

APPENDIX 1: TEXTS

TEXT 1: HUNTING AND COOKING AN EMU

1. *Ngayu jirruna-mpa-lha jankurna-a kulha-ngka-a,*
1SG.NOM creep.up-INCH-PAST emu-ACC scrub-LOC-ACC
2. *karri-nyila-a mungka-l.yarramarrwalany-ku. Ngayu ngurnaa*
stand-PrREL-ACC eat-CTEMP cockroach.bush-ACC 1SG.NOM that.ACC
3. *jirruna-mpa-lha, panyu-ma-l.yarra ngurnta panyu-mpa-lha*
creep.up-INCH-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP style good-INCH-PAST
4. *jirruna karra-ngurni.*
creep.up scrub-OBSCRD
I crept up on an emu in the scrub, standing eating cockroach bush. I crept up on it, doing it properly. I crept along with good style, in the shelter of the bushes.
5. *Purrkuru-lwa,murna-mpa-lha mirru-ngka-ma-rninyji-rru*
true-ID close-INCH-PAST spearthrower-LOC-CAUS-FUT-NOW
6. *mulurru-ma-lalha-rru nhawungarra-ma-rninyji.Palwarru ngunhaa.*
straight-CAUS-PAST-NOW look.after-CAUS-FUT all.right that.NOM
All right, having come close [I] put [a spear] on the spearthrower. Once [I] have made it straight [I] check it. That's right.
7. *Murna-ngka-nguruwarra, ngayu thathu-lalha mulurru thanturri-waa*
close-LOC-ABL CONT 1SG.NOM send-PAST straight go.down-PURPs=o
8. *yanti-ngka waruul. Nhawu-layi ngurnaa kurryarta-marta-a-rru,*
side-LOC still see-FUT that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW
9. *yanga-rninyji-rru.*
chase-FUT-NOW
From close up I sent the spear straight so [it] goes down into the emu's side. Then I see that it has a spear in it now, and now I chase it.
10. *Purrkuruwuraal-wa-rru, manku-marni, ngunhaa punga-lha-rru nhurnti-rru.*
true all.right-Ø-NOW grab-CONTR that.NOM fall-PAST-NOW dead-NOW
11. *Ngayu ngurnaa manku-lha-rru wilyara-la-ma-lalha.*
1SG.NOM that.ACC grab-PAST-NOW shoulder-LOC-CAUS-PAST

All right now, [I] would have grabbed [it] (I was about to grab it) but it fell down dead. I grabbed it and put it on [my] shoulder.

12. *Wuraal, mulurru-ma-lalha ngurra-arta-rru, kanarri-lha*
all.right straight-CAUS-PAST ground-DIRALL-NOW come-PAST
13. *ngurra-arta pamararri-lha-rru wiru-rru panyu-npa-waa.*
camp-DIRALL shout.out-PAST-NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-PURPs=o
All right, I went straight home, came to the camp and shouted out [to the people in camp] so that [their] feelings would become good.
14. *Ngula-a warntitha-rninyji, palwaru, kanarri-wala maruwarla-rru*
there-ACC throw-FUT true come-PURPs many.people-NOW
15. *yurra-rninyji ngurnaa kulyu-ma-l.yarra jankurna-marnu. Karla-ngara*
dig-FUT that.ACC hole-CAUS-CTEMP emu-ASSOC fire-PL
16. *kurti-nnguli-nyila-rru ngula-nguru, kulyu-ngka-rru warntitha-nngu-layi.*
gather-PASS-PrREL-NOW there-ABLhole-LOC-NOW throw-PASS-FUT
Then I throw it down on the ground there, all right, so people come and dig, make a trench for that emu. Meanwhile firewood is being gathered from around there and is then thrown in the hole.
17. *Palwaru, kampa-rninyji-rrungurnaa, wirrirri-npa-lwaa-rru. Ngurnu*
true light-FUT-NOW that.ACC flame-INCH-PURPs=o-NOW that.ACC
18. *wartawirrinpa-layi nhawu-layi puwara-npa-nyila-a. Manku-layi*
wait.for-FUT see-FUT charcoal-INCH-PrREL-ACC grab-FUT
19. *yawan-ku-rru. Palwaru, ngurnaa wantha-rninyji yawan-ngara-a.*
hot.stone-ACC-NOW true that.ACC put-FUT hot.stone-PL-ACC
All right, I light the firewood so that it bursts into flame and then wait and watch it burning down to the coals. Then get the hot cooking stones. All right, I put the hot cooking stones inside it (the emu).
20. *Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa. Kurni-ma-rninyji-rru jankaa-rninyji-rru*
all.right-Ø-NOW that.NOM closed.up-CAUS-FUT-NOW tie.up-FUT-NOW
21. *wirta-tharra-a, jankaa-rninyji parna-thurti-i. Palwaru ngunhaa.*
leg-DU-ACC tie.up-FUT head-CONJ-ACC true that.NOM
22. *Warntitha-rninyji-rru purnta-ngka-rru.*
throw-FUT-NOW hole-LOC-NOW
That's right. Close it up, tie the two legs together and tie up the head as well. That's that. I throw it in the hole now.
23. *Palwarrungunhaa. Kampa-rninyji-rru. Palyangu-ma-rninyji. Nharnu-ngara-a*
true that.NOM cook-FUT-NOW cover-CAUS-FUT sand-PL-ACC

24. *kuwithartu-ma-rninyji. Nharnu-ngara-a warntitha-rninyji*
this.way-CAUS-FUT sand-PL-ACC throw-FUT
25. *palyangu-ma-l.yarra ngurnaa.*
cover-CAUS-CTEMP that.ACC
That's right. Cook it now. Cover it over. Move the sand in this direction (out of the bottom of the hole to make room for the emu). Then throw sand over the emu covering it.
26. *Thana-rru wanti-waa jankurna-a kampi-rra-rru wanti-waa.*
let-NOW lie-PURPs=o emu-ACC cook-CTEMP-NOW lie-PURPs=o
27. *Puni-layi malarnu-la-rru nyina-lu wartawirrinpa-rra jankurna-a*
go-FUT shade-LOC-NOW sit-PURPss wait.for-CTEMP emu-ACC
28. *kampa-nyila-a.*
cook-PrREL-ACC
Now I let that emu cook. Go off to sit in the shade and wait for the emu that's cooking.
29. *Kampa-lha-rru, puni-layi thuulwa-ru-rru palykura-a*
cook-PAST-NOW go-FUT pull.out-PURPss-NOW flat-ACC
30. *wurrulywa-ngara-awanti-nyila-a palykura-marnu. Palwarra, jankurna-a*
leaves-PL-ACC lie-PrREL-ACC plate-ASSOC true emu-ACC
31. *thuulwa-rninyji wanta-rninyji manyjan-ta-rru.*
pull.out-FUT put-FUT groundcover-LOC-NOW
32. *Wuraal-wa-rru, wurnta-rninyji-rru. Palwarra ngunhaa.*
all.right-Ø-NOW cut-FUT-NOW true that.NOM
Once it's cooked, go and pull down some branches, brush, for a plate. All right, I pull out the emu and put it on the groundcover. All right, cut it up. That's that.
33. *Mungka-yarri-layi-rru winya-npa-rra-rru, puni-rrawaara*
eat-COLL-FUT-NOW full-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-SEQ
34. *malarnu-mulyarra-rru wanti-lu-rru, parlura-ngara-rru.*
shade-ALL-NOW lie-PURPss-NOW full-PL-NOW
35. *Palwarra ngunhaa, palwarra yimpalaa.*
true that.NOM true like.that
Now we all eat together and fill up, and then we go to the shade and lie down, all full up now. That's that. That's how it's done.

TEXT 2: CATCHING A GOANNA

1. *Ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra*
1SG.NOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP

2. *murla-ngara-a tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-mpa-rra, puni-rra*
 meat-PL-ACC euro-PL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP go-CTEMP
3. *nhuwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.*
 spear-CTEMP unable-CTEMP
 If my arm is not good, I'll keep missing all the game, euros, I'll be useless, I'll keep on being unable to spear them.
4. *Ngayu kuntirri-layi-rru tharnta-ngara-a wawayi-rninyji.*
 1SG.NOM give.up-FUT-NOW euro-PL-ACC look.for-FUT
5. *Nhartu-rru kana parilha-mpa-rra puni-layi? Kuntirri-layi,*
 what-NOW RHET keep.trying-INCH-CTEMP go-FUT give.up-FUT
6. *thana-rru tharnta-ngara-a. Wantharta kana nhurnti-ma-rninyji?*
 let-NOW euro-PL-ACC when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
 I give up looking for euros. Why bother to keep on trying? I'll give up on euros, let them be. When am I going to kill one? Never.
7. *Ngawu! Kuliyanpi-rra ngayu nhartu-u wiyaa wawayi-rninyji,*
 yes think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT
8. *jalya-a-wuyu, mirntirimarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu. Panyu-l*
 useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE good-THEN
9. *jinangku-layi ngurnaa.*
 track-FUT that.ACC
 Yes, I'll think about looking for something else, something on the easy (lit. useless) side, goannas for example, something on the tame side. Then I'll be all right, tracking them.
10. *Wuraal waruul, nhawu-layi. Purrkuruwaruul, yilangu-rru tharrwa-lha,*
 all.right still see-FUT true still here-NOW enter-PAST
11. *nhiyu jina, tharrwa-lha waruul yilangu jalyuru-la, wayil kunti.*
 this.NOM track enter-PAST still here hole-LOC maybe stop
 Okay, I'll see a track. True enough, it went in here, this track, it went in and is still here in the hole, maybe.
12. *Nhulaa manku-Ø pinkarranyukalyaran, nyuwi-rninyji. Wayil*
 near.you grab-IMP dry stick poke-FUT maybe
13. *wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la. Nhuura-mpa-layi-l.*
 lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NV hole-LOC know-INCH-FUT-THEN
 You grab a dry stick, poke it in at whatever is maybe lying here in the hole. Find out then.

14. *Nyuwi-nngu-rra jalyuru-la, ngunhaa thurtinti-layi*
poke-PASS-CTEMP hole-LOC that.NOM move.away-FUT
15. *paya-mpa-rra-rru nyuwi-nngu-rra. Ngunhaa paya-mpa-rra*
angry-INCH-CTEMP-NOW poke-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM angry-INCH-CTEMP
16. *wuuny-karri-layi-rru, nhuura-ma-l.yarra-rru kanyara-a ngurnu.*
wuuny-NOISE-FUT-NOW know-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW man-ACC that.ACC
The thing in the hole getting poked, it moves away then, getting wild as it's being poked.
It makes a *wuuny* noise, as it gets wild, showing a person that it's there.
17. *Purrkuruwaruul, pala yilarla waruul wanti-nguru, murla. Ngayu*
true still IT here.NV still lie-PRES meat 1SG.NOM
18. *manku-layi-rru yirnaa murla-a. Wayil nhiyaa jinyji-warla.*
grab-FUT-NOW this.ACC meat-ACC maybe this.NOM fat-FULL
True enough. It's still here, the meat. Get this meat now. It might be a fat one.
19. *Manku-layi kalyaran-ku pinkarranyu-u. Mulha-a jurirri-ma-rninyji-rru.*
grab-FUT stick-ACC dry-ACC point-ACC sharp-CAUS-FUT-NOW
20. *Yurra-rninyji-rru ngurnu-marta kalyaran-marta mulha jurirri-marta.*
dig-FUT-NOW that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP point sharp-PROP
Then get a dry stick. Sharpen up the point. And dig with that sharp-pointed stick .
21. *Palwaru. Ngurnu-marta-wa karta-rninyji, karta-rninyji-warntura*
all.right that.OBL-PROP-YK poke-FUT poke-FUT-DISTRIB
22. *jalyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru. Thungkara-a warntitha-rninyji juwayu-marta.*
hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW dirt-ACC throw-FUT hand-PROP
23. *Yurra-rninyji ngartil. Nhawu-layi-rru.*
dig-FUT again see-FUT-NOW
Okay, jab the ground with it, jab again and again, making a hole. Throw the dirt
away with your hand. Then dig again. Now have a look.
24. *Nhiyu-lwa mirntirimartawanti-nguru kana-ngka-lwa. Wanthanha-rru kana*
this.NOM-ID goanna lie-PRES clear-LOC-IT which-NOW RHET
25. *murla-a kanangkalwa-lalha? Waruul-wa-rru, murla-a*
meat-ACC make.clear-PAST still-Ø-NOW meat-ACC
26. *manku-rrawaara ngurnaa.*
grab-SEQ that.ACC
This is the goanna, lying in the clear now. What now that you've uncovered the meat?
Keep going, grab hold of that meat.

27. *Wanthanha-rru kana? Karnti-i waruul-wa-rru manku-layi. Kayarra*
which-NOW RHET tail-ACC still-Ø-NOW grab-FUT two
28. *juwayu thuulwa-rninyji ngurnaa murna-mpa-nyila-a-rru*
hand pull.out-FUT that.ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC-NOW
29. *jalyuru-la-nguru-u thuulwa-l.yarra.*
hole-LOC-ABL-ACC pull.out-CTEMP
What now? Grab the tail. Pull it with two hands, it'll be coming closer as you pull it out of the hole.
30. *Yarta-wuyu-l juwayu-l thathu-rninyji-rru, yarta-wuyu juwayu*
other-SIDE-THEN hand-THEN let.go-FUT-NOW other-SIDE hand
31. *thuulwa-rninyji waruul. Yarta-wuyu juwayu, thathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu,*
pull.out-FUT still other-SIDE hand let.go-PAST-SIDE hand
32. *ngunhaa puni-layi, juwayu yarta-wuyu, thungku-ngka waruul. Nhiyu*
that.NOM go-FUT hand other-SIDE back-LOC still this.NOM
33. *yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-rnura waruul.*
other-SIDE hand pull.out-PrREL still
Then let go with one hand. The other hand keeps pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, it keeps going, that other hand, along its back. This other hand is still pulling.
34. *Yarta-l-wuyu juwayu puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul.*
other-THEN-SIDE hand go-FUT back-LOC still
35. *Ngurnu parna-a murna-mpa-nyila-a, wangkarr-yu-rru manku-layi.*
that.ACC head-ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC throat-ACC-NOW grab-FUT
The other hand keeps going along its back. Grab its throat now as its head is coming closer.
36. *Palwaru ngunhaa, thuulwa-rninyji-rru karlwa-rrawaara.Karlwa-layi*
true that.NOM pull.out-FUT-NOW get.up-SEQ get.up-FUT
37. *ngurnu-marta mirntirimarta-marta, manku-lha-nguru wanku-ma-l.yarra.*
that.OBL-PROP goanna-PROP grab-PAST-ABL sure-CAUS-CTEMP
That's right, now pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna having made sure you've got hold of it.
38. *Palwaru,wantha-rninyji thungkara-la-rru.Martama-rninyji jal.yu-u*
all.right put-FUT dirt-LOC-NOW press.on-FUT occiput-ACC
39. *yarta-wuyu juwayu manku-rra parla-a-rru. Pariingku-layi*
other-SIDE hand grab-CTEMP stone-ACC-NOW hit-FUT
40. *parna-a-rru ngurnu mirntirimarta-a. Puni-rrawaara,*
head-ACC-NOW that.ACC goanna-ACC go-SEQ

41. *wuraal-wa-rru ngurra-arta-rru murla-wari.*¹
all.right-Ø-NOW camp-DIRALL-NOW meat-PROP
All right, put it on the ground now. Press down on the back of its neck while your other hand picks up a rock. Then smash its head, that goanna. And then go to the camp with some meat.
42. *Ngurra-ngka-mpa-lha-rru, karla-marnu-rru purnta-ma-rninyji-rru*
camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire-ASSOC-NOW whole-CAUS-FUT-NOW
43. *nharnu-u. Pukarra-ngara-a-rru manku-layi. Ngulangu-rru*
sand-ACC firewood-PL-ACC-NOW grab-FUT there-NOW
44. *wantha-rninyji purnta-ngka-rru, wirrirri-ma-rninyji-rru.*
put-FUT hole-LOC-NOW flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW
Having got back to camp, dig a hole in the sand for a fire. Get some firewood. Put it there in the hole, and then light it.
45. *Kampa-nyila-la-rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa-l.yarra*
cooking-PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit-FUT pull.out-CTEMP
46. *mirntirimarta-apunga-a. Palwarra ngunhaa, panyu-rru*
goanna-ACC guts-ACC all.right that.NOM good-NOW
47. *punga-wirriwa-rru wanti-layi ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra karla-a*
guts-PRIV-NOW lie-FUT that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP fire-ACC
48. *panyu-mpa-waa, puwara-mpa-waa karlarra-mpa-waa paju.*
good-INCH-PURPs=o charcoal-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
While the fire's burning, sit down and pull out the goanna's guts. Okay, now it's gutted, ready and waiting for the fire to be ready, to burn down to coals, to get really hot.
49. *Karlarra-mpa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-mpa-lha-la paju-rru,*
hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW charcoal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
50. *ngarri-ngkakampa-rninyji-rru. Panyu-ma-rninyji-rru ngurnaa,*
ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC
51. *palyangu-ma-rninyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngkukarlarra-lu. Thana-rru*
cover-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF hot-EFF let-NOW
52. *wanti-waa kampi-rra.*
lie-PURPs=o cooking-CTEMP
Once it's really hot, once it's burnt right down to the coals, cook the goanna in the ashes. Do it properly, cover it with hot ashes. Now let it lie there cooking.

¹ The proprietive suffix, *-wari*, is a borrowing from Ngarluma which occasionally occurs in text. Although the narrator corrected this in questioning, he does not consider it bad Martuthunira. The limited borrowing of lexemes and some morphemes serves an important stylistic function in text construction (much like the selection of synonyms in English).

53. *Wanti-layi wartawirrinpa-rra kampa-nyila-a ngurnu mirntirimarta-a.*
lie-FUT wait.for-CTEMP cooking-PrREL-ACC that.ACC goanna-ACC
54. *Kuliyampa-layi ngurnaa, palwarra, wiyaa nhiyu kampa-lha-rru!*
think-FUT that.ACC all.right maybe this.NOM cooking-PAST-NOW
Lie down and wait for the goanna while it cooks. And think this: “All right, maybe this is cooked now!”.
55. *Thuulwa-rninyji-rru. Wurrulywa-la-rru wantha-rninyji. Thanakunti*
pull.out-FUT-NOW leaves-LOC-NOW put-FUT let stop
56. *wanti-waa muthumuthu-mpa-rra.Mir.ta karlarra-l wurnta-rninyji*
lie-PURPs=o cool-INCH-CTEMP not hot-THEN cut-FUT
57. *juwayu kampa-wirri. Muthumuthu-u wurnta-rninyji panyu-u-l,*
hand cook-LEST cool-ACC cut-FUT good-ACC-THEN
58. *mir.ta juwayu kampa-layi. Nyini-rrawaara mungka-l.yarra-rru.*
not hand burn-FUT sit-SEQ eat-CTEMP-NOW
Now pull it out. Put it on some leaves. Let it lie there and cool down. Don't cut it while it's hot or you'll burn your hand. Cut it cool, it'll be good then, you won't burn your hand. And then sit and eat it.
59. *Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i, thurnta-rninyji parna-a jinyji-marta*
hand-LOC grab-FUT fat-ACC rub-FUT head-ACC fat-PROP
60. *kuliya-thurti-i. Panyu ngunhaa. Yimpala-a*
ear-CONJ-ACC good that.NOM like.that-ACC
61. *yimpala-ma-lwayara puliyanyja-ngara.*
like.that-CAUS-HABIT old.person-PL
Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with the fat, and ears too. That's good. That's just what the old people used to do.

TEXT 3: FIXING A BROKEN SPEAR

1. *Nhiyu warrirtiurnta-rnu nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni*
this.NOM spear break-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-PASS-CONTR
2. *nganaju-u mimi-i, wayil wii panyu-ma-lwaa*
1SG.GEN-ACC MoBro-ACC maybe maybe good-CAUS-PURPs=o
3. *ngurnaa warrirti-i.*
that.ACC spear-ACC
This spear that's been broken by you fellows should be given to my uncle, so perhaps he can fix that spear.

4. *Ngunhaa, nganaju mimi, panyu-ma-lalha waruul-wa-rru*
that.NOM 1SG.GEN MoBro good-CAUS-PAST still-Ø-NOW
5. *wurnta-rnu-nguru-u. Panyu-ma-lalha waruul-wa-rru,*
break-PASSP-ABL-ACC good-CAUS-PAST still-Ø-NOW
6. *puni-rrawaara kangku-rra ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu*
go-SEQ take-CTEMP that.ACC spear-ACC give-PURPss
7. *ngurnu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a wurnta-lalha-nguru-u,*
that.OBL-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC break-PAST-ABL-ACC
8. *yungku-lu marrari-i-thurti-rru, wangka-lu-rru,*
give-PURPss word-ACC-CONJ-NOW say-PURPss-NOW
That fellow, my uncle, fixed the one that had been broken. Fixed it and then went off,
taking the spear to give it to the fellows who had broken it, and to give them a message
too, to say to them,
9. *“Nhuwana mir.ta wurnta-rninyji ngartil warrirti-i, panyu-rru*
2PL not break-FUT again spear-ACC good-NOW
10. *nhawungarra-ma-rninyji murla-marnu-u. Ngartil wii wurnta-lalha-nguru,*
look.after-CAUS-FUT meat-ASSOC-ACC again if break-PAST-ABL
11. *mir.ta-rru kangku-layi nganaju-mulyarra.”*
not-NOW bring-FUT 1SG.OBL-ALL
“Don't you break spears again, look after hunting implements properly. If you break it
again, don't bring it to me.”
12. *Ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru panyu-ma-rninyji wurnta-rnu-ngara-a*
1SG.NOM give.up-PRES-NOW good-CAUS-FUT break-PASSP-PL-ACC
13. *warrirti-i nhuwana-lu. Nhuwana panyu-ma-rninyji minthal-wa-rru.*
spear-ACC 2PL-EFF 2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW
14. *Kanyarra-lpurtuwarnu?*
man-COMP ASSERT
I'm giving up fixing spears broken by you lot. You fix them yourselves. You're men
aren't you?
15. *“Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nngu-rra yirla! Nhuura-mpa-layi minthal*
not be-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only know-INCH-FUT alone
16. *warra panyu-ma-rninyji warrirti-i. Pirri-marta warnu?”*
CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC hands-PROP ASSERT
“Don't just have it done for you! Learn to fix spears yourselves. You've got hands
haven't you?”
17. *Ngunhu-ngara kanyara-ngara nganaju wangka-layi¹, ngayu*
that.NOM-PL man-PL 1SG.ACC say-FUT 1SG.NOM

18. *kuliya-lwala marrari-i wantharni-i-lwa ngula. Ngayu*
listen-PURPs word-ACC how-ACC-ID IGNOR 1SG.NOM
19. *purumpuru-mpa-layi jampa kunti. Ngawayu-rru kuliya-rninyji*
quiet-INCH-FUT moment stop turn-NOW listen-FUT
20. *wantharni-i-lwa. Wuraal-wa-rru, ngayu purumpuru-mpa-nguru-rru.*
how-ACC-ID all.right-Ø-NOW 1SG.NOM quiet-INCH-PRES-NOW
Those men speak to me then, so I listen to their answer, just how it will come out I don't know. I'll keep quiet for just a moment. Take a turn to listen to how they feel. All right, I'm keeping quiet now.
21. “*Ngawu! Nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-mulyarrayirla.*
yes 1PL.EXC spear-ACC bring-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only
22. *Nganangu-rru kana kur.ta-a yimpala-a-rru-wa kangku-nguru?*
who.ACC-NOW RHET clever-ACC like.that-ACC-NOW-YK bring-PRES
23. *Kartu-ngku yirla panyu-ma-nnguli-waa, thaapuwa-ngku kur.ta-ngku.”*
2SG.NOM-EFF only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o big.man-EFF clever-EFF
“Yes! We bring spears to you only. Who is there, clever like that, who we can take them to? You're the only one they can be fixed by, you clever old bastard.”
24. “*Nganamarnu-ngu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi panyu-u kanyara-a*
anyone-ACC-NOW RHET think-FUT good-ACC man-ACC
25. *pilakurta-a, yungku-layi panyu-ma-lwaa?”*
carpenter-ACC give-FUT good-CAUS-PURPs=o
“Whoever can we think of who is a good carpenter, who we can give them to, to fix them?”
26. “*Yimpala-rru-wa. Nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-mulyarrayirla*
like.that-NOW-YK 1PL.EXC think-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only
27. *warrirti-ngara-awurnta-rnu-ngara-a, kartungu yirla yungku-lu*
spear-PL-ACC break-PASS-PL-ACC 2SG.ACC only give-PURPs
28. *panyu-ma-lwaa.”*
good-CAUS-PURPs=o
“It's like that. We think that it's only to you that we can bring broken spears. You're the only one we can give them to, to fix them.”
29. “*Nganangu-rru kana kanyara-a kuliyanpa-layi jalya-ngara-a yirla*
who.ACC-NOW RHET man-ACC think-FUT useless-PL-ACC only
30. *warnu kanyara-ngara-a yartapalyu-u?”*
ASSERT man-PL-ACC others-ACC
“What other man can we think of out of the other people who are only useless?”

31. *“Yimpala-rru-wa. Nganarna winyarta-ma-rnurukartungu thurlajinkarri-i.*
like.that-NOW-YK 1PL.EXC tired-CAUS-PRES 2SG.ACC poor.fellow-ACC
32. *Nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a jalya-ngara-la*
who.ACC-NOW think-FUT carpenter-ACC useless-PL-LOC
33. *kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu-la?”*
man-PL-LOC others-LOC
“So it's like that. We're tiring you, you poor fellow. Who can we think of as a carpenter when all the other men are useless?”
34. *“Palwarrungunhaa. Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi*
all.right that.NOM yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPH say-FUT
35. *kartungu marrari-i.”*
2SG.ACC word-ACC
“That's all right. Yes! I'll say something to you next, all right?”
36. *“Purrrkuru waruul. Kartu wangka-lha panyu-ma-l.yarra paju*
true still 2SG.NOM say-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP REAL
37. *nganaju, pinhu-ma-l.yarra paju, panyu-ma-l.yarra paju,*
1SG.ACC pleased-CAUS-CTEMP very good-CAUS-CTEMP REAL
38. *thurlajinkarri-i nganaju. Ngayu mir.ta ngalangala-mpa-layi kartungu*
poor.fellow-ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM not forget-IND-FUT 2SG.ACC
39. *marrari-i. Panyu kanyara. Palwarra ngunhaa.”*
word-ACC good man all.right that.NOM
“Okay. You spoke making me feel very good, pleasing me properly, making me feel very good, poor fellow that I am. I won't forget your word. You're good people. All right, that's that.”

TEXT 4: A SHOPPING EXPEDITION

1. *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?Nhuwana puni-rra wii*
2PL go-FUT HYPH town-ALL 2PL go-CTEMP if
2. *thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuraal wurtu, nganaju wuruma-rninyji*
town-ALL 1SG.ACC all.right HYPH 1SG.ACC do.for-FUT
3. *yurntura-a manyarrka-a-thurtiwii parrka-a wii?*
flour-ACC sugar-ACC-CONJ maybe tea.leaf-ACC maybe
Are you going to town? If you're going to town would you get for me some flour, and maybe some sugar and maybe some tea?
4. *Ngawu! Nganarna wuruma-rninyji kartungu. parla-wirriwa nganarna.*
yes 1PL.EXC do.for-FUT 2SG.ACC money-PRIV 1PL.EXC

5. *Kartu-lwa yungku-layi nganarna-a parla-a manku-waa.*
 2SG.NOM-ID give-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC money-ACC get-PURPs=o
 Yes! We'll do that for you. But we've got no money. You give us some money so we can get the things.

6. *“Nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a wuruma-l.yarra kartungu,*
 1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP 2SG.ACC
7. *parrani-lha-ma-rninyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra yungku-lu-rru.”*
 return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL give-PURPs=ss-NOW
 “Once we've got the things that are in town, doing it for you, we'll bring them back to you to give them to you.”

8. *Ngurra-ngka-npa-lha-rru.*
 camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW
 They've arrived back in camp now.
9. *Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-rnu nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa,*
 yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
10. *pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a kangku-lha-nguru-ngara-a.*
 scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC bring-PAST-ABL-PL-ACC
 Yes, I've had the favour done for me by you. What I'll do is give out, share around the things among you who brought them.

11. *Ngawu! Panyu waruul-wa-rruyimpala. Punyjarti warnu pala kartu.*
 yes good still-Ø-NOW like.that generous ASSERT IT 2SG.NOM
 Yes! That's very good. You're certainly generous to do that.

12. *Ngawu, ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.*
 yes 1SG.NOM not greedy
 Yes, I'm not a greedy fellow.

13. *Ngawu, nganarna nhuura kartungu. mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.*
 yes 1PL.EXC knowing 2SG.ACC not still 2SG.NOM greedy
14. *Panyu kartu thurlajinkarri.Panyu-u warnu kartungu nganarna*
 good 2SG.NOM poor.fellow good-ACC ASSERT 2SG.ACC 1PL.EXC
15. *wuruma-rninyji nhartu-u wii wiru-npa-nyila-a.*
 do.for-FUT something-ACC maybe want-INCH-PrREL-ACC
 Yes, we know you. You're not a greedy fellow. You're a good fellow. Because you're good we'll do anything for you, should you want anything.

16. *Ngawu! Ngartil wii nhuwana puni-rra thawun-mulyarra,ngartil waruul,*
 yes again if 2PL go-CTEMP town-ALL again still

17. *Ngayu yungku-layi nhuwana-a warnmalyi-i.*
 1SG.NOM give-FUT 2PL-ACC money-ACC
 Yes! If you go to town again, I'll give you money.
18. *Ngawu, panyu waruul yimpala. Ngayu nyina-wala wartawirrinpa-rra*
 yes good still like.that 1SG.NOM sit-PURPs wait.for-CTEMP
19. *parrani-nyila-a-rru wanthanha-lawii yakarrangu-la,wantharta*
 return-PrREL-ACC-NOW which-LOC maybe day-LOC when
20. *parrani-waa.*
 return-PURPs=o
 Yes, they're always good like that. So I'll wait for them to come back, on whichever day it is, whenever they return.
21. *Kayurtu-u wii nhawu-layi karlwa-nyila-a kampa-rnu-u.*
 smoke-ACC maybe see-FUT get.up-PrREL-ACC light-PASSP-ACC
22. *Ngayu kayurtu-u nhawu-lha-nguru-rru wiru-rru panyu-mpa-layi.*
 1SG.NOM smoke-ACC see-PAST-ABL-NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-FUT
 I'll see smoke or something going up, smoke that's been purposely lit. Having seen the smoke I'll get happy (lit. my feelings will become good).
23. *Thawu! Karla kampa-nyila, nhuwana murna-ngka-rru thanuwa-marta.*
 Look! fire burn-PrREL 2PL close-LOC-NOW food-PROP
24. *Palwarru, ngaliwa malwu-marri-layi. Wiru-rru ngayu*
 all.right 1PL.INC cheer.up-COLL-FUT feelings-NOW 1SG.NOM
25. *panyu-mpa-nguru.*
 good-INCH-PRES
 Look! There's a fire burning, you must be close now with the stores. All right, we'll be cheering each other up. I'll be feeling good.
26. *Ngayu wii, ngaliwa karla-a-rru kulhawulha-ma-rninyji*
 1SG.NOM maybe 1PL.INC fire-ACC-NOW heaped.up-CAUS-FUT
27. *karlarra-mpa-waa thanuwa-marnu. Karlayamarta-a wii wantha-rninyji*
 hot-INCH-PURPs=o food-ASSOC billy.can-ACC maybe put-FUT
28. *karla-ngka karri-waa karlarra-mpa-rra.*
 fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o hot-INCH-CTEMP
 Maybe me, all of us, we'll build a fire to heat up for a meal. We'll put the billy or whatever on the fire to warm up.
29. *Jampa-ngka-rru warnu pala, ngurnu ngayu marlara-a*
 moment-LOC-NOWASSERT IT that.ACC 1SG.NOM road-ACC

30. *Karri-nguru nhawu-rra.*
stand-PRES see-CTEMP
Now and again, I take a look down the road.
31. “*Purrkuruwaruul, nhula-ngara murna-ngka-rru ngaliwa-a,*
true still near.you-PL close-LOC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC
32. *thanuwa-marta-ngara.*”
food-PROP-PL
“True enough, they are close to us now, the people with the stores.”
33. *Purrkuru waruul, kartu nhawu-nguru?*
true still 2SG.NOM see-PRES
Is that right, you can see them?
34. *Parru! Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a*
go.on what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC
35. *wurtu? Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlara-wurrini! Kartu*
HYPTH see-IMP stop moment that.OBL-DIRECT road-DIRECT 2SG.NOM
36. *nhawu-nguru-rru?Ngunhaa puni-marri-nguru kanyara-ngara,*
see-PRES-NOW that.NOM go-COLL-PRES man-PL
37. *parna-wirraa-rra kurryu-warntura-la. Nhiyu-rru-wa*
head-PRIV-INCH+CTEMP hollow-DISTRIB-LOC this.NOM-NOW-YK
38. *murna-ngka-rru.*
close-LOC-NOW
Go on! What! Do you think I'm lying? Stop and look in the direction of the road for a moment! You see them? That's them going along together, their heads going in and out of view as they go down into each hollow. They are close now.
39. *Ngulangu-npa-lha-rru murna-ngka-npa-lha-rru, thanuwa-ngara-marta,*
there-INCH-PAST-NOW close-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW food-PL-PROP
40. *nyina-layi wangkarnu-marra-rru nhartu-ngara-a manku-lha-nguru*
sit-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP-NOW something-PL-ACC grab-PAST-ABL
41. *wuruma-l.yarra nyina-marri-lha-ngara-a. Wangkarnu-marri-layi mawu-rru,*
do.for-CTEMP stay-COLL-PAST-PL-ACC talk-COLL-FUT later-NOW
Once they've got there, once they've come close, the people with the stores, they sit and discuss the things, having got them for the ones who stayed behind. Later they are all talking together,
42. “*Nhuwana, nhartu-ngara-a nganarna-lu wuruma-rnu-u,*
2PL something-PL-ACC 1PL.EXC-EFF do.for-PASSP-ACC

43. *nhartu-u wii mir.ta manku-lha-a wii wangka-layi,*
something-ACC maybe not grab-PAST-ACC if say-FUT
44. *ngalarri-lha-a wii."*
forget-PAST-ACC if
"You fellows, of all the things that were brought for you by us, if there's anything we didn't get, say so, if we forgot anything."
45. "Ngawu! Ngayu *nhawu-layi. Purrkuru waruul, kartu mir.ta,*
yes 1SG.NOM look-FUT true still 2SG.NOM not
46. *nhuwana ngalarri-lha waruul ngathu wangka-yangu."*
2PL forget-PAST still 1SG.EFF say-PASSP
"Yes! I'll look. True enough, you didn't, you still forgot something I told you."
47. "Thawu! *Nhartu-u-lwa ngula? Nhiyu wangka-layi ngaliwa-a mir.ta*
Look! what-ACC-ID IGNOR this.NOM say-FUT 1PL.INC-ACC not
48. *manku-lha-a. Parru! Kartu wangka-Ø-rru."*
grab-PAST-ACC go.on 2SG.NOM say-IMP-NOW
"Look! What is it? This fellow is saying we didn't get something. Go on! You tell us!"
49. "Ngawurr-marta-a *mir.ta-rru manku-lha, ngalarri-lha-rru."*
foam-PROP-ACC not-NOW grab-PAST forget-PAST-NOW
"Soap, you didn't get. You forgot."
50. "Purrkuru-l *waruul pala! Ngalarri-lha waruul-wa-rru, thurlajinkarri-lu*
true-THEN still IT forget-PAST still-Ø-NOW poor.fellow-EFF
51. *wangka-yangu. Wuraal-wa-rru, kartu panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a*
say-PASSP all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC
52. *ngalarri-lha-ngara-a wantamartu-ngara-a."*
forget-PAST-PL-ACC crazy-PL-ACC
"Well that's right! We forgot what we were told by you, poor fellow. All right, you be good to us crazy fellows who forgot."
53. "Nhiyu *yarta kanyja-rnuru-lwa ngawurr-marta-a kayarra-amirtali-tharra-a.*
this.NOM other hold-PRES-ID foam-PROP-ACC two-ACC big-DU-ACC
54. *Kartu wuraal yungku-yarri-layi yarta-a yirnala-a?"*
2SG.NOM all.right give-COLL-FUT other-ACC this.DEF-ACC
55. *Kayarra-marta warnu. Kalika-a yungku-layi kalika-a.*
two-PROP ASSERT one-ACC give-FUT one-ACC
"This other fellow has two big cakes of soap. How about you give one to this fellow? You've got two! Give him one!"

56. “Ngawu! Ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurr-marta-a kalika-a
yes 1SG.NOM give-FUT that.ACC foam-PROP-ACC one-ACC
57. wara-marnu-u. panyu-lpurtu!”
clothes-ASSOC-ACC good-COMP
“Yes! I’ll give him one piece of soap for washing clothes. Good!”

TEXT 5: KURNTANGKA

The bulk of this text is a complaint by a man who has been offended by his sister and her husband arguing close by. The degree of respectful avoidance normally expected between a man and his sister, and between a man and his sister’s husband, makes this kind of behaviour unacceptable. The offended party launches a strong rebuke at his relatives but for the most part observes a degree of politeness in the style of speaking he adopts.

Respectful speech – *Kurntangka* (lit. shame-LOC) – is indicated in this text by a number of features. The most obvious cue is the choice of special replacement vocabulary: the verb *kanpari-Ø* replaces the everyday verb *wangka-Ø* ‘speak, say’ in lines 12, the nominal *kanpari* replaces the nominal *marrari* ‘word’ in line 12, and *puranyi-L* replaces *nhawu-Ø* ‘see’ in line 23. The everyday verb *wanyjarri-Ø* ‘run away’ serves as the respectful style replacement for *puni-Ø* ‘go’ in lines 20, 23 and 26. The prevalence of the verb *karri-Ø* ‘stand, be’ is also typical of Kurntangka speech and it generally replaces the more common copula *nyina-Ø* ‘sit, be’. *Karri-Ø* often suggests a temporary state preceding imminent departure (§9.3.2) and is overtly used in this sense in line 20.

The extensive use of indefinite plural reference is common in the Kurntangka style of speaking. Although throughout the text the speaker is never addressing more than two people, many references to the addressees involve plural rather than dual pronoun or nominal forms. The first example occurs in the form of a second person plural pronoun in line 8, referring to the arguing married couple, and is repeated throughout. Other examples include the plural spouse group term *nhuunuwarnti* in lines 16 and 25, and the brother-in-law’s reply to the complaint in line 26, in which the plural pronoun refers to a single addressee. First person references to himself and his wife are also in the plural throughout this utterance.

Finally, the collective suffix appears on a number of verbs with the important function of indicating the harmonic kin relationship between the various protagonists (§6.3.2). Clear examples of this occur in lines 2, 5, 23 and 29.

1. “Kartu-lwa puni-nguru kuyil, yarta-ngara-a nhuunu-ngara-a
2SG.NOM-ID go-PRES bad other-PL-ACC spouse-PL-ACC
2. wiru-npa-marra. Yimpala-rru-wa kartu karri-layi
feel-INCH-COLL+CTEMPLike.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM stand-FUT
3. nhurta-npa-marri-ngu-rra-rru. Nyingurlu-lpurtu warnu
wild-INCH-COLL-PASS-CTEMP-NOW firstly-CONT ASSERT
4. kuyilya-rra, puni-rra yartapalyu-u nhuunu-ngara-a
bad-INCH+CTEMP go-CTEMP others-ACC spouse-PL-ACC

5. *paniya-la-marra.*
eye-LOC-CAUSE+COLL+CTEMP
“You're bad, upsetting the feelings of others, in-laws of yours. As you are like that, (your harmonic relatives) will get wild with you. Firstly, you're bad, you get in the eyes of other people, your in-laws.”
6. *“Yimpala-rru-wa kartu, jurti marryanu, nyina-layi, nhuwala*
like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law sit-FUT 2DU
7. *nhuunuwa, nhurta-mpa-marra. Mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganaju wii*
spouse.DU wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP not think-FUT 1SG.ACC maybe
8. *karri-nyila-a yilangu. Nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
stand-PrREL-ACC here 2PL 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
9. *Nhuwana nhuura nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a.*
2PL knowing 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC
“That's how it is with you, my brother-in-law, the two of you, husband and wife arguing with each other. You don't think that I might be standing here. You really don't think about me. You know I'm standing here.”
10. *“Ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi nhuwana-a. Ngayu*
1SG.NOM not wanting listen-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC 1SG.NOM
11. *yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara. Mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-ma-rninyji*
other-SIDE-COMPman not wanting ear-LOC-CAUS-FUT
12. *nhuwana-wu-u marrari-ngara-a, kanpari-marri-nyila-a.*
2PL-GEN-ACC word-PL-ACC say-COLL-PrREL-ACC
“I don't want to be listening to you. I'm a man of the other side (affine). I don't want to get your words in my ears, don't want to hear you speaking to each other.”
13. *“Nhuwana kuliyanpa-layi yarta-lpurtu nganaju wii karri-nyila-a*
2PL think-FUT other-COMP 1SG.ACC maybe stand-PrREL-ACC
14. *yilangu, kurnta-marta wii, nhuwana. Ngayu wurtu nhiyu?”*
here shame-PROP maybe 2PL 1SG.NOM HYPH this.NOM
“You think a different way about me being here. Have shame or something, you people. Isn't this me?”
15. *“Kuliyanpa-marniwarra ngawayu. nhuwana karri-nguru kuwarri*
think-CONTR CONT turn 2PL stand-PRES now
16. *nhurta-mpa-marra, nhuunuwarnti. Ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu*
wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP spouses 1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP
17. *kanyara, kurnta panyu. Nhuwana wiyaa kurnta-wirraakarri-layi*
man shame good 2PL maybe shame-PRIV stand-FUT

18. *yilangu ngathala karri-nyila-la yilangu, nhurta-mpa-marra.*
here 1SG.LOC stand-PrREL-LOC here wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP
19. *Kuliyampa-yaangu nganaju thurlanyarrara-a.*
think-UNREAL 1SG.ACC poor.fellow-ACC
“You should think for a change. You're arguing right now, husband and wife. I'm a man of the other side, I've got proper respect. Perhaps you have no shame to be here, while I'm here, arguing with each other. You ought to think about me, poor old fellow that I am.”
20. “*Ngayu karri-nguru wanyjarri-layi karri-wirri yilangu kuliya-la*
1SG.NOM stand-PRES go-FUT stand-LEST here ear-LOC
21. *warntitha-rrngu-rra kuyil-ngara-a kanpari-ngara-anhuwana-lu*
throw-PASS-CTEMP bad-PL-ACC word-PL-ACC 2PL-EFF
22. *nhuunuwarnti-lu kurnta-wirriwa-lu warnu. Puu-rru ngayu*
spouse(PL)-EFF shame-PRIV-EFF ASSERT far-NOW 1SG.NOM
23. *wanyjarri-layi mir.ta-rru nhuwana-lu nhuunuwarnti-lu puranyi-lwarri-ngu-layi.*
go-FUT not-NOW 2PL-EFF spouse(PL)-EFF see-COLL-PASS-FUT
“I'm going to go lest I be here having bad words thrown in my ears by you married people, shameless people! I'm going away and then I won't be seen by you.”
24. “*Nhuwana nganaju-tharra wii karturra-tharra, kartu wii, jurti*
2PL 1SG.GEN-DU maybe sisters-DU 2SG.NOM maybe 1SG.POSS
25. *marryanu, karri-layi waruul-wa-rru, nhuwana nhuunuwarnti.*
Bro-in-law stand-FUT still-Ø-NOW 2PL spouse(PL)
“You people are two of my relatives, two of my sister's group, and you, my own brother-in-law still, you married people.”
26. “*Ngawu! wuraal-wa-rru wanyjarri-layi. Nhuwana jurti marryanu,*
yes all.right-Ø-NOW go-FUT 2PL 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law
27. *nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu, nganarna-a karri-nyila-a patharri-rra,*
firstly-COMP ASSERT 1PL.EXC-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC fight-CTEMP
28. *wantamartu-ngara,kartungka nyini-nyila-la, patharri-rra nganarna.*
crazy-PL 2SG.LOC be-PrREL-LOC fight-CTEMP 1PL.EXC
“Yes, all right, we'll go. You are my brother-in-law, that's the first thing, You are brother-in-law to us crazy people fighting, while you're here, we're fighting.”
29. “*Wuraal-wa-rru kartu, jurti marryanu, wanta-yarri-layi,*
all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law leave-COLL-FUT
30. *wantamartu-ngara.*
crazy-PL
“All right, my brother-in-law, you crazy people, leave!”

TEXT 6: MOURNING CHANT

This text is a transcription of a long haranguing mourning chant remembered from Algy's childhood. The speaker, an old woman, blames a younger man for killing her younger brother by magic. The first paragraph of the text as presented below is Algy's hypothetical reconstruction of a complaint the deceased brother might have made to his sister before his death. I have added it as an introduction. The now deceased brother, now gravely ill, blames the spirit traveller (juna) for catching and harming his soul. The brother was well known for his use of the meaningless hesitation marker *wilangayi*, represented in the free gloss as "Umm".

The body of the text is a progressive series of insults delivered in a plaintive wailing chant. Every morning the old woman would rise with the sun and perform this harangue to the hidden amusement of everyone in the camp. Needless to say, the object of her derision was never present. Algy's rendition of the text in something approximating the old woman's tearful and cracking voice was a difficult performance often interrupted by his uncontrollable bursts of laughter at the strong images it conjures up.

The man criticised in the text was a well-known trouble-maker and revenge killer with a very short temper. The story has it that he met his end in typical fashion. Caught stealing from an army supply depot during the Second World War, he fought with and abused his captors at great lengths. Eventually they doused him with aircraft fuel and set it alight before shooting him, or so the story goes.

1. *Ngunhu waruul wilangayi Purripurri-ngura waruul wilangayi, ngunhaa*
that.NOM still HES *Purripurri-BELONG*still HES that.NOM
2. *waruul juna-rri-lha nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu nhawu-lha-nguru*
still spirit-INV-PAST 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM see-PAST-PRES
3. *ngurnaa mangkarn-kuwilangayi. Malyarra-mpa-lha-rru wilangayi. Ngunhu*
that.ACC spirit-ACC HES sick-INCH-PAST-NOW HES that.NOM
4. *waruul ngunhaa wilangayi juna-rri-nguru nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu*
still that.NOM HES spirit-INV-PRES 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM
5. *mir.ta-rru panyu wilangayi. Nyina-nguru malyarra-mpa-rra-rru wilangayi.*
not-NOW good HES sit-PRES sick-INCH-CTEMP-NOWHES
That fellow, who is one of Purripurri's mob, he came to me as a spirit. I saw his ghost.
And now I've gotten sick. He came to me as a spirit. I'm not good now. I'm getting sick.
6. *Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu pawulu kartu. Kuntirri-lha*
1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPH child 2SG.NOM give.up-PAST
7. *paju ngaliya-a thurlajinkarri-tharra-a. Wiru kampa-lha paju,*
REAL 1DU.EXC-ACC poor.fellow-DU-ACC feelings burn-PAST REAL
8. *yarta-mpa-lha paju, wiru kampa-lha paju,*
other-INCH-PAST REAL feelings burn-PAST REAL
9. *yarta-mpa-lha paju.*
other-INCH-PAST REAL

Aren't you our own mother's family, boy? You've given up on us, we two poor old fellows. You've turned passionately against us (lit. feelings burning), you've changed, you're passionately, really changed.

10. *Payawurtu-lwa wii, kartu pawulu. Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu*
savage-ID maybe 2SG.NOM child 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH
11. *pawulu? Piyuwa wurtu! Yarta-mpa-lha paju, kampa-lha paju.*
child nothing HYPTH other-INCH-PAST REAL burn-PAST REAL
12. *Pirriyarta-wurlawurtu, kartu pawulu,*
own-MATRI HYPTH 2SG.NOM child
13. *nganarna-wura-wula wurtu.*
1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH
You're savage or something, my boy. Aren't you one of our family? Oh no, not at all!
You've changed violently. We thought you were one of our own people, boy, one of our
own mother's family.
14. *Yimpala-rru-wa ngayu nyina-wala jalya-rru. Ngayu nyina-wala,*
like.that-NOW-YK 1SG.NOM sit-PURPs bereft-NOW 1SG.NOM sit-PURPs
15. *jurti marryara, ngaliya tharratharra-mpa-lha. Yimpala-rru-wa*
1SG.POSS brother 1DU.EXC separate-INCH-PAST like.that-NOW-YK
16. *puni-layi ngayu jalya-rru, jurti marryara-ngu*
go-FUT 1SG.NOM useless-NOW 1SG.POSS brother-ACC
17. *withawitha-ma-lalha-rru.*
lost-CAUS-PAST-NOW
And that's how I come to be grieving. Me and my own younger brother, we've become
separated. That's how I come to be grieving, I've lost my younger brother.
18. *Ngaliya tharratharra-mpa-lha-rru. nhartu-ma-rnuru? Ngayu nyina-layi*
1DU.EXC separate-INCH-PAST-NOW what-CAUS-PRES 1SG.NOM sit-FUT
19. *wanka parilha, nyurnti-mpa-yaangu. Ngayu yirla nhawu-ngu-layi jalya*
alive still dead-INCH-UNREAL 1SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT useless
20. *waruul, ngurnta kuyil, thurlajinkarri, jurti marryara-ngu-wirriwa-rru*
still style bad poor.fellow 1SG.POSS brother-PNM-PRIV-NOW
21. *ngurangura-a withawitha-ma-lalha.*
stylish-ACC lost-CAUS-PAST
We've become separated. What am I to do? I'm still alive and I should have died. It's
only me who can be seen, a useless poor old woman, I've lost my good dead brother,
that fine man.
22. *Jalya yirla nyina-layi wanka, jal.yu thani-nnguli-yaangu nganalu.*
rubbish only be-FUT alive occiput hit-PASS-UNREAL someone.EFF

23. *Nhawu-ngu-layi jalya waruul, thunkuwturtu.*
 see-PASS-FUT useless still humpback
 It's just useless me still alive, I should have been hit in the back of the head by someone
 (I should have been killed). Instead I appear as a useless old hunchbacked woman.
24. *Payawurtu yirla, kartu yirla nhawu-ngu-layi kanyara-ngara-lu.*
 savage only 2SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT man-PL-EFF
25. *Wantharni-wuyu? Jalya waruul, parlu yirla mirtali, pirlu thawurra,*
 how-SIDE rubbish still top only big buttock skinny
26. *parna ngurrara,jina mirtali, mulha kurnangu.*
 head gross foot big nose black
 And you're the only one who is seen by all the people, the only savage one. And how do
 you look? You're rubbish, only your head is big, you've got a skinny arse, a huge head,
 big feet and a black nose.
27. *Kurrinyji nyina-layi nhawu-rra, thurla yirla jiwarra-l.yarra,wakurra*
 this.way sit-FUT see-CTEMP eye only shine-CTEMP crow
28. *wantharra, jalya kurnangu, pungu kuruuru, kanta jurirri waruul, jalya*
 like rubbish black guts round leg sharp still useless
29. *waruul, wirlurlu wantharra.*
 still curlew like
 And then you sit looking this way and only your eyes shine white out of the black,
 you're like a crow, useless black thing, pot belly, skinny thighs sharp like a knife,
 completely useless, like the stick legs of a curlew.
30. *Yirrapuwa mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-rninyji warrirti-marta.*
 bad.hunter not know euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP
31. *Jalya! Jirruna-mpa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,*
 useless sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC
32. *manku-lu-lpurtu-rru juwayu-lu-rru. jal.yu-u-rru thani-rninyji*
 grab-EFF-COMP-NOW hand-EFF-NOW occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT
33. *murla-a.*
 meat-ACC
 You're a poor provider! You don't know how to spear a euro with a hunting spear.
 Useless! You always sneak up on euros when they are in soaks, to grab them instead,
 with your hands. Then you hit that meat in the back of the neck.
34. *Yimpala-lpurtu nhurnti-ma-lwayara tharnta-a. Mir.ta nhuwa-lwayara,*
 like.that-COMP dead-CAUS-HABIT euro-ACC not spear-HABIT

35. *jalya warnu pala. Mir.ta nhuura, purrkuru paju, warrirti-i*
useless ASSERT IT not know truly REAL spear-ACC
36. *warntitha-rninyji, nhuwa-rninyji. Jalya!*
throw-FUT spear-FUT useless
That's how you kill euroes. You don't spear them, because you're useless. You don't know, truly, how to throw a hunting spear, how to spear them. You're useless!
37. *Thanarti-rawarnu pala. Majun-ngara-a, manku-wayaramajun-ngara-a,*
sea-PROV ASSERT IT turtle-PL-ACC grab-HABIT turtle-PL-ACC
38. *karta-lwayarakulhampa-ngara-athanartira-a. Thanartira-ngara-lpurtu*
stab-HABIT fish-PL-ACC sea.PROV-ACC sea.PROV-PL-COMP
39. *kanyara.Nyamina-thurti-i karta-lwayara.*
man dugong-CONJ-ACC stab-HABIT
That's because you're a seasider. Turtles are what you catch, you harpoon turtles and fish, all the sea things. You're a man for all the sea creatures. And you stab dugong too.
40. *Kartu, yarrwa-ngka-rrupuliyanyja-ngara-lapiyuwa-la yirla-rru,*
2SG.NOM after-LOC-NOW old.man-PL-LOC finish-LOC only-NOW
41. *nganaju-ngara-la. Yarrwa-ngka-rru, mirntiwul-wa-rru*
1SG.GEN-PL-LOC after-LOC-NOW all-YK-NOW
42. *piyuwa-npa-lha-la-rru, ngaliya-a tharratharra-ma-lalha,jurti*
finish-INCH-PAST-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-ACC separate-CAUS-PAST 1SG.POSS
43. *marryara-ngu, wayarri-lha.*
brother-ACC finish-PAST
As for you, it's only now, after all my old people are finished, only after they've all died, that you separate the two of us, finish off my own younger brother.
44. *Kartu mir.ta yimpala-ma-nmarni-lwa, tharratharra-ma-nmarni*
2SG.NOM not like.that-CAUS-CONTR-ID separate-CAUS-CONTR
45. *ngaliya-a nganarna-wayala ngaliya-wayala*
1DU.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-OWNER-LOC 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC
46. *wanka-ngka-l. Kartu mir.ta jayi-nmarni.*
alive-LOC-THEN 2SG.NOM not escape-CONTR
You wouldn't have been able to do that, wouldn't have separated us when our people were alive. You wouldn't have escaped then.
47. *Kartu payawurtu wanka-nguru yarrwa-ngka-rru ngaliya-wayala*
2SG.NOM savage say-PRES after-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC
48. *piyuwa-la-rru yirla. Palalyi, kartu thala karta-nngulaanu*
finish-LOC-NOW only before 2SG.NOM chest stab-PASSCONTR

49. *nhumira-rru thaatharra-rru-marni.*
penis-NOW open.mouthed-INV-CONTR
You say you're dangerous only now that our family is gone. Before, you would have been skewered in the chest so that your penis would have opened like a mouth with the shock.
50. *Jalya waruul. Kartu wartirra-a wiru kanyara yirla. Payawurtu*
rubbish still 2SG.NOM woman-ACC liking man only savage
51. *wartirra-a paju nhawu-lha. Karri-wayara kalya-lalha martura-a*
woman-ACC REAL see-PAST stand-HABIT bite-PAST middle-ACC
52. *yalhuru-u, wartirra-a nhawu-rra. Thurla karima-lha,*
tongue-ACC woman-ACC see-CTEMP eye jump-PAST
53. *ngunya-ngu-rra-rru. Ngunhaa tharra-rninyji. Ngunhaa jarnkalya*
semen-PSYCH-CTEMP-NOW that.NOM ejaculate-FUT that.NOM penis
54. *puwa waruul.*
stinking still
You're good for nothing. The only thing you're interested in is women. You go wild when you've seen a woman. You stand and bite your tongue in half, watching a woman. Your eyes pop out as you're filling up with semen getting randy. And then it goes off, that stinking penis of yours.
55. *Muraani, kartu nganarna-wura pawulu.*
son+1POSS 2SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-BELONG child
56. *Yimpala-ma-nnguli-Ø-rru-wa! Nyingkurlul-purtu warnu kuyil,*
like.that-CAUS-PASS-IMP-NOW-YK firstly-COMP ASSERT bad
57. *palwarrru wiya.*
truly maybe
My son, you're my own family. Well let that happen to you like that then! The first thing to say is that you're bad, that's true.
58. *Jampa kuliyanpa-layi ngartil ngurangura-mpa-rra. Kartu puni-wayara*
moment think-FUT again stylish-INCH-CTEMP 2SG.NOM go-HABIT
59. *ngurra-warntura-la karri-rra, nganalu nhawu-ngu-layi, pirlu*
country-DISTRIB-LOC stand-CTEMP who.EFF see-PASS-FUT buttock
60. *thawurra, parlu yirla mirtali, kanta jurirri, kati wurturtu, kal.ya karta,*
skinny top only big leg sharp waist narrow pelvis bony
61. *jalya, nhumira ngurrara,jalya, punhu jalyuru.*
rubbish penis gross rubbish anus cave
And in a moment you'll be thinking you're handsome again. You go from camp to camp and stand there. And you'll be seen, skinny-arsed fellow, only big up top, skinny legs, narrow waist, bony hips, useless, huge penis, arsehole like a cave.

62. *Jalya waruul kanyara. Kartu yanha-a wiru. Mir.ta*
rubbish still man 2SG.NOM vagina-ACC like not
63. *kuntirri-wayara. Kartu tharra-l.yarra nhumira-a kartungu-u*
give.up-HABIT 2SG.NOM copulate-CTEMP prick-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC
64. *nhawu-rra nyina-wayara. Tharrwi-lalhanguu-nguu-ma-l.yarra nhawu-rra*
see-CTEMP sit-HABIT enter-PAST face-face-CAUS-CTEMP see-CTEMP
65. *wantharni-nu nyina-rra. Kartawura-la-ma-lalha!?*
how-QUOT be-CTEMP butt-LOC-CAUS-PAST
You're good for nothing. You like sex. Never give up on it. Can't get enough. You sit and watch your prick while you're copulating. Once it's in you're twisting your head from side to side watching it to see how its sitting. Is it in up to the butt?

TEXT 7: THE FIRST BOOMERANG

1. *Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-rninyji, maral.ya-la-a jina-ngka-a*
1SG.NOM story-PL-ACC put-FUT devil-LOC-ACC track-LOC-ACC
2. *wantharni-marri-lha-la-a, palalyi-ngara-la. Kuwarri-la-l*
how-COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PL-LOC beginning-LOC-THEN
3. *ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la. Nhiyu wanti-nguru, marrari-ngara*
country-LOC here Fortescue-LOC this.NOM lie-PRES story-PL
4. *maral.ya-wura wantha-rnu, jinangku-yangu, puliyanja-ngara-lu, wantharni*
devil-BELONG put-PASSP traced-PASSP old.man-PL-EFF how
5. *wanti-lha-la palalyi-l nyina-lha-la, pukarrpukarr-ngara.*
lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN sit-PAST-LOC old.ones-PL
6. *Jinangku-layi ngurnaa nyina-nguru ngayu, kuwarri, pawulu-marta.*
track-FUT that.ACC sit-PRES 1SG.NOM now child-PROP
7. *Wayil wii ngayu murlurrapuni-layi ngulangu marrari-ngara-la*
maybe maybe 1SG.NOM straight go-FUT there story-PL-LOC
8. *wantharni ngayu yungku-yangu puliyanja-ngara-lu.*
how 1SG.NOM give-PASSP old.man-PL-EFF
I'll put down the stories that follow the tracks of how the devils went in the early days, how it was in the beginning, in this country, here on the Fortescue River. This story that belongs to the devils and was followed up by the old people, is about how things were before, very early in the history, when the ancient people were about. I'll follow it up now, as I sit here with my son. I think I'll be able to do it right, to go through the stories the way I was given them by the old people.
9. *Yila martuthuni-la, wantharni ngunhu kuwarri-l paju,*
this.LOC Fortescue-LOC how that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL
10. *wanti-lha. Warruwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.*
lie-PAST devil-PL be-PAST three that.NOM-PL scattered

11. *Yartapalyu, nhartu wangka-ngu-rra maral.ya, yartapalyu warruwa,*
others what call-PASS-CTEMP devil others devil
12. *ngayalyu. Pintirrijila ngunhu-ngara. Mirntiwul ngunhu-ngara*
devil scattered that.NOM-PL together that.NOM-PL
13. *marrari-i Martuthunira. Nhiyu ngayalyu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu*
language-ACC Martuthunira this.NOM devil-PL yirru-PROP-COMP
14. *marrari-marta. Ngunhu-ngara kuyil-ngara. Nhiingara yartapalyu warruwa-ngara*
word-PROP that.NOM-PL bad-PL this.PL others devil-PL
15. *panyu-ngara mir.ta wiru ngurnu-lwa. Kuyil ngunhaa, kuyil ngunha*
good-PL not liking that.ACC-YK bad that.NOM bad that.NOM
16. *ngayalyu-ngaranyina-lha.*
devil-PL be-PAST
Here on the Fortescue, how was it now? It was right at the beginning. There were three different groups of devils. One group was called *maral.ya*, another group was *ngayalyu*. They were separate mobs but they all had the Martuthunira language. But on the one hand, these *ngayalyu* had a word 'yirru'. They were bad fellows. The other group of devils were good. They didn't like the other mob because they were really bad, that *ngayalyu* group.
17. *Ngurnu-nguru-wa, pintirrijila ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha.*
that.OBL-ABL-YK scattered that.NOM-PL be-PAST
18. *Ngartil, panyu-rrri-rra-rru, panyu-rrri-rra-rru*
again good-INV-CTEMP-NOW good-INV-CTEMP-NOW
19. *kanyara-npa-rra-rru puni-rra, warruwa-ngara-lwa warruwa-ngara.*
human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP devil-PL-YK devil-PL
20. *Panyu-npa-rra-rru puni-rra kanyara-npa-rra-rru.*
good-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
21. *Kalika ngunhu purrkuru-lwakartatha-lalha maruwa-a wirra-a,*
one that.NOM truly-YK carve-PAST snakewood-ACC boomerang-ACC
22. *wanthala ngula. Puni-layi nyina-lu ngunhaa yinka-l.yarra.*
somewhere IGNOR go-FUT sit-PURPss that.NOM chisel-CTEMP
23. *Wanthala ngula jingkayu, kunti jampa. Puni-layi ngurnu-marta-wa*
somewhere IGNOR upriver stop moment go-FUT that.OBL-PROP-YK
24. *wirra-marta ngunhaa. Wangka-layi yartapalyu-u.*
boomerang-PROP that.NOM tell-FUT others-ACC
From that time they were all separate. They were starting to come good now. They were getting good and getting closer to being human. The devils were coming to be sort of human. One of them carved a snakewood boomerang, somewhere there (but I don't know exactly where). He went and sat somewhere there up-river carving it. After a while he went with that boomerang and spoke to the other mob.

25. *Nhiyu-nu wirra ngathu yinka-rnu. Ngayu kulaya-rninyji.*
 this.NOM-QUOTboomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 1SG.NOM try-FUT
 “This is a boomerang I have made. I’m going to try it out.”
26. *Ngunhaa kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa,*
 that.NOM try-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment
27. *nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi, panyu-u waruul-purtu*
ngurnu-tharra-a
 what-ACC like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP that.OBL-DU-ACC
28. *wirra-tharra-a. Ngunhaa thuurti-layi yartapalyu-u-rru*
 boomerang-DU-ACC that.NOM call-FUT others-ACC-NOW
29. *warruwa-ngara-a-thurti-rru yirna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-apuni-waa*
 devil-PL-ACC-CONJ-NOW this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o
30. *nhawu-lu ngurnu wirra-a patha-rrnguli-nyila-a ngulu-lwa.*
 see-PURPss that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PASS-PrREL-ACC that.EFF-YK
31. *Ngunhaa thawu-lalha marrari-i-rru,*
 that.NOM send-PAST word-ACC-NOW
 He had probably tried it out himself, for a while, to see what it was like. Well it was good all right, those two boomerangs. He called the others together, all the devils, the *ngayalyu* mob, to go and see him throw that boomerang. He sent a message now,
32. *“Nhuwana-nu kanarri-layi,nganaju-mulyarranhawu-lu-nu*
 2PL-QUOT come-FUT 1SG.OBL-ALL see-PURPss-QUOT
33. *wirra-tharra-a ngathu yinka-rnu-u. Panyu-u wayi,*
 boomerang-DU-ACC 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP-ACC good-ACC maybe
34. *nhartu-u kuliyanpa-layi?”*
 what-ACC think-FUT
 “How about you all come here to me to see the two boomerangs carved by me. They might be all right. See what you think.”
35. *Kanarri-lha-l nhiingarakuyil-ngara. Ngunhaa wangka-lha,*
 came-PAST-THEN this.PL bad-PL that.NOM say-PAST
 Then they came, these bad fellows. He said,
36. *“Ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana kanarri-layi yirru.”*
 cousin-GROUP 2PL come-FUT HES
 “All you cousins of mine, you come.”
37. *Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu-ngara-a,*
 that.NOM word-ACC like.that-YK say-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC

38. *kuliya-lwaa-l wiyaa ngula.*
hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR
He talked like that to them so that they would understand him.
39. “*Ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana yirru kanarri-layi yirru nhuura-mpa-rra*
cousin-GROUP 2PL HES come-FUT HES know-INCH-CTEMP
40. *nhawu-lha yirru wirra-a yirru kayarra-a yirru*
see-PAST HES boomerang-ACC HES two-ACC HES
41. *yinka-rnu yirru ngathu yirru.*”
chisel-PASSP HES 1SG.EFF HES
“All my cousins, you come and find out, see the two boomerangs chiselled by me.”
42. “*Purrkuruwarnu yirru ngayalyu yirru panyu yirru*
truly ASSERT HES cousin HES good HES
43. *kartu yirru kanyja-rnuru wirra-tharra-a yirru?*”
2SG.NOM HES keep-PRES boomerang-DU-ACC HES
“Is that right cousin? Good. Do you have two boomerangs?”
44. “*Ngawu. Nhuwana mirntiwul kanarri-layipawulu-thurti wartirra-thurti*
yes 2PL together come-FUT child-CONJ woman-CONJ
45. *nhawu-lu. Ngayu patha-rrwala ngulangu Kawuyu-nguru.*
see-PURPs 1SG.NOM throw-PURPs there *Kawuyu*-ABL
46. *Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.*”
1PL.INC go.up-FUT *Kawuyu*-ACC
“Yes. You all come to see, children and women and all. I'll throw them there, from *Kawuyu* hill. We'll all go up on *Kawuyu*.”
47. *Puni-lha-rru pularna.Kanarri-lha-rru nhiingara*
go-PAST-NOW they come-PAST-NOW this.PL
48. *ngayalyu-yirru-ngara.Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirntiwul wirta-lu*
devil-yirru-PL go-FUT that.NOM-PL together climb-PURPs
49. *Kawuyu-u-rru parla-a. Ngurnu-nguru, ngunhu kanyara*
Kawuyu-ACC-NOW hill-ACC that.OBL-ABL that.NOM man
50. *yinka-lalha-nguru patha-rralha-rru. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila nhawu-rra.*
chisel-PAST-ABL throw-PAST-NOW that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL see-CTEMP
51. *Mir.ta kupuyu, nganiyarrangu.maruwarla ngayalyu-ngara, maruwarla.*
not little big.group many devil-PL many
52. *Ngunhaa patha-rralha thaapuwa, wirra-a puni-waa ngurnu,*
that.NOM throw-PAST big.man boomerang-ACC go-PURPs=o that.ACC

53. *yawurtari. Ngunhaa kanarri-lha-rru. Puni-lha ngunhaa, wirra*
west.ALL that.NOM come-PAST-NOW go-PAST that.NOM boomerang
54. *parrani-layi, ngulangu-lwa karti-ngkapungka-lu. Manku-ngu-layi.*
return-FUT there-YK side-LOC fall-PURPss grab-PASS-FUT
55. *Kuwarri-l paju ngunhaa, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-wala,*
beginning-THEN REAL that.NOM that.NOM-PL see-PURPds
So they went. These *ngayalyu* came and they went together to climb *Kawuyu* hill. From there, that man who had chiselled the boomerang threw it. They stood and watched, no little group, a big mob, many people. He threw it, that big man, to go west. It came, it went, that boomerang, and it came back right there and fell down alongside, and was picked up again. That was the first time a boomerang had been sent and these fellows were watching,
56. “*Panyu paju-nu nhiyu. Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra,*
good REAL-QUOT this.NOM good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang
57. *yilu kanyara-luyinka-rnu.”*
this.EFF man-EFF chisel-PASSP
“That boomerang is very good. It's very good, that boomerang made by this man.”
58. *Yarta-a ngartil-u-lwa ngurnaa thuulwa-rninyji, wirra-a.*
other-ACC again-Ø-YK that.ACC pull.out-FUT boomerang-ACC
59. *Patha-rninyji ngartil waruul yawurtari ngurnu.*
throw-FUT again still west.ALL that.ACC
60. *Puni-waa ngunhaa yawurru Yurlungarrarnu kuwilyawula parrani-lay*
go-PURPs=o that.NOM west Yurlungarrarnu this.side return-FUT
61. *ngunhaa ngurnu Kawuyu-u-lwa. Pungka-lu karti-ngka,*
that.NOM that.ACC Kawuyu-ACC-YK fall-PURPss side-LOC
62. *manku-ngu-layi ngulu-wa, ngartil. Ngunhu-ngara mirtuwarra-rru*
grab-PASS-FUT that.EFF-YK again that.NOM-PL clever-NOW
63. *warruwa-ngara,*
devil-PL
Next he pulled out the other boomerang. Again he threw it westwards and it went west, this side of *Yurlungarrarnu*. It came back right to *Kawuyu* to fall alongside. It was picked up by that man again. These *ngayalyu* are clever,
64. “*Panyu paju yirru wirra yirru ngayalyu yirru. Panyu paju yirru*
good REAL HES boomerang HES cousin HES good REAL HES
65. *nhula-tharra yirru kayarrawirra-tharra yirru, ngayalyu yirru.”*
near.you-DU HES two boomerang-DU HES cousin HES
66. *Panyu paju yirru kartungku yirru yinka-rnu yirru.*
good REAL HES 2SG.EFF HES chisel-PASSP HES

“It's good this boomerang, cousin. Those two boomerangs are good. [They're] good, these things carved by you.”

67. *Wuraal-wa-rru.Ngunhu-ngara parilha-mpa-layi ngurnaa.*
well-YK-NOW that.NOM-PL keep.trying-INCH-FUT that.ACC
All right. They kept on at him.
68. “*Ngartil ngurnu kartu patha-rryu!*”
again that.ACC 2SG.NOM throw-IMP
“You throw it again!”
69. *Patha-rralha ngurnaa ngartil waruu, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-rra.*
throw-PAST that.ACC again still that.NOM-PL see-CTEMP
70. *Nhamintha-la ngula pularna nyina-lha ngulangu yakarrangu-la,*
how.many-LOC IGNOR they stay-PAST there day-LOC
71. *patha-rryarra. Wayil ngula yarnta-warnturawiyaa*
throw-CTEMP maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIB maybe
72. *parrani-rra-warntura ngurnu-mulyarra-lwa. Nyina-layi patha-rryarra.*
return-CTEMP-DISTRIB that.OBL-ALL-YK stay-FUT throw-CTEMP
73. *Ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, warruwa-ngara. Ngayalyu-ngara*
that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW devil-PL devil-PL
74. *wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.*
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW
So he threw it again and they watched. How many days they stayed there I don't know.
Perhaps each day they went back to the same place and threw it. The mob of *ngayalyu*,
those devils, talked amongst themselves.
75. “*Ngaliwa manku-layi ngurnaa wirra-a. Manku-layi ngurnaa.*
1PL.INC grab-FUT that.ACC boomerang-ACC grab-FUT that.ACC
76. *Ngaliwa-rru kanyja-rninyji.*
1PL.INC-NOW keep-FUT
“We'll get that boomerang. We'll get it and we'll keep it then.”
77. *Ngartil waruu ngunhu-ngarakanarri-lha. Ngunhu-ngara puni-rra*
again still that.NOM-PL come-PAST that.NOM-PL go-CTEMP
78. *wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.*
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW
Again they came. They went and talked amongst themselves.

79. *“Yanga-rninyji-rru ngurnu wirra-a, wirra-tharra-a*
chase-FUT-NOW that.ACC boomerang-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
80. *manku-layi-rru. Wuraal-wa-rru kangku-layi. Pularna-rru kanyja-rninyji.”*
grab-FUT-NOW well-YK-NOW carry-FUT they-NOW keep-FUT
“We'll chase that boomerang, the two boomerangs, and grab them. We'll take them then and we'll keep them.”
81. *Kanarri-lha ngunhu-ngarangartil. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila panyanypa-rru,*
come-PAST that.NOM-PL again that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL ready-NOW
82. *pawulu-thurti wartirra-ngara-thurti. Jampa ngunhu kanyara thawu-lalha*
child-CONJ woman-PL-CONJ moment that.NOM man send-PAST
83. *ngurnu ngarti wirra-a. Ngunhu wangka-lha,*
that.ACC again boomerang-ACC that.NOM say-PAST
They came again. They stood ready, children and women and all. After a while that man sent the boomerang again. The devil said,
84. *“Kartu yirru ngayalyu yirru patha-rryu yirru wirra-a yirru*
2SG.NOM HES cousin HES throw-IMP HES boomerang-ACC HES
85. *ngartil yirru, ngaliya, nganarna nhawu-wala.”*
again HES 1DU.EXC 1PL.EXC see-PURPs
“You chuck that boomerang again, cousin, so we can watch.”
86. *Nhiyu kanyara wirrawalha, ngunhaa mir.ta nhuura*
this.NOM man boomerang-maker that.NOM not know
87. *wantharni-ma-rninyji-rrunhiingara, warruwa-ngara, ngayalyu-ngara.*
how-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.PL devil-PL devil-PL
88. *Jampa ngunhaa thawu-lalha ngurnu wirra-a patha-rralha.*
moment that.NOM send-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PAST
89. *Thaapuwa nhawu-rra warruwa-ngarayanga-rnuru-rru. Yanga-lalha*
big.man see-CTEMP devil-PL chase-PRES-NOW chase-PAST
90. *ngurnu wirra-a. Ngunhu yawurrari kunti.*
that.ACC boomerang-ACC that.NOM west.ALL stop
91. *Puni-nyila ngunhu thawurra, wirra, nyingkurlu waruul-purtu.*
go-PrREL that.NOM boomerang boomerang first still-COMP
92. *Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngkajurlurluwantharra-l thurlajinkarri-ngara.*
this.PL lie-PRES behind-LOC crouched.like-THEN poor.fellow-PL
93. *Yanga-rninyji ngurnaa, thani-rninyji-nu, murti-i kuyilwa-rninyji,*
chase-FUT that.ACC hit-FUT-QUOT speed-ACC spoil-FUT
94. *manku-layi-l. Piyuwa ngunhu, puni-nyila ngunhu waruul.*
grab-FUT-THEN finish that.NOM go-PrREL that.NOM still

95. *Thampa-rru jirli wurnta-nngu-rra yartapalyu. Yanga-lalha ngurnaa.*
almost-NOW arm cut-PASS-CTEMP others chase-PAST that.ACC
96. *Ngunhaa puni-nyila nyingkurlu waruu, ngulangu pungka-lu.*
that.NOM go-PrREL in.front still there fall-PURPss
97. *Karti-ngka manku-ngu-layi-warnu.*
side-LOC grab-PASS-FUT-EMPH
This man, the boomerang-maker, he didn't know what these *ngayalyu* devils were going to do. The moment he sent that boomerang, threw it, the devils watching chased it now. They chased that boomerang. It went westwards. That boomerang is travelling, still in front and these devils are behind, stooping down, the poor fellows. They chase it, hit at it, try to weaken the speed, so they can grab it then. But there's no chance, it's still travelling. Some others almost get their arms cut off. They chased it and that boomerang is still in front and falls right there, and is picked up once more.
98. *“Panyu paju yirru ngayalyu yirru nhula yirru wirra yirru.”*
good REAL HES cousin HES near.you HES boomerang HES
“That boomerang is good, cousin.”
99. *Mir.ta-l ngunhu-ngara, yanga-rnura kuwarri-la-l. Ngunhu wanti-lha*
not-THEN that.NOM-PL chase-PrREL now-LOC-THEN that.NOM lie-PAST
100. *yawurrari, karra-nu ngula, ngurra. Nhiingara yanga-l.yarra-ngara,*
west.ALL scrub-QUOT IGNOR country this.PL chase-CTEMP-PL
101. *jina-wari panyi-lalha ngurnaa kalyaran-wirriwa-anhawani-i*
foot-PROP tread-PAST that.ACC tree-PRIV-ACC thing-ACC
102. *pal.yarra-ma-l.yarra. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhu pal.yarra-ma-rnu*
plain-CAUS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK that.NOM plain-CAUS-PASSP
103. *jina-ngku wanti-nguru Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi. Yilangu-lwa ngunhaa,*
foot-EFF lie-PRES Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT here-YK that.NOM
104. *yilangu-lwa ngunhaa marrari-la, nhiyu kuwarri, kuwarri-l paju*
here-YK that.NOM story-LOC this.NOM now beginning-THEN REAL
105. *ngunhu wirra, wantharni-ma-rnu-la. Ngartil thawu-lalha.*
that.NOM boomerang how-CAUS-PASSP-LOC again send-PAST
106. *Ngartil waruul-purtu ngunhu-ngarayanga-lwala. Yimpala-nu*
again still-COMP that.NOM-PL chase-PURPds like.that-QUOT
107. *wanti-nguru kankurru yirla. Wirra ngunhu puni-nyila.*
lie-PRES dust only boomerang that.NOM go-PrREL
108. *Waruulwa-nngu-rra pularna-lu, thani-nngu-rra. Pawulu-ngara-thurti*
can't.do-PASS-CTEMP they-EFF hit-PASS-CTEMP child-PL-CONJ
109. *yanga-rnura thani-l.yarramani-ngka-npa-rra, manku-marni wurla.*
chase-PrREL hit-CTEMP front-LOC-INCH-CTEMP grab-CONTR MIST

110. *Thampa-rru nhanka thani-nngu-rra, yartapalyu puni-nyila ngunhu*
almost-NOW neck hit-PASS-CTEMP others go-PrREL that.NOM
111. *thawurra, wirra. Puni-nyila ngunhaa, parrani-layi ngulangu*
boomerang boomerang go-PrREL that.NOM return-FUT there
112. *pungka-lu. Ngunhu-ngara wiru-mpa-lha paju ngurnu*
fall-PURPss that.NOM-PL want-INCH-PAST REAL that.ACC
113. *thawurra-a manku-layi. Wirra-a manku-layi.*
boomerang-ACC grab-FUT boomerang-ACC grab-FUT
114. *Ngunhu-ngara paju kanyja-rninyji. Nhiyu kanyara mir.ta wiru*
that.NOM-PL REAL keep-FUT this.NOM man not wanting
115. *yimpala-ma-nnguli-waa-lwa. Ngunhu puni-nyila panyu waruul-purtu*
like.that-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o-YK that.NOM go-PrREL good still-COMP
116. *wirra. Mir.ta waruul kuntarra-ma-nngu-rra wii*
boomerang not still slow.up-CAUS-PASS-CTEMP maybe
117. *ngurnu-ngara-lu thani-rnura-lu thani-rnura-lu wurrulywa-marta.*
that.OBL-PL-EFF hit-PrREL-EFF hit-PrREL-EFF leaves-PROP
118. *Nhartu wiyaa ngula wurrulywa-ngara, wurnta-rnu juwayu-la.*
what maybe IGNOR leaves-PL cut-PASSP hand-LOC
It wasn't yesterday that they chased that thing, no it was long ago. The scrub that lay there out to the west, well these people chasing trampled it with their feet and so there are no trees there now, they made a plain of it. That's that plain that was trampled, the one that's called *Wirrawanti* now. This is it here now in this story, the one that was made like this as a result of that boomerang. Again he sent it, and yet again they chased it, only the dust left behind them, that boomerang is still going. They kept trying at it but couldn't do it. Children and all chased it and hit at it, thinking they should be able to get it, and almost getting hit in the neck. But it's still going, that boomerang, and it came back to fall down in the same place. They badly wanted to get hold of this boomerang. They wanted to keep it for themselves. This man didn't want things to turn out like that, and that boomerang was still going at full strength. It still wasn't getting slowed down by those fellows hitting it with gum leaves. I don't know what sort of leaves, they had cut brush and held it in their hands.
119. *“Thani-rnurunhuwana wirra-a.”*
hit-PRES 2PL boomerang-ACC
“You people hit that boomerang!”
120. *Wiru nhartu-ma-rninyji wularla-ma-rninyji. Piyuwa waruu, ngunhu*
want what-CAUS-FUT weak-CAUS-FUT finish still that.NOM
121. *thawurra puni-nyila ngunhila-rru ngunhaa waruul-wa ngunhaa*
boomerang go-PrREL same.speed-NOW that.NOM still-YK that.NOM
122. *wirra puni-nyila, thaapuwa. Pungka-lu ngulangu waruu.*
boomerang go-PrREL big.man fall-PURPss there still

123. *Ngurnula-ngu-la waruul-u-rru nhartu-ngka, warrama-lalha-la,*
that.DEF-GEN-LOC still-Ø-NOW what-LOC make-PAST-LOC
124. *yinka-lalha-la. Waruulwa-lalha ngunhu-ngara.*
chisel-PAST-LOC can't.do-PAST that.NOM-PL
They wanted to weaken that boomerang. But no chance, that boomerang kept going at the same speed. It kept going and fell down at the right place as usual. It fell down right there by its owner, the man who had made it, had carved it out. They couldn't manage to get it.
125. “*Ngaa, piyuwa paju-nu. Ngaliwa-nu mir.ta*
yes finish REAL-QUOT 1PL.INC-QUOT not
126. *panyu-ma-nngu-layi ngurnaa.”*
good-CAUS-PASS-FUT that.ACC
“Well that's it, we're no good at all. We're not going to get on right with that boomerang. Might as well give up hope.”
127. *Puni-marri-layi wuraal-wa-rru.*
go-COLL-FUT well-Ø-NOW
128. *Ngunhaa mir.ta-rru manku-lha ngurnu-tharra-a thawurra-tharra-a.*
that.NOM not-NOW grab-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
So they went off. They didn't get those two boomerangs.
129. “*Ah, panyu paju yirru thawurra yirru nhula yirru ngayalyu yirru.*
ah good REAL HES boomerang HES near.you HES cousin HES
130. *Nganarna waruulwa-lalha-lwa yirru.”*
1PL.EXC can't.do-PAST-YK HES
“Ah. Good that boomerang you've got, cousin. We just couldn't manage it.”
131. *Wuraal-wa-rru puni-marri-layi.*
well-YK-NOW go-COLL-FUT
All right, they went off together.
132. *Ngunhu nhawani-wuyu, ngunhaa mirntiwul-yu paju,*
that.NOM thing-SIDE that.NOM together-ACC REAL
133. *nhartu-nu wangka-ngu-rra? Ngunhu-lwa.*
what-QUOT call-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK
134. *Ngayalyu ngunhu mirtali paju. Wantharni-nu wangka-ngu-layi?*
devil that.NOM big REAL how-QUOT call-PASS-FUT
That what's-his-name, that one on his own. What's he called now? That one. That big *ngayalyu* boss. How is he called?

135. *Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa mirntiwul-u marrarikuliya-nngu-layi.*
that.NOM-YK that.NOM together-EFF word listen-PASS-FUT
136. *Puliyanyja ngunhu ngayalyu. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa kuyil.*
old.man that.NOM devil that.NOM-YK that.NOM bad
137. *Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa parilha-mpa-lha ngurnu wirra-a. Puni-lha*
that.NOM-YK that.NOM try-INCH-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC go-PAST
138. *ngunhaa nyina-lu ngularla kuliyanpa-rra,puni-rrawaara ngurnu.*
that.NOM sit-PURPss there.NS think-CTEMP go-SEQ that.ACC
139. *Puni-rrawaara ngurnu. Wanthala ngunhu kuwarri-l paju*
go-SEQ that.ACC somewhere that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL
140. *kanyara nyina-nyila nyina-lha-la, yinka-l.yarra ngurnu kayarra-a*
man sit-PrREL sit-PAST-LOC chisel-CTEMP that.ACC two-ACC
141. *wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a.Ngunhaa puni-lha yilhi-i-rru*
boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW
142. *manku-lu ngularla.*
grab-PURPss there.NS
That one who all the other ones have to listen to. That old man *ngayalyu*. He's bad that one. That's the one that kept on at that boomerang. He went, thought for a while about somewhere there, and then went there. He thought about that place, somewhere, where that man first sat and chipped out those two good boomerangs. He went to pick up some wood chips there somewhere.
143. *Thaapuwa-nu ngunhaa mirtuwarra, ngunhu-lwa,*
big.man-QUOT that.NOM clever that.NOM-YK
144. *ngayalyu, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa nhawani paju, jurlu-u mirntiwul-yu*
devil that.NOM-YK that.NOM thing REAL all-ACC together-ACC
145. *nhawani wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa. Mirntiwul paju kuliya-rninyji*
thing say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=o together REAL hear-FUT
146. *ngurnu-lwa marrari-i ngayalyu-ngara yirla pularna.*
that.ACC-YK word-ACC devil-PL only they
147. *Ngunhaa mirtali paju wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa wii,*
that.NOM big REAL say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=o maybe
148. *ngurnula-ngu-la marrari-la nhartu-ma-rninyji wii.*
that.DEF-GEN-LOC word-LOC what-CAUS-FUT maybe
He was a crafty old bastard, that *ngayalyu*. He's that what's-his-name. The one who tells all of the others what to do. They all listen to his word, only those *ngayalyu* of course. He's the big boss who tells them to do this and do that when he says so.
149. “*Mir.ta yartapalyu nganamarnu minthalwa-lwarri-layi.*”
not others anyone get.together-COLL-FUT
“Don't anyone get together on one side. We've got to be together.”

150. *Puni-lha ngunhaa manku-lu yilhi-i-rru ngurnu kayarra-a*
go-PAST that.NOM grab-PURPss chip-ACC-NOW that.ACC two-ACC
151. *wirra-tharra-a yinka-rnu-u. Ngunhu wirrawalha, nyina-nyila*
boomerang-DU-ACC chisel-PASSP-ACC that.NOM boomerang-maker sit-PrREL
152. *yartapalyu-u-rru thani-lalha, yinka-l.yarra, Thaarta-la, Pilharnu-la jingkayu.*
others-ACC-NOW hit-PAST chisel-CTEMP Thaarta-LOC Pilharnu-LOCupriver
153. *Wanthala ngunhu Yirranti, parlu. Jingkayu-nga-nguru ngulangu-lwa.*
somewhere that.NOM Yirranti cliff upriver-INCH-PRES there-YK
154. *Ngunhaa nyina-lha-rru, yartapalyu-u-rru yinka-l.yarra.*
that.NOM sit-PAST-NOW others-ACC-NOW chisel-CTEMP
155. *Kanyja-rnuru ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa wii kayarra-a.*
keep-PRES that.OBL-DU-ACC-YK maybe two-ACC
He went to get some chips from those two boomerangs that had been chiselled out. That boomerang-maker, he was sitting hitting another lot, chiselling away at *Thaarta* Pool, upriver from *Pilharnu* Pool. Where that *Yirranti* cliff is, the cliff heads upriver right there. He was sitting there now, chiselling another load of boomerangs, and probably keeping those other two as well.
156. *Ngaa wurtu pala nhiyu, murna-ngka-rru puni-nguru jingkarni,*
yes HYPTH IT this.NOM close-LOC-NOWgo-PRES upriver.CENT
157. *yilhi-marta. Ngurnu kayarra-a yinka-rnu-tharra-a nyingkurlul*
chip-PROP that.ACC two-ACC chisel-PASSP-DU-ACC first
158. *panyu-tharra-a mara.Manku-lha-rru puni-nguru ngunhaa ngulangu,*
good-DU-ACC hand grab-PAST-NOW go-PRES that.NOMthere
159. *wanthala ngunhaa yinka-lalha-la kuwarri-l.*
somewhere that.NOM chisel-PAST-LOC beginning-THEN
160. *Jingkayu ngula wanthala-l ngula.*
upriver IGNOR somewhere-THEN IGNOR
Okay. This one is getting close now, coming from upriver with the chips, the ones from those two boomerangs that had been chopped first, in his hand. He's going now, having picked them up at the place where they were carved in the beginning. Upriver I guess, somewhere but I don't know where.
161. *Ngurnu yini-i ngurnu ngayu ngalarri-nguru.*
that.ACC name-ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM forget-PRES
162. *Ngunhu julyu warrayi, wayil wii nhuura, Mipirn.*
that.NOM old.man like.me maybe maybe know Mipirn
163. *Ngunhaa wiyaa wangka-layi nganaju mulurru paju*
that.NOM maybe tell-FUT 1SG.ACC straight REAL
164. *wanthala-a ngunhaa ngula kuwarri paju nyina-lha-la.*
somewhere-ACC that.NOM IGNOR now REAL sit-PAST-LOC

I've forgotten the name of that place. That old man like me might know, *Mipirn*. He should be able to put me straight, wherever it is he is staying now.

165. *Ngunhaa puni-lha, yilhi-i-rru manku-lha nhiyu ngayalyu,*
that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW grab-PAST this.NOM devil
166. *jinkarni. Nhiyu nyina-nguru wuraal, kanyara, wirra-a*
upriver.CENT this.NOM sit-PRES well man boomerang-ACC
167. *yinka-l.yarra yartapalyu-u-rru. Thungkara-lanyina-nguru, marli-ngka-rru*
chisel-CTEMP others-ACC-NOW dirt-LOC sit-PRES tree-LOC-NOW
168. *kartawura-la,malarnu-la. Nhawu-layi purrkuru-rrungurnaa*
butt-LOC shade-LOC see-FUT truly-NOW that.ACC
169. *kanarri-nyila-a.*
come-PrREL-ACC
He went having picked up the chips now, this *ngayalyu*, from upriver. This man is still sitting carving another lot of boomerangs. He's sitting on the ground, at the base of a cadjeput tree, in the shade. He sees this fellow coming all right.
170. “*Ah, nhiyu-rru pala-nu nhiyu kuyil, ngayalyu*
ah this.NOM-NOW IT-QUOT this.NOM bad cousin
171. *kanarri-nguru-rru.*”
come-PRES-NOW
“Ah, this one now. This is that bad *ngayalyu* coming.”
172. *Ngunhaa tharrwi-lalha thungkara-la-rru.Wanthala ngunha nyina-lha,*
that.NOM enter-PAST dirt-LOC-NOW somewhere that.NOM sit-PAST
173. *thungkara-la tharrwi-lalha ngurnu-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a,*
dirt-LOC enter-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC
174. *wirra-tharra-a. Nhuura ngurnu-nu kanyara-a puni-nyila-a-wa*
boomerang-DU-ACC know that.ACC-QUOT man-ACC go-PrREL-ACC-YK
175. *nhawu-rra ngurnu wawayi-l.yarra. Tharrwi-lalha nharnu-ngka-rru.*
see-CTEMP that.ACC look.for-CTEMP put.in-PAST sand-LOC-NOW
176. *Yartapalyu-la kana-ngka-l wanti-waa, yinka-nngu-rra,*
others-LOC clear-LOC-THEN lie-PURPs=o chisel-PASS-CTEMP
177. *kankanmayijila. Nhiyu kanarri-layi,*
piled.up this.NOM come-FUT
He put them under the sand then. Somewhere there where he was sitting on the ground he put those two good boomerangs away. Apparently he knows that man is coming looking, looking for that. He puts them under the sand while another carved lot are lying quite open, all piled up. This fellow is coming. [He says]

178. *“Ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu kanarri-lha.*
1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM come-PAST
179. *Ngayu, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru?*
1SG.NOM cousin HES 2SG.ACC come-PAST HES
180. *Ngayu yirru kanarri-lha yirru, ngayalyu yirru,*
1SG.NOM HES come-PAST HES cousin HES
181. *kartungu yirru nhawu-lu yirru.”*
2SG.ACC HES see-PURPss HES
“I’ve come, cousin. Can I come over to you? I’ll come and see you, cousin.”
182. *“Ngawu, panyu waruul-purtu, ngayalyu yirru.*
yes good still-COMP cousin HES
183. *Minthal-yu nganaju yirru nyina-nyila-a, ngayalyu yirru.”*
alone-ACC 1SG.ACC HES sit-PrREL-ACC cousin HES
“Yes, that’s okay, cousin. Come and see me, I’m sitting here all alone, cousin.”
184. *“Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, nganaju yirru kartu yirru yungku-layi yirru*
ah cousin HES 1SG.ACC HES 2SG.NOM HES give-FUT HES
185. *wirra-a yirru ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa yirru,*
boomerang-ACC HES that.OBL-DU-ACC-YK HES
186. *kayarra-a panyu-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru.”*
two-ACC good-DU-ACC HES cousin HES
“Ah, cousin. You give me those two boomerangs, those two good ones, cousin.”
187. *Kanyja-rryarra ngunhaa thaapuwa juwayu-la wurtu yilhi-i,*
keep-PrREL that.NOM big.man hand-LOC HYPTH chip-ACC
188. *ngurnu-tharra-a wirra-tharra-a. Manku-lha ngularla wanthala*
that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC grab-PAST there.NS somewhere
189. *yinka-rnu kuwarri-l paju yilu, kanyara-lu.*
chisel-PASSP beginning-THEN REAL this.EFF man-EFF
190. *Karri-layi ngunhaa wangka-rra,*
stand-FUT that.NOM say-CTEMP
That crafty old bastard’s keeping the chips of those two boomerangs in his hand. He picked them up somewhere there where they were first chopped out by that man, in the beginning. He says,
191. *“Ngayu yirru wiru yirru yungku-ngu-layi yirru ngurnu-tharra-a yirru*
1SG.NOM HES wanting HES give-PASS-FUT HES that.OBL-DU-ACC HES
192. *wirra-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngurnu yirru ngulangu yirru*
boomerang-DU-ACC HES cousin HES that.ACC HES there HES

193. *yanga-rnu-u yirru, yanga-rnu-u yirru.*
chase-PASSP-ACC HES chase-PASSP-ACC HES
194. *Pal.yarra-ma-lwala-rru nganarna yanga-l.yarra ngurnaa,*
plain-CAUS-PURPds-NOW 1PL.EXC chase-CTEMP that.ACC
195. *ngurnu-tharra-a wirra-tharra-a yirru.*
that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC HES
“I want to be given those two boomerangs, cousin, that were chased around over there.
We made a plain out of that place chasing those two boomerangs.”
196. “*Ngawu. ngurnu-tharra-a kartu wiru-mpa-nguru?*”
yes that.OBL-DU-ACC 2SG.NOM want-INCH-PRES
“Yes. You want those two boomerangs?”
197. *Ngawu!*
yes
Yes!
198. *Manku-layi ngurnu-ngara-a wanti-nyila-a kankanmayi-i.*
grab-FUT that.OBL-PL-ACC lie-PrREL-ACC piled.up-ACC
He grabs those lying there in a heap.
199. “*Nhiyu yirru ngunhaa yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
this.NOM HES that.NOM HES cousin HES
“This is the one, cousin.”
200. *Warntitha-rninyji ngunhaa nhawu-waa. thaapuwa ngunhaa*
throw-FUT that.NOM see-PURPs=o big.man that.NOM
201. *manku-wala nhawu-layi ngurnu.*
grab-PURPds look-FUT that.ACC
202. *Nhawu-layi yilhi-i-l juwayu-la-a. nhawu-layi wirra-a.*
look-FUT chip-ACC-THEN hand-LOC-ACC look-FUT boomerang-ACC
He throws it so he can see, and so that devil picks it up and looks at it. He looks at the chips in his hand. Looks at the boomerang.
203. “*Piyuwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru. Nhiyu yarta yirru.*”
finish HES cousin HES this.NOM other HES
“No fear, cousin. This is another one.”
204. *Warntitha-rninyji. Ngartil warntitha-rninyji ngurnu.*
throw-FUT again throw-FUT that.ACC
He throws it down. The man throws across another one.

205. *“Ngurnu-rru-nu!*
that.ACC-NOW-QUOT
206. *Yarta waruul yirru nhyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*
other still HES this.NOM HES cousin HES
207. *Nhyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, yilhi yirru.”*
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES chip HES
“That's still the wrong one, this one here, cousin. This is the one, cousin, these chips.”
208. *Nhyu mir.ta-lpurtu wiru yungku-layi ngurnaa.*
this.NOM not-COMP wanting give-FUT that.ACC
209. *Wuraal, ngunhu wirra nharnu-ngurni yirla, tharrwi-rnu.*
well that.NOM boomerang sand-OBSCRD only put.in-PASSP
This one didn't want to give it to him. Well, that boomerang was just under the sand, had been put away.
210. *“Nhyu ngunhaa.”*
this.NOM that.NOM
“This is it.”
211. *Ngartil waruul manku-layi ngunhu kanyara.*
again still grab-FUT that.NOM man
Once again that man grabs one.
212. *“Nhyu ngunhaa ngayalyu.”*
this.NOM that.NOM cousin
“This is it, cousin.”
213. *Nhiyaa warntitha-rninyji manku-wala thaapuwa. Nhawu-layi ngunhu.*
this.NOM throw-FUT grab-PURPs big.man look-FUT that.NOM
He throws it down so the other can look at it. He looks at it.
214. *“Piyuwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru. Nhyu yarta waruu yirru.”*
finish HES cousin HES this.NOM other still HES
“No it isn't, cousin. This is the wrong one.”
215. *Warntitha-rninyji, yungku-layi, ngartil waruu.*
throw-FUT give-FUT again still
Chucks it away. Gives another one.

216. “*Kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru, ngayalyu yirru, nhiyu paju yirru*
2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES cousin HES this.NOM REAL HES
217. *yilhi-rru. Nhiyu paju kartungku yinka-rnu ngulangu.*
chip-NOW this.NOM REAL 2SG.EFF chisel-PASSP there
218. *Wanthala-ma-lalha kartu, kartu kanyja-rnuru.*
somewhere-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM keep-PRES
219. *Ngayu wiru yirnaa paju yilhi-i-rru, ngayalyu yirru.*
1SG.NOM wanting this.ACC REAL chip-ACC-NOW cousin HES
“You're hiding it, cousin. These are the chips now. This is the very one you chopped over there. What have you done with it? You're keeping it there somewhere. I want *this* one, that *these* chips come from, cousin.”
220. “*Nhiyu-rru ngunhaa.*”
this.NOM-NOW that.NOM
“This is it.”
221. *Ngulangu wanti-lha thawurra-ngara.Nhamintha ngula,*
there lie-PAST boomerang-PL how.many IGNOR
222. *kayarraajina, kayarrajuwayu wirra-ngara.*
two foot two hand boomerang-PL
223. *Warntitha-rralha ngunhaa ngunhu thaapuwa nhuura-mpa-nyila.*
throw-PAST that.NOM that.NOM big.man know-INCH-PrREL
Boomerangs were lying there. I don't know how many, maybe ten, maybe twenty. He threw them across but that fellow was waking up.
224. “*Piyuwa, ngayalyu yirru yarta waruu nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
finish cousin HES other still this.NOM HES cousin HES
“Nothing, cousin. This is still the wrong one.”
225. *Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha ngurnu thawurra-ngara-a nhawu-waa.*
that.NOM throw-PAST that.ACC boomerang-PL-ACC look-PURPs=o
He threw the boomerangs across to him so he could see them.
226. “*Nhiyu ngunhaa!*”
this.NOM that.NOM
“This is it!”
227. *Manku-wala ngunhu, ngayalyu. Nhawu-layi ngurnu, panyu-ma-l.yarra.*
grab-PURPs that.NOM devil see-FUT that.ACC good-CAUS-CTEMP
He picks it up, that *ngayalyu*, looks at it, checks it.

228. *“Piyuwa ngayalyu. Nhiyu paju yirru yilhi yirru.*
finish cousin this.NOM REAL HES chip HES
229. *Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu.*
this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM
230. *Ngurnula-a kartu kanyja-rnuru wanthala. Nhiyu paju!”*
that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM keep-PRES somewhere this.NOM REAL
“No cousin. This chip is the one I want. This chip, not this one. You're keeping it
somewhere. *This* one!”
231. *Waa! Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta waruul-purtu ngurnu kanangkalwa-lalha,*
oh.dear that.NOM man not still-COMP that.ACC make.clear-PAST
232. *piyuwa. Wantharni ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha. Kuyilwa-lalha-rru ngurnaa*
finish how that.NOM spoil-PAST spoil-PAST-NOW that.ACC
233. *ngulangu-lwa, ngunhu kanyara. Mir.ta nhuura wantharni-ma-lwaa*
there-YK that.NOM man not know how-CAUS-PURPs=o
234. *ngurnaa thaapuwa-a. Ngunhaa-nu, kuyil ngunhaa.*
that.ACC big.man-ACC that.NOM-QUOTbad that.NOM
235. *Ngunhaa nhuura-npa-layi nhartu-u wii mil.yirri-nguli-nyila-a.*
that.NOM know-INCH-FUT what-ACC maybe hide-PASS-PrREL-ACC
236. *Ngunhaa nhuura-npa-layi, warruwa kuyil.*
that.NOM know-INCH-FUT devil bad
237. *Ngunhaa nhuura waruul-purtu yirna mil.yirri-nyila-a kanyara-a.*
that.NOM know still-COMP this.ACC hide-PrREL-ACC man-ACC
238. *Mir.ta wiru ngunhaa nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu nhuura-npa-nyila.*
not wanting that.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC know-INCH-PrREL
Oh dear. That man just wouldn't bring them out in the open, not at all. That's how he
spoiled everything. He ruined it right there, that man. He didn't know what that devil was
going to do. He was certainly bad that fellow. He woke up to the fact that something
was being hidden. He woke up, that devil. He knew this man was hiding something. He
didn't work out that that man was waking up to it.
239. *“Nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngunhu paju yirru*
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES that.NOM REAL HES
240. *pal.yarra-ma-lalha yirru Wirrawanti-i. Wirrawanti-i-rru wangka-nguli-waa.*
plain-CAUS-PAST HES Wirrawanti-ACCWirrawanti-ACC-NOW call-PURPs=o
241. *Nganarna-lu jina-ngku panyi-rnu ngunhu pal.yarra-rruwanti-nguru*
1PL.EXC-EFF foot-EFF tread-PASSP that.NOM plain-NOW lie-PRES
242. *yanga-rnura-lu. Yirna yilhi-i, kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru,*
chase-PrREL-EFF this.ACC chip-ACC 2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES
243. *ngayalyu yirru.”*
cousin HES

“This one, cousin! That very one that made a plain out of *Wirrawanti*, and so now it's called *Wirrawanti*. That one that was trampled by our feet as we chased about. These chips here. You're hiding them, cousin.”

244. *Nhiyu wangka-nguru paya-mpa-nguru.*
this.NOM talk-PRES angry-INCH-PRES
He's getting angry as he talks.
245. “*Kartu mil.yirri-nguru, ngayalyu yirru. Yirna paju yirru*
2SG.NOM hide-PRES cousin HES this.ACC REAL HES
246. *yilhi-i yirru ngayu wiru-mpa-lha yirru. Kartu nganaju*
chip-ACC HES 1SG.NOM want-INCH-PAST HES 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC
247. *mir.ta yungku-layi. Ngayu puni-layi jalya. Wuraal.*
not give-FUT 1SG.NOM go-FUT rubbish well
248. *Ngayu wantharni-ma-rninyji.*”
1SG.NOM how-CAUS-FUT
“You're hiding them, cousin. I want those boomerangs that belong to these chips. You won't give them to me. I've got to go off with nothing. Okay. I'll do something about it.”
249. *Payawirri-lha-rru ngunhaa. Warali-rrawaara kurntarra-rru. Yilhi-marta*
angry-PAST-NOW that.NOM move-SEQ give.up-NOW chip-PROP
250. *waruul, juwayu-la-marta, ngunhaa kanyja-rnura. Thana, ngunhaa*
still hand-LOC-PROP that.NOM keep-PrREL let that.NOM
251. *puni-lha-rru paya-mpa-lha-rru. Puni-lha-rru ngunhaa.*
go-PAST-NOW angry-INCH-PAST-NOW go-PAST-NOW that.NOM
He had gotten angry now and moved away in a sulk. He still had the chips, still had them in his hand. Well let him go off angry now. And off he went.
252. “*Ngawu! Kartu mil.yirri-nguru nganaju. Ngayu puni-nguru-rru.*”
yes 2SG.NOM hide-PRES 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW
“Yes. You're hiding them on me. I'm going now.”
253. *Thaapuwa puni-lha ngunhaa ngurnu-marta yilhi-marta juwayu-la-marta,*
big.man go-PAST that.NOM that.OBL-PROP chip-PROP hand-LOC-PROP
254. *Kawuyu-u wirta-lu, parla-a. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa,*
Kawuyu-ACC climb-PURPss hill-ACC that.NOM-YK that.NOM
255. *ngayalyu yirru thaapuwa, kuyil. Wirta-lha nhawu-lha-nguru-wa.*
devil HES big.man bad climb-PAST see-PAST-ABL-YK

256. *Kuyil parru warruwa. Thuulwa-rninyji kanarra-a ngurnu-nguru.*
bad devil devil pull-FUT wind-ACC that.OBL-ABL
257. *Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*
not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM
258. *puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i. Warntitha-rralha karalu-rru.*
puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC throw-PAST south-NOW
That devil went off with the chips in his hand, to climb *Kawuyu* hill. That's him, that
ngayalyu, a proper bad old bastard. He climbed up the hill after he had seen the other
fellow. A really bad devil. He pulled the wind, called it up then. The wind didn't blow
slowly. Then he puffed and sent the chips on the wind, throwing them west.
259. *Kanarra-lu ngunhaa kangku-yangu panyu wirra yilhi punga-lha,*
wind-EFF that.NOM carry-PASSP good boomerang chip fall-PAST
260. *ngunhu-rru Minturru-la-rru karalu-rru. Minturru-la ngunha-rru*
that.NOM-NOW Minturru-LOC-NOW south-NOW Minturru-LOC that.NOM-NOW
261. *Pintharr, ngurnu-ngara-la-lwa-rru ngurra-ngara-la Kuwinywartu-wuyu-la.*
Pintharr that.OBL-PL-LOC-YK-NOW country-PL-LOC *Kuwinywartu*-SIDE-LOC
262. *Yilhi-ngara panyu patha-rnu kangku-yangu kanarra-lu Kawuyu-la-nguru.*
chip-PL good blow-PASSP carry-PASSP wind-EFF *Kawuyu*-LOC-ABL
They were carried by the wind, those good boomerang chips, and fell down there in the
south in *Minturru* country. They fell in *Minturru* and *Pintharr* country, in all the
country on that *Kuwinywartu* (Carnarvon) side. Those chips were blown and carried by
the wind right from *Kawuyu*.
263. *Palwarrungunhaa, kuyilwa-lalha-rru. Jalya-ngara-rru nhiyu,*
truly that.NOM spoil-PAST-NOW rubbish-PL-NOW this.NOM
264. *wirra wanti-lha yilangu pukarti-ngara nyina-marri-nguru*
boomerang lie-PAST here snakewood-PL be-COLL-PRES
265. *jalya-rru. Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha-la thaapuwa warruwa,*
rubbish-NOW that.NOM throw-PAST-LOC big.man devil
266. *yimpala wanti-waa, ngurra karalu yirla wirra-ngara panyu-ngara.*
like.that lie-PURPs=o country south only boomerang-PL good-PL
267. *Ngunhaa parilha jinangu-yangu ngurnu-ngara-lu kanyara-ngara-lu,*
that.NOM still track-PASSP that.OBL-PL-EFF man-PL-EFF
268. *parilha jinangu-yangu wantha-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.*
still track-PASSP where-ABL only come-PAST
269. *Ngunhu-ngara wantharni-ma-lwayara-rru?*
that.NOM-PL how-CAUS-HABIT-NOW
270. *Ngunhu-ngara ngula yinka-lwayara wirra-ngara-a.*
that.NOM-PL that.LOC chisel-HABIT boomerang-PL-ACC

271. *Ngunhu-ngara nhuura ngurnu yilhi-i warntitha-rnu-u-rru*
that.NOM-PL know that.ACC chip-ACC throw-PASSP-ACC-NOW
272. *ngulangu-nguru, Kawuyu-la-nguru, wirra-a panyu-u.*
there-ABL *Kawuyu-LOC-ABL boomerang-ACC good-ACC*
Well that's how he spoiled things. The boomerangs that grow here, the snakewood in this country is useless. When that old bastard of a devil threw them so they would be like that, only the south country has good boomerangs. But it's still traced back by the people there. They traced where the boomerangs came from. And what did they used to do? They used to carve a lot of boomerangs. They knew that the chips, all the good boomerangs, had been thrown from there on *Kawuyu*.
273. *Nhiyu, ngayu kuwarri wanta-rnuru, marrari-i ngurnu*
this.NOM 1SG.NOM now put-PRES word-ACC that.ACC
274. *ngayalyu-rru wantarni-ma-rnu. Kawari mirntiwul nhuura ngurnaa.*
devil-NOW how-CAUS-PASSP south together know that.ACC
275. *Kuwinywartu yirla, jurlu, mirntiwul waruul. Ngunhu-ngara nhuura*
Kuwinywartu only all together still that.NOM-PL know
276. *wanthala-nguru yilhi kanarri-lha-la. Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara-wa*
where-ABL chip come-PAST-LOC that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT-YK
277. *wirra-ngara-a, yinka-lwayara thawu-rninyji. Thawu-rninyji*
boomerang-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT send-FUT
278. *Wirrawanti-mulyarra-l. Wanthala-nguru ngurnu kuwarri-l*
Wirrawanti-ALL-THEN somewhere-ABL that.ACC beginning-THEN
279. *warntitha-rnu-la yilhi. Panyu-ngara kalyaran-ngarangulu*
throw-PASSP-LOC chip good-PL tree-PL that.EFF
280. *growem-ma-rnu. Ngunhu yirla-rru karalu yirla-rru wanti-lha*
grow-CAUS-PASSP that.NOM only-NOW south only-NOW lie-PAST
281. *karlwa-marri-lha kalyaran-ngarapanyu-ngara, yilhi panyu warntitha-rnu.*
grow.up-COLL-PAST tree-PL good-PL chip good throw-PASSP
This story that I'm putting down now about what the *ngayalyu* did, well all the people in the south know this. In the Gascoyne area, all of them together, they know just where these chips came from. They used to carve a lot of boomerangs and send them back to *Wirrawanti*. That's where they were thrown from in the first place. All the good trees were grown by them. Only there in the south did the good trees come up after the boomerang chips had been thrown there.
282. *Nhuura-nu waruu, ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara*
know-QUOT still that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT
283. *Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara thawu-rninyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.*
Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT Wirrawanti-ALL
They still know it, apparently, and used to carve all the ones that came from *Kawuyu* and send them back home to *Wirrawanti*.

284. *Nhiyu-rru-nu nhuwana-wu-la-nguru ngurra-ngka-nguru*
this.NOM-NOW-QUOT 2PL-GEN-LOC-ABL country-LOC-ABL
285. *yilhi warntitha-rru warruwa-lu. Nhuwana...*
chip throw-PASSP devil-EFF 2PL
“These are from your country, the chips thrown by the devils. You...”
286. *Mir.ta-l-u-lwa mil.yirri-lha wii, nhuura warnu.*
not-THEN-ACC-YK hide-PAST maybe know ASSERT
287. *Ngunhu-ngara thawu-lalha kuyurr-yu-rru wangka-nguli-nyila-a.*
that.NOM-PL send-PAST bundle-ACC-NOW tell-PASS-PrREL-ACC
288. *Ngunhu kuyilwa-lalha-rru warruwa. Panyu waruul wurtu wanti-lha*
that.NOM spoil-PAST-NOW devil good still HYPH lie-PAST
289. *kanyara-tharrangunhu. Panyu waruul wanti-lha yilhi-ngara warntitha-rru*
people-DU that.NOM good still lie-PAST chip-PL throw-PASSP
290. *kalyaran kuyil-u-ngara yila-rru karlwa-lha-rru ngurra-ngka.*
tree bad-Ø-PL this.LOC-NOW grow.up-PAST-NOW country-LOC
291. *Yimpala-rru-wa. Nhiyu manku-wayara waruu, ngurnu-ngara-a*
like.that-NOW-YK this.NOM grab-HABIT still that.OBL-PL-ACC
292. *thawu-ru yilhi-i warntitha-rru-ngara-a. Kuwarri-kuwarri-rru,*
send-PURPss chip-ACC throw-PASSP-PL-ACC now-now-NOW
293. *kanyara-rrunhiyu panyu-rru nyina-rra. Ngunhaa wanti-nguru*
man-NOW this.NOM good-NOW sit-CTEMP that.NOM lie-PRES
294. *waruul kuwarri wii yimpala. Ngunhaa ngunhaa marrari.*
still now maybe like.that that.NOM that.NOM story
They don't hide them away, they know all right. They sent what are called bundles of boomerangs. That devil spoiled it all. Well that was all right, the two peoples were good about that. It was okay that the chips had been thrown and that only useless trees grew up in the country. That's how it was. These people used to pick them up and send back the chips that had been thrown their way. And not long ago now, they were still doing that, things were okay. It's still like that now. That's that story.
295. *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra*
foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP
296. *ngurnu-lwa kayarra-awirra-tharra-a.*
that.ACC-ID two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
297. *Ngurnula-lwa, warruwa-ngara,yanga-lalha, yimpala-rru nhiyu*
that.DEF-ID devil-PL chase-PAST like.that-NOW this.NOM
298. *pal.yarra-rru wanti-wala,kalyaran-wirriwa-rru,Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi.*
plain-NOW lie-PURPdstree-PRIV-NOW Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT
299. *Wirra-a yanga-lalha-la, warruwa-ngara.Panyi-lalha nhartu-ngara-a*
boomerang-ACC chase-PAST-LOC devil-PL tread-PAST what-PL-ACC

300. *kalyaran-ngara-a, mirntiwul-yu, piyuwa-ma-l.yarra. Jina-wura-nu*
tree-PL-ACC together-ACC finish-CAUS-CTEMP foot-BELONG-QUOT
301. *ngunhaa pal.yarra wanti-nguru, Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-rra.*
that.NOM plain lie-PRES Wirrawanti-NOWcall-PASS-CTEMP
So apparently it was their feet that made a plain of it as they were chasing after those two boomerangs. It was those devils who chased it. And so this plain is like that, hasn't got any trees, and is called *Wirrawanti*. While they were chasing the boomerang, these devils, they trampled over everything, all the trees, and finished them all up. It's said it was from their feet that that plain came to be and its now called *Wirrawanti*.
302. *Kawuyu-la-nguru nyina-lha-la patha-rryarra*
Kawuyu-LOC-PRES be-PAST-LOC throw-CTEMP
303. *ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa kayarra-a.Kuwarri-l paju wirra-tharra,*
that.OBL-DU-ACC-ID two-ACC now-THEN REAL boomerang-DU
304. *yinka-rnu ngulu kanyara-lu.Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa.*
chisel-PASSP that.EFF man-EFF still-Ø-NOW that.NOM
305. *Yilhi karaluwarntitha-rnu, thawu-marri-yangu, karalu-nyungu-ngara*
chip south throw-PASSP send-COLL-PASSP south-DWELL-PL
306. *jurlu mirntiwul, yinka-lwayara thawu-rninyji, ngurnu-l.*
all together chisel-HABIT send-FUT that.ACC-THEN
307. *Parilha,ngunhu-ngara manku-wayara.Jalya-ngara-a-rru ngurnu*
still that.NOM-PL grab-HABIT rubbish-PL-ACC-NOW that.ACC
308. *kalyaran-ku-rru murtil. Jalya-ngara-l karlwa-lalha yilangu*
tree-ACC-NOW bad rubbish-PL-THEN grow.up-PAST here
309. *yilhi-i warntitha-rralhapyila-lpurtu-l.*
chip-ACC throw-PAST far-COMP-THEN
That was the time those two boomerangs were thrown from *Kawuyu* hill, the very first boomerangs, made by that man. That's how it was. The chips were thrown south and were sent back again. All the southern people used to carve them and send them then, they still used to get them. The trees here are good for nothing. They grow up to be rubbishy since all the chips were thrown a long way away.
310. *Ngawayi-mpa-lha ngunhaa, warruwa thaapuwa, kuyilwa-lalha-rru.*
thing-INCH-PAST that.NOM devil big.man spoil-PAST-NOW
311. *Nhiyu kanyara, kanangkalwa-nmarni,panyu. Ngunhaa yilhi wanti-marni*
this.NOM man make.clear-MODAL good that.NOM chip lie-MODAL
312. *yilangu-rru. Ngunha kuyilwa-lalha thaapuwa ngawayi-mpa-rra.*
here-NOW that.NOM spoil-PAST big.man thing-INCH-CTEMP
313. *Yimpala-rru-wa wanti-waa, jalya-ngara-rru kalyaran yilangu.*
like.that-NOW-YK lie-PURPs=o rubbish-PL-NOW tree here

314. *Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.*
country-ACC that.NOM spoil-PAST cousin HES
That's just what he did, that devil. He ruined everything. This man should have shown them to him, should have done the right thing. The chips could have been here in this country now. But he spoiled it by doing that thing so that the wood here is useless. That devil ruined the country.
315. *Ngurnula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu,*
that.DEF-PRES that.NOM-PL be-PAST not-NOW good
316. *ngurnu kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i. Mir.ta-rru nyina-lha panyu.*
that.ACC spoil-PAST-ACC chip-ACC not-NOW be-PAST good
317. *Ngunhu-ngara nhuura-mpa-lha-rru, ngunhu yinka-rnu-nguru.*
that.NOM-PL know-INCH-PAST-NOW that.NOM chisel-PASSP-PRES
318. *Ngunhaa nhuura-mpa-lha-rru, wantarni-ma-lalha-a ngurnu,*
that.NOM know-INCH-PAST-NOW how-CAUS-PAST-ACC that.ACC
319. *ngayalyu-u.*
cousin-ACC
From that time on they weren't very good friends, this man and the one who threw the chips. He woke up to what was going on, this man who carved them. He worked out what this devil had done.
320. “Ah! *Yimpala-ma-lalha kartu. piyuwa-ma-lalha.*”
ah like.that-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM finish-CAUS-PAST
“Ah! You've made it like that. Finished everything.”
321. *Ngurnu-nguru-wa, nyina-marri-lha mir.ta-rru panyu, kuyil-wa-rru.*
that.OBL-ABL-YK be-COLL-PAST not-NOW good bad-YK-NOW
322. *Wiru nhurnti-ma-rninyji yirna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-a*
wanting dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC cousin-PL-ACC
323. *warruwa-ngara-a, nhiingara panyu-ngara wirra-a,*
devil-PL-ACC this.PL good-PL boomerang-ACC
324. *wirra-a nhawani-ma-lalha-ngara. Kuyil-wa-rru nyina-lha.*
boomerang-ACC thing-CAUS-PAST-PL bad-Ø-NOW sit-PAST
From there they weren't very good with one another. They wanted to kill these *ngayalyu* devils, these fellas, the ones who had made the two good boomerangs. They were upset.
325. *Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa nyina-layi pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.*
well-YK-NOW that.NOM sit-FUT they not-NOW good
326. *Kuyil-wa-rru. Patharri-rra-rru, kuwarri-l kuwarri-l patharri-rra,*
bad-YK-NOW fight-CTEMP-NOW now-THEN now-THEN fight-CTEMP

327. *ngunhu-tharra. Ngunhu-tharrapaju ngunhu,*
that.NOM-DU that.NOM-DU REAL that.NOM
328. *wirra-wayangunhaa yinka-lalha-nguru,*
boomerang-OWN that.NOM chisel-PAST-PRES
329. *ngunhu, ngunhu ngurnu-ngara-a-lwa yilhi-i warntitha-rralha.*
that.NOM that.NOM that.OBL-PL-ACC-ID chip-ACC throw-PAST
330. *Yilarla-lwa wanthala Martuthuni-la, ngunhu-tharra thartuungku-marri-lha.*
here.NS-ID somewhere Fortescue-LOC that.NOM-DU meet-COLL-PAST
331. *Kurryarta-marta-nu puni-rra thaapuwa, mirru-ngka-marta.*
spear-PROP-QUOT go-CTEMP big.man spearthrower-LOC-PROP
332. *Yarta wurnta-thurti-marta. Nhiyu kanyara yimpala-mpa-nguru.*
other shield-CONJ-PROP this.NOM man like.that-INCH-PRES
333. *Purrkuru-lwa thartuungku-marri-layi. Yilarla-lwa, wanthala ngula,*
truly-ID meet-COLL-FUT here.NS-ID somewhere IGNOR
334. *ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.*
there.NS-ID Fortescue-LOC
All right, they weren't very happy. They were very unhappy. And so they fought. Again and again they fought, those two fellows, the one who had carved the boomerang and the one who threw away the chips. It was somewhere here on the Fortescue that they met up together. They say one went with a spear, loaded on a spearthrower, the other one had a shield and everything. All right, they met up together, somewhere here, I don't know exactly where myself, somewhere there on the Fortescue River.
335. “*Ngayalyu yirru, nhulaa yirru kartu yirru nhawu-Ø*
cousin HES near.you HES 2SG.NOM HES watch-IMP
336. *nhiyu-lwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
this.NOM-ID HES cousin HES cousin HES
“Cousin, you watch that! This one, cousin!”
337. “*Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, ngali yirru patharri-layi yirru.*”
ah cousin HES 1DU.INC HES fight-FUT HES
“Ah cousin, we'll fight!”
338. *Thaapuwa-tharra nhuwa-yarri-lha-rru.*
big.man-DU spear-COLL-PAST-NOW
339. *Ngunhaa warra-yi kanyara-wuyu mirrunyangu-lu.*
that.NOM CONT-? human-SIDE load.spear-PURPss
The two of them threw spears at one another. The human one loaded up his spearthrower.

340. *“Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu! Kanyara manku-wala ngularla*
here.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP man grab-PURPs there.NS
341. *puni-Ø nhuwala-wauü*
go-IMP 2DU-YK
“Take this! See if you can hit this away from you!”
342. *Ngawayu ngarti-rru wurtu thaapuwa ngurnaa yurtingka-rninyji*
turn again-NOW HYPH big.man that.ACC aim-FUT
343. *ngurnu ngayalyu-ngu.*
that.ACC cousin-ACC
Taking his turn that man drilled a spear towards that devil.
344. *“Yimpalaa pala yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartu yirruü*
like.that IT HES cousin HES 2SG.NOM HES
345. *Yilarla thani-l.yu kartungkui*
here.NS hit-IMP 2SG.EFF
“What's that like, cousin! See if you can hit that away!”
346. *Ngunhaa-nu ngula-nguru piyuwa-nga-nguru. Ngurra-rru wanti-nguru.*
that.NOM-QUOTthere-ABL finish-INCH-PRES ground-NOW lie-PRES
347. *Kuyil parru,kuyil, warruwa. Ngurra yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu.*
bad devil bad devil ground only lie-PRES there
348. *Yilarla-rru karlwa-nyila. Nhawu-layi ngurnu warrirti-i kanyara-lu*
here.NS-NOW go.up-PrREL see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF
349. *thawu-rnu-u ngulangu-mulyarra, puni-nyila-a ngarrawurlu.*
send-PASSP-ACC there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away
But apparently he was gone from there. Only the ground was hit. He was really bad that devil. Only the ground was lying there and he came up here alongside and watched that spear sent by that man heading straight for the place he had been standing.
350. *“Paa! Wirrili yirru kartungu yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kuyil paju yirru!”*
paa swift HES 2SG.GEN HES cousin HES bad REAL HES
“Paa! Too fast, that one of yours, cousin! Really dangerous!”
351. *Piyuwa-nga-layi ngunha ngula-nguru piyuwa yila-rru karlwa-lu.*
finish-INCH-FUT that.NOM there-PRES finish here(pointing)-NOW go.up-EFF
352. *Ngurra-a yirla nhuwa-lalha. Jampa-nu, jampa-nu*
ground-ACC only spear-PAST moment-QUOT moment-QUOT
353. *ngunhaa piyuwa-nga-layi yilangu-rru ngunhu-rru karri-nguru*
that.NOM finish-INCH-FUT here-NOW that.NOM-NOW stand-PRES

354. *kanarri-layi yurtingka-l.yarra,kurryarta-a,ngurnula-ngu-u.* *Nhuwa-rninyji*
come-FUT aim-CTEMP spear-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC spear-FUT
355. *kanyara-a karri-nyila-a.* *Ngunhaa manku-wala ngurnaa.*
man-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC that.NOM grab-PURPs that.ACC
356. *Ngunhaa ngawayu yurtingka-rninyji ngurnu nhuwa-rninyji,*
that.NOM turn aim-FUT that.ACC spear-FUT
357. *ngurra-a yirla.* *Ngurra-rru wanti-nguru, kurryarta puni-nguru.*
ground-ACC only ground-NOW lie-PRES spear go-PRES
358. *Mir.ta ngana karri-nyila ngula, nhiyu-rru karri-nyila karlwa-lha.*
not who stand-PrREL IGNOR this.NOM-NOW stand-PrREL go.up-PAST
There was nothing there. He was gone from there and came up here. Only the ground
got speared he was so quick. In an instant he was gone, they say, and here he was. He
just came as that man was sending the spear to where he was standing, so he could grab
it. Again he threw one and it only hit the ground. Only the ground is lying there and the
spear is gone. Who is standing there? He's just coming up here.
359. “*Ngayalyu yirru, nhartu paju yirru?*”
cousin HES what REAL HES
“Hey cousin, what was that ?”
360. *Kuyil paju-nu ngunhaa, warruwa parru. Kuyil. Kuyil. Ngurra yirla*
bad REAL-QUOT that.NOM devil devil bad bad ground only
361. *nhuwa-nngu-rra.* *Kanyara-lwa, ngayalyu jirli-i parlwiya-rninyji.*
spear-PASS-CTEMP man-ID devil arm-ACC hold-FUT
He was really bad, that devil. Really bad. Only the ground got speared and this man
is holding himself in the arm.
362. “*Nganangu-nu ngayu nhuwa-rnuru-wa?*”
who.ACC-QUOT 1SG.NOM spear-PRES-YK
“Just who am I going to spear?”
363. *Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-rninyji ngunhaa*
turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM
364. *wakupurra-marta. Ngayalyu ngunha karlwa-lha yilangu*
hitting.stick-PROP cousin that.NOM come.up-PAST here
365. *thani-nngu-rra wakupurra-lu ngurra yirla. Ngunhu-rru karri-nguru,*
hit-PASS-CTEMP hitting.stick-EFF ground only that.NOM-NOW stand-PRES
366. *kuyil, kuyil. Piyuwa waruu. Mir.ta waruu ngunhaa pithirri-ma-lalha,*
bad bad finish still not still that.NOM unwell-CAUS-PAST
367. *puni-rrawaara wuraal. Ngartil, waruulwa-lwarri-wayara yimpala,*
go-SEQ still again unable-COLL-HABIT like.that

368. *nhuwa-yarri-wayara ngunhu-tharra wanthala wii thartuungku-marri-lha.*
spear-COLL-HABIT that.NOM-DU where maybe meet-COLL-PAST
369. *Piyuwa paju, piyuwa paju. Mir.ta ngungku-ma-rninyji ngurnaa.*
finish REAL finish REAL not heavy-CAUS-FUT that.ACC
He tries again. He hits at him with a club. That devil comes up here again and only the ground is hit by that club. He's standing here now, the bad thing. He couldn't hurt him, not at all, so he gave up and went away. Now and again they would keep going at it like that. The two of them would try to spear one another if ever they met up together somewhere, but to no avail. He couldn't hurt him.
370. *Wuraal ngunhaa, wuraal ngunhaa, nyina-layi yimpala ngartil.*
still that.NOM still that.NOM sit-FUT like.that again
It was still like that, it stayed like that.
371. *Ngartil ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, nhiingara panyu-ngara-wuyu,*
again that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW these.NOM good-PL-SIDE
372. *nhiyu wirra-a yinka-lalha.*
this.NOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST
Once again they talked together, these good fellows, the ones who made the boomerangs.
373. *“Ngaliwa nhurnti-ma-rninyji. Yirna-ngara-a warruwa-ngara-a, ngayalyu-u,*
1PL.INC dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC cousin-ACC
374. *ngayalyu-yirru-marnu-u, ngaliwa nhurnti-ma-rninyji.”*
cousin-yirru-GROUP-ACC 1PL.INC dead-CAUS-FUT
“We'll kill these devils, these cousins, the whole lot of them. We'll kill them in the end.”
375. *Mawurru ngunhaa, jampa kunti ngurnu-nguru-wa,*
later that.NOM moment stop that.OBL-ABL-YK
376. *ngunhu-ngara puni-marri-lha...*
that.NOM-PL go-COLL-PAST
Later then, they went from there, very soon afterwards...