They both went along. King Brown went along. He listened, and (heard) the floodwaters coming. They (floodwaters) were humming. They (floodwaters) were humming.

She (Water Python) likewise listened (and heard) the floodwaters humming.

King Brown, the one who was making little noises over there, he went quickly. He came quickly from there.

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. (i.e., they were afraid when they saw each other.)

"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).

21.10 ngijan g wurugu ana:-malharuj-gala nga, bangganaruj -- more later from (place n.) and then (place n.) he went back, he emerged to there

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 Bangganaruj— 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:yung.
he emerged, he is right there now he sits not

he went back (place n.) then he sits

he is right there he is permanent she too

Then, after Amalharuj, he (King Brown) came out at Banqgaruuj, and that's right where he is now (as a totemic site). He did not go back very far that way, he is at Banqgaruuj for She

Also (Water Python), she is right there at Yiningugaruuj.

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 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 semimoieties). The rather repetitious of locations passed and other totemic beings passed by is characteristic of this genre.

Maidi'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 (Mandhanyun) rather than a specific semimoiety 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 Ngalai clan, and Water Python in those of the Kung-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 protagonist seems 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 Kung-gubuyu 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 Marbali semimoiety mentioned in 20.19. 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 semimoiety.

The King brown snake is Pseudochis 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 (GabaQja)

22.1 na-ya-n'gi wa:n'-gala, king brown snake he went from whatchamacallit

1 lhuliyangan'gala, lhuliyangan'gala, king brown snake he went out from Lhuliyangan Y

ana-Iha:l, he made it there (MANA) hole

nima-gara=ma:ndha-ngi, ba-ma mana-gara, he made it there tree sp. they (MANA) all stand to there

alagala, he went there in sofar as

nambani=wa-nga-na, na-nguda-Ihardharg, if you and I go there sometime, a brown snake will bite us.

ana-Ihuliyangan, it is there tree sp. they (MANA) all stand to there

an-ubu-gu-11, it is there tree sp. they (MANA) all stand to there

nang-guma-maji: nambani=wa-na-na, na-n'uda-lhardharg, if you and I go there sometime, a brown snake will bite us.

aajala, ni=Ihuliyangan'gala, ni-maya=wa:ma-n'ni; da-ji-ruj on the way he emerged, he proceeded, there farther

ni=Ihuliyangan'gala, ni=maya=wa:ma-n'ni, gugu gugu n'ajal, he emerged, he made it water spring of water

n'ajal n'wara=ma=n'dha-n'ni, he went there in sofar as

nandha-n'ni, he went there in sofar as

n'ajal n'wara=ma=n'dha-n'ni adaba, spring he made then (ANA) all there

That (place) Lhuliyangan'gala. 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.
He proceeded this way then he changed course toward the place Anba:li. He made that place. He came out of it. Then Groper (a very large rock cod fish) came up out of her hole, below (place n.) then here.

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 Nun-dhiribala clan (of which King Brown is a major totem). The narrator in text 23 is a younger man, who was a much older and more ritually prominent man.

TEXT 23
Groper (Mindhiwugag)

23.1 ni=wayama:::-n'ga=lan'ga-han'gadhi-n'yi, ni-waya=wayama-n'gili:
then she changed direction further, she changed course then she came out of her hole.

22.3 ni-wayama-n'gili:::, ni-gara=han'gadhi-n'yi, ni-waya=wayama-n'gili::,
when she came out of her hole, then she changed course.

22.2 ni=wayama-n'gili:::, ni-gara=han'gadhi-n'yi, ni-waya=wayama-n'gili::,
when she came out of her hole, then she changed course.

Notes:
*treading water* without moving in the water. Ngariwi is a reef.
the water, then continued on to Waragaji. From Waragaji (it went to) Yaralibina. And N'amaranguru. 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 Nunggubuyu clan (Yirija moiety, probably originally a Wamdarang-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'urgu, N'arinya, Yaralibina (Edward Is.), Murgumurguli, Yiriwarar, Walimbalimbar, Waragaji, Yaralibina, N'amaranguru. The list in the other version is this: An'urgu, Amawiduj, Malmali, Ngariwin, Yamalbura (Edward Is.), Murgumurguli, Yiriwarar, Yiwargas, N'amaranguru, Kangaroo Island (in English), the jetty at Ngukurr settlement (formerly Roper R. Mission), Yaralibina, NalinYa, N'amaranguru, then back to NalinYa (where the two boys killed Groper).

In any event, the general direction is clear: from An'urgu (on the coast between Rumbiwar 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 Wamdarang 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

Beuben (Mindhivugag)

It went in. It went along and stopped at Yiriwarar. It stopped, jumped over to Yiwarga. Then they jumped this way. At Yiwarga, then it went along to Walimbalimbar. It (there) in the water, then continued on to Waragaji. From Waragaji (it went to) Yaralibina. And N'amaranguru. That is all.

Comments to text 24

Milkfish (Chanos chanos). They all went to Ama:jiya. Then they all jumped p from (place n.) (place n.) finish!
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 NunggayinYbalanY, which however is closely affiliated with other Yirija clans including Reuben’s own near Y Nunggananggu and the originally Warnarma-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 (nonhuman) NA rather than (human) NSG, Pl, etc. To indicate plurality, therefore, Reuben must add derivational Multiple prefix -waraG- after the NA prefix on verbs. Actually, Reuben’s articulation is sufficiently lax that it is not easy to tell whether the prefix is -waraG- or the semantically and phonologically similar Multiple prefix -wara-/ -waraG-.

24.2 yiwarga-ala, wunun’mana, wunun’mana ni-ndara=dalhi-nY
from (place n.) (place n.) they landedp

24.3 ni-janjig an-uba-ni:-’la ni-ndara=balga=ni=kI ni-ndara=dalhi-nY
more from that they moved aroundp there it jumpedp

24.4 ni-ndara=dalhi-nY, ni-ndara=balga=ni=kI ni-ndara=dalhi-nY

From Yiwarga they landed on the ground (or water) at Wunun’mana (in English, ‘Little Creek’, near Numbulwar). From Wunun’mana they landed up and landed over here. Whatchamacallit, they landed here. From here they jumped up and landed at Nungganangga. They swam around in the water there.

25.1 sanz goanna
Milton (Gabagja)

25.2 an-wu:-ya-nggai=ya-nyggi::: from (place n.)

25.3 7 ni-ndara=dalhi-nY ba-gi, ni-ndara=gali-nY
they landedp there it is it movedp

After that they moved around in the water and jumped over here, at Nungganangga, they landed. They swim around in the water there. From there they jumped to Numbulwar, they landed. After that, Amaburugu. Then they jumped at Nawulgulu. Oops, I mean—Yes, Nawulgulu. They jumped up and landed. They moved around.

After that they jumped and landed at NunggayinYbalanY. They swam around there. Then they crawled along, dropping down, over there. They jumped from there, they swam around and moved around in the water there. Then (finally) the place Dhalin’bindi.

Note: The sequence ni-ylarari-nY ni-wadari=-'/ -ni’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’bindi, is in the clan territory of the Marawalwal (the ‘Joshuas’) and links this clan with the NunggayinYbalanY clan whose territory includes Numbulwar Mission itself.
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-/.
Note: There is inconsistency in noun-class assignment in this text. Theoretically, wa:-'ngarg- '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/WA transitive prefix wi-r- or wi- several times in 25.1 and 25.2). Actually, wa:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- (line 2 of 25.1) seems to have ANA prefix /wu/- rather than WARA prefix /wuru-/; but as 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 nginggu- 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 WARAa wuru-, while wu- is the ANAa intransitive prefix). The form wu:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- in line 1 of 25.4 looks like /wu/- rather than /wuru/-, but we have already seen irregular pronominal contraction of /wuru-/ in 25.4, so this is not conclusive evidence for an early switch to ANA forms. My impression is that the clear switch begins with nginggu- in 25.6, though it may have been facilitated by the 'ambiguity' of several earlier verb forms.

25.6 wa:-'ngama:-' nginggu-buburuwa:-'nagama:-' nunga-1
it swam, then it (ANA) held her back, that (ANA)
1 ana-mangun, adaba wa:-'n'ja:-'n'ji=ngama:-' an-uba-ni-yung wa-guru-ru
female then it swam with (her) that (ANA) it
ana-malay: nga, wa:='dadi-n' nga, adaba, a-wu-nar-duj
male and then it went on shore, then on bank
1 adaba nga wa:='dadi-n' *wu-nar-duj.
then and then it went on shore on shore
p
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, wa:-'ngarg- '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/WA transitive prefix wi-r- or wi- several times in 25.1 and 25.2). Actually, wa:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- (line 2 of 25.1) seems to have ANA prefix /wu/- rather than WARA prefix /wuru-/; but as 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 nginggu- 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 WARAa wuru-, while wu- is the ANAa intransitive prefix). The form wu:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- in line 1 of 25.4 looks like /wu/- rather than /wuru/-, but we have already seen irregular pronominal contraction of /wuru-/ in 25.4, so this is not conclusive evidence for an early switch to ANA forms. My impression is that the clear switch begins with nginggu- in 25.6, though it may have been facilitated by the 'ambiguity' of several earlier verb forms.

Root /-ngarg-/ with ANAder prefix /uG~/ and Locative /-ruj/.

TEXT 26 SAND GOANNA
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

26.1 wayimbalJimbal, ba-ni:-'la wa:n-gala, 
---- (place n.) - there it comes from whatchamacallit
na-mar-wa-la, wa:ra-goanna, wu:-yangga=ya-nggi::: "a-ji-ga:-'la-yurlS
from (place n.) goanna it went c from where?
na-ma:na-n'g, a-ji-ga:-'la-yung na:ma:na-n'g, ya-ji:-'la-yung
we (InDu) will swim,
along here

26.2 two-fella been swim now, swim, wu:-'ama-na:na:-' nga
-- they (Du) swam then -- it swam,

wa:-'dadi-n' nga wa:-'dadi-n' nga, mangrove that side, mangrove
it went on shore p

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, wa:-'ngarg- '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/WA transitive prefix wi-r- or wi- several times in 25.1 and 25.2). Actually, wa:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- (line 2 of 25.1) seems to have ANA prefix /wu/- rather than WARA prefix /wuru-/; but as 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 nginggu- 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 WARAa wuru-, while wu- is the ANAa intransitive prefix). The form wu:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- in line 1 of 25.4 looks like /wu/- rather than /wuru/-, but we have already seen irregular pronominal contraction of /wuru-/ in 25.4, so this is not conclusive evidence for an early switch to ANA forms. My impression is that the clear switch begins with nginggu- in 25.6, though it may have been facilitated by the 'ambiguity' of several earlier verb forms.

Root /-ngarg-/ with ANAder prefix /uG~/ and Locative /-ruj/.

TEXT 26 SAND GOANNA
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

26.1 wayimbalJimbal, ba-ni:-'la wa:n-gala, 
---- (place n.) - there it comes from whatchamacallit
na-mar-wa-la, wa:ra-goanna, wu:-yangga=ya-nggi::: "a-ji-ga:-'la-yurlS
from (place n.) goanna it went c from where?
na-ma:na-n'g, a-ji-ga:-'la-yung na:ma:na-n'g, ya-ji:-'la-yung
we (InDu) will swim,
along here

Note: There is inconsistency in noun-class assignment in this text. Theoretically, wa:-'ngarg- '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/WA transitive prefix wi-r- or wi- several times in 25.1 and 25.2). Actually, wa:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- (line 2 of 25.1) seems to have ANA prefix /wu/- rather than WARA prefix /wuru-/; but as 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 nginggu- 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 WARAa wuru-, while wu- is the ANAa intransitive prefix). The form wu:-'la-wa:-'ngarg- in line 1 of 25.4 looks like /wu/- rather than /wuru/-, but we have already seen irregular pronominal contraction of /wuru-/ in 25.4, so this is not conclusive evidence for an early switch to ANA forms. My impression is that the clear switch begins with nginggu- in 25.6, though it may have been facilitated by the 'ambiguity' of several earlier verb forms.

Root /-ngarg-/ with ANAder prefix /uG~/ and Locative /-ruj/.

TEXT 26 SAND GOANNA
Reuben (Mindhiwugag)

26.1 wayimbalJimbal, ba-ni:-'la wa:n-gala, 
---- (place n.) - there it comes from whatchamacallit
na-mar-wa-la, wara-goanna, wu:-yangga=ya-nggi::: "a-ji-ga:-'la-yurlS
from (place n.) goanna it went c from where?
na-ma:na-n'g, a-ji-ga:-'la-yung na:ma:na-n'g, ya-ji:-'la-yung
we (InDu) will swim,
along here
3.4 there, wu-bu-buri-ŋ there wuwanŋa, wuwanŋa wu-bu-buri-ŋ

wu=jalagi-ŋŋ an-uwa-ni-ŋ, wu=yanŋga-ŋŋ wi-iri, it got up, from that it went

They (two Sand Goannas) went along, they came out (from the forest) into the plains. They decided to go to Wância. The Sand Goanna went along to Wância. From Wância (they went to) Wuwanŋa.

They stayed there. Then they got up and went to Yamiiri.

26.4 wu=yanŋga-ŋŋ wi-iri-ŋ, wu=yanŋga-ŋŋ

it went* from (place n.) (place n.)

1 ana-galawan-a-ala, ana-galawan-a-ala an-uwa-ni-ŋ

from (place n.) from that

wu=galawaj-ŋ, wa=galawaj-ŋ, wu=ramali-ŋ manŋwala, it went across

it. It dawnedp

They went along, they came out (from the forest) into the plains. They went along to Wancia. From Wancia they cut across the land and came out at Manggurwala. They went along, they kept going. Whatchamacallit, Wurayuranji. They stopped there.

Comments on texts 25 and 26

These are comparatively brief accounts of Sand Goanna, a major cult totem for the guyal semimoiety clans 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 semimoiety, see Capell (1960b).

Comparison of the present two versions is interesting. Milton (text 25) emphasizes 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 rather than major differences in their knowledge of the mythic episodes themselves (though it say be that Milton is more funny 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 (1979).

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.
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 Anburgi. They ran.

They pulled each other (raced) (dogs' n.) raced they proceeded as group. There, they reached them (some people, much smaller than the giant Nagaran). They (the small people) were calling out "galan'Ymargadada!" (their name). They (the small people) were doing that, first (in that place). At the river Angurgi. (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).

He ran along from there. He kept doing that. 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. Then he threw them (into the river, upward to there downward). "Galan'Ymargadada!" (chant) they did he threw them this way and then he threw them to there and then some they went past finish!

As for him (Nagaran), he went along, he kept going. "What (dogs) smelled?" He went there, up on a sandhill. He listened and heard the voice of them (the small people), far away.
Some of them managed to slip past and escape from him. They were calling out, "Galan-margadaga." 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 dogs 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)

28.1 nu:-'ba-gi na-garangu, ni=ya-nggi n$\bar{a}$
that (M$\bar{s}$g) (man's n.) he went c that coming and then
malan$\bar{a}$n$\bar{a}$-N$\bar{a}$-anay, amalhalagan$\bar{a}$-baj, ni=ya-nggi, ni=ya-nggi
far away (place n.) he went c (man's n.) he went c
ba-ga:-'la ya:-nu:-'-wuy, ni-yangga=ya-nggi:::
from there this way he went c (man's n.)
\nu :-ni

It is there (ANA) country it sits country it is there
ni-bura-n$\bar{a}$-n$\bar{a}$, he sat up

That man Garangu went along. Over there, far away, at the place Amalhalagan$\bar{a}$-baj. He came from there, this way, Garangu. There is a place there, he sat down.

28.2 ni-bu=buri:::-c ni=yayigi:-ni:::, ni=ya-y
he sat up, he played c more he slept c
ni=la$\bar{l}$aji:-'i:-ny, ni=ya-y=ga=ya-nggi::: da-jl-ruj
ni=ya-y
a$\bar{l}$ajaga, he got up c there farther on on the way
ni=bura-n$\bar{a}$-n$\bar{a}$, na-garangu ni=ya=-'i giga=-da-jl-ruj
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=ga=-nggi::: ni=ya-y, he sat down c more he slept c
ni=lya-y=ga=ya-nggi n$\bar{a}$, he played c more he slept c
\nu :-ni

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=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: n$\bar{a}$, da-jl-ruj, ni=bura-n$\bar{a}$-n$\bar{a}$, ny
more there farther on he sat down c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he played c more (man's n.) more he got up
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
then he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
then from there he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
then he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
then he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
then he went c

He went along. A little farther on he stopped and played some more.

Then Garangu got up again and went. He case this way. A little farther on the way, Garangu did that at the place Man$\bar{s}$a-jara, he arrived.

28.4 n$\bar{a}$ ni-bura=buri:=-c, na-garangu, ni=ya-y=aw$\bar{a}$=-ni:-'ny
and then he lay down face up c (man's n.) he got tired c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
na-garangu, ada$\bar{a}$ ni-n$\bar{a}$ul=wa$\bar{a}$jarli:-'ny, ni=ya-y=sha$\bar{a}$ra=-na:-'na$\bar{a}$, (man's n.) then he lay face up c his knee stuck out c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
na-garangu, an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, ba-gu ni=ya-yayigi:-ni, ni=ya-y
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he went c more there farther on he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: a$\bar{l}$iran$\bar{a}$, he got up c early morning he went c (place n.)
ana-lha$\bar{a}$l, ni=bura-n$\bar{a}$-n$\bar{a}$-b gu ni=bu=buri:::-c ni=ya-y=nggi:::
more there farther on he sat c
ma$\bar{a}$ ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
mana$\bar{a}$-guy, he played c more he went c to whatchamacallit (place n.)
ana-lha$\bar{a}$l, balamu, ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: n$\bar{a}$, he sat c
ana-lha$\bar{a}$l, balamu, ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi

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 A$\bar{l}$iran$\bar{a}$. 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 ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he played c more he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he went c (man's n.) and then 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 A$\bar{l}$iran$\bar{a}$. He stopped there and stayed for a while. Again he played, and again he went. Garangu went to the place Balamu and played there.

28.6 ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he played c more he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he went c (man's n.) he went c
ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi::: ni=ya-y=ga=ya-y=nggi
he went c (man's n.) and then there he went c
ana-lha$\bar{a}$l, wa=-'ni-d$\bar{a}$-n$\bar{a}$, ba-gu, n$\bar{a}$ma-ba$\bar{l}$ir$\bar{a}$-y=ya-y=nggi
country it got lost c and then devil (F$\bar{s}$g)
Again he went. At Alnga: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'ara-yun g mari n'ar-ar-li-yun g, yu-gu-ni winiya-n'gi, (her) father and (her) mother to there they (MDu) went c

wini=ya-nggi Yu:gu-ni malana-n'maway, ni:ga honey they (MDu) went c to there far away she

ngi=buri--, ngi=buri--,
she was covered with sores because and there she sat c

ngi=bujurbujur

ni=ya-nggi

he went c

he (man's n.) he looked p and then

yi:gi, raman

she is here painted feathers he painted on self feathers

na-garangu, mari wugudari, na-garangu ni:yarana:ga-n' yar-gi (man's n.) and headdress (man's n.) he looked p she is here

na-garangu, ni:ya-nggi

he saw her p

Her father and mother had gone away over that way, looking for honey. They went far away, but she stayed ... 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'a:bujurbujur, n'a:ra-n'eu=ji:jii", this (ANA) I am covered with sores I am all sores

n'1-yasa-n' n'ar-ula-gl-yun g n'ara-mangi-n'un g, n'ara-malana:jii-n'un g, she did that p that (FSg) woman

ni:ga na-ni-n'ara-yun g mari n'ar-ar-li-yun g, winiya-n'gi a-lagu, he father and mother they (MDu) went c honey

winimalaladi nu'-ta-gi na-garangu ni=ya-n'gi, an-uba-ni-yun g they did not know that (MSg) (man's n.) he went c that (ANA)

ana-lu1i, ni=ya-n'gi ni:yarana:ga-n' n'una-n'ni, n'ar-ula-gl-yun g country he went c he looked p he saw her p that (FSg)

n'ara-malana:jii-n'un 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 "allyun g nun-n'gara-n'eu=ji:jii", ni:yama:-' na-garangu, Q you are all sores he did that p (man's n.) 

1 "i:ti", n'1-ga'-yun g n'1-ya-nun g, n'1-ga'-yun g n'1-ya-nun g yes! as for her she did that, as for her she did that p n'ara-mangi-n'un g, "all right, wa:-'gayigi-n'ye

before woman 

I will play for you

n'ani:jaldha-n' an-u-gu-ni, wa:-'gayigi-n'ye, ni:ha-na-yi:1, I will go past p to there (see above) watch me p

"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'gi yu-gu-ni na-garangu, ni:yama-n' yari he went c to there (man's n.) he did that p and

nu:wa-burhi-n' y "adaha ni:ha-na-yi:", he rubbed her all over p he rubbed her eye p now watch me c

ni:ya-nun g ma-garangu, ni:ga:-'gi-nig a yu:ga:-la, he did that p (man's n.) he went backwards and then from there

ana-wugudari ni:lu:wa-n:ne-li:ja-ga-n' mari ni:wa:wanbi:-n' headdress made it stand up and he did it p to it p

ni:yu:ma:na-ni adaha, she saw him 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'1a yu:ga:-la mana-wil:bi:la ma-ya:bi:n' y and then from there tapestick it spoke

2 ni:ga-ri-n'iu:nun g mana-wil:bi:la, mana-wil:bi:la, ni:ga-wi-n'iu:nun g, his tapestick his

ni:ga:-'i:-ba:j-miri ni:-'ba:ji:-'ni, or-'ba:ni da-ji he himself he tapped sticks for himself p that (ANA) there

ni:wa-man:wa:man:-a:-dai da-ji, wa:='ri a:ma:na-ni, ni:wa-ya:ba:-ju he danced p there not he saw her she only saw him, ni:yama-n' y, jelgi ni:ya:jaldh-n' y, ma-garangu, ni:ga:-'yu:n g he did that p go past he went past p (man's n.) as for her

n'ar-ula-gl-yun g n'1a:-'gayigi-n'gala n'ara-mangi-n'un g adaha that (MSg) after he played for her p woman then
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).

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.
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 LambarinYa.

Note: These are reefs or small rocky island in the Gulf.

Garangu went past it, more he went down, he went in that country where it was black coral whatchamacallit that was there. 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).

He passed (LambarinYa) 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).

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 headress 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.

As for Garangu, he said to himself, "Maybe these people can see my headress." He said that. "I will lie down (so they can't see me)," he said. Garangu lay down then. That is all.

TEXT 29
JAJABUN
Dick (Burbulug)

That Jajabug, 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 Malayin ritual songs (with tapsticks but without didjeridu accompaniment). He was clapping the tapsticks together. Jajabug was there then.

As for Garangu, he said to himself, "Maybe these people can see my headress." He said that. "I will lie down (so they can't see me)," he said. Garangu lay down then. That is all.
Then he got up and went to Ami-giltulhu. He stopped there at that place. That was his country, Jajabun (man’s n.). He played (danced and sang) there.

After that he went down to saltwater and there farther on he saw fire (intr.) and made fire. He sang song (ritual) for it, and then that (ANA) fire he went along to the place Mungurjira, and there he beat the tapsticks together.

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 Muncharjira, and there he sang ritual songs.

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 (Lates calcarifer), water python (Liasis fuscus), etc.

He was coming, holding two dogs (one male, one female). Their names were) Lumbaljagi 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.

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 Buwaruburu clan, a minor clan in the Ritharngu-speaking area to the north and northwest of the Nunggubuyu region.
Note: Dick later decided that Lumanumbi (cf. above) was not the correct name of the female dog, and gave the name as Wunganga~inY.

29.8 aba an-uba-ni-ja wan=ya:rigi-ni n'a ba-na then from that he carried them, and then it is there 2 mana-n'adhu, mana-n'adhu, winina-n'ulu=raya-'; cyclic they (Mdu) urinated on it (MANA)c winina-n'ulu=raya-'; mana-n'adhu, agaba wu-ya-n'e gi arwi-yaj, they urinated on it cyclic then they went upward 1 yu-gu-ni, wuru-ya:gi=ya-n'gi:; da-ji-ruj, to there they went cyclic further on on the way

29.9 n'auw-ni-dagau na an-uba-ni ana-lhai, ba-ni n'a I look for its name that country it is there and then

1 ana-lhai or-1 'ba-ni a-lhai-uj, ni=ya-n'e gi n'a ba-gu country that in country he went cyclic and then ni-daja-n'e gi, ni=daja-n'e gi ba-ni::; n'e gi n'i lajagi=-'n, he sang ritual song cyclic it is there more he got up 1 ni=lahagi=-'n'ata yu-gu-ni a-lhai-an'bej-guy, then to there to another country

29.10 ni-ya:n'ga=ya-n'gi::;ni-ya:n'ga=ya-n'gi go:ba-ni that he went cyclic 1 na-garangu da-ji-ruj wani-lha:garana-g'p wuru-wuruji,n'e gi (man's n.) there farther on he reached them people more be-gu ni=daja-n'e gi, n'e gi n'i=ya:n'ga=ya-n'gi::; n'e gi, there he sang ritual song cyclic more he went cyclic and then 1 wa:barinun, an-uba-ni ana-lhai, wa:barinun, (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 Magayin ritual songs. Then he went again (to) that place, Wa:barinun.

29.11 ba-wa wara-landhurg, wara:-'rmwindi, it (WARA) is there dog many (WARA)

1 ba-wa wara-landhurg ba-wa, wara-dreaming it is there totemic object (WARA) it is there wara-landhurg ba-wa wu-ara-grama-2ju-ya, na-garangu-yin'wun', dog it is there they all stand of (man's n.)

1 gada! na:jajabun, na:jajabun-jin'wun', ba-wa wara-landhurg oops! (man's n.) of (man's n.) it is there dog wani-ara-grama=-'ru-n', he abandoned them all

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:wi-n'Y, it is there (ANA) cuttlefish he sang for itp

1 ni-daili-n'Y adaba, mana-n'ungulu mari na-yadbuwa, he sang ritual songp then seaweed and cuttlefish ba-ni n'a mai:-'ra-ma:ra:balli:-' mana-n'urj it is there and then they (MANA) all come out bubble(s) 1 algu:ya'gi, suru'urj, ba-ni aba na-garangu ni-bura:-', anything bubble(s) it is there now (man's n.) he sits gada! na:jajabun n'anu-mij-gajagya-n'Y, n'anu-mij-gajagya-n'Y, oops! (man's n.) I missed his namep

1 *na-jajabun-jin'wun', (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). Ooops! I mean Jajabun, I got his name wrong. Jajabun.

* Here Absolute suffix */-YUng/, normally not used with personal names, is used in an emphatic context.

29.13 ana:-'ni ana-garagag, ni-ga-wi-n'in'wun'Y ana:-'ni this (ANA) ritual poles his this


1 ni-ga-waj yama, ni=wa:ma:ngndha-n'e gi an-uba-ni ana-song, ni-ga-waj it is he because he made it cyclic that it is he ja:jabun, 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 guil) ritual, 'owned' chiefly by the Nununggargalug clan (Yirija moiety) and their affiliates in nearby language regions (Anindhilyagwa, Ritharrngu). The Ngurira (of the Mandhariruyt 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 Nununggargalug), and eventually goes on into Ritharrngu 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 Ritharrngu area), each have their songs (including some public songs) associated with the ritual.

TEXT 30 GILYIRINGGILYIRI

20.1 n'arugarijj dreaming, gilyirirn'gilirirn, da-ni- "lu:" (name of people) there it comes
alga, dreaming m'i-burarr-" , mari yinunguni, waran'yu, (place n.) it (N'ARA) sits and (place n.) (place n.)
other side, a-yinunguni-yin'un'country, dreaming far side of (place n.)

'ngi-yara:-'ba:-'ba:-', nu-ga-waj-najir: ba-ya:-zi: yu:-gu-ni, it (N'ARA) bulges if it is you you will go to there

you been look.
A dugong dreaming site. The Gilyirirn'gilirirn (group of people in myth for Gunabibi ritual). Over there at the place Algir it (dugong) sits, and at Yinaunguni, and at Warnan'bu on the far side of Yinaunguni. The (dugong) dreaming bulges out (of the ground). If you (Heath) go there, you could see it.

20.2 nuga, nuga, dreaming n'arugar, gilyirirn'gilirirn, mari stone dugong (n. of people) and
 mana-n'adugu, ba-na, dreaming, mari ana-wulmunari, rope it (MANA) is there and boomerang
mana-gunabibi-yin'un', ba-ni, ana-waran'bu, malajin'anga, of Gunabibi ritual it (ANA) is there (place n.) (place n.)
malajin'anga, long way wu-gu-ru ya:-ji-ji:-'1, wu-bulara-" bla (place n.) it (ANA) from along here it sits of (creation)

nuga, waran'bu, stone (place n.)

A (large) rock, the dugong dreaming. The Gilyirirngilirirn people. Also rope is there as a dreaming, and the boomerang...the sort used in the Gunabibi ritual. It is there, Warnan'bu. Malajin'anga (a place), a long way from here, having lots of rock. Warnan'bu.

Note: The Gilyirngilirirn are proceeding southward along the coast from Lulmara (see 30.3) to Wargujaja and Walgundu, via such places as Warnan'bu. The order of presentation of place names in this text is not exactly chronological order (which, however, was established afterwards). The Gilyirngilirirn hunt dugong (with harpoons and rope) at various places, leaving behind a number of dreaming sites (dugong, rope, etc.).

20.3 n'apa wu:-ya-n'gi adaba an-u-gu-ni:::, xxx n'apa-va and then they went then to there (unclear) mine
2 ana-country ana:-"n'ba: ana-country, ba-ga:-'la wu:-ya-n'gi other country from there they went from (place n.) speared (harpooned) it, dugong
ba-ga:-'la lujmara-ala, wirin'a-ya-ri n'apa-n'arugar, from there from there (place n.) they (harpooned) they speared (harpooned) it, dugong
'ana-dreaming, i::: xxx, n'apa wu:-yaldir-n' dancing (meaningless) (unclear) and then they went passed ya:-'la wu:-ya-n' gi ji::: j wu:-ya-n'gi here they come (WARA) they went there they went 
"gagagagaga-gaga-gaga!" waran'bu wu:-ya-n', xxx nuraran'xxx, (sound) (place n.) they did that (unclear) (place n.)

wuluyra mari n'apa, or:-'wa:-gu na-lhanganig, (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'bu, saying "Gaga!" Also at Nuraran' and Wuluyra, and there where the salt is.
You (Heath?) will go across that way, to the place Mangajara. 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.

They cut out the tongue of the crocodile. In the morning they got up (and went to~ whatchamacallit. The places Namaygami, Yarngala~a, Bun mabunYma (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.

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 Gilyiringgilyiri, went to Walgundu, YimurnYugamba~i, and Waruwaru~ma~i.

The man Yawuraln 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.
The GilyiringgilYiri 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).

They (mosquitoes) massacred them then there it speared them repeatedly. 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.

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.
from there behind it went, and then it is there

milwalambala, milwalambala adaba ba-ni \( n^6 \) a, ba-ni (place n.)

\( n^6 \) i-waj-bi:-'ni ngara-mula, mari wan\( l \)-yiba-n\( y \), wan\( l \)-ga-ni, it painted itself, mosquito and it massacred them, it appeared then,
wan\( l \)-ja:du-ga-n\( Y \) adaba wan\( l \)-ga-ni wa:-ruj, ngara-mula, it finished them then it speared them, people mosquito

Then they (mosquitoes) went around (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.

\( n^6 \) ka-ni ana:-'rgi wu:-ngara-ngalba=wa!ga:-' ana:-'la-wuy, an-u-gu-ni, there some all jumped in water c to river to there

\( n^6 \) a-ya:-la yarara-wala, 

song: gurgawubi::: gurgawubi::: manawubi::: manawubi::: manawubi::: manawubi::: 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.

\( n^6 \) ana:-'la adaba Y, wara-wuru, ngi-ga yuwa-ga:-'la adaba, ba-ni (place n.)

They (two men) looked and (said), "What on earth (did) these (mosquitoes) do to these (people)?" They sang the mosquito song.

They spoke about (the mosquito song), and then they sang the mosquito song after all-about sing-'em-bout, wirin\( a \)-dugubuddhi:-'

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.

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 3PI form wir-in-yama:-'a (line 3 of this segment) was emended by the speaker later to 3MDu wini-yama=yama:'.

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 distance away), the two stood up together, with (the water of the river) up here (i.e. up to their chests).

\( n^6 \) a-ya:-nu:-'-wuy nan=duma-ng" , adaba wini=ruma-n\( Y \), this way we-(InDu) will go, then they (MDu) went, then

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 Murungun clan and its affiliates in the region. There are other Gunabibi myths involving distinct locations associated with the clans of the Mambali semimoiety, chiefly in the Warnarlung-Naya region; some of these will appear in my forthcoming work on Maram (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 (1961). For a Ngandi myth involving the present (MurunGun) Gunabibi tradition, see Heath (1978a:229-232), where a rainbow serpent (instead of mosquitoes) attacks the people at Walgundu (Ngandi walgundu), being noted in connection with 30.2, above, the MurunGun myth begins in the north, in Nunggubuyu country at Lulmara (if not farther north). The GilYiringgilYiri, 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 GilYiringgilYiri reach Walgundu) in which a giant sweaps some of them out of the water with a net, as though he were catching fish.

The GilYiringgilYiri are sometimes associated with mermaids, especially by my Mara informants. I did not hear this connection among my Nunggubuyu informants, but do not know just how (if at all) the GilYiringgilYiri are physically visualised, v g

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.

Note: Because the nonhuman NA class and the human MEg class are often indistinguishable, it is difficult to say whether (and if so where) the transition to MEg occurs here. Both Moon and Native Cat are clearly MEg later on in the text, but in 34.1 it say well be that they are still NA. Indeed, the two synonyms for 'native cat' are in different noun-classes (nYa:lig is NA, wulambag is WARA), and this difference is visible in 34.1; later on, however, wulambag turns up in the humanised MEg form na-wulamba-jun g, even taking human Sg •-yun g.

**TEXT 34 MOON AND NATIVE CAT (ORIGIN OF DEATH)**

ljarangana

34.1 wugayuwanun§, wini-buri-g $ na-jabana mari na-nYa:lig, (place n.) they (MDu) satc moon and cat

1 wulambag, waa-wulambag wa-da-wu:' mari na-jabana ya-gi, cat that (WARA) and moon it is here (NA)

jabana nYa-gu-ru wara-wuru-wuru jabana, white men new-moon, moon we (InPi) people moon

4 wini-saya-na nai-gi jabana, nYa-gu-rai-yun § jabana, nYa:ligindi, they call it this (NA) moon as for us (InPi) moon moon

Moon and Native Cat were staying at the place Wugayuwanun§. That Native Cat there and this Moon. We, the people (i.e. Aboriginales) call it 'jabana,' and white people call it (new) moon. We (call it) "jabana" or "nYa:ligindi."

Note: The common term for 'native cat' is nYa:lig and for 'moon' is jabana. ljarangana also gives less common synonyms, perhaps because he knew I was interested in exotic vocabulary. He includes me (Heath) here in InPi pronominal forms.
Wugayuwanyung was in there." They said that. He, the one of the Murnung clan, Native Cat, said that. The other one, Moon, was of the Mambai clan (or semimoiety).

and then he went into waterp this of Mambai clan

J. julub! a:-gugu a-billabong wu=yama:-' wu=buri-¢ ,runggal

i=-ngambi-n Y, na:-'ga:-'=garangga:-' ni=ya-y, ni=ya-y,

he went in and hidp from there moon he went in and hidp

he hid behind itp he lookedc

Then he (Moon) went into the water, the one of the Mambai clan. He went into the water. The billabong (pond) was like this (speaker stretches arms out wide), it was (wide), a river.

He (Native Cat) spent the night there, then looked for him (Moon). He another there. He (Moon) was hiding (behind trees), he had gone to the trees) and hidden. From over there Moon went in and behind them.

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.

34.7 asa ni=mabunu-la=lalagi=-'n Y yuwa:=-'la ata ,asa:-'ni then he came up as copperp from there then this

2 ana-n=agara ana:-'ni, ni=mabunu-la=lalagi=-'n Y, "way! bone this he came up as corpsep oh! nganu-gi=wa-n g", yagu na:-'gani=-gi=-galalidi=wa-n Y

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 (Aboriginals), didn't he? They died then, they keep now.

Note: In other words, the death of Native Cat was the first death and set a precedent; now all people must die eventually.

34.8 ni=yama-n Y da-ni na-n=ailig, na-walamba-jung, he in turn cat and then cat (MSG form)

1 ni=gal=galalidi=wa-n Y, wara-wuru-wuruji yu:ga, wuru=ngawi=-n Y , wuru=ngawa=ngawi:-'na, people Q they diedp 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 (Aboriginals), 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 all the compounding initial -mabunu-.
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.

**TEXT 35**  
**LONG-TAILED RAY**  
Milton (Gabagja)

25.1 nura-n'gi yuma-ni-'la wa wyn-gala,  
he went, there it comes from whatchamacallit  
ray sp.

25.2 a-bululurij-gala ba-ni-'la adaba niya-n'gi, ni-yama-n'  
there it comes then he went, he did that,  
from (place n.) there it comes then

25.3 aba ya-jii-'la wam-g,  
then along here whatchamacallit it is there

25.4 ni-surgula-n'a-n'a-wulwul, ana-lhail a-wulwul,  
he lay down, (place n.) country it is there  
then

25.5 n'igi-n'gi ni-yuma-n' n'igi-n'gi ba-ni ni-surgula-n'a-n'a,  
more he went, more it is there he lay down
he did that then to there he slid along ground, then to there then he went, then he went, then he went, then he went, then he went, then he went, then he went, then he went. Then he jumped into the water, going to there, this way. The old people were alive (i.e. in the dreamtime).

Then he leapt to the far side (of the island). He went along, he made that place. Then he leapt to the far side (i.e. to Groote Eylandt). It is there, the place Langgulhu, Langgulhu (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).

Then he got up to there to whatchamacallit he did that. Then he leapt to the far side (i.e. to Bickerton Island). He went like this (gliding along). He went along to whatchamacallit, the place Aruwyara.

When the old people were alive (i.e. in the dreamtime). Back in the old days, long ago, when the old people were alive (i.e. in the dreamtime).
Many of them (rays) came back this way. He (one ray), however, went into the land at Angurgu. 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.

a:-'nba:li ni=ya-nggi, ba-ni:-'la, this (ANA) coming from (place n.) he went there it comes

a:-'nba:li ni=ya-nggi, ba-ni:-'la, this (ANA) coming from (place n.) he went there it comes

ni-yama:::-n Y na-yiwaQdharngan Y ni=lha-ngi-jga-n Y an-uwa:-ni, he did that (place n.) he made it stand up that

He went along this way, from Bamburuwi, along there at Aqba:li and there at Gafangari. He went that way, to the place. Yiwandharngan Y (Central Hill is the English term). He erected that place Yiwandharngan Y

Note: This is a major location on Groote Eylandt. Bamburuwi, Aqba:li, and Gafangari were mentioned earlier as locations passed by early in long-tailed ray's journey; the speaker is here backing up somewhat.

yiwaQdharngan Y ni=ya-nggi::: a~aba ni=bura-nga-n Y Qa, (place n.) he went c then he sat down now (Eng.)

yiwaQdharngan Y ni=ya-nggi::: a~aba ni=bura-nga-n Y Qa, (place n.) he went c then he sat down now (Eng.)

He went to Central Hill and stopped then. He had also stopped at Gafangari. He reached another (place) then. Central Hill. He made Ga~angari, another place, then.

bu-gu-ni shovelnose ray to there whatchamacallit they all went (ANA)c it (ANA)

bu-gu-ni shovelnose ray to there whatchamacallit they all went (ANA)c it (ANA)

They (other rays) went that way, to whatchamaacallit: eagle rays (Aetobatus), devil rays (Manta), all kinds. They made a country, the ones which had jumped.

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 ~unYjirpi 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-garangari), an important Nunggubuyu clan of the Mandha:yung moiety (relevant places are Aqba:li, Bululurij, and Arijbila, the latter being an important burial ground). The ray makes a brief detour northward to the territory of the Manggura 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)

wa:-lirag, hole it made itc hole grass
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.
LONG-NECKED TORTOISE AND BANDICOOT

Milton (Gabagja)

Text 37

1. yi:-mabanganu, wini-mam'a=ma-ni1 wa:-galama:ranu

mussel (NA) it (WARA) got it torsotise

2. yi:-mabala mabala mabala, wini-mam'a=ma-ni1 aba ba-gu

mussel mussel it got it then there

wiguwugoni ma-gu:ma:'yu:n nylon-mangarag adaya yuwa:mu

permanent as for it (MANA) bandicoot then there

m=='dadi-n Y

mana-wan~urag a~aba,

it went up slope 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).

¢=na-nga:-'aba

wu-gu-ru, a:gamba:-'a~aba,

it burned it then it cooked it in oven then

mana-waggurag wu-gu-ru, wu-gu-ru

bandicoot it tortoise permanent there

wa:'~i-ny, ma:'~i-ny

aba

it (WARA) shouted it (MANA) shouted then

mana-waggurag wu-gu-ru, wu-gu-ru

bandicoot it tortoise permanent there

wa:'~i-ny, ma:'~i-ny

in line 1 of this segment (preceding page) is a noun-class error and is corrected by the speaker immediately to ma:'~i-ny (with bandicoot as subject).

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). Then tortoise (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).

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).

Note: In this text, Milton frequently reduces WARAn verbal

prefix wuru- to wu- (normally the ANAa form), as in wa:'~i-ny

'the fire is burning out'. However, we are dealing with a

WARAn class noun, as shown in da-wi:-'la 'there it comes' (same

line). The form wa:'~i-ny in line 1 of this segment (preceding

page) is a noun-class error and is corrected by the speaker immediately to ma:'~i-ny (with bandicoot as subject).
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.

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.
40.1 Rabulhin Y ni-yama-n Y, mari n'ara-mambunana, ma.'ni-ra 'mi-yama-n Y, mari ngara-mambunana, (man's n.) he did that (and) (woman's n.)

40.2 ni-wiri-n' Y un' Y wirin' a-wanagai-, mani-n' Y un' Y

40.3 ni-wiri-n' Y un' Y wirin' a-wanagai-, mani-n' Y un' Y

40.4 ni-wiri-n' Y un' Y wirin' a-wanagai-, mani-n' Y un' Y

Rabulhin Y did that, and Mambunana. They had a girl, a female child. They (people) took them along from Ngarbiyamayi. (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 Nunggargalug clan, and Mambugaela (his wife) a woman of the inland (Nganditing) 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.

40.5 ni-yama-n Y, mari ngara-mambunana. They had a girl, a female child. They (people) took them along from Ngarbiyamayi. (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 Nunggargalug clan, and Mambunana (his wife) a woman of the inland (Nganditing) 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.

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...
After that it (another star) appeared. Then he (MambadinY) got them (the humans) up. They (the wives) carried her (the little girl, daughter of E) 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 Ardhja.

40.13 They set off again and went to Amalibil. "The road comes along here litArangarbin. (Ma~ambadinY said,) (people) have gone.spreads (flies) out, where they went again and reached the place Wumajbar. "I went astray at Ayindur. MarambadinY 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 (E) arrived 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 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 Ma~ambadiny, who conceals them and helps them escape while the other devils are singing and dancing at night.
He went from there from (place n.) he transported it of type of feathered stick murugu, ana-wunkubal, wuru=maya:-'murun'un, wuru=maya:-' they sang (n. of clan) they sangC

whole-lot, everybody, ara:-'rawindi, all many

Yiwiyiwuj (name of one of the Murungun clan devils). From whatamba tell, the place Wunanayimai. Oops! Not Wunanayimayi, rather the place Wuwarmawalhulu. He came this way from Gadjiira. He carried his own special type of feathered stick (murugu) to Wuwarmawalhulu. (He was with a large group of devils.) They were singing public songs (i.e. those with dijeridu and tapstick accompaniment), of the Murungun clan. All of them (were doing that).

Note: Yiwiyiwuj and the devils are coming south from the coastal region north of Runggubuyu country (e.g. Gadjiira, apparently in the Dhay'yi-speaking area) and are now entering Runggubuyu country.

41.2 wuru=maya:- an-uba-ni, wuru-wannga=wannga:-', they sangC that (ANA) they dancedC

2 wuru-wannga=wannga:-' wuru=lama-n', an-uba-ni:-'a, adaba da-ji it dancedC from there then there

1 ni=lhamara-n1 adaba, adha:dhari, ni=lhamara-n1, adaba he came after then behind he came after then

1 dha:mbulg wuru=ma:!!dha-ngi, wuru=ma:!!dha-ngi, feathered stick it in turn (ANA) here it is (ANA) they got itC

adaba war-uba-ni murun'un 'devil-devil wuru=yari:gi:-ni, then those (WABA) (n. of clan) devil(s) they transported itC

1 ana-dha:mbulg bla wiyindan'ang'-guy, wiyindan'ang'-guy feathered stick of (creole) to (place n.)

aba wuru=ma:!!g, wiyindan'ang'-guy wuru=yari:gi:-ni then they wentC to (place n.) they transported itC

1 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'ang'. They went to Wiyindan'ang' (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, ana-mu:nY-jinYun,g, type of feathered stick of head hair (murugu)
They passed it (place n.) then they reached it. Then they danced. They 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 Yurang.

They reached it. 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 Yurang.

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 Yurang.

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 Yurang.

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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 Yurang.

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 Yurang.

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 Yurang.

The devils were singing from over that way. They were singing the feathered stick (song). Yiwiyiwuj (was singing) of the murugu feathered stick. They could hear the sound (~u:::!) of the didjeridu (drone-pipe, musical instrument). Over here, from the place Wiyindangan Y (Cape Barrow, on the mainland), they were doing that. (Sound of the didjeridu, and of men chanting.)

The devils were singing from over that way. They were singing the feathered stick (song). Yiwiyiwuj (was singing) of the murugu feathered stick. They could hear the sound (~u:::!) of the didjeridu (drone-pipe, musical instrument). Over here, from the place Wiyindangan Y (Cape Barrow, on the mainland), they were doing that. (Sound of the didjeridu, and of men chanting.)

The devils were singing from over that way. They were singing the feathered stick (song). Yiwiyiwuj (was singing) of the murugu feathered stick. They could hear the sound (~u:::!) of the didjeridu (drone-pipe, musical instrument). Over here, from the place Wiyindangan Y (Cape Barrow, on the mainland), they were doing that. (Sound of the didjeridu, and of men chanting.)

The devils were singing from over that way. They were singing the feathered stick (song). Yiwiyiwuj (was singing) of the murugu feathered stick. They could hear the sound (~u:::!) of the didjeridu (drone-pipe, musical instrument). Over here, from the place Wiyindangan Y (Cape Barrow, on the mainland), they were doing that. (Sound of the didjeridu, and of men chanting.)
They (devils) danced. From Yurang they went to Wilili, a Murungun clan country. Then they got up and went to Warawi, (also) Murungun, my (clan's) country. They danced. After that, the devils went to WUEuwuryi. The place where the rocks jut out over the water. They did that. To the place where they did that.

41.11 "yuy:::!

They danced. This way people...

41.12 n^i^jan^6 an-uba-ni:-'la wuru-wannga=wannga:-'

Then they danced some more.

41.13 "quiiii: yayayayayaya!

They danced, the people, coming this way. There is a long rock jutting out (over the water). They danced, (going) that way. They danced and danced, at the place Wuluyi, my (Murungun) country, wuru-wannga=wannga:-'. Then there they danced.

41.13 "quiiii: yayayayayaya!

They danced and danced. It got dark (at night). Still at night, they sang (going) that way. They sang and arrived at Alhargan.

41.15 wuru-yama:-', wuru=wara-n^6

They sang.

41.14 "yai-ni n^a^-yama: wuru-wuluyi

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.

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 Wiyindangan Y. See also note to 41.8, above.
They danced. They went along and danced at the place Amagumbil (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.

Little Creek an-uga-ga:-'la ai-gugu, gugu, (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 Wiyindangan-Y, they dancing nearby. Then they danced at the place Amajida, called "Little Creek" (in local English). From there (they went to) fresh water.

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 Jarai to indicate the precise tune being played simply by reciting the didjeridu-player's sounds.

They only danced; they only danced. They danced only; they only danced. They clapped hands only, they only danced. They only danced.

Then they moved away. They danced as they went, they were still dancing. They were still clapping their hands and dancing. At whatachamacallit, Wugun-Y. They played the didjeridu. There is a rock jutting out (there). Then they got up and came this way (west). They did that.

Murugu, na-murugu aba ni=yurugan-Y, type of feathered stick then he erected it

Na-yiwiyiwu, ni=lam-Y, ba-gu, na-yiwiyiwu, wu=yamn=W, (n. of devil) it stands there (n. of devil) they danced

Na-yiwiyiwu=jinYm ni=maya:::-' ni=yurugan-Y na-nurugu, of (n. of devil) he sang (he erected it) feathered stick

Maguy, yir=jinYm, maguy, mana-maguy, ni=lam-Y, pandanus this type of thing pandanus pandanus it (NA) stands wu=yamn=W,na=yamn=W, and then (sound) to where?

Nimbarumburuma-N, nimbarumburuma-N, a-ni-ga-wuy we (in Pl) will go into water, we (in Pl) will go, to where? we will go into water, we (in Pl) will go, to where? Wiyiyiwu constructed a murugu feathered stick, which stands there. They danced. The feathered stick of Wiyiyiwu, 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 ada-ba wuru=maya-n, adaba ju:-ji, mana-madhalag, mana=la-nda, then they sang, then go beach, ju:-ji, ju:-ji then they went.

wara=truga, ab=ana-lla-ga:yuyu ab=ana=ya=ngi 

shone it was abandoned then to saltwater then went.

wara=truga, ab=ana-lla-ga:yuyu ab=ana=ya=ngi 

then they went.

41.22 “du::!: yaya=yaya=yaya! yay!, yay!, adaba wi:ya!, (sound) (sound) (sound) now finish!

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

big mob.

It dawned because now we (InPl) will return, many.

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

devil(s) then it (ANA) returned to humans.

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

then they went to there then to shore they returned.

41.23 wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa, 

waduna nga wa=ngi nasun-y nga=ngi 

they went and then they all stood up.

wara=truga wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa 

similar it is there (place n.) and then it is here.

wara=truga wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa 

who danced, pandanus this kind of thing (MANA).

wara=truga wuru=wan=n=wa 

humans.

(They chanted and played the didjeridu.) (Yiyiyiyuy 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.

41.22 wara-mulun=argi “a-ni-ga-wuy nasun-u nga=ngi 

other group to where? we (InPl) will go.

madhalag wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa 

waduna nga wa=ngi nasun-y nga=ngi 

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). 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=ja:n=n=sa ma=ngi ya:bugi, wuru=wan=n=wa 

more and then one time they danced.

wara=truga wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa wuru=wan=n=wa, 

n=ja:n=n=sa ma=ngi ya:bugi.

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). 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.

41.22 “du::!: yaya=yaya=yaya! yay!, yay!, adaba wi:ya!, (sound) (sound) (sound) now finish!

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

big mob.

It dawned because now we (InPl) will return, many.

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

devil(s) then it (ANA) returned to humans.

wara=truga, ab=ana=ya=ngi 

then they went to there then to shore they returned.

It mist (unclear) as for it there feathered stick it stands.
miyamandar, you savvy miyamandar, in saltwater of (creole) tree sp.
yai-ji ni-yuruga-n'Y ni-yuruga-n'Y, na-yiwiwiwu, aba finish.

Note: miyamandar (Pemphis acidula) is a coastal tree sp.,
only found on small islands and near beaches. Apparently the
totemic site associated with Yiwiwiwu 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' Yiwiwiwu, 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'arugali-ji-jin'un6 mari yi-n'ala:ligi-yin'un6, 
this of dugong and of green turtle

ana-lai:mu wara-mi::i:nY-ngambara-waj ana-`ni ana-lai:mu
word among elders this word
wu=ya:ma-`, wini-yan6-ga=ya-n6gi::i: na-n'ala:ligi mari
they did that, they (dugong) went

42.2 adaba ni-ga ni-yarugali-ji
then he went

42.3 ni-ga-ya-n6gi::i: n6a
he ate it

42.4 adaba ni-ga=-a
then he ate it:

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-yan6-ga=ya-n6gi::i: n6a, adi:ma,
then he went and then kurrajong1

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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.

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 (Aboriginals) 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.

The myth has a variety of related versions. One, told to me by Madi (unfortunately in a text too muddled to be worth reproducing in detail), simply has Dugong eating seeds from kurrajong (which has dangerous bristles covering the seeds) and getting them in her eyes, causing blindness, while Green Turtle eats seeds from the less dangerous kurrajong; (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\textsc{ara} 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 M\textsc{g} and F\textsc{g}, respectively. That is, the corresponding human noun classes are used, as in some other texts. Although NA and M\textsc{g}, and N\textsc{ara} and F\textsc{g}, are often indistinguishable, the prefix in n\textsuperscript{u}='ndi-n\textsuperscript{y} 'she just grazed him' (42.3-6) has 3\textsc{g} subject and 3\textsc{f} (not NA) object; with NA object we would get n\textsuperscript{ini}='ndi-n\textsuperscript{y}. Only at the very beginning do we get the prefix yi:- of the NA and N\textsc{ara} classes (line 1 of 42.1).
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). 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 “Aji janjan namani:...”

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. Then they (two) flew away. (They flew) around up high.
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) chipped at the tree. Again they flew away (and stopped) over there, farther on.

43.7 wiu-wil-wil-wil! n'ja ga girjag! an'ndu more (flying) and then no! strongly strongly

wina-yu-n'gi, araga wa-rig-n'yu landhur-jun'bugi j they went, suddenly it returned, only dog

ninggu-n'yu, ninggu-mi-n'yu, ana-gara-wuy ninggu-yara-yarijgi-ni::: it got him, it transported him,

wina adaba yuwa-gu wu-n'jedu j ninggu-buri-n'yu, and then then at burrow it put him,

ninggu-buri-n'yu yuwa-gu wu-n'jedu landhur-jun', it put him, there burrow dog

They flew around. Instead of stopping, they continued farther and farther, more (into the bushland). Then it (devil) went back (giving up the chase). It got the (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'jyu wini-yangga=ya-n'gi wunu-ma-garu-ni, they (MDu) returned, they looked for him,

wunu-garu-ni adaba wini'gi=n'jyu, wunu-garu-ni they looked for him then they (MDu) returned, they looked for him

ni=n'ra, ninggu-mi-n'yu, wini-yangga=n'gi and then he was absent it got him, they (MDu) listened,

wina ba-gi a-gara-ruj, "n'gi:::: c ::::, n'jo::::" and then he is there in hole

adaba ni=n'gara=n'gi then he howled.

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 looked at, and there he (the dog) was in the hole (i.e. they heard him). He was howling.

43.9 wani-garu-ni, "n'gi ni=n'gari:::\", n'ga=jan=n'gara=n'gi he looked for them in is here he howls what will we do? p

n'ga nagari=n'yu da-juni ba-bura=:\ n'ga=ya-rig-jugui, and you (Sg) there sit\ and it is only

adaba n=manjari=n'yu=n'gi, "n'jo::::, n'jo::::", aba ni=yabir=n'yu 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 n'i=ya=yara=n'gi n'i=ya=yara=n'gi n'i=la=ya=n'gi he went, he went, he stood up

n=i=ma=rig=n'gi, da-gi-ruj, "n'jo::::, n'jo::::", he listened, he is there farther on (howling)

n'i=ya=yara=n'gi, da-gi-ruj ni=ya=yara=n'gi, he howled he is there farther on he did that, he did it

n'i=ya=yara=n'gi wu=man=muli=n'gi n'ga wu=lagara=ya-y they (ANA) lay and then they (ANA) slept,

ya-rig=la ya-yara=la, ana-'ra=n'uu=ji=ji=ji=ji=ji=yin'un, this side this side all having sores (ANA)

ana-'ra=yara=ma=ma=ma=ma=ma=yin'un, ana-badiri\, 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 n'i=ya=yara=n'gi n'i=ya=yara=n'gi n'i=ya=yara=n'gi

wunu=n'jyu, wa-gi-ruj, "n'jo::::!", wunu=n'jyu, and then there farther on (howling) slow and then

nu=har=n'gi, nu=hu=n'gi=n'gi, wini-yanggi=n'gi wini-yanggi=n'gi he untied him, he lifted him, they (MDu) went,

wini-yangga=n'gi, yin'ga wu=gur=ma=janu=n'gi, nearly it (ANA) heard then rustling

an-uba=n'gi, that (ANA) devil (sound) it did that

an-uba=n'gi, wuni=ha, ni=ha, yin\ga voice (ANA) they (MDu) stood nearly

wu=man=ara=n'gi, it (ANA) snored.

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.
He went and then it opened 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 stood still. He (the rescuer) stood still. He did that, and then he enchanted it. Then he applied magic (by singing chant) to it. The hole opened up. He sent him (the dog) through. Gently he came out through the hole. He closed up the hole, again by magic.

Note: The verb -nYa=Ea-wi- is also used for cursing someone by magic. It is often translated as transitive 'to sing' in local English, hence 'I sang him', etc.

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.

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.
this they did, and then they told me.

and then they told

I nu-ru nara: 'ndiri niri=ngan g, we did not want we wanted and then 
"numba=maga-na, lha:wu, a-Ihawadhawara-yun g", tell (it) to us words of dreaming

and then (ExPl) did that they told (ExPl) then they told

The old (now dead) told us this, 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 (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 The two flying beings then return, and the elder of the two makes a daring rescue of the dog, who is being in some kind of underground cave with an open entrance to it. At the beginning of the text, the devil here is identified specifically as ngala:ji. 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 MugunYulu text (my text 17) but identifies the two women as stick insect devils, 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 until 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 (Gabaraj)

buffalo it took her arm, and then it waited for her. woman

and then they told

Buffalo. It grabbed a woman, a girl, by the arm, in order to have an illicit affair with her. It plucked 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-.
It put her on its back, this way. It carried her on its back. Then it wanted to get some shade, so it made her go into the shade. She lay there and stayed with her. It put its back on her and then it got up with her and carried it on its back.

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.

Then they speared it (buffalo). They speared it repeatedly (they riddled it with spears). They cut it up. Then they finished it. From that they finished it now.

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 NgARA class.
* =yabi-'- (j)ga- is the causative of =yabi-'- 'to enter'. itself

45.3 ba-gu adaba, ba-gu adaba n'u-wanga='nbi-ni
then there it did it to he

2 n'fu-jirri-جيرم=4في, ying'ga wa='smbuljii-ni war-uba-wa-yun6
it had fun with her, nearly it (WARA) was born then (WARA)
war-jujuju yagui, lhamugual-wugij, ying'ga wa='smbuljii-ni yagui
babies (WARA) but only crocodile nearly it was born but

4 war-uba-wa-yun6 war-gujuju n'ũ-ya-nggī-ma=ga:, those (WARA) babies it went then

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'ũ-='chawgamarja-n'ũ-ma:Qa: an-uba-ni ana-⁴-ham'64, it spilled (it) out for her, that (ANA) small fish

1 ana-n'ũjiija n'ũ=iwi-ni-yinũ'ũ n'ũ=wu-ni-yinũ'ũ, "ga='!": fish which it killed, which it ate, (sound)
n'ũ-='chawgamarja-n'ũ war-uba-wa-yun6 ana-yuun6anũ'ũ, it spilled (it) out for her, those (WARA) small ones (ANA)

4 an-uba-ni-yun6 yam'u-ni, that (ARA) it ate it

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-yun6 in line 3 should be emended to an-uba-ni-yun6 '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'ũ=1-ga-':yun6 n'ũ=ar-uba-gi-yun6 n'ũ=i-mũn6, as for her which (RS) she ate it

2 n'ũ-ruugu-rugu=wa=n'ũ-ai:, adaba n'ũ=ar-uba-gi-yun6 she bit (ate) then (ANA) raw, then that (RS)

n'ũ=ara=manj-nũ'ũ, n'ũ=yam-yan=yam: 'n'ũ=iwi-='jii='jan'ũ-ni woman she did that, she thought

1 n'ũ=bu=burri...jii, adaba n'ũ+wu-ga-gara=mangh=na-nũ n'ũ=ga-':yun6 she sat then she made hole then for her

n'ũ=ar-uba-gi-yun6, n'ũ=ara=mangh=na-nũ n'ũ=ar-uba-gi-yun6 and then that (RS) woman that (RS)

4 n'ũ+wu-ga-gara=mangh=na-nũ, lhamugual-wugij yama: n'ũ=yam-yan=yam:, 'lhamugual-wugij, she made hole only crocodile because she bore it

n'ũ=ara=nar=manj-nũ, n'ũ=yam-yan=yam: 'lhamugual-wugij, (woman's) daughter she bore it 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.

Note: Normally 3FSg subject on WARA object (here 'crocodile') would be prefix n'ũ-, with n'ũ reserved for the reverse or for 3PSg on 3FSg. Here, however, n'ũARa (crocodile) is treated as 3PSg 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 refer 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'ũ+wu-ga-gara=mangh=na-nũ n'ũ+wu-ga-gara=mangh=na-nũ then she made hole, she made hole

2 n'ũ-ya=chidh=na-nũ da-gi='la=maga: n'ũ-ya=chidh=na-nũ she closed (it) for it, there it comes she closed (it) for it

n'ũ=ya=chidh=na-nũ da-gi='la=maga:, ying'ga ba-gi=--, ying'ga she made (it) strong for it, nearly it is there nearly it is there (WARA)

4 na-lhamugual-wugij nu:-ba-gi ni-ya-nggī, na=nu='way-cc, crocodile (human NSg) that (MS) he went then that way

ba-ni.='la wa=la='yalmar a'abba a-⁴-ham'6aj-aj, there it comes (ANA) it dawned then among small fish

4 adaba n'ũ=ya-nggī, n'ũ=ya=chidh=na=maga:, n'ũ=ya=chidh=na=maga:, then it went then it hunted (fish)

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'ũARa (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'ũARa class.

45.7 n'ũ=1-ga-':yun6 adaba ada=hari n'ũ=rigi-ri-ga-n-dai adaba yuma='ruː-- as for her then behind she dug then there

2 a-wam-duj, adaba n'ũ=1-wa-l=ni'nũ ma, n'ũ=1-wa-l=ni'nũ adaba at whatamacallit then she arrived now (Eng.) she arrived, then yuma=gu n'ũ=ya=kal-nũ ma, n'ũ=ma:wu wara-gom=k=na-yaː-- there she came out now (Eng.) similar like goanna lizard

war'=yaga=bi-yi: yaga: wu=di=chidi=--, na, n'ũ=ya=yama-nũ, like goanna it (WARA) is blocked she did that
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.

Note: It may be that the crocodile saw a woman going and wondered whether it was the same woman it had kidnapped, then she came out. She went after (her) on foot (i.e. ... 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 the arm (and abducted me) is right over there coming toward us!" She said that, that woman. "(Kill it) fast!"

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.

Rituals and corroborees

These stories reflect a certain dread toward the two animals involved—crocodiles (notably the marine crocodile, though Iharagu 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. (Aboriginals 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.
CONGREGATING FOR RITUALS

Ma:di

46.1 wura=:-'jiga=lharma-n^yi-j1i-ni wura=:-'jiga=lharma-n^yi-j1i-ni
they followed each other by fire

1 ana-n^y^u, wu-gu-ru wara=:{an' banda-n^yi an-uwa-ga=:-'la-yin^yu
fire they they wanted them of from there
wara=:-'jiga=lharma-n^yi, wu-gu-ra=:-'yun^yu ana=:-'ji:-'la-yin^yu
they followed them by fire as for them of over here

4 wara=:{an' banda-n^yi ana-magi-yan^yu-yin^yu, wara=:-'jiga=lharma-n^yi, they wanted them of from south
(see above)
wu-gu-ra=:-'yun^yu an-uwa-ga=:-'la-yin^yu wara=:{an' banda-n^yi-yin^yu
as for them of from there they who wanted them

6 ana-ramali:-'la, war-uba-wi-yun^yu wu=miyi:ni
from east those (WARA) they went visiting
wara=:-'jiga=lharma-n^yi, they followed them by fire
(In the old days) they (Aboriginals) 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=:{han'arma:-', *wu=ma=a-n^yi-j1i-ni-yan^yu-guyun^yu a-ha:wu,
y they reached them to tell each other words

1 y wara-manda=:{un'nya:-'yan^yu-guyun^yu wara=wuruj, wu=yan^gari:-ni
to examine the group humans (WARA) they did what?
"a-ji-ga-ruj ya:-wa wu:-mulu=murgulha:-''
where? (farther they are here (WARA) they lie down

4 wu=ryan=:=
wi=lahal=maya=:=', arangan'al, yin'salamar,
y they did that they named country (place n.) (place n.)
"ya:-wa wu=mulu=nya=:=anabara, lhirinbi:j", they (WARA) are here they sit (place n.) (place n.)

6 wu=ryan=:=
wa=:{nun'maa-n^yi-j1i-ni wara=wuruj, they did that they examined each other humans (WARA)
y
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," (one group) said. They mentioned the name of the country: Araangan'al, Yin'salamar, or whatever. "They are staying here at Anabara, (or) Lhirinbi:j, (or whatever)," they said. They sized each other up, the people.
Most often, Purposive suffix -yung in the sense 'in order to' will take a Past Potential inflection, but here the inflection is Past (Active) Continuous. Ditto in line 2.

47.1 wuru=yama:-', wuru=san^y^yj i=-ni-yi n^y^un^g^y, they did that to they who wanted each other,

wara-min=-nakara, ana-wunumbi-yaaj, ana-wagi-yaaj, ana--rgaji=-yu, elders
northward southward westward
ana:-'-ni=-'la-yun^g^y mana-mahalaj, nu-ri=-'-waaj ana-lhaj this (ANA) coming beach among us (ExP1) country

ana-lhaj wurindji, Hickerton, Groote Eylandt, country (place n.) (island) (island)
wa-nu-magalaca-ya-yun^g^y, wa-nundhijagu, wa='yi people of (place n.) people of Groote not

anubingi-jga-n^yji=-ni, wuru=giri=n^g^awir=ni, wuru='n^baj they did that to do each other they were afraid it is other
ana-lhaju, a= '-ni-wugij n^y=ambib=ni-wugij wuru=yama:-' words only this I spoke only they did that

wuru=yambi=-ni, bu-jun^g^un^g^jun^g^un^g^, da-ni-yun^g^y, wuru=yama:-', they spoke that kind of thing that (ANA) they did that

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) Hickerton 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 wuru=gandi=n^y^j i=-ni an-u-gu=ni ana= '-n^g^aj=gu, they sent each other messages, to there to other (ANA)

an-wa=ga=-'la wuru= gaga=n^g^i wuru=san^g^an^y^j i=-ni-yi n^g^un^g^y, from there they shouted for them they who wanted them

wara-wuuj, yaga: nur-yamir'=gari=-na", "n^u=ya-r=ri", people what are you (PI) doing we (InP1) go

wuru=yama:-', wuru=yama:-', wuru=lahwu=san^g^an^y^j i=-ni-yi n^g^un^g^y, they did that they who wanted each other's words

an-uba=n^y^un^g^y, wuru= gadi=n^y^j i=-ni-yi n^g^un^g^y, that (ANA) they who shouted to each other

wuru= 'dharma-n^y^j i=-ni-yi n^g^un^g^y, mana-yarid, ana-walaj, who they followed (it) for each other's mortuary ritual coffin

47.3 wuru=bali=-ni, wuru=marbu=ya=-'yung^guyn^g^, they informed each other in order that they knew

wurubu^g^y=marbu=ya=-'yung^guyn^g^, they did that they who did it

wuri= 'jan^g^a=n^y^i n^y^un^g^y, an-uba=n^y^un^g^ga=ja-jin^g^un^g^y, warua-ya-wu=n^y^un^g^ they heard the words of long ago those (WARA)

wuri= 'jan^g^a=n^y^i n^y^un^g^y, waru=agn^gawa, wuru=yami-jgi=-'-ni-yi n^g^un^g^y, they who heard their voices bosses they who told themselves

an-uba=n^y^un^g^y wuru= 'agn=aladji=-li=-'-ni-yi n^y^un^g^y yagw wa='ri, that (ANA) they whose voices were bad but not
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.

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 dying (i.e. very tired). That is how it was.

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.

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 died. (Interruption.)

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.
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.

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wa:-'li nga=yambi-na, ana:-'garay n'an=ja:-ri; here it goes I speak tomorrow I will go
ywigi gu-ni a:-'n'aj-guy, wurgi ngai=yambi-n=ji-nl, da-nil=yun, there words they spoke to each other it is there

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:-ga 'among grey hair'; to this is added Relative -yun and -wugij 'only'.

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wa:-'ri ngai=yambi-na, ana:-'garay n'an=ja:-ri; here it goes I speak tomorrow I will go
ywigi gu-ni a:-'n'aj-guy, wurgi ngai=yambi-n=ji-nl, da-nil=yun, there words they spoke to each other it is there

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.

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wa:-'ri ngai=yambi-na, ana:-'garay n'an=ja:-ri; here it goes I speak tomorrow I will go
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-wada=yadad ana-hiba:wu ambi:ri=хаma-n'Гі not strong words they chased it. ambari=yamba=-ni, adaba war-uba-wi-yun=yu "!!" wu=yama-t they spoke then those (WARA) yes! they did that to ambari=m'гма=-ni, ba-nil-yum-bugaj n'Гі, wa:"ri they agreed, it is only there and then not ambi:ri=ala,ga= ':, ana-hiba:wu, da-nil-yun=yu, "wu=yama-na, they divulged it words it is there they do that ana-yamba, n'Гіambi:yamba-n'Гіli=-na ha:wu, today we (Inf1) will speak to each other words. ambari=hi=-ni, ba-nil-yum-bugaj to the country, then to (where) they waited in the country ambari=m'гма=-ni, wu-gu-yi=yu, then (to where) they went to (where) they waited then to (where) they waited in the country. 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:"gi-yun=yu ambari=va:"war=wa:"gi=ni-yin=yu, (they) who not who listened ambari=hi=-ni ambari=ва:"tardii-yun=yu, of another country they sat, they who headed for them ambari=hi=ni, ba-nil-yum-bugaj to the country, then to (where) they waited there. They headed for it over there. On the other hand, the who used wild (angry, murderous) words, the one who all the time and who killed each other, they did not discuss it (secret ritual) publicly and did not speak to them. (if there was fighting) and left it (ritual) aside.

47.16 nambi:yamba=n'Гі, nambiri=ва:"tandi=n'Гі, they did it to us (ExPl) they wanted us wa:"Га ana:"Га=ni, ana:"Га=ni, n'Гіawa=va=n'Гі, n'Гіawa=wu=yarili, I fetched you (Pl) this (ANA) I went to (ExPl) wa:"Га=ni=n'Гі, n'Гіawa=ва="Га=ni, to you (Pl) we (Inf1) will sit to there you (Pl) come p wa:" assuming "Га=ni=yu, n'Гіambi:bura=vi=yu, wu=va="Га=ni=yu, it dried up food we (Inf1) will eat it they did that to ambari=yamba=ni, wa:"Га=yamba=ni, wu:}=ya=y wu:}=ya=n'Гі, "i:} n'Гіambi:vu=ya=vi=yu, n'Гіa=ma=-'ala, "i:} n'Гіambi:vu=ya=vi=yu, n'Гіa=ma=-'ala, "i:} nambi:vu=ya=vi=yu, after they examined with food yes! we (Inf1) will go indeed ana:"Га=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=va=na=ni wara=lalagi=":ni, war-uba-wi-yun=yu, then they went to (where) they got up to those (WARA) adaba wu=va=ni=n'Гі, wu=va=na=wuguyun=yu. to (where) they waited in the country, then to (where) they waited in the country ambari=va="Га=ni=n'Гі, wu=m=aga=n'Гі, to (where) they waited there. They said that, they told them. ambari=dugubaha=na=n'Гі, amba=ва="Га=ni, not that (ANA) they discussed it they spoke to each other, to (where) they waited in the camp, then to (where) they waited there. 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 who used wild (angry, murderous) words, the one who 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 ambari=va="Га=ni wu=m=aga=n'Гі, for spear they were afraid ambari=va="Га=ni wu=m=aga=n'Гі, to (where) they waited in the country. Those who came to the ones who held the words, they (the holders) told them the words. ambari=va="Га=ni to (where) waited in the camp. 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. ambari=va="Га=ni, not that (ANA) they discussed it they spoke to each other, to (where) they waited in the camp, then to (where) they waited there. 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 who used wild (angry, murderous) words, the one who 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.
They were afraid about spears, about spearing each other in the neck. Those children, those women, those young men. That one, 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).

... and so on.

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. Maidi'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 Mars to the south.

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. Maidi'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 Mars to the south.
I spoke long ago among elders: ana:-'ni ana-yimbaj, wu:yama-na, wai:'ri)
that (ANA) today they do that not
ngang=gawang=ni-wugij, ngaya-wi-nYinYung-bugij a-language,
I only listened only mine

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 ngaya-wi-nYinYung-junYung-bugij jaldu,
of mine only that'll do (creole)
na-Dr. Brandl, ana-Iha:wu, bu-junYunY-junYun g ana:-'ji, wurugu little bit
that (ANA) words that kind of thing this (ANA)

48.1 gagawar, gagawar gagawar ana-gagawar, gagawar
message feather message feather
message feather

Gagawar (feather used as message to bring clans together for
Gunabibi ritual). They send it there. They 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 starting) wait
for the gagawar. They send that feather there (to them).

Comment 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.
The Gunabibi is one of the two major rituals, the other being the Nadayin (RUIL); the circumcision (mandiwala) and mortuary (yaidi) 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§, ana-gaigu-yin'un§, nu:-'ba-gi-yun§
that (MSg) of MoMo(Br)
na-jun§gayi-n'un§, na-jun§gayi-n'un§, wini-n'un§jung'u
manager
they (Mdu) are similar
wini=bunggawa-ma-na jum§gayi-n'un§ mari nigaragi-jun§,
becomes bosses manager1 and manager2
nu:-'ba-gi-jun§-maji:, aniri:-'ra:=ri-maji:, aniri:-'ra:=ri-maji:
if that (MSg)
if he is absent
nu:-'ba-gi na-jun§gayi-n'un§, aniri:-'ra:=ri-maji: nu:-'ba-gi
that (MSg)
manager1
na-jun§gayi-n'un§, na-jun§gayi-n'un§ aniri:-'ra:=ri,
he will be absent

That one (nigaragi) 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'a-duj-maji: anibura:-', ba-gi-yun
if in another (place) he will sit there
nigaragi-jun§ anbunu=yan=dhawima=na an-uba-nil-yun§, ana-yul-in'n'un§
manager2
they will ask him2 that (ANA) about RUIL
yagu ana-lhail-in'n'un§, nil-ga-maj aniru=fix:-em-up-dhi:-'
but of country it is he he will fix it up
ba-gi nigaragi-jun§ a-gaigu-yin'un§, nu:-'ba-gi-yun§
he is there manager2 of MoMo(Br) that (MSg)
agir-ja:=ri-maji: nigaraga=ba-n=gin�'un§, na-jun§gayi-n'un§,
if he is absent he whom it (ANA) bore manager1
If he (manager1) is staying somewhere else, they will ask the manager2 who is right there about the RUIL ritual or about the country (of his MoMo's clan), and it is he, manager1, who will fix things up if that manager1, who was 'borne' by that country, is absent.

TEXT 50 MORTUARY RITUAL Larangana

50.1 "ni=ngawi-"-n§, wa-yi-jun§, ni=ngawi-"-n§ gu-ru-waj!", he died, man he died, hey you (FI)
(wailing sound), that-kind now, this-kind now, (wailing sound),
like that
yari blood now, old people, olden times, niijan§ rayag, more wood
He died we got him then they wrapped him in paperbark. Not like that paperbark they wrapped him. (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.

They carried him, then they transported him with an axe. They 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.

In the shade they (eventually) brought him down and wrapped him up. At a place like Arrbali, Wunangamayi, or Wuwa~wa~lhulu. (These are) the names of the countries (clan burial grounds). Arrbali and Wunangamayi are for the Nung-garangari (Ngalmi) clan. Arugaru for the Managurla clan. They put the dead people up in a tree (in the first stage). The ones who have died. We (Aboriginals), children or adults, the ones who have died.

Notes: Wuwarawarahulu, one of the places mentioned, is the major burial ground for Larangana’s own clan (Kurruwun). Note Larangana’s emphasis in this text on the basic identity of mortuary procedures for dead persons of any age or sex.

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.

Some others died like that. They still took them else from here. Our (clan) burial ground is far away. They took them (dead people) from here to that burial ground. "He was old woman, only above there!"
goes to the cemetery," (say) the white people. As for us, we call it gu~ugu~u (burial ground). Us old Aboriginals.

us old Aboriginals.

They sang and danced (the Yardi ritual). They put him into the log coffin, then they brought him out and wrapped him up. Then they buried him in this (ground). Then he was left alone. That was all.

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 Wunangamayi. 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

Yuruwura

51.1 man-uba-ma-yun6 nana-yadi, wara-mina-ngamba that (MANA) mortuary ritual elders
a nana-yadi, war-uba-ma-yun6 wara-mahin6 wara-wuruq, mortuary ritual those they died, people
Then they all went from there. Then they stood then they danced. They danced for that Ya:di (mortuary) ritual. They stood and put the bones of that man in it.

*

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 sang and danced, for it (the log coffin).

Note: Sail is specifically the dance of the Nun-dhiribala clan.
After that we waited for then (from other areas). They all arrived, we waited for them. There 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. *From wirig 'small (Sg)'.*

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 pulled it out of the ground and took it to the place Arijbila, or perhaps A£ba:li. That is how it was.

Note: 'yay!' is a shout uttered in unison by the dancers at various points in the songs.
1.1

They scorched it and then the Jangawili 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 scraped it and got rid of the top (outer) part of the bark and (kept) the inner bark. They seared it with fire.

* ramg megwhatchamacallit' with derivational noun class prefix, anticipating wu-!iwa.

mari wiri=bagumai:-' an-ua-ga='la, mari ana:-'ji:-'la

and they rolled it up from there and here coming

wu:-yiri=yira-nggi:::

and of young wallaby canine tooth they decorated it.

yi-warmin=jin'um'g

and then of Saratoga fish canine tooth they decorated it.

a:-'rjambal-inYung and then of antelopine kangaroo of female antelopine kangaroo

wu:-yiri=yira-nggi

canine tooth they decorated it 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.

mari wu:-yiri=yira-nggi

shell they decorated it and then it was decorated

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They decorated it (bark coffin) with shells from a young agile wallaby, or a Saratoga fish, or a male or female antelopine kangaroo.

wu:-yiri=yira-nggi

shell they decorated it and then it was decorated

and then they decorated it here coming by means of vine sp.

mari ana:-'ji:-'la rain-miri

wiri=wa=warga:-' rain-miri:::::

(unclear) they sewed it up by means of vine sp. and then

mari wu:-yiri=yira-nggi

and by means of beeswax they smeared (it) on it.

na-gan, ana:-'ji:-'la rain-miri

wiri=wa=warga:-'

vine sp. here coming by means of vine sp. they sewed it up

and by means of beeswax they smeared on it, those (WARA)

wiri=baEuma:-' mari wa:-yaba=yabi-'-jga:-'

they rolled it up and they made them enter devils (corpses)

wara-ba-ba~irinYa,

skeletons bone children

war-ungu:-t-ngaga~ ana-ngaga~,

skeletons bone children

wara-mij-buryag

skeletons bone children

* Reduplicated plural of /uG-ngaga~-1 'bones of PI 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).

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

nawi=ngawa-yung, wu:-yiri=yira-nggi, wu=milyir

shell they decorated it and then it was decorated

wiri=wala-ngi

and by means of beeswax they smeared on it.

a~aba,

then they decorated it and here coming by means of vine sp.

mari wu:nY-miri wiri=wala-ngi, wiri=wala-ngi

and by means of beeswax they smeared on it.

so that they smelled bad (they lost their (bodies') smell

wara-badirinYa, 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.

an-uba-ni-yung,

nu:-'ba-~i-yu-maji:,

nu:-'ba-gi-yu-maji:

that (ANA) if that (MSg)

ani=ngawa-~¢-maji: yagu

ritual leader (Ngalmi clan) if he dies but

ani=ngawa-~¢-maji: yagu

of law he holds it of law

niwu=waQaga-na lawman ana-wungubal, mari

he who knows much not in other country they will bury him

ana-m~ayin.

he hold~ it song (public) and (n. of secret ritual)

ni-yara=marbuy-inYung, yagi ana-lhal-anYbaj-baj wunu=wurdhi-¢,

he who knows much not in other country they will bury him

If that galgara (Ngalmi 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.
agree that there are at least two major stages in the burial, namely an initial period in which the corpse is allowed to decompose 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 52 claims that this must still be done (even in the case of a burial ground quite remote from the present mission at Numalwar 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 (walaj) may be made in one site and that the body and coffin may later be transported to a sacred burial place.

The term Yardi 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 (wungubal), and indeed the Ya:lji 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

Mardi

55.1 ana-nung'garagu-yin'umE, n'an'gambli-na, ana-yinbaj, of uncircumcised boys I will speak today.

1 na-magl'-na, oi:'-ba-ni-yum'gaj, na:-'ra:-ragu-yagba-n'1, I will tell long ago uncircumcised boys man today.

a:-'n'maj-guy, o1:-'gu-n1, mirima-lharga-lharga-n-di, to other place to there we sent them.

wirima-jang-gulnda-n'1, mari wirima-lharga-n-di, mari they cut them in knee (paint) and they sent them. Comments on texts 50 through 52

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
they shook chests (in dance) of there uncircumcised boys then first they cleared circumcision ground
brothers-in-law male taboo relatives they took them then put them
they 'cut' them in the knees 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).

Note: The term nunf-garagu (root /-garagu/) 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 ngyi 'penis', but it functions as a human collective term. It can also take specifically human forms like na-nunf-garagu-nung-gaEagu-nYung 'uncircumcised boy (Sg)'.

The men who were from there assembled themselves whom they gathered from there it comes fire then they set it they ate it. Sometimes seed pods of water lily, they crushed it (to... They waited circumcision ritual (majargun). they danced it one month and then arrived from there (some distant location). The ones who gathered together (from various places in the region), nga wu-gu-ra:-yung ngamuya, ... those who danced in the circumcision ritual. They looked and there was a fire (in the bush). They set grassfires in the bush.

I will speak now about uncircumcised boys (as circumcision novices). In the old days, the uncircumcised boys went over there, (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).
Then they slept. They made them sleep.

an-u-gu-ni adaba "wa!: wa!", wu:=ya-ni-.. to there then (sound) they did that,
to circumcision ritual ground they transported them, and then
wu:=ya-ni-ga:-", adaba "gunamanda-manda" wara:-' jali-ga:-', they put them to sleep, then (song) they did it for them;
"gunamanda-manda:" n'a, wu:=rabala-\'n\'i na-\'maan-\'in\'um", (song) and then they came out of painted feathers
wu:=ya-ni-.. wu:=ya-ni adaba
they did that then and finish! they returned, then
wu:=wura-n-\'n\'a-\'n\', they sat down.

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.

Notes:
Here 'uncircumcised boys' (line 1) is in the regular human PI form (reduplicated) rather than the MANA form. The word for Nun'gargalug clan (line 4) includes PI prefix wu: and Sg suffix -yu and should probably be emended to wa:-nu'gargalug.
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^1, wuru=ji:ji yama, later they waited for them there they were wounded because

wa=nara=nara-n^1, yinda wuru=maji-nai, ab\[a wu=ya-n^1\], they waited for them nearly they became healed then they went

wu=gu=ru ana-wagi-yaj wu=gu=ru ana-wunumbi-yaj wu=gu=ru they southward they northward they

ana=--ngaji-n^1, wu=gu=ru ana-Roper=uy, ab\[a wu=ya-n^1\], westward they to (place n.) then they went.

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=yana=-- wa=raji:ra-n^1 ab\[a a-la:il=wa\], they did that then they scattered then along country

wuru=buri=-- wu=gu=ru ana-wagi-yaj wu=gu=ru ana-lagaj, they sat then they southward they on the way

wu=gu=ru ana-ngur-wuy, ana-old mission-guy, wu=gu=ru=--yun\[a\] they to (place n.) to old mission as for them

ana=--ngaji-n^1, wu=gu=ma=--yun\[a\] an-uba-gu-mir\[a\] ana=--nu=--wu they westward as for them right there this way

ana=wali=yaj, wu=n^1ara=n^1=ng\[a\] wu=ra=ji:ra-n\[1\], agaba, upward they went then they scattered there

wara=wuru=wuruj, wara=nin=n^1\[1\]antara, da=n\[1\]yun\[a\], 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\[a\], na=n\[2\]a=n\[2\]gu=n\[2\]u=maji: a=n\[2\]a=n\[2\]gu=yon\[a\] that (MSg) if uncircumcised boy his MoHoBr

he who will circumcise him as for him

he will lie down his brother-in-law

he who will hold him up only his brother-in-law he will be alone of that (MSg) of his sister

he will sleep with (her) 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 Mandiwala 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 Mandiwala 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 (wungubal) 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 patrimoieties. Although circumcisions are of less significance than major rituals like Gunabibi or Madayin (Rulu), 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 wulur '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.
57.2 an-u-gu-ni nu:=jalburdi:: ana:-'n'aa-wuy, an-uba-ni to t'e we go down to camp that (ANA)

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TEXT 57

MADAYIN(RU LL) RITUAL
Yurunura

57.1 wu-gu-ra:-'yun=E-gaj=--, wu-gu-ra:-'yun=E-gaj wu-yama-na
it too

2 ana-ruj, ana-madayin, ana-madayin-'yun=E wu-gu-ra:-'yun=E
(n. of ritual) (= preceding) of (n. of ritual) as for it
wu-yama-na, ana-'yun=E-gu-rung=E-gal-'yun=E, ana-'yun=E-gu-rung=E-gal-'yun=E,
it does that big (FL)

4 yuwa:-gu-wa:j:j arwa:=ma:ni:-na, nura:=yigi:-na, arwa:-'wij only there on top it is separate we play (=dance) only on top
min=-'n'aa-gara:-gu-wa:j:j ni-'jiyan=E-gu, yi:j-garwa:-'wij only elders old men only top words (top business)

2 yuwa:-gu nura:=yigi:-na, there we play

As for it, the Ruil 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.

27.3 wara-manan=E wara-mij-buray=E, wara-gujuju, arbidi women children

2 wu-gu-ru yira:-'yan=a-yi: an-uba-ni nuru=garli:-'i: nura:=yigi:-na
now they hear the voices that we sing we play
an-wu=gu ana:-'n'a-ruj, an-wu=gu adaba arbidi there at camp there now anything

2 wu-gu-ru nuru=magn=E wu-gu-ru nuru=magn=E too, they listen women they they dance

an-uba-ni ana-gara:-gu-jin=y=E nuru=garli:-'i: -'yn=E, wara-manan=E
that of forked stick which we sing

Women, children, tables--anyone can hear us singing (and watch) us playing (dancing) there near the camp. Anyone can listen. Women too, that (dance) at the forked stick place (where) we sing with tapsticks. Women dance that.

57.4 an-wa:-gu ana:-'ruj=--, ana-lhiribala, ana:-'n'a-ruj, there on top (error) below at camp

2 arbidi adaba adaba nuru=magn=E, wu-gu-ru- 'yun=E an-uwa:-gu an-uba-ni
anything now we sing as for it there that
an-i-=-gu-rung=E-gal, yuwa:-gu-wa:j:j arwa=-'aj, wu-gu-ru yap=E
big business only around there around on top it is separate

1 yagi nuru=gam=E warfare-manan=E, warfare-mij-buray=E.
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 Ruil 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 nonsacred 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 (wungubal) sung in the camp. Whereas the wungubal 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 epiphors 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.

Ja jabun (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 "Kara" rituals (cf. Nunggubuyu n'a-rang, 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 Ja jabun (also called Bilawur).
Text 58 INCREASE RITES
Yurumura

58.1 an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\), wuru-yara-ya-ri::: wura:\(=\)ran\(^g\)ga-na
that (ANA) they go they look

2 n\(^g\)a wuru-\(=\)jaa\(=\)ri an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\), Ambu:lan\(^g\)arma-n\(^g\),
and then there is no food (ANA) they (not) reach it

aga\(a\) wuru-\(=\)yaa-ri: wuru-gu-\(=\)ni o\(=\)ba-na yu-\(=\)gu-ni a-dreaming-guy
then they go to there that (ANA) to dreaming

4 wuru-\(=\)yara-ri::: wuru-\(=\)yara-ya-ri: n\(^g\)a ba-gu
they go they go and then

wuru-\(=\)jaa\(=\)ri wuru-\(=\)jaa\(=\)ri: nga ba-gu
they go they go and then there

wuru-\(=\)ranga\(=\)la:ga, a\(\bar{\text{n}}\)a wi-ya\(=\)ya\(=\)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 wi\(=\)ya\(=\)ya\(=\)na, manjar, ana-manjar an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\)
branch they break it off branch branch that (ANA)

1 wi\(=\)ya\(=\)ya\(=\)na, wuru-\(=\)yara-ya-ri: an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\)
they break it off they go

2 wuru-\(=\)yara-ya-ri::: wuru-\(=\)yara-\(=\)ya-ri: n\(^g\)a
they go they go and then

wu\(=\)ya\(=\)na, wuru-\(=\)yara-wu\(=\)li::: an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\) ana-manjar,
they do that they rub it that (ANA) branch

4 wuru-\(=\)yara-wu\(=\)li::: wuru-\(=\)yara-wu\(=\)li::: "jangu!
they break it (sound)

*numbar-\(=\)jan\(^g\)jawa-n\(^g\), ana-gu-wan\(^g\)ja:\(=\)rawindi-na-n\(^g\)
make food for us\(^p\) there will be much food\(^p\)

6 wu\(=\)ya\(=\)na, "jangu!" wuru-\(=\)ya\(=\)na,
they do that (sound) they do that

They break off some branches. They do that and go, 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 /\(y\)u-/, see also 59.1, 59.4. The speaker here later
suggested an emendation to numa\(a\)-\(=\)jan\(^g\)jawa\(=\)na rawindi-na-n\(^g\)
'make food abundant for us!', but both forms are all right.

58.3 adaba wuru:\(=\)gabundu::: ana-n\(^g\)a\(=\)la:wa\(=\)wuy, aga\(a\) an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\)
now they go into water to billabong then that (ANA)

2 wuru\(=\)rawindi\(=\)na-na, adaba wu\(=\)la:ha\(=\)arma-na rawindi,
it becomes many then they reach it (ANA) many
an-uba-ni-yun\(^g\), galm\(a\)ra\(=\)na\(^g\) ya\(=\)gu \(=\)\(=\)\(=\)\(=\)\(=\)\(=\)\(=\)
that (ANA) tortoise sp. but sand goanna but fish

4 wu\(=\)la:ha\(=\)arma-na wu\(=\)wa\(=\)na\(=\)ja:\(=\)rawindi-na-na, "jangu!
they reach it there is much food

"Jangu!" 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
Maidi

59.1 n\(^g\)jan\(^g\) a-dreaming-jin\(^g\)un\(^g\), wara-nin\(^g\)samburga
more of dreaming elders

1 wara:\(=\)jan\(^g\)yu\(=\)na\(=\)a\(=\)a::: ana-\(=\)han\(^g\)i\(=\)la, ana-wurindi-ya\(=\)
they produced lots (of it) for them (place n.) from (place n.)
wu\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\), nu\(=\)haa\(=\)ya\(=\)li:na n\(^g\)u\(=\)ju\(=\)n\(^g\)
they went\(^c\) we (ExPl) stretched out in line\(^c\) similar and then

4 warn-\(=\)na n\(^g\)a wara-\(=\)na ni\(=\)ji\(=\)wan\(^g\)un\(^g\)\(=\)a:
these (WARA) and then these (WARA) old men and then

ni\(=\)gulm\(a\)\(=\)ur, adaba wuru-wadji\(=\)lha\(=\)arma\(^g\), wa-gal\(a\)\(=\)mar\(a\)\(=\)n\(^g\),
bachelors then we hunted freshwater game\(^c\)\(=\)tortoise sp.

2 ma-ga\(=\)ma\(=\)na ma\(=\)hul\(a\)\(=\)wa\(=\)a:, \(=\)\(=\)han\(=\)\(=\)bari, as for it (MANA) it is there (MANA) it is dreaming root nut

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\(=\)i.
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 Lhul\(\mu\)u.

59.2 nu\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)hul\(=\)\(=\)ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la
they break it off grass branch (with leaves) and then

1 n\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)hul\(=\)\(=\)ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la
we (ExPl) went\(^c\) and then he who went in front, then

2 nri-wa\(=\)ga\(=\)mag\(a\)\(=\)na ma\(=\)ma\(=\): ana-manjar
they break it off branch (with leaves) and then

ni\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\)
other (human Sg)

59.3 manjar \(=\)jangu! dal\(a\)\(=\)mar\(a\)\(=\)n\(^g\), \(=\)\(=\): pel\(a\)\(=\)ra plan\(=\)na\(^g\)
he made a track other (sound) tortoise sp.

1 nri-wa\(=\)ga\(=\)mag\(a\)\(=\)na ma\(=\)ma\(=\): ana-manjar
we break it off grass branch (with leaves) and then

ni\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)ya\(=\)ga\(=\)ya\(=\)na\(^g\)
other (sound) tortoise sp.

4 waru\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)hul\(=\)\(=\)ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la
waru\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)hul\(=\)\(=\)ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la
other (sound) tortoise sp.

"Jangu! Dal\(a\)\(=\)mar\(a\)\(=\)n\(^g\)" waru\(=\)na\(^g\) ni\(=\)hul\(=\)\(=\)ma\(=\)la:ma\(=\)la
"Jangu! Dal\(a\)\(=\)mar\(a\)\(=\)n\(^g\)" other (sound) tortoise sp.

Note: jangu! has no 'meaning' and is used only in this context.
* Root /\(y\)u-/, see also 59.1, 59.4. The speaker here later
suggested an emendation to numa\(a\)-\(=\)jan\(^g\)jawa\(=\)na rawindi-na-n\(^g\)
'make food abundant for us!', but both forms are all right.

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279
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!"

we said, "Jangu! Tortoises!" we 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.

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.

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!"
goanna—bandicoot various others
wuru-wadji=wadja-ngi, sa/m, s/jung sa/jwar, they killed freshwater game, snake more olive python

wara-wa:bir, wara-wa:bir mana-war gurag ana:-'nYbaj-gana:nYbaj

alja, lirwag, wara-lirwag
water python blue-tongued lizard blue-tongued lizard
wura:-'dji=wadja-ngi, they killed freshwater game, elders

Sometimes they killed sand goannas in their burrows, also bandicoots and other (burrowing animals). 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.

ana:-'nYji:-ni wara-wuruj, then it (ANA) was cooking on open fire people

2 wu-gu-ra:-'yung-gaj ana:-'nYji-alja an-una-ga:-'la, wu:-yama:-'

na-yinggul, wa:-'lumayij, nuru=buri-¢ (place n:) -- and (place-n.) we (ExPI) sat

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, Kuawandawanda, and Alumayij.

wara-midhurungu, barramundi fish
na-yinggulbandi, wi:-julurbi, wara-midhurumu

ana-walnga, mana-wan, long-tailed ray
ana-magagun, ana-marbidi, ray sp. ray sp.

wuru=warga-n-di, xxx, wara-wuruj, ana:-'nga

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). They did too.

wara-mulung-argi, wara-mar!agun g , wara=ma-ngi, others women got it

It went around (in zigzag trajectory, looking for food). Sometimes they got game, tortoises, those who held it (dreaming?). Some women got then.

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.
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^6^a, adaba NE wind they go and then

3 wiru=ran^6^a nga-n^6^a wa:='gdharia:-', they want it and then it is calm

wuru-bu=buria:=' n^6^a an-uba-ni-yun^6^, they sit and then that (ANA) if they go then

4 an-uba-ni-yun^6^ ambari=n^6^a nga=kama:-' maji: ana-wu-dhan^6^y, if they want it, wind

ambu:-yara=ya-ri::: adaba nura:='bi:-ni wara=yani: nga-ga
they will go, then those (MDu) they do that to them

4 na:jiwin^y mari na:-gula "nabhinimbar=-'wudi:-n^y, they want the wind
wu:ya:-n=na, (man’s n.) you two dig for water!, 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, Jidyin and Du:la (men of the Dhalwangu clan, well to the north of country), "You two dig for water!"

61.2 wini:-yara=ya-ri::: adaba wini:-'wudi:-na, (MDu) go then they dig for water

2 wini:-'wudi:-na:::, wini:-'wudi:-na an-uba-ni-yun^6^, they dig for water

that (ANA) wini:-yalma:-' n^6^aji:-miri, wini:-'bayawudi:-' adaba they get water by means of baler shell they throw it then

4 ana:-gugu, "b=ya:-re dura:-la", wini:-ya:na, water they do that coming here it goes NE wind big

mari wini:-'han^6^garurbi:-na, "buluwunu" and they make tracks on ground NE wind (Nhay'yl language)

wini:-ya: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 "uluwumu" ('northeast wind' in the Dhay'yi language, which is spoken by the Dhajwanu clan). Then it blows this way.

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 Manggura (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 Manggura clan is related to the Manggura (i.e. in the semimoiety system they would be in the same semimoiety), and the Manggura 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 Nagal and Nungargalug are bush people and the Nun-dhiribala and Murungun are beach people (the Nun-dhiribala are also associated with 'jungle').

62.2 nganY-jara=ya-ri::: adaba ngani=ma:jga-na da-ji ngani=ma:jga-na::: then I will make camp (NA), there I will make it there

2 na-ni-ganFa adaba nFani=ma:jga-na, nFani=ma:jga-na::: its camp (NA) then I will make it, then I will make it (NA)

62.4 an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, lhanda, lhanda nFani=wuldha-nF, after that antmound I will cut it (NA)
62.5 "ba=ya-rba-n g anYjarmalany, ba=lha-nga-n g wurungguyuna, ba=lha-nga-n g madhulmar, to Na:mbaj. He goes along.
(place n.)

63.2 aQaba wani=ma-ni wara-ngagji, a~aba, an-uba-gai-lia
I will proceed. and then there from there

63.1 n'ga-yarmalany, an-yarmalany, an-uba-ni:-'la-wala, "ba=ya-rba-n g anYjarmalany, ba=lha-nga-n g from that
run; (place n.) stand; p

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=ya-rba-n g anYjarmalany, ba=lha-nga-n g

Note: The first few places named are well to the northwest of Nunggubuyu country and move in order closer to the Nunggubuyu. An'jarmalany is said to be near Maningrida; N'urunguyuna is the main centre of the Wa:gilak clan (Ritharrungu language) and Bunu;ri is said to be nearby; Kurunguyuna is said to be in Manugura clan country; finally, Anamadulbu is in N'anli clan country (Nunggubuyu).
With a bale 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.

22.

ba-ni wiri:-'ra-wudi:-na an-uba-ni gugu aqaba
it is there they dig for water that water then

1 wurubulayi:-na, an-uba-ni-yun
wurm='lima-na, wurm='lima-na,
it bubbles up that they get water

ba-ni a-wu:-'ra-bawudi:-' an-uba-ni ana-gugu,
it is there and then they throw water that water

4 mari ni'=yaabhi:-na an-uba-ni lha:wu,
"ba-yarga-n': wu=dhan
'yan mariga",
and he speaks that words run! wind SE wind

ni'=yaama-na, an-uba-ni ni=ra-yun
'yan-bawudi:-' xxx "yinkaj
he does that he throws water (unclear) today

4 ba-yarga-ni", ani-yaama-yun-- ni-yaama-na,
rall! - he will do that, he does that

They dig for water there. It bubbles up and 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.

nga yimbaj ma=yun ma=ya:rba-ni man-uba-mi mana-mariga
and then today it (MANA) runs that (MANA) SE wind.

1 anawu-dhanun
aba an=ji:-'la wu=yarga-ni, yamu "aman=la-wa:
wind then along here it runs but it will run! small

mana-nin'=yan=majii, ani-ya-ru, wuruwuya-ru, sleep if he will do that he will sleep they sleep

4 ama:-'ra-daj, ma=marajii:-', an-uba-ni ana-wu-dhanun'.
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.
Then there are shovel-nosed ray and several types of sharks, all Murungun. The ones which made the Murungun country, the dreamings. Then there are two types of parrot fish, three emperors, great trevally, and other (marine) fish, all of them ours, Murungun.

64.1+ mari nan'ja, net nan'ja, wu-gu-rur "net" virina=maya-na and net they said call them
2 wari-dhurabada, nu-ra:-'yun'wara-wuru-wuru

Note: The Murungun clan is part of the Mandha:yung patrilineal moiety.

64.5 n'jan', wu:wannari', ana-warugunda more they danced devils (place n.)
2 viri-mandha-n'1, ana:-'rung'dug u:ndhi:-'y, they made it (place n.) they were covered up,
2 viri-mandha-n'1 wu:wannari'-an-un'bal, ana-cha:nbala, they made it (place n.) clan song feathered stick

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 na:warugali, nirisi=gahanga-na:ny'janjbugij n'iwumandha-n'1
dugong we shared it one it made it
1 ana:-'ni:-'la:-'yun'na, ana:-'yan'urugan'yun'na, ana:-'ni:-'la:-'yun' this coming and then (place n.) this coming
ana:-'manarj, ana-wiyayi ana:-'yarilj ana:-'ni:-'la:-'yun' (place n.) (place n.) this coming
1 n'iwumandha-n'1, an'janjbugij, na:warugali, ana:-'ni it made it
1 dugong country this (ANA) dugong

Dugong. We shared it (divided it up). One (dugong) made all this (country) along here--the places Yan'urugan'yun', Manmarj, Wiyayi, Yan'Jirij. One (dugong) made all this. The dugong made these dreamings, these countries.

64.8 na:n'galali, nak-adug: wu-gu:-'ra:-', na:warugali, bугij, mari
green turtle that (NA) is theirs only dugong and
1 na:-'a:n, na:-'yulaman'ana na:-'a:nan'jalan, whatchamacallit dolphin sp. (long-nosed) dolphin sp. (short-nosed)

It is ours (ExPI) that (ANA) it which jumps. One (dugong) made these dreamings, these countries.

64.9 da:-'n, na:-'gala y'a:-'ndi, na:warugali, bугij, mari
spangl;ed emperor fish tuna (?) swordfish (?) young yalabura
da:-'n, na:-'lun'gala-wa:-'na:-'n'yun'un', it is along there (ANA) it made it
1 dugong country this (ANA) dugong

In addition, the devils danced and made the place Warugunda, and were covered up (in the ground) at Arnggalg, which they made. They danced the clan songs (corroboree), feathered stick. They danced and made a dreaming (totemic site). It is there.

64.6 jalagi, n'yun'ju a:-'n'ji, onion, ma:yama:-'yan sp. similar like whatchamacallit it did that
2 mar:-'gayag, marl bagaya, ya:-'na, it is bad-tasting and saltwater it is here (MANA) saltwater
da:-'n, la'-yun'gala-wa:-'ana:mandha:yung'nu-rul, it is along there (MANA) of Mandha:yung moiety we (ExPI)

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 Murungun clan.

64.9 da:-'n, na:-'a:gali, na:-'a:yana:-'jali:-'na, ana:-'ni it is there I tell
my voice goes in this
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 (man's n.) in English.

He will speak of mine. I tell

He will speak c I of mine I tell

I talk about (English) that kind of thing we (ExPI)

And he will tell him this (MSg) he who will write it

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.

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 (mullet). 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.
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 wungubal (clan songs) of the type described in this text.

We listened, and heard him (D) beating tapsticks. We turned and faced away from him. We saw him. He said, "Look now! We looked, but he had vanished, being a spirit.

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).
He said, "You two come! Go that way, to that clearing!" He said it shouted nearly that and then that (MSg).

He said, "You two come! Go that way, to that clearing!" He said it shouted nearly that and then that (MSg).

We went along to the ritual ground. (He said) there, "You two take a look!" Those (dead people), the ones who were body-painted, all jumped onto (the dancing ground).
(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--", ng'urju-yung'guyum, numburrumalambur-buguj don't similar - for you will be all right

we will play for you (Pl) c we (ExMDU) will sing this

ngaliga-yan'jan'ni: yu-gadhuwa wun'bulal, n'ara-'gi:
you (Pl) hear the voice! new one clan song this (N'ARA)

4 n'ara-n'ari-nuwej, gudargu, gudargu n'ara-n'ari-nuwej
named (N'ARA) brolga named

dada wirla'=n'bi-'ga-'ni: ng'gadhuwa wu-guru
then they changed it

6. da-nu:-' yiga: ana-oldfell a ana-wun'bulal, that (ANA) look! old one (song) clan song

wu-gu-ma-'yuaj yar-ni: wu-gadhuwa wa-'ni: naj
as for it (ANA) it is here it is different

3 adgra, gu'dargu n'ari-gadhuwa "", now brolga new one (N'ARA)

(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 Walmal 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, Madjeangga (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 recognized 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 legitimated, 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 Jaramana, a leading camp-song performer for the Murunung clan, composed a cycle for butcherbird (gurujug) 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'an'jambhi-na ana-yimbaj, na'atjambli-na ana-yimbaj
I will speak today

lhanbilbil-'yuaj, na-nulun'argi-yum na-lhanbilbil, about didjeridu some (NA) didjeridu
ni-yara-'nuj-ljarmayaraj, ni-yara-n'nuj-ljarmayaraj na-lhanbilbil, it (NA) is all long didjeridu
ana-nulun'argi-yum na-vunbulal, ni-yara-n'nuj-ljarmayaraj, some (ANA) camp song
wuru-ljarmuri-'yuaj, na-lhanbilbil nur-'ba-gi-yum, they play didjeridu didjeridu that (NA)

ni-lhug-jambli-ra-yi-'yuaj, wurgugurajj, nurba-gi-yum
as for it (NA) which speaks with force slow that (NA)

ra-ni-dhule ni-n'yuwuruma-na, ni-ljabagiyum nur-'ba-gi-yum it's power (NA) it rumbles opening of didjeridu

na-lhanbilbil,
didjeridu

I will speak now, about didjeridus (drone-pipes used in clan-based public camp songs, wun'bulal). 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 ngi-gai-'yuaj n'at-ubagi-yum, n'tar-gudargu-yin'yuaj

as for it (N'TARA) that (N'TANA) of brolga
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: angudu '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.

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.

2.2 a taba wu:-gali, a taba yagi, 1 taba yagi, 2 taba ngara, 3 taba ngara, 4 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 5 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 6 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 7 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 8 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 9 wana=ngulu=yinYun, 10 wana=ngulu=yinYun.
TEXT 68 Ngalmi Clan Dancing
Turumura

68.1 an-uba-ni-yun, an-uba-ni-yun, wuru-wu, they-
that (ANA)
an-rungu-runggal-in'ung, an-rungu-runggal-in'ung, an-wungubal, the ones (ANA)
an-rungu-runggal-in'ung, an-wungubal an-uba-ni-yun, that

which holds

niri:='ru-na, niri:='ru-na we abandon it

which holds

niri:='ru-na, niri:='ru-na we abandon it

an-rubidi, nura:='yigi:-na-yinYung an-rubidi,

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-uba-ni-yun nura:='yigi:-na, only, there we dance we play

nura:='yigi:-na, xxx nura:='yigi:-na--we sing

nura:='yigi:-na, xxx nura:='yigi:-na--we sing

only brolga we play (unclear) we play

an-uba-ni-yun, nu-raya-ya-wi:-'na, nura:='yigi:-na-yinYung of anything we practice (train)

nura:='yigi:-na, n'jan an-uba-ni-yun ni:='ranьarditi:-'maj:; more that if we want it

nuru=maya-na, nuru=maya-na, nuru=maya-na

of anything we practice

68.3 xxx nuru=malgale, nuru=malgale, nuru=malgale, nuru=malgale

of those of Ngalmi (clan) people

we dance and perform ('play') there. We sing and dance, only the Brolga song cycle. 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 Ngalmi clan people.

68.4 nuru=marbuy yaaha nu-ru young-people, wara-ga-gadhuwa, we are knowledgeable because we (ExPl) young people

nura:='yagi-wi-n'ung that

waru=malala:di, nuru=malala:di, they (clan n.) some of the young (of those clans) do not know. Murungun do not know, only the old people (of that clan) know. Us, the Ngalmi, 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 in these corroborees, though perhaps the Ngalmi are one of the stronger clans in these performances.

Note: The clans mentioned here do have some men of Yurumura's age who can in these corroborees, though perhaps the Ngalmi are one of the stronger clans in these performances.
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.
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.

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),"
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:"=ma-n'ji-ni, wini:"=ma-n'ji-ni ni-ga

* ni=a-n'ba-jun's

an-ua=gai-1a ni=lanamundhi ni-adaba,
other (human Sg) from there he was stubborn, then
"ba=warga-n'" ni=yama:-', nima:"=gada-ngi ni-ga

he did that oc he shouted for it (MANA) he
 nu-i=ba-gl-yun'g, "ba=warga-n'f, numa-ra-yaa-ngi, "yaga, yuga that (MSg) throw spear me Q

numa=n'n'an=dandii-ni="mama=arda banu=ya-ngi, 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!" He shouted for it (spear). That man said, "Throw it! Throw the spear at me!" He shouted 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 na'= wuru g' jaq ni-raga=tadadhi ni, and then later no! he held spear ready to throw

* wunu=yami jea-1a, a-la=wa, o="wa-ga=1a,

after that did to him oc words from there
wu=ya=gai ya=n'a, "n'anu=ya=n'f, "ma=n'a= jarg=n'.

they did that oc then and will spear him p

ni=syaga=n'ni ni=wa=yi ni, 

wub! nu=ra ni,

he ran oc he faced spearing ordeal, spear he speared him oc
ma=n'ula, ma=n'uu=shagarn, jalg! ma=yjada=n'f, ma=jank oc ma=mbu ej! wub! blade end shaft pass it went past more one spear

nu=gaa ni, jalg! ma=yjada=n'f, ma=n'ula wu="wa= ma=gada=ma wa:

he speared him oc it went past shaft two two shafts

nu=ga ni, wu="j= ana=la ma anu=ga ni,

he speared him oc not shovel spear he speared him oc

Then later, no! (i.e., he did not throw just yet.) He held the spear ready (attached to woman), 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 speak with shovel spearheads (blades).
they speared each other. It is along there we had spearfight.

I named them (ANA) all.

We hurled it (MANA), also hook, 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 spear.

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 (did it to him several times, he died). 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:' in line 4 negates both ana-wunga: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-wungairi. 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.

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).

Those people, from distant places, arrived and they (the local group) performed dances for them, all kinds. They danced for them. The old people. Us (living people), me too, did that when I was a bachelor.
and then they are of what place? words so that we knew similar this (ANA) which we sing ngiri-yagba: 'gbi:-ni yaga:, ngiri-walmba:='lmbalndha-ngi, we (ExPl) did that old men they did that nu:=yama:-' , wara-mi-jiwanggu wu:=yama:-' , we (InPl) did that to it (ANA) c we (InPl) talked about it. c ngu wa:='ri wura:='wala-nYju tertib=maga:-', wura:='wala-nYju, but it is not they lied, they told you, they lied tertib=maga:-', yi-jan-galij, a:-da-nu:-' , ana-lha:wa, 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 c 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 (Mindhiwugag)

20.1 num-burindi. Bickerton nob, nuru=buri-¢, people of Wurindi (place n.) B. Islanders we (ExPl) sat
2 num-burindi:='¢, da-ni:-'la wu:ariri, da-ni:-'lu:-' we (ExPl) sat c there it comes fight there it comes "numbu='harma-nYju-nY , numbu='harma-nYju-nY" Bickerton-gala, you (Pl) chase each other c from (place n.)
4 Bickerton. Bickerton-gala wu:='harma-nYju-nY , lhalingu:c they chased each other, hook spear wu:gu-ra:-'nu:-yfu ana:-'ji:-'la ana:-'ji:-'la ana:-'ji:-'la as for them here coming
6 nu-ra:-'ynfu, dhindi, dhindi:='wu:wargali-¢nYji:-ni, as for us (ExPl) cane grass spear they speared each other c ana:-'ni, wu:='wargali-¢nYji:-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 came up. (Someone said.) "You all have a chase!" They chased each other, from Bickerton.early morning we (InPl) will spear each other they did that c 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.
20.2 wu:='harma-nYji:-ni-¢, ana:-'ni nu:='wi:nYji:-ni, they chased each other, this (ANA) we (ExPl) hit each other c wu:='wi:nYji:-ni, ana:-'ni, wu:='wi:nYji:-ni gijag!, was:='ri this they hit each other c no! not anbu:='yi-wandi-¢, wu:='harma-nYji:-ni-wugij, da-ni:-'ynfu they were struck they sent it only c it is there
they hit each other. We (ExPl) swore c from (place n.)

and then they went good that (ANA) then

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.

They threw itp to there (unclear)

They hooked spear onto woomera lift spear they speared it (MANA) p

they drilled hole in its head (MANA) more dugout canoe

whatchamacallit dugout canoe mine (see above)

whatchamacallit they hit him human (Mg) (unclear)

and then they went past to there (unclear)

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.

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 Madi.

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 Madi 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 71 refers to sorcery events 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 Madi.
countryman, nun^gubuyu, pidharmu, niyambli-ni-yin^yn, relative (kin) Nunggubuyu (n. of language) he who spoke, (The murderers said to each other,) "There he goes now, the one whom we are to kill." Those Aboriginals said that, the murderers.

Note: This segment is somewhat muddled at the end because of the shift to English expressions, which Larangana 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.

abada ana-jama, wiri=nagirna-n^y, n^yirirna wiri=na-n=--, then shovel spear they pulled it out, more they burned it.

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.

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).
The text is a narrative in a language with a rich oral tradition, likely in a Māori language. The narrative describes a series of events involving a victim and several murderers, focusing on their actions and reactions. Here is a translated version of the key points:

1. The victim was hit in the eye and sat down.
2. The murder occurred in the bushes, and the murderers hid.
3. The victim's wife hit her in the eyes, placing some blood on her to make her forget what she had seen.
4. A fire was built for the revived victim, but it was not powerful enough.
5. The victim looked all around, seeing strange eyes like stars and devils.
6. The murderer grabbed the victim quickly and fled.
7. The two of them (the revived victim and his wife) were alive and went along.

The narrative is rich with cultural and traditional references, emphasizing the importance of secrecy and the consequences of bloodshed.
They went along and 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).

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).

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).

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).
They moved quickly to the platform. They put him down. They released him for (creole) paperbark. They threw it (paperbark) down on the ground, on the sand.

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.

He (the wounded man) was still alive. He spent one more night, then died. Sometimes women too, men, children, ... men (were speared and died). Things were like that in the old days, (When) murderers (came) from far away like that.

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).

It was before dawn. They (the victims) were (still) sleeping. Then ... it is, a wound! I will die now!
Those murderer 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.

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). Somewhere, yuwa:-ga-waj, wara-oldme-old-men, proper danger, [there it goes] extreme.

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:’= 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.

Those murderer 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.

Somewhere, yuwa:-ga-waj, wara-oldme-old-men, proper danger, [there it goes] extreme.

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.

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.

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.