

ENDANGERED LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC RIM

Tasaku TSUNODA

**Basic Materials
in Minority Languages 2001
Addendum**

**Basic Materials in Minority Languages 2001 Addendum
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Basic Materials in Minority Languages 2001

Addendum

Tasaku Tsunoda

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Notes

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The present volume is an addendum to Tasaku Tsunoda (ed.), *Basic materials in minority languages 2001* (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim, 2001, B, 001). Initially, I planned to publish two texts from the Wanyjirra language of Australia (76/13-2, NP(1), and 76/13-2, NP(2)) in the cited volume. Unfortunately, however, due to an oversight, the text 76/13-2, NP(2) was not included in it, and it is here published as an addendum.

Wanyjirra text: 76/13-2, NP(2)

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The text that follows is in the Wanyjirra language of the Northern Territory of Australia. It was recorded from the late Mr. Nyun.gatya Paddy (Wanyjirra name: Nyun.ganyun.ga /nyun.ganyun.ga/, Nyun.gatya /nyun.gaja/) at Nicholson Station, Western Australia, on the 17th August 1976. It was transcribed and played to him in 1978. It was subsequently played to Mrs. Maggie Scott (Wanyjirra name: Dalyngarri /dalyngarri/, Dangayi /dangayi/) in Halls Creek, Western Australia, in July and August 1998.

This tape (76/13, Side 2) contains three texts:

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

For phonetic symbols, I use only those symbols available on an ordinary computer keyboard. I avoid using special phonetic symbols, and instead I use:

[rd] for a voiced retroflex stop. (Also, for a voiced retroflex flap. The latter is clearly indicated as such.)

[rt] for a voiceless retroflex stop.

[dy] for a voiced palatal stop.

[ty] for a voiceless palatal stop.

[rn] for a retroflex nasal.

[ny] for a palatal nasal.

[ng] for a velar nasal.

([n.g] is a sequence of an alveolar nasal [n] and a voiced velar stop [g]. Similarly, a dot

is used where it may not be easy to identify syllable boundaries, e.g. [rn.g] for a sequence of a retroflex nasal [rn] and a voiced velar stop [g].)

[rl] for a retroflex lateral.

[ly] for a palatal lateral.

[rr] for a flap or (rarely) a trill.

[r] for a (retroflex) frictionless continuant. (Also, a retroflex flap. The latter is clearly indicated as such.)

[j] for a palatal semi-vowel.

[sh] for a palatal-alveolar fricative.

The Wanyjirra phoneme inventory, written in a practical orthography, is as follows:

/b, d, rd, j, m, n, rn, ny, ng, l, rl, ly, rr, r, w, y, a, i, u/

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

Abbreviations and symbols employed include the following:

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

IMPERA:	imperative
INC:	inclusive
KLRC:	Kimberley Language Resource Centre
LINK:	linking suffix
LOC:	locative
M:	mother
MS:	sentence provided by Maggie Scott
NEG:	negation
NEG.Q:	negative question
NOM:	nominative
PL:	plural
PRES:	present
prev:	preverb
PURP:	purposive
Q:	question
S:	son
SG:	singular
TT:	sentence suggested by Tasaku Tsunoda
VBD:	verbid
Vi, Vint:	intransitive verb
Vt, Vtr:	transitive verb
W:	wife
Y:	younger
Z:	sister
1:	1st person
2:	2nd person
3:	3rd person
-Ø:	absolutive, imperative
/:	pause
=:	morpheme boundary, preceding a clitic
-:	any other morpheme boundary, e.g. preceding a suffix

References

- Tsunoda, Tasaku. 1974. A grammar of the Warungu language of North Queensland.
MA thesis. Melbourne: Monash University.
- . 1981. The Djaru language of Kimberley, Western Australia. Canberra: Pacific
Linguistics, Australian National University.

File: 76/13-2, NP(2)

(Version of 20 June 2001)

Tape 76/13, Side 2.

Place: Nicholson Station, Western Australia, Australia.

Date: 17 August 1976.

Informant: Mr. Nyun.gatya Paddy.

Language: Wanyjirra.

Collector: Tasaku Tsunoda.

This tape (76/13, Side 2) contains three texts:

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

Text 76/13-2, NP(2):

'Walkabout: hunting for honey, snakes and goannas' by Nyun.gatya Paddy

(This text was transcribed on the 26th September 1978 (in Brisbane), and it was replayed to Nyun.gatya Paddy on the 28th and the 29th November 1978 (at Nicholson Station ?). It was replayed to Maggie Scott, in Halls Creek, on the 31st July, 2nd, 3rd and 4th August 1998.)

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

Beginning of the text.

(This text follows the text given by Ruby.)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>ngaringga-Ø</i> | <i>gjarra-Ø</i> | <i>ngarra-wuyarra-Ø /</i> | <i>ngaringga-Ø /</i> |
| woman-ABS | two-ABS | big-two-ABS | woman-ABS |

ngaringga-Ø / wilinyi ngu=wula yan-an-i /
 woman-ABS on walkabout C=3DU.NOM go-CONT-PAST
ngarlu-wu / ngaringga-Ø gujarra-Ø /
 honey-DAT woman-ABS two-ABS
nyanbula-wariny-Ø /
 3DU-by oneself-ABS

‘Two big women [i.e. not little girls] went on a walkabout for honey by themselves.’

2. *nyanbula-wariny-Ø / ngu=wula yan-an-i*
 3DU-by oneself-ABS C=3DU.NOM go-CONT-PAST
wilinyi /
 on walkabout

‘They went on a walkabout by themselves.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. She approved my gloss ‘by themselves’ for *nyanbula-wariny*. She provided the gloss ‘hunting’ for *wilinyi*.)

3. *jarrambayi-Ø ngu=wula bunya /*
 goanna-ABS C=3DU.NOM hit,kill.Past

‘They killed a goanna.’

(On the tape, I hear [binya], which suggests *binya*. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [bonya] was intended. The same applies to the next sentence. Jaru has both *binya* and *bunya* (Tsunoda 1981:81).)

(Maggie Scott said [binya] *binya* for ‘hit.PAST’.)

4. *ngarlu-Ø ngu=wula bunya /*
 honey,beehive-ABS C=3DU.NOM hit,cut(?)PAST

My translation: ‘They cut [up] a beehive.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s gloss is ‘cut with tomahawk’.)

(On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy’s pronunciation seems to be somewhere between [bonya] and [binya]. But Maggie Scott said [binya].)

5. *ngarlu-Ø / bayan-i /*
 beehive-ABS cut-PAST

‘They cut [up a beehive].’

(Maggie Scott was not happy with the choice of the verb. She said, ‘Supposed to be’ [as follows].)

5’[MS]. [*ngarlo ngo:la komarni*]
ngarlu-Ø ngu=wula gumarn-i
 honey-ABS C=3DU.NOM cut-PAST

My translation: ‘[They] cut the sugar bag [i.e. beehive].’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation.)

6. *jarrambayi-Ø ngu=wula bunya /*
 goanna-ABS C=3DU.NOM hit,kill.PAST

‘They killed a goanna.’

(Hear, I seem to hear [bonya] on the tape.)

(Again, Maggie Scott said [binya] *binya*, ‘hit.PAST’.)

7. *yan-ang-gu=li ngurra-wurra ward-bala /*
 go-CONT-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM camp-ALL back-?

‘Let’s go back to the camp.’

(For *ward-bala*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘We go back camp’. The meaning of *-bala* is not known.)

8. *ngurra-wurra / ward / gani ngurra-nggawu / ngu=wula*
 camp-ALL back down camp-ALL C=3DU.NOM
gang-an-i /
 carry-CONT-PAST

‘They carried [the goanna and the beehive] back down to the camp.’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [kangan.gole] *gang-an-gu=li* ‘carry-CONT-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM’.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘They carried the goanna and the sugar bag back down to the camp’.)

9. [jan.golebole		irranip] /	[ngarlo] /
<i>yan-gu=li</i>	<i>buli</i>	<i>yirran-i</i>	<i>ngarlu-Ø</i>
go-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM	?	put-PAST	honey-ABS

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. I think I hear something like [irrani] or [irrani], followed by a non-phonemic [p]. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [irrani] *yirrani* ‘fill up’ was intended. If this is the case, the sentence would mean something like ‘Let’s go. [They] filled up the honey [in a billycan ?]’. Nyun.gatya Paddy also gave [nyijanganbatbola] *nyijanganbatbola* (?) ‘right up full’.)

(Maggie Scott gave 9’. I listened to the tape again, and indeed, in 9 and 10, Nyun.gatya Paddy is saying [nyijanganbatbola] or possibly [d] in place of [t]. This is important. I think this can be analyzed as shown below.)

9’[MS]. [nyajang	batbola	irrani	ngarlo]
<i>nyayang-Ø</i>	<i>ba=dbula</i>	<i>yirran-i</i>	<i>ngarlu-Ø</i>
how much-ABS	C=2DU.NOM	put-PAST	honey-ABS

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘How much sugar bag you two bin put-im?’

(Maggie Scott also said ‘get-im’ in place of ‘put-im’, and said ‘That’s what i [i.e. the sentence] mean’. That is, it seems that someone at the camp asked the two women, ‘How much honey did you two get?’ *=dbula* is almost certainly the clitic pronoun ‘2DU.NOM’. I have never seen this form before. The usual form is *=nbula*. It is possible that the nasal-plus-stop sequence *ng.b* caused the denasalization of *n*. Note that, in Jaru, there is an alternation between [n] and [d] in a couple of words, e.g. *jambiyin* and *jambiyid* ‘the name of male members of one subsection’. When Maggie Scott first heard 9, she thought Nyun.gatya Paddy said [warlo] *warlu*, and she gave 9’.)

9’’[MS]. [nyajang	batbola	irrani	warlo]
<i>nyayang-Ø</i>	<i>ba=dbula</i>	<i>yirran-i</i>	<i>warlu-Ø</i>
how much-ABS	C=2DU.NOM	put-PAST	firewood-ABS

My translation: ‘How much firewood did you two put?’

(Then, Maggie Scott realized that Nyun.gatya Paddy said [ngarlo] and she gave 9'. No doubt, 9'' is grammatically correct.)

10. [jan.golepbola irrani ngarlo] /

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood.)

(No doubt, this is the same as 9'. That is:)

10'[MS]. [nyajang batbola irrarni ngarlo]
nyayang-Ø ba=dbula yirrarn-i ngarlu-Ø
 how much-ABS C=2DU.NOM put-PAST honey-ABS

Maggie Scott's translation: 'How much sugar bag you two bin put-im ?'

11. [ai nyaa kotyarrala] / [kardakola] / [kotyarrala] /
ayi nyawa gujarra-la gardag-gu-la gujarra-la
 Hey ! this,here two-LOC billycan-LOC two-LOC

[kotyarrala [kardakola] /
gujarra-la gardag-gu-la
 two-LOC billycan-LOC

'Hey ! Here in the two billycans.'

(About [ai], Maggie Scott said 'I don't know what i mean. i supposed to be [ngai] (*ngayi* or *ngay* (?))'. I asked her what [ngai] means. She said 'I don't know'. She approved my translation 'Here in the two billycans'.)

12. We bin fill-im up.

13. [aa koja] / [nyawa kan.kani marri tiptip] /
aa guya nyawa gan.gani marri dib-dib
 ah thus this,here up halfway full-full

Tentative translation: 'Ah, this/these is/are full right to the top like this'.

(The above is what I hear on the tape. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 13'. That is, he replaced [koja] *guya* 'thus' with [wakorra] *wagurra* 'NEG'.)

(Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘full to the top’ for *gan.gani marri*. About [tiptip], she said she does not know it. She said she does not know ‘what i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy was] talking about’.)

13'. *aa wagurra nyawa gan.gani marri dib-dip /*
 ah NEG this,here up halfway full-full

Tentative translation: ‘Ah, this [billycan is] not halfway, but [it is] full.’

(The meaning of 13' is not understood. Possibly it means something like ‘This is not full. It is only half full’. Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *marri* ‘half way’ and *dib-dib* ‘full up’. He also gave [marrijao], *marriyawu*. Presumably, it means ‘half way’.)

14. *minyarn-Ø /*
 having nothing-ABS
 ‘Nothing.’

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the final nasal seems to be retroflex, although in Nyun.gatya Paddy’s pronunciation, it is not clear if the nasal is alveolar or retroflex.)

15. [jangi o:lrai] / [bilikaen] /
yangi-Ø all right billycan
 one-ABS

‘One [of the billycans is] all right.’

(Maggie Scott translated/commented as follows: ‘One is alright, full up to the top. But the other one might be little’. Later, she gave ‘One is alright full. The other one is not full’.)

16. *gan.gani marri dib-dib / gan.gani dib-dib /*
 up half way full-full up full-full

Tentative translation: ‘[This billycan is] full right up.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *gan.gani* ‘right up’. If *marri* means ‘half way’, this word does not seem to make sense here. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 16', the content of which has nothing to do with the text.)

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘right up’ for *gan.gani marri*, and ‘full’ for

dib-dib.)

16'. *jan-u* *magin-da-la*
copulating with-VBD asleep-LOC-?

(Nyun.gatya Paddy indicated to the effect that this means 'to have sex while everyone else is asleep'. The meaning of *-la* is not known. It may be a clitic.)

(I asked Maggie Scott if *magin-da-la* means 'while other people are sleeping'. She agreed and gave 16''.)

16''[MS]. *jan-u=ma* *magin-da-la*
copulating with-VBD=CLC asleep-LOC-?

Maggie Scott's translation: 'While other people are sleeping, we play around'.

(Here, the locative suffix indicates 'switch reference'.)

17. *nga=liyarra* *dabu* *wandiny-a /*
C=1DU.EXC.NOM not finding(?) fall,sit down-PAST

Nyun.gatya Paddy's translation: 'We no more bin find-im.'

(Judging by Nyun.gatya Paddy's translation, [tapo] *dabu* appears to be a preverb with the meaning of 'not finding' — the opposite of the preverb *bali* 'finding'.)

(Maggie Scott gave 'They just could not find it' and 'We couldn't find any more'.)

18. *nga=liyarra* *ngaringga-Ø /* *nga=liyarra*
C=1DU.EXC.NOM woman-ABS C=1DU.EXC.NOM

dabu *wandiny-a /*
? fall,sit down-PAST

Tentative translation: 'We [two], women, did not find [any].'

19. *nga=liyarra* *dabu* *wandiny-a /*
C=1DU.EXC.NOM ? fall,sit down-PAST

Tentative translation: 'We [two] did not find [any].'

20. *ngany-ja=lu /* *ngany-ja=lu /*
 eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM
 ‘Eat [it]. Eat [it].’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation is: ‘[dagaut]. Yobala have-im.’)
 (In Kriol, [dagaut] means ‘eat’.)

21. *mawun-du /* *nyila* *ngarlu-Ø /* *ngany-ja=lu /*
 man-ERG that honey-ABS eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM
 My translation: ‘Men, eat that honey.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. She gave ‘Yobalas, eat the honey’.)

22. *ngumbarna-wu* *ngu=la* *ganya* *yangi-Ø=ma /*
 husband-DAT C=3SG.DAT carry.PAST one-ABS=CLC
 ‘[One of the women] carried one [billycan] for [her] husband.’

(Here, *ngumbarna* refers to a husband. Nyun.gatya Paddy gave the gloss [banydyiman] for *ngumbarna*. Also, he stated to the effect that here *yangi-Ø* refers to one billycan. He also gave *yangi-ngga* ‘one-LOC’ and said that it means ‘in one billycan’.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘One of the women carried one billycan for her husband’. She translated/commented as follows: ‘That half one to her husband. The full one, they share with other blackfella’. She agreed with my comment: ‘That billycan has got honey in it’.)

23. *ngumbarna-wu /* *nyanungu-wu* *ngumbarna-wu /*
 husband-DAT 3SG.DAT-DAT husband-DAT
ngumbarna-wu *nyanungu-wu* *ngu=la* *ganya /*
 husband-DAT 3SG.DAT-DAT C=3SG.DAT carry.PAST
 ‘She carried [a billycan] for her husband.’

(When the tape was replayed, I asked Nyun.gatya Paddy as in 23’. In response, he gave 23’’.)

23'[TT]. *ngandu-gu* *ganya* *ngarlu-Ø*
 who-ERG carry.PAST honey-ABS
 'Who brought the honey?'

23''. *ngaringga-lu* *nyanungu-lu* *mun.gaj-ju* *ngumbarna-wu*
 woman-ERG 3SG.DAT-ERG wife-ERG husband-DAT

(I have phonemicized [monggadyo] as *munggaj-ju*. The sentence probably means 'The woman, his wife, [brought the honey] for the husband'. Note that the pronoun *nyanungu-lu* '3SG.DAT-ERG' precedes, rather than follows, its 'antecedent', i.e. *ngumbarna-wu* 'husband-DAT'.)

24. *ngumbarna-wu /* *ngumbarna-wu* *nyanungu-wu* *ngu=la /*
 husband-DAT husband-DAT 3SG.DAT-DAT C=3SG.DAT
ganya /
 carry.PAST
 'She carried [a billycan] for her husband.'

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

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

25. [ai] /
ayi
 Hi
 'Hi !'

26. *miyanggi* *man-an-i* *ngumbarna-nyan-Ø /*
 asking get-CONT-PAST husband-his/her-ABS
 '[She] asked her husband.'

(Maggie Scott indicated, I think, that *ngumbarna* can be husband or wife. If this is the case, this word means ‘spouse’. But then she said this word means ‘husband’. Maggie Scott indicated that this sentence is wrong. She said that in this story ‘i [i.e. the husband] is asking her’, but that this sentence has to mean ‘i [i.e. the woman] asking her husband’. The reason is as follows. The verb complex *miyanggi man-an-i* is transitive, and ‘her husband’ is in the absolutive, and consequently the sentence means ‘[She] asked her husband (ABS)’, and cannot mean ‘Her husband asked her’. On the tape, I hear [manani] ‘get’ (Vt), rather than [marnani] ‘talk’ (Vi). Maggie Scott, too, said [manani]. She also gave 26’.)

26’[MS]. [mijangge manana]
 miyanggi man-ana
 asking get-PRES

My translation: ‘[Someone] is asking [someone else].’

(Maggie Scott clearly indicated that the verb in 26 is NOT [mijangge marnana] *miyanggi marn-ana* ‘asking talk-PRES’, that is, it is not intransitive. *miyanggi man-* ‘asking get’ is transitive, while *miyanggi marn-* ‘asking talk’ (I made up this expression) is intransitive. I suggested 26’’.)

26’’[TT]. *miyanggi marn-an-i ngumbarna-nyan-Ø*
 asking talk-CONT-PAST husband-her-ABS

Tentative translation: ‘Her husband asked’.

(Maggie Scott did not accept this to replace 26. I think that 26’’ is grammatically correct. Then, I suggested 26’’’.)

26’’’[TT]. *miyanggi marn-ana ngumbarna-nyan-Ø*
 asking talk-PRES husband-her-ABS

My translation: ‘The husband asks’.

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence and my translation. I suggested the following. Maggie Scott approved it and gave the translation shown below.)

26''''[TT]. *miyanggi* *man-an-i* *ngumbarna-nyan-du*
 asking get-CONT-PAST husband-her-ERG

Maggie Scott's translation: 'The [ngombarna] bin asking her'.

(Maggie Scott herself said [ngombarnanyando] *gumbarna-nyan-du*. I thought that the final nasal of [nyan] sounded like retroflex. But Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [nyando], i.e. alveolar, not retroflex. I wanted to ask about [nyan]. (This means 'his/her/their(?) [kin]' in Jaru.) I asked Maggie Scott what [ngombarnanyan] means. She just said 'husband'. The suffix *-nyan* does not seem productive in her speech. I am a Jawalyi, so my wife is a Nagarra. I asked Maggie Scott, 'Can I call my Nagarra [ngombarna]?' She said 'Yes'. Then, [ngombarna] *ngumbarna* can mean 'husband' or 'wife', i.e. spouse. Then, Maggie Scott said 26'''''.)

26''''''[MS]. [nganenga ngaringga]
 nganinga *ngaringga-Ø*
 1SG.DAT woman,wife-ABS

My translation: 'my woman/wife'

(Then, Maggie Scott said that, for 'wife', '[mon.gaty] *mun.gaj* is my language', i.e. Wanyjirra. Then, referring to one's wife, she said, 'I suppose you can call her' [as follows].)

26''''''''[MS]. [nganenga ngombarna]
 nganinga *ngumbarna-Ø*
 1SG.DAT wife-ABS

'my wife (?)'

(I mentioned to Maggie Scott that, in Halls Creek Jaru, 'wife' is [kardo] and that [kardonyan] means 'his wife'. But Maggie Scott did not recognize [nyan]. I asked her what [ngombarnanyan] means. She said 'husband'. It is possible that this suffix is fossilized in Wanyjirra. Etymologically, this may be a shortened form of [nyando] *nyandu* '3SG' (and '3PL'?).

27. *ngaringga-Ø* *nyanunga* *mun.gaj-Ø* / *miyanggi*
 woman-ABS 3SG.DAT wife-ABS asking

<i>man-i /</i>	<i>nyila /</i>	<i>gardag-gu-la</i>	<i>guya</i>	<i>ganya /</i>
get-PAST	that	billycan-LINK-LOC	CONJ	carry.PAST
[NP <i>ngarlu-Ø</i>]		<i>yamba-ji-Ø /</i>	<i>yama-ji-Ø</i>	<i>guya</i>
	honey-ABS	small-?-ABS	small-?-ABS	CONJ
<i>ganya /</i>				
carry.PAST				

(I do not know who asked whom. Tentative translations are given below. Judging by the context, *ngaringga-Ø* would be expected to be attached with the ergative suffix *-lu*, that is, *ngaringga-lu* ‘woman-ERG’ would be expected. Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss ‘half full’ for *yamba-ji-Ø*. There is an adverb *guya* with the meaning of ‘thus’. But here we seem to have the multifunctional conjunction *guya*. (Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation for *guya* is ‘i bin take-im’.) Then, this sentence may be translated either as in (i), involving a conjunction such as *as*, *when*, *while* or the like, or as in (ii), involving a relative pronoun:

(i) ‘The [man ?] asked his wife as/when/while she was carrying that [honey] in a billycan, as/when/while she was carrying [billycan] half full [with the honey].’

(ii) ‘The [man ?] asked his wife, who was carrying that [honey] in a billycan and who was carrying [the billycan] half full [with honey].’

My field transcripts indicate that we have [monggaty] ‘husband’ rather than [mon.gaty], i.e. [ng] rather than [n]. The word *ngarlu-Ø* ‘honey-ABS’ was added by Nyun.gatya Paddy during the playback of the tape. This fact is indicated by the square bracket and ‘NP’ in it. In the tape, I hear [kardakola] rather than [kardakkola], i.e. [k] rather than [kk], for *gardag-gu-la*.)

(Maggie Scott translated 27 as follows: ‘i [i.e. the husband] bin ask-im that woman belong to him where [i.e. while, etc.] i [i.e. the woman] bin bring that [kardak], only little bit in a [kardak]’. Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘That husband bin ask his wife where she bin carry only little bit of honey in a billycan’. Just like *guya*, the word ‘where’ in the local Aboriginal English is a multifunctional conjunction.)

(Maggie Scott said [mon.gaty] *mun.gaj* and glossed it ‘wife’. Maggie Scott approved the sentence with [ngarlo] in it. She herself added [ngarlo]. Also, she gave 27’.)

27'[MS]. [kardakkola kanya ngarlo]
gardag-gu-la ganya ngarlu-Ø
 billycan-LINK-LOC carry.PAST honey-ABS
 '[Someone] carried honey in a billycan'.

28. [e] / [wanydin kangani] / [kan.gane
yi wanyji=n gang-an-i / gan.gani
 Oh ! NEG.Q=2SG.NOM carry-CONT-PAST up
 marre tiptip] /
marri did-dip
 away(?) full-full

Tentative translation: 'Why didn't you bring [the billycan] full up [with honey] ?'
 (*wanyji* appears to indicate a negative question. Nyun.gatya Paddy's translations for this sentence are 'No more full up' and 'Never fetch up full'. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy also gave *ganya* 'carry.PAST' for this sentence.)

(I asked Maggie Scott, '[e] means a little bit of surprise ?' She agreed. Maggie Scott gave the translation 'Why didn't you bring full up sugar bag ?' She also gave 'Why never bin bring-im full up to the top ?' Maggie Scott does not recognize the word [tiptip]. (But see 16.) Instead she gave the following.)

28'[MS]. [kan.gane ketket]
gan.gani gidgid
 up full(?)

(Maggie Scott gave a sentence that contains the following.)

28''[MS]. [kolan]
gula=n
 NEG=2SG.NOM

(Maggie Scott translated this sentence 'Why ...?' Unfortunately I could not write down the full sentence.)

29. *wanyji=n* *gang-an-i* *did-dip /*
 NEG.Q=2SG.NOM carry-CONT-PAST full-full
 ‘Why didn’t you bring [the billycan] full [with honey] ?’

(On the tape, the first word is not clear, but when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy confirmed that *wanyji=n* was intended.)

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence and my translation ‘Why didn’t you bring the billycan full with honey ?’)

30. *wagu* *minyarn-Ø* *ngu=rna* *dabu*
 NEG nothing-ABS C=1SG.NOM not finding(?)
wandiny-a /
 fall,sit down-PAST

Tentative translation: ‘No. [I found] nothing. I did not find [any].’

(For [wako] *wagu*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘Oh, no !’ She gave the translations ‘I could not find any more’ and ‘I can’t find any more’.)

31. *dabu* *wandiny-a* *ngu=rna /*
 not finding(?) fall,sit down-PAST C=1SG.NOM
 Tentative translation: ‘I did not find anything.’

32. *nyawa /* *ngu=rna* *gang-an-i /* *ngurra-wurra*
 this,here C=1SG.NOM carry-CONT-PAST camp-ALL
ngurra-wurra /
 camp-ALL

‘I have brought this [honey] to the camp.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘I have brought this honey to the camp’.)

33. *wagurra* *ngarrga-Ø /*
 NEG big-ABS
 ‘[This is] not [a] large [quantity].’

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Not big one. Only little one’.)

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss [ka:n], i.e. can't, for *gula*. The meaning of [kayaen] is not known. Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *yirrn-ang-gu* 'can't find'. Also, he gave [irrao] *yirra-wu* 'put-PURP'.)

(About 37, Maggie Scott said 'Man talking'. On the tape, the last word sounds like [kawaen], but Maggie Scott did not recognize it. She said, 'I don't know'. Maggie Scott gave the translations 'You don't get too much sugar bag', and 'You don't get enough sugar bag'. After giving these translations, she said, 'That what i mean'. She also gave the translations 'That's not enough', and 'You no more put-im enough, plenty'. Then she said, 'That what i mean'.)

38. *ngulgarra* /

half full

'[The billycan is only] half full.'

(The gloss 'half full' was provided by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Possibly, this word contains the suffix *-garra* (Tsunoda 1981:241).)

(On the tape I hear [olkarra]. Maggie Scott does not recognize [olkarra]. I suggested [ngolkarra] *ngulgarra* and she glossed it 'half'.)

39. *ngarra=n*

yan-ang-gu (no pause)

possibly=2SG.NOM

go-CONT-PURP

'You might go [looking for honey].'

(Nyun.gatya Paddy provided glosses 'look about' and 'don't'. It is not known why he said 'don't'.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the man said this sentence.)

40. *yamba-ji-Ø*

ngarra=n

gang-gu /

small-?-ABS

possibly=2SG.NOM

carry-PURP

'You might bring [only a] small [quantity of honey].'

(On the tape I hear [nga:n], but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [ngarran] *ngarra=n* was intended. Similarly for the next sentence. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave the following words: *nagurr* ('hole'), *ngalinga* ('1DU.INC.DAT'), and *nyanungu-lu* ('3SG.DAT-ERG').)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the man said 40. She indicated that 39 is not right. She was not happy with 39 [ngarran jananggo]. She gave the following to replace 39 and 40. She said, ‘He [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] ought to say’ [as follows]’.)

40’[MS]. [wakorra ngan jananggo
 wagurra *nga=n* *jan-ang-gu*
 NEG C=2SG.NOM go-CONT-PURP
 ngarraen jamadyi ngarlo
 ngarra=yi=n *yama-ji-Ø* *ngarlu-Ø*
 possibly=1SG.DAT=2SG.NOM honey-?-ABS honey-ABS
 kangan.go]
 gang-an-gu
 bring-CONT-PURP

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Don’t go, because you might bring little bit sugar bag for me’.

(Also, Maggie Scott gave the following, for the second clause of the above, and said ‘You can say’ [40’’ instead].)

40’’[MS]. [ngarran jamadyi kanggo]
 ngarra=n *yama-ji-Ø* *gang-gu*
 possibly=2SG.NOM little-?-ABS bring-PURP

My translation: ‘You might bring only a little bit.’

41. *yama-ji-Ø /* *yama-ji-Ø* *ngarra=n* *gang-gu /*
 small-?-ABS small-?-ABS possibly=2SG.NOM carry-PURP
 yama-ji-Ø /
 small-?-ABS

‘You might bring [only a] small [quantity of honey].’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *yamaji* ‘half full’. When the tape was replayed, he gave 41’.

41’ describes a situation in which Nyun.gatya Paddy is teaching me the Wanyjirra language. He and I are a classificatory cross-cousin to each other.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the man said 41.)

41'. *barn.gu-gu* *bina* *yung-ana*
 crosscousin-ERG knowing give-PRES
 'A crosscousin [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] is teaching [Wanyjirra to Tasaku
 Tsunoda].'
 (Maggie Scott gave 41''.)

41''[MS]. [ngarraen jamadyi
 ngarra=yi=n *yama-ji-Ø*
 possibly=1SG.DAT=2SG.NOM little-?-ABS
 kangan.go]
gang-an-gu
 bring-CONT-PURP
 My translation: 'You might bring me only a little bit.'

42. *nyangga=li* *yan-ang-gu* *jurlu* alright /
 if,when=1DU.EXC.NOM go-CONT-PURP together (?)
jurlu *nyangga=li* *yan-ang-gu* /
 on walkabout if,when=1DU.INC.NOM go-CONT-PURP
 [matbi] *ngu=n* *nyundu-Ø* *barli* *nyang-ang-gu* /
 maybe C=2SG.NOM 2SG-ABS finding see-CONT-PURP
ngumbarna-lu /
 husband-ERG
 'If we two go on a walkabout, maybe you, [my ?] husband, will find [some
 honey].'

([dyorlo] *jurlu* was glossed 'walkabout' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. My field transcripts indicate that I thought I heard [barli] rather than [bali] for 'finding'. However, I am not certain which is correct.)

(Maggie Scott indicated that the woman said 42, saying something like 'It's woman's turn'. She also said 'Woman said'. Maggie Scott said [dyorlo] *jurlu* and gave the glosses 'If you and me go together', 'Two of them go together'. She also gave 'If we go together, you might find one sugar bag'. *jurlu* seems to mean 'together'. In Maggie

Scott's pronunciation, the lateral in the word for 'finding' seems to be retroflex. Maggie Scott said that the expression [barle nyangan.go] *barli nyang-an-gu* 'sound like Guurrinyji', that is, it is not Wanyjirra. She said that in her speech she says as follows.)

42'[MS]. [nyanggan nyondo barle jonggo]
 nyangga=n nyundu-Ø barli yung-gu
 if=2SG.NOM 2SG-ABS finding give-PURP

My translation: 'If you find it'

(That is, Maggie Scott indicated that, for 'find', she uses *yung-* 'give', and not *nyang-* 'see'.)

43. *ngayu-Ø ngu=rna / yan-ang-gu [goana]-wu /*
 1SG-ABS C=1SG.NOM go-CONT-PURP goanna-DAT
 jarrambayi-wu look about / luma-wu
 goanna-DAT search blue tongue lizard-DAT
 nyamba-wu (hesitation) murrnduj-gu / jalngi-wu /
 what,anything-DAT black snake-DAT white snake-DAT
 'I will go [and look] for a goanna, a blue tongue lizard, a black snake, a white snake, and anything.'

(On the tape, I hear [ngaja], but no doubt [ngajo] *ngayu* was intended. For *jalngi*, Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss 'white snake, cheeky'. In this context, *cheeky* probably means 'venomous'.)

(Maggie Scott indicated that the woman said 43. She approved my gloss 'blue tongue lizard' for *luma*, 'black snake' for *murrnduj*, and 'white snake' for *jalngi*. For *nyamba-wu*, she gave the gloss 'I might look for something else', 'for anything'.)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the 3rd August 1998. Since the tape up to Sentence 69 had already been played to her, Sentences 44 up to 69 were played to her twice.)

44. *nyundu-Ø ngarlu-wu /*
 2SG-ABS honey-DAT

‘You [will go and look] for honey.’

(This sentence is an instance of ‘gapping’ of the predicate verb. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 44’.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the woman said 44.)

44’. *nyundu-Ø* *ngarlu-ngga*
 2SG-ABS honey-LOC

(This sentence probably means ‘You will look for honey’. It is uncommon for the locative to express ‘for’.)

45. [matbi] / *nyangga=rna* *barli* *nyang-an-gu* /
 maybe if,when=1SG.NOM finding see-CONT-PURP
ngurra-ngga / *warluru-Ø* / *warluru-Ø* /
 camp-LOC black snake-ABS black snake-ABS
 [warloro: jandao] / [ngombarna] /
warluru-wu *yan-da* *ngumbarna-Ø*
 black snake-DAT go-IMPERA husband-ABS

‘If I find a black snake in the camp, [I will call out], “Go for a black snake, husband !”.’

(On the tape, I seem to hear [gojangga], but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [ngorangga] *ngurra-ngga* ‘camp-LOC’ was intended. Also, he said that *warluru* is the same as *murnrduj* ‘black snake’. No doubt, [o] in [jandao] is not phonological.)

(In Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral in ‘finding’ seems to be lateral. What I hear on the tape is as shown in 45’.)

45’. [matbi *nyanggarna* *barle* *nyangan.go*] /
 might be *nyangga=rna* *barli* *nyang-an-gu*
 Maybe if=1SG.NOM finding see-CONT-PURP
nyanggarna *barle* *nyangan.go* *goana*] /
nyangga=rna *barli* *nyang-an-gu* *goana*] /
 if=1SG.NOM finding see-CONT-PURP *goanna*

[waloro] /	[waloro:	jandao
<i>waluru-Ø</i>	<i>waluru-wu</i>	<i>yand-a-[o]</i>
carpet snake-ABS	carpet snake-DAT	come-IMPERA-[o]
ngombarna]		
<i>ngumbarna-Ø</i>		
husband-ABS		

My translation: ‘Maybe if I find a carpet snake, [I will call out to my husband],
“Come to a carpet snake, husband !”.’

(Maggie Scott said [waloro] *waluru* and glossed it ‘carpet snake, black one’.)

(On the 3rd August, what I hear on the tape is the same as above, except that it is not clear whether the final vowel in the second occurrence of ‘carpet snake’ is [o:] or [o]. On the 3rd August, Maggie Scott gave 45’’.)

45’’[MS]. [waloro:	jandala]
<i>waluru-wu</i>	<i>yan-da=la</i>
carpet snake-DAT	come-IMPERA=3SG.DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘You come here for snake.’

(On the 3rd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my translation for 45: ‘If I find a black snake, I will call out to my husband, “Come to the snake, husband !”.’ The lateral in the word for ‘carpet snake’ should be retroflex.)

46. [nyanunga	ngombarna] /	[ramarra	nyangga
<i>nyanunga</i>	<i>ngumbarna-Ø</i>	<i>ramarra</i>	<i>nyangga</i>
3SG.DAT	husband-ABS	apart(?)	if,when
jananggo	koja] /		
<i>yan-ang-gu</i>	<i>guya</i>		
go-CONT-PURP	thus		

(What I hear on the tape is as shown above. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said he intended to say 46’.)

46’. <i>nyamunga</i>	<i>ngumbarna-Ø</i>	<i>ramarra</i>	<i>yan-ang-gu</i>
3SG.DAT	husband-ABS	apart(?)	go,walk-CONT-PURP

guya

thus

‘Her husband will walk side by side, a little apart.’

(*ramarra* seems to refer to the way people walk side by side, a little apart.)

(About 46, on the 31st July 1998, Maggie Scott said ‘Look like man talking to woman’. On the 3rd August, she agreed that the ‘her husband’ is talking here. About [ramarra], on the 31st July, Maggie Scott gave 46’’.)

46’’[MS]. [ramarra jananggo koja]

ramarra *yan-ang-gu* *guya*

separate(?) go,walk-CONT-PURP thus

My translation: ‘[We] will walk at a distance from each other, like this.’

(On the 31st July, Maggie Scott also said something like the following.)

46’’’’[MS]. [ramarra janda:nongkola]

ramarra *yan-da=anunggula*

separate(?) go-IMPERA=3PL.OBL

Tentative translation: ‘Walk at a distance away from them’.

(On the 31st July, Maggie Scott said [ramarra] *ramarra* and glossed it ‘keep distance from them’. On the 31st July, she said that 46 is really as follows.)

46’’’’[MS]. [ramarra janda:nongkola koja]

ramarra *yan-da=anunggula* *guya*

separate(?) go-IMPERA=3PL.OBL thus

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Just keep away from the mob’.

(Maggie Scott said that ‘the mob’ refers to ‘another lot of men’. She approved my gloss ‘like this’ for *guya*. Also, she glossed *ramarra* ‘long way off’. She commented, ‘Might be jealous’. I asked, ‘Who is jealous?’ She agreed that the husband is. I think what Maggie Scott means by ‘jealous’ is something like ‘to be concerned with someone/something (in the dative) in case something happens to him/her/it’. On the 3rd August 1998, Maggie Scott gave [koldyany] *guljany* and glossed it ‘brown’, ‘king

brown'. On the 3rd August, for [ramarra] *ramarra*, she gave the gloss 'walking side by side'. On the tape, I seem to hear [nyanggaenangko]. On the 3rd August 1998, Maggie Scott gave 46'''''.)

46'''''[MS].	[nyangga	janana	ramarra	koja]
	<i>nyangga</i>	<i>yan-ana</i>	<i>ramarra</i>	<i>guya</i>
	if(?)	walk-PRES	at a distance	thus

(Maggie Scott gave the gloss 'if' for *nyangga*, and 'walking side by side' for *ramarra*. I do not understand this. If the first word is *nyang-ga* 'look-IMPERA', then the sentence can be translated 'Look. He/She is walking at a distance'. Possibly, Maggie Scott assigns an indefinite reading to *nyangga*.)

47.	[jandaelo	warloro:] /
	<i>yan-da=yi=lu</i>	<i>warluru-wu</i>
	go-IMPERA=1SG.DAT=PL.NOM	back snake-DAT
	Tentative translation: 'You all, go for the black snake for me.'	

(What I hear on the tape is as shown above. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that what was intended was 47'.)

47'.	<i>yan-da=yi=la</i>	<i>warluru-wu</i>
	go-IMPERA=1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT	black snake-DAT
	'Go for the black snake for me.'	

(Note that an animate noun, *warluru-wu* 'back snake-DAT', is cross-referenced by a clitic pronoun, *=la* '3SG.DAT'. Note also that this sequence contains two clitic pronouns that are not nominative. See Tsunoda 1981:139.)

(Maggie Scott said that the woman is talking here. On the tape, I seem to hear [lo], but this is not clear. Maggie Scott said [jandaela]. She gave the translation 'You come with me for the snake'. If this sentence means 'with me', then possibly we have *=yila* '1SG.OBL', rather than *=yi=la* '1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT'.)

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

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 2nd August 1998 (Sun..))

48. [waloro: mo:]
warluru-wu *muwu-wu (?)* /
 black snake-ABS this-DAT(?)

Maggie Scott's translation: 'for this snake'

(On the 2nd August, Maggie Scott said [waloro: mo:], and I think this is what I hear on the tape. I think that 47 and 48 constitute one single sentence: 'Come to or with me for this snake'. Probably on the 2nd August, Maggie Scott said [waloro] *waluru* and glossed it 'carpet snake', and she said that [waloro] and [mornrdoty] *murnrduj* are 'same snake'.)

49. *nyawa* *garriny-ana* / *wuludyurr* /
 this,here stay-PRES in hole(?)

Tentative translation: 'The black snake is [coiling up] here in a hole.'

(Nyun.gatya Paddy said that this sentence describes the way the snake is coiling up. Also, he glossed *wuludyurr* 'along a hole', hence the translation 'in hole'.)

(This translation is not right. See below. On the 2nd August, Maggie Scott gave 49'.)

- 49' [MS]. [jandaela morlo: warloro:
yan-da=yila *murlu-wu* *warluru-wu*
 come-IMPERA=1SG.OBL this-DAT carpet snake-DAT
 nyawa koja olodyorro karrenyana]
nyawa *guya* *wulujurru* *garriny-ana*
 this,here CONJ stretching out stay-PRES

Tentative translation: 'Come to me for this carpet snake which is stretching out here'.

(For the first clause, Maggie Scott gave 'Come over here for this snake'. An alternative analysis is =*yi=la* '1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT'. For *wulujurru*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss

‘stretch out, straight’. Here, it contrasts with the snake coiling up. On the 2nd August, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

49’’[MS]. [nyawa ngo olodyorro karrenyana]
nyawa ngu wulujurru garriny-ana
 this,here C stretching out stay-PRES

My translation: ‘It [the snake] is stretching out here’.

(On the 2nd August, I tried unsuccessfully to work out which is the correct analysis, =*yila* ‘1SG.OBL’ or =*yi=la* ‘1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT’. I asked Maggie to translate [jandaela], and she gave ‘Come over here’, ‘Come out’. She approved my translation ‘Come to me’. I asked if the following sentence is correct.)

49’’[TT]. *yan-da=yila nganinginy-jawu*
 come-IMPERA=1SG.OBL 1SG-ALL

Intended meaning: ‘Come to me.’

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence, and said ‘Yes, I suppose you can’ [say this sentence]’. However, she herself gave the following.)

49’’’’[MS]. [janda morlao nganinginydyao]
yan-da murla-wu nganinginy-jawu
 come-IMPERA here-DAT 1SG-ALL

My translation: ‘Come here, to me’.

(The allative pronoun is not cross-referenced. To conclude, I do not know which analysis is correct.)

50. [jo:] /

yuwu

OK

‘OK!’

51. [jan.goma nyilama ngo nyanongama
yan.gu=ma *nyila=ma* *ngu* *nyanunga=ma*
 go-PURP=CLC that=CLC C 3SG.DAT=CLC
 ngombarnanyan mangarrika:ma:]
ngumbarna-nyan-Ø *mangarri-ga=ma*
 husband-his,her-ABS food-?-CLC
 ‘That husband of hers will go.’

(What I hear on the tape is as shown above. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy replaced *yan.gu=ma* with *yan.gu* ‘go-PURP’. This possibly suggests that the clitic =*ma* cannot be added to a verb. The meaning of the last word is not understood.)

(This sentence was pronounced very fast. But, on the 2nd August, Maggie Scott approved all the words, except for the last word. The last word is not clear, and Maggie Scott is not certain what it is. She thought of 51’ and 51’’.)

- 51’[MS]. [mangarrijarō:]
manggarri-yaru-wu
 food-having-DAT
 ‘for [someone] who has food’

- 51’’[MS]. [mangajaro]
manga-yaru
 young girl-having
 ‘[someone who is] with a young girl’

(But Maggie Scott admitted that neither is suitable in this sentence.)

52. *bung-gu /* *mawun-du=ma /* *bung-gu* *murla /*
 hit,kill-PURP man-ERG=CLC hit,kill-PURP here
bung-gu / *wuludyurr /*
 hit,kill-PURP in hole
 ‘The man will kill [it] in a hole.’

(On the tape, the last word sounds like [o:jem], but when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [olodyorr] *wulujurr* was intended. Presumably, *wuludyurr* ‘in a hole’ refers to the snake, and not to the man. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave *wilg* ‘kill dead’.)

(This word is probably [wirlk]. On the 2nd August, Maggie Scott agreed that the husband said this sentence. (But this does not seem to make sense.) She commented, ‘Husband kill-im that snake’. On the tape, the last word seems to be [kojaem]. On the 2nd August, Maggie Scott gave [koja] *guya*, and approved my gloss ‘like this’.)

53. [ngaola jan.go:::::] /
 nga=wula *yan-gu*
 C=3DU.NOM go-PURP

‘They will go.’

(On the tape, it is not clear whether Nyun.gatya Paddy said [ngaola] or [ngo:la]. But, on the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott said [ngoola] *ngu=wula* ‘C=3DU.NOM’ and gave the translation ‘Tobala looking more again’. She agreed that this sentence refers to the woman and her husband.)

54. [wangany malo ngaola majarraware:::ny] /
 wangany *ma-lu* *nga=wula* *maya=rra=wariny*
 looking around(?) talk-PURP C=3DU.NOM more=again=again(?)

Tentative translation: ‘They will search again and again.’

(*wangany ma-lu* was glossed ‘look about’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Probably this word means ‘looking around and searching’. On the tape, I seem to hear [majarra], as indicated above. =*rra* is a clitic with the meaning of ‘again’ (cf. Tsunoda 1981:209). However, when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy replaced [rra] with [lo], i.e. he gave *maya=lu=wariny* ‘more=CLC=again(?)’. He glossed *maya=lu* ‘more’. =*lu* is a clitic whose meaning is not understood well (cf. Tsunoda 1981:210). At the end of the last word, I seem to hear [ny], as indicated above. The morpheme *wariny* is generally used as a suffix, but here it will have to be considered as a clitic, since both =*rra* and =*lu* are clitics.)

(On the tape, I hear [ngaola]. But on the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott said [ngo:la] *ngu=wula* ‘C=3DU.NOM’. On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved [majarrowareny] *maya=rra=wariny* and glossed it ‘We are going again’.)

55. *guli-yan-∅* *jalngi-∅ /* *nyila* *nyila /*
wild, venomous(?)?-ABS king brown-ABS that that
guli-yan-∅ *jalngi-∅ /*
wild-?-ABS white snake-ABS

‘That [is] a venomous (?) *jalngi* (‘king brown’)!’

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘king brown’ and added ‘cheeky one’.)

56. *ngarra=ngali* *baya-rru /*
possibly=1DU.INC.ACC bite-PURP
‘It might bite us.’

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved [ngarrangale], and she also gave 56’.)

- 56’ [MS]. [ngarrangale *bजारro*]
ngarra=ngali *baya-rru /*
possibly=1DU.INC.ACC bite-PURP
Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘i might bite you and me.’

57. *ngarra=yanu* *baya-rru* *bunbulu-∅ /*
possibly=3PL.ACC bite-PURP dog-ABS
‘It might bite the dogs.’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 57’.)

- 57’. *ngarra=yanu* *baya-rru* *bunbulu-∅*
possibly=3PL.ACC bite-PURP dog-ABS
jalngi-nggu
king brown(?)-ERG
‘The king brown(?) might bite the dogs.’

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation of [bonbolo] *bunbulu*, with [l], and she also gave the translation ‘i might bite the dog’.)

58. *marri* *garra-Ø=yanu* /
 away keep-IMPERA=3PL.ACC
ngu=rna *bung-gu* /
 C=1SG.NOM hit,kill-PURP

Tentative translation: ‘Keep them [i.e. the dogs away] so that I will hit/kill [the snake]’

(In 1976, I thought that *marri garra-Ø=yanu* was a single word. For the analysis of this word, see the comments n 60’ to 60’’’ below.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott denied [marrekarrajano] and gave 58’.)

58’[MS]. [marre kanggajano]
 marri *gang-ga=yanu*
 away(?) carry-IMPERA=3PL.ACC

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Keep the dogs away’.

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott agreed regarding 58 that what ‘I’ will kill is the snake.)

59. *mawun-du=lu* *ngu* *bung-gu* /
 man-ERG=CLC C hit,kill-PURP

‘The man will kill [the snake].’

(Judging by the context, the clitic =*lu* seems to indicate focus, contrast or the like, i.e. ‘The (or a ?) man, and not any woman, will kill the snake’.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘The man will kill the snake’, but she herself gave ‘The man will kill the snake himself’. Probably =*lu* indicates focus or the like.)

60. *ngaringga-lu* *ngu=yanu* *gang-gu* / *bunbulu-Ø* /
 woman-ERG C=3PL.ACC carry-PURP dog-ABS

birinyju /

little bit long way

‘The woman will take the dogs a little far [from the snake].’

(*birinyju* was glossed ‘little bit long way’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Possibly it contains the ergative suffix *-ju*. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 60’.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott said [*birinydyo*] *birinyju* and gave the translation ‘away from there’ and ‘clear’. She approved my translation ‘Take the dogs away’.)

60’.	<i>ngaringga-lu</i>	<i>nga=yanu</i>	<i>gang-gu</i>	<i>bunbulu-Ø</i>
	woman-ERG	C=3PL.ACC	carry-PURP	dog-ABS
	<i>birinyju</i>	<i>garra-Ø=yanu</i>		
	little bit long way	keep-IMPERA=3PL.ACC		

‘The woman will take the dogs [away]. “Keep [them] a little far [from the snake].’

(Initially, I thought that [*karra*] *-garra* was a suffix. On the 2nd August 1998, I found that [*karajano*] should be analyzed as shown below. Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘Keep-im away over somewhere’ for [*birinydyokarajano*] and [*birinydyo*].)

60’’[MS].	[<i>birinydyo</i>	<i>karajano</i>]
	<i>birinyju</i>	<i>garra-Ø=yanu</i>
	at a distance	keep-IMPERA=3PL.ACC

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Keep-im away over there.’

(I asked Maggie Scott if [*birinydyokarra*] is correct. She approved it. I asked her if the following is correct.)

60’’’[TT].	<i>birinyju</i>	<i>garra-Ø=yanu</i>
	at a distance	keep-IMPERA=3PL.ACC

My translation: ‘Keep them at a distance, away’.

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence, and she gave the following.)

60''''[MS]. [bonbolo birrinydyo karrajano]
bunbulu-Ø birrinyju garra-Ø=yanu
 dog-ABS at a distance keep-IMPERA=3PL.ACC

My translation: 'Keep the dogs away'.

(Probably it is at this point that I realized that [karra] is the imperative form of the verb [karrnana]. I asked Maggie if [karra] means 'keep', and she agreed. Warrungu of North Queensland has a noun [barriny-dya] *bariny-ja* 'dodging-LOC'.)

61. *bung-gu / langga-Ø / jalngi-Ø=ma*
 hit-PURP head-ABS king brown(?)-ABS=CLC
guli-yan-Ø=ma /
 wild-?-ABS=CLC

'[He] will hit the king brown(?)'s head.'

(On the tape, I hear the sound of Nyun.gatya Paddy hitting something.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott provided the gloss 'squash-im langga head' [i.e. on the head]. On the same day, she said that [ngombarna] *ngumbarna* means 'husband'. She also gave the following two sentences.)

61'[MS]. [bonggo dyalngi langgaka]
bung-gu jalngi-Ø langga-ga
 hit-PURP king brown(?)-ABS head-LOC

My translation: '[He] will hit the king brown on the head.'

61''[MS]. [bongga langgaka]
bung-ga langga-ga
 hit-IMPERA head-LOC

My translation: 'Hit it on the head.'

(Maggie Scott likes the 'locative versions', in which the 'whole' occurs in the locative.)

62. [kotyarrap majarrajanongkoleja ngorraorra] /
gujarra-Ø marri yan-gu=li ngurra-wurra
 two-ABS away go-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM camp-ALL

‘We two will go off to the camp.’

(The first line shows what I seem to hear on the tape. The second line shows what Nyun.gatya Paddy gave me when the tape was replayed. I seem to hear [p] at the end of the first word. Probably this [p] is not phonological. Cf. *p* in *yep* and *nope* of English.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, I asked Maggie Scott about [p] in [godyarrap]. She herself said [godyarrap]. It seems that initially Maggie Scott did not understand 62; she gave 62’.)

62’[MS]. [dyaŋgi	godyarrap	marre
<i>jalŋgi-Ø</i>	<i>gujarra-Ø</i>	<i>marri</i>
king brown(?) -ABS	two -ABS	away(?)
janonggole	ngorraorra]	
<i>yan-u-nggu=li</i>	<i>ngurra-wurra</i>	
go-VBD-?=1DU.INC.NOM	camp-ALL	

(I do not understand this sentence. Maggie Scott commented, ‘They must be talking that [lengga] *lingga* (snake sp., probably, a king brown), too’. I wanted make an inquiry about [p]. I asked if the following sentence is correct.)

62’’[TT]. [godyarrap	marre	janonggole
<i>gujarra-Ø</i>	<i>marri</i>	<i>yan-u-ng-gu=li</i>
two-ABS	away	go-VBD-?=1DU.INC.NOM
ngorraorra]		
<i>ngurra-wurra</i>		
camp-ALL		

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘We two people go off to the camp’. But this sentence is wrong. The verb should be [jananggo] *yan-ang-u*. Maggie Scott said [godyarrap] and glossed it ‘two of us’, and also gave ‘You and me go alongga camp’. I asked Maggie Scott to translate ‘[godyarrap] tobala killed a kangaroo’. She once said [godyarrapkolo]. This suggests *gujarrab-gu-lu* ‘two-LINK-ERG’. Note that [p] remained, and it may be phonological. But then she gave 62’’’.)

gambarn-u / *guya* *gambarn-u /* *guya* *gambarn-u /*
 cook-VBD thus cook-VBD thus cook-VBD
guya / *guya /* *gambarn-u /* alright /
 thus thus cook-VBD

‘[They] cook [the white snake] like this, from here, from the head.’

(On the 2nd August 1998, regarding *langga-ngulu*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘cook from the head’. She also commented, ‘turn-im over from the head’, ‘turn it over and over and over’. I could not understand what ‘cook from the head’ means. I asked, ‘They cook the head first?’ Maggie Scott said ‘No’. She said, ‘i hang on to the head, i hang on to the head’. I asked, ‘holding the head?’ Maggie Scott agreed. Here, ‘head-ABL’ means ‘[turn the snake over and over] holding the head’. No doubt this sentence refers to the king brown.)

66. *nyila=lu=wali /*
 that=CLC=alright(?)

‘[The snake is cooked and] alright.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation is ‘im alright’. *wali* ‘alright(?)’ can be used as a free form, but here it seems to be used as a clitic.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott said, ‘I don’t know what i mean by that’. Then, she gave ‘That one alright’. Probably, *wali* is not a clitic, but a separate word.)

67. *jimbirla-Ø* *yung-ga=yila /*
 quartz-ABS give-IMPERA=1SG.OBL(?)

‘Give me a quartz [knife].’

(The dative =*yi* ‘1SG.DAT’, rather than the oblique =*yila* ‘1SG.OBL’, would be expected. An alternative analysis is to set up =*yi=la* ‘1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT’, and the translation would be ‘Give me a quartz [knife] for it [i.e. for the snake].’)

(On the 2nd August 1998, in Maggie Scott’s pronunciation, the lateral for ‘quartz’ sounds retroflex. She approved my pronunciation [dyimbirla], with a retroflex [rɭ]. She gave the translation ‘Give me the spearhead’. So, her gloss for *jimbirla* is ‘spearhead’. I tried to work out whether [ila] is =*yila* ‘1SG.OBL’ or =*yi=la* ‘1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT’. I suggested 67’ and 67’’.)

67'[TT]. [dyimbirla jonggaela]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yila*
 quartz-ABS give-IMPERA=1SG.OBL(?)

67''[TT]. [dyimbirla jonggae]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yi*
 spearhead-ABS give-IMPERA=1SG.DAT

(Maggie Scott approved 67'', and said that 67' and 67'' are 'same'. Then, she gave 67'''.)

67'''[MS]. [dyimbirla jonggaela]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yila*
 spearhead-ABS give-IMPERA=?

Maggie Scott's translation: 'Give it to me. I'll cut-im'.

(The addition of 'I'll cut-im' suggests =*la* '3SG.DAT'. I asked if the following sentences are correct.)

67''''[TT]. [dyimbirla jonggaela dyalngio]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yila* *jalngi-wu*
 spearhead-ABS give-IMPERA=? king brown-DAT

(Maggie Scott approved my translation 'Give me a jimbirla to cut the snake'.)

67'''''[TT]. [dyimbirla jonggaela ngarin.go]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yila* *ngarin-gu*
 spearhead-ABS give-IMPERA=? meat-DAT

(Maggie Scott approved my translation 'Give me a jimbirla to cut the meat'. She gave 67'''''.)

67''''''[MS]. [dyimbirla jonggaela dyalngio]
jimbirla-∅ *yung-ga=yila* *jalngi-wu*
 spearhead-ABS give-IMPERA=? king brown-DAT

ngorna komao]
 ngu=rna guma-wu
 C=1SG.NOM cut-PURP

My translation: 'Give me the jimbirla for the snake so I can cut the snake'.

(It seems that here we have =yi=la '1SG.DAT=3SG.DAT'.)

68. [e:] /

iyi

OK(?)

Tentative translation: 'OK.'

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'OK'.)

69. nyawa / gumarn-ang-gu / nyawa gumarn-ang-gu /
 this,here cut-CONT-PURP this,here cut-CONT-PURP
 murnrduj-Ø-ma nyila=ma /
 black snake-ABS=CLC that=CLC

Tentative translation: '[I] will cut this, that snake.'

(The co-existence of *nyawa* 'this, here' and *nyila* 'that' does not seem to make sense.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'python' for *murnrduj*.)

70. nyawa / nyawa / nyawa nyawa / nyawa nyawa /
 here here here here here here
 nyawa nyawa / maya=gari / guya / maya=gari /
 here here more=again(?) thus more=again(?)
 nyawa / nyawa nyawa nyawa / nyawa / nyawa /
 here here here here here here

'[I will cut the snake] more and more, here, here, here, and here.'

(The morpheme *gari* 'again(?)' is probably a clitic, hence the equation symbol. For *maya=gari*, Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss 'cut more', and he said that this is the same as 70'.)

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'more' for *maya=gari*. She commented as follows: 'i must be cutting in a half', and 'cut-im half, half, half, ...'.)

70'. *maya=lu* *maya=lu*
 more=CLC more=CLC
 'more and more'

71. *guya=la* *ngu=rnalu* *gumarn-ana*
 thus-? C=1PL.EXC.NOM cut-PRES
murnrduj-Ø=ma /
 black snake-ABS=CLC

'We are cutting the black snake like this.'

(On the 2nd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved *guya=la*, and glossed it 'like this'. She gave 'Like this we cut this [mornrdoty]'. She said [kojala kojala kojala] *guya=la guya=la guya=la*.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 2nd August 1998 (Sun).)

72. *nganimba-Ø=ma* *murnrduj-Ø=ma /* *guya*
 1PL.EXC-ABS=CLC blacksnake-ABS=CLC thus
ngu=rnalu *gumarn-ana /* *guya /* (long pause)
 C=1PL.EXC.NOM cut-PRES thus
nyamba-wu *guya* *nyila=ma /* *jiwirri-g-gu /*
 whatisname-DAT thus that=CLC cooked-RESULT-DAT
jiwirri-g-gu /
 cooked-RESULT-DAT

'We are cutting the black snake like this, for whatisname, for [it to be] cooked.'

(On the tape, I hear [dyiwirriko] (with [k]), not [dyiwirrikko] (with [kk]), but I have phonemicized it *jiwirri-g-gu*. Note that the suffix -g 'result' is followed by a case suffix, that is, it is a derivational suffix. Then, when it is not followed by any non-zero case suffix, it is in the absolutive. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 72'.)

72'. *maya gamba-Ø*
 more cook-IMPERA
 'Cook [it] more.'

(When the tape was replayed, I asked Nyun.gatya Paddy the meaning of *bunyjarr*. Probably, this is my error. The correct word is probably *bunyjurr*. Nyun.gatya Paddy said it means 'half cooked, proper cooked one'.)

(On the 3rd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my translation for 72: 'We are cutting the black snake like this'. For *nyamba-wu*, she provided the gloss 'What that for'. (This may be 'Whatisname'.) She commented, 'He [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy ?] should say "That for cook".' She approved my pronunciation [dyiwirrikko], with [kk], and she herself said [diwirrikko]. She gave the gloss 'cook-im really cook', and she approved my gloss 'to cook it really properly'. Maggie Scott said [bonydyorrk] *bunyjurr* and glossed it 'Flame is gone. Cold'. She said that this word is used in 'this country', i.e. Jaru (?). I asked, 'Not your language ?' She agreed.)

73. *wali=lu / warlu-Ø ngu=rna*
 alright=CLC fire-ABS C=1SG.NOM
bung-an-gu /
 hit,burn(?)-CONT-PURP
 'Alright. I will make a fire.'

(Nyun.gatya Paddy's gloss is 'make fire'. When the tape was replayed and Nyun.gatya Paddy and I were discussing its content, Jingle Gurul (a Malngin speaker) was laughing. Probably, he thought our discussion was amusing. So, I asked Nyun.gatya Paddy as in 73', and he replied as in 73''.)

73'[TT]. *nyamba-wu-ja*
 what-from-LOC
 'Because of what, over what [is Jingle laughing] ?'

73''. *ngalinga jinggiri*
 1DU.INC.DAT laughing
 '[He is] laughing about us.'

(Note that the preverb *jinggiri* ‘laughing’ is used independently, without a verb.)

(On the 3rd August 1998, Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Alright. I will make a fire’. She gave 73’’’.)

73’’’[MS]. [warlo ngorna bonganana]
 warlu-Ø *ngu=rna* *bung-ana*
 fire-ABS C=1SG.NOM hit,burn(?)–PRES

My translation: ‘I’m making a fire’.

(On the 3rd August 1998, when I mentioned 73’’ to Maggie Scott, she gave 73’’’’.)

73’’’’[MS]. [ngolo(pause)ngale dyingingiri wandinyana]
 ngu=lu=ngali *jinggiri* *wandiny-ana*
 C=3PL.NOM=1DU.INC.DAT laughing fall-PRES

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘They are laughing at you and me.’

(Maggie Scott put a pause between [ngolo] and [ngale] !!! I have never heard a pause between the carrier morpheme and clitic pronouns. Maggie Scott also said [ngolongale]. The sound *r* in ‘laughing’ sounds a little like a flap. This verb complex seems to have the case frame ‘ABS laughs at DAT’.)

74. *guya* [nao] / *yirrarn-ang-gu* / *guya* [nao] /
 thus now put-CONT-PURP thus now

‘[I] will put [the snake (?) on the fire (?)] now.’

(Maggie Scott agreed that ‘I’ refers to the husband. She approved my translation ‘I will put the snake on the fire now’. I asked her if it is the snake that ‘I’ will throw. She said, ‘Must be snake. “I chuck this in, whatever it is”.’ She commented, ‘I don’t know what it is doing’.)

75. *nyunguliny* / *nyunguliny* [nao] / *nyunguliny* [nao] /
 rolling up rolling up now rolling up now

‘[I] wrap up [the snake] now.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *nyunguliny* ‘roll up’, but the exact meaning of this sentence is not known.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the husband is doing this. On the tape, the final consonant of this word seems to be [ty] in its first occurrence, and [ny] in its second and third occurrences. Maggie Scott said [nyongolety], [nyongolety] *nyungulij* and gave the gloss ‘wrap the snake around’, and ‘round and round, like a rope’.)

76. *nagurr-Ø* *guya* / *nagurr-Ø* /
 hole-ABS thus hole-ABS
 ‘A hole [in the ground] like this.’

(The exact meaning of this sentence is not known.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘A hole in the ground like this’.)

77. [e] / [bep] / [be:p] /
yi *bib* *bib*
 ? lifting up lifting up
 ‘[I will] pick up [the snake].’

([e] may not be a word. The vowel in the last word is slightly long. *bib* was glossed ‘lift up’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)

(When asked what [e] means, Maggie Scott said ‘I don’t know’. Maggie Scott agreed that the husband is doing this. She gave 77’.)

77’[MS]. [bep mani]
 bib *man-i*
 picking up get-PAST
 Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘pick-im up’

78. [u] /
 wu
 Oh (?)

Tentative translation: ‘Oh !’

(This may not be a genuine word at all.)

79. *ganyjurra* *buwurr* / *ganyjurra* *buwurr* / *warlu-ngga* /
 down throwing down throwing fire-LOC
warlu-ngga /
 fire-LOC

‘[I ?] throw [the snake] down onto the fire.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss ‘chuck-im’ for [bo:rr] *buwurr*, and gave the translation ‘put in fire’ for the sentence.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the husband is doing this. On the tape, I seem to hear [bo:rrk] and again [bo:rrk], that is, [k] seems to be there. (Probably I noticed this after Maggie Scott said [borrk].) Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘chuck-im in a hole’. She gave the translation ‘chuck-im in a hole where the fire is’. She gave 79’.)

79’[MS]. [bo:rrkejani]

*burr*g (tentatively) *giyan-i*
 chucking throw-PAST
 Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘chuck-im’

(Again, Maggie Scott gave 79’’.)

79’’[MS]. [bo:rrkejani]

*burr*g (tentatively) *giyan-i*
 chucking throw-PAST
 Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘chuck-im’

(Then, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

79’’’[MS]. [borrk]

*burr*g
 chucking

(Then, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

79’’’’[MS]. [borr]

burr (?)

(But this appears to be an error. Then, she gave the following.)

79''''[MS]. [borrkkejani] (no intervening pause)

burrɡ *giyan-i*
chucking throw-PAST

(I asked Maggie Scott if the following is correct.)

79''''''[TT]. [kejani borrk]

throw-PAST

(Maggie Scott approved this. But it may not be correct. She gave 79''''''''.)

79''''''''[MS]. [irrarni borrk]

yirrarn-i *burrɡ*
put-PAST chucking

My translation: 'chucked, threw'

(Note that Maggie Scott said this with [k]. Then, she gave the following.)

79''''''''''[MS]. [irrarni borrk djangelanydya]

yirrarn-i *burrɡ* *jangilany-ja*
put-PAST chucking fire-LOC

My translation: '[Someone] threw [it] onto the fire'.

(Again, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

79''''''''''''[MS]. irrarni borrk]

yirrarn-i *burrɡ*
put-PAST chucking

My translation: 'chucked, threw'

(Maggie Scott approved the following.)

79''''''''''''''[TT]. *janyja-ga* *burrɡ*

ground-LOC chucking

(Maggie Scott pronounced this word with a retroflex stop [rd]. She approved my pronunciation with a retroflex stop. So, this word has a retroflex stop, not a frictionless continuant.)

82. *jalngi-Ø* *maya=rra /* *jalngi-Ø*
white snake-ABS more=again king brown(?)-ABS
murla-ngga=rra / *jalngi-Ø=ma /*
here-LOC=again king brown(?)-ABS=CLC

‘[The husband (?)] will cover (?) the king brown (?) here again.’

(The locative suffix *-ngga* in *murla-ngga* sounds like [nga]. Similarly for *murla-ngga* in the next sentence. Possibly, *=rra* in *murla-ngga=rra* ‘here-LOC=again’ means ‘again in the same place’.)

(On the tape, the fourth word is not clear but sounds like [morlagarra]. Maggie Scott said [morlangarra] *murla-ngga=rra* ‘here-LOC=again’ and gave the gloss ‘here again’.)

83. *guya=rra /* *guya=rra /* *guya=rra /* *maya=rra*
thus=again thus=again thus=again more=again
maya=rra *murla-ngga=rra* *buwurr /* *nagurr-a /*
more=again here-LOC=again throwing hole-LOC
nagurr-a / *nagurr-a /*
hole-LOC hole-LOC

‘More and more, like this again and here again, [the husband ?] throw [the snake] into the hole.’

(Maggie Scott said [goja] *guya* ‘thus (?)’. She gave the gloss ‘again’ for *guya=rra*. On the tape, I hear something like [morlagarra]. I asked if [borrk] is correct. Maggie Scott approved it, and she said [borrk] *burr*g and gave the gloss ‘chuck-im’. She approved my gloss ‘into the hole’ for *nagurr-a*.)

84. *wu /* *maya=rra* *ngu=wulany* *bung-an-gu* *nao] /*
Oh more=again C=3DU.ACC hit,cook-CONT-PURP now

guya [nao] /
 thus now

‘Oh, he [i.e. the husband ?] will cook them two like this now.’

([o] may not be a word. Its phonemicization is only tentative. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy stated to the effect that =*wulany* ‘3DU.ACC’ refers to *jalngi* ‘white snake’ (king brown ?) and *murnrduj* ‘black snake’. Note that here the clitic pronoun cross-references two understood nouns whose referents are animate but dead. *bung-an-gu* was glossed ‘cook’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. When the tape was replayed, he gave [kotyarrap] *gujarra* ‘two’. The final [p] is probably not phonemic. The same [p] seems to occur in [kotyarrap] in Sentence 62.)

(I asked Maggie Scott if the woman said 84. She agreed and said ‘I think so’. She approved [ngoolany] *ngu=wulany* for this sentence. She gave the following translations: ‘They both getting cooked’ and ‘Both getting cooked’. Note that Maggie Scott’s translation involves the intransitive ‘get cooked’, although the verb *bung-* ‘cook’ is clearly transitive. It co-occurs with a clitic pronoun in the accusative case. Maggie Scott agreed that ‘both’ refers to the two snakes. Again, she gave ‘The two snakes are getting cooked’.)

85. *murla yangi-Ø / jalngi-Ø / murla murnrduj-Ø /*
 here one-ABS king brown(?) -ABS here black snake-ABS
murnrduj-Ø / murla murnrduj-Ø /
 black snake-ABS here black snake-ABS

‘Here [is] one king brown [and] here [is] a black snake.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Here is one white snake and here is a black snake’.)

86. *jalngi-Ø nyawa / murnrduj-Ø nyawa /*
 white snake-ABS this, here black snake-ABS this, here
bung-an-gu /
 hit, cook-CONT-PURP

‘[The husband ?] will cook this white snake and this black snake.’

pronoun =*gu* '2SG.ACC', too, involves nasal reduction (<— =*nggu*). Maggie Scott said, 'You can say' [as in the following].)

87''''''[MS]. [nyambako bajani]
 nyamba-gu *bayan-i*
 what-ERG bite-PAST

My translation: 'What bit you ?'

(The element for '2SG.ACC' is missing. *nyamba-gu=nggu* would be expected. I asked Maggie Scott to translate 'Something bin bite me'. She gave the following.)

87''''''''[MS]. [nyambakoe bajani]
 nyamba-gu=yi *bayan-i*
 what-ERG=1SG.ACC bite-PAST

(I asked Maggie Scott if this sentence can mean 'Something bin bite me'. She agreed, and she said 'Something bite-im me'.)

88. *wali=lu=wali /*
 alight=CLC=alright
 'Alright.'

(Maggie Scott gave the gloss 'That's enough'.)

89. *guyany-ja=ma wurraj=bala /*
 ?-LOC(?)=CLC taking out=CLC

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood well. *guyany-ja=ma* was glossed 'im sun go down' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. *wurraj* was glossed 'wake-im up' (i.e. 'lift up, pick up'). Possibly this sentence means '[He ?] takes out [the snakes from the fire] in the evening'. If this is the case, then *guyany* would mean 'evening'.)

(For *guyany-ja*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss 'that time — maybe afternoon, maybe 4 o'clock'. Possibly this is *guyany-ja* 'thus-LOC', and it means 'when the sun is like that'. Maggie Scott also gave 89'.)

89'[MS]. [kojanydyama orratybala]
guyany-ja=ma wurraj-bala
 ?-LOC=CLC taking out(?)-?

Maggie Scott's translation: 'pull the snake out'

90. *gangirriny-bala-Ø warrag / gangirriny-bala-Ø*
 sun-?-ABS(?) watching sun-?-ABS(?)
warrag /
 watching

Nyun.gatya Paddy's translation: 'We watch sun.'

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood well.)

(I do not hear [k] g, but Maggie Scott indicated that we have [warrak] *warrag*. For this sentence, she gave the translation 'watch the sun'. She gave 90'.)

90'[MS]. [warrakangga]
warrag gang-ga
 watching carry-IMPERA

My translation: 'Watch it'.

(Phonetically, we have just [k], but phonemically we should recognize g for *warrag*, for Maggie Scott said 90''.)

90''[MS]. [warrak]
warrag

(Maggie Scott gave 90'''.)

90'''[MS]. [warrakangga kangerriny]
warrag gang-ga gangirriny-Ø
 watching carry-IMPERA sun-ABS

Maggie Scott's translation: 'You watch the sun'.

(Maggie Scott commented that this is in order to know when to pull out the snakes. She said something like the following: 'This is like white people looking at the watch/clock for the oven'. Maggie Scott said the following in isolation.)

90''''[MS]. [warrak] [warrak]
warrag warrag
 watching watching

(Also, Maggie Scott said the following.)

90''''''[MS]. [warrakangga] [warrakangga]
warrag gang-ga warrag gang-ga
 watching carry-IMPERA watching carry-IMPERA

(Maggie Scott approved my translation for 89 and 90: 'At that time, we will take the meat out, so you watch the sun'. She gave the following.)

90''''''''[MS]. [warrakangga]
warrag gang-ga
 watching carry-IMPERA

90''''''''''[MS]. [warrak kangga]
warrag gang-ga
 watching carry-IMPERA

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [warrak kangga].)

91. *yirra-ba-lu* / *mawun-du* / *jalngi-Ø* /
 other-ERG man-ERG king brown-ABS

Tentative translation: 'Other men [cut up ?] the king brown.'

(Nyun.gatya Paddy glossed *yirra-ba* 'another mob'. He also provided the following comment on the sentence: 'cut half and half'.)

(Maggie Scott translated/commented as follows: 'Some men got snake'. (Maggie Scott agreed that it is *jalngi*.) 'One man got [warlarr]'. She glossed [warlarr] *warlarr* 'fat'. She approved my pronunciation with a retroflex lateral.)

92. *yangi-nggu* *mawun-du /*

one-ERG man-ERG

Tentative translation: 'One man [said ?].'

(A verb such as *marran-i* 'tell-PAST' or the like seems to be understood here.)

93. *guri-Ø* *nyang-ga=lu /*

fat-ABS see,look at-IMPERA=PL.NOM

'Look at the fat.'

94. *guri-Ø* *nyang-ga=lu* *murnrduj-Ø /*

fat-ABS see,look at-IMPERA=PL.NOM black snake-ABS

'Look at the back snake's fat.'

(Maggie Scott approved my translation. Around here, Maggie Scott gave the following.)

94'[MS]. [birlin mani]

birlin *man-i*

pulling apart(?) get-PAST

Maggie Scott's translation: 'pull the skin apart'

94''[MS]. [birlin mano]

birlin *man-u*

pulling apart(?) get-VBD

Maggie Scott's translation: 'pull the skin apart'

(Maggie Scott rarely used verbids. I think she did not use any in 1995 to 1997.)

95. *nyangga* *wulujurr* *garriny-ang-gu /*

if,when cooked stay-CONT-PURP

wulujurr / *guri-Ø /* *man-gu* *wurraj /*

cooked fat-ABS get-PURP taking out

Tentative translation: 'When the fat [is] cooked, [he] will take [it] out.'

([olodyorr] *wulujurr* was glossed 'cooked' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. On the tape, the last word sounds like [ilalp] or [irralp]. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy

said that [orraty] *wurraj* was intended. He glossed it ‘wake-im up’, i.e. ‘pick up’, ‘lift up’. I am not certain if 95 really constitutes one single sentence. It possibly consists of two sentences, the first of which is something like Sentence 95’.)

95’. *nyang-ga* *wulujurr* *garriny-ang-gu=lu /*
 see-IMPERA cooked stay-CONT-PURP=CLC
wulujurr / *guri-Ø /*
 cooked fat-ABS

‘Look. The fat will stay cooked.’

(For the first clause of 95, Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Look. The fat is stretching out’. For *nyang-ga*, she gave ‘Look !’. It seems that this word is not the conjunction *nyangga* ‘if, when’. For [olodyorr] *wulujurr*, Maggie Scott gave ‘stretch out’. The last two words of 95 seem to make up a separate sentence: ‘[He] will take [it] out (?)’. The last word is not clear, and Maggie Scott is not sure what it is. First, I suggested [orraty] *wurraj* ‘taking out (?)’, and Maggie Scott approved it. But she said ‘I don’t know what i mean by that’. She gave the following and said it means ‘pull-im out of hole’.)

95’’[MS]. [man.go orraty]
 man-gu *wurraj*
 get-PURP taking out(?)

(The pronunciation is not clear. Maggie Scott indicated that this does not make sense. I asked if it makes no sense. She said that the following is ‘alright’. But it is not clear what she meant by this. 95’’ and 95’’’ are identical.)

95’’’[MS]. [man.go orraty]
 man-gu *wurraj*
 Tentative translation: ‘[He] will take [it] out.’

96. *a* *baya-rru* *jilmung /*
 ah bite,cut-PURP breaking
 ‘Ah, [he] will break [it].’

(On the tape, it is hard to decide whether we have [bayarra] *baya-rra* ‘bite,cut-IMPERA’ or [bajarro] *baya-rru* ‘bite,cut-PURP’. But when the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy confirmed that the latter [bajarro] was intended. Also, he approved my translation ‘break-im’ for *jilmung*.)

(Maggie Scott said [bajarra] and gave 96’.)

96’ [MS]. [baya-rra dyilmong]
 baya-rra *jilmung*
 bite,cut-IMPERA breaking

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Break it. Cut it into half’.

(Maggie Scott agreed that this concerns the snake.)

97. *guri-Ø / wajawurr-a / yirra-wu limurra /*
 fat-ABS skin-LOC put-PURP separately(?)
 yirra-wu limurra / gulyawurr-a /
 put-PURP separately(?) ‘bushes’-LOC

‘[He] will put the [snake’s] fat and skin separately (?) on the “bushes” (i.e. leaves, branches, etc.).’

([lemurra] was glossed ‘miself’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. It probably means ‘separately’. [kolyaorr] *gulyawurr* was glossed ‘bushes’; it refers to a bundle of branches, grass, etc.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘Leave the fat in the skin for me’. She said [watyao] *wajawurr*. Its gloss must be ‘skin’. Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘bushes’ for *gulyawurr*. On the tape I hear [lemurra], but Maggie Scott does not know this word. She gave various forms: [lembarra] *limbarra* (?), [lembarra], [lembal] *limbal*, [lembal]. On the tape I hear [lemurra], but Maggie Scott is not sure. Then, she gave [lembalwarra] *limbal-warra* (?), and [lembalarra], [lembalarra] *limbal-arra* (?).

98. *nyamba-la yala-ngga / balnga-ngga / yirra-wu /*
 whatisname-LOC there-LOC bark-LOC put-PURP

‘[He] will put [them] on whatisname, there on the bark.’

(Maggie Scott gave ‘Put-im on leaf, bark or anything’. The locative *nyamba-la* is irregular. The regular form would be *nyamba-ga*. Maggie Scott did not approve the irregular locative form. She said, ‘Supposed to be’ [as follows].)

98’[MS]. [nyambaka]
nyamba-ga
 what-LOC

(That is, Maggie Scott uses the regular locative form *nyamba-ga*. Again, she said, ‘Supposed to be’ [as follows].)

98’’[MS]. [nyambaka]
nyamba-ga
 what-LOC

(Maggie Scott indicated that her word is different, saying ‘i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] is saying [nyambala]’.)

99. [kore	nyanggalooreny	kodyarrap] /
<i>guri-Ø</i>	<i>nyang-ga=lu=wulany</i>	<i>gujarra-Ø</i>
fat-ABS	see-IMPERA=PL.NOM=3DU.ACC	two-ABS

‘Look at the two [snakes’] fat.’

(The first line shows what I seem to hear on the tape, while the second line shows what Nyun.gatya Paddy said he had intended. Nyun.gatya Paddy said that *gujarra-Ø* refers to two snakes. Note that *gujarra-Ø* ‘two snakes’ is cross-referenced by a clitic pronoun, =*wulany* ‘3DU.ACC’. This is despite the fact that the ‘two snakes’ are dead. No doubt, [p] in [kodyarrap] is not phonological. Most of these remarks apply to 100 as well.)

(Maggie Scott approved [nyanggaloolany] *nyang-ga=lu=wulany*. She gave the translation ‘Look at the two fat’.)

100. [kore	nyanggalooreny	dyalngi] /
<i>guri-Ø</i>	<i>nyang-ga=lu=wulany</i>	<i>jalngi-Ø</i>
fat-ABS	see-IMPERA=PL.NOM=3DU.ACC	white snake-ABS

[mornrdoty] /

murnrduj-Ø /

black snake-ABS

‘Look at [the fat of ?] the white snake and the black snake.’

(Maggie Scott approved [nyanggaloolany]. She approved my translation ‘Look at the fat of the white snake (a king brown ?) and the black snake’. But I think she said a sentence in which the snakes occur in the dative, probably, *jalngi-wu* and *murnrduj-gu*. It seems that, although this is inalienable possession, Maggie Scott uses or prefers the dative case for the possessor.)

101. *nyila* / *gururlu-Ø* / *gururlu-Ø* / *gururlu-Ø* /

that liver-ABS liver-ABS liver-ABS

where im sit down

guya *guya* *garriny-ana* *gururlu-Ø* *wulujurr* /

CONJ(?) thus(?) stay-PRES liver-ABS cooked

Tentative translation: ‘That liver is cooked.’

([kororlo] *gururlu* was glossed ‘liver, long one’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. It is not known what the phrase ‘long one’ means here. One of the two occurrences of *guya* is probably an adverb with the meaning of ‘thus’, but it is not known which. The other is probably the conjunction *guya* or its adverb-like use.)

(Maggie Scott said [kordolo] *gurdulu* and glossed it ‘liver — [of] snake, bullock [etc.]’. She said ‘I think snake has long liver [but] I didn’t see [snake] liver’. She approved [olodyorr] *wulujurr* and glossed it ‘stretch out’. In this sentence, *guya* does not seem to be a conjunction. Then, it may be an adverb.)

102. *nyila=ma* *ngarn-u* *ngarn-u*

that=CLC eat-VBD eat-VBD

‘[They ?] eat [the snakes ? the fat ?].’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [janybal] *yanybal*. and glossed it ‘skin-im’. Probably it is a preverb with the meaning of ‘skinning’.)

(Maggie Scott approved [ma]. Maggie Scott indicated that it is the liver that they are eating.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 3rd August 1998.)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 3rd August 1998.)

103. [jonggarne: dyilmong] / [jonggarne:
 yung-ga=rni *jilmung* *yung-ga=rni*
 give-IMPERA=hither(?) breaking give-IMPERA=hither(?)
dyilmong] / [kordolo dyilmong] /
jilmung *gurdulu-Ø* *jilmung* /
breaking liver-ABS breaking

Nyun.gatya Paddy's translation: 'Give it to me half.'

(On the tape, I am not certain whether I hear [ne:] (with an alveolar [n]) or [rne:] (with a retroflex [rn]) for 'hither'. But probably what we have is [rne:]. See Tsunoda 1981:208. Here, *jilmung* seems to mean 'a broken piece, half', specifically, half of a liver. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 103'.)

103'. *yung-ga=yi*
 give-IMPERA=1SG.DAT
 'Give me [the liver ?].'

(In 103, the second last word sounds like [kojolo], but Maggie Scott said that it is [kordolo] *gurdulu*. She repeatedly gave the following, with a long vowel [rne:].)

103''[MS]. [jonggarne:]
 yung-ga=rni=yi
 give-IMPERA=hither=1SG.DAT
[jonggarne:]
yung-ga=rni=yi
give-IMPERA=hither=1SG.DAT

My translation: 'Give it to me. Give it to me.'

(It seems that [rne:] is =rni=yi '=hither=1SG.DAT', rather than just =rni 'hither'. First, =rni can be followed by a non-zero clitic pronoun, as shown below. Second, Maggie Scott also said [rne], with a short vowel; see 103'''''. This would be simply =rni. Maggie Scott gave 103'''.)

103''''[MS]. [jonggai]

yung-ga=yi

give-IMPERA=1SG.DAT

My translation: 'Give it to me'.

(I repeatedly asked Maggie is this is the long [rne:] or the short [rne]. She gave the following, with a short vowel.)

103''''[MS]. [jonggarni]

yung-ga=rni

give-IMPERA=hither

My translation: 'Give it to me'.

(Maggie Scott approved my pronunciation [jonggarne]. I asked her if the following translation is correct: 'Give me broken piece of liver'. She did not approve it. She thinks this is not right. Regarding *yung-ga=rni jilmung*, she said it 'does not sound right to me'. Probably what she meant was that the preverb *jilmung* cannot occur as the object of the verb. Instead, she gave the following.)

103''''[MS]. [jonggarne:

yung-ga=rni=yi

give-IMPERA=hither=1SG.DAT

dyilmong man.go]

jilmung man-gu

breaking get-PURP

kordolo nyanggan

gurdulu-Ø nyangga=n

liver-ABS if=2SG.NOM

Maggie Scott's translation: 'Give me liver if you break it'.

(Maggie Scott said [jonggarne:], [jonggarne:], with a long [e:].)

104. *nyawa / nyawa / ngu=la yung-gu /*
 this,here this,here C=3SG.DAT give-PURP

‘This and this, [he] will give him.’

(On the tape, *nyawa* is pronounced [nya:].)

(For the first and the second words, Maggie Scott said [nya], with a short [a], and glossed it ‘Here !’, and she said [nya] and glossed it ‘Here !’ Possibly, this word is different from [nyawa]. Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. I asked her who will give to whom. She said, ‘I don’t know’.)

105. *nga-lu=li /*
 eat-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM

‘We two will eat [liver pieces ?].’

(I asked Maggie Scott if ‘we’ refers to the woman and her husband. She first agreed, but then said, ‘I don’t know’. She said, ‘Man said, “Come here. You and me eat”.’)

106. [ngongkoolala dyilmongbalala:.....] /
ngu=ngguwulala jilmung-bala-la
 C=2DU.OBL breaking-?-?

Tentative translation: ‘[This] half [piece of liver] is for you two.’

(The first line shows what I hear on the tape, and the second line shows its phonemicization. The meaning of *-bala* and that of *-la* are not known. The latter may be in fact a clitic. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 106’. That is, he deleted [la] from the end of the first word.)

106’. *ngu=ngguwula jilmung-bala-la*
 C=2DU.DAT breaking-?-?

Nyun.gatya Paddy’s translation: ‘Break half and half.’

(Then, possibly we have the following for 106, that is, the last *la* may be a separate clitic.)

106’[TT]. *ngu=ngguwula=la*
 C=2DU.DAT=CLC

(Maggie Scott does not understand what 106 means. She said, ‘I don’t know what i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] is saying’. She said that [ngongko] (*ngu=nggu* ‘C=2SG.DAT’) is for ‘one person’. However, regarding [ngongkoolala] *ngu=ngguwulala* ‘C=2DU.OBL’, she said, ‘Where is the other person?’ At least, here the oblique case seems to indicate a beneficiary. There are similar examples. Maggie Scott did not approve [bala] in the second word. She gave 106’’’.)

106’’’[MS]. [dyilmongkarrala]

jilmung-garra-la

breaking-?-?

(About 106, Maggie Scott said, ‘I don’t know what i [Nyun.gatya Paddy] mean to say’.)

107. *guri-Ø=ma* *jilmung-garra=la* *jilmung-garra=la*

fat-ABS=CLC breaking-?=CLC breaking-?=CLC

jilmung-garra=lu /

breaking-?=CLC

‘[He ?] breaks the fat [into pieces ?].’

(On the tape, this is not clear, but the second and the third clitics sound like [na], the fourth possibly [lo]. Maggie Scott gave [la] for the second and the third and [lo] for the fourth, as shown above. She gave the translation ‘break-im half. break-im half’.)

108. *mawun-du* *nga-lu /*

man-ERG eat-PURP

‘The men will eat [the pieces of fat].’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘The man is going to eat’.)

109. *walima=n* *nga-lu* *ngaringga-Ø /*

Q=2SG.NOM eat-PURP woman-ABS

‘Woman, will you eat [them]?’

(Maggie Scott said that the last word is [ngarinda] *ngarin-da* ‘beef-LOC’, and she gave ‘Do you want to eat it with beef?’ But on the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy says [ngaringga] *ngaringga*, and Maggie Scott admitted this.)

110. [ngaringga wa] (hesitation; no pause)

ngaringga-Ø error

woman-ABS

‘The woman [replied].’

(A verb such as *marn-i* ‘talk-PAST’ would be expected.)

111. [wa:ko:] / [nganydyalo maondo] /

wagu ngany-ja=lu mawun-du

NEG eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM man-ERG

‘No. You eat [them], men.’

(Maggie Scott gave the gloss ‘No’ for *wagu*.)

112. *mawun-du ngany-ja=lu nguyuru-lu /*

man-ERG eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM many-ERG

‘Many men, you eat [them].’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

113. [dyalngio] /

jalngi-wu

white snake-DAT

(Probably, this is an error.)

(The final [o] appears to be an error. Maggie Scott said [dyalngi] *jalngi*.)

114. *yung-ga=lu=ngayarrang jalngi-Ø /*
give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1DU.EXC.DAT white snake-ABS

ngaringga-wu=ma /

woman-ABS=CLC

‘Give the white snake to us, to women.’

(I asked Maggie Scott who said 114. She said, ‘I think woman talking’. She approved my translation given above. She also approved my pronunciation [ngajarrang] for the clitic pronoun =*ngayarrang*. She gave 114’.)

114'[MS]. [djalŋgi jonggalongajarra]
jalŋgi-Ø *yung-ga=lu=ngayarra*
 king brown(?) -ABS give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1DU.EXC.DAT
 My translation: 'Give me the king brown'.

(Note that the second clitic pronoun lacks the final [ŋg]. Maggie Scott said [ŋgajarra]. On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy says [jonggalongajarrang], with the final [ŋg]. Maggie Scott approved this.)

115. *yung-ga=lu=nganimba* *jalŋgi-Ø /*
 give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.DAT king brown(?) -ABS
 'Give us the king brown (?).'

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 115'.)

115'. *yung-ga=lu=nganimba* *jalŋgi-Ø*
 give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.DAT king brown(?) -ABS
nganimba-nginy *ngaringga-wu*
 1PL.EXC-DAT(?) woman-DAT
 'Give the king brown (?), to us, to women.'

(Maggie Scott gave 115'').)

115''[MS]. [jonggalonganemba]
yung-ga=lu=nganimba
 give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.DAT
 My translation: 'Give it to us.'

(For =*nganimba*, Maggie Scott gave the gloss 'for [nganemba]' (1PL.EXC). She gave the following voluntarily.)

115'''[MS]. [jonggangajarrangkolo ngaren]
yung-ga=ngayarrang=gu=lu *ngarin-Ø*
 give-IMPERA=1DU.EXC.DAT=LINK=PL.NOM meat-ABS
 My (?) translation: 'Give us beef'.

(Note that the relative order of the clitic pronouns is reversed !!! Compare this with 114.
I asked if the following is correct.)

115''''[TT]. *yung-ga=nganimba=lu*
give-IMPERA=1PL.EXC.DAT=PL.NOM
Intended meaning: 'Give us meat.'

(Maggie Scott approved this, and she herself said the following.)

115''''[MS]. [jongganganembangolo]
yung-ga=nganimba=ngu=lu
give-IMPERA=1PL.EXC.DAT=PL.NOM
My translation: 'Give it to us'.

(Note that the relative order of the clitic pronouns is reversed !!! Compare this with 115.
Both orders are possible: (i) NOM > NON-NOM, (ii) 1st person > 3rd person. Thus far,
this reversal of the order of clitic pronouns is attested in imperatives only.)

116. *guri-Ø=ma* *ngarrga-Ø=la* (rising intonation)/
fat-ABS=CLC big-ABS=CLC
'[Is] the fat big?'

(We seem to have the clitic =*la* here. Its meaning is not understood well.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation 'Is the fat big?'. She said, '[The speaker] is asking, "Fat one or small one?"". Regarding the second clitic, she said [la].)

117. *wagu* *yamba-ji-Ø* /
NEG small-?-ABS
'No, [it is] small.'

(Maggie Scott approved my translation, 'No, small'.)

118. *yambaji-Ø* *buya-Ø* / *yamba-ji-Ø* *buya-Ø* /
small-ABS meat-ABS small-?-ABS meat-ABS
'The meat [is] small. The meat [is] small.'

(*buya* was glossed 'beef' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. It probably means 'meat'.)

(Maggie Scott approved [boja] *buya*. She approved my translation ‘The meat is small. The meat is small’. But she said ‘fat’, and also said ‘fat’. Either Maggie Scott was mistaken or *buya* ‘meat’ can refer to ‘fat’.)

119. [jo: jonggalonganeba] /
yuwu yung-ga=lu=nganimba
 OK give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=1PL.EXC.DAT
 [ngaringgao] /
ngaringga-wu
 woman-DAT
 ‘OK, give [it] to us, to women.’

(The first line shows what I seem to hear on the tape. The second line shows the phonemicization of what Nyun.gatya Paddy said he had intended.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

120. *guya* / *lurrij* /
 thus finishing
 ‘Like this, [the women ?] finish [the meat ?].’

(It seems that *guya* and *lurrij* constitute two separate sentences. For *lurrij*, Maggie Scott approved my glosses ‘Finish’ and ‘Finished now’. I asked her again what *lurrij* means. She said ‘Finished now. Eat-im up’.)

121. *ngarn-u* [nao] / *ngarn-u* [nao] / *ngarn-u* [nao] /
 eat-VBD now eat-VBD now eat-VBD now
ngarn-u [nao] / *ngarn-u* [nao] /
 eat-VBD now eat-VBD now
 ‘[They] eat now, eat now, eat now, eat now, eat now.’

122. *lurrij* /
 finishing
 ‘[They] finish [the meat ?].’

123. *jan.ga-Ø* *garra-wu=liwa* *magin=na /*
 woman-ABS stay-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM sleeping=CLC
gabuda=na /
 in evening

‘We, women, will sleep in the evening.’ That is, ‘It is evening now, and we, women, will sleep.’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that the word [dyan.ga] *jan.ga* ‘woman’ is a word from the language of Wave Hill, i.e. Guurrinyji, and that the Wanyjirra word for ‘woman’ is [wanydya] *wanyja*. The second word is not clear towards the end, but Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [karraolewa] *garra-wu=liwa* was intended. The word *gabuda* was glossed ‘tea time’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. No doubt, etymologically at least, it contains the locative suffix *-a*.)

(On the tape, I hear something like [karraogol] or [karraogolo]. Maggie Scott gave 123’.)

123’[MS]. [dyan.gakarrao]

jan.ga-garra-wu

full-?-DAT(?)

Maggie Scott’s gloss: ‘full up’

(For *jan.ga*, Maggie Scott gave ‘full’, and not ‘woman’. She gave 123’.)

123’’[MS]. [dyan.ga karrenyana]

jan.ga garriny-ana

full be-PRES

My translation: ‘[He/She] is satiated [after a meal].’

(Maggie Scott gave ‘full up’ for [dyan.ga] *jan.ga*. If *jan.ga* means ‘full up’, 123 may be translated as follows: ‘We, being satiated, will sleep in the evening’. I said to Maggie Scott that I seem to hear the following. (I did not give her any glosses.))

123’’’[TT]. [dyan.gakarrao ngolo makenna
jan.ga-garra-wu ngu=lu magin=na
 full-?-DAT(?) C=3PL.NOM sleeping=CLC

kabotana]

gabuda=na

night time=CLC

Tentative translation: 'They [will] sleep, being satiated, in the night time'.
(Maggie Scott approved this sentence. She gave 'full' for *jan.ga-garra*. For [kabota] *gabuda*, Maggie Scott gave 'night time'. She said that the word for 'woman' in Guurrinyji is [dyanyga] *janyga*. She approved that [wanydya] *wanyja* is a Wanyjirra word for 'woman'.)

124. *gabuda* / where you-n-me sleep / *gabuda* /
 night time where you-n-me sleep / night time
 'The word *gabuda* refers to the time when you and I sleep.'

125. [nyawa maondo nejan.nginyi] /
 nyawa *mawun-du* *buya-Ø* *niyan-Ø*
 this,here man-ERG beef-ABS beef-ABS

(The first line shows what I seem to hear on the tape, and the second line shows what Nyun.gatya Paddy said he had intended. *niyan* was glossed 'beef' by him. The meaning of this sentence is not understood.)

(If *niyan* means 'beef', i.e. 'meat', then on the tape we would have *niyan-nginyi-Ø* 'meat-after-ABS', i.e. '[the women ?] who had eaten the meat'. But Maggie Scott does not recognize this word. She said that [kejani] (*giyan-i* 'throw-PAST') means 'chuck-im' and that [bajani] (*bayan-i* 'cut-PAST') means 'cut'. She said [kejani] *giyan-i* and said it means 'chuck-im right round'. She said she does not know 'what i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] is saying'. She said, 'I don't know'.)

126. [topama kojanyma] /
 duba=ma *guyany=ma*
 ?=CLC thus(?)=CLC

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. The first word may be [topanma] *duban=ma*. But see the comments on 130.)

(Maggie did not understand 125 and 126, and she gave 126'.)

126'[MS]. [nyawa maondo kejani tobala
 nyawa mawun-du giyan-i tobala
 this,here man-ERG throw-PAST two people
 koyanyma]
 guyany-Ø=ma
 similar(?)-ABS=CLC

(But, Maggie Scott's translated/commented as follows: 'Man and woman, what i chuck-im. I wonder what'. She approved my gloss 'like this one' for *guyany*. She also gave 126''.)

126''[MS]. [kojalo wai:]
 guya=lu wayi
 thus=CLC Q(?)

(But Maggie Scott commented, 'I don't know what i mean'. Then, she recognized [topa] *duba*, and glossed it 'wind break'. Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'wind break like this' for *duba=ma guyany=ma*.)

127. *nyawa* *warlu-Ø /* *warlu-Ø /*
 this,here fire,firewood-ABS fire,firewood-ABS
 'This fire (or firewood).'

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood well.)

(Maggie Scott gave 'wood' for *warlu*. I asked, 'wood for wind break?' She said 'for fire'.)

128. *ngaringga-Ø /* *mawun-Ø /* *guya=lu* *wayi /*
 woman-ABS man-ABS CONJ(?)=3PL.NOM(?) Q
 lurrij *mawun-Ø=ma /*
 finishing,all man-ABS=CLC

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. *guya=lu* was glossed 'all way' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. *guya* may possibly be the adverb *guya* 'thus'.)

(I asked what *guya=lu wayi* means, but Maggie Scott said, 'I don't know what they are doing'. For *lurrij mawun*, she gave the gloss 'all of these'. Later, I asked again what *guya=lu wayi* means. Maggie Scott gave 'like this all way'. =*lu* may be a modal (?) clitic, rather than a clitic pronoun.)

129. *nguyuru-yaru-Ø / ngaringga-yaru-Ø /*
 many-having-ABS woman-having-ABS

Tentative translation: '[The men are] with the many women.'

(*r* in *nguyuru* seems to be a retroflex flap, while *r* in *-yaru* seems to be a frictionless continuant.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation 'The men are with the many women'. She commented, 'I see he got half dozen woman'. Note that the number of half dozen can be described by *nguyuru* 'many'.)

130. *junba-Ø=ma yirra-wu [i:~:] nyawa /*
 corroboree-ABS=CLC put-PURP ? this,here

Tentative translation: '[They] will perform a corroboree.'

(Nyun.gatya Paddy's translation is 'play corroboree'. I do not know how to phonemicize [i:~:]. Probably, it indicates the continuation of the action and it is not phonological.)

(On the tape, the first word sounds like [tyopa]. But Maggie Scott said [topa] *duba* and glossed it 'wind break'. Then, the translation will be '[He] will put, i.e. make, a wind break here'. It is at the point that Maggie Scott realized that the first word in 126 is [topa] *duba* 'wind break'. Then, 126 may be translated '[He is making] a wind break in such a way'.)

131. *ngaringga(pause)-yaru-Ø=ma* (no pause)
 woman-having-ABS=CLC

'[The man is] with women' or '[The man] has women [with him].'

(On the tape, the elements after the pause are something like [ngaina]. Maggie Scott gave 131'.)

131'[MS]. [ngaringgajaroma]

ngaringga-yaru-Ø=ma

woman-having-ABS=CLC

Maggie Scott's gloss: 'A man got woman'.

132. *nguyuru-Ø=ma* *nyangga=yanu* *garran-ang-gu*
many-ABS=CLC if,when=3PL.DAT keep,have-CONT-PURP
yalu-nggu=ma / *mawun-du=ma /*
that-ERG=CLC man-ERG=CLC

Tentative translation: 'If/when that man keeps/has many [women]'

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. On the tape, =*yanu* is pronounced [a.no]. On the tape, I seem to hear [karrananggo], rather than [karronanggo], hence *garran-ang-gu*. Nyun.gatya Paddy indicated that here *garran-ang-gu* means 'sing'. But this does not seem to make sense. The translation suggested above seems more appropriate. It seems that 132 is not completed. Or else, here *nyangga* may be used like an adverb.)

(Nyun.gatya Paddy's speech is fast, and the first two words are not clear. Maggie Scott said, 'Man keeping all the woman. I think that is what i mean'. She gave 132'.)

132'[MS]. [ngojoro ngojano karranana jalonggo
nguyuru-Ø *ngu=yanu* *garran-ana* *yalu-nggu*
many-ABS C=3PL.ACC keep,have-PRES that-ERG
maondo]
mawun-du
man-ERG

My translation: 'That man keeps/has many women'.

(This may not have been in the pronunciation of this particular sentence, but once I noticed that in Maggie Scott pronunciation, *r* in *nguyuru* sounded like a retroflex stop.)

133. *warlu-Ø /* *warlu-Ø /* *warlu-Ø /* *warlu-Ø /*
fire-ABS fire-ABS fire-ABS fire-ABS
'Fire, fire, fire, fire.'

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood.)

(Later on, Maggie Scott commented roughly as follows: ‘He had everything worked out. He made a wind break. He made a fire’. I commented, ‘Getting ready for the night’. Maggie Scott agreed, and burst into a laughter. That is, he had many women with him, he set up wind break, he made fires, and he was going to have sex with these women on that night.)

134. *nyawa* *nga=lu* *garriny-ang-gu*
 this,here C=3PL.NOM stay-CONT-PURP
ngaringga-Ø=ma *nyawa/* *magin-magin/* *mawun-Ø*
 woman-ABS=CLC this,here sleeping-sleeping man-ABS
ngaringga-Ø/
 woman-ABS

‘These [people], a man and women will sleep.’

(*nyawa* was pronounced [nya:]. It was glossed ‘all’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. He provided the gloss ‘many’ for the reduplicated form *magin-magin*. Then, here reduplication of a preverb seems to indicate ‘many’. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 134’.)

(For *nyawa*, Maggie Scott gave ‘that many’. I asked, ‘How many men?’ She said, ‘Only himself’. I said, ‘Lucky man’. She burst into a laughter, I think. I asked if *magin* ‘sleeping’ can be used for one person, and Maggie Scott agreed. I asked if *magin-magin* can be used for one person, and she agreed.)

134’. *garru-wu=liwa* *magin*
 stay-PURP=1PL.INC.NOM sleeping
 ‘We will sleep.’

135. *bilali-Ø/* *garran-ang-gu/* *bilali-Ø/*
 teenage girl-ABS keep(?) -CONT-PURP teenage girl(?) -ABS
garran-ang-gu *bilali-Ø/*
 keep(?) -CONT-PURP teenage girl-ABS
 ‘[He] will keep teenage girls.’

(Kimberley Language Resource Centre 1992:8 provides the gloss ‘teenage girl’ for *bilali*. On the tape, I seem to hear [karrananggo], rather than [karronanggo], hence *garran-ang-gu*. This word was glossed ‘sleep’, i.e. ‘sleep-CONT-PURP’. In this case, the translation will be ‘Young girls [too] will sleep’. But I think that *garran-* does not mean ‘sleep’.)

(I asked about the age range of *bilali*. Maggie Scott said roughly as follows: ‘Girls start to have milk [i.e. breasts] at about 12. Then, people start calling them *bilali*. *Bilali* are 12, 13, 16, 18. About 19 or 20, milk begin to fall down, and then they are not called *bilali*’. Maggie Scott indicated that *bilali* are from 12 up to 17, 18, while the breasts are firm and before the breasts begin to fall. She used the word ‘prime’. In this connection, she referred to photos of Aboriginal women dancing; their breasts are big and hanging. She gave 135’.)

135’[MS]. [jon.goty wanidinaya]
 yun.guj *wandiny-ana*
 hanging(?) fall-PRES

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Milk [i.e. breasts] drop’.

(Maggie Scott gave the reduplicated form.)

135’’[MS]. [belalebelale]
 bilali-bilali
 teenage girl- teenage girl
 ‘teenage girls’

(Maggie Scott said that both *bilali* and *manga* (‘teenage girl(?)’) are her language, i.e. Wanyjirra.)

136. [hihihihihihi] /

(This is an obscene snicker. No doubt Nyun.gatya Paddy was thinking of a man who was going to have many women and even teenage girls on that night. It is not known if [hihihihihihi] is a Wanyjirra word.)

(Maggie Scott commented roughly as follows: ‘Nyun.gatya Paddy himself thinks that this story is funny and he cannot help laughing’.)

137. *gujarra-Ø* [matbi] / *gujarra-Ø* *ngu=wulany*
 two-ABS might be two-ABS C=3DU.ACC
garran-ang-gu *ngaringga-Ø* / *bilali-wuyarra-Ø* /
 keep-CONT-PURP woman-ABS teenage girl-two-ABS
ngaburlu-ngarrga-Ø / *yangi-ngga=lu* /
 breast-big-ABS one-LOC=CLC
 ‘Maybe [he] will keep [two] women [, specifically] two teenage girls with
 big breasts in one [bed].’

(Since we have =*wulany* ‘3DU.ACC’, the total number of the women and the teenage girls must be two; the sentence can in no way refer to any woman other than the two teenage girls. Hence, the translation given above. On the tape, I seem to hear [karrananggo], rather than [karronanggo], hence *garran-ang-gu*. The expression *ngaringga* ‘woman’ and *bilali* ‘teenage girl’ show the ‘generic-specific’ relationship, since their total number of the women/girls referred to is two. Compound nouns such as *ngaburlu-ngarrga*, i.e. ‘body part-adjective’, seem to mean ‘someone who has such and such a body part’, such as ‘big-breasted one’. *yangi-ngga=lu* was glossed ‘in one bed’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)

(I wanted to know if *ngaringga* refers to adult women only or to women in general. I asked if *ngaringga* can be used to refer to *bilali*. Maggie Scott agreed, but she did not sound certain about this use. For *yangi-ngga=lu* ‘one-LOC=CLC’, she gave: ‘keep-im to be close together in one camp’. Around here, Maggie Scott gave the comment ‘man in the middle [and the women/girls on both sides]’.)

138. *nyawa=la* *mawun-Ø=ma* / *mawun-Ø=ma*
 this,here=CLC man-ABS=CLC man-ABS=CLC
nyawa=la *bagu* *yan-ang-gu* / *magin* /
 this,here=CLC lying down go-CONT-PURP sleeping
 ‘The man will sleep here.’

(The preverb *bagu* seems to mean ‘lying down for sleep’. =*la* is probably some kind of modal clitic, but it may possibly be the locative suffix for *nyawa* ‘this, here’.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above. I thought that =*la* may possibly be a locative suffix. I asked what *nyawala* means. Maggie Scott said ‘Here the man sleep’. Then, she said [nyawala] *nyawala*. She gave 138’.)

138’[MS]. [nyawala ngo maken karrenayana bako
 nyawa=la *ngu* *magin* *garriny-ana* *bagu*
 here=CLC C sleeping stay-PRES sleeping(?)
 janana]
 yan-ana
 go-PRES

My translation: ‘Here he/she is sleeping’.

(But Maggie Scott said ‘We [i.e. in her speech] say [as follows]’.)

138’’[MS]. *magin* *ngu* *garriny-ana* *nyila=ma*
 sleeping C stay-PRES that=CLC
 mawun-Ø=ma
 man-ABS=CLC

My translation: ‘That man is sleeping.’

(Maggie Scott said that [bako] is not her language.)

139. *ngaringga-Ø/* *yangi-Ø/* *ngaburlu-yambi-Ø/* *nyawa*
 woman-ABS one-ABS breasts-big-ABS this,here
 ngaburlu-yambi-Ø/ *guya/*
 breasts-big-ABS thus

‘One woman, a big-breasted [woman will sleep] here like this.’

(My field transcripts indicate that here I judged by Nyun.gatya Paddy’s pronunciation that the lateral in the word for ‘breast’ is the retroflex [rɭ], rather than the alveolar [l].)

(Maggie Scott commented as follows: ‘There must be another woman. Must be. Swap over now [for copulation]’.

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 4th August 1998 (Thurs.).)

140. *nyawa* *nga=lu* *garriny-ang-gu* *yirraba-Ø /*
 this,here C=3PL.NOM stay,wait-CONT-PURP other-ABS
ngaringga-Ø / *galu-wu* *jan-u-wu /*
 woman-ABS by and by-DAT copulate with-VBD-DAT
galu-wu *jan-u-wu /* *nyawa /*
 by and by-DAT copulate with-VBD-DAT this,here
 ‘Other women will wait here to have sex by and by.’

(*galu* was glossed ‘by and by’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy. Note that the transitive verb *jan-* ‘copulate with’ can take a woman as its agent.)

(Maggie Scott gave the translation ‘[The other women are] still waiting’. She commented, ‘[They are] patient woman’. One day later (?), she said ‘patiently waiting’. On the tape, I hear [kaloo] (*galu-wu* ‘still, yet-DAT’). But Maggie Scott said 140’.)

- 140’[MS]. [kalolo]
galu=lu
 still,yet=CLC

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘waiting’.

(Maggie Scott commented, ‘Must be all take turn now’. On the 4th August 1998, I thought that on the tape Nyun.gatya Paddy said [kalo:], not [lalolo]. Maggie Scott agreed that he said [kalo:]. She said [kalo:], [kalo:], [kalo:], i.e. *galu-wu* ‘still, yet-DAT’.)

141. *nyawa* *nga=bula* *garriny-ang-gu=na /*
 this,here C=3DU.NOM stay,wait-CONT-PURP=CLC
 ‘[Other] two [women ? teenage girls ?] will wait here.’

(Maggie Scott approved the pronunciation [ngabola]. Note [b] in [bola] = *bula* ‘3DU.NOM’. Generally, [ola] = *wula* is used following a vowel. I asked if this refers to other two women. She said ‘other two women’.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 3rd August 1998.)

142. [wilenyila:ma nyama ngo:la
wilinyi-la=ma *nyawa=ma* *ngu=wula*
on walkabout-LOC=CLC this,here=CLC C=3DU.NOM
karrenyangkona] /
garriny-ang-gu=na
stay,wait-CONT-PURP=CLC

‘While [the men are out] on a walkabout, they two will wait.’

(I wanted to ask about the expressions for ‘while others are doing’, i.e. switch reference. First, I said 142. Maggie Scott gave 142’.)

142’[MS]. [wlilenyila ngoola nyawa
wilinyi-la *ngu=wula* *nyawa*
on walkabout-LOC C=3DU.NOM this,here
karrenyanggo]
garriny-ang-gu
wait-CONT-PURP

My translation: ‘While others were on a walkabout, these two will wait.’

(But Maggie Scott said to the effect that for ‘while others were on a walkabout’, the following expression must be used.)

142’’[MS]. [wilenyilarniny]
wilinyi-la-rniny
on walkabout-LOC-?

(Maggie Scott’s gloss is something like ‘while they go hunting’. I do not know what *-rniny* means, but this may be necessary to express ‘while others are doing’. Then, I asked for ‘A is doing while B is doing’ (different subjects) for the following combinations: Vi Vi; Vi Vt; Vt Vi; Vt Vt. Then, I asked for ‘A is doing while doing’ (same subjects). It seems the VBD-LOC can be used for the same subjects, too. For details, listen to the tape of the 4th(?) August 1998. Here, Maggie Scott gave [bonborlo] *bunburlu* ‘dog’ and [warlago] *warlago* ‘dog’. The lateral in [bonborlo] seems to be

retroflex. She also gave [gonyarr] *gunyarr* ‘dog’, but said that it is Halls Creek language, i.e. Jaru.)

143. [nya:la ngo:rrany kangan.go
nyawa=la ngu=wulany gang-an-gu
 this,here=CLC C=3DU.ACC carry,take-CONT-PURP
 golenima] /
wilinyi=ma
 on walkabout=CLC
 ‘[He] will take them two on a walkabout.’

(Maggie Scott approved [nyawala] for the first word, and [ngaolany] for the second word. She approved [kangan.go] for the third word, but she gave [kangana] *gang-ana* ‘carry-PRES’. On the tape, I hear [golenima], but Maggie Scott gave [wilenyila]. Then, she approved [wilenyila]. She commented, ‘i [i.e. the man] must pick up other two girls’.)

144. *ngarlu-ngga=ma / wilinyi=ma nyawa=la*
 honey,beehive-LOC=CLC on walkabout=CLC this,here=CLC
wilinyi gang-an-gu /
 on walkabout carry,take-CONT-PURP
 ‘For honey/a beehive, [he] will take them two, these [women ?] on a walkabout.’

(*nyawa=la* is pronounced [nya:la] on the tape. *ngarlu-ngga* was glossed ‘for sugar bag’, i.e. ‘for a beehive’. Then, the locative seems to indicate a purpose ‘for’ here. This is unusual. Here, Nyun.gatya Paddy’s speech is very fast, but I think I hear [kangan.go] *gang-an-gu*, rather than [kanggo] *gang-gu* ‘carry-PURP’. In the next sentence, I think I hear [kanggo].)

(Maggie Scott approved [nyawala]. She approved my gloss ‘these [women]’. When asked about *ngarlu-ngga*, Maggie Scott said ‘i [i.e. the man] take-im tobala [i.e. the two women ?] sugar bag hunting’. Here, the locative seems to indicate purpose.)

145. *nyawa* *guya* / [maitbi] *nyawa* / *nyawa*
 this,here thus maybe this,here this,here
ngu=wulany *gang-gu* /
 C=3DU.ACC carry,take-PURP

‘He will take them two, these [women ?] like thus.’

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘these women’. She translated ‘i is taking two’. Referring to the fact that this character has many women around him, Maggie Scott commented, ‘i is having a time of his life’.)

146. *dirrib* *garriny-a* *nyawa* /
 camping stay-PAST this,here

‘[The man and the women ?] camped here.’

(The use of the past tense is uncommon in this text. In texts, Nyun.gatya Paddy often uses a purposive form to describe an event in the past.)

(Maggie Scott approved the past tense [karrenya]. She approved my translation ‘The man and the two women camped here’.)

147. *jan-u-wu* [dyen] (no pause)
 copulate with-VBD-DAT then

Tentative translation: ‘[They will go] for sex then.’

148. *ngarlu-wu* / *murnrduj-gu* *nyamba-wu* /
 honey-DAT black snake-DAT what,anything-DAT
jarrambayi-wu *ngu=lu=la* *nyang-an-gu* /
 goanna-DAT C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT see,look-CONT-PURP

‘They two [the women ?] will look for honey, a black snake, goanna, and for anything.’

(Note that here the clitic pronoun =*la* ‘3SG.DAT’ cross-references nouns which have inanimate (‘honey’) and animate (‘blacksnake’ and ‘goanna’) referents. The referents are plural, although =*la* ‘3SG.DAT’ is singular.)

(On the tape, I hear [ngolola] *ngu=lu=la* ‘C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT’. Maggie Scott approved [ngolola]. She agreed that this sentence concerns the man and two women. She approved my gloss ‘for anything’ for *nyamba-wu*.)

149. *ngu=wula=la* *nyang-an-gu /*
 C=3DU.NOM=3SG.DAT see,look-CONT-PURP
 ‘They two will look for it/them.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy approved 149’, which I had composed.)

(On the tape, I hear [ngolola] *ngu=lu=la* ‘C=3PL.NOM=3SG.DAT’. In order to confirm that =*la* has non-singular referents, I started listing ‘sugar bag, goanna’, and then Maggie Scott added ‘[mornrdoty] *murnrduj* (‘black snake’), goanna’. She approved [nyangan.go].)

149’[TT]. *gujarra-lu* *ngu=wula=la* *nyang-ana*
 two-ERG C=3DU.NOM=3SG.DAT see,look-PRES
jarrambayi-wu
 goanna-DAT

‘The two [people] are looking for a goanna.’

(In fact, as I started this sentence, Nyun.gatya Paddy himself provided the word *nyang-ana*. Also, Nyun.gatya Paddy approved 149’’ and 149’’’, which I had composed.)

(Maggie Scott approved the above sentence and its translation.)

149’’[TT]. *mawun-du* *ngu=la* *ngarlu-wu* *nyang-ana*
 man-ERG C=3SG honey-DAT see-PRES
 ‘The man is looking for honey.’

(Maggie Scott approved the above sentence and its translation. But she gave the gloss ‘sugar bag’ for *ngarlu-wu*.)

149’’’[TT]. *mawun-du* *ngu=la* *jaji-wu* *nyang-ana*
 man-ERG C=3SG kangaroo-DAT see-PRES
 ‘The man is looking for a kangaroo.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy gave the word *jan-u-ngga* ‘copulate with-VBD-LOC’ twice.)

(Maggie Scott approved the following sentence and its translation.)⁷⁷

149''''[TT]. *mawun-du* *ngu=la* *jiya-wu* *nyang-ana*
man-ERG C=3SG kangaroo-DAT see-PRES

‘The man is looking for a kangaroo.’

(Maggie Scott gave the following.)

149''''''[MS]. *mawun-du* *ngu=la* *nyang-ana* *jiya-wu*
man-ERG C=3SG see-PRES kangaroo-DAT

‘The man is looking for a kangaroo.’

(Maggie Scott gave the following.)

149''''''''[MS]. [banari]

banari

Maggie Scott’s gloss: ‘Little. Something like potato.’

(Maggie Scott said this is called [bon.ga] *bun.ga* in the Halls Creek language. She also gave the following.)

149''''''''''[MS]. [begorta]

bigurda

Maggie Scott’s gloss: ‘wild yam from desert’

(Maggie Scott said that this is called [bo:ra] *buwura* in ‘this country’, i.e. the Halls Creek area.)

(For *guya*, Maggie Scott gave ‘like that’. For *nyamba*, she approved my gloss ‘something’. She approved my translation ‘they found’, although the verb is absent.)

150. *guya* / *ngarlu-Ø* *nyamba-Ø* /
thus honey-ABS what,anything,everything-ABS

Tentative translation: ‘Like this, [they found] honey and everything.’

jarrambayi-wu=ma

goanna-DAT=CLC

Intended meaning: ‘I did not find honey, goanna or anything.’

(Maggie Scott approve the following and gave a translation.)

153’’[TT]. *ngu=rna* *dabu* *wandiny-a*

C=1SG.NOM not finding fall-PAST

nyamba-wu

anything-DAT

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘I couldn’t find anything’.

154. *luma-Ø=lu*

nyawa /

nyamba-Ø

blue tongue lizard-ABS=CLC

this,here

what,something-ABS

jarany-Ø /

jarany-Ø /

goanna sp.-ABS

goanna sp.-ABS

Tentative translation: ‘This (?) blue tongue, *jarany* goanna and something.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy said that [dyarany] *jarany* is a goanna. He said that its tail is like [ra:], but I do not know what it is. Smiler, a Mudburra speaker, added that this goanna lives in a hole, in a dry log. He also gave the word [bordoordo] *burduwurdu*. I do not know what it means. Possibly it is a Mudburra word for this goanna species.)

(On the tape I seem to hear [mbalo]. Maggie Scott did not recognize word, and suggested [lowalo] but said that she does not know [lowalo]. Probably [loma] *luma-Ø=lu* ‘blue tongue lizard-ABS=CLC’ was intended; see 169. Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘something’ for *nyamba*, but she gave ‘anything’. She said that [dyarany] *jarany* is a ‘little goanna [from] tree country’. She said ‘[ra:s teil]’. I did not know what it was, but on the 7th (?) Agust, at KLRC, I saw a book *Jarany Roughtail*. This must be the name.) For [bordoordo], Maggie Scott said that she does not know it. She gave [kordoordo] *gurdu-wurdu* (‘little-little’ ?), but she said this is not her language. She gave [kordokordo] *gurdu-gurdu* and said ‘just puppy’. Presumably, this word is not her language, either. She gave [jamajama] *yama-yama* (‘little-little’). This muse be her language. Maggie Scott said [walkan] *walgan* and said that this is the same as

[dyarrambai] *jarrambayi* ‘goanna’. But referring to [walkan] she said ‘I don’t understand this language’.)

155. *wali=lu* /
alright=CLC
‘Alright.’

(On the tape, Nyun.gatya Paddy’s pronunciation is not clear, but I seem to hear something like [walolo]. Maggie Scott said ‘I don’t know what i is saying’. She said [bajanalo] (*bayanalu* ?) and [kajanalo] (*gayanalu* ?) and said ‘I don’t know what i mean’.)

156. *minyarn-Ø* /
having nothing-ABS
‘[I] have nothing.’

(I asked Maggie Scott who said this sentence. She said, ‘I don’t know’. She approved my translation ‘I have nothing’. She said [minyarn], [minyarn], with a retroflex [rn].)

157. *muwu=ma* *jarrambayi-wu=ma* / *jarrambayi-wu=ma* /
searching=CLC goanna-DAT=CLC goanna-DAT=CLC
jarrambayi-wu=ma /
goanna-DAT=CLC
‘[We ? will] look for goannas.’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy’s gloss for *muwu=ma* is something like ‘look for’. I thought that [mo:] *muwu* is the preverb with the meaning ‘searching’ and that it was used without an accompanying verb. In Jaru, apparently *muwu* cannot be used without a verb; see Tsunoda 1981:188.)

(For [mo:ma], Maggie Scott gave the glosses ‘for goanna’ and ‘for this goanna’. Then, [mo:] may be a portmanteau morpheme *muwu* ‘this.DAT’, etymologically **muwu-wu* ‘this-DAT’, from **murlu-wu* ‘this-DAT’. I think 156 and 157 constitute one single sentence. Maggie Scott approved my translation for them jointly: ‘I got no goanna’.)

158. *dirrib /*

camping

‘[They ?] camped.’

159. *nyawa=na* *gang-u* *ngu=wula /*
this,here=CLC carry,take-VBD C=3DU.ACC

Tentative translation: ‘They two [the women ?] carry [it].’

(The meaning of this sentence is not understood. =*wulany* ‘3DU.ACC’, rather than =*wula* ‘3DU.NOM’, would be expected. See 160.)

(Maggie Scott gave 159’.)

159’[MS]. [*nyawana* *kanggo* *ngoolany*]
nyawa=na *gang-gu* *ngu=wulany*
this,here=CLC carry,take-PURP C=3DU.ACC

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘i [i.e. the man ?] take this two [i.e. the two women ?].’

160. *mawun-du=ma /* *murlu-nggu=ma* *mawun-du=ma /*
man-ERG=CLC this-ERG=CLC man-ERG=CLC
murlu-nggu=ma *mawun-du=ma /* *nyawa=na*
this-ERG=CLC man-ERG=CLC this,here=CLC
ngu=wulany *gang-gu /* *wilinyi /* *ngarlu-wu*
C=3DU.ACC take-PURP on walkabout honey-DAT
muwu *jarrambayi-wu /*
searching(?) goanna-DAT

Tentative translation: ‘This man will take them two, these [women ?], on a walkabout, looking for honey and a goanna.’

(On the tape, I hear [kango], hence *gang-u* ‘take-VBD’. But it is unusual for a verbid to be used together with a carrier and clitic pronoun(s). On the tape, I hear [mo:], hence *muwu*. However, possibly the intended form is [mo:] *muwu-wu* ‘searching-DAT’. Nyun.gatya Paddy indicated that this word means ‘look for’. Also, he indicated that =*wulany* ‘3DU.ACC’ refers to the two women.)

(I asked Maggie Scott what [mo:] means. She gave ‘for sugar bag I go’. She said [mo:] and gave ‘for’, ‘I’ll take-im for’, and ‘I’ll take them for walk about’. It seems that [mo:] can be analyzed as a portmanteau *muwu* ‘this.DAT’.)

161. *bung-gu* *ngu=lu* /
hit,kill-PURP C=3PL.NOM

‘They [the man and the two women ?] will kill [a goanna].’

(Maggie Scott agreed that ‘they’ refers to the man and the two women. She approved my translation ‘The man and the two women will kill a goanna’.)

162. *gamba-wu* *ngu=lu* *gaja-ngga=lu* /
cook-PURP C=3PL.NOM desert(?)-LOC=CLC

‘They will cook [it] in the desert (?).’

163. *gaja-ngga=lu* / *gamba-wu* *ngu=lu* /
desert(?)-LOC=CLC cook-PURP C=3PL.NOM

‘They will cook [it] in the desert(?).’

(For *gaja-ngga*, Maggie Scott provided the gloss ‘in the desert’. Information obtained (from Maggie Scott ?) in 1999 indicates that ‘desert’ means ‘red ground’, as against grass ground.)

164. *ngurra-nggawu* *ngu=lu* *gang-gu*
camp-ALL C=3PL.NOM carry-PURP
jiwirri-Ø=na / *jiwirri-Ø=na* /
cooked-ABS=CLC cooked-ABS=CLC

‘They will carry the cooked [goanna?] to the camp.’

(For *jiwirri*, Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘cooked goanna’. She gave ‘They take cooked one’.)

165. [nonygoi:o nyambao ngolojano
nunyu-yi-wu *nyamba-wu* *ngu=lu=yanu*
relations(?)-KIN(?)-DAT what-DAT C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC

jongan.gona] /

yung-an-gu=na

give-CONT-PURP=CLC

Tentative translation: 'They will give [the cooked goanna] to the relations and to anyone.'

([nonygoi:] was glossed 'relations' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. There is a (bound ?) root [nonygo] *nunygu-* which probably means 'hunger' or 'hungry'. Thus, Jaru has the word *nunygu-wuja* 'hungry' and Wanyjirra probably has *nunygu-warra* 'hungry'. But probably they are not related to *nunygu-yi-wu*. Probably *-yi* is the kin suffix, e.g. *ngama-yi* 'mother-KIN'. I tentatively translated *nyamba-wu* 'to anyone'. However, for 'anyone', *ngandu-wu* 'who-DAT' would be expected.)

(On the tape, I hear [nonygoi:]. Maggie Scott glossed it 'countryman'. In the 1970's, I think I heard [nonyge:], with a high central flat vowel, from Nyun.gatya Paddy, I think. But on this tape he said [nonygoi:]. In Maggie Scott's pronunciation, this word is [non.gi:ng], with [n] rather than [ny] and with the final [ng], i.e. *nun.giying* 'countryman'. She rejected my pronunciation with [ny] in place of [n]. I asked for a sentence which involves this word, and the ergative form is [nonygi:ngkolo] *nun.giying-gu-lu* 'countryman-LINK-ERG'. It seems that what was once a phonetic, rather than phonological, [ng] has become part of this word. Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'everyone' for *nyamba-wu*. But she said 'for somebody', and then corrected it and said 'for anybody'.)

166. *ngu=lu=yanu*

yung-an-gu=na

C=3PL.NOM=3PL.ACC

give-CONT-PURP=CLC

'They will give it to them.'

167. [nyajang

ban

bonya] /

nyayang-Ø

ba=n

bunya

how many-ABS

C=2SG.NOM

hit,kill.PAST

'How many did you kill?'

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave [binya] *binya* 'hit,kill.PAST'.)

ngu=rna *nga-lu /*
 C=1SG.NOM eat-PURP

‘Give hither [i.e. to me] one blue tongue lizard so that I can eat it.’

(On the tape, =*rni* is pronounced [rne:].)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Give me one blue tongue lizard so that I can eat it’. She said [jonggarne:], [jonggarne:], with a long vowel. This may be analyzed as =*rni*=*yi* ‘hither=1SG.DAT’. Note that =*rni* can be followed by a clitic pronoun; see below. See 103’’ and 103’’’’. Maggie Scott also gave 171’.)

171’[MS]. [jonggarnengajarrang]
yung-ga=rni=ngayarrang
 give-IMPERA=hither=1DU.EXC.DAT
 My translation: ‘Give it to us’.

172. *ngany-ja=lu* *jarrambayi-Ø=ma* *nguyuru-lu /*
 eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM goanna-ABS=CLC many-ERG
 ‘[You] mob, eat the goanna.’

(This time, *r* in *nguyuru* appears to be a frictionless continuant, rather than a retroflex flap.)

(Maggie Scott agreed that the man said this sentence. She gave ‘You mob, eat the goanna’. She said something like the following: ‘One that killed the goanna is talking’.)

173. *gula* *ngarrga-Ø=la*
 NEG big-ABS=CLC
 ‘Not [a] big [piece].’

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘i [i.e. the goanna] is not very big’.

174. *jangu-Ø /* *murawurra-Ø* *murawurra-Ø* *jarrambayi-Ø*
 that-ABS little one-ABS little one-ABS goanna-ABS
 little bit / *yamba-ji-Ø /*
 little bit small-?-ABS

‘Give me] that small [piece of] goanna.’

([moraorra] *murawurra* was glossed ‘little one’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)

(Maggie Scott said [morlawurra] and glossed it ‘maybe that large’. She said [morlaorra] and glossed it ‘may be that long. i not a big one’. Probably we have *murla-wurra* ‘here-DAT’.)

175. <i>muna-Ø</i> /	<i>muna-Ø</i> /	<i>langga-Ø</i> /	<i>wirri-Ø</i> /
arm,brisket(?) -ABS	arm,brisket(?)	head-ABS	neck-ABS
<i>ganyji-Ø</i> /	<i>jawud-Ø</i> /	<i>jawud-Ø</i> /	<i>jawud-Ø</i> /
thigh(?) -ABS	tail-ABS	tail-ABS	tail-ABS
<i>jawud-Ø</i> /			
tail-ABS			

‘The briskets, the head, the neck, the legs(?) and the tail.’

(I am not certain whether the word for ‘thigh’ is [kanydyi] or [kandyi], that is, whether it involves [ny] or [n]. Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss ‘neck’ for *wirri*. Also, he provided the gloss ‘tail’ for [dyaot] *jawud*, and said that this word is the same as *winggi* ‘tail’.)

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss ‘hind leg’ for *ganyji*.)

(From here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 4th August 1998.)

176. <i>nga=lu</i>	<i>nga-lu</i> /
C=3PL.NOM	eat-PURP
‘They will eat [them].’	

(This sentence consists of a repetition of [ngalo]. It is possible, but unlikely, that that this sentence is, for instance, a repetition of *nga-lu* ‘eat-PURP’.)

(On the morning of the 4th August, Maggie Scott gave ‘All eating’. This suggests that one of the two occurrences of [ngalo] is *nga=lu* ‘C=3PL.NOM’. This sentence is interesting in that [ngalo] is repeated but they have different meanings. On the afternoon, I said to Maggie ‘It is funny to repeat the same [ngalo]’. In response, she gave 176’.)

176' [MS]. [ngolo ngalo]
 ngu=lu *nga-lu*
 C=3PL.NOM eat-PURP
 My translation: 'They will eat'.

(Here, [ngalo] is not repeated.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the morning of the 4th August 1998.)

177. *nyawa / birnr diy i-Ø / muna-Ø /*
 this, here rib bone-ABS brisket(?) -ABS
 muna-wariny-Ø / wirri-Ø /
 brisket(?) -other-ABS neck-ABS

'These [are] rib bones, briskets from the other side, and a neck.'

([birnr di:] *birnr diy i* was glossed 'rib bone' by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)

(When asked about *muna-wariny*, Maggie Scott said 'This [mona] they eat. Another side one'.)

178. *langga-Ø nyila yung-ga=lu=yanu*
 head-ABS that give-IMPERA=PL.NOM=3PL.DAT
 bunbulu-wu / langga-Ø / bunbulu-wu (no pause)
 dog-DAT head-ABS dog-DAT

'Give that head to the dogs.'

(Note that an animate noun *bunbulu-wu* 'dog-DAT' is cross-referenced, by =*yanu* '3PL.DAT'.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation given above.)

179. [o: bonbolo o:] / [nganydyara] /
 wuwu bunbulu-Ø wuwu ngany-ja
 Oh dog-ABS Oh eat-IMPERA
 'Oh, dog, eat [it].'

(The first line indicates what I hear on the tape, and the second line shows what Nyun.gatya Paddy said he had intended. [ra] in [nganydyara] was eliminated by him. Since the dogs are plural (see 178), =lu ‘PL.NOM’ would be expected to be attached to *ngany-ja* ‘eat-IMPERA’: *ngany-ja=lu* ‘eat-IMPERA=PL.NOM’.)

(On the tape I hear [o:], a long vowel. But Maggie Scott said [o], [o], a short vowel. This expression seems to be used to call attention or just a sound to accompany the action of throwing. The latter seems more likely. Maggie Scott said 179’.)

179’[MS]. [nganydyarra]
ngany-ja=rra
 eat-IMPERA=?

Maggie Scott’s translation: ‘Eat it up’.

(Maggie Scott said [rra], and not [ra]. The meaning of =rra is not known.)

180. *yangi-nggu* / *ngarn-u* / *wajawurr-Ø* / *jurrulunggu-Ø* /
 one-ERG eat-VBD skin-ABS thigh,hind leg(?) -ABS
jurrulunggu-Ø *ganyji-Ø* / *ganyji-Ø* /
 thigh,hind leg(?) -ABS thigh,hip(?) -ABS thigh,hip(?) -ABS
 ‘One [dog ? man ?] eats the skin and the legs.’

(Regarding *jurrulunggu* and *ganyji*, Nyun.gatya Paddy said ‘two names’, that is, there are two words for ‘thigh, hind leg(?)’.)

(On the tape, this is not clear, but Maggie Scott gave [ngalo] (*nga-lu* ‘eat-PURP), in place of *ngarn-u* ‘eat-VBD’. She translated the sentence ‘One eat-im up’. I asked, ‘One dog?’ She said ‘One eat skin for [i.e. of] the goanna’. I asked if ‘one’ refers to a man. Maggie Scott agreed. Maggie Scott gave ‘skin’ for *wajawurru*, ‘hind leg’ for *jurrulunggu*, and ‘hip’ for *ganyji*.)

181. *garru-wu* *bija-ngga* *gulyawurr-a* /
 sit-PURP ‘bush’-LOC ‘bushes’-LOC

‘[The skin and the legs ?] will stay on the “bushes” (i.e. branches, leaves, etc.).’

(Nyun.gatya Paddy provided the gloss ‘sit’ for *garru-wu*, ‘bush’ for *bija*, and ‘bushes’ for *gulyawurr-a*.)

(Maggie Scott indicated that *bija* refers to grass (?) ‘for [eating] beef’, and that *gulyawurr* refers to ‘leaf, bushes for’ eating beef. Regarding 180 and 181, Maggie Scott said, ‘They are eating the tail. Skin, [dyorrolonggo], [wadyaorr] ([ty] ?), [kanydyi] got to stop (i.e. remain). I’m not too sure, but that is what i [i.e. Nyun.gatya Paddy] said’. Regarding 181, Maggie Scott said ‘I can’t understand’. I suggested the following: ‘eat the skin. Leg, hip, (indecipherable) grass, stop on the grass’, and she approved it. Then, the words for ‘leg’ and ‘hip’ in 180 will have to be transferred to 181.)

182. *garru-wu* *bija-ngga* / *gulyawurr-a* / *gulyawurr-a* /
 sit-PURP ‘bush’-LOC ‘bushes’-LOC ‘bushes’-LOC
 ‘[The skin and the legs ?] will stay on the “bushes”.’

183. *jurrulunggu-Ø* *nga-lu* *yangi-nggu* /
 thigh(?)-ABS eat-PURP one-ERG
 ‘One [dog ? man ?] will eat a [goanna’s] leg.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation ‘Another man will eat goanna leg’.)

184. *jurrulunggu-Ø* *yangi-nggu* *nga-lu* /
 thigh(?)-ABS one-ERG eat-PURP
 ‘One [dog ? man ?] will eat a [goanna’s] leg.’

(Maggie Scott’s comment cited above indicates that it is not a dog but a man who will eat the leg.)

185. *jilmung* / *nyawa=ma* *winggi-Ø=ma* /
 breaking this,here=CLC tail-ABS=CLC
 ‘[The dog ? The man] breaks this tail.’

(On the tape, *nyawa* is pronounced [nya:]. The same applies to the next sentence.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation: ‘The man breaks this tail’.)

186. *winggi-Ø=ma* *nyawa=ma /* *jilmung /* *jilmung /*
 tail-ABS=CLC this,here=CLC breaking breaking
jilmung /
 breaking

‘[The dog ? The man] breaks this tail.’

(Maggie Scott approved my translation: ‘The man breaks this tail’.)

187. *birnr diyi-Ø /* *yanybal /*
 rib bone-ABS breaking up,ripping off

‘The rib bones, [the dog ? the man ?] breaks.’

(*yanybal* was glossed ‘break up’ by Nyun.gatya Paddy.)

(For *yanybal*, Maggie Scott gave ‘rip the bone, rip off from spine’. Then, 187 may be translated ‘[The man] rips the rib bones off [from the spine]’.)

188. *yanybal* *birnr diyi-Ø /*
 breaking up,ripping off rib bone-ABS

‘[The dog ? the man ?] breaks/rips the rib bones [off from the spine].’

189. *yanybal* *birnr diyi-Ø=ma /*
 breaking up,ripping off rib bone-ABS=CLC

‘[The dog ? the man ?] breaks/rips the rib bones [off from the spine].’

(When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy gave 189’.)

189’. *yanybal* *man-gu=li* *nyawa*
 breaking up,ripping off get-PURP=1DU.INC.NOM this,here
birnr diyi-Ø
 rib bone-ABS

‘We will (or, Let’s) break/rip off the rib bones.’

(Maggie Scott approved this sentence and my translation ‘We’ll rip off the rib bone’. She gave 189’.)

189''[MS]. [janybal mani]
yanybal man-i
 ripping off get-PAST
 Maggie Scott's gloss: 'rip it off'

190. [birnrđi: yongarni:] /
birnrđiyi-Ø yung-ga=rni
 rib bone-ABS give-IMPERA=hither
 'Give hither [i.e. me] rib bones.'

(The first line shows what I think I hear on the tape, and the second line shows my phonemicization. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy said that what was intended was 190'. However, I think that in this context 190 makes more sense than 190'.)

190'. *birnrđiyi-Ø yung-an-i /*
 rib bone-ABS give-CONT-PAST
 '[The man ?] gave the rib bones.'

(On the 4th August 1998, I think on the tape I hear [jongani] (*yung-an-i* 'give-CONT-PAST'). Maggie Scott gave 190''.)

190''[MS]. [birnrđi: jongandai]
birnrđiyi-Ø yung-an-da=yi
 rib bone-ABS give-CONT-IMPERA=1SG.DAT
 My translation: 'Give me rib bones.'

(Maggie Scott approved the following.)

190'''[TT]. [birnrđi: jonggarne]
birnrđiyi-Ø yung-ga=rni
 rib bone-ABS give-IMPERA=hither
 My translation: 'Give me rib bones.'

(Maggie Scott said that the verb in 190 should be [jongandai] *yung-an-da=yi* 'give-CONT-IMPERA=1SG.DAT', as in 190''''.)

190''''[MS].

birnr diyi-Ø *yung-an-da=yi*
rib bone-ABS give-CONT-IMPERA=1SG.DAT
'Give hither [i.e. me] rib bones.'

(Maggie Scott also gave the following sentences.)

190''''[MS]. [birnr di: jongane]
birnr diyi-Ø *yung-an-i*
rib bone-ABS give-CONT-PAST
'[He/She] gave rib bones.'

190''''''[MS]. [birnr di: jonggai]
birnr diyi-Ø *yung-ga=yi*
rib bone-ABS give-IMPERA=1SG.DAT
'Give me rib bones.'

191. [o janginggo birnr di:] / [jangi] /
wu *yangi-nggu* *birnr diyi-Ø* *yangi-Ø*
Oh one-ERG rib bone-ABS one-ABS
murla-ni-nginyi-Ø / *murla-ni-nginyi-Ø /*
here-?-from-ABS here-?-from-ABS

Tentative translation: 'Oh, one [man ? gave] one [piece] from here.'

(I am not certain if we have [ni] or [rni] in *murla-ni-nginyi*. This word was glossed 'from here' by Nyun.gatya Paddy. The first line shows what I think I hear on the tape. When the tape was replayed, Nyun.gatya Paddy replaced the second and the third words as in 191'. The rest of the sentence was left unchanged.)

191'. *wu* *yangi-Ø* *yung-ga=la* *yangi-Ø*
Oh one-ABS give-IMPERA=3SG.DAT one-ABS
murla-ni-nginyi-Ø *murla-ni-nginyi-Ø*
here-?-from-ABS here-?-from-ABS

Tentative translation: 'Give one [piece] from here to him/it.'

(In 191, the speech on the tape is not clear. I seem to hear [jangi jonggo], but I am not certain if the second word is [jonko] or [ngonko]. Maggie Scott gave the following and commented, 'The man asking, [he] is asking for one side of the ribs'.)

191''[MS]. [jangi jonggai birnrdi:]
yangi-Ø yung-ga=yi birnrdiyi-Ø
 one-ABS give-IMPERA=1SG.DAT rib bone-ABS

My translation: 'Give me rib bones'.

(But then Maggie Scott gave 191'''.)

191''''[MS]. [jangi ngongko birnrdi:]
yangi-Ø ngu=nggu birnrdiyi-Ø
 one-ABS C=2SG.DAT rib bone-ABS

My translation: 'One rib bone for you.'

(On the tape, I seem to hear [morlanginginyi], but Maggie Scott said [morlanginginyi] and glossed it 'from this side'. Probably this is *murla-nginy-nginyi* 'here-?-from'.)

192. *nga-lu ngu=lu /*
 eat-PURP C=3PL.NOM

'They will eat [it].'

(It is possible to say that Sentence 192 is subordinate to 191, in which case the translation for 192 will be '[Oh, one [man ? gave] one [piece] from here] so that they can eat [it]'.)

(Maggie Scott approved my translation 'They will eat it'.)

193. *nyawa winggi-Ø / yanybal /*
 this,here tail-ABS breaking up,ripping off
yanybal yan...

breaking up,ripping off

'[They ?] break/rip off this tail.'

(Maggie Scott approved my gloss 'rip off the tail'.)

(This is the end of Side 2 of Tape 76/13. This is the end of the text.)

(Up to here, the tape was replayed to Maggie Scott on the afternoon of the 4th August 1998.)