

APPENDIX 2: SONGS

As noted in §1.3.9 there are two named song types: *jalurra* and *thawi*. *Jalurra* songs are more generally full performances including song, boomerang percussion accompaniment, dance choreography and body ornamentation. The entire form is ‘dreamed’ – ‘composed’ unconsciously in the dream state, often as the gift of some spirit, either animal or ex-human. *Jalurra* songs typically consist of a few lines of text repeated with minor variation. The subject matter is closely related to a visual representation in dance, often describing the movements of the dancers.

Thawi songs, on the other hand, might be compared to ballads. They are sung to the accompaniment of the rhythmic scraping of grooves cut in the back of a spearthrower with a *mirrimpa*, often the fibula of a kangaroo with a counterbalance of spinifex wax attached to one end. *Thawi* songs are longer pieces than *jalurra* and usually depict a series of events or journeys taking place in the dream state.

Transliteration and interpretation of song texts is far from straightforward. They typically consist of a few chosen phrases, place names, archaic turns of phrase, all of which evoke complex feelings and understandings. The forms are highly poetic and rely for their immediate interpretation on a deep cultural knowledge of, most especially, the spirit world viewed in the dream state. Because my own understanding of this context is extremely limited, in presenting the examples below I have included the explanatory comments of the singer (Algy Paterson) as well as a literal translation of each line and grammatical notes.

Songs are typically performed as a series of coupled lines with some couplets repeated a number of times. I have indicated the sequence in which the lines of the text were repeated in the recorded performance.

2.1 JALURRA SONGS

Jalurra songs are given to the dreamer by a spirit being and, in many cases, the song describes a vision of one of the spirit beings, *wanta*, who are responsible for the song. Dances accompanying the song often mimic the motions of the *wanta* in the dream.

Songs consist of couplets repeated a number of times. In contrast to the *thawi* songs described below the performance of a *jalurra* may begin midway through a line. The two songs given here were recorded twice and show some of the possible variations. A lengthened syllable *ngaa* is occasionally added to fit a line to the metre of the song, and in the examples below demonstrates the difference in metre due to different starting positions in the text.

In introducing the first song, Algy Paterson explains the role of the spirit beings, *wanta*, in creating the song:

“All right, they was the fellas that make songs, you know, giv'em man songs, when they give 'em in the dream. You sleeping, in the dream, and you sing it like, you know? Well this one, there must a been a two of them, *wanta*, they didn't like to go to this *Kunaarna* just because they frightened there something there.”

I

- A. *puyila warra ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra **ngaa** ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra **ngaa** ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- C. *kartawinkarra **ngaa** kunarnamalu*
- D. *kartawinkarra **ngaa** mirrwangkanhawari*
- C. *kartawinkarra kunarnamalu*

II

- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
 - A. *puyila warra **ngaa** ngali puniwala **ngaa***
 - B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
 - A. *puyila warra ngali puniwala **ngaa***
 - B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila **ngaa***
 - C. *kartawinkarra kunarnamalu*
 - D. *kartawinkarra **ngaa** mirrwangkanhawari*
 - C. *kartawinkarra kunarnamalu*
- A. *puyila warra, ngali puni-wala*
 far CONT 1DU.INC go-PURPd
 “You and I, we'd better go little bit long way.”
 (lit Further away, [something makes it that] we go.)
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtun-nguli-nyila*
 liver 1SG.NOM fear-PSYCH-CTEMP
 “I'm frightened of something in that hill.”
 (lit My liver gets full of fear.)
- C. *kartawinkarra Kunarna-malu* ¹
 across Kunarna-malu
 (lit Kunarnamalu moves across.)

1. The *-malu* suffix typically occurs on placenames. The derived form is used as a name for a person who is the birthright custodian of that place.

- D. *kartawinkarramirrpangkanha*¹-*wari*²
 across 'long stick'-PROP
 "Seen this fella walking across on top of the hill, with a *mirrpangkanha*,
 something like a crowbar [digging-stick, staff], *mirrpangkanha*."
 1. The *rrp* cluster in *mirrpangkanha* is lenited to *rrw* when sung.
 2. The *-wari* propriative is a borrowing from Ngarluma.

The second song describes a bull moving through scrub towards a waterhole. Two performances of the song were recorded:

I

- A. *yilangu ngali kuliylaru karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurntarnura*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnumarta mulurru*
- D. *thanturrinyila ngaa Kunthurrumulyarra*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnu ...*

II

- A. *...kuliylaru karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurntarnuraaa*
- A. *yilangu ngali nguu kuliylaru nguu karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurntarnuraaa*
- A. *yilangu ngali kuliylaru ngaa karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla ngaa karra wurntarnura*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnumarta mulurru*
- D. *thanturrinyila Kunthurrumulyarra ngaa*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnuma ...*

- A. *yilangu ngali kuliya-ru karri-lu*
 here 1DU hear-PURPss stand-PURPss
 You and I will stand here listening.
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurnta-rnura*
 what somewhere.here thicket break-CTEMP
 Something is here breaking [sticks] in the thicket.

- C. *thanturri-nyila marnu-marta murlurru*
 go.down-CTEMP mark-PROP straight
 Going down, the thing with a stripe.
- D. *thanturri-nyila Kunthurru-mulyarra*
 go.down-CTEMP Kunthurru.pool-ALL
 It is going down towards *Kunthurru* pool.

2.2 THAWI SONGS

Toby Winarrany, the composer of the following *thawi* songs, was paid £12 to track, through the dream state, a man who had been shot. The songs describe the routes he takes. Algy Paterson explains:

“He got paid to go *mangkarn* [dream spirit state], to find out, travel, *juna* [spirit travel], *wangkarla* [spirit traveller]. All right, he started that way though. He was going to come 'round that way, 'stead of that come back this way. When he get up here, *Winthu*, they found the man, the policeman and them. They found it and sent a message to Yarraloola [Station], let the old fella know, see, this fella that got twelve pound, paid, to look *mangkarnpa*. All right, he stop travelling then, spirit, he stop then.

“Well he started off in *Jalyarnu*....looking for a man that got shot, Alec Hughes the fella, shot him, here at the range. All right, and this fella got ([of] course he's a doctor man) and he got paid, to look for it, look for this man, where he is, [paid] from [by] the brothers [of the shot man]. And they wanted to know, they couldn't find him see. And, he supposed to be very clever man, this fella. His name was Toby, old *Winarrany*, my old people again, you know, Martuthunira.”

In the first song, *Winarrany* chases two other dream travellers who have attempted to harm him by sending a whirlwind against him.

- A. *murliliny wanti Jalyarnula*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*
- E. *kartu wurntarnu Jilyiliwaalu nyina*
- D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*

.....

A whirlwind at *Jalyarnu*.
 The edge engorged with blood, the cliff spattered.
 At *Karlatha* something whistling to(wards) me, somewhere here.
 On the south wind, lifted up between the legs.
 You get cut by *Jilyiliwaa*, stop.

The five lines are repeated in the following sequence:

A B C B C B C D E D ...

A. *murliliny wanti*¹ *Jalyarnu-la*
 whirlwind lie *Jalyarnu.pool-LOC*

1. Verbs often appear either without inflectional suffixes at all or with suffixes edited to fit the metre.

Algy Paterson explains that the incident begins outside the dream state. Toby Winarrany is attacked by a whirlwind while checking sheep. He follows the attackers in the dream state that night, and is also, presumably, seeking the man who has been shot.

“They tried to mesmerise him with the *winingarra* [whirlwind]...They tried to catch him, yeah, they bin bad friends. That old fella is a very high *maparnkarra* [doctor/magic man], old *Winarrany*. And a lotta fellas had a go at him. But these two, I don't know, two I think, I don't know where they from, this side I think. Somebody trying to have a go at him, but no, he's too good.

“Daytime. He had a one fella called Cassy, my boys again, my family, my nephew boys. All right, he [the boy] was a lame fella and he tell him, tell this boy, they riding, looking for sheep...When they got to *Jalyarnu*, before the *winingarra* [whirlwind] start, he told him something, let him know, he's a *maparn* [doctor/magic man]. That's him, the old fella himself. “*Janta* [lame], *karri kunti kartu!*” [*Janta*, stand-IMP stop 2SG.NOM] Something let him know, “Something after you”. Soon as he pulled up and he see, little *winingarra*, start in front of 'em. Then he got bigger quick...He seen it what's gonna start there. He span it [the whirlwind] off. He sent a *maparn* [spirit familiar] to that fella [the attacking magic man] shift it, off *winingarra* went.

“All right, he frighten 'em [the two attackers] anyhow. In the night-time he followed 'em, he finish up, he finish him off in *Jilyiliwaa*.”

B. *yirra muntarra* *parlu muntarirri*
 edge engorged.with.blood cliff blood.specks

The traveller has fought back and wounded the two malevolent spirits.

“Them two that getting chased around, they musta landed there for him to make a song about it. That's the man bin caught, blood coming out. He was chasing him, drive him round, pick him up from there, oh wind pick him up, you know?”

- C. *Kalalha*¹ *jurti*² *winkartirti yila*³
Karlatha.mill 1SG.POSS whistling somewhere.here

1. The name *Karlatha* is rendered in the song as *Kalalha*, to “make it better with the tune”.
2. While *jurti* is described in the grammar as a possessive pronoun (see §5.2), it is given a gloss here as ‘for me’.
3. The bare root form *yila* is unacceptable in spoken Martuthunira. The expected inflected form here would be *yilarla*.

- D. *kawankura-la* *tharta ngarirri-lha*
 south.wind-LOC crutch lift.up-PAST

“Wind got into him here and lift him up sort of a like a feather, carried him away. Lift him up and land him where the old fella wanted him to be, finish off. 'Cos he was, this fella, this old fella, he got paid to look for this man got shot you know. S'posed to be really for that. But I don't know who this fella come across, two of them, wanted to catch **him**, some enemies bin bad friend for long time.

“Bin lift up with the south wind...But back to front though – from *Karlatha* he's other way round. Must be the *winingarra* [rather than the south wind], and finished him off in this *Jilyiliwaa* rockhole, that's straight behind of *Jalyarnu*, there.

- E. *kartu wurnta-rnu Jilyiliwaa-lu*¹ *nyina*
 2SG cut-PASSP *Jilyiliwaa*.rockhole-EFF stop

1. The traveller succeeds in finishing off the two spirits at *Jilyiliwaa*. Literally, the phrase reads that the place itself has cut the spirits, though the singer explains that this is poetic licence.

“He had'a catch them to save himself, they was after him, other mob, from this way somewhere. He catch 'em with the *maparn*. Finish 'em off at *Jilyiliwaa* then.

“‘You bin cut up, in *Jilyiliwaa*’, is the finish of ‘im.”

“From *Jalyarnu*, he went back to *Karlatha*, that windmill. From there he pulled up, and he come back to *Jilyiliwaa*. When the south wind was blowing he landed back in *Jilyiliwaa*, spirit you know. He couldn't find anything that way. From there he move that way, further, towards *Kanarrakuri* way. *Walirnu* means traveller, he's looking for it, you know, spirit looking for it...”

“He start on 'im, that two man now, chopped off in this *Jilyiliwaa*, he meet him there, you know. He was ready to look for that other fella but, give him a start on that *thawi* now, he keep going 'cos he was looking for this man that got shot down here, what he got paid for see? And he keep going then.

- A. *walirnu yirrka walhawartu-ngurni*
- B. *panyi-rnu ngali ngurra wangkarn-karra nhaa*
- A. *walirnu yirrka walhawartu-ngurni*
- C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurnta-rnu nhaa*
- D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
- C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurnta-rnu nhaa*
- D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
- C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurnta-rnu nhaa*
- D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
- E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
- F. *Pirririthuni mangkarn-tu karlwi-rnu*
- E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
- F. *Pirririthuni mangkarn-tu karlwi-rnu*
- E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
- F. *Pirririthuni mangkarn-tu karlwi-rnu*
- G. *jirnti yirntili ngarringarri jurti*
- H. *Yaramarta-la thaninharra karlwa*
- G. *jirnti yirntili ngarringarri jurti*

.....

A traveller flies obscured by mist.
 We two walk on the ground. Light.
 At *Kanarrakuri* the deceased is cut.
 At *Martimarti* the paths narrow. Stop.
 At *Nyinyanharranha*, corroboree sticks full of blood.
 At *Pirririthuni* Gap the spirit is lifted.
 The lopsided sky, “something is hot for me”.
 At *Yaramarta* pool a spirit ray shoots up.

The eight lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E F E F G H G...

- A. *walirnu yirrka* ¹ *walhawartu-ngurni*
 stranger vehicle mist-OBSCRD

1. *yirrka* is a ‘stick’ which the spirit traveller straddles and uses as a flying vehicle.

- B. *panyi-rnu* ¹ *ngali* ² *ngurra* *wangkarn-karra* ³ *nhaa* ⁴
 step-PrREL 2DU ground light-karra this

1. *panyi-rnu* is a shortened form of *panyi-rnura*.

2. Algy Paterson explains that the traveller is joined by another spirit and guesses that this might be the traveller's friend:

“Him and someone else, might be his old man's spirit, with him. No, but he couldn't a say *ngali*. Mighta been some of his friend, *maparnkarra* [magic man] again somewhere.”

[The pronoun *ngali* implies that the two are in the same generation set. Thus the other spirit could not be the traveller's father]

3. *-karra* is a nominal suffix which although not a regularly segmentable morpheme in Martuthunira, occurs productively in (at least) Panyjima and is common as a kin term dual formative in all languages of the area. On ordinary nominals *-karra* indicates that some other thing is intimately related to the *-karra* marked thing (or property).

4. *nhaa* is presumably a modified form of the demonstrative *nhiyu/nhiyaa*.

“They're walking, the ground seems hollow, inside. He reckon he walking on the ground that you can hear a sound is hollow, inside. Light, you know, he can hear it going “bhup, bhup” just like going to cave-in sorta. That's a *wangkarnkarra*, light one.”

C. *Kanarrakuri* *tharu*¹ *wurnta-rnu* *nhaa*
Kanarrakuri.pooldeceased cut-PPERF this

1. *Tharu* means ‘deceased’, but is not polite. It ought not be used within earshot of mourning relatives, as Algy Paterson explains:

“You know what the *tharu* used for? Anybody lose his life, passed away somewhere, well then that *tharu* can be used, see? Anybody come along, or even talking...you know, people like to talk little bit hard way for somebody died, not relation or anything. If he don't like to say very good way, just little bit rough, he can say that *tharu*. You can't call'em name, you say *tharu*. But he's not bad, but not the proper nice answer that one, for anyone passed away, you know...for the people that lose the fella that died, he can't say that word. He gotta say something a bit better, otherway he hurt the people feeling. Not very good.”

D. *Martimarti-la* *kuthurrungu* *nyina*
Martimarti.pool narrow stop

“*Martimarti*, he's in the *Pangarru* river that *Martimarti*, 'nother big pool, up in the gorge, gullys too. Right in the bluff.

“Something come in, make it narrow. The spirit. Spirit got narrow to pull up there for a while I s'pose, you know, before he come back to this *Nyinyanharra*. That's the traveller's spirit travelling. Musta had a drink of water or something [at *Maryimarti*]. They got together more to make it, you know, close up [to] one another. Close together, and stop there for a while. Two of them.”

- E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi*¹ *muntamunta*
Nyinyanharranha corroboree.sticks bloody

1. *Yilhi*, with the primary sense ‘chip/shaving of wood’ is used as a generic term for shaved wood ornaments worn in dances and in ritual business.

Here, the ornament is painted with blood:

“Well they used that blood for painting, you know, to make it pretty. Well he seen it [the ornament] there, you know, seen it there and gotta come down to this place called Yarramarta then.”

- F. *Pirririthuni* *mangkarn-tu karlwi-rnu*
Pirrirtinnha.gap spirit-EFF lift-PPERF

“That's that *Pirrirtin* gap but he couldn't make it *Pirrirtin* [a Kurrama name], 'cos he Martuthunira, he made it *Pirririthuni*. He made it *Pirririthuni* 'stead of *Pirrirtinnha*. But he can't pronounce it...like he's a Martuthunira [speaker] this one. But that **is** the place.”

- G. *jirnti yirntili* *ngarringarri jurti*
 sky lop-sided hot 1SG.POSS

“You know what the *jirnti yirntili*? Sky [horizon?] lop-sided. Sky, whole lot they reckon he sorta sideways, you know, turned, sort of. I don't know how come about, that's in the travel time see? *Yirntili*, just like going to fall down, went over *jirnti yirntili*.

“*Ngarringarri*'s hot! *Ngarringarri* is something hot. Something hot enough to burn you, something in the spirit, *jurti*, for him, for me.”

- H. *Yaramarta-la thaninharra karlwa*
Yaramarta.pool spirit.ray rise

“*Thaninharra*. Oh he's a dangerous, danger that one. That chop things off. Whatever in front of that traveller now, they chucked it, finish! Chopped it off there. That *thaninharra* – you know this cross-cut saw? Something like that got up to cut this enemy belong to them, what they chasing after, *marlpa* [person] you know *mangkarnpa* [dream spirit state]. Pretty rough, in't it? *Thaninharra karlwa*. He bin get up from the ground. He get up and chop this fella, finish. *Mangkarn*, you know? The thing shoot up like this bloomin' whats-a-name.

“Same time that double there, *thani-rna* [hit/chop-PAST], *thaninharra* [spirit ray]. He chopped it off, you know, same time he's a *thaninharra*, that *yirra* [edged/sharp] thing. He can chop a man off, finish.” [Algy Paterson explains here that *thaninharra* evokes the word *thani-rna*.]

“Now he shift from there, he going this way now. He was going to come 'round on the coast side. He gotta wait 'til night time, you know, before he, *marlimpa* work, spirit go, looking for it. He was going to head that-a-way now, he could'a find it all right, where this fella was heading. He's a place called *Winthu*, down here. That's a where he landed to take off, but he went that way, looking for him, you know, up *Malurarri* way, just in case he's bin run away and, you know, something happen this way.”

- A. *Marlurarrinha thurnti pinkanarri*
- B. *Mulhawurula karla nguyali nyina*
- A. *Marlurarrinha thurnti pinkanarri*
- C. *warithurriny^{nha} wartantun^{nha} nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- C. *warithurriny^{nha} wartantun^{nha} nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- C. *warithurriny^{nha} wartantun^{nha} nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- E. *puwala-rarri thantururrawirti*
- F. *pananypa nyina Wanaranyku ngali*
- E. *puwala-rarri thantururrawirti*

At *Marlurarrinha* a cork bark tree, the sound of wood on wood.

At *Mulhawuru* separate fires.

See spirit cut in half to the north.

The high tide comes up, the blue sea there.

Sandhills and dune grass.

At the edge of the sand we two are together at *Wanarany*.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E ...

- A. *Marlurarri-nha thurnti pinkanarri*
Marlurarri-PNM cork.tree sound.of.tree.being.hit

- B. *Mulhawuru-la* ¹ *karla nguyali nyina*
Mulhawuru-LOC fire separate stop

1. *Mulhawuru* is the pool at the mouth of the Robe River.

- C. *warithurriny* ¹-*nha* ² *wartantu-nha nhawu*
“spirit.cut.in.half” north see

1. I can provide no good explanation for *warithurriny* except the gloss given by the singer.

2. I have no explanation for the *-nha* addition to this, or the next word. It may be the Proper Nominal Classifier (§3.1.2) or simply a syllable added to assist the metre.

D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
high.tide go.up blue.sea that

E. *puwala-rarri*¹ *thantururra-wirti*²
sandhill-PL dune.grass-PL

1. *-rarri* is an idiosyncratic plural suffix such as occurs in Panyjima, Kurrama and Yinyjiparnti but which is rare in the Martuthunira data (see §4.21). Idiosyncratic plurals typically indicate an undifferentiated group of some object, such as an expanse of grass, or a clump of trees. Here it implies a stretch of sandhills.
2. Algy Paterson described the form *-wirti* as a Yinyjiparnti marker for a ‘mob’ of grasses. Thus it is presumably an idiosyncratic plural also.

F. *pananypa*¹ *nyina Wanaranyku*² *ngali*
hard.sand stop Wanarany 1DU

1. *pananypa* is the wet, hard beach, washed by the waves, between high-water and low-water marks.
2. *Wanarany* appears to have an accusative suffix here. I have no convincing explanation for this.

“Word come they found him, that man [the murdered man]. Finished travelling then. One more [song] I think. I can read that now, he [the song] is in that line. He had enough look around back there, but he made that song when he's coming back over to Yarraloola.”

- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- C. *marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula*
- D. *kartikarlingku Kartuwarrala ngali*
- C. *marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula*

The smell of burning fat at *Karlangarringu*.
 A vision of a camel as the traveller cuts across.
 An echo comes to me at *Jintiyumpurru*.
 Come back by *Kartuwarra*.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A B A B A C D C ...

- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringu-la*
 burning.fat smell Karlangarringu-LOC

“*Jijarr ngurirri*, smelling grease. 'Stead of calling 'fat', that's in the *juna* travel. And the fat smell. Just like burning. They call it a *jijarr*. Just for that travelling time, you know.

[*jijarr* is used to refer to fat or grease specifically in the dream state. As a traveller flies he leaves behind the smell of burning kidney fat.]

“*Karlangarringu-la*, that's that four mile tabletop, that way from Red Hill [station homestead]. 'Spoused to be very danger hill, you know, when a *maparn-ngarni marlpa* [spirit-familiar-PROP man (Panyjima)], they all aim for that one. They reckon he's a, *maparnkarra* [magic] man, he see that sort of a, like a light inside of him [the hill]. And any traveller, traveller from anywhere, if they got the *mangkarn* [spirit], going to finish another fellas off, they take 'em there [into the heart of the hill] and cook 'em there, finish 'em. That's what it is, *Karlangarringu*.”

[*Karlangarringu*, literally 'fire-lying', is thus named for its appearance in the dream state.]

- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla*
 camel traveller cutting.across

“*Kamal wangkarla*. Picture of camel you can see, in a way. Just like seeing things? Like a camel showing on your eyes? Like that now. *Wangkarla*, that's that traveller now. That *maparn-ngarni*, you know, *wangkarla*.”

- C. *maralajurti Jintiyumpurru-la*
 echo 1SG.POSS Jintiyumpurru-LOC

“Echo, on the *Jintiyumpurru* hill, he's a hill five mile from Red Hill that way, razorbacks, that's a *Jintiyumpurru*. *Marala*'s the echo. I don't know what, ...something. Might be like a 'cock-eye bob' (whirlwind), sort of like, you know, making noise.”

- D. *kartikarlingkuKartuwarra-la ngali...*
 come.back Ten-mile mill-LOC 1DU