicines ingested to cure internal sickness to medicinal liquids used on the eyes or in bathing, and finally to such practices as setting broken bones. Numbulwar Mission and other similar settlements have now had clinics and trained sisters (=American nurses) for many years and the Aboriginals generally go to them for their illnesses now. Traditional bush medicine is still practiced to a limited extent, chiefly by older people. There is no general Nunggubuyu term for 'medicine', and English medicine or bush medicine are often used in these texts.

TEXT 128 BUSH MEDICINE Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

- 128.1 mun^yjuj, mun^yjuj, an-u-dhan^gurg an-uba-ni ana-ran^gag
green plum sickness (ANA) that (ANA) wood
nan^gga:='dhuga-na, nuru-manda=wuryi:-'na,
it (ANA) stabs us (ExPl) we pour (it) on our lower legs
niri=wuryi:-' a-manda a-ji:ji-yin^yun^g, mari ama-ra:,
we pour (it) on it lower leg of sore and tooth
nama=lan^garma-na, n^ga nuru:-'la=n^gu-yi: da-nu:-'
it (ANA) reaches us and then we drink it (ANA) is there
mun^yjuj-miri, n^ga altogether aba wa:='ri,
by means of green plum and then permanent now it is absent
adaba na:mbu-wara=gaya-n^g, wi:ya!.
now we are hurt finish!

Green plum tree (Buchanania obovata). That sickness. Perhaps a stick jabs into us somewhere on the lower leg (causing an open wound). We pour (liquid medicine made from this tree) on the leg where the sore (wound) is. Also, if we have a toothache ('tooth reaches us'), we drink that (medicine), using that green plum tree. Then it (the toothache) is gone for good, we have no pain.

TEXT 129

BUSH MEDICINE
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

129.1 liwa liwa ni:-warga=warga-y nu:=yali -bi-ni-yin^{yung},
 paperbark we (ExPl) carried it_c of us coughing_c
ana-yinur, ni:-lharga=lharga:::-' n^ga, n^ga ni:-wuyu=wuyuda-n^gi
 head cold we sent it_c and then we rubbed it_c
n^ga, ni:-lhabara=aba:-' ana-lhabara, n^ga niri=bura-n^gi,
 and then we wrapped up coolamon coolamon and then we put it_c
ana-liwa an-uda-nu:-' n^ga nura:-'la=n^gu-ni, nura:-'la=n^gu-ni
 paperbark that (ANA) and then we drank_c
nu:=yali -bi-ni nura:-'la=n^gu-ni, n^gijan^g nura:-'la=n^gu-ni,
 we coughed we drank more
n^gijan^g nura:-'la=n^gu-ni, wi:ya!.
 finish!

We carried some paperbark over our shoulders, concerning (for) our coughing, (our) head cold. We sent it (paperbark), we rubbed it in our hands. We made a coolamon (paperbark container), and put the paperbark inside it. (I.e. we soaked some bits of paperbark in water in a coolamon.) We drank it (the liquid). We were coughing and we drank it. That is all.

Note: The text does not specify which of several paperbark trees (Melaleuca spp.) provide bark used for this medicinal purpose.

TEXT 130

BUSH MEDICINE
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

130.1 na-dumburumbu ni:ni-na-yi: ni:ni-na=yi: ni:ni=wagiwa-na,
 tree sp. we see it (NA) we break it off
ni:ni=wagiwa-na adaba nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, aba ni:ni=ruji:-',
 now that now we scrape it
ni:ni-ruju=ruji:::-' n^ga, a:-gugu-wuy aba ni:ni=lhalwulhi:-',
 we scrape it and then to water now we soak it
ni:ni=lhalwulhi:-', aba ni-bu=bura:-', aba nura:-'la=n^gu-yi:
 now it (NA) sits now we drink
na:-da-gu:-', aba wi:ya! nura:=mbalaman.
 that (NA) now finish! we are good

Dumburumbu tree (sandalwood, Santalum lanceolatum). We see it, we break off (some branches), that (tree). We scrape it (to make thin shavings), then we soak the shavings in water. It (shavings) sits there for a while (in the water), then we drink it (the liquid). That (tree). Then that is all, we are all right.

TEXT 131

BUSH MEDICINE
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

131.1 banar, nirima=ruji:-', nirima=ruji:-', nirima=buri:-'
 tree sp. we scrape it we put it (MANA)
gu:gu, gu:gu nirima=buri:-', n^ga nuru-ba=guryi:-'-na,
 water we put it and then we pour it on our eyes
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wilwag, niri=ruji:-', niri=ruji:-', niri=buri:-',
 as for it (ANA) tree sp. we scrape it we put it
gu:gu, nuru-ba=guryi:-'-na,
 water we pour it on our eyes

Banar tree (Owenia vernicosa). We scrape it (to make shavings) and put it (shavings) into water. Then we pour (the liquid) over our eyes (like eyedrops). Also wilwag tree (Persoonia falcata), we scrape it, put in in water, and pour the liquid over our eyes.

131.2 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-lhu:n^y, niri=ruji:-', niri=ruji:-',
 as for it (ANA) stringybark we scrape it
niri=buri:-' a:-gugu-wuy, lha gu:gu niri=buri:-',
 we put it to water to (creole) water we put it
ama-gulmun^y-jin^{yung}, nuru-gulmun^g-gara=gayi:-', ama-gulmun^g,
 of belly we have pain in belly belly
niri=buri:-' a:-gugu-wuy, nura:-'la=n^gu-yi:, yin^gga ana:-'-ji
 we put it to water we drink nearly here
ana:-'lagala, ana:-'lagala yin^gga ana-wu-malg wu=bura:-',
 halfway nearly night it sits
nuru=ma:jgi:-'-na adaba ma:lamburg nuru=bura:-', ana:-'-ni,
 we make selves good now proper we sit this
As for stringybark (E. tetradonta), we scrape it and put it in water for when we have a stomach ache (or similar sickness). We put it (the shavings) in water and drink it. Later on (but not all the way) in the day, when night comes, we are better here.

131.3 mun^yjuj, mun^yjuj a-ji:ji-yin^{yung}, a-ji:ji ya:-ji
 green plum tree of sores sore here
nan^gga='dhuga-na ran^gag, nuru=wuryi:-'-na, mari ama-ra:,
 it jabs us tree we pour (it) on selves and tooth
ama-ra: nama=lhan^garma-na, niri=buri:-', nirima=buri:-',
 tooth it reaches us we put it we put it (MANA--error)
ama-ra:-wuy, niri=buri:-' niri=ruji:-'.
 to tooth we put it we scrape it

Green plum tree (Buchanania obovata), for wounds. Maybe a piece of wood jabs one of us here (on the lower leg). We pour (medicine) on ourselves (i.e. on the wound). Also, if we have a toothache ('tooth reaches us'), we put it (green plum shavings) in, we scrape it, and we put it over our teeth.

TEXT 132 BUSH MEDICINE
Ga:gadug

132.1 mana-malamban^gi, wuru-dan=gaya-n^gi, diarrhoea
fungus sp. they had pain in guts_c

bush wan^ggu=lhan^garma:-', ana-bush ana-diarrhoea
bushland it (diarrhoea) reached them_c bushland diarrhoea

wan^ggu=lhan^garma:-', malamban^gi adaba nirima=ma-n^gi,
it reached them_c fungus sp. then we got it (MANA)_c

nirima=lha-n^gi nirima=lhilgi-wi-ni,
we chopped it we broke it off_c

A kind of fungus (puffball or the like). They had something wrong with their guts, they got diarrhoea in the bush. Then we got some of that fungus. We chopped down (a tree) and broke it off.

132.2 nu:-_rigi=_riga-n-di a-gara n^ga ya:-ni-yaj,
we dug_c hole and then it is around here

a:-'ban-guy, niri-ga-gara=ma:ndha-n^gi, nuru=wiln^gin^yja-n^gi,
to ground we made hole_c we built fire_c

ma-naga=nagi:-ni yin^gga ba-ma wu=yama:-'
it (MANA) burned_c nearly it (MANA) is there it (ANA) did that

wu=bu:la-n^gi, nirima=ma-n^gi nirima=bura-n^gi n^ga
it (ANA) smoked_c we got it (MANA) we put it_c and then

nirima=bura-n^gi, aba nara:='ndhadha-n^gi wara-mij-buruyag,
we put it_c then we made them sit up_c children

We dug a little pit in the ground, up to here (i.e. somewhat less than one-half metre deep). We made the pit and built a small fire in it. It (fungus) was burning there, it (fire) was doing that, smoking. We got it (fungus) and put it on (the fire). Then we made the children (with the diarrhoea) sit (squat) over the smoke from the fire.

132.3 wu=yama:-' wu-gu-ru wu-n^gu-ban wu=ya-n^gi, wu=yama:-'
it did that_c it (ANA) smoke (ANA) it went_c it did that_c

aba ya:-nu:-'wuy, wu=ya-n^ggi, wu=yama:-' wan^ggu=wan-bi-ni,
then this way it went_c it did that_c it (ANA) warmed them_c

wan^ggu-wanba:='n=bi-ni::: mari wuru=dirja-n^gi wara-mij-bura:yun^g,
it warmed them_c and they defecated_c children

ana-medicine, medicine ana:-'ni, wara-little-boy,
medicine this (ANA) small boys

The smoke did this, it went like this, this way (into their bodies through the anus). The fire warmed them. They defecated, the children did (dropping their diarrhoea onto the fire). This was medicine. The little boys.

132.4 adaba wuru=da-n^gi "jij! jij! jij! bun^yun^yun^yun^yu!"
then they defecated_c (sound) (sound)

wu:=yama:-' "bun^yun^yun^yun^yu!", ana-n^gura, wu:-yama=yama:-' adaba,
they did that_c (sound) fire they did that_c then
adaba nirima=wurdha-n^gi nirima=wurdha-n^gi nirima=wadawadad-ga:-',
then we covered it up_c we made it (MANA) strong_c

yin^gga nu:nu-nana=na-ni nu:=ya-y nu:=ya-y adaba nu:-'ba-gi
nearly we saw him_c we slept_c then that (MSg)

ni-dan=mamalan^g aba ni=yayiji:-ni, na-wiri-n^yun^g, clean
he was good in guts then he played_c boy

adaba mana:-'ma, good-one, n^gijan^g ni=da-n^gi
then this (MANA) more he defecated_c

They defecated then (on the fire). The excrement plopped on the fire, then made a sizzling sound as it burned on the fire. They did that. Then we covered up (the excrement) and made it hard. We watched him (the boy with diarrhoea who had been treated). We spent two nights. Then that boy was all right in the guts, he was playing around (i.e. living an active life). This (guts) was clean (of diarrhoea). Again he (boy) defecated.

132.5 nu:-_rigi=_riga-n-di, ya:-ji-waj, nirima=wurdha-n^gi, ana-bush,
we dug_c around here we buried it (MANA) bushland

wa:='ri arbidi ama=buri-ŋ, nu:_rigi=_riga-n-di n^ga ya:-ji
not anyway it (MANA) sat we dug_c and then here

lhiribala, nara-gi=mamalan^g-ga:-' nara-gi=wurdha-n^gi,
inside we made their excrement good we buried their excrement_c

wuru=clean-bugij, wara-mij-bura:yun^g, ana-diarrhoea-yin^yun^g,
they were only clean children of diarrhoea

Then he (the sick boy) defecated. We dug a pit, up to here (same size as before). We buried it (excrement) there in the bush. We dug a pit, and here inside, we made their exrement good, we covered it up. Then they were clean (from the diarrhoea), the children who had had the diarrhoea.

132.6 ana-ji:ji nan^ggu=lhan^garma:-', adaba da-nu:-' bushes
sore it reached us_c then it is there

niri=ma-n^gi, dumburumbu, (interruption), na-dumburumbu ni:ni=ma-n^gi
we got it_c tree sp. we got it_c tree sp. we got it_c

aba ni:ni=walga:-', ana:-gugu nu:=walima-n^y, niri=ba:lindha-n^gi,
then we pounded it_c water we got water_p we boiled it (Eng. loan)_c

nara:-'ba:-'balga:-' wu-naga=nagi:-ni ana-wood ana-a:n^g
we pounded (it) for them_c it burned_c wood whatchamacallit

n^gura, hot water, nara=n^gambi-jga:-' adaba nu:=yama:-',
fire(wood) we made them bathe_c then we did that_c

One of us was afflicted by a sore (wound on surface). We got some branches and leaves there, from sandalwood tree (Santalum lanceolatum). We got that and pounded it. We got some water and boiled it. We pounded it for them. The wood got hot (in the water).

We put them (whoever was hurt) in the water, like that.

132.7 nu:=yama:-' adaba ana:-'ni ana:-'ni ana:-'ni
we did that_c then this (ANA)

nara=n^gambi-jga:-' ana:-'ni ana:-'ni, ana-ji:ji
we made them bathe_c this sore
wan^ggu=walga:-'yin^yun^g n^ga adaba nara=n^gambi-jga:-'
it which smashed them_c and then then we made them bathe_c
wara-mij-bura:yun^g nu-ri-'n^yin^yun^g, ana-bush,
children our (ExPl)

We used to do that. Here, here, here (different parts of body) we would make them bathe (i.e. we would pour the medicine over them), at the wound which had afflicted them. We made them bathe, our children, in the bushland.

132.8 aba altogether an-uba-ni, wu:-wara=wadawadad n^gijan^g
then permanent that (ANA) they were all strong more
adaba wuru=wanbi:-'ni, ana-ji:ji-yin^yun^g, nara=wurya-n^gi
then they did it_c of sore we poured it on them_c
adaba nara=n^gambi-jga:-', medicine adaba a:-da-nu:-' medicine,
then we made them bathe_c then that (ANA)
mari ba-ni an^ybaj, arawuj-ban^yja-wan^yja-n^ga-j yuwa:-gu
and it is there other scented thing there
a-yu:l-waj, ma=smell nu:=yara-n-di
around bushland it (MANA) has smell we smelled it (ANA)_c
nuru-nin^ybi-nin^y=ban^yja:-' nuru-waga:=giwa:-' adaba
we uprooted grass roots_c we broke it off_c then
nuru-walga=walga:-', mari ana:-gugu-wuy niri=bura-n^gi,
we pounded it_c and to water we put it_c

Then they were all strong (cured) for good. They also did that (make bush medicine) for sores (wounds). We poured (medicine) on them, we gave them a bath, (with) that medicine. Some strongly scented (plants) there in the bush. We smelled them and uprooted the plants and broke off (parts of them). We pounded them with a stone, and put them in water.

132.9 mari jimun^gumun^ggu niri-jimun^g=gaba:-', aba
and strong coolamon we made coolamon_c then
nara:-'=dhalwulha-n^gi, nu:-lhalwa=lhalwulha-n^gi aba
we soaked (it) for them_c we soaked it_c then
nara=wurya-n^gi, ya:-ni, "bulur! bulur! bulur!
we poured (it) on them_c it is here (ANA) (sound)
nara=n^gambi-jga:-', nara=wurya-n^gi adaba, ana:-'ji
we made them bathe_c they poured (it) on them_c then here
andhurumbulg ji:ji aba nara=wurya-n^gi, nu:=yama:-',
sores on head sore then we poured (it) on them_c we did that_c

We made a heavy coolamon (paperbark container), and soaked (the medicinal plant parts) in the water for them. Then we poured it (the liquid) over them, here, so it made a dripping sound. We gave them a medicinal bath, we poured it on them. Perhaps here, on the head, sores on their heads, we poured it on them there.

132.10 nara-wuryu=wurya-n^gi::: n^ga, na:-yini-yina=gurya-n^gi
we poured (it) on them_c and then we poured on their heads_c
adaba wu:=maji, n^gijang^g wu:-yina=lala:da-n^gi, aba
then they were cured more their head skin peeled_c then
nara-wuryu=wurya-n^gi, (unintelligible discussion with husband),
we poured (it) on them_c

We poured the liquid on them. We poured it on their heads. Then they were all right (cured). Perhaps someone had skin on his head peeling off, then we poured the medicine on him.

132.11 ana-lhu:n^y, niri=walga:-' ana-lhu:n^y,
stringybark tree we pounded it_c
niri-walga=walga:-' ana-lhu:n^y, ni:=lhalwulha-n^gi, adaba
we pounded it_c we soaked it_c then
nara=wurya-n^gi, nara=n^gambi-jga:-', n^ga girjag!
we poured (it) on them_c we made them bathe_c and then no!
wura:-'la=n^gu-ni diarrhoea-yin^yung ana-lhu:n^y ambalan
they drank_c of diarrhoea stringybark tree good
ana-medicine, yi:::, aba wu:=clean yu:-gu-ni
medicine yes! then they were clean to there
ya:-nu:-'wuy ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:-wara=ya-n^ggi adaba ana-bush,
this way they went all over_c then bushland
aba wuru=wadawadad, war-ubu-ru-yun^g.
then they were strong those (Pl)

Stringybark tree (E. tetradonta). We pounded some of it, we soaked it in water, and we poured it on them, we made them bathe in it. They it was gone (disease). They drank the stringybark medicine, for diarrhoea, and it was good medicine. They (people) were clean (of diarrhoea). They went all over the place, this way and that (i.e. led active lives), in the bush. Those people were strong (healthy).

TEXT 133 BUSH MEDICINE
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

133.1 wara-lhajbag, wara-walga=walga::: wu:-rigi=riga-n-di-wala
bush lily they pounded it (WARA)_c after they dug_c
n^ga wara=ma-n^gi wara=ya:rijgi:-ni wara-walga=walga:-',
and then they got it (WARA)_c they transported it_c they pounded it_c

wara-lhajbag n^ga, wi:-jimun^g=gaba wi:-jimun^g=gaba:-' bush lily and then they made coolamon
wi:-jimun^g=gaba:-' ana-lhabara n^ga, adaba ana:-gugu wura:='lima:-', coolamon and then water they got water

Bush lily (*Crinum* sp.). They pounded it (its bulbous root), after they dug (it up). They got it and took it (somewhere). They pounded it (with a stone), the bush lily (bulb). They made some coolamons (paperbark containers) and got water (which they put in the coolamons).

133.2 wura:='n^yja:-'n^yji=ya-y aba wura:='n^yji-n^gu=buri-∅, adaba they slept with (it)_c then they sat with (it)_c then wara=walga:-' aba wa:=lhalwulha-n^gi war-uba-wa wara-lhajbag wara-lhalwulha-n^gi, they pounded it_c they soaked it_c that bush lily wu:-bu=buri::-' n^ga, adaba n^gar-uba-gi-yun^g, n^gunu=wurya-n^gi they sat_c and then that (FSg) she poured on him_c ba-wa-yun^g-miri lhajba-miri, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g by means of that (WARA) by means of bush lily that (MSg) na-wuru-jun^g, ana-ji:ji-yin^yun^g, nin^ggu=walga:-', wi:ya!. human (MSg) of sore it smashed him_c finish!

They spent two nights with it (lily bulbs soaking in coolamons). They pounded it and soaked it and they stayed (and waited). Then that woman (e.g. the wife of the wounded man) poured it, that bush lily (medicine), over him--(over) that man with the sores, which it (e.g. stick) had injured. That is all.

Note: This medicine is a kind of salve which is poured over external wounds such as those acquired in fighting. The plant in question is a swamp plant with a conspicuous, white, onion-like bulb--it has nothing to do with water lilies.

TEXT 134 BUSH MEDICINE Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

134.1 yimbid, ni:ni=walga=walga::-' n^ga, ni:ni=lhalwulha-n^gi, cypress we pounded it (NA)_c and then we soaked it_c a-lhabara-wuy, ni:ni=lhalwulha-n^gi, aba nuru=wuryi:-'ni, to coolamon we soaked it_c then we poured on selves_c na:-da-gu:-' na-yimbid, medicine-bindib:yun^g, yij-gubulu na:-da-gu:-'. that (NA) cypress real medicine true that (NA) Cypress tree (*Callitris* sp.). We pounded it (with stone) and soaked (shavings and pieces) in a coolamon. We soaked it and poured (the liquid) over ourselves (as a medicinal wash). Cypress, real medicine, true (medicine).

TEXT 135 BUSH MEDICINE Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

135.1 murn^yang, a-gadhala-yun^gguyun^g, nuru=wal-bi:-'ni, shrub sp. for skin rash we rubbed selves_c nuru=wal-bi:-'ni mana-murn^yan^g nu:=riga-n-di, nu:-rigi=riga-n-di shrubs sp. we dug we dug_c nirima=ma-n^gi, nirima=ma-n^gi adaba nirima=walga:-', we got it (MANA) then we pounded it_c nirima-walga=walga::-' n^ga nirima=lhalwulha-n^gi a:-gugu-wuy we pounded it_c and then we soaked it_c to water adaba nuru=wal-bi:-'ni. then we rubbed selves_c

(Medicine from) murn^yan^g shrub (*Grewia retusifolia*), for skin rashes. We rubbed it on our bodies. We dug up (roots of) murn^yan^g shrub and pounded it. We soaked (shavings and pieces) in water and rubbed (the liquid) on ourselves.

Note: This is a very small shrub, not much more than a woody herb, which also has small edible berries.

TEXT 136 SETTING BROKEN BONE Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

136.1 nu:-lhuganda=wada-n^gi, lhuruman, nirima=ma-n^gi, n^ga we broke leg bone_c tree sp. we got it (MANA)_c and then nu:nu=lhara:lhi-ga:-' n^gun^yju ana:-'ni ana-n^gagara, we made him straight_c similar this (ANA) bone andhur-bugij wu=buri-∅, ana-n^gagara, ana:-'ni, n^gijan^g only straight it (ANA) sat_c bone this more nuru-n^gagara=wada-n^gi nirima=yada-n^gi ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g, we broke bone_c we joined it (MANA)_c along here nirima=bura-n^gi wa:n^g ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g mari we put it (MANA)_c whatchamacallit along here and ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g, nirima=bura-n^gi nu:na:-'gara-n^gu=bura-n^gi mari we put it_c we put (it) all for him_c and ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g mana-mabur ma=buri-∅, mari ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g along here string it sat_c and along here mana-mabur ma=buri-∅, mari ya:-ji:-'la-yun^g, wi:ya!. string it sat_c and along here finish!

(If) we broke a leg, we got lhuruman tree (*Clerodendrum floribundum*). We straightened him (man with broken leg), this bone, it was straight. When we broke a bone we joined them (two or more sticks) here, we put one here, one here, one here, one here--we put them all over for him. The string was along here and here.

Note: Several sticks of this tree were placed parallel to each other straddling the broken bone and were tied together with string.

137.1 wara-n^gagara=aba:-', wu:-n^gagara=wada-n^gi
they wrapped their bones_c they broke bone_c
war-uba-wi-yung^g, wara-wun^ya:n^yun^g, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
those (WARA) children elders
wu:-n^gagara=wada-n^gi-yin^yun^g ana-n^gagara mana:-'lburun^ggu, mari
they broke bone_c bone tree sp. and
medicine, nura:-'la=n^gu-ni nura:-'la=n^gu-ni medicine,
we drank_c

ama-ma-gujiyar-in^yun^g, wa:='ri mana-ma-dan^gag, ama-ma-gujiyar.
of its leaf (MANA) not its (MANA) wood its leaf

They wrapped up their (broken) bones. They had a broken bone, maybe one of those children, or one of the adults. One who broke a bone. A tree sp. (Clerodendrum cunninghamii). In addition, (we made) medicine (from that tree). We drank the medicine. Made from the leaves, not the wood (of that tree).

Note: This tree is closely related to C. floribundum (Preceding text), and the terms for the two are not always sharply distinguished in practice (there is also a term buduga, usually applied to C. floribundum). The term lhuruman (text 136) literally means 'firestick', and indeed that tree is also used for that purpose (the other term for 'firestick', ayan^ga, is also applied to the tree). C. cunninghamii is called alburun^ggu, which also means 'bustard' (bush turkey).

TEXT 138 STRYCHNINE: WHITE MAN'S MEDICINE
Ma:di

138.1 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wumbalbul, wa:='ri
as for it (ANA) tree sp. it was absent
an-uba-ni-yung^g-gaj, mari yuwa-ga:-'la Darwin-gala, doctor
long ago and from there from (place n.)
wi:=lharga-n^g, na-man^yjari wunu=maga:-',
they sent it (ANA)_p (man's n.) they called him_c
ni=assistant-man-gaj, a-work-gaj ni=doctor-aj, a:-'-ni
when he was assistant back at work when he was doctor this (ANA)
nani=look-after-'em-dha-n^gi-yaj, na-man^yjari, na-man^yjari
back when he took care of us (ExPl)_c (man's n.)
n^ga na-midhibiya, wara=maga-n^y di-ni-yum-ba:,
and then (man's n.) they called them_p they (MDu) are there

As for wumbalbul tree (Strychnos lucida), there was no (medicine from it) long ago. From the city of Darwin (they came), a doctor sent it. The man Man^yjari (said to be a speaker of Dhay'y^gi), they called him that, back when he was a (doctor's) assistant and was

taking care of us. Also the man named Midhibiya, they called them (two) those names, those two (Aborigines).

138.2 winiwu=ma-n^gi an-u-n^gu-bagalang^g, ana-wumbalbul, wa:='ri
they got it_c its eye tree sp. not
an-u-dan^gag, wu-gambal, winiwu=ma-n^gi winiwu=lhilgi-wi-ni,
its wood its head they got it_c they broke it off_c
winiwu-lhilgi=lhilgi-wi-ni ana-ba:dhi::: winiwu-yaba=yaba:::' full,
they broke it off_c box they put it in_c
winiwu-lhilgi=lhilgi-wi-ni ana-ba:dhi::: winiwu-yaba=yaba:::'
box

wu=damadhan, winiwu-lhilgi=lhilgi-wi-ni ana-ba:dhi wu=damadhan,
it was full box it was full
ana-medicine ana-wumbalbul wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
tree sp. as for it (ANA)

They got the nuts (the 'eyes') of that tree sp., not the wood. They got the branches (the 'head') and broke them off. They put them (nuts) in a box and filled it up. That tree sp., medicine.

138.3 adaba winiwu=ya:rijgi-n^y, wu-gu-ni bu-gu-ni n^ga wini=ya-n^ggi
then they transported it_p they (MDu) to there then they went_c
winiwu=ya:rijgi:-ni wu-gu-na:-' wara=yiyi:-ni wu-gu-na:-', na-man^yjari
they transported it_c theirs (MDu) they showed them_c (name)
n^ga na-midhibiya, an-uwa:-gu ana-Darwin wara-doctor,
and then (man's n.) there (place n.) doctors
wiri=bu:limdhil-n^y wiri=bu:limdha-n^gi, hot-water-miri
they boiled it_p they boiled it_c (Eng. loan) by means of hot water
wiri-nan^ga=na-n^ga:-' wiri-bu=bu:limdha-n^gi::: n^ga, wa:='ri
they burned it_c they boiled it_c and then not
ambiri=n^gu-ni, wiri-bu=bu:limdha-n^gi::: n^ga,
they ate it_p they boiled it_c and then

They (the two Aborigines) took it there. They took it, it was with them, they showed them (the doctors), the two men Man^yjari and Midhibiya did that. In Darwin the doctors boiled it (nuts) in hot water. They cooked them, they boiled them, they did not eat them.

138.4 adaba wu-gu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g wu-ba-ni wu-wara=anbi:-'na-yin^yun^g
then its that (ANA) it which all does it
ø-ara:-'ra=bali:-'yin^yun^g, adaba an-u-malagaj wiri-yara=bala-n^gi,
it which is smeared on it then its thick liquid they rubbed it on_c
wara=yiyi:-ni, a:-'-ji-yun^gguyun^g yin^gga ambini-wa=wardha-n^gi,
they showed them_c for here nearly they (MDu) would work
yagu wa:='ri, wara=yiyi:-ni wiri-bu=bu:limdha-n^gi n^ga
but not they showed them_c they boiled it_c and then

^gun^yju a-medicine-ji: adaba wi:=yami-jga:-',
similar like medicine then they did that to it_c

Then its (the nuts')--that stuff which does it, which oozes out of the nuts, the fat-like liquid, they rubbed it on (something). They showed it to them. They (two Aboriginals) were just about to work (with the nuts), but no. They showed it to them. They (doctors) boiled them, so that they were like medicine, they did that.

Note: I have had some difficulty interpreting the general sense of this segment.

138.5 wu=yama-na yamba bu=jun^yun^g wiri=ma-ni
it does that because that kind of thing they get it
ana-Darwin wa:-doctor wu-gu-ru, wumbalbul ana-medicine, da-ni-yun^g,
(place n.) doctors they tree sp. medicine it is there
ana:-'ni wara=yiyi:-ni yuwa:-gu, n^gijan^g ana:-'ji
this (ANA) they showed them_c there more here
wini:='gi:-ni n^ga wa:='ri ambini=yama:-', wini:='gi-n^y,
they (MDu) returned_c and then not they did that they returned_p
araga wini=warari-n^y, ana-wumbalbul wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
suddenly they balked_p tree sp. as for it (ANA)
wa:='ri ana-medicine ambini=wardha-n^gi, ambiniwu=ma-n^gi
not medicine they worked_c they got it
ana-wumbalbul wa:='ri, good medicine, ana:-'ni wa:-doctor
tree sp. not this (ANA) doctors
wara=yiyi:-ni an-uwa:-gu ana:-'ji:-'li wini:='n^yji=ya-n^ggi,
they showed them_c there from along here they (MDu) went with_c
ba:dhi-miri.
by means of box

Because it (nuts) does that, the doctors get it in Darwin, that tree sp., medicine. They showed it to them there. Then they (the two Aboriginals) came back here, they did not do that (try out the medicine?), they balked at that. They did not work with that medicine from wumbalbul tree. They did not get the wumbalbul tree. It is good medicine; the doctors showed it to them there. They (two Aboriginals) went from here (to there) with (the nuts), with a box.

Note: This tree occurs in Nunggubuyu country; its nuts contain a chemical combination which is ordinarily quite poisonous but can also be used in modern medicine. It was not traditionally used for medicine (and of course not eaten) by the Nunggubuyu.

TEXT 139

ABORIGINAL AND WHITE MEDICINE
Ma:di

139.1 wu-gu-ru, wara-munan^ga, wara-munan^ga-yin^yun^g, a:-da-nu:-'
they white people of white people that (ANA)
nuru=malala:di, wa:-nun^ggu-nun^g-gubuy, ana-medicine, mari lha:lhag
we are ignorant Nunggubuyu people medicine and recent
a:-da-nu:-' wu-wara=wali-n^y, ana-medicine, mijimid,
that (ANA) it all arrived together (creole)

an^yja:bu wa:-'n^ggara=ya-n^ggi, wara-ji-jijda
together it went together_c sisters (nurses, Eng. loan)

wara:-'wu-ru, nuru=malala:di nu-ru a:-da-nu:-',
these we are ignorant we (ExPl) that (ANA)

The white people. We Nunggubuyu do not know about that white man medicine. It arrived in this area recently. It came (here) along with the sisters (nurses) here. We do not know about that.

139.2 nu-ru, ana-bush, ana:-'ni ana-ran^gag, wu-waragara=lha-ra,
we bushland this (ANA) wood it all stands

dumburumbu, ana-medicine, ana:-'ji-yin^yun^g ana-yidji,
tree sp. of here itch (Engl. 'itchy')

ana-gadhalia, nura:-'ra=guryi:-'ni, xxx nu:=ya-y adaba
skin rash we poured all over selves_c (unclear) we slept then
wa:='ri-maga:, wa:='ri-ma:-', ba-ni-yun^g, aba wu=wara:ya-n^ggi
it was absent it became absent_c it is there then it cleared up_c
an-uba-ni-yun^g,
that (ANA)

We, in the bush, (used) this kind of tree (which) stands around here, dumburumbu (sandalwood, *Santalum lanceolatum*), for medicine. (For) this area (speaker points to body), itchiness, skin irritations. We poured (liquid in which it had been soaked) all over ourselves. Then we slept, and (the next day) it was gone. That thing had cleared up (disappeared).

139.3 n^gijan^g, mana-bagan^g, ana-eye^yebrow n^gun^yju ana:-'ni, gada!
more eye eyebrow similar this (ANA) oops!
ana-a:n^g, mana-bagan^g-jin^yun^g, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g balbi,
whatchamacallit of eye as for it (MANA) tree sp.

wuru-ba=guryi:-'ni ma-gargayag, nuru-ba=guryi:-'ni,
they poured on selves_c its (MANA) juice we poured on selves_c
mana-balbi, n^gun^yju n^ga a:-'ni wu-lhal=wawalha-n^ggi,
tree sp. similar and then this (ANA) country was open_c

In addition, (medicine) for eyes. Like this eyebrow--or rather of the eyes. As for it, balbi tree (*Sterculia quadrifida*), they poured it (medicine made from it) on themselves, the juice (liquid). We poured it on ourselves. The countries were visible (i.e. we could see).

139.4 mari a:n^g, banar, ana-badgul,
and whatchamacallit tree sp. bad cold (Eng. loan)
ana-yalijalig, ana-yinur, wuru=n^gambi:-ni, banar, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
cough cold they bathed_c tree sp. as for it (MANA)
wirima-ruju=ruja-n^gi wirima-ruju=ruja-n^gi mana-ma-dhan^gara n^ga
they scraped it_c its flower and then
ma-dan^ga-bugij wirima-ran^ga-duja-n^gi, n^ga wirima=n^gangudhaga:-',
its wood only they scraped its wood_c and then they boiled it_c
And whatchamacallit, banar tree (Owenia vernicosa). (For) bad colds,
coughing, etc. They bathed (in medicinal liquid). They scraped
that banar tree, the flowers (error) and--just the wood. They
scraped the wood and boiled it (i.e. the shavings).

Note: Boiling as such probably could not have been done in
traditional times, until metal billycans and the like were obtained
through contact with whites, perhaps including Macassans.

139.5 da-ni-yung^g, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g wudba n^gijan^g
it (ANA) is there as for it (MANA) tree sp. more
mana:-'n^ybaj, lhan^ggi, wuru=n^gambi:-ni-yin^yun^g ana:-'ni ana-mu:n
other (MANA) tree sp. which they bathed (in) this (ANA) foot
n^ga ana-yinag n^ga ana:-'lgur yan^gi n^ga
and then head and then various kinds and then
wura:-'ra=n^gambi:-ni, wuru=wuryi:-'ni ana-ji:ji,
they bathed all over_c they poured on selves_c sore
wan^ggu-wara=walga:-'yin^yun^g, a:-da-nu:-',
it which afflicted them_c that
That was that. As for wudba or lhan^ggi tree (Planchonia careya),
that is what they bathed in, their feet and heads or whatever, they
bathed (in it) all over, they poured it on themselves, on the sores
and wounds which had afflicted them.

Note: In some contexts wudba applies strictly to the fruit of
lhan^ggi tree; however, as commonly, terms for plant spp. and for
their fruits (or parts) are here interchanged.

139.6 a:-da-ni ana-medicine wara:-'ra-n^gu=ji:ji-yin^yun^g,
that (ANA) medicine (people) with sores all over
mana-bandage, ma:-da-mu:-', wa:=ri-yaj yagu na:mbu=marbuy-ma:-'waj
bandage that (MANA) back when not but back when we knew
nu-ru, wara-wuru-wuruj, nuru=malala:di,
we (ExPl) people we were ignorant

That was the medicine (for) people with lots of sores (wounds).
Back when we did not know about (modern) bandages. We, the Aboriginal
people, did not know.

139.7 lhu:n^y, ana:-'n^ybaj, ana-ji:ji-yin^yun^g, ana-run^ggal
stringybark tree other (ANA) of sore big

n^ga ana-ji:ji-windi:yun^g n^ga, n^gun^yju yaga: o:-'wa:-ni
and then real sore and then similar Ø that (ANA)
a-yidham
? (Eng. loan, unrecognizable) like they all sit
wu:=yama:-'yin^yun^g wan^ggu=walga:-'yin^yun^g, lhu:n^y,
they who did that_c it which afflicted them_c stringybark
wu:-wara=guryi:-'ni
they poured all over selves_c

Stringybark tree (E. tetradonta), another one, for really big
wounds. Like (those people) at the yidham, staying there, which
were like that, which were afflicted (by wounds).

Note: Although I was told that yidham (or possibly ayidham),
line 2 of this page, was an English word I cannot recognize it; it
is said to have something to do with the Darwin Hospital, and the
overall point is that this medicine is used for severely wounded
people.

139.8 mari wudba, mana:-'mbalaman ana-medicine-ji:, yagu
and tree sp. good (MANA) like medicine but
ma-gu-ru ana-medicine little-bit, badag, wu-gu-ru
it (MANA) medicine long time it (ANA)
wu=n^gulun^gulug, aba yimbaj-gaj yagu wu:=majima:-',
it (ANA) is fast now back at today (same day) but they were cured_c
ana-lhu:n^y mari mana-wudba, ana-bush nu-ru, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
stringybark and tree sp. bushland we (ExPl) elders
war-uba:::wi-yun^g-ga-jin^yun^g n^ga, wu:-manda=dama:-'aj
of around those (WARA) and then back when they were abundant_c
n^ga nu-ri:-'wuy, n^ga wara:-'wu-ru-wuy, n^gijan^g,
and then to us and then to these (Pl) more
ya:-ni mada, da-ju:-' yaga:, jirij-ban^yja-wan^yja-n^ga-j
it is here grass there Ø smelly grass
mada, da-nu:-' n^gijan^g ana-medicine, wuru=n^gambi:-ni-yin^yun^g
grass it is there more medicine which they bathed (in)_c
a:-da-nu:-' wan^ggu-wara=wadawadad-ga:-',
that (ANA) it made them strong all over
Also wudba (see 139.5), it is good, like (white) medicine. But it
(wudba) takes a bit of a long time (to work), while it (stringybark)
is fast, they were cured the same day. Stringybark and wudba, in
the bush, we, the old people (now dead), in those days when they
were still around in large numbers. In our time, and in the time of
those (living people), also this grass here, this smelly grass, it
is medicine, which they bathed in, it made them strong all over.

139.9 an-uba-ni *wura:-'ra:-'ba:-'=budi-Ø-yin^yun^g
that (ANA) they who were all swollen up_c

wan^gga:-'gara-n^gu=bujbu^gj-ga:-', wan^gga:-'gara=wun^yja:-', mari
it (ANA) dried (it) up for them_c it sucked (it) for them_c and
am^g yiliwin, wirima-ran^ga=duja-n^gi ma-dan^gag,
whatchamacallit wild orange tree they scraped its wood_c its wood
mari arara, mari wurgala,
and tree sp. and tree sp.

That (medicine), (for) people who were all swollen up (i.e. with a festering wound), it dried it (wound) up for them, it sucked it up for them. Also whatchamacallit, wild orange tree (Capparis umbonata), they scraped its wood (to make medicine). Also arara tree (Premna acuminata or Clerodendrum inerme) and wurgala (broad-leaved Acacia sp.).

Note: The reliability of Ma:di's statements about these last spp. should be taken with some qualifications. My information from other sources is that arara was not normally used for medicinal purposes, although other Clerodendrum spp. were (they are mentioned in some texts above); it is possible that Ma:di meant another sp. instead of arara. However, since the two spp. referred to as arara are botanically (and thus, perhaps, chemically) similar to the spp. used for this purpose, it is possible that one or both spp. called arara were occasionally used to make medicine.

* /-aG=wuda-/ with root /=wuda-/ and prefix /-aG-/ 'ground' (though this prefix lacks its normal meaning here); both this stem and the prefix /-wara-/ are reduplicated.

139.10 da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj, mana-medicine,
all along that medicine (adjective)

wirimma-ran^ga=duja-n^gi ma:-da-mu:-', ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g,
they scraped its wood (MANA)_c that (MANA) as for it (MANA)
ana-bush wara-min^g-ambara-waj, mari wilin, ni-gulhar,
bushland back among elders and ghost gum its bark (NA)
ana:-'ni medicine-bugij ana:-'ni ana-ran^gag,
this (ANA) only medicine this wood

All of those (trees). The medicinal (trees, cf. end of 139.9), they scraped their wood, that (tree). In the bush, back in the time of the old people (now dead). Also ghost gum (E. papuana, locally 'whitebark'), its outer bark, medicine (from) this tree.

139.11 wini-walga=walga:-' nuga-miri wini-walga=walga:-'
they pounded it (NA)_c by means of stone they pounded it_c
mari wini=lhalwulha-n^gi mari wini-wuyu=wuyuda-n^gi mari
and they soaked it_c and they rubbed it (NA) in hands_c and
wuru=n^gambi:-ni wuru=wuryi:-'ni, n^gun^yju a-yan^gi,
they bathed_c they poured on selves_c similar what?
wani-yara=wawalhi-jga:-', na:-'gi ni-ga:-'yun^g-gaj na-wilin,
it (NA) made them open_c this (NA) it also ghost gum

They pounded it with a stone and soaked (the shavings) and rubbed it in their hands. Then they bathed, they poured it (the liquid) on

themselves, lots of it ('like what?'). It cleared them up (of their illness). It also, this ghost gum.

139.12 mari ana-wilyag jagu, nidhun^g, aba yi:-ba-gi a:-'la
and tree sp. but tree sp. then that (NA) river
anba:li ni-yaragara=lha-ra, nidhun^g n^gijan^g, na-an^ybaj,
(place n.) it (NA) all stands tree sp. more other (NA)
ama-lhangi-yin^yun^g wura:-'dha:=dhin^gga:-'yin^yun^g,
of (tree sp.) which they drugged fish (with)_c
wura:-'ra=guryi:-'ni da-gu:-' nidhun^g,
they poured all over selves_c it (NA) is there tree sp.
Also wilyag tree (Persoonia falcata, usually pronounced wilwag). And nidhun^g (freshwater mangrove, Barringtonia acutangula), there around rivers, there are many of them at the place Anba:li. That is another one, nidhun^g. (Medicine) of lhangi tree (Planchonia careya), the tree which they used to drug fish with (text 107; nidhun^g tree was also used to drug fish). They poured it (medicinal liquid) all over themselves, that nidhun^g tree.

139.13 wara-min^y-n^gambara, nu-ru ana-medicine
elders we (ExPl) medicine
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj ana-bush, nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g
it is all along there bushland ours (ExPl)
wa:-nun^g-gu-ba-wi-yin^y-jin^yun^g, ana:-'ni ana-lha:l
of that people (that tribe) this (ANA) country
wi:-lhal-wana=wana:-'yin^yun^g war-uba:::wi-yin^y-jin^yun^g,
they who held the country_c of those (WARA)
right-up war-u-galagala-yin^yun^g right-up nu-ri:-'wuy-in^yun^g
all the way of middle people of to us (ExPl)

The elders (now dead). We (made) medicine, all of those, in the bush. (They are) ours, of that people, of those people who held (owned) the country, right up to the recent generations, right up to our time.

139.14 right-up n^gaya-wi-wuy a:-'ni nu-ri:-'wuy,
all the way to me this (ANA) to us (ExPl)
na-ma:di-wan^g-guy, na-wuma
to Ma:di's (speaker's name) people Homer (man's English n.)
na-galagu, wara-mulun^g-uda-wi-yun^g-gaj, ana:-'ni
(man's n.) back among that bunch this (ANA)
wuguwuguni-wugij n^ga da-nu:-' wu=bura:-' ana-medicine,
only permanent and then it is there it (ANA) sits medicine
yagu ya:-ni yamba hospital, wa:-dhudabada-yin^yun^g
but it is here because of white people
nan^ggu=dhalali jga-n^y,
it (ANA) attracted us_p

Right up to me (to my time), to us, Ma:di (myself) and his group (kindred). That bunch, Homer and Galagu (fairly old men of other Nunggubuyu clans). The medicine is still there (in the bush), but because we have the hospital (clinic) here, because white (medicine) has attracted us, (we don't use the old bush medicine).

139.15 araga wu-wara=gurag a:-da-nu:-' wa:='ri suddenly it is left behind that (ANA) not na:mbu=yijimdh-a-n^g--, na:mbu=wanta-n^g, na:mbu-wara=lharga-n^g, we use it (Eng. loan) we do that to it we swallow it na:mbu-wara=ma:ndha-n^g an-ubu-jun^yun^g nu-ri-'-n^yin^yun^g we make it that kind of thing ours (ExPl) ano::-'ba-ni-yin^y-jin^yun^g, wara-mi:::n^y-n^gambara-wa-jin^yun^g, of long ago of among elders

Now it (bush medicine) is no longer in use, we do not use it, we do not do that to it, swallow it, make it. That kind of thing, ours, long ago, when the old people (were alive).

Note: In this segment Ma:di used the verb =yijimdh-a- 'to use' (creole use-'em plus thematizer -dha-). Since he is aware that this is a creole word he interrupted himself and tried to find a Nunggubuyu equivalent. Since there is no single Nunggubuyu verb with this meaning he first used an indefinite verb =wanbi- 'to do it to (something)', then used the verbs 'swallow' and 'make'.

139.16 ana:-'ni n^gana=maga-na ana-medicine wu=wadawadad, this (ANA) I tell you (Pl) medicine it is strong wa:='mbalaman, wa:='ri an^gga:='la:di=maga:, ana:-'ni, da-ni-yun^g. it is good not it is bad this it is there I am telling you (all) (about) this medicine. It is strong (i.e. effective), it is good, it is not bad, this (medicine). That is that.

TEXT 140 SUCKING NECTAR FROM FLOWERS Ma:di

140.1 wuru-gali=ja:ri:-'yin^yun^g, wu:=na-n^y n^ga about them having good time they saw it^p and then na-ni-malagaj nu:-'ba-gi na-a:n^g, its (NA) thick liquid that (NA) whatchamacallit ana-fudiflawa-yin^yun^g na-adbar, muga lagu yamba bu-gu-ni, of flower (creole) tree sp. indeed honey because to there wu-n^gu-galg φ=n^gu-yi:-yin^yun^g n^ga ba-gu wu-n^gu-galg its honey bee it which eats it and then there honey bee wu-bu=bura:-' wu=di:-'yin^yun^g, wu=di:-'yin^yun^g, it sits it which defecates

They (people) had a good time (i.e. they enjoyed sucking nectar). They saw it. The honey-like liquid, on the flowers of adbar tree (Grevillea pteridifolia). There was honey (i.e. honey bees) there,

bees who are eating (the pollen), sitting there (on the flowers), and defecating (honey-like substance) out.

140.2 adaba wini=ma-ni wini=lhilgi-wu-ma-na n^ga adaba then they get it (NA) they break it (NA) off and then then wu:-lhan^y=barbi:-na wini=wun^yja-na, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g, they move tongue around they lick it (NA) that (NA) na-rilidili ni-ga, a-lagu-yi: ni=yama-na, ni-ga:-'yun^g tree sp. it (NA) like honey it (NA) does that as for it (NA) na-adbar *ni:-'=jama-na-wugij, a-lagu-yi:, wini=wun^yja-na, tree sp. it (NA) does that only like honey they lick it ni-ga:-'yun^g na-ni-gang^g, ana-fudiflawa-yi:, as for it (NA) its whatchamacallit like flower (creole) wini-wun^yju=wun^yja-na wini=wun^yja-na war-uba-wi-yun^g, they lick it they lick it those (WARA)

Then they (people) get it (tree), they break off (a branch) and move their tongues around on it. They lick and suck it (to get the nectar). Also rilidili tree (Banksia dentata), it is like honey (i.e. has nectar on its flowers). Also adbar (Grevillea) is like that, like honey. They lick and suck it. Its whatchamacallit, the flowers, they lick and suck them, those (people).
* Stem /-ij=yama-/.

140.3 lagu yamba ba-gu wu=bura:-' wu-gan^g, honey because there it sits its whatchamacallit (ANA) wu=malagaj, wu=di:-'yin^yun^g wu=gal=dharara:-'yin^yun^g its thick liquid it which defecates it which flies away n^ga ba-gu φ=n^gu-yi: n^ga ba-gu-miri wu=di:-', and then there it eats it and then right there it defecates ana-lagu, wara-min^y-n^gambara-aj n^ga ya:-ni lha:lhag honey among elders and then it is here recent mari, ana-lagu na:-'-gi, and honey this (NA)

(They lick and suck) because there is honey there, its thick liquid (i.e. like honey), which they (bees) leave there (defecate) and fly away. They (bees) eat (the pollen) and 'defecate' the honey there. In the time of the old people (now dead) and around here in modern (recent) times, this (tree) has honey.

Note: lagu, here glossed 'honey', is a general term for honey bees and their products; -malagaj refers more specifically to the substance of honey or similar thick liquids.

140.4 a-lagu-yi: ni=yama-na ni-ga:-'yun^g na-miliba, na-lhi:rj like honey it does that as for it (NA) tree sp. tree sp. mari na-a:n^g, na-rilidili mari na-an^g na-adbar, and whatchamacallit (NA) tree sp. and whatchamacallit tree sp.

gada!, na-a:n^g, na-adbar mari na-a:n^g, na-rilidili,
 oops! whatchamacallit tree sp. and whatchamacallit tree sp.
 ni=yama-na, wara-min^y-n^gambara-aj, wa:-ridhi-ridham^gu,
 it (NA) does that back among elders Ritharngu (n. of tribe)
 n^ga right-up a:-'ni-wuy ama-madhala-guy,
 and then all the way to this to beach
 ni:ni-malaga.j=bun^yja:-' na-ni-malaga.j.
 we licked thick liquid_c its (NA) thick liquid

Those trees are like honey (i.e. have nectar on flowers): miliba tree (Cansjera and/or Opilia), lhi:rj (wild cotton, Cochlospermum sp.), and rilidili (Banksia)--oops!, I mean, whatchamacallit, adbar (Grevillea) and whatchamacallit, rilidili (Banksia), they are like that. In the time of the old people (now dead), from the Ritharngu people (inland to the north and northwest) all the way down here to the coast, we used to lick and suck the nectar from these trees.

Note: It is interesting that the trees mentioned all seem to be in the NA noun class. As the text indicates, these trees are associated with nectar thought to be manufactured by honey bees. Although the various honey bee spp. (Trigona) which have Nunggubuyu names are in various noun classes, it is possible that they were originally in the NA class (in the closely related Ngandi language, all terms relating to honey and honey bees are in the cognate NI noun class).

TEXT 141 UTENSILS FOR EATING HONEY
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

141.1 ana-lagu, wuru=wulu-bi-ni, min^yar n^ga
 honey they sucked honey with wulug tree sp. and then
 ya:-ma mana-wulug, ama-min^yar,
 it (MANA) is here honey-eating implement tree sp.
 ama-min^yar-in^yun^g mana-wulug, mari a-wa:n^g,
 of tree sp. (see above) and whatchamacallit (ANA)
 a-wa:n^g-jin^yun^g, mada, wuru=wulu-bi-ni ana-lagu, mana-wulug.
 of whatchamacallit grass (see above) honey (see above)

They used to suck honey by means of wulug (see note below). This wulug, from min^yar tree (Acacia torulosa). Also from whatchamacallit, from grass. They used to suck honey with the wulug.

Note: wulug is any material which is dipped into the honey and then sucked by the Aboriginals. The primary materials used for this purpose are either the inner bark of A. torulosa (though bark from the stringybark tree, E. tetradonta, can also be used), or the roots of a particular grass sp. called arigari (Alloteropsis semialata). These roots contain soft white tips which look a little like bunches of Q-tips. The main thing is that the wulug should be clean and reasonably absorbent; the Aboriginals suck and chew them to get the honey, thin spit out the residue.

TEXT 142 WILD HONEY
Ma:di

142.1 ana-lagu wura:-'n^yji=yan^ga-ni, ana-yu:l-wuy,
 honey they heard it with_c to bushland
 mana-gurjada-wuy, mari ana-lhu:n^y-guy, ana-lhumulug ana:-'rawindi
 to eucalypt sp. and to stringybark bloodwood many
 n^ga ana:-'ni ana-a:n^g, mana-ragala mana-wirinbirin,
 and then this (ANA) whatchamacallit paperbark sp. paperbark flower
 wara-n^ga:nig, mari ana-n^galyurwa, ana-miniguya, ana-nabi, aba
 honey bee sp. and honey bee sp. honey bee sp. honey bee sp. then
 wirima=lala:-'ni ma-barigulag mana-a:n^g
 they peeled it (MANA)_c its (MANA) skin whatchamacallit
 mana-wulug, mana-min^yarn^y-jin^yun^g,
 honey-eating implement of tree sp.

They heard (about?) honey, in the bushland, among various eucalypts (E. ferruginea, E. tetradonta, E. polycarpa), lots of them (trees). Also this whatchamacallit, ragala (thin form of Melaleuca viridiflora), wirinbirin (name of flower of ragala tree). Several honey bees (Trigona spp., list given). They peeled off the bark of minyarn^g tree (Acacia torulosa, see text 141), as a honey-eating substance.

Note: The eucalypts in question occur predominantly in tall eucalypt forests; the term yu:l 'bushland' is more or less to be identified with such forest. The paperbark tree in question occurs mainly in floodplain areas (dry in dry season, inundated in wet).

142.2 wirima-la=lala:-'ni::: am-uwa:-mi-yaj, wirima-la=lala:-'ni:::
 they peeled it (MANA)_c that (MANA) going
 am-uwa:-mi-yaj, wirima-la=lala:-'ni::: am-uwa:-mi-yaj, mari
 and
 wirima-walga=walga::: wirima-wan^ga=wa-n^ga:-' wirima-nini=nini-ga::: -'
 they pounded it_c they bit it (MANA)_c they made it soft_c
 n^ga, adaba wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:=na-ni, wirima-ranga=ranguda-n^gi
 and then they went_c they saw it_c they sorted it (MANA)
 n^ga, wu:=lalba=lal-bi-ni-maga: ana-lagu::: n^ga,
 and then they split it (ANA)_c honey and then

They skinned it (Acacia torulosa) along there and along there. They pounded (the peeled-off bar) with a stone, and chewed it to make it soft. Then they went (to ϵ the honey). They saw it (honey). They sorted them (bark of Acacia (i.e. into pieces of bark of different sizes). They split the (tree containing the) honey.

142.3 adaba wuru=wulu-bi-ni, wuru=wulu-bi-ni
 then they used wulug (text 141)
 wuru-n^garan=galima:-' wuru-n^garan-n^gu=dhawawaruma:-'
 they all got water_c they stirred (honey and water)_c

wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni wu:=yaba:-' ana-bulayi-wuy, n^gijan^g
they used wulug_c they put it (ANA) in_c to billycan more
wurugu wirima=ma-n^gi, n^gijan^g wuru=mihugan^yji:-ni
later they got it (MANA)_c more they did it repeatedly to it_c
wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni wu:=yaba:-' ana:-'n^ybaj-guy ana-bulayi,
they used wulug_c they put it in_c to other (ANA) billycan
n^gijan^g wu:=yama=yama::-' wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni::: wu=wadbir-ma:-',
more they did that_c they used wulug_c it became dry_c
Then they used the honey-eating material (bark). They (people) got
water and stirred it in with the honey. They put the honey into a
billycan and used the honey-eating material. They got more (bark).
They did this repeatedly (to the honey). They put the honey into
another billycan. They did that, they used the bark. It (honey)
became dry.

142.4 wu:=ya-n^ggi, da-ni wuru=na-ni, ana-miniguya,
they went_c it is there they saw it_c honey bee sp.
wiri-wuldha=wuldha-n^gi wu:-lalba=lalbi-ni::: n^gijan^g wirima=ma-n^gi,
they cut it_c they split it_c more they got it_c
mana-run^ggal, wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni::: n^ga,
big (MANA) they used wulug_c and then
ana-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yun^g ana-bulayi wirima=yaba:-',
big ones (Pl) billycan they put it (MANA) in_c
They (people) went (into the bushland). They saw the bees (i.e. the
hive). They cut it (i.e. the tree in which it was), they split it
open. They got some big ones (bark, wulug). They used the wulug.
They put them into some big billycans.

142.5 n^gijan^g wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni ana-malagaj, wuru=wulu-bi-ni:::
more they used wulug_c thick liquid
n^ga yuwa:-gu, wuru-wulu=wulu-bi-ni bu-gu-ni wu-n^garag,
and then there they used wulug_c to there its wax and honey
bu-gu-ni alan^g, wura:-'ji=yaba:-' wuru-yama=yama::-'
to there pollen they put it in with (it)_c they did that_c
n^ga, ana-nabi wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wuru-n^gara-n^garan=gulguldha-n^gi:::,
and then honey bee sp. as for it (ANA) they cut it all up_c
mana-wulug lhiribala wirima=bura-n^gi, wuru-yaba=yaba::-'
honey-eating implement inside they put it (MANA)_c they put it in_c
n^ga bu-gu-ni ama-wulu-guy adaba Ø=wala-n^gi,
and then to there to wulug then it rubbed it_c
wu-malaga=jiryira-n^gi,
thick liquid spilled_c

In addition, they used the wulug on the honey (liquid). There, they
used the wulug, they put the honeycomb (wax and honey) and the pollen
in there with it. They did that. One honey bee sp., they cut up
(its tree). They put the wulug inside, and put it (honey) in (the

billycans). It (honey) came into contact with the wulug (in the
billycans), the thick liquid (honey) dripped (into the cans).

142.6 ana-n^galyurwa, wara-n^ga:nig, wu:=yama:-'wugij now,
honey bee sp. honey bee sp. they (Pl) did that only_c
wu:=yama=yama::-' n^ga wi:ya! adaba, wu=damadhan-jin^yun^g,
they did that_c and then finish! then it which was full
mana-wulug ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g, wuru=wuldha-n^gi,
honey-eating implement as for it (MANA) they cut it_c
ama-min^yarn^y-jin^yun^g, mari a-mada-yin^yun^g ama-wulug,
of tree sp. and of grass honey-eating implement
wu-da-nu:-' a-yu:l-wa-jin^yun^g, a-mada-wura:yun^g, da-nu:-'
that (ANA) of in bushland small grasses (Pl) it is there
n^gijan^g wiri=mun^yur-ga:-' wiri-mun^yu=mun^yur-ga::-'
more they made it fine (soft)_c they made it fine_c
n^ga wiri=lhalwulha-n^gi ana-lagu-wuy, wuru=warbi-jga:-'.
and then they soaked it (ANA)_c to honey they rolled it around_c
Two honey bee spp. (names given). They (people) did that (same
thing with them). They did that, then that was all. It (billycan)
was full. They cut down (honey-bearing tree), using honey-eating
implements from min^yarn^y tree (Acacia torulosa). Also another kind
of honey-eating implement, from grass, those small grasses out there
in the bushland (see note to text 141). They made them (roots of
this grass) fine (soft), they soaked it in the honey and rolled it
around (to absorb honey, then sucked and chewed the roots to get the
honey).

TEXT 143 WILD HONEY Ga:gadug

143.1 aba nuru-war=na-ni-maga: nuru-war=na-ni-maga:
then we looked in trees for honey_c
"n^ga=na-n^y aba wu=yabi:-'na, da-ni miniguya
I saw it^p then it (ANA) goes in it is there honey bee sp.
n^ga=na-n^y, wu=yabi:-'na n^gan=dha-ni xxx", aba nu:=lha-n^gi
I saw it it goes in I will chop it_c (unclear) then we chopped it_c
niri-madha=madhara-n^gi ni:=rabi-jga:-', nuru-lhan^ga=lha-n^gi:::
we chopped it_c we made it fall_c we chopped it_c
nu:=lalba=lalbi-ni ara:-'mbalamana aba wu-ga:man,
we split it_c all good then its (ANA) beehive
ara-man^gaj, ana:-'ni ana-miniguya,
lot of 'fat' this (ANA) honey bee sp.

We were out looking up in trees for honey (i.e. to spot honey bees
entering hollow trees through little 'tunnels' which they construct
at the entrance to their hives). "I saw it. I saw some miniguya

bees (one of the Trigona spp.) entering (their hive)! They are going in, over there! I will cut it (the tree down)!" Then we chopped it down and made it fall. Then we chopped it and split it (tree) open. The inner hive, lots of 'fat' (honey and wax), from this miniguya bee.

Note: With verbs like 'chop' (=lha-, =madhara-) in the context of obtaining honey, the morphological direct object may be either 'honey' or 'tree'. Transitive verb forms with prefix nuru- or nu:- in this passage have 'honey', ANA(∅) noun class, as direct object; those with niri- or ni:- have implied direct object rangag 'tree', ANA(wu) noun class.

143.2 nu:-yaba=yaba:-' nu:-yaba=yaba:-' n^gijang
we put it in_c we put it in_c more
nuru-n^gara=n^garagi:-ni nuru=waran^gga:-' da-ni n^gijang^g,
we looked for honey_c we looked_c it is there more
n^galyurwa, "n^galyurwa ana:-'ni n^ga=lha-ni n^ga=na-n^y,
honey bee sp. this (ANA) I chop it I saw it_p
wu-gal=dharara:-' wu=yabi:-'na", aba wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
honey bees are visible (exposed) it goes in then as for them
wu:=na-ni yuwa:-gu, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g yuwa:-gu wuru=na-n^y,
they saw it_c there as for them there they saw it_p
yuwa:-gu wara:-'rawindi wara-mananun^g big-mob
there many (Pl) women many

We put it (honey, etc.) in (containers, e.g. coolamons). Then we looked for some more honey, and there were somes n^galyurwa bees (another Trigona spp.). "Here is some n^galyurwa, I saw it and I am chopping it down, the bees are visible (outside the tree), they are going in (their tunnel)." Over there (somewhere else) those other people, a bunch of women, saw it (more honey).

143.3 nu:=ya-n^gi adaba nuru=lha-n^gi, nuru=warga-n-di aba yigaj
we went_c then we chopped it_c we got lots_c then there!
yin^gga aba wa:='ndhar-wi:-'ni ana-bulayi, mari ana-lhabara,
nearly then it filled itself_c billycan and coolamon
nu:=yaba:-', wu-gu-ru ana-bulayi ana-miniguya mari ana-n^galyurwa,
we put it in it (ANA) billycan honey bee sp. and honey bee sp.
mari wara-n^ga:nig, n^ga:nig mari wa:n^g, nabi,
and honey bee sp. honey bee sp. and whatchamacallit honey bee sp.
nuru=na-ni, n^gun^yju a:-'ni, a-run^ggu-run^ggal-in^yung
we saw it_c similar this (ANA) big ones (ANA)
nuru=warga-n-di ana-lagu, mang-a-jin^yung ana-lagu
we got lots_c honey of 'fat' honey

We went along and chopped it down. We got lots (of honey). Then the billycan, and/or the coolamon, was filled, there! We put it in the billycan, honey from any of several spp. We saw them, big ones like this (i.e. hives), we got lots of good thick honey.

143.4 aba nu:=yali-n^yji:-ni, nu:=yala-n^gi,
then we mixed (honey and water)_c we mixed it (with water)_c
gu:gu-miri nu:=yala-n^gi nuru=wun^yji:-'ni, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
by means of water we mixed it_c we licked selves_c as for it (ANA)
a-garamin^yanmin^yan a:-'ban-baj, wu=yabi:-'na a:-'ban arbidi,
honey bee sp. among ground it goes in ground anyway
ambu:=warga-n-ji: ya:-wa:-'la wu:=yabi:-'ni
they will get lots_c here it (WARA) comes it (WARA) goes in
ya:-wa:-'la yuwa-ga:-'la, aba nu:=riga-n-di, anan^y,
from there then we dug_c yamstick

Then we mixed the honey with water (in the containers). We licked ourselves (after dipping fingers in this mixture). As for garamin^yanmin^yan (another bee sp.), it goes in (i.e. has its hive) in the ground, it just goes in there. They (people) can get a lot of it. It goes in (the ground) here, from that way. We dig (to get it) with a sharp yamstick.

Notes: garamin^yanmin^yan differs from the tree-dwelling spp. in preferring to make its nest among rocks or inside the ground. Note the fluctuation in noun-class for this noun, both ANA(∅) and WARA.

143.5 niri=lhaba-n^gi ana:-'nan^y, nuru=riga-n-di adaba
we carved it_c yamstick we dug_c then
nuru=ga:dhi:-ni-maga: nu:-rigi=riga-n-di mari nara=gujguji:-ni
we dug with hands_c we dug_c and we held it up_c
mari nara=bura-n^gi, adaba na:-la=lala:-'ni war-u-gumurn^g,
and we put it_c then we peeled it (WARA)_c its (WARA) shell
war-u-gumurn^g, war-u-galan^yan, nara=lala:-'ni, nara-la=lala:-'ni
its (WARA) 'cement' we peeled it_c we peeled it_c
nara-mundu=munduga:-', adaba nara=balhu:-', na:=yaba-na,
we gathered it (WARA)_c then we cut it (WARA) up_c we put it in
ana-lhabara-wuy, nuru-warga=warga-n-di-maga:
to coolamon we got lots_c
We 'carved' it (the ground) with the yamstick, we dug (with yamstick) and with our hands. We lifted it (honey) up and put it down. Then we removed the outer shell and the 'cement', we peeled it off. We gathered it up and cut it up. Then we put it in a coolamon, lots.

143.6 ya:-ji arwar wa:='ndhar-wi:-'ni, ya:-ni yigaj
here on top it filled itself_c it is here there!
ana-lhabara, ya:-ni, nu:=yama:-' niri=munga-n-di, mari
coolamon it is here we did that_c we cut off paperbark_c and
ana-marin-guy, a-marin n^gijang^g, ana-miniguya a-marin nu:=yaba:-',
to basket basket more honey bee sp. basket we put it in_c
mana-wulug nuru-warga=warga-n-di mana-wulug nu:=yama:-'
(see text 141) we got lots_c we did that_c

nuru=warga-n-di ana-mada-wuy nirima=n^gambi-jga:-', wa:=ndhar-wi:-'ni,
we got lots_c to grass we bathed it (MANA)_c it (ANA) filled self_c
It (coolamon) filled itself up to the top, this coolamon here. We
did that, we trimmed some paperbark off a paperbark tree (any
of several Melaleuca spp.). We put the miniguya honey into a
marin basket (made from pandanus fibre and sealed with beeswax to
make it leakproof). We got some wulug (see text 141), lots of it.
We put it (wulug) in with some grass. It (coolamon) was full.

143.7 mari nirima=lha-n^gi, min^yar, mari balara,
and we chopped it (MANA)_c tree sp. and tree sp.
nirima=lha-n^gi, a-yu:l-waj, da-ma:-'la-yun^g
we chopped it (MANA)_c among bushland that (MANA) coming
ma:-'ragara=lha-ra xxx, aba nu:-yama=yama:-'
it (MANA) all stands (unclear) then we did that_c
nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi nu:-yama=yama:-' adaba ma-bu=buri-∅,
we worked (Eng. loan)_c we did that_c then it (MANA) sat_c
ba-mi-yun^g-bugij an^yja:bugij, mana-wulug,
it (MANA) is only there one honey-eating implement

And we chopped down a tree, min^yar (Acacia torulosa) or balara
(A. difficilis). We chopped it down, in the bush; there are lots of
them (trees) over there (not far away). We did that, we did some
work. We did that. That honey-eating material (text 141), just
one (piece), is there.

143.8 nirima:-'ra:-'ra=yar-bi-ni, nirima=dhida-n^gi
we washed it all (MANA)_c we closed it off_c
nirima:-'ra:-'ra=yar-bi-ni-maga: adaba, aba yin^gga nu:=ya-n^ggi
then then nearly we went_c
ana-lagu nirima=yaba:-' adaba a-marin-guy, mari a-lhabara-wuy,
honey we put it in_c then to basket and to coolamon
nuru=wulu-bi-ni-yun^gguyun^g, ana-gara nirima=ma:ndha-n^gi-maga:
so that we used wulug_c hole we made it (MANA)_c
ana-gara::: adaba nuru=wulu-bi-ni xxx, nu:=lha-n^gi,
hole then we used wulug_c (unclear) we chopped it_c
We cleaned it (wulug, honey-eating implement), we closed it off.
We cleaned it, then we went to the honey and put it (wulug) in the
pandanus basket, so that we used the wulug (to eat honey). We made
a hole and used the wulug. We chopped it (honey) down.

143.9 nan^ggu=wa-n^ga:-'-maga: maragarj wu-gu-ru ana-nabi wu-gu-ru
it bit us_c dangerous it bee sp. it
ana-miniguya wa:='ri, xxx, ana-n^gura
honey bee sp. not (unclear) fire
nura:='wula-n^gi adaba nu:=yama:-'-maga:, ana-n^gura cut-'em,
we lit it_c then we did that_c fire cut (creole)

ana-nabi, nuru=warga=n-di-maga:, nabi, arulg, cheeky-one,
honey bee sp. we got lots_c bee sp. bee nasty

yin^gga a:-'rulg wun^ya:n^yung, lha:lhag wu=yu-n^gi:-'na,
nearly bee small ones (Pl) recent it (ANA) grows

nuru-na-ni-maga: nuru=waran^gga:-',
we saw it_c we looked_c

As for that nabi (bee sp.), it was nasty, it used to bite us. On
the other hand, miniguya (and the other spp.) did not. We lit a
fire, we did that, we cut down some firewood (to get rid of the
nasty bees). We got lots of (honey of) nabi bees. We saw the little
bees of that species, who had just recently been growing up.

Note: arulg refers to bees of the nabi sp. The term nabi itself,
like other similar bee sp. terms, refers to the bees, their honey,
etc., while arulg refers only to the bees.

143.10 nu:-lalba=lal-bi-ni n^gun^yju a:-'ni, nuru=balhu:-'-maga:
we split it_c similar this we cut it up_c
waragu-miri, maragi-miri nuru=balhu:-' nu:=yaba:-',
by means of axe by means of knife we cut it up_c we put it in_c
wurugu n^ga:mbu=ya:-ri:-maji: ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g, n^ga:mbu=yaba-na,
later if we (InPl) go_c this (ANA) coming we will put it in_c
n^ga:mbu=ya:-ri: mana-truck ama-waya=wayama-ni n^ga:mbu=bura:-'
we (InPl) will go_c truck it (MANA) will proceed_c we will sit_c
adaba n^gam-bar=na-yi: n^gang=garan^gga-na n^ga=na-yi:,
then I will look for honey_c I will look_c I will see it_c

We split it (honey), (big) like this, we cut it (hive) up with an
axe or knife. We cut it up and put it in (container). Later, you
(Heath) and us, if we go this way, we will put some (honey) in.
We might go (with) the truck, it (truck) will drive along, we will
stay (at some place in the bush). Then I will go looking in trees
for honey, I will take a look and see it.

143.11 ya:-ni yigaj wu-gu-ru ana-nabi wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
it is here there! it (ANA) honey bee sp. as for it
ana-a:n^g ana-miniguya, aliyun^g arawindi, an-uba-ni
whatchamacallit honey bee sp. Q many that (ANA)
ana-wa:n^g, yu:ga yan^gi-mayi an-uba-ni, n^guru-yara=ya-ra
whatchamacallit Q what country? that we (InPl) sleep
an-uba-ni, ba-ni n^ga=na-ni, an-uba-ni, n^ga-gu-ru
that it is there I saw it_c that we (InPl)
n^guru-warga=warga-n-di, o:-'wa:-ni, lhundagi, ana-lhundagi
we got lots_c that (ANA) (place n.) (place n.)
arawindi ana-lagu, arawindi ana:-'ni ana:-'ni ana:-'ni ana-yu:l
many honey this bushland
ju:::j!,
go

It (honey) is here, nabi or miniguya, lots of it, right? (At) that whatchamacallit, what place? We sleep there (frequently). I saw it (honey) there, we got lots of it. That (place), Lhundagi, lots of honey (there). (Also) in this bushland (near here).

- 143.12 mari ama-saltwater ama-lhan^gada-waj, wara-n^ga:nig,
and sea around jungle honey bee sp.

wara-garamin^yanmin^yan ba:::-wi-ruj
honey bee sp. it (WARA) is there farther on
wu:-wan^yja-n^gu=bura:-' waran^yin^y miwul, bu:::-gu-nu:-'
it (WARA) sits as food (place n.) (place n.) to there
warabara-guy, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, mari ya:-wa:-'la
to (place n.) as for it (ANA) and here it (WARA) comes
wu=ran^yjuga-n-ji: a:-'ni:-'la ran^yjirij, wara-garamin^yanmin^yan,
peninsula juts out this coming (ANA) (place n.) honey bee sp.

[interjection by Laran^gana: yi:-midi-waj yagu]
around paperbark sp. but

(Ga:gadug resumes:) girjag! yuwa:-wi-ruj
no! it (WARA) is there farther on
yuwa:-wa:-'la wara-garamin^yanmin^yan argali, lhulurj,
there it (WARA) comes honey bee sp. in west (place n.)
(Also) around the sea and jungle (i.e. near the coast), n^ga:nig
and garamin^yanmin^yan (two of the honey bee spp.), they are there a
little farther on, they are there (as food) at the places Waran^yin^y
and Miwul, and going that way to Warabarag for its part. Also it
(garamin^yanmin^yan honey bee) is found along here, at the peninsula
over there, the place Ran^yjirij. That garamin^yanmin^yan bee.
(Laran^gana interjects: Around midi paperbark tree, craggy form of
Melaleuca leucadendron, e.g. around Numbulwar.) No! It
(garamin^yanmin^yan) is farther over that way, and in the west, at
the place Lhulurj.

143.13 n^ga:mbu=ya:-ri:-maji: mana-barawu n^ga:mba=na-yi:, adaba,
if we (InPl) go_c boat we will see it_c then
ambu=warga-n^g ba-wa n^gara:-'ragara:'ru:-'
they will get plenty it (WARA) is there we left it (WARA) all_c
n^gaya wu:-wara=gurag, wara-garamin^yanmin^yan, n^ga=yadha-n^gi,
I it (WARA) is left behind honey bee sp. I claimed it_c
(interruption), da-ni nura:='ran^gga:-'-maga:, da-ni
it is there (ANA) we looked_c it is there
n^giwu-ran^ga=guruma-n^gi n^giwu=lharmadharma-n^gi n^gi=yara-n-di
it (N^gARA) buzzed around wood_c it lined it up_c it smelled it_c
adaba ana-lagu, smell n^gi=yama:-' n^gi=yimun^y-gi:-'-ni,
then honey it did that_c it took sniff_c
If we go (in) the boat we will see it (garamin^yanmin^yan honey bee).
They will get plenty of it, it is there. We left some behind, I

left it alone (but marked the spot for future reference). I claimed it (i.e. left a mark to indicate that I alone have the right to obtain that honey at a later time). We looked around. Over there it (a wasp, mi:r) was buzzing around the tree, it was at one end of the tree, it had smelled the honey (inside the hollow tree). It had done that, it had taken a sniff (and detected the honey).

Note: Ga:gadug is saying that a perceptive Aboriginal can often notice a hidden beehive by observing the behavior of wasps buzzing around a tree. Directly detecting beehives is difficult because honey bees are very small and the hives are often not easy to see from the outside.

- 143.14 n^gi-mala=yara-n-di "da-nu:-' a:-da-nu:-'
it (N^gARA) smelled thick liquid_c it (ANA) is there that
n^gi-mala=yara-n^g lagu", wu:=yama:-'wugij, n^gijan^g
it (N^gARA) smelled thick liquid_p honey they did that only_c more
wu:=yimun^y-gi:-'-ni-maga:, wara-landhurg wara-babab,
it (WARA) sniffed_c dog pup (Eng. loan)
wuru-warawu=dharma-n^gi "n^gu:::n^g! n^gu:::n^g! n^gu:::n^g!",
it (WARA) chased its (ANA) smell_c (sound)
nu:=yama:-', nari:='jga-n-di, aba wu:=yara-n-di,
we did that_c we took (dog) hunting_c then it (WARA) smelled it_c
It (wasp) smelled the honey. (We said,) "There, it (wasp) smelled the honey!" They said that. In addition, dogs sniffed, they went after the smell (of honey). They howled. We took the dogs with us hunting in the bush. They (dogs) smelled it (honey).

143.15 ya:-ji wu:=riga-n-di aba wu:=riga-n-di
here it (WARA) dug then
wirimia-n^gara=jaraa:-', aliyun^g, wu:=marya:da-n^gi,
it threw sand_c Q it (WARA) was hungry_c
wu:=marya:da-n^gi adaba nu:=lha-n^gi-maga:, wuru=manbagi:-'-ni
then we chopped it_c it (WARA) got big one_c
ana-man^ga-jin^yung an-uba-ni ana-run^ggal-in^yung adaba wu:=yara-n-di
of 'fat' that (ANA) big ones (ANA) then it smelled it_c
aliyun^g, adaba nuru=lha-n^gi-maga: adaba nu:-yaba=yaba:-'
Q then we chopped it_c then we put it in_c
nu:-yaba=yaba:-' aba nari:='ni an-u-mala
then we gave them_c its thick liquid (ANA)
nuru-mala=ma-n^gi,
we got thick liquid_c

They (dogs) were digging here (where they smelled the honey in the ground). They threw the sand to the side, right? They (dogs) were hungry (for the honey). We chopped at it and they (dogs) got a big chunk of honey and wax. They (dogs) smelled big ones (hives), right? With lots of 'fat'. We chopped at it and put it (honey) in (container). We gave them (dogs) some of the honey, we got it.

143.16 mari yi:-jun^g mu:n^g nirima=wuldha-n^gi,
and this kind head hair we cut it (MANA)_c
nirima-yaba=yabi-'-jga:-' adaba nuru=na-n^ga:-', a:-'n^g-guy
we made it (MANA) go in_c then we burned it_c to whatchamacallit
a-n^gura-wuy, wu:=yama:-' wu:=yimun^y-gi:-' ni wa:-_landhurg,
to fire it (WARA) did that_c it (WARA) sniffed_c dog
mari (imitates sniffing sound) wu:=yama:-',
and it (WARA) did that_c
ambu:=wala^j wa:-da-wu:-', adaba
it (WARA) will be good food-gatherer that (WARA) now
wu:=wala^j war-uba-wi-yum^g, wara-min^y-n^gambara,
it (WARA) is good food-gatherer that (WARA) elders
wara-oldme-old-men, wi:ya! adaba.
old men finish! now

We cut off this kind of thing (points to head hair), the 'head hair'
(part of bee hive). We put it in (the container). We cooked it
(honey or parts of hive) in a fire. They (dogs) did that, the dogs
took a sniff, they did this (sniffs loudly). They did that, those
(dogs) will be good at finding food in the bush, those (dogs) are
good food-gatherers, (as are/were) the old (Aboriginal) people.
That is all.

Material culture

TEXT 144 USES OF PAPERBARK TREES
Laran^gsana

144.1 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-ragala, ma:=n^ybaj,
 as for it (MANA) paperbark tree sp. it (MANA) is other
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-lhabara, a-wurugu-waj
 as for it (ANA) paperbark tree sp. around billabong
 wu-waragara=lha-ra, ana-lhabara an^ybaj, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g
 it all stands (see above) other as for it (MANA)
 ragala, yuwa:::ga:-'la-yun^g malan^ga-n^yanay, ma=bura:-',
 paperbark sp. from there far away it (MANA) sits
 juju:::j! malan^ga-n^yanay mana-ragala juju:::j!, arwar
 go far away paperbark tree sp. go on top
 yuwa:-ni, ragala-, ana-lhabara,
 it (ANA) is there paperbark tree sp. paperbark tree sp.
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu=yama-na-wugij,
 as for it (ANA) it (ANA) does that only

Ragala is different (from lhabara). As for lhabara, it is found (typically) near billabongs. Lhabara is different (from ragala). As for ragala, it is found far away from here, over that way on top (i.e. inland). Ragala. As for lhabara, it does the same.

Note: The two terms here are paperbark trees, two of several spp. and subspecies recognized in Nunggubuyu terminology. Ragala refers to Melaleuca viridiflora in its relatively thin, stunted forms with hard bark (the term liba, or liwa, also the word for 'paperbark' generally applied to the bark only, is in addition the term for M. viridiflora in its straighter, thicker-bodied form with looser outer bark). Lhabara is applied to another Melaleuca sp. (which I have seen but could not identify, perhaps M. nervosa) with a somewhat stringy and rather tough kind of paperbark; the term also means 'coolamon' (paperbark container) and is the preferred species for the making of coolamons. Ragala and lhabara often are found together in seasonal floodplains.

144.2 wa:=n^ybaj wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g, ana-liba,
 it (ANA) is other as for it (ANA) paperbark tree sp.
 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an^ybaj, na-lhulwu, a:-'la-waj,
 as for it (ANA) other paperbark tree sp. around river
 rijbar a:-'la-waj, na-midi ya:-gi
 paperbark tree sp. around river paperbark tree sp. it (NA) is here
 numbulwar ni-waragara=lha-ra, yuwa:-gi:-'la yigaj na-midi,
 (place n.) it (NA) all stands there it (NA) comes there! (see above)
 a-liba-yi:, a-liba-yi: wu=yama-na
 like paperbark tree sp. it (ANA) does that
 yi:-lhulwu-yi:, midi, na-ni-muwaj,
 like paperbark tree sp. paperbark tree sp. named (NA)

As for liba (another Melaleuca sp.), it is different. (Also) lhulwu, and rijbar, both found along rivers. This one, midi, just over there, (here) at Numbulwar Mission. Midi, sort of like li:ba, like that, like lhulwu, named midi.

Note: The spp. mentioned here differ from those in 144.1 in having looser, more "papery" paperbark and usually in having more massive trunks and greater height. The term liba, also the general word for 'bark of paperbark tree', here refers specifically to a form of M. viridiflora (as mentioned in note to 144.1). The terms lhulwu and midi refer, respectively, to the riverbark form (straight trunk) and to the sanddune form (crooked trunk) of M. leucadendron; rijbar is said to be very similar to lhulwu and to share its habitat and is possibly another form (not seen by me) of the same sp.

144.3 ana-liba, n^gara:-'nbana da-ni-yung^g wiri:='dhuga:-',
paperbark rain (N^gARA) it (ANA) is there they jabbed it_c
n^gara:-'nbana nan^gi=walga:-' ana:-'ji:-'la,
rain it (N^gARA) smashed us (ExPl)_c here coming
nu:=rulgulha-n^gi nu-ri-'-n^yin^yung^g, nan^gi=walga:-' da-ni
we made shelter_c our (ExPl) (see above) it is there
nu:=rulgulha-n^gi aba nan^gi=walga=walga:-' xxx,
we made shelter_c then it smashed us_c (unclear)
adaba wi:ya!
now finish!

(When there was) rain, they (people) jabbed (cut off) some paperbark (from any paperbark tree, esp. those in 144.2). The rain was pouring down on us along here. We quickly made a rain shelter, our (own). It (rain) beat down on us. We made the shelter. That is all now.

Note: Laran^gana intended to stop at this point. As he finished, Ma:di (present as an onlooker) said something to another person present; then Laran^gana continued speaking as below.

144.4 ana-dhan^gara wa:='mbada-n^gi ama-ragala-yin^yung^g, mari
flower it (ANA) burst_c of paperbark tree sp. and
ama:-'n^g-jin^yung^g, a-liba a:-'n^g-jin^yung^g,
of whatchamacallit (MANA) paperbark tree sp. (ANA) of whatchamacallit
mari a-lhabara-yin^yung^g, na-malban^ggari ni=buri-∅ aba ni-ga:-'yung^g
and of paperbark tree sp. flying fox sp. it (NA) sat_c then as for it
ni:ni=wi-ni, ana:-'ni:-'la-yung^g ana:-'ni:-'la-yung^g juju:::j yuwa:-ni
we killed it_c this (ANA) coming go it's there
wunumbi-yaj n^ga yuwa:-ni wagi-yaj, wi:ya!
northward and then it is there southward finish!

The flowers of ragala (see 144.1) burst, and (those) of whatchamacallit, liba (144.1) and lhabara (144.1). The flying foxes were sitting (in the paperbark trees). As for them, we killed them (flying foxes). North and south from here. That is all.

Note: On flying foxes see texts 98 and 99.

TEXT 145

MAKING HUMPY (SHELTER)

Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

145.1 lhigidi, lhigidi, lhigidi nu:=ya-n^ggi,
humpy we (ExPl) went_c
nu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: niri=lha-n^gi adaba, ni:-lhan^ga=lha-n^ggi:::
we went_c we chopped it_c then we chopped it_c
n^ga, aba ni:=yarwarwa-y, ni:=yarwarwa-y aba ana:-'n^ga
and then then we dragged it along_c then camp
niri:-'n^ga=wanda-n^gi, aba nu:=rulgulha-n^gi, niri-wann^ga=wann^ga:::-'
we made camp_c then we made shelter_c we stepped on it_c
n^ga adaba ni:=lalaga:-' adaba, aba nu:=rulgulha-n^gi:::,
and then then we raised it_c then then we made shelter_c
nu:-rulgu=rulgulha-n^gi::: n^ga, nirima=ma:jga:::-' n^ga,
we made shelter_c and then we made it (MANA)_c and then
aba nu:=yabi:-'ni, ana-lhigidi wu-gu-ru, a:-da-nu:-'.
then we went in_c humpy it (ANA) that (ANA)

Humpy (shelter made from strips of stringybark, from stringybark tree, E. tetradonta). We went along and chopped it (stringybark tree) down. We dragged it (strips of bark) along and made a camp (at a certain spot). We constructed the bark shelter (humpy). We trod on it, then raised it up. We made the shelter, we made it properly, then we went in that humpy.

Note: These stringybark humpies, although they could be quickly constructed, were usually capable of being used for a considerable period, in contrast to the paperbark shelters which were often quickly thrown up during a rainstorm (text 144).

TEXT 146

PREPARING BED

Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

146.1 nura:='lhuda-n^gi, aba ana-liwa ready, ana-lhiribala
we cleared off (ground)_c then paperbark inside
an-uwa:-gu wu-wara-n^gu=buri-∅, a:-'rgi wura:=yajara-n^gi,
there it (ANA) all sat_c loose possessions they made swag_c
yagu mana-man^garag wura:=yajara-n^gi, a:-'rgi
but sand they made swag_c loose possessions
wura:=madhi:-'ni, ana-liwa.
they (Pl) were wrapped in paperbark_c paperbark

We cleared off the ground (where we were going to make our beds). Then the paperbark was ready. It was inside there (under the exterior of the humpy), all over there. They (people) made a swag (bushman's bed) with some loose material (here: certain grasses, etc.), or perhaps some loose sand. Some loose materials. They (people) were wrapped up in paperbark.

CARRYING LOOSE GRASSES
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

147.1 ana-n^gurji, n^gurji ana-da-nu:, loose possessions (= preceding) that (ANA)
 wura:-'ra=widhi-ri-∅, wura:-'ra=widhi-ra-n^gi, they carried it under armpit_c they carried it under armpit_c
 wara-a:n^g wara-oldwo-old-woman, ana-n^gurji, whatchamacallit old women loose possessions
 wura:-'ra=widhi-ra-n^gi a:-da-nu:-', n^gurji they carried it under armpit_c that (ANA) loose possessions
 a:-da-nu:-', wu=yama-na, wiri=maya-na, wura:-'ra=widhi-ri-∅. that (ANA) it (ANA) does that they call it (see above)
 Loose things (here: especially, certain 'bushy' grasses used for bedding). They carried that under their arms (in their armpits), the old women. They carried the loose things. That is called "n^gurji," like that, they carried it.
 Note: The verb =widhi- can take -ri-∅ or -ra-n^gi as Past-2 (e.g. past continuous positive) suffix complex. old-woman is pronounced wulgumin, more or less as in the local creole.

TEXT 148 STRING BELTS
Laran^gana

148.1 mana-yarawug, wirimma=lhurwa:-', ana-bu:dhun^g, kurrajong tree they made it (rope)_c string belt
 wiri=ma:jga:-'yin^yung an-uba-ni wuru-bi=yiri:-'ni-yin^yung it which they made_c that (ANA) which they put around own waist_c
 wara-oldme-old-men ano:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj, a:-da-nu:-' wirimma=ma-n^gi old men long ago that (ANA) they got it_c
 nun^gurdha mari yarawug mari yijbun^g, a:-'la-waj fig (banyan) tree and kurrajong and fig sp. around river
 yuwa-ga:-'la-yun^g ana-yijbun^g, ama-nun^gurdha-yin^yung from there fig sp. of banyan tree
 wu=yama-na wiri=ma-n^gi, wirimma=lhurwa:-', it (ANA) does that they got it (ANA) they made it (rope)_c
 wuru-bi=yabi:-'ni, wi:ya!. they put it around own waist_c finish!

They made rope from kurrajong tree (Brachychiton paradoxum). That belt made from rope (string) which they made, which the old men used to wear around their waists long ago. They got (bark fibre) from banyan tree (Ficus virens, or F. superba var. henneana), or kurrajong, or another fig species (F. racemosa). It (string belt) is like this, they got it, from banyan tree. They made rope or string (rolling bark fibre on thighs), they put it (string belt) around their waists. That is all.

GRASS NECKLACES
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

149.1 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi da-ni ana:-gugu, ana-billabong, they went_c it is there water billabong (pond)
 wu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi da-mi wirima=na-ni it (MANA) is there they saw it (MANA)_c
 mana-mijgaran^ggij, adaba wirima=lharga:-', wirima=lharga::-' grass sp. then they removed it_c
 n^ga, adaba wura:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi an-ua-ga:-'la, and then then they went with (it)_c from there
 They (people) went along, and there (nearby) was some water, a billabong. They went along and saw the mijgaran^ggij grass (Panicum sp.) there. They got it loose (i.e. the grass blades, perhaps with flowers in raceme form). They went with it back (to the camp).
149.2 wura:-'n^yji=ya-n^ggi n^ga a:-'n^ga-waj wuru=buri-∅ n^ga they went with it_c and then around camp they sat_c and then aba wirimma='yu:-', maragi-miri, wirimma='ya='yu:-' then they cut it up_c by means of knife they cut it up_c wirimma='ya='yu:-' ya:-mi ma:='ramilba:ladhi-∅ it (MANA) is here it (MANA) is heaped up_c aba wirimma=yada-n^gi, wirimma=yada-n^gi mana-mijgaran^ggij then they joined it (MANA)_c grass sp.
 ma:-da-mu:-' n^ga, adaba wura:-'la=gabi:-'ni, that (MANA) and then then they wrapped around own neck_c ana:-'ji:-'la-yun^g, ana:-'ji:-'la-yun^g, wi:ya! along here finish!

They went along with it. They stayed around their camp and cut them (grass blades) up with a knife. They cut them up, they (grass blades) were heaped up here. They (people) joined them (blades) together, that mijgaran^ggij grass. Then they put them around their necks (as necklaces).

Note: This grass sp. has hard, hollow blades that can be used for this purpose.

BERRY NECKLACES
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

150.1 wara=wali:-', wu:j-miri, they apply (it) to it (WARA) by means of beeswax wara-miliyirwirig, wara:-'wi, wura:'yigi:-na, mij-bura:yun^g-gaj bush sp. this (WARA) they (Pl) play while children wura:'yigi:-ni wuru-mij=bura:yun^g-gaj, wara:-'ma:jga:-', they played_c back when they were children they made (it) for them_c

wara-mij-bibi-yun^g.
the mothers

They (people) apply beeswax to them (berries), of the miliyirwirig bush (Abrus precatorius). They are playing. Back when they were children, playing around. The mothers made (berry necklaces) for them (children).

Note: The text is rather perfunctory. This shrub has abundant hard berries, brightly colored (red and black). The berries were soaked to make them soft, then a needle and string or something of the sort were run through them to make a necklace or other decoration. Beeswax was used to hold the berries together.

TEXT 151 STRING AND ROPE
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

151.1 niri=ma-n^gi ana-maragi, xxx ama-yarawug,
we got it_c knife (unclear) kurrajong tree
nirimawulgulha-n^gi:::, nirimala-lala:-ni::: n^ga,
we cut it (MANA)_c we skinned it_c and then
n^gijang^g nu:=lalagi-'-n^y, nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^gijang^g,
more we got up_p we went_c more
nu:=munduga:-', nirimawulgulha-n^gi:::
we assembled_c we cut it_c
nirimra:-'ra=wulgulha-n^gi nirimra:-'ra=wulgulha-n^gi,
we cut it all_c

We got a knife and (went to) some kurrajong trees (Brachychiton paradoxum). We cut it (down) and removed some of the bark. Then we got up and went (to another place). We came together, and cut some more (trees) down.

151.2 nirimawarga-y nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi da-ma
we carried it on shoulder_c we went_c it is there
ma:-'ragara=lha-y ma=lha-y, nirimawulgulha-n^gi adaba
it (MANA) all stood_c it stood_c we cut it (MANA)_c then
nirimala-lala:-ni nuru=buri-, nirimala-lala:-ni::: n^ga,
we skinned it_c we sat_c we skinned it_c and then
nirimawalm=bula-ga:-', mari ana-ran^gag ni:=lha-n^gi,
we made it into two heaps_c and wood we chopped it_c

We carried it (bark) on our shoulders and backs. We went over (where) lots of them (kurrajong trees) were standing and we cut them down and stripped the bark off. We stayed there, stripping the bark off. We made two heaps (of the bark fibre). Then we chopped it (stringybark tree) down.

151.3 lhu:n^y, lhu:n^y an-uba-ni ni:=lha-n^gi ana-ran^gag,
stringybark that (ANA) we chopped it_c tree

mana-n^gadugu-yun^g guyung man-uba-mi-yun^g, nirimawini=yin^yun^g
for heavy rope that (MANA) (rope) which we made_c
nirimawhawaruma:-', man-uba-mi-yun^g mana-n^gadugu,
we spun it around that (MANA) rope
mana-yarawu-jin^yun^g, wi:ya!.
of kurrajong tree finish!

We chopped down a stringybark tree, for that heavy rope (used in harpooning dugong and turtle, texts 111-112), which we used to make by twisting it (bark fibre) around (on our thighs). That heavy rope, of kurrajong tree.

TEXT 152 STRING FOR SPEARS
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

152.1 nirimawyujum-dhi:-', ama-mabur, ama-wingil-yun^g guyun^g,
we use it (Eng.) string for two-pronged wooden spear
nirimabana, nirimabana aba nu:=jalandi:-' nirimibana=n^yga-na
we wrap it then we go in water we finish it (MANA)

aba nu:=jalandi:-', nu:=ya:-ri:, a-n^gujija-waj, nu:=ra-yi:,
then we go in water we go around fish we spear it (ANA)
manawingil man-uba-mi-yun^g mana-mabu:::r n^ga,
two-pronged spear that (MANA) string and then

We use string (from kurrajong bark) for making the (old-fashioned) two-pronged wooden spear. We wrap (string) around it (spear), then we go into the water (to spear fish). We finish it (spear), then we go into the water. We go where the fish are and we spear them, (with) that two-pronged spear (having) that string.

152.2 man-uba-mi-yun^g mana-mabur-mira:duh nirimawhurwa:-'
that (MANA) produced by string we made (string)_c
nambibdhurwa:-' nambibdhurwa:-', wara-min^y-n^gambara
they made (string) for us (ExPl)_c elders
olden-times, wara-min^y-n^gambara war-ubu-ru-yun^g, nambibdhurwa:-'
elders those (Pl) they made it for us_c
aba n^gujija, man-uba-mi mana-mabur, nirimawyujum-dha-n^gi
then fish that (MANA) string we used to use it (Eng.)_c
a-n^gujija-yun^g guyun^g, mari a-nun^gu-nun^gadugu-yin^yun^g.
for fish and for fishline

(Two-pronged spears) produced by (using) that string. We made the string, (rolling bark fibre on our thighs). Old people used to make it for us (children) in the old days. We would use that string (i.e. hook and line) then for fish, for fishing line.

Notes: In the first line of this segment note the uncommon Originative case suffix -mira:duh. In the last line we find an unusual reduplication of nun^gadugu (cf. n^gadugu 'heavy rope').

153.1 nirima=ruji:-', nirima-ruju=ruji::::' n^ga,
we scrape it (MANA) we scrape it and then
nirima-n^gulha=wuldhi:-', adaba niri=yaba-na,
we cut out blade end of spear shaft then we wrap it
niri-n^gulhu-n^gulha=galhari::::' n^ga, adaba niri=buri:-'
we pierce the blade end of shaft and then then we put it
ana-dhurabada, niri-bu=buri-Ø niri=yaba-na adaba mabur-miri,
wire spearhead we put it we wrap it then by means of string
niri-yaba=waba-na mabu:::r n^ga, nirima:-'ra=wuldhi:-', aba
we wrap it string and then we cut it (MANA) all then
ni:-rabara=wuldhi:-', adaba nuru=walhalhi:-', na-wandag.
we cut its tail then we hold spear shaking woomera.

We scrape (wood of a sapling chosen as spear shaft), then we carve out the blade end of the spear shaft. Then we wrap (string) around it. We pierce the blade end and we put the wire (i.e. iron prong spearheads) in. Then we tie string tightly around it (spear shaft at blade end, to keep spearhead in). We tie string around it, then we carve out (the rest of the shaft), we carve (and cut off) the hind end (of the shaft). Then we hold the spear shaking (with) the woomera (spearthrower). (I.e., we are ready to throw the spear.)

154.1 wiri=ma:jga:-', wa:n^g, ana-badan^gu,
they made it (ANA)_c whatchamacallit stone axe
a-badan^gu-yin^yun^g o:-'ba-ni wiri=ma:jga:-' a-mun^yjuj,
of stone axe that (ANA) they made it_c green plum tree
wu-gan^g, wu-dan^gag, wirima=ma:jga::::' n^ga, adaba
whatchamacallit its wood (ANA) they made it (MANA)_c and then then
wi:=yada-n^gi, aba wu:j-miri wirima=wala-n^gi,
they joined it (ANA)_c then by means of beeswax they applied to it_c
mana-wa:n^g man-uba-mi, mana-dawal.
whatchamacallit (MANA) that (MANA) stone axe-head

They made the whatchamacallit, the (old-fashioned) stone axe. Concerning stone axe. They made it (with) the wood of green plum tree (Buchanania obovata). They made it (axe-head) then, they joined (axe-head) to it (wood). They smeared beeswax on it (as a cement to keep the stone and wood together), that whatchamacallit, axe-head.

155.1 "n^gu:=ya:-ri:, nimbirima=lala:-'-na ma:-da-mu:-'
we (InPl) go you (Pl) skin it (MANA)! _c that (MANA)
n^ga, mana-pandamus", wirima-la=lala:-'-na:::, mana-pandamus,
and then pandanus they skin it (MANA)
all-right, n^ga "nimbirima=wana-ga:-'la"
and then you (Pl) hold it! _c from there
wura:-'n^yji=ya:-ri: n^ga ya:-ji a:-'n^ga-ruj, adaba
they go with (it) and then here at camp then
wirimu=-'ma-na ya:-ji, wirimu:-'mu:=-ma-na ma:-da-mu:-'
they hit it (MANA) here they hit it that (MANA)
mana-a:n^g, mana-pandamus
whatchamacallit (MANA)

"Let's go! You all strip the (fibre from leaves of) that pandanus!" They stripped the pandanus, then: "You all hang on to it there!" They went along with it. Here at the camp, they began working on ('hitting') that pandanus (fibre). (I.e. they twisted the fibre into string).

Note: The tree in question is Pandanus spiralis, a large pandanus found at Numbulwar and other locations. It is distinct from P. aquaticus, a riverbank sp. found at Ngukurr. The leaves of the first sp. are very large and tough, and fibre obtained from them is used in making string for various kinds of baskets, mats, and containers. In local creole English the usual pronunciation is pandamus with m instead of n.

155.2 ana:-'lgur-yan^gi wuru=ma-ni an-uba-ni-yun^g, wuru-ma=ma:jga-na:::
all kinds they get it that (ANA) they make it
wuru:-'mu:=-ma-na wirimi=-'n^yga-na, n^gijan^g mana-an^ybaj
they hit it (ANA) they finish it (MANA) more other (MANA)
wirimma=ma:jga-na, wirimu:-'mu:=-ma-na::: wirima=buri:-',
they make it (MANA) they hit it they put it
n^gijan^g mana:-'n^ybaj wirima=buri:-', wirimu:-'mu:=-ma-na
more other (MANA) they put it they hit it
wirimmi=-'n^yga-na, n^gijan^g mana:-'n^ybaj wirima=ma:jga-na,
they finish it more other they make it
wirimu:-'mu:=-ma-na wirima=ja:du-ga-n^y, an^ybaj wirima=ma:jga-na
they hit it they finished it_p other they make it
They get various things together. They make them (things). They work on it (pandanus fibre), they finish it (e.g. a basket), then they make another one, they work on it and put it down. Then another, they put it down. They work on it (fibre) and finish it. Then they make another, they work on it and finish it. They make another.

155.3 wu:-yama=yama-na man-uba-mi mana-a:n^g
 they do that that (MANA) whatchamacallit (MANA)
 mana-da-mu:-' mana-pandamus, n^gijan^g wirima:=nma-na,
 that (MANA) more they look for it (MANA)
 wu:-ya:-ri: ba-gu wirima:=lur-wa-na wirima-mana=ma-ni::: n^ga,
 they go there they make fibre they get it and then
 n^gijan^g wura:=gi:-ni, wirimu:-mu:=-ma-na::: n^ga,
 more they return they hit it and then
 wirimi:=n^yga-na, wirimu:-mu:=-ma-na wirimi:=n^yga-na, n^gijan^g
 they finish it they hit it they finish it more
 wirimu:-mu:=-ma-na wirimi:=n^yga-na yi:-bajbara-yi:, bajbara
 like pandanus mat mat
 guburg, n^gagara-wugag,
 similar huge

They (people) do that (with) pandanus, they also go out and gather it. They go to that place and make the string fibre. They get it (pandanus) and go back (to the camp). They work on it and they finish it. They work on (another) and finish it. They work on more and they finish it. Like bajbara (mat made from pandanus fibre). Just like bajbara, huge.

155.4 aba wirima=ma:jga-na::: wirima=ma:jga-na, wirimu:=-ma-na
 then they make it they hit it
 wirima=ma:jga-na, ma:-da-mu:-', yi:-bajbara-yi:, ma:-da-mu:-',
 that like mat
 mana-pandamus, finish!

Then they make it, the work on it, that (pandanus), just like bajbara (pandanus mat). That pandanus. That is all.

Note: The Nungubuyu term for this pandanus sp., not mentioned in the text, is maguj.

TEXT 156 PLANT DYES FOR PANDANUS BASKETS Ma:di

156.1 mana-pandamus, wirima-mana=ma-ni::: n^ga,
 pandanus they get it (MANA) and then
 wirima-la=lala:-'-na::: n^ga, wirima-ruju=ruji:-'
 they skin it and then they scrape it (MANA)
 wirima-walga=walga-na mana-ma-dan^ga:::g n^ga, ma-barigulag
 they its (MANA) wood and then its (MANA) skin
 n^ga ma-gubulu wirima:-'ra=lhalwulhi:-',
 and then its (MANA) body they soak it all
 Pandanus (baskets). They get it (pandanus fibre), they strip if off, and scrape it. They pound (the bark), (they get) the bark and

the wood, the trunk. They soak all of that.

Note: This segment is difficult to interpret because there is no explicit indication of which verbs (and body-part nouns) refer to pandanus and which to miya:mbu tree (see below). I believe that we are dealing with miya:mbu beginning no later than 'they open it up' ('they skin it' and 'they scrape it' could perhaps be either). The baskets and so forth are made from pandanus fibre (and this speaker sometimes means 'pandanus basket' when he says pandamus); a yellowish or orange-colored dye is made by soaking wood and bark of miya:mbu in water and this dye can be applied to pandanus baskets and similar materials.

156.2 ma-yama=yama-na::: n^ga adaba, wu=bulbar-ma-na
 it (MANA) does that and then then it (ANA) becomes red
 an-uba-ni ana-a:n^g, n^gun^yju ama-bulbar-yi:, red-one
 that (ANA) whatchamacallit (ANA) similar like red ochre
 ana:-gugu, mari wirima=lhalwulhi:-', wirima-lhalwa=lhalwulhi:-'
 water and they soak it (MANA) they soak it (MANA)
 mana:-rgi wa:='ri ambirima=lhalwulha-n^g, mana-ma-dul<bu>--,
 some (MANA) not they soak it its back
 mana-ma-n^gu-janda-yin^yun^g, wa:='ri ambirima=lhalwulha-n^g,
 of its (MANA) back not they soak it
 wirima:='jbi:-na-yin^yun^g ma-gu-ru,
 which they weave it (MANA)

It does that, it turns reddish, that whatchamacallit (water), like red ochre. The water is red. Then they soak it (pandanus basket, etc.) in the red liquid. Some of it they do not soak, the back part they do not soak. That part which they weave.

156.3 adaba wirima:='di:-na ma-riri=rira:::-' n^ga
 then they take it out it (MANA) dries out and then
 ma=murmbuli:-', ma=murmbuli:-' adaba ma=wulbul-ma-na,
 it (MANA) gets warm then it (MANA) becomes dry
 aba wirima:='jbi:-na now, ana:-rgi ama-pandamus-ji:
 then they weave it some (ANA) like pandanus
 wirima=yami-jga-na, wara:-rgi yi:-bajbara-yi: wirima=yami-jga-na,
 they do that to it some (WARA) like pandanus mat they do that to it
 wirima=walarhi-jga-na-wugij arbidi, wa:='ri ama-gulmun^g=gara-a-n^g,
 they only spread it out anyway not it has hole in belly
 mana-pandamus,

Then they take it (basket) out and it dries off. It gets warm and dries out (in the sun). Then they weave it. Sometimes they make it like that, like a pandanus basket. Sometimes like a pandanus mat, they make it like that, they spread it out flat so that it has no hole (opening) into the interior.

156.4 a:-miri, a:-miri miya:mbu-miri,
by means of whatchamacallit by means of tree sp.

ma-dan^gag wirima=ma-ni, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana:'-ma
its (MANA) wood they get it as for it (MANA) this (MANA)
mana-ma-gin, mana-miya:mbu, wirima=n^gu-yi:, yagu ma=aayag,
its flesh (MANA) tree sp. they eat it but it is bitter
little-bit, ma=aayag n^gijan^g, landhurg all-right wirima=n^gu-yi:
more dog they eat it
landhurg, ma=yarama-na n^ga wirima=n^gu-yi: yuwa:-gu
dog it (MANA) flees and then it eats it there
a:-'ban-baj, mana-miya:mbu.
around ground tree sp.

(They make the dye) by means of whatchamacallit, miya:mbu tree
(Morinda citrifolia). They get its wood (and bark, for the yellowish
dye). In addition, miya:mbu tree has a fleshy fruit. They eat it,
but it does not taste very good. It is somewhat bad-tasting, but
dogs eat it all right. It (fruit) drops away (from the tree, when
it is ripe) and they (dogs) eat it there on the ground. Miya:mbu.

TEXT 157 PLANT DYES FOR PANDANUS BASKETS
Ga:gadug

157.1 mana-dhu:nda nu:=riga-n-ji:, mana-dhu:nda ma=lha-ra,
bloodroot we dig it stands
colored-one, ma=yama-na a:-'ni-yi:, n^ga nirima=walga-na,
it does that like this (ANA) and then we pound it
mari ana-water niria=buri:-' ana=:gugu, nura:='lima-na ana-billycan
and water we put it water we get water billycan
n^gawu=ba:lin-dhi:-' n^gawu=n^gangudhaga-na, adaba n^gama=walga-na,
I boil it (Eng. loan) I boil it (ANA) then I pound it
adaba ma=yama-na, a:-'ni-yi:,
then it does that like this

Bloodroot plant (Haemodorum sp.). We dig. Bloodroot plants are
standing there, with brightly colored (roots). It does that, like
this. We pound it (the root), and we put some water in a billycan,
we get some water and I boil it. Then I pound the bloodroot, it
is like this.

Note: As the name 'bloodroot' suggests, this plant has a
conspicuous reddish root used in dyes. Similar dyes are made from
certain tree orchids called, in Nunggubuyu, yalgurg.

157.2 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ma=yama-na-yin^gun^g, ma=algal
as for it (MANA) it which does that it is distinct
mijal, number adaba niri=buri:-' color, wa:='mbalaman-bugij
distinct (creole) excellent then we put it it is only good

clean, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu=yama-na miya:mbu mana:'-ma,
as for it (ANA) it (ANA) does that tree sp. this (MANA)
ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-dhu:nda ya:-ma, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g
as for it (MANA) bloodroot it is here as for it
mana-miya:mbu ma=yama-na, tree sp. it does that
On the other hand, there is another, distinct kind (of dye) which
we put on, a nice color, a good clean one. As for it, this miya:mbu
tree (text 156), and on the other hand this bloodroot. This
tree sp. (miya:mbu) is like that.

Note: The dark red dye of bloodroot and the more yellowish or
orange dye made from miya:mbu are (along with the dye from tree
orchids) the major plant dyes in use. The sense 'excellent' of
the loanword number is due to the frequent occurrence of this word
in number-one 'best' and similar expressions. Creole mijal, I
presume, is from myself originally.

157.3 adaba red mana:'-ma pretty-one nirima=buri:-',
then this (MANA) we put it
ambalaman adaba, nirima=ma:ndhi:-', man-i:-jun^g,
good then we make it this kind of thing (MANA)
n^gijan^g na-bajbara ni=yama-na-wugij ni:ni=ma:ndhi:-',
more pandanus mat it (NA) does that only we make it (NA)
wara-wulburu-yun^g guyun^g, mari a-lhawumag nuru=yaba-na
for round yams and long yam we put it in
yuwa:-ga-waj ni:ni=jimun^g=gaba-na, mari wara-wulburu
up to there (height) we make coolamon and round yam
na:=lhalwulhi:-', nara=ya:di:-' na:=lhalwulhi:-' adaba,
we soak it (WARA) we slice it we soak it then
Then this (dye) is red and pretty. We put it there. It is good.
We make this kind of thing. In addition (to baskets), pandanus mats
are like this (flat), we make them for round yams and long yams,
we put the yams in them up to there. We make a coolamon. We soak
the round yams, we slice them up and soak them.

Note: Pandanus mats as well as coolamons (paperbark containers)
were used to soak round yams with. On long and round yams see
texts 124 and 125.

157.4 wara-min^y-n^gambara wara-oldme-old-men, nara-mara-mara=na-ni,
elders old men we saw their hands_c
wuru-wa=wardha-n^gi wara-oldwo-old-woman, n^gara-n^gabuji-yan^g,
they worked (Eng. loan) old women (creole kin term)
n^gara-auntie-yan^g, n^gara-n^gawuy-an^g, mari n^ga:-muruyun^g-gan^g
my aunts (FaSi-s) my aunts (FaSi-s) and my elder sisters
wuru=wardha-n^gi nara-mara=na-ni, n^gara-ga:gu-wan^g,
they worked_c we saw their hands_c my MoMo-s

nara-nana=na-ni,
we saw them_c

We watched the old people (now dead) work with their hands. The old women worked like that, my n^gabuji-s (creole kin term), my father's sisters, my elder sisters, my mother's mothers. They worked like that, we watched them work, we saw them.

157.5 nuru-wara:-'ra=ma:ndha-n^gi, mana-yan^ga:rin^y, ana-wulbun^g,
we made it all_c pandanus basket basket
ana-marin, wuru-wara=ma:ndha-n^gi, n^ga ya n^ga=marbuy
watertight basket they made it all_c I I know
n^gara-nana=na-ni, adaba nuru=buri-∅ nu-ru-waj adaba
I saw them then we sat_c it is we! then
wuru-wara=ma:ndha-n^gi, nu:=ya-n^ggi na:=lhaga:ga-n-di, wuru=wardha-n^gi
they made it all_c we went_c we led them_c they worked_c
wirima:='lur-wa:-', nirima=n^gargiwa:-' mana-a:n^g mana-maguj
they made rope_c we pulled it out_c whatchamacallit pandanus
man-i:-jun^g, nirima-n^garga=n^gargiwa:-' aba nirima=ma:ndha-n^gi
this kind of thing we pulled it out_c then we made it_c
nuru=wardha-n^gi, ana-bush,
we worked_c bushland

We made all those things (kinds of mat, basket, etc.): yan^ga:rin^y (pandanu basket, used mainly in rituals), wulbun^g (ordinary pandanus basket), marin (tightly woven pandanus basket sealed with beeswax). They made all those. I know (about making them), I saw them (old people). We used to stay (there), they were making them all. We went along, we took them (old people) with us. They worked to make string and rope. We pulled out (large leaves of) that whatchamacallit, pandanus tree (actually, saplings of this tree). This kind of thing, we pulled it out and we made that. We worked, out in the bush.

157.6 "an-u-n^gu-bira ba=yama-na yigaj ba-wa=wardhi:-',
its (ANA) anus you (Sg) do that!_c indeed you work!_c
ba-n^gari-n^gambara-yung^ggunyun^g", wu:=yama:-' nu-ra:-'yun^g
so you will be adult woman they did that_c as for us (ExPl)
o:-'ba-ni-yung^g-bugij n^ga:-yun^g n^gara-mara-mara=na-ni-yala, mari
only at that (time) as for me after I saw their hands_c and
"ana-lagu ana:-'ni ba=yaba-na adaba ana-lagu", na-a:n^g
honey this you put it in!_c now honey whatchamacallit
wini=n^gargiwa:-' yu:ga yan^gi nu:-'ba-gi, na-a:n^g yagu,
we pulled it out_c Q what? that (NA) but

"You work on its hind part! You work, so you will become a (proper) adult woman!" They said that. We, at that time. I (learned) after I saw them work. Then: "Put the honey in (the marin, 157.5)!" We pulled up whatchamacallit, what is that thing? (tree orchids)

157.7 wini=n^gargiwa:-' adaba wu:-yama=yama:-'
they pulled it out_c then they did that_c
wiri wadawadad-ga:-' wu:-yama=yama:-', wurugu n^gan^ggu=ma:ndhi:-'-maji:
they made it strong_c later if I make it_c
ana-marin, n^gan^ggu=ma:ndhi:-' n^ga=marbuy, ana-marin,
watertight basket I will make it_c I know basket
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-wulbun^g, wu=walgal, a:n^g,
as for it basket it is distinct whatchamacallit
a-wuyaran^gal-yun^gguyun^g a-n^ga:li-jun^gguyun^g, a-wudan-jun^gguyun^g,
for wild grape for berry bush for water lily root
a:-'n^g-jun^gguyun^g wuru=yaba:-', a-miral, a-warda,
for whatchamacallit they put it in grass potato yam sp.
They pulled it (tree orch) out and they did that. They made it (basket) strong. They did that. If I were to make one sometime, a marin basket, I could make it (well), I know how to make a marin. As for wulbun^g (other type of basket), that is a different kind, for wild grapes (*Ampelocissus* sp.), for berries (*Solanum* sp.), for root corms of water lilies, for whatchamacallit, grass potatoes (*Curculigo ensifolia*) or yams (*Ipomoea ?velutina*). They put them in (the basket).

Note: Here the tree orchid is used as a fixative.

157.8 wuru=yaba:-' aba wura:='rmun^gga-y
they put it in_c then they carried it around shoulder_c
wu:=ya-n^ggi, wu:=jarara-n^gi, n^gijan^g ana-yi:r, n^gijang^g ana-yi:r
they went_c they traveled_c more dillybag
niri:='j-bi-ni wiri:='j-bi-ni, wiri:-'jba:='j-bi-ni-maga:
they weaved it_c they weaved it_c they weaved it_c
wiri=walga:-' ama-madiga-yun^gguyun^g wirima=yaba:-', a-wudan,
they pounded it_c for root nut they put it in_c lily root
wara:-'yag, adaba wu:=yirwuda-n^gi wu:=yama:-'
water lily fruit then they ground it_c they did that_c
wirima=yar-bi-ni, ama-wubun^Yul mari a-yiwujun^g, wu:=yaba:-',
they cleaned it_c plant sp. and young lily root they put it in_c
They put them in. They carried them (in basket) under their arms (i.e. with strap of basket slung over shoulder). They went along like that. In addition, dillybags (made from kurrajong string). They weaved them. They pounded them. (They used them) for root nuts (*Eleocharis dulcis*), they put them in. Also water lily root corms and seed pods. They ground up the seeds, like that. They cleaned them (root nuts?) off. (Also for) wubun^Yul (*Aponogeton elongatus*) and young roots of water lilies. They put them in.

157.9 mari ama-madiga adaba nuru-warga=warga-n-di-maga: aba
and root nut then we got lots then

nuru-waj=barwarwa-y wu:=ya-n^ggi, wuru-waj=bidhi-ya-y-maga:,
 we carried food_c they went_c they took food in armpit_c
 wuru-waj=barga-y-maga::: wara-min^y-n^gambara, wuru=waran^gga:-'
 they carried food on shoulder_c elders they looked_c
 nuru=waran^gga:-' "ya:-wura:-'lao! adaba", nuru=marya:da-n^gi-yala,
 we looked_c here they come! now after we were hungry_c
 nu:-mij-bura:yun^g-gaj, aba nuru=n^gu-ni,
 back when we were children then we ate it_c
 wura:-'n^yji-wad=bari:-'ni wara-n^gaaja-n^gajiyan^ggu,
 they dropped down_c old women

Also, we got lots of root nuts (Eleocharis). We carried the food along, on our heads or under our shoulders (in armpit). They went along carrying the food (in baskets) on their shoulders and backs, the old people. They looked. We (children waiting at the camp) looked and saw them coming back (with the food), when we had been hungry. Back when we were children. Then we ate (the food which the adults brought). They (adults) dropped down, the old women.

157.10 ana-lhun^yin, wa:-dalma:ran^g, ana-marya mana-madiga,
 file snake tortoise sp. food root nut
 ana-yiwujun^g wara:-'yag wuru=warga-y adaba,
 young water lily root water lily fruit they carried it_c then
 mana-ya:gun^y wura:-'jala-n^gi, mana-ma:ndabi
 sedge sp. they got and shook off sedges_c root nut sp.
 wirima=ma-n^gi mana-marbuy, wura:-'jala-n^gi wu:=riga-n-di na-mula
 they got it_c sedge sp. (see above) they dug_c grubs
 wini=n^gu-ni,
 they ate it (NA)_c

(List of foods:) file snakes, long-necked tortoises, (vegetable) foods, water lily roots and seed pods. They carried them on their shoulders and backs then. They got roots of ya:gun^y sedge (Scirpus littoralis) and knocked off the mud from them. They got roots of ma:ndabi root-nut plant, and they got roots of marbuy sedge. They dug and got mula (type of grub found among roots of ma:ndabi and similar plants).

157.11 wu:=riga-n-di wini-lhabara-wulu=wula-ga:-'
 they dug_c they put them in two coolamons_c
 wara-min^y-n^gambara wara-n^gaaja-n^gajiwan^ggu, ana-wurindi, mari
 elders old women (place n.) and
 ana-yin^ymalamar, mari ana-a:n^g ana-garan^gari, ana:-'ni
 (place n.) and whatchamacallit (ANA) (place n.) this
 ana-garan^gari, ana-lhal-mu:mu, ana:-'nba:li-yala an-uwa-ga:-'la
 (place n.) my FaMo's country from (place n.) from there
 ana-garan^gari ana-lhulmu,
 (place n.) (place n.)

They dug (for the grubs) and put them in two coolamons. The elders (now dead), the old women. At the place Wurindi, and Yin^ymalamar, and whatchamacallit, Garan^gari--my father's mother's country. From the place Anba:li this way, Garan^gari and Lhulmu.

157.12 adaba wura:='ma-n^gi wuru=warga-n-di
 then they got (roots) from ground_c they got lots_c
 wara-min^y-n^gambara, wuru-wulu=wula-ga:-' arawindi arawindi,
 elders they made two heaps_c many many
 guririguriri wu-bu=buri-∅, wu:-lhaga-lhagara=n^gawi:-'ni,
 abundant it (ANA) sat_c they all died_c
 wara-people nu-ri:-'n^yin^yun^g, run^ggal run^ggal wa:-da-wu:-'
 (Aboriginal) people ours (ExPl) big big those (WARA)
 wuruj, wu:=buri-∅, wuru-n^gawa=n^gawi:-'ni wara-wini=wi-ni
 human they sat_c they died_c they killed them_c
 mulun^guwa-miri a:-miri
 by means of sorcery by means of whatchamacallit
 wu:-n^yi=ra-wi-jga-n^yji:-ni n^gijan^g, wuyarida, wu:=ja:du-gi-'n^y
 they applied sorcery to each other_c more cyclone they finished_c

Then they got the roots from the ground, lots of them. The old people made two (or more) heaps. Lots of them (roots), abundant quantities were there. They (elders) have all died, our people. Those people were big (important, respected). They were there, they died (because) they (others) killed them. They used to practice sorcery against each other, (making) cyclones. They are all finished now.

157.13 mulun-dun^ggal wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-a:n-jin^yun^g
 big group as for them of whatchamacallit
 wu:-n^gara-n^gu=buri-∅, wara-people ana-waldhar-yin^yun^g,
 they all sat_c people of (place n.)
 wu:=yaba-n^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g arawindi, ana:-'ndaran^g-jin^yun^g
 they who gave birth to each other_c many of Warndarang
 ana:-'ni wu-gu-ru wa:='ri wuru=walgal, nu-ru wurindi
 this (ANA) they not they were distinct we (ExPl) (place n.)
 nuru=buri-∅, mari yuwa:-gu nuru=buri-∅ a:n^g,
 we sat_c and there we sat_c whatchamacallit
 A big group of them (people) were staying there, the people of the place Waldharr (i.e. N^galmi clan), on our mothers' side, lots of them. (We did) not (stay) around here, in Warndarang (name of language) country, they (Warndarang people) were a separate group. We stayed at Wurindi (swamp near Cape Barrow north of Numbulwar).

157.14 mari ana:-'ji:-'li wu-gu-ru wu:=ya-n^ggi xxx
 and from here they they went_c (unclear)
 an-uwa-ga:-'la wu:=ya-n^ggi, wara-mi-jiwan^ggu, nu-ra:-'yung
 from there they went_c old men as for us (ExPl)

nambi=yura-n^ggi-maga: nuru=buri-∅ adaba, nambi=rangara-n^gi
 they transported us_c we sat_c then they waited for us_c
 wara-n^gaja-n^gajiyang^ggu wara-oldme-old-men, wara-oldwo-old-woman,
 old women old men old women
 nu-ru-waj mij-bun^ya:n^yung nuru=buri-∅ adaba,
 it is we (ExPl)! small children we sat_c then

Then from along here they went. They came from there, the old men.
 As for us (children at that time), they took us along. We stayed
 there. The old men and women waited for us (i.e. took care of us).
 We were there, as small children.

157.15 wa:='ri na:mbu=ya-n^ggi, xxx "ba-bari=wadawadad-ga-n^g"
 not we (ExPl) went (unclear) make it strong for walk_p
 wara=wadawadad-ga:-' wu:=ya-n^ggi, na-daddy-yan^g, n^gara=mommy-yan^g,
 they made them strong_c they went_c my fathers my mothers
 wu:=ya-n^ggi, nu-ra:-'yun^g nuru=buri-∅ n^gun^yju a:-'ni
 they went_c as for us (ExPl) we sat_c similar this (ANA)
 nuru=bura:-' a-mission,
 we sit mission

We (children) did not go. "Make it (small child?) strong enough
 to travel long distances on foot!" They made them (children)
 strong enough to travel. They went--my fathers and mothers. As
 for us, we stayed. Just like we stay (in one place) here at the
 mission (Numbulwar).

157.16 an^yja:bu-ruj nuru=buri-∅, an^yja:bu-ruj nuru=buri-∅,
 at together we stayed_c
 n^gun^yju a:-'ni a-mission wu=yama:-', nuru=buri-∅ ana-lha:l,
 similar this (ANA) it does that we sat_c country
 an-uba-ni:-'la-yun^g, n^ga-gu-ni-n^yin^yun^g, wi:ya! adaba,
 from that ours (InMTr) finish! now

We sat together in one place, like at the mission. It is like
 that. We stayed in one country, the country of you and us. That
 is all.

Note: 'you and us' at the end refers to the speaker, Ga:gadug,
 her husband Laran^gana (present at the recording), and apparently
 also the linguist Heath.

TEXT 158 DUGOUT CANOES Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

158.1 nirima=lha-n^gi, mana-wa:n^g, mana-magandar
 we chopped it (MANA) whatchamacallit (MANA) paperbark tree
 nirima=lhan^ga=lha-n^gi::: n^ga, nirima=madhara-n^gi,
 we chopped it_c and then we chopped it down_c

ma=rabi:-ni, aba nirima=gulmun^y=ju-n^ga:-',
 it (MANA) fell then we carved out its belly_c
 nirima=gulmun^y=ju-n^ga:-', ma-jinag, ma-yina=dha-y,
 its (MANA) head) its head stood_c
 ma-n^gu-bira ma-yina=dha-y.
 its (MANA) anus its head stood_c

We cut down a magandar tree (Melaleuca cajaputi, a paperbark tree
 found in swamps, usually with straight trunk). We cut it down and
 paddled (in it). It (tree) fell down, then we carved out the 'belly'
 of the canoe. (We carved) the prow, the prow was (standing) there.
 And the stern (back of canoe). The head was standing.

Notes: Dugout (wooden) canoes were apparently introduced into
 this area by the Macassans (see texts below); the previous type
 was a rather flimsy stringybark canoe. The dugout canoe is called
 (mana-)rangag, with the same stem but different noun class from
 (ana-)rangag 'wood, tree'. The bark canoe, lhamugu, was mentioned
 in text 14.6.

At the end, Reuben may have meant to say ma-bira=lha-y 'its
 anus (i.e. stern) stood' but instead repeated ma-yina=dha-y.

TEXT 159 USING FIRESTICKS Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

159.1 nirima=ruji:-', n^ga nirima='yu-na, nura:='yan^gandi:-',
 we scrape it and then we cut it out we operate firestick
 nura:-'ya:='yan^gandi::::' n^ga, nirima-ri=ga:yu-na
 we operate firestick and then we cut out its hole
 nirima-ri=ga:yu-na, n^gijan^g nura:='yan^gandi:-' adaba,
 more we operate firestick then
 nura:='yan^gandi:-', nirima=ra-yi:, wi:ya!.
 we make it (MANA) finish!

We scrape it (making the firestick). We cut it out. We rub the
 firesticks. We cut out the hole and then we rub the firesticks.
 We make it (firestick). That is all.

Notes: The firestick, or firedrill, consists of two pieces of
 wood. One is flat with a depression in it, into which fits one
 end of the long cylindrical piece. The long piece is held verti-
 cally with the bottom end in the hole of the other piece, and the
 long piece is quickly rubbed in the hands, back and forth; the
 friction generated by the contact of the two pieces generates the
 sparks. The compound -ri=ga:yu- consists of =a:yu- 'to cut out'
 and the noun ri:g 'vagina'.

TEXT 160 USING FIRESTICKS Laran^gana

160.1 mana-lhuruman, nuru-wayaya=wayan^ganda-n^gi::: n^ga,
 firestick we operated firesticks_c and then

wara-min^y-n^gambara an-uba-ni-yun^g-gaj a:::na::::'-ni
 elders long ago this (ANA)
 wara:-'rawindi-lhan^gu, xxx wu=bu:la-n^gi
 all (Pl) (unclear) it (ANA) smoked_c
 ma=bu:la-n^gi nirima=ma-n^gi, ana-mada niri=ma-n^gi an-i:-jin^yun^g
 it smoked_c we got it (MANA)_c grass we got it (ANA)_c this kind
 mana:-'rn^yal yagu mada anyway, nu:=yama:-' niri=bura-n^gi,
 spinifex grass but grass we did that_c we put it down_c
 niri=buya:-'ni adaba, wu=la:dha-n^gi yin^gga,
 we blew on it_c then it caught fire_c nearly
 nura:-'nam=bilngin^yja-n^gi ana-n^gura.
 we set fire to kindling_c fire

Firesticks. We used to rub firesticks together. The old people, long ago, all of them. It was smoking, the firestick was smoking. We got it, this sort of thing (points to grass), spinifex grass (*Triodia microstachya*), or any other kind of grass. We did that, we put it (grass) down and blew on it (as we directed sparks onto it from the firesticks). It (grass) caught fire. We lit the grass and twigs (and made) a fire.

Note: This text complements the previous one in illustrating vocabulary related to the use of firesticks. Further to these texts we may indicate that the large, flat piece of wood held horizontally is called *ma-bibi-yung*, lit. 'its (MANA) mother', while the cylindrical piece of wood held vertically and inserted into the hole of the larger piece is called *ma-n^gari-mara-yung* 'its (MANA) daughter'. The MANA class derivational prefixes in both forms are due to agreement with *lhuruman* (or *ayan^ga*) 'firestick'.

Firesticks were preferably made from the tree *Clerodendrum floribundum* (to which the two terms for 'firestick' could be applied as a species term), though several other trees could be used.

Historical, anecdotal, and other texts

161.1 o:-'ba-ni-yun^g, o:-'ba-ni-yun^g a-bush n^gaya-wi--, that (ANA) bushland it is mine
 nuru=buri-∅-yin^yung wara-people n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung
 we who sat_c (Aboriginal) people mine
 n^gara=wanaga:-', nu:=ya-n^ggi, n^gara=lalaga:-', Groote Eylandt,
 I held them_c we (ExPl) went_c I got them up_c (place n.)
 nuru=buri-∅ ma:lamburg wurugu nuru=wardha-n^gi ma:lamburg,
 we sat_c proper later we worked (Eng. loan)_c
 nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi ma:lambu:::rg, we worked_c proper

Long ago, back in those days, (when we were) in the bush. My people, we who stayed (there), I was in charge of them. We went along, I got them up and made them go (from Nunggubuyu country). We stayed (for a while) at Groote Eylandt. Things were all right, we were working (at the mission at Angurugu).

Note: Other Nunggubuyu agreed that Ma:di was the driving force in the Nunggubuyu community during this period (before 1952), though he was still in his thirties.

161.2 n^gijan^g araga an-uba-ga:-'la, adaba wun^ga:ri, more suddenly from there then fight
 nura:='giman-dhi-n^yji:-ni, adaba wirima=yibanda-n^gi, we had argument (Eng. loan)_c then they hurled it (spear)_c
 wirima=yibanda-n^gi wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni, "yaga: yu:ga--", they speared each other_c ∅ Q
 n^gara:='gi-jgi:-ni, n^gara:='gi-jgi:-ni, nuru=buri-∅ lha
 I took them back_c we sat_c in (creole)
 bush, nuru-bu=buri-∅, we sat_c

Then there was a fight (between us Nunggubuyu and the Anindhilyagwa-speaking natives of Groote). We had a dispute, then they (all of us) threw spears, there was a spear fight. "How about it?" (I said to the other Nunggubuyu). I took them back (to the mainland) and we stayed in the bush.

161.3 xxx a-dhamba:gu, nu:=ya-n^ggi, Roper, Roper
 (unclear) tobacco we (ExPl) went_c (place n.)
 adaba n^gijan^g nuru=wardha-n^gi, n^gijan^g araga wun^ga:ri aba
 then more we worked_c more suddenly fight then
 ba-gu niri=lhan^garma:-', araga wu:=ri-n^yji:-ni, n^gijan^g
 there we reached it (ANA)_c suddenly they speared each other_c more
 wurugu nu:=ri-n^yji:-ni n^gijan^g nura:='gi:-ni, ya:-ni:-'li
 later we speared each other_c more we returned_c it from here

nuru=n^gu-ni, wugali j n^gunu=n^gu-ni:::, we ate it_c dugong (and turtles) we ate it_c
 an-uba-ga:-'la o:-'wa:-ni:-'la wurindi, n^guru=n^gu-ni n^gurudhu from there that (ANA) coming (place n.) we ate it_c game
 an^ybaj-gan^ybaj ba-ni:-'la aba nu:=ruma-n^y, various sorts there it comes then we went_p

We go for tobacco. We went (for tobacco) to Roper River Mission (now Ngukurr settlement). Again we worked there, but again after a while we got into a fight. They had a spearfight, we had a spearfight. Again we came back (to our country). Along here (around Numbulwar Mission) we ate dugong and sea turtles. After that, over there at the place Wurindi, we ate terrestrial game animals (birds, kangaroos and wallabies, etc.), various kinds of them. After they we went away.

161.4 nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga Groote Eylandt, adaba we went_c and then (place n.) then ana-run^ggal-windi:yun^g, n^guru=wi-n^yji:-ni aba ana-wun^ga:ri, real big one (ANA) we hit each other_c then fight n^guru-rin^yji=ri-n^yji:-ni::: aba wirima=yibandi-n^y wu-gu-ru we speared each other_c then they hurled it_p they wa-ga-ga:-'la, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ya:-ji-ji:-'la, far side as for them this side

We went along, then (we stayed at) Groote Eylandt (again). Then there was a real fight, we had a (big) fight, spearing each other. One group threw spears from one side, and they (other group) were on this side. (I.e. the two opposing parties lined up opposite one another and threw spears.)

161.5 n^ga:y a n^ga:='mbadhi, yuwa:-gu n^ga=rararbi-n^y abuyu I I was unaware there I went down to water_p canoe seat n^gawu=lha-n^gi, wa:='ri n^gamba-yam^y=jan^ga-ni n^ga=rararbi-n^y I chopped it_c not I heard their voices yuwa-ga:-'la wu:=yarbi-n^y n^ga wura:='di-n^y ya:-nu:-'wuy from there they ran_p and then they shouted this way lhiribala-wuy, "wu:=ri-n^yji:-nao!", nini=n^ganybandi-n^y downward they spear each other he wanted you_p na-Dick Harris", n^gambi=yami-jga-n^y aba n^ga=jarari-n^y, (man's n.) they did that to me_p then I traveled (quickly)_p

I was not aware of this. I had gone down to the water and was chopping out the seat of a dugout canoe (from a piece of wood). I had not heard the voices (of the fighters). Somebody ran and shouted down this way (to me), "There is a spear fight going on! Dick Harris wants you (to come)!" They said that to me. I went.

Note: Dick Harris (spelling approximate) was one of the whites on the mission staff.

161.6 ni-ga *na-wurajuju-wa: wini=w^a giman-dhi-n^yji:-ni, he he and (man's n.) they (MDu) had argument (Eng. loan)_c ana-ragij, n^ga wu-gu-ru na-n^gagiya mari na:-'-gi na-Rex, first and then they (Pl) (man's n.) and this (MSg) (man's n.) mari *na-lha-n^guludji, aba wuru=yaba-n^yji-n^y ramba-wirig and he at (place n.) then they put each other in_p small canoe adaba bu-gu-ni wuru=madhandi-n^y, then to there they paddled_p

He, the father of Wurajuju, and another man got into an argument first. Then they--N^gagiya, and this man Rex, and the one who died at Nguludji, they got into a little canoe and started paddling that way.

* The two starred items are alternative necronymic expressions (ways to refer to deceased persons without using their personal names). The first, literally the dual form of the personal name Wurajuju, in effect means 'that person related to Wurajuju', here (as commonly) meaning the father of the named individual. The second expression refers to the deceased by mentioning the place where he died; this general necronym type is traditional although in this particular form we find creole lha 'to, at' in a curious compound.

161.7 wu:=ruma-n^y yin^gga ana-warubaj n^ga=ya-n^ggi aba they went_p nearly nearby I went_c then wuru=madhandi-n^y, twenty-two niwu-ba=jaba-n^y mari n^ga they paddled_p gun he put the eye in it_p and and then wani=w^a-n^g bang! araga wu:=yama:-' n^ga he hit (shot) them_p suddenly they did that_c and then ya:-ni wu:=ralhi-n^y, wu:=yama-n^y wirima=bilya-n^gi-jga-n^y it is here it hit ground they did that_p they tilted it_p araga ya:-ji nima:-'r=wadiji-n^y, bang! suddenly here he hit (salt-)water_p

They went along (in the canoe). I went along nearby. They paddled. He (Harris) loaded bullets ('eyes') into the twenty-two with him and shot at them, bang! They did that. It (bullet) hit here (in the water short of the canoe). They did that, they capsized the canoe. One of them hit the saltwater.

Note: Harris was not shooting to kill or injure the fighters, rather to force them to stop the fight, but this was not clear to the men in the canoe or other spectators at the time.

161.8 mari n^ga ni-ga ya:-ji:-'la "hoy!" ni=yama-n^y and and then he here coming hey! he did that_p n^ga:-'yun^g "hoy!" n^ga=yama-n^y ni-ga:-'yun^g na-wa:n^g as for me I did that_p as for him whatchamacallit (MSg) na-gamarambuji, ba-gu n^ga aba ragij, "ba:='ni-n^y!", adaba (man's n.) there and then first come!_p then

ⁿg^a=madhandi-n^y bu-gu-ni ⁿg^a=madhandi-n^y aba nu:nu=lhagarga-n^y
 I paddled_p to there I paddled_p then we criticised him_p
 nura:='giman-dhi-n^y ji-n^y nura:='giman-dhi-n^y ji-n^y
 we argued_p
 nura:='giman-dhi-n^y ji-n^y
 we argued_p

Then some man over here yelled "hey!" at Harris, and I also yelled "hey!" at him. As for him (the other man who yelled), he was whatchamacallit, Gamarambuji. (He) yelled first (then I did). (He yelled at me,) "Come here!" I paddled that way. Then he and I shouted at him (Harris) to stop (shooting). We had a big argument with him.

161.9 aba ⁿg^a=garaji-n^y ⁿg^aanu=maraga:-' an-uba-ni-yun^g
 then I jumped_p I took it from him_c that (ANA)
 ana-wa:n^g, ana-twenty-two ⁿg^aanu=maraga:-' aba
 whatchamacallit gun then
ⁿg^aan^ggu=wagiwa:-' lha:lhag, araga ⁿg^aijan^g,
 I would break it off recent suddenly more
ⁿg^a-wuri:j=bann^gi:-'n^y,
 I failed_p

Then I leapt (at Harris) and took that whatchamacallit, that rifle (twenty-two) from him. I was trying to break it (the rifle) and almost did, but I could not quite do it.

Notes: In line 3 of this segment we have an interesting usage of the past potential verb form ('I would break it off'); here lha:lhag in context means 'almost', and the expression as a whole is best translated into English by means of 'to try'. The last verb ('I failed') is an interesting compound, literally something like 'to step on one's own chest' = 'to fail'.

161.10 "yimbaj adaba ⁿg^aamba=ya:rijgi-n^y" ⁿg^a=yama-n^y, aba
 today now I will transport them_p I did that_p then
ⁿg^a=ya:rijgi-n^y yimbaj, ama-madhalag nuru=buri-∅, ⁿg^a
 I transported them_p today beach we stayed_c and then
 an-uba-ni-yun^g wi:ya! altogether an-uba-ni nu:=ya-n^ggi ba-ga:-'la,
 that (ANA) finish! that (ANA) we went_c from there
 (I said,) "I am going to take them (my people) away today." And I took them away (from Groote) that same day. We stayed on the beach (on the mainland). That was finished, we came from there (from Groote).

161.11 nu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: ⁿg^a ya:-ni nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y,
 we went_c and then it is here we sat_p
 niring^ga-n^gunu=n^gu-ni::: adaba ya:-ji:-'li nu:=ruma-n^y ⁿg^aijan^g,
 we ate it (N^gARA)_c then from here we went_p more
 nu:=ruma-n^y, gada! adaba ⁿg^a=bura-n^ga-n^y ba-gu, adaba ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni
 we went_p oops! then I stopped_p there then I spoke_c

ⁿg^aijan^g ⁿg^a='gi-n^y-gaj ⁿg^aijan^g aba ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni,
 more back when I returned_p more then I spoke_c
 We went along, and stopped here. We ate it (i.e. dugong). Then from here we went--I mean, I stopped there. I spoke. When I went back there (briefly, to Groote), I spoke (about setting up a distinct mission for the Nunggubuyu).

161.12 ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni adaba ana-mission-jin^y un^g ana:-'ni
 I spoke_c then about mission this
 ana-mission ana-numbulwar-yin^y un^g wu=lha-ra ana:-'ni
 mission of (place n.) it (ANA) stands this (ANA)
ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni, ⁿg^a-yamba=yambi:-ni:::, bishop ni=wali-n^y, ⁿg^a
 I spoke_c I spoke_c he arrived and then
 na-bishop ⁿg^aanu=bilharga-n^y, ⁿg^a-yamba=yambi:-ni:::
 bishop I grabbed him_p I spoke_c
 na-Mister-Montgomery ni=wali-n^y,
 (man's n.) he arrived_p
 I spoke then about the (future) mission. This mission standing here at Numbulwar. I spoke about it (i.e. pleaded to have it built). The bishop arrived and I grabbed him (and pleaded with him). I kept talking about it. Mr. Montgomery arrived.

161.13 ⁿg^a-yamba=yambi:-ni::: "nun^y=jamin^ggari:-na, Bickerton",
 I spoke_c you (Sg) do what? (place n.)
 "girjag!, wu=wirig" ⁿg^a=yama-n^y, ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni::: ⁿg^aaya-wi-ruj,
 no! it is small I did that_p I spoke at my (country)
 "girjag!, wa:='la:di ana:-gugu" ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni "shallow-mud"
 no! it is bad water I spoke_c
ⁿg^a=yama:-', ⁿg^a=yambi:-ni::: "dharari", "all-right dharari",
 I did that_c I spoke_c (place n.)
 I kept speaking (pleading). (He said to me,) "How about Bickerton (Island)?" I said, "No! It's too small." I kept speaking. (He suggested) my country (i.e. Murun^gun clan territory around Cape Barrow). (I said,) "No! The water supply is bad, (just a lot of) muddy water." I kept speaking. (He said,) "(How about) the place Dharari." "All right, Dharari."

161.14 dharari ba-ni adaba wu=buri-∅ ⁿg^a ana:-'ni
 place n. it is there then it sat_c and then this (ANA)
 ana:-'ni-yun^g adaba ana-mission ana:-'ni-yun^g an^ggu=buri-∅
 this (ANA) now mission this (ANA) it would have sat
 dharari, aba an-uba-ga:-'la, ⁿg^aijan^g ana:-'ji:-'la aba
 (place n.) then from there more along here then
 nu:=ya-n^ggi ana:-'ji:-'la adaba ⁿg^a ya-n^ggi ya:-ji:-'la
 we went_c along here then and then I went_c along here

aba wu-gu-ru ana-lha:wu n^gangga:-'=jiguli-,
then it (ANA) words it was waiting for me_c
It (mission) was there at Dharari. This mission here (at Numbulwar),
this one here, was going to be at that place Dharari. (However,)
after that we came (i.e. we just kept going) down around here.
The words (a message) were waiting for me.

161.15 n^gara-Chris, n^gara-Chris, n^gara-Chris adaba ragij
(woman's n.) then first
wu=yiguli-∅ ana-lha:wu n^gara-Chris, gagagaga! n^ga
it waited_c words (meaningless) and then
ana:-'ji:-'la n^ga-yangga=ya-n^ggi n^ga, yingga n^ga
around here I went_c and then nearly and then
an-uba-gu n^ga=ya-n^ggi ana-old-mission,
there I went_c

Chris (an Aboriginal woman at Roper River, now Ngukurr). The message was there (with her) first (i.e. before I arrived). Then I went along here (on the coast by Numbulwar) and went there to the old mission (i.e. the former site of Roper R. Mission).

161.16 aba "nu-ga-wi-n^yin^yung", ready, ana-mission, bawu=ya:rijgi-n^y,
then yours transport it!_p
ana:-'ni ana:-'ni ana:-'ni n^gawu=ya:rijgi-n^y, "ready
this (ANA) I transported it_p
nu-ga-wi-n^yin^yung ana-mission, adaba ya:-ni ana:-'n^g,
yours now it is here whatchamacallit
ana-shed-house nu-ga-wi-n^yin^yung ana-kitchen", n^gara-Chris
yours
n^gi=yama-n^y, "nun^y=jamin^ggari:-na",
she did that_p you do what?

Then (Chris said,) "Your mission (i.e. building materials for mission, etc.) is ready. Take it!" All of these things I took. (She said,) "Your mission is ready, here is your shed and your kitchen." Chris said that. "Well, how about it?"

161.17 n^gara=ja:du-ga-n^y aba n^gara=ma-n^gi wara-wa:n^g,
I finished them (Pl) then I got them_c whatchamacallit
wa:-children, ana-school-yin^yung, adaba n^gara=bura-n^gi a-school-wuy,
children of school then I put them_c to school
"nun^y=jamin^ggari:-na", aba n^gara=guba dhi-jga:-'
you (Sg) do what? then I made them walkabout (Eng. loan)_c
Mission Cross, gulara, wa:n^g, n^yawilbar,
(place n.) (place n.) whatchamacallit (place n.)
halumbulumbu,
(place n.)

I got them (people) ready. I got them, whatchamacallit, the schoolchildren. I put them in the school (at Roper R.). (Someone said to me,) "How about it? (i.e. How about taking the children for a walkabout or hike)" Then I took them on a walkabout (hike) to the places Mission Cross, Gulara, Nyawilbar, and Nalumbulumbu.

161.18 o:-'wa:-ni adaba nu:=ya-n^ggi, wara-mij-bura:yun^g, Roger
that (ANA) then we (ExPl) went_c children
ni-ni mari yiriwulwuldi nu-ru, nuru-gu=gubadha-n^gi
we (ExMDu) and (man's n.) we (ExPl) we went walkabout (Eng. loan)_c
adaba n^ga:'gi-n^y, n^ga=bura-n^ga-n^y yingga, ba-gu n^ga=wardhi-n^y
then I returned_p I sat down_p nearly there I worked (Eng.)_p
now, Kangaroo Island aba n^ga:=ya:rijgi-n^y, aba ana-timber,
then I transported them_p then
nuru=wardha-n^gi adaba, n^gagara-wugag ana-work, ana-Kangaroo Island,
we worked_c then huge

We went there (with) the children. Roger, that makes two of us. Yiriwulwuldi, three of us. We went walkabout. Then I went back and stopped there to work, at Kangaroo Island (island in Roper River). I took them (people). We worked (cutting down) timber. What a lot of work! At Kangaroo Island.

Note: The expression of conjunction in the first two lines here is typical of the system used when one referent is first (or second) person pronoun.

161.19 nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi:: ni:=yura-n^gi, nu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::
we worked_c we transported it_c we went_c
nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi nura='gi:-ni, nu:=yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, ari
we worked_c we returned_c we went_c maybe
wa:n^g, how-much muga ana-loading nu:=ya-n^ggi
whatchamacallit indeed we went_c
niri=ya:rijgi:-ni, a-maram-ba: a-mu:n-ba: a-maram-ba:, a-mu:n-ba:
we took it_c two hands two feet two hands two feet
ni:=ya:rijgi:-ni ana-loading,
we took it

We worked. We transported it (wood). We walked along, we worked, we returned, we went along. I can't tell you how much of a load it was! We went along, transporting it, (working) with both hands and both feet. We transported that load.

161.20 ni:=ya:rijgi:-ni an-u-gu-ni ana-Roper-wuy, ba-gu adaba
we transported it_c to there to (place n.) there then
n^gaya-waj-miri aba, him saw-'em n^gawu=balhu:-', wurugu
it is me by myself then he saw I cut it up_c later
ama-wa:n^g ama-rana, gada! ama-gurara
whatchamacallit (MANA) (n. of boat) oops! (n. of boat: Cora)

n^gama=nara-n^gi a-loading, ama-gurara, yin^gga ma=wali-n^y
I waited for it (MANA)_c Cora nearly it arrived_p
ana-loading mana-gurara,
Cora

We transported it (load of timber) to Roper R. There I, myself, sawed it up. Later I waited for it (boat), the Rana. Oops! I mean the Cora (name of boat). Finally it, the Cora, arrived.

161.21 aba n^ga=ma-n^gi ration, n^ga=ma-n^gi n^gara=gubadhi-jga:-' then I got it_c I got it_c I made them walkabout_c nuru=wardha-n^gi-mira:du, n^gijang n^ga ma=wali-n^y, produced by us working_c more and then it (MANA) arrived_p ma:=gi-n^y, wa:n^g, wadan^gaja creek ba-ni it (MANA) returned_p whatchamacallit (place n.) it is there nuru=buri-∅, n^ga=buri-∅ wadan^gaja creek, we sat_c I sat_c (place n.)

Then I took our rations and took them (people) walkabout. (The rations we earned) from our working. It (Cora) returned. There at Wadan^gaja Creek we stayed, I stayed there.

161.22 adaba n^gambi:-'=gadi-n^y n^gama-ga-gari=yuri-n^y n^ga then they shouted to me_p I went behind it_p and then ba-gu, adaba ana-wa:n^g ana:-'-ni aba n^gawu=ma:gim-dha-n^gi there then whatchamacallit this (ANA) then I marked it (Eng.)_c ana:-'-ni, n^gawu-maga=magim-dha-n^gi, ana-mission-area n^gawu=buri-n^y this I marked it_c I put it_p ba-ni, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wara-people-area n^gawu=bura-n^gi ya:-ni, it is there as for it (ANA) I put it it's here

They shouted to me. I went along behind it (Cora), and there I marked it (place). I marked out the mission area (where the missionaries lived and where the communal buildings were), and the people area (residential area for Aboriginals). I established (laid down) that.

Note: Numbulwar is still basically laid out as it was originally established in 1952. Communal buildings (now including the church, school, supermarket, and hospital) separate the Aboriginal residential area from the residences of the whites (chiefly mission staff).

161.23 n^ga:='gi-n^y, an-uba-ni:-'la, ana:-'-ji:-'la nura:='gi-n^y I returned_p that coming here coming I returned_p n^ga an-uba-gu, mana-workboat adaba, ready, ma=buri-∅ mari and then there then it (MANA) sat_c and mana-arig, mana:-'rigin, adaba wara-people, n^gama=lodim-dha-n^gi (n. of boat) (n. of boat) then I loaded it (Eng.)_c n^gama=yaba:-' mari gari marya, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g mana-workboat, I put it (MANA) in_c and having food as for it (MANA)

gari marya, nu:=ya-n^ggi adaba ana:-'-ni, having good we went_c then this (ANA)

After that I went back along here. Over there, the workboat was ready, and the Arigin (name of boat). I loaded it (boat), with food. The workboat, with food. We went along (to) here.

Note: 'I put it in' in line 4 of this segment is used here to mean 'I loaded it' and is intended to correct the form given just before that, which involves the English verb load.

161.24 ni-ga adaba na-Dick Harris nuru=midim-dhi-n^yji-n^y ya:-ji, he then we met each other (Eng.)_p here ya:-ni argali nuru=midim-dhi-n^yji:-ni mana-Bish, it is here west we met each other_c (n. of boat) nuru=midim-dhi-n^yji-n^y, work aba job now n^ga=wardha-n^gi, airstrip, (see above) then I worked_c

Then we met up with Dick Harris (Groote Eylandt missionary) here, over here in the west. (He was in) the Bish (n. of boat). We met with him. I worked (building) the airstrip.

Note: Bish and some other boat names are spelled as best I can spell them from Ma:di's pronunciation but may be misspelled.

161.25 nuru=wardha-n^gi, nobody people n^gambambi=walbum-dha-n^gi, ma:='ri we worked_c they helped me (Eng.) was no mana-truck, nothing bulldozer nothing, medik hoe, waragu, pick-axe axe jaldo stick nu:=riga-n-di, nu:=riga-n-di, merely (creole 'that'll do') we dug_c niri=wawayiwa:-'-miri, nirima:='dhuga:-' him cut-'em-up we broke it up_c we jabbed it (MANA) he bla wan^g ran^ga-miri, mana-nuga, by means of whatchamacallit (creole) by means of wood stone nirima=lalaga:-', we raised it (MANA)_c

None of the Aboriginal people helped me (with the work). (I.e. there were some Nunggubuyu still living in the bush away from the mission who came in after the hard clearing work was done.) We had no truck, no bulldozer, no pick-axe, no hoe, no axes--just wooden sticks. We dug, we broke up the ground, we jabbed at it (stone). We cut it up with sticks, we raised the stone.

Note: This deals mainly with the hard work of clearing off the track at the airstrip. I do not know the word here transcribed medik; apparently it is a brand-name or the like.

161.26 no-more anything, ana-wadawadad-jin^yun^g wa:='ri not strong one not ambi:=lharga-n-di, wu=ja:dug mari ana:-'-ni wu-wara=wali-n^y they sent it it was finished and this (ANA) it all arrived_p

an-i:-jin^yung, wa:='ri, mana-aerodrome, nirima=ja:du-ga-n^y, mana-nuga
this kind not airstrip we completed it_p stone

nirima=ja:du-ga-n^y, mana-wa:n^g, ana-wu-timber ni:=ja:du-ga-n^y,
we completed it_p whatchamacallit timber we completed it_p

(We had) nothing strong (i.e. powerful equipment). They did not send that. (After) it (mission) was finished, this (equipment) arrived, this kind of thing. There was none (before). We finished the airstrip, the whatchamacallit. We finished the rocks and the timber (for the first houses).

161.27 adaba ma=wali-n^y mana-gurara, ya:-ji Ø=rarja-n^gi
then it (MANA) arrived_p Cora here it unloaded it_c
ana-loading yuwa:-ni:-'la, aba niri=burum-dha-n^gi,
there it comes (ANA) then we put it (Eng.)_c

ni:=jawim-dha-n^gi adaba niri=balhu:-', wumajbar ana-sawmill
we sawed it (Eng.)_c then we cut it up_c (place n.)

wu=buri-Ø niri=balhu:-', lhayin wu=buri-Ø niri=balhu:-',
it sat_c we cut it up_c (place n.) it sat_c we cut it up_c
wa:n^g lhayin arwar nuru=buri-Ø,
whatchamacallit (place n.) on top we sat_c

Then the Cora (boat) arrived. It unloaded its cargo here, over there (on the beach). We put it (cargo) down. We sawed it (the timber), we cut it up. At the place Wumajbar (billabong near Numbulwar) we sawed it up, there was a sawmill. At the place Lhayin we cut it up, we stayed up there.

161.28 adaba ba-gu ni=wali-n^y na-wa:n^g, na-Mr. Hughes,
then there he arrived_p whatchamacallit (MSg) (man's n.)
ni=wali-n^y adaba ba-gu na-Mr. Hughes nani=lhangarma-n^y,
he arrived_p then there he reached us (ExPl)_p
little-bit adaba nuru=wardha-n^gi, an-uba-ga:-'la, nura:='gi-n^y
then we worked_c from there we returned_p
abarlu, niri=balhu:-' ba-ni abarlu,
(place n.) we cut it up_c it is there (place n.)

Then he arrived there, Mr. Hughes arrived there, he reached us. We worked for a while. After that we returned, we cut up (wood) there at Abarlu.

Note: This is Earl Hughes, for many years a mission chaplain at Numbulwar and author of a Nunggubuyu dictionary.

161.29 nu:=ruma-n^y airstrip ni:ni=balhu:-', aba ana-run^ggal
we went_p we cut it up_c then big (ANA)
niri=ma:ndha-n^gi ya:-ji, ana-engine aba ana-windmill,
we made it_c here then
wu=wardha-n^gi-yin^yung niri=balhu:-'-yin^yung, nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi,
which they worked (in)_c which we cut it up (in) we worked_c

We went to the airstrip and cut up a big heap of timber. We made an engine (generator) and a windmill where they worked, where we cut up (the timber).

161.30 wuru=wali-n^y yuwa-ga:-'la wunumbi-yala, nuru-wa=wardha-n^gi,
they arrived_p from there from north we worked_c
an^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:bugij wuru=wala-n^gi ana:-'ji:-'la an^yja:-'n^yja:-
one by one they arrived_c here coming one by one
-'n^yja:bugij an^yja:-'n^yja:bugij an^yja:-'n^yja:-'n^yja:bugij

one ana-Roper-wala, an-uwa:-ni:-'la ana-wa:n^g-gala, ana-a:n^g-gala,
from (place n.) that coming from whatchamacallit
ana-a:n^g-gala, xxx, ana-Limmen-gala, ana-Roper-ala, ana-a:n^g-gala
from (place n.) from (place n.)

(More Aboriginals) arrived from up there in the north. We did some more clearing work. One by one they came, from Roper R., the Limmen Bight River, from Yurubanji.

161.31 lha bush wuru=buri-Ø-yin^yung wara-people, ana:-'ni
in bushland they who sat_c this
adaba nambi-yala:'la-n^gi wi:-yan^ga=yan^ga-ni, ana:-'ni only
then they mixed us_c they heard it_c this
wi:=ja:du-ga-n^y ana:-'ni wu=ja:dug ana-mission-area
they finished it_p this it was complete mission quarters
wu=ja:dug ni:=ja:du-ga-n^y ana:-'ni ni:=ja:du-ga-n^y,
it was complete we completed it_p this

Aboriginal people who had been living in the bush (away from settlements) came and joined us here; they heard about it. Others had already finished this work, it was all finished, we had finished it.

161.32 mari wuru=bura-n^ga-n^y after adaba wu:=ja:du-ga-n^y,
and they sat down_p then they completed it_p
wa:='ri-wuy, wu=ja:du-guy, wara:-'wa nu-ri:-'n^yung
when it was absent when it was complete these (WARA) ours (ExPl)
wara-mij-buruyag wara-mij-gulmur wara:-'wa
children bachelors (circumcised) these
wara-min^y-n^gambara wuru-n^gara-n^gara=bardhi:-'-yin^yung wurugu
elders they who all work later
him too-young, him school yet, wuru=buri-Ø,
still they sat_c

Those people came (to Numbulwar) and stopped there after the others had done all the work, when there was no more work, when it was all done. Children, young men, and grown-ups who are all working men now. Some (children) were too young (for heavy work), they were still in school (so they did not work).

161.33 mari ba-ni-yun^g, da-ni mari adaba wuru=wardhi-n^y,
 and it is there it's there and then they worked_p
 ambu:=yama:-'maga:, aba run^ggal an^ggu=buri-Ø ana:-'ni
 if they had done that then big it would have sat this
 ana-wa:n^g, ana-house ana-wu-timber, nuru=wunda-n^ga-n^y, adaba
 whatchamacallit timber we quarreled_p then
 ana:-'ni ana-wa:n^g, ana:-'ni ana-wargu ana-wargu, wu=wali-n^y
 this this shoulder it arrived_p
 wu-dhan^gurg, ana:-'ni aba ready, wu-dhan^gurg, ache, ana:-'ni ana:-'ni,
 sickness this then sickness this this
 niri=warga-y-wala, a-wu-timber, nuru=wargu-ri-n^yji:-ni-yala ama-nuga,
 from us carrying it_c timber from our carrying together_c stone
 ni:ni=lha-n^gi-yala yi:-yimbid nuru=wargu-ri-n^yji:-ni a-bush,
 from chopping it_c cypress we carried (it) together_c bushland
 abarlu a-murmurbara, a-a:n^g, a-bush-baj, a:-'ni
 (place n.) (place n.) whatchamacallit around bushland this
 a-wunul aniriburan^g, a-ramalgaruj, nuru=wardha-n^gi-yala,
 (place n.) (place n.) from our working_c

And they worked a little there. If they had done that (helped us with the heavy work), these houses would have been nice and big. We argued. We started having serious aches (fatigue) in our two shoulders, here and here. It was severe ('ready'). Due to all that lumber carrying; our carrying it on our backs and shoulders, the stones; from our cutting down the cypress trees (for timber) and carrying them through (list of place names) in the bush.

161.34 ama:jiya nu:-ya=ya-y, yuwa:-ni aniruburan^g
 (place n.) we slept_c it is there (place n.)
 nu:-ya=ya-y, a-bush-duj yuwa:-gu nu:-lhagara=ya-y nuru=wardha-n^gi
 we slept_c at bush there we all slept_c we worked_c
 ni:ni='nma:-', ni:ni=lha-n^gi, ana-wu-timber aba an-uba-ga:-'la,
 we looked for it (NA)_c we chopped it_c timber then from there
 balamumu wu:=wali-n^y run^ggal, aba nambi=yalbum-dha-n^gi,
 (n. of tribe) they arrived_p big then they helped us_c
 balamumu now, a-yirrgala-yin^yung, ana:-'rgi ya:-wa:-'la
 (n. of tribe) of (place n.) some here they come
 a-na:rgala-ala nambi=yalbum-dha-n^gi, nuru=wardha-n^gi, da-ni-yun^g,
 from (place n.) they helped us_c we worked_c it is there
 wi:ya!.
 finish!

Ama:jiya (place), we slept there, and at Aniruburan^g. In the bush we slept and worked. We hunted for it (cypress) and chopped it down, timber. From the north, Yirrkala and Na:rgala, the Balamumu people arrived, lots of them. They helped us work. That is all. Finish.

161.35 mari a:n^g, muji:ji mari English-gala
 and whatchamacallit (man's n.) and from English
 ani=magi:-'na anu=maga-na n^gaya ya:-ni wubuy-wugij
 he will tell_c he will tell him I it is here only Nunggubuyu
 n^gawu=ya:rijgi:-ni n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yung a-lha:wu a-nun^g-gubuyu
 I transported it_c mine words Nunggubuyu
 n^ga=magi:-'ni, n^ga-yan^y=jabo:-'ni ni-ga:-'yun^g ana-English-gala
 I told_c I put my voice in_c as for him from English
 muji:ji ni-ga-waj aniwu=ya:rijgi:-na, an^ggu=gara=wawalha-n^g,
 (man's n.) it is he! he will transport it_c hole will open up_p
 aniwa='rari:-'yin^yung anu=maga-na, na:-'gi.
 he who will write it_c he will tell him_c this (MSg)
 Whatchamacallit, the man Mujiyi, will tell (this) in English, he will tell it to him (Heath). I am here delivering it (story) only in Nunggubuyu, my words, I told it, I put my words in (the tape recorder). As for him, Mujiyi (who worked as interpreter for Heath), he will deliver it in English. The hole (i.e. the tape recorder) will open (will be turned on), and he (Mujiyi) will tell the one who will write it down (Heath), this man.

TEXT 162 BUFFALO ADVENTURE
 Ma:di

162.1 a-ba:bulu-jin^yung n^gan^y=jambi:-na, ya:-ji:-'li nu:=ya-n^ggi
 about buffalo (Eng.) I will speak_c from here we went_c
 wumajbar-wuy nuru=gubadha-n^gi, ma-waya=wayama-n^gi:::
 to (place n.) we did walkabout (Eng.)_c it (MANA) proceeded_c
 a-jetty-ruj, adaba n^gi-ga n^gi=yabi-'-n^y, n^gara-alir, aba
 at jetty then it (N^gARA) it went in_p sun then
 adharwara nu:=ya-n^ggi, wu=malan^ga=n^gamudi-n^y,
 dusk we went_c it got rather dark_p

I will talk about (my adventure with) a buffalo. We went from here toward the place Wumajbar, on an excursion. It (vehicle) went along. At the jetty (near Numbulwar mission). The sun went in (set), at dusk we went along. It got dark.

162.2 nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi nu:=rabali-n^y, mana-aerodrome,
 we proceeded_c we came out_p airstrip
 nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi::: nu:=yabi-'-n^y ana-yu:l, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi
 we proceeded_c we went in_p bushland we proceeded_c
 an-uba-ni ana-a:n^g--, ana-Little Creek nuru=garaji-n^y,
 that (ANA) whatchamacallit (place n.) we jumped_p
 We went along and came out (of the forest) at the airstrip. We kept going and entered the bushland (eucalyptus forest, distinct from coastal dune forest). We crossed at Little Creek.

162.3 aba ama:-'di-wuy nu:=yaba-n^gji-n^y, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi,
then to road we put selves in_p we proceeded_c
nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi, adaba n^ga=yana-n^g ba:::gu-ruj,
then I heard it_p there farther on
n^ga=yana-n^g adaba, adaba wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g an-uwa-ga:-'la
I heard it_p then then as for it (ANA) from there
wu=yana-n^g ana-wumajbar-ala, yij-gubulu adaba an-uba-ni-yun^g,
it went_c from (place n.) ture then that (ANA)
We went into (the bushland) on the road. We went along. I heard
it then, a short distance farther on from there. It (buffalo) was
coming (toward us) from Wumajbar. I am telling a true story.

162.4 n^ga=yardi-n^y, "numbura:='ran^gga-na-wugij", adaba
I started it (motor)_p you (Pl) only look!_c then
labama ya:-ji ni=lha-y muga, argali, aba yu:-gu-ni
moon here he stood_c indeed west then to there
ni-malan^ga=jabi:-ni, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi n^ga ana:-'mbarar
it was going in we proceeded_c and then open plain
nu:=rabali-n^y, nuru=wayama-n^gi, adaba nura:='dadi-n^y,
we came out_p we proceeded_c then we went on shore_p
I started the engine (of the vehicle). "You all keep looking,"
(I shouted to the others). Off to the west the moon was standing,
about to set. We kept going and came out at an open plain. We
kept going, and went up a slope.

162.5 an-uba-ni-yun^g ana-wumajbar-in^y un^g ana-yu:l, yin^gga
that of (place n.) bushland nearly
nuru-wuri=gadadi-n^y, mari na-run^ggal-yun^g n^gara-Katherine-jin^y un^g
we went up slope_p and big one (MSg) of Katherine (woman's n.)
na-landhur-jun^g, adaba ni=yara-n^g, mari na-Rusty
dog (MSg) then he smelled it_p and (dog's n.)
wini=yara-n^g, dulmurg! badabab! badabab! wini=garaji-n^y,
they (MDu) smelled it_p run jump they (MDu) jumped_p
We went up the slope around there in the bushland near Wumajbar.
Katherine's (a woman's) big male dog, and Rusty (speaker's dog)
smelled it (buffalo). Both of them ran and jumped.

162.6 "ama=lha-n^ga-n^g ama=lha-n^ga-n^g ama=lha-n^ga-n^g,
it (MANA) will stand_p
ama=lha-n^ga-n^g ya:-ji, ba:bulug ana:-'ni ni=yara-n^g,
here buffalo (Eng.) this he smelled it_p
adaba ma=lha-n^ga-n^g ba-gu, nura:='wan^ggi-n^y, n^ga n^gubindi
then it (MANA) stood_p there we listened_p and then indeed
ba-gi ni=n^gadi-n^y, "waw!", yigaj yaga:,
he is there he whined_p (bark) indeed Ø

"Let it (vehicle) stop! Here! He (dog) smelled a buffalo!" (I said to the others). It stopped there. We listened. Indeed he (dog) started yelping, "waw!" Indeed.

162.7 aba ni-ga:-'yun^g na-wuru-jung^g ni=garaji-n^y, wiri:::g
then as for him human (MSg) he jumped_p small
n^ga, torch niwu=wana^gaga:-' ni=yawula-n^gi, ni=waran^gga-n^y
and then he held it_c he lit it_c he looked_p
n^ga ba-ni:-'la n^gubindi wu=bagawaga:la nu-ri:-'wuy
and then there it comes indeed it faced this way to us
wu-nin^y-n^gu=burdi-Ø nan^ggu=na-ni xxx, ya:-ji-yaj n^ga
it had its snout down_c it saw us_c (unclear) along here and then
wurugu "ama=lha-n^ga-n^g",
later it (MANA) will stand_p

As for that man (one of the men with us in the vehicle), he jumped up. He was holding a torch, and lit it. He looked around. Indeed it (buffalo) was coming directly toward us with its head down. It saw us. Along here (I said) again, "Let it (vehicle) stop!"

162.8 n^ga ni=n^gadi-n^y-bindi:yun^g ni=n^gadi-n^y, ni=n^gadi-n^y,
and then he yelped really_p he yelped_p
ni-ga:-'yun^g "ma:-da-mu:-' an^gudu, bawu=jura-n^ga an^gudu
as for him that (MANA) hard push it!_p and then hard
*an^ggu-lhu=lalagi:-n^y, bawu=yarda-n^g-jin^y un^g,
it (ANA) will get up strongly_p about you starting it up_p
Now he (dog) was really whining and yelping. As for him (the other man), (he said) "Push it (accelerator) hard, get it really going up strongly."

* Contains /-lhud-/ 'power'.

162.9 niwu=lalaga-n^y, mari n^ga an-u-gu-ni wu=wara^garaji-n^y,
he raised it_p and and then to there it trotted_p
wu=rilmurdi-n^y wu=lha-n^ga-n^y, nin^ggu=wa-n^g, araga ni-ga
it ran_p it stood_p it hit him_p suddenly he
da-ni-wugij aba na-Rusty ni-dir=n^gawi:-n^y, ni=yarama-n^y,
it is only there then (dog's n.) he was afraid he fled_p
ni:='gi-n^y n^gaya-wi-n^y in^y un^g na-landhur-jun^g,
he returned_p mine dog (MSg)

He (the man who was driving) got it up. It (buffalo) ran there and stopped. It bumped into him (dog). Rusty (dog) became afraid then and ran back (to us). My dog.

162.10 ma=yarbi:::n^ga yi:-yimbi^g yi:-ba-gi,
it (MANA) ran_p and then cypress that (NA)
wu=lha-n^ga-n^y ba-gu, ni=juri-n^y-bugij more, mal-gan^y ja:bugij
it (ANA) stood_p there he pushed it only_p once

ni=juri-n^y, ni=gadi-n^y n^gijan^g, n^gijan^g wu=rilmurdi-n^y
he pushed it_p he yelped more it ran_p
ya:-ji:-'li a-wuliriliri-yala,
from here from (tree sp.)

It (vehicle) ran along. It (buffalo) stopped at that cypress tree there. He (dog) pushed it ahead, yelping. It (buffalo) ran from here, from where the wuliriliri bushes were.

Note: wuliriliri (Bossiae bossiaeoides) is a scrub tree with jagged edges.

162.11 ba-ni yaga: wu-waragara=lha-ra wuliriliri, mari
it is there Ø it all stands tree sp. and
mudidi, ba-gu adaba wu=lha-n^ga-n^y, nin^ggu=jiwalawaluga-n^y
scrub wattle there then it stood it led him in circles_p
n^ga yuwa-ga:-'la, ana-lhu:n^y ya:-ji wu=lha-y, mari
and then from there stringybark tree here it stood_c and
ya:-ji wu=lha-y,
here it stood_c

Over there are lots of wuliriliri trees (162.10), and also mudidi (scrub wattles, notably Acacia conspersa). It (buffalo) stopped there, and led him (dog) around in circles. Stringybark trees (E. tetradonta), one here and one here.

162.12 n^ga ni-ga ya:-ji:-'la ni-dha=gurama-n^y, ni=ruma-n^y
and then he here coming he went in circle_p he went_p
bu-gu-ni n^ga ya:-ji:-'li ni=lha-n^ga-n^y, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g
to there and then from here he stood_p as for it
nu-ri-ri:-'yala wu=lha-y, aba ni=yama-n^y nin^ggu=wa-n^g,
from us (from our side) it stood then he did that_p it hit him_p
He (dog) went around in a circle. He went around there and then stopped over here. It (buffalo) stood on the side away from us. He (dog) did that, and it (buffalo) bumped him.

162.13 araga ni-ga ya:-nu:-'wuy ni=garaji-n^y, n^gijan^g
suddenly he this way he jumped_p more
nin^ggu=wa-n^g, ni=garaji-n^y, aba "n^ganu=lharma-n^g" wu=yama-n^y,
it hit him_p he jumped_p then I will chase him_p it did that_p
mari an-uwa-ga:-'la ni=garaji-n^y nin^ggu=lhami-n^y, yin^gga
and from there he jumped_p it chased him_p nearly
wu-dha=gurama:-' wu=yama:-' nin^ggu=lhami-n^y aba ni-ga
it went in circle_c it did that_c it chased him_p then he
ni=yama-n^y, ama:-'ma, ama-malbij nima=wa-n^g, gad!
he did that_p this (MANA) sinew he bit it_p bite
ni=malbij=ba-n^g,
he bit its sinew_p

He (dog) jumped away, in this direction. Again it (buffalo) bumped him, and he jumped away (dodged). "I will chase him," thought the buffalo. He (dog) jumped away in this direction. It chased him. It went around in a circle, chasing him. He (dog) did that, he bit into its sinews (leg tendons).

Note: =wa-n^g is the Past₁ (past punctual) of both =wu- 'to hit' and =wa- 'to bite'; both occur in this segment.

162.14 ni:='rgi:-ni wurugu o:-'wa:-ni wu-wala=wadji-wi-ni
he pulled it_c later that (ANA) it (ANA) thrust_c
nin^ggu-dhan^y=bara-n^gi araga ni-ga ni=lhiri-Ø-wugij ba-gu,
it knocked him down_c suddenly he he only hung on_c there
it thrust_c that going suddenly he
ni-lhiri=lhiri-Ø-wugij, ya:-ji ni=wa-n^ga:-' ni=lhiri-Ø-wugij,
he only hung on_c here he bit it_c he only hung on_c
He (dog) pulled at it (its leg). It (buffalo) then thrust at him and knocked him down. He (dog) hung on (biting it). It thrust at him, along across there. He (dog) kept hanging on, biting.

162.15 ni-yama=yama:::, n^gijan^g bu-gu-ni adaba nu-ra:-'yun^g
he did that_c more to there then as for us
nu:=yarbi-n^y, mari nu:=yarami-jga-n^y ni-yara=gayi-jga-n^y aba
we ran_p and we made it flee_p he hurt it_p then
ya:-ji wu-wara=gayi-n^y a-run^guru-ruj, mari n^ga yu:-gu-ni
here it got hurt_p at shinbone and and then to there
ni:=lha:ga-n-di,
we burned grass in bush_c

He (dog) did that. As for us, we ran over there and chased it (buffalo) away. He (dog) had injured it, it was injured around the shinbone (lower leg). We set fires in the grass.

162.16 wu=rilmurdi-n^y adaba yu:-gu-ni lhiribala-wuy, nu-ra:-'yun^g
it ran_p then to there to inside as for us
nu:=yaldhi-n^y nura:='wuli-n^y ba-gu-ruj, nu:=yaldhi-n^y,
we went past_p we illuminated it_p there farther on we went past_p
nuru=wayama-n^gi n^ga arwar, a-meeting wuru-bu=bura:-'ruj
we proceeded_c and then on top where they sit
wara-gri-grijdan, ba-ni nu:=ya-y,
Christians (Eng. loan) it is there we slept

It (buffalo) ran away, inside (the forest). As for us, we went away from it, (trying to) light it up (with our headlights and torches). We kept going and spent the night on top there, where the Christians have their meetings.

162.17 n^ga wa:='ri n^gijan^g an^gga:='gi:-ni, nuru-gu=guda-n^gi
and then not more it returned_c we caught (fish)_c

n^guji:^a ::, mada, rilm^yji, lhu:^ru,
 fish long-tom fish spangled perch sleepy cod
 dalma:rang an^yja:-'n^yja:bugij, ba-gu n^gima=ra-wi-ni --,
 tortoise sp. one by one there she tested it (MANA)_c
 madiga n^gima=ra-wi-ni, ari muga ba-ma ana-yimbaj
 root nut maybe indeed it (MANA) is there today
 an^gima=ma-ni, an^gi:=jgi:-na mana:-'-ma ama=yardi-n^yji:-na,
 she will get it_c she will go there_c this (MANA) it will be bunched_c
 After that it (buffalo) did not return (to us). We caught some
 fish--long-toms, spangled perch (locally: 'bream'), sleepy cod
 (locally: 'mudfish'), long-necked tortoises one at a time. One
 woman tasted the madiga root nuts (Eleocharis dulcis) there; maybe
 today she will go there and collect some, they (nuts) will be
 abundant (densely bunched).

162.18 nuru-bu=buri-∅, araga n^ga-bira=war
 we sat_c suddenly I I had sore anus
 n^ga-ara=warlhi-n^y, adaba mana-gulmun^g mana:-'-ma
 I was all sore_p then belly this (MANA)
 n^ga-dan-gara=gayi-n^y, adaba diarrhoea, n^gaya, aba n^ga=murgulhi-∅-wugij
 I was hurt in guts_p then I then I lay down only_c
 wa:='ri n^ga=n^gadugumbi:-ni n^gan^y=jama:-', wu-da-ni-yun^g
 not I fished with hook I did that that (ANA)
 n^gan^ggu-dan=gayi-jga-n^y, a-mu:ri, a-manabaru, n^gan^ggu-dan=gayi-jga-n^y,
 it hurt me in guts_p buffalo buffalo (see above)
 a-barigud, da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj an-u-muwa:j ana-mu:ri,
 buffalo all that along there named (ANA) buffalo
 nuru-maya=maya:-' wara-min^y-n^gambara,
 we call it elders
 We stayed there. I had a sore rear end, I was bruised all over,
 I had a belly-ache and diarrhoea (from the incident with the
 buffalo). I just lay down there, I did not take part in the fish-
 ing. That buffalo (several synonyms given) did that to me. We
 called buffaloes by those names, us elder people.
 Note: mu:ri is the common term; ba:bulug (see 162.1) is another
 synonym but is clearly recognised by Nunggubuyu as the English
 word. Buffaloes were introduced into this area within the last
 century.

162.19 nu:=ya-y nuru-bu=buri-∅, nura:='gi-n^y ana:-'dharwara
 we slept_c we sat_c we returned_p dusk
 adaba ba-ga:-'la, nura:='mbalam-an-bugij nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi,
 then from there we were only good we proceeded_c
 ya:-ji:-'li bajin^ggul ma=wayama-n^gi n^ga
 from here bicycle it (MANA) proceeded_c and then

wu:=lhan^ggarurbi-n^y ya:-nu:-'wuy, ya:-nu:-'wuy wu:=lhan^ggarurbi-n^y
 they made tracks_p this way
 wu:=yama-n^y, wu:=yama-n^y wu:=lhan^ggarurbi-n^y,
 they did that_p
 We slept. We stayed (there), then came back from there at dusk. We
 were all right still. We kept going. From here a bicycle had gone
 along, someone had left tracks this way and this way, like that.
162.20 mari "ma-mun=murgulha:-", ari muga yan^gi, ari yan^gi
 and its (MANA) foot lies maybe indeed what?
 war-uba-wi-yun^g wu:=ya-n^ggi muga", nu:-yama=yama:-' wuliriliri
 those (WARA) they went_c indeed we did that_c tree sp.
 ni:=lhan^garma-n^y, n^gijan^g nu:-yama=yama:-' warwar,
 we reached it_p more we did that_c stringybark scrub
 ni:ni=lhan^garma-n^y, n^gijan^g nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi::: ragala,
 we reached it_p more we proceeded_c paperbark sp.
 nirima=lhan^garma-n^y n^gijan^g nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi liwa,
 we reached it_p more we proceeded_c paperbark sp.
 ni:=lhan^garma-n^y, we reached it

And (we said,) "Tire tracks are lying there (on the ground). Maybe
 someone, one of those people, went by." We said that. We reached
 the wuliriliri trees (Bossiae), we reached the stringybark scrub
 (stunted E. tetradonta), we reached the paperbark trees (form of
Melaleuca viridiflora), the other paperbark trees (other form of
 same sp.).

162.21 n^gijan^g nuru=wayama-n^gi::: dhururing^gi nu:=lhan^garma-n^y,
 more we proceeded_c tree sp. we reached it_p
 n^gijan^g nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi mudidi, nirima=lhan^garma-n^y,
 more we proceeded_c scrub wattle we reached it_p
 n^gijan^g nuru=wayama-n^gi n^ga wa:-nun^gguda:ba wara-n^ga:nig
 more we proceeded_c and then old (WARA) honey bee sp.
 wa:=lha-n^gi, yi:-midi, nu:=rabali-n^y, ama-wuluru,
 they chopped it (WARA) paperbark sp. we came out_p paperbark sp.
 adaba ambarar-ugij, nuru=wayama-n^gi,
 then only open plain we proceeded_c

We kept going some more. We reached the dhururing^gi trees
 (Jacksonia dilatata). We kept going are reached the scrub wattle
 (mainly Acacia conspersa). We kept going and (reached the place
 where) they had cut down a (tree with) honey bees (Trigona sp.),
 an old one. We came out, in the paperbark trees (Melaleuca
leucadendron, form with crooked trunk on old dunes). Then another
 paperbark (Melaleuca acacioides). Next, the open plain. We kept
 going.

Note: Observe the significance of flora spp. in this list (last
 two segments) of landmarks along the route.

162.22 aba mi:::n^yngu wa:-'n^ga=mudi-n^y, labama
 then night it got dark^p moon
 nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga nu:=r^gabali-n^y ana:-'ji, nu:=ya-y,
 we proceeded_c and then we came out_p here we slept_c
 n^gijang^g Ø-mal=ga:gi-jgi-n^y an-uwa-ga:-'la
 more it (ANA) went back for it_p from there
 wu-yimun^y=dharmi:-'ni, an-uba-ni-yun^g-mira:dhu,
 it (ANA) followed with snout_c produced by that

It was dark, at night. We went along in the moonlight. We came out here and slept (at Numbulwar). It (buffalo) was coming back to get it (vehicle?). It was tracking (us) down with its snout (i.e. by smell). Because of that (incident).

162.23 wu-yimun^y=dharmi:-'ni n^gijang^g wuru=ya-n^ggi
 it followed with snout_c more they went_c
 wuru=gubadha-n^gi Saturday, wura:='ran^gga-n^y n^ga
 they did walkabout (Eng.)_c they looked_p and then
 ba-gu, mu:='la-wa:, Toyota ma=rilmurdi-n^y, mari
 there it (MANA) is two it (MANA) ran_p and
 wuru-n^gagara=wagiwa-n^y n^ga bu-gu-nu:-',
 they broke its bones (shot it)_p and then to there
 wa:-'du-n^gu=buri-Ø ba-gu,
 it sat with spear_c there

It (buffalo) tracked (us) by smell. Some people went out in the bush on Saturday (to kill the buffalo, which was now widely recognised as a serious menace). They looked around and there (they saw it). Two Toyotas (four-wheel-drive vehicles) sped (toward it). They shot it there. It was lying there with wounds.

Note: 'it sat with spear' in last line shows a semantic shift in modern context (spear wound → gunshot wound).

162.24 n^gijang^g n^gamugijgaj wura:='ndhalhara-n^gi:::
 more early morning they went in pursuit of it_c
 n^ga, bu-gu-ni n^ga na-laran^gana ni=ya-n^ggi, wuru=wa-n^g
 and then to there and then (man's n.) he went_c they hit it_p
 wuru=wa-n^g wuru=wa-n^g wuru=minigari-n^y, wuru=balhu-n^y n^ga,
 they killed it_p they cut it up_p and then
 n^gunyju a:-'n^g-ji:, a-ran^ga-ji: ana:-'ni, wa:='ri
 similar like whatchamacallit like wood this (ANA) not
 an^ggu=maragarn^y-maga: ana-maragi wu=dirgalag, araga
 it is dangerous knife it is harmless suddenly
 wura:='ru-n^y, wu=wurag wa:='ri amburu=balhu:-', wi:ya!.
 they abandoned it_p it is alone not they cut it up finish!
 Again, early in the morning, they went out after it. Laran^gana
 (and others) went there. They shot and killed it. They (tried to)
 cut it up, (but) it was like (i.e. as hard as) wood here. The

knife was not sharp enough (to cut it), it was too blunt. So they just left it (buffalo) there by itself, they did not cut it up. Finish.

TEXT 163 A LONG TRIP
Ma:di

163.1 Toyota ana:-'ji:-'li, nu:=ya-n^ggi, nama=ya:rijgi:-ni,
 from here we went_c it (MANA) transported us_c
 jubiyang^gga n^gani=wana^gaga:-', mari ga:bundu n^gaaya-waj, ga:gadug
 (man's n.) he held me_c and (woman's n.) it is me! (woman's n.)
 laran^gana, gubindiyang^g, nani=wana^gaga:-' n^ga
 (man's n.) (man's n.) he held us_c and then
 ma=yululbi-n^y alagala, alagala ma=yululbi-n^y,
 it (MANA) got bogged_p halfway
 nirima:-'rga:='rgi:-ni::: n^ga girjag! ma=wadawadan-ma-n^y,
 we pulled it (MANA)_c and then no! it (MANA) got strong_p
 We went from here in the Toyota, it took us (there). Jubiyang^gga had me, also Ga:bundu, Ga:gadug (two women), Laran^gana, and Gubindiyang^g. He (Jubiyang^gga) had us all. But the Toyota got bogged in the mud on the way. We tried to pull it out but it was too strong (i.e. too deeply bogged).

163.2 araga ba-gu nu:=ya-y, ama:-'ln^ga-ruj, mari nuru=n^gawi-'-n^y
 suddenly there we slept_c in mud and we died_p
 ana:-gugu, adaba nu:-lhagara=n^gawi-'-n^y, wa:='ri ana-marya
 water then we all died_p not food
 ana-breakfast na:mbu=n^gu-ni, ana-n^gamugijgaj, wa:='ri
 we ate it early morning not
 ana-tea na:n^gga:='r=na-n^ga:-', nu:-yama=yama:-',
 we boiled liquid we did that_c

We slept there around the mud. We were dying for water, all of us were extremely thirsty. We had no food, no breakfast the next morning. We boiled no tea. We were in that kind of situation.

163.3 "da-ji:-'la, ama=lhamari:-' muga,
 there coming it (MANA) will come behind_c indeed
 na-magulguldha, anba:li-wuy ambu:=ya:-ri:", nirima:-'ga:='garang^gga:-'
 (man's n.) to (place n.) they will go_c we looked for it (MANA)_c
 ba-ma:-'la ma=n^gururuwa:-', ma=yululbi-n^y, adaba
 there it comes (MANA) it (MANA) rumbled_c it got bogged_p then
 wirima=buri-n^y ba-gu-waj "da-ju:-'waj nimbirima=bura-n^g",
 they put it (MANA)_p around there around there you (MDu) put it!_p
 n^ga:='di-n^y n^gaaya, ba-gu-waj wirima:='ru-n^y yi:-yimbid-gaj,
 I shouted_p I around there they left it_p around cypress tree

(Someone said,) "(Sounds like) some vehicle coming behind us, the man Magulgulda (and others) on their way to the place Anba:li." We looked for it (vehicle). It came along with its engine roaring. "It (vehicle) bogged." They put it over around there (by trees). I shouted to two of them, "Put it (vehicle) over there!" Near the cypress trees they left it.

163.4 mu-mun-gala wi:-ran^ga-ran^ga=gulguldha-n^yi:::
from feet (redup.) they cut the wood
ana-ran^ga:::g, wura:-'ba:-=burdha-n^yi ana-manjar
wood they covered it up branch with foliage
wiri-mada-mada=wani^yja::: wura:-'ya:='yajara-n^yi
they uprooted grass they spread things out on ground
wirima-mungu-mun=gaya jara-n^yi, wura:='yajara-n^yi,
they spread (it) out for tires they spread things out
wirima-mun=gaya jari-n^y,
they spread (it) out for tires

On foot they (went and) cut off some wood (with hatchets). They covered up (mud), they pulled up some grass and spread it (along with some branches of trees with foliage on them) on the ground (under the tires), they did that around the tires.

163.5 aba ni=yaba-n^yji-n^y na=magulgulda, mari n^ga
then he put self in (man's n.) and and then
wirima=juri-n^y, mari n^ga niwu=yardi-n^y mari n^ga baj!
they pushed it and and then he started it and and then move
ma=balayidi-n^y n^ga ma-waya=wayama-n^yi, wu:=rulmurdi-n^y
it (MANA) slid and then it (MANA) proceeded they ran
n^ga yuwa:-gu arwar, n^gijan^g an-uwa-ga:-'la ma:='gi-n^y
and then there on top more from there it (MANA) returned
n^ga yuwa:-gu,
and then there

Magulgulda got in, they (the others) pushed it (vehicle), and he started the motor. It moved, it (vehicle) started to slide along and kept moving. They ran (with it) up a ways, then it fell back in (the mud).

163.6 "ya:-ni:-'li nura:='gi:-na" nu:=yama-n^y, mari
here it (ANA) goes we return we did that and
"an^gga:-'=badawadad na:mbu=ya:-ri:", nura:='gi-n^y n^ga
it (ground) will be strong we will go we returned and then
ba-ga:-'la, ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g anba:li-wuy nuru=balbin^yji-n^y
from there as for it (MANA) to (place n.) we split up
ma=ya-n^ygi, nura:='gi-n^y n^ga ya:-ji,
it (MANA) went we returned and then here

We said, "Let us go back this way." And: "It (ground) will even-

tually become hard (so we can drive the vehicle out of the bog)." We came back (to Numbulwar). As for it (the other vehicle), it went on the Anba:li (in the other direction), we split up. It (the other vehicle) went (that way), we came back here.

163.7 nu:=ya-y nu:=ya-y nu:=ya-y, niri:='badawadad-ga:-',
we slept we made ground strong
nu:=ya-y mu:='lal mu:='lal, mu:='la-wa: mu:='la-wa:,
we slept four (MANA) two (MANA) two
mana-min^yn^ganga, mana-wu:n nu:=lalagi'-n^y,
sleep night we got up
wa:-'dha:='dharwara-ma-n^y adaba nuru-wara=yaba:-', nu:=lalagi'-n^y,
it became dusk then we put it all in we got up
nuru-waya=wayama-n^yi::: n^ga, yirgamayi, gada! a:n^g,
we proceeded and then (place n.) oops! whatchamacallit
maraya, nura:='ran^gga-n^y da-ni ama:-'di-ruj wu=lha-y,
(place n.) we looked it is there at road it stood
ba:bulug, nuru=wa-n^g, ma:gun nu-ru,
buffalo (Eng.) we hit it (man's n.) we (ExPl)

We spent three nights making it (i.e. waiting for it to become) firm ground. We slept (another night). Four nights, two and two. We got up and left late in the afternoon. We loaded everything in (the vehicle). We got up (set off) and kept going. (We stopped) at the place Yirgamayi--or rather, Maraya. We saw a buffalo there on the road. We shot it, Ma:gun (man's n.) and the rest of us.

163.8 n^gijan^g nu:=rulmurdi-n^y yirgamayi, n^gijan^g nu:=rulmurdi-n^y
more we ran (place n.) more we ran
yirgamayi, n^gijan^g nu:=rulmurdi-n^y mindhamurug nura:='galawaji-n^y,
(place n.) we crossed
n^gija:::n^g ma:='galawaji-n^y a:n^g, waragin^y, awanban,
more we crossed whatchamacallit (place n.) (place n.)
ana:-'wanban_gala nu:=rabali-n^y ana-wumayamaya nura:='dadi-n^y,
from (place n.) we came out plain we went up slope
nura:='galawaji-n^y, amanun^gga-ala, an-uba-ni:-'la
we crossed from (place n.) from that
arwagarwar_ala-a:::j n^ga,
along the top and then

We drove along some more to Yirgamayi, then farther on to the place Mindhamurug and we went across (water) at Waragin^y and Awanban. From there we came out into a plain and went up a slope (or shore). We went across and from Amanun^gga we went along on top, in the high country.

163.9 amadhardhi nu:=rabali-n^y, min^yn^gu-wugij, ana:-'madhardhi-yala:::,
(place n.) we came out only night from (place n.)

nu:=rabali-n^y-gala::: n^ga, dharari nu:=rabali-n^y,
 after we came out and then (place n.) we came out
 "ma:mbu=waran^gga-n^ga da-ma alburun^ggu",
 we will look and then it (MANA) is there bustard (bird)
 ma-yan^gga=ya-n^gi min^yngu ama:-'di-waj, du!: nima=wa-n^g, n^gijan^g
 it (MANA) went night along road bang! he hit it more
 nima=wa-n^g n^ga ni=midhugan^yji-n^y, man^gaj man^gaj
 he hit it p he speared (it) repeatedly p fat fat
 mana:-'ma:::, this (MANA)

We came out at the place Amadhardhi. Still at night. After we came out at Amadhardhi, we came out at the place Dharari. (The man Ma:gun said,) "Let's look out for bustards (bush turkeys)." A turkey went along the road at night. Bang! He (Ma:gun) shot it, then shot it again. He finished it off. Boy was there some good fat in that turkey!

163.10 nirima=yaba-n^y, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, wilili,
 we put it (MANA) in p we proceeded c (place n.)
 nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, wuruwuryi, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi:::,
 we proceeded c (place n.) we proceeded c
 wuluyi, nuru-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, alhargan, nu:=wayama-n^gi
 (place n.) we proceeded c (place n.) we proceeded c
 nu:=rabali-n^y, wu:=ya-∅-ruj o:-'ba-ni-yun^g-gaj na-Laran^gana,
 we came out p where they slept c long ago (man's n.)
 We put it (turkey) in and went along to Wilili, then Wuruwuryi, then Wuluyi, then Alhargan, then we came out (at a beach), where Laran^gana and the others used to sleep long ago.

163.11 ba-ni aba nu:=ya-y, n^gijan^g n^gaya n^ga=buri-∅
 it is there then we slept c more I I sat c
 ba-gu, wu:=yama-n^y adaba wara=ma-n^gi wa:-dalma:rang,
 there they did that p then they got it (WARA) c tortoise sp.
 wara-man^ga=ma-n^gi wuru-warga=warga-n-di n^ga, adaba wu:=yama-n^y
 they got it (WARA) c they got lots c and then then they did that p
 wura:='gi-n^y an-uba-ga:-'la na-jubiyan^gga-wang
 they returned from there (man's name) and his bunch
 ni-ni:-'yung na-Laran^gana ba-ni aba ni:ni=buri-∅, mari
 we (ExMDu) (man's n.) it is there then we (ExMDu) sat c and
 gubindiyun^g, nu-ru, mari ga:dij, nuru=buri-∅ ba-ni,
 (man's n.) we (ExPl) and (man's n.) we sat c it is there
 We slept there. I stayed there. Some of the others did that, they caught some long-necked tortoises, lots of them, and came back from there, Jubiyang^gga and his group. Laran^gana and I stayed there, along with Gubindiyung^g and Ga:dij.

Note: These are men of the Murun^gun clan.

163.12 nuru-bu=buri::: n^ga, adaba ni=halagi-n^y
 we sat c and then then he was eager to go p
 laran^gana, nima:-'ra:-'ra=aba:-' mana-swag n^ga
 (man's n.) he wrapped it (MANA) all up c swag (bedding) and then
 nima:-'ra:-'ra=maga:-'ni, n^ga:-'yun^g n^ga=yi-n^ga-n^y n^gijan^g
 he had it (MANA) wrapped up c as for me I slept p more
 n^ga=halagi-'n^y n^ga:='ran^gga-n^y n^ga ba-ma,
 I got up p I looked p and then it (MANA) was there
 We stayed (there). Laran^gana got ready to go, he wrapped up his swag (bedding) and had it all wrapped up. I, for my part, went to sleep, then I got up, looked, and saw it (Laran^gana's swag) there.

163.13 n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi "aliyun^g ana-da-nu:-' lharug",
 I went c Q that (ANA) walkabout
 "na:-'gi n^ga" n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gi=yama-n^y n^gara-ga:gadug,
 this (MSg) and then as for her she did that p (woman's n.)
 "na:-'gi n^ga lharug adaba ni=halagi-n^y ni-yara=aba:-'",
 this and then walkabout then he was eager to go p he wrapped it c
 n^ga:-'yun^g araga adaba n^gani=yanbi-n^y, adaba n^ga-ramar=halagi-n^y,
 as for me suddenly then he did it to me p then I was eager to go p
 n^ga:-'ra=ma:ndha-n^gi a-gara-ruj ana-anything ana-marya ana-sugar
 I did it all c in hole food
 mana-swag, n^ga:-'ra=yaba:-', n^ga:-'ra:='mbamadha-n^gi,
 I put it all in c I covered it all c
 I went along (and asked Laran^gana's wife, Ga:gadug): "Is there (i.e. are we going on) a walkabout?" As for her, Ga:gadug, she said, "This man (i.e. Laran^gana) was anxious to go on a walkabout (hike) and wrapped the things up." He (Laran^gana) did it to me (i.e. had an influence on me) and I too was anxious to go walking. I did all of the things in the hole (canvass)--anything, food, sugar, my swag. I put them all in and covered them up.

163.14 "n^ga=raga-'na", n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wuluyi,
 I am in front I went (place n.)
 n^ga=bura-n^ga-n^y, n^gijan^g n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, wuruwuryi
 I sat p more I went c later
 n^ga=wiriwiri, n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: a:n^g, wuruwuryi,
 I was alone I went c whatchamacallit (place n.)
 n^ga=bura-n^ga-n^y, n^gijan^g n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wilili
 I sat down p more I went c (place n.)
 n^ga=bura-n^ga-n^y, n^gi=yaladhi-∅ anbana,
 I sat down p it (NGARA) came across c rain
 "I am in front," (I said). I went along and stopped at Wuluyi. I went later, alone, to Wuruwuryi and stopped. Farther I went and stopped at Wilili. A rainstorm came up against me.

163.15 ama:-'rn^yal n^ga-a-rigi=riga-n-di n^ga=yabi-'-n^y, araga spinifex grass I dug_c I went in_p suddenly
n^ga, ana-mu:ri wu=wandaragala-n^gi ana-dharari,
and then buffalo they (ANA) were in a group_c (place n.)
araga, n^ga-dir=n^gawi-'-n^y ba-ni n^ga n^ga-bu=buri:::
suddenly I was afraid it is there and then I sat_c
n^ga n^ga:='gi-n^y, n^ga:='gi-n^y n^ga wuruwuryi, adaba
and then I returned_p I returned_p and then (place n.) then
ni-ga:-'yun^g ba-gu ni:ni-wurij=dhangarma-n^y ji-n^y ni=lamara-n^gi,
as for him there we (ExMDu) met each other_p he was behind_c
ni=lamara-n^gi adha:dhari, na-laran^gana,
behind (man's n.)

I dug into the spinifex grass (to seek shelter from the rain). All of a sudden (I saw) a herd of buffalo at the place Dharari. I was afraid. I stayed there for a while, then went back. Laran^gana had been coming well behind me, and he and I met at Wuruwuryi.

163.16 adaba nu:=ruma-n^y nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: dharari,
then we went_p we went_c (place n.)
nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: wurunbigi, adaba ni-ga ama:yag,
we went_c (place n.) then he (place n.)
na-gubindiyun^g, adaba malgalha:lhir algur-yan^gi ni=wi-ni,
(man's n.) then black duck all kinds he hit it (NA)_c
ba-ni n^ga aba ni:-yigi-yiga=wa-n^ga:-' , nuru=wiln^gin^y ji-n^y
it is there and then then we (ExPl) burned fire_c we built fire_p
aba ba-ni nu:=na-n^ga:-
then it is there we burned it_c

We (all) went then to Dharari and Wurunbigi. At the place Ama:yag the man Gubindiyun^g shot some black ducks and other things. We made a fire and built it up, and we cooked those things there.

Note: 'he hit it' in the third line of this segment can be interpreted as having NA object ('black duck') or ANA(∅) object ('all kinds') since these forms are homophonous. Later on 'we burned it' clearly has ANA(∅) object.

163.17 na:mbu=ya-y, n^gijang araga niwu=na-n^g, dul!
we would have slept more suddenly he burned it_p burn
da-wu:-' da-wu:-' wuruj, nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi
they are there human(s) we went_c
nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi araga niwu=na-n^g, "n^gaya-waj yagu",
we went_c suddenly he burned it_p it is me! but
nuru=wali-n^y, nu:=ya-y, n^ga "n^gawa:='gi:-na money,
we (ExPl) arrived_p we slept_c and then I go and get it
n^ga-waran=dhalabi-n^y n^gani=ra:-'-n^gun-magi na-jibulun^gu, "yo!",
I forgot_p lest he rebuke me (man's n.) yes!

aba nu-ru nu:=raga-n^g,
then we we were in front_p

We were about to go to sleep (there), but suddenly he (Gubindiyun^g) set a fire (as signal). Some (other) people were there (not far away). We went along (toward them), he set (another) fire. "It's me" he said (to the other party, when they met up). We arrived there and spent the night. He (Gubindiyun^g) said then, "I am going (back) to get the money (which) I forgot (about), otherwise Jibulun^gu (man's n.) will give me a hard time." "All right" (we said). We went forward (without him).

163.18 nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi almalhamig nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y,
we went_p (place n.) we sat down_p
nu:-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi malgayan^gu, nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y, aba nuru=n^gawi-'-n^y,
we went_c (place n.) we sat down_p then we died_p
ana:-gugu, aba nu:-lhagara=n^gawi-'-n^y, n^giwa:-'r=wudi-n^y n^ga
water then we all died_p she dug for water_p and then
aligarbidhi, nuru-wala=n^ga-n^g, salty, wu=salty,
salty we drank_p it was salty

We went and stopped at Almalhamig. We went and stopped at Malgayan^gu. We were dying (of thirst). We were all very thirsty. She (Ga:gadug) dug for some water. It was brackish, (but) we drank it.

163.19 n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ayilalag n^ga-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi, walwaln^gu,
I went_c (place n.) I went_c (place n.)
ba-gu ni:ni=buri-∅, na-gugujina, winiwa:-'r=anma-n^y
there we (ExMDu) sat_c (man's n.) they (MDu) searched for water_p
a-wurugu, ni=yalima-n^y, n^gijan^g wurugu ni=yalima-n^y, n^gijan^g
billabong he got water_p more later he got water_p
wurugu ni-yala:='lima:-' n^ga, wiri:::g ana-marya ba-gu adaba
he got water_c and then small food there then
nu:=na-n^ga:-' , ana-tea, nuru-bu=buri-∅ n^ga adha:-'dharwara
we burned it_c tea we sat_c and then dusk
nu:=lalagi-'-n^y, nu:=lalagi-'-n^y, a:n^g, wurululu,
we got up_p whatchamacallit (place n.)

I went along, to the places Ayilalag and Walwaln^gu. Gugujina (a man, also named Ga:dij) and I stayed there. They (Laran^gana and his wife Ga:gadug) went looking for a billabong, for water. He (Laran^gana) got some water, and some more. We cooked just a little bit of food there, some tea. We stayed there. Late in the day we got up (and went to) the place Wurululu.

163.20 nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y, n^gija:::n^g nu:=lalagi-'-n^y, a:n^g,
we sat_p more we got up_p whatchamacallit
alhuwara nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y, n^gijan^g nu:=lalagi-'-n^y n^ga
(place n.) we sat_p more we got up_p and then
guliyarariyaj n^ga yuwa:-gu wagay wunumbi, nuru=bura-n^ga-n^y,
(place n.) and then there in south in north we sat_p

"adaba ya:-ji n^ga:mbu=ya-ra", ba-ni nu:=ya-y,
now here we (InPl) will sleep_c it is there we slept
nu:=ya-y wu=lalma-n^y, aba nuru=wuda=ja-y, n^gijan^g
it dawned_p then we were thirsty_c more
nura:='galawaji-n^y an-uba-ga:-'la ama:-'di-waj ama-wulbala,
we crossed_p from there along road old-fella (creole)
nura:='galawaji-n^y n^ga wuruwuruyun^gin, nuru=buri-∅ ba-ni,
we crossed_p and then (place n.) we sat_c it's there
We stopped (there). We got up again and (went and) stopped at
Alhuwara. Again we got up and stopped at Guliyarariyaj. We
stopped there in the south (error), I mean in the north. (I said
to the others,) "Now we will spend the night here." We spent the
night there. At dawn we were very thirsty. We went across (river)
coming this way on the old road. We went across and stayed at
Wuruwuruyungin.

Note: Some of these rivers were tidal and did not provide
drinking water. Most of this entire trip was near the coast north
of Numbulwar.

163.21 nuru=n^gu-ni tea, n^gijan^g nura:='galawaji-n^y an-uba-ga:-'la
we ate it_c more we crossed_p from there
anda:ni, ana:-'nda:ni-yala waramulali, nuru-wala=n^gu-ni,
(place n.) from (place n.) (place n.) we drank_c
waramulali-yala arbul, arbul nuru=buri-∅ ba-ni,
from (place n.) (place n.) we sat_c it is there
nuru-wala=n^gu-ni, an-uba-ga:-'la ana:-'rbul-ala, n^giwu=n^ga-n^g
we drank_c from there from (place n.) it (N^gARA) ate it_p
a-nuga-ruj, ba-ni nuru=buri-∅, n^ga:nig nara=n^gu-ni,
in stone it is there we sat_c honey bee sp. we ate it (WARA)_c
lagu nuru=n^gu-ni n^ga:nig,
honey we ate it_c honey bee sp.

We ate some tea. Again we went across (river), there at Anda:ni.
From that place, to Waramulali. We drank some water. From
Waramulali (we went to) Arbul and stayed there and drank. From
there, from Arbul, we (went and) stayed in that stony area where
it (Emu) ate the stone (in myth, cf. texts 6 and ?). We ate some
honey from the n^ga:nig honey bee sp.

163.22 an-uba-ga:-'la waran^yin^y nu:=yabali-n^y, ana-waranyin^y-gala
from there (place n.) we came out_p from (place n.)
nuru-malga=malga-n-di::: n^ga miwul nu:=ya-y, n^ga
we went before morning_c and then (place n.) we slept_c and then
ba-gu nirima=lhan^garma-n^y ma=murgulhi-∅ mana-bus, adaba
there we reached it (MANA) it (MANA) lay_c then
n^gaya ba-gu n^ga:-'ra-wada=wadi-n^y n^ga nin^gga:-'n^yji=nima:-'
I there I was hurting all over_p and then it held him with_c

n^gani-wa:=barga:-' n^ga galivuru n^ga=warga-n^g,
he mended (it) for me_c and then mainsail I sailed quickly_p
From there we came out at the place Waran^yin^y. From Waran^yin^y we
set off before dawn, and spent the night at Miwul. We reached the
bus, it was lying (there). I was sore and aching all over (esp.
in legs). He (Laran^gana) got into the water and fixed up the sail
(of a boat). I set sail.

163.23 n^ga-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga, n^ga=warga-n^g n^ga
I proceeded_c and then I sailed quickly_p
n^gara=nara-n^gi, ama:laruj n^ga yuwa:-gu, n^ga=bura-n^ga-n^y,
I waited for them_c (place n.) and then there I sat down_p
an-uba-ga:-'la nuru-man=jaba-n^yji-n^y n^ga, n^gulwun,
from there we (group) put each other in and then (place n.)
n^gijan^g ana-n^gulwun-gala n^ga wulmung^p, n^gijan^g n^gamugijgaj
more from (place n.) and then (place n.) more early morning
n^ga yinin^gugararuj, nuru=n^gu-ni, anbana nan^ggu=burdi-n^y,
and then (place n.) we ate it_c rain it pushed us ahead_p
I kept going. I sailed (ahead) and waited for them at Ama:laruj,
I stopped there. We got together there. (We went to) N^gulwun, and
then to Wulmung^p. Early the next morning (we went to) Yinin^gugararuj
and ate them (crabs). The rain drove us forward (bent over).

163.24 n^gijan^g n^gaya n^ga=raga-n^g ba-ga:-'la, n^ga=raga-n^g n^ga
more I I went ahead from there and then
amamarj, n^gibagalharin^y, n^ga=yi-n^ga-n^y, n^ga:-'la:-'la=n^gu-ni
(place n.) (place n.) I fell asleep_p I drank_c
n^ga, n^gijan^g an-uba-ga:-'la, amamarj, ba-gu n^gambi=lhan^garma-n^y,
and then more from there (place n.) there they reached me_p
n^gijan^g n^ga landhurbiyaruj, adaba n^guru nuru=warga-n-di,
more and then (place n.) then tree sp. we got lots_c
wuru=warga-n-di aba n^ga:-'yun^g n^ga=raga:-'ni,
they got lots_c then as for me I went ahead_c
I went ahead, coming this way. (I went to) Amamarj, and fell asleep
at N^gibagalharin^y. I drank (water). From there, they (Laran^gana
and the others) caught up with me. We went to Landhurbiyaruj. We
got lots of (fruits from) n^guru tree (text 119). Or rather they
(the others) got lots of them, and I went ahead.

163.25 wuru-man^ga=ma-n^gi::: n^ga, nuru=n^gu-ni adaba ana-supper,
they got it_c and then we ate_c then
adaba n^gaya a:n^g, a:-gugu-ruj n^ga-n^gamba=n^gambi:-ni
then I whatchamacallit in water I bathed_c
guluruj, nu:=ya-y guluruj, n^gamugijgaj nuru=malga-n^g,
(place n.) we slept_c (place n.) early morning we went at night_p
lharduj, ana-lharduj-gala amaraminiguya, ana:-'maraminiguya-ala
(place n.) from (place n.) (place n.) from (place n.)

ya:-ni, nuru=wali-n^y numbulwar.
it is here we arrived_p (place n.)

They got it (fruit) and we had supper. I bathed there in the water at Guleruj. We spent the night at Guleruj. Early the next morning, before dawn, we set off (to) Lharduj. From Lharduj (to) Amaraminiguya. From Amaraminiguya (to) this place, Numbulwar.

TEXT 164 BACK TO THE BUSH
Ma:di

164.1 a-ran^y juguyuga-jin^yun^g, agaray na-laran^gana ani=lalagi-'-n^y, about peninsula tomorrow (man's n.) he will get up_p
mari jibulun^gu anu=wana-ga-na gubindiyun^g, mari ga:gadug,
and (man's n.) he will hold him_c (man's n.) and (woman's n.)
mari mij-gulmur mulun^g-argi, mari an^yja:bu-n^yun^g n^ganu=lharga-n^g
and bachelors some and one (human) I will send him_p
garada, ambanai=yuri:-', ambanai=barawuda-n^g, n^gijan^g
(man's n.) he will transport them_p he will throw them_p more
ani='gi-n^y, garada mari giliman^yuj ambinima='gi-jgi-n^y
he will return_p (man's n.) and (man's n.) they will take it back_p
mana-barawu,
boat

About the peninsula (C. Barrow). Tomorrow Laran^gana will get up. He will have Jibulun^gu with him, also Gubindiyun^g, Ga:gadug (L's wife), some young (unmarried) men, and I will send one (of my boys) Garada. He (Garada) will take them (there) and then he will come back. Garada and Giliman^yuj will bring the boat back.

164.2 n^ga:-'yun^g agaray, ari muga jagijagi ari jin^gudi
as for me tomorrow maybe indeed (man's n.) (man's n.)
nu-ru, nambani=yuri:-' agaray, ba-ni aba n^ga
we (ExPl) he will transport us_c tomorrow it is there then and then
nambama=yuri:-', ana:-'garay n^gijan^g, bu-gu-ni aba
it (MANA) will transport us_c tomorrow more to there then
wiyindan^gan^y-guy, ana:-'garay, yagi yamba ari ni:ni='gi-∅,
to (place n.) tomorrow not because maybe we (Du) will return
might-be ari na:ni=wuguwuguni, o:-'ba-ni-yin^yun^g
maybe maybe we (ExMDu) will be permanent of that (place)

wiyindan^gan^y-jin^yun^g adaba na:ni=bura:-',
of (place n.) then we (ExMDu) will sit_c

As for me, maybe he (Garada) will take me and Jagijagi (Jackie-Jackie) and Jin^gudi the day after that. He will take us there the following day, there to the place Wiyindan^gan^y (on Cape Barrow). Because he and I (Laran^gana and I) might stay there for good, at Wiyindan^gan^y.

164.3 mij-gulmur-ugij ambura:-'ga:'-gi:-na ana:-'-ni
only bachelors they will return_c this (ANA)
ana-numbulwar-wuy ana:-'-ni ana-mission-guy, ana-marya
to (place n.) this to mission food
ambura:'gi:-na n^ga ana-dhambagu, ni-ni yagi
they will return_c and then tobacco (Eng.) we (ExMDu) not
ni:ni=rumi-∅, ba-ni-yaj na:ni=bura:-', ana-yimbaj,
we will go it is going there we (ExMDu) will sit_c today
n^ga an^gga:-'=badawadad-maga:, truck-bugij-maga:
and then it (ANA) would be strong ground only truck
na:mbu=ya-n^ggi, yagu gu:gu yamba, barawu-wugij na:mbu=ya:-ri:,
we (ExMDu) would go but water because only boat we will go_c
Only the young men will come back here to this mission, Numbulwar. They will come back (for) food and tobacco. He (Laran^gana) and I will not come back, we will stay around there. Nowadays (this season of the year), we would go by truck (overland) if the ground had been firm, but because of the water (and mud on the ground) we will go by boat only.

164.4 nambama=ya:rijgi:-na, ana:-'garay, ni-ga yimbaj,
it (MANA) will transport us_c tomorrow he today
na-laran^gana yimbaj ani=ya:-ri:, one o'clock might-be, ...
(man's n.) today he will go_c maybe
It (boat) will take us. Tomorrow. Laran^gana will go today, maybe at one o'clock, ... (remaining passage, about 14 words, not fully intelligible and not transcribed here).

Note: At some point Ma:di has apparently shifted from a prediction that Laran^gana will go 'tomorrow' and he, Ma:di, the following day (see 164.1 and beginning 164.2), to the prediction that Laran^gana will go 'today' and he, Ma:di, will go 'tomorrow'. Interpretation is difficult since agaray 'tomorrow' can also mean 'the following day' (as apparently in 164.2, line 3), while yimbaj 'today' can also mean 'the same day'. For general comments on this text see comments after text 165, below.

TEXT 165 BUILDING HOUSES IN BUSH STATION
Ma:di

165.1 wurugu wumurn^g ana-wulhuwulhur, na:niwa:-'=dha-ra,
later house (humpy) previous we will stand for it_c
mari mana:-'-maji:, nambambi:-'-amar-n^gu=bura:-'-maji:
and if whatchamacallit (MANA) if they like us_c
wara-dhu-dhurabada, tent calico, nambambi:-'=dharga-n-ji:
white people they will send (it) to us_c
ana:-'-ji:-'li, mari ambu:-lan^y=jan^gayan^gi:-na-maji: after,
from here and if they think it over for a while_c

ana-iron, ana-house, nambambi:-'ngu=buri:-', n^gijang,
 they will put (it) for us ^c more
 ambi:=ra-yi: wu-gu-ra:-'yung ana-run^ggal ana-house,
 they will build it ^c as for it (ANA) big
 wu:=yama:-' na:'wanggi:-ni, ana:-'ni-yi: yagi
 they did that ^c I listened ^c like this not
 wu:=yami-∅, a-jarwariwari-yin^yung ambiri=buri:-', ana-house,
 they will do that very long one they will put it ^c
 da-ni-yung,
 it is there

Later (i.e. after we have gone to Wiyindan^gan^y, cf. preceding text)
 we will stand (wait) for them (new houses), (we will use) the old
 houses (or humpies, stringybark shelters (text 145). I heard that
 they (people) have made big houses (elsewhere). They will build
 some nice long houses (in our new bush station), they will not
 do that (make them) like these (houses, i.e. at Numbulwar). That
 is it.

Comments on texts 164 and 165

At the time of my fieldwork, the "back-to-the-bush" movement in
 the Arnhem Land region had already resulted in the movement of
 large numbers of Aboriginals from the established settlements into
 small "outstations." Reasons for this movement included over-
 population of the settlements, constant disputes in the settlements
 over ritual and other matters, homesickness for one's own clan
 territories (often far from the settlements), and a felt need for
 greater independence from whites. During my period at Numbulwar
 (1973-77) many persons speaking Yuilngu languages (including
 Ritharngu), who had constituted a significant minority (though
 somewhat apart from the others) at Numbulwar during the sixties
 and early seventies, departed for various outstations in their own
 territory. The Nunggubuyu became seriously interested in moving
 to permanent outstations during this period, though by my departure
 in 1977 only the Man^gura clan (mostly bilingual in Nunggubuyu and
 Ritharngu) had established what appeared to be a permanent station.
 Ma:di (the speaker of these texts) died before the Murun^gum clan
 outstation described here could be set up as a permanent camp.
 There are significant logistic problems for Nunggubuyu outstations
 including the need for an all-weather road from Numbulwar, housing,
 vehicles, and so forth; moreover, each clan has been seeking its
 own station in its own clan estate.

TEXT 166 MACASSANS Ma:di

166.1 man^gga:dhira, marga:lhuwa. adaba wirima=ma:ndha-n^gi,
 Macassan ship then they made it (MANA)_c
 mana:-'ma nama-ba=jijga-n^y, wara-man^gga:dhira marga:lhuwa
 this (MANA) it (MANA) pointed to us_p Macassan ship

yi:-dha:riba wini=ma-n^gi, o:-'wa-ga:-'la, o:-'wa:-ni:-'la
 trepang they got it (NA)_c from there that coming
 man^gga:dhira-wala a-lha:l, wirima=n^garilaga:-' yuwa-ga:-'la
 from Macassar country they set sail _c from there
 *n^gi-yaragara=lhi-∅,
 it (N^gARA) all stood

The Macassans (Indonesians from Macassar) made ships, (which)
 headed for us. Macassans hunted trepang (sea cucumber abundant in
 Gulf of Carpentaria) in ships. From Macassar they set sail this
 way with it (sail) raised.

Note: man^gga:dhira is used both for 'Macassan' (person) and
 'Macassar' (place).

* /lha-/ 'to stand'.

166.2 adaba niri=ma-n^gi, nuru=bayan-dha-n^gi, ma:='gulhan^yji:-ni,
 then we got it _c we bought it (Eng. loan) _c it (MANA) raced _c
 ana:-'nan^yun^guwa, ana-gurilili, ana:-'burbamaji, ana:-'dhamajji,
 (place n.) (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)
 wini=ma-n^gi ana:-'ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-yaj, ana:-'ruwura,
 they got it _c along this (ANA) (place n.)
 ana-ba:juwini, wini=ma-n^gi,
 (place n.) they got it _c

Then we got (things), we bought (things)(from them). It (ship)
 raced along. (List of place names.) At all these places they got
 it (trepang).

Note: Anan^yun^guwa is Woodah Island (if my information is correct)
 and some of the other locations are on Bickerton Island.

166.3 ana-yaran^ya ana:-'rbinamaji ana:-'ni wini=ma-n^gi,
 (place n.) (place n.) this they got it _c
 na-wa:n^g na-dha:riba, mana-marga:lhuwa, o:-'wa:-ni
 whatchamacallit trepang ship that
 ana-bababaju, babadhamburuwaj Borroloola ba-ni-waj,
 (place n.) (place n.) (place n.) there it goes
 gu:ndiwaj, gu:ndiwaj wini=ma-n^gi, na-dha:riba mana-marga:lhuwa,
 (place n.) they got it _c trepang ship

They got trepang in ships at (list of places well north and south
 of Numbulwar along the Gulf coast).

166.4 mana-mijiyan^ga, ma-gu-ru ma:='n^ybaj mana-barawu,
 ship it (MANA) it was other boat
 ma-gu-ra:-'yun^g ma:='n^ybaj wara-man^gga:dhira, na-dha:riba
 as for it it was other Macassans trepang
 wini=ma-n^gi-yin^yung, n^ga wirima=lha-n^gi,
 they who got it _c and then they chopped it (MANA)
 The Macassans, who got trepang, chopped down (wood for) another kind
 of ship.

Note: Macassans had two kinds of ship, mijiyan^ga (this segment) and marg:a:lhuwa (166.1). A third term, barawu, is usual for smaller boats but it used here as a generic term for 'boat, ship'.

166.5 n^ga wani:-'gajij-gan=dharmi-n^y, wa:n^g
and then he imitated them_p whatchamacallit
jambiri nima=lhi-n^y, jambiri nima=lhi-n^y, n^gijan^g
(man's n.) he chopped it_p he chopped it_p more
an-uba-ga:-'la, dhirikayu, nima=lhi-n^y, n^gijan^g an-uba-ga:-'la
from there (man's n.) he chopped it_p more from there
yambugag, nima=lhi-n^y adaba yambugag, n^ga
(man's n.) he chopped it_p then and then
nima=malan^ga=lamabadi-n^y, n^gijan^g n^ga na-mu:ri n^gaya-wi,
he did it (MANA) well_p more and then my FaFa it is mine
dhung^gulu, nima=lhi-n^y, n^ga nima=lamabadi-n^y,
(man's n.) he chopped it_p and then he did it (MANA) well_p
Jambiri (an Aboriginal) copied them (Macassans). He chopped down
(tree trunk for dugout canoe). After that, other men like
Dhirikayu and Yambugag chopped them (dugout canoes) down. Yambugag
made some fine (canoes). Also my father's father, Dhung^gulu,
chopped them down and made some fine ones.

Note: Dhirikayu was an Anindhilyagwa-speaking man; the other men seem to have been from the mainland but not necessarily Nunggubuyu. All of these men have long been dead.

166.6 wa-ga:-'li, nu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'lhargan nirima=lhi-n^y,
from other side as for us (place n.) he chopped it_p
wara-man^gga:dhira an-ua-ga:-'la nambi:-'ga=ragu-ni n^ga
Macassans from there they looked for us_c and then
wirima=mi-n^y nambi=maraga:-', lha:mbiri mana-ma-muwaj,
they got it_p they took (it) from us_c boat named (MANA)
mana-lha:mbiri, wirima=n^garilaga:-',
boat they set sail_c

From here on the other side, we chopped down (dugout canoes) at Alhargan. Macassans came looking for us; they took the boats from us and set sail.

166.7 adaba wa-ga:-'li wara-wuruj ma=rajari-n^y
then from other side people (WARA) it (MANA) scattered_p
wirima=lha-n^gi, wirima:-'ra=lha-n^gi n^ga war-ua:-wa
they chopped it (MANA)_c they chopped it all_c and then those (WARA)
a-Borroloola-waj, a-wunumbi-yaj, a:-'ni:-'la-yung^g-miri adaba
around (place n.) northward right along here then
nirimia:-'ra=lha-ni mana=rang^gag mana:-'ma,
we chop it dugout canoe this (MANA)

From this side it (dugout canoe) spread, the people chopped down lots of them--all along (the coast), to Borroloola (in the south) and northward. Now we chop down (canoes).

166.8 wu-gu-ru wara-min^y-n^gambara, lhamugu, ana:-'ni:-'li
they elders bark canoe this going
wuru=buri-∅ n^ga juy!, a:-'ni a-lhu:n^y-jin^yun^g,
they sat_c and then bo this of stringybark tree
wiri=wuldha-n^gi, wiri=ra-ni mari wu-manabun, wu-manabun
they cut it_c they built it_c and its outer frame
wiri=bura-n^gi, mari ran^gag an-u-miyan^ggara an-u-miyan^ggara-waj,
they put it_c and wood its (ANA) edge around its edge
mari wiri=dha:mbiriya:-',
and they fastened it through hole_c

As for the old people (before we learned about dugout canoes), they (made) stringybark canoes, from bark of stringybark trees (E. tetradonta). They lived along here. They cut (strips of bark) and built them (bark canoes). They put down the outer frame (of bark) and tied it up (by long leaves of ra:n, Flagellaria indica, put through small holes in the bark and tied together), along both edges.

166.9 mari ya:-ji wi:=rad-bi-ni yuwa:-gu wi:=rad-bi-ni yuwa:-gu
and here they tied it_c there they tied it_c there
wi:=rad-bi-ni mari wiri:=rgi:-ni wiri:=rgi:-ni mari ran^gag
and they pulled it_c and wood
wi:=riligira-n^gi, ran^ga-rang^gag an-ua:-gu ran^ga-rang^gag,
they supported it_c wooden seats there
ana:-'ji ran^ga-rang^gag, wi:=riligira-n^gi araga ma:='laldhi-∅
here they supported it_c suddenly it (MANA) floated_c
And they tied it here, there, and there. They pulled it along, and propped up (the outer frame) by putting in wooden seats; now it was in the water, floating.

166.10 na-n^gala:ligi ana:-'n^g an-ugalij
green turtle whatchamacallit dugong and turtle
wura:-'ra=yaba:-', wa:=ri an^ggu=la_lma:-', a:n^g
they put it all in_c not it (ANA) split whatchamacallit
ana-lhamugu, mana-n^gadugu, ana-a:n^g ana-jimindi
bark canoe rope whatchamacallit metal harpoon spike
wa:=ri ambu:=ra-ni,
not they speared (harpooned) it_c
Green turtles, dugong and marine turtles, they (people) put them in (after hunting them in the canoe). It (canoe) did not split open, the bark canoe (i.e. it was strongly built). (They used) strong rope (in harpooning). They did not harpoon them with metal spikes.

166.11 warn^ggulg warn^ggulg wu:=ra-ni an-ugalij,
stingray spike they speared it_c dugong and turtle
wu-n^gu-malan^y, a-marbidi-yin^yun^g, a-n^gagara-yiriwu-yin^yun^g
its (ANA) spike of ray sp. very big one
a-ga:mbuma-yin^yun^g, wu:=ra-ni, a-malan^y-jiriwu-yin^yun^g,
of ray sp. they speared it_c very big spike

They harpooned dugong and turtles (by means of) stingray spikes,
perhaps of marbidi (small ray sp.), perhaps a big one from ga:mbuma
(larger ray sp.); they speared (dugong/turtle) with a very big
ray spike.

166.12 mari a:n^g wiri=ra-ni--
and whatchamacallit they speared it_c (wrong verb root)
wiri=yarya-n^gi, minin, wa:n^g ran^ga-ran^gag,
they carved it_c harpoon spike whatchamacallit wooden seats
yirbara gada!, lhangariri, mari miyamandar, mari anan^y,
ironwood tree oops! tree sp. and tree sp. and yamstick (tree)
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala an-ugalij wu:=ra-ni ana-mirin,
all that dugong and turtle they speared it_c spike
ana-jimindi, a-jimindi-yi:, ama-wingil-yi:,
metal spike like metal spike like two-pronged wooden spear

They speared it (wrong verb); they carved it, spikes. Whatcha-
macallit, wooden seats. (They made wooden harpoon spikes from) iron-
wood (error)--I mean other tree spp. (Hakea, Pemphis) or yamstick
tree (unidentified broadleaf Acacia sp.), with those things they
harpooned dugong and turtle. With wooden harpoon spikes, similar
to (modern) metal harpoon spikes, similar to (wooden points of)
the wingil spear.

166.13 wara-wuruj n^ga wu:=yama:-' xxx,
people (WARA) and then they did that_c (unclear)
wu:=yama:-' da-ni-wugij n^ga wu:=wa:li-n^yji-n^y,
they did that_c it is only there and then they came together_p
ran^ga-ran^gag, araga ana-jimindi wagi-yan^gu wu:=wara=wa:li-n^y,
wooden seats suddenly metal spike from south they mixed it in_p
mari n^ga bu-gu-nu:-' wu:=wara=ga:li-n^y,
and and then to there they mixed it in_p

The people did that. They (different tribes?) came together. They
combined things together--wooden seats, metal spikes from the south.
They mixed them there.

Note: I had some difficulties transcribing and analysing this
segment. I take the relevant, recurring verb here as =wa:la- 'to
mix (together)', but it is not clear what the exact contextual sense
is and it may be that some prefixes are wu- (ANA class), not wu:-
(human Pl.).

166.14 dhudabada ana-bigan^gi niri=ba:ruma:-',
wire (metal) fishhook we bent (curved) it_c
niri=n^gadugumbi:-ni n^gijan^g mari mabur nirima=lhurwa:-',
we fished with hook_c more and string we made string
am-u-da-mu:-' mana-nun^ggurdha yarawug a:n^g,
that (MANA) tree sp. (banyan) kurrajong tree whatchamacallit
balbi algur-yan^gi nura:-'ra:=ra-lhurwa:-', mana-mabur,
tree sp. various kinds we made all into string_c string
We bent metal fishhooks and fished with them. Also, we rolled bark
fibre into string (and rope) from that banyan tree (Ficus virens),
kurrajong (text 151), or balbi tree (Sterculia quadrifida). We
made string from all of them.

166.15 wa:='ri mana:-' -ma ma:-'n^yja:='ri mana-wudhiri,
not this (MANA) it was absent fishline
wa:-dhudabada-yin^yun^g, n^gara-hook n^gijan^g, niri=ba:ruma:-' n^gijan^g
of white people more we curved it_c more
dhudabada, ni:-rabi=riba:-' nuru=n^gadugumbi:-ni, nuru=guda-n^gi,
wire (metal) we sharpened it_c we fished with hook_c we caught it_c
We did not have (modern) fishline like this, of white people.
In addition (we had) hooks, we bent the metal prongs into hooks,
and caught fish with them.

Note: Such hooks and fishline are relatively recent innovations
in the area.

166.16 ana-majij adha:dhari ana:-'ni, ayan^ga-miri,
matches (Eng.) behind this (ANA) by means of firestick
lhuruman, nura:='yan^ganda-n^gi, mari lha:n^gag,
firestick we operated firestick_c and burning branches
nura:='gurgan^yji:-ni-yin^yun^g niri=ma-n^gi ana-n^gura nu:=na-n^ga:-'
of us setting bush fires_c we got it_c fire we burned it_c
ana-n^gujija, (interruption)
fish

Matches (came along) later; (then) we operated firesticks, and
burning trees in the bush. We set bushfires; we got the fire (from
them) and cooked the fish (on open fires).

166.17 nura:-'jiga-nan^yja=na-n^yji:-ni too, wara-gadhuwa
we saw each other (by) fire_c young ones
wu:=wala-n^gi, wara-wuruj, wi:=lha:ga-n-di-wugij an-uwa-ga:-'la,
they arrived_c people they set fires only_c from there
"ya:-wa:-'la wuruj", wi:-yigi-yiga=na-ni::: n^gubindi
here they come (WARA) people they saw fire_c indeed
wu:-n^gara=bala-n^gi,
they all arrived_c

We also used fire as a signal, to see where each other was (i.e. to locate groups of individuals). When a group of young people, or other people, arrived they set fires in the bush (to announce their impending arrival while still some distance away). (When we saw the fire we said,) "Here come some people!" They (people in the camp) saw the fires; (later) they (the arriving group) arrived in fact.

- 166.18 na:-'n^yji-yan^yja:bu-n^yun^g, na-marinmin-jun^g, nu:-'ba-gi-yun^g
one (MSg) with married man (Eng.) that (man)
na-walyi-n^yun^g an^yja:bu-n^yun^g wi^gi=wula-wa: n^gara-manum-ba:,
man one (human Sg) they (FDu) are two two women
ni=wala-n^gi, ana:-'rgi, wara:-'n^yji-wulalwulal, wara-mananun^g
he arrived_c some (ANA) four with women
wara-wulu-wulalwulal, n^gara-wula-wa: n^gara-wula-wa:, na:-'n^yja:bu-n^yun^g
four two (FDu) two one (MSg).
na-walyi-n^yun^g,
man

One man with (wife), a married man. That one man, perhaps with two women, arrived (at our camp). Sometimes one man with four women, two and two.

- 166.19 wi:=lha:ga-n-di-wugij wura:='ran^gga:-' du-ra:-'la
they only set fire_c they looked_c there they come
wu:=lhaayi:-ni, wu:=yama:-' ana-wunumbi-yala n^gijan^g, ana:-'rgi
they stretched_c they did that from north more some
wara-mi j-gulmur, wu:=lhaayi:-ni mij-gulmur yagu wuru=wali-n^y,
bachelors they stretched_c bachelors but they arrived_p
wara:-'wuru, wu:=yama:-',
these (Pl) they did that_c

They used to set fires in the bush. They looked around, and saw them coming in a line, perhaps from the north. In addition, sometimes a group of young men came up in a line, and these (young men) arrived (at the camp).

- 166.20 nambi-lhara=yan^ga-ni-yin^yun^g, ana-lan^ggalu
they heard about us from a distance_c freshwater fish
nuru=n^gu-ni, mana-magadiga mana-man^ggarabi nirima=n^gu-ni,
we ate it_c dried-up sedgeland root nut we ate it (MANA)_c
nura:-'dji=lharma-n^gi-yin^yun^g, nuru=buri-∅, wi:-yiga=lharma-n^gi,
which we hunted (freshwater game)_c we sat_c we followed fire_c
ana-n^gura,
fire

Other people heard about us from far away (and came to us). We ate freshwater fish, we ate root nuts in drying-up sedgelands, (we ate) freshwater game (tortoises, etc.). We lived (there). We followed fires (to join others).

- 166.21 ana-ramali:-'la wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wu-mandag wulguy
from east as for them group indeed
wu:=ya-n^ggi, ana-marya wu:-lhara=yan^ga-ni, ana-wunumbi-yala,
they went_c food they heard about it_c from north
xxx ana-Groote-gala, ana-Bickerton-gala,
(unclear) from (place n.) from (place n.)
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj ana-wunumbi-yala, ana-ran^yjuga-ala n^ga
as for them from north from (place n.) and then
juy!, ana-garabara-wala, wuru=milgi:-ni-yin^yun^g,
go from (place n.) they who visited_c

A group of people might come from the east, having heard that we had some food. Perhaps they came from the north. From Groote Eylandt or Bickerton Island (to the east), also those who came from the north for a visit, from Ran^yjuga or Garabara (coastal northeast Arnhem Landers).

- 166.22 wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g-gaj ana-wagi-yan^gu mij-gulmur-waj, wu-gu-ru
they too from south when bachelors they
wa:='ri ana:-'ji wuru=buri-∅-yin^yun^g wa:='ri ambu:=ya-n^ggi
not here they who sat_c not they went_c
wugalij-bugij wuru=n^gu-ni ya:-ji, nambi=milgi:-ni
only dugong they ate it here they visited us_c
a-marya-yun^gguyun^g, wi:-lhawu=yan^ga-ni "marya maryao!
for food they heard words_c food food
numburu=wani-n^y" nu:=yama:-',
you (Pl) come!_p we did that_c

Also those from the south, when we (present-day old men) were young men. The ones who lived around here (i.e. south of traditional Nunggubuyu country) did not come (to us) often, they stayed here and ate dugong and turtles. However, they (occasionally) visited us, for food. They heard that (we had) food. We told them, "Food! Come and get it!"

- 166.23 mari ba-ni-yun^g, nuru-bu=buri:::∅ adaba nu:=rajara-n^gi,
and it is there we sat_c then we dispersed_c
mana-madhala-baj, nuru-n^gara-n^gu=jalburda-n^gi, nuru=n^gu-ni aba
around beach we all went into water_c we ate it_c then
wugalij wu-gu-ra:-'bilhan^gu,
dugong and turtle it in its turn

And we stayed there (together for some time). Finally we dispersed. We went (in smaller groups) to the coastal area. We went into the sea (to hunt). We ate dugong and turtles at that time.

- 166.24 mana:-'mi:-'la-yun^g, man^ggarabi ama-madhala-ba-jin^yun^g
this (MANA) coming root nut of along beach

nirima=ngu-ni, nguji ja nuru=ngadugumbi:-ni nuru=ngu-ni,
we ate it_c fish we fished with hook_c we ate it_c
wu:=yama:-' wu-gu-ra:-' yung-gaj ana-Groote-jinyung, mana-ri:ja,
they did that they also of (place n.) yam sp.
ana-wgarda, wara-wulburu, ana-lhawumag, nuru-wara=ngu-ni,
yam sp. round yam long yam we ate it all_c

We ate root nuts along here, on the coast. We caught fish with hook and line and ate them. Groote Eylandt people did that same thing. We ate various kinds of yams.

Note: ri:ja is Vigna vexillata; the other yams mentioned are discussed in texts 124 to 126.

166.25 ana:-'ji-ji:-'li too, wu:=yama:-'wugij, wu-gu-ra:-'yung,
from this side they did that only_c as for them
wi:-'=jama:-'wugij, ana:-'ni-ni:-'li, nuru=buri-∅,
word was like that only_c from this side we sat_c
nuru-mulun-dhamalhamungur a-lha:l-waj, ba:::gu-ruj
we were short (small) group around country there farther on
a-lha:l-uj wuru=buri-∅, a-lha:l-uj nuru=buri-∅,
at country they sat_c we sat_c

Over in this area they did that as well. The word (customs) was the same. We were on this side, we were a small group living around here. Others were living a little farther on, we were living in our country.

166.26 ana:-'rgi wuru=wulalwulal, mananung arawindi, ana:-'rgi
some they are four women many some
wini=wula-wa:, mananung wuru=buri-∅, mana-mariga
they (MDu) are two women they sat_c SE wind
wama=rajari-jga:-' wara:-'ra:-'rawindi, wara:-'rawindi
it (MANA) made them disperse_c many (Pl) many
wulguy, mij-gulmur-ala mari mij-buruya-gala, mananung-gala,
indeed from bachelors and from children from women
wu:-ngara-ngu=buri-∅, ana-ranyjirij,
they all sat_c (place n.)

Sometimes four women (to one man), lots of them. Sometimes just two (man and woman), they stayed there. When the southeast wind became strong (early dry season) it made them disperse into small groups. Bachelors, children, women--they all stayed at Ranyjirij.

Note: Use of the Ablative suffix /-wala/ three times in line 4 of this segment for intransitive subjects is unusual; it may be that the speaker had another construction in mind and switched in mid-sentence, or perhaps the Ablative is here just reinforcing the subject relation.

166.27 ana:-'ni:-'la-yung, juy! nu-ru wulguy
along this go we (ExPl) indeed
nu:-man=dharwadharwi:-ni-wugij an-uwa:-ni, ana-lha:l garnyirimba-wugij
we went in group only_c that (ANA) country group only

nuru=buri-∅, nu-ru mari Groote-gala Bickerton-gala
we sat_c we and from (place n.) from (place n.)
nambi=ya:la-ngi, nu-ru, an-uba-ni-yung nuru=buri-∅,
they mixed us in_c we that we sat_c

Along this way, we went together in a group. We stayed in that area as a group. People from Groote Eylandt and Bickerton Island joined us and we stayed there.

166.28 mari wulburu-wugij nara=ngu-ni wara-wulburu, ana-lhawumag,
and only round yam we ate it_c round yam long yam
nirima=ngu-ni ngija:::ng, ma:ndabi, ma:ndabi
we ate it (MANA) more type of root nut
nirima=ngu-ni, an-uba-ni, dalma:rang wuru-wurugu-waj,
we ate it_c that tortoise sp. around billabongs

xxx, xxx,
(unclear) (unclear)

We ate round yams then, also long yams, and root nuts. We ate that. (We hunted) long-necked tortoises in billabongs.

166.29 nuru-ngaran=gagi:-ni aba nuru-gulu=wada-ngi
we all returned then we went around (corner)_c
a-langgalu nuru=ngu-ni, nura:='ngalha-ngi,
freshwater fish we ate it_c we speared fish (in river)_c
nara=guda-ngi wara-wa:ng wara-gingin, yingulbandi
we caught it (WARA)_c whatchamacallit catfish sp. barramundi fish
nura:='ngalha-ngi, ni:ni=ra-ni, da-ni-yung.
(see above) we speared it (NA) it is there

We all came back, we went and changed course. We ate freshwater fish. We speared fish in rivers. We caught gingin catfish. We speared fish and got some barramundi. That is all.

TEXT 167 MACASSANS Ma:di

167.1 yi:-ba:ra xxx wini-nara=nara-ngi, a:-'ji:-'la,
NW wind (unclear) they waited for it (NA)_c here coming
mana-mariga wa:='ri ambu:=ya-nggi, yi:-ba:ra nga wu-gu-ru
SE wind not they went_c NW wind and then they
yi:-ba:ra a:-'ji:-'la, wu:-yama=yama:-' yingga ni=jirarja-ngi,
here coming they did that_c nearly it (NA) blew hard_c

na-ba:ra,
NW wind

They (Macassans) waited for the NW wind (to become dominant), this way; they did not come (during the) SE wind (season). When the NW wind was blowing hard, they did that (sailed in this direction).

167.2 mari wu:=lalagi:-'ni an-uwa-ga:-'la ana-mangga:dhira-wala,
and they got up_c from there from Macassar

"yi:-dha:riba n^ga:ni=ma-ni, nan^yjaga, nan^yjaga
trepang we (InPl) will get it (NA)_c (place n.)

n^ga:mba:='dada-n^g, bababaju n^ga:mba:='dada-n^g, bababaju
we will go on shore_p (place n.)

n^ga:ni=ma-ni, a-nan^yjaga n^ga:ni=ma-ni, na-dha:riba",
we will get it_c (place n.) we will get it_c trepang

From Macassar they got up (and sailed). "Let's all get some trepang! Let's land at the place Nan^yjaga, or Bababaju! Let's get some trepang at Nan^yjaga!"

Note: These places are said to be north of Numbulwar on the coast of NE Arnhem Land.

167.3 wirima=n^garilaga:-' mana:-'ma ma:='gulhan^yji:-ni
they set sail_c this (MANA) it (MANA) ran_c

mana-marga:lhuwa:::, ni-raga-ragar=badji-wa-n^yji:-ni
ship he erected sail_c

an-u-gu-ni n^gara-arara, arara n^gara-dhumbala n^gara-n^gari-muwa:j,
to there sail sail named (N^gARA)

They set sail; this ship was sailing (rapidly) along. He (Macassan man) put up the sails, that way. Sails, named "arara" (in the Macassan language).

Note: Certain words in this text are regarded by Nunggubuyu as specifically Macassan. Undoubtedly there are a number of words in the language which are etymologically Macassan loanwords but are not recognised as (obviously) such by Nunggubuyu.

167.4 n^gi-ga:-'yun^g n^gara:-'gi galiwuru mainsail, ship,
as for it (N^gARA) this (N^gARA) mainsail
mana-barawu, n^gi-ga arara n^gi-ga wara-man^gga:dhira n^ga:-dhumbala,
boat it sail Macassans sail
an-uba-ga:-'la, wuru-waya=wayama-n^gi::: wa:n^g, dhambaliya,
from there they proceeded_c whatchamacallit (place n.)

In addition, the mainsail. A ship. Macassans (call) sail "arara." From there they came (this way), (and stopped at) the place Dhambaliya (in NE Arnhem Land).

167.5 wuru-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, wa:n^g alagala
they proceeded_c whatchamacallit halfway
wu=ran^yjuga-n-ji: a-yirgala n^ga yu:-gu-ni,
it is peninsula (place n.) and then to there

wuru-waya=wayama-n^gi::: n^ga, nan^yjaga, wuru=munguwuda-n^gi
they proceeded_c and then (place n.) they anchored_c

ba-ni jimuga adaba wu:=lha-y,
it is there paperbark shelter then they slept_c

They continued on their way, to the peninsula around Yirrkala. They kept going and anchored their ship at Nan^yjaga. (Making) a paperbark shelter, they spent the night.

Note: jimuga is regarded as a Macassan word.

167.6 adaba wura:-'ra:='bi-ga:-' ana-wuri
then they made it jump_c cooking pot

wini=badaraga:-'yun^g guyung^g na-a:n^g, na-dha:riba,
so they boiled it (NA)_c whatchamacallit trepang

wuru=n^gambi:-ni, n^gijan^g an-uba-ga:-'la wu:=lalagi:-'ni:::
they bathed_c more from there they got up_c

bababaju, ba-gu wuru=munguwuda-n^gi, wini=ma-n^gi na-dha:riba,
(place n.) there they anchored_c they got it (NA)_c trepang

Then they got up a cooking pot (Macassan word) so they could boil the trepang meat. They went into the water; they got up and anchored at Bababaju; they got more trepang.

Note: At the beginning, 'they made it jump' is problematic in form and meaning and may require emendation; the noun wuri (a kind of large pot or cauldron) is normally ANA(wu) not ANA(∅) in noun class.

167.7 n^gijan^g wuru=wayama-n^gi::: an-uba-ga:-'la
more they proceeded_c from there

ma:-'ga:='gulhan^yji:-ni, mangalayi, wini=ma-n^gi, an-uba-ga:-'la
it (MANA) raced_c (place n.) they got it (NA)_c from there

wirima-bara=waru-ga:-', aburbamaji, n^gulgurumaji, abarun^ggu,
they made it (MANA) crooked_c (place n.) (place n.) (place n.)

wini=ma-n^gi na-dha:riba, ba-ni-waj,
they got it_c trepang there it goes

From there they went along farther, the ship raced along. At the place Mangalayi (NE Arnhem Land) they got it (trepang). From there they sailed it (ship) in a zigzag. At (list of places on Bickerton Island) they got trepang, along there.

167.8 ana-wuri wini=badaraga:-' na-a:n^g, na-dha:riba
cooking pot they boiled it (NA)_c whatchamacallit trepang

wini=ma-n^gi, wu:=yama:-' xxx adhamaji, (interruption),
they got it_c they did that_c (unclear) (place n.)

an-uba-ga:-'la, wa:n^g yirijira, ma:dha, a:n^g,
from there whatchamacallit (place n.) (place n.) whatchamacallit
a:n^g, bajuwini,
(place n.)

In a pot they boiled the trepang; they got it (trepang), they did that, at Adhamaji. (Interruption.) After that, (they got trepang) at (list of places on Bickerton Island).

167.9 *wini=ma-n^gi na-dha:riba an-uba-ga:-'la aruwura, gurilili,
they got it_c trepang from there (place n.) (place n.)
da-ni:-'la-yun^g-gala-aj, na-dha:riba *wini=ma-n^gi, ma-n^ga-ra-n^gu=buri-∅,
all that trepang they got it_c it (MANA) all sat_c
amalijba, arbinamaji, a:n^g, *wini=ma-n^gi na-dha:riba
(place n.) (place n.) and then they got it_c trepang
a:n^g wuru=buri-∅, yaran^ya,
whatchamacallit they sat_c (place n.)***

They got trepang. After that (they did it) at (list of places), all those places, they got trepang. Lots of them (ships) were staying there, at (place names). At Yaran^ya they got trepang and stayed.

Note: Place names here refer to locations on Bickerton Island, then Groote Eylandt (including small islands just off Groote).

167.10 *ju:, n^ga=malala:di ana-lha:l, ana-ramaliyah
go I am ignorant country (place n.)
an-u-gu-ni, *wini=ma-n^gi wara-man^gga:dhira, ana:-'niji yu:-gu-ni
to there they got it_c Macassans liquor to there
wuru-wala=n^gu-ni, lilindhuwa, jawajawa, war-u-muwaj
they drank_c (man's n.) (man's n.) named (WARA)
wara-yiwi-yiwan^ggu n^gun^yju n^gaya-wi-yi:,
old men similar like me**

And farther on (to other places which) I do not know (about), the place Ramaliyah and there (beyond). Macassans got it (trepang). A kind of Macassan liquor (aniji) they drank there. Lilindhuwa (said to have been half-Macassan, half-Aboriginal) and Jawajawa (Macassan), their names, old men like I (am now).

Note: Ma:di said later that aniji 'liquor' was an English word, (perhaps anise) and that the Macassan word was baliji.

167.11 *wu:=yama-na wu:=yama:-'yin^yun^g, lilindhuwa, wu:=yama=yama:-'
they did that they who did that_c (man's n.) they did that_c
war-umu:-'muwaj wara-man^gga:dhira, bwondundu, jamalu,
named (Pl) Macassans (man's n.) (man's n.)
daymandaraga, wa:n^g, n^gaya-wi-n^yin^yun^g na-ni-muwa-jung^g
(man's n.) whatchamacallit mine named (MSg)
na-jawina-yung^g, na-baba-yin^yun^g, marja, wara-bu-bungawa
countryman of my father (man's n.) bosses
wu:=ya-n^ggi an-uwa-ga:-'la, wara-man^gga:dhira, da-ni-yung^g,
they went_c from there Macassans it is that (ANA)
The ones who did that, Lilindhuwa (and others) did that, their names*

were those, the Macassans. Also Bwondundu, Jamalu, Daymandaraga. Also my own (Macassan), my own countryman, my father's (Macassan), he was named Marja. From there the Macassans, the bosses (i.e. our superiors) came, like that.

Note: In commenting on this text, Ma:di later told me that Bwondundu was a 'boss' for the place Yargari (hence for one part of the Num-dhiribala clan), Jamalu the same for Anba:li (N^galmi clan), Daymandaraga for Bickerton Island, and Marja for Wiyindan^gany (Murun^gun clan). Ma:di claimed to have seen some of these Macassan men when he was a child.

167.12 *an-uba-ga:-'la man^ggar^gburumaji wuru=munguwudi-n^y,
from there (place n.) they anchored_p
wuru=munguwudi-n^y araga ma:rn^y wuru=gudi-n^y, o:-'ba-ni
suddenly snake they caught it_p that (ANA)
n^ga a-man^ggar^gburumaji a-min^ygalag, stuck,
and then (place n.) space in middle (crack)
wi:ya! wuguwuguni,
finish! permanent*

After that they anchored at Man^ggar^gburumaji (small island near Bickerton Is.). They caught a snake there, in the middle space, (the boat was) stuck, for good.

167.13 *wiri:='rgi:-ni yin^gga wu:=yama:::!, araga wu-gu-ru,
they pulled it_c nearly they did that suddenly they
"aiyo!, arambaki:::, dhardha:yo:!", ana-man^gga:dhira
Macassan' (language)
wi:=yami-jga:-' ana-anchor,
they did that to it_c*

They pulled it up (anchor), like this. In the Macassan language they said: (list of words). They did that to the anchor.

167.14 "aiyo!, arambaki:::, dhardha:yo:!, gayuru!, gana!",
(Macassan words)
wu:=yama:-', ni-ga wiri-n^yun^g, ni=yi-n^ga-n^y n^ga
they did that_c he child he slept_p and then
ni=wuguwuguni n^ga ni=yawan^ggi:-ni-wugij, na-bun^ggawa-yung^g,
he was permanent and then he only listened_c boss
(List of Macassan words shouted by the Macassans.) They said that. The boy slept, for good. The boss man listened still.

167.15 "jaka:::, marigiwara!, lhamucu:!", wu:=yama:-',
(Macassan words) they did that_c
an-u-dhan^gun^y ambalam, wu-waya=wayama-ni-yin^yun^g,
wind good it (ANA) which proceeds
"n^ga:mba:='gi-n^y-jung^gguyun^g", wiri:='gi-n^y, "aiyo!, arambaki:::,
so we (InPl) will return_p we returned_p (Macassan words)

dhardha:yo!, gayuru!, gayuru!",
(Macassan words)

They said (list of words). (There was) a good wind, the kind which blows along (strongly). "Let's go back!" They went back. (List of words.)

167.16 aba wura:-'ra-maya=maya:-' "wila::::! wila wila::::!,
then they all sang_c
wila::::! wila wila::::!", aba wu:=yama:-' wiri-lhal-maya=maya:-',
then they did that_c they called country_c
"wila::::! wila wila::::!", wu:=yama:-' xxx,
they did that_c (unclear)

Then they sang: "wila::::! wila wila::::!" like that, (and) they called out the names of the countries (as in Aboriginal ritual). They sang like that.

167.17 "yan^gi-n^yun^g ani=n^gambi-n^y", aba ni=n^gambi-n^y
who? he will go into water_p then he went into water_p
na-baba, *na-lha:-'n^gurgu wunu=ra-ni-yin^yun^g,
father he (who died) at (place n.) he whom they speared_c
na-nuji, ni=n^gambi-n^y, ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, ni=yaran^gga-n^y
(man's n.) he went into water_p he proceeded_c he looked_p
n^ga araga wa:='mburu=nagi:-ni ana-ma:rn^y,
and then suddenly it blazed with bright colors_c snake (=rainbow)
an-uwa:-gu ana-lhiribala, ni=na-n^y,
there under he saw it_p

"Who will jump in (the water)??" Then my father, the one whom they speared (and killed) later at the place An^gurgu, named Nuji, he jumped in (and dived below the surface). He kept going. He looked, and there was a brightly colored (rainbow) serpent, there under (the water).

167.18 araga ni=diri=n^gawi-'-n^y n^ga ni:='gi-n^y,
suddenly he was afraid_p and then he returned_p
ni:='gi-n^y, n^gijan^g "n^gajan^gaja n^gaya-waj", ana-maragi nu=ya-n^y,
more give it to me! it is me! knife he gave him_p
niwu=mi-n^y adaba ni-ga:-'bilhan^gu, dhirkayu, ni=n^gambi-n^y,
he got it_p then he in turn (man's n.) he went in water_p
ni-waya=wayama-n^gi:::, ni=yaran^gga-n^y n^ga ba-ni ni=n^gfala-n^gi ana-ma:rn^y,
he proceeded_c he looked_p and there it was bright_c snake
He became afraid and went back (to the surface). (Dhirkayu said in Anindhilyagwa): "Give it (knife) to me! I (will do it)." He (Nuji) gave him the knife, he (Dhirkayu) got it. Dhirkayu, in his turn, jumped into the water. He went along and saw the shining snake.

167.19 mari n^ga ya-ga-waj, ma=bawarumi:-'ni-yin^yun^g
and and then up to here it (MANA) which was coiled_c

ma-yama=yama:-'yin^yun^g, ma-yama=yama:-'yin^yun^g
it (MANA) which did that_c

ma-yama=yama:-'yin^yun^g, n^ga ya:-ma da:j!
and then it is here (MANA) cut
nima=wuldhi-n^y, mana-wudhiri, n^gijan^g nima=wuldhi-n^y n^ga
he cut it_p rope more he cut it_p and then
ya:-mi anybaj ma=lhiri-∅, it is here other it (MANA) clung_c

It (rope) was curling around (in the water) about this deep, like that. He (Dhirkayu) cut it (rope) here, the rope. Again he cut it, but it was still stuck.

167.20 "wila::::! wila::::! wila!" yin^gga wu:=yama-n^y, da:j!
nearly they did that_p cut
ma=wuldhi-'-n^y n^ga bu-gu-nu:-', adaba wu:=lalagi-'-n^y,
it (MANA) was cut and then to there then they got up_p
finish adaba ya:-mi-yun^g n^ga wama=guldhi-ga-n^y,
then it is here (MANA) and then it (MANA) ruined them_p
ya:-mi-yun^g, wama:='la:di-ya-n^y n^gadugu
it is here (MANA) it (MANA) made them bad_p rope
wama:='la:di-ya-n^y, aba wura:='gi-n^y, ma=wuguwuguni
then they returned_p it (MANA) was permanent
adaba wa:='ri, then not

(The Macassans sang,) "Wila::::! wila::::! wila!" They did that. Suddenly it (rope) was severed, and they got up (from there). It was finished, that (rope) ruined things for them, this rope made them no good. They went back (to Macassar), it (rope)(did that) for good, (they did) not (come back).

167.21 n^ga nu-ra:-'j-bugij an^yja:bugij, nama-gari=yura-n^gi,
and then we (ExPl) only one it accompanied us_c
wu:jun^g-guy na-marja, mana-mijiyan^ga nima=mi-n^y,
to (place n.) (man's n.) ship he got it_p
ramba-wirig, nani-gari=yura-n^gi ara-algur-yan^gi:::, cracker,
small boat he came with us_c various things
dhambagu, niwu-wara=yura-n^gi, ma:='gi-n^y wi:ya!
tobacco he transported it all_c it (MANA) returned_p finish!
da-ni-yun^g. it is there

We (remained) alone, it (ship) took us to Wu:jur^g (near Cape Barrow). Marja (man's name, cf. 167.11). He got a ship, really a small one, and took us with him. He brought all kinds of supplies--crackers, tobacco, etc. It (ship) went back. Finish! That is it.

Comments on text 167

For general remarks on the Macassans see the end of the next text; I here comment only on specific difficulties in the present text. The sequence of events in the latter half of the text is not always narrated in chronological order (following a rather typical Nunggubuyu pattern). Although I cannot clarify everything in this difficult textual sequence, I can say the following. A Macassan ship, some time well before the present speaker (or any other living Nunggubuyu) was born, got some of its ropes or cables (either of its anchors or fishing equipment) tangled up under the water. As Aboriginal men dived under the ship to cut off the tangled ropes they discovered a huge, brightly colored rainbow serpent. One man returned to the surface without cutting the ropes, but another man (Dhirikayu, said by the speaker to have been a Groote Eylandt man, but with a Macassan-sounding name) managed to cut the ropes and free the boat. This incident caused the Macassans to return to Macassar and to avoid this area subsequently; apparently they also left that particular boat behind.

TEXT 168 MACASSANS, DREAMINGS AND THE ORIGIN OF FIRE
Laran^gana

168.1 run^ggal-yung^g, ya:-ji:-'la ni=ya-n^ggi, nu-gu-ri:-'-yala
big (human Sg) along here he went_c from you (Pl)
wara-white-men-gala, wara-dhu^gabada, wara-munan^ga-wala, mang^gga:dhira
from white men white people from white people Macassan
language ana-lha:wu ni=yambi:-ni, wara-man^gga:dhira-yin^yun^g,
words he spoke_c of Macassans
wara-man^gga:dhira-yin^yun^g ana-lha:wu ni=yambi:-ni,
words he spoke_c

A big man (i.e. dreamtime figure). He came along here, from you (white people), from the white people. He spoke the Macassan language, that of the Macassan people.

Note: Laran^gana is here equating the Macassans (Indonesians) with European whites; he uses the 2Pl pronoun because the comment is addressed to Heath.

168.2 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^gi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^gi, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi,
he went_c
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ya:-ji:-'la-yung^g ni=ya-n^ggi jujuj!,
along here he went_c go
ni=yambi:-ni, ya:-ji:-'li ni=ya-n^ggi yuwa-ga:-'la
he spoke_c from here he went_c from there
ni-yamba=yambi:-ni ni=ya-n^ggi wa:='n^ybaj, wadiri
he spoke_c he went_c it is other (n. of language)
language, different, jal^g! ni=yaldhi-n^y,
go past he went past_p

He kept coming along here. He spoke. From here he went (south), that way, speaking another language, Wadiri (= Yanyula). He went by (here, going south).

Note: Our dreamtime Macassan is thus thought to have known the various Aboriginal languages in addition to his own language.

168.3 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::, ya:-ji wa:n^g, andaran^g
he went_c here whatchamacallit (n. of tribe)
mob, ni=yambi-n^y, andaran^g language an^ybaj different ni=yambi-n^y,
he spoke_p other he spoke_p
different language, andaran^g mob, here numbulwar, right-up
(n. of tribe) (place n.)
lha wuyagiba, andaran^g, ni=yaldhi-n^y,
to (place n.) he went past_p

He went along. Here he spoke in the Warndarang language to the local Warndarang mob, a different language. Warndarang people, (living) here at Numbulwar and as far (south) as Wuyagiba (mouth of Roper R.). He went on.

168.4 ni=yaldhi-n^y ni=yaldhi-n^y ni=ya-n^ggi::: n^ga,
he went past_p he went_c and then
ni=yambi-n^y, nu-ri:-'-ruj melabad wa:-nun^g-gubuyu
he spoke_p at us (ExPl) we(ExPl, creole) Nunggubuyu people
ana-wubuy, wa:-nun^ggu-nun^g-gubuyu-yin^yun^g, wiyindan^gan^y
Nunggubuyu language of Nunggubuyu people (place n.)
yuwa:-ni Cape Barrow-wala n^ga ba-ga:-'la ya:-nu:-'-wuy,
it is there from (place n.) and then from there this way
ba-ma nima=buri-n^y mana-a:n^g, nuga,
it is there (MANA) he put it (MANA) whatchamacallit stone
dreaming, mijiyang^ga, bla boat, mijiyang^ga, nima:='ru-n^y,
ship of (creole) ship he left it_p

He went on. He kept going. He spoke Nunggubuyu to us Nunggubuyu people, in our country. At Cape Barrow and from there farther on, this way. He put down a rock dreaming (representing) a ship there, he left it there.

Note: Our Macassan appears to have begun by sailing south through the Gulf to the Yanyula area (around Borroloola) and then to have worked his way on the coastal mainland north through the Roper R., Rose R., and NE Arnhem Land areas.

168.5 ni=ya-n^ggi adaba an-u-gu-ni, ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi:::,
he went_c then to there he went_c
ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi ni=lhalga ni=ya-n^ggi, ni-ga:-'yun^g
he went_c he was alone he went_c as for him
ni=lhamara-n^gi na:='n^yba-jun^g, adha:dhari,
he went behind_c other (MSg) behind

He went along toward there. He was by himself, (but) another one (Macassan) was coming along behind him.

168.6 "yu:ga yan^gi nu-gu-ru", wara-old-people olden-times
Q what? you (Pl)

wani=yami-jga:-', I no-more savvy, "yan^gi yu:ga, yan^gi",
he did that to them^c I do not know what? Q
wa:=ri, lha:wu anybaj, ambu:=yambi:-ni, xxx,
not words other they spoke (unclear)
nun^g-gubuyu him talk, "nu-ru-waj ana:-'ni+",
Nunggubuyu (language) it is us! this

"What are you?" he said to the old people (now dead). I do not know (this from my own direct experience). "What (are you)??" They did not speak (English), (they spoke) another language. He (Macassan) spoke Nunggubuyu. "It is us" (they told him).

Note: This segment is somewhat garbled. In the last line Laran^gana uses nun^g-gubuyu as the name of the Nunggubuyu language, normally wubuy, but this is due to English interference in my view.

168.7 niwu=barga-n^y, "ana-n^gura ana:-'ni," dul!
he blew on fire fire this (ANA) catch fire
niwu=na-n^g, dul!, blackfella magulag, skin, "anybaj-maga:
he burned it^p skin other should
lha:wu n^ganamba=yambi:-ni, white-men", yagu
words we would have spoken to you (Sg) but
ya:-ni-yun^g wu:=yambi:-ni "nu-ru nu-ru-waj ya:-ni
it is here (ANA) they spoke^c we (ExPl) it is we! it is here
nun^g-gubuyu", wu:=yama-n^y,
Nunggubuyu people they did that^p

He (Macassan) blew on some sparks, creating a flame. "This is fire!", he said. He lit a fire. The Aboriginals, those with black skin (unlike the Macassan), said "We should have been speaking a different language to you, white man language." (I.e. they could not understand how he knew Nunggubuyu.) However, they spoke in this (language, Nunggubuyu). "This is us, the Nunggubuyu," they said.

168.8 niwu=na-n^g dul!, niwu=na-n^g, dul!, him burn-'em
he burned it^p catch fire
now, "way!" "da-ju:-' numburu=bura:-', n^gan^y=jaldha-n^g
hey! there you (Pl) sit!^c I will go past^p
yu:-gu-ni, nun^g-gubuyu nu-gu-ra:-'yun^g wubuy
to there Nunggubuyu people as for you (Pl) Nunggubuyu language
nu-gu-ru-waj nu:=yambi:-na",
it is you! you (Pl) speak

He made (another) flame, and another, he burned it. (Aboriginals:) "Oh my!" (Macassan:) "You all stay here; I am going on, that way. You are the Nunggubuyu and speak Wubuy (Nunggubuyu language)."

168.9 ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi::: balamumu, dhamalamir wani=na-n^y,
he went_c (n. of tribe) (place n.) he saw them^p
ba-gu, dul! niwu=na-n^g, yi:-jin^yun^g n^gura,
there catch fire he burned it^p this kind fire
niwu=wanaga:-'wugij ni-yan^gga=ya-n^ggi jujuj!, Blue Mud Bay
he only held it_c he went_c go (place n.)
o:-'wa:-ni dul!, yuwa:-ni Koolatong, dul!
that catch fire it is there (place n.) catch fire
niwu=na-n^g, yargala, dul!, "yu:ga yan^gi a-yan^gi-mayi-yin^yung
he burned it^p (place n.) Q what? of what place?
ana:-'ni", Milingimbi Milingimbi dul! niwu=na-n^g, Milingimbi
this (ANA) (place n.)
jujuj!, long-way, malin^ggirira, finish!,
go (place n.)

He went along and saw the Balamumu people at the place Dhamalamir (to the north). He made flames for them, fire like this sort of thing. He had it with him still. He went along to Blue Mud Bay and made flames. He did the same at the Koolatong River and at the place Yargala. "Of what place are you here?" he asked them. (I.e. he asked what the name of the place was.) Milingimbi (place, now an important settlement). He made flames at Milingimbi and farther away, at Malin^ggirira. Finish!

168.10 aba yu:-gu-ni ni=ya-n^ggi country-wuy ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yung,
then to there he went_c to country his
this-way, yuwa:-ni wu=bura:-' ana-lha:l ni-ga-wi-n^yin^yung jujuj!,
it is there it sits country his go
man^gga:dhira language him talk, man^gga:dhira ana-language, ba-ga:-'la
Macassan from there
ma=ya-n^ggi mijiyana barawu, bla rice, tucker now, blackfella
it went_c ship boat for food
old-people, sugar, tucker, jagujagu, dirigil, duduru, galugu,
food (names of Macassan foods)
coconut, bla man^gga:dhira, xxx, wu:-yama=yama:-'
for Macassans (unclear) they did that_c
wu:-yama=yama:-' wu:-yama=yama:-' wu:-yama=yama:-'
they did that_c
wu:-yama=yama:-', ... (conclusion omitted).
they did that

He went on to his own country (Macassar). His country is there, far away. Macassan language (spoken there). Ships and boats came from there (bringing) rice, food, sugar, Macassan foods, coconuts, (for) the old Aboriginal people here (now dead). Macassans, they used to do that.

Note: The text concludes with a garbled ending, largely in broken English, about the coming of Europeans; it is omitted here.

Comments on texts 166 to 168

The Macassans were Indonesians from Macassar (Celebes) who came annually into the Gulf region hunting trepang for part of the eighteenth, all of the nineteenth, and the early part of the twentieth centuries. They had commercial relations with the local Aboriginals and appear usually to have gotten along with them. The Aboriginals obtained implements and learned how to make wooden (dugout) canoes from the Macassans. A few old men like Ma:di claimed to have seen Macassan sailors in their youth; for the most part, though, the Macassans are a semi-legendary memory known through oral traditions.

It appears that the Nunggubuyu had much less contact with the Macassans than some other Aboriginal groups in the region such as the Groote Eylandters and some of the NE Arnhem Landers. However, the Macassans do appear to have made some use of landing sites on the mainland in the Nunggubuyu area.

The texts presented here indicate the manner in which the Macassans have been worked into native cultural structures. In particular, text 168 depicts two Macassan culture heroes who travelled through the region encountering various Aboriginal groups (and with prior knowledge of local languages), presenting them with the gift of fire, etc. The text corresponds very closely to those dealing with major traditional culture heroes (e.g. texts 18 and 29), and explicitly describes the creation of totemic sites. Text 167 is a combination of history and legend; the incidents and persons are historical, but the narrative includes the rainbow serpent as a character (though not in the same fashion as in texts 1 and 2).

Similarly, the Macassans (and associated emblems such as boats and sails) have been incorporated into local corroboree performances with wun^gubal (camp songs). Macassans are the specialty of the Nun-dhiribala clan (Yirija moiety) in particular, for whom "sail" (dhumbala) is the major wun^gubal song cycle. (This clan is also responsible culturally for more recent European-introduced phenomena such as airplanes; Macassans and European whites are distinguished but closely associated by the Nunggubuyu.)

With respect to such matters as the occurrence of Macassan loanwords in Nunggubuyu, it should be mentioned that some of these words (and other Macassan cultural influences) may have been transmitted to the Nunggubuyu indirectly by other Aboriginals, especially Anindhilyagwa-speaking people on Bickerton Island and (perhaps) Groote Eylandt.

Some Nunggubuyu words of Macassan origin (from the Macassarese or Indonesian-Malay languages) are dhumbala 'sail', barawu 'boat (general term)', gulin^ga 'rudder', and some wind terms like ba:ra 'NW wind'.

There are a number of studies of Macassan influence in this area; see, for example, Macknight 1972.

TEXT 169

RITHARNGU AND JALWUJBUJ PEOPLE Yurumura

169.1 na:-da-gu:-', na-ba:ra-yin^yun^g, ani=ra-wu-ma-na, that (NA) of NW wind he will try it_c
an-uwa-ga:-'la, ni-yaya=wayama-ni, an-uwa-ga:-'la man^gura, from there it (NA) proceeds from there (n. of clan)
man^gura mari jalwujbuj, wara-man^gura mari wara-jalwujbuj, and (n. of tribe) (n. of clan) and (n. of tribe)
jalwujbuj nara=maya-na, wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-a:n^g-gala we call them as for them from whatchamacallit
ana-ridharn^gu-wala wara=maya-na wa:gilag, nu-ra:-'yun^g from Ritharngu (language) they call them (n. of clan) as for us
nara=maya-na wa:gilag, mari man^gura, man-uwa:-ma-ma:-'la-yin^yun^g we call them and (n. of clan) of that (MANA) on other side
mana-nuga, wini=lharga-n-ji: xxx ni=yayama-ni, stone they send it (NA) (unclear) it (NA) proceeds
nu-ra:-'yun^g ana:-'ji-ji:-'li-yin^yun^g, amamadulbu. as for us of from this side (place n.)
He (a man) will send the NW wind by magic from there to here. It (wind) blows along from there. Man^gura and Jalwujbuj people. We call those people Jalwujbuj. On the other hand, in the Ritharngu language they call them Wa:gilag (=Wa:gilak). We call them Wa:gilag, and Man^gura. On the far side of those stone hills, they send it (NW wind), it blows along. On the other hand, we on this side (cause the NW wind to blow) at the place Amamadulbu.

Comments on text 169

See text 62 for background. The Man^gura are a clan, typically bilingual in Nunggubuyu and Ritharngu (perhaps with Nunggubuyu as former primary intragroup language) who lived north of the main Nunggubuyu block, around the mouth of the Walker River in Blue Mud Bay in an area where the stone hills (escarpment) are near the sea. The main Ritharngu-speaking clans are north and northwest of the Man^gura (and hence of the Nunggubuyu); they include the Wa:gilak (Nunggubuyu pronunciation Wa:gilag), who are in the same moiety as the Ngalmi (the speaker, Yurumura, is Ngalmi) and Man^gura and share NW wind as one of their totems. From the Nunggubuyu point of view, the Jalwujbuj are a kind of remote, semi-legendary people who also can send the NW wind. The Ritharngu and other groups to the north use the term Jalwucbuc to refer to people northwest of them on the Top End of Arnhem Land, such as the Djinan^g, who do not practice circumcision.

The main interest of this text is not ethnographic but linguistic (notably the 'far side', 'this side' demonstratives).

TEXT 170 BODY PAINTING
Ma:di

170.1 na-yalgurg ni:='ri yagu, wa:='ri ambini=lhan^garma:-' orchid it is absent but not they reached it
and then bloodroot they get it they painted their guts_c
an-un^guba:::l ana-wunalg, ana-corroboree, wuru=wunal-bi:-'-na, clan song body painting they paint bodies
wuru=wal-bi:-'-na an-un^gubal too, dhu:nda, an-uba-ni-yung they paint themselves song bloodroot that
xxx wuru=wunal-bi:-'-ni-yin^g, sometimes,
(unclear) which they painted bodies (with)_c
mana-dhu:nda ma:='ri yagu yalgurg, wini=ma-ni, bloodroot it is absent but orchid they get it (NA)
(If) there is no tree orchid fixative around, (if) they could not find it, then they get some bloodroot (Haemodorum sp.). They painted the middle of their bodies, they paint themselves around the torso (for) the singing and dancing. Bloodroot, which they painted their torsos with. Sometimes, when they have no bloodroot, they get orchids.

Note: Body painting involves the pigment itself (white clay, red ochre, yellow ochre, charcoal) and a sticky substance used as fixative. Fixative material can be obtained from the bloodroot plant, or from certain tree orchids. Bloodroot is also used to make a red dye for baskets, etc.

170.2 mari bu-gu-ni ana-lharagamana arwagarwar wu=walamalha:-' and to there white clay on top it is suspended
mari mana-bulbar mana-lharan^y-jin^g arwagarwar
and type of red ochre ripe one, on top
ma:='lamalha:-' sometimes lhuni, type of red ochre
it (MANA) is suspended
wu-gu-ra:-'yun^g ana-lharagamana arwagarwar wiri=buri:-'
as for it (ANA) white clay on top they put it (ANA)
da-ni ana-lha:wu wara-min^y-n^gambara-yin^g,
it is there words of elders

White clay is placed on top (i.e. on the fixative after the latter has been applied to the body). Also bulbar ochre can be put on top, when it (ochre) is ripe (i.e. after it has been warmed up), or sometimes lhuni ochre. Or they can put the white clay on top. These are the words (i.e. customs) of the old people.

170.3 ana:-'narg too, wura:='nar-bi:-'-na-yin^g, forearm painting which they paint forearms (with)
wu:-n^gawa=n^gawi:-'-na-yin^g war-uba-wi-yung, da-ni-yung, those (WARA) it is there
they who die

na-yalgurg na:-'-gi, da-ni-yung^g, xxx a-wala-jin^yun^g
orchid this (NA) it (ANA) is there (unclear) of coffin
wiri=rari:-'_c, wuru=n^gawi:-'-na-yin^gun^g,
they paint design on it they who die
wara-wala=garara-n^gi, a-yigama-yin^yun^g wara-wala=garara-n^gi,
they painted their coffins_c of ray sp.
yi:-wandag, a-la:ma, algur a-yan^gi ama-lhalun^gu,
woomera shovel spear all sorts (idiom) hook spear
In addition, they painted their forearms (in mortuary ritual). The dead people, the orchid fixative (is used) with the coffins. People paint the coffins of those who die, with designs representing rays. They paint woomeras (spearthrowers), shovel and hook spears, all kinds of things.
Note: wunalg 'body painting' and anarg 'forearm painting' are clearly distinguished here; so are the corresponding verbs =wunal-bu- and =anar-bu-. The verb =wal-bu- is a more general term for body painting subsuming both of these. Ochres are also sometimes rubbed into the head hair.

170.4 na:-'-gi na-yalgurg n^gijan^g, mari mana-dhu:nda, this orchid more and bloodroot
wu:-wara=wal-bi:-'-ni-yin^gun^g, wuru=wani:-'-ni, they who painted themselves_c they did that_c
lharagamana-miri mari yalgur-miri, mari n^gargan, by means of white clay and by means of orchid and charcoal
mari lhuni, mari bulbar, ba-ma-miri,
and type of red ochre and other type of ochre by means of that
wara-min^y-n^gambara xxx right-up ana-yimbaj.
elders (unclear) all the way to today

This orchid (fixative), also bloodroot, when they (people) painted themselves; they did that with white clay and orchid fixative, or with charcoal, or lhuni or bulbar ochres. (It was done by) the old people, and right up to today.

TEXT 171 KEEP THE MOTORCYCLE AWAY!
Yurumura

171.1 yalun^gani!, yalun^gani!, nu:-'wa:-gi banu=yami-jga-n^g,
(man's name) that (MSg) do that to him!_p
banu=maraga-na, banu=yami-jga-n^g nu:-'wa:-gi mana-motorbike,
take (it) from him!_c
ana:-'ji:-'la-yin^gun^g yagi ni=yaldhi-∅, ya:-ni-magi
of this side not he will go past lest here
nin^ggu=yama-n^gan, n^ga=yambi:-na, banu=yami-jga-n^g.
lest it get his voice I speak do that to him!_p

Hey you, Yalungani! Tell that (boy)! Get the motorbike away from him! Don't let him drive by along here, lest it (tape recorder) record the noise! I am speaking (to Heath). Tell him (motorcyclist)!

Comments on text 171

Yurumura and Heath were sitting on a dune in the open near the Aboriginal camp at Numbulwar and our recordings were being interfered with by a motorcycle which kept driving past, about thirty metres from where we were. Yurumura yelled this out to another man, Yalungani, who happened to be passing by, hoping that Yalungani could do something about the motorcycle. Yurumura knew I was recording this but Yalungani did not.

It is not entirely clear whether =yami-jga- has its literal sense 'to do that to (someone)' (pro-form for 'take from'), or its other meaning 'to say that to (someone)'.

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