Wanyjirra texts: 76/13-2, NP(1), NP(2)

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The texts that follow are in the Wanyjirra language of the Northern Territory of Australia. They were recorded from the late Mr. Nyun.gatya Paddy (Wanyjirra name: Nyun.ganyun.ga/nyun.ganyun.ga/, Nyun.gatya/nyun.gaja/) at Nicholson Station, Western Australia in August 1976. Text 76/13-2, NP(1) was transcribed and played to the narrator shortly afterwards. Text 76/13-2, NP(2) was transcribed and played to him in 1978. Both of these texts were played to Mrs. Maggie Scott (Wanyjirra name: Dalyngarri/dalyngarri/, Dangayi/dangayi/) in Halls Creek, Western Australia, July and August 1998.

This tape (76/13, Side 2) contains three texts:
(a) ‘Stealing a bullock and a massacre of Aboriginal people’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy
   (File 76/13-2, NP(1))
(b) ‘Reminiscences’ by Ruby (File: 76/13-2, RBY)
(c) ‘Walkabout: hunting for honey, snakes and goannas’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy
   (File: 76/13-2, NP(2))

For phonetic symbols, I only use those symbols available on an ordinary computer keyboard, and I avoid using phonetic symbols. Instead, I use:
[rd] for a voiced retroflex stop. (Also, for a retroflex flap. The latter is clearly indicated as such.)
[rt] for a voiceless retroflex stop.
[dy] for a voiced palatal stop.
[ty] for a voiceless palatal stop.
[rn] for a retroflex nasal.
[ny] for a palatal nasal.
[ng] for a velar nasal.
([n,g] is a sequence of an alveolar nasal [n] and a velar stop [g]. Similarly, a dot is used where it may not be easy to identify syllable boundaries, e.g. [rn.g] for a sequence of a retroflex nasal [rn] and a velar stop [g].)

[rl] for a retroflex lateral.
[ly] for a palatal lateral.
[rr] for a flap or (rarely) a trill.
[r] for a frictionless continuant.
[j] for a palatal semi-vowel.
[sh] for a palatal-alveolar fricative.

The practical orthography employed is as follows:
/b, d, rd, j, g, m, n, nn, ny, ng, l, rl, ly, rr, r, w, y, a, i, u/

Note that as a phonetic symbol [j] presents a palatal semi-vowel, while in the practical orthography /j/ refers to a palatal stop.

Abbreviations and symbols employed include the following:

ABL: ablative
ABS: absolutive
ACC: accusative
ALL: allative
B: brother
C: carrier
COM: comitative
CONT: continuative
D: daughter
DAT: dative
DU: dual
ERG: ergative
EXC: exclusive
F: father, feminine
FEM: feminine
H: husband
References


The present work is dedicated to the late. Mr. Nyun.gatya Paddy and to Mrs. Maggie Scott, whose assistance is greatly appreciated.
This tape (76/13, Side 2) contains three texts:
(a) ‘Stealing a bullock and a massacre of Aboriginal people’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy (File 76/13-2, NP(1))
(b) ‘Reminiscences’ by Ruby (File: 76/13-2, RBY)
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   (File: 76/13-2, NP(2))

Text 76/13-2, NP(1):
‘Stealing a bullock and a massacre of Aboriginal people’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.

Note: Stealing of cattle by Aboriginal people and the subsequent retaliation by white people is a common story in the post-contact history.

(This text was transcribed on the 17th August 1976, and it was replayed to Nyun.gatya Paddy on the 18th and 19th August 1976. It was replayed to Maggie Scott, in Halls Creek, on the 29th, 30th and 31st July 1998.)
   (From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott, in Halls Creek, on the afternoon of the 29th July 1998 (Wed.).)

Beginning of the text.
   (This text follows one sentence given by Smiler, a Mudburra speaker.)
(While I was speaking to the tape recorder, mentioning the place and the date of recording and the name of the informant, Mr. Nyun.gatyà Paddy started talking. He said something like the following. But the meaning is not known.)

1. [dyulup dyulu] / [je: dyulk dyamana kojany]
   ? ? yeah ? jamana-Ø guya-ny
   ? ? yeah ? foot-ABS thus, like this-?

(I turned the tape recorder off, and Nyun.gatyà Paddy started talking again.)

(Maggie Scott does not know the first, second and the fourth words. She approved the gloss ‘foot’ for jamana. She gave the translation ‘a foot like this’.)

2. wanyji-rninyny ba=li yan-gu /
   where-way(?) C=1DU.INC.NOM go-PURP

   Tentative translation: ‘Which way shall we go?’

(There is no pause between wanyji-rninyny and ba=li, but probably they are two words, rather than one. Nyun.gatyà Paddy provided the gloss ‘which way’ (for wanyji-rninyny ?).

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the suffix seems to contain a retroflex nasal. I have replaced r with rn. Maggie Scott approved my translation above and below. She gave ‘Which way you and me go?’)

3. wanyji-rninyny ba=li yan-gu /
   where-way(?) C=1DU.INC.NOM go-PURP

   Tentative translation: ‘Which way shall we go?’

   wuna-ngga go away now all together that’s all
   far-LOC

   ‘[We] will go away far, together. That’s all.’

(Possibly, we have [orna], rather than [ona]. But on the tape I seem to hear [ona]. The presence of the locative suffix is unexpected. Its meaning in this context is not known.)
(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, I hear [ona] rather than [orna]. She approved my pronunciation of [ona]. The use of the locative is unexpected, but, when asked about it, Maggie Scott gave 4’.)

4’[MS].  [onangga jan.go]
wuna-ngga yan-gu
away(?)-LOC go-PURP
Maggie Scott’s gloss: ‘go away’

5. wuna-ngga yan-gu / wuna-ngga yan-gu /
   far-LOC go-PURP far-LOC go-PURP
   ‘[We] will go far. [We] will go far.’
   (Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss ‘long way’ for wuna-ngga and said that it is the same as yigili. Then, yigili would mean ‘far, long way’.)

6.  [jan.go ngo:lae::::::] /
yan-gu ngu=wula
go-PURP C=3DU.NOM
   ‘They will go.’
   (Probably, [e::::::] is not phonological.)
   (Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [ngo:la] and its gloss ‘tobala’.)

7. dumal-Ø dirrib / dumal-Ø dirrib /
middle-ABS camping middle-ABS camping
   ‘[They will] camp [in the] middle, i.e. on the way (?)’
   (The locative suffix -a would be expected for dumal. Note that the preverb dirrib ‘camping’ occurs independently, as in many other sentences, such as 8.)
   (Maggie Scott provided the translation ‘camp somewhere in the middle’, i.e. on the way (?). The locative suffix would be expected. I started 7’, and Maggie Scott continued it and gave 7’.)
7'[TT].  ngu=wula   dirrib   garriny-a
        C=3DU.NOM   camping   stay-PAST

7''[MS].  [tomala]
          dumal-a
          middle-LOC
          My translation: ‘They camped in the middle’.
          (Maggie Scott said [tomala], and rejected [tomal], with no suffix, and said [tomala]
          again.)

8.  magin/   magin/ 
     sleeping   sleeping
     ‘[They will] sleep.’
     (Nyun.gatya Paddy indicated that it is ‘they’ who will sleep.)
     (Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘sleeping’.)

9.  [o:]/
     wuwu
     Oh!
     ‘Oh!’

10. yan-gu   ngu=wula/   yirraba-wu   mawun-gu/
     go-PURP   C=3DU.NOM   other-DAT   man-DAT
     ‘They will go for other men.’
     (Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. She gave ‘They go to some men’.)

11. [a:  olabau   nyawa   ngolo   karenyana] /
     aa  all about   nyawa   ngu=lu   garriny-ana
     ah  they   this,here   C=3PL.NOM   stay-PRES
     ‘Ah, they are sitting/staying here.’
     (Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Oh, here, they are stopping here’.)
12. *nyamba-Ø=lu ngarn-ana* (falling intonation) /
    what-ABS=3PL.NOM eat-PRES
    ‘What are they eating?’
    (Since the intonation is falling, rather than rising, here *nyamba* possibly has an
    indefinite reading, i.e. ‘something’, in which case the translation will be ‘They are
    eating something’.)
    (Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘What are they eating?’.)

13. *wagu bulug-Ø /
    Oh no bullock-ABS
    ‘Oh, no! [They are eating] a bullock.’
    (Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘They are eating a bullock’. When asked about *wagu*
    ‘NEG’, she gave the translation ‘Oh no, they are eating a bullock’. That is, in 12 and
    also in 13, *wagu* is an interjection ‘Oh, no!’, and it is not a negation word. It seems that
    the Aboriginal people concerned had stolen a bullock and were eating it.)

14. *wagu* (hesitation) /
    Oh no
    (Probably, this sentence was not completed.)

15. *nyawa / nyawa / jaji-Ø / wanya-yaru-Ø /
    this,here this,here kangaroo-ABS emu feather-having-ABS
    *yangi-mulong-Ø [goana] nyamba-Ø* (hesitation) /
    one-without-ABS goanna what-ABS
    *jarrambayi-Ø ngarlu-Ø / luna-Ø*
    goanna-ABS honey-ABS blue tongue lizard-ABS
    *murrnduj-Ø / jalngi-Ø /
    black(?) snake-ABS snake sp.-ABS
    Tentative translation: ‘This kangaroo, emu, many goanna, whatisname,
    *jarrambayi*, honey, blue tongue lizard, black (?) snake, and *jalngi* (snake sp.).’
    (*wanya-yaru*, which literally means ‘having emu feather’ means ‘emu’. Here *nyamba*
    possibly means something like ‘whatisname’. That is, it is possibly something like a
‘filler’, a word uttered while trying to remember the correct word. This phenomenon was observed in Warrungu of North Queensland (Tsunoda 1974:406-09). yangi-mulung literally means ‘without one’, but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that this is the same as nguyuru ‘many’. It is interesting that a word which literally means ‘without one’ actually means ‘many’. On the tape, ngarlu was pronounced with a long vowel: [ngarlo:].

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘kangaroo’ for jaji, and ‘emu’ for wanya-yaru. For yangi-mulung, she provided the glosses ‘all sort of thing’, again ‘all sort of thing’, and ‘anything’. For nyamba, she said ‘everything’. In her pronunciation, the name of the first snake has retroflex sounds [rrnd].)

16. You got-im this one, [jo:wai]
   You have this one yuwayi
   You have this one yes,OK
   ‘You have these ones. OK.’

(It is not clear what 15 and 16 mean, but possibly they may be translated as follows: ‘You have all sorts of traditional food [and yet you stole a bullock].’)

(Nyun.gatya Paddy started talking in English, so I turned off the tape recorder and requested him to speak in Wanyijirra. I said, ‘Story about shooting’, and Nyun.gatya Paddy continued the story.)

17. bala-bala / chasing-chasing
    bala-bala / chasing-chasing
    gariya-lu / whiteman-ERG
    yalu-nggu / that-ERG
dimana-yaru-lu /
horse-having-ERG
   ‘The whiteman on horseback [is] chasing [the Aboriginal people, who had stolen a bullock and eating it].’

(For gariya, I seem to hear a retroflex flap. This is possibly a retroflex stop. In contrast, I hear a frictionless continuant for -yaru in dimana-yaru-lu. The former and the latter are probably allophones of one phoneme, but phonetically they are different.)

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘chasing’ for bala-bala. She approved my translation ‘That whiteman on horseback is chasing blackfellas’.)
18. *dimana-*Ø / You know that one / *dimana-*Ø / horse-ABS You know that one horse-ABS
‘*dimana* ‘horse’. You know that one. *dimana* ‘horse’.

(Again, Nyun.gatya Paddy started talking in English, so I turned off the tape recorder and requested him to speak in Wanyjirra.)

19. *nyawa* nyawa ngu=lu garriny-ana
   this,here this,here C=3PL.NOM stay-PRES
   *bulug-*Ø=ma /
   *nyawa* ngandawi-la / ngandawi-la /
   bullock-ABS=CLC this,here shade-LOC shade-LOC

   ‘Here, here, the bullocks are sitting here in the shade.’

(It seems that the scene changed in 19.)

(I hear [w] for the first and the third occurrences of *nyawa*, but not for its second occurrence.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)


   ‘One [Aboriginal] man [,I mean] two [Aboriginal] men [went towards the bullocks/cattle].’

(I asked Maggie Scott, ‘How many in all?’ She said, ‘Three. Must be three’. If this is the case, *murrgun* ‘three’ would be expected.)

21. *barli* / bulug-gu-lu yalu-nggu barli /
   finding bullock-LINK-ERG that-ERG finding

   ‘Those bullocks found [the two men who were approaching them].’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy stated to the effect that the object of the verb ‘found’ is the Aboriginal men.)

   (In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in the preverb seems to be retroflex. She provided the translation ‘Bullock find blackfella coming’. )
22. All about come up now.
(No doubt, all about refers to other Aboriginal people.)

    C=3PL.NOM  go-PURP  now  running  now
    bulug-Ø=ma  nyila=ma /
    bullock-ABS=CLC  that=CLC

    ‘Those bullocks will run now [away from the Aboriginal people].’
(=Maggie Scott provided the translation ‘Bullock run away now’.)

24. mawun-Ø  (hesitation) /  mawun-Ø  nyila=ma  burja /
    man-ABS  man-ABS  that=CLC  running

    ‘Those men [are] running [after the bullocks].’
(=Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘running’ for burja.)

25. [palapalana] /
    bala-bala=na
    chasing-chasing=CLC

    ‘[The Aboriginal people are] chasing [the bullocks].’
([na] may be considered as a clitic, as shown above. But it may really be a short version of the English word now.)

    (Maggie Scott approved na. I asked her, ‘[na] is English?’ She said that this is not English. She said ‘All in the language’, that is, [na] is an element of Wanyjirra. She gave the gloss ‘man chasing’.)

26. [palapala  e:::::i] /
    bala-bala  yiyi

    ‘[They will] chase [the bullocks].’
(The second word is probably an interjection. I do not know how to phonemicize it. Nor do I know its meaning.)
(About [t:::t], Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘They keep chasing’. She said she often heard people say it. She indicated to the effect that it describes a prolonged activity. As an example, she said ‘What that mean, they may be travelling’.)

27. lan-gu  garna-nggu / murla / murla /
stab-PURP  spear-ERG  here  here

‘[They] will stab [the bullocks] with spears, here, and here.’

(I think that murla ‘here’ refers to part of the bullocks’ bodies, rather than the place where the bullocks were.)

28. [p:::t] /
buvu

Tentative translation: ‘I did it!’

(This word was pronounced with a high pitch. This is probably an interjection. I do not know its meaning. It is possibly used to call someone’s attention. Possibly, [p:::t], i.e. with [i], was intended.)

(Maggie Scott commented, ‘i got im now’. I asked her, ‘Who said [p:::]?’ She replied, ‘i spear-im and i sing out now’, i.e. the person who speared the bullock. Then, [p:::] may be an interjection which may be translated ‘I did it!’ or ‘I got it!’)

29. [borlanggo]  ngonyono] /
burlang-gu  ngu=Ø=nyunu
call out-PURP  C=3SG.NOM=REFL/REC

‘He will call out to himself.’

(This sentence does not seem to make sense. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 29’.)

(In Maggie Scott’ pronunciation, the lateral in the verb seems retroflex. She gave the translation ‘He start singing out to others’. When asked about =nyunu, she gave ‘he is singing out to himself’. I do not know why =nyunu ‘REFL/REC’ is used here.)

29’. burlang-gu  ngu=Ø=yanu  mawun-gu
call out-PURP  C=3SG.NOM=3PL.DAT  man-DAT
‘He will call out to [other] men.’

30. \[nyawalo:]/ \[jandalo:]/ \[jandalo]/
  \(\text{nyawa}=\text{lu}\) \(\text{yan-da}=\text{lu}\) \(\text{yan-da}=\text{lu}\)
  \text{this,here}=\text{CLC} \text{come-IMPERA}=\text{PL.NOM} \text{come-IMPERA}=\text{PL.NOM}

  ‘Here [are the bullocks]! Come! Come!’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Here are the bullocks!’.)

31. \(\text{nga}=\text{liwa}\)
   \(\text{lan-gu}/\)
   \(\text{C}=\text{1PL.INC.NOM} \text{stab-PURP}\)

  ‘We will stab [the bullocks].’

32. \[lan.go\] \[ngolo::\] \[gon.ga]/ \[bolokma]/
   \(\text{lan-gu}\) \(\text{ngu}=\text{lu}\) \(\text{gun.ga}=\text{Ø}\) \(\text{bulug}=\text{Ø}=\text{ma}\)
   \text{stab-PURP} \(\text{C}=\text{3PL.NOM} \text{dead-ABS} \text{bullock-ABS}=\text{CLC}\)

  ‘They will stab the bullocks dead.’

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence and gave the translation ‘They spear-im bullock
till i [i.e. it or they] die’. Note that this sentence does not mean ‘dead bullock’. \text{gun.ga}
‘dead’ indicates the result of the action.)

33. \(\text{bulug}=\text{Ø}=\text{ma}\) \(\text{ngu}=\text{lu}\) \(\text{lan-gu}\) \(\text{gun.ga}=\text{Ø}/\)
   \text{bullock-ABS}=\text{CLC} \(\text{C}=\text{3PL.NOM} \text{stab-PURP} \text{dead-ABS}\)

  ‘They will stab the bullocks dead.’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 33’.)

(Maggie Scott approved the above sentence.)

33’. \text{gumarn-u} \quad \text{julgu-julgu-Ø}
  \text{cut-VBD} \quad \text{much(?)-much(?)-ABS}

  ‘[They] cut a lot [of meat].’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed \text{julgu-julgu} ‘big mob of meat’.)

(Maggie Scott said [dyolgodyolgo] \text{julgujulgu} and glossed it ‘cut-im into little
pieces’. In connection with 32 and 33, Maggie Scott gave the following.)
33''[MS].  [kon.gak]
gun.ga-g
dead-RESULT

33'''[MS].  [gon.gakna]
gun.ga-g=na
dead-RESULT=CLC(?)
(For [na], see the comment on Sentence 25.)

33''''[MS].  [ngolo binya gon.gak]
ngu=lu  binya  gun.ga-g
C=3PL.NOM  hit.PAST  dead-RESULT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘They spear-im until i [i.e. it or they] die’.
(Maggie Scott approved the following, which I had composed.)

33'''''[TT].  mawun-du ngu=lu binya gun.ga-g
man-ERG  C=3PL.NOM  hit.PAST  dead-RESULT

My translation: ‘The men hit it/him dead.’
(Then, Maggie Scott herself said this sentence.)

33''''''[MS].  mawun-du ngu=lu binya gun.ga-g
man-ERG  C=3PL.NOM  hit.PAST  dead-RESULT

My translation: ‘The men hit it/him dead.’
(Maggie Scott approved the following, which I had composed.)

33''''''''[TT].  mawun-du ngu=lu bulug-Ø binya
man-ERG  C=3PL.NOM  bullock-ABS  hit.PAST
(or lan-i)  gun.ga-g
(or spear-PAST)  dead-RESULT

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘kill him dead’. Then, she gave the next sentence.)
33""""

[MS]. [bolokma ngolo lani
  bulug-Ø=ma ngu=lu lan-i
  bullock-ABS=CLC C=3PL.NOM spear-PAST
  gon.gak]
gun.ga-g
dead-RESULT
  My translation: ‘They speared a bullock and made it dead.’

34. gumarn-u [nao] /
cut-VBD now
  ‘[They] cut [the meat] now.’

35. nyawa / nyawa [miself] /
  this,here this,here separate
  Tentative translation: ‘[They will cut] this [meat] and this [meat] separately.’

36. [karro: ngo nyama] (brief pause) /
  garru-wu ngu=Ø nyawa=ma
  stay,lie-PURP C=3SG.NOM this,here=CLC
  ‘This [meat] will stay/lie [on the ground].’
  (Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘This one stop over here on the dirt’.)

37. [jangingga karro: dyanydyaka] /
  yangi-Ø garru-wu janyja-ga
  one-ABS stay-PURP ground-LOC
  ‘One [piece of meat] will stay/lie on the ground.’
  (On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy [jangingga] (this suggests yangi-ngga ‘one-LOC’), but when the tape was replayed, he said that [jangi] was intended, hence yangi-Ø ‘one-ABS’.)
(Maggie Scott said, ‘I don’t know why [jangingga]. Supposed to be [jangi]’. She gave translations/glosses ‘one piece of meat stop here’, ‘laying down in the ground’, and ‘one here, one here’.)

38. nyawa     yangi-∅    janyja-ga /  
   this,here  one-ABS  ground-LOC  
   ‘This one [piece of meat will stay] on the ground.’

   birnrdiyi-∅ now  birnrdiyi-∅ now  wirlga-nggu  
   rib bone-ABS now  rib bone-ABS now  axe-ERG  
   ‘[Someone will cut] the rib bones with an axe now.’

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in the word for ‘axe’ seems retroflex. She approved my translation ‘He will cut the rib bones with an axe now’. She commented, ‘They cut the meat off. They start cutting the rib bone now’.)

40. [karro:] /  [jangina  birnrdi::  
   garru-wu   yangi-∅=na   birnrdiyi-∅  
   stay-PURP  one-ABS=CLC  rib bone-ABS  
   karro:ko] /  
   garru-wu   ngu=∅  
   stay-PURP  C=3SG.NOM  
   Tentative translation: ‘One [piece of rib bone] will stay.’

(I do not know what this sentence means. Regarding the last word, on the tape, I seem to hear [ko], but when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [ngo] ngu was intended.)

(Maggie Scott said [ngo] ngu. She approved my translation ‘One piece of rib bone will stop’. She commented, ‘One side of rib bone first’.)

41. garr /  guji-∅ /  jarda-∅ /  [uun] /  
   cutting  bone-ABS  spine-ABS  
   ‘[He will] cut the bones and the spine.’
(On the tape, I seem to hear [karr], hence garr. But there is possibly a stop, [p] (?), at the end, and this word may be [karrp] garrb.)

(I thought I heard [karra]. Maggie Scott said that she does not know it. She said, ‘i must mean [karra] garra’ and glossed it ‘like that’. (But I think that garra ‘thus’ is not Wanyjirra. I think guya ‘thus’ is used in Wanyjirra, e.g. 44) She provided the gloss ‘back bone’ for jarda. She also gave [katya] gaja and glossed it ‘spine’. I think this word is the same as the word gaja ‘desert’.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 29th July 1998 (Wed).)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 30th July 1998 (Thurs).)

42. [karlkarlkbalen::: kan.garra] / [dyimurraolo] /
   garlgarlg bayan-u gan.garra jimurrwu=lu
cutting cut-VBD up always(?)=CLC
   [mo:lalo] /
   muwula=lu
   ?=CLC
   
   Tentative translation: ‘[He will] cut [the bullock] right up [to the neck?]’.

(As shown above, what I hear on the tape and what Nyun.gatyा Paddy said he had intended are different. Phonemically, [karlkarlk] may be garlag-garlag. [mo:la] seems to be a preverb. Nyun.gatyा Paddy indicated that it describes a certain way of cutting. He said it is the same as [tinnrndi] dirndi. Probably, this word, too, is a preverb and describes a certain way of cutting. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatyा Paddy gave 42’.)

42’. nyundu-0=lu bayar-ra
   2SG-ABS=CLC cut-IMPERA
   ‘You cut [it].’

(For the first word of 42, Maggie Scott gave 42”’.)
42''[MS]. [karlkarlkbalo]
    garl-garlg=balu
Maggie Scott's translation: 'cut-im all way'
(On the tape I hear [bale], but Maggie Scott said [balo]. Maggie Scott also gave 42''' and 42'''''.

42'''[MS]. [karlkarlk]
    garl-garlg

42''''[MS]. [karlk    karlk     karlk]
    garlg    garlg    garlg
Maggie Scott's translation: 'cut-im up in small bits'
(Then, I realized that the first word in 42 must be phonemically garlg-garlg. It involves garlg [karlk]. I listened to the tape again. Indeed, it seems to be [karlk]. Maggie Scott approve [karlk] for 42. I suggested 42''''' , and it was approved by Maggie Scott.)

42'''''[TT].    garlg    bayan-i
    into pieces(?)    cut-PAST
My translation: 'cut into small pieces'
(Maggie Scott gave the following, and approved my translation.)

42''''''[MS]. [karlk    bajanana]
    garlg    baya-ana
    into pieces    cut-PRES
My translation: 'cut into two'
(I suggested the following, and it was approved by Maggie Scott.)

42''''''[TT].    garlg    bayan-i
    into pieces(?)    cut-PAST
(Maggie Scott gave the next sentence.)
My translation: ‘is cutting into pieces’

(I asked Maggie is [karlk] is used for bones only. She said, ‘anything as long as you cut in a half’. For [dyimurraolo] jimurraru=lu, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘cut-im all together’. On the tape, I thought in 1970s that I heard [mo:lalo], this is not clear.

Maggie Scott said [mo:rralo]. On the tape, this seems to be [mo:rralo]. Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘right up to the neck’. There appears to be the word [mo:] muwu ‘for this one’. Then, possibly [mo:rralo] consists of [mo] ‘this one’, [orra] ‘allative’, and [lo] ‘clitic’, then, tentatively: mu-wurra=lu ‘this. If this is the case, the stem is monosyllabic. I asked Maggie if there is a word [mo:rra]. She agreed, and gave the next sentence.)

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Come here.’

(For [mo:rralo], Maggie Scott gave the glosses ‘here’, ‘right up to here’.)

(The meaning of this sentence is not known.)

(Maggie Scott said [kolala] gulala and glossed it ‘neck’. I tried to determine whether the lateral is retroflex. Maggie Scott said [korlarra] gurlarra is different. She approved my gloss ‘south’ for gurlarra. She gave the gloss ‘break-im’ for jilmung. She approved my gloss ‘break’ for jilmung-garra. She approved my pronunciation [rl] (retroflex) for the word for ‘axe’. Regarding the sentence, she commented as follows: ‘i [i.e. he or they] must have started cutting down the hip up to the neck’. She said ‘right up to the neck’. She approved my translation ‘break the bone right up to the neck’.)
44. [warn.gowarn.gorr  
    warn.gu-warn.gurr  
    nowadays] / 
    carrying on shoulder(?) - carrying on shoulder(?)  
    thus now thus now hole-ALL 
    [rtordolo:] / rtordolo 
    rdurdulu-wu rdurdulu / 
    ?-DAT ?

   Tentative translation: ‘[He will] carry [the meat and bones ?] on the shoulder like this, to the hole.’

   (The meaning of this sentence is not known.)

   (On the tape, I hear [warn.gowarn.gorr], i.e. the first part lacks [rr]. Such a phenomenon is not uncommon in reduplication, and I think this form is correct. However, Maggie Scott did not approve it. She said [warn.gorr warn.gorr] warn.gurr warn.gurr. She glossed it ‘carry-im up all the bone’, ‘all carry that bone one each’. This appears to have a ‘distributive’ meaning. Maggie Scott gave 44’.)

44’[MS]. [warn.gorr warn.gorr  
    warn.gurr.warn.gurr  
    carrying on the shoulder(?) - carrying on the shoulder(?)  
    kangana] 
    gang-ana 
    carry-PRES

   My translation: ‘carry’

   (I asked Maggie if the word [warn.gorr] exists. She agreed and gave 44’’.)

44”[MS]. [warn.gorr  
    warn.gurr  
    kangana] 
    gang-ana 
    carrying on the shoulder(?) carry-PRES

   (I asked Maggie Scott if the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated forms are the same. She said, ‘If you want to, you can repeat’. I asked, ‘Many, [warn.gorr warn.gorr  
    kakanga] and one person, [warn.gorr  
    kangana]?’ Maggie Scott gave the following.)
44‴‴[MS]. [ngoola warn.gorr warn.gorr
       ngu=wula warn.gur-warn.gurr
       C=3DU.NOM carrying on the shoulder(?)-carrying on the shoulder(?)
       kangana korrkonggao]
       gang-ana gurrgu-nggawu
       carry-PRES hole(?)-ALL
       My translation: ‘They are carrying it to a hole.’

(Being asked for the expression for ‘one person’, Maggie Scott gave 44‴‴.)

44‴‴[MS]. [ngo kangana warn.gorr]
       ngu gang-ana warn.gurr
       C carry-PRES carrying on the shoulder(?)
       My translation: ‘He is carrying it’.

(I asked if the following is correct.)

44‴‴‴[TT]. yangi-nggu mawun-du ngu
       one-ERG man-ERG C
       warn.gurr-warn.gurr
       carrying on the shoulder(?)-carrying on the shoulder(?)
       gang-ana
       carry-PRES

(Maggie Scott did not approved it. Then, she said, ‘I suppose you can say’. She is not
happy with it. Probably, the reduplicated form is used for two or more actors. On the
tape, I hear [warn.gowarn.gorr], but, when I pronounced it, Maggie Scott said, ‘No, no’.
She said this word means ‘carry-im on the shoulder’. Then, the word that has been
examined above does not seem to mean ‘carrying on the shoulder’. I do not know what
it means. Maggie Scott made an interesting remark on the method of carrying. She said,
‘Only woman carry on the hip. Men carry on the shoulder. Woman can carry on the
shoulder, too. I never know man to carry anything on the hip’. Maggie Scott approved
[rtodtolo:], with a long vowel, for its first occurrence. That is, it is dative. For its second
occurrence, she said [rordinate] *rdurdu* and glossed it ‘cook-im’. She approved my gloss ‘cook in ground’.

45. *gamba-wu ngu=lu/*

cook-PURP C=3PL.NOM

‘They will cook [the meat and bones ?].’

46. *murla=ma nguyuru-Ø/*

here=CLC many-ABS

(The meaning of this sentence is not known. This may mean ‘There are many men here’. It may mean ‘There are many holes [for cooking] here’. I seem to hear a retroflex flap for *nguyuru*. Similarly for the next sentence.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Many holes’.)

47. *nagurr-Ø=ma nguyuru-Ø=lu/*

hole-ABS=CLC many-ABS=CLC

‘[There are] many holes [for cooking].’

48. *wagurra yangi-Ø/*

NEG one-ABS

‘Not [just] one [hole].’

49. *murla/* *murla/* *murla/* *murla/*

here here here here

‘Here, here, here, here.’

(Maggie Scott provided the following translations, ‘Hole everywhere’, ‘Hole over here, hole over here’, and ‘Here, here, here, here’.)

50. *birrinyju-birrinyju/*

separately-separately

‘[They] each [will do the cooking].’
(birrinyju-birrinyju was glossed ‘miself miself’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. It seems to mean ‘each, individually’. It no doubt involves reduplication of birrinyju. This word may in turn consists of birriny and the ergative suffix -ju.)

(Maggie Scott said [birrinydyobirrinydyo] birrinyju-birrinyju. The front vowel is between [i] and [e]. She glossed it ‘separate’, and ‘separate holes they got-im’. I asked about [birrinydyo] birrinyju. Maggie Scott approved it and said [berrenydyo]. She said it means ‘cooking it separate, away from one another, some group here, some group there’. I asked Maggie if the word [birriny] exists. She said ‘No’, i.e. there is no such word. She said, ‘Only [birrinydyo]’. That is, [dyo] is not an ergative suffix. I thought I need to obtain an example of an intransitive verb. I did not ask for one, but Maggie voluntarily gave 50’.)

50'[MS]. [berrenydyo karreja]
  birrinyju garrri-ya
  separately stay-IMPERA

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘You mob go separate from others’.

(=lu ‘PL.NOM’ would be expected: garrri-ya=lu ‘stay-IMPERA=PL.NOM’.)

51. birrinyju-birrinyju / gambarn-ang-gu ngu=lu /
  separately-separately cook-CONT-PURP C=3PL.NOM

‘They each will cook [the meat and bones?] separately from one another.’

(On the tape, I hear [kambarnango] for gambarn-ang-gu, that is, I do not hear [g] for g.)

52. gun.gun-garra / mawun-du gujarra-ru / mawun-du
  cooking in earth(?)? man-ERG two-ERG man-ERG
  gujarra-ru mawun-du gujarra-ru /
  two-ERG man-ERG two-ERG

Tentative translation: ‘Two men, two men and two men [will] cook [them] in the earth.’

(This sentence seems to refer to three pairs of men. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave man-i ‘get-PAST’.)
(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘cooking in earth’ for gun.gun-garra. She approved my translation ‘Two men here, two men here, two men here’. She said, ‘Two men here, two men over there’.)

53. [kojalo wai:] /
guya=lu wayi
thus=CLC how,question

Tentative translation: ‘Is it all right like this?’ or ‘How is it?’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the translation ‘We want to eat’.)

(Maggie Scott said [kojalo wai:] and gave the translation ‘That’s the way’, ‘This way’. She approved my translation ‘Is it alright like this?’ But she was not happy with it. She did not approve my translation ‘How is it?’ She said, ‘Really, [the meaning is] “That’s the way”.’)

54. [bonggo ngo::: dyiwririk] /
bung-gu ngu jiwrri-g
hit,cook-PURP C cooked-RESULT

‘He will cook [the meat and bones?].’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘cook the meat and bones’. She added, ‘All in a hole’.)

55. [ngolola karro::: maonma

ngu=lu=la garru-wu mawun-Ø=ma
C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT stay,wait-PURP man-ABS=CLC
nyilama:::] /

nyila=ma

that=CLC

‘Those men will stay/wait for it [i.e. for the meat].’

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘They wait for the beef’.)

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56. [ngarin.goma    ngolola    karro:::] / 
    ngarin-gu=ma    ngu=lu=la    garru-wu
    meat-DAT=CLC    C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT    stay,wait-PURP

‘They will wait for the meat.’
(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘They wait for the beef’.)

57. man-gu=liwa    [nao]    wurraj / 
    get-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM    now    taking out

‘We will take [the meat] out [of the holes] now.’
(Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘pull-im out’ for wurraj.)

58. nga=liwa    nga=liwa    nga=liwa    nga=liwa / 
    C=1PL.INC.NOM    eat-PURP    C=1PL.INC.NOM    eat-PURP
    nga=liwa    nga=liwa / 
    C=1PL.INC.NOM    eat-PURP

‘We will eat [it]. We will eat [it]. We will eat [it].’
(Maggie Scott said, ‘We lot eat-im’.)

59. man-gu    ngu=lu    wurraj /    wurraj / 
    get-PURP    C=3PL.NOM    taking out    taking out

‘They will take [the meat] out.’

60. ngu=lu    man-gu    wurraj / 
    C=3PL.NOM    get-PURP    taking out

‘They will take [the meat] out.’

61. ngu=lu    man-gu    wurraj /    ngarin-Ø=ma
    C=3PL.NOM    get-PURP    taking out    meat-ABS=CLC
    nyila=ma /

‘They will take that meat out.’
(I hear a retroflex flap for ngarin.)
62. bib/
   picking up
   ‘[They will] pick up [the meat].’
   (Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘picking up’.)

63. ganiyin bib/
   from down picking up
   ‘[They will] pick up [the meat] from down’, i.e. ‘from the hole in the earth’.
   (Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘pick up the meat from down, from the hole in
   the earth’.)

64. murla ngu=lu yirra-wu/
   here C=3PL.NOM put-PURP
   ‘They will put [the meat] here.’

65. gulyawurr-Ø gulyawurr-Ø man-da (no pause)
   leaves(?)-ABS leaves(?)-ABS get-IMPERA
   ‘Get some leaves(?).’
   (gulyawurr was glossed ‘bushes’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. In the local Aboriginal English,
   the word bushes does not refer to bushes, shrubs, or the like. It generally refers to a
   bunch of branches broken off trees for some purpose, e.g. for sitting on, or, placing
   something one. In this context, gulyawurr may refer to such a bunch of branches. Or,
   judging by 66, it may refer to such a bunch of grass.)

   (On the tape, I hear [kolyaorr]. But Maggie Scott said [kolyaorro] gulyawurru and
   glossed it ‘leaf’. She gave 65’.)

65’[MS]. [kolyaorro mandalungalewa]
   gulyawurru-Ø man-da=lu=ngaliwa
   leaves-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.DAT
   My translation: ‘Get leaves for us.’

   (This sentence is interesting. Semantically, =lu, which refers to the addressees, are
   included in =ngaliwa. And yet the sentence does not contain the reflexive/reciprocal
clitic =nyunu. I suspect that this is only possible in imperative sentences. Referring to 65 and 66, Maggie Scott said, 'I think he [i.e. Nyun.gaty Paddy] said [the following sentence]."

65’’[MS]. [kolyaorro] mandalongalewankola
   gulyawurr-Ø   man-da=lu-ngaliwanggula
   leaf-ABS      get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.OBL

   My translation: ‘Get leaves for us.’

(This sentence may also be analyzed as follows.)

65’’’[MS]. [kolyaorro]
   gulyawurr-Ø
   leaf-ABS
   mandalongalewankola
   man-da=lu-ngaliwang=gu=la
   get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.DAT=LINK=3SG.DAT

   My translation: ‘Get leaves for us for the meat.’

(This analysis seems less feasible than that for 65’’, since the dative form is =ngaliwa, not =ngaliwang. Maggie Scott said that the word ‘grass’ is [kolyaorr] gulyawurr, not [kolyaorro]. She said [kolyaorr]. She gave 65’’’.)

65’’’’[MS]. [kolyaorr] mandalongalewangola
   gulyawurr-Ø   man-da=lu-ngaliwangula
   leaf-ABS      get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.OBL

   Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘You mob, get leaf for us.’

(Like 65’’’, this may be analyzed as follows. But the linking morpheme =u= is not attested elsewhere in the language.)

65’’’’’[MS]. man-da=lu-ngaliwang=u=la
              get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.DAT=LINK=3SG.DAT

   (Maggie Scott said that the same meaning can be expressed by the next sentence.)
65''''''[MS]. [kolyaorr] mandalongalewangkola
gulyawurr-Ø man-da=lu=ngaliwanggula
leaf-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.OBL

(Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘for we’. Phonetically, note the voiceless [k]; this follows the voiced [ng]. Maggie Scott said, ‘If just “get” [i.e. excluding “for us” -- TT], we say [the next sentence].’)

65''''''[MS]. [kolyaorr] mandalola ngaren.go
gulyawurr-Ø man-da=lu=la ngarin-gu
leaf-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=3SG.DAT meat-DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Get the leaf for beef’.

(It seems certain that this contains =la ‘3SG.DA’, and that it is not part of an oblique form. Maggie Scott said the next sentence.)

65''''''[MS]. [kolyaorr] mandalongalewangkola

gulyawurr-Ø man-da=lu=ngaliwanggula
leaf-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.OBL

My translation: ‘Get leaves for us.’

(Note the absence of =nyumu ‘REFL/REC’. Maggie Scott gave the next sentence.)

65''''''[MS]. [kolyaorr] mandalongalewangkola ngaren.go
gulyawurr-Ø man-da=lu= ngarin-gu
leaf-ABS get-IMPERA=? meat-DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Get leaf for beef’.

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Get leaves for beef for us’. She said ‘Get leaf for beef for us’. In this sentence, ngarin-gu seems to be cross-referenced by =la ‘3SG.DAT’. Then we would have:

=ngaliwang=gu=la
=1PL.INC.DDAT=LINK=3SG.DAT
I asked Maggie Scott about [mandalongalewongola] and [mandalongalewongkola]. About the former, she said ‘It’s alright’. She said, ‘You can use both’. I asked her if the following is correct.)

65[TT].[mandalonganembangkola]

    man-da=lu=nganimbanggula
    get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.OBL

Possible meaning: ‘Get it for us(EXC).’

(Maggie Scott said, ‘No’. She gave the next sentence.)

65[MS]. [mandalongalewongola]

    man-da=lu=ngaliwangula
    get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.OBL

    ‘Get it for us(INC).’

(I asked for a translation of ‘You mob get meat for mifalas’. Maggie Scott gave the next sentence.)

65[MS]. [nyorra: mandalonganemba

    nyurraa-O man-da=lu=nganimba
    2PL-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.DAT

ngaren]

    ngarin-O

meat-ABS

(Note the absence of 1a. Then, the forms given earlier possibly contain =la ‘3SG.DAT’. I asked if the following sentence is correct.)

65[TT]. gulyawurr-O man-da=lu-ngaliwa

    leaf-ABS get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation:[You mob -- TT?] ‘Get the leaf for we’.

(It seems that Maggie Scott approved this sentence. Then, she said the following.)
65'**********[MS].  [kolyaorr  mandalongalewa]
   gulyawurr-Ø  man-da=lu-ngaliwa
leaf-ABS     get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.INC.DAT

   ‘Get leaves for us.’

(I asked if the following sentence is correct.)

65'**********[TT].  gulyawurr-Ø  man-da=lu-nyunu
leaf-ABS     get-IMPERA=PL.NOM=REFL/REC

Intended meaning: ‘Get leaves for your selves.’

(Maggie Scott approved the sentence, and gave the translation ‘You get leaf for yourself’. Maggie Scott gave the following.)

65'**********[MS].  [kolyaorr  mandalonyono       nyorra:nginy]
   gulyawurr-Ø  man-da=lu-nyunu       nyurraa-nginy
leaf-ABS     get-IMPERA=REFL/REC   2PL-DAT(?)

Maggie Scott’s translation ‘You get leaf for yourself’.

66.  [ngala  kolla] (brief pause)
   gulyawurr-Ø  nga=liwa         guma-wu /
  leaves-ABS   C=1PL.INC.NOM      cut-PURP

   ‘We will cut some leaves (or grass?).’

(On the tape I hear something like [ngala  kolla], but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that the intended sentence was the one given above.)

67.  nga=liwa       yirra-wu       bija-ngga /
   C=1PL.INC.NOM    put-PURP      grass-LOC

   ‘We will put [the meat] on the grass.’

(yuga, too, means ‘grass’. Possibly, bija refers to a bunch of grass cut off or pulled off the ground for some purpose.)

(pija does not mean just ‘grass’. Maggie Scott had some difficulty in explaining it meaning. She said, ‘put-im on a ...’, ‘they get bushes and put’, ‘plate for beef’, and ‘use as a plate’.)
68. *bija-ngga nga=liwa yirra-wu /
    grass-LOC C=1PL.INC.NOM put-PURP
    ‘We will put [the meat] on the grass.’

69. *wagurra janyja-ga / wagurra janyja-ga /
    NEG ground-LOC NEG ground-LOC
    ‘Not on the ground. Not on the ground.’

70. *gulyawurr-a /
    leaves(?),grass(?)-LOC
    ‘On the leaves (or grass).’
    (Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘leaf’.)

71. *murla-rninny ngu=lu=la yirra-wu /
    here-way (?) C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT put-PURP
    ‘They will put down [the leaves or grass] for it [i.e. the meat, etc.].
    (murla-rninny was glossed ‘this way’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Here, ‘way’ seems to refer
to a direction, and not a method. Judging by the following sentence, =la ‘3SG.DAT’
seems to refer to the rib bones, the spine, the forelegs, etc. that have been cooked.)
    (Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘This way they put it’. She approved my
translation ‘They put [pitya] *bija for the beef’.)

72. *murla-rninny ngu=lu=la yirra-wu /
    here-way (?) C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT put-PURP
    murlandi murlandi birrindi-yi-wu jarda-wu
    here(?) here(?) rib bone-DAT spine-DAT
    muna-wu /
    arm,foreleg-DAT
    Tentative translation: ‘They will put down [the ‘bush’] this way here for the
[cooked] rib bones, back bone, and the forelegs.’
(The first three words are translated ‘put-im this way’ by Nyun.gatyay Paddy. On the tape, I hear something like [morlrnrdinrio]. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatyay Paddy said that [morlrndi] was intended. He also said that this word is the same as murla-ngga (‘here-LOC’). No doubt, murlandi contains murla ‘here’, but the meaning/function of -ndi is not known. The clitic pronoun =la ‘3SG.DAT’ refers to the [cooked] rib bones, back bone, and the forelegs. This shows that this singular clitic pronoun can have plural referents at least when the referents are inanimate. The same applies to 71.)

(Maggie Scott said [morlrnrdinrio] murlurndi-wu and glossed it ‘for this lot’. I asked if the word [morlrndi] exists, and she agreed. She gave 72’.)

72’[MS]. [morlrndi] birrdi:o
murlurndi-wu birrdiyi-wu
this lot(?)-DAT rib bone-DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘for this lot rib bone’

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘this lot’ for murlurndi. Also, she thought I said [morlrnrdi], and she said, ‘You can say [morlrndi]’ (murlurndi). She approved my gloss ‘rib bone’ for birrdiyi, ‘spine’ for jarda, and ‘arm, foreleg’ for muna.)

73. langga-Ø nyila / langga-Ø nyila / ngu=lu
head-ABS that head-ABS that C=3PL.NOM
baya-rru darlag / jiwrri-Ø=ma / jiwrri-Ø=ma /
cut-PURP splitting cooked-ABS=CLC cooked-ABS=CLC
darlag /
splitting

‘That head, they will split [it as it is now] cooked.’

(I seem to hear [rt] for the initial stop of darlag. But in word-initial positions /d/ and /rd/ are probably not in opposition.)

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘head’ for langga. She said [rtalak] rdalag and glosses it ‘split-im’. (The lateral is not retroflex, I think.) She approved my gloss ‘now cooked’ for jiwrri.)
74. nyawa nyawa langga-Ø nga-lu=liwa
   this,here this,here head-ABS eat-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM
   yura-Ø /
good-ABS
   ‘Let’s eat this tasty head.’

(I hear [nya:], without [w], for nyawa.)

(Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘good one’ for yura. I did not understand why a
head is a good one. I thought there is not much to eat. But Maggie Scott said, ‘Head got
little bit of meat in it’.)

75. yura-Ø nga-lu=liwa langga-Ø /
good-ABS eat-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM head-ABS
   ‘Let’s eat the tasty head.’

76. langga-Ø nga-lu=liwa /
   head-ABS eat-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM
   ‘Let’s eat the head.’

77. birnrdiyi-Ø (brief pause) nga-lu=liwa birnrdiyi-Ø /
   rib bone-ABS eat-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM rib bone-ABS
   ‘Let’s eat the rib bones.’

78. birnrdiyi-Ø nga-lu=liwa
   rib bone-ABS eat-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM
   ‘Let’s eat the rib bones.’

   this,here cut-VBD now cut-VBD now
cut-VBD now cut-VBD now
cut-VBD now cut-VBD now
'This [head], [we/they] cut now, cut now, cut now, cut now, cut now, cut now.'
(I asked Maggie what they cut. She said, 'I don't know what'. After listening to 80 and 81, I suggested 'meat'. Maggie Scott agreed and said 'beef'. She gave 79.)

79'[MS]. [komarnema komarnema komarnema]
   gumarn-i=ma gumarn-i=ma gumarn-i=ma
cut-PAST=CLC cut-PAST=CLC cut-PAST=CLC
My translation: '[They] cut [it], cut [it], cut [it].'

80. buya-Ø=ma /
   meet-ABS=CLC
   'Meet.'
(buya was glossed 'beef' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. In the local Aboriginal English, 'beef' means meat.)

81. buya-Ø nyiyam-Ø / buya-Ø nyiyam-Ø /
   meat-ABS meat-ABS meat-ABS meat-ABS
   'Meat.'
(nyiyam, too, was glossed 'beef' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. He said nyiyam means 'beef from shoulder, from leg'. He said both buya and nyiyam are Wanyjirra words. The difference, if any, between them is not known.)

   (Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'beef' for buya. She said [nyijan] nyiyam and glossed it 'beef, piece of meat'. She said, 'i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] call-im two different names'. She added, 'We call [ngaren], [ngaren]'. (This word was pronounced with a frictionless glide). Possibly this indicates that buya and nyiyam are not her language.)

   (On the tape, I hear [nejan], which suggests nyiyam. On the 14th August 1998, Maggie Scott said [nyijan], clearly a palatal nasal.)

82. [komarni:.....] /
   gumarn-i
   cut-PAST
‘[We/They] cut [the meat ? the head ?].’
(Maggie Scott approved my translation involving ‘meat’. This indicates that what was cut was meat.)

83. lurrij /
finishing
‘[We/They] finished [cutting].’

84. murla gadaj /
here cutting(?)
‘[We/They] cut (?) [the meat ? the head ?] here.’
(Probably murla ‘here’ refers to part of the cooked bullock, rather than the place where the cutting was done.)

(M Maggie Scott said [kadaty]. She also said [kodash]. Note the fricative [sh]. This is gadaj. Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘cut-im’.)

85. nyawa gurumurru-∅ /
this shin bone-ABS
‘This [is] a shin bone.’
(M Maggie Scott said [koromoro] and provided the gloss ‘leg part’. She touched her lower leg. She approved my gloss ‘lower leg’. She commented, ‘i must cut-im off [the lower leg] from the knee’.)

86. [koromoro nyama] /
gurumurru-∅ nyawa=ma
shin bone-ABS this,here=CLC
Tentative translation: ‘This [is] a shin bone.’
(On the tape I hear [nyama], but probably nyawa=ma was intended. It seems that when the tape was replayed, Smiler, a Mudburra speaker, gave [marrindi] marrindi and indicated that this is the same as gurumbu ‘shin bone’. That is, probably marrindi is a Mudburra word with the meaning of ‘shin bone’. It also seems that when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 86’ and 86’. )
86'. *gula=yi=lu ngarra man-gu*
   NEG=1SG.ACC=3PL.NOM knowing get-PURP
   ‘They won’t know me.’

(Maggie Scott provided the translation ‘They won’t know me’.)

86’’. *ngu=n=janu nyang-gu*
   C=2SG.NOM=3PL.ACC see-PURP
   ‘You will see them.’

(Possibly, 86’ and 86’’ constitute one single sentence, in which case the translation will be ‘They won’t know me, so you should [go and] see them’. I do not remember clearly, but possibly this describes a situation in which some whitemen were visiting Nicholson Station (where I was recording Nyun.gatya Paddy) and Nyun.gatya Paddy wanted me to go and see the whitemen. My transcripts indicate that Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [kowale] *gawa=li ‘CONJ=1DU.INC.NOM’* and that I thought that this might be a mishearing for [kajali] *guya=li ‘CONJ=1DU.INC.NOM’*. In 87, Nyun.gatya Paddy continues the story.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘You come and have a look’.)

87. *nyawa / guji-Ø nyawa / manamana-Ø /
   this,here bone-ABS this,here thigh bone-ABS
   jurrulunggu-Ø / jurrulunggu-Ø / manamana-Ø
   upper leg-ABS upper leg-ABS thigh bone-ABS
   ‘This bone [is] an upper leg bone.’

(*jurrulunggu-Ø ‘upper leg-ABS’ and *manamana-Ø ‘thigh bone-ABS’ constitute a whole-part relationship, and they are in apposition in terms of case.*)

(Maggie Scott glossed *manamana* ‘hip part’, pointing at her hip -- the sides, not the back or the front. I asked her if *manamana* can be used for human beings, too. Maggie Scott said, ‘Yes’. She glossed *jurrulunggu* ‘hip part’. I asked her if *manamana* and *jurrulunggu* are the same. She said ‘Yes’. But then, she showed by gesture that *jurrulunggu* refers to an upper leg. She approved my gloss ‘upper leg’.)
88. nyawa / nyawa / muna-Ø / muna-Ø / this,here this,here arm,foreleg-ABS arm,foreleg-ABS ‘This [is] a foreleg.’

(Possibly, this sentence means ‘These [are] forelegs’. Similarly for the next sentence.)
(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘foreleg’ for muna.)

89. nyawa / muna-Ø / muna-Ø / this,here arm,foreleg-ABS arm,foreleg-ABS ‘This [is] a foreleg.’

90. nyawa / guji-Ø / muluriwiri-Ø / guji-Ø this,here bone-ABS upper arm bone-ABS bone-ABS muluriwiri-Ø /

upper arm bone-ABS
‘This [is] an upper arm bone.’

(guji-Ø ‘bone-ABS’ muluriwiri-Ø ‘upper arm bone’ may be considered as an instance of ‘generic-specific’. The two nouns are in apposition in terms of case. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [karrael] garrayil ‘lower arm bone’.)
(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘bone’ for guji. On the tape, I seem to hear [molorowiny]. Maggie Scott said, ‘I don’t know [this word]. New to me’.)

91. nyawa (long pause) /
this,here
(This sentence was not completed. For a reason which I do not remember, I turned off the tape recorder.)

‘The whiteman/whitemen went on horseback.’

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(On the tape, for the third word I hear [dyal], but no doubt [dyaro] -jaru was intended.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Whitebala come got [i.e. with] horse’.)

93. [a blakbala nyawa] /
    a black-bala nyawa
    ah black-? this, here

‘Ah, [there is/are] Aboriginal man/men here.’

(The suffix -bala is used in many Kriol words, apparently with no clear meaning.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Blackfella here!’.)

94. black-bala nyawa
    black-? this, here

‘[There is/are] Aboriginal man/men here.’

95. [kardija] talk English way /
    gardiya-Ø
    whiteman-ABS

‘The white man says in English.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy started speaking in English, so I requested him to speak in Wanyjirra, and turned off the tape recorder.)

96. wajbala-Ø yan-ana / wajbala-Ø
    whiteman-ABS go,come-PRES whiteman-ABS
    yan-ana /
    go-PRES

‘The whiteman/whitemen is/are going. The whiteman/whitemen is/are going.’

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Whitefella coming’. She gave 96’.)

96’[MS]. nyawa nyawa
    here here

‘Here, here!’
97. mawun-Ø    barli / mawun-Ø    barli /
man-ABS finding  man-ABS finding
(Here, mawun refers to Aboriginal person(s) as against white person(s).)
(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in ‘finding’ seems to be retroflex. She
gave 87’.)

97’MS]. [barle    inya]
barli    yinya
finding give.PAST
My translation: ‘found’

98. bala-bala / bala-bala /
chasing-chasing chasing-chasing
‘[The whiteman/whitemen were] chasing [the Aboriginal man/men. The
whiteman/whitemen were] chasing [the Aboriginal man/men.’
(Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘chase-im’.)

99. bung-ana    shoot-im /
hit-PRES
‘[He/They] shoot [him/them].’
(I asked Maggie Scott if bung-ana means ‘shoot’. She said ‘kill-im’.)

100. shoot-im    bung-ana /
shoot     hit-PRES
‘[He/They] shoot [him/them].’
(Here, Nyun.gatya Paddy started talking about a massacre. I requested him to speak in
Wanyjirra. He said ‘Which way? Which way?’ Then, I turned off the tape recorder.)

101. [dyango    delykorrwareny] /
jangu-Ø    dilygurr-wariny
that-ABS    shooting-more
(The phonetic transcription and its phonemicization given above are only tentative. It seems that when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 101’ and also 101’”.)

(For 101, Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Bang ! Bang ! Bang ! shoot-im’. She approved my translation ‘shoot again and again’. I asked her what jangu means. She said, ‘You know shooting’. I do not understand this.)

101’. jangu-Ø dilygurr-waji-Ø
      that-ABS shooting-agent/instrument-ABS

Tentative translation: ‘That rifle.’
(dilygurr-waji probably refers to a rifle or the like.)
(Maggie Scott glossed dilygurr-waji ‘rifle’.)

101’’. bulumanu-Ø nganimba-Ø nga-lu
      bullock(?)-ABS 1PL.EXC-ABS eat-PURP

‘We will eat [a bullock ?].’
(The clitic pronoun =rnalu ‘1PL.EXC.NOM’ would be expected. Nyun.gatya Paddy approved 101’”’, which I had composed.)

(My notes show [bonomalo], but I think it is my error. This should be [bolomano]. Maggie Scott does not know [bonomalo], but approved [bolomano] bulumanu and my translation ‘bullock’.)

101’’’[TT]. bulumanu-Ø nganimba-Ø ngarn-ana
      bullock(?)-ABS 1PL.EXC-ABS eat-PRES

‘We are eating a bullock (?)’.)
(Maggie Scott gave 101’’”.)

101’’’’[MS]. [telykorrmanowadyi]
    dilygurr-man-u-waji-Ø
    shooting-get-VBD-agent/instrument-ABS

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘rifle’
(In the 1970s, I think that Robert Moses or someone said [telykor] means ‘thunder’. I asked Maggie Scott about this. She gave 101’’’’.)
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Those lightening coming banging.’

(Maggie Scott commented, ‘Just like a rifle’. About the word [telykorra], I asked her, ‘This word was here before white people came?’ She replied, ‘They had it [i.e. the word [telykorra]] for lightning’. Possibly, dilygurr originally described a thunder or lightning.)

102. dilygurr / dilygurr /
    shooting shooting
    ‘[They/He] shoot [him/them]. [They/He] shoot [him/them].’

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Shooting. Bang! Bang!’.)

103. murla-nyana / murla-nyana / lawurr-a / lawurr-a /
    here-? here-? hip-LOC hip-LOC
    Tentative translation: ‘[They shoot their] hips here.’

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood.)

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [nyana]. For murla-nyana, she gave the glosses ‘here and there’ and ‘shoot-im all way’. For lawurr, Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘shoulder’.

104. maya=rра murla /
    more=again(?) here
    ‘[They shoot] here more/again.’

(Maggie Scott said [majarra] maya=rра. She gave the translation ‘Again here’. She commented, ‘Must be down the hip somewhere’.)
105. [ka:n por.dya nao] / [ka:n por.dya nao] /
can’t burja now can’t burja now
can’t running now can’t running now

‘[The Aboriginal people] can’t run now.’

(I hear a retroflex flap for burja. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [ko:lembele] gulimbili. This word seems to refer to the side of the hip. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 105’.)

(Maggie Scott commented as follows: ‘i [i.e. the whiteman] must started shooting from leg up, because i [i.e. the Aborigines] couldn’t run’.)

105’. jurru1ruggu-Ø jilmung
upper leg breaking

‘[They] break [the Aboriginal people’s] upper legs.’

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence, and my gloss ‘upper leg’ for jurru1ruggu.)

106. [moakegen] /
more again
‘More again.’

107. [moa a:] (no pause)
(This was an error.)

108. maya=gari bung-gu / maya=gari bung-gu /
more=again(?) hit-PURP more=again(?) hit-PURP

‘[They] shoot (?) [them] again. [They] shoot (?) [them] again.’

(Possibly, bung- ‘hit’ can mean ‘shoot’ as well. Here, =gari seems to be a clitic, rather than a suffix.)

109. Shoot-im /

‘[They] shoot [them].’

(I requested Nyun.gatya Paddy to speak in Wanyjrira. He said something like [ngando]. Then, he said 110.)
110. [walelo] / [dyatwan walelo] /
  \textit{wali=lu} that one \textit{wali=lu}
  all right=CLC that one all right=CLC
  ‘That [word is] correct.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy meant to say that he was giving me right words. I said something to
him, and he said [un]. Then, he continued the story.)

111. \textit{bung-gu} /
  hit-PURP
  Tentative translation: ‘[They] will shoot [them].’

(Unlike other speakers of Wanyjirra, Nyun.gatya Paddy often uses a purposive form to
describe a past event.)

112. \textit{nyang-ga} \textit{walarl} \textit{marn-ang-gu} /
  see,look-IMPERA looking down(?) talk-CONT-PURP
\textit{janyja-ga} /
  ground-LOC
  ‘Look. Look down at [the people?] on the ground.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed \textit{nyang-ga} ‘You and me look’. He provided the gloss ‘look
down’ for the two words that follow. My transcripts indicate that I thought that the
second word ended in the retroflex [rl] and that the third word contained the retroflex
[rn]. But on listening to the tape again, I am not certain if these words really contain a
retroflex sound. But Sentence 121 shows that we have \textit{marn-} ‘talk’, rather than \textit{man-}
‘get’. The purposive form of \textit{marn-} is \textit{ma-lu}, cf. 121, while that of \textit{man-} is \textit{man-gu}.)

(Maggie Scott said [warlarr] \textit{warlarr} and glossed it ‘rolling’. (At first, I thought it
was [waral].) On the tape, I hear [marnanggo]. Then, we will have 112’.)

112’[MS]. \textit{nyang-ga} \textit{warlarr} \textit{marn-ang-gu} \textit{janyja-ga}
  look-IMPERA rolling talk-CONT-PURP ground-LOC
  My translation: ‘Look ! He will roll on the ground’.
(This translation may also apply to 112. Maggie Scott gave 112’.)

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112’’[MS]. [nyangga warlarr marnongga]
   nyang-ga warlarr marn-u-ngga
   look-IMPERA rolling talk-VBD-LOC
   My translation: ‘Look at him rolling’.

(My notes have [marnangga], but probably this is my error. This should be [marnongga].
Maggie Scott gave 112’’, i.e. [marnanggo] in place of [marnongga].)

112’’[MS]. nyangga warlarr marnanggo]
   nyang-ga warlarr marn-ang-gu
   look-IMPERA rolling talk-CONT-PURP
   My translation: ‘Look! He will roll.’

(Maggie Scott commented as follows: ‘He’s rolling around on the dirt’. She gave 112’’.)

112’’’[MS]. [nyangga koja warlarr marnana]
   nyang-ga guya warlarr man-ana
   look-IMPERA CONJ rolling talk-PRES
   My translation: ‘Look at him rolling’.

(Maggie Scott approved the following.)

112’’’’[TT]. nyang-ga mawun-Ø guya warlarr
   look-IMPERA man-ABS CONJ rolling
   marn-ana
   talk-PRES
   My translation: ‘Look at the man rolling.’

(Maggie Scott approved the following two sentences.)

112’’’’’[TT]. nyang-ga warlarr marn-u-ngga
   look-IMPERA rolling talk-VBD-LOC
   My translation: ‘Look at him rolling on the ground’.

(Maggie Scott approved my translation.)
112"*****[TT. nyang-ga mawun-Ø warlarr marn-u-ngga
look-IMPERA man-ABS rolling talk-VBD-LOC

My translation: ‘Look at the man rolling’.

(Each pair -- one with the conjunction and the other with a verbid-- appear to have much
the same meaning.)

113. [wanydyaka nyangka dyaka] (no pause)
    error nyang-ga error
    error see-IMPERA error

(No doubt, this sentence was an error.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the first word is an error. She said, ‘i [i.e. it] must be
[danydyaka] janyja-ga (‘ground-LOC’).)

114. [dyaral marnangko dyatawan] /
walarl marn-ang-gu error

looking down(?) talk-CONT-PURP

‘[We] will look down.’

(I seem to hear [dyaral], but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [walarl] was intended.)

(Maggie Scott said she does not know [dyaral]. Possibly, [warlarr] was intended.
Then, 114 will be translated ‘[He] will roll [on the ground]’. She said [dyararl] means
just nothing. She said ‘might be a new name for rolling’.)

115. walarl marn-ang-gu / bung-u-nginyi-Ø /
looking down(?) talk-CONT-PURP hit-VBD-from-ABS
bung-u-nginyi-Ø /
hit-VBD-from-ABS

Literal translation: ‘[We] will look down at [the people] from shooting’, i.e. ‘the
people who were shot’.

(Maggie Scott indicated that the first word is [warlarr]. She gave the translation ‘i’ll [i.e.
he will or they will] be rolling down on the dirt’. She commented, ‘i must be trying to
feel good from shooting’. She approved my translation ‘They got shot. They roll on the ground.’)

116. *maya=gari* / *maya=gari* / *bung-gu* / *luyurra-Ø* /
omore=again(?) more=again(?) hit-PURP poor thing-ABS

*mawun-Ø* /
man-ABS

‘Again and again [the whitemen] will shoot the poor black fellows.’

117. *yangi-Ø* / *mawun-Ø* *bala-bala* /
one-ABS man-ABS chasing-chasing

‘[The whitemen is] chasing one Aboriginal man.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘The whitemen chase one Aboriginal man’.)

118. *palapalae:* / *bala-bala*
chasing-chasing

‘[They are] chasing [him].’

(Probably, *e:* is not phonological.)

119. *warr* / *kajarro* /
*warr* *gaya-rru*
catching up ?-PURP

‘[They] caught up with [him].’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 119’ and 119”).

(Maggie Scott approved the word [warrkajarro] *warrgayarru* and glossed it ‘catch-im up’. Although [warrkajarro] was pronounced as a single word, with no pause anywhere, it seems to consist of a preverb *warra* and the purposive form of a verb. The preverb seems to mean ‘catching up’ and the verb seems to be *gayan*-. The meaning of the verb by itself is not known. In the following I shall tentative write this as two separate words, namely, one preverb and one verb.)
119’. \textit{warr} \textit{gaya-rru} \textit{yalaba}  
catching up ?-PURP close up  
‘[They go] close up [and] catch up with [him].’  
\textit{(yalaba} was glossed ‘close up’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)  
(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘close up’ for \textit{yalaba}.)

119’’. \textit{warr} \textit{gaya-rru} \textit{yalaba}=lu  
catching up ?-PURP close up=CLC  
‘[They go] close up [and] catch up with [him].’  
(Maggie Scott gave the following sentences. Translations are in the main mine.)

119’’’[MS]. \textit{[karcjalo} \textit{bela mani nyila}  
\textit{gariya-ru} \textit{bila man-i nyila}  
\textit{whiteman-ERG} \textit{chasing} \textit{get-PAST} \textit{that}  
\textit{karaty]}  
\textit{garaj-Ø}  
(Aboriginal) person-ABS  
‘The whiteman chased the blackfella.’  
([ngo] \textit{ngu} is absent. This may be due to an error on my side; I might have failed to write it down.)

119’’’’[MS]. \textit{[ngu} \textit{warrkajani}  
\textit{ngu} \textit{warr} \textit{gayan-i}  
\textit{C} \textit{catching up} ?-PAST  
‘He caught him up.’

119’’’’’[MS]. \textit{[ngo} \textit{warrkajani}  
\textit{ngu} \textit{warr} \textit{gayan-i}  
\textit{C} \textit{catching up} ?-PAST  
‘He caught him up.’  
(Maggie Scott’s gloss is ‘catch-im up’. )
119[""""[MS]. [ngo binya]
   ngu binya
   C hit, kill.PAST
   ‘He killed him.’

(Probably, 119"""" to 119"""" are intended to be one single sequence of sentences. Maggie Scott also gave 119"""".).

119[""""[MS]. [ngarra warrkajarro]
   ngarra warr gaya-rru
   possibly catching up ?-PURP
   Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘I might catch up’.

(Maggie Scott approved the following sentence.)

119[""""[TT]. gariya-lu ngu mawun-Ø warr
   whiteman-ERG C man-ABS catching up
   gayan-i
   ?-PAST
   My translation: ‘The whiteman caught up the blackfella.’

120. bung-gu / dilygurr / bung-gu / dilygurr / dilygurr /
    hit-PURP shooting hit-PURP shooting shooting
    ‘[They] shoot [him]. [They] shoot [him and] shoot [him].’

121. [walarl male:: dyanydyaka:::] /
    walarl ma-lu janyja-ga
    looking down (?) talk-PURP ground-LOC
    ‘[We] will look at [the dead man?] on the ground.’

(The purposive of marn- ‘talk’ is ma-lu, while that of man- ‘get’ is man-gu. Therefore, here we have marn- ‘talk’, rather than man- ‘get’. This applies to 112, 114 and 115.)

(Maggie Scott approved the pronunciation [warlarr]. She gave 121’.)
121' [MS]. [warlarr  malo]  
   warlarr  ma-\textit{lu}  
   rolling  talk-PURP  
   Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘roll on the ground’  

122. \textit{maya}=\textit{gari}  bung-\textit{gu} /  
   more=again  hit-PURP  
   ‘[They] will shoot [them] again/more.’  
   (Maggie Scott approved my translation, ‘shoot again, more’.)  

123. [morlaandiyawa] /  
   \textit{murra}  wandiny-\textit{ana}  
   here  fall down-PRES  
   ‘[The Aboriginal people] fall over.’  
   (On the tape, I hear [morlaandinyawa], but Nyun.gatya Paddy approved \textit{wandiny-an-a}.)  
   (Maggie Scott said [morlaaninyana] \textit{murandinyana} (not [mrd] ?) and glossed it \textit{‘round about’}. I, too, hear [nyana], not [nyawa]. Maggie Scott approved the retroflex [rl].  
   She gave 123’.)  

123’ [MS]. [morla  kojarra]  
   \textit{murra}  guya=\textit{rra}  
   here  thus(?)=again(?)  
   Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Around about there, you know, body part.’  

124. One mob now.  
   ‘[The whiteman killed] one mob [of Aboriginal people] now.’  
   (Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘The whiteman killed] one mob [of Aboriginal people] now.’)  

125. [dyobollo  nao] /  
   jubul-\textsl{Ø}  now  
   ‘One mob now.’
(On the tape, I hear something like [dyobollo], but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [dyobol] jubul was intended.)

(I think I hear [dyobol]. But Maggie Scott said [dyolbok] julbug and glossed it ‘heap them up in one place’. Then, she approved [dyobol] jubul and commented, ‘mix-im all up now’.)

126. jubul-Ø [nao]/ warlu-ngga [nao]/ gamba-wu
    one mob-ABS now fire-LOC now burn-PURP
    ngu=yanu / warlu-ngga / gamba-wu /
    C=3PL.ACC fire-LOC burn-PURP

‘He [i.e. the whiteman] will burn one mob on the fire.’

(Maggie Scott said [dyobol] jubul and glossed it ‘all lot’.)

127. ruj-garra/ ruj-garra/ ruj-garra /
    smoking-? smoking-? smoking-?

‘[He] smoke [the mob on the fire].’

(The initial sound seems to be a retroflex flap. But it may be a retroflex lateral.)

(Maggie Scott said [lotykarra], [lotykarra] lujgarra and commented, ‘start to smoke’, ‘where the smoke coming up’. She gave 127’.)

127'[MS]. [lotykarra bongana]
    luj-garra bung-ana
    smoke rising(?) hit-PRES

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Smoke come out. Smoke is starting to rise’.

(This verb complex seems to be intransitive. Maggie Scott approved the following sentence.)

127’'[TT]. warlu-Ø luj-garra bung-ana
    fire,firewood-ABS smoke rising(?)-? hit-PRES

Tentative translation: ‘The fire(wood) is starting to smoke’.

(Maggie Scott gave 127’’.’)
127''''[MS]. [warlo ngo lotykarra bongana]
waru-Ø ngu luj-garra bung-ana
fire, firewood-ABS C smoke rising(?) hit-PRES

Tentative translation: ‘The fire(wood) is starting to smoke’.

(Maggie Scott rejected the following sentences.)

127''''[TT]. *mawun-du ngu burnu-Ø (or jangilany-Ø)
man-ERG C tree-ABS (fire(wood)-ABS)
luj-garra bung-ana
smoke rising(?) hit-PRES

Intended meaning: ‘The man is starting to smoke the wood.’

(This verb complex is intransitive. Maggie Scott gave the next sentence.)

127''''''[MS]. [maon ngolojano kambarnana]
mawun-Ø ngu=lu=yanu gambarn-ana
man-ABS C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC cook-PRES
dyangelanydya]
jangilany-ja
fire-LOC

(The suffix for the ‘fire’ is -ja ‘LOC’, and not -ju ‘ERG/INST’.)

127''''''[MS]. [ngojano lutykarra bongana]
ngu=yanu luj-garra bung-ana
C=3PL.DAT smoke rising(?) hit-PRES

(127'''' and 127'''''' constitute one sequence of sentence. Maggie Scott’s translation for them is: ‘They are burning blackfellas on the fire and big smoke come out’. I asked Maggie Scott if the following sentence is correct. She said, ‘No’.)

127''''''''[TT]. *mawun-du ngu jangilany-Ø luj-garra
man-ERG C fire, firewood-ABS smoke rising(?)
bung-ana
hit-PRES

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Intended meaning: ‘The man is making the fire(wood) smoke’.

(Maggie Scott gave the next sentences.)

127""""[MS]. [maondo kambarnana dyangelany
    mawun-du gambarn-ana jangilany-Ø
    man-ERG burn-PRES fire(wood)-ABS

127""""[MS]. ngo lotykarra bongana]
    ngu luj-garra bung-ana
    C smoke rising(?)- hit-PRES

(The two sentences above constitute one sequence. My translation: ‘The man is burning fire and it is smoking.’ Maggie Scott gave the next sentences.)

127""""[MS]. [maondo dyangelany berrka ngo mani]
    mawun-du jangilany-Ø birrga ngu man-i
    man-ERG fire-ABS making C get-PAST

    My translation: ‘The man made a fire.’

(Note that the preverb and the verb are separated.)

127""""[MS]. [dyangelany ngo lotykarra bongana]
    jangilany-Ø ngu luj-garra bung-ana
    fire(wood)-ABS C smoke rising(?)- hit-PRES

    My translation: ‘The fire is smoking’.

(This verb complex is intransitive.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 30th July 1998 (Thurs.).)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 30th July 1998 (Thurs.).)
128. *yama-yama-Ø / burnu-nggu bung-gu / langga-Ø /
    child-child-ABS stick-ERG hit-PURP head-ABS
[kon.galkal] /
*gun.ga-lgal-Ø
dead-?-ABS

‘[He] will hit the children’s head with a stick [and] finish [them] up.’

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘children’ for *yamayama*. She gave ‘little kids’. She
gave the following translations: ‘grab the kids, hit-im on a head’, ‘hit-im on a head with
stick’, ‘kill-im dead’. Regarding *gun.galgal*, Maggie Scott said ‘He [i.e. Nyun.gatya
Paddy] could have said [kon.gal] *gun.gal*. My gloss is ‘dead’. Maggie Scott approved
the following sentence.)

128°[TT]. *gariya-lu ngu yamba-ji-Ø binya gun.ga-l
    whiteman-ERG C child-?-ABS hit.PAST dead-?

My translation: ‘The whiteman killed the child dead.’

(Then, Maggie Scott gave the following, i.e. she added the last two words.)

128° [MS]. *gariya-lu ngu yamba-ji-Ø binya gun.ga-l
    whiteman-ERG C child-?-ABS hit.PAST dead-?
[langgaka bornojarolo]
*langga-ga burnu-yaru-lu
head-LOC stick-having-ERG

My translation: ‘The whiteman hit the child on the head dead.’

(Note the use of ‘having’ for an instrument. Maggie Scott approved the following
sentence.)

128°°[TT]. *gariya-lu ngu yamba-ji-Ø binya
    whiteman-ERG C child-?-ABS hit.PAST
*gun.ga-lgal-Ø
dead-?-ABS

My translation: ‘The whiteman killed the child dead.’
(Then, the reduplicated form gun.galgal can be used for a singular subject and/or a singular object. Maggie Scott approved the following.)

128***[TT]. gariya-lu ngu yamba-ji-Ø binya
whiteman-ERG C child-?-ABS hit.PAST
gun.ga-g
dead-RESULT
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘[karija] bin kill-im little kid.’

129. bung-gu ngu=yana /
hit-PURP C=3PL.ACC
‘He will hit them.’

130. ngaringga-Ø / nyila=ma bung-u=rra / burnu-nggu=rra
woman-ABS that=CLC hit-VBD=? stick-ERG=again
‘[He] hit those women with a stick again.’
(The meaning and function of =rra in bung-u=rra is not known. It possibly means ‘again’. =rra in burnu-nggu=rra was glossed ‘again’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Here, ‘again’ seems to be concerned with the stick, rather than the women or the act of hitting. That is, ‘with the same stick’. On the tape, I seem to hear [mornonggorra], i.e. with the initial [m], but almost certainly burnu-nggu=rra was intended. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 130’.)
(Maggie Scott approved [bongorra] and glossed it ‘i bin kill-im again’, i.e. bung-u=rra ‘hit,kill-VBD=again’. She provided the translation ‘kill-im again got stick’.)

130*. bung-ga
hit-IMPERA
‘Hit I!’

131. jilamana-lu / jilamana-lu / bung-gu / bung-gu /
rifle-ERG rifle-ERG hit-PURP hit-PURP
‘[He] will shoot [them] with a rifle.’
(The etymology of the word *jilamana* ‘rifle’ is not known. The nasal in the word seems to be the alveolar [n], rather than the retroflex [rn].)

(On the tape, I hear [dyilamanalo] or [dyilamarnalo]. I asked Maggie Scott if [dyilamana] means ‘rifle’. She said, ‘No, I don’t know’. She gave 131’.)

131’[MS].  
[dyila] mandalo
  *jila* man-da=lu  
digging(?)  get-IMPERA=PL.NOM  
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Dig-im a hole’.

131’’[MS].  
[dyila] mandalo
  *jila* man-da=lu  
digging(?)  get-IMPERA=PL.NOM
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Dig the ground.’

132. *lurrij* /  
finishing  
‘[He] finish [killing them]!’

133. *gamba-wu* [nao]  
*ngu=lu=yamu* /  
*waibala-lu*  
burn-PURP  now  C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC  
whiteman-ERG

*yalu-nggu* / *waibala-lu*  
*yalu-nggu* / *warlu-ngga* [nao] /  
that-ERG  whiteman-ERG  that-ERG  fire-LOC  now

‘Those whitemen will burn them on the fire now.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

134. *gan.gulula*  
*marri* /  
*jun.gad-Ω=ma* /  
*jun.gad-Ω* /  
up  away(?)  smoke-ABS=CLC  smoke-ABS

*jun.gad-Ω*

smoke-ABS

‘The smoke [is rising] high up.’
(I seem to hear [mari], with a frictionless continuant, but no doubt [marri], with a flap or trill, was intended.)

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [marre]. She gave the gloss ‘going up’ for gan.gulula marri. She gave the translation ‘The smoke is rising now’. She approved my translation ‘The smoke is going up’. First, Maggie Scott said [dyombat] for ‘smoke’. She gave 134’.)

134’[MS]. [dyombatma kan.golola janana]  
jumbad-ŋ=ma gan.gulula yan-ana  
smoke(?)-ABS=CLC up go-PRES

(Then, I said to Maggie Scott that I hear [dyon.gat] on the tape. She agreed and said, ‘Must be [dyon.gat] jum.gad’. I asked her, ‘Not [dyombat]?’ She agreed and said, ‘[dyon.gat]’. So probably [dyombat] is an error. Maggie Scott said that [marre] marri means ‘going’, and gave 134’.)

134’’[MS]. [marre ngorna janana]  
marri ngu=nya yan-ana  
away(?) C=1SG.NOM go-PRES

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘I’m going now.’

135. ward=na ngu=wula yan-ang-gu  
back=CLC C=3DU.NOM go-CONT-PURP

maruwa-ŋ=ma / nyila=ma wajbali-ŋ=ma /  
murderer-ABS=CLC that=CLC whiteman-ABS=CLC  
wajbali-ŋ=ma / maruwa-ŋ=ma / gulî-yan-ŋ=ma /  
whiteman-ABS=CLC murderer-ABS=CLC wild-?-ABS=CLC

gulî-yan-ŋ=ma / wajbali-ŋ=ma / ngurra=wurra /  
wild-?-ABS=CLC whiteman-ABS=CLC camp-ALL

‘The two wild whitemen are going back to the camp now.’

(In this sentence, we have [watybale] wajbali, while we have [watybala] wajbala in 133. The number of the white people is not consistent. For example, it is plural in 133, but it is dual in Sentence 135.)
(Maggie Scott said [marowa] maruwa and glossed it 'murderer'. She said something like the following: 'Anyone who kill a man, we call-im murderer'. She gave 'cheeky one' for guliyan. She gave the translation 'That two murder going back to the camp now'.)

136. ngu=wula yan-gu/ marru-ngawu/
    C=3DU.NOM go-PURP house-ALL
    'They two will go to [their] house.'

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

137. maya=gari/ wangany/ mawun-gu/ bulug-Ø
    more=again(?) looking about (?) man-DAT bullock-ABS
    nyangga=lu ngarn-ang-gu/ bulug-Ø
    if=3PL.NOM eat-CONT-PURP bullock-ABS
    nyangga=lu lan-ang-gu/ garna-nggu/
    if=3PL.NOM stab-CONT-PURP spear-ERG
    bulug-Ø/ bulug-Ø/ nyangga=lu lan-ang-gu/
    bullock-ABS bullock-ABS if=3PL.NOM spear-CONT-PURP
    'The whitemen will go] looking about for Aboriginal people again if they
    [Aboriginal people] eat bullocks [i.e. cattle], if they spear bullocks with a spear, if
    they spear bullocks.'

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 137'..)

(I was interested to know how Maggie Scott would translate nyangga in this sentence. She gave the following translations.

(i) 'Again they going looking around'.
(ii) '[They will] go to see if [the blackfella eat bullock]'.
(I was not able to write down the entire translation. But note 'to see if'.)
(iii) 'They go [majakari] maya=gari ('again') looking for blackfella if they kill more
    [ngaren] ngarin ('cattle').

nyangga seems to have the nuance of 'too see if'. Maggie Scott approved my translation
    'Again they go looking around to see if blackfella eat bullock, if blackfella spear
bullock’. On the 1st August 1998, I think that here nyangga might have some sort of indefinite meaning.)

137'. ngandawi-la nyangga=lu ngarn-ang-gu
    shade-LOC if=3PL.NOM eat-CONT-PURP

    ‘If they are eating in the shade’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation is ‘All about [dagaut]’. In Kriol, [dagaut] means ‘eat’.)

138. [majakare:::] /
    maya=gari
    more=again(?)

    ‘[The whitemen go looking out for Aboriginal people] again.’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [komarnana] gumarn-ana ‘cut-PRES’.)

139. barli / barli /
    finding finding

    ‘[They] find [Aboriginal people]. [They] find [Aboriginal people].’

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in ‘finding’ seems to be retroflex. She gave the translation ‘find them again’.)

140. gawurra=na /
    ?=CLC

(The meaning of gawurra is not known.)

(For 140 and 141, Maggie Scott said [kaorda] gawurda, and glossed it ‘track-im’.)

141. [kaorra::] /
    gawurra

    ?

142. nyawa nyawa ngu=lu garriny-ana /
    this,here this,here C=3PL.NOM stay-PRES
ngandawi-la /
shade-LOC

‘Here, here, they are sitting in the shade.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

143. [waelo bonya] / [marndatj / [bolokma] /
wayi=lu bunja marnrdaj bulug-Ø=ma
?=3PL.NOM hit.PAST all right(?) bullock-ABS=CLC

(Note that Nyun.gatya Paddy said [bonya], rather than [binya], for ‘hit.PAST’. Maggie
Scott said [binya] in, e.g. in 143. See the comment in 145. The meaning of this sentence
is not known. Possibly, this may mean something like ‘I wonder if they killed
bullocks’.)

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the word for ‘all right’ seems to have a retroflex
cluster. She gave the translation ‘They might have killed another bullock’. Maggie Scott
gave 143’.)

143’[MS]. [waelo bingi]
wayi=lu bingi
?=3PL.NOM hit.IRREALIS

(Maggie Scott said that she often hear people ‘from this side’, e.g. from ‘Gordon
Downs’ say this. She said that this is the same as the following in her language:)

143’’[MS]. [waelo binya]
wayi=lu binya
?=3PL.NOM hit.PAST

(When asked about [marndatj] marnrdaj in 143, Maggie Scott could not work out
what it means in this sentence, but then she gave the following translation: ‘They might
have been get-im alright’. wayi seems to have some kind of indefinite or irrealis
meaning. I asked Maggie Scott if the following sentence is correct.)

143’’’[TT]. wayi=lu mawun-du binya bulug-Ø
?=3PL.NOM man-ERG hit.PAST bullock-ABS
(Maggie Scott approved this sentence, and she herself said the same sentence.)

143’’’’’[MS].  wayi=lu  mawun-du binya  bulug-∅
?=3PL.NOM  man-ERG  hit.PAST  bullock-ABS

(About the above sentence, Maggie Scott said, ‘That sound alright’. She approved my translation ‘That blackfella might have killed bullock’.)

144.  wayi=lu  bunya /
?=3PL.NOM  hit.PAST
(The meaning of this sentence is not known.)

145.  bunya  wayi=lu /
hit.PAST ?=3PL.NOM
(The meaning of this sentence is not known.)

(On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy says [bonya]. But Maggie Scott says [binya] binya ‘hit.PAST’. When asked about this, she said, ‘We talk [bonya]’. (This may be my error. Possibly, Maggie Scott said [binya].) She said that [binya] and [bonya] are the same. There are differences between their speeches. Possibly, Nyun.gatya Paddy’s is an eastern dialect and Maggie Scott’s is an western dialect. Nyun.gatya Paddy was brought up at Mucca Outstation, in the eastern part of the Wanyjjira country, while Maggie Scott was raised at Inverway Station, neat the western end of the Wanyjjira territory.)

146.  wajbala-∅  murla  yan-gu/  murla
  whiteman-ABS  here  go,come-PURP  here
  yan-gu/
go,come-PURP

‘The whitemen are coming here.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘The whiteman will come here’. She also gave 146’.)
146'[MS]. [morlao] jan.go watybala

murla-wu yan-gu wajbala-∅

here-DAT(?) come-PURP whiteman-ABS

My translation: ‘The whiteman will come here’.

147. [hehehe::i] /

‘Oh! ’

(It is not clear whether it is the whitemen who said this.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Oh! Oh! Oh!’ I asked her, ‘Who said this?
Blackfella? Whiteman?’ She said, ‘Whitefella’.)

148. English im talk now alonga im.

(Nyun.gatya Paddy explained to me that he was going to talk in English first. He said,
‘Righto. I’ll tell-im you first time. English now’. I said something to him, and he said
‘Small way’. I do not know what ‘small way’ means. He then said, ‘Show-im then. Well,
I’ll tell-im then’. Then, he continued the story.)

(I asked Maggie Scott what ‘small way’ means. She was not certain, but she said,
‘Little English. Little bit of English. Might be that’s what i mean.’)

149. [jo:] /

yuwu

OK,yes

‘OK.’

150. ngu=lu=yanu yirra-wu jubul-∅ /

C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC put-PURP one mob-ABS

jubul-∅ / mawun-∅ nyila / mawun-∅ nyila

one mob-ABS man-ABS that man-ABS that

jubul-∅ / one mob-ABS

‘They will put one mob of those [dead?] Aboriginal men.’
(On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy said [ngolojani], rather than [ngolojano]. Consequently, Maggie Scott thought he meant [ngolojani], and she could not make sense of 150. She said, ‘They come for a meeting’, and gave 150’.)

150’[MS]. [dyobol ngolo jani]
   jubul-Ø ngu=lu yan-i
   heap(?)-ABS C=3PL.NOM come-PAST
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘They come heap up together, sit down’.

(Again, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

150’’[MS]. [dyobol ngolo jani]
   jubul-Ø ngu=lu yan-i
   heap(?)-ABS C=3PL.NOM come-PAST
(For 150, I suggested the following translation: ‘They made a heap of dead blackfella’.
Maggie Scott approved this translation, and said, ‘Must be like that’.)

   this,here now this,here now this,here now
   nyawa [nao] /
   this,here now
   ‘[One person ?] here, [one person ?] here, [one person ?] here, [one person ?] here.’
(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘This one, this one, this one’.)

152. lurrij /
   finishing
   ‘[They] finish [placing the dead bodies ?].’

153. yamba-yamba-Ø / burnu-nggu / burnu-nggu / murla /
   child-child-ABS stick-ERG stick-ERG here
murla / neck-gu-la / gulala-la / gulala-la
here neck-LINK-LOC neck-LOC neck-LOC

‘[They hit] the children here on the neck.’

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [jambajamba], with [mb], i.e. yamba-yamba, and my pronunciation [kolala] gulala for ‘neck’. She approved my translation ‘They hit the children here on the neck’, and added ‘got stick’ (i.e. with a stick). Regarding ‘whole-part’, Maggie Scott seems to prefer the locative-version. So, I suggested the following sentences, and Maggie Scott approved both.)

153’T. gariya-lu ngu binya yama-ji-Ø langga-Ø
whiteman-ERG C hit.PAST child?-ABS head-ABS
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘hit-im on the head’

153’T’. gariya-lu ngu binya yama-ji-Ø langga-ga
whiteman-ERG C hit.PAST child?-ABS head-LOC
My translation: ‘The whiteman hit the child on the head.’

154. [kilimabau] /
kill-im about
‘They keep killing them.’
(According to the advice from Joe Blythe, the Kirol word would be ‘kill-im-bat’, with -bat ‘continuative’.)

155. lurrij /
finish
‘[They] finish [them up].’

156. yamba-yamba-Ø=ma malju-malju-Ø=ma
child-child-ABS=CLC girl-girl-ABS=CLC
manga-manga-Ø=ma / lurrij / guli-yan-du gariya-lu /
girl-girl-ABS=CLC finishing wild?-ERG whiteman-ERG
The wild whitemen finished up the children, girls, and boys.

(On the tape, I hear [maldyimaldyl], but no doubt [maldyomaldyo] malju-malju was intended. I hear a retroflex flap for gariya.)

(For [maldyo] malju, Maggie Scott gave the following glosses: ‘little boy’, ‘up to big’, ‘[up to] 12, 13’. For manga, she gave the following glosses: ‘teenage girls’. She said something like the following: ‘Teenage girls, above 13, 14, isn’t it’. She seems to be prejudiced by the English word ‘teen age’. She said, ‘[They] even call little girl [manga]’. She said girls of the age 5 and 6 are [manga]. She said that at 16, 20, ‘They stop calling [manga]’. My notes indicate that girls at the age of 18 and 19, they even call them [manga]. To sum, [manga] are NOT teen age girls. It seems that Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. Maggie Scott gave [mikari] migari and glossed it ‘crying one -- only girl, not boy’. She said she heard this word from people from Gordon Downs and Billiluna. She indicated that there is no equivalent word in Wanyjirra.)

157. gariya-Ø               nyila /               ngu=rnalu=yanu               garrun-ana
    whiteman-ABS               that               C=1PL.EXC.NOM               keep-PRES

    yiri-Ø=ma /               gariya-Ø=ma /
    name-ABS=CLC               whiteman-ABS-ABS

Those whitemen, we [still] keep [i.e. remember] the whitemen’s names.

(On the tape, I seem to hear [karranana], which suggests garrun-ana. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy confirmed that [karronana] was intended. Hence, garrun-ana. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave the name of one of those whitemen who massacred Aboriginal people. The name is something like [washin bajal]. The identity of this man is not known. Nyun.gatya Paddy said this whiteman had a long nose. He also gave another name: George. He said that these two men lived (?) at Sturt Creek. gariya-Ø ‘whiteman-ABS’ and yiri-Ø ‘name-ABS’ exhibit a whole-part relationship. Note that the clitic =yanu ‘3PL.ACC’ can refer to dead people. The same applies to =yanu in 158 and =lu ‘3PL.NOM’ in 159.)
(Maggie Scott gave the name [weison baijas] (actually, [son] is a schwa). She also said, [weston baijas]. She said ‘He was a cheeky one’. I asked her, ‘Where did he live?’ She said, ‘He was knocking around at Gordon Downs, Sturt Creek’. She also said, [westan baijas]. I asked her, ‘He had a long nose?’ She said, ‘That’s what they reckon’. I asked her, ‘Did you meet him?’ She said, ‘I might have, when I was a little girl. He was a big man.’ I asked Maggie, ‘Who told you he had a big nose?’ She said, ‘Somebody’. In 1998, Mona Green told me that the spelling of this name is ‘Wason Buyers’. Maggie Scott gave 157’.)

157’[MS]. [dyirrdyidyowal]

jirrji-juwal

nose-long

‘long nose’

(I asked Maggie Scott, ‘This was his nickname?’ She said, ‘I don’t know his nickname’. I asked her about ‘George’, but she does not know. She said, ‘Which George?’ Maggie Scott approved the following sentences.)

157’'[TT]. ngu=rnalu=yanu

C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC

wajbali-Ø

yiri-Ø

whiteman-ABS

name-ABS

My translation: ‘We remember the whitemen’s names.’

157’’'[TT]. ngu=rnalu=yanu

C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC

guli-yan-Ø

wajbali-Ø

yiri-Ø

savage?-ABS

whiteman-ABS

name-ABS

My translation: ‘We remember the cheeky whitemen’s names.’

157’’’[TT]. ngu=rnalu=yanu

C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC

garran-ana

remember-PRES
yiri-Ø  wajbali-Ø  
name-ABS  whiteman-ABS

My translation: ‘We remember the whitemen’s names.’

157****[TT]. ngu=rnalu=yamu  garran-ana  
C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC  remember-PRES
yiri-Ø  guli-yan-Ø  wajbali-Ø  
name-ABS  savage?-ABS  whiteman-ABS

My translation: ‘We remember the cheeky whitemen’s names.’

(Again, Maggie Scott said [weston baijas]. I mentioned the name ‘Burt Lawford’, who was one of those white people who killed Aborigines. Maggie Scott mentioned the following names. (i) [bat (schwa) lo:fo:d], (ii) [tom kolan] Tom Cullen(?), (iii) [bat (schwa) koulman] Burt Coleman (?), (iv) [dyimi: i:gan] or [djou i:gan], not sure which (Jimmy Egan or Joe Egan), (v) [dyak keli] Jack Kelly (?). (Note that there is ‘Egan Range’ west of Halls Creek.) Maggie Scott said, ‘After killing blackfellas (I do not remember the exact words Maggie used), Jack Beazly had three halfcastes’. Maggie Scott mentioned a bush ranger from Sturt Creek. She forgot his name. I asked him, ‘He was a blackfella?’ Maggie Scott said, ‘Yes’.

158. wajbali-Ø=ma  nyila=ma  guli-yan-Ø=ma /
whiteman-ABS=CLC  that=CLC  wild?-ABS=CLC
ngu=rnalu=yamu  garran-ana  
C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC  keep,remember-PRES
yiri-Ø=ma /
name-ABS=CLC
‘We remember those wild whitemen’s names.’

(For =rnalu ‘1PL.EXC.NOM’, [mal], with the retroflex [m], would be expected. But on the tape I seem to hear [n]. My transcripts, too, indicate that the sound in question is [n]. Similarly for 157. I seem to hear [karranana] rather than [karronana], hence garran-ana. Similarly for 157.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above, involving ‘remember’.)
159. ngu=lu  gun.ga-Ø  [nao]  /  gariya-Ø=ma /
   C=3PL.NOM  dead-ABS  now  whiteman-ABS=CLC
   wajbala-Ø=ma  nyila=ma /
   whiteman-ABS=CLC  that=CLC
   ‘Those whitemen [are] dead now.’
(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Those whitemen [are] dead now’.)

160. [kani  morlangarna  dyatkri:kngarna] /
   gani  murla-ngarna-Ø  Sturt Creek-ngarna-Ø
   down  here-denizen-ABS  Sturt Creek-denizen-ABS
   ‘[One such whiteman was] a person of down here, of Sturt Creek Station.’
(In this sentence, murla ‘here’ seems to refer to Sturt Creek Station, which is more than
100km away from Nicholson Station, where the recording was done. Sturt Creek
Station is downstream on Sturt Creek.)

   (In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the suffix seems to contain a retroflex nasal. She
approved a retroflex nasal. For Sturt Creek-ngarna, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘from
Sturt Creek, manager’. I asked her, ‘Is this [weston baijas]?’ She said, ‘Must be’.)

161. murla-rnininy-ngarna-Ø /
   here-way(?)-denizen-ABS
   ‘[Another is] a person of this way.’
(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that this concerns someone at
Limbunya Station. The name of the person is not known.)

   (On the tape, the first suffix sounds like [niny], but Maggie Scott said [rinyin], with a
retroflex [r], and she approved my pronunciation [rinyin]. She provided the glosses
‘round about here’, ‘from round about here’. Note that -rinyin is followed by a
derivational suffix. This suggests that -rinyin is not a clitic.)

162. garlayarra /  mawun-Ø  ngu=yanu  bung-an-i
   across sight to west  man-ABS  C=3PL.ACC  hit-CONT-PAST
   lurrij /
   finishing
‘To the west across sight, he killed and finished up Aboriginal men (or Aboriginal people).’

(The location and the name of the person are not known.)

(Maggie Scott’s gloss for garlayarra is confusing: ‘could be southwest’, ‘going north’. On the tape, I hear [kojano], and Maggie Scott approved this. I said [kojajano], and she agreed and said [kojajano]. Then, we have guya=yanu ‘CONJ=3PL.ACC’.

Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘kill-im dead, kill the lot’. Then, lurrij might be taken to mean ‘all’. Maggie Scott said that Burt Lawford and Tom [kalon] used to live at Turner River Station. Then, ‘the [whiteman] from around here, across sight to the west’ might be one of them. Turner River Station is almost exactly northwest of Nicholson Station, where the recording was made. Maggie Scott mentioned a bush ranger ‘Major’. (Major appears in a text in the Malngin language by Jingle Gurul. He appears to be an Aborigine.) She said that [dyak keli] (a whiteman) took Major’s wife, and this is why Major attacked (?) on [dyak keli], I think.) Maggie Scott said that the manager at Sturt Creek took an Aboriginal man’s wife, and the Aboriginal man ‘turned bushranger’. She does not know the manager’s name or the Aboriginal man’s name. Maggie Scott said [marromarro] marrumarru and glossed it ‘jealous over wife’. I suggested 162’.)

162’[TT].

\[
\begin{align*}
gariya-\varnothing & \quad ngu=lu & \quad marrumarru-\varnothing \\
whiteman-ABS & \quad C=3PL,NOM & \quad jealous(?)-ABS
\end{align*}
\]

Tentative translation: ‘The whitemen are jealous.’

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence, I think. She gave 162’.)

162’’[MS].

\[
\begin{align*}
gariya-\varnothing & \quad ngu=lu & \quad marrumarru-\varnothing & \quad garriny-a \\
whiteman-ABS & \quad C=PL & \quad jealous(?)-ABS & \quad stay-PAST
\end{align*}
\]

bulokko]  
bulug-gu  
bullock-DAT

Tentative translation: ‘The whitemen are jealous over bullock(s).’
(I asked Maggie Scott, ‘Does that mean angry?’ She said, ‘No. [marro] marru means “jealousing for that”.’ She gave me the following sentences. They seem to explain what [marro] is. Then, [marro] means ‘unhappy, angry about something done to DATIVE’.)

162[***][MS]. [kareja ngolo kolekarrenya
gariya-Ø ngu=lu guli-Ø garriny-a
whiteman-ABS C=3PL.NOM angry-ABS stay-PAST
ngaren kojarnalojano
ngarin-Ø guya=rnalu=yanu
meat-ABS CONJ=1PL.INC.NOM=3PL.ACC
bongani]
bung-an-i
kill-CONT-PAST

My translation: ‘The whitemen were angry because we kill the cattle’.

(Note that ngarin precedes guya=rnalu=yanu, although it belongs to the second clause. Maggie Scott also said [boran boran koja] buran buran guya. [r] is a retroflex flap in buran. This word seems to mean ‘stealing’. Maggie Scott gave the following.)

162[***][MS]. [kareja ngolo kole karrenya
gariya-Ø ngu=lu guli-Ø garriny-a
whiteman-ABS C=3PL.NOM angry-ABS stay-PAST
ngaren kowarnalojano
ngarin-Ø guwa=rnalu=yanu
meat-ABS CONJ=1PL.INC.NOM=3PL.ACC
ngaren boran mani]
ngarin-Ø buran man-i
meat,cattle-ABS stealing get-PAST

My translation: ‘The whitemen were angry because we stole cattle.’

(ngarin was pronounced with a retroflex flap in its first occurrence in 162***, and with a frictionless continuant in its second occurrence and also in 162***. Maggie Scott was dictating slowly, and repeated the word ngarin. But she agreed that one occurrence is sufficient and that either of the two occurrences can be deleted. buran was pronounced
with a retroflex flap. Maggie Scott glossed it ‘steal-im’. She said [kowa] guwa for the conjunction. This is really unusual; she almost always says [koja] guya. She approved [koja] guya. Maggie Scott approved the following two sentences.)

162****[TT] gariya-Ø ngu=lu marrumarru-Ø bulug-gu
whiteman-ABS C=3PL.NOM jealous(?)-ABS bullock-DAT

162****[TT] gariya-Ø ngu=lu=yanu marrumarru-Ø
whiteman-ABS C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC jealous(?)-ABS
bulug-gu
bullock-DAT

(Maggie Scott commented/translated as follows: ‘They don’t like blackfella going to bullock. [Blackfellas] frighten [the cattle].’ Probably, this is the meaning of marrumarru.)

163. ngu=rnalu=yanu garran-ana
C=1PL.EXC.NOM=3PL.ACC keep-PRES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gariya-Ø=ma</th>
<th>yiri-Ø=ma</th>
<th>yiri-Ø=ma /</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whiteman-ABS=CLC</td>
<td>name-ABS=CLC</td>
<td>name-ABS=CLC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajbali-Ø=ma /</td>
<td>guli-yan-Ø=ma /</td>
<td>guli-yan-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman-ABS=CLC</td>
<td>wild?-ABS=CLC</td>
<td>wild?-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulug-Ø /</td>
<td>yirily-jaru-Ø /</td>
<td>guli-yan-Ø /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stinking-ABS</td>
<td>swearing-having-ABS</td>
<td>wild?-ABS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literal translation: ‘We [still] keep the names of the wild stinking whitemen with swearing’, i.e. ‘We remember the names of the wild stinking whitemen whom we swear at.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed yirily ‘swear’, and stated to the effect that the Aboriginal people swear at those [dead] whitemen.)

(Maggie Scott said ‘for that country (?) man’ for =yanu, I think, but my writing is not clear. She approved my gloss ‘stinking’ for bulug. She said [kolejan boka] guliyan bulga and gave the gloss ‘no good one’. On the tape, I seem to hear [iritykal]. Maggie does not recognize this. She said, ‘I can’t get that word’.)
164. gun.ga-∅=na ngu=lu/ gariya-∅=ma nyila=ma/
dead-ABS=CLC C=3PL.NOM whiteman-ABS=CLC that-CLC
wajbali-∅=ma lurrij gun.ga-∅/
whiteman-ABS=CLC finishing.all dead-ABS=CLC

‘Those whitemen [are] all dead now.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. She gave the translation ‘All dead now, those one’.)

165. gula ngana-∅ garriny-ana wanyji-∅=ma/
NEG who,anyone-ABS stay-PRES alive-ABS=CLC

‘No one is alive.’

(Initially, I thought that we had gula-ngarna ‘NEG-denizen’ for ‘no one’. Later, it turned out that this is really gula ‘NEG’ and ngana-∅ ‘who, someone, anyone’. Here, negation of ngana means ‘no one’. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gaty a Paddy gave 165’.)

(Maggie Scott said [kolangarna] gula-ngarna (I thought so initially) and glossed it ‘no one alive’. She gave the translation ‘No one is alive from those men who killed the lot’.)

165’. gula ngana-∅ wanyji-∅
NEG who,anyone-ABS alive-ABS

Nyun.gaty a Paddy’s translation: ‘No one life.’

(Maggie Scott gave 165’’.)

165’’[MS]. [kola ngana wanydyikarrenyana]
gula ngana-∅ wanyji-∅ garriny-ana
NEG who,anyone-ABS alive-ABS be-PRES

My translation: ‘No one is alive’.

(Note that the carrier morpheme and clitic pronouns are absent in these three sentences.)
166. *minyarn-∅ /

nothing-ABS

'Not at all.'

(Here, *minyarn* seems to mean 'not at all'.)

(In Maggie Scott's pronunciation, the final nasal seems to be retroflex.)

167. *gun.ga-lgal-∅ / gun.ga-lgal-∅ hurrij* (falling intonation) /

dead?-ABS dead?-ABS all, finishing

*Nyun.gatya Paddy's* translation: 'All dead.'

(The first two words no doubt contain the morpheme *gun ga* 'dead'.)

(Maggie Scott approved the translation 'All dead'. She gave 'All lot dead'.)

168. *murla-rniny=ma guya=lu=yanu*

here-way(?)=CLC CONJ=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC

*bung-an-i / gaja-ngga=ma / bamarr-a=ma /*

hit-CONT-PAST desert(?)-LOC=CLC rock,hill-LOC=CLC

*bala-bala=ma / bamarr-a=ma / bala-bala=ma /*

chasing-chasing=CLC hill-LOC=CLC chasing-chasing=CLC

Tentative translation: 'They [the whitemen] killed them [Aboriginal people] this way, in the desert and on the hills, and chased [them] on the hills.'

(The suffix in the first word seems to be -*rniny*, rather than -*niny*, but this is not certain. In Jaru (Tsunoda 1981:163-71), *guya* generally joins two clauses, hence the label 'conjunction', but it is also used rather like an adverb and does not combine clauses.

The function of *guya* is not known. If it is functioning like a conjunction, then probably 167 and 168 constitute one single sentence, in which case the translation will be something like the following: 'They, who killed them [i.e. Aboriginal people] this way, in the desert and on the hills and chased them on the hills, are all dead'. *guya* was glossed 'where' ([wea]). In the local Aboriginal English, *where* is a multifunctional conjunction.)

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'this way' for *murla-rniny*, 'desert' for *gaja*, and 'hill' for *bamarr*. For *bala-bala*, she gave 'chase-im up hill'.)
169. \( \text{wan.gaj-} \) \( \text{ngu=lu} \) \( \text{gariya-} \) \( \text{wan.gaj-} \)  
no good(?)-ABS C=3PL.NOM whiteman-ABS no good(?)-ABS  
guli-yan-Ø (brief pause)  
wild,angry-?-ABS  
‘[Those] whitemen [were] no good. [They were] wild/angry.’  
(On the tape, I seem to hear [kolejanto], which would suggest guli-yan-du ‘wild,angry-?-ERG’. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy mentioned three other whitemen who massacred Aboriginal people. One is [bat loba:t]. The first name involves a schwa. This man is probably ‘Burt Lawford’. Nyun.gatya Paddy said that he lived at Turner [River Station ?], and advised me to check this with George Turner, a Jaru speaker from Turner River Station. Another is [pitykale] or [piskale]. His identity is not known. The third is [pi:dyili]. This is probably ‘Jack Beazley’ (I am not certain of the spelling). Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [pi:dyili] and [piskale] lived at Ord River [Station ?].)  

(Maggie Scott said [wan.gaty] wan.gaj, with [n], and glossed it ‘no good’. She said [golejan] guliyan. Maggie Scott does not recognize [pitykale] or [piskale]. She said ‘Must be [dyak kale]’. I asked her, ‘[dyak kale] shot Major?’ She denied, and said ‘He took the police to where Major was’. I asked, ‘Major was a blackfella?’ She said ‘Yes’.)  

170. \( \text{bulug-gu} \) \( \text{marru-marru-} \) \( \text{bulug-gu} \) / \( \text{bulug-gu} \) / \( \text{bulug-gu} \)  
bullock-DAT jealous(?)-jealous(?)-ABS bullock-DAT bullock-DAT  
marru-marru-Ø / jealous(?)-jealous(?)-ABS  
(The meaning of marru-marru is not known. It was translated by Nyun.gatya Paddy as follows: ‘No one want to eat. Full up.’)  

(For marru-marru, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘jealous over beef [i.e. cattle]’. I asked her, ‘Who was jealous?’ She said, ‘[karija]’ (i.e. gariya ‘whiteman’).  

171. \( \text{nyurrara-nginy} \) \( \text{ngany-ja=lu} \) /  
2PL-DAT(?) eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM  
Tentative translation: ‘Eat your [food]’.  

— 188 —
(Apparently, a whiteman is saying Sentence 171 to Aboriginal people. *nyurraa-nginy* was glossed ‘own’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. It seems that -nginy is a dative suffix and indicates the possessors. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 171’.)

(I thought Nyun.gatya Paddy said [nyorra:nginy], without [r]. I pronounced this word without [r] and Maggie Scott approved it. But I think the Wanyjirra form has [r], i.e. [nyorrara]. Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Eat your own [food].’ I asked Maggie if it was the whiteman who said 171. She agreed and said ‘Must be whiteman talking’.)

171’. *lan-da=lu*

    spear-IMPERA=PL.NOM

    ’Spear [it].’

171. *emu / galyuburr-Ø  emu  wanya-yaru-Ø /

    emu  emu-ABS  emu  feather-having-ABS

    *ngany-ja=lu/  nyamba-Ø  jaji-Ø /

    eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM  what,anything-ABS  kangaroo-ABS

    ’Eat emus, kangaroos or anything.’

(Maggie Scott said [kalyoborr] *galyuburr* and approved my gloss ‘emu’. Then, she gave [kamanganydya] *garnanganyja* and glossed it ‘emu’. She said there are ‘three name’ for emu. She approved my gloss ‘anything’ for *nyamba.*)

172. *wagurra bulug-Ø/  wagurra bulug-Ø /

    NEG  bullock,cattle-ABS  NEG  bullock,cattle-ABS


(Maggie Scott approved my gloss *†Don’t eat cattle*. She gave *†Don’t eat bullock*.)

173. *koja:dyila* /

    *guya-waji-la*

    thus(?)-agent(?)-

(What I hear on the tape is *koja:dyila*. The final [la] was confirmed by Nyun.gatya Paddy. This word was glossed ‘Shoot, where we kill. We can’t life’. It may possibly
contain guyu ‘thus’ and the derivational suffix -waji ‘agent’. If this is the case, then this word would mean ‘someone who does like this’. Still, the meaning of -la is not known.)

(Maggie Scott said [koja:dyila]. She found it difficult to explain this word. She said, ‘i [i.e. the speaker of 173, i.e. the whiteman?] is saying, ‘not to kill bullock. They got to have own beef’. Then, she said ‘just over that’. (Here, ‘over’ seems to indicate a cause or a reason for this trouble.) She said, ‘I don’t know how to put it’. She said, ‘If you kill bullock, you get killed over that’. She said, ‘If you keep killing bullock, you’ll getting blame for it’. Then, this word may mean ‘in revenge’.)

174. ngarra=rnalu=nyurra  bung-gu  lurrij
    possibly=1PL.EXC.NOM=2PL.ACC  hit-PURP  finishing,all
    [dyutumba] /
    shoot-im about

  ‘We might kill you all.’

(Maggie Scott said [ngarra] ngarra. She approved my translation given above. She approved ‘shoot’. She provided the gloss ‘all lot, all’ for lurrij.)

175. wagurra  nga=nda  garru-wu  wanyji-Ø /
    NEG  C=2PL.NOM  stay-PURP  alive-ABS

  ‘You will not stay alive.’

(The second word is something like [ngando] or [nganda]. I tentatively phonemicized it nga=nda. It may be ngu=nda. In Wanyirra, for the carrier morpheme, ngu is more common than nga.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘You won’t stop alive’.)

176. lurrij  /  ngu=rnalu=nyurra  bung-gu /
    finishing,all  C=1PL.EXC.NOM=2PL.ACC  hit,kill-PURP
    lurrij  /
    finishing,all

  ‘We will kill and finish you up.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)
177. [bonggo ngolojano::: lorrey] /
bung-gu ngu=lu=yanu lurr\,ij
hit,kill-PURP C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC finishing,all
‘They will kill them all.’
(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

178. gamba-wu ngu=lu=yanu / warlu-ngga / warlu-ngga /
burn-PURP C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC fire-LOC fire-LOC
layurra-Ø mawun-Ø / yamba-yamba-Ø /
poor thing-ABS man-ABS child-child-ABS
ngaringga-Ø / guli-yan-du / gariya-Ø /
woman-ABS wild-?-ERG whiteman-ERG
gariya-Ø guli-yan-du / gariya-Ø guli-yan-du /
whiteman-ERG wild-?-ERG whiteman-ERG wild-?-ERG
‘The wild whitemen will burn the poor men, children and women on the fire.’

179. gula ngu=lu=yanu wanyji-Ø wanyja-rru /
NEG C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC alive-ABS leave-PURP
‘They are not going to leave them alive.’
(gula was glossed ‘can’t’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)
(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

180. minyarn-Ø /
nothing-ABS
‘None at all.’
(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the final nasal seems retroflex. The same applies to
182, 184, and 186.)

181. gula=lu=yanu ma-Ø jan-u-wu /
NEG=3PL.NOM=3PL.DAT talk-PURP copulate with-VBD-DAT
gariya-Ø nyila /
whiteman-ABS that
‘Those whitemen are not going to talk to them [i.e. to the Aboriginal woman] about copulation.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation is ‘We can’t fuck-im you’.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘They can’t talk all about’. Laughing, she commented, ‘i can’t. no time for that [i.e. copulation].’)

182. minyarn-Ø /
nothing-ABS
‘Not at all.’

183. guya-wu  jan-u-wu /  gula=lu=yanu
thus-DAT     copulating with-VBD-DAT    NEG=3PL.NOM=3PL.DAT
ma-lu /
talk-PURP
‘They are not going to talk to them about [doing] like this, about copulating.’

184. minyarn-Ø /
nothing-ABS
‘Not at all.’

185. ngu=lu=yanu  bung-an-gu /
C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC     hit-CONT-PURP
bulug-gu-la /         bulug-gu-la /
bullock,cattle-LINK-LOC bullock,cattle-LINK-LOC
‘They [i.e. the whitemen] will kill them [the Aborigines] over/because of the cattle.’

(Maggie Scott said [bulokkola] bulug-gu-la ‘bullock-LINK-LOC’ and glossed it ‘over bullock’. She also gave [bolokkonydyka], for ‘over bullock’, presumably. This is no doubt bulug-guny-ja ‘bullock-LINK-LOC’. Maggie Scott gave the translation of 185: ‘They killed them over bullock.’)
(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 30th July 1998 (Thurs).)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 31st July 1998 (Fri).)

186. *minyarn-Ø/

    nothing-ABS

    ‘Nothing.’

(The meaning of this sentence is not clear.

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the final nasal seems retroflex. She approved my pronunciation with a retroflex nasal. She glossed the word ‘Nothing’, but she said ‘I don’t know what i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] is talking about’.)

187. *ngaburlu-yambi-Ø/

    no matter /

    breasts,milk-big-ABS

    Tentative translation: ‘[The whitemen killed] even those with big breasts’, i.e.

    ‘grown-up girls’ (?).

(Probably, *ngarbulu-yambi* is a compound noun, rather than two separate words, in this sentence, with the meaning of ‘girl with big breasts’, as opposed to a little girl with no developed breasts. In the local Aboriginal English, *no matter* means something like ‘it does not matter’, ‘it makes no difference’, or the like.)

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in the word for ‘breasts’ seems retroflex. I asked her if *ngaburlu-yambi* refers to women. She said, ‘Women, teen age girls’. Asked about the expression ‘no matter’, she gave the translation ‘No matter they got big breast, they kill-im’. She also gave 187’.)

187’[MS]. [ngaborlojaro]

    ngaburlu-yaru-Ø

    breast-having-ABS

    My translation: ‘having [developed?] breasts’
188. *ngu=lu=yanu  bung-gu  dyutim / dilygurr /
    C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC  hit-PURP  shoot-im  shooting
    dilygurr /
    shooting
    ‘They will shoot them.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

189. *ngaburlu-yambi-Ø / *ngaburlu-gunbunyan-Ø / dilygurr /
    breast-big-ABS  breast-big-ABS  shooting
    ‘[They killed the girls] with developed breasts.’

(The meaning of *ngaburlu-gunbunyan is not known. It was glossed ‘big one’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Jaru has the nouns-stem-forming suffix -nyan ‘his/her [kin]’ (Tsunoda 1981:233).)

    (Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation with a retroflex lateral of the word for ‘breasts’. She gave [konbonyan] gunbunyan and glossed it ‘big one’. She gave 189’.)

189’[MS].  [nyila  konbonyan  kanggae]
    nyila  gunbunyan-Ø  gang-ga=yi
    that  big-ABS  bring-IMPERA=1SG.DAT

    Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Bring me a big one’.

(I tried to determine whether the first nasal in the word for ‘big’ is n pr m, so I asked Maggie Scott, ‘No more [kombo]?’ She said, ‘Not [kombo]’. She said ‘[konbonyan]’ (gunbunyan ) and glossed it ‘big milk’. For ngaburlu-gunbunyan, she gave ‘Big milk, too’. I asked her if ‘big milk’ refers to young girls only. She said ‘any big [milk] as long as I got big milk’.)

190. *wagurra  jan-u /
    NEG  copulating with-VBD
    ‘[The whitemen] do not copulate with [the girls].’

    asking  get-PURP  copulating with-VBD-DAT  thus-DAT
‘[They] will [not] ask for copulation, for [doing] like this.’

(This sentence lacks a word for negation. But not doubt, negation was intended. It may be possible to say that 190 and 191 constitute one single sentence and that wagurra ‘NEG’ negates the second part, i.e. 191, as well.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘i can’t ask go with him’. This shows that wagurra ‘NEG’ negates 191 as well. That is, it negates two verbs.)

192. minyarn-Ø / minyarn-Ø /
    nothing-ABS nothing-ABS
    ‘Not at all. Not at all.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation with a retroflex nasal [m].)

193. dilygurr / bung-gu dilygurr /
    shooting hit-PURP shooting
    ‘[They] will shoot [them].’

194. lurrij /
    finishing,all
    ‘[They will] finish [them] up.’

195. ward=na yan-ang-gu maruwa-Ø=ma / maruwa-Ø /
    back=CLC go-CONT-PURP maruwa-ABS=CLC murderer-ABS
    ward [nao] / marru-wurra / marru-wurra /
    back now house-ALL house-ALL
    ‘[The whitemen] will go back to [their] house.’

(Maggie Scott said [marowa] maruwa and glossed it ‘murderer’. She gave the translation ‘go back alonga house’.)

196. ward ngu=lu yan-ang-gu /
    back C=3PL.NOM go-CONT-PURP
    ‘They will go back.’

(On the tape, I seem to hear [ngo:lo], but no doubt ngu=lu was intended.)
197. [karrenyo  marrongga:....:] (no pause)  
garriny-u  marru-ngga  
stay-VBD  house-LOC  
[They] sit in the house.  
(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 197'.)  
(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. She gave ‘sitting down alonga house’. In Maggi Scoot’s English and in probably Nyun.gatya Paddy’s as well, the English word house refers to white people’s houses as against Aboriginal people’s camps.)  

197’. garriny-ang-gu  
stay-CONT-PURP  
[They] will stay [in the house].  

198. [marrongga  ngolo  karro:....:] /  
marru-ngga  ngu=lu  garru-wu  
house-LOC  C=3PL.NOM  stay-PURP  
[They] will stay in the house.  

199. maya=lu=wariny  ngu=lu  jungguj  bung-gu /  
more=CLC=again(?)  C=3PL.NOM  going away(?)  hit-PURP  
wafbali-Ø=ma /  
whiteman-ABS=CLC  
[They] will stay [from their house] again.  
(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Again they take off’. She said [majalowareny] maya=lu=wariny, and approved my gloss ‘again’. This is not clear on the tape, but I seem to hear [lo]. In 199, =wariny must be a clitic, since it follows a clitic. Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [dyonggoty] jungguj and glossed it ‘too’. This is strange.)
200. wajbali-Ø=ma ngu=lu yan-gu/
whiteman-ABS=CLC C=3PL.NOM go-PURP
‘They whitemen will go.’

201. maya (hesitation) / ngu=lu=yanu nyang-gu
more C=3PL.NOM=3PL.DAT look-PURP
mabun-gu /
man-DAT
‘Again, they will look for [Aboriginal] men.’

(Possibly, here mabun refers to Aboriginal people, not just Aboriginal men.)
(For maya, Maggie Scott gave ‘more again’. I wanted to know if, in this context,
mabun ‘man’ means Aborigines (including women), as against white people. I asked
Maggie Sott, ‘Men, women, too?’ She said, ‘Must be men’, ‘Must be human being’,
and ‘Must be men’. I asked, ‘Not white people, but Aboriginal people?’ Maggie Scott
agreed. Probably, in this context this word means Aborigines, as against white people.)

202. bulug-Ø nyangga=lu lan-ang-gu /
bullock-ABS if,when=3PL.NOM spear-CONT-PURP
(This sentence was translated ‘Look about.’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. However, its
meaning is not known. The word nyangga is generally used as a conjunction with the
meaning of ‘if, when’. It will be possible to say that 202 is subordinate to 201 and that
they jointly mean something like ‘Again, they will look for Aboriginal men, to see if
they will spear bullocks’. However, it seems more likely that here nyangga has an
indefinite time reference (cf. Tsunoda 1981:165), and that this sentence means
something like ‘They might spear bullocks.’ The same applies to 206.)

(I was interested to know how Maggie Scott would translate nyangga. She gave:
(i) ‘They go looking if they kill more bullock’.
(ii) ‘They go looking if they ...’
For details, listen to the tape TSUNODA 1998, No.3.)

203. bulug-Ø nyangga=lu lan-ang-gu /
bullock-ABS if,when=3PL.NOM spear-CONT-PURP
bulug-Ø /  
bullock-ABS

204. nyawa nyawa / nga=lu / gambarn-ana /  
this,here this,here C=3PL.NOM cook-PRES  
‘Here, here, they [Aboriginal people] are cooking [a bullock]!’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Here, here, they are cooking [a bullock!’ She agreed that it is the Aboriginal people who are cooking a bullock. She gave the translation ‘Here, here, they are cooking more bullock’. She commented as follows: ‘They never got a lesson’.)

205. gambarn-ana nga=lu /  
cook-PRES C=3PL.NOM  
‘They are cooking [a bullock].’

206. [o::i ngolo malo] / [po:::] /  
wuyi nga=lu ma-lu buwu  
Oh(?) C=3PL.NOM talk-PURP Hey (?)  
[watybale watybale] /  
wajbali-Ø wajbali-Ø  
whiteman-ABS whiteman-ABS  
‘Oh! They [the Aboriginal people] will say, “Hey (?), whitemen! Whitemen!”’

(The meaning of the first word is not known. Also, I am not certain how to phonemicize it. [po:::] is probably used to call someone’s attention. When the tape was replayed, Nyun gating Paddy provided the gloss ‘Don’t run away.’ But this does not seem to make sense.)

(For [o::i], Maggie Scott provide the gloss ‘Let-im know’. This call seems to be used to call someone’s attention. For [po:::], Maggie Scott approved my comments, ‘Let-im know’ and ‘They sing out’.)
207.  [a watybale] (no pause)
    a  wajbali-∅
    Ah(?)  whiteman-ABS
    ‘Ah, whitemen!’

208.  mawun-∅=ma /
    man-ABS=CLC
    Tentative translation: ‘The [Aboriginal] men [said ?].’
    (The meaning of this sentence is not known.)
    (Maggie Scott said, ‘The blackfella talking to one another’.)

209.  wajbali-∅ (no pause)
    whiteman-ABS
    ‘Whitemen!’

210.  [a: ngarrangkolo  bonggo  nao] /
    aa  ngarra-nggu=lu  bung-gu  now
    Ah  possibly=2SG.ACC  hit,kill-PURP  now
    ‘Ah, they might kill you.’
    (On the tape, in 210 and 211, Nyun.gatya Paddy said [ngarrangkolo], which suggests
    ngarra-nggu=lu. However, this does not seem to make sense. Maggie Scott said
    ‘Supposed to be’ [as in the next sentence].)

210’[MS].  [ngalewangkolo  bonggo]
    nga=liwang=gu=lu  bung-gu
    C=1PL.INC.ACC=LINK=3PL.NOM  hit,kill-PURP
    Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘They will kill us’.
    (Again, Maggie Scott gave 210’.)

210”[MS].  [ngalewangkolo  bonggo]
    nga=liwang=gu=lu  bung-gu
    C=1PL.INC.ACC=LINK=3PL.NOM  hit,kill-PURP
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘They will kill us’.

211. [ngarrangkolo]  
    **ngarra**=nggu=lu  
    possibly=2SG.ACC=3PL.NOM  
    lorrety] /  
    lurrij  
    finishing.all  
    ‘They might kill you all.’

(In 210 and 211, the ‘object’ of the verb is singular, and this does not seem to make sense. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gaty Paddy expectedly replaced [ngarrangkolo] ngarra=nggu=lu with 211’.)

211’. [ngarrangalewanykolo]  
    **ngarra**=ngaliwany=gu=lu  
    possibly=1PL.INC.ACC=LINK=3PL.NOM  
    ‘They [might kill] us.’

(Initially, I thought the clitic pronoun ‘1PL.INC.ACC’ ended in [ny]. Indeed, Nyun.gaty Paddy approved my pronunciation with [ny]. However, Nyun.gaty Paddy then gave 211’.)

211”. [ngarrangalewangkolo]  
    **ngarra**=ngaliwang=gu=lu  
    possibly=1PL.INC.ACC=LINK=3PL.NOM  
    ‘They [might kill] us.’

(Now, the clitic pronoun ‘1PL.INC.ACC’ ended with [ng], and Nyun.gaty Paddy approved my pronunciation with [ng]. Thus, this clitic pronoun seems to have two variants, one ending in [ny] and the other ending in [ng].)

(Maggie Scott rejected my pronunciation [ngarrangalewanykolo], with [ny]. Instead, she gave 211’’’.)
211””[MS].  [ngarrangalewangkolo bonggo]
    ngarra=ngaliwang=gu=lu bung-gu
    possibly=1PL.INC.ACC=LINK=3PL.NOM hit,kill-PURP

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation with [ng], and my translation ‘They might kill us’.)

212.  [tilykorrara nao]  /  [tilykorrara nao]  /  [tilykorrara
    dilygurr-ara now dilygurr-ara now dilygurr-ara
    shooting-? now shooting-? now shooting-?
    nao] /
    now

    ‘[They] shoot [the Aborigines] now. [They] shoot [the Aborigines] now. [They]
    shoot [the Aborigines] now.’

(The meaning of [ara] -ara is not known. [arra] -arra (with [rra]) would be expected
that [r] rather than [rr] was intended.)

(Maggie Scott said [telykorrarra] dilygurr-arra. I think this is correct.)

213.  lurrij /
    finishing

    ‘[They] finished [them up].’

214.  yama-yama-Ø  /  burnu-nggu  /  burnu-nggu  /  burnu-nggu /
    child-child-ABS stick-ERG stick-ERG stick-ERG
    burnu-nggu  /  bung-gu  /  ngu=lu=yaru
    stick-ERG hit,kill-PURP C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC
    walarl/
    together(?)

    ‘The children, they [the whitemen] will kill with sticks.’

(The meaning of walarl is not known. On the tape, its pronunciation is not clear, but
what Nyun.gatya Paddy gave me when the tape was replayed seems to be [walarl]
walarl.)
(The last word is not clear, but Maggie Scott said [walak] *walag* and glossed it ‘mix them up together’, ‘put them together’. She added, ‘[walak] mean “heap them up”.’ She indicated that she does not understand ‘How come [this word is used in this sentence].’) 

(There is a long pause here.)

215. *gun.ga-Ø / 
dead-ABS
‘[The Aborigines are] dead.’

216. *gun.ga-lgal-Ø / 
dead-?-ABS
(The meaning of this word is not known.)
(Maggie Scott’s translation is ‘All dead now’. I wanted to know if this reduplicated (?) form can be used for one single person. I asked Maggie Scott if the following sentence is correct. She said ‘No’. This shows that this reduplicated (?) form cannot be used for one single person.)

216'[TT]. *yangi-Ø mawun-Ø ngu-Ø gun.ga-lgal-Ø
one-ABS man-ABS C=3SG.NOM dead-?-ABS
(Maggie Scott gave 216’.)

216’[MS]. [nyawa maon ngologon.galkal
nyawa mawun-Ø ngu=lu gun.ga-lgal-Ø
this man-ABS C=3PL.NOM dead-?-ABS
karrenyana]
garriny-ana
be-PRES

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘All dead’.
(Note that Maggie Scott said [karrenyana], the present tense form. This sentence seems to mean ‘be dead’, rather than ‘die’. Maggie Scott said that ‘[For] one [person, she says the following].’)
216’”[MS]. [gon.ga karrenyana]
gun.ga-Ø garriny-ana
dead-ABS be-PRES
My translation: ‘[He/She] is dead’.
(Again, Maggie Scott said, ‘[For] one [person, she says the following].’)

216’”’[MS]. [gon.ga karrenya]
gun.ga-Ø garriny-a
dead-ABS be-PAST
My translation: ‘[He/She] was dead’.
(Maggie Scott approved the following.)

216’”’’[TT]. nyawa mawun-Ø ngu=lu gun.ga-lgal-Ø garriny-a
this man-ABS C=3PL.NOM dead-?-ABS be-PAST
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘All this lot died now. Dead now. Dead now.’
(Maggie Scott provided this translation for 216’” as well.)

217. ngaringga-Ø / ngaringga-Ø / yama-yama-Ø /
woman-ABS woman-ABS child-child-ABS
malju-malju-Ø / manga-manga-Ø /
child(?)-child(?)-ABS young girl-young girl-ABS
manga-manga-Ø ngu=lu=yamu bung-gu
young girl-young girl-ABS C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC hit-PURP
lurrij /
finishing, all
‘They will kill and finish the women, boys, and young girls.’
(On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy said [jamadyijama], which suggests yamaji-yama
‘child-child’. But when the tape was replayed, he replaced it with [jamajama] yama-
yama, as shown above.)

(Maggie Scott said [jamajama] yama-yama and said ‘Might be little girl’. She also
said [jambajamba] yamba-yamba and glossed it ‘all the kids’. She gave ‘boy’ for
[maldyo] *malju*. She also said [manga] *manga*. She gave the translation of the sentence: ‘They killed this lot’.

218. *lurrij* / *bung-gu* / *ngu=lu=yanu* /  
    finishing, all   hit, kill-PURP   C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC  
    ‘They will kill them all.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 31st July 1998 (Fri).)

(This is the end of the text.)

(This text is followed by the texts given by Ruby. The texts by Ruby are in File 76/13-1, RBY.)