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Series A Volume 2

**PAPERS ON IWAIJJA PHONOLOGY
AND GRAMMAR**

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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME 2

The papers in this volume are descriptions of aspects of the Iwaidja language. Part I contains papers on the phonology and Part II papers on the grammar.

The language is classified by Wurm (1972:113), following O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:29) as constituting the Wargbi Subgroup of the Iwaidjic Group of the Iwaidjan Family. Iwaidja is spoken by about 120 people on Croker Island and by about a further 50 at Coombe Point and Merganella on the adjacent mainland, and at Snake Bay on Melville Island, all in the Northern Territory.

Language data used in these papers was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 1973-75 and 1977. Various Iwaidja people served as teachers in providing this data. Grateful acknowledgment is given to Elsie Indibu, Ada Magurulu, Rae Girribug, Hazel Mamiya, Joy Malwagga and Illyjilly.

Thanks are also due to Kenneth L. Pike, Marvin M. Mayers, Robert E. Longacre and George L. Huttar for their consultant help.

Noreen Pym

Bonnie M. Larrimore

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ABBREVIATIONS

accomp	accompaniment
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
b.	brother
Ben	Benefactive
C	any Consonant
Cl	Clause
C1, C2, ...	Clause 1, Clause 2, ...
comp	completed action
con	continuity
du	dual
emph / (emph)	emphasis
exc/ex	exclusive
fem	female
fut	future
H	Head
(IF)	Indefinite Future
imper	imperative
inc/in	inclusive
interrog	interrogative
(io) / (IO) / Ind Obj	Indirect Object
IV	Intransitive Verb
lit	literally
M	Modifier
m.	mother
N	any Nasal
n / (n)	noun
neg	negative

(NIF)	Negated Indefinite Future
NP	Noun Phrase
num	numeral
p	past tense
p=cont/p cont	continuous or habitual past tense
p=habit	habitual past tense
pl	plural
Poss	Possessor
poss	possessive
PP	Possessive Phrase
quest	question
RAP	Relator Axis Phrase
R#	break between rhythmic groups when not at word break
recip	reciprocal
rep	repetitive
S1, S2, ...	Sentence 1, Sentence 2, ...
s/sing	singular
(SP) / Seq of part	Sequence of Participant
subj	subject
TV	Transitive Verb
V	any Vowel
veg	vegetable
1s	1st person singular
1p	1st person plural
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3s	3rd person singular
3p	3rd person plural
3=pers	3rd person, singular or plural
/	or
//	intonational pause
-	break between morphemes in Iwaidja

=	break between word in English but one morpheme in Iwaidja
:	which is (i.e. H:Cl the head which is a clause)
¶	paragraph
	phonological phrase, rhythmic group
	phonological word
/, //, ///, ////	pauses (shortest to longest)
o	heaviest stress
"	next heaviest stress
'	third degree of stress
.	syllable break
/b/	the phoneme <u>b</u>
[b]	the phone <u>b</u>
→	is interpreted as / is realised as
// #	end of text

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE IN IWAIDJA

0. INTRODUCTION

Sections 1 and 2 of this paper attempt to answer the following questions:

Is there a particular type of discourse in Iwaidja which can be called "Procedural"?

If so, what are its characteristics?

In what ways does "Procedural" discourse differ from "Narrative" discourse?

Conclusions and hypotheses arising out of the analysis are discussed in the other sections of the paper. These cover paragraphs and sentence boundaries and the use of particles.

Ten texts have been analysed. Nine of these were considered to be "Procedural" in the sense that they each described a procedure. Texts nos. 1 and 2 tell about the collecting of long yams, nos. 3, 4 and 5 about collecting oysters, no. 6 about getting crabs and nos. 7 and 8 about cooking a damper. All of these are activities done only by women and the procedures are told by women. No. 9 is a description of a ceremony in which the woman describing it was intimately concerned. No. 10 is included to show the type of story usually told when asked "Tell me how you do . . .". It is the narrative of an actual incident of cooking a goose, complete with named characters.

Each text was divided into groups containing at least one verb and bounded by pauses of at least length /. Then the significant intonation patterns were added. Then each group within the text was considered in turn and divided into grammatical clauses. Note was taken of any change from the normal clause word order (verb phrase followed by up to two of Subject, Object, Location, Purpose, Instrument, etc. tagmemes), and the occurrence of particles was marked. Next the texts were looked at from the point of view of sequence in the procedure and outlines of the structure were prepared. The conclusions reached and the hypotheses formed are based on a study of all of the above.

1. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

1.1 ABORIGINAL PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

R. E. Longacre (1976:206) says:

In some nonliterate communities procedural discourse is almost non-existent. In such communities, people learn by participating in activities. The verbal components are part of the whole activity

complex and do not ever attain the status of a continuous monologue. Nevertheless, even in such communities the outsider does not find it too hard to elicit from people a discourse telling how to do or how to make something. In such cases the influence of the outsider results in the speedy evolution of a new discourse type.

The first sentence of this comment is very true for the Iwaidjas. An Iwaidja does not tell someone how to do something, he shows him. But the second part is not so true. Even after years of being asked by the white man, "How do you . . . ?", the answer is still, "Come and I'll show you" or "Sit down and watch me". Even in the matter of a white person learning the language the attitude is very similar. He is told, "Come and sit and listen. After awhile you'll be able to hear it, and then after a bit longer you'll be able to speak".

Harris (1977) makes several comments about the Yolngu (Aborigines of Eastern Arnhem Land) which give some of the reasons for the lack of procedural discourse. His comments are true also for the Iwaidjas of Western Arnhem Land. He says:

Most Yolngu knowledge and skills (such as knowledge of second and third languages, hunting skills, knowledge of the kinship system, ceremonial songs and so on) are gained through very informal, casual, and passive participation in situations in which the skills or knowledge is displayed by others, or where the learner participates and learns by trial and error. Often the learner does not need to take any active, conscious steps or choices in order to learn in this area. (p. 156)

There is relatively little verbal instruction involved in Yolngu learning contexts. (p. 259)

Whenever verbalization was observed being used by Yolngu as a means of teaching a skill, it was always a commentary on a real-life action, and never was it on its own in a setting isolated from the actual exercise of the skill. (p. 265)

Another aspect of learning-by-doing is that the skill mastered, even if not a physical or muscle-memory type of skill, is very difficult to explain verbally to others (see Cole et al 1971, p. 42). A balanda (white man) teacher at Milingimbi who is fluent in Yolngu matha ("Yolngu language") reports that Yolngu games of marbles often have very complicated rules that the children know clearly but do not seem to be able to explain verbally, even to someone who can understand their language. It is probable that the task of explaining the rules of the game is very difficult because they were not learned through verbalization, but through playing along with older children and learning-by-doing and by observation (and because they never had to verbalize the rules for others, or hear them verbalized by anyone else). (p. 275,276)

After reading the above comments we should not be surprised to find that examples of procedural discourse are difficult to obtain. In fact, the first nine texts used in this paper are the only "Procedural" texts obtained over a period of five years.

1.2 IWAIDJA PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

With the exception of Text no. 9, the texts all describe activities which both of the women telling the procedures would have performed hundreds of times over the years. The procedures would be well fixed in their minds. Both the women are good story tellers, yet the texts are lacking in the type of detail required by a nonobserver -- such details as what the vine looks like, how you tell from the vine that the yam in the ground is ripe, how far down you dig, what part is the neck, etc. The only way to learn such details is by trial and error when participating in the activities.

What then, do the texts show? They show that an activity can be described in general terms, from a bare outline as in Text no. 5, to a description of several repetitions of the activity as in Text no. 1, to a description from beginning to end as in Texts nos. 2 and 9. Note, however, that in Text no. 1 what appears to an outsider as repetition of one activity is regarded by an Iwaidja as several different activities because different locations and yams are involved.

Text no. 7 shows the difficulty of a hypothetical situation. The repetition at the beginning is hesitation due to the author's inability to think in terms of pretence. The tenses change until she settles into the past tense of narrative.

The nine texts do vary from the normal narrative text in some ways, all of which are explainable by their general rather than specific nature. The tense of a narrative is always past. The tense of these "Procedural" texts may be past or present or a mixture of both. In a narrative the actors change and are specifically named. Events and locations are usually specific to a particular story. But in these texts the actors are, with one exception, Text no. 4, the same throughout and are not specifically named. Rather they are referred to in general terms: 'I', 'we', 'they', 'a woman', 'she'. Locations are not specifically named but again a general term is used: 'another jungle', 'the beach', 'inland'. So the texts are merely generalized narratives. There does not appear to be a particular type of discourse in Iwaidja which can be called "Procedural".

2. OUTLINES OF TEXTS

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the outlines of the text, various code symbols are used. These are explained below.

Letters of the alphabet: Preceding each outline, or pair of outlines, is a list of the activities involved in the actual order of occurrence in real life. These are coded with letters of the alphabet.

Numbers: The numbers represent the pause groups shown in the corpus of texts.

Lines and arrows link the letters to make the order of narration easier to follow.

Other symbols mark intonation and particles as follows:

⤿		clause final falling intonation
&	<u>barduwa</u>	completive
\$	<u>barta</u>	continuity
‰	<u>gayirrg</u>	'now'
+	<u>lda</u>	simultaneous activity or co-ordination

Where there is direct speech quoted, or a comment by the narrator, then the actual English gloss is shown.

Because of considerations of space, the various ways in which a particular activity is described are shown only on the shorter texts. But variations in description are common, e.g. in Texts nos. 1 and 2, 'G - we see the foliage hanging' occurs as:

- (a) ngarrurdayan warndi ba ldungun 'we see the long yam up there' (Text 1, no. 5; Text 2, no. 26)
- (b) ngarrurdayan warndi baraga ldungun 'we see the long yam up there' (Text 1, no. 20)
- (c) ngarrurdayan warndi ba bangartalg /// bangartalg ba ldungun 'we see the foliage up there, it's the foliage of the long yam' (Text 1, nos. 33, 34)
- (d) ngarrurdayan warndi // ba bangartalg ba ldungun 'we see it up there, it's the foliage of the long yam' (Text 1, no. 45)

- (e) ngarrurdayan warndi 'we see it up there' (Text 1, nos. 13, 26, 35; Text 2, nos. 19, 27)
- (f) warndi 'it's up there' (Text no. 1, no. 14)
- (g) ngarrurdayan bangartalḡ warndi /// bangartalḡ warndi barta ngarrara ngarrurdaya:n 'we see the foliage up there, the foliage is up there and we keep on looking at it' (Text 2, nos. 7,8)
- (h) ngarrurdayan ardbung 'we see some more' (Text 2, no. 38)

No attempt is made in this paper to deal with such variations. However, it is noted that some are appositional amplifications [(c) and (d) above], others are echos [Text 1, no. 35; Text 2, no. 27], and others are Tail-Head linkages [(f) and (h) above].

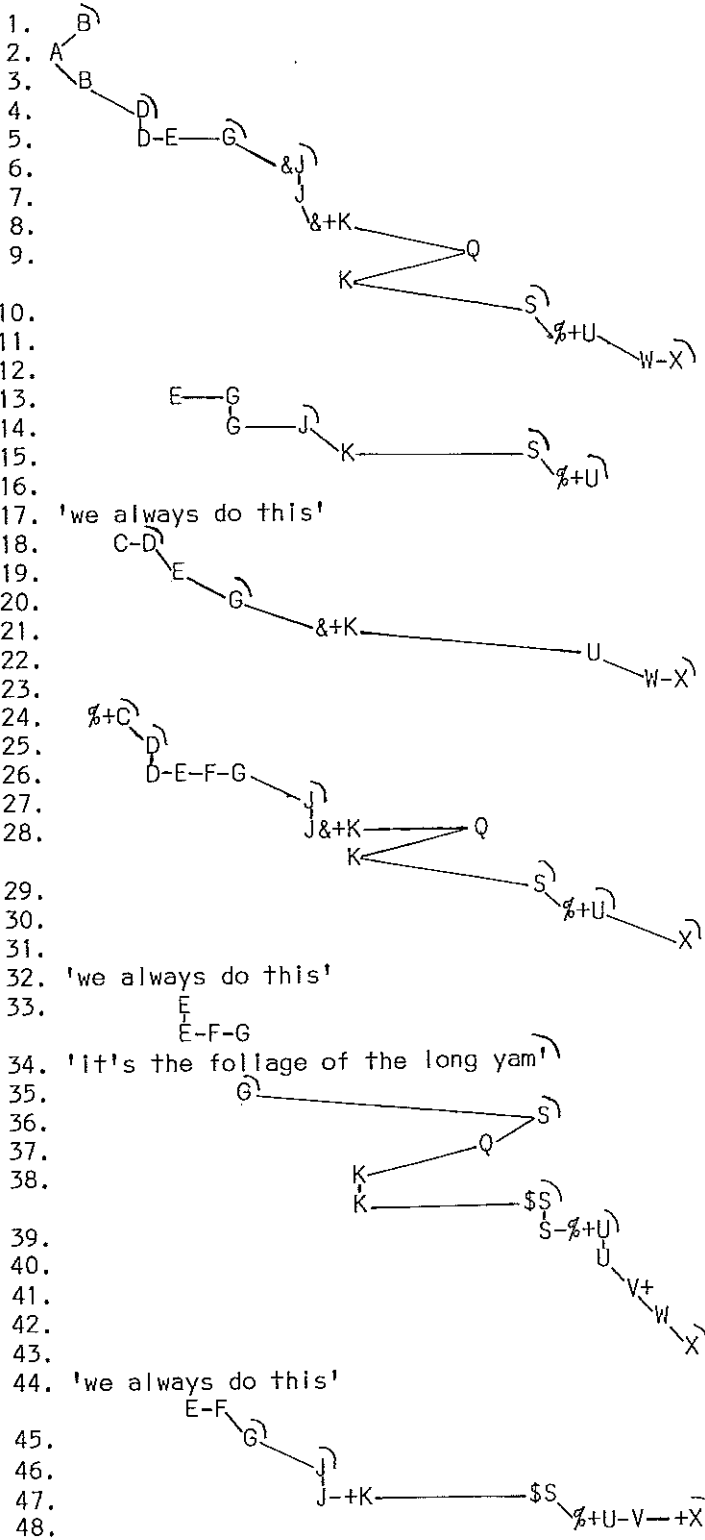
2.1 TEXT OUTLINES

Texts nos. 1 and 2. 'Going for long yams'

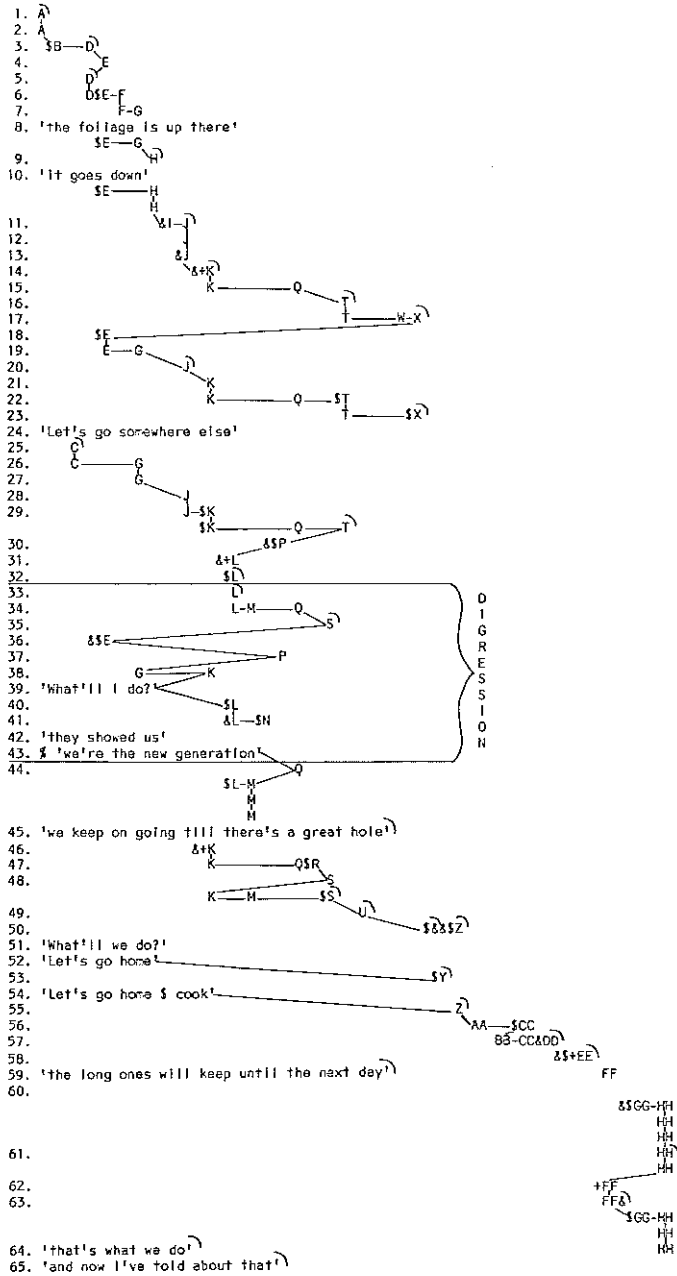
- A - we gather instruments: digging stick, bag
- B - we set out
- C - we go to another jungle
- D - we enter the jungle
- E - we walk, go along
- F - we look for, search for yam
- G - we see the foliage hanging
- H - we see the vine
- I - we sit down
- J - we put down our bags
- K - we dig
- L - we dig out the soil
- M - we throw out the soil
- N - we bail out the soil
- O - we jab at the ground
- P - we hit the yam (knock the dirt off it)
- Q - we follow the yam down
- R - we feel the yam

- S - we take hold of it
- T - we break the long ones (the yam grows vertically and may be up to
four feet long)
- U - we break it off at the neck
- V - we leave the neck behind
- W - we take out the yam
- X - we put it in our bag
- Y - we stay till nearly sunset
- Z - we go home
- AA - we arrive home
- BB - we gather firewood
- CC - we make a fire
- DD - the fire dies to ash
- EE - we put the yams in the hot ashes
- FF - we roast them
- GG - we share them out
- HH - we give them out

Text no. 1. 'Going for long yams'



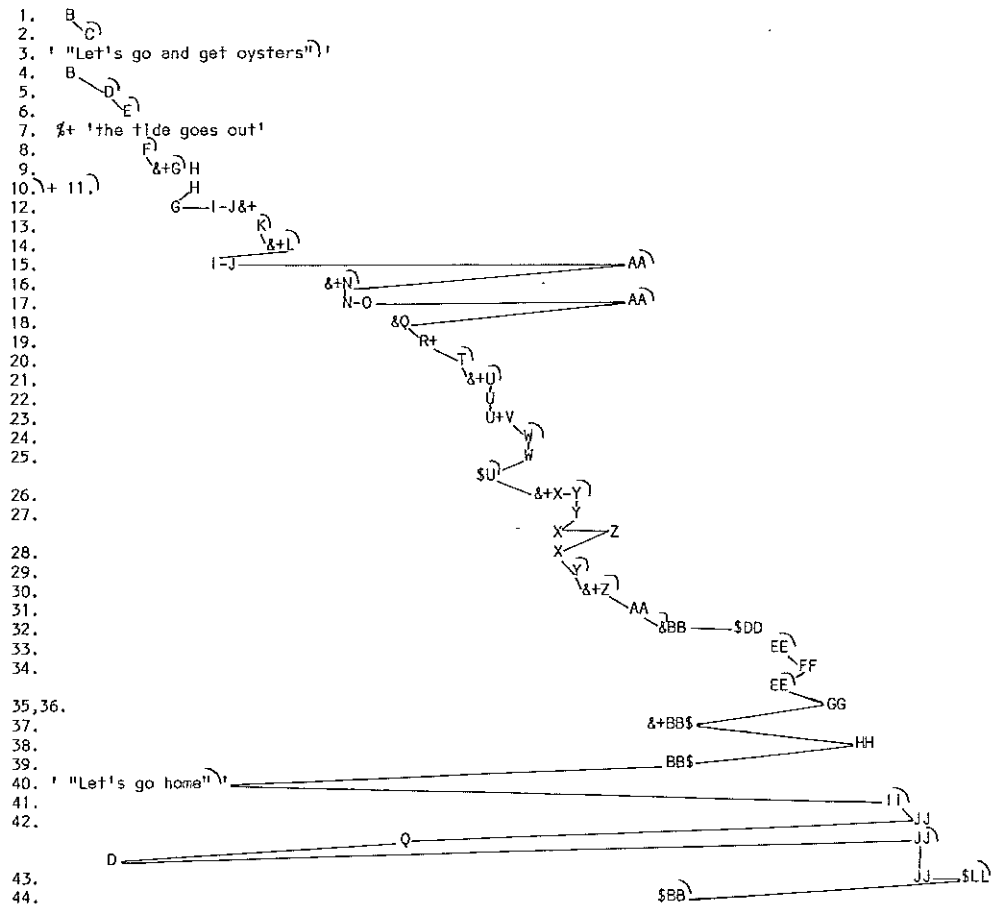
Text no. 2. 'Going for long yams'



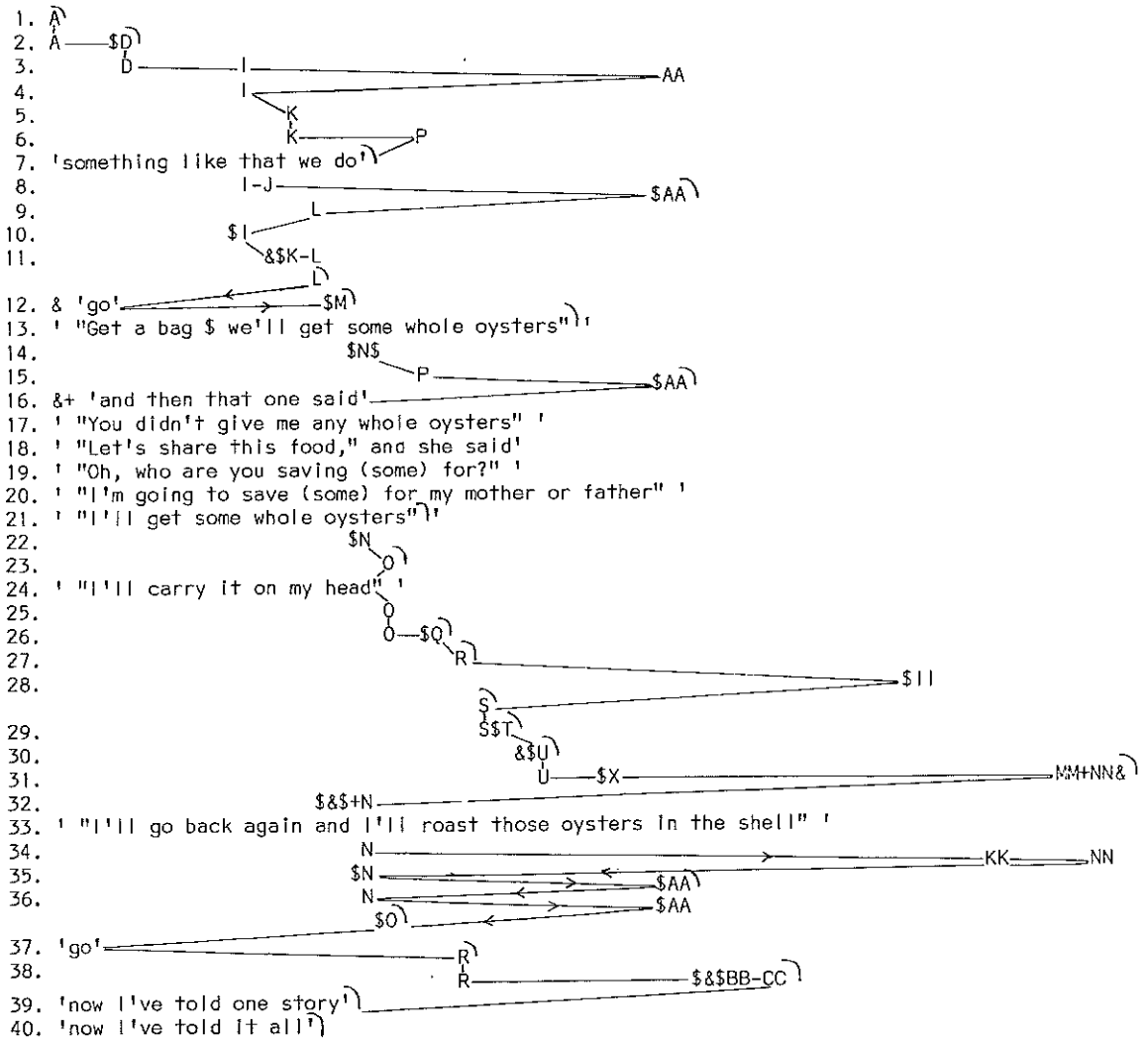
Texts nos. 3 and 4. 'Going for oysters'

- A - get instruments
- B - set out
- C - go for oysters
- D - go down to the beach
- E - put down bags
- F - wait for tide to go out
- G - go down onto rocks
- H - take instruments
- I - crack open oysters
- J - pick out the fat parts
- K - tip into container
- L - pour into container
- M - get a bag
- N - get whole oysters (oysters and shells)
- O - carry on head
- P - put into container
- Q - go inland (into the shade of trees)
- R - put down bags
- S - gather sticks
- T - make a fire
- U - roast whole oysters
- V - leave them roast
- W - lift them off
- X - crack them open
- Y - pick out the fat parts
- Z - put into a bucket
- AA - keep going till the bucket is full
- BB - sit
- CC - rest
- DD - go for water
- EE - drink
- FF - boil water for tea
- GG - eat oysters
- HH - sun goes down
- II - go home
- JJ - walk along
- KK - take oysters home
- LL - arrive home
- MM - give oysters to others
- NN - eat

Text no. 3. 'Going for oysters'



Text no. 4. 'Going for oysters'



Text no. 5. 'Going for oysters'

A - they were staying there

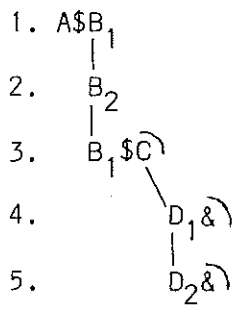
B₁ - they went out

B₂ - the women went out

C - they arrived there

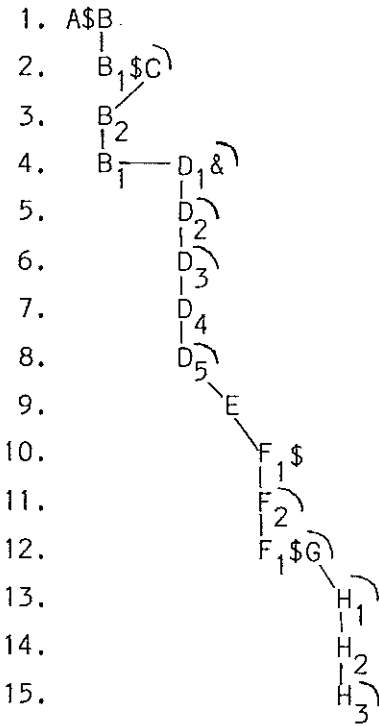
D₁ - they cracked open oysters

D₂ - they cracked them open till their bags were full



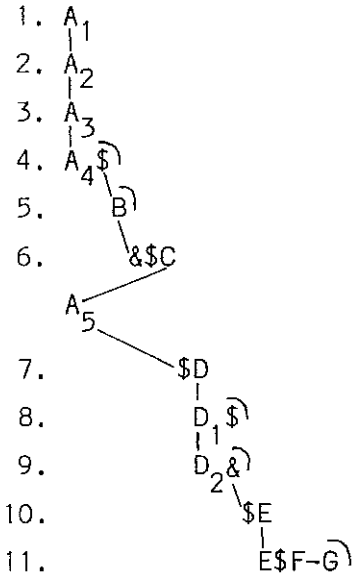
Text no. 6. 'Going for crabs'

- A - the women were staying there
- B₁ - they went out
- B₂ - they went for crabs
- C - they arrived there
- D₁ - they were getting crabs
- D₂ - they got those crabs
- D₃ - they got crabs till their bags were full
- D₄ - they got enough crabs for one bag
- D₅ - they got a bag full of crabs each
- E - they came home
- F₁ - they came back
- F₂ - they came back home
- G - they arrived home
- H₁ - they'd got a lot a crabs
- H₂ - they got a lot
- H₃ - they got them altogether



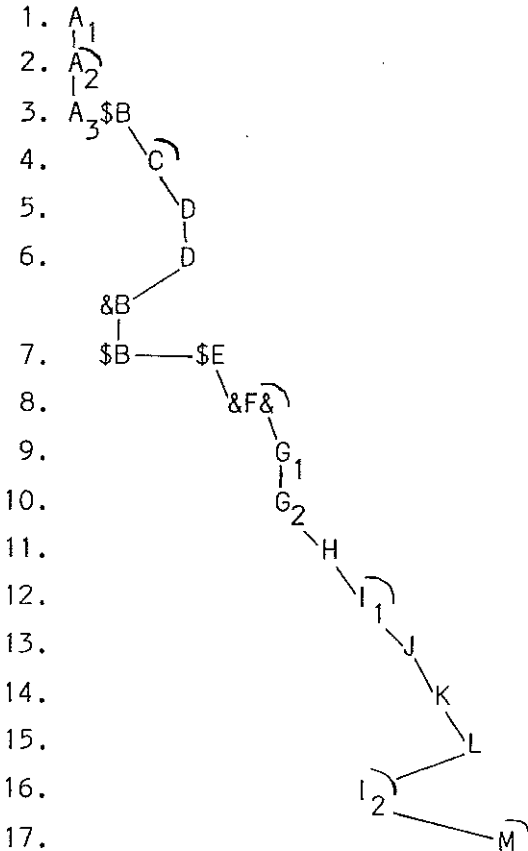
Text no. 7. 'Baking a damper'

- A₁ - I'll pretend to knead it
- A₂ - I'll pretend to knead some flour
- A₃ - I'll knead some flour
- A₄ - I knead it
- A₅ - I kneaded it
- B - I get the fire going
- C - I finish
- D₁ - I cooked it
- D₂ - I cooked it till the fire died down
- E - it was cooked
- F - I took it out
- G - I put it away



Text no. 8. 'A woman bakes a damper'

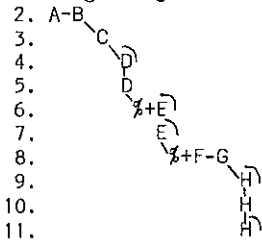
- A - a woman makes a fire
- B - she finished
- C - she got flour
- D - she kneaded it
- E - it was cooked
- F - she cut it up with a knife
- G - she gave it to them
- H - she called out
- I - "Come and eat food"
- J - they came
- K - they arrived
- L - they sat down
- M - It's their turn to eat



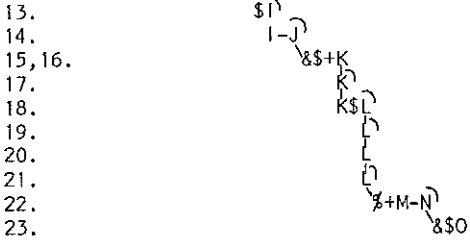
Text no. 9. 'The Lurrigon Ceremony'

- A - they go out with an axe
- B - they see a hollow tree
- C - they get the hollow tree
- D - they cut it down
- E - they scrape off the bark
- F - they carry it on their shoulders
- G - they put it down
- H - they dry it in the sun
- I - they paint it with clay
- J - they put it to dry in the sun
- K - they say, "start"
- L - they put the bone inside
- M - they stand it up on end
- N - they close up the hole
- O - they paint the design
- P - they put on a goanna and snake
- Q - they say, "begin"
- R - the women sit
- S - the women call out to the men
- T - the men come
- U - the men tell the women to call out
- V - the women call out to the hole
- W - two women go
- X - the men wait
- Y - the two women call out
- Z - the two women move
- AA - they stand in the pandanus tree
- BB - the two women call the name
- CC - they hit the log with a throwing stick
- DD - they take the log
- EE - they stand it up in the hole
- FF - they finish

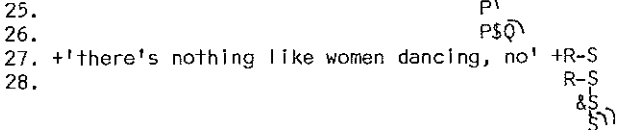
1. 'beginning') 'I'm telling a Maung story'



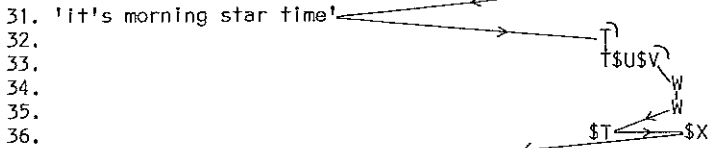
12. %+ 'I'm telling a Maung story'



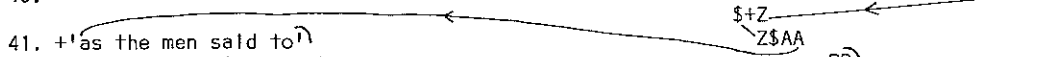
24. 'like they said the little Ngalwangari's (totem) was')



29. %+ 'it's nearly time for the men to come'



37. 'they give the women a turn'



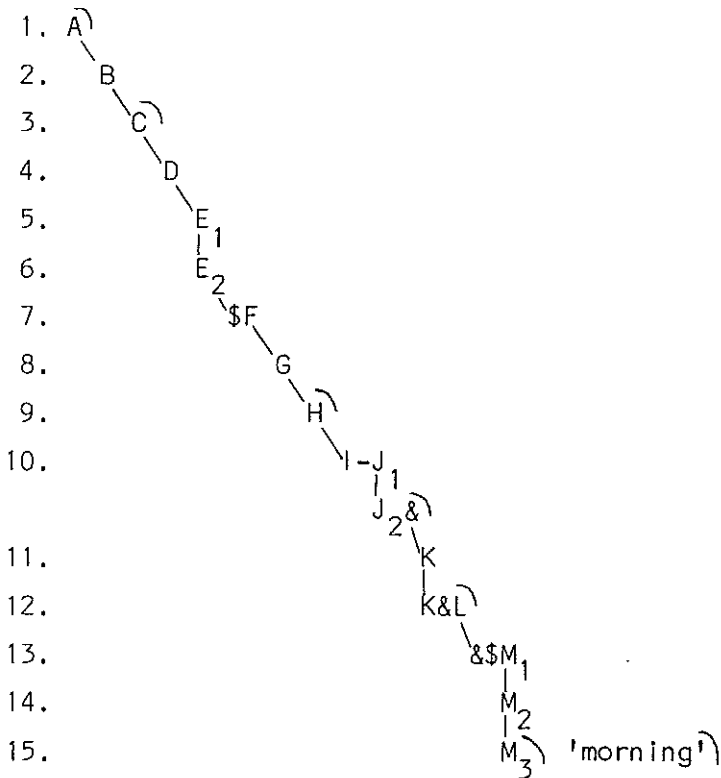
41. +'as the men said to')

42. +'as they said'



Text no. 10. 'Cooking a goose'

- A - we got up
- B - I went and opened the refridgerator
- C - Inside was a magpie goose
- D - I saw it
- E - I told Maldurinymag to make a fire
- F - I called him to come
- G - the baby played
- H - I made the fire
- I - I burnt off the feathers
- J - I pulled off the down
- K - I cooked it
- L - it cooked
- M - we ate it



2.2 DISCUSSION OF OUTLINES

As can be seen from the outlines, the general pattern is progression (with some regression) in order of the actual occurrence of the activities. The cycles which appear in text no. 1 are not exact repetitions of the same activity. There is progression here too in that the location has changed and there is a different yam involved.

Some of the regressions on the chart are caused by the difficulty of charting occurrences of the same activity in a different location. For example, in Text no. 3, the activities: 'JJ - go along', 'Q - go inland', 'D - go down to the beach' and 'JJ - go along' merely describe the return journey home. In order to get from the beach where the oysters are found to the beach where the people live it is necessary to go into the bush around the rocky headlands and then down onto the beach again.

Similarly, the activity 'BB - sit' in the same text occurs in different locations, and the activity 'AA - keep going till the container is full' in Texts nos. 3 and 4 occurs with two different activities, the collecting of shelled oysters and the collecting of oysters complete with shells.

In Texts nos. 1 and 2, the activities L - S, the digging out of the yam, have no set order and may occur several times in differing orders in the digging of one yam. That is, one can dig, throw out soil, dig again, feel the yam, knock dirt off it, dig some more, etc. Regressions in this area are not significant to the text as a whole.

Most of the remaining repetitions or regressions appear to be linkage devices to sustain continuity.

3. PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES

In "An Iwaidja Narrative Discourse" (elsewhere in this volume) the following hypotheses were advanced with regard to paragraphs and sentences:

1. The end of a paragraph is marked by pause and clause final falling intonation. This intonation may occur on barduwa as the final word in a clause.
2. With the exception of the beginning of the story, the beginning of a paragraph is marked by one of the grammatical markers: barta, barduwa or barduwa barta, by an 'in turn' pronoun, by a fronted Location or by Tail-Head linkage.
3. Within the paragraph, the end of a sentence is most commonly marked by a pause of at least length ///, but may also be marked by

barduwa at the end followed by an 'in turn' pronoun at the beginning of the next sentence . . . or by barduwa at the beginning of the next sentence . . . It is possible also that a sentence may be marked by an 'in turn' pronoun at the beginning of the next sentence. (pp.177, 178)

An application of these hypotheses to the "Procedural" texts resulted in some adjustment to the hypotheses. The definition of sentences on grammatical criteria held but the definition on phonological criteria did not. In the larger texts pauses of length /// are quite uncommon. The length of a pause seems to be related more to a speaker's individual style than to a grammatical distinction. A better hypothesis may be to say that there is no distinction between sentence and paragraph on phonological grounds.

If, for paragraphs, hypothesis no. 1 is taken to be the major consideration, then hypothesis no. 2 must be expanded to account for the extra criteria observed. These are:

A paragraph beginning may be marked by:

- (a) a general introductory comment. ngadbin agud 'we always do this' (Text 1, no. 17)
- (b) direct speech used to show a change of activity. jadnarang barduwa 'let's go' (Text 2, no. 24)
- (c) picking up of the main story line after an aside by repeating the main story line verb. In Text no. 3, nos. 10 and 11 are an aside, and no. 12 picks up the main story line again with jadbulagun 'we go down', a repetition of the ngadbulagun 'we go down' of no. 9.

Other paragraphs may have no special marking but still be new paragraphs. A new paragraph may amplify a previous paragraph (Text 9, nos. 34-38), or summarize one or more previous paragraphs (Text 4, no. 8). A new paragraph may begin with a new activity (Text 1, no. 13), or be the closure of the story (Text 4, no. 39).

Thus, in general, paragraphs are marked by phonological criteria, grammatical criteria, and/or semantic criteria. But the phonological criteria do not always match with the grammatical or semantic criteria. At this stage no hypotheses are advanced to account for the mismatches listed below.

There are several instances of clause final falling intonation which do not seem to mark a paragraph boundary. Some examples are Text 2, no. 21; Text 4, no 27; Text 8, no. 5; and Text 10, no. 11.

There are also over forty places where a Tail-Head linkage, a grammatical marker or an 'in turn' pronoun is not preceded by clause final falling intonation. Some examples are Text 2, no. 47; Text 4, no. 11; and Text 9, no. 30. A great deal more work needs to be done in this area.

4. PARTICLES

The particles appearing in these texts are:

barduwa completive

barta continuity

gayirrg 'now' and

lda simultaneous activity or co-ordination

They are used alone or in the following combinations: barduwa barta, barduwa lda, barduwa barta lda and gayirrg lda.

barduwa barta occurs only at the beginning of paragraphs, and gayirrg lda (only occurring in three texts all by Illyjilly) seems to imply some sort of climax. But it is more difficult to distinguish the ways in which barduwa lda and barduwa barta lda are used. Both seem to be synonyms for barduwa barta.

There are only two occurrences of gayirrg both with its normal meaning of 'now' or 'at that time'.

gayirrg ngadbalgbany

'now we're the new generation' (Text 2, no. 42)

lda is used either for simultaneous action, as in

ngarruwurrga lda ngarruwudba

'we roast it and we put it, i.e. we leave it roasting'
(Text 3, no. 23)

or for co-ordinated action as in

wamin ngarrumbugun lda ngarruwarrajbun uga mawilu

'they have a turn at giving us some and we cook them on the fire'
(Text 2, no. 61),

or to mean 'as, like' as in

aldindi murrhala lda aminy ba arrarrbi

'the two stand in the pandanus tree like the men told them to'
(Text 9, no. 41).

barduwa and barta are much more complicated. Either may occur at the beginning or at the end of a clause. In general, barduwa marks the completion of an activity, while barta is used to show continuity. But this distinction is not always maintained. Compare

ngarrunjawun ngarrunjawun barta ngarrubiliman ba gijalg

'we dig and dig and then we get the fruit' (Text 1, no. 38)

with

ngarrunjawun ngarrurdagan ba guna:g barduwa ngarrubiliman ba gijalg

'we dig and throw out the soil and then we get the fruit'
(Text 2, no. 48).

The situations are identical and the stories are told by the same person.

Some distinct uses of barduwa and barta have been isolated. barduwa at the end of a clause or a pause group marks the completion of that activity.

galdalgugung manjawag barduwa

'she cut it up into small pieces with a knife' (Text 8, no. 8)

At the beginning of a pause group it shows that one activity has been completed and another is about to begin.

barduwa nyarrurdin

'then we come inland' (Text 3, no. 18)

Within a clause barta is used to show that an activity is continuing.

bungalgbun barta mambal murrugud

'they keep on cracking them open until the bags are full'
(Text 5, no. 5)

While barta is commonly used in this way there is also one example of barduwa used in the same way.

barnugbu:ng barduwa mambal

'they kept on getting crabs till their bags were full'
(Text 6, no. 6)

At the beginning of a clause or a pause group, barta may mark 'next in sequence' as in

barta wamin ayuwulagung ba arrarrbi: barta durdu

'and then the men in turn come down and there's a wait'
(Text 9, no. 36)

Here again it is difficult to distinguish between the use of barta as next in sequence from barduwa completion of one activity, beginning of the next.

The other uses of barta noted are:

the continuation of the story line after an interjection as in

barta buldardban ba gurturd

'then they paint it with white clay' following the interjection
'I'm telling a story that's really Maung' (Text 9, nos. 12, 13).

the repetition of a previous activity as in

ngarrubulan // barta ngarrugalgbu:n

'we pour them out (into a bucket) and then we crack open (some more)' (Text 4, nos. 9, 10).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions have been drawn.

1. There is not a particular type of discourse in Iwaidja which can be called "Procedural".
2. Repetitions or regressions within the text may be
 - (a) the same procedure in a different location, as in Text 1.
 - (b) an amplification of a previous statement.
 - (c) a summary or echo of previous statements.
 - (d) devices for preserving the continuity of the story, such as Tail-Head linkages, as in

barduwa Ida ngarrubirdbaldang // ngarrubirdbaldang . . .

'we put down (our bags). We put down . . .'
(Text 1, nos. 46, 47).

- (e) devices for showing that an action continued over a period of time, or was repeated several times, as in

barta ngarrungurjalgun ngarrurdagan ngarrurdagan ba gunag
ngarrurdagan barta

'we dig and we keep on throwing out the soil' (Text 2, no. 44).

3. No sure criteria for establishing a sentence have been found.

4. Criteria for establishing paragraphs include:

the ending marked by a pause and clause final falling intonation.

the beginning marked by a particle, an 'in turn' pronoun, a Tail-Head linkage, a general introductory comment, direct speech or repetition of the main story line verb. A paragraph may amplify or summarize previous paragraphs, introduce a new activity or be the closure of the story. More work is needed in this area.

5. The exact distinctions in meaning between the various particles is not clear. There appears to be considerable overlap and more information is required.

6. CORPUS OF TEXTS

Text no. 1. 'Going for long yams' told by Illyjilly.

1. jarraran \ //
away=we=exc-go-p
'We set out.'

2. ngarrubilimany balaji / Ida warldamuru //
exc-we-take-p bag and dig.=stick
'We took a bag and a digging stick.'

3. jarrara:n /
away=we=exc-go-cont-p
'We went for a while.'
4. ngarrurlhany ba walmurdja) //
exc-we-enter-p that jungle
'We went into the jungle.'
5. ngarrurlhany ba walmurdja ngarraran ngarrurdayang
exc-we-enter-p that jungle exc-we-go-p exc-we-see-p
warndi ba ldungun) ///
3s-on that long=yam
'We went into the jungle, we went along and saw the long yam up there.'
6. barduwa ngarrubirdbaldang ba balaji) //
compl exc-we=it-put=down that bag
'Then we put down our bags.'
7. ngarrubirdbaldang ba balaji /
exc-we=it-put=down that bag
'We put down our bags'
8. barduwa lda ngarrunjawun) //
compl and exc-we=it-dig=up
'and then we dig.'
9. ngarruwartama ngarrunjawu:n //
exc-we=it-follow exc-we=it-dig=up
'We follow it down as we dig.'

10. ngarrubiliman ba gijalg) //
 exc-we=it-take that fruit
 'We take hold of the fruit.'
11. gayirrg Ida / ngarrubunggurrugbun ba bungurryuwu //
 now and exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck
 'and we break it off at the neck'
12. ngarrubiliman / ngarrurari ba balaji) //
 exc-we=it-take exc-we=it-put=in that bag
 'we take it and put it in our bag.'
13. jarrara: ngarrurdayan warndi //
 away=we=exc-go-cont exc-we=it-see 3s-on
 'As we're going along we see it up there.'
14. warndi / ngarrubirdbaldang) //
 3s-on exc-we-it-put=down
 'It's up there and we put down (our bags)'
15. ngarrunjawu:n ngarrubiliman ba gijalg) //
 exc-we=it-dig=up-cont exc-we=it-take that fruit
 'we keep on digging and get hold of the fruit.'
16. gayirrg Ida ngarrubunggurrugbun ba bungurryuwu) ///
 now and exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck
 'Next we break it off at the neck.'
17. ngadbin agud //
 exc-we-do always
 'we always do this.'

18. jarrara: badba warta walmurdja ngarrurhan) /
 away=we=exc-go-cont other other jungle exc-we-enter
 'We keep on going to another jungle and we go in.'
19. ngarrara:
 exc-we-go-cont
 'we go along'
20. ngarrurdayan warndi // baraga ldungun) //
 exc-we=it-see 3s-on that long=yam
 'we see that long yam up there'
21. barduwa lda ngarrunjawu:n /
 compl and exc-we=it-dig=up-cont
 'And then we dig and dig'
22. ngarrubunggurrugun ba bunggurruwu /
 exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck
 'we break it off at the neck'
23. ngarrubiliman ba gijalg ngarrurari uga balaji) ///
 exc-we=it-take that fruit exc-we=it-put=in into bag
 'we take the fruit and put it into the bag.'
24. gayirrg lda yadbanara: badba warta walmurdja) //
 now and away=we=inc-fut-go-cont other other jungle
 '"Now let's go to another jungle.'"
25. ngarrurhan) //
 exc-we-enter
 'we go in.'

26. ngarrurlihan jarrara ngarrurdayan ngarrugagan
 exc-we-enter away=we=exc-go exc-we=it-see exc-we-look-rep
 ngarrurdayan warndi //
 exc-we=it-see 3s-on
 'we go in and we go along looking and looking and we see it up there'
27. ngarrubirdbaldang \ //
 exc-we=it-put=down
 'we put down (our bags)'
28. ngarrubirdbaldang barduwa lda ngarrunjawu:n
 exc-we=it-put=down compl and exc-we=it-dig=up-cont
 ngarruwartama ngarrunjawu:n /
 exc-we=it-follow exc-we=it-dig=up-cont
 'we put down (our bags) and then we dig and dig and we follow it and dig and dig.'
29. ngarrubiliman ba gijalg \ //
 exc-we=it-take that fruit
 'we get the fruit.'
30. gayirrg lda ngarrubunggurrugbun ba bunggurryuwu \ //
 now and exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck
 'and now we break it off at the neck.'
31. ngarrurari / ba balaji \ //
 exc-we=it-put=in that bag
 'we put it in our bag'
32. ngadbin agud /
 exc-we-do always
 'We always do this.'

33. jarrara ngarrara ngarrujalmagba ngarrurdayan
 away=we=exc-go exc-we-go exc-we=it-search-rep exc-we=it-see
 warndi ba bangartalg ///
 3s-on that foliage
 'We go out and we keep on searching and we see the foliage hanging'
34. bangartalg ba ldungun) //
 foliage that long=yam
 'it's the foliage of the long yam.'
35. ngarrurdayan warndi) //
 exc-we=it-see 3s-on
 'we see it up there.'
36. ngarrubiliman //
 exc-we=it-take
 'we get it'
37. ngarruwartama:
 exc-we=it-follow-cont
 'we follow it down'
38. ngarrunjawun ngarrunjawun barta ngarrubiliman ba
 exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-dig=up and=then exc-we=it-take that
 gijalg) //
 fruit
 'we dig and we dig and then we get the fruit'
39. ngarrubiliman ba gijalg gayirrg lda ngarrubunggurugun) //
 exc-we=it-take that fruit now and exc-we=it-break=off
 'we get the fruit and now we break it off'

40. ngarrubungurrugbun ba bunggurryuwu /
exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck
'we break it off at the neck'
41. bunggurryuwu ngarruwarturdba lida /
3s-neck exc-we=it-leave and
'we leave the neck and . . .'
42. gijalg ngarrubiliman /
fruit exc-we=it-take
'we take the fruit . . .'
43. ngarrurari) //
exc-we=it-put=in
'we put it in (our bag)'
44. ngadbin agud jarrara: ngarrujalma ./
exc-we-do always away=we=exc-go-cont exc-we=it-search
'We always do this, we go along and we look,'
45. ngarrurdayan warndi // ba bangartalg ba ldungun) //
exc-we=it-see 3s-on that foliage that long=yam
'we see the foliage of the long yam up there,'
46. barduwa lida ngarrubirdbaldang) //
compl and exc-we=it-put=down
'and then we put down (our bag)'
47. ngarrubirdbaldang lida ngarrunjawu:n barta
exc-we=it-put=down and exc-we=it-dig=up-cont and=then
ngarrubiliman ba gijalg //
exc-we=it-take that fruit
'we put down (our bags) and we dig and dig and then we get the fruit'

48. gayirrg Ida bunggurryuwu // ngarrubunggurrugbun ngarruwarturdba
 now and 3s-neck exc-we=it-break=off exc-we=it-leave
 bunggurryuwu Ida ngarrurari uga balaji \) ////#
 3s-neck and exc-we=it-put-in into bag
 'next we break off the neck which we leave and we put (the long yam)
 in the bag.'

Text no. 2. 'Going for long yams' told by Illyjilly.

1. ngarrubujbagban \) ///
 exc-we=it-collect
 'we gather it together'
2. ngarrubiliman warldamuru /// balaji //
 exc-we=it-take dig.=stick bag
 'we get a digging stick and a bag.'
3. barta jarrara jarrurhan uga walmurdja \) //
 and=then away=we=exc-go away=we=exc-enter into jungle
 'And then we set out and go into the jungle.'
4. jarrara jarrungmarrajba:ng //
 away=we=exc-go away=we=exc-walk
 'we keep on walking'
5. ngarrurhan ba walmurdja \) //
 exc-we-enter that jungle
 'we go into the jungle'
6. ngarrurhan barta ngarrara ngarrugagan Idungun //
 exc-we-enter and=then exc-we-go exc-we-look-rep long=yam
 'we go in and we keep on looking for the long yam.'

7. ngarrugan ngarrurdayan bangartalg warndi ///
 exc-we-look exc-we=it-see foliage 3s-on
 'we look and we see the foliage up there'
8. bangartalg warndi barta ngarrara ngarrurdaya:n //
 foliage 3s-on and=then exc-we-go exc-we=it-see-cont
 'the foliage's up there and as we go along we see it.'
9. ngarrurdbalarraman baga / jumung ldungun bulagun) ///
 exc-we=it-see=vine over=there where long=yam 3s-descend
 'we see the vine over there where the long yam goes down'
10. bulagun barta ngarrara ngarrurdbalarraman ngarrurdayan
 3s-descend and=then exc-we-go exc-we=it-see=vine exc-we=it-see
 ari ba ldungun //
 3s-stand that long=yam
 'it goes down and then we go along and we see the vine, we see
 (where) the long yam is.'
11. barduwa / ngarrimbarni ngarrubirdbaldang ba balaji) //
 compl exc-we-sit=down exc-we=it-put=down that bag
 'After that we sit down and put down our bag.'
12. ngarrubirdbaldang /
 exc-we=it-put=down
 'we put it down'
13. barduwa ngarruwudba /
 compl exc-we=it-put
 'After we've put it down . . .'

14. barduwa lda ngarrunjawun \\\\ //
 compl and exc-we=it-dig=up
 'then we dig.'
15. ngarrunjawu:n ngarruwartama: /
 exc-we=it-dig=up-cont exc-we=it-follow-cont
 'we dig and dig and follow it down.'
16. yanyung wilbanyan ba ldungun ngarruwarnugbun \\\\ //
 sometimes 3s-long that long=yam exc-we=it-break
 'Sometimes the yam is long and we break it.'
17. ngarruwarnugbun ngarrubiliman ngarrurari balaji \\\\ //
 exc-we=it-break exc-we=it-take exc-we=it-put=in bag
 'we break it and take it and put it in the bag.'
18. barta jarrungmarrajba jarrara //
 and=then away=we=exc-walk away=we=exc-go
 'and then we go on walking'
19. ngarrara: ngarrungmarrajba ngarrurdayan warndi //
 exc-we-go-cont exc-we-walk exc-we=it-see 3s-on
 'we walk along and we see it up there'
20. ngarrubirdbaldang \\\\ //
 exc-we=it-put=down
 'we put down (our bags)'
21. ngarrunjawun //
 exc-we=it-dig=up
 'and we dig'

22. ngarrunjawun ngarruwartama: barta
exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-follow-cont and=then
ngarrugalgbun /
exc-we=it-break-cont
'we dig and we follow it down and then we break it off.'
23. ngarrugalgbun barta ngarrurari) /
exc-we=it-break and=then exc-we=it-put=in
'we break it off and then we put it in (our bag).'
24. jadnarang barduwa /
away=we=exc-go-opt compl
'"Let's go (somewhere else)."
25. jarrara badba warta walmurdja) //
away=we=exc-go other other jungle
'we go off to another jungle'
26. badba warta walmurdja ngarrurdayan warndi ba ldungun //
other other jungle exc-we=it-see 3s-on that long=yam
'In another jungle we see the long yam up there.'
27. ngarrurdayan warndi barta //
exc-we=it-see 3s-on emph
'we see it up there.'
28. ngarrubirdbaldang /
exc-we=it-put=down
'we put down (our bags)'

29. ngarrubanawirdbaldang barta ngarrungmanayawun barta
exc-we=it-fut-put=down and=then exc-we=it-fut-dig and=then
ngarrunjawun ngarruwartama: ngarrugalgbun) ///
exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-follow-cont exc-we=it-break
'"Let's put down our bags and dig." So we dig and follow it down
and break it off.'
30. barduwa // barta ngarrara ngarrubu:n ba ldungun
compl and=then exc-we-go exc-we=it-hit that long=yam
ngarruwartama: /
exc-we=it-follow-cont
'Then we keep on hitting (getting) that long yam we're following.'
31. barduwa lida ngarrungurjalgun //
compl and exc-we=it-dig=out
'and then we dig it out.'
32. ba girrimul arihij / barta ngarrungurjalgun) //
that like old=yam and=then exc-we=it-dig=out
waliman //
steel=axe
'it's like the old yam and we dig it out with an axe.'
33. ngarlawi / wularrud ngamungmuyag wularrud ngarlawi
bailer=shell long=ago old=generation long=ago bailer=shell
ngarrungurjalgun ngarlawi) //
exc-we=it-dig=out-p=habit bailer=shell
'In the olden times long ago we used to use a bailer shell to dig
it out.'

34. angburjalgun ngarlwi: angbaganbagan guna::g
 3=pers=it-dig=up bailer=shell-cont 3=pers=it-throw-rep soil-cont
 barta bartamang ba ldungu::n /
 and=then 3p=it-follow that long=yam
 'They dig it up with a bailer shell, they throw out the soil, and they follow that long yam.'
35. buwiliman ba gijalg //
 3p=it-take that fruit
 'they get the fruit.'
36. barduwa // barta jarrara::n //
 compl and=then away=we=exc-go-p
 'And then we kept on going.'
37. ngarrubun ardbung ba ldungun /
 exc-we=it-hit more that long=yam
 'We get some more long yams.'
38. ngarrurdayan ardbung ngarrunjawun arihij ruga arihij /
 exc-we=it-see more exc-we=it-dig=up old=yam this old=yam
 'we see some more and we dig up these old yams'
39. gindi nganduga nganamin /
 how? what? I-fut-do
 'What!!! I do!'
40. barta angmanurjalgun /
 and=then I=it-fut-dig=up
 'Next I'll dig it up.'

41. barduwa ngarrungurjalung barta ngarlawi
 compl exc-we=it-dig=up-p and=then bailer=shell
 ngarrardbung ngarlawi wularrud /
 exc-we-bail=out-p bailer=shell long=ago
 'And then we dug it up and we bailed out (the soil) with a bailer
 shell in the olden days.'
42. ngarrumbujiny anbujiny gayirrg ngarrumbujiny
 exc-us-3p-show-p 3p-3p-show-p now exc-us-3p-show-p
 ngarrimung barta /
 to=us emph
 'they showed us, they showed them, they showed it to us.'
43. gayirrg ngadbalgbany //
 now exc-we-come=out-p
 'Now we're the new generation.'
44. ngarruwartama barta ngarrungurjalgun ngarrurdagan
 exc-we=it-follow and=then exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-throw
 ngarrurdagan ba gunag ngarrurdagan barta /
 exc-we=it-throw that soil exc-we=it-throw emph
 'we follow it and we dig and we keep on throwing out the soil.'
45. ngarrara barta / baga ijalgud ardjambuj } //
 exc-we-go emph there really hole
 'We keep on going till there's a great hole.'
46. barduwa ida ngarrunjawun //
 compl and exc-we=it-dig=up
 'And then we dig.'

47. ngarrunjawun ngarruwartama ba bunggurryuwu barta
exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-follow that 3s-neck and=then

ngarrubungguradban barta /
exc-we=it-feel emph

'We dig and we follow for the neck and then we feel it.'
48. ngarrubiliman ngarrunjawun ngarrurdagan ba guna:g
exc-we=it-take exc-we=it-dig=up exc-we=it-throw that soil-cont

barduwa ngarrubiliman ba gijalg \ //
compl exc-we=it-take that fruit

'We get it and we dig and we throw out the soil and we get the fruit'
49. ngarrubunggurugbun ba bunggurryuwu \ //
exc-we=it-break=off that 3s-neck

'we break it off at the neck'
50. barta barduwa \ // barduwa barta jarrurraga \ /
and=then compl compl emph away=we=exc-go=home

'And when it's finished we go home.'
51. gindi adbanamin /
what? inc=we-fut-do

'What'll we do?'
52. yadbanurraga barta /
away=we=inc-fut-go=home emph

'Let's go home.'

53. barta yadbaning ba muwarn bagi imalda
 and=then away=we=inc-stay-p that sun over=there already
 yawurtiyin) //
 away-3s-sink

'And so we stayed there till the sun over there had almost set.'

54. adbanurraga barta arrabanarrajbun //
 inc-we-fut-go=home and=then inc-we=it-fut-cook
 "'Let's go home and cook (them).'"

55. jarrurraga) ///
 away=we=exc-go=home
 'We go home.'

56. nyadbinggan barta ngadbarrgan ngarrujidubugbun
 to=we=exc-arrive and=then exc-we-light=fire exc-we=it-gather
 ba gujali ngadbarrgan barduwa ajuwarrang wiringugug
 that firewood exc-we-light=fire compl flame ash
 girrg) //
 all

'We arrive and light a fire, we gather firewood, make a fire and all the flames die down to ash.'

57. barduwa barta lda // ngarrungbun ubugbarta gani) //
 compl emph and exc-we-put=in=ground right=into=it here
 'And after that we put it right inside the ground here (bury it in the hot ash)'

58. ngarruwarrajbun ba rurdjud //
 exc-we-roast that short-pl
 'we roast the short ones'

59. *baga wilbanyanud banayaldi uga gayirrg guburr \ //*
 that long-pl 3s-fut-stand to now next=day
 'the long ones will keep until the next day.'
60. *barduwa barta ngarrugunjildin ngarrumbugun wamin*
compl emph exc-we-share exc-us-3p-give 3p-turn
ngarrumbugun ngadbunugun ba ldungun wamin
exc-us-3p-give exc-we-3p-give that long=yam 3p-turn
ngarrumbugun \ /
exc-us-3p-give
 'And then we share them out, they give us (some) and we give them (some), each in turn.'
61. *wamin ngarrumbugun lda ngarruwarrajbu:n / uga mawilu /*
3p-turn exc-us-3p-give and exc-we=it-roast on fire
 'They have a turn at giving us some and we cook them on the fire.'
62. *ngarruwarrajbu:n girrg barduwa \ //*
exc-we=it-roast-cont all compl
 'we cook till they're all done.'
63. *barta ngarrugunjildin ngarrumbugun ngamin*
and=then exc-we-share exc-us-3p-give l-say
jadbunugun ngarrimung yarrumbugun /
away=exc=we-3p-give our=turn inc-us-3p-give
 'And then we share and they give us (some). I say, "We take a turn at giving (some) away to them and they give to us."'
64. *ngadbin barag barta \ //*
exc-we-do that emph
 'That's what we do.'

65. barta ngaminy barduwa barag barta gayirrg) ////#
and=then I-say-p compl that emph now
'And now I've told about that.'

Text no. 3. 'Going for Oysters' told by Illyjilly.

1. jarrara ///
away=we=exc-go
'We set out'

2. ngarrubiliman arrarnarn) //
exc-we=it-take oyster
'we're getting oysters.'

3. yadbanara arrarnarn arrubanangalbun) //
away=we=inc-fut-go oyster inc=we-fut-crack=open
'"Let's go and get oysters."'

4. jarrara:
away=we=exc-go-cont
'We go out.'

5. ngadbulagun) //
exc-we-descend
'We go down.' (to the beach)

6. baraga ngarrubirdbaldang murrugud ngarrurrung) //
there exc-we=it-put=down together to=us
'We leave our things all together there.'

7. gayirrg Ida yawara yaburnalga //
now and away-3s-go away-3s-disappear
'Next the tide goes out.'

8. ngarrurdajugun baraga wali burnalga girrg) ///
exc-we=it-wait=for-rep that tide 3s-disappear all
'We wait for the tide to go completely out.'
9. barduwa Ida ngadbulagun) jarrubiliman murrugud
compl and exc-we-descend away=we=exc=it-take together

banigin //
bucket

'And then we go down (onto the rocks) and take all our buckets.'
10. rabi yanyung warldamuru buwiliman) //
file some dig.=stick 3p=it-take
'and some people take a file and a digging stick.'
11. Ida ngarrimung) //
and we=in=turn
'and we (do too).'
12. jadbulagun ngarrugalgbu:n ngarrurdaga
away=we=exc-descend exc-we=it-crack=open-cont exc-we=it-stab

murrugaj / barduwa Ida) //
fat compl and

'We go down and we keep on cracking them open and picking out the fat part, and then . . .'
13. ngadjirdbulagun ba banigin baraga arijumartan) //
exc-we-tip=out that bucket that 3s-baby
'we tip them into the littlest bucket.'
14. barduwa Ida ngarrubulan ba .baraga banigin) //
compl and exc-we=it-pour that there bucket
'And then we pour it into that bucket.'

15. ngarrara ngarrugalgbu:n ngarrurdaga:
 exc-we-go exc-we=it-crack=open-cont exc-we=it-stab-cont
 murruga:j // mambal girrg ba banigin \ //
 fat-cont full all that bucket
 'we keep on cracking them open and getting out the fat parts until
 our buckets are all full.'
16. barduwa lda ngarrungmarnmilwun \ // arnmilwil //
 compl and exc-we=it-get=whole=oyster whole=oyster
 'And then we collect whole oysters (oysters in the shell).'
17. ngarrungmarnmilwun baraga ngarrurari rigi balaji
 exc-we=it-get=whole=oyster there exc-we=it-put=in this bag
 mambal / girrg \ //
 full all
 'We get oysters in the shell and put them there in this bag till
 it's all full.'
18. barduwa nyarrurdin //
 compl to=we=exc-go=inland
 'Then we come inland.'
19. ngarrubirdbaldang ba balaji lda //
 exc-we=it-put=down that bag and
 'We put down our bags and . . .'
20. ngadbarrgan ba gujali \ ///
 exc-we-make=fire that fire
 'we make a fire.'

21. barduwa lida / ngarrubunya baraga rarlwa) //
 compl and exc-we=it-roast that whole=oyster
 'And then we roast those whole oysters.'
22. ba arnmilwil ngarrubunya: girrg /
 that whole=oyster exc-we=it-roast-cont all
 'we roast all those whole oysters.'
23. ngarrubunya lida ngarruwudba /
 exc-we=it-roast and exc-we=it-put
 'we leave them roasting . . .'
24. ngarruwurrga murrugud) ///
 exc-we=it-lift=off together
 'we lift them all off.'
25. ngarruwurrga murrugud barta ngarrubunya girrg) //:
 exc-we=it-lift=off together and=then exc-we=it-roast all
 'We lift those off and roast more.'
26. barduwa lida ngarrugalgbun ba banigin ngarrurdaga
 compl and exc-we=it-crack=open that bucket exc-we=it-stab
 murrugaj) //
 fat
 'After that we crack them open into a bucket and pick out the fat part.'
27. ngarrurdaga murruga:j ngarrugalgbun ngarrurari
 exc-we=it-stab fat-cont exc-we=it-crack=open exc-we=it-put=in
 uga burrang banigin) /
 in big bucket
 'We pick out the fat part as we crack them open and put it into a big bucket.'

28. ngarrugalgbun ardbung //
 exc-we=it-crack=open more
 'we crack open some more.'
29. ngarrurdaga murrga:j / girrg //
 exc-we=it-stab fat-cont all
 'we pick out all the fat parts.'
30. barduwa lda ngarrurari ba banigin //
 compl and exc-we=it-put=in that bucket
 'and then we put it in the bucket.'
31. ngarrara barta mambal girrg ///
 exc-we-go emph full all
 'we keep on going till it's full.'
32. barduwa / ngadbani barta jarrara uga
 compl exc-we-stay and=then exc=we=away-go to
 ngarrundiJBun //
 exc-we-collect=water
 'After that we rest and then we go and get water'
33. ngarrunda //
 exc-we=it-drink
 'we have a drink'
34. ngarruwardban martan ba tea ngarru:nda girrg //
 exc-we=it-boil little that tea exc-we=it-drink-cont all
 'we boil a little (water) for tea and drink till it's all gone.'
35. ngarrubun raman //
 exc-we=it-hit flavour
 'we taste the flavour'

36. ba jumung ngarrimung ngarrugalgbugbun ba
 that when we=in=turn exc-we=it-crack=open-rep that
 ngarrurdayan ba arrarnarn //
 exc-we=it-see that oyster
 'of those oysters we cracked open - the ones we saw.'
37. barduwa lida ngadbani: barta /
 compl and exc-we-sit-cont and=then
 'After that we keep on sitting until . . .'
38. gartugartug yabani ba muwarn bagi //
 afternoon away=3s-sit that sun there
 'in the afternoon the sun is over there,'
39. ngadbani barta ///
 exc-we-sit and=then
 'we have a sit and then.'
40. ngadnurraga \ ///
 exc-we-go=home
 '"Let's go home.'"
41. barta jarrurraga \ //
 and=then away=we=exc-go=home
 'And then we go home.'
42. ngarrara ngarrungmarrajba: ngarrurdin warrin
 exc-we-go exc-we-walk-cont exc-we-go=inland bush
 nyarrara: nyadbulagun uga ajbud \ ///
 to=we=exc-go-cont to=we=exc-descend to beach
 'We go walking along, go into the bush and come down onto the beach.'

43. jarrara ngarrungmarrajba: barta nyadbinggan uga
 away=we=exc-go exc-we-walk-cont and=then to=we=exc-arrive to
 gunag \ ///
 place

'We go walking along and then we arrive home.'

44. barta ngadbani \ ///#
 and=then exc-we-stay
 'and then we stay.'

Text no. 4. 'Going for Oysters' told by Illyjilly.

1. ngarrubiliman banigin /// warldamuru / or hammer \ ///
 exc-we=it-take bucket dig.=stick or hammer
 'We get a bucket and a digging stick or a hammer.'

2. ngarrubiliman barta ngadbulagun \ //
 exc-we=it-take and=then exc-we-descend
 'We get them and we go down.'

3. ngadbulaguny ngarrugalgbu:ny // mambal murrugud
 exc-we-descend-p exc-we=it-crack=open-cont-p full together
 ba banigin //
 that bucket
 'We went down and we cracked off enough to fill a bucket.'

4. ngarrugalgbun //
 exc-we=it-crack=open
 'we crack them open . . .'

5. ngarrujirdbulagun //
exc-we=it-tip=out
'we tip them out.'
6. ngarrujirdbulagun ngarrurari uga bucket or billycan or /
exc-we=it-tip=out exc-we=it-put=in in bucket or billycan or
'we tip it out and put it in a bucket or a billycan or'
7. girrimul barag barta ngadbin \ /
like that emph exc-we-do
'something, that's what we do.'
8. ngarrara ngarrara ngarrugalgbun ngarrurdaga
exc-we-go exc-we-go exc-we=it-crack=open exc-we=it-stab
murrja:j barta mambal \ ///
fat-cont and=then full

'We keep on cracking them open and picking out the fat part until
(our buckets are) full.'
9. ngarrubulan //
exc-we=it-pour
'we pour them out (into a big bucket).'
10. barta ngarrugalgbu:n //
and=then exc-we=it-crack=open-cont
'and then we crack open (some more)'
11. barduwa barta ngadjirdbulagun ngarrubulan ngarrubulan
compl emph exc-we-tip=out exc-we=it-pour exc-we=it-pour
uga banigin \ //
in bucket

'and after that we tip them out and pour them into a bucket.'

12. barduwa jarrara barta ngarruban ruga balaji) //
 compl away=we=exc-go and=then exc-we=it-get this bag
 'After that we go and get a bag'
13. ganama ruga balaji barta arrungmanamarnmilwun) //
 2s-imper-get this bag and=then inc-we=it-fut-get=whole=oyster
 rarlwa ///
 whole=oyster
 "'Get a bag and we'll get some whole oysters.'"
14. barta ngarrungmarnmilwun ba rarlwa:
 and=then exc-we=it-get=whole=oyster that whole=oyster-cont
 barta //
 emph
 'and then we get some whole oysters'
15. ngarrurarigi balaji: barta mambal) ///
 exc-we=it-put=in-rep bag-cont and=then full
 'and we keep on putting them in the bag until it's full.'
16. barduwa lda abiny бага /
 compl and 3s-say-p that
 'and then that one said,'
17. rarlwa yandagunyi / ba rugburtuga /
 whole=oyster 2s=me-not=give that this
 "'You aren't giving me any whole oysters.'
18. rugburtuga arrubaldagbunguldagan lda abiny ///
 this inc-we=it-fut-share=food and 3s-say-p
 "'Let's share this food." and she said,'

19. u marugurnaj gabanamarta /
 oh! who? 2s=3s-fut-save=for
 'Oh, who are you saving (some) for?'
20. maju abanamarta nganduwulang u
 intention I=3s-fut-save=for me-3=pers-mother or
 ngandumarryartwun
 me-3=pers-father
 'I'm going to save (some) for my mother or father.'
21. angmanamarnmilwun / ba rarlwa //
 I-fut-get=whole=oyster that whole=oyster
 'I'll get some whole oysters.'
22. barta gawiliman urruwajba //
 and=then she=it-get young=woman
 'and so the young woman gets some'
23. ganigi \ ///
 she=it-carry=on=head
 'she carries it on her head/shoulder.'
24. abanigi barta /
 I=it-fut-carry=on=head emph
 'I'll carry it on my head/shoulder.'
25. yaganiginigi yaganaman //
 away-she=it-carry=on=head-rep away-she=it-take
 'She carries it away on her head/shoulder.'

33. janirta ardbung abanawunya ba arnmilwil /
away=I-fut-return more I=it-fut-roast that whole=oyster
'I'll go back again and I'll roast those oysters in the shell.'

34. duwa angganamarnmilwun jarrubanaman gunag
only 3=pers-fut-get=whole=oyster away=we=exc-fut-take place
arrubanalda ///
inc-we=it-fut-eat

'She'll just get some whole oysters and we'll take them home and eat them.'

35. barta yawara anggumarnmilwun arnmilwil
and=then away-3s-go 3=pers-get=whole=oyster whole=oyster
barta mambal) ///
and=then full

'And then she goes and get whole oysters until (her'bag's) full.'

36. anggumarnmilwun barta mambal barta
3=pers-get=whole=oyster and=then full and=then
ganiginigi ba baharl) /
she=it-carry=on=head- \bar{r} ep that 3s-head

'She gets oysters in the shell till (her bag's) full and then she carries it (the bag) on her head.'

37. yawara barta gudba) //
away-3s-go and=then she=it-put
'she goes and puts it down.'

38. gudba barta ba barduwa barta bani
 she=it-put and=then that compl and=then 3s-stay
 angbuldirran \ //
 3=pers-rest

'She puts it down and after that she sits and has a rest.'

39. wartad gayirrg awartama radbiyi \ /
 one now I=it-follow word
 'Now I've told one story.'

40. gayirrg barta ngamin barduwa \ // #
 now and=then I-say-p compl
 'Now I've told it all.'

Text no. 5. 'Going for Oysters' told by Elsie Indibu.

1. awaningan barta ijbaran //
 3p-stay-p=cont and=then away=3p-go-p
 'They set out from where they'd been staying.'

2. warragamu // ijbaran //
 pl-woman away=3p-go-p
 'The women went out.'

3. ijbaran barta ijuwinggung \ //
 away=3p-go-p and=then away=3p-arrive-p
 'They set out and arrived there.'

4. bungalbung wamin ba arrarnarn barduwa \ //
 3p=it-crack=open-p 3p-turn that oyster compl
 'They cracked open the oysters.'

5. bungalbung barta mambal murrugud / barduwa \ \/\#
 3p=it-crack=open-p cont full together compl
 'They kept on cracking them open (until their bags were)
 altogether full. That's all.'

Text no. 6. 'Going for crabs' told by Indibu.

1. awaningan ardbung ba warruldungguldu barta
 3p-stay-p=cont more that pl-older=woman and=then
 ijbaran //
 away=3p-go-p

'The older women were there again and they set out.'

2. ijbaran barta ijuwingung \ /
 away=3p-go-p and=then away=3p-arrive-p
 'They went out and they arrived there.'

3. ijbaran gurrurdalg //
 away=3p-go-p crab
 'They went for crabs.'

4. ijbaran barnugbu:ng barduwa \ /
 away=3p-go-p 3p=it-break-p-cont compl
 'They went and were getting crabs'

5. ba gurrurdalg / barnugbung \ //
 that crab 3p=it-break-p
 'They got those crabs.'

6. barnugbu:ng barduwa mambal \ //
 3p=it-break-p-cont compl full
 'They got crabs till (their bags were) full.'

7. barnugbung wartad balaji /
 3p=it-break-p one bag
 'they got enough crabs for one bag.'
8. wamin balaji // barnugbung \ //
 3p-turn bag 3p=it-break-p
 'they got a bag full each.'
9. ayuwurragan \ /
 to=3p-go=home-p
 'they came home.'
10. ayuwirtan barta //
 to=3p-return-p emph
 'they came back'
11. ayuwirtan gunag \ //
 to=3p-return-p place
 'they came back home.'
12. ayuwirtan barta awinggung gunag \ /
 to=3p-return-p and=then 3p-arrive-p place
 'they came back home.'
13. bumany mirta ba gurrurdalg \ ///
 3p=it-get-p much that crab
 'They'd got a lot of crabs.'
14. bumany mirta
 3p=it-get-p much
 'they got a lot'

15. bumany murrɡud \ // #
 3p=it-get-p together
 'they got them altogether.'
 no. 14 and 15 = 'Altogether they had lots.'

Text no. 7. 'Baking a damper' told by Indibu.

1. maju abanawirradbi \ ///
 pretend I=it-fut-knead
 'I'll pretend to knead it.'
2. maju abanawirradbi gandijawa /////
 pretend I=it-fut-knead flour
 'I'll pretend to knead some flour.'
3. abanawirradbi gandijawa /////
 I=it-fut-knead flour
 'I'll knead some flour.'
4. abirradbi barta \ //
 I=it-knead emph
 'I knead it.'
5. ngamarrgan barduwa ba gujali \ ///
 I-make=fire compl that fire
 'I get the fire going.'
6. barduwa barta abularrung abirradbung //
 compl and=then I-finish I=it-knead-p
 'And after I'd finished kneading'

7. barta awarrajbung ///
and=then I=it-roast-p
'then I cooked it.'
8. awarrajbung barta) ///
I=it-roast-p emph
'I roasted it.'
9. awarrajbung bajunga:n / barduwa) //
I=it-roast-p 3s-die-p=cont compl
'I roasted it as (the fire) died down.'
10. barta wurrurd ///
and=then 3s-cooked
'and then it was cooked.'
11. wurrurd barta abilimany awudban) ///#
3s-cooked and=then I=it-take-p I=it-put-p
'And when it was cooked I took it out and put it away.'

Text no. 8 'A woman bakes a damper' told by Elsie Indibu.

1. barrgan gujali // urruwajba //
3s-make=fire fire woman
'A woman makes a fire.'
2. urruwajba barrgan gujali) ////
woman 3s-make=fire fire
'a woman makes a fire.'
3. barrgany barta gawularrung //
3s-make=fire-p and=then she-finish
'she finished making the fire'

4. gamany // gandijawa \ //
- she=it-get-p flour
- 'she got some flour'
5. gawirradbung ///
- she=it-knead-p
- 'and she kneaded it.'
6. gawirradbung barduwa gawularrung ////
- she=it-knead-p compl she-finish
- 'She finished kneading it'
7. barta gawularrung barta wurrurd //
- and=then she-finish and=then 3s-cooked
- 'When she'd finished it cooked.'
8. barduwa galdalgugung manjawag barduwa \ //
- compl she=it-cut-rep-p knife compl
- 'Then she cut it up into small pieces with a knife.'
9. anngugung ///
- 3p-she-give-p
- 'she gave it to them'
10. ara murrud anngugung //
- ah! together 3p-she-give-p
- 'she gave it to them altogether'
11. raharrang girrimul guwi: //
- 3s-call=out-p like come!
- 'she called out like this, "Come!"'

12. guwi gurrurang walij \ ///
come! 2p=it-eat-imper food
'"Come and eat food!"'

13. ayuwaran //
to=3p-go-p
'they came'

14. awinggung //
3p-arrive-p
'they arrived'

15. aldimbarning ///
3p-sit=down-p
'they sat down'

16. gurrubalda barta ba walij \ /
2p-fut-eat cont that food
'"Eat the food."'

17. wamin wamin / bulda \ ///#
3p-turn 3p-turn 3p=it-eat
'It's their turn to eat.'

Text no. 9. 'The Lurrگون Ceremony' told by Illyjilly.

1. inirrg \ /// ngamin iwarruj ijalgud maung //
beginning I-say story really language=name
'At the beginning, I'm telling a story that's really Maung.'

2. waliman // ijbara bayan бага / bunyag artawirr ///
steel=axe away=3p-go 3p=it-see that 3s-with hollow=log
'They go out with an axe and find a branch that's hollow.'

3. bunyag artawirr buwiliman /
 3s-with hollow=log 3p=it-get
 'They get one with a hole in it.'
4. buldalgun \ ///
 3p=it-cut
 'They cut it down.'
5. buldalgun girrg \ //
 3p=it-cut all
 'They cut it all down.'
6. gayirrg lda bartigin \ //
 now and 3p=it-scrape
 'And now they scrape it.'
7. bartigin baga girrg ba gurthi \ //
 3p=it-scrape that all that 3s-skin
 'They scrape off all the bark.'
8. gayirrg lda buniginigi budba /
 now and 3p=it-carry=on=shoulder-rep 3p=it-put
 'Next they carry it on their shoulders and put it down.'
9. barndalan uga muwarn \ ///
 3p=it-put=to=dry in sun
 'They leave it to dry in the sun.'
10. muwarn barndalan
 sun 3p=it-put=to=dry
 'They leave it to dry in the sun.'

11. aju warndalan // girrimul ngarrgaldawartad ngurrij or
 3s-lie 3s-lie=dry like three sleep or
 wartad ngurrij) /
 one sleep
 'It lies there drying for maybe one to three days.'
12. gayirrg lida ngamin iwarruj ijalgud maung /
 now and I-say story really language=name
 'And next, I'm telling a story that's really Maung,'
13. barta buldardban ba gurturd) / ba bidbarran
 and=then 3p=it-paint that white=clay that white
 gurturd /
 white=clay
 'Then they paint it with white clay.'
14. buldardban girrg budba aju birldinymin) //
 3p=it-paint all 3p=it-put 3s-lie 3s-dry-become
 'they paint it all and they put it out to dry.'
15. barduwa barta lida amin //
 compl cont and 3p-say
 'After that they say,'
16. arralba ba birungayirrag ///
 start that what's=its=name
 '"Start that what's its name.'"
17. amin arralba // baga / arlirr) //
 3p-say start that tree
 'they say, "Start that tree (ceremony)."'

18. amin arralba barta buldari бага / birungayirrag
 3p=say start and=then 3p=it-put=in that what's=its=name
 namajumbu \ //
 bone
 'They say, "Start, " and then they put that what's its name's bone
 inside.'
19. buldari uga arlirr aj \ //
 3p=it-put=in in tree inside
 'they put it inside the tree'
20. buldari: girrg //
 3p=it-put=in-cont all
 'they all put it inside.'
21. ba gilirrg / ba namajumbu ba arrarrbi murrugud /
 that bone that bone that pl-man together
 buldari girrg \ //
 3p=it-put=in all
 'all those men together put the bone inside.'
22. gayirrg lida yajigbin mambirrguran manburrwa / jumung
 now and away-3s-get=up 3=pers-close cloth 3s=to
 darrgal \ ///
 door
 'next it's stood up and they close the opening with cloth.'

23. barduwa barta budba murrugud buwun migbig girrimul /
 compl cont 3p=it-put together 3p=it-hit stripe like
 warrgarrg // u: / wuruwurru // u: yurluwu /
 goanna or King=Brown=snake or black=snake

'And after that they all put on a design like a goanna or a King Brown snake or a black snake.'

24. girrimul aminy baraga // ngalwangari martan) /
 like 3p-say-p that kinship=term small

'Just like they said that little Ngalwangari's (totem was).'

25. ara budban // gurrgara warrgarrg // gurrgara
 3p-go 3p=it-put-p one=side goanna one=side

wuruwurru) //
 King=Brown=snake

'And they put (a drawing of) a goanna on one side and a King Brown on the other.'

26. aminy barag barta girrimul aminy barta inirrg) /
 3p-do-p that and=then like 3p-say-p and=then beginning

'They do that and then it's like they say, "It's the beginning."

27. Ida garlu ardbung birungayirrag girrimul burlugban
 and not more what's=its=name like 3p=it-dance

warragamu garlu Ida awani duwa aldaharran //
 pl-woman not and 3p-sit only 3p-call=out

'There's no more what's its name, like women dancing, no, they just sit and call out.'

28. awani aldaharra:n barduwa ngamin aldaharran wimung
 3p-sit 3p-call=out-cont compl I-say 3p-call=out to=them
 aldaharran \ / warragamu \ //
 3p-call=out pl-woman

'They sit and call out, that's all I say, the women sit and call out to them.'

29. gayirrg lida jumung // wanjigab ba jumung
 now and when very=near that when
 anggumuldungbuldung /
 3=pers-want=to=go

'Now it's very near the time when they want to go (i.e. the men).'

30. wamin ayubaldaharran wamin warragamu aran ara ara
 3p-turn to-3p-call=out 3p-turn pl-woman 3p-go-p 3p-go 3p-go
 ara ara barta jidbirtan wamung \ //
 3p-go 3p-go and=then 3s-pre=dawn to=3p

'It's the women's turn to call out here, the women go on and on and on until it begins to get light for them.'

31. garramard abalgban ba bartgbartg //
 star to-3s-rise that morning=star
 'The morning star is rising.'

32. barag barta ayuwulagung \ ///
 that and=then to-3p-descend-p
 'That's when they came down.'

33. ayuwulagu:ng barta aminy warragamu ijbuldaharran
 to-3p-descend-cont and=then 3p-say-p pl-woman away-3p-call=out
 barta ijbuldaharran warrwag jumung arjambuj jumung
 and=then away-3p-call=out last=time to=3s hole where
 angbuyawun) //
 3=pers-dig

'They came down and told the women to call out over there, and they call out for the last time over where the hole is dug.'

34. ara mangawarla ngarrgarrg urruwajba //
 3p-go fast two woman
 'Two women go quickly'

35. anaga //
 3p-go-dual
 'they go.'

36. barta wamin ayuwulagung ba arrarrbi: barta
 and=then 3p-turn to-3p-descend-p that pl-man-cont and=then
 durdu /
 wait

'And then the men in turn come down and there's a wait.'

37. anbugung wamin wamin warragamu /
 3p-3p-give-p 3p-turn 3p-turn pl-woman
 'They give the women a turn.'

38. arrarrbi durdu aldi) //
 pl-man wait 3p-stand
 'The men stand waiting.'

39. ana:ga barta : . aldaharrandaharran barta
 3p-go-dual-cont and=then 3p-call=out-rep and=then
 buwularrung) //
 3p-finish
 '(the two women) go and call out repeatedly till they've finished.'
40. buwularrung barta lda amarrijbin ba warragamu ///
 3p-finish and=then and 3p-move that pl-woman
 'When they've finished, the women move on.'
41. amarrijbigbin ba warragamu barta aldindi murrhala
 3p-move-dual that pl-woman and=then 3p-stand-dual pandanus
 lda aminy ba arrarrbi) //
 and 3p-say-p that pl-man
 'The two women move and stand in the pandanus tree like the men told them to.'
42. lda girrimul aminy bungijbunggu wamin /
 and like 3p-say-p 3p=it-call=by=name-dual 3p-turn
 wamin ba arrarrbi wamung baga inyman) /
 3p-turn that pl-man to-3p that word
 'And just like they said they call out the name - the word the men told them.'
43. lda bungijbunggu ba janad jumung lurrگون arlirr //
 and 3p=it-call=by=name that 3s to=3s lurrگون log
 'and they call out the name that belongs to the Lurrگون log.'
44. bungijbunggu: barduwa barta lda //
 3p=it-call=by=name-dual compl and=then and
 'They call out the name and then'

45. buwun baga arlirr // ba garligarli ba arlirr
 3p=it-hit that log that throwing=stick that log
 ba aminy /
 that 3p-do-p

'they hit that log that they had with a throwing stick.'

46. buwun barduwa lida bungijbunggu barduwa lida
 3p=it-hit compl and 3p=it-call=by=name compl and
 buwiliman buldangani) //
 3p=it-take 3p=it-stand=up

'They hit it and call it by name and then they take it and stand it up on its end.'

47. barduwa barta buwularrung girrg) // barduwa) // #
 compl and=then 3p-finish all compl
 'and then they're all finished. That's all.'

Text no. 10. 'Cooking a goose' told by Indibu.

1. guburruburr ngarrigbigbiny /// ngabi lida urlurli) //
 morning exc-we-get=up-dual-p I and man's=name
 'In the morning Urlurli and I got up.'

2. jarran anymadbungung irrug //
 away=I-go-p I=it-open-p cold
 'I went and opened the refridgerator.'

3. warnnyung ba narrarti) // // // //
 3s-inside-p that magpie=goose
 'Inside there was a magpie goose'

4. ardayang ///
 I=it-see-p
 'I saw it.'
5. anganamarrga ////
 2s-imper-make=fire
 '"Make a fire,"
6. ngaminy jumung maldurinymag / anganamarrga //
 I-say-p to=3s woman's=name 2s-imper-make=fire
 'I said to Maldurinymag, "Make a fire."'
7. barta abirlung \ ///
 and=then I=3s-call=to=come
 'And then I called him to come.'
8. arijumartan aring alba ///
 3s-baby 3s-stand play
 'and he, the baby (Urlurli) was playing'
9. ngamarrgany \ /
 I-make=fire-p
 'while I made the fire,'
10. ajarrgbinybung ardagan ardagan ba biyug
 I=it-burn=off=feathers-p I=it-poke-p I=it-poke-p that fur
 barduwa \ //
 compl
 'burnt off the feathers and pulled off the down.'
11. abunyany \ ///
 I=it-cook-p
 'I cooked it.'

12. abunyany barduwa wurrurd \ ///
 I=it-cook-p compl 3s-cooked
 'I cooked it till it was done.'
13. barduwa barta ngarrubany //
 compl emph exc-we=it-eat-p
 'and then we ate it.'
14. ngarrubany warrulany \ ////
 exc-we=it-eat-p children
 'the children and I ate it'
15. maldurinymag / maburnbi / ami / ngarrubany \ ///
 woman's=name woman's=name woman's=name exc-we=it-eat-p
 guburruburr \ ///#
 morning
 'Maldurinymag, Maburnbi, Amy and I ate it in the morning.'



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