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Women's *yawulyu* songs as evidence of connections to and knowledge of land: the *Jardiwanpa*

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1. Introduction

Luise Hercus has always had a keen interest in Australian Aboriginal songs and collaborated with musicologists both in the field and in her analysis. Her examination of lyrics and the relationship between songs and the people who sing them encompasses a vast area of Australia. Her work on songs from the 'Corner Country' reveal performance as a culmination of social exchange, and her examination of the lyrics reveal Aboriginal people's detailed knowledge of country (Beckett & Hercus 2009). Her work in the Simpson Desert region documents songs with ancestral themes as well as contemporary events (Hercus & Koch 1996, 1999; Hercus 1994: 91–101; 1995). In many parts of Australia where knowledge of Aboriginal languages is scarce, Hercus's work on songs provides vital clues to the history, language and culture of such regions (Hercus 1992, 1997). Her linguistic documentation of Wemba Wemba in Victoria (Hercus 1969) finds songs that relate to the gender based totems of this area. How songs reflect and reproduce the beliefs, cultural practices and experiences of the people who sing them is a theme of Luise Hercus' work that is explored in this paper.

1.1 Warlpiri women's *yawulyu*: the *Jardiwanpa* songline

Yawulyu is an artistic genre that combines songs, dances and designs enacted by women in Warlpiri communities across central Australia (Barwick et al. 2013). Other Aboriginal women have a similar artistic genre across a broader part of Central Australia. *Yawulyu* follow the Dreaming tracks of ancestral beings and Warlpiri women associate themselves with particular *yawulyu* according to their connections with this country. All three aspects of a ceremonial performance – song, dance, design – bear witness to the travels of ancestral beings over country and demonstrate how the performers relate to these beings and to the country they traverse. This chapter concentrates on the songs alone, showing how both the text and rhythm encode knowledge of country and reflect Warlpiri concepts of land ownership.¹

We illustrate the links between song and land by examining the lyrics and music of one songline associated with the *Jardiwanpa* ceremonial complex centred on the travels of the *yarripiri* ‘Inland Taipan’ ancestor, drawing on work by Gallagher et al. (2014) as well as earlier documentation by Mountford (1968). We show how Warlpiri *yawulyu* reflect Warlpiri conceptions of land ownership involving the intersection of ancestral tracks, forming a somewhat complex maze of interests in land. These interests are shared between families which form larger societal groupings organized into patrilineally derived moieties and patricouples, which intersect with matrilineal based moieties and with generation moieties which may encompass all Warlpiri and potentially non-Warlpiri. In this chapter the model of Warlpiri land tenure set out in Peterson et al. (1978) is compared with the Arandic neighbours of the Warlpiri, and we show that there are also musical differences in their *yawulyu* songs.

1.2 Chapter organisation

The structure of the remainder of this chapter is as follows: the context in which this set of *Jardiwanpa* songs were sung and recorded is described in Section 2; the nature of traditional Warlpiri land tenure reflected in the *Jardiwanpa* songs is set out in Section 3; the kinship-based structure of *yawulyu* performances is described in Section 4; the way in which the links between people and land are reflected in the words of the *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* songs is examined in Section 5; and the musical features of the songs are shown in Section 6 where they are also contrasted with Arandic women's songs. Our concluding remarks are presented in Section 7.

¹ For a broader discussion of the links between Aboriginal songs and land tenure and their role in providing evidence of claims to traditional lands see Koch (1997, 2013).

2. Recording *Jardiwanpa yawulyu*

Yawulyu may be performed as a lengthy song series or as individual small songs in the context of a larger ceremony, often whilst painting up. Dussart (2000: 75) has described *yawulyu* as ‘an umbrella term for the most pervasive of women’s rituals at Yuendumu’ noting that it ‘defies easy translation because of its plural functions’. Some *yawulyu* are *nyurnu-kurlangu* ‘songs for the sick’, and are powerful in healing particular illnesses. In these situations, animal fat or cooking oil is ‘sung’ with *yawulyu* and then massaged on to the body of the sick person (Glowczewski 2015: 15). Other *yawulyu* are *yilpinji* ‘love songs’, as they are sung for a particular person. Other *yawulyu* evoke places, weather conditions, increase food resources or recount Dreaming events.

Nowadays, *yawulyu* are performed on only a few occasions centred on ‘finishing’ and then ‘re-opening’ these songlines following the death of an associated senior owner. For these events, Warlpiri women move their camp to a ceremonial ground on the outskirts of the settlement for a week or so and sing and dance *yawulyu* for several hours after sunset. On the final night they hold *yawulyu* from sunset until sunrise the next morning, from which point it is ‘re-opened’ and can be sung again in other public contexts. Warlpiri women have opportunities to perform *yawulyu* at the dance camps held by Incite Arts several times a year, as well as other organised events including openings of community infrastructure.

The *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* central to this paper is performed in many of these contexts. Performances take place in the afternoon prior to a larger *Jardiwanpa* ceremony. In this context, small groups of women gather and paint designs with yellow, red and white ochre whilst singing the individual small songs as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1: Warlpiri women Peggy Nampijinpa Brown, Mary Nangala Ross, Lucy Nakamarra White/Wayne and Long Maggie Nakamarra White paint up and sing *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* in the afternoon before the larger ceremony begins, October 2006. Photo: Georgia Curran.

The *Jardiwanpa* ceremony has not been held in its entirety since the mid-1990s. Prior to this, several films were made, most notably *Jardiwanpa: a Warlpiri Fire Ceremony*, produced by Ned Lander and Rachel Perkins in 1993 with commentary by Marcia Langton.



Figure 2: *Blood Brothers* – *Jardiwanpa: A Warlpiri Fire Ceremony* (1993). Video still: John Whitteron © Ned Lander Media Pty.Ltd.

In October 2006, extensive preparations were made for a *Jardiwanpa* ceremony, which was unfortunately never finished for a variety of complex reasons (see Curran in preparation). During this period, senior Warlpiri men and women gathered each evening before sunset at a ceremonial ground on the eastern side of Yuendumu. The *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* songs discussed in this paper were all recorded during this time. Each afternoon a group of senior Warlpiri women would gather at a bough shelter near to the ceremonial ground, thus providing a key opportunity to record this song series. In this elicited recording context, over three days (1st, 6th and 10th October 2006) the group of women sang this series of songs paying careful attention to the itinerary of the Dreaming ancestors as they travelled from south to north following the paths of the *yarripiri* ‘Inland Taipan’, *yankirri* ‘emu’ and *ngurlu* ‘seed’ Dreamings as they join together along this journey. As they travelled they also encountered other Dreaming ancestors, including those associated with *warlu* ‘fire’ and *ngapa* ‘rain’ which are referred to in the songs.

Within the large group of women involved in recording these songs were many of the *kirda* ‘owners’ for this Dreaming and the *kurdungurlu* ‘managers’ for the

different parts of this song series. Significantly at this elicited recording session, representatives from all of the major Dreamings incorporated into *Jardiwanpa* were present. Many of these women have sadly since passed away, including two of the senior owners for the *yarripiri* section, Lucy Nakamarra White and her sister Long Maggie Nakamarra White, and a senior owner for the *ngurlu* section, Ruby Napurrurla Williams. Due to the close associations of these *yawulyu* with these women, re-listening to these songs is often very emotional as it triggers many memories. In 2013 and 2014, the most senior manager for this song series, Coral Napangardi Gallagher, and senior owner for the *yankirri* section of this song series, Peggy Nampijinpa Brown, worked with Barbara Napanangka Martin and Georgia Curran (amongst others) to compile the series of songs on this recording into an audio-book which included an accompanying audio recording of each song, rhythmic notation, translations of the words, and accompanying story and photographs of ceremony, places and associated plants, animals and landscape (Gallagher et al. 2014).

3. Linking Warlpiri people, land and ceremony: the *Jardiwanpa*

The portion of the *Jardiwanpa* songline described here stretches from Winparrku (Blanche Tower) in the south some 250 kilometres northwards to well out into the Tanami desert. Once away from the hills in the immediate vicinity of Winparrku the ancestral travelling party crossed spinifex covered sand plains for 50 kilometres, an area split in the middle by the Stuart Bluff Range, until they reached the relatively well-watered hilly mulga country around Yuendumu that stretches in an east-west band about 30 kilometres wide, before they re-emerged on to the spinifex covered sand plains of the Tanami proper.

Ceremonially, people were, and still are, anchored in the country of their father and his siblings, but residentially they were likely to be living with relatives many kilometres away, especially women as their husbands got older, when they were most likely to have spent quite a lot of time living in the vicinity of his country. Today, although people are living in settled communities on the fringes of their country they still travel widely to visit other kin, to attend ceremonies or avoid conflict. The songlines reflect some of this wide ranging interconnectedness.

Traditionally people lived in small groups of two to four households numbering between 12 and 20 people in total. This made the wider networks of sociality set up by sharing songlines most important. There were other kinds of links to country, including to the place of conception, where one's parents were buried, and to that of one's father and father's sister that were crucial to the on-going reproduction of Warlpiri families. Population densities for people living in the Tanami were even lower, and the day-to-day residential groups were only 10-15 people.

Although the *Jardiwanpa* travelling party crossed the paths of at least ten other parties of travelling ancestors, people did not celebrate all of them. Indeed, of the four ancestral parties' routes they do celebrate, all belong to the same patrimoiety, *Ngurra Kurlarninyarra* (see Table 1). The first three groups celebrated are of the

Nampijinpa/Nangala patricouple subsections and are related as mothers-in-law to the main *Yarripiri* party of the Nakamarra/Napurrurla patricouple subsections. These groups are the *lungkarda* blue tongue lizard people killed by a bush fire just out from the southern border of the hilly country; the rain people travelling west to Mikanji, just north of Yuendumu in the hilly area; and the *yankirri* emu people who joined them in their travels northwards as the party moved back on to the spinifex plains. The last meeting celebrated is with the emu people's mothers-in-law group, the *ngurlu* edible seed people. This clearly emphasizes that a key concern of the *Jardiwanpa* ceremony was marriage relations: what is referred to in Warlpiri as *jurdalja*.

Warlpiri country contrasts quite strongly with the Arrernte's MacDonnell Ranges, where the topography is much more rugged, creating the best-watered and most fertile area in central Australia. Three major rivers, the Palmer, the Finke and the Hugh, with their many tributary creeks, run through Arrernte country west of Alice Springs, each with deep waterholes that harboured fish and ducks all year round in all but the very worst of times. The watersheds clearly defined the boundaries of people's countries, which were reinforced by handover points in the songlines. The boundaries of the countries were enshrined in myth, and marked in ceremony by one group of landowners ceasing to lead the singing and the senior people from the next taking over. Each of these countries had a major sacred cave or storehouse for sacred objects at its heart and the immediately surrounding area for a radius of a mile or so was a sanctuary in which no hunting took place (Strehlow 1965: 143). Despite the differences between Warlpiri and Arrernte topography the people shared a similar kinship system and broadly similar cosmologies.

4. Kinship-based organisation of *yawulyu* performance in the *Jardiwanpa*

Women, like men, are patrilineally or matrilineally related to a particular ancestral *jukurra* 'Dreaming'. This is reflected in *yawulyu* performances in which women belonging to the patricouple associated with the central *jukurra* are painted with designs and perform actions that reflect those undertaken by their paternal ancestor celebrated in the songs. These patrilineally related women are called *kirda*, a word for 'father'. The matrilineally related women, referred to as *kurdungurlu*, prepare the ceremonial ground, assist in painting designs on the bodies of *kirda* and their ceremonial objects, and direct the dance and the actions to be taken.² Both *kirda* and *kurdungurlu* engage in singing. In addition to the *kirda* performing the choreographed movements with their *kurdungurlu*, there is typically a group of singers seated on the ground facing the dancers, who may accompany their singing with rhythmic percussion by beating their joined open hands against their pubic area or by beating out the rhythm on a pair of wooden *tururru* 'clap-sticks'.

² For the etymology of *kurdungurlu* see Nash (1982).

The formal aspects of Warlpiri social organization reflected in the organization of *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* performances are summarized in Table 1. In its broadest sense, *kirda* refers to any member of the patrimoiety containing the patricouple (father-child pair) that is patrilineally related to a particular *jukurrpa*. Each patrimoiety contains two patricouples. Each of the two subsections or 'skins' that constitute a patricouple has a socio-centric name. Warlpiri patricouples have speaker-relative names based on a term for 'father'. In a narrower sense, *kirda* refers to the patricouple classed as 'owning' or 'holding' a particular *jukurrpa* relative to a location or series of locations along a 'Dreaming track'. Similarly, in its broadest sense *kurdungurlu* encompasses the other patrimoiety. More narrowly, *kurdungurlu* are limited to the children of the female *kirda* (indicated by the underlined subsection terms in Table 1). Warlpiri characterize the *kirda* versus *kurdungurlu* distinction as relationships inherited from one's *warringiyi* 'father's father' as opposed to those inherited from one's *jamirdi* 'mother's father'.

Table 1. Social organisation of *Jardiwanpa complex*³

Patri-moiety	NGURRA KURLARNINYARRA (camp south-side)		NGURRA YATUJUMPARRA (camp north-side)	
Patri-couple subsections	<i>Nampijinpa</i> <i>Nangala</i>	<i>Nakamarra</i> <i>Napurrurla</i>	<u><i>Nungarrayi</i></u> <i>Napaljarri</i>	<i>Napanangka</i> <u><i>Napangardi</i></u>
<i>Jukurrpa</i> Dreamings	<i>warlu</i> 'fire' <i>ngapa</i> 'water' <i>karnanganja</i> 'emu'	<i>Jardiwanpa</i> snakes & Spectacled Hare Wallaby <i>ngurlu</i> 'grain' <i>kulurakuraku</i> 'dove'	<i>ngatijirri</i> 'budgerigar' <i>wati</i> 'man'	<i>kanta</i> 'bloodwood gall' <i>wardapi</i> 'goanna' <i>wakirlpirri</i> 'dogwood'
Relative patricouple	<i>WURRURU</i>	<i>WAPIRRA</i>	<i>KIRDA</i>	<i>YARRIKI</i>
Relative patrimoiety	<i>KIRDA</i>		<i>KURDUNGURLU</i>	

From the perspective of the *Jardiwanpa yawulyu*, it is the Nakamarra/Napurrurla patricouple from particular families who are the main patrilineal owners, or *kirda*, while other members of this patricouple also participate in these rituals as *kirda* in a broader, more inclusive, sense. In addition to the socio-centric patrimoiety and subsection terms, there are speaker-relative terms which designate patrimoieties (*kirda*, *kurdungurlu*) and patricouples (*wapirra*, *wurruru* (= *kirda*); *kirda*, *yarriki* (= *kurdungurlu*). In Table 1, these speaker-relative terms are given from the point of view of a Nakamarra woman related to the *Jardiwanpa* through patrification.⁴

³ The *Jukurrpa* listed in Table 1 represent only a subset of those held by each patricouple.

⁴ As a speaker-centric term *kirda* refers to the patricouple containing speaker's father's mother. The term *wapirra* is mainly used by men referring to their own patricouple.

The travels of the ancestral *Jardiwanpa* party pass through the country associated with the other patricouple in the same patrimoiety. Women from this patricouple are also considered to be *kirda* in the broad sense for the *Jardiwanpa*, and typically participate as ‘dancers’, while members of the other patrimoiety perform the *kurdungurlu* ‘manager’ or ‘policeman’ role. This is illustrated in the photograph in Figure 3, with two lines of dancers performing *yawulyu*; women of the Nakamarra-Napurrurla patricouple in the left line, surrounded by their *kurdungurlu* while in the right line, women of the Nampijinpa-Nangala patricouple are dancing surrounded by their *kurdungurlu*.



Figure 3: Women perform *yawulyu* at Yuendumu 1978. Photo: Mary Laughren.

5. *Jardiwanpa* lyrics link kin, land and *jukurra*

As observed in Section 3, the songs discussed here relate to the *Jardiwanpa* party’s travels north from Winparrku where they meet up with a series of ancestral beings belonging to the other patricouple (Nampijinpa and Nangala) in the same patrimoiety who interact with the *Jardiwanpa*. The first of these is associated with *warlu* ‘fire’ in the form of a bush-fire started by the angry *Jampijinpa* father of two *Jangala* sons (Songs 9 to 20). The second is associated with *ngapa* ‘rain/water’, an ancestor whose path from east to west crosses that of the northward path of the *Jardiwanpa* (Songs 21, 22). The third is associated with an emu (*warlititi*, *karnanganja*) ancestor who travels with the *Jardiwanpa* (Songs 23 to 31). Finally the *Jardiwanpa* party meets up with the *ngurlu* ‘grass seed’ people who travel together to Jiparanpa, where they are greeted by an ancestral Jakamarra from that

country, thus of the same patrimoiety as the central ancestor in the *Jardiwanpa* complex (Songs 32 to 38). At this point, the women end the songline, notionally handing over to another group of classificatory siblings associated with the *ngurlu* 'seed' *jukurra*.⁵

As is typical of a *yawulyu* performance, the first song relates to the painted and decorated *kuturu* 'nullanulla' or 'fighting club' which is placed on the ceremonial ground and which symbolizes the central ancestral *jukurra*, in this case represented as *yarripiri* 'Inland Taipan' snake. These symbols are painted on the performers who are also topped with white bird feathers as a cockade. The *kuturu*, vertically placed into the ground by the *kurdungurlu*, becomes the focal point of the danced performance. In the first song it is referred to as *mangaya* and also *japarra* and by the name of the place from which the ancestor travels north, Winparrku.⁶ Reference to the white head-feathers and their association with white clouds is made in both lines of the couplet by the verb *jingka-jingka-wangka*.⁷

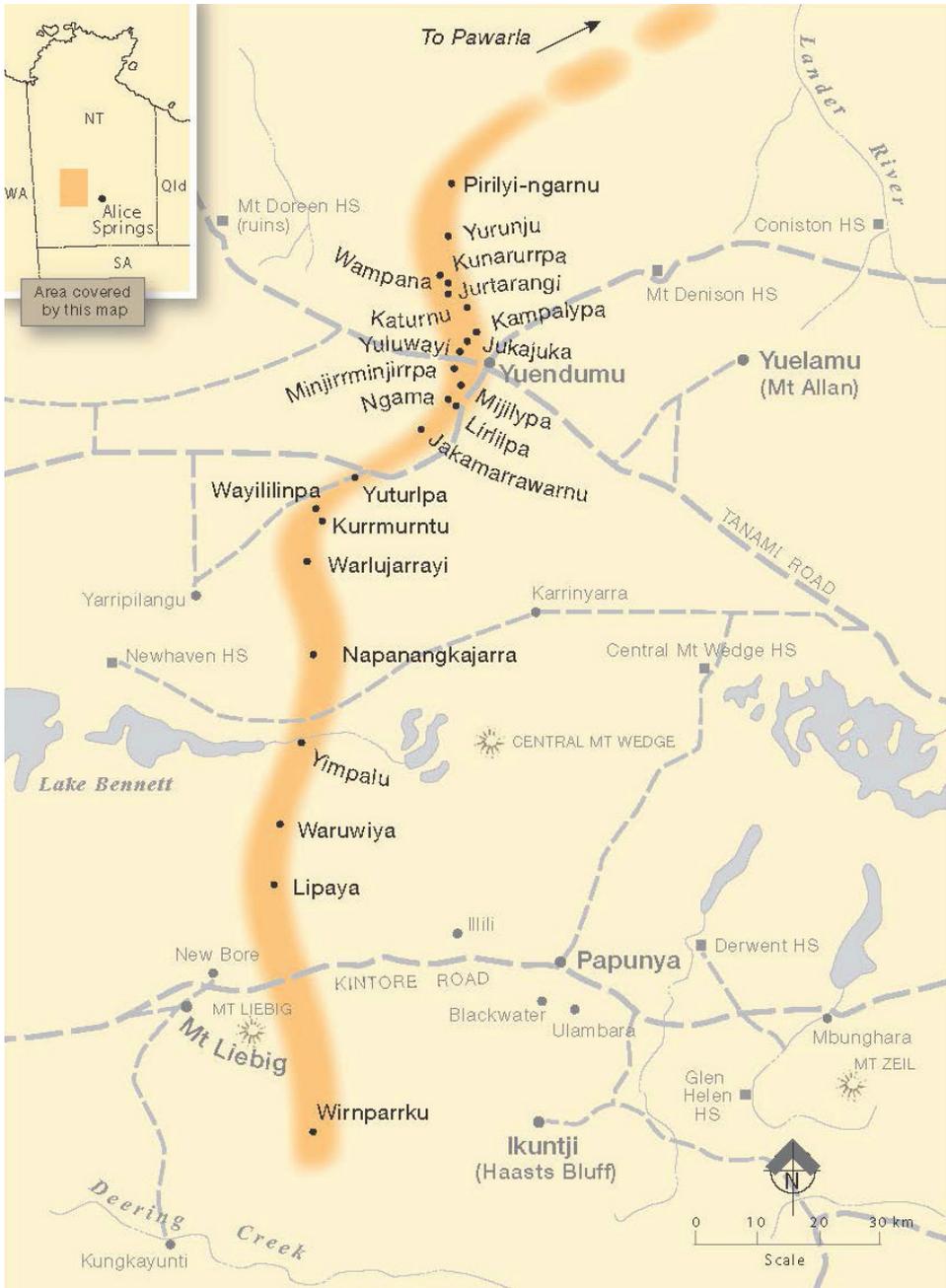
The following songs name the places at which the *Jardiwanpa* party perform ceremonies as they travel north, and/or allude to significant features of these sites and the events which take place there (see map overleaf).

Songs 3 to 8 evoke physical aspects of the Inland Taipan (see Appendix). They also refer to aspects of the *Jardiwanpa* ceremony, the places visited en route (all water sources), the interactions with people at those places such as the two Napanangka women (classificatory mothers to Yarripiri) whose presence is recorded in the name of one water source, Napanangka-jarra (Song 8). The yellow colour of Yarripiri is linked to that of the *karntawarra* 'yellow ochre' in numerous songs. The women sing of the natural deposits of this ochre found on this Dreaming track and of the ochre's use in body painting and ceremonial designs on ritual objects. When sung, *karntawarra* evokes *yarripiri* (snake and ancestor) and *yawulyu* ceremonies. It also evokes the image of sparks falling from burning torches as in *Jardiwanpa* rituals, and also disharmony (*kulu*) (Songs 3 to 7). The word *tiya-tiya* which frequently occurs in Warlpiri *yawulyu* songs refers to powerful, knowledgeable ceremonial leaders and to the power of ceremonies, as they link performers into the spiritual life of their ancestors, as represented by the symbolism in the songs and other components of *yawulyu* (Songs 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15). It is significant that these songs evoke both women's ritual and the encounters between Yarripiri and women involved in ceremonies who wield spiritual powers through their role in ceremony and knowledge of powerful songs. Song 3 evokes the encounter between Yarripiri and a woman, Lipaya, who is recorded in the name given to the water source where the meeting occurs. Song 8 explicitly refers to the two Napanangka women who try to seduce Yarripiri (their classificatory son), at the place identified with them by name.

⁵ See Mountford (1968) for a detailed account of the *Jardiwanpa* party's journey from Winparrku.

⁶ In *yawulyu* contexts, this nullanulla is also referred to as *marntamarnta*.

⁷ The song texts and associated rhythms are set out in Appendix A.



Path of Jardiwana party across Warlpiri country.⁸

Songs 9 to 20 mark the passage through the *Warlukurlangu* ‘fire’ country with allusions to fire (*warlu-jarrayi*), rising smoke (*rduyurduyu*), burning (*janka, purranya*), and places on the track of the two Jangala men trying to escape their father’s wrathful – and eventually fatal – bushfire. Fire also has a central role in

⁸ From Gallagher et al. (2014: 12).

the *Jardiwanpa* story and rituals (Moreton 2011, Lander & Perkins 1993). It is used to act out one of the central themes of the story in which Yarripiri is burned by 'bad' *kurdungurlu* while the 'good' *kurdungurlu* try to protect him from the fire. In the final night of the *Jardiwanpa* ceremonies, the men belonging to the *kirda* patrimoiety come up one by one and kneel as they are showered with sparks from burning torches, while others armed with green leafy branches brush off the sparks from the man's body. At the end of the ceremony, *kirda*, both men and women, enter into a round hut built especially for this ceremonial purpose out of branches that are set alight by 'bad' *kurdungurlu* while the 'good' *kurdungurlu* act to prevent the *kirda* from burning. This is evoked in several of these songs (Songs 9-13). Fire is used to singe off the pubic hair of widows, which is alluded to in Songs 19 and 20 in which the line of smoke *rduyurduyu* ambiguously refers to both the smoke rising from the burning country and the smoke from the singed pubic hair of the women.



Figure 4: *Ngajakula* ceremony identical to the *Jardiwanpa* ceremony but owned by the opposing patrimoiety with different songline. Photo: Nicolas Peterson.

The *warlu* 'fire' songs are followed by two *ngapa* 'rain/water' songs. Song 21 names *Jukajuka*, a place marked by an impressive clump of standing rocks, where the *Jardiwanpa* party meets the travelling *ngapa* 'rain' party coming from east and heading west to Mikanji. Song 22 names *Jurtarangi*, a water source named after the rainbow.

Songs 23 to 31 celebrate the Emu ancestor who joins up with the *Jardiwanpa* party travelling north. These songs evoke aspects of the Emu *jukurrpa*: the gait (Songs 29, 31), behaviour (all songs), names (Songs 23, 24, 29) and food preferences (Songs 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31).⁹ In the *Jardiwanpa* rituals as performed by the Warlpiri community in 1993 (Lander & Perkins 1993), a large ground painting with a decorated pole standing up from its centre, depicting the Emu ancestor, was displayed on the western side of where the much larger decorated *Jardiwanpa* poles and ground painting stood. Recall that this complex of Dreamings – fire, water, emu – all belong to the same Nampijinpa-Nangala patricouple.

The final set of seven songs (Songs 32 to 38) relate to the ancestral ‘brothers’ of Yarripiri and ‘mothers-in-law’ of the Emu people symbolized by the association with *ngurlu* ‘edible grass seeds’ with whom the *Jardiwanpa* party travels in the north. The first song (32) names *Wangkinypa*, a place in the ‘seed’ country named after the central Jakamarra ancestor. One of the central figures in this ‘grass seed’ story is the dove *kulurakuraku*. The final song voices the words of the northern Jakamarra addressing his southern brother as he arrives in the northern country at Jiparanpa, acknowledging the latter’s long journey from Winparrku.¹⁰ Thus the songline sung by the women at Yuendumu links family groups in the same patrimoiety across a large tract of Warlpiri country, into a related ceremonial complex. From song 32, the subject matter of the songs relates to *ngurlu* (Songs 32, 35), more particularly to a species of edible grass seed *parrarla* (Songs 33, 36). Actions relating to the production of food from grinding grass seeds are evoked (Songs 32, 34) and features of the grass and the country it grows in are also sung about (Songs 35 to 37).

6. Formal properties of songs

The 38 *Jardiwanpa* songs, comprising 71 unique lines of text, share the following formal features with other Warlpiri and Arandic women’s songs (Turpin & Laughren 2013, 2014; Turpin 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011; Turpin et al in press):¹¹

- the rhythmic-text structure (VERSE) is independent of melody
- a verse typically consists of two lines (A and B) that repeat in an AABB pattern, which cycles until the end of the melody;
- lines can occur in more than one verse¹²
- a verse can consist of lines of unequal length (Table 2)

⁹ See Bryson (2002: 35-6) on the film commissioned by AIATSIS in the 1970s which has the Emu cave at Rdukurri as its subject.

¹⁰ A recording of this song was made by Linda Barwick at Ali-curung in 1993 as part of the Jiparanpa and Pawurrinji *ngurlu* songlines belonging to clans of Nakamarra and Napurrurla women. In both contexts this song serves to relate the two Dreaming complexes and families of associated *kirda*.

¹¹ Although *awelye* is the term for the equivalent genre in many Arandic languages (spelt *awely* in Anmatyerr and Alyawarr), we use *yawulyu* in reference to the songs of both these regions for convenience. Note that in Arrernte *awelye* refers to a genre of healing songs performed by men or women (Barwick et al 2013).

¹² Lines 2, 22, 36, 49 occur in more than one verse.

Table 2: *Equal and unequal line length in the 38 Jardiwampa verses*

	No. verses	Verse id.
<i>Equal</i>	24	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35
<i>Unequal</i>	14	3, 9, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38
Total	38	

6.1 Rhythmic structure

The rhythm of the *Jardiwampa* lines share the following tendencies found in other Arandic and Warlpiri *yawulyu*:

- lines start with a short note
- lines end with a long note
- lines consist of two identical halves (rhythmic parallelism)
- there are preferred rhythmic line(s) (Rhythm 7 & 8, cf. Table 4)

A feature of Warlpiri *yawulyu* is the use of both triple and duple meters. In contrast, Arandic *awelye* tends to consist of only one meter.¹³ Approximately half the *Jardiwampa* verses are in a triple meter (18 compared with 20 duple, see Table 3;¹⁴ however, there are significantly less triple meter patterns (lines) than duple (13 compared with 24). That is, when it comes to setting a line of text to rhythm, triple meter patterns are 'recycled' more often than duple meter patterns.

Table 3: *Rhythm in the 38 Jardiwampa songs: two meters, 18 rhythmic cells and 37 rhythmic lines*

Meter	No. verses	No. text lines	No. rhythmic cells	No. rhythmic lines
<i>Triple</i>	18	32	4	13
<i>Duple</i>	20	39	14	24
Total	38	71	18	37

Rhythmic lines are made up of CELLS, the smallest recurring rhythmic units in a song series (Ellis 1985:93) The *Jardiwampa* songline makes use of 18 different cells.¹⁵ In contrast, Arandic song series tend to have between one and four cells only (Turpin 2007a; in press). We attribute the rhythmic diversity of the Warlpiri *Jardiwampa* in comparison to Arandic *awelye* to the fact that the latter tend to celebrate one main ancestor only, whereas the *Jardiwampa* songline celebrates multiple ancestors (Section 5). We suggest that musical motifs symbolise different ancestral beings, as has been suggested elsewhere for central Australian songs (Ellis 1985, 1997). In the Warlpiri region where land tenure is associated with

¹³ To date only one Arandic *awelye* has been documented with more than one meter, the Kaytetye rain song series; and even here the different meter is used only in two songs (Turpin 2007a, 2007b).

¹⁴ For some verses, the distinction between Triple and Duple meter is not clear, especially in verses for which there is no clapping accompaniment.

¹⁵ The rhythmic cell is comparable to the 'foot' in poetic meter.

multiple Dreamings criss-crossing along a single path, there is a greater need for more musical motifs to distinguish them than in the Arandic region where land tenure is associated with discrete areas and Dreaming ancestors.

The number of rhythmic lines is also much greater in *Jardiwanpa* than Arandic songs. Table 4 and 5 list the 37 rhythmic lines in the *Jardiwanpa* corpus sorted by duration, triple and duple meter lines respectively.¹⁶ The greater rhythmic diversity of the Warlpiri *Jardiwanpa* compared to Arandic *awelye* can be seen when we consider the Alyawarr *Antarrengeny* song series, which has 78 songs but only 14 rhythmic lines (Turpin 2015) or the *Tyaw* song series, which has only one rhythmic cell (Turpin et al. in press).

Table 4: The 13 triple meter lines in the *Jardiwanpa* corpus

Rhythmic line no.	Text line no.	Song no.
13 : ♪♪ ♪. ♪♪ :	31	16
6 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪. :	10, 11	6
19 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪ ♪ :	42	23
7 : ♪♪ ♪. ♪♪ ♪. :	12, 19, 20, 22, 26, 28, 34	7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14a, 14, 17
18 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪. ♪. :	41	22
8 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪. :	13, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 33	7, 10, 11, 13, 12, 17
10 : ♪♪ ♪ ♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ :	16, 41	9, 22
16 : ♪♪ ♪ ♪ ♪♪ ♪ ♪ :	38, 43, 53	21, 23, 29
25 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪ ♪ :	52	29
1 : ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ :	1, 2, 3, 39	1, 2, 21
11 : ♪♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪♪ ♪♪ :	17	9
17 : ♪♪ ♪. ♪. ♪♪ ♪. ♪. :	40	22
14 : ♪♪ ♪. ♪ ♪ ♪♪ ♪. ♪ ♪ :	32	16

¹⁶ Rhythmic lines 6, 7, 8, 19 (triple) and 22, 20, 32 (duple) are also in the ‘Budgerigar’ and ‘Rain’ Warlpiri songlines relating to country to the east of the *Jardiwanpa* songline.

Table 5: The 24 duple meter lines in the Jardiwampa corpus

Rhythmic line no.	Text line no.	Song no.
15 : 	35, 36, 37	18, 19
3 : 	5	3
22 : 	48	26
20 : 	44	24
24 : 	50	27
23 : 	49, 51	26, 27, 28
30 : 	61	33
5 : 	8, 9	5
32 : 	65	35
34 : 	68	37
36 : 	70	38
28 : 	57, 64	31, 35
33 : 	67	36
2 : 	4	3
12 : 	29, 30, 46, 47, 60	15, 25, 33
21 : 	45	24
4 : 	6, 7	4
35 : 	69	37
37 : 	71	38
31 : 	62, 63, 66	34, 36
27 : 	56	31
29 : 	58, 59	32
26 : 	54, 55	30
9 : 	14, 15	8

6.2 Setting words to rhythm

The way that words are set to rhythm in the *Jardiwanpa* lines share a number of broad tendencies found in other Arandic and Warlpiri *yawulyu*:

- a syllable is set to one rhythmic note
- prosodic phrase edges align with bar (rhythmic cell) edges
- verbs occur in line-final position

A feature common in Warlpiri *yawulyu* but absent in Arandic, is the use of the vocable NA to achieve text/rhythmic alignment within the preference for the final note of the line to be the longest. The vocable is essentially a device to increase the number of syllables in a word to ensure the duration of the word-final syllable does not surpass that of the line-final syllable. Nine lines of *Jardiwanpa* use the vocable NA in this way. Three of these lines, all with different rhythms, are shown in Figure 5.¹⁷

Figure 5: Use of the vocable NA to ensure that the left edge of the following word aligns with the left edge of a bar, whilst avoiding long notes within a line.¹⁸

L39	: ♪♪♪. ♪♪♪. ♪♪♪. ♪♪♪. :
	Wa rla na rri lya rda min ja ray ku ja nay
	<i>warlu -NA</i> <i>rdulyurru</i> <i>minjiri</i> <i>kuju-rnu</i>
	fire -voc remove ?? throw-PST
	‘The fire was brushed away’
L29	: ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ :
	Ya rri pi ra rna wu rna ya rra rna
	<i>Yarripiri</i> -NA <i>wurna-yirra-rnu</i>
	Inland Taipan voc travel-put-PST
	‘The Inland Taipan travelled’
L61	: ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪. :
	Ti ya ti ya rna nya ngi
	<i>Tiyatiya</i> -NA <i>nya-ngu</i>
	Dreaming_power voc see-PST
	‘The power of the dreaming was seen’

¹⁷ Lines 4, 24, 25 and 30 also employ the vocable NA in this way.

¹⁸ Lines of verse are represented as follows: the top row is the underlying rhythmic structure; the second row is the sung syllables; the third row is the Warlpiri words, the fourth row is a literal linguistic gloss and the fifth row is a free translation. Single vertical line delimits a bar, double vertical lines with colon delimit a repeated line. Glossing abbreviations used in this chapter are: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, AUX = auxiliary, DU = dual, FUT = future, IMP = imperative, INT = interrogative, LOC = locative, PRS = present, PST = past, S = subject, SG = singular, VOC = vocable.

The vocable is also used to achieve rhythmic parallelism within a line, as exemplified in Figure 6. This occurs in two lines.

Figure 6: Use of the vocable NA to achieve rhythmic parallelism within a line.¹⁹

L43	
	Wan ji rri ja rra wu rda rda rday na
	<i>Wanjirri-jarra</i> <i>wirlititi</i> -NA
	emu-two emu chick voc
	‘The two emus’
L45	
	Mang ku ra la na ka pin pa la na
	<i>Mangkuru-rla</i> -NA <i>kawinpa-rla</i> -NA
	swamp-LOC voc FUT-2DU.S voc
	‘At the swamp on the plain’

In contrast, Arandic songs use *-arle* (LA), a relativiser and focus marking suffix in many Arandic varieties, for a similar purpose (Turpin 2015).

With the use of the vocable, the tendency for prosodic words to align with bars is achieved in all but 3 of the 71 *Jardiwanpa* lines (the words of Line 67 are not certain and so we discount this from the analysis). Prosodic words include complex verbs and reduplications, all of which align with bar edges; however the smaller prosodic units within them (e.g. foot) need not. Like complex verbs, a nominal functioning as a classifier need not align with the right edge of a bar. We see this in Line 60, where *ngurlu parrarla-parrarla* ‘edible seeds of the bunch panic grass’ aligns with the right edge of a bar, but the classifier *ngurlu* does not.

(1)

L60	
	Ngu li pa rra la pa rra la nya ngi
	<u>ngurlu</u> parrarla-parrarla nya-ngka
	<u>seed</u> bunch panic look-IMP
	‘Look at the edible Bunch Panic seeds.’

Similarly, an auxiliary combines with the word to which it attaches for the purposes of rhythmic alignment. The right edge of smaller units within this complex need not align with the right edge of a bar edge. We see this in Line 65, where the initial phrase *ngurlu=japa=ka=rna* aligns with bar edges but not the smaller encliticised morphemes within it.

¹⁹ Note that Line 45 also uses NA internally to avoid a long note.

pattern of line-final syllable transfer to the initial position in the musical phrase is implemented.²⁰

(4) Song 9

L16 Nya ti ya ti ya pu rra nya pu rra
 tiyatiya | *purra-nya* *purra-nya*
 dreaming power burn-PRS burn-PRS
 ‘The ritual women, burning burning’

L17 Nya wa rli ja rra ya la pu rra nya pu rra
 Warlujarrayi-rla *purra-nya* *purra-nya*
 place_name-LOC burn-PST burn-PST
 ‘There at Warlujarrayi, burning burning’

The songs that follow, which relate to this same *jukurrpa* and name water sources in this country, conform to the majority pattern. Similarly, the first song which announces the encounter with the travelling *ngapa* ‘rain’ at Jukajuka, Song 21, is not the standard AABB verse pattern but ABAB. By contrast, the second *ngapa* song follows the usual AABB pattern, with long final notes at the end of both the A and B lines. In Song 24, the second song in the ‘Emu’ section, the same unusual ABAB pattern is found, with the additional twist that B is made up of repeated segments in which the text is set to the same rhythmic cell. The passage into the country of the *ngurlu* ‘seed’ people of the same patricouple is marked in the first song in this series, Song 32, which is set to the standard AABB line pattern but is sung to a rhythm which contains exceptionally long notes (represented as dotted minims or half notes) on the last two syllables of the initial phrase (or hemistich) in each line. The slow tempo and rhythmic pattern of this song contrasts with the highly syncopated, partly ‘swung’ rhythms and lively tempo of some of the preceding ‘emu’ songs such as Songs 25-28. This way of musically marking encounters with other *jukurrpa* along a Dreaming track represented by a songline has also been documented for other Warlpiri *yawulyu* such as in the *ngatijirri* ‘budgerigar’ songline (Turpin & Laughren 2013: 419-420).

²⁰ Two Kaytetye songs owned by the Kemarre/Pwerle patricouple refer to the Bluetongue Lizard and employ consonant transfer (Turpin 2005).

6.4 Summary of formal properties of *Jardiwampa* songs in comparison to Arandic and Warlpiri conventions

The formal constraints on aligning text and rhythmic unit edges are common to both Arandic and Warlpiri songs, however the way that they are achieved in *Jardiwampa* is uniquely Warlpiri with the use of NA, whereas in the Arandic region they are achieved with LA. The near absence of syllable transfer also distinguishes Warlpiri from Arandic songs. It should also be noted that the linguistic variety of the text is also representative of these language subgroups: Warlpiri songs tend to use Warlpiri words, and Arandic songs tend to use Arandic words – although they may be in an Arandic variety different to that spoken by the singers (Turpin & Green 2010). Such differences show that song construction is closely aligned with language.

While these linguistic differences are somewhat expected, musically there are significant rhythmic differences between Warlpiri and Arandic songs that are of particular interest. Like other Warlpiri *yawulyu*, the *Jardiwampa* songs employ greater rhythmic variety than is typical of Arandic songs. Not only do they use multiple meters, but the number of rhythmic cells and lines is far greater than in any Arandic song series. *Yawulyu* ceremonies are land-based ceremonies; and we suggest that the musical difference reflects the different concept of land tenure in these two linguistic regions.

Across central Australia, musical features encode the essence of ancestral beings (Ellis et al. 1978, Ellis 1997) whose original actions gave form to the land and the cultural practices to the people of that area (Stanner 1966). In land-based songs such as *yawulyu*, the constrained set of rhythmic features demonstrated in Arandic songs (Turpin 2015, 2007a, 2007b) correlates with a system of land tenure whereby an ancestral character or group of characters are associated with a tract of land owned by a single estate group.

The rhythmic variety found in *Jardiwampa* and in other Warlpiri *yawulyu* suggests multiple ancestral characters in relation to land tenure, in effect a system based on many criss-crossing tracks rather than bounded regions associated with a single ancestral figure.²¹ To what extent singers associate a single rhythmic feature, whether it be the meter, line or cell, with a particular ancestor, remains to be further investigated. With the decrease in *Jardiwampa* and other ceremonial practices, such questions will, however, be increasingly difficult to answer.

The singing traditions of the Warlpiri pay homage to the multiple characters that traversed an area, recognizing relationships involved in marriage alliances (Section 3). This is also reflected in the importance of *kurdungurlu* to Warlpiri ceremony, which is not found to the same extent in Arandic *awelye* practices.

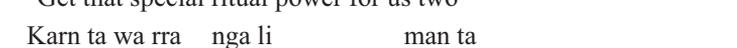
²¹ Wild (1987) discusses the link between Warlpiri land tenure and associated ceremonial performances in relation to male initiation rituals.

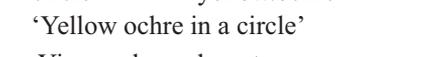
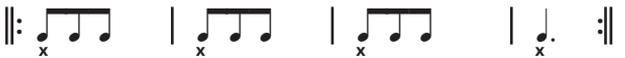
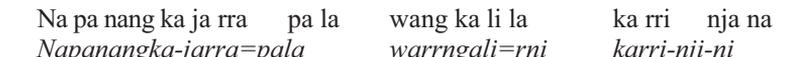
7. Concluding remarks

The *Jardiwanpa* songline described here illustrates how Warlpiri *yawulyu* songs reflect Warlpiri land-holding patterns in both their lyrics and musical features. Unlike the relative thematic and rhythmic uniformity of an Arandic song series, there is a need in describing Warlpiri *yawulyu* to distinguish “songline” from “song series” since a songline such as the *Jardiwanpa* may contain songs from more than one “song series” as the songline celebrates multiple ancestors (Turpin & Laughren 2013). Transitions between “song series” within a “songline” are typically marked by different rhythmic patterns and ways of linking text to rhythm.

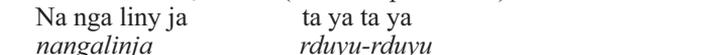
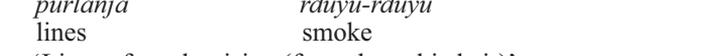
A Dreaming track links stories, kin and countries, some quite distant from each other, and serves as a marker of collective identity for a wider set of families who enter into marriage alliances and who cooperate in many aspects of ceremonial as well as everyday life. The *yawulyu* songs that celebrate a Dreaming track reflect these features as they combine diverse themes and musical patterns into a socially recognized unit. This reflects and reinforces aspects of social organisation that are well adapted to the environment in which Warlpiri people traditionally lived, an environment much harsher and more variable than that of the Arandic peoples to their east who are organized around more exclusive clan countries as reflected in their *awelye*.

Appendix

- Song 1 Line 1  Ma nga ya ku ka rla jing ka jing ka wang ka
mangaya kurrku-rla jingka-jingka-wangka
 ritual.pole hole-LOC feathers-sparkling
 ‘The feathers appear shining on the ritual pole’
- Song 1&2 Line 2  Wurn parr ku ku ka rla jing ka jing ka wang ka
Wirnparrku kurrku-rla jingka-jingka-wangka
 place.name hole-LOC feathers-sparkling
 ‘The feathers appear shining at Wirnparrku’
- Song 2 Line 3  Ja pa rra ku ka rla jing ka jing ka wang ka
Japarra kurrku-rla jingka-jingka-wangka
 ritual.pole hole-LOC feathers-sparkling
 ‘The feathers appear shining on the ritual pole’
- Song 3 Line 4  Karn ti wa rra rna wa rang ka nya
karntawarra NA warangka-nya
 yellow.ochre VOC spinning-PRS
 ‘The yellow one spinning hairstring’
- Song 3 Line 5  Li pa rra li nya ngi
Lipaya-rla nya-ngu
 place.name-LOC see-PST
 ‘Seen at Lipaya’
- Song 4 Line 6  Yi rran ja nga na nya karn ta wa rra
yurrunju nguna-nya karntawarra
 close.to lie-PRS yellow.ochre
 ‘The yellow ochre lies close by’
- Song 4 Line 7  Mu wa rdi nga na nya karn ta wa rra
muwardi(?) nguna-nya karntawarra
 ? lie-PRS yellow.ochre
 ‘The yellow ochre lies on the grinding stone’
- Song 5 Line 8  Ti ya ti ya nga li man ta
tiyatiya=ngali man ta
 dreaming power=12 get-IMP
 ‘Get that special ritual power for us two’
- Song 5 Line 9  Karn ta wa rra nga li man ta
karntawarra=ngali man ta
 yellow.ochre=12 get-IMP
 ‘Get that yellow ochre for us two’

- 
- Song 6 Line 10 Jarrmirnta karn ta wa rra
jarrmirnti karntawarra
 circle yellow.ochre
 ‘Yellow ochre in a circle’
- 
- Song 6 Line 11 Yim pa rla karn ta wa rra
Yimpalu karntawarra
 place.name yellow.ochre
 ‘Yellow ochre at Yimpalu’
- 
- Song 7 Line 12 Pily jan ti rra karn ta wa rra
piljarr-wanti=rra karntawarra
 smashing-fall=THITH yellow.ochre
 ‘The yellow ochre burst and fell into shards’
- 
- Song 7 Line 13 Na mi rra pan ta rna karn ta wa rra
namurru pantu-rnu karntawarra
 dots paint-PST yellow.ochre
 ‘Covering them with spots of yellow ochre’
- 
- Song 8 Line 14 Ti ya ti ya ja rra pa la wang ka li li ka rri nja na
tiyatiya-jarra=pala warrngali=rni karri-nji-ni
 dreaming.power-two=3DU.S legs.wide=HITH stand-INCEP-PRS
 ‘The two ritual women come standing with their legs wide apart’
- 
- Song 8 Line 15 Na pa nang ka ja rra pa la wang ka li la ka rri nja na
Napanangka-jarra=pala warrngali=rni karri-nji-ni
 Napanangka-two=3DU.S legs.wide=HITH stand-INCEP-PRS
 ‘The two Napanankas come standing with their legs wide apart’
- 
- Song 9 Line 16 Nya ti ya ti ya pu rra nyal pu rra
tiyatiya purra-nya purra-nya
 dreaming.power burn-PST burn- PST
 ‘The ritual women, burning burning’
- 
- Song 9 Line 17 Nya wa rli ja rra ya la pu rra nyal pu rra
Warlujarrayi-rla purra-nya purra-nya
 place.name-LOC burn-PST burn-PST
 ‘There at Warlujarrayi, burning burning’
- 
- Song 10 Line 18 Yu rturl pu rla jan ka jarr mirn ti rla
Yurturlpu-rla janka jarrmirnti-rla
 place.name-LOC burn circle-LOC
 ‘At Yurturlpu, encircling a big group burning’

- Song 10 Line 19  Karn ta wa rray jar mirn ti rla
karntawarra jar mirnti-rla
yellow.ochre circle-LOC
'Yellow ochre (ones) in a circle'
- Song 11 Line 20 Wu rna wu rna karn ta wa rra
wurna-wurna karntawarra
travelling yellow.ochre
'The yellow one is travelling'
- Song 11 Line 21  Wa yi li rli nga rna karn ta wa rra
Wayililingarna karntawarra
place.name yellow.ochre
'The yellow one is at Wayililinypa'
- Song 12&13 Line 22  Ti ya ti ya karn ta wa rra
tiyatiya karntawarra
dreaming.power yellow.ochre
'The Dreaming, the yellow one'
- Song 12 Line 24  Kurr murn tu rla nya na jar mirn ti rla
Kurrmurntu-rla=nya NA jar mirnti-rla
place.name-LOC=FOC VOC circle-LOC
'At Kurrmurntu they stand around in a circle'
- Song 13 Line 23 Kurr murn tu rla nya na karn ta wa rra
Kurrmurntu-rla=nya NA karntawarra
place.name-LOC=FOC VOC yellow.ochre
'At Kurrmurntu the yellow ones'
- Song 14 Line 25 Yu rturl pu rla nya na jar mirn ti rla
Yurturlpu-rla=nya NA jar mirnti-rla
place.name-LOC=FOC VOC circle-LOC
'At Yurturlpu, they stand around in a circle'
- Song 14 Line 26  Ti ya ti ya jar mirn ti rla
tiyatiya jar mirnti-rla
dreaming.power circle-LOC
'The ritual women stand around in a circle'
- Song 15 Line 27  Nga mang ka ya pin ta rla
Ngama-ngka Yapirnti-rla
place.name-LOC place.name-LOC
'At Ngama inside Yapirnti'

- Song 15 Line 28  Ti ya ti ya na mirn ka rray
tiyatiya NA namirn-karri
Dreaming.power (?)-stand
'The ritual power is in the cave (at Yapirnti)'
- Song 16 Line 29  Ya rri pi ra rna wu rna ya rra rna
yarripiri NA wurna-yirra-rnu
inland.taipan VOC travel-put-PST
'The Taipan snake travels and creates'
- Song 16 Line 30  Karn ta wa rra rna wu rna ya rra rna
karntawarra NA wurna-yirra-rnu
yellow.ochre VOC travel-put-PST
'The yellow ochre coloured one travels and creates'
- Song 17 Line 31  Pin ji pin ji pin ji
pinji-pinji pinji
painting.sticks
'All the painting sticks'
- Song 17 Line 32  Karn ta wa rra ntara wampampa ki rra rna
karntawarra ? wampampiki-yirra-rnu
yellow.ochre ? outside-put-PST
'The yellow one is painted on the surface'
- Song 18 Line 33  Na mi rri pan ta rna karn ta wa rra
namurru pantirni karntawarra
dots spear-PRS yellow.ochre
'Dabs of yellow ochre are applied'
- Song 18 Line 34  Pin jarn ta rra karn ta wa rra
piljarr-wanti=rra karntawarra
smashing-fall=THITH yellow.ochre
'Shards of yellow ochre fall (as sparks)'
- Song 19&20 Line 35  Karn ta wa rra ta ya ta ya
karntawarra rduyu-rduyu
yellow.ochre smoke
'Yellow ochre, smoke (from the pubic hair)'
- Song 19 Line 36  Na nga liny ja ta ya ta ya
nangalinja rduyu-rduyu
ground.honey smoke
'Ground honey, smoke (from the pubic hair)'
- Song 20 Line 37  Pi rlarn ja ta ya ta ya
purlanja rduyu-rduyu
lines smoke
'Lines of smoke rising (from the pubic hair)'

- Song 21 Line 38
-
- Ji kwa ji kwa na ji kwa ji kwa na²²
Juka-juka NA Juka-juka NA
 place.name VOC place.name VOC
 ‘Juka-juka’
- Song 21 Line 39
-
- Wa rla na rri lya rda min ja ray ku ja nay
warlu NA rdulyurru minjiri kuju-rnu
 fire VOC lightning ? throw-PST
 ‘Brushing off the embers’
- Song 22 Line 40²³
-
- Ji ta ra ngi la rra lyi pa lyi pay
Jurturangi-rla yalyirrpalyirra
 place.name-LOC exhausted
 ‘At Jurturangi exhausted’
- Song 22 Line 41
-
- Mi lyal pa rra lyi pa lyi pay
malyarrpa yalyirrpalyirra
 tired exhausted
 ‘Paining, exhausted’
- Song 23 Line 42
-
- Kiny jirr ka wu rda rday rday na
kinjirrka wirilititi NA
 kurrajong emu.chick VOC
 ‘Kurrajongs, emus’
- Song 23 Line 43
-
- Wan ji rri ja rra wu rda rda rday na
wanjirri-jarra wirilititi NA
 emu-two emu.chick VOC
 ‘Two emus’
- Song 24 Line 44
-
- Wa rla rdi rdi ka rri
warlititi karri
 emu.chick stand
 ‘Emus standing’
- Song 24 Line 45
-
- Mang ku ra la na ka pirn pa la na
mangkuru-rla NA Kawinpa-rla NA
 swamp-LOC VOC plain-LOC VOC
 ‘In the swamp on the plain’

²² CF. *atyekwatyekwe* ‘black hair’ (Ar, song register)

²³ In one item this line is not repeated (GC_song18-1)

- Song 25 Line 46  Pa rla pa la la ya nany ja pa la
parla parla-rla ya-nanya=pala
plain-LOC go-PRS=3DU.S
'Across the open country they both go'
- Song 25 Line 47 Ngu ring ka pa la ya nany ja pa la
nguru-ngka=pala ya-nanya=pala
country-LOC=3DU.S go-PRS=3DU.S
'Across the country they both go'
- Song 26 Line 48  Pi ri lyi nga ni nya
pirilyi nga-rninya
charcoal eat-PRS
'Eating charcoal'
- Song 26-28 Line 49  Mung kurr mung kurr pa la nga ni nya
mungskurr-mungskurrpa=lu
fan-flower/crunch=3PL.S eat-PRS
'Fan-flowers they are chomping on'
- Song 28 Line 51 Kal pi(rr) kal pirr pa la nga ni nya
karpirr-karpirrpa=lu
fan-flower =3PL.S eat-PRS
'Fan-flowers they are chomping on'
- Song 27 Line 50  Ya pi ya pi nga ni nya
yapiyapi nga-rninya
munching eat-PRS
'Munching'
- Song 29 Line 52  Ka wang ki ja rra li ka wil pa nga na
Kawingki-jarra-rlu kawul-pu-ngu NA
leg.crossed-two-ERG crack-TR-PST VOC
'The one with legs crossed, cracked open (eggs)'
- Song 29 Line 53  Wi rli ti ti rli ka wil pa nga na
wirlititi-rli kawul-pu-ngu NA
emu.chick-ERG crack-TR-PST VOC
'The baby emus cracked open (their eggs)'
- Song 30 Line 54  Mang ku ra ja la a mang ku rany ja la la ya
mangkuru-jalarla mangkuru-jalarla YA
swamp-up.and.down swamp-up.and.down VOC
'In the flooded area'
- Song 30 Line 55 Mi ya kany ja la a mi ya kany ja la la ya
miyaka-jalarla miyaka-jalarla YA
kurrajong-up.and.down kurrajong-up.and.down VOC
'Flowering kurrajongs everywhere'

- Song 31 Line 56
- 
- Kin jirr ka ka rna rla ma rrang ki ma ni nya
kinjirrka =ka=rna=rla murrungku mani=nya
 kurrajong=AUX=1SG=3DAT side.to.side get=FOC
 ‘I gather kurrajong seeds moving from side-to-side’
- Song 31 Line 57
- 
- Wa rla pi rra rra li ma ni nya
warlapurrarri-rla mani=nya
 bend-down=3DAT get=FOC
 ‘Bending down to get it’
- Song 32 Line 58
- 
- Wang kin pa rla yi rra ray ma rda ni nya
wangkinypa-rla yarrara- marda-rninya
 place.name-LOC winnow hold-PRS
 ‘At Wangkinypa winnowing’
- Song 32 Line 59
- Ngu rlu ka rla yi rra ray ma rda ni nya
ngurlu-ku=rla yarrara- marda-rninya
 seed-DAT=3DAT winnow hold-PRS
 ‘Winnowing the seeds’
- Song 33 Line 60
- 
- Ngu li pa rra la pa rra la nya ngi
ngurlu parrarla-parrarla nya-ngka
 seed bunch.panic look-IMP
 ‘Look at the edible seeds’
- Song 33 Line 61
- 
- Ti ya ti ya rna nya ngi
tiyatiya NA nya-ngu
 Dreaming.power VOC look-PST
 ‘He saw (our) Dreaming one’
- Song 34²⁴ Line 62
- 
- Ku lu ra ku lu ku yu lan ja rra nyi na
kularakuraku yula-nja=rra nyina
 diamond.dove cry-INF=THITH sit
 ‘The diamond dove is sitting crying’
- Song 34 Line 63
- Pi jing ka kan pa la yu lan ja rra nyi na
Piji-ngka=ka=npala yula-nja=rra nyina
 finger-LOC=AUX.2DU.S cry-INF=THITH sit
 ‘You two are sitting crying, trying to eat the seed batter’
- Song 35 Line 64
- 
- Ngu rung ka yul ka rli ka rli la
nguru-ngka yulkarli-karli-rla
 country-LOC green-LOC
 ‘In the really green fresh country’

²⁴ This verse is also encountered in the Anmatyerr/Warlpiri *yawulyu* from Arrwek, Coniston (verse 13).

- Song 35 Line 65
- ||:  ||
- Ngu rlu ju pa ka rna ka nyi
ngurlu=japa =ka=rna ka-nyi
 seed=INT =PRS=1SG take-PRS
 'Am I carrying seeds?'
- Song 36 Line 66
- ||:  ||
- Pa rra rla ki jal ja wu rru ku ki rra rna
parrarla-kijalja wurrukuku yirra-rnu
 Bunch.Panic.roots hidden put-PRS
 'The Bunch Panic roots have been hidden'
- Song 36 Line 67
- ||:  ||
- Wu rru ku ku ku lu ku yi rra rna
wurrukuku kuluku yirra-rnu
 hidden ? put-PRS
 'They have been hidden'
- Song 37 Line 68
- ||:  ||
- Mi rrin ja wun ti rra ni nya
mirriji wurntu-yirra-rninya
 leg long-put-PRS
 'The roots stretch out like legs under the ground'
- Song 37 Line 69
- ||:  ||
- Ki rri lam pi lam pi wun ti rra ni nya
kiyirlumpurlumpu wurntu-yirra-rninya
 dead long-put-PRS
 'The dried up dead roots stretch out'
- Song 38 Line 70
- ||:  ||
- Wu rna mi rrin pa rdi pi ja
wurnamirri=npa rdipi-ja
 travelling=2SG.s meet-PST
 'You've travelled a long way to reach here'
- Song 38 Line 71
- ||:  ||
- Nga ya rla nga ya rla rlan pa rdi pi ja
ngarrarla-ngarrarlarla=npa rdipi-ja
 this.way-this.way=2SG.s meet-PST
 'You kept on coming and you've reached here'

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