



MONASH University

Gun-ngaypa Rrawa ‘My Country’

Intercultural alliances in language research

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Abstract

This thesis presents the findings of an intercultural language research project involving speakers of the Gun-nartpa language from north-central Arnhem Land. This was a collaboration based around a set of materials – audio recordings, photographs and notes – all artifacts of language research from a period of fieldwork undertaken between 1993 and 1996. A repatriation and documentation project called *Gun-nartpa Stories* developed around those materials resulting in a community publication titled *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ (England, Muchana, Walanggay & Carew 2014). This thesis also arose from that project. Taken together, the thesis and the book is a hybrid work, reflecting an approach to language documentation that draws upon practice-led investigation. The work integrates academic and Gun-nartpa accounts of the social meaning of stories and the ways in which these are situated within a web of sociality. This web, which the Gun-nartpa and their Burarra neighbors call *jarlakarr gun-murra* ‘a network of many tracks’ is dynamic, adaptable and unbounded. It is underpinned by the relationality and practices of patrilocality and affinal kinship and shaped by historical and intercultural patterns of interaction locally and further afield. A central argument of this thesis is that my research alliance with the Gun-nartpa was formed around a contract relating to knowledge exchange and the practices surrounding that. This contract was framed in the idiom of *joborr*, stories that describe ethical and lawful conduct. It prescribed the projection of an ‘authentic’ local identity construct into the wider public realm through the prestige form of *jurra* (a Macassan term adopted by people in Arnhem Land, meaning ‘paper’, or ‘book’). The importance of literacy practices associated with the representations of knowledge as *jurra*, reflects the affordances provided in this context by Bible translation and liturgy development (1962-current), bilingual education programs in Maningrida (1974-2008) and local theories of story, knowledge, sociality and history. This thesis situates language research and narrative analysis at the centre of these intersecting affordances. Through foregrounding the socialities and narrative practices that characterise reflexive collaborative intercultural research, the work offers insight into ways that practice-led methodologies can integrate scholarly research and local perspectives on the social meaning of language research practices. In the context of rapidly shifting language ecologies in remote Indigenous communities, practice-led research provides one way

that university based scholars can form alliances with language practitioners at the local level.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. I affirm that to the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously written or published by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

.....

For my parents,
Jim and Anne Carew

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To the Gun-nartpa people and the extended network of kin that constitute the *Mu-golarra bapurrurr* I say, *japurra ngapa nyiburr-jirra* ‘You all stand in a place of respect in relation to me’.

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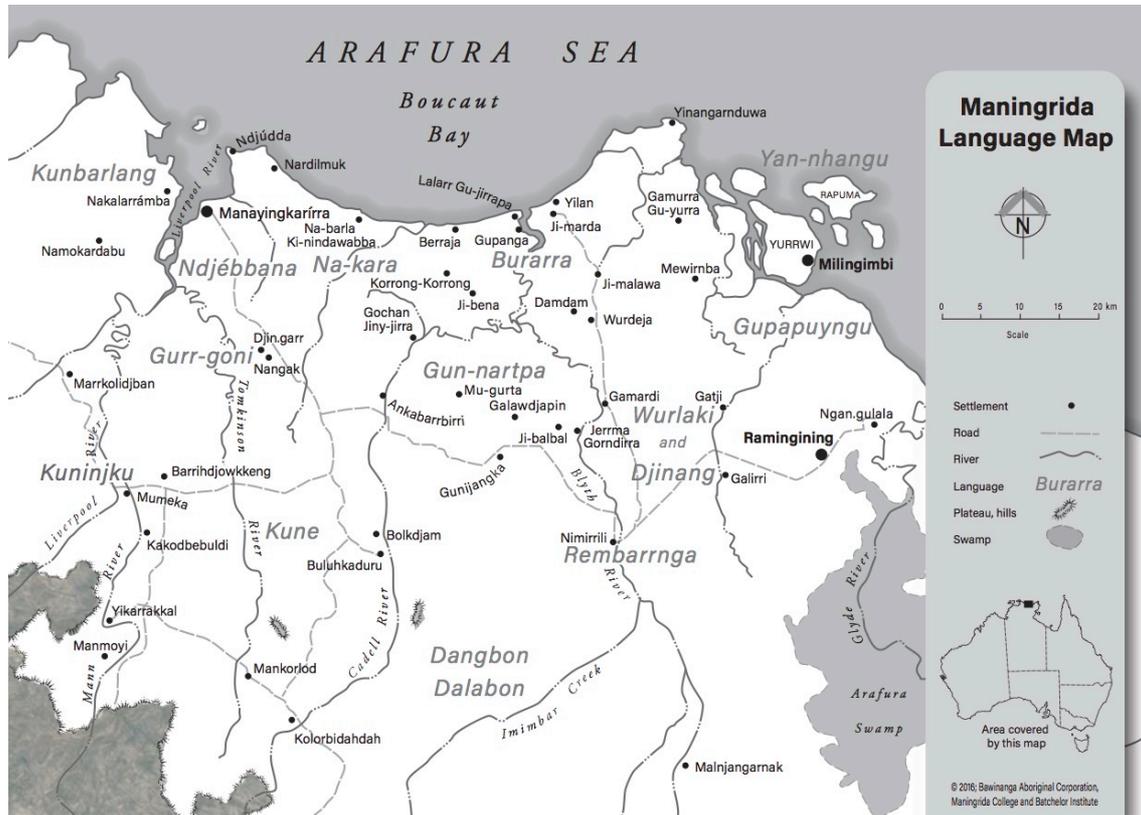
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Map of north-central Arnhem Land, showing the geographic distribution of languages



1. Introduction

1.1 Jarlakarr gun-murra: 'a network of many tracks'

I met England Banggala for the first time in the reception area of Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, in Maningrida, at the sweaty, hot end of the 1993 dry season. Banggala was small in stature, wiry and quick, open-shirted with a fine set of parallel cicatrices on his chest and stomach. He greeted me with a handshake, a twinkle in his eye and the words 'Hello darling!' On either side of him stood two of his sons, Archie 'Archin' Djurunggala and Allan Milyerr, vital and handsome young men with very big hair. They had just returned from a Gunapipi ceremony at Marrkolidjban, where they had worked and performed alongside their father on behalf of their mother's clan, Mirwi, their Kuninjku relations.

After doing some business at Bawinanga, fuelling up and buying some fried food at the Hasty Tasty take-away shop, we headed to Banggala's outstation. We drove out of town in the open tray of a white ute, along a red road through the stringybark forest, crossing the creeks, as far as the long, deep and wide billabong on the Cadell River, to Gochan Jiny-jirra 'the place where Gochan stands'. This is where I spent most of the next eight months, living in the bush with Banggala and his family on the An-nguliny clan estates, in order to learn their language: Gun-nartpa. Before we had even left the Bawinanga building, Banggala had told me that my *malk* 'kinship subsection name' was Belenyjan. This made me his *galikali*, his 'spouse'. The Gochan Jiny-jirra family swung into a set of relationships around this pivot: Banggala's wife Mary Karlbirra became my *mununa*, my 'mother's mother'; I learned to address their sons and daughters as *muma* 'mother' and *jachacha* 'mother's brother'. I met Terry Ngamandara when I got to Gochan Jiny-jirra. He was my *jerda*, my 'mother's mother's brother'. He lived with his wife, Beryl M-bernama; her mother, Jemma Gurnangaluk, and my *mununa* 'mother's mother'; and Beryl's brother, Morris Gandalarr, who was *jachacha* 'mother's brother' to me.

Opposite my camp lived Harry Ngamandara Litchfield, who I called *anya* ‘dad’. His wife Jane was Bangardijan skin, my *ngarlanga* ‘daughter’ despite her advanced age.¹ Twenty or so years after meeting Banggala I worked with my *muma* and *jachacha* kin from the An-nguliny clan – especially Patrick Muchana, Crusoe Batara, Raymond Walanggay, Dorothy Galaledba and Beverlyn Gawurrba – to write the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ (England, Muchana, Walanggay & Carew 2014).

This thesis is one outcome of a collaborative intercultural language research project called Gun-nartpa Stories (2010-14).² It complements *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’, which also arose from that project. It gives an account of a collaboration based on a set of materials: audio recordings, photographs and notes, all artefacts of language research from an earlier period, between 1993 and 1996. Taken together, this thesis and the book form a hybrid work (Auld 2002). Its hybrid nature reflects an approach to language documentation which draws upon practice-led investigation, where “an original investigation is undertaken in order to gain new knowledge partly by means of practice and the outcomes of that practice” (Candy 2006). The work integrates academic and Gun-nartpa accounts of the social meaning of stories and the ways in which these are situated within a web of sociality. This web, which the Gun-nartpa and

¹ A marriage between one’s ‘father’ and one’s ‘daughter’ as in the case of Gamarrang and Bangardijan subsections in this instance may appear odd. However while I was instructed to address Harry and Jane with these terms, they addressed each other as ‘spouse’ and their marriage followed local norms in terms of *malk* ‘subsection’ alignment and also customary affinity between the Jowunga moiety Gurnimba clan (Harry’s clan) and the Yirrichinga moiety An-nguliny (Jane’s clan). The instructions I received as to how I fit in relation to both of them reflects flexibility in the mapping between subsection terms (such as Belenyjan, Gamarrang, Bangardijan etc.) and relational kinship terms (such as *ngarlanga* ‘woman’s child’, *anya/ninya* ‘father’ etc.). In this particular instance, addressing Harry as ‘father’ was more appropriate than the other option, which was to foreground the fact that he was married to my ‘daughter’. This would have placed us in an avoidance relationship. See §4.3 for discussion, also Hiatt (1965) and Garde (2013).

² More information about *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ can be viewed at:
<http://call.batchelor.edu.au/project/gun-ngaypa-rrawa-my-country/>

their Burarra neighbors call *jarlakarr gun-murra* ‘a network of many tracks’³ is dynamic, adaptable and unbounded. It is underpinned by the relationality and practices of patrilocality and affinal kinship and is shaped by historical patterns of interaction locally and further afield. A central argument of this thesis is that my alliance with the Gun-nartpa was formed around a contract relating to knowledge exchange and the practices surrounding that. It prescribed the projection of a local identity construct into the wider public realm through the prestige form of *jurra*. *Jurra* is a Macassan term adopted by people in Arnhem Land and means ‘paper’ or ‘book’. For presentation as *jurra* in their book, *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’, certain kinds of content were prioritised and additional content was recorded according to criteria set down by the Gun-nartpa participants (Carew 2011). Continuity between the past and the present emerged as a key theme throughout the process. It was expressed through careful attention to the participants, both living and deceased, and the many links between them and others in the social world. Links to clan and country were a central part of asserting these links. The book provided the opportunity to open a window for others to see these important underpinnings of contemporary lifeworlds in north-central Arnhem Land. It is also a record for Gun-nartpa people of their story through a time of immense social change.

³ *Jarlakarr* means ‘track’. The descriptive term *-murra* ‘many’ refers to the random clustering of similar things, such as a school of fish milling around a food source. This word takes a noun class prefix *gun-* which indexes the quantified entity; *jarlakarr* in this instance. I first learned the metaphoric potential of this expression from Peter Danaja, who I worked with in the Culture Office at Maningrida Arts and Culture in 1995–96. At that time we were developing a website for the Arts Centre, something that at that time had never been done from a remote community in Australia (we were the first!) (Jordan 2000). In describing how the internet worked I drew a diagram showing the globe, with multiple nodes (‘computers’) and lines connecting them, showing many-to-many relationships. Danaja turned to me and said, ‘That’s just like us’. What he meant was that he immediately understood the principle of the internet because it was an analogue of the kinship based relationality in his society. When I asked him how to describe this he offered *jarlakarr gun-murra*, explaining it as a way of describing the many foot tracks that criss-cross through the landscape, the relationships between country enacted through song and dance in ceremony, the connections between kin, and the internet.

The importance of literacy practices associated with the representations of knowledge as *jurra* reflects the affordances provided in this context by Bible translation and liturgy development (1962 to the present) and bilingual education programs in Maningrida (1974-2008) (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Barton 2007; Kral & Schwab 2003). Bilingual education for Ndjébbana and Burarra/Gun-nartpa children developed as a configuration of intercultural practices involving professionally trained teachers and linguists from outside the community and local people (Devlin 2011; Harris & Devlin 1999). This context included adult education for teachers, assistant teachers and literacy workers through the School of Australian Linguistics and Batchelor College⁴ (Amagula & McCarthy 2015; Black & Breen 2001; Caffery 2008; Reaburn, Bat & Kilgariff 2015; Uibo 1993). The relevance of these intersecting affordances for language research practice in the current day cannot be underestimated. This thesis sits at this intersection and asks these questions:

- What language research practices are relevant to people living in the remote Northern Territory?
- In what ways do the diverse perspectives of collaborators influence the meaning, purpose and form of the outcomes produced through such practices?
- Given that the selection of material most ‘worthy’ of inclusion involved cultural and social values, how are such judgements framed, negotiated and reconciled?
- To what extent can analysis of situated practice in language documentation contribute to recognition of Indigenous knowledge holders’ status in research?
- To what extent can this analysis contribute to broadening the definition of research outputs produced from collaborative and empowered language research?

⁴ Batchelor College changed its name to Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education in 1999.

1.2 Thesis overview

1.2.1 Outline of thesis chapters

The chapters of this thesis are arranged as follows:

Chapter 1 is a thesis overview. It sets the scene, describes the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ and discusses approaches to language research, incorporating an argument for practice-led research in language documentation and conservation. This chapter also contains some preliminary information about the Gun-nartpa language, describes the presentation of language examples, and explains the provenance of language data.

Chapter 2 argues for the value of an intercultural perspective on collaborative work in language documentation. I present aspects of the contract that underpinned this project and raise questions relating to rights to cultural property that are central to it. The role of narrative as central to the guidance of ethical conduct is established in this chapter.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the social setting for the Gun-nartpa language and its speakers, with a focus on people associated with Gochan Jiny-jirra outstation. This chapter includes an overview of the languages of north-central Arnhem Land, their geographical settings, genetic relationships and distributions. This is followed by a discussion of the changing language ecology of the region.

Chapter 4 investigates the notions of *yakarrarra* ‘clan connections’ and *bapurrurr* ‘kinship groups’, as described by senior Gun-nartpa people. This chapter discusses Gun-nartpa conceptualisations of continuity and change, perspectives on language research and the notion of *janguny* ‘story’.

Chapter 5 reviews theories of narrative and defines a model used for discourse analysis in this study. I draw upon ideas that stem from literary theory and interaction studies in situating narrative discourses as culturally constrained forms of social practice.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of Gun-nartpa narrative discourse. It focuses on episodic structure, types of discourse components that express episodes, and the complexity of narrative highpoints where evaluative meanings are given prominence.

Chapter 7 investigates some social dynamics within language research encounters. These encounters are construed in terms of both interactional and narrative discourse. The chapter discusses several examples of how narrative practices support the social role of senior people as authentic tellers of ‘keystone narratives’. These examples lead to a discussion of the importance of mentoring as a mode of ethical instruction within intercultural relationships and the chapter concludes with a discussion of the Gun-nartpa term *marn.gi* ‘knowledge’, describing the intrinsic relationality of this concept.

Chapter 8 describes the experience of repatriating language recordings and photographs from the 1993-96 period in 2010. The design of the Gun-nartpa Stories project was motivated by their status as relational objects and led to the familiar and prestigious format of a book as a way of presenting them back to the family. The chapter considers some contemporary responses to the management of cultural property and concludes by returning to the research questions that framed this thesis.

1.2.2 Thesis appendices

Appendices to the thesis are as follows:

§A1. Abbreviations used in interlinear glossing of texts.

§A2. Texts discussed in the thesis presented with interlinear glossing.

§A3. Transcripts of consultations with Gun-nartpa family delegates for the Gun-nartpa Stories project.

The thesis has an additional appendix that provides a grammatical and semantic analysis of Gun-nartpa. This analysis underpins the discussion of discourse structures and strategies in chapters 5, 6 and 7. It is a work in progress, and the most recent version is downloadable from <http://call.batchelor.edu.au/gun-nartpa-grammar/>. There are cross-references to the grammatical analysis throughout the thesis, and these cross-references are notated with §G and a number identifying the relevant section. Section numbering may change over time as the grammatical description is revised and expanded. For this reason I also provide section headings in cross-references where this may not be evident from the text (e.g. §G1.2.1 Nominals).

This thesis is also accompanied by the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa 'My Country'* for consideration by the examiners. The book is copyright to the authors (England et al. 2014) therefore not included within this document.

1.3 Gun-ngaypa Rrawa 'My Country'

Gun-nartpa Stories commenced as a repatriation of 75 digitised cassette tapes recorded during 1993-96 from elders at Gochan Jiny-jirra outstation in north-central Arnhem Land, and developed into a collaborative documentation and publishing project. A core project team emerged, consisting of myself and An-nguliny men Patrick Muchana (also spelt Mudjana), Crusoe Batara and Raymond Walanggay, with significant contributions from other participants (listed in England et al. 2014:xii-xix).⁵ We worked together to review the recordings and select, transcribe and translate a number of stories. Numerous other Gun-nartpa people also participated as transcribers and translators, and consulted with the team on aspects of the project. Some contributed additional material through recordings and conversations about history and clan connections. Throughout the process of working with the recordings, the project team enriched the stories as they provided more detail about events, places and people. In particular they were specific about family relationships between those telling the stories, the people referred to within them, those present at the storytelling events, and the people alive today who have a relationship to the stories. To take account of these contributions, I wrote commentary text linking the stories together, which was revised through repeated group readings with the core team. Over a period of four years (2010-14), I worked with the team to refine the text and compile the stories, along with photographs and artworks, into the book (Carew 2015).

The book is produced with the technology of sound printing. Using an audio player which scans a code embedded in the page, a person can both read the text and listen to the corresponding sound file. In this way, the book allows its readers to listen to the

⁵ Marion Waiguma, who played a central role in the project team, is aligned with Maringa Burarra and Yan-nhangu social networks through lineage and spent several years of her childhood living at Gochan Jiny-jirra in the care of her Gun-nartpa relatives.

stories as told by the Gun-nartpa elders in the 1990s, with additional material recorded in 2013. The project was accomplished through support from Batchelor Institute, an organisation that has provided adult education for Indigenous people for 40 years in the Northern Territory of Australia. The Gun-nartpa Stories project was supported by a Batchelor Institute Internal Research Grant (2010-11), by the Australian Government's Indigenous Languages Support Program grants (Gun-nartpa Stories 2012-13; NT Language Centre Support 2013-15) and by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (Small Grant SG0161 2012-13).

1.4 Approaches to language recording and collaboration

1.4.1 Research setting

This thesis draws on my visits to Gochan Jiny-jirra, Ji-balbal and Maningrida between 1993 and 1997, and a subsequent period between 2010 and 2015. I focus upon the most intensive phase of that period, which was the eight months I spent living at Gochan Jiny-jirra between November 1993 and June 1994. Most of the recordings in the Gun-nartpa corpus were made during this period. It was also a time spent living within an outstation environment close to the everyday lived world of the Gun-nartpa people. It provided an opportunity to observe communication practices and to spend time discussing language with a range of people. In particular I was mentored by England Banggala, the senior owner of the An-nguliny clan estates. Thus, while the period was short, the recordings, notes and photographs I made during that time remain as a record of an intensive induction. Alongside the relatively formal interactions familiar to the paradigm of linguistic fieldwork, such as semantic inquiry and recording of texts (Chelliah 2001; Evans & Sasse 2007), there were many less formal ones: hunting trips, campside chats, drop-in visits, road trips, shopping etc. There were many opportunities to learn more about the meanings expressed through everyday narrative and various other kinds of communicative act and so, as is typical of many linguists who do fieldwork, I've adopted a range of observational and analytical fieldwork methods (Bower 2008). Opportunistic observation and close attention to what people are saying are important methods in language research (Gaby 2006:20). I also facilitated participatory and collaborative research practices in the later stages of our project

(2010-14) through workshops held in Gochan Jiny-jirra, Maningrida, Darwin and at the Alice Springs campus of Batchelor Institute. These methods included the review of relevant publications as a stimulus for planning the layout of our own book (especially Campbell 2006; Poignant 1996; Rubuntja 2002; Wiseman 1996), film-making, country mapping, drawing family trees, interviews with family members and collaborative writing (Carew 2015). These latter methods stem from established educational practice at Batchelor Institute, in which the ‘mixed mode’ of course delivery combined community-based study with on-campus residential workshops (Reaburn et al. 2015). Action research was an important implementation of emancipatory education philosophy at Batchelor College, Deakin University and some remote Northern Territory schools through the 1980s and 1990s (Marika, Ngurruwuthun & White 1992; Yunupingu 1999). We adopted the cyclical review of our practice that is central to this participatory method as we developed the manuscript. Alongside these participatory methods I utilised software programs, in particular ELAN (Wittenburg, Brugman, Russel, Klassmann & Sloetjes 2006) and Inqscribe (Garde 2012), and data management strategies to structure recordings, lexical databases and other materials and make them machine-readable (Johnson 2004; Nathan 2006a; Nathan & Austin 2004; Thieberger 2011; Wynne 2005). Some priorities and methods have been framed in terms of grammatical description and analysis, some by the expectations of the Gun-nartpa, and others by the importance of long-term archival preservation and the requirements of funding bodies for accountability on funding.

1.4.2 Documentary linguistics and practice-led research

My primary discipline focus is in linguistics, in particular in the areas of language documentation and conservation (Austin 2010a; Himmelmann 1998; Gippert, Himmelmann & Mosel 2006; Woodbury 2003) and applied community-oriented linguistic work (Carew 2008; Carew & Woods 2008; West, Hughes & Carew 1995). In my research I have implemented approaches and methodologies from language documentation and conservation that place an emphasis on digital methods of recording, time-alignment of rich annotations, and data management (Thieberger 2011). Data and metadata protocols enable data portability (Bird & Simon 2003); thus, long-term preservation and access to recording and metadata (Thieberger, Margetts, Morey &

Musgrave 2016). Alongside the development of digital methods, the field of language documentation and conservation is aligned with an overhaul of the traditional fieldwork model of research, which has been critiqued as a colonialist paradigm (Smith 1999). The empowerment, rights and agency of minority groups, the traditional ‘subjects’ of linguistic and anthropological research, has driven this change (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson 1993; Czaykowska-Higgins 2009). The utility of digital research enables the design of metadata that makes the documentation of language material available for multiple uses (Carew 2011; Johnson 2004; Nathan 2006a, 2006b). These uses include digital and non-digital language materials that can be used by community groups in language education programs, for revitalisation activities or general enjoyment (Carew & Green 2015; Turpin & Carew 2011; Woods 2008). There are also moves towards the academic recognition of annotated corpora as scholarly output, which supports the engagement between linguists and language communities in collaborative research (Thieberger et al. 2016).

It is still the case that much of the academic research in social sciences is undertaken by non-Indigenous academics, and, as O’Sullivan argues, the academy “allows limited capacity to formally understand or acknowledge their Indigenous engagement at a level of shared authorship, and there remains little requirement for a level of knowledge-transfer back to the community” (O’Sullivan 2015:96; also see Bell 2008). O’Sullivan emphasises the central place of social action in Indigenist philosophy and practice, that is motivated by “community-led processes and useful end products delivered back for the benefit of the community as the primary objective” (O’Sullivan 2015:100). Here we see a model of socially-situated practice-led research in which scholarly output is an important, but secondary, goal. This model is available for others, who perhaps do not identify or qualify as Indigenist researchers *per se*, to emulate and develop as part of attempts to undertake research in a non-colonialist paradigm. As Auld writes in relation to his research engagement with Kunibídjí people in developing computer based Ndjébbana literacy materials:

The creation of a narrative report in Ndjébbana will be an integral part of the research as it will provide opportunities of empowerment to the Kunibídjí research participants. Such a report would complement the

academic text and together they would provide the Kunibídjí opportunities to critically evaluate the research from the ‘reading’ of a narrated report in Ndjébbana and raise their awareness of the content of a thesis presented in English (Auld 2002:3).

Auld’s work provides a model of research led by intercultural collaborative educational practice. My work aims to extend this practice-led model by investigating how language documentation and conservation methods can be situated alongside intercultural collaborative practice. Thus I have aimed to be explicit about what I, as a non-Indigenous researcher, have learned from Indigenist social critique, especially in terms of how it impacts upon the practice and products of language research. In this I position myself alongside other linguists paying close attention to the ethical framing and social utility of their collaborations with Indigenous research consultants. For example, Dickson calls for explicit recognition of the positive social outcomes that are yielded from the work of academic linguists, stating that “linguists risk doing the discipline a disservice making linguistics appear less community-focused or socially useful than it really is” (Dickson 2015:19).

Practice-led research has gained prominence as a framework for theoretical exploration in the creative arts (Smith & Dean 2009), but less so in the social sciences. Partly the reason for this is that the “useful end products” often deemed pertinent for communities (Nathan 2006a) are offshoots from a workflow designed primarily for language documentation rather than creative production⁶, and simply creating such offshoot products does not necessarily represent either a creative process or something that benefits the community. As Bell writes in relation to her early efforts at ethnographic film-making in the 1990s:

... many documentary film-makers at that time were wedded to the veracity of observational film techniques which in reality capture only a thin layer of actuality. They failed to see (as I had) that if not carefully, scrupulously, imaginatively and dramatically reworked in the editing process such films

⁶ Especially in the case of video-based media production, these different purposes require quite different workflows (Carew & Green 2015).

can be a poor imitation of ‘being there’ – that research-led practice demands the creative transformation of the research methodology, not just the reproduction of it (Bell 2009:256).

The same argument holds for the community products of language research. Language research collaborators are involved in social, performative and creative processes as part of recording and documentation events yet rarely consider the processes involved in resolving these into ‘products’ in terms of a creative transformation. The set of texts that comprise the current work were developed through iterative language documentation methods: a cycle of recording, transcription, translation and interpretation (Evans & Sasse 2007). We added collaborative writing in English as both a means of presenting the texts and a method of inquiry (Field 2008). The work foregrounds personal narratives, not just those of the Gun-nartpa people, but also mine. The book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ is co-authored by An-nguliny clan leaders Crusoe Batara England, Patrick Muchana England and Raymond Walangay England and myself. The ordering of authorship for the men reflects seniority in age. The stories in the book have authorship attributed to the original storyteller, and the book integrates these stories, the co-authored commentary text along with photographs and images of artworks selected by the project team.

The more traditional scholarly component of this collaboration – the thesis – provides another perspective on the material. Academic theses and research articles resolve evidence and method in terms of engagement with scholarly debates and perspectives. In claiming that my work is practice-led I argue that it has engaged effectively with the perspectives of the cultural authorities that I worked with, alongside a range of scholarly debates. Furthermore, it represents their perspectives on research as valid and reliable, and their expectations of the research have resolved into an outcome that contributes to new forms of knowledge. It is designed for a different audience from *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa*, yet is aligned with the negotiations of rights and authorship over the entire hybrid body of work.

While the thesis is traditional in form, it argues that “more open ‘research’ paradigms and methodologies are need to generate understanding of our academic modes of production” (Bell 2009:261). This is especially the case for research that is reliant on

the knowledge and participation of those who usually otherwise gain marginal benefits from the production of research outputs.⁷ Through producing an academic thesis I aim for other benefits that extend beyond the value of a collaborative community publication. This quite obviously includes personal benefits, however there are also potential social benefits, such as the academic recognition of hybrid and practice-led research outputs in language documentation and conservation. These are outputs built upon collaborative intercultural practice, richly annotated and well-curated corpora of language recordings, and overt recognition of Indigenous authorship.

For effective practice-led research however, the outputs of the research process must go further than generative, documentary and creative practice (Smith & Dean 2009). In the field of language documentation and conservation researchers engage deeply with valued cultural property, often forming strong and long-lasting attachments with their research collaborators. One way that practice-led language research may extend our understandings of language is to examine research encounters such as these, to attempt to broaden our understanding of the assumptions and expectations that underpin them, and the ways that these are problematised. This requires an ethnographic lens placed over the social dynamics of research practice and a critique of the social contexts where these encounters take place. In the light of this line of inquiry it seems that maintaining a dichotomy between research outputs and research practice is unsuitable and often unethical for many situations involving such forms of research practice. This is especially true in situations where power imbalances between mainstream research culture, bureaucracies and local cultural authorities are intractable, as is the case for the society where this research took place (Altman 2016). Indeed, this form of research provides a venue for transformative practice in which interculturally negotiated understandings provide the basis for improved ways of framing the collaborations

⁷ It is up to my research partners, the Gun-nartpa people, to assess the value of this work in their own terms. It is clear that they regard the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* quite highly, going on their enthusiasm for the project work and the published outcome. This assessment has not been independently quantified, however viewing the footage of the book launch demonstrates that the publication is viewed positively by the Gun-nartpa people. See: <http://call.batchelor.edu.au/film/gun-ngaypa-rrawa-book-launch/>

involved in language research. In support for this position I turn to consider some ethical issues in language research, a topic that is taken up again from a different perspective in §2.1.

1.4.3 Ethical issues in language research

The ethical framings of language research are an important theme in this thesis. These are enacted on many levels, in terms of the ordinary interactions of everyday life and through the exercise of authority (Lambek 2010b). As Smith (1999) argues, much academic research is authoritarian, with a vested historical interest in the disempowerment of Indigenous people, and thus researchers risk an ethical conflict in dealing with multiple systems of authority, such as the authoritative expectations of academic research and Indigenous cultural authorities. Researchers in the field of documentary linguistics have discussed the ethics of fieldwork-based research, particularly in relation to community collaboration where frequently there are different culturally framed perspectives and expectations (Austin 2010b; Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; Dwyer 2006; Stebbins 2012; Stenzel 2014; Yamada 2007). Alongside the complex scenarios of colonisation, ideology, expectations and interaction are the regulatory ethics of research that have been established through universities and other bureaucracies that fund, auspice and govern research (Langlois 2011). I don't dive into the intercultural complexities of how various conceptualisations of ethical conduct map onto regulatory ethics⁸, except to say that for many linguists who work with speakers of Indigenous languages there is a genuine commitment to a long-haul engagement (Evans & Sasse 2007). Many linguists who work within the Australianist descriptivist paradigm (Gaby 2006:13-15) have long-term professional relationships with language speakers in a range of communities in Australia. So too for researchers from other disciplines such as anthropology, and areas of professional work such as education (e.g. Amagula & McCarthy 2015)⁹ and art centre management (e.g. Cooke 1983).¹⁰ For most of these

⁸ However, see Holcombe (2015) for an intercultural investigation of concepts of human rights.

⁹ Much of the collaborative work in education does not get recognised in the academic sphere, but there are many examples of excellence where teachers have provided authentic learning experiences for students through brokering partnerships with research. For instance, the work of teacher Mason Scholes at Maningrida in science education structured around participatory research into arachnids was recognised

practitioners, the work they do is predicated upon the research partnerships and collaborative projects of many types that are underpinned by these relationships (e.g. Auld 2002; Auld & Darcy 2008; Barwick, Marett, Walsh, Reid & Ford 2005; Campbell 2006, 2003; Evans, Merlan & Tukumba 2004; Dickson 2015; Finlayson, Yibarbuk, Thurtell, Storrs & Cooke 1999; Gallagher, Brown, Curran & Martin 2014; Garde 2010; J Green, 1992, 2003, 2010; Hercus & Sutton 1983; Meakins 2013; 2013; Merlan 1996; Merlan & Pascale, 2005; M Morton, K Morton, Turpin & Ross 2013; Rubuntja & Green 2002; Turpin & Ross, 2012; Turpin, Ross, Dobson & Turner 2013; Yibarbuk et al. 2001; Wadrill, Yamawurr & Meakins 2015 *inter alia*). Research consultants invest heavily in training such allies and often these relationships develop into highly valued, lifelong friendships (e.g. Garde 2013; Gurrmanamana, Hiatt & McKenzie 2002; Meehan 1991).¹¹ Collaborative and participatory approaches aim to mitigate the impacts of colonialism in research, with research design based in ethical principles of integrity, respect and the sharing of power (Auld 2002:9-10; Dickson 2015:12-13). Every interaction has its own story, and all participants have agency in these interactions. Throughout, there are hits and misses, contradictions and dynamics that impinge upon and frame collaborative work (Curran 2013; Moran 2016; Reddy 2008). While the research relationships mentioned above may reflect genuine intentions to work towards the benefit of Indigenous groups, such motivations do not however automatically implement effective or appropriate conduct; neither do they always take into account the systemic disadvantages of minority groups in Australian society (Cowlshaw 1999; Land 2015). Researchers have a range of motivations, not the least being the need to publish scholarly works in order to advance an academic career (O’Sullivan 2015; Thieberger et al. 2016). Non-indigenous researchers do not necessarily scrutinise the

by the Eureka Prize for science teaching in 2007. See

<http://www.scientistsinschools.edu.au/showcase/scholes-raven.html>.

¹⁰ It must be said that ‘fly in - fly out’ (FIFO) research, based on quick visits to undertake survey research, is also still prevalent, especially in areas of social research that are policy driven (Moran 2016).

¹¹ For examples of how such friendships are occasionally integrated into rituals of reciprocity, see the discussion of the Mamurrng ceremony presented to Peter Cooke by his Kuninjku allies at Maningrida in Altman (2008b) and the discussion of a Rom ceremony presented at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra in Wild (1986).

advantages of being an empowered member of a society where “there is a possessive investment in ignorance” of “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders’ views, worldviews, stories and realities” (Gilbey & Schaber 2015; and see McRae-Williams & Hujiser (2015) for a non-Indigenous perspective on this issue). In terms of language research, there are many ethical issues related to the preservation of language recordings and their metadata that stretch well beyond the immediate research encounters, which researchers may not take into account while assembling and curating corpora (Thieberger & Musgrave 2007).

Regulatory ethics, such as explicit research protocols and ethics assessment committees, provide an essential framework for socially situated research (AIATSIS 2012). In order to add depth to my claim of legitimacy as a researcher and intercultural practitioner I aim for transparency in how consultations and approvals have been negotiated. I have included plain language statements from two phases of ethics approval for this work from the Batchelor Institute Research and Ethics Committee as appendices to this thesis (see Appendix 3). I have also included transcripts of two consultation sessions in which I discussed these two phases. The first is a conversation with Patrick Muchana and Crusoe Batara in 2010, when I commenced the repatriation work that led to the collaborative publishing project through a research grant from Batchelor Institute. The second is a conversation with Katy Balkurra Fry that took place at the commencement of the second phase in 2012, with funding from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme. On both occasions, it was a family decision to delegate these discussions and decisions to these authoritative representatives and our work proceeded on that basis. I discuss some matters raised in these consultations in §8.3.

1.5 Language preliminaries

1.5.1 Language names

Gun-nartpa is one of a set of dialects of a non-PamaNyungan language spoken in the coastal and inland floodplain regions to the east of Maningrida in north-central Arnhem Land (Glasgow 1994; R Green 2003). The other dialects are broadly identified as Anbarra, Martay and Maringa, and these align with social groups and ceremonial polities (Clunies-Ross 1983; Glasgow 1994; Hiatt 1965). People also refer to

Marawaraba Burarra (cf. Armstrong 1967) and the other eastern variety Maringa Burarra is said to be a Burarra/Yan-nhangu mix – Marion Waiguma personal communication, also see Clunies-Ross 1983 and Cooper 1991). This set of dialects has, since the early 1960s, come to be referred to as Burarra.¹² However, the Gun-nartpa and other dialect speakers commonly refer to their language as Gu-jingaliya – a word which loosely means ‘of the tongue’ (< *gu+ji+ngali+ya* LocIV+DER+tongue+EMPH). Another frequently used language descriptor is Gu-jarlabiya, meaning ‘it moves steadily along’ (< *jarlabiya* ‘move steadily’). Within the Gu-jingarliya language there are a number of varieties identified by speakers, often in terms of the shibboleth demonstrative forms *gun-narda*, *gun-narta* and *gun-nartpa* (Glasgow 1994:7) and these align with the social terms mentioned above to some degree, depending on who is asked.

As far as I can discern the term Burarra originated as an eastern reference to this language group rather than as a self-identifying label (see Borsboom 1978; Garde, Singer & Vaughan 2015; Glasgow, 1994; Mirritji 1976; Warner 1937). The Gun-nartpa do not identify as Burarra speakers, using Burarra as a sociolinguistic term to refer to the speech of coastal groups; as England Banggala would say, ‘Big Burarra’. The sociolinguistic distinction between people from the coast and inland is reflected in the dictionary title: *Burarra/ Gun-nartpa dictionary: with English finder list* (K Glasgow 1994). Burarra has passed into common usage in Maningrida and elsewhere as a language name since the commencement of the Maningrida settlement era in the early 1960s. For this reason we retained the Burarra/Gun-nartpa distinction in *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa*. Despite the adoption of Gijingali as a label for the coastal Anbarra group in the anthropological literature (following Hiatt 1959, 1962, 1964, 1965), it is a more socially neutral term and reflects local naming practices by those who speak Gun-nartpa¹³ and/or one of the other closely related dialects. It has occasionally been used to refer to the language in literature produced through the Burarra Bilingual Program, especially for

¹² The name Burarra is recognised in the international standard for language codes (ISO639-3) by the code BVR.

¹³ This is also recognised by researchers who use Gijingali as a group label, for example (Meehan 1991; Wild 1986).

titles written by Gun-nartpa people (e.g. Fry & Pascoe, 1993; Ngalwaringa & Pascoe, 1990). Language naming is always political, never neutral or objective, and linguists are involved in the social processes around reifying some names in preference to others (Garde, Singer & Vaughan 2015, also see James 2009). Thus, when discussing Gun-nartpa as a dialect from a linguistic perspective in this thesis, I generally follow the local practice and use Gu-jingaliya to refer to the set of dialects and varieties as a whole. At other times I retain the Burarra/Gun-nartpa distinction, such as when discussing the bilingual program at Maningrida Community Education Centre (now Maningrida College), the work of earlier linguists, and in contexts where Burarra and Gun-nartpa function as linguistic placeholders for social categories. Where I refer to the anthropological precedent of the Gijingali group, I retain the ethnonym.

1.5.2 Gun-nartpa phonemic inventory

Gun-nartpa has five vowels, written as *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with no contrastive vowel length.

Table 1.1 displays the consonant inventory, represented orthographically. The table is organised according to their classification as peripheral, apical and laminal series of consonants, as is typical for descriptions of Australian phonemic systems (Dixon 1980).

Table 1.1: Gun-nartpa consonant phonemes

	Peripherals		Apicals		Laminals
long stops	p	k	t	rt	ch
short stops	b	g	d	rd	j
nasals	m	ng	n	rn	ny
laterals			l	rl	
tap/trill			rr		
approximants	w			r	y

1.5.3 Orthographic conventions

The orthography for Gun-nartpa used in this thesis largely conforms to the symbols and conventions developed by David and Kathy Glasgow for Burarra and Gun-nartpa, in consultation with Burarra and Gun-nartpa speakers (Glasgow 1981a, 1981b). It is used in the Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary (K Glasgow 1994), in literacy materials prepared by the Burarra Bilingual Program at Maningrida CEC, in liturgical materials developed as part of the Burarra Bible translation project (K Glasgow 1980) and as part of everyday literacy practices in the Maningrida region. Apart from their very early work (D Glasgow & Kerr 1964; K Glasgow 1964), the Glasgows used this set of orthographs for their linguistic writings (Garner & Glasgow 1980; D Glasgow & K Glasgow 1967; K Glasgow 1981a, 1981b, 1988), as did Green in her sketch grammar of Burarra (Green 1987).

Some additional writing conventions are, as per K Glasgow (1994) and Green (1987):

- Nominal and verbal prefixes are separated from their stem by a hyphen; for example, *mun-nerra* ‘bad vegetable class thing’ (III-bad), *gu-bugula* ‘in water’ (LocIV-water), *a-boya* ‘he went’ (3I-go.RLS), as are word initial derivational prefixes: *mu-gama yerrcha* ‘all the women’ (DERIII-woman group), *burr-goma* ‘bodily’ (ADV-body); except for word internal derivational prefixes or the components of compound words; for example, *an-gubarrangarlcha* ‘bush lily’ (*an-gu+barra+ngarlcha* I-DER+head+shine);
- Suffixes are not hyphenated; for example, *ngu-warrchinga* ‘I went up’ (*ngu-warrcha-nga* 1-go.up-RLS).

1.5.4 Transcriptions of Gun-nartpa speech

I use a modified set of spelling conventions to present Gun-nartpa language material in this thesis. The transcription protocol reveals some assumptions about the importance of prosody in grammar and discourse (Ochs 1979; Fletcher & Evans 2000); thus, I refer to it as a ‘prosodic transcription’. I also follow the lead of Clunies-Ross (1983) in presenting a close English translation in parallel to the prosodic transcription. I indicate reported speech with indentation. This arrangement is shown in 1:1.

<p>1:1 <i>ngurrenyjinga ngijarl guga -</i> <i>ngunana /</i> <i>gala bulay ayurrarna aworkiyarniya \</i> <i>like ngaypa gunngaypa,</i> <i>well nguborrwurra,</i> <div style="padding-left: 2em;">÷ <i>aa an.guna wayji ngunyuna an.guyinda,</i> <i>ngunyuna ayurra aworkiya \ ÷</i></div> <i>awurrwena apala,</i> <div style="padding-left: 2em;">÷ <i>jungurda jungurda,</i> <i>an.guna na \ ÷</i></div> <i>awurrwena \</i></p>	<p>I was walking by then I saw him he didn't sleep far away I had an idea, it occurred to me ah this man maybe he belongs here! he always sleeps here! everyone spoke to me Granddad, granddad! look at him here! they said that</p>
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Key points:

- Constituent morphemes are not shown by hyphenation; this is shown in a morpho-syntactic line within interlinearly glossed examples (where provided, mainly in the appendices and only occasionally in the body of the thesis).
- The general stress placement rule in Gun-nartpa is for main word stress to fall upon the first syllable of the root of a lexical form. Multiple morpho-syntactic units are combined within intonational phrases and the metrical scenario is much more complex. I do not attempt an analysis here; however, I indicate prominent syllables with vowel accents where they fall other than where predicated by the basic stress rule.
- Pronominal prefixes are spelt to reflect their surface realisation. Assimilation at morpheme junctures is also shown.
- Word final vowels and syllables are frequently elided through external sandhi processes within intonational units. Occasionally a long consonant is realised with extra length, which is a timing compensation for the loss of a syllable. Transcriptions reflect pronunciation, with a colon showing additional length on consonants (e.g. *gek:uguna* < *geka gu-guna* ‘today here’; see §G1.1.5).
- The boundaries of intonation units are taken to be unit final intonation contours and pauses, and prosodic edge markers are pitch and amplitude resets within intonation units (Ladd 1996; and cf. Glasgow 1988:205-06).
- Prosodic contours are indicated at the end of an intonation unit. I mainly distinguish between falling (\\), level (-), rising (/) and fully rising (?) contours.

The difference between rising and fully rising is not always clearly distinguishable, however rising contours most commonly occur within stretches of speech, such as those which occur between closely related clauses (§G4.6-7). Fully rising contours occur commonly at the end of interrogative utterances, hence the question mark notation. I also notate intonation units that represent items in a list with doubled colons (§6.2.4).

- Prosodic edge markers within intonation units are indicated with a comma.
- Where contour notations are doubled they mark a pause (i.e. //). Extension prosody is shown (=), and doubling (==) indicates additional extension.
- I mark some para-prosodic features as follows: >text< indicates a rushed section of speech, ÷text÷ is speech with an excited quality (often corresponding to reported speech) and +text+ is rhythmically repeated. Refer to §6.2.7 for examples and discussion of rhythmic repetition.
- Some texts have been edited, to remove false starts, irrelevant asides and some repetition. Edits are indicated as three dots (...)
- Proper nouns are not capitalised in transcribed Gun-nartpa speech but are in the English translations.

In a few instances I have used language examples from the Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary (Glasgow 1994), in which case they are presented without prosodic annotations. I also use some examples from my written notes, in which case the choice of representation reflects what I wrote at the time.

To indicate the the level of morphosyntactic complexity and the difference between surface and phonemic form I present the glossed version of 1:1 below. For those interested in morphemic analysis the glossed texts in Appendix 2 correspond to the numbered Gun-nartpa language examples throughout the main body of the thesis.

1.1 (glossed)

ngu-rrenyja-nga	ngu-jarl=guga	ngu-na-na
1-tread-RLS	1-go.quick=IMM	1-see-PC
gala bulay	a-yu-rra-rna	a-workiya-rna-ya
NEG far	3I-lie-C-CFT	3I-do.always.C-CFT-EMPH

like	ngaypa	gun-ngaypa		
like	1NOM	IV-1POSS		
well	nguborrwa-rra			
	1-think-PC			
an-guna	waygiji	ngunyuna	an-gu+yinda	
I-PROX	maybe	PROX	I-DER+do.thus	
ngunyuna	a-yu-rra	a-workiya		
PROX	3I-lie-C	3I-do.always		
aburr-wena=apala				
3A-speak.PC=1OBL				
jungurda	jungurda	aburr-wena		
MF	MF	3A-speak.PC		

20130517-12-01:910235-925218

1.5.5 Spelling of English and Kriol words in Gun-nartpa texts

Gun-nartpa speech contains many loan words from both Kriol and English, reflecting historical and present day language contact (§3.4). Speakers also frequently code-mix Gun-nartpa, other traditional languages of the region and English. These features are all evident in the texts that are presented throughout this thesis. I deliberated at length on how to best represent Kriol and English loans, considering whether to use the standard Kriol spelling to identify those English-derived forms that are shared with Kriol, to render all English derived forms with English spelling, or whether to use the Gun-nartpa orthography to spell all words, notwithstanding their source. In the end I have mostly used English spelling for words that derive from English – these include conjunctions and modal forms (‘like’, ‘maybe’, ‘when’, ‘well’), nominal forms (‘big one’), temporal expressions (‘next time’, ‘six month’) placenames (Cadell) and loan verbs that are supported by an existential copula (§G4.2.6). These spelling choices remove some of the Gun-nartpa flavour from the pronunciation and use of these words, but aid readability. I occasionally use standard Kriol spelling for Kriol forms such as *dubela* ‘they two’, *gigin* ‘again/another’ and *langa* ‘locative marker’ (Dickson 2015). The Kriol transitive and aspect markers that commonly occur on verbs are spelt as for Kriol (*-im* ‘transitive’, *-imbat* ‘progressive’) as are the past tense marker *bin*, but in most cases

where there is an obvious English parallel I use English spelling (e.g. the 3rd person singular pronoun is spelt ‘him’, not *im*, I write ‘now’, rather than *na* as in Kriol). I spell some English/Kriol forms using doubled medial orthographs as commonly seen in customary informal spelling (e.g. *alla*, *gettim*, *gotta*).

1.5.6 Abbreviations and acronyms

Table 1.2 is a list of the abbreviations used throughout the thesis. Appendix 1 contains the full set of symbols used in interlinear glossing.

Table 1.2: Abbreviations used in the presentation of Gun-nartpa language examples

-	Level final pitch contour; indicates narrow pitch range over whole intonational phrase
--	Hesitation, truncation, false start
,	prosodic edge marker within intonation unit
::	Listing intonation
!	emphatic speech
!...!	Marks an ideophone in transcribed speech
?	Fully rising final pitch contour
[...]	Marks speech overlap
/	Rising final pitch contour
\	Falling final pitch contour
+...+	Rhythmic repetition; speech form repeated as <i>beats</i>
÷...÷	Excited speech quality
=	Extension prosody
>...<	Fast speech, a rush through

á	Prominent syllable in a prosodic phrase, outside default stress assignment
M, F, Z, B,	mother, father, sister, brother, spouse, son, daughter, child – in glosses for
Sp, S, D,	kinship terms
C	

Table 1.3 presents acronyms used in the thesis.

Table 1.3: List of acronyms

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
BAC	Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation
MAC	Maningrida Arts and Culture
MPA	Maningrida Progress Association
NT	Northern Territory (of Australia)

1.6 Provenance of Gun-nartpa language data

1.6.1 Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary database and grammar

While Kathy Glasgow’s dictionary compilation was published as a book in 1994 (Glasgow 1994), she continued to compile language material into a Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary database until 2010, with the support of her husband David Glasgow, a number of language consultants and colleagues from the Australian Society for Indigenous Languages (AuSIL). This version was published online (Glasgow 2011) and on CD-ROM. From 1994 I compiled information about ethnobiological knowledge, lexical and construction semantics, clan names and country names into several topic-based databases. These databases have now been consolidated into the Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary file. Since 2012 I have been adding to the AuSIL

dictionary file, updating the lexical files I compiled in the 1990s along with new material. This work is still in progress.

1.6.2 Provenance of language examples

I digitised my fieldwork cassette tapes in 2010. The provenance of all language examples from these recordings is derived from time-aligned annotations created in ELAN annotation software (Wittenburg et al. 2006). These reference the file bundle, the speaker, and the timecode boundaries in milliseconds. Language examples derived from such annotations throughout the thesis are referred to accordingly and anyone interested in following up original sources is able to do so, by following these references back to their archival source. Archival deposits are available at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR): <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0276> (Carew in process:a) and the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC): <http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/MLC1> (Carew in process:b). Text references are structured as shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Structure of text references

e.g. T17B-02:HL:173906-176955 (an example from a digitised tape file)

T17B-	02:	HL:	173906-	176955
Source file	Logged segment of recording	Speaker code*	Start time	End time
Derived items**			Milliseconds	

e.g. 20130514-03-edit:160200-165800 (an example from a video recording)

20130514-03-	edit:		160200-	165800
Source file***	Revised version****		Start time	End time
Derived items**			Milliseconds	

*Speaker code is provided only when there is more than one participant. Participant information is provided within the eaf file and sometimes discussed in commentary text.

**Logged segments of recordings are created within ELAN as ‘derived eafs’ – a matching pair of audio clip and ELAN annotation file that correspond to a segment of the source file. The start and end time code information relates to the position of the example within the derived clip, not the source file.

***Born digital files are named according to the date and a number or speaker code that corresponds to the sequence of recordings on that date.

**** This file is labelled ‘edit’ because after reviewing the recording we removed some extraneous material from the original video file.¹⁴

Written notes reference the notebook where they were originally recorded. While notebook references are provided as far as possible, some early material was entered into the dictionary databases without noting their provenance and is referenced only as ‘Notes’. Since 2010 some of my fieldnotes are born digital, and the file names of these notes are provided where these are referenced. Most of the examples I provide in the thesis – and in the grammatical description in progress – are from my own recordings and notes. Some material is from the Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary as recorded by Kathy Glasgow. Such references are given as BD, plus the head of the dictionary entry (e.g. BD: *-bachirra*, references a lexeme or example sentence provided within the entry *-bachirra* ‘dangerous’). I take a similar view to Gaby (2006:20), who doesn’t ascribe a source to very commonplace expressions: I have done the same for some of my examples.

1.6.3 Identification of research consultants

This work does not record the names of people whose utterances have been noted as part of casual and personal conversations; however, this is not an attempt to disguise identity as such. Rather, I am conforming with Arnhem Land social norms around

¹⁴ Another video file naming type is ‘compile’ which replaces ‘edit’ in the template. This is used for video files that result from the compilation of media from more than one source. This is the case when we compile video and separate audio, and sometimes video from more than one camera. Our project has created many video compiles and these are included in the data corpus. All video is compiled in editing software as a preparatory stage for both archiving and community use (cf. Carew & Green 2015).

avoiding the use of personal names when this is not required (Clunies-Ross 1983; Garde 2008a). Certain types of language texts can however be considered ‘display texts’ (Ochs & Capps 2001). The names of the tellers of these texts are made public, consistent with the wishes of their families. Many of the display texts were selected for inclusion in *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ (England et al. 2014) and are referenced in academic style, along with their archival provenance. Other interview-style quotations are drawn from project recording sessions. The participants spoke on the public record, and their identities are provided accordingly. While it is common practice to use surnames when referring to people in formal writing style, I have frequently used the first name of certain people in preference. This is to avoid using their ‘bush name’ as the primary means of reference, in accordance with customary practice.¹⁵ For some people the use of their bush name surname is appropriate and is used throughout (e.g. England Banggala). Many of these storytellers and interview participants are deceased, and I ask that this be taken into consideration when discussing this work with family members. Their names are included in Table 1.3, a list of Gun-nartpa people cited in this thesis.

Table 1.3: Gun-nartpa people cited in this work

EB	†England Banggala (2001)
MK	†Mary Karlbirri (2002)
HL	†Harry Ngamandara Litchfield (c.1997)
JL	†Jane Banyala Litchfield (c.1997)
JJ	†Jack John Dimangga (c.2000)
MB	†Michael Bururbuma (c.2000)
ADj	†Archie Djurunggala (2010)
DNg	†Daisy Ngurarraparlija (2015)

¹⁵ The term ‘bush name’ is a colloquial expression for a personal name bestowed by kin. It is not commonly used in address (cf. Garde 2008a, 2013)

RW	†Rosie Wanggacha (c.2005)
RJ	†Rosie Jin-mujinggul (c.2005)
CM	†Charlie Mawundanga (c. 2001)
MM	†Mark Mirrikurl (2014)
PM	Patrick Muchana Litchfield (also spelt Mudjana)
CB	Crusoe Batara England
RWE	Raymond Walanggay England
DG	Dorothy Galaledba
MI	Mick Ivory Marrawa
AE	Allen Milyerr England
MN/MG	Margaret Garranyita (Nulla)
KF	Katy Fry
MW	Marion Waiguma
BW	Betty Warnduk
MA	Matthew Anmungak

Gun-nartpa practices regarding images of their deceased relatives are dynamic and varied, as they are elsewhere (Deger 2008; Edwards 2006; Poignant 1992, 1996). With regard to the published book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa*, images of deceased people were included in accordance with the wishes of the project team. The placing of a picture of England Banggala on the front cover and of Gopamalija elder Robert Bibora on the back cover followed instructions given to Patrick Muchana by his father in a dream. The book launch at Maningrida in April 2015 was conducted as a mortuary ritual, with the performance of *walkwalk/wangarra*, the *bunggul* for the An-nguliny ancestor spirits

from Wangarr A-juwana. This allayed concerns about the spirits of the deceased and family members are able to openly view their images.¹⁶

¹⁶ Refer to this link for photographs, a written summary and film of the Gun-ngaypa Rrawa book launch at Maningrida in April 2015: <http://call.batchelor.edu.au/maningrida-book-launch-gun-ngaypa-rrawa-my-country/>

2. An intercultural knowledge contract

2.1 Culture shock ‘in the field’

When I met Banggala I had recently commenced PhD studies in linguistics at the University of Melbourne. I had just walked through the door from my urban life in Melbourne and into the world of fieldwork in a remote part of the country that I had never visited before. I had chosen my fieldwork kit carefully, following the advice of researchers who were experienced ‘in the field’. I had hard-cover notebooks and waterproof pens, a Sony Walkman cassette recorder and several boxes of cassette tapes. Following my own whims I took a hammock, a guitar and a Coolgardie safe that my father had made me, carefully flat-packed and packaged. Also in my baggage was a set of expectations I had constructed for myself, written in the idiom of the academe. This, I thought to myself, was my purpose: learn as much as possible about the lexical semantics and grammatical structure of an Aboriginal language. Read everything written on the topic in the scholarly literature, collect data in the field, analyse it, return home and write it up. Present it as a thesis. Then other linguists would read it, just as I had read the work of the Australianist linguists throughout my own studies. This, I thought, was my audience. However, when I returned to Melbourne towards the end of 1994, after eight months of living at Gochan Jiny-jirra I felt a strong disconnect between the two life worlds I was then moving between. This disconnect was compounded through each return visit throughout the 1993-97 period. In order to explore this I offer a personal perspective on the experience of fieldwork and the conflicts and dilemmas that this presents in terms of social action.

The last thing I aim for in this work is to tell another “adventurer’s tale” that reinforces colonial perspectives through anecdotally-based representations of Gun-nartpa people told by me (Smith 1999). I did have adventures though. I went hunting, attended ceremonies and learned how to make baskets. I watched the seasons roll through magnificent wild country and learned more about the perspectives that the people living there had upon the world. I enjoyed their energy, humour and spirit. At the same time, many of my experiences in 1993-94 were confronting and challenging to me. I

experienced cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), as some of my experiences presented a mismatch between the (somewhat naïve) preconceptions I had about Arnhem Land culture and the social and economic realities of living in a colonised hunter-gatherer society (Altman 1987). These realities included my attempts to fit in socially with the expatriate community in Maningrida, which interacted with the local population but was largely socially (and spatially) separated from it. Here I encountered parochial, paternalistic and racist attitudes among people with whom I also identified. I realised that my personal identity construct¹⁷ didn't set me apart as much as I might have liked from the shop-keepers, the road party contractors, the police, the teachers – the whole heterogenous mix that made up the population of 'balanda'. In fact, these interactions abounded with contradictions and amplified my disorientation at entering a different system of knowledge (cf. Cowlshaw 1999; Dalley 2015). I saw it as my business to become an expert on the communicative environment, and though I made steady progress, being lost for words all the time is hard cognitive effort. I made an effort to reconcile and rationalise this dissonance in my attempts to adapt to living there. Much of my time there was an intense personal struggle – I felt lonely, awkward with my 'fieldwork' persona (Bell 2009), worried about the progress and meaning of my work and, at times, felt frustration and hostility towards the people I was working with. These are all classic symptoms of culture shock (Oberg 1960).¹⁸

Disorienting feelings of anxiety and confusion that come with immersion in a different social milieu to one's own are a common experience for researchers undertaking field-based research, yet there is little attention paid to this in university-based fieldwork methods courses (Macaulay 2004). While there are strategies that researchers can adopt to prepare for and mitigate culture shock in the field, there is increasing recognition of the impact this condition can have on the capacity of researchers to produce the results of research (Irwin 2007). This can manifest as depression and anxiety, and is often

¹⁷ I can sum up my 1993 identity construct as follows: urbanised lapsed Catholic with Irish heritage; thus, anti-establishment leanings, overlaid with allegiance to icons of inner-Melbourne culture (such as the Fitzroy football club and the Italian supermarkets in Sydney Road) and emergent intellectual aspirations.

¹⁸ See Jordan (2005) for an account of expatriate experience in Maningrida that, to my reading, reflects the impact of culture shock.

viewed as a psychological condition, inhering in the individual. However, as Irwin argues, “culture shock is not reducible to the level of individual psychologies, but rather is concerned with social facts” (Irwin 2007). This relates less to the experience of depression as an individual’s inability to construct meaning, and more to the social processes that occur in and around the fieldwork encounter. Irwin states, “[i]n the culture shock experience, not only is knowledge scant, but the ability to produce and understand the symbolic and social basis of knowledge is minimal” (Irwin 2007). Irwin revises Oberg’s (1960) classic account of the ‘honeymoon–crisis–recovery–adjustment’ stages of culture shock in the light of her own experience in Kenya, demonstrating that these stages don’t represent a linear progression. In Irwin’s discussion however, there is an assumption that culture shock is a fieldwork ‘problem’, albeit a normal part of the experience of embarking on a career in anthropology (read: ‘linguistics’). For the researcher, the development of knowledge of the web of meaning underpinning the society, paired with solid anthropological method, mitigates the effects of the lack of knowledge. With good support, preparation and experience, fieldworkers can deal with it as they mature into their discipline (Irwin 2007). Less attention is paid, however, to the culture shock that a researcher may experience upon returning from fieldwork. The expectations embedded within the research culture of a university are often dramatically different to those encountered or negotiated while on fieldwork. A focus on culture shock as a ‘fieldwork problem’ effaces the social facts around the culture of university-based research. This milieu reifies certain forms of knowledge and norms and practices around the validation of knowledge and sets expectations accordingly (Bell 2011). Logically then, it is possible for an individual to find difficulty in reconciling other kinds of symbolic and social meanings with that of the mainstream research culture. This includes the meaning and purpose of research itself (Stebbins 2012).

While culture shock tends to be construed as a negative mind state, I build on my own experience as a way of framing the distance between the expectations of scholarly research on the one hand and local negotiations around the presentation of cultural property on the other. Retrospectively I can see that it presented an opportunity to interrogate many of my own assumptions. Alongside the unfamiliar and the challenging experiences of living at Gochan Jiny-jirra, hearing people talk explicitly about their ‘culture’ and observing forms and patterns of conduct in this context stirred me to think

about my own cultural background, and threw my own value set into relief. Who was I? What did I stand for? What was my role? Who did I answer to? I realised I didn't know the answers to these questions; they only led to others. Is culture shock a state that one must endure, survive and pass through, to emerge as a particular type of researcher (experienced, respected, well-published)? Or is it a necessary aspect of ongoing intercultural relationships? What of the other participants in intercultural collaborations, in my instance the Gun-nartpa people who hosted me at their outstation? Given the impact of colonisation across their local lifeworlds, what of their culture shock? In the process of cultural adaptation and survival, how did they frame their own intercultural experiences? Situating these challenges more broadly is a way of asking questions about the social role that the university plays in relation to the societies of people that it engages with as research subjects. What is the social function of research within marginalised and colonised societies such as these?

2.2 The ethics of learning

Two decades on from my first experience of fieldwork, I can easily discern a lack of coherence between sets of expectations: on the one hand, the task of writing for an audience of other linguists; on the other, what my Gun-nartpa hosts had presented to me as the purpose of my work. My field recordings and what they represented sat right at the disjuncture between my original expectations and an emerging sense of social responsibility. This was consequent to the way that England Banggala in particular had guided and framed our work together throughout that time. The content of the recordings represented a contract, an agreement to perform a task quite separate to my responsibility to write an account of the linguistic data for a primary audience of linguists. I use the notion of a 'contract' here to invoke a mode of ethical conduct which Banggala defined through narrative, exhortation, instruction and example, and which turned out to hold critical implications for the method and reporting of the results of our work. I raise this as a way of interrogating the nature of the agreement between myself as a 'researcher' and Banggala and other Gun-nartpa people as 'language consultants'. I also wish to investigate the different kinds of agency at work throughout the extent of this collaborative project, in terms of ethically prescribed roles and responsibilities. As

framed by Lambek (2010a, 2010b), ‘ordinary ethics’ is tacit and grounded in agreement and practice:

We may find the wellsprings of ethical insight deeply embedded in the categories and functions of language and ways of speaking, in the commonsense ways we distinguish among various kinds of actors or characters, kinds of acts and manners of acting; in specific nouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs, or adverbial phrases, respectively; thus, in the shared criteria we used to make ourselves intelligible to one another, in ‘what we say when’ (Lambek 2010a:2).

When ethics becomes explicit, it is usually in relation to openly contested problems and issues, through rationalisations, debates and in hierarchically structured contexts. In such contexts “the ordinary is transcended and ethics intellectualised, materialised or transcendentalised” (Lambek 2010a:2-3). Intercultural engagements present situations fraught with ethical risk. Learning a language in an unfamiliar social setting provides many ‘rich points’ (Walsh 1997) in which ethical matters are highlighted, yet their proper evaluation is not always apparent from the researcher’s perspective. Expectations about the purpose, methods and outcomes involve a stance towards what is ethical (and usually a justification has been made to an ethics committee). The fact that these expectations may not align with those of the language teachers, the researcher’s hosts, represents an ethical problem. Not only that, but learning to work together involves learning how ethical stances are presented: how do we read these from our encounters?

I explore this question through an example from one of England’s early recordings (Carew 2015). It is a monologic ‘forecount’ narrative recorded on 24 November 1993, within the first few weeks of my first visit. Unwittingly at the time I had already been recruited to do a different form of documentation from what I’d imagined. The program was comprehensive: the Ancestral topics and sites England mentions in this text are a catalogue of both his country and the artwork that he created to express his connection to it (Banggala, 2014a). Banggala used the Aboriginal English term ‘dreaming’ to summarise these connections (Stanner 2009 [1956]): referring to an idea which has everyday reality for Gun-nartpa people and corresponds to the unity of the self and sociality with the activities of *wangarr* ‘ancestral beings’. The text opens with a

travelling episode (§6.3), anchored in the features of the terrain we travel through and the places we visit.

2:1 Excerpt of *Walkup barra nyirrinnyi-ni, wangarra nyirri-ma barra* ‘We will walk up to visit the Ancestral sites (Banggala 2014a)

<i>walk up barra nyirrinnyi /</i>	we will walk up
<i>ngarlagjirra -</i>	to Ngarla Gu-jirra
<i>nyirrinjurrwa barra bridge /</i>	we will cross the bridge
<i>nyirrinnyarrcha barra /</i>	we will go up
<i>jonamagjirra \</i>	onto the high ground
<i>nyirrinnyibambarra=</i>	we will go along ...
<i>>nyibambarra==<</i>	we will go along ...
<i>walk up barra nyirrinnyi=</i>	we will walk up to
<i>birduk miyerrnyjiya /</i>	Birduk Mu-yerrnyjiya
<i>manymak \</i>	ok

T06-04: 4880-20780

England describes how he plans to show me *wangarr* ‘ancestral spirits’ at certain locations on his country and says that I will put them in my book, using the verbs *ma* ‘to get’ and *barnja* ‘to put’ to describe the actions of documenting and taking notes:

2:2	<i>guborlkanyjarri wangarr ama barra /</i>	At Gu-borlkanyjarri she will get the spirit
	<i>manymak \</i>	ok
	<i>gatparra nyirrinyleba /</i>	after we are finished
	<i>jurra abarnja barra /</i>	after she puts it on paper
	<i>nyirrinnyerrcha barra /</i>	we will go up
	<i>ngart abanyjirra - two billabong \</i>	to Ngart A-banyjirra, two billabongs

T06-04: 48710-56580

Towards the end of this recording Banggala describes how he will show me the yellow ochre stone at Birduk Mu-yerrnyjiya, which is a manifestation of the ancestral *birduk* ‘waterlily’ spirit. He planned to give me a sample of this stone, and send it away with me when it was time for me to leave.

2:3	<i>jinyukurrjibarra /</i>	she will write it down
	<i>nguwu barra /</i>	I will give it
	<i>next time muga barra jinyboy,</i>	she will take it when she goes
	<i>yigapa \</i>	there
	<i>when knockoff jinyini barra guguna</i>	when she knocks off (finishes) from

<i>wenga /</i>	here
<i>muga barra jinyboy -</i>	she will take it
<i>jinybuyubuka barra -</i>	she will show it to her
<i>nipa muma jinyinaga::</i>	the one she calls mother
<i>muma jinyinaga::</i>	her mother
<i>rrapa ninya \</i>	and her father
<i>ninyachila::</i>	her dad
<i>rrapa, jinigipa worlapacha \</i>	and her sister
<i>worlapacha / rrapa, anurra \</i>	her sister and the male one
<i>worlapacha gigin \</i>	her sibling
<i>worlapacha::</i>	her sister
<i>rrapa - anigipa / anigipa -</i>	and her...
<i>anigipa an.gumarrbipa \</i>	her husband
<i>anigipa an.gumarrbipa -</i>	her husband
<i>barra -</i>	then ...
<i>awurrgaliya rrapa mbina barra</i>	they will listen and see the waterlily,
<i>birduk, like -</i>	like
<i>ngaypa barra - munngaypa dreaming</i>	me, I will send my dreaming
<i>ngubalika barra \</i>	
<i>mun.gapa barra mbina \</i>	they will see it there in that far away place

T06-04: 195610- 240440

This text is a typical example of the narrative style that Banggala used to frame his interactions with the tape recorder. While he spoke in my presence, Banggala addressed the tape and an unspecified audience. Through the period of time we worked together he spoke many monologues in this format, as a single teller (Ochs & Capps 2001). The topics were indicative of his authority as a clan leader; for example, he often spoke about areas of country and the connections of kin. He would discuss the roles of participants in regional ceremonies at length, circumscribing these according to their relationship to the ceremony, and recounting situations where his seniority was crucial to a satisfactory outcome. While he positioned himself in these monologues, I was only sometimes coded as an interlocutor despite always being present at the recording event. What is particular about this example is that Banggala did position me in the monologue as a third party, indexing a participant dyad including himself and me, but excluding me as the addressee. This is achieved using the exclusive person prefix *nyirriny-* to the verb *bamba* ‘to go along’ (§G1.3.7 Intransitive prefixes). He also references me as a third party when referring to my independent actions, using the pronominal form *mu-* that

agrees with singular third person subjects and third person objects¹⁹ on the verb *ga* ‘to take’ (§G1.3.9 Transitive pronominal prefixes). These pronominal prefixes index a listener as part of the participation framework (Goffman 1981, and see §G1.3.2), albeit one that is excluded from reference.

This pattern of pronominal agreement is one feature of the performative character of such monologues; as texts they are largely narratively or expositoryly structured rather than interactional within the temporal frame of the speech event. These monologues also fit the characterisation of Aboriginal communication styles as ‘communal’ and ‘continuous’, in which talk can be broadcast and is not required to be bracketed as discrete communication events bound by time and place (Walsh 1991, 1997). In the context of ‘doing language research’ this monologic narrative style had a central place. Banggala used it to instantiate the authority of his knowledge and social role within the framework of our shared practice. In terms of rhetorical performance, these kinds of narratives sit outside the surrounding discourse: they are distinct in style and purpose (Ochs & Capps 2001:55-56). They are oriented towards ethically framed acts (Lambek 2010b), as within and of themselves they enact the correct and appropriate roles that he prescribed for us.

The text extracts presented as 2:1-3 are examples of the instantiation of Banggala’s ethical idiom, performed through speech, making expectations explicit, laying out the program for joint action and drawing on a cultural authority to establish criteria for evaluating our work. His expectation was that I would record his stories, and he saw that this was a means of propagating this knowledge to the wider world. In this instance the text involves the promise of a further performative act, the gift of ochre which represents *birduk* ‘waterlily’, a central clan Mardayin spirit.²⁰ The *birduk* ochre is this

¹⁹ For this configuration of third person and minimal number, the transitive prefixes agree in noun class with the object, in this case the vegetable class. See §G1.3.9 Transitive pronominal prefixes.

²⁰ That is, a spirit concept that is relevant in the Mardayin law and ceremony. Keen describes Mardayin as a “revelatory ceremony ... [in which] ... mature and old men of related clans of the same moiety make and show the *rangga* sacred objects, which represent aspects of certain *wangarr*, to younger men of their own and related clans, while men and women perform public dances that represent the reproduction of

cultural property in material form, imbued as it is with a spiritual meaning as a token of an ancestrally created place. This is knowledge that is licensed by ancestral connections, and the ochre is presented as proof to the wider world of his authority in this cultural domain. Thus the ochre is also a token of a performative act, of the making of a social contract, something akin to a promise. The text itself is a description of ritual action that formalises an exchange, and alongside this, a set of obligations (Lambek 2010a:17-18).

By planning to send the waterlily ochre, Banggala demonstrated that he situated our work explicitly within a wider social frame, and projected his view on how his sharing this knowledge with me would propagate it further. In this respect he validated my role as an intermediary, someone positioned between his system of knowledge and belief on the one hand, and my own community, exterior to the Gun-nartpa lifeworld, on the other. On one level this parallels the way that Dwyer construes the position of fieldwork researchers in her discussion of ethics in language documentation, stating that “a fieldworker *mediates* between speakers, their communities and the fieldworker’s own community, which includes an institution, a funding body, and possibly an archive” (Dwyer 2006:32). The role of linguist-as-intermediary however only goes so far in helping to analyse the motivations and evaluations involved in the interactions and practices that we were involved in: teaching/supervising and learning/documenting aspects of language and cultural knowledge. That is, while we were “operating within a (more or less) shared domain [we were] doing so from quite distinctive positions” (Martin 2003:5). Furthermore, it implies that the linguist is the mediator, while in my experience such mediations can only be effective when ‘speakers’, ‘knowledge holders’ and ‘linguists’ work together to represent the various positions within this domain. While Banggala possibly did view me as an intermediary in some respects, my institutional connections were not visible to him and my lifeworld outside of this encounter was shaped more in terms of his own reality. In stating his plan for how this knowledge would be shared more broadly, Banggala didn’t mention the university that I was enrolled in, or an archive, nor any other Western institutional structure. Instead, an inter-subjectivity based in kinship was the model for knowledge sharing and exchange

the population of the interrelated clans. Each moiety has a somewhat different Madayin [i.e. Mardayin] ceremony, and each clan performs the ceremony in its own way (Keen 1990:87).

that he appealed to, as he planned how we would collaborate on our project together. He expressed this relationality in the structure of a list, reeling off the various family members who would receive, view and understand the meaning of the gift of ochre. Listing is an evaluative strategy that occurs commonly in Gun-nartpa narrative and lists of kin are intrinsic to political oratory in this society (Clunies-Ross 1983, and see §6.2.4).

I believe that Banggala saw me as a messenger, a role that has a parallel in traditional life. The term *an-mumajabala* (< *majabala* ‘message stick’) describes a person who carries a message stick or a piece of ochre from one senior person to another, such as when men would alert their allies that they were gathering for *an-dakal* ‘traditional war’ (Banggala 2014:77). This role requires someone who is competent and trustworthy, yet defining the content of the message is not part of their task. In Chapter 4 I discuss Gun-nartpa perspectives on language research, further demonstrating their extensive experience in working with other linguists, educators and in other intercultural arenas. Their practices in this respect bring an outsider in to a recognised social role, in which they can develop language and intercultural competency in order to carry a message to a wider community. Such outsider roles can be considered as taking on figurative meanings, where the “the stranger becomes a heuristic device used to contemplate the permeability of a society, both to received someone from elsewhere and to (potentially) ‘make them kin’” (Dalley 2015:39). This is a particular kind of relationship that is overtly intercultural. It doesn’t provide independent cultural authority – I could never speak as a Gun-nartpa person, for example. Rather, the role of ‘messenger’ in this respect is validated by cultural authority through a process of demonstration and instruction, and patterned along the lines of other alliances between senior people and outsiders. It is framed in ethical terms, through communicative processes that enact the teaching and learning in terms of what is evaluated as proper, authentic and true (Etherington 2006). In language research we focus on the creation of artefacts (texts, recordings etc) and these embody these processes, creating “opportunities for the social reproduction of sharing and relatedness or alternatively, differentiation and autonomy, which are fundamental to Australian Aboriginal social life” (Dalley 2015:39).

Thus Banggala became my mentor within a system of tutelage somewhat akin to a master and apprentice model of culturally-based learning (Hinton 2011). This was how we proceeded, throughout the months of my time at Gochan Jiny-jirra, until the time came for me to return to Melbourne. Given my task of writing a coherent research outcome based upon our work, I left with a burning question, phrased by Clifford as follows:

... how is unruly experience transformed into an authoritative written account? How, precisely, is a garrulous, overdetermined cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross-purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more or less discrete ‘other world’ composed by an individual author? (Clifford 1988:25)

2.3 An intercultural approach to language research

The collaboration between Banggala and myself took place against a backdrop of cultural shift and changing demographics in the Maningrida region. The generation who held memories of pre-contact childhoods in the bush and lived through the settlement period from the late 1950s were mostly now gone. The lifestyle of these older people is now an important theme in the practice of constructing historicised local identities through oral (and, to a lesser yet still important degree, written) storytelling, just as the events surrounding the visits of Macassan trepangers, Japanese pearlers, the Second World War and traditional warfare were for the generation before (Mirritji 1976). These local identities are – at least in part – responses to the changed circumstances of life resulting from contact, engagement and influence between Indigenous and *balanda* ‘non-Indigenous people’ in the region (cf. Etherington 2006). Within this field there are multiple perspectives and stances and these are linked to projections of identity, construed via ‘tactics of authenticity’ (Bucholtz 2003) and assertions of cultural difference. As humans, we construct our identities on behalf of the various aspects of sociality that we participate in and these identities are central to our notions of ourselves as culturally construed subjects (Merlan 2009). We see aspects of ‘culture’ as essential, authentic, real or true expressions of who we are. Yet, as Clifford comments:

Intervening in an interconnected world, one is always, to varying degrees ‘inauthentic’: caught between cultures, implicated in others. Because discourse in global power systems is elaborated vis-à-vis, a sense of difference or distinctness can never be located solely in the continuity of a culture of tradition. Identity is conjunctural, not essential (Clifford 1988:11).

This paradox is central to the dialogue in Australian anthropology about ‘intercultural’ identity formations, a debate framed by Merlan (1998, 2005) and others working towards accounts of how social and cultural differences are negotiated between people from different cultural orientations in contemporary Australia (Altman 2005, 2008; Batty 2005; Furlan 2005; Hinkson & Smith 2005; Holcombe 2005, 2015; Martin 2003; Sullivan 1998, 2005). It is summarised well by Dalley, who writes:

As many have now explained for the contemporary period and with extrapolations into the past, Aboriginal life cannot be conceived of as independent or sealed locales of activity, meaning-making or subsistence. Rather, Aboriginal lives are thoroughly intercultural. The appearance of a reduction in difference, however, obfuscates real and enduring barriers in the articulation of Aboriginal social identities and the ways in which both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people actively participate in boundary-riding on the fringes of identity, thereby emphasizing cultural boundedness and authenticity (Dalley 2015:38-39).

For the Gun-nartpa, kinship is the primary mode for the expression and enactment of sociality. As Hiatt (1965) describes for the Gun-narpta’s coastal Gijingali neighbors, the relationships stated in the “idiom of kinship” for each person’s immediate clan-based social unit “are merely parts of a wider system in which each individual applied as kinship term to every person he met” (Hiatt 1965:38). The Gun-nartpa approached our project through this idiom, emphasising their multiplex clan and country connections as constitutive of their various social identities. They prioritised the ancestrally circumscribed and historical dimensions of the material we recorded, and key family members directed me to do this work with them in a way that affirmed social and

cultural values that they hold dear.²¹ I brought a professional identity as a linguist to our project and prioritised methods and approaches to analysis from the fields of Australian descriptivist linguistics and language documentation and conservation. By 2010, when I returned after a long absence, my self-projected role had ripened and variegated through experience, yet for the Gun-nartpa it was validated by my earlier encounters with older, now deceased people and presented an opportunity to explore and take account of their legacy. This cycle of engagement, a moving in, away, and in again, has brought me into the margins of an identity matrix; as someone who has a relationship which has endured through time, is linked via the extension of classificatory kinship and one of a cohort of *balanda* who share long-term friendships with members of this family network (cf. Dalley 2015). In turn, this has developed aspects of my own social identity outside Gun-nartpa society. In intercultural terms I have an alliance with the Gun-nartpa, a strategic relationship that is situated within the affordances of language research practice in this context (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Blommaert 2008; and see §3.3.1). These affordances relate to the literacy practices of the Gun-nartpa, historical patterns of intercultural collaboration, the relationships we have developed over time, and a certain set of abilities and resources that I bring. These all enabled a structured way of collaborating that allowed us to bring our work to completion – enacting this through engagement with materials and dialogue about their meaning. Through these collaborative encounters we negotiated the form and content of the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’, riding the boundaries of identity as we went along.

2.4 Negotiating identity

Cowlishaw draws attention to the social categories of ‘whitefella’ and ‘blackfella’ which pervade alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. She writes that these categories are “increasingly mutable and permeable, yet still refer to powerfully marked social spaces” (Cowlishaw 2012:398, fn 6). The Gun-nartpa own similar categories of personhood; for example, *an-gugaliya/jin-gugaliya* ‘he/she who can listen and understand’ and the collective term *gu-galiya yerrcha* ‘group of people

²¹ In the Aboriginal English sense of *dear* as ‘sacred and important’ (cf. Armstrong, 1967:21).

who can listen and understand'. These terms are built upon the verb *galiya* 'to hear, to understand' and are used to refer to Aboriginal people from the Maningrida region, those who can speak and understand Gu-jingarliya. They are often used in opposition to *balanda* 'European person'. As Etherington suggests in relation to the Kunwinjku use of the term, when Gun-nartpa people say *balanda* "it is not racial difference but differential power that is in focus, with the issue of language difference the second most likely concern in mind" (Etherington 2006:xxii).

There is also *an/jin-gungunyja* 'black man/woman', which can be used interchangeably with *an/jin-gugaliya* but which also has a wider social reach, inclusive of other Aboriginal people outside the Gu-jingaliya-speaking group. These terms reflect lived experiences of alterity with deep historical roots, and feed a dimension of identity which can be construed as 'Indigenous'. Like other Indigenous groups in Australia, the Gun-nartpa are living through their own particular historical, political and social contexts, influenced by interactions between parties engaged in social relations that are asymmetrical, where social oppositions are clearly delineated and power relations are unequal. These are the colonial and settlement histories that continue to shape the lifeways of Australian Indigenous people, particularly in the northern and less urbanised parts of the continent (Merlan 1998).

Merlan draws attention to the popular utility of labels such as 'Indigenous', which draw upon ethnographic stereotypes and are often represented as stable and bounded units (Merlan 1998, 2009). Like all cultural identity formations, Indigeneity is socially relational and constructed. However, the mainstream utility of such notions rests upon their popular construal in terms of 'characteristics', where 'Indigenous' is a term that identifies a certain 'type' of people. Such labelling implies a continuity of characteristics shared by all Indigenous people that links local groups across regions, within nation states and globally. This reading of Indigeneity allows for such imputed continuities to inform an essentialist logic, one that makes being Indigenous a 'thing' and positions Indigenous people as "simply there" (Merlan, 2009:319).

By extension we see a range of secondary, yet essentialist and frequently exotic, attributes inhering to Indigeneity within discourses: 'close to nature', 'ancestrally connected', 'spiritually imbued'. Such attributes reinforce the oppositional logic of the

notion of Indigeneity that serves to create a contrast between indigenous and non-indigenous. This contrast is also imbued with a range of emotionally and morally grounded differentiations linked with essentialist ‘types’ that are arrayed as oppositional categories. JanMohamed has referred to this logic as the Manichean allegory, which is “based on a transformation of racial difference into moral and even metaphysical difference” (JanMohamed 1985:61).

Indigeneity is not however simply imposed via colonial/imperialist discourses. From local and regional perspectives Indigeneity is important currency too, although self-identification as Indigenous is frequently qualified by further detail about affiliations to country, kinship information and emblematic identification (such as a personal totem). From the point of view of those invoking an Indigenous identity, it can take on different nuances in different contexts: an Indigenous identity – like other social identity constructs – draws on different sets of social relations (and oppositions) and may depend at least partly on whether the context is highly localised, or construed within a region, a nation state or in an international arena.²² Such expressions frequently, while maintaining the oppositional logic of the term, invert the gaze of otherness and project Indigeneity as part of an identity position in relation to broader society. Paradoxically, such framings frequently utilise notions of ‘culture’ as eternal and unchanging, paralleling a perspective which Sullivan attributes to the central influence of Malinowski and his contemporaries within the ethnographic tradition, framed, as it was, in colonial and nationalist thought (Sullivan, 2005:188, 192). Such essentialist construals of Indigeneity are consistent with the notions that indigenous and non-indigenous cultural spaces are incommensurable, and that cultural forms, elevated as unitary traditions, can be more or less ‘authentic’. As Austin-Broos (2001) notes however, traditions are arguments that take place over time, that engage with “critical others” within and external to culturally identified spaces, and are thus “processural, open-ended and negotiated”. Relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are negotiated aspects of interlocking traditions, as “both ‘blackness’ and ‘whiteness’

²² Assuming that identity is construed in terms of links to locations and social forms associated with them. I recognise that many social identity formations, including those adopted by Indigenous peoples, look to non-sociogeographical markers of group membership (cf. Cowlishaw 2012 and see discussion in §3.2.4).

have been ‘made’ and continue to be made in interaction with each other” (Austin-Broos 2001:190).

I understand interculturality to refer to “the complex processual manifestations of difference and inter-influence in situations of transformation” (Altman, 2008:197). This notion has utility because to approach ‘difference’ as a dynamic and relational construct enables us to look beyond fixed categories and boundaries. Foregrounding process and change helps to problematise essentialist construals of the meanings of cultural forms (Merlan, 1998, 2005), as ‘authentic’ or ‘traditional’. It leads to critique of the practices and tactics that are deployed within intercultural interactions where, given the diversity of actors, such ideas carry considerable weight. In terms of language research this leads us to critique the ways that ideas about authenticity influence our thinking about language and ‘languages’. Bucholtz (2003) writes of the unifying tradition within various fields of language research, which consistently assumes that “real language – that is, authentic language – is language produced in authentic contexts by authentic speakers” (Bucholtz, 2003:398). According to Bucholtz, the sociolinguistic investment in authenticity is an implicit theory of identity in which such assumptions go unchallenged. This theory “gains its force from essentialism” (Bucholtz, 2003:400) as it enables the identification of ‘genuine’ members of groups, who possess authentic characteristics, such as being a native speaker of a language or dialect. The emphasis on the authentic ripples out via the tropes surrounding language and cultural loss, reflecting a form of nostalgia for an earlier, precolonial time:

... rather than presupposing the authentic as an object to be discovered, instead makes the notion of authenticity available for analysis as the outcome of the linguistic practices of social actors and the metalinguistic practices of sociolinguists (Bucholtz, 2003:398-99).

While Bucholtz’s focus is on sociolinguistic research, her argument applies equally to the field of language documentation and conservation, where research efforts emphasise the urgency of documenting endangered languages (Austin 2010a). Linguists create artefacts in response to this urgency – recordings, texts, descriptions, structured metadata – to preserve records of the language (Bird & Simon 2003; Himmelmann 1998; Gippert et al. 2006; Thieberger 2011).

Linguists quite obviously are not the only ones who perceive that cultural change involves cultural loss, and most working in this field are doing so shoulder to shoulder with people who value their linguistic and cultural heritage very highly. Despite this, for a linguist to rely on an unexamined set of essentialist assumptions about authenticity begs many questions about the status of those people who are the current-day owners and representatives of those traditions (Bulcholtz 2003; and see Dickson 2015 for a recent discussion). It also blinds us to the strategic uses of authenticity, the ways that people construct identities configured around essentialist notions and how tradition is used as a tactic to achieve social goals. Language, wrapped in markers of authenticity, can be commodified in the form of cultural products such as visual and performance arts (Heller 2003). For members of a linguistic minority, essentialism may “promote a shared identity, often in opposition to other, equally essentialised, social groups” (Bucholtz 2003:401) For members of language communities in situations of language change, purist conceptualisations of language can hinder efforts to document and revitalise languages (Florey 2004). Furthermore, forms of ‘cultural remix’ are often dialectically engaged with essentialist projections by those that hold the power within groups; for example, see Tamisari’s discussion of performative tactics by Milingimbi youth, as they presented their version of Zorba the Greek at a local festival (Tamisari 2016).

Tactics of authenticity also play out in the interactions between linguists and the people with whom they work (Eira & Stebbins 2008). Traditional models of fieldwork simplified these encounters by maintaining social divisions between ‘researchers’ and ‘informants’, reinforced by the spatial metaphor of ‘the field’, as a place of encounter, moved to and away from by the main agent, the linguist. The literature in the field of Language Documentation and Conservation increasingly emphasises collaborative relationships as the basis for language research, reflecting a wider trend within the social sciences. One definition of a collaborative model is:

Research that is **on** a language, and that is conducted **for**, **with**, and **by** the language-speaking community within which the research takes place and which it affects. This kind of research involves a collaborative relationship, a partnership, between researchers and (members of) the community within

which the research takes place (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009:24, original emphasis).

It follows, then, that collaborative approaches will make room for multiple positions on what is authentic. This is essential to undertaking productive work in language research, where “it is necessary to develop a working model of language that can accommodate the variety of means by which authenticity is verified” (Eira & Stebbins 2008:25). It also begs the question of how this is reflected in the artefacts that are created through language research encounters. How are certain language and cultural forms chosen? On whose criteria of authenticity? How are these criteria negotiated? How are the negotiations to be understood?

2.5 Cultural property and difference

In the light of the questions above I now turn to consider the various ways in which people construe the status of cultural forms that are deployed within constructions of identity and difference. This discussion focuses on the notion of *cultural property* – those nameable aspects of ‘culture’ that people hold as central to who they are, and which belong to them and not others (Lyons 2002). For example, items of material culture and other tangible items of cultural heritage are cultural property. The notion extends also to intangible forms such as a group’s belief system, the ancestral connection to place and the expressions of these connections through verbal, performance and visual arts.

Lyons’ perspective (2002) is useful in terms of identifying the anchoring role of cultural property within group identity constructions. Through named and delineated items of cultural property people locate cultural and historical selves, and the various forms of cultural property hold the power to create a strong sense of belonging. Yet these items anchor social identities that are fluid and thus the symbolic weight of ‘items’ of cultural property is not fixed. Rather, “how self and group histories are symbolised is a process that is highly contingent. Different kinds of symbols are precious to different cultures, and symbols – being fluid – can wax or wane in significance depending on any number of circumstances” (Lyons 2002:116).

Lyons' reference to 'different cultures' flags the question of how we set the notion of difference within the intercultural perspective adopted here. 'Difference' is of course multivalent: while we are negotiating notions of difference between macro-groupings which align with oppositionally construed labels such as 'Indigenous and non-Indigenous', *gu-galiya yerrcha* and *balanda*, we are also teasing out more nuanced notions of difference within and between groups that share membership of such macro-groupings. In central Arnhem Land, local clan-based groups use forms of cultural property to both distinguish themselves from others and, in other contexts, to claim relatedness and unity within regional clan clusters and ceremonial activities.

In one examination of this topic, Taylor (1990) analyses the various levels of significance of the imagery of the Kunwinjku ancestral beings Yingarna and Ngalyod. These are separate but related beings, both often referred to as rainbow spirits and usually represented as snake-like figures within Kunwinjku art.²³ As a generalised notion of a creation spirit, the rainbow serpent is widely recognised as an Indigenous emblem in Arnhem Land and beyond (Taylor 1990). The serpent imagery is central to regional ceremonies which are organised "along the lines of moiety, sex and age categories which cross-cut clan membership" (Keen 1977:35). The imagery of Yingarna, which is associated with fertility and the increase of natural species, "express the relatedness between the human groups symbolised" (Taylor 1990:334), and "[p]aintings of Yingarna provide a focal image of the way many clan groups, associated with many ancestral beings, share a common mythical ancestor" (Taylor 1990:337). This in turn is the basis for the wider social appeal of the rainbow serpent motif and Taylor argues that the increase in importance of this imagery in the contemporary settlement era indicates the increasing importance of a wider regional unity among Kunwinjku. In contrast, representations of Ngalyod, while also shown as a rainbow serpent, are linked to a specific ancestral species and locality, and read as specific clan-country affiliations. This is a more parochial view that uses cultural property – a set of visual motifs – to express clan-based identity and differentiation from other related

²³ Kunwinjku is a language and group label relating to people and their language in Western Arnhem Land. The language is one member of the Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain, which in geographic terms stretches from the south of Gun-nartpa country throughout western Arnhem Land (Evans 2003).

groups (Taylor 1990). The currency of the notion “same but different” – an Aboriginal English term invoked by Taylor to explore the meanings of these motif clusters (1990) – reflects the importance of both opposition and complementarity as semantic and conceptual principles. Keen describes this principle as an “elaboration of the relationship of similarity, difference, and interdependence”, referring to Radcliffe-Brown’s earlier observation of such conceptual ordering in south-east Australia that he labelled ‘opposition’ (Radcliffe-Brown (1977), as cited in Keen 1990).

A key point here is that, in Arnhem Land, the meaning of different forms of cultural property, such as clan songs and motifs, and mythological characters and events, are characterised by ambiguity: they play into many parameters of similarity and difference (Taylor 1990; see also Elliott 1991, 2015; James 2009; Keen 1977, 1990; Merlan 1998). The parameters of ‘difference’ – usually construed in terms of opposition and complementarity – do not nest neatly within each other; rather, difference is a resource that is deployed and negotiated for social purposes (Garde 2013). As Keen states, “In the relation of ‘same but different’; people combine into sets at once affirming their unity and asserting internal differences, but the union is contextual and relative” (Keen 1990:100). Language is of course itself a highly salient item of cultural property in Arnhem Land. Linguistic differences – often linked to named clan or sociolects – carry a social meaning, serving to differentiate clan-based and other social groupings (Garde 2008b; Garde et al. 2015; Morphy 1977). These are sociolinguistic signifiers: linguistic affordances for the construction and expression of social meanings (see §3.3.3).

Autonomy from *balanda* values and lifestyle is an overt social value among the Gun-nartpa, and assertions of rights within the fraught context of settlement race relations is something that senior people take on as part of their custodial roles. Reprising Cowlshaw’s point (Cowlshaw 2012), *gu-galiya yerrcha* and *balanda* are social spaces that are strongly marked, despite their interactions and interdependencies. Yet there are also strategies of inclusion. These include interpolation into local kinship networks, which, as shown in the narrative vignette that opened this thesis, can be achieved quite rapidly. Over the longer term, the bestowal of a skin name and integration into a web of kinship-based relationships can be an early step in building an alliance – a key strategy for how north-central Arnhem Landers engage with people

both within and outside their kinship networks as a way of protecting and sustaining their own values and concerns (Myers & Peterson 2016). The degree of involvement can scale up and develop over time, and as it does it will involve the gift of additional cultural capital – often including membership of a clan and a name bestowed by someone within the network (Amagula & McCarthy 2015; McDonnell 1995). Social alliances with outsiders often involve complementary social roles mediated through intercultural spaces; for an example, see Bond-Sharp’s account of the partnership between co-principals Tim Darcy and Brian Deslandes at Maningrida school in the mid 1970s (Bond-Sharp 2014:194-95).

While there is a degree of complementarity here, such roles within bureaucracies and workplaces are also asymmetrical in terms of both power delegations and salary. The asymmetry in such partnerships is captured by the colloquial expressions ‘boss’ and ‘offsider’ that describe close but socially asymmetrical working relationships. The history of Maningrida reveals many such relationships between bosses and offsiders construed within activities such as road-building, fishing enterprises, horticulture – where there was a balanda supervisor and local Indigenous workers. I personally observed several such relationships in action during my time living at Gochan Jiny-jirra, a good example being the Maningrida Progress Association (MPA) outstation tucker run. This was a mobile store in a ute²⁴ that visited outstations on a fortnightly basis, including Gochan Jiny-jirra. The tucker run was overseen by a long-term balanda MPA employee who worked closely with a number of local men. The local men stocked the ute and drove it to the various outstations. Each driver would be affiliated with that area and often used the tucker run to conduct other business – such as being a courier of locally caught game destined for traditional owners based in town. The tucker run job highlights the relational dimension of complementary social roles – local connections, skills and knowledge in the offsider role and the boss’s support for and reliance on these cultural aspects (see Bond-Sharp 2013 for the historical context of the tucker run and a number of other examples; also Banggala 2014i, 2014j for his description of the dynamics of a boss-offsider relationship during the Welfare era in the 1960s).

²⁴ Ute is the colloquial term for ‘utility’ – a vehicle with an open tray at the back, similar to a pickup truck.

Such alliances are shaped in terms of historically -patterned relations with outsiders within intercultural contexts such as through schools (Nicholls 2005), non-government organisations (Altman 2008a; 2016), education and training providers (Nolen 1998) and engagements with university-based researchers (Amagula & McCarthy 2015). The asymmetries are not always one-dimensional, as through alliances people aim to support and sustain local practices “which are concerned with continually creating possibilities for the future of one’s kin and the extended networks from which one draws strength and community” (Christen 2009:viii). I have already described in §2.1 how Banggala recruited me into a system of tutelage in order to pursue his own agenda in relation to language research. An explicitly intercultural stance may thus be a way of situating collaborations on aspects of cultural property – language recordings, textual and media artefacts – and the social relations that these are part of (Furlan 2005). It may also help us to advocate for greater accountability in relation to fairness and equity in such alliances (Land 2015).

On a practice level, the ‘inter’ in ‘intercultural’ foregrounds relationships within a shared social field; this includes encounters between ‘researchers’ and ‘consultants’. Thus I use interculturality as a frame for a mode of situated language research practice. This is practice that is mediated partly through institutional roles but primarily by Indigenous community-based professionals who bring long careers in intercultural collaboration. I have already mentioned that I have been aided in my thinking about this mode of practice by other researchers who have applied intercultural theory in their work. I also include numerous people (who may or may not think of themselves as ‘researchers’) that I have worked with over two decades as a linguist and educator in the Northern Territory. This career commenced not long after I left Gochan Jiny-jirra and Maningrida in 1996 and the training I received there formed the template for how I have since approached participatory and collaborative projects with students and research colleagues. In particular I mention Mr Michael Jampin Jones (Warumungu) and his family, who I worked with in my early years at Batchelor Institute, and a group of senior women at Utopia who I worked with between 2006-14. My experience in working with such accomplished intercultural practitioners has informed my practice-led approach to language research.

2.6 *The polyphony of research in practice*

In mentioning polyphony I acknowledge the provenance of this term in both musical traditions and literary theory (Bakhtin 1981).²⁵ *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* is composed of a number of ‘texts’ represented in Gun-nartpa and English. These texts stem from the recording of voices on cassette tape and their written forms were created through dialogic interactions within our project team. These texts have ‘authorship’ attributed to the original speaker. There is also commentary text, which introduces and concludes the work, and links the ‘texts’ together. This formal composition is similar to that of other historically oriented works which draw from the first-person accounts of Indigenous people and their changing worlds (e.g. Campbell 2006; Rubuntja & Green 2002). The commentary text of *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* projects a unified voice, that to some extent effaces the multiple readings and discussions that took place during its creation (Carew 2015); it projects an “image that has finished contours” elevated from the “social heteroglossia” that surrounded its creation (Bakhtin 1981:278). The thesis also has an authorial voice, which aims for scholarly authority, yet interwoven through it are the voices of many others placed as extracts and examples, following the conventional form of argument in linguistics. Parts of the thesis incorporate a first person perspective (e.g. chapters 2, 7 and 8), and others are written from a predominantly objective standpoint (e.g. chapters 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6).

In collaborative research in the humanities, partnership dynamics shape research priorities, often decentering the external researcher’s authority and leadership in setting the research agenda. The different kind of power dynamic also results in multiple voices emerging from the documentation material created in such encounters. As discussed in §2.1, the research I embarked upon in 1993 was explicitly framed in ethical terms by England Banggala. This invoked an intersubjectivity based in kinship, one in which narrative practice – the telling of stories – is a pedagogical mode (Etherington 2006). In the practice of language research in this context, narratives are central to the teaching

²⁵ Bakhtin’s essay ‘Discourse in the Novel’ was written in 1934-35 and published in Russian in 1975 as *Voprosy literatury i estetiki (Problems of literature and esthetics)*. Selections from the 1975 publication were translated into English by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson and published in Holquist (1981).

and learning that occurs and examples of narrative also comprise a significant portion of the research corpus. The voices of Gun-nartpa people, in particular England Banggala, appear through this thesis, as I attempt to draw from this teaching in my analysis of how Gun-nartpa identity is expressed through *janguny* ‘story’. Priorities and circumstances change throughout the life of projects, along with the relationships that they are situated within, and to negotiate these effectively requires careful attention to the processes of collaboration in these dynamic intercultural spaces (Carew 2015:70-71, after Curran 2013; Holmes & Marcus 2008).

Readers may note a degree of disjuncture between the voice and writing styles in different parts of this thesis, and between the thesis and the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* itself. The polyphony of this hybrid work is intentionally iconic of the various perspectives and challenges that arise through participatory projects, which are “by their very nature, *multiple* projects in which we work toward negotiating shared goals and hope to leave everybody reasonably satisfied” (Stenzel 2014:302). To some degree this parallels Eira & Stebbins’ proposal for multiple narrative positions on authenticities in their model for collaborative projects, where they argue that “it becomes entirely feasible and theoretically reasonable to assert the authenticity of different language elements – in terms of both linguistic data and socially contextualized implementation” (Eira & Stebbins 2008: 27). The changes in voice also speak for the multiple positions that linguists take as they perform their professional identities upon different stages. These include situations where they work with communities of speakers of endangered languages, displaced from their own lives and negotiating various sets of expectations within unfamiliar social norms, interactional structures and communicative practices (Stebbins 2012). Thus here I wish to speak from my own experiences and to recount the experiences I’ve shared with the people with whom I’ve worked. Part of the rationale for this follows Fields’ point about the importance of specificities in accounts of collaboration – a personal voice will aid in conveying the “collaborative intimacy” of some of these encounters (Field 2008:47). I also wish to accept Stebbins’ (2012) invitation to those undertaking language research, to investigate experiences of fieldwork in ways that “emphasise the connection between the ideological frames we all work within and the personal relationships in which these ideologies are played out” (Stebbins, 2012:293). In so doing I foreground the possibilities presented by the

intersection of professional practice with such personal relationships in terms of how ethical stances are negotiated in intercultural spaces. I argue for an approach to theory and practice in language documentation that is guided by these negotiations, and which exists as a form of solidarity between those who care about the social benefits this work can bring (Land 2015). Indeed, as stated by Dobrin & Berson:

... contemporary documentary linguistics can usefully be thought of as a kind of social movement, one that has brought academic linguists out of their offices and libraries and into a shared space with communities of speakers, researchers working in other disciplines and non-academic institutions, and the public at large. No longer fully covered by the cloak of scholarship, linguists have found themselves revisiting some of the most fundamental political and ethical assumptions that underlie linguistic research. How should the study of language be conceived? What are its aims, who does it benefit, and what is the linguist's proper role in carrying it out? (Dobrin & Berson 2011:187)

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed some major themes that are followed throughout the thesis as a whole. The discussion has touched upon a number of theoretical questions relating to the construction of identities within culturally heterogeneous societies and the importance of various forms of cultural property as the wellsprings of signifiers of inclusion and difference. Crosscutting these are questions about the ethics of research encounters in intercultural spaces, where expectations and priorities are set differently by different participants. In the following chapter I provide an overview of the social setting for the Gun-nartpa people and their language and introduce some additional theoretical perspectives relating to language ecologies and the importance of affordances within these dynamic systems.

3. Gun-nartpa in its social setting

3.1 Introduction

This chapter commences with an overview of the languages of north-central Arnhem Land, their geographical settings, genetic relationships and distributions. This is followed by a discussion of the changing *language ecology* of the region (Haugen 1972; Leitner & Malcolm 2006; Mühlhäusler 2002 [1996]; Mufwene 2013; Mufwene & Vigouroux 2012). In particular I focus on the language ecology and habitat for people associated with Gochan Jiny-jirra outstation, and so this location is the epicentre of this discussion. The changes in language ecology are aligned with phases of outsider contact, social disruptions and migrations, and the introduction of new literacy and educational practices through schooling and missionary contact.

I introduce the notion of *affordances* to support ecological perspectives on language identity and communication practices (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Blommaert 2008; Segalowitz 2001). I follow Blommaert (2008) in framing affordances in two ways, providing a perspective on both the synchronic and diachronic axes of affordance for signifiers that are deployed to index social identities. The discussion in this chapter links the notion of language ecology to the changing configurations of social identity throughout the history of the Maningrida region, and in particular as it relates to Gun-nartpa people. Within the range of land based signifiers of social identity through to various interculturally framed identity constructs we see ‘language affiliation’ deployed as a marker of identity drawing on both the historical and contemporary configurations of markers of social inclusion (and exclusion).

3.2 Languages of the Maningrida region

3.2.1 The Maningrida region

The township of Maningrida is located on the eastern bank of the Liverpool River, close to the coast of north-central Arnhem Land. It was founded as a Welfare Settlement in

the late 1950s (Bond-Sharp 2013; Doolan 1987; Drysdale & Durack 1974) and since that time has grown into one of the largest remote towns in the Northern Territory of Australia. The Maningrida hinterland aligns with the service area of the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation (BAC), an outstation resource and advocacy organisation which developed out of the outstation movement of the 1970s and 1980s (Altman 2008a; Bond-Sharp 2013), and it is relevant to circumscribe the ‘Maningrida region’ as such (cf. Elwell 1977, 1982; Finlayson, Yibarbuk, Thurtell, Storrs & Cooke 1999). Maningrida Arts and Culture (MAC) is a subsidiary of BAC and played a key role in the mixed economy of the region as a broker for outstation artists, building upon the early work of Reverend Gowan Armstrong, the first art adviser in Maningrida (Armstrong 1967; Cooke 1983; Bond-Sharp 2013). With the advent of welfare payments for Aboriginal people and government policies supporting self-determination in the early 1970s, a mixed regional economy provided a livelihood base for people living on outstations in the region in intergenerational family groups on country (Altman 1987, 2005). These livelihoods combined government welfare payments with traditional hunting and gathering, a rich ceremonial life, art production and active management of their country.²⁶

While the southernmost parts of the Maningrida region are located on the fringe of the Arnhem Land plateau (known locally as the ‘rock country’) most of the area is coastal plain. These are variegated wetland habitats, comprising intertidal paperbark forests and saltflats, mangrove swamps, billabongs and freshwater swamps and open forests (Finlayson et al. 1999). This landscape is geologically young, forming as floodplains since the most recent post-glacial sea level rise, with some of the floodplains dating from only 2000 to 3000 years ago (Finlayson et al. 1999; Meehan 1991). There are many mythological reflexes of the changes in sea level in the region. For example, the Kunibídji people own an important site Manakúkun, that currently lies below sea level between Kabálko (Entrance Island) and Ndjúdda Point. In the geographically recent past Kabálko and Ndjútta were connected by land and Manakúkan was dry land, and the

²⁶ The Aboriginal English term ‘country’ is used to signify ancestral and affinal ties to certain places throughout Arnhem Land and beyond.

inundation of the sea is reflected in the Kunabídjí myth of Djáwanja (Bond-Sharp 2013; McKay 2000:318; Pascoe 2008 [1995]:12).

The region enjoys a high annual rainfall within a wet–dry seasonal pattern and the rivers that course through the floodplains drain from the northern edge of the Arnhem Land plateau, seasonally flooding the wetlands. Meehan (1991:197) summarises the explorer Leichhardt’s early accounts of the richness of the lifestyle of the hunter-gatherers living in the coastal plains. In 1845 he observed large numbers of geese and other water birds, wallabies, fish and plant foods, supporting a large population of people. Meehan’s own observations over a long association with the Anbarra Gijingarli (Gu-jingarliya) people, commencing in 1958, indicated continuous occupation of this region by people eating a similar diet to that documented by Leichhardt, albeit supplemented with some store-bought foods (Meehan 1982, 1991). Such abundance and diversity of foods²⁷ underpins a complex and diverse society:

Food species derived from the sea and from the estuarine rivers, creeks and mangrove forests play a major role in the diet of these hunters, but at certain times during the year so do species that thrive in the hinterland, on black soil plains, in monsoon thickets and open forests, and in the numerous fresh water swamps that dot the area. The richness of this area is reflected in its population density and in its social and cultural diversity (Meehan 1991:198).

Along with social and cultural diversity there is linguistic diversity (Capell 1942), with multilingual repertoires being the norm (Elwell 1977, 1982). Such diversity inevitably involves language contact and change, and there is no doubt that language contact has characterised the region since well before the settlement era. Changes in sea level led to migrations and relocations of groups over the last five millenia; in addition, the predominant social pattern of exogamous marriage (Gurrmanamana et al. 2002; Hiatt 1965), the seasonal mobility of local groups (Meehan 1982, 1991) and trading

²⁷ Also see Eather’s description of the diverse diet enjoyed by the coastal Na-kara people (Eather 1990:4-6).

relationships over longer distances (Berndt & Berndt 1954) all present language contact scenarios.

3.2.2 *Language distribution in north-central Arnhem Land*

The Maningrida region is an example of a complex multilingual language ecology underpinned by the diversity of the traditional languages (Koch 2006) spoken in the region prior to settlement (Elwell 1977, 1982; Vaughan & Carew 2015). This linguistic diversity reflects a pattern of multilingualism that was once commonplace among Aboriginal people in remote Australia (Brandl & Walsh 1981; Singer & Harris, in press). The map on page viii shows the geographic distribution of traditional languages in north-central Arnhem Land. They include the languages that are endemic to the Maningrida region: Gu-jingarliya (Burarra/Gun-nartpa), Na-kara, Gurr-goni and Ndjébbana.²⁸

There is a local theory of language origins among the coastal and eastern Burarra, which holds that their language – Gu-jingarliya – came from the east. According to an account written by Burarra speaker Noel Cooper, who researched this history from his mother as part of an Aboriginal Language Fortnight in Maningrida run by Batchelor College (Cooper 1991), the language originated around Yurrwi (Milingimbi) and was spread from there when people dispersed due to tribal war. They moved across rivers, which form language boundaries, and into the land of other language speakers such as Gukari (Na-kara), Gijiya²⁹, Gunabidji (Kunabídjí) and Guningu (Kuninjku) (Cooper 1991); there taking on regional dialectal forms. Cooper states that the Gun-nartpa were part of

²⁸ Green proposes that the Maningridan languages are part of a Proto-Arnhem group within non-Pama-Nyungan (R Green 2003). The Maningridan group share morphological innovations that support a proposed parent language below Proto-Arnhem, a higher level grouping to Proto-Gunwinyguan (Alpher, Evans & Harvey 2003); the Maningridan group and the Gunwinyguan group thus can be both seen as offshoots of Proto-Arnhem under this analysis. Green notes extensive shared conjugational irregularities in the verbal paradigms of the Maningrida languages and argues that these four languages are genetically related to Ngandi and Nunggubuyu, Rembarrnga and the Gunwinyguan languages, Mangarrayi, Marra, Kungarakayn, Gaagudju – also probably Warndarrang and Kunbarlang (R Green 2003:416).

²⁹ The name of an extinct language. In his history, Cooper also refers to Gun-morung, ‘the language of the dead’ (*-morung* ‘belongings of the deceased’) (Cooper 1991).

a community of Maringa Burarra living on Yan-nhangu country at Yinangarduwa (Cape Stewart). Some of these people moved to Yurrwi for food while the ancestors of the Gun-nartpa moved inland across the floodplains to Bamboo Creek (Ji-balbal) and the Cadell River (Gochan Jiny-jirra). This aligns at least partly with oral histories I have recorded from Gun-nartpa people, who remember the dispersals of people due to tribal war, the customary nomadism and the impact of the Second World War via the military presence and bombing raids centred on Yurrwi.³⁰ The migration theory is also consistent with contact features of the Gu-jingarliya dialects. This is a language that exhibits features of both Pama-Nyungan Yolngu languages of the east and the prefixing non-Pama-Nyungan languages of the south and west of the Maningrida region, is widely dispersed, functions as a lingua franca within multilingual repertoires, and has socially relevant varieties flavoured by other languages within these repertoires.

For some people the spread of the Gu-jingarliya dialects is described in the idiom of myth, aligning with the travels of the Djangkawu sisters from the east and their counterparts Murlurlu Jiny-jar (Banggala 2014d, 2014e) who traveled from the significant site Mewiramba, the terminus of the travels of Djangkawu, to Barlparrarra swamp on the western bank of the Blyth River. Some Gun-nartpa people, in particular Jowunga clan members who own the Murlurlu Jiny-jar story and country at Barlparrarra subscribe to this theory. Other Burarra and Gun-nartpa people talk of the travels of historically remembered ancestors who are at the peak of various lineages now invoked as *yakarrarra* ‘clan connections’ (§4.3). For some Gun-nartpa, these connections link them to the ‘origin in the east’ theory of language. Other Gun-nartpa people – particularly those from the Yirrichinga clans – rely less on this theory due to their social and ceremonial orientation to the south and west. For these people, language history is couched more in terms of multiple language affiliations within kinship networks, which appears to reflect settlement-era family histories involving the co-residence of linguistically diverse family groups (§4.4).

³⁰ Some of this oral history is presented in Gun-ngaypa Rrawa ‘My Country’ – in particular see Litchfield (2014a, 2014b) on the topic of tribal war and Burrurrbuma (2014) and Wungkara (2014) in relation to the military presence during the Second World War.

People also speak of language varieties in terms of emblematic identifiers that index regional ceremonial polities, such as the An-barra (< *barra* ‘base’).³¹ This group lives on the coast around the mouth of the Blyth River and participates in a coastal polity aligned with these estates to the west (Bagshaw 1998; Clunies-Ross 1983; James 2009). These estates are referred to as *barra gu-jirra* ‘its base, bottom part’ (Bagshaw 1998).³² *Martay* ‘the stringybark flower people’ (< *martay* ‘stringybark flower’) are a Marrangu group³³ based on the eastern bank of the Blyth River. The Gun-nartpa also identify with an emblem, *Mu-golarra* (< *mu-golarra* ‘black speargrass’). They don’t accept Burarra as a name for their language, sometimes referring to the language of the Anbarra, Martay and Maringa people as ‘Big Burarra’.³⁴

³¹ The Gun-nartpa are close neighbors to the Anbarra, who are well-known in Australian anthropology. The prominence of the Anbarra Gijingali has been mediated through collaborations with a cohort of senior anthropologists, musicologists and filmmakers centred on Les Hiatt, Betty Meehan and Rhys Jones, which have led to rich documentations of the dynamics of kinship (Hiatt 1959, 1962, 1964, 1965), ethnographic archaeology (Jones 1980; Meehan 1982, 1991), child socialisation (Hamilton 1981), aesthetics (Jones & Meehan 1978), and ceremonial practices and music (Clunies-Ross 1978, 1983, 1989; Hiatt & Clunies-Ross 1977). While the focus of these collaborations has been with the coastal Gijingali, the Gun-nartpa are closely connected with the coastal groups (e.g. see Mirrikurl 2014)) and have participated in practices and events discussed in the academic writings arising from these collaborations (Meehan 1991; Meehan & Jones 1986:18).

³² The English parallel term ‘the rivermouth people’ (Gurmanamana et al. 2002) applied to this coastal polity is not a close match to the meaning of An-barra. Bagshaw (1998) describes the extent of sea rights for the coastal Anbarra and Martay people which is expressed in terms of sociopolitical territories. This suggests that the group name An-barra derives from the sense of *barra* as ‘the bottom’ which indexes the coastal sites that are under water. See example 4:3 in which England Banggala uses *barra gu-jirra* ‘its bottom’ to refer to the deepest part of a billabong, where the ancestral spirit Ji-japurn resides (§4.3.1).

³³ *Marrangu* is a *bapurrurr* ‘clan cluster’ name shared by the Jowunga (~Dhuwa) clans who own estates associated with the travels of the wild honey ancestor. The stringybark flower is a Marrangu motif (Elliott 1991).

³⁴ In various conversations about ethnobiological nomenclature I have found that dialects are sometimes distinguished by speakers on the basis of particular lexemes, which in such contexts are deployed as shibboleths (Vaughan & Carew 2015). Speakers sometimes reject a lexeme on the basis that it is Burarra, or claim that it is ‘really Gun-nartpa’. The distribution of lexemes across dialects from the regional ‘word-pool’ possibly reflects patterns of multilingualism in these different social networks. However, I

Other languages of north-central Arnhem Land are aligned with broader geographic locations. Bininj Kunwok is a widespread dialect chain that extends from the Jabiru region in the west to the south east of Maningrida. Bininj Kunwok is a regional language that functions as a lingua franca but also comprises multiple sociolects that are linked to places within the region (Evans 2003; Garde 2008b). Most relevant for north-central Arnhem Land are the easternmost dialects – Kune, spoken at the outstations Buluhkardaru, Bolkdjam and Korlobidahdah, and Kuninjku, spoken in the Mumeka/Marrkolidjban district (Evans 2003:16-19). To the south are Rembarrnga and Dangbon/Buwan and, on the western bank of the Liverpool River, is Kunbarlang; these languages are all classified as Gunwinyguan (Alpher, Evans & Harvey 2003; Kapitonov in prep). Mawng, another non-Pama-Nyungan language from Goulburn Island to the west, also has a presence at Maningrida due to intermarriage and shared ceremonial ties (McKay 2000; Singer 2006). The region also is home to speakers of non-prefixing Pama-Nyungan languages whose country lies to the east of the Blyth River (Waters 1989; Zorc 1986). These are referred to collectively as Yolngu languages (based on the shared word for person, *yol*). The Yolngu language group is comprised of a complex network of clanlects (Morphy 1977); in simple terms we can identify Djinang/Wurlaki as significant in the Maningrida context. There was a significant population of this language group based at Maningrida during the settlement era and this association remains strong today (Borsboom 1978, 1986; Elliott 1991). Other Yolngu languages represented at Maningrida include Ganalpingu, Gupapuyngu, Djambarrpuyngu and Yan-nhangu.

noted on several occasions that a speaker would reject a word in one instance as ‘incorrect’ and accept it as correct on another. There are complexities in lexeme distribution across varieties that would reward further study. Such complexities include the varying distributions of ethnobiological terms in terms of generic-specific naming in different dialects; and the strategic choices of lexemes to index social factors.

3.3. *A multilingual ecology*

3.3.1 *Language ecology and habitat*

Languages do not exist in isolation, but in relation to other languages and semiotic systems within language ecologies (Haugen 1972). As Mühlhäusler writes, “it is ecological factors which bring languages into being, define their boundaries and decide on their growth and survival” (Mühlhäusler 2002:3). Furthermore, the uses of languages cannot be separated from the various social, historical and ideological factors that situate and influence them (Mufwene & Vigouroux 2012). Contact with other languages, carried along by changes in social, economic and political arrangements brought by the speakers of these languages, results in disruptions, dynamics and complexities in language ecologies (Dickson 2015; Meakins 2014; Mufwene & Vigouroux 2012; Mufwene 2013).

Language ecology is an analogue to biological ecology in which languages are related to species, rather than organisms, “whose existence depends on the interactional practices of their speakers, who are both their creators and their hosts” (Mufwene 2013:303). Maintaining the ecological metaphor, languages can also be seen as belonging to a language habitat (Leitner & Malcolm 2006), defined as a system of social settings and interaction patterns in which communication practices occur. Languages, considered as ‘species’ hosted by the populations of people that speak them, occupy ecologically related niches within a language habitat, along with semiotic resources across a range of modalities (cf. Enfield 2009; Green 2014; Kendon 2015:12; Maypilama & Adone 2013). Literacy practices are also part of a language habitat; they are situated within particular types of interactions and related to other social practices (Barton 2007; Kral 2009, 2013; Kral & Schwab 2003). Habitat has dimensions of space and time and is shaped by social and economic relationships. The languages of north-central Arnhem Land belong together in a habitat that has been characterised by contact since precolonial times (Zorc 1981).

3.3.2 *Affordances in language ecology*

The concept of *affordances* can enrich ecologically-based understandings of language dynamics. This concept derives from the psychology of perception, and allows a

particular focus upon the inter-relatedness of species and their habitat. As Segalowitz writes:

... what an organism perceives is the set of possibilities the environment provides – or affords – for fulfilling its goals ... Affordances, in this view, are important for learning, because it is only by being able to perceive affordances that an organism is able to navigate its way around the environment successfully (Segalowitz 2001:14).³⁵

Segalowitz proposed that languages also offer affordances for individuals both in terms of acquisition and communicative competence (Segalowitz 2001:14-15). There are clear parallels with Mufwene's ecological view of language evolution in which he positions speakers as dynamic agents in adaptive relations to their communication habitat:

... although speakers reflect the history of their language(s) and their own personal interactional histories, they shape the ongoing history of their language(s) through how they use it on different occasions to meet their respective communicative needs (Mufwene 2013:324).

Mufwene's formulation of such adaptive relations to habitat invokes two quite different, yet related perspectives on affordances, as discussed by Blommaert (2008, drawing from Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Blommaert – describing affordances in terms of the “particular things that can be done with signifiers” – writes of the synchronic deployment of signifiers in the here and now, the adaptive capacity to use what is available to make meanings within a communication habitat. However all signifiers have diachronic provenance – they come from earlier configurations of signification and habitat – thus their synchronic use is anchored within “histories of use and evaluation”. As Blommaert writes:

Both types of affordance create a paradigmatic-syntagmatic axis, and each instance of sign-use, i.e. the deployment and use of communicative resources, needs to be seen as a combination of the historical and the synchronic affordances of the resources (Blommaert 2008:42).

³⁵ Segalowitz reviews the work of Gibson (1977) who coined the term ‘affordance’ (Segalowitz 2001:14-16).

More recently, Aronin & Singleton have widened the perspective on linguistic affordances, discriminating between individual and social language affordances and implementing the concept of affordances in the area of multilingual education. They write that the social affordances of language draw from the original ecological conception of this idea, “but translate into something somewhat different in form, type, scale and manifestation, as they refer to the social dimension in greater measure than they refer to purely physical dimension” (Aronin & Singleton 2012:314). A key point is that affordances are not static but dynamic, because their potential is different for different actors and situations:

... thus, for instance, grass presents different ranges of affordances for birds, animals and for people. In the same way, a book in a foreign language presents different affordances for learners and users with differing levels of mastery of this language (Aronin & Singleton 2012:314).

Affordances have specificity to individual actors and groups, in so far as individuals pattern their behavior similarly to those with whom they share identity. As Aronin & Singleton write, “[t]he dynamic mutuality of identity and milieu is both a process and a result as each specific moment and each particular sociolinguistic situation provides a specific set of affordances” (Aronin & Singleton 2012:316). Thus we can surmise that both the diachronic and synchronic axes of language contact in the Maningrida region have presented a range of affordances to individuals and groups (Blommaert 2008). This heterogeneous society has realised the potential of these affordances in multiple ways and with multiple effects, such as individuals increasing their repertoire of codes, the influx of new linguistic forms derived from languages intruding into local ecologies, the restructuring of grammar through such intrusions, changes in the relative prestige of codes and the expansion of some codes at the expense of others.

In multilingual contexts, meta-linguistic awareness is analogous to the perceptual salience of affordances in biological contexts (Aronin & Singleton 2012:315). Expression of identity in linguistic terms, through code switching or receptive bilingualism, reveals a highly attuned deployment of the affordances of linguistic codes (Singer & Harris, in press). As discussed in the previous chapter (§2.4), knowledge of specific codes and their indexical status as social signifiers enables their deployment for

social purposes; these linguistic forms represent both individual and social affordances.³⁶ Similarly, the signifiers deployed for country-based social identifiers are affordances, another means of generating similarity and difference in regional and local identities within a multilingual ecology and communication habitat.

3.3.3 *Languages and country-based identities*

The map on page viii locates languages according to the approximate extent of the local clan estates with which they are associated. Presenting language distribution as coterminous with land-holding units however, masks the density of cognatic kinship links that underpin residence groups, the fluidity of language boundaries and the pattern of multilingualism in the region (Harris 2007:132-33). There are of course differences between linguistic and local definitions of ‘language’: while from a linguist’s perspective Gun-nartpa and the Burarra dialects are grammatically similar, Gun-nartpa people clearly distinguish them as different languages. For example, one Gun-nartpa person made the following comment about the Burarra dictionary³⁷:

... they wrote it in Burarra, some dialects like Gun-nartpa, but it can help easily write the words in Gun-nartpa ... it’s the same dialects, but different languages ... when Burarra people speak to us we use our own language to speak to them (T01A-06:MA:46459-66609).³⁸

For most residents in the region language identities are mediated through the country that languages and clans belong to (Merlan 1981). This is at least in part a statement about local language ideologies, through which particular configurations of sociality are

³⁶ The ambiguity of signifiers (§2.4) is also a significant affordance, enabling the meaning of a given signifier in terms of social identity, economic value and perhaps ceremonial context to be asserted or negotiated *in situ*, as it were (and depending of course upon who is making that assertion).

³⁷ This comment was made in 1993 about a draft copy of the Burarra dictionary in use at the Maningrida school. The *Burarra/Gun-nartpa dictionary* was published the following year (Glasgow 1994).

³⁸ In the first part of this quote (‘it’s the same dialects but different languages’) the speaker’s use of ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ is a reversal of what might be expected, going on standard linguistic definitions. It should be noted, however, that this is a transcript of Aboriginal, not standard, English. It also reflects both a lack of local contrastive use between the terms ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ and the social utility of named sociolects.

customarily valorised in terms of language affiliation, and invoked as a reflection of the inextricable nexus of language, land and identity.³⁹ However as Evans states:

On this traditional model there was a direct relationship between ‘language’ and ‘country’ ... [n]ormatively they would speak these varieties as well as ‘owning’ them, but accidents of life-history, as well as the expansion of some languages and contraction or death of others, could lead to someone not speaking the language they ‘own’ and not ‘owning’ the language they speak (Evans, 2003:8).

In ‘classic’ Arnhem Land sociality, as for other Australian Indigenous groups, language and locality affiliation are part of a “fundamentally spiritual dimension of the “self”” (Holcombe 2015:5) expressed in the idiom of ancestral connection. As Holcombe points out, however, this classic rendering may be less relevant for many people whose life trajectories take place primarily in town, and are finding contingencies through additional – or alternative – “social technologies of Aboriginal identity” (Holcombe 2015:5). Given the social dynamics of settlement, outstations and urbanisation, there are now other options for ways for people to express the relationship between themselves and others in terms of the languages that they own (cf. Sullivan 1998, 2005). It is also important to bear in mind, as Borsboom notes in relation to the various Djinang speaking groups, that “[s]hared language does not make a unity of these clans” (Borsboom 1978:23) This is relevant to the Gun-nartpa, who, from a linguistic perspective, speak the same language as their coastal Gu-jingarliya neighbors (Bagshaw 1998) yet claim closer affiliations with inland freshwater country kin from Rembarrnga/Kune, Kuninjku, Wurlaki/Djinang and Gurr-goni speaking clans. However language and land affinities are construed by speakers, these are matters involving agency and choice. As Sutton writes:

³⁹ Local people in Maningrida also refer to language groups as ‘tribes’ and this usage occasionally filters through to other contexts. For example, McDonnell includes ‘tribe’ in his glossary, defined as ‘a linguistic unit ... the people who speak a common language’ (McDonnell 1995:9). I have heard An-nguliny people also refer to themselves as the ‘An-nguliny tribe’ on many occasions, indicating considerable flexibility in how this word is applied to social groupings.

The more one looks at this so-called geographical character the more it just looks like the non-geographical kinds of language variation, both in the way it is structured and maintained by social action, and in the way its meaning is constituted by social actors. Language variation always locates language users within both geographical and social space. Social actors themselves, though, tend to play up either the geographical or the social connotations of speech forms. There is no need for scholars to posit two different kinds of language variation (Sutton 1991:66).

Mufwene and Vigouroux (2012) offer an ecological perspective on this issue, stating that geographical spaces are not static but are constructed through social practice, meaning that “a physical location is not just a setting where language is practiced, it is also shaped by the latter. Consequently, space should no longer be studied as static but rather as a dynamic entity that is constantly being constructed” (Mufwene & Vigouroux 2012:120-21). A practice-oriented conceptualisation of language geography provides flexibility within an analysis of the connections between land, language and social groups in a dynamic social, political and economic context. The ancestral connections to country provide the affordances for the deployment of these signifiers; indeed here we see an instantiation of the paradigmatic-syntagmatic axes of of land-based signifiers. Ideological framings of language as belonging to a place create their synchronic potentials as “signifiers of belonging” (James 2009:26-27) within practices of social inclusion (and exclusion). While connection to country may not reflect the actual life history or living arrangements of an individual or their group, signifiers of these connections are anchored in meaningful configurations of provenance to the past. That is, they have historical affordances and these affordances provide the resources for the construction of contemporary arrangements of these signifiers (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Blommaert 2008).

3.4. Historical factors in language contact

3.4.1 Factors influencing multilingualism

Gun-nartpa people today typically have a multilingual communication repertoire which includes Gun-nartpa, Djinang/Wurlaki and Kune/Kuninjku. Some speak Gurr-goni and

Ndjébbana, depending on their connections through kinship. Most adults also speak a local variety of English, but children grow to school age speaking one or more of the traditional languages spoken by their primary caregivers. In Maningrida one encounters a multilingual community with varying patterns of multilingualism among individuals and within social networks (Elwell 1977, 1982). Multilingual individuals engage in communication practices such as receptive bilingual communication (Singer & Harris, in press), code switching and code mixing. Possibly these strategies to some degree accommodate interlocutors from different linguistic backgrounds; however, such multilingual language practices also have social meaning and are manipulated by speakers to index social identities through code choice (Singer & Harris in press; Vaughan & Carew 2015). Both McKay (2000) and Elwell (1977, 1982) note that while Maningrida is multilingual, no spoken communilect arose as a lingua franca used between all groups. This is unlike the situation in many other welfare and mission settlement communities in the Northern Territory, such as for Bininj Gun-wok in Western Arnhem Land (Evans 2003), Luritja in the Central Australia communities of Papunya and Mount Leibig (Holcombe 2015) and Murrinhpatha in Wadeye (Blythe 2009a; Mansfield 2014:90).

It is also notable that Kriol, the grammatically stable English based creole language spoken widely throughout northern Australia (Dickson 2015), has never become established as a significant language in the Maningrida region. While it does form part of the repertoires of some people, the predominant pattern is for people to speak a non-standard variety of English within a multilingual repertoire (§3.4.5). This reflects the intergenerational variation in linguistic repertoires that are linked to phases of contact history. The speech of older people who matured during the 1950s and 1960s (many who are now deceased) tends to contain Kriol words and phrases. This reflects the absence of English-based schooling for many of this generation – however among Ndjébbana and Kunbarlang speakers there were a number of people who attended school at Goulburn Island and learned a more standard variety of English there (McKay 2000). Also relevant is the social contact between Gun-nartpa people (and those of their extended kinship networks) with groups based in the Bamyili/Barunga area of the Roper

Valley at a time when contact with standard English was very limited (§4.4).⁴⁰ For younger people who grew up during the 1970s and more recently, the use of English loan words and phrasal expressions – along with code-mixing practices – reflect contemporary and dynamic contact with standard English varieties spoken in workplaces, educational and social settings in Maningrida and elsewhere.

While there is no single community, Elwell emphasises that people in the Maningrida settlement shared kinesic-visual communication practices, writing that:

[I]n addition to all these oral languages, there is an extensive system of sign language used in the Maningrida area ... Sign language appears to be a traditional but silent 'lingua franca' (Elwell 1982:89-90).

Alternate sign systems and gestures used with or without speech (Green & Wilkins 2014; Kendon 1988, 2015) are still important components of the communication systems in north-central Arnhem Land, as for their Yolngu neighbors (Adone & Maypilama 2012, 2014; Cooke & Adone 1994; Maypilama & Adone 2013).

In summary, there are a number of contributing factors to the multilingual profile of Maningrida:

- Strong adherence to the classic ideology linking linguistically defined groups and clan territories; underpinned by continuous ownership of clan estates and the establishment of homelands on those estates from the late 1960s onwards (Bond-Sharp 2013; Pugh 1993).
- The status of Ndjébbana as the language associated with the land on which Maningrida stands, despite speakers of this language being outnumbered by other groups within the Maningrida population (McKay 2000).
- Lack of social cohesion between certain groups at Maningrida; broadly speaking, the western and eastern cultural blocks (Armstrong 1967; Garde 2013).

⁴⁰ The first time Crusoe Batara listened to his father England Banggala's story about walking overland to Katherine with Superintendent John Hunter (Banggala 2014i) he noticed the use of Kriol in reported speech in this text, commenting 'ah, I love that old language!' (T37A-08: annotation notes).

- Minor intrusion of mission education and proselytising, absence of the dormitory arrangements and widescale forced removal of children, which typifies the histories of many other Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory (Armstrong 1967; Bond-Sharp 2013; Nolen 1998).⁴¹
- No entrenchment of an English based creole language as part of the language ecology of the Maningrida region throughout the settlement era.
- Late entry of formal schooling to Maningrida (1958) compared to mission communities and Northern Territory urban centres, reflecting the overall pattern for Indigenous community schooling in the Northern Territory (Nolen 1998:10).⁴²

3.4.2 *The ‘Macassans’ and the affordances of outsider contact*

As stated by Meakins, since colonisation “the language ecology of Australia has shifted dramatically to accommodate English” (Meakins 2014:365). This is not a monolithic scenario, however, as specific social arrangements brought about by colonisation impacted differently through the Australian continent and led to variation in the local effects of language contact with English (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016). While there

⁴¹ Missions run by the Methodist Missionary Society/Methodist Overseas Missions were established at Goulburn Island (1916) and Milingimbi (1923), and by the Church Missionary Society at Oenpelli in 1925. Many people from the region had contact with one or other of these missions throughout their lives, sometimes staying for extended periods of schooling (McKay 2000). Gun-nartpa and Burarra-speaking people gravitated to Milingimbi mission, particularly during the Second World War (England et al. 2014:83). According to his family, Banggala was given the name ‘England’ by one of the Milingimbi missionaries (P Muchana, personal communication). The Gun-nartpa involvement in mission life was peripheral. England Banggala spoke about his visits there as young man, saying that he and other *yawurriny* ‘young men’ would walk there from their country and meet relatives on the outskirts of the mission, who would give them each a ‘cockrag’ – a piece of fabric which they would tie on either side of their bodies to hide their nakedness. Once they had left the island they would throw away their cockrags.

⁴² Missions provided the only schooling for Aboriginal children in the NT until 1955, when the Welfare Branch took up responsibility for Aboriginal Education (Nolen 1998). The first school was established in 1958 by Betty Meehan, who was living in Maningrida with Les Hiatt when he was undertaking anthropological research. As directed by the director of the Welfare Branch, teaching English and personal hygiene (related to the efforts to eradicate leprosy in the community) were priorities (Bond-Sharp 2013).

is no doubt that English has had a profound effect on the language ecologies of coastal Arnhem Land, language contact with outsiders predates European settlement and the intrusion of English. It is well known that for approximately 400 years until 1906 there was sustained language contact with fleets of trepang fishermen – called Mangkacharra/Mangkádjjarra by local Ndjébbana, Na-kara and Gu-jingarliya people – who traded goods for labour at established sites along the Arnhem Land coast (Cole 1979; MacKnight 1976). People would congregate at these sites for extended periods during the trepang harvest, working and performing ceremonies, and Arnhem Landers were introduced to iron, tobacco, alcohol, rice and other new foods by the visitors. The trepang fleets embarked at the start of each monsoon season from the port of Makassar in Sulawesi, returning home with the trade winds at the end of the monsoon some months later (Berndt & Berndt 1954; Borsboom 1986; Clark & May 2013; Cole 1979; MacKnight 1976). A Macassan⁴³ pidgin developed as part of the sociality between coastal groups and the traders from Sulawesi and functioned as a lingua franca between different groups of Aboriginal people who travelled to trepang processing sites (Eather 1990; Evans 1992a; Urry & Walsh 1981). A number of Macassan words remain in the languages of the Maningrida region – see McKay (2000:166) for a list of Macassan words in Ndjébbana. Songs and non-verbal signifiers derived from Macassan cultural forms have been incorporated into the performance and visual arts repertoires of some groups in northeast and north-central Arnhem Land (Ganter 2013; Garde 2015).

Much of the literature about Macassan contact in Arnhem Land describes such cultural and linguistic influence in terms of the Yolngu of north-eastern Arnhem Land (Ganter 2013; Walker & Zorc 1981). However, trepangers also regularly visited Kabálko, a Ndjébbana-owned island close to the entrance to the Liverpool River, for at least 200 years prior to the end of the trade (Bond-Sharp 2013; McKay 2000:165). Coastal Gu-jingarliya speaking people were among the groups who gathered to harvest trepang and trade with the Macassans at Kabálko and to the east, at Gu-mugumuk on Cape Stewart and at Milingimbi (Marion Waiguma, personal communication). Thus it is

⁴³ ‘Macassan’ has come to be the standard descriptor of the ethnicity of the trepang fishing crews, even though this term lacks currency as a identifier in Indonesia. The term derives from the home port of Makassar in Sulawesi and crews in fact reflected the ethnic mix of that country (Ganter 2013).

reasonable to include the people of the Maningrida region to the Yolngu of north-east Arnhem Land in the following statement:

At the turn of the twentieth century there were Yolngu people who were circumcised, polygamous, well-travelled, enmeshed in transnational trade and family relationships, who spoke using vocabulary used by the Macassans and carried Macassan names (Ganter 2013:60).

While contact was not always friendly (McKay 2000:165), the social impact of the Macassan era resonates widely through the region and Macassan symbology has considerable prestige. For example, Gun-nartpa people, who do not claim a direct connection with the Macassans, are very fond of the large *jambang* ‘tamarind’ trees that grow at Gochan Jiny-jirra. They grew from seeds that Patrick Muchana collected on a trip to Milingimbi as a young man, where he was encouraged to take them from a Macassan trepang site by the local landowners. When I first visited Gochan Jiny-jirra the fact of their Macassan provenance was impressed upon me, and is still often commented upon during conversations that take place in the shade of the trees and while collecting their tasty fruit. For the An-nguliny – the Gun-nartpa landowners of Gochan Jiny-jirra – the presence of the trees is an instantiation of the kinship and ceremonial connections between their group and Yirrichinga clan groups at Milingimbi, who do own Macassan sites. While these connections are presented in the idiom of ancestral connection, they are based on historic events. Patrick’s father Banggala visited Milingimbi, along with his brothers and father, during the second world war for schooling and employment (England 2014). Two decades later, Banggala sojourned on Milingimbi while working as a patrol guide for Welfare Superintendant John Hunter, and renewed these social ties (Banggala 2014j). The significance of the Gochan Jiny-jirra *jambang* trees for the Gun-nartpa is one example of how memories and artefacts from the Macassan era continue to be actively deployed as signifiers of sociality. The ongoing relevance of the Macassan connection for people in the Maningrida region is discussed by Ganter (2013) and Garde (2015). Garde comments on this as follows, in the context of a discussion about the paintings of Ganalpingu artist John Bulunbulun:

Bulunbulun’s Macassan contact works are ... evidence of the dynamic and

evolving nature of Australian Indigenous art and culture where there is room for incorporation of an alterity that ultimately becomes central to one's own identity (Garde 2015:28).

The prestige and longevity of Macassan linguistic and cultural traces in the semiotic inventory of north Arnhem Land society demonstrate that generations of interactions between people in northern Arnhem Land and Macassan visitors have left more behind than “fossil remains” (Harris 2007:146). The Macassan contact language enabled communication between linguistically and culturally different societies and appears to have functioned as a lingua franca along the coast between groups of Arnhem Landers, without supplanting local languages. The Macassans were the first foreigners encountered by Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land (Clarke & May 2013:2),⁴⁴ and thus it is fair to say that the language habitat of the region was significantly influenced by the intercultural nature of the relationships between Macassans and Aboriginal people. We can also speculate that the sustained use of a pidgin lingua franca as a communication strategy primed the language habitat in the region for communication with outsiders, and by the time Europeans came along there was a relatively stable multilingual ecology *in situ* that already included this niche. To put this another way, historical language contact provides affordances for multilingual communication practices in the synchronic setting (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Blommaert 2008).

People in the region were certainly open to economic and cultural exchange with outsiders post the Macassan era and prior to settlement. This is demonstrated by the positive impact of the visit of Donald Thomson to Gartji among Djinang people and their western relatives, as remembered by the Gun-nartpa (England et al. 2014:xxv). Similarly, Gun-nartpa people and others look back positively on encounters between Australian military personnel and people who visited Milingimbi during the Second World War (England et al. 2014:83). Photographer Axel Poignant visited Nagalarrumba on the western bank of the Liverpool River, and in response to news of the presence of

⁴⁴ However, as Koch notes (2006) there were land bridges connecting New Guinea and Northern Australia up until approximately 10 000 years ago, and it is highly likely that there are relations between northern Australian and Papuan languages that are still to be discovered.

trade goods a group of Kunibídjí and Burarra people congregated at the site. The Burarra performed the Jambich ‘sugarbag’ song cycle and presented Poignant with a ceremonial pole as part of a *rom* diplomacy ceremony (Poignant 1996).⁴⁵ Ndjébbana/Kunbarlang men who had travelled with Poignant from Goulburn Island mission also took the opportunity to perform a Mardayin ceremony with their local kinsmen. Bond-Sharp comments on the intercultural flavour of this encounter:

While Poignant believed that he was engaging Aboriginal people in a project of his own making it is likely that Lamilami and the other senior Kunibídjí men were engaging Poignant in their project. His presence helped to support the Mardayan ceremony, to gather people to the site and keep them there to conduct the sacred business (Bond-Sharp 2013:51).

The go-betweens for Poignant’s visit were Lamilami and Winungudj, and both had good command of English through their association with the Goulburn Island mission. Their intercultural capacity was enhanced by this proficiency, enabling them to act as agents manipulating their linguistic repertoire in order to achieve goals within a social setting involving Europeans (Vaughan & Carew 2015). Similarly, as people in the Maningrida area came into increasing contact with European people and goods, the changing sociopolitical dynamic correlated with the growing social affordances represented by English.

3.4.3 *Widening social orbits*

Another layer of social history impacting on language habitat relates to the declaration of the Arnhem Land reserve in 1931. The status of Arnhem Land as a ‘reserve’ constrained colonial intrusion and shaped relations between Arnhem Landers and outsiders (Dewar 1992). By the 1950s the ancestral lands of nearly all Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory had been annexed by pastoral lease or by the state, in concert with the influence of missionary activity and residence in mission settlements. Arnhem Landers were buffered from the intrusion of pastoral and other economic

⁴⁵ The *rom* ceremony has a number of regional variations, and is deeply influenced by Macassan contact (Altman 2008b; Garde 2015; Wild 1986).

interests, had only brief contacts with patrol officers and other outsiders and retained ownership of their clan estates (Altman 1987; Kyle-Little 1957; Sweeney 1939; Thomson 2005). In addition, broadly speaking, the lands of the Gun-nartpa and their Burarra neighbors, the Ndjébbana, Na-kara, Gurr-goni, the Rembarrnga, Dalabon/Dangbon/Buwan, the Eastern Kuninjku, and the Djinang fell outside the purview of the missions at Milingimbi, Galiwinku, Oenpelli and Goulburn Island. Some Gun-nartpa and Gurr-goni people of England Banggala's generation did attend school for short periods at Milingimbi (Crusoe Batara, personal communication) and McKay reports that Ndjébbana people of the same age cohort had all attended school at Goulburn Island (McKay 2000), consistent with the Western cultural orientation of this group. Notwithstanding these interactions, people from the Maningrida region were able to exercise a degree of choice in how they negotiated contact with societies and economic systems outside their own. For many this was achieved through widening the range of their orbits – travelling to settlements for economic and social reasons and returning to their own country at other times. For example, Merlan's discussion of the history of the Katherine region (Merlan 1998) indicates that the tin mine that commenced at Maranboy in 1913 attracted Arnhem Landers to the south prior to the war:

Maranboy attracted very large numbers of Mayali, Ngalkbon, Rembarrnga, and Jawoyn people. Joint occupation of the mining camp area laid the basis, in the forms of intermarriage and other interaction, for the later co-residence of these people of Arnhem origin at army compounds and later, after the Second World War was over, at the settlement of Bamyili (now Barunga) and nearby Beswick Station (Merlan 1998:37).

The Maranboy connection, consolidated by the pastoral industry at Mainoru, Weymul, Hodgson Downs, Nutwood Downs and elsewhere, also laid the basis for the current day social interactions between north-central Arnhem Land with the Roper River region (§4.4). It is also reflected in the spread of subsection naming systems and participation in the regional ceremonies of Gunapipi and Yabadurrwa (Elkin 1961a, 1961b; Hiatt

1965; McConvell 1985).⁴⁶

3.4.4 The Second World War and urban drift

The military presence on Milingimbi during the Second World War and the subsequent salvage work on the floodplain attracted many local people, who worked for rations (Burrumbuma 2014). Men from the Maningrida region visited Darwin prior to the war (Hiatt 1965) and were encouraged to contribute to the war effort (Eather 1990). This resulted in a significant population of people remaining in Darwin after the war and paved the way for further migrations. Following the war some people left the region to work in buffalo camps around Oenpelli (Meehan 1991:203), on farms outside Darwin, on stations in the Roper Valley, and further afield. Many people were attracted to Darwin by the availability of alcohol and other goods during this period (Mirritji 1976), living in poor conditions at Bagot reserve close to the town centre and in several other locations on the town fringe. While repatriations took place by boat, some would return to Darwin the following season, walking the distance on foot. This broadening mobility pattern became known as the “drift to Darwin” (Bond-Sharp 2013:52) and, along with the need to deliver health services to combat leprosy and other diseases, led to the establishment of the Welfare settlement of Maningrida on the eastern bank of the Liverpool River in 1957. This history is discussed in detail by Bond-Sharp (2013), who provides a comprehensive set of historical references.

3.4.5 Migration back to north-central Arnhem Land

The immense social changes brought by the Second World War, the establishment of the Welfare Department settlement of Maningrida, and the reconfiguration of mobility and settlement patterns accompanying those changes caused significant disruptions to the local language habitat. One impact was the migration of eastern groups onto Ndjébbana land as the population of the settlement grew from 300 to 1100 between 1957 and 1970 (Borsboom 1986:607). Burarra speakers formed the largest group,

⁴⁶ Armstrong’s summary of demographic data showing drift away from traditional country between 1939 and 1966 shows that by the mid 1950s the Rembarrnga had largely moved south. Armstrong notes ‘Many gone to Mainoru’ (Armstrong, 1967:5). Others in the north–central region moved instead to Maningrida.

having largely vacated their traditional country for settlement life (Hiatt 1965), and for many this was via a substantial period spent in Darwin. They were attracted to the new settlement by the payment of a training allowance for participation in the wide range of jobs created by the Welfare administration, rations and other goods. Borsboom also speaks of a cultural ‘renaissance’ brought about by the restoration of social relations between people who had been separated in the post-war period:

Aborigines were not only able to speak their own language again, but also to restore the former social relations among themselves, as between clans of related communities. This, in turn, facilitated a renewal of the interest in traditional religious matters and the performance of complex rituals ...

These rites assumed new forms and contained a new symbolism relevant to the situation of the Arnhem Landers (Borsboom 1986:607).

These new socialities were largely configured as language-based residential clusters, as described by Hiatt (1965), leading to new concentrations of social influence. This had a significant impact on smaller, less influential groups. People whose country lay to the east, who along with the Burarra and Gun-nartpa included a influential group of Djinang and Wurlaki (Borsboom 1978), overwhelmed the local Ndjébbana in terms of participation in the local workforce and the alliances with *balanda* that this involved (Armstrong 1967; McKay 2000). Hiatt describes how the habit of administrators and patrol officers in Darwin of referring to all people from the north-central Arnhem Land region as being from the ‘Liverpool River’ led some Burarra people to consider themselves as holding rights in the new settlement (Hiatt 1965). The demographic and political shifts within the region between the Liverpool and Blyth rivers heightened the tensions between east and west, as the eastern groups dominated in making alliances with *balandas* and succeeding in gaining a high level of influence in the affairs conducted on Ndjébbana country. This has had a negative impact on the Ndjébbana people, and their language. As McKay comments:

The Ndjébbana speakers suffer extensive alienation and social difficulty within the Maningrida community as a result of the invasion of their land by others. They are more likely to learn the language of some of the numerically dominant groups in the area than those people are to learn

Ndjébbana (McKay 2000:167).

Ndjébbana people retain a strongly separate identity to the Burarra and other eastern groups. Despite McKay's comments about alienation, as landowners they do hold influence in the community and this has contributed to the prestige of Ndjébbana. For example, during the years of bilingual education in Maningrida, it was one of the two programs offered in the school and the first to be established (Auld 2002, 2007; McDonnell 1995; McKay 2000). The Na-kara and Gurr-goni are smaller groups who have faced a number of social factors that discourage the use of their language at Maningrida since it became the residential and social hub of the region (Eather 1990, 2005a, 2005b, 2011; Green 1995; Green & Nimbada 2015). They don't face the same issues as the Ndjébbana in having a large population of outsiders on their country; however, their speaker populations are small and these languages have never been taught in the school. Na-kara and Gurr-goni people also speak Maningrida Burarra (or another variety), and this is contributing to language shift away from the smaller languages.

3.4.6 Convergence of language features

Since the settlement period new non-land-based socialities have developed based around the spheres of work, education, Christianity and sport (particularly AFL football). These domains of sociality have followed their own complex cultural trajectories, involving kin-based associations, alliances with outsiders and the learning of non-traditional skills and knowledge. They have their reflexes in language contact phenomena and are giving rise to new varieties that do not affiliate so directly with traditional clan territories (Evans 2003:8). Thus, in the case of Maningrida, while a unified communict does not exist we do see convergences in terms of shared language features (Vaughan & Carew 2015). These include shared lexical items, shared mixed language features and the adoption by some speakers of code-switching as a predominant 'way of talking' (O'Shannessy 2016). These features have arisen alongside the consolidation of dominant local languages that function as lingua francas in certain contexts.

The rise of dominant local languages as lingua francas has been supported by the increasing importance of regional ceremonies and the widening of the social networks

that participate in other rituals such as Marajiri (Borsboom 1978, 1983; Elliott 1991, 2015). Funerals for clan leaders are another form of ritual that attract a wide network of participants (Brown 2014), as are *japi* (age-grading rituals for young men). There is evidence that Gu-jingarliya has functioned as a lingua franca between the coastal groups around the mouth of the Blyth River and Yan-nhangu speakers from the Crocodile Islands region for (at least) decades. For example, Clunies-Ross (1983) analyses a political oration from Wudjal, a senior man from the Gamalangga clan who spoke at a funeral for an An-barra man from the Gelama A-gorndiya clan in 1978. He spoke in the capacity of *an-mari*, a man related to the deceased patriclan as mother's mother's brother, and thus played a vital executive role in this ceremony asserting and validating the ceremonial property shared within this polity. He used Gu-jingarliya although his first language was Yan-nhangu, and Clunies-Ross comments that his Gu-jingarliya was "somewhat accented but not ... ungrammatical" (Clunies-Ross 1983:10).⁴⁷

Shared lexical items may derive from one traditional language but are accepted as part of the lexical stock of a given language identity. One set are those introduced by the Macassans (e.g. *galang* 'fishhook', *nganichi* 'alcohol', *burracha* 'rice', *mirrikal* 'fabric'). There is also extensive shared vocabulary across local languages as documented by Coleman (no date). One pattern noted by Coleman was that the names of natural species often involved a calque, the same semantic structure expressed through different lexical stock. For example, the echidna (*Tachyglossus aculeatus*) has the name *gajarrkcharrk*, which in Coleman's notes and the Gun-nartpa/Burarra dictionary (Glasgow 1994) is identified as a Martay term. It is also used by the Djinang (cf. Waters 1983). However, the Gun-nartpa mostly refer to the echidna with a metonymic phrasal lexeme: *yelakela ji-bima* (spike LocII-back) 'spike on her back'. The Martay also use the term *yelakela ji-jonama* (spike LocII-back) (as do the Gun-nartpa on occasions). There are variations on this naming pattern within the Maningridan group: Ndjébbana *kala-míndja-barrábarra* 'with spiny back'; Na-kara *na-kkingka-kórama* 'its back is spiny'; Gurr-goni *mana-matji-bolu* 'with speared back'. These phrasal names are based upon a shared semantic template and exist in the

⁴⁷ My speculation is that this would align with the Maringa Burarra dialect.

regional lexical stock alongside a range of mono-morphemic lexemes from Yolngu languages (i.e. *gajarrkcharrk*, also *mirtmirt*), Gunwinyguan languages, such as Kune/Kuninjku *bambirl*; Dalabon *ngarrarla* (Coleman, no date). They are shared to a greater or lesser degree by speakers of other languages (e.g. Coleman notes that *bambirl* is claimed as a Gurr-goni term). The Gun-nartpa recognise the Kuninjku and Dalabon lexemes, although I did not observe them in common use.⁴⁸

Shared mixed language features involve similarities in patterns of inter-clausal code shifting (Vaughan & Carew 2015). There is also evidence of the restructuring of grammar to accommodate code mixing. This includes the expansion of coverb-light verb constructions that provide a matrix for the inclusion of borrowed English verbs (see §G4.2 and cf. Mansfield 2016).

3.5 Dynamics in language prestige

3.5.1 The prestige of English

Not surprisingly, the intrusion of English has had a profound impact within the Maningrida region, in terms of changes to multilingual repertoires, grammatical and lexical restructuring, and in its relative prestige in comparison with local languages. There were people who had learned some English through mission schooling, trips to European settlements and, once Maningrida was established, the local school. Armstrong notes that in the late 1960s “all the men in the 20-45 age group have been in Darwin for a period ... They all speak simple English and are familiar with urban life” (Armstrong 1967:4). In her study of multilingualism in Maningrida, based on 105 interviews conducted in the 1970s, Elwell notes that nearly all the consultants reported that they spoke English as a second language; yet this was at odds with her own

⁴⁸ As discussed by Merlan (1997), metonymic phrasal expressions in Jawoyn are characteristic of speech styles associated with social avoidance, such as how one might speak to one’s mother-in-law. I did not note any such correspondence between phrasal lexemes and speech style, and Gun-nartpa use phrasal lexemes commonly to refer to certain animals (see §G2.5). It is possible that these terms have arisen within avoidance contexts following a shared principle of metonymic reference and that as mono-morphemic lexemes fall out of use, possibly through taboo, become conventionalised.

observation that few adults had a functional command of the language (Elwell 1977, 1982). These self-assessments indicate, however, that many people placed a high social value on knowledge of English and were using what English they knew, at least in their interactions with Europeans. This is also consistent with Hiatt's observation from the early days of the Maningrida settlement. He noted that some men used their knowledge of English that they had learned on visits to Darwin as the basis for claims for greater social standing in the early years of the Maningrida settlement, writing that:

Apart from their special relationships with settlement officers, the six men were neither more nor less outstanding than others their own age and held no indigenous titles or badges of office. But as a result of their experiences in Darwin, they realised that social status among whites is connected with occupation and that bureaucracy is a system of specialised named functions in a hierarchy of power and prestige (Hiatt, 1965:151).

A claim to competency in English thus can be interpreted as a strategy for bolstering social status in Welfare era Maningrida, a time when:

... the settlement superintendent had magisterial powers and Balanda authorities completely controlled the area. The Balanda population lived on a separate housing estate and held relatively well-paying managerial positions whilst the Aboriginal population living in extremely poor conditions and worked in low-paying jobs or received welfare (McDonnell 1995:15).⁴⁹

The dynamics surrounding the social prestige of English in Maningrida are complex, and play into social tensions between 'eastern' and 'western' groups throughout the settlement era (Armstrong 1967; McKay 1981). The use of English offers a degree of neutrality in this respect, yet to this day is associated with opportunities for social and economic advancement. Put simply, proficiency in English is a marker of engagement with the western

⁴⁹ See Armstrong 1967, Hamilton 1981 and Meehan 1982 for descriptions of living conditions in Maningrida during the 1960s and 1970s.

education system and a requirement for most employment and community governance opportunities in the community, and access to these domains of influence is not equally distributed throughout the population of the region (McKay 1981; McDonnell 1995). The influence of Burarra and Gun-nartpa leaders in the early years of the Maningrida settlement tended to marginalise other groups, including the local Kunibidji land-owners. Alongside the ongoing adoption of English lexical forms and its influence on mixed language features (§3.4.6), these social circumstances has seen the rise in prestige of Burarra and its spread as a quasi-lingua franca throughout the Maningrida region.⁵⁰

3.5.2 The rising fortunes of Burarra and Gun-nartpa

Hiatt did his early research through a period of great social change at Maningrida (Armstrong 1967). At this time little attention had been paid to Aboriginal languages and, apart from Hiatt's field notes, none of the Maningrida languages had been put into written form. In 1961, Wycliffe Bible Translators began placing missionaries into remote Aboriginal settlements in order to work on translating the Bible in local languages and David and Kathy Glasgow arrived in Maningrida in April 1962 to commence work on a Bible translation project with the Burarra/Gun-nartpa people. One of the Glasgows' first tasks was to develop an orthographic system for the language. According to David Glasgow, the knowledge of English phonics learned at school impacted upon the way local people assessed the new orthography. The Glasgows trialled an orthography that reflected the length contrast in word medial stops, using the voiceless symbols *p*, *rt*, *t*, *tj* and *k* word initially and finally, and doubled stops word medially; thus, a contrast between *p/pp*, *rt/rtt*, *t/tt*, *tj/ttj* and *k/kk* (Glasgow 1967, 1981a, 1981b). David Glasgow's description of the early trials give an indication of the challenges they faced at a time when there was little understanding of the differences

⁵⁰ Refer to Elwell (1977, 1982), McKay (1981, 2000) and McDonnell (1995) for discussion of attitudes to local languages in the context of multilingualism, orthography development and participation in bilingual educational programs in Maningrida.

between the sound systems of Aboriginal languages and English. English spelling norms often prevailed, as indicated in this interview extract:

Then we started teaching people to read, adults that had never been to school in their lives. We started teaching them this and kids would come home from school, you know, little ten-year-old, twelve-year-old kids would come back from the school down there and we'd have a word like 'pala' for house. And the kid looks at it and says in front of all the adults that are gathered for a class, he'd say, "that's not bala that's p^hala!" And these critical remarks coming from those that had been exposed to English made the people suspicious of our ability. To them we weren't doing it right. And the school over there's teaching the kids and we come in and teach something different – we must be wrong. Not only that but whitefellas – the assistant superintendant at the time – I was showing him some of the stuff, and he turned to some Burarra men, some of the leading men of the Burarras, and he started reading this stuff, using his own phonic values of English letters, and mispronouncing everything horribly. And the fellas looked at me as if to say, "what in the world have you given this bloke?" ... And so those things convinced me that we couldn't go on like that, we had to take the sociolinguistic aspects into consideration (David Glasgow: Glasgow interview, 1 June 2015).

After this trial the Glasgows established the orthography for Burarra/Gun-nartpa that is still in use today. This expresses the stop contrast with voiced and voiceless symbols, analogous to English spelling. A number of Gun-nartpa and Burarra people learned how to use the orthography and it became well established by people involved in the Bible translation project coordinated by the Glasgows. There were several key individuals who became identified as writers, who wrote independent explanatory texts and letters, taught family members how to write, and participated in literacy classes. Kathy Glasgow recounts how Jimmy Ngalakun, a Burarra man, adopted literacy to write texts. While she is not sure whether Ngalakun intended them to be instructional, these proved to be an effective way for him to express his knowledge:

... he never went to school but he came to us and learned to read. And it

was marvellous. When he learned to read he would write little stories out in the camp and he'd bring me texts, written texts. I learned so much from these (Kathy Glasgow: Glasgow interview, 1 June 2015).

Some of Ngalakun's stories were produced as books by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and subsequently used at Maningrida school as part of the Burarra bilingual program (e.g. Ngalakun 2008 [1978]). Another highly literate person was Katy Fry. Fry taught many other people how to write, as described by David Glasgow⁵¹:

I was then appointed Assistant Director for the Branch and we had to move into Darwin. We didn't get back to Maningrida then to live until 1975 ... While we were away in Darwin we were surprised to find people like Daisy and a few others could read. You know we'd visit Maningrida briefly over a school holiday or something like that but we'd find that they were able to read because Katy Fry had taught them (David Glasgow: Glasgow interview, 1 June 2015).

Katy Fry, along with numerous other Gun-nartpa and Burarra people, worked closely with the Glasgows, with Fry becoming a literacy teacher in classes run alongside the Bible translation project. Thus, literacy practices were adopted and adapted for local use by local people within a number of purposeful contexts (Barton 2007; Kral 2013). They also formed the foundation for the wider adoption of literate practices in education when the Burarra Bilingual Program was established in the school in 1986 (McDonnell 1995:5).⁵²

⁵¹ Another literacy teacher was Johnny Gu-yawbaka, a man from the Gun-narda dialect group, who ran regular classes while the Glasgows were based in Darwin (David Glasgow, personal communication, 1 June 2015).

⁵² McDonnell provides a historical sketch of the establishment of both Ndjébbana and Burarra bilingual programs at Maningrida school. This highlights some of the variabilities between programs, and indicates the high level of involvement of Burarra (and presumably Gun-nartpa) people in the program. The Burarra program was established some years after the initial Ndjébbana program began in 1978, following an approach by Burarra representatives to the Northern Territory Department of Education. By 1995 there were four Burarra bilingual classes (McDonnell 1995:5–6).

3.5.2 Activism in education

Others have written about the complex social history of the Welfare era in Maningrida, the subsequent policy changes brought by the Whitlam administration and its impacts on the political, cultural, economic and social dimensions of the region since that time (Altman 1987, 2005, 2008a; G Bagshaw 1977, 1982; J Bagshaw 1993; Benn 1994; Bond-Sharp 2013; Day 2001). The early 1970s brought changes in attitudes in relation to the rights of Aboriginal people to determine their own destinies. Events in Maningrida towards the end of the Welfare era demonstrate that local leaders were looking for social change, aiming to establish a system of community governance that did not rest in the racially-cast power asymmetries that characterised their lives post settlement (Gillespie 1982). Bound up in the new political consciousness was a belief that languages were key to the continuation of local identities and cultural forms and this had its impacts on the prestige of English. In community discourse people began to assert their linguistic rights and to question the assumption of school and welfare authorities that all education and government business should be conducted in English (Benn 1994). Changes in education were also afoot during these years with a landmark report on bilingual education (Watts, McGrath & Tandy 1973) and the Whitlam government's announcement that Aboriginal children would be taught in their own languages at school (Nolen 1998). As Nolen writes:

Given the many changes in administration for schools in the Northern Territory, from 1911 to 1973, it is little wonder that the tyranny of distance and fragmentary policies, combined with shortages of experienced teachers contributed to the depressing quality of education. The whims and espoused policies of the various governments; protection and restriction, assimilation, integration and now self-determination, have all impinged on the myriad changes in the administration of Aboriginal Education in the NT. Since 1973 the aspirations of Aboriginal peoples have begun to impact on the institution of schooling in remote areas, with the emergence of locally trained teachers and an Indigenous leadership in communities and in schools (Nolen 1998:16-17).

The rise of bilingual education and the associated adult education programs was a crucible for emancipatory philosophies of education that emerged in the context of teacher training at Batchelor College and Deakin University through the DBATE and RATE programs (Nolen 1998; Reaburn et al. 2015; Uibo 1993).⁵³ Teacher education students attended workshops in Darwin and Batchelor, encountering people from other remote communities with similar aspirations relating to the maintenance of their languages and their development as languages of instruction in their schools (Batchelor College 1994; Bepuka et al. 1993; Wunungmurra 1988; Yunupingu 1999 *inter alia*). The aspirations of Aboriginal people around educational leadership have come to be referred to as ‘Two-way’ or ‘Both Ways’ in English (McDonnell 1995; Ober & Bat 2007a, 2007b). They are also articulated in the Yolngu terms *yothu-yindi* ‘balanced and complementary opposites’, *ganma* ‘intermingling salt and fresh water’, *garma* ‘public ceremonial area’ and *galtha* ‘place of negotiation and resolution’, as described in the lectures and writings of several key people who provided educational leadership to a diverse cohort of Aboriginal and *balanda* educators from the 1980s onwards (Lanhupuy 1987; Marika-Mununggiritj 1990, 1998, 2002; Marika et al. 1992; Yunupingu 1989; 1993; 1999).⁵⁴ These often included explicit statements of the educational and social benefits of ‘Both Ways’, as a non-assimilationist model of education that supported multiple perspectives on knowledge, for example:

Things started to change when I went on to further training in the Deakin–
Batchelor Aboriginal Teacher Education program (DBATE for short) in the

⁵³ Dhupma College also played a significant role. Dhupma College, a bilingual and bicultural school located close to Yirrkala, operated between 1972 and 1980 and drew students from all over Arnhem Land. As Amagula & McCarthy write, ‘Dhupma College ... incubated an entire cohort of both Yolngu and balanda educators and students in Two-Way education’ (Amagula & McCarthy 2015:63). The school population included students from Maningrida such as Charlie Godjuwa, Ben (Baru) Pascoe, Patrick Muchana, Wendy Goborrorr and Marian Waiguma among many others, all of whom became leaders in education and community governance during the 1980s and 1990s.

⁵⁴ Many of the key published statements around Both Ways and Two Way philosophy emerged from Wes Lanhupuy, Mandawuy Yunupingu and other Yolngu people’s study through the Deakin –Batchelor Aboriginal Teacher Education (DBATE) program, and Dr Marika-Mununguruj’s studies at the University of Melbourne (White 2015).

mid 1980s. Here I had my first experience of western education that wasn't assimilationist. The program here formally recognised two knowledge traditions and tried to make Indigenous knowledge, which had become invisible, visible again (Yunupingu 1999:2).

Throughout the post-1973 period, Aboriginal aspirations were supported by people whose political and social philosophies led them to take activist stances within education and other government and non-government roles in support of Aboriginal language, culture and political self-determination (e.g. Christie 1986, 1987; Harris 1990; McConvell 1982). Alliances between Aboriginal leaders and *balandas* were central to the implementation of Bilingual programs in a number of remote Northern Territory schools, including two in Maningrida which commenced in the early 1980s: one for Ndjébbana, the other for Burarra (Bowman, Pascoe & Joy 1999; McDonnell 1995). These alliances also supported the development of homeland schools, articulating educational aspirations with the desires of people to live away from an urban setting (Pugh 1993). This was a period of social reform, during which socially progressive policies and its operationalisation “opened new ideological and implementational spaces” for remote Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory, yet ones that were contested from the outset (Disbray 2015b:6).

The bilingual programs aimed for language maintenance, the development of the skills of Aboriginal teaching staff, the development of literacy in the local languages and the transfer of literacy practices to English (Harris & Devlin 1999; McDonnell 1995). They required the development of literacy materials as well, thus the establishment of Literacy Production Centres (LPCs) and the employment of literacy production workers – local people who adopted literacy as a practice and worked in a team to develop literacy materials in their own language (Nolen 1998:17). The LPC at Maningrida School was equipped with an offset printer and employed a literature production supervisor, Burarra/Gun-nartpa and Ndjébbana literacy workers. Between the early 1980s until 2008, the LPC was the hub for elders, teacher linguists, local teachers and

literacy workers as they transliterated cultural knowledge into the written form of *jurra* ‘paper’.⁵⁵

As Harris and Devlin (1999) comment, another early principle in bilingual education was that “Aboriginal languages should be taught only by Aboriginal people, and English taught only by native English speakers ... and this produced the important tradition of team-teaching” (Harris & Devlin 1999:4). Bowman et al. (1999) describe the configuration of roles in the Maningrida school setting; involving collaboration between a Burarra-speaking teacher, a *balanda* teacher, a teacher-linguist and literacy workers. These collaborations focused around managing classes, planning literacy activities in English and in Burarra, and the creation of Burarra literacy resources to support the planned themes. Shared planning ensured that locally prioritised themes identified by the Burarra teacher would be incorporated into a range of classroom activities. For example, the theme of *marrchila* ‘crocodile’ relates to an important ancestral spirit for the Yirrichinga Burarra and related groups.⁵⁶ As part of a unit of work based on this theme the class would listen to an elder tell stories about designs painted on bark, learn about the crocodile life cycle, recount events, write stories, and so on. Lily Pascoe described how Burarra literacy resources were created for the *marrchila* ‘crocodile’ and *garriwa* ‘turtle’ themes:

⁵⁵ *Jurra/jurrang* ‘paper’ is a term borrowed from the Maccassans. Resources in paper form are referred to as *jurra*, as well as with the English word ‘book’. I am uncertain about whether Gun-nartpa people and others in Maningrida use the term *jurra* to refer to the computer-based interactive books produced to support Ndjébbana and Burarra/Gun-nartpa literacy in the bilingual programs at Maningrida. In my experience these are referred to in English as ‘talking books’. While perhaps not considered prototypical examples of *jurra*, the talking books developed by Glen Auld, Ndjébbana literacy worker Monica Wilton and Ndjébbana elder Lena Djabbiba (Auld 2002, 2007) remain highly valued teaching resources in the language program at Maningrida School. Auld worked as the Ndjébbana teacher linguist during the 1990s and so focused his efforts with the Ndjébbana group, however also worked with Burarra teacher-linguist Rose Ngardiny Darcy in the 2000s to develop similar resources for Burarra/Gun-nartpa (Auld & Darcy 2008).

⁵⁶ The Maningrida football team Baru ‘crocodile’ is named for this ancestor. This team mainly comprises Burarra/Yan-nhangu people from the east of the Blyth River, and *baru* is a widespread Yolngu Matha name for this animal. Gun-nartpa people prefer the term *marrchila* ‘crocodile’ and this is also commonly used by Burarra people to refer to the animal itself, rather than its totemic form.

We plan with the Burarra teacher linguist and literacy worker and they produce resources we need to teach the topic. We can't get these resources out of a book. We have to go and ask people who have the knowledge to help us. My husband knows how to cut up turtle the proper way and who to give different parts to, so he did that job. He showed and explained all of this to the children. We took photos and wrote texts to accompany the photos (Lily Pascoe, in Bowman et al. 1999:68).

Pascoe's summary of her everyday team teaching tasks is evidence of the diverse range of practices and participants involved in team teaching and literature development in the context of bilingual education. It also demonstrates an overt stance towards text production that situates these practices within the broader knowledge economy within her kinship network. This is typical of the activist stances taken by Indigenous educators as they implemented their educational training within the intercultural context of bilingual education. In so doing they activated ideologies of difference, demarcating Indigenous areas of knowledge and systems of signification within the balanda controlled world of the school.

3.5.3 The affordances of literacy practice

Such participatory practices in the production of knowledge for presentation as text were well established and ongoing at Maningrida school throughout the 1990s during my first phase of fieldwork at Gochan Jiny-jirra and Maningrida (cf. Auld & Darcy 2008). They demonstrate the rise in status of Indigenous languages within a language habitat where the use of English had once been dominant within the intercultural setting of schooling. This prestige was tied to a significant level of local capacity, developed throughout the years of mixed mode and community based adult education (Reaburn et al. 2015).

Non-assimilationist philosophies notwithstanding, schools were, and still are, run from a mainstream perspective, and:

... [d]ecisions about Bilingual Education were introduced, controlled and monitored from outside the local communities by members of the dominant culture ... nor did this program for the advancement of Aboriginal

education, necessarily reflect Aboriginal control and decision making (Nolen 1998:18).

This is despite the expressed desire of both Ndjébbana and Burarra/Gun-nartpa people for their bilingual programs to continue, and to be in fact expanded to include more cultural content. As McDonnell writes, based on interviews conducted in the mid 1990s regarding attitudes to schooling in Maningrida:

The school should support the parents' desire for the maintenance of their traditional culture by providing an education where Aboriginal language and culture are valued and taught to the same degree as English and Maths ... Importantly, Maningrida CEC should be controlled by Aboriginal people with the responsibility for curriculum and management of the school. The government should not control the education of Aboriginal students, for that is the responsibility of Aboriginal adults (McDonnell 1995:75).

McDonnell's study found that the low level of parental support for Maningrida CEC was justified in terms of a perceived failure for the school to operate on these terms. Furthermore, this was is a major factor in low student attendance and thus McDonnell recommended that:

... the most effective way of gaining parental support may be to provide the type of education being requested by the community: that is, a high quality bicultural education which is controlled by Aboriginal people (McDonnell 1995:76).

Is this a pipe dream? The increasingly monolingual focus in Northern Territory Department of Education (usually shortened to NTED) policy indicates that it is (Disbray 2015a). In 1998, NTED announced the demise of bilingual education, although local and regional campaigns maintained these as Two-Way programs for a decade longer (Devlin 2011; Nicholls 2005; Simpson, Caffery & McConvell 2009; Wilkins 2008 *inter alia*). They were eventually closed down in 2008, a decision justified in terms of poor performance on national literacy and numeracy assessments (Disbray 2015a) and in the context of a wider public discourse of dysfunction around Aboriginal affairs (W Fogarty & Ryan 2007; M Fogarty 2013). Some critics bemoan the

failure of self-determination policy to be truly enacted in education, despite it raising the expectations of remote community people, especially where bilingual education programs were implemented (Nicholls 2005). Others warn of the risks to natural language socialisation presented by emphasis on English based schooling. As Wilkins writes,

interference with natural language socialisation disrupts cognitive, personal and literacy development and ... this can have profound consequences for familial and community cohesion and for cultural and linguistic continuity (Wilkins 2008: para 27).

This view aligns with the message from Aboriginal families and educators reported by McDonnell (1995), who can clearly discern these disruptions at first hand. In my experience, through nearly two decades of employment at Batchelor College/Institute, this message is remarkable for its consistency, not just in the Maningrida context, but in Central Australia and the Barkly region of the Northern Territory as well. Thus there are major disjunctures between emancipatory aspirations, local contexts for empowered social action and the bureaucratic reality of centralised governance (Nicholls 2005). Spaces for first language teaching and learning can be opened and closed by fiat (Disbray 2015b) and narrowed through under-resourcing and the lack of opportunities for capacity building among local educators (McDonnell 1995; White 2015).

Despite the withdrawal of resourcing and capacity development around bilingual education there is still a high level of support for language education within the school context at Maningrida. This is accompanied by a high value placed on locally produced literature. Evidence for this is seen in the continuation of language programs for six languages at Maningrida through the work of a dedicated team of teaching assistants (England et al. 2014). Literacy practices in Maningrida have developed within interculturally framed communities of practice, focused on the co-production of knowledge as text. These practices ascribe prestige to traditional registers of local languages, emphasise separate language identities and prioritise certain genres of text (§5.2). They represent significant affordances relating to the production of locally meaningful language resources and language research practice within this society, within and beyond school (Aronin & Singleton 2012; Blommaert 2008). As Disbray

argues, there are competing and contradictory discourses in the remote NT school context in relation to the role of home languages and English policy, yet “[i]n the spaces between top-down policies and implementational spaces in their enactment, speakers, educators, and other stakeholders create openings for languages teaching and learning” (Disbray 2015a:330). Disbray also points to partnerships with research organisations, youth and arts projects as spaces in which the affordances of a range of literacy practices can offer traction:

Policy and implementation driving these projects and organisations relate to matters such as natural resource management, sustainability, intergenerational learning, the documentation and maintenance of cultural heritage, and technological innovation. The goals of the ideological spaces that these programmes occupy resonate with the local education aspirations discussed above and are not limited to the official discourses of educational attainment. Their strength, then, is their potential to respond to local aspirations and conditions on their own terms (Disbray 2015a:331).

Thus I argue that for language research to be effective, both in terms of scholarly outputs and community benefits, identifying and supporting these ‘openings’ and ‘spaces’ is critical. Local practice-based collaborations can take advantage of them, as long as they are cued from local aspirations and values and linked to existing affordances within the contexts of multilingual communication repertoires and literacy practices.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the sociolinguistic context of the Maningrida region in broad terms, identifying social factors underpinning multilingualism and regional language identities. Language prestige and literacy practices are understood in terms of how local language ecologies intersect with the social dynamics of colonisation, especially Bible translation work, schooling and the aspirations of local people and their allies for children to learn in their own languages at school. Within this complex mix of historical and contemporary social arrangements lie multiple affordances for collaborative language research practice. In the next chapter I draw attention to identity constructs for

Gun-nartpa people in the context of this wider milieu, investigating notions of connection and relationality, along with the importance of a local theory of history. These all impact upon the expectations of language research, as formulated by Gun-nartpa people.

4. Gun-nartpa identities

4.1. Introduction

I begin this chapter by discussing Gun-nartpa perspectives on language research, linking the arguments about local affordances for language research outlined in Chapter 3 to the expectations that I encountered when I arrived at Gochan Jiny-jirra in 1993. This is followed by a discussion of the role of agnatic and cognatic descent groups in conceptualisations of belonging. I take the lead here from Garde (2013), who writes in relation to the speakers of Biniñ Gun-wok:

... Aboriginal kinship systems are used to establish reference and address but also to create, maintain and manipulate social relationships. In an ideal sense, kin relationships also determine appropriate behavior according to socially established conventions (Garde 2013:25).

Garde also warns of an overly deterministic approach to kinship as these systems of social classification are not mechanistic nor automatic:

Attempts to capture the sense of a particular kin term through genealogical links will not always reflect the social realities of how Biniñ Gun-wok speakers reckon kin relations. Context, speaker goals and intentions are integral aspects of Aboriginal kinship systems (Garde 2013:25).

These comments apply equally to kinship among the Gun-nartpa. A perspective on kinship as oriented towards action and sensitive to agency also enables us to look at dynamics in time, and to investigate how Gun-nartpa people are reconciling change. Their kinship system is resilient, and one reason why this is so is because it is socially dynamic and adaptable to changes in social networks and demographics, as well as linguistic change such as the introduction of new kinship vocabulary derived from English. As Dickson writes for the kinship system of the Marra people in the Roper Valley region, who these days mainly communicate in Kriol, “two languages on either

side of language shift [i.e. Marra and Kriol] perform related pragmatic functions” (Dickson 2015:214).

In this light, I discuss where Gun-nartpa fits within a mosaic of social identities as a “signifier of belonging” (James, 2009:3) both within the scope of Gu-jingaliya dialects and varieties and in terms of people’s multilingual repertoires. Also significant is the accommodation of change into conceptualisations of identity, expressed as a theory of historical continuity. This helps to contextualise the Gun-nartpa notion of *janguny*, or ‘story’, which can be understood in relation to ‘authority’ and ‘consensus’. This is a key theme of Chapter 5.

4.2. Gun-nartpa perspectives on language research

In Chapter 1 I presented excerpts from a recording of England Banggala in which he described his plan for a walking tour of his country. This plan had the specific objective of documenting ancestral activity and was linked to the project of documenting his artwork. I argue that this text was also an explicit statement of an overall stance taken by Banggala and his family towards my role as a language researcher in their midst. This stance was oriented towards teaching and learning and the development in me of knowledge deemed necessary to function interculturally, as a visitor in this society. Accompanying this was the expectation that I would participate in the projection of this knowledge into a wider public realm of knowledge.

Central to this was *jurra*, the creation of paper-based artefacts as necessary adjuncts to the interactions we were having (Carew 2011). Listening back to the very early recordings I made at Gochan Jiny-jirra, I hear these expectations stated clearly. On the first evening of my visit I sat amidst the family gathered around the bough shade outside Banggala and his wife Mary Karlbirra’s house. People were coming and going from the circle, and there were many introductions and explanations of *malk* ‘skin names’ and family relationships. Some conversation was conducted simultaneously in Kuninjku and Gun-nartpa, a practice called *wengga awurr-burrurdanyjinga* ‘they exchange speech’. Banggala and some of his sons started teaching me some simple phrases to help with basic interactions, starting with the attention-getting exclamations

alay ‘hey man’ and *ajay* ‘hey woman’, then how to say *guwa* ‘come here’ and *nguna* ‘give me’, the names of basic items such as *balaji* ‘food’, *bugula* ‘water’, *bol* ‘fire’ and *jambaka* ‘tobacco’.

As we were chatting frogs started to chirrup, and I asked about their names. We then moved into a discussion about the names of different kinds of frogs. I practised how to pronounce these, with encouragement from everyone. I hear myself mention that I brought a library of flora and fauna books with me: I had brought them with the expectation of documenting flora and fauna terms as part of a study of lexical semantics. Hearing myself now, I marvel at the innocence of my assumptions. I was relieved to finally be at Gochan Jiny-jirra and was ready to get on with working with ‘my consultants’. I felt a commitment to the task of recording and describing the language, and a quite romantic notion that this would somehow benefit the community. Yet at this stage I had little idea of the history of the Gun-nartpa in terms of their involvement with language research and its practical implementations through orthography development and literacy, Bible translation, and bilingual education and literature production. I was unaware of their long-term alliances with *balanda* through the development of Maningrida and the Cadell Gardens, nor did I know anything of the international recognition of individuals in the family as members of the White Cockatoo dancers and their reputations as visual artists (England et al. 2014:93-124). These personal life experiences and the broader social history that they are part of would shape the work I had just commenced for years to come.

Matthew An-mungak was there on that first evening, visiting from Ji-balbal, another Gun-nartpa speaking outstation community.⁵⁷ Matthew had started his long career working at the Maningrida school, and was studying at Batchelor College as part of the Remote Area Teacher Education (RATE) program (Reaburn et al. 2015). He helped with spelling and hyphenation as I was writing down the names of frogs and the words in the simple interactional routines. Matthew recommended that I visit the Maningrida

⁵⁷ Matthew is the son of Rosie Jin-mujinggul, Banggala’s sister. Rosie was one of the close circle of family who worked with Kathy and David Glasgow in the very early years of living in Maningrida in the early 1960s (K & D Glasgow, personal communication, 1 June 2015).

school for a copy of the Burarra dictionary, commenting that this would help me with spelling conventions and vocabulary. Matthew also made suggestions about people who would be able to help with language work, naming his sisters Margaret Garranyita and Wendy Goborrerr, as well as Katy Fry. Margaret had worked at the Gochan Jiny-jirra school from its establishment in 1973, and Wendy was one of a cohort who attended Dhupuma College in Nhulunbuy during the 1970s, along with Patrick Muchana and Marion Waiguma. Katy was one of those who led Gun-nartpa people to develop literacy skills and practices throughout her work on Bible translation and as a literacy worker in the Bilingual program at Maningrida school throughout the 1980s. Thus I had entered a social field that was already well structured in terms of language research practice. The Gun-nartpa had a concept of a linguist, and practical experience of the social role that linguists played in their society. For example, Banggala had done some work with linguist Rebecca Green collecting ethno-biological terms during her research with Gurr-goni speakers during the early 1990s (Rebecca Green, personal communication). From comments recorded on that first evening, it appears he associated me closely with Green, and assumed that I was somehow related to her.⁵⁸ Even though this wasn't the case, the model of interaction around language research was well established within the family and these connections were articulated in various ways on that first evening. This included an explicit statement by Banggala about the method of language research in an address to his gathered family:

⁵⁸ I don't think that Banggala thought we were biologically related, however he clearly drew a close connection between us on this and other occasions, on the basis of our social/professional roles and his role as a language consultant and cultural mentor. Green and I did not meet until some years after this, when we were both working in the Barkly region of the Northern Territory in 1997-98.

<p>4:1 <i>an.guna burrguya</i> <i>agomarriya ajarl nguwurrweya -</i> <i>nguwuma barra gaba ngubingurrja achila::</i></p> <p><i>an.ganak annga:: gomorla::</i> <i>gun-an.gaya an.ganak annga -</i></p> <p><i>like ama barra jinbenga ala \</i></p> <p>...</p> <p><i>rrapa jin.gunaga /</i> <i>him gotta properly him gettim \</i></p> <p><i>like - guyina six months,</i> <i>jinyjeka barra gaba,</i> <i>rrapa mola gaba burrgorlk -</i></p> <p><i>rrapa marlaga jin-guyinda,</i></p> <p><i>rrapa two him gonna livim here \</i></p> <p>T01A-08:27050-81201 - edited</p>	<p>this one going around quickly as we talk anything we get we will explain to her, all different things, such as egret different things from whatever place like she will get it and she will ‘arrive’⁵⁹</p> <p>...</p> <p>and this woman, she will get it properly</p> <p>In about six months she will return there and then again come with her swag, and the woman she normally associates with⁶⁰ and the two of them will live here</p>
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One of the immediate responses to Banggala’s speech above was made by one of his sons, who said:

<p>4:2 <i>michpa rrapa Wallace,</i> <i>anykind nipa marn.gi</i></p> <p>T01A-08: 81556-86250</p>	<p>like Wallace as well, he knows everything</p>
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⁵⁹ It’s not clear what the verb form translated as ‘arrive’ represents – possibly the root is *bengga* ‘to arrive, emerge’ with an inceptive suffix *-nga*, but this has not been checked at this stage. The syllable *-la* is occasionally seen, possibly it is a discourse particle. It is not attested as a verb suffix. This verb fits here semantically as ‘arrival’ is used in the context of learning; that is, ‘arriving’ at knowledge.

⁶⁰ *Marlaga* is an clausal adverb that expresses the meaning of ‘part of an associated group’ when it modifies a predicate. In this instance it modifies the nominal indeterminate *jin-gu+yinda* ‘female type of thing’ (< *yinda* ‘do thus’) to express the meaning ‘her female associate’. It seems that he expected me to return with Green, but possibly he had another association in mind (e.g. a partner or other family member).

This comment is a reference to Wallace Blackley, who lived and worked at Gochan Jiny-jirra as the school teacher between 1979 and 1991 (England et al. 2014:120-21).⁶¹ It also reflects an important Gun-nartpa perspective on key language competencies for *balandas* who they regard as friends. The Gun-nartpa are accommodating teachers within these relationships, focusing on teaching the names of kinship terms, everyday objects and salient flora and fauna, basic phrases relating to reciprocity and interaction, non-verbal signs for kin and animals, and some verbs for everyday actions. The multilingual Gun-nartpa fill the gaps in language competency with English. *Balandas* who learn the key language competencies taught them by their Gun-nartpa allies are assessed positively by statements such as the one about Wallace mentioned above, despite the fact that their own assessment of their language competence may fall well short of ‘knowing everything’ (Wallace Blackley, personal communication). The term *marn.gi* ‘knowledge’ is used nonetheless, in relation to these competencies. I come back to a discussion of *marn.gi* in §7.7, where I consider what this attribution means within the context of such intercultural relationships.

Prior to Blackley’s time in Maningrida, the Gun-nartpa established close partnerships with other *balandas*, including Bob Collins, who was the horticultural adviser to the Cadell Garden project in the early 1970s (Bond-Sharp 2013:144, 248; England, et al. 2014:118) and Welfare Superintendent John Hunter, who travelled on a number of foot patrols with Banggala during the 1960s (Banggala 2014i, 2014j). Missionary Bible translators David and Kathy Glasgow established their initial relationships with people who identified themselves as Gun-nartpa, and who appeared to model their alliance with the new linguists on the partnership between Les Hiatt and members of the Anbarra Gu-jingarliya (Allen 2008; Hiatt 1965; Gurrmanamana et al. 2002). David Glasgow

⁶¹ Blackley had formed close relationships with the cohort of family members who were young adults in 1993. As their school teacher he had known them throughout their childhoods, and he was also close with many of the older community members, notably Banggala, who mentored him into men’s ceremonial practice, and Patrick Muchana, who worked alongside Wallace as a teaching assistant at the school. These relationships between Blackley and the Gochan Jiny-jirra network were themselves consistent with other alliances between community members and outsiders throughout the post-war and Welfare periods (Banggala 2014).

described an interaction that took place when he and Kathy first arrived in Maningrida in 1963:

I told the acting superintendant that we wanted to camp in with the Burarra-speaking Aboriginal people. That was something that wasn't done very much in those days at all. The whitefellas were all supposed to stay in their part of the settlement. Anyway he said, "Well look, I'll ask the people and if they say yes, well that's ok, and if they don't well I won't let you do it." Ok, so when the people all came to work, he picked out one leader and asked him and it happened to be Peter Gangalarra.⁶² He asked him if he was happy for us to go and camp with them up in the camp. And Peter turned to me and said, "You know Les Hiatt?" I said, "Yes I was talking to him a couple of days ago in Sydney." Peter said, "You come with me." And he led us right up to beside his hut in the camp [and said], "Put your tent here!" (David Glasgow, Glasgow interview, 1 June 2015).

Peter gave David a skin name (Wamut), and the ensuing relationship continued for decades:

He made me his younger brother, and he made Kathy sister of one of his wives, which gave her the skin Gochan. Peter and his brother Michael were my close associates from day one and so was Nym Marnalpuy, [he] was Kathy's brother. So we were close to them right from the start and their kids, and England (David Glasgow, Glasgow interview, 1 June 2015).

As David and Kathy described the early days of their work with Gangalarra and his family, familiar names kept coming up, such as Michael Burrurrbuma, Nym Marnalpuy, Mary Karlbirra, England Banggala, Dorothy Galaledba, Rosie Jin-mujinggul and her children Matthew An-mungak, Wendy Goborrorr and Evan Marakumba, Robert Mibora, Katy Balkurra Fry. They are Gun-nartpa speakers and part of the same family network that I came to know during my time at Gochan Jiny-jirra and Maningrida

⁶² Peter Gangalarra was a Djinang/Gun-nartpa man who was one of the senior men at Ji-balbal outstation and the brother of Michael Burrurrbuma (Burrurrbuma 2014). Both men maintained close relationships with the Glasgows from the early 1960s until the end of their lives.

(England et al. 2014:xii-xxiii). When I met them three decades on from the Glasgows' arrival I found that they had expectations about how I would go about gaining language competency and how they would interact with me on this basis. This didn't require me to necessarily achieve a comprehensive knowledge of the language; however, I would be assessed in terms of intercultural competency, framed in terms of the degree to which I worked with the Gun-nartpa to achieve their goals in relation to language research. Theirs was a more holistic perspective on language research than the one I had brought with me, one expressed through the idiom of kinship. It involved interactions fully loaded with the relational terms of address and reference, the identity markers of *malk* and discussions of patrilineal and matrilineal clan affiliation. In these interactions there was constant attention to *bapurrurr*, the network of kin-based sociality that surrounds everyone and permeates nearly every act of communication.

4.3. Clan lineage and other kinship based indices of belonging

4.3.1 Yakarrarra rrapa rrawa: 'lineage and country'

Patrilineal clans are a basic unit of social organisation in north-central Arnhem Land, albeit negotiable in terms of territory, myth and religion. Clan identity represents an ontological integration of genealogical descent, land and the sacred *Mardayin* law. The ancestral journeys of totemic beings are central to this law and form the basis for the connection between land and clan group, expressed in *Mardayin* songs, objects and rituals ceremonially exchanged between groups that share totemic ancestors. The Gun-nartpa use cosmological terms that are similar to the eastern Yolngu, describing the basis of clan membership as resting in the activities of *wangarr* 'ancestral beings' and linked to the places where such beings travelled and now repose (Keen 1977, 1990, 1997; Morphy 1990). The activities of these beings predate the present, often involving distant genealogical ancestors integrated within the array of cosmological actors (England et al. 2014:11). Yet, there is as Keen writes, there is an "apparent immediacy of these events in Yolngu discourse about the beings. People will casually point out a feature and say something like 'that's where the Djang'kawu sat', as though it were sometime the year before" (Keen 1990:94).

The extensive travels and interactions of these beings are what connects clans and country in the wider networks of sociality that are celebrated through regional ceremonial activities such as Gunapipi and Yabadurrwa (Berndt 1951; Elkin 1961a). The continuing relevance of rituals of diplomacy, such as Rom, Mamurrng and Marrajiri (Altman 2008; Wild 1986, Borsboom 1978, 1986, Elliott 1991, 2015), performances of *bunggul* at funerals and the celebration of *japi* ‘initiation’ ceremonies for young men, shows that reciprocity based in ceremonial exchange is fundamental to the maintenance of the social system that organises social life throughout the region (Brown 2014).⁶³

In Hiatt’s classic account of the Gun-nartpa’s coastal neighbors, the Gijingali, he avoids the term ‘clan’ and instead uses the more utilitarian term ‘land-holding unit’ (Hiatt 1965). Hiatt’s description of Gijingali society applies equally to the Gun-nartpa in that each land-holding unit is associated with a cluster of estates. These are areas of *rrawa* ‘country’ focused around key sites and each with specific totemic associations. Each unit comprises at least one patrilineal descent group, and clan membership and territorial rights are dynamic. In the late 1950s Hiatt recorded that some clans had become extinct or were represented by only one elderly female member, some were caretakers for other groups, and some had abandoned their estates and become associated with units in other territories. Thus, while maintaining a sociopolitical ideology of apparently immutable ancestral connection, people in this society are required to negotiate and resolve changes in the actual configurations of genealogically reckoned clan membership (cf. Borsboom 1978:21-22). As Morphy writes:

In any system in which there is a posited relationship between an ancestrally created world order and the present ordering of social relations there is going to be a problem in ensuring continuity between the two because of the nature of demographic change and political action (Morphy 1990:313).

⁶³ Also see Barwick, Marett, Blythe & Walsh (2007) and Blythe (2007) who make a similar point in relation to the performance of public dance-song in the Wadeye region, which is structured as ceremonial exchange between different groups.

Morphy identifies the importance of myths of inheritance in this context, the “mythic events that directly concern the institution of human beings in the landscape and the transfer of rights in the *mardayin* to the founding members of the present ... clans” (Morphy 1990:313). Banggala’s story about Jin-gubardabiya, the pandanus mat spirit at Wangarr A-juwana, is an example of an inheritance myth. He sometimes painted this spirit being carried by the An-nguliny clan ancestors, as instructed by the creation ancestor Ji-japurn. The *wangarra yerrcha* ‘group of ghost spirits’ followed Ji-japurn’s orders and placed Jin-gubardabiya inside the monsoon vine thicket at Wangarr A-juwana. As Banggala tells it (Banggala 2014b:12):

<p>4:3 <i>ay jijapurn /</i> <i>jijapurn jinyjurrmurrma -</i> <i>barragijirr ayunyurra -</i> <i>barragijirr ayurra /</i> <i>awena,</i> <i>jin.guna jin.gubardabiya bubuga \</i> <i>jin.gubarda bubuga barra,</i> <i>nyurrambarra=</i> <i>boporlinymarr yi-- nyubina barra,</i> <i>boporlinymarr yigapa /</i> <i>wangarr ajuwana wupa \</i> <i>nyib:arnja barra \</i> <i>nyuwubarnja barra /</i> <i>nip jijapurn awena - nganajirra \</i></p>	<p>ay Ji-Japurn Ji-japurn put her he who lies at the bottom (of the billabong) he lies at the bottom he said, ‘this pandanus mat you all take it you all carry the mat, you all go along... Boporlinymarr you will see Boporlinymarr over there inside Wangarr A-juwana, you will put her you will put it her’ he, Ji-japurn said this, (from) his mouth</p>
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This facet of the Jin-gubardabiya story presents an explanation for the ontogeny of the An-nguliny, articulating the pandanus mat ancestral spirit with the actions of the creation ancestor Ji-japurn and his interaction with the An-nguliny ancestors. Ji-japurn lies on the bottom of the deepest part of Boporlinymarr billabong – one of the deep long billabongs that forms the waterways of the Cadell River between Gochan Jiny-jirra outstation and Botgarri Crossing upstream (England et al. 2014:1-14). He is one of the “parochial powers” of this region, “closely associated with the creation of individual clan estates and striking natural features” (Clunies-Ross 1986:239). The myth quite possibly reflects demographic and social changes in the region in Banggala’s own lifetime. It fits with a local view of clan membership that holds to the ideology of immutable connection between land and clans, yet also enacts its dynamic and social

dimensions. It also highlights the social value placed upon clan forebears, the group of elders that preceded those living today. In the Jin-gubardabiya story these ancestors, *gapala yerrcha* ‘the old people’ interact directly with the creation spirit Ji-japurn. They are thought of as a group of people who lived, yet who are now integrated with the time of ancestral creation. As Etherington writes, they are “simultaneously those intimately connected with the speaker, but also those associated with the collective authority of past generations” (Etherington 2006:143). Etherington’s characterisation captures a sense of the atemporality of social connection evident in narrative discourse, where actors are commonly identified through their relationships with those that went before them and those that came after (see §6.2.3).

The Gun-nartpa recognise the term *mala* ‘clan’ as used by their Djinang-speaking relatives (Elliott 1991), but talk more about clan membership in terms of both *yakarrarra* and *bapurrurr*. The term *yakarrarra* is shared with the Gurr-goni (Green & Nimbada 2015), and while it can mean ‘clan’, the focus of meaning is really on ‘lineage’ and the practice of tracing connections via lineage to a shared ancestor which may not be in human form (McDonnell 1995). *Yakarrarra* is presented in the idiom of kinship, and often follows inheritance through the father. This is an expression of the ideology of patrilineal inheritance as the primary link between a person, their clan and their country, and is validated by stories of the journeys of ancestral beings. Discussions of kinship and belonging emphasise connections through such journeys and the songs and designs associated with them, rather than in terms of hierarchical arrangements or boundaries (Keen 1997). Along with mythical accounts of how clans have come into existence, conceptualisations of clan membership are described in terms of the authority of senior people, normative views on conduct, and the socialisation of the young as they pass through the life stages in becoming an adult. Thus *yakarrarra* also references other socially constitutive acts. For example, Gun-nartpa people describe the practice of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* ‘explaining clan connections’ (< *ngurrja* ‘to explain’). This involves senior people, either women or men, extemporising the links and connections between people, often in a para-ceremonial context such as when people gather for a funeral. Performative acts of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* follow one or several paths of connection among the many possible within *jarlakarr gun-murra* ‘many clustered paths (of kinship)’ and through socially situated variations in the practice of describing

yakarrarra, people claim rights in multiple ways.⁶⁴ Given the multiplex cognatic links within the network of kin, *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* emphasises certain ‘facts’ about social connections and such facts are licenced by the essentialist concepts (ancestral inheritance) that are deployed by those in positions of seniority. Thus *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* is a “tactic of authentication”: a deliberate move that “produces authenticity as its effect” where authenticity is “always achieved rather than given in social life” (Bucholtz 2003:408).

Gun-nartpa people describe the dynamics of inter-clan connections in terms of the English words ‘fit in’, ‘join’ and ‘facing’, and in Gun-nartpa with words such as *bitima* ‘follow’, *barrnguma* ‘enter’, *barrba* ‘put inside’ and *barrgakiya* ‘integrate’ (< *barra* ‘base’; *gakiya* ‘shift self’). Action-oriented verbs such as these address genealogical connections of descent and affinity alongside the close allegiances formed by adoption. To illustrate, Mark Mirrikurl described the connections between the Yirrichinga clans as follows:

4:4	<i>ee like - birripa boborredi yerrcha::</i> <i>marradich::</i> <i>andirrijilaba still fit in aburnnirra \</i> <i>arrburrwa annguliny rrapa anagujalala \</i> ... <i>like awurrbarrngumarra arrburrwa</i> <i>michpa rrawa ya \</i> <i>gurrawa - burrbarrbuna \</i> ... <i>like - gunngardapa wengga</i> <i>awurrwena annguliny - gurrgoni /</i> <i>gurrgoni rrapa gunartpa \</i> <i>rrapa ngaypa gunartpa nguweya \</i> <i>like anagujalala gunartpa awena \</i> <i>my father - anngaypa nyanyapa apa \</i>	yes, like, the Boborredi group the Marradich the Andirrijilaba all fit in to us, the An-nguliny and the Ana- gujalala ... they came into it to us like the country isn’t it? the country put them inside ... like one language they spoke, the An-nguliny and Gurr-goni Gurr-goni and Gun-nartpa and I speak Gun-nartpa they Ana-gujalala spoke Gun-nartpa my father (his clan)
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⁶⁴ See Keen 1990 for a discussion of how Yolngu ritual symbology is deployed for similar purposes.

For the various Yirrichinga clans in the *yakarrarra* shared by the Gurr-goni-identified clans Boborredi, Marradich and Andirralaba, and the Gun-nartpa-identified clans An-nguliny and Ana-gujalala, language is claimed as an index of belonging (*gun-ngardapa wengga awurr-wena Gurr-goni rrapa Gun-nartpa* ‘they spoke one language, Gurr-goni and Gun-nartpa’). *Gun-ngardapa* ‘one’ is a linguistic expression of similarity and unity between the country that these clans belong to, created along the same ancestral track travelled by Ngurrutpa, the Gurr-goni name for the creator being that the Gun-nartpa call Ji-japurn (Green & Nimbada 2015).⁶⁵ This ancestral track is an analogue of historical patterns of co-residence and mobility. Mirrikurl uses the intransitive verb *barrnguma* ‘to enter’ to describe how the Gurr-goni clans integrated with the Gun-nartpa speaking clans. He also uses a transitive verb *barrba* ‘to put in’, here with the prefix *burr-* which encodes a singular second or third person agent acting on a plural third person object (§G1.3.9.2 Transitive Prefixes). I show the interlinear glossing for the relevant couple of phrases:

gu-rrawa		burr-barrba-na
LocIV-country		3:2 3A-put-PC
gun-ngardapa	wengga	aburr-wena
IV-one	language	3A-speak.PC
An-nguliny	Gurr-goni	
<clan>	<language>	

While the third-person object can be interpreted as ‘the Gurr-goni clans’, his intended subject referent is less clear. Possibly he means that ‘language’ put the Gurr-goni clans on country; however, perhaps a more plausible explanation is that the ancestral being Ji-japurn/Ngurrutpa was the agent for this act. Another possibility is that the country

⁶⁵ The Gun-nartpa confirm that Ji-japurn is the same being as Ngurrutpa (Mirrikurl 2014). In fact, sometimes this spirit being is referred to by the Gun-nartpa as *Ji-japurn an-guyinda* ‘a *ji-japurn* kind of thing’. I have been unable to ascertain what the word *ji-japurn* – nor the stem *-japurn* – means, other than the name of this spirit.

itself, acting as an agent, put them inside.⁶⁶ Notwithstanding how we interpret the agency relationships involved, these phrases demonstrate the close nexus of language, country and lineage. This is emphasised by the lexical choice of *barrba* ‘to put in’ which expresses the notions of change (in the relationship between these separate clans) and containment (which unifies them as complexes of signifiers).

As far as I can ascertain from the oral histories of senior Gun-nartpa people, during the presettlement era their forebears moved between the floodplains at Mawurrk (owned by the Gurr-goni clans), the riverine freshwater country around Gochan Jiny-jirra and the floodplains of Yimambar (owned by the Warrambarl and Jichirrichirri clans, among others), and Nganyjuwa (Ana-gujalala clan) and the Barlparrarra swamp (Gurnimba, Jota clans).⁶⁷ Traditional warfare was a feature of this lifestyle, as told by Harry Litchfield (Litchfield 2014a, 2014b; cf. Warner 1937), and it appears from Litchfield’s accounts that people’s mobility was associated with the seasonal availability of game and mortuary rituals, along with participation in conflict. The periodic expansions and contractions of social inclusion and exclusion associated with these patterns are reflected in social networks today. They are also inseparable from their mythological expressions, such as the story of Ji-japurn/Ngurrurtpa and the variations in naming and mythological form across different sections of the route of this ancestor. Here we see how expressions of ancestry cue explanations that they are the ‘same, but different’ (Taylor 1990). This is paralleled by the linguistic differences between Gurr-goni and Gun-nartpa, that index separate geo-political identities. Yet the Gurr-goni and Gun-nartpa also regard themselves as one people united by a shared history and connections through *yakarrarra*. They express this identity through an emblem

⁶⁶ Ji-japurn/Ngurrurtpa had not been mentioned at this point in Mirrikurl’s narrative; however, he does mention the shared rights in this ancestral spirit later on. Kathy Glasgow suggested the third interpretation commenting as follows: “I have noted elsewhere that the people and animals, etc. are owned by their country. e.g. *gu-guna gu-rrawa burr-yika* ‘(the people) belonging to this place’, lit. ‘by this place owned/owns them’”(Kathy Glasgow, by email, 3 May 2016).

⁶⁷ These clan and country affiliations are not definitive; I have provided clan identifications associated with people that I discussed this history with, but the connections are complex and there are many other named clans.

associated with freshwater habitats, calling themselves the *Mu-golarra* ‘speargrass’ people.

4.3.2 *Bapurrurr*: ‘kinship networks’

Mu-golarra is a *bapurrurr* ‘kinship network’ term, one used to describe the wider networks of kinship-based sociality that extend beyond the lineage of one’s father. *Bapurrurr* is a flexible designator, with a range of uses and interpretations. In Elliott’s analysis of Djinang Wurrkiganydjarr sociality he defines *bapurru* (~ *bapurrurr*) in terms of the wild honey ancestral track that unites the Wurrkiganydjarr with a number of other clans. These clans all belong to the Marrangu *bapurru*. Elliott refers to the Marrangu Djinang use of the term *bapurru* as the “aggregate of same moiety clans (mala) that share a central Dreaming story (or some form of madayin property) and whose countries contain sites named in that story” (Elliott 1991:52). This has a parallel in Mirrikurl’s description of the shared creation ancestor for the Ana-gujalala, An-nguliny and the Yirrichinga Gurr-goni clans (see above). For the Gun-nartpa, relationships within *bapurrurr* are also construed in terms of the kinship relationships between country. The relationship between Ana-gujalala and An-nguliny country is described by Mirrkurl and Batara below⁶⁸.

4:5		
MM	<i>michpa - rrawa gun.gata - nganyjuwa mulela \ jerda aburryinaga rrawa \ jerda</i>	like that place Nganyjuwa and Mulela they call that country <i>jerda</i> (Mother’s mother’s brother)
CB	<i>yo -- gunngatipa jerda \ ngaypa same michpa gun.gata - rrawa annguliny - jerda ngunanga \ rrawa \ but like - half ninya - rrapa half jerda \ like gun.gata, rrawa - straight line gubupiya guboya \ gubupiyana nula rightap \ gun.gapa en \ anbamburla nguwwumanga nguwwurworkiya \ marn.gi \ marn.gi</i>	Yes, it’s our <i>jerda</i> I’m the same with respect to that, I call the An-nguliny places <i>jerda</i> but it's like half father and half <i>jerda</i> , that country there is a straight line going down through those places going right to the end at that place where we always collect mud mussels do you know it?

⁶⁸ Raymond Walanggay was also present at this discussion and this is reflected in the pronominal forms.

	<i>michpa yianngiya -</i>	to that place
	<i>like jechinawa jarlakarr \</i>	it's a straight path,
	<i>jechinawa yigata - jarlakarr \</i>	a straight path to there
	<i>like jarlakarr jechinawa=</i>	a straight path
	<i>gochilawa \</i>	down to the low ground
	<i>gochilawa gun.gata nginyipa marn.gi -</i>	the low ground at that place you
	<i>mburla \</i>	know, called Mburla
	<i>like gun.gata burrwa -</i>	at that place for them
	<i>ananggiya agurrmurra rangga -</i>	he put religious items
	<i>du rangga agurrmurra arrburra from -</i>	he put two religious items for them
	<i>jorrinyjurra rrapa gochilawa \</i>	at the high ground and the low
	...	ground
	<i>like that's why ngayurrrpa /</i>	that's why all of us
	<i>like ngaypa nguyinanga burrwa /</i>	I always say to them,
	<i>nguworkiya -</i>	
	<i>guwa \</i>	come here!
	<i>nyuwurrboypa</i>	and we all go together (when I say
	...	that)
	<i>jinngaypa mother jinang - jinyena</i>	my mother was Djinang, she spoke
	<i>wurlak \</i>	Wurlaki
	<i>but -</i>	but
	<i>anngaypa nyanyapa apa gunartpa \</i>	my father was Gun-nartpa
CB	<i>nipa bam agaliyarra \</i>	his father who raised him
	<i>gunartpa aweya \</i>	he spoke Gun-nartpa
MM	<i>like gunartpa - between - awurrkaliya -</i>	they spoke Gun-nartpa between
		themselves
	<i>old man two old man / three old man \</i>	the three old men
	<i>aburrdigirrgarra before \</i>	that walked around before
	<i>like mungoyurra long time \</i>	a long time ago

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The reciprocal classificatory relationship between the An-nguliny and Ana-gujalala clan estates of *jerda* ‘mother’s mother’s brother’ is expressed in terms of a spatial layout as *jechinawa jarlakarr* – a ‘straight path’ connecting one kind of landscape and another. Taken together, *jorrinyjurra* ‘high ground’ and *gochilawa* ‘low ground’ align as complementary dimensions of a shared landscape. This complementarity has social analogues in consanguinity (close genealogical relationship) and shared life experience. Mirrikurl’s father Girriwunga was a brother and age mate to Banggala and Jirringgal of the An-nguliny, and Mirrikurl describes this closeness in terms of them sharing *rangga* ‘Mardayin religious property’ and a language. Conceptualisations of *bapurrurr* are

often expressed as body metaphors such as *an-ngardapa an-mama butala* ‘they have one bone’ (Garde 2008c:242), a term used to describe the relationship between a person and their mother’s mother (*mununa*) and her brother (*jerda*). Such metaphors rest upon the important semantic principle of opposition/complementarity as discussed in §2.4 (and see §G2.4.5 for a discussion of this principle in the structure of the nominal lexicon).

Some people describe *bapurrurr* as the social arena of close kinship in which *mirriri* ‘restraint and avoidance’ are practised and where gestures and signs associated with kin are used (cf. Garde 2008c:237; Merlan 1997).⁶⁹ This restraint is an index of family closeness. For example, Terry Ngamandara described his close family relations as *yi-gurrepa apala an-bapurrurr* ‘they are close up to me, the people of my clan group’. According to Ngamandara, the people in this group are those that he can’t call the names of, except for his *mununa/jerda* ‘mother’s mother and mother’s mother’s brother’ and ‘maybe *japa*’ (brother).⁷⁰ The strongest forms of *mirriri* are practised between those related as *jongok* ‘poison cousin’: a mother-in-law, or other person who in terms of marriage rules is a potential affine (Garde 2008c). The Gun-nartpa also regard the relationship between sister and brother as *mirriri* (cf. Hiatt 1965).⁷¹ In such contexts as these, kin regarded as *bapurrurr* form a wider social grouping than those related by agnatic descent, yet are still constrained: they are closely related cognatic kin. However in other circumstances, *bapurrurr* can refer to a wider network again – in particular, a gathering of closely related and extended kin for a funeral. The term is used as a euphemism to relay the news of a death; for example, *bapurrurr gu-yurra* ‘one of our group is dead/is a dead body’, with the reason for the gathering implied. These

⁶⁹ ‘Avoidance’ is a mode of interaction in which social distance is actively maintained and where deference is emphasised (Merlan 1997:106).

⁷⁰ Ngamandara’s comments parallel those described for Yankunytjatjara society by Goddard (1992). For relationships between close kin, those in the same and grandparents’ generation are “relaxed, equal and cooperative” while those in the parents’ and children’s generations “tend to be asymmetrical ... often restrained” (Goddard 1992:95).

⁷¹ While not as constrained as was observed in the past (Warner 1937), Gun-nartpa people maintain social distance from their opposite sex siblings. While sisters and brothers can speak to each other, women avoid addressing their brothers directly, and men often adopt polite forms of speech.

various examples demonstrate the flexibility of the notion of *bapurrurr*, as a network of sociality that can expand and contract depending upon the circumstances and the indices of inclusion deployed.

Acts of social connection happen when someone is adopted into a clan network. For example, Dorothy Galaledba and Crusoe Batara discussed how Dorothy’s mother, who was from the Kuninjku clans Mirwi and Gurulk, married Banggala, Crusoe’s father’s brother. Crusoe’s mother, Laurie Malabinbin, and Mary ‘integrated’, as Mary joined Laurie’s clan, the Gurnimba:

4:6		
DG	<i>jinngardapa jinmanga, \</i> <i>jiyganyja aybamana \</i> <i>jinaganyj jinajekarra, ngunyuna -</i> <i>annguliny tribe \ jinyininya \</i> <i>jinyini /</i> <i>jinbapurrurr guwechana, yigatiya \</i> ... <i>rrapa mala nyirrbun achila,</i> <i>ngayurra \</i>	he got one woman and took her away he brought her here when he returned she stayed with the An-nguliny tribe she looked for female relatives there and she linked to our clan, all of us
CB	<i>awurrinybarrgakiyana michpa ngaypa</i> <i>bama nggaliyarra \</i>	the two women integrated, (she and) my own mother

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From another perspective, connection through *bapurrurr* ‘clan network’ is not just a matter of birthright and affinity. It is often expressed in terms of the importance of family-based socialisation practices that teach a person who they are. In the quotation above, Crusoe Batara refers to his mother Laurie as *bama ng-galiyarra* ‘my caregiver’ (< *bama* ‘head *ng-galiyarra* ‘I understand’). This term refers to a person who raised someone through childhood and is roughly equivalent to the Aboriginal English expression ‘own private mother’.⁷² This is often a parent, but can also refer to a person who mentors a boy through initiation, or a woman that helps a girl through the

⁷² The English expression ‘own private’, along with a kin term, is used to refer to closely related kin: close biological relations, age mates or immediate caregivers.

ceremonies and other forms of learning that mark her transition to adulthood. The pronominal agreement on the verb references the propositus: the one who receives the care and the mentoring. The term *bama -galiya* does not denote a particular kinship relation but invokes a social role that is situated within defined life stages.

The social significance of such connections to the development of a child is illustrated by Crusoe Batara’s memory of his *jungurda* (FF), who was an old man when he was young child, toddling around the camp (Batara, 2014):

<p>4:7 <i>ngurrenyjinga ngijarl guga - ngunana / gala bulay ayurrarna aworkiyarniya \</i> <i>like ngaypa gunngaypa, wal nguborrwurra, ÷ aa an.guna wayji ngunyun an.guyinda, ngunyun ayurra aworkiya \ ÷ awurrwena apala, ÷ jungurda jungurda, an.guna na \ ÷ awurrwena \ \</i></p>	<p>I was walking by then I saw him he didn’t sleep far away I had an idea, it occurred to me ah this man maybe he belongs here! he always sleeps here! everyone spoke to me Granddad, granddad! look at him here! they said that</p>
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In 4:7, Batara enacts a common type of interaction that people have with babies and toddlers. When someone approaches, they call the relevant kin term of that person to the child, using a caregiver–child speech register. In this register the voice is high pitched, and key words are repeated, just as Batara demonstrates in this excerpt. Here he places himself within the life world of a toddler, projecting both pedagogical theory and example within the context of narrative discourse (cf. Etherington 2006:3).

4.3.3 *Strategies of inclusion and exclusion*

This account of ways that the Gun-nartpa talk about *yakarrarra* and *bapurrurr* demonstrates an eclectic and strategic approach to the expression of belonging. These expressions draw down from historical (i.e. ‘traditional’) social arrangements, presented in terms of ancestral and immutable connections between kin and country and myths of creation and inheritance. They also reflect individual and family histories in the recent past. As such, we see the employment of narrative-based authenticating practice as

people describe how they belong to a clan, a lineage, a regional clan network. The identification of shared and separate languages is one authenticating practice, interacting with configurations of kinship and shared ceremonial rights between clans and country. As Garde comments, within this mix language identities are an important parameter to degrees of inclusion and exclusion:

Differences ... allow the forging of separate and exclusive speech community identities when it suits, whereas similarities allow the opposite – the permeability of speech community boundaries and claims concerning the sharing and switching of codes (Garde, 2013:17).

The dynamic between inclusion and exclusion is an important one to bear in mind as, despite the ideology of connection that is central to explanations of *yakarrarra* and *bapurrurr*, conflict is an unavoidable part of life (Hiatt 1965). The delicate pivots that distinguish what is ‘the same’ and what is ‘different’ are ambiguous (Elliott 2015; Keen 1977, 1990; Taylor 1990), yet crucial to how people express inclusion and exclusion. As Clunies-Ross writes in an analysis of Burarra political oratory,

The tension between the desire to retain for oneself and the desire to share, between primary and secondary rights in clan wangarr is one that permeates Arnhem Land society, and it is quite clear ... that the Burarra language is finely tuned to express such subtleties and to give them illocutionary force (Clunies-Ross 1983:21).

The pragmatic potentials of various social signifiers of belonging can also be manipulated for social purposes within everyday interactions (cf Garde 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2013). Such identity-laden communication practices can be compared to the ‘masks’ in Bakhtin’s metaphor of the carnival, where many different performers all played, “where all “languages” were masks and where no language could claim to be an authentic, incontestable face” (Bakhtin 1981:273). The Gun-nartpa deploy language-based signifiers to identify themselves as a group, yet also recognise the ever widening social networks that have arisen through the history of settlement. In the next section I discuss some of these changes and their impact on language and other social indices of belonging.

4.4. Straddling east and west: settlement-era linguistic geography

Elwell (1982) describes the language geography of north-central Arnhem Land from the perspective of how different groups were represented at Maningrida in the early 1970s. Her discussion incorporates Armstrong's social analysis of western and eastern cultural blocks (Armstrong 1967). In general terms the eastern block followed the north-eastern Arnhem Land division into patrimoieties and a strongly patrilineal system of inheritance (Warner 1937; Hiatt 1965). The western groups followed a combination of matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance (Armstrong 1967:45; cf. Elkin 1961a:175).⁷³ In the 1960s residence patterns at Maningrida were spatially correlated to the locations of the traditional country of the different language groups, and the social networks between the different camps reflected the social tensions between eastern and western groups (Armstrong 1967; Bagshaw 1977; Hamilton 1981; Hiatt 1965; McKay 2000; Meehan 1982). As noted by Elwell (1982), the country of the Burarra/Gun-nartpa-speaking groups is on the cusp of the eastern and western cultural blocks. She conflates them as one by labelling them as Burarra, even though there are well-documented differences in cultural orientations and inter-clan allegiances between the 'freshwater' Gun-nartpa people and the coastal Burarra (§3.2.2). The Gun-nartpa occupy a central place geographically and culturally at this cultural crossroads, and these connections demonstrate a complex interlacing of eastern and western orientations with more localised affinal arrangements. Gun-nartpa-speaking clans are allied in different ways through intermarriage and adoption with clans from both the east and the west, and also to groups from the southern extent of Arnhem Land in the Beswick/Barunga district. Elkin describes the Rembarrnga as "active middle-men" who were in touch with the

⁷³ The western system was described by Elkin and Berndt (1951, discussed in Armstrong, 1967) as organised through a combination of phratries, moieties and subsections (Armstrong 1967). Land-holding units are another type of grouping. Armstrong describes the Kunibidji/Ndjébbana phratries as a non-locality based subdivision within a group, each with a number of totems. The phratries – or 'matrics' as Garde terms them (Garde, personal communication) – are exogamous and descent is matrilineal.

western Murngin (as designated by Warner, 1937) of north-eastern Arnhem Land⁷⁴ and the “Ngakgbun” (Ngalkbon) and “Djauan” (Jawoyn) groups in the south, thus facilitating the diffusion of patrimoiety terms from the north-east southwards (Elkin 1961a:174).⁷⁵

There are a number of Gun-nartpa-speaking people who grew up at Gochan Jiny-jirra, who are regarded as ‘really Rembarrnga’. While recognised as Rembarrnga in terms of the language they ‘own’, the Balngarra, Burnunggu, Warrayngu and other clan groups based at Bolkdjam and Buluhkaduru today speak the Bininj Kunwok dialect Kune (Evans 2003:16). There are close alliances between these clans and the Gun-nartpa An-nguliny. For example, An-nguliny and Balngarra participate closely in ceremonial contexts, each performing the important role of *jungkay* ‘ceremonial manager’ for each other’s ceremonies (An-nguliny are *jungkay* for Gunapipi and Balngarra are *jungkay* for Yapadurrwa). This reciprocity is part of a cognatic lineage that pivots on alliances between *jungkays* – prototypically the *jachacha/ngarlanga* (MB/ZS) dyad. These arrangements continue to this day, with Kune/Gun-nartpa-speaking family members basing themselves at Gochan Jiny-jirra, Ji-balbal and the nearby Rembarrnga outstations of An-gubarrbirri, Bolkjam and Buluhkardaru. The nexus of Rembarrnga, Djinang/Wurlaki and Gun-nartpa speaking clans is still an important organising principle in terms of *bapurrurr*; for example, there is customary intermarriage between An-nguliny and the Djinang Wurrkiganyjarr clans (cf. Elliott 1991, Mirrikurl 2014). The Gun-nartpa are also closely allied with speakers of Kuninjku, the Bininj Kunwok

⁷⁴ Elkin undertook fieldwork with Rembarrnga men at Mainoru near Beswick in the late 1940s, and noted close associations between the Rembarrnga and Djinba (i.e. closely related to Djinang) in ceremony (Elkin 1961b).

⁷⁵ While the Gun-nartpa use the *malk* ‘subsection’, or ‘skin’ terms that Elkin identifies for “Ngakgbun-Rembarrnga” (Ngalkbon), these names are not inherited patrilineally but “matrilineally cycled” (Elkin 1961b:261). *Malk* provides a social identity that also encapsulates normative marriage arrangements for first- and second-choice marriages (McConvell 1985). These are often followed but also often flouted (Hiatt 1965). Among the Gun-nartpa, the *malk* of a child is solely based on the mother of that child and, on the other hand, clan membership is inherited patrilineally. Polygynous marriage (and serial monogamy) means that siblings from the same clan can have different skin names, when their father has married women of different *malk*.

dialect to the west of Kune.⁷⁶ Practically all Gun-nartpa people speak one or both of these dialects as part of their multilingual repertoire, depending upon local social organisation and individual life histories.⁷⁷

Hiatt's earlier social analysis (1965) recognised the distinction between western and eastern groups yet also discerned an intermediate level of social categorisation between these larger regional blocks and the land owning groups. He deployed the term 'community' as a social category, defined as "the group of people who customarily moved about together ... a convenient if loose way of referring collectively to the people of a broad locality" (Hiatt 1965:24). It is through this analysis that the language label 'Gijingali' (Gu-jingaliya) was applied to the coastal speakers of this language. These were people from 19 coastal land-holding units who formed an identifiable higher-level social grouping. Hiatt counted members of communities on the basis of their primary language – omitting some people due to their primary affiliation with Nagara [Na-kara] (and thus western) land-holding units, and including other Gu-jingarliya speakers from a predominantly Djinang unit. Other language groups: the "Nagara [Na-kara], Gunavidji [Kunabíjji/Ndjébbana], Gunadba [Gun-nartpa] and Gungoragoni [Gurr-goni] ... formed a single community" (Hiatt 1965:24). It is clear that Hiatt saw 'community' as a loose unit, and noted a degree of non-isomorphism between groups defined in terms of language affiliation and groups defined in terms of land-affiliation or regional clan-based polities.⁷⁸ Hiatt's use of 'community' reflects his utilitarian bent – while an accurate portrayal of residence patterns in the Maningrida settlement, it doesn't align necessarily with the various local construals of sociality

⁷⁶ Crusoe Batara and his An-nguliny siblings emphasise the fact that their *jaminya* 'mother's father' was 'full Kuninjku' and maintain close ceremonial ties with people at Marrkolidjban, Mumeka and Namangardabu.

⁷⁷ For an example of personal trajectories and its influence on multilingualism see the account of kinship ties between Banggala's family and the Rembarrnga/Kune Balngarra clan in *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* (England et al. 2014:94–95).

⁷⁸ One example of this is that while the Gun-nartpa were not counted as 'Gijingali' for social reasons, they do themselves apply the name Gu-jingarliya to their own language and to that of their coastal neighbors. This fact was recognised by Hiatt and other anthropologists who worked with the coastal Gu-jingarliya (Hiatt 1965, Meehan 1991).

<i>buwan::</i>	Buwan (Dalabon),
<i>aa - jawoyn::</i>	Jawoyn
<i>kuninjku::</i>	Kunijku,
<i>nakara::</i>	Na-kara,
<i>anbarra::</i>	An-barra,
<i>gunarda::</i>	Gun-narda.
<i>there now - gun.guna ngunyuna gun.ginda</i>	there now, they all knew this
<i>marngi \</i>	place.
<i>gunyuna gun.ginda whole lot \</i>	they all were here
<i>gun.guna - gun.guna this place -</i>	this place here
<i>gunngaypa gapal gun.guna \</i>	my country right here

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These customary residence groups became reflected in the composition of the Gochan Jiny-jirra outstation community from the mid 1960s onwards, where Gun-nartpa, Anbarra, Djinang/Wurlaki, Kuninjku, Rembarrnga and Na-kara people all took up residence, working at the Cadell Gardens and hunting in the bountiful country that surrounded the outstation (England et al. 2014:93-124).⁷⁹

There are signs that for the current generation of senior people, historical settlement-era residence patterns are leading to a coalescence of previously separate lineages. During a recording session in 2013 with the An-nguliny Gajok/Gochan siblings Dorothy Galaledba, Crusoe Batara, Mick Ivory Marrawa and Raymond Walanggay, we discussed the long history of the connections between the An-nguliny landowners and others who lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra and Ji-balbal from the 1960s (20130517-DG-01). They talked about how the marriages of the people in their parents' and grandparents' generations led to wider *bapurrurr* 'clan network' connections. For example, the clans that they refer to as *jin-gochila*, in the category of 'mother', they now regard as one mixed group joined by *gurrurtu* 'good relationships'. There are a number of groups that the An-nguliny call 'mother', ranging from Gun-nartpa-speaking clans close by to others further afield. With respect to the An-nguliny, the shared relationship of 'mother' coalesces the Gun-nartpa-speaking Gurnimba with western groups such as the Kuninjku

⁷⁹ For discussions of the pull and factors in relation to outstation residence see Altman (1982, 1987, 2005, 2016; Bagshaw (1977, 1982); Bond-Sharp (2013); Gray (1977); Hiatt, Coombes & Dexter (1982); Meehan (1982); McDonnell (1995) and Pugh (1993).

speaking Gurulk and Mirwi, and the southern ‘middle men’ (and women), the Kune-speaking Balngarra at Bolkdjam as one bapurrurr group that can be referred to as *jin-gochila* ‘the mother (super) group’. They also saw their own clan coalescing with other Yirrichinga clans such as the Kune-speaking Warrayngu/Burnunggu at Buluhkardaru and the Gun-nartpa Gopamalija and Borliny in the Ji-balbal area. Here is an extract from that discussion, starting where Dorothy Galaledba talks about where her parents (England Banggala and Mary Karlbirra) lived when they were young newly-weds.

4:9

DG	<i>ngika-- ngunyuna Maningrida, yigap jinyjanyja abona \ awurribon - jibalbal area, awurrinybona - right up jiyganyja aybamana, gochilawa side \ gun.gaba - jiny-janyja \ yurrwi awurrinybaman, yigapa \</i>	not here at Maningrida, over there he took her, they all went to the Ji-balbal area the two of them went he took her all the way to the sea on the other side over there he took her to Yurrwi, right over there
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[pointing to the various locations as she names them]

CB	<i>second world war, nyborrwuja \</i>	You know the Second World War?
RW	<i>in that area</i>	in that area
MI	<i>together</i>	together
DG	<i>then awurribamana= gapa \</i>	then they went a long way, to there
CB	<i>aburrinyinanga / minyja na - jin.guna bulaybulay wenga jinabamana / old lady / jinybamana - join jinyini jinngayp - marn.gi? ngaypa mother \</i>	they did that try look, that woman came from a long way, that old lady when she came she joined with my mother, you know her?
MI	<i>jin.gochila jinbarrgakiya \ jin.gurnimba \ Gurnimba \</i>	she integrated with our mother group, the Gurnimba clan
CB	<i>Gurnimba \ nginyipa marn.gi? join aburrninya, nyiburrninya \ birripa - birripa aburrnirra muma \ Mirwi \ nyborrwuja?</i>	you know the Gurnimba clan? they all joined we are all together (with) them they are the ones that are mother (to us), the Mirwi, you know?

DG	<i>Mirwi</i>	the Mirwi clan
CB	<i>but - nyirrbubitimanga / old man nyuwubitimanga \</i> <i>nyborrwuja - father side \</i> <i>nginyipa marn.gi \</i>	but, we all follow them we follow the old man you know, (her) father's side you know
MI	<i>so ngayurrpa yigatiya wenga, we bin mixed to us mob, we in one clan now \</i>	so us, from that, we are all mixed together in one clan now
CB	<i>gun.gaba we join nyiburrnyiburrni michpa \</i>	we have all joined together
DG	<i>one clan gun.guni rrapa - Buluhkardaru clan nyiburr-yunya \</i>	we are one clan, including Buluhkardaru, the clan that stay there
CB	<i>old man an.gap, Jibalbal anirr aworkiya \</i>	the old man there who is always at Ji-balbal
RW	<i>Jibalbal anirra aworkiya \</i>	he always stays at Ji-balbal
DG	<i>rrapa Warrayngu yerrcha - mix nyiburr-ninya, ngayurrpa \</i> <i>two mother michpa awurrinybamana \</i>	and the Warrayngu group, we are mixed, us two mothers went together like this
	[signs 'two' with two fingers, mimes movement of two moving together]	
CB	<i>they used to live together gun-gata bush, long time ago, before ngayurrpa \</i> <i>way back \ mu-ngoyurra \</i>	they used to lived together in the bush a long time ago, before us way back in the past

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Dorothy, Crusoe, Mick and Raymond are talking about a *bapurrurr* network formed from a number of different lineages. There is the patriline of Mirwi, the father of Mick and Dorothy's mother Mary Karlbirra. There is also the patriline of Gurnimba, from Crusoe and Raymond's mother, Laurie Malabinbin, who adopted Mary as her sister. The *bapurrurr* includes the Warrayngu clan, because another woman (un-named) was closely associated with the Gurnimba women, an association that reflects both customary marriage arrangements and the co-residence of specific ancestors. The emphasis on the integration of Gurnimba and Mirwi as two groups of *jin-gochila*

‘mothers group’ (< *gochila* ‘belly’) suggests influence from the western cultural block, in which matrimoieties form an important axis of macro-social organisation (Armstrong 1967; Garde 2013) and an increasingly regional focus in terms of social identity. In this inclusive mode, the siblings include the Yirrichinga clans Gopamalija and Borliny, as part of the ‘one mixed clan’. This reconfigured *bapurrurr* reflects a historical pattern in which increased mobility and contact has brought groups into different residential arrangements and the customary affinal exchanges between geographically local lineages have been altered. Within the context of this discussion inclusion is the focus, and possible signifiers that index separate identities within it fade into the background. One of these signifiers is language, as the *bapurrurr* includes clan lineages with assorted linguistic affiliations: Kuninjku (Mirwi), Rembarrnga (Warrayngu, Borliny), Gun-nartpa (An-nguliny, Gopamalija) and Gurr-goni (An-nguliny also). Different customary affinal orientations are also effaced by the emphasis on joining and integrating rather than differentiating. The terms of this discussion are noticeably different from the way that Banggala and Mirrikurl would talk about *bapurrurr* connections, which was in the idiom of ancestral connection along a shared Dreaming track. This is not to say that shared totemic affiliation and Mardayin law are not still significant for the Gun-nartpa; however, they do recognise the changes in circumstance, such as the requirement to integrate new affinal relationships and the historical coalescence of linguistically diverse residential groups.

Another reflex of coalescence is seen in the clan cluster label Gu-gulol Gu-rrenyjinga, which translates as ‘they tread in the mud’ (< *-gulol* ‘stickyness’, *rrenyja* ‘tread’). This is a label that Gun-nartpa people use for a set of lineages that can be identified as separate clans, including Gurnimba, Jota and several others. However, in discussions about these clans, the genealogical details are not always clear, and there are variations between accounts from different people as to how this *bapurrurr* is composed. These uncertainties can be seen in the context of the social disruptions surrounding both Second World War-era migration and Welfare-era settlement. One unifying factor for

the descendants of these clan groups is that their forebears were associated with the Barlparrarra Swamp, and so their current clan identity is named in those terms.⁸⁰

Within the new social arrangements of the settlement era came schooling and urban living in Maningrida (Armstrong 1967). In general, this reduced the opportunities for people to learn and practice cultural traditions in the way that the earlier generation did, through extensive periods of time living on country.⁸¹ The proximity of Gun-nartpa country to the Maningrida settlement was advantageous in this respect as was the year-round availability of water. Both factors enabled the Gun-nartpa to establish the Cadell Gardens in the mid 1960s, utilising horticultural skills that people like Banggala, Harry Litchfield and Nym Marnalpuy had learned while based at Knuckey Lagoon during the 1950s.⁸² An outstation-based livelihood⁸³ meant that they could live on or close to their

⁸⁰ According to Meehan, diets in the presettlement era included a high proportion of food from swamp habitats. When coastal An-barra people returned to their homelands in the early 1970s, their diets reflected an abundance of seafood, and little swamp-based foods. The Anbarra were uncertain about cycles of seasonal abundance, due to a prolonged absence from country. Meehan documented the rise in the proportion of swamp-based foods in the An-barra diet over several seasons as people redeveloped their knowledge and by the end of the 1970s, swamp foods accounted for 30% of the An-barra diet, throughout a seasonal cycle of availability (Meehan 1991).

⁸¹ Elliott reports on perceptions of senior Djinang men in the late 1980s that the ‘saltwater Burarra’ had ‘lost touch with their land after having spent too much time at the township of Maningrida’ (Elliott 1991:10). It is interesting that this comment is made specifically about the coastal group rather than the inland Gun-nartpa who, like the Djinang, see themselves as freshwater people. The Djinang are noted as early uptakers in the outstation movement in the Maningrida region and the Gun-nartpa and Gurr-goni also retained their connection to their country, which was in closer proximity to Maningrida (Borsboom, 1978).

⁸² The Gun-nartpa were supported by missionary David Glasgow, who visited Gochan Jiny-jirra with Nym Marnalpuy in the early 1960s, travelling by boat up the Blyth/Cadell rivers. Glasgow helped with fundraising which enabled the Gun-nartpa to buy their own boat. The Gun-nartpa used the boat to travel to Andarrbaykarda Ana-ngarna and thence on foot to Gochan Jiny-jirra to maintain contact with some of the family who based themselves there looking after the garden. They also caught fish for sale in Maningrida (D Glasgow, personal communication). After the Welfare administration noticed the Gun-nartpa’s gardening efforts, the enterprise was ramped up by supporting a road to the outstation, and the employment of a garden co-ordinator (Borsboom 1978).

country, work during the week, and hunt on the weekends and after work (Ngurarraparlja 2014). Seasonally, they would travel to ceremony, particularly during the dry hot periods in the late dry season. After the demise of the gardens in 1979, art production took the place of the gardens as a source of cash within the outstation economy (Altman 1981, 1987, 2008; Cooke 1983). The school that was established in the early 1970s functioned as an independent school until 2009, when it was subsumed by Maningrida College. Gochan Jiny-jirra school was effectively closed in 2010 and this has compounded the drift towards a changed format of living, one that is based in Maningrida, similar to the arrangements of the Welfare days prior to the start of the outstation movement.⁸⁴ Analysis of the decline of outstation-based livelihoods stretches far beyond the scope of this discussion but in short, the Gun-nartpa, among others, are feeling the impact on the continuity of highly valued cultural forms.⁸⁵

⁸³ Since its establishment as the Outstation Resource Centre in the 1970s, Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation and Maningrida Arts and Culture built up a dynamic set of livelihood activities based on grant programs, Community Development Employment Projects, local enterprises and art production. These intercultural livelihoods ‘depend upon a cultural alignment between Indigenous and non-Indigenous governance, the incorporation of expert outside knowledge and highly flexible income arrangements’ (Fogarty & Ryan 2007:265).

⁸⁴ The Gochan Jiny-jirra school has opened on a seasonal basis several times since 2010, largely due to the advocacy of Margaret Garranyita, a long-term teaching assistant at the school.

⁸⁵ In summary: since the mid 2000s a number of social and political changes have impacted on the Maningrida region, part of ‘a distinctive cultural shift ... underway in the governing of remote-living Aboriginal Australians’ (Altman & Hinkson 2010:185). From 2007 the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER, also known as ‘The Intervention’) raised the political heat on health services, community governance and social programs in remote communities, imposing a wide range of measures which had major impact on the lives of Aboriginal people living in prescribed communities in the NT (Altman & Hinkson 2007, 2010). These measures accompanied an escalating public discourse around Indigenous affairs characterising Aboriginal people ‘in deficit terms ... almost solely in terms of dysfunction – particularly in the remote community context’ (Fogarty 2013:3). As part of a separate set of reforms managed by the NT Government, the Maningrida Council (responsible for a range of services in Maningrida township) was dissolved in 2008. A new local government body – West Arnhem Shire (now Western Arnhem Regional Council) – took over the delivery of essential services, operating from a head office in the community of Jabiru, over 100 km to the west. The global financial crisis of 2008 led to a rapid drop in the value of local artworks, suddenly devaluing the art production of hundreds of local

Mirrikurl put this succinctly when he described how he found himself with no backup at a funeral for one of the An-nguliny men, as he performed his role as *dalkarra gu-rrimanga* ‘the one holding the sacred clan names’ (Mirrikurl, 2014:132):

<p>4:10 <i>Cadell last year gala gaba nyinirrarna funeral place \ o nyininya / aa nip -- nipa anigipa brother gata happen gini \ late nbena ay \ well ngaypa ngubona burra yigatapa \ nyiburrni \ ngijapurndiyana - nyiburrni - yigaba nguyinanga, yigaba ngiyinanga -</i></p>	<p>Cadell last year you didn't go to the funeral, or did you? when it happened to his brother you arrived late hey? well I went there to them, we were all there I sang for all of us there I looked this side and to that side</p>
--	---

[gestures to either side of his body]

<p><i>nobody wasn't behind me \ gala ananga \ old people, pass away aburrni \</i></p>	<p>nobody was behind me not anybody all the old people have passed away</p>
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When he passed away in late 2014, Mirrikurl himself joined the ranks of *aburr-guwelamagapa* ‘all the predecessors’. He was honoured by his kin, who gathered from the surrounding district. Many *balandas* who had known Mirrikurl from his years of working on the outstation tucker run, coaching the Wanderers football team and hosting visitors to the spectacular floodplain country called Nganyjuwa, also paid their respects. Due to the logistics of accommodating the many visitors, seasonal flooding

people in the region. These events compounded the effects of the Intervention, which saw the end of a number of long running programs operating in remote communities in the NT. The post-Intervention period has been catastrophic for BAC and financial and administrative travails have beset the organisation since late 2000s (Altman 2008a, 2016). BAC and MAC have now stabilised their finances and administrative arrangements and continue to provide services and deliver a range of social programs, albeit with a significantly reduced local workforce.

and the lack of vehicles, Mirrikurl wasn't buried on his country, but in Maningrida. His grave is close to his house, at the place called Mu-Manggo 'at the mango trees'.

4.6. *Gun-geka, gun-maywa 'the new and the old'*

As discussed above, Gun-nartpa people often speak of the connections between people in terms of a straight track connecting one part of country to another. They also draw clear lines of connection between their lives today and different times in the historical past. These times are framed by phases of contact history and are historicised in a way that the ancestral past is not (see §4.3). Underlying the passages of 'times' – Macassan Time, Japani Time, War Time, *An-dakal* 'traditional war', Welfare Time, Outstation Time – there is a theory of continuity expressed as a connection with the lived everyday past, of traditional lifestyle and the people who lived it. These connections involve a cultural self-awareness, a positioning of self as a historical cultural subject, instantiated by cultural objects and practices. This is a 'modern' theory that has its roots in the intercultural experiences and new understandings of broader social forces that were shaped by the various historical eras of contact with outsiders. For example, one day Terry Ngamandara found a stone spearhead from the riverbank downstream from Gochan Jiny-jirra and brought it to show me. This triggered a long discussion about *An-dakal* 'traditional warfare' with Terry's father, Harry Litchfield, who remembered such incidents from his youth (Litchfield 2014). After one of Harry's recounts of attacks and counterattacks between warring clan groups, the younger man Terry shook his head and clicked his tongue to express admiration, saying, 'Old people ay?' Patrick Muchana was there too, and commented to me, 'Yo, we were a stone-age people, really stone age'. At the time I was taken aback by Patrick's self-description in terms of what I thought to be an ethnographic cliché. From my viewpoint, there was no validity to essentialist notions of culture that relied on oppositions between 'primitive' and 'modern', and the presentation of cultural forms as exotic and essentially 'other'. I also was troubled by the thought that perhaps Patrick saw 'culture' as something that belonged in the past. For me, this begged the question of how to approach the understanding of modes of thought, linguistic expressions and communicative practices

that were still quite obviously relevant to the lifeways of the Gochan Jin-jirra community and their wider social network at that historical moment.

Interpreting the meaning of this comment requires some background about Patrick himself. He was born near Darwin while his parents were based there in the late 1950s, working for the Litchfield family on their farm at Knuckey Lagoon. As a child he spent much time with the Litchfields, taking their last name as his own ‘balanda name’ (England et al. 2014:91). After being recognised as a capable school student he attended Dhupuma College in Yirrkala as a teenager (§3.5.2). He then went on to study with the School of Australian Linguistics in Batchelor during the 1980s. He was employed as a literacy worker in the early years of the Burarra Bilingual Program at Maningrida school and as an assistant teacher at Gochan Jiny-jirra school during the 1980s (e.g. Mudjana 1987, 1995; Mudjana & Nagai 1987/2007; Mudjana & Pascoe 1995). Thus, throughout Patrick’s professional life in education and as part of his family background, he had considerable exposure to mainstream Australian historical perspectives. He is one of a few Gun-nartpa people of his generation who developed a range of literacy practices (Kral 2009), situated within the social relationships and practices of schooling, adult education and bilingual education (McKay 2011:312). As Kral comments, “being literate involves more than having individual technical literacy skills and individual competencies, it also depends on the relationship between language behaviours and supporting social relations and cultural practices” (Kral 2009:42).

Cultural practices among the Gun-nartpa include an ethic of communality and a concept of life stage as a marker of knowledge, seniority and status. Patrick is someone whose stages in life have been marked by intercultural educational practices, including ceremonially framed graduations from courses at Batchelor College. He is one of a few senior Gun-nartpa people socially designated as a representative of the Burarra/Gun-nartpa bilingual program, and of literacy practices more broadly. Thus, Patrick’s comment about ‘stone-age people’ is informed by his social role as a literacy practitioner. Furthermore, it reveals a meta-awareness of a self-positioned ethnographic subjectivity, one that is constitutive of a social identity for Gun-nartpa people. It is situated within and responds to the modes of contact between local people and the waves of outsiders that they interact with. This is a historicised identity construct, and

the telling of histories and the various forms of tutelage that I participated in at Gochan Jiny-jirra and Maningrida were framed by the various projections of this identity. These projections involve iconic representations of cultural forms in the form of narrative; performative acts that enable further interrogation of ethical uncertainties and contradictions (Lambek 2010a; Ochs & Capps 2001). This is how I understand the stone spearhead, and the stories of traditional warfare. They represent lived experience for some, yet they are also iconic signifiers. As Lemke writes:

The texts and artefacts of the past are objects in our present day world, and it is by way of our present day notions of similarity and difference, continuity and discontinuity, that we construct their historical meaning in the present day, and for the present day, by construing relationships between these objects and ourselves. (Lemke 1995:24)

By extension, the people who lived the experience and those who are authorised to tell about it are also iconic of such identity formations and their projection as ‘culture’. They enact the distinction between *gun-geka gun-maywa*, rendering the effects of contact and change coherent and ‘tellable’, in the sense described by Ochs & Capps (2001). Thus we see the nexus of Terry’s discovery of the stone spearhead, his father Harry’s telling of the stories about traditional warfare, and Patrick’s commentary upon how these iconic representations situate the Gun-nartpa in the here and now, as an instance of *gun-geka gun-maywa* ‘the new and the old’.

4.7 Conclusion

Banggala and others at Gochan Jiny-jirra saw intercultural language teaching interactions as a means of maintaining a separate Gun-nartpa social identity. This teaching was achieved through narrative practices that were oriented towards the intercultural space that we shared, albeit from our different social positions and perspectives (Martin 2003). These practices encompassed the telling of stories that accounted for the creation and existence of the country, clans and people who call themselves Gun-nartpa. There were also history stories that express another perspective on Gun-nartpa identity; one which appeals to the notion of *gun-geka gun-maywa* ‘the new and the old’. Through these accounts Gun-nartpa people situate themselves within

the intercultural experiences shaped by contact, settlement and colonisation, interrogating the meaning of social change in terms of its impacts on local identities. This sets these stories apart from the ideologically immutable accounts of ancestral creation, in which the negotiated achievement of authenticity is “rendered invisible” (Bucholtz 2003:408) through its expression as myth. Earlier I referred to Keen’s characterisation of the atemporality of the ancestral past §4.3, its immanence in the present expressed as landscape, ritual and social organisation (Keen 1990). Despite the importance of ‘the past’ as a time separate from ‘now’ in history stories, these stories about the past also invoke a sense of the here and now, a certain degree of atemporality. This is discerned through narrative practices that are shared between ancestral, historical and conversational narrative – where the passage of time is not emphasised but the social identity of narrative participants, the authenticity of tellers and the evaluation of the ethical dimensions of narrated events are paramount. To investigate these practices requires a model of narrative practice, which I turn to in the next chapter.

5. Narrative in interaction

5.1 Introduction

This chapter extends the discussion of Gun-nartpa identity in the previous chapter by presenting a theoretical framework for the analysis of narrative structure and narrative practice. I employ a broad definition of narrative from the outset, viewing this as discourse that is organised in terms of both succession of episodes and an orientation towards actors, and where, at least in part, the identity of actors persists throughout discourse (Longacre 1985).⁸⁶ Narrative discourse is also associated with the notion of narrative peaks or highpoints. These are marked episodes that correspond to climaxes in the ‘notional structure’ of a story (Longacre 1985) and which are given prominence by a range of evaluative strategies (Labov & Waletzky 1997; Polanyi 1985).

I commence the chapter with a discussion of ideas that stem from literary theory and interaction studies, in particular the work of Bakhtin (1981) and Goffman (1981). I also discuss the work of Klapproth (2004, 2007), who proposes a model of narrative that is culturally constrained and represents a form of social practice. Polanyi (1985) and Ochs and Capps (2001) argue that narrative is part of everyday communication practice, and the latter present a model of conversational narrative with a number of graded dimensions (Ochs & Capps 2001). Alongside these scholars I discuss the Gun-nartpa word *janguny* ‘story’ and the social, ideological and relational character of this local concept. While narrative practice occurs throughout both monologic and interactional discourse in many different social arenas in Gun-nartpa society, not all storytelling is classed as *janguny*. As well, there are many instances of *janguny* that are not narratively structured.

⁸⁶ I use ‘actor’ to refer to the characters in narrative (equivalent to ‘agents’ in Longacre 1983), and ‘participant’ to refer to those involved in the communicative setting (Goffman 1981). The distinction between actor and participant collapses at times, and when this occurs, participant is the default. I avoid ‘agent’ so that there is no potential for confusion between a narrative ‘actor’ and a grammatical ‘agent’, the latter being relevant to the grammatical description of Gun-nartpa (see G§1-4).

Taking a broadly social perspective on narrative practice, I situate this analysis within a milieu of attitudes towards language research, networks of social connection, and ideas about continuity and change. Evaluations of actors and events in narrative discourse are central to the construction and propagation of these attitudes and beliefs (Polanyi 1985), and evaluation in narrative practice is closely tied to the idea of *janguny*. Evaluation involves appraisal, attitude and judgement, and is reflected in linguistic and paralinguistic features. These features express interpersonal meanings that involve “not only the means by which speakers/writers overtly encode what they present as their own attitudes but also those means by which they more indirectly activate evaluative stances and position readers/listeners to supply their own assessments” (Martin & White 2005:2). This includes aspects of narrative such as affect, the authority of speakers, and the social alignments of speaker, audience and others.

5.2 *Heteroglossia, genre and narrative practice*

In their analysis of everyday narrative practices, Ochs & Capps (2001) draw attention to the nesting of narratives and the unboundedness of their intersections. There are multiple indexical relationships between narrative genres, interactionally situated discourse, context and social settings. To elaborate with this thesis as an example I – as the academic writer – take an authoritative stance, adopting formats and strategies of rhetoric that comply with a received academic style. This text “reveals the cultural origin of its producer” (Polanyi 1985:3). Narrative practices are central, as I present events and characters that are part of the story of this encounter, attempt to make them cohere logically, put them into a temporal arrangement, and demystify them (Ochs & Capps 2001:2). Within this narrative, this thesis, are nested other narratives, representations of the voices of Gun-nartpa people who have come into the range of my tape recorder and notebook. I juxtapose them with the (largely) de-narrativised voices of scholars who have written and spoken on related topics. As Ochs & Capps (2001) comment:

Taking the logic of revoicing to the extreme, every word, expression and genre we employ in narrative has been coauthored in the sense that they have been developed and used by others before us (Ochs & Capps 2001:25).

This perspective on narrative echoes Bakhtin (1981), who theorised language as interactional and dialogic, composed through the polyphony of many voices, resulting in the heteroglossic nature of ‘language’. Notions of language unity are posited, not inherent, and reflect normative orientations:

A common unitary language is a system of linguistic norms. But these norms do not constitute an abstract imperative; they are rather the generative forces of linguistic life, forces that struggle to overcome the heteroglossia of language, forces that unite and centralize verbal-ideological thought (Bakhtin 1981:270-71).

Bakhtin’s discussion of literary heteroglossia is situated within a critique of the centripetal forces of language ideologies that focus attention away from plurality to unitary conceptualisations of language. These ideological currents (which he traces through the historical roots of ‘universal grammar’) support the coalescence of heteroglossic diversity into “languages that are socio-ideological”, languages that can be defined in terms of social groups and the oppositional logic that defines them, based in notions of difference, inclusion and exclusion (Bakhtin 1981:272).

The determining characteristics of these socio-ideological categories are construed in essentialist terms, as linked to types or coherently construed cohorts. There are clear parallels here between Bakhtin’s critique and Mufwene & Vigouroux’s (2012) ecological framing of language ideology that was discussed in Chapter 3. Bakhtin’s critique enables us to turn a spotlight on ‘genre’ as well, asking how and why certain organisational compositions of discourse come to be named, reified and prioritised as ‘types’ (Bauman 1999; Blommaert 2008). The notion of genre enables us to label arrangements of related and co-occurrent formal structures and “serves as a conventionalized orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse” (Bauman 1999:84). In Bakhtin’s terms, the importance of genres as normatively framed forms of discourse reflects the unifying forces of language ideology and the coalescence of heteroglossia into conventional forms (Bauman 1999). Blommaert, also following Bakhtin’s definition of genre, draws attention to the expectations associated with genres, as forms of discourse that allow us to distinguish different types of communication events and cue appropriate ‘postures’ as aspects of communicative

behaviour within these events (Blommaert 2008: 43-44). Throughout this discussion I situate genres within the model of interactional narrative practice described by Ochs and Capps (2001). This model does not define narrative in terms of the formal characteristics of narratives that are planned, rehearsed and performed, and that reflect a unitary teller, topic and coherent moral stance. Rather, they investigate narrative practices – and the expectations associated with such practices – within the dialogic interactions that situate most human communicative acts (Ochs & Capps 2001).⁸⁷

The revoiced and nested narratives in this thesis are not presented here *in toto*; they are fragments that I have selected. This is an authenticating strategy quite obviously, as these narrative fragments are ‘data’: their selection allows for exemplification, a discourse strategy that shores up certainty in my argument (Bucholtz 2003; Eira & Stebbins 2008). I also understand that the ‘data’ in my corpus of recordings and notes represents a socially situated selection process. That is, the Gun-nartpa people I have worked with are not passive producers of narrative: they deployed narrative strategically within our encounters, employing various genres and communication modalities for social purposes. These strategies involved the prioritising of certain topics and certain tellers (Ochs & Capps 2001:24-33). One motivation for this selectivity is that the Gun-nartpa people hold a coherent and historically based ideology that frames language research. This ideology has developed through the years of interaction with *balanda* allies in education, orthography development, bible translation and art documentation. It is influenced by a social dialectic – an ongoing interrogation of the cultural values represented by *gun-guwarr* ‘the traditional past’, *gapala yerrcha* ‘the old people’ and *gun-maywa* ‘the old ways’ in the context of *gun-geka* ‘the new’. These oppositions are often framed as contradictory value sets by the Gun-nartpa themselves and also within the ‘narratives of failure’ within mainstream public discourse in relation to Indigenous education and social policy (Fogarty 2013; Kral 2009). However, positioning these values in a dialogue about the ‘times’ of history (England et al. 2014:xxiv-xxviii) is one way that Gun-nartpa people examine and interrogate the paradox of *gun-geka*, *gun-maywa* ‘new ways and old ways’ (England et al. 2014:65; §4.6).

⁸⁷ As discussed by Blythe, the work of Bakhtin is foundational to interactionally oriented linguistic studies, such as the analysis of reported speech (Blythe 2009a:251).

From the point of view of a linguist, I recognise the normative framings of language research in the community setting, yet also feel an imperative to go beyond this, to investigate a wide range of situated communication practice within an approach to language research that recognises and values the diversity to be found there. I have experienced this as a tension, because the Gun-nartpa have often seen my role from other perspectives, ones that do not always align with mine (Stebbins 2012). Despite this, through my negotiations with the Gun-nartpa I have followed the lead of senior people in prioritising certain kinds of narrative practices in relation to the concept of *janguny* ‘story’. This aligns with their express wishes and also my inclination to comport myself in solidarity with these wishes as best I can, especially given the social and political asymmetries that frame our worlds (Land 2015). I have also been mindful of the consultation and collaboration protocols mandated through the institutional ethics infrastructure, provided by my employer and the funding bodies that supported the documentation and publication projects. Against this backdrop of varying sets of expectations, I have collaborated with the Gun-nartpa team through a series of interactions to record, review, select, transcribe, translate and interpret the *janguny* that we published as *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ (England et al. 2014). As far as I can gauge, this selection conforms to their expectations about genre in terms of how their stories are told for a wider audience.

5.3 The unity of semiotically complex utterances

In focusing a lens on the way that genres and other forms of narrative discourse are constituted within the intercultural space of language research work, I attempt to situate our interactions and collaborations within a broader communication ecology. This is in concert with approaches to the understanding of communicative meaning that reach beyond conceptualisations such as ‘language’, ‘genre’ and ‘narrative’ as systems that are somehow autonomous, static and describable in and of themselves. As Enfield argues, meaning is expressed in communicative units that are composites of semiotic systems and modalities: “In human social behavior, interactants build communicative sequences, move by move. These moves are never semiotically simple” (Enfield 2009:1). Enfield also points to the principle of semiotic unity “when encountering

multiple signs which are presented together, take them as one” and the composite nature of semiotically complex utterances, such as the co-occurrence of hand gestures and speech. These are “context-situated composites of multiple signs, part conventional, part non-conventional” (Enfield 2009:6).

The foregrounding of multimodal compositionality in the expression of meaning leads us to look beyond the format and content of ‘texts’ and to consider not only the communicative role these play within their various settings, but their symbolic role. In this respect the socially situated meanings involve not only the compositionality of linguistic and other signs, but the configuration of who, why and where communicative acts occur. In this respect we can view types and forms of narrative as indexical signifiers. That is to say, through the indexical relationship of contiguity, the story and the storyteller are co-present in the context of utterance (Hanks 1999; Peirce 1955). A genre of narrative is a context-situated composite of linguistic signs, co-occurring with the indexical relationship between genre and social identity. The formal features of genre that occur within a specific set of utterances also index other tellings conforming with expectations about form, content, narrator and setting. As Bauman writes, “[w]hen an utterance is assimilated to a given genre, the process by which it is produced and interpreted is mediated through its intertextual relationship with prior texts” (Bauman 1999:84).

We can extend the principle of semiotic unity to narrative structure. Certain types of *discourse component* are prototypically associated with types of *discourse episode*; thus, we find action predicates commonly associated with action episodes and reported speech with interaction episodes (§6.3). In Longacre’s terms, all narrative is underpinned by a notional structure, a plot. A plot identifies notional points of climax, which are realised in surface structure as narrative peaks, or highpoints (Longacre 1983).⁸⁸ Narratives are built from episodes and episodes are sequenced in time⁸⁹ and

⁸⁸ Longacre’s analysis presents plots in terms of unitary peaks that stories build towards and resolve from (Longacre 1983). However in everyday narrative tellers frequently iterate the key points and assign prominence at multiple points throughout a narrative event (Ochs & Capps 2001; Polanyi 1985). Thus I prefer the term ‘highpoint’ over ‘peak’.

space (Hoffmann 2015), yet at narrative highpoints the sequencing of narrative episodes is disrupted by the evaluation strategies brought into play to give prominence to these stretches of discourse (Longacre 1983; Margetts 2015; Polanyi 1985). When expressing the notional climax points, multiple discourse components frequently nest and overlap, collapsing the episodic structure of narrative at that point. Through analysis of such layering of discourse components we observe stretches of narrative discourse that express multivalent semiotic potential. Following the principle of semiotic unity, such semiotically complex stretches of discourse can be interpreted as unified episodes in themselves, that is, as narrative highpoints. I return to this point in §6.3 and §6.4.

5.4 Footing and the storyworld

Narrative discourse invokes a frame of reference, a ‘storyworld’ in which events happen and characters interact (Polanyi 1985). To some degree or another this is separate from the ‘world of interaction’; the situation where the storyteller is telling the story. In broad terms there are ways that the storyworld is defined, such as through conventional discourse forms. As Klapproth writes, storytelling conforms to schemata, “sets of expectations about the structure and internal coherence of stories” (Klapproth 2007:80). Storytellers lead in to stories, and within a story one episode leads in to another (Hoffman 2015). For some narrative genres, lead-ins are easily identifiable. For example, Green describes the storytelling contexts for *tyepety* ‘sand stories’, where the narration is differentiated from surrounding discourse by the preparation of the ground for storytelling and the establishment of props. Once ready, the story can begin, with speech narration accompanying drawing in the sand (Green 2014:2). Within *tyepety* narrative convention, transitions between episodes are clearly marked, with erasure – the physical clearing of the story marks from the ground – being the key device used by narrators to lead from one episode to another. Goffman (1981) described such shifts in terms of changes of *footing*; the alignments that communicative participants take

⁸⁹ Narrative episodes do not necessarily follow chronological order. Narratives involve flashbacks, flashforwards, summaries and abstracts, and iterative cycles of temporal sequence (Polanyi 1985).

towards the communicative context. He uses the notion of ‘participant framework’, writing that:

When a word is spoken all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it. The codification of these various positions and the normative specification of appropriate conduct within each provide an essential background for interaction analysis (Goffman, 1981:3).

Through applying this notion we can investigate how participants’ posture, stance and projected self are at issue within acts of communication; how footing, held across a “strip of behaviours”, is indicated (Goffman 1981:128). Goffman pointed to *bracketing* as the markers of change of footing, and brackets can be ritualised and conventionalised (such as the preparation of the ground for a *tyepety* story, formal greetings and quotative expressions). Brackets are the structural expressions of changes of footing, and include switches in code, prosodic marking, the management of turn-taking and a range of other markers that serve to demarcate one strip of behaviours from another (Goffman 1981:124-59). Brackets enable the expression of story schemata, as storytellers mark the recognisable shifts from one episode to the next.

Brackets serve to differentiate the storyworld created through narrative from the world of interaction, the interactional context in which the story is being told. A change in footing is often accompanied by a shift in deictic centre, and a commonly observed example of this alignment is a speaker’s move from a narrative voice to reported speech, where the narrative is driven forward through dialogue between participants. This situates discourse in a world within a world, and as Blythe writes:

We may thus distinguish the setting of the unfolding interaction from the storyworld setting ... of the reported interaction. Recipients of unfolding talk must be cognizant of a storyteller’s shift in footing between the world of unfolding interaction and storyworld of reported interaction (Blythe 2009b:26-27, emphasis removed).

Reported speech is bracketed from surrounding discourse, as are other kinds of footing shifts, and such bracketings are discussed in this chapter.

While the storyworld may have an independent coherence, this is not a bounded space and there are many ways that narrative indexes its social setting and refers exophorically to participants outside the storyworld. Furthermore, stretching beyond the interactional setting and its social composition is the broader world. As discussed in Chapter 4, this broader world is rich in signifiers of belonging, of ways that people construe identities. Thus there are worlds within worlds, and acts of reference within one world can index participants across the boundaries between these imagined and actual interactive spaces. Each space provides a relational frame of reference⁹⁰ that provides the context for the interpretation of socially deictic signifiers (Garde 2013). Such interpretations involve the evaluative stances taken by tellers, where prominence is given to actors, interactions and events at narrative highpoints (§5.9).

Thus we may consider the storyworld as a frame of reference in itself – one that is demarcated from the wider discourse and interactional context – but it can be further analysed as being comprised of a number of frames of reference of different types. The various bracketings that occur in narrative discourse involve shifts in the *temporal*, *spatial* or *relational frames of reference* for the interpretation of signifiers within a stretch of discourse. These various frames of reference, that could in principle be kept distinct, are often not clearly bracketed from each other. In our project, there were telescoping arrays of participants, events and settings, from the original recording events, to the re-encounters with these recordings, and the retellings of the events through new recordings and collaborative writing (Carew 2015). Throughout, people created narratives, move by move, often performing identities expressed in terms of *gun-geka gun-maywa*, ‘the new and the old’. Through narrative they placed themselves within events remembered from the past and among family members that had gone before them. As they did, they frequently referred to people and events simultaneously from within and without the storyworld; showing that these worlds overlap and their boundaries are permeable. Another way of saying this is that Gun-nartpa storyworlds invoke relational frames of reference that hold rich potential for the interpretation of signifiers of belonging. These socially indexical and intertextual practices are present in

⁹⁰ This is equivalent to Goffman’s ‘participation framework’, however I identify relational frames of reference as an analytical construct alongside temporal and spatial frames of reference.

the early stories recorded at Gochan Jiny-jirra, in which senior people invoke the presence of their own elders in their youth. The book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* reprises this theme over and over, honouring the dead through the selection of stories, the positioning of photographs and the content of the commentary text. It instantiates the reading of a historicised identity that is part of the sociality of *bapurrurr*, one that is validated by the life stories and the social connections of *awurr-guwelamagapa* ‘all the predecessors’.

5.5 Narrative as social practice

Klapproth (2004, 2007) has analysed narrative genres in a social practice model, comparing narratives from the western traditions of fairy tales to the narratives of Anangu people, spoken in the Pitjantjatjara language. Klapproth emphasises that to understand stories requires an understanding of the contexts in which they occur. A guiding question in Klapproth’s work was ‘what makes a good story?’ (Klapproth 2004), and she focused her attention on narratives which were identified as exemplars in this sense. In terms of the Western Desert cultural tradition these were narratives that were presented as prototypical examples of ‘good stories’, assessed as such by their tellers and audiences. Klapproth argues for a storytelling model that includes the component of ‘narrated world’ (i.e. ‘storyworld’), a term that refers to “the cognitive world that narrator and narratee jointly construct in the storytelling act out of the totality of the narrated events, characters and settings” (Klapproth 2004:106). Through communicative acts that construct such worlds, storytellers and audiences enact cultural schemas that structure narratives. Schemas are consistent with the wider social contexts, belief systems and cultural practices of the Anangu world, and stories play important social functions within this.⁹¹ Anangu stories provide commentary on social behavior and the interrelatedness of social actors; thus are important as socialising influences for young members of this society.

⁹¹ Cultural schemas align with Longacre’s ‘notional structures’, the essential plots that underpin the surface structures of narrative discourse (and, in fact, other forms of discourse as well) (Longacre 1983:20; also see Polanyi 1985 and §5.8).

There are some parallels between Klapproth's analysis of Anangu narratives and the social function of some Gun-nartpa stories. For example, Banggala's account of how the creation ancestor Ji-japurn told the An-nguliny people to place the Jin-gubardabiya pandanus mat spirit at Wangarr A-juwana can be interpreted as a myth of creation, providing spiritual coherence to the dynamic changes in the relationships between clans and their ownership over different country (Banggala 2014; see discussion of this narrative in §4.3). The story told by Banggala can be regarded as an 'outside' public version, that has a restricted counterpart in the Mardayin law. Through age-grading rituals and life experiences, the bonding function of storytelling provides the foundation for access to increasingly restricted forms of the knowledge alluded to in the basic story format.

Story books created for children as part of the Burarra and Gun-nartpa bilingual program at Maningrida school are also consistent with many of the social functions identified for Anangu narratives. For example, one of the functions identified by Klapproth is the interlinking of cultural practice with narrative practice. There are several stories in the Burarra/Gun-nartpa bilingual oeuvre that tell stories of people getting tricked by a person making a funny sound (G Pascoe & B Pascoe 1993), or by pretending to be a devil (Fry & G Pascoe 1988). A related set of stories tell about characters getting big frights, such as from seeing a snake (Ngalwaringa & B Pascoe 1990). These stories reflect orientations within everyday narrative practice towards warning children of the dangers of wandering off alone through allegories of entrapment (cf. Garranyita 2014; Ngamandara 2014). While there are such parallels, I agree with Senft's (2006) critique of Klapproth's analysis of stories, in its lack of a Pitjantjatjara perspective on stories and their meanings. He asks:

Do the Anungu [sic] metalinguistically differentiate the ... stories? Do they have a metalinguistic term for 'story'? Do they have metalinguistic labels with which they differentiate genres of narratives? Is there a kind of emic Anungu typology of narratives? (Senft 2006:1330)

This perspective accords with that of Blythe (2011), who comments that most linguistic studies of narrative in Australia have focused on formal elicited narratives. In general, studies draw on such narratives as data for grammatical description and discourse

analysis. They rarely investigate how Indigenous people evaluate narrative, nor the ways in which narrative discourse is socially situated and how it is interwoven with other discourse genres and modalities (however, see Blythe 2009a, 2011; Green 2014). This is despite the overt orientation that Indigenous societies have towards the importance of storytelling in the transmission of knowledge and the socialisation of young people (e.g. Etherington 2006). Gun-nartpa people are no different, and hence in the next section I provide an introduction to my understanding of what the Gun-nartpa mean when they talk about *janguny* ‘story’. This discussion reveals some divergences between the idea of narrative as discussed so far and the local Indigenous concept.

5.6 *The Gun-nartpa concept of janguny ‘story’*

The Gun-nartpa have an overt epistemology in regard to communication and discourse, as evidenced by the number of lexemes and conventional expressions relating to communicative acts (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Some Gun-nartpa lexemes and phrasal expressions relating to speech and communicative acts

(i) Nominal expressions

<i>-guwengga</i>	one that speaks, speaker	<i>an-guwengga</i> tape recorder; <i>mun-guwengga</i> cassette tape
<i>-guwenggajonama</i> <i>an-gugaliya /</i> <i>jin-gugaliya</i> <i>gelama-gelama bay</i> <i>gelama-gelama</i> <i>an-gubay</i>	someone who talks a lot man / woman who understands language teach, instruct teacher, mentor, advisor	<i>wengga + jonama</i> back <i>galiya</i> understand <i>gelama</i> ear (the seat of understanding and comprehension) <i>bay</i> eat
<i>gu-balanda</i>	English	<i>balanda</i> person from a European background
<i>gu-jarlabiya</i> <i>gun-nyarlkuch</i> <i>Gu-jingarliya</i>	speech that moves quickly ⁹² soft speech language ‘of the tongue’; the group of mutually intelligible dialects also known as	Gun-nartpa use these terms to describe their own speech <i>ngarla</i> tongue

⁹² Morphologically this is a verb, however, it functions as a nominal to express this sense.

<i>gun-bachirra</i> <i>gun-burrderta</i>	Burarra and Gun-nartpa angry speech speech that is too difficult to understand	<i>-bachirra</i> dangerous, cheeky <i>burr-</i> manner + <i>-derta</i> hard
<i>gun-derta</i>	hard speech	Gun-nartpa use this to describe the speech of the other Gu-jingarliya dialects ? <i>jerrja</i> lift down <i>jechinawa</i> straight <i>-jerrgarrkarra</i> fast moving <i>-jurrkjurrk</i> lawless, badmannered
<i>gun-guburnjerrja</i> <i>gun-jechinawa</i> <i>gun-jerrgarrkarra</i> <i>gun-jurrkjurrk</i>	swearwords straight, correct speech fast-moving speech inconsiderate speech	<i>-molamola</i> good < <i>-mola</i> ripe, cooked
<i>gun-molamola</i>	good speech, implies agreement, solidarity	As when under a speech taboo
<i>jakutit</i>	signaling nonverbally, by whistling	
<i>janguny</i> <i>joborr</i>	story, word law, etiquette around social conduct	
<i>marn.gi</i> <i>mirirri</i> <i>mu-japurra</i> <i>muk</i> <i>ngarlngarta;</i> <i>-ngarlngarta</i> <i>wengga</i>	knowledge, understanding avoidance relationship joking relationship silence mute, tongue-tied speech, language	

(ii) Verbal expressions

<i>-ngana bitima;</i> <i>nganabitima</i> (<i>compound verb form</i>)	mimic, repeat after	<i>ngana</i> takes local case prefix in agreement with the subject of the verb <i>bitima</i> to follow
<i>bamanumja;</i> <i>bamanumnumja</i>	nod head in agreement (once) nod several times	<i>numja</i> ? (cf. <i>numnumja</i> suck like a baby)
<i>bamapa</i> <i>borrwa</i> <i>burnjerrja</i> <i>burr-mari wengga</i>	forget think, consider, remember swear at, tell off forcefully speak angrily to make trouble; (biblical sense) to pronounce judgement	<i>bama</i> head <i>burr-mari</i> with trouble
<i>burrgurdayja</i>	converse using different languages simultaneously, translate	<i>gurdayja</i> repay, return in kind
<i>galiya</i> <i>gu-jarlapa wengga</i>	listen, understand instruct beforehand	<i>jarlapa</i> to make, repair

<i>gu-warrpura bu ngana ngima</i>	absolve a taboo on speech	<i>warrpura</i> sweat; <i>bu</i> to hit
<i>gun-bachirra ngana wu</i>	incite an argument with angry words	<i>ngima</i> to apply paint or sweat <i>gun-bachirra</i> angry words; <i>ngana</i> mouth; <i>wu</i> give
<i>gurdagurdarra japurrajerrjiya</i>	demonstrate, point out to express respect and gratitude	? <i>gurda</i> that <i>japurra</i> mouth area ⁹³ ; <i>jarwarra</i> initiation gift <i>jerrjiya</i> sever relationship, release from taboo?
<i>mu-japurra bacha ~ mu-jarwarra bacha jo</i>	joke with joking partner ⁹⁴	<i>bacha</i> to fight
<i>joborr ngurrja</i>	scold, ‘growl’ someone explain etiquette of behavior in terms of normative relationships between kin	a narrative style, formatted as archetypal dialogues between kin
<i>jurnayerrnyja jurnja</i>	ignore be speechless, helpless	<i>yerrnyja</i> throw Implication: unable to act is equivalent to unable to speak
<i>jurn.gujima</i>	make speechless	+ <i>gujima</i> CAUSE (replaces + <i>ja</i> formative)
<i>mernda rrima</i>	hold arm in gesture of respect for <i>jongok</i> ‘affinal category requiring respect’	<i>rrima</i> hold
<i>merndagarlma nega</i>	sign with hands to address as kin	<i>mernda</i> arm + <i>garlma</i> get up <i>neka ~ nega</i> is a causative transitive verb and ‘to address as kin’ is one sense. ⁹⁵
<i>nganagobaguba ngarl balkiya</i>	make silent, shut people up be speechless	<i>ngana</i> mouth <i>ngarla</i> tongue; <i>balkiya</i> to stick to self
<i>ngarlbijibijiya</i>	get words mixed up	<i>bijibijiya</i> to be tangled up < <i>bicha</i> tie
<i>ngorlgornda</i>	make speechless	<i>ngarla</i> tongue + <i>gornda</i> cut With vowel assimilation <i>a > o</i>
<i>ngukurdanyja</i>	turn over, also translate; and used to refer to the act of writing language down as	<i>gurdanyja</i> repay, return in kind

⁹³ The mouth area, *japurra*, is associated with taboo and circumspection; in sign language, touching the mouth area is the sign for ‘mother-in-law’.

⁹⁴ In particular between *mununa/jerda* (MM, MMB) and *ganggurda* (DS/D). Sometimes also *jongok*, ‘potential affine’ in certain circumstances (see Garde 2008c).

⁹⁵ To express the transitive sense ‘address as kin’ the verb *nega* is always inflected with *-nga* ‘inceptive tense’: e.g. *muma ngu-nanga* ‘I call her mum’ (note dropping of the stem final syllable with suffixation).

<i>ngurrja</i>	fieldnotes explain, describe, call (something a name)	Can describe human speech, animal sounds and characteristic sounds of inanimate objects (eg. windmills)
<i>wengga</i>	speak, make sound	
<i>wenggana</i> <i>wukurrja</i> <i>yakarrarra ngurrja</i> <i>yinda ~ yina</i>	ask, request, inquire write, draw explain kinship connections do this	Frames acts of demonstration and communication, including speech, the act of calling someone a kinship term and non-verbal signs
<i>yopa</i>	discuss, gossip	

For the Gun-nartpa, great storytellers that they are, communicative acts quite naturally intersect with narrative practices. Yet in their narratively structured ‘web of discourses’ (Klapproth 2004), not everything that could be called a ‘narrative’ (Ochs & Capps 2001) counts as an instance of *janguny* ‘story’, from the Gun-nartpa perspective. And turning this around, not everything that the Gun-nartpa call *janguny* is necessarily a narrative, to my way of thinking as an ‘Anglo-Australian’ person (Walsh in press). This warrants a closer look at the Gun-nartpa notion of *janguny*, one of the many communication concepts expressed as lexemes in Gun-nartpa. *Janguny* usually is translated as ‘story’, and is distinguished from *wengga* ‘speech, sound, language’. *Janguny* can refer to individual words, such as in the following text fragment from a 2011 discussion between Margaret Garranyita and I about recording a list of kinship words and the subsequent task of typing them up.

5:1	<i>gunerranga janguny arrwenga,</i> <i>an burdak barrwa muwurra nyjeka,</i> <i>gapa nyjarlapa nyini ya \</i>	we say different words then wait for later when you go back you’ll fix it up there, won’t you
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Janguny can also refer to situated narrative speech acts, such as a joke or the telling of news, as in examples 5:2 and 5:3.

5:2 *gujunguny burryolkaja* with a story, someone tricked them

Glasgow:BD:janguny

5:3 *janguny gubarrjekarra nula,* The story went back about him,
aburrgaliyana wurra gama gorlk, the people heard
mari gumenga that he had trouble.

Glasgow:BD:barrjeka

Written texts created for the Burarra Bilingual Program are also referred to as *janguny*, sometimes in their title – such as *Manggu gun-nika janguny* ‘Mango Story’ (Mudjana 1987) – and sometimes as author credit on the imprint page – for example, *Janguny: Patrick Mudjana* (Mudjana 1987). Thus we can see that the range of *janguny* includes narratives that conform to familiar definitions. It also extends to related notions such as ‘word’.

In the above example (5:1), the speaker was referring to recording a list of words and used the verb *wengga* ‘to speak, make sound’. This reflects the nature of the recording task, in which someone repeats a number of utterances. In discussions about words during recording, transcription and translation sessions, Gun-nartpa people may offer a meaning, but rarely stop there, usually preferring to discuss a term by offering encyclopaedic information or exemplars of use. For example, during our recording session of kinship words, Margaret Garranyita provided the words as prompted, and expanded upon these with typical scenarios as to how one would typically use each term:

5:4 *ngarlanga - ngarlanga - ngarlanga * child, child, child
michpa ja, jinnginyipa daughter - like hey, your daughter
*michpa - nguyinda nggula * like, I’ll demonstrate for you
÷ ngarlanga - ngarlanga - ajay / ÷ ‘daughter, my daughter, hey!’

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Garranyita provides citation forms of the word *ngarlanga* ‘woman’s child’ and then exemplifies – utilising the discourse component of reported speech to demonstrate how to use this kinship term correctly (§6.4.2). The relevance of exemplification in teaching

and learning is also conveyed by the difference between the speech verbs *wengga* ‘to speak, to make sound’ and *ngurrja* ‘to explain, describe’. *Wengga* is used in relation to the action of human speech, but can also be used in relation to the sound of an animal or an inanimate object.⁹⁶ On the other hand, *ngurrja* means ‘to explain’, and this is what Garranyita does in the above example.

Banggala also used *janguny* when we were discussing words, yet always distinguished *-welangga* ‘its name’ from *janguny*. For instance, I could ask this about a fish – *an-nga an-nelangga* ‘what is its name?’ – and be told. A name distinguishes an entity as *ngardapa* ‘alone, separate’, although it may also be classified along with other entities; for example:

5:5	<i>like jichicha - ngardap--</i> <i>ngardapngardapa /</i> <i>anelangga /</i> <i>but an.gatpa, jichicha whole lot \</i>	they are fish they are separate in their names but they are all fish, the whole lot
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T58B-07:EB: 189810-195733

Asking *gun-nga janguny* ‘what’s its story?’ would trigger a different kind of response, one that keyed into the connections between that fish and others. Here he would discuss matters of classification; however, it would often expand into the spiritual realm as well. In contexts like this he would use the verb *ngurrja* ‘explain, describe’ to describe both how things are named and how they are connected. We see the distinction between naming and *janguny* emerging in the following example, when Banggala was helping me differentiate different kinds of fish based on a set of pictures⁹⁷:

⁹⁶ A nominal term *-gongga* ‘sound, noise’ expresses a distinction between meaningful or speech-like sound, and just sound. A buffalo can ‘speak’: the verb *wengga* ‘to speak’ is used for vocalisations such as grunts and bellows (*a-weya* ‘it speaks’). However the sound of a buffalo (or human) crashing around in the bush at night is described as *an-gongga* ‘its sound’. For inanimate objects that make sounds that are characteristic and ongoing tend to be described as ‘speaking’. For example, the sound of a windmill is described as *a-weya* ‘it speaks’); probably because the sound can be likened to a vocalisation.

⁹⁷ Fish nomenclature is complex and different speakers often identify different names with different Linnean species. This is complicated also by the existence of ‘dialect synonyms’; for example, a fish

5:6		
EB	<i>warralmuma:: annga \</i> <i>morrgorl:: nachirrka:: worrngga \</i> <i>an.guna level \ whole lot \</i> <i>an.gunaga \</i> <i>ngardapa, ngardapa \</i> <i>nachirrka, ngardapa \</i> <i>rrapa worrngga - dubela level na,</i>	bony bream, gudgeon, perchlet, rainbowfish, the whole lot of them are equivalent this one right here (the group of fish) they are separate the perchlet is separate and rainbow fish the two of them are equivalent
	<i>ananngiya, nachirrka \</i> <i>two \</i>	something, perchlet there are two
MC	<i>awurrjirrapa janguny?</i>	are there two stories?
EB	<i>ngika, gunngardapiya \</i>	no, just one
MC	<i>aya</i>	I see
EB	<i>mm \ gunngardapa janguny \</i> <i>worrngga:: rrapa nachirrka \</i> <i>rrapa, binyjamach::</i> <i>all level awurrboy awurrworkiya,</i> <i>binyjamach::</i> <i>rrapa - ananngiya - jubalarra \</i> <i>jubularr rrapa ananngiya</i> <i>an.gunaga nyalknyalk</i> <i>mm that mob now, alla friend \</i>	yes, one story for rainbow fish and perchlet and bony bream they all go level all the time, bony bream and something, longtom longtom and something this one ox-eye herring they are all friends
MC	<i>all friend ay?</i>	all friends are they?
EB	<i>ee friend, awurrgatpa \</i> <i>ngayp rrapa mungoyurra</i> <i>ngungurrjinga</i> <i>nachirrka:: worrngga::</i> <i>an.ganaka annga::</i> <i>ananngiya / im ayngurrjing arrorkiya</i> <i>borndolk / himself \</i> <i>ngardapa nuya \</i> <i>ngardapa nuya, nginyipa marn.gi \</i> <i>ngardap an.guboy \</i> <i>ngardapa dreaming agurrmiyana \</i> <i>rrapa an.gaba burdak,</i>	yes, those ones are all friends I already explained the perchlet rainbow fish all the different kinds the one we always call cardinalfish, he is himself he is by himself he is by himself, you know one that goes separately he put himself as an ancestral spirit while those ones still there (the other fish)
	<i>ngungurrjinga, an.gatp rrapa,</i>	the ones that I just explained

name may refer to a freshwater species for the inland Gun-nartpa, and a marine species for Gu-jingarliya speakers on the coast.

ngardapa dreaming everywhere \ they have one dreaming everywhere

T58B-07:EB: 27266-110660

This extract shows how Banggala identified the names of different fish describing them as *ngardapa* ‘separate’ and *ngardap-ngardapa* ‘separate within a group’, yet also ‘level’ to indicate their equivalence.⁹⁸ He refers back to the act of naming using the verb *ngurrja* ‘to explain’. When he mentioned that there were two fish as part of this ‘listing and separating’ explanation, I asked whether there were two stories. He was emphatic in stating that these small, relatively insignificant fish all have *gun-ngardapa janguny* ‘one story’, and I take this to mean that they are all connected as separately named but essentially similar things. They have ‘one dreaming everywhere’. By contrast, Banggala states that *borndolk*, the cardinalfish, is *ngardapa nuya* ‘on his own’ and explains that this relates to its status as localised religious property: it ‘put itself as a dreaming’. Banggala didn’t provide any detail about the cardinalfish ancestral spirit, that is, he didn’t provide a narrative explanation of the (probably secret) meaning of this totemic being. Such totemic beings do have *janguny*, but this cannot always be readily explained to women, children or lexicographers.⁹⁹ It is this, however, that separates the cardinalfish from the other small fish.

In its ‘story’ sense, *janguny* fits some of the formal parameters of narrative discourse, involving agents and sequences of episodes, expressing a coherent meaning and motivated by a purpose (to have fun, to convey news, to educate). I have also observed however, many other situated narrative events that have the characteristics of personal narrative, as discussed by Ochs & Capps (2001), yet the Gun-nartpa do not classify them as *janguny*. For example, in May 1994 I recorded a number of *manakay* ‘clan

⁹⁸ The Aboriginal English/Kriol term ‘level’ means ‘equivalent, equal in status, complementary’, both in relation to hyponymy and in other contexts, such as when describing the complementary relationships between clan groups who share rights to country.

⁹⁹ Dogs at Gochan Jiny-jirra are given totemic names and there have been several in my experience with the name *Borndolk*, named for the totemic cardinalfish. Allen Milyerr also owned a distinctively coloured short-wheel-base 4WD vehicle, which was called *Borndolk*. The place where this car broke down was, for a time, referred to as *Borndolk a-jirrapa* ‘where *borndolk* is standing’.

song' practice sessions in the lead up to a funeral at Gochan Jiny-jirra (T40–T48). These were intensely sociable occasions as the men progressed through the song topics, performing the connections between clans from the saltwater and the freshwater country. There were *an-murna yerrcha* 'senior men' and *yawurriny* 'young men' present, sitting in the centre of the large group around the three songmen and *ngorla an-gubipija* 'the didjeridu player'. Women were present as well, sitting behind the men and often getting up to dance during the singing. Smaller groups of women and children sat further away, dotted around the outstation houses. During the breaks, the men would exchange jokes and tell stories. On one of these evenings, a young man initiated a story about a group of brothers who had been visiting Darwin, relating details of which bottle shops they had visited and some of their mishaps. Others chimed in with jokes and reported on what they had heard from others in relation to these events. This conversation then took a more serious turn as one of the senior men told a story about a female relative who was in Darwin for health reasons. He described some of her symptoms and visits to the hospital and speculated about a possible supernatural cause for her illness. Others joined in, requesting clarifications, and also speculating about how this sickness came about. There was also continuous conversation between the young men present about the local football competition, interleaved with the singing and storytelling. There were discussions about who had scored in the previous match, who was injured, dubious umpire decisions and other points of interest.¹⁰⁰ Alongside these topics, men cheered the singing, people called out to others, there were requests

¹⁰⁰ As the senior leaders of the predominantly Gun-nartpa football club Lightning, Banggala and other *jungkays* were concerned with the progress of the funeral for their Ana-gujalala mother in relation to the upcoming grandfinal. The *yawurriny* who were expected to dance for the funeral finale were also key players in the team. The Lightning team had played and won the semi-final early in the funeral preparation phase and were scheduled to play the Grand Final on the following Saturday. The funeral was delayed due to the late arrival of the senior Gojok, who finally showed up on the Thursday (reminiscent of the events in the film *Waiting for Harry* (McKenzie 1980)). This left just enough time to enact the correct rituals and hold the funeral finale on the Saturday morning. The *yawurriny* danced, fulfilled their duties at the graveside, then jumped into the waiting cars to drive to Maningrida. They ran to the Lightning bough shade in time for an address from the coach (a son of the deceased woman) before running onto the ground. Unfortunately, the Lightning team's effort flagged in the final quarter and they came runners up in the 1994 Maningrida Grand Final competition.

for water, food and cigarettes. These were all linguistically rich speech events, involving unguarded speech, ideophonic interjections, joking and receptive bilingualism using Gun-nartpa, Djinang and Kuninjku.

I reviewed these tapes in 2011 with two of the An-nguliny men who had been present at the original event, focusing on annotating the recording with the song topics. During this session I happened to play two of the personal stories told in the conversation breaks. The men were deeply interested in the songs, but when I asked them about the conversational stories they were reluctant to discuss them or translate them in any detail. I asked them if these stories were *janguny*, but they seemed unsure. About the drinking story one of them said,

5:7	<i>ngika,</i> <i>borijipa awurrweya,</i> <i>awurryopajinga</i>	no they are speaking purposelessly they are gossiping
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T42A-14: annotation notes

After this I stopped asking the men about the content of the conversation during the song breaks. I could see some reasons why these personal narratives would not be considered *janguny*. It could be at least partly due to a perceived risk that they may show someone in a bad light. The gendered configuration of the social setting may also be relevant – these were conversations between men, and perhaps not suitable for discussing with women.¹⁰¹ At the time, however, these narratives arose within a mixed gender and public setting, where anyone could be a witness. One of the men had asked me to record the singing, and the tape recorder was in plain view. Setting them beside other kinds of narratively structured discourse, it seems part of the uncertainty about the status of personal narratives in such settings hinges on their contingent and emergent nature. Their content drew from immediate personal experience and often involved speculation; they were open-ended and related to unresolved events.

¹⁰¹ There are obvious ethical implications here. I discussed these recordings with Crusoe Batara and Patrick Muchana, asking whether I should remove them from the archival corpus. They decided against this, but they remain untranscribed and their private nature is flagged.

Within conversation, the format of narrative provides the means of exploration as to how events and experiences can be understood. As Ochs & Capps (2001) put it:

... conversation lays bare the actual dialogic activity through which different versions of experience are aired, judged, synthesized, or eliminated. In this manner, conversational interaction realizes the essential function of personal narrative - to air, probe, and otherwise attempt to reconstruct and make sense of actual and possible life experiences (Ochs & Capps 2001:7).

Thus it seems that *janguny*, while it is prototypically expressed as narrative, does not directly refer to a type of discourse genre. Ochs & Capps also argue that “conversational narrators strive ... for both coherence and authenticity of experience, and often the two conflict” (Ochs & Capps 2001:156). The notion of *janguny* relies on the authority of the teller and the socially-based consensus on meaning of a set of signifiers. In situations where there may be a conflict, such as the conversational narratives mentioned above, *janguny* is not a relevant label. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the social base of *janguny* rests in *yakarrarra* and *bapurrurr*, and the role of senior figures is key to identifying and guiding the relevant readings from a wide range of possibilities.

Returning to the 2011 song review session: despite their reluctance to discuss the conversations, the men were eager to discuss the song topics¹⁰², and these explanations were considered *janguny*. For example, as we listened I could ask *gun-nga janguny gun-guna?* ‘What is the story for this?’ and the men would explain details about the song, the animal involved and its characteristic movements, or if it was a plant, then its edibility or the season when it grows. We listened to Mirrikurl as he sang a number of stanzas of the *wangarra* (also called *walkwalk*) ‘ghost spirit’ *manakay*. This is a funeral song, performed while the dancers move the deceased person’s body, bringing them into the funeral bough shade and taking them for burial. He started singing slowly, accompanying himself with the half-time tempo of clapsticks. We could hear Banggala’s voice in the background, explaining to me:

¹⁰² Prior to my visits I had logged the digitised tape files in ELAN, making it possible to skip between song items and avoid intervening material.

<p>5:8 <i>bambay! bambay jay! awurrgaba burrna awurrwalagiya barra, wangarra \</i> <i>minyja burrna, yigaba /</i> <i>belabila guyinangawa \</i> ... <i>wangarra! \</i> <i>anburda, rrap abijarrkarr abima \</i></p>	<p>lady, lady hey! all of them over there you will see them dancing the ghost spirit you will see them over there the bough shade is where this takes place the ghost spirit! the corpse, when they lift it up</p>
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T42A-14:47515-85835

After three stanzas Mirrikurl moved into a faster tempo. As we listened Milyerr commented:

<p>5:9 <i>ayurtchinga, him run, anjerrkirkirr</i> <i>sometimes he go slow, gujorlcha aboya, sometimes anmugularrbarrbarr, mannga an.guyinda</i></p>	<p>He's going quickly, running, he's fast. Sometimes he goes slowly, like he's stalking prey sometimes he's hidden he's from the jungle</p>
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T42A-20:annotation notes

Milyerr's narratively framed responses to the songs reflect his inheritance from his father and his status as a songman for the Yirrichinga Gun-nartpa. He explains the meanings of the songs in terms of agent and episode, the story analogous to the movements of the dancers as they perform. The *wangarra* spirits are central figures in the story that explains the connection between the An-nguliny ancestors and the Jin-gubardabiya spirit (§4.3). Milyerr's explanation of the movements of *wangarra* indexes the events that his father painted in his art and described as story so many times, telling of the An-nguliny ancestral spirits taking Jin-gubardabiya to the sacred waterhole of Wangarr A-juwana and leaving her inside the jungle where they too remain (Banggala 2014b, 2014c).

During the original song sessions in 1994, people present would often say the name of the song so that I could note it in my book – names such as *ngachu* 'cycad', *ganyjal* 'eel-tailed catfish', *gomorla* 'egret', *gandaykanday* 'freshwater crocodile', *winyinwinyin* 'sandfly' and *jichurruk* 'water'. During the performance, Banggala frequently invoked

the authority of *wangarr* as the origin of the connection between the songs, the spirits of animals, plants and natural phenomena that they represent and *yakarrarra*, the organising principle of clan membership and connection. Here's one such comment:

<p>5:10 <i>mun.guna /</i> <i>munelangga miyurramboy,</i> <i>bambay you know why /</i> <i>minyja galiya /</i> <i>munelangga miyurra mboya /</i> <i>mun.gatpa - munyakarrarra</i> <i>murrimanga \</i> <i>bunggul \ everywhere \</i> <i>rrapa - munelangga miyurra /</i> <i>mun.gatpiya -</i> <i>wangarr munaganyja \</i> <i>whole lot mun.gunaga - bunggul \</i> <i>rrap jinyalagiya rrap awalagiya barra -</i> <i>burdak nuwurra nyina \</i></p>	<p>this all of these different names lady do you know why? Try to listen! All of the different names they all hold the clan connections, songs are everywhere! All of the names these ones were brought by the ancestral spirits, all of these songs right here All the women and men will dance, you'll see them soon.</p>
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T42A-31

The songs have topics, the topics have names, the names are shared through networks of connection, and the fact of these connections means they have a story; that is, *janguny*. The song topics are Mardayin, part of the sacred law of clans and part of the many stories that connect members of *bapurrurr*. Thus, examples of *janguny* can be seen as socially situated in the sense described by Klapproth, where the meaning “is something that is created, negotiated and communicated in social interaction” (Klapproth 2004:34). However, the notion of *janguny* does not apply to all instances of speech that follow a narrative format. The status of meaning is central to *janguny*. For something to be regarded as *janguny*, it reflects a position of authority, and a evaluative coherence that is socially situated. The stories that England told about his country and its ancestral spirits are *janguny*. So are the travelling narratives, such as the ones he frequently told about the An-nguliny clan spirit Jin-gubardabiya and the creator being Ji-japurn/Ngurrurtpa. These stories explain the origins of the An-nguliny connection to their clan estates and the ancestral connections between the An-nguliny and other Yirrichinga Gun-nartpa and Gurr-goni clans (England 2014:11-19). They have ideological orientations that are validated by seniority, ritual authority and land ownership, and as such index the fact that there are secret and sacred ‘inside’ versions. The notion of *janguny* is central to

political oratory; communication events during phases of ritual where senior men speak to ownership, rights and protocol. Such speeches are conducted largely as monologue, and the authority of the speaker is validated by assertions in relation to ritual property, such as the display and exegesis of clan designs (Clunies-Ross 1983). Thus, nonverbal signifiers – body and bark painting designs, ceremonial regalia and dances – also are part of *janguny*; they are like the songs in that they represent the activities of *wangarr* and are named and understood as such in terms of a socially negotiated web of meaning. The more prosaic examples of *janguny* mentioned earlier, such as the notion of words and their meanings, a story used to trick someone or the news of an event that travels around the community, don't have the religious significance of ancestral stories. However, they are framed as narratively oriented forms of discourse that present actors, episodes and socially negotiated evaluations. The joking, gossip and speculations about sorcery within the narratives produced by the men in between the songs play an important role in sociality in their own right, but there is transgression, speculation and sometimes inversion of the normative formulations of social conduct (see Garde 2003).¹⁰³ Personal narratives such as these lack the validation of authority as tellable versions of events. Unlike *janguny*, these kinds of personal narratives are frequently evaluated as *borijipa gun-guyinda*, or 'pointless', at least at times when I have suggested transcribing them.

5.7 *Conversational narrative*

Klapproth argues for the importance of the social and cultural context of the formal narratives in her corpus. This includes the telling of the stories and the respective roles of narrator and audience. However, her conceptualisation of narrative is separated from everyday talk: her examples are planned and rehearsed narratives, situated within what she refers to as “the culture-specific prototypicality of narrative production” (Klapproth

¹⁰³ This is an oversimplification, as Gun-nartpa people offer normatively framed explanations for interactional styles such as ribald joking as do their Kuniinjku kin (Garde 2008c, 2013). However, widening the social arena for such transgressive speech is not considered appropriate. What is acceptable between joking partners, and appreciated by an audience, is likely to offend in another context.

2008).¹⁰⁴ Klapproth's set of cultural schemas do provide a departure point for a particular kind of narrative, which Ochs and Capps (2001) refer to as a 'display text'. These are narratives evaluated by speakers as highly 'tellable' and usually told by a single 'teller'. These narratives are highly significant to interlocutors and this significance is reflected in their rhetorical shape, often polished through practice (Ochs & Capps 2001:33-34). However, Ochs & Capps propose an inversion of the traditional scheme which positions planned and rehearsed narrative discourse as the prototype for other forms of narrative, stating that "mundane conversational narratives of personal experience constitute the prototype of narrative activity rather than the flawed by-product of more artful and planned narrative discourse" (Ochs & Capps 2001:3). Ochs & Capps identify 'personal narrative' as a ubiquitous feature of social life, and offer the following definition:

Personal narrative is a way of using language or another symbolic system to imbue life events with a temporal and logical order, to demystify them and establish coherence across past, present, and as yet unrealized experience (Ochs & Capps 2001:2).

People engage in personal narrative to reflect, comprehend and negotiate meaning in relation to events. Narrative practices are situated in conversational interactions (Polanyi 1985) and are usually oriented towards practical aspects of these interactions (Blythe 2011), and they are embedded within communicative acts that are laden with pragmatic potential (Austin 1962). Interlocutors frequently share the framing, content and direction of these "interactional achievements" (Ochs & Capps 2001:2-3). The organisational formats of personal narrative are diverse, reflecting the open-ended, contingent, polyphonic and emergent nature of conversational interaction (Blythe 2011). There are multiple discourse components deployed within conversational narrative; for example, as interactants construct narratives "move by move" (Enfield 2009:1) they "design aspects of their talk so as to reflect the particular type of activity in which they are engaged currently" (Blythe 2011:224). Thus, a stretch of conversation can comprise

¹⁰⁴ To be fair, Klapproth proposes that it is timely to broaden the focus to "culture internal variability, its functions, motivations and contexts" (Klapproth 2004:402).

many things: recounts of sequences of events, questions for clarification, interruptions, utterances of evaluation and affect, speculations, commands, requests, and so on (Ochs & Capps 2001:18-19). Within this diverse profile of interactive communicative acts can be nested a narrative that, in terms of its discourse format, may align with the formal definitions of narrative referred to above. For example, most of the ancestral stories I recorded from Banggala arose out of conversations about bark paintings, and thus they often were more dyadic in character than a monologic narrative format. However, within these conversations, travelling narratives would emerge and as such often were bracketed from the conversational discourse through a transition to monologue and discourse structured predominantly as action, motion and interaction episodes. I argue in Chapter 6 that Gun-nartpa narratives typically involve a range of episode and discourse component types that link between and integrate a number of narrative frames of reference: the storyworld, the speech situation and the broader social context. Across these frames of reference sequentially and logically arrayed narrative episodes are situated in a matrix of evaluative meanings (see §5.8).

5.8 Dimensions of narrative

Broadly speaking then, ‘narrative’ can in fact be regarded as a complex ‘host genre’ that involves narrative actors and episodes and draws upon a range of discourse components (Ochs & Capps 2001:18). The notion of ‘narrative practice’ relates to the activity of conversational interaction and the degree to which actors and episodes are arrayed temporally and logically by a narrator or narrators. Given its heterogeneous nature Ochs & Capps (2001) identify a set of dimensions of narrative: *tellership*, *tellability*, *embeddedness*, *linearity* and *moral stance*. These dimensions “establish a range of possibilities, which are realized in particular narrative performances” (Ochs & Capps 2001:19). I add one more dimension to their set which reflects the range of possibilities for the persistence of actor identity throughout narrative (Walsh in press). The dimensions of narrative are summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Dimensions of narrative (after Ochs & Capps 2001:18-54)

Dimensions		Possibilities
Tellership	One primary teller	→ Multiple tellers
Tellability	High	→ Low
Embeddedness	Detached, separate from surrounding discourse	→ Embedded and integrated with surrounding discourse
Linearity	Temporal order is chronological; cause and effect is sequenced; overt temporal encodings are deployed to anchor the passage of time	→ Temporal order is fluid; cause and effect is not clearly related; lack of explicit temporal encoding
Moral stance	Certain, static, authoritative	→ Uncertain, contingent, emergent
Actors	Actors are unambiguously identified, their identity persists throughout discourse, switches in reference are clearly flagged	→ Actors are non-specified, a high level of exophoric reference (gapping and ellipsis), actors do not necessarily maintain their identity throughout narrative

In terms of types of Gun-nartpa narrative, we often see close alignment of several of these dimensions with narrative performances. For example, ancestral narratives and accounts of cultural practice told by a senior person tend towards a constellation of one primary teller and a high degree of tellability. They are often detached from the surrounding discourse, bracketed by shifts in footing and transitions between discourse components that express these. Recordings of such narratives are typical of the texts collected by linguists and other outsiders. Such texts are artifacts of performance events negotiated as authoritative tellings and bracketed off from surrounding discourse through the logistics of this particular kind of interaction (Evans & Sasse 2007). This can be observed in Banggala's story about *Marrambay* 'A love affair', a cautionary tale about the consequences of breaking marriage law, is a narrative performance detached from the surrounding discourse; clearly bracketed by an opening (the woman's proposition to her lover) and a conclusion (the family's dismissal of the punished lover). For everyday conversational narrative, such as the story telling around the campfire

discussed in §5.6 bracketing from surrounding discourse is also evident - for example, tellers deploy markers of transition, such as attention getting particles, activity organising particles or the use of a particular discourse component characteristic of narrative performance (see §6.3). Notwithstanding the use of such discourse devices, instances of conversational narrative occur within a surrounding discourse context, and commonly lack the situational bracketing of formally demarcated narrative performance events (Ochs & Capps 2001).

The dimension of linearity relates to the degree to which narrative is structured around the passage of time, flagging the beginning, middle and end of a story – although, as attributed to Jean-Luc Godard, not necessarily in that order (Sterritt 1999:20). Familiar definitions of narrative emphasise the episodic structure of narrative (e.g. Longacre 1983), and cue assumptions that the ordering of discourse is an iconic reflection of the temporal linearity of events. However such assumptions may reflect a mainstream Anglo-English perspective, not recognising the specific and culturally relevant meanings of overt strategies that emphasise that linearity, or that subvert it. As Ochs & Capps argue, temporal linearity is a dimension, and the coding of the passage of time is more or less important for different narrators and for different types of narrative. In the case of Gun-nartpa narrative, and depending on the performance ‘chops’ of the narrator, the fact that the temporal linearity of events and episodes is often covert and even logically disrupted does not necessarily affect the coherence of a narrative. The Marrambay story referred to above is an example of a narrative that largely follows a linear temporal structure (Banggala 2014h).¹⁰⁵ Chronologically sequenced episodes link to each other: it begins with two people discussing their desire for each other and follows the sequence of events as they run away, live with another group, are pursued by the woman’s rightful husband and brought back to face traditional punishment. Thus this narrative has temporal characteristics and the events are linked through logical relations of cause and effect – that is, the actions of the two main characters set the train of events in motion and their pursuit and punishment makes sense in terms of the marriage laws of traditional society. In addition, the identity of the characters persists

¹⁰⁵ No excerpt is presented here: readers are directed to the opening interaction episode of this story in 6:15 (§6.3.1) and the entire text and translation in Banggala (2014e).

throughout the story even though they are prototypical and not given names – for example, the woman punished at the end is clearly the same woman who plotted to run away from her promised husband.

Despite the fact that we can read chronological sequence within this story, time is rarely overtly flagged throughout and the time scale is indeterminate – the sequence of events could have unfolded over weeks, months or perhaps years. By contrast, the narrator paid close attention to the spatial configuration of events – such as the extent of travel taken by the story characters as they ran away, were pursued and returned – and it is the encoding of motion and location that functions to link the narrative highpoints throughout the narrative arc. For the Gun-nartpa people who listened to the story called *Marrambay* ‘A love affair’, years later after its telling, the interest lay in its interaction and action episodes (§6.3). These episodes conveyed the narrator’s description of how the lovers discussed their escape, the description of their brutal treatment and the conduct of kin who played particular social roles in this scenario. Through the dramatisation of these interactions we understand the inexorable logic of the ‘crime and punishment’ scenario instantiated through the relational tableau of kin who each undertake their social duty in carrying out the series of retributive events. It is within these highpoint episodes that the moral stance of the story is expressed and it is the certainty of the authority of the teller in this respect that makes this a powerful story. I take up this discussion in §6.2.1-3.

In §6.4.1 I discuss narrative performances that have an even more atemporal character than *Marrambay* ‘A Love Story’. These narratives are structured as a series of interaction-focused episodes where the nexus of time across the broader sweep of narrative is indeterminate and where the identity of actors across different episodes is not fixed. The coherence of these stories rests upon highly salient topics as well as social deixis strategies that integrate the story world with the world of interaction. These strategies link the past and the present by indexing the social connections between people in the story with others, taking precedence over the continuity of time and actors throughout the narrated episodes.

5.9 Evaluation at narrative highpoints

As a cautionary tale, Banggala's story *Marrambay* 'A love affair' embodies an authoritative moral stance; that is, it can be interpreted in terms of a single authoritative teller and in relation to a stretch of discourse clearly bracketed as a story. In this instance Banggala takes a stance as a commentator on marriage law in the context of historical events. Yet his position is ambiguous: does he intend to portray the lovers as wrong, foolish or unlucky? Is he making a comment on the morality of the unfaithful woman and her lover? What of the wronged husband, who pursues the woman for punishment and then rejects her? Or the family of the woman, who beat her before taking her back to their camp, covered in blood? He does not make explicit judgements on the characters nor the events in the story, presenting a seemingly matter-of-fact recount of events. However, what is clear here is that Banggala claimed the moral right to speak on these matters, and chose to tell this story to an outsider as an example of past cultural practice.

While the morality of the story is both complex and ambiguous, a unitary authoritative voice can be discerned and we can assume that Banggala was making a point, even though the specifics of that point may not be apparent.¹⁰⁶ As Polanyi writes, "stories are told to make a point, to transmit a message – often some sort of moral evaluation or implied critical judgement – about the world the teller shares with other people" (Polanyi 1985:12). She frames the notional structure of narratives in terms of cultural proposals (self-evident truths shared by teller and audience), which are reference points for evaluation. However, Polanyi also identifies moments in narratives where the potential for evaluation of a cultural proposal exists, yet is not taken up by the teller. This can be in order to pursue "a more global and important point" (Polanyi 1985:74). A teller, especially a senior person such as Banggala, can imbue a story with moral force simply through the act of telling about confronting, supernatural or violent events, and leave the specific interpretations up to the audience (see §6.4.1). The nature of the

¹⁰⁶ I only touch on the moral evaluations that are potentially raised and not narratively resolved in this instance. One question I have asked myself, but not addressed here, is 'How are we to situate this story in the context of family violence in contemporary society?'

content indexes cultural proposals and schemas shared by teller and audience (Klapproth 2004; Polanyi 1985) creating the pragmatic potential for multiple inferences about the relevance of this content (Sperber & Wilson 1995). An outsider must also bear in mind the likelihood that the teller is signaling evaluative meanings in ways that are non-obvious to them, where lack of knowledge makes it difficult to infer the teller's point in telling the story.

While highly salient content can carry its own evaluative weight simply in its telling, moral evaluations are also made more explicitly by a teller through their deployment of rhetoric and narrative structure (Longacre 1970; Margetts 2015; Polanyi 1985). Such evaluative devices include pronunciation style, sound quality, changes in stress and volume, non-linguistic noises, word choice, changes in syntactic complexity and reported speech (Blythe 2011). Tellers assign “different weights to the different propositions in the storyworld through the rhetorical markings assigned to each one” (Polanyi 1985:2). In terms of the structure of narrative discourse, evaluative meanings are linked to the narrative highpoints, prominent moments in which tellers draw attention to notional climaxes and key points. As Polanyi writes:

... key events bring about changes in the storyworld which are relevant to the point which is being made, while less important events move people and objects about and mark the passage of time necessary to a narrative (Polanyi 1985:13).

At narrative highpoints, evaluative devices are deployed to assign prominence to important information:

... [h]ighlighting the most important information in the story at the expense of less important information is accomplished by according each proposition a more or less distinctive form of encoding; the more distinct the encoding, the more the information encoded stands out from the rest of the text and the better it is remembered (Polanyi 1985:14).

As mentioned in §5.3, Longacre notes that the clustering of participants, events and evaluative devices occurs at narrative highpoints (Longacre 1983), forming complex narrative episodes with multivalent semiotic potential. While narrative discourse tends

to be episodically structured, a highpoint is a “zone of turbulence” where the plot is brought into high relief (Longacre 1983:25). In the next chapter I investigate how nesting of different kinds of discourse episode is one form of clustering that occurs at such highpoints in Gun-nartpa narrative discourse (see §6.4.1).

5.10 Conclusion

Given the importance of evaluation in narrative, it is also central to the notion of narrative as social practice as discussed in §5.5. In developing cognitive worlds and cultural schemas, mediated as they are through narrative practice, “evaluation allows the story recipients to build up a model of the relevant information in the text which matches the teller’s intentions” (Polanyi 1985:13). This is achieved through shifts in footing throughout discourse and the prominence given to evaluative episodes in narrative. For the Gun-nartpa, the construal of relevant information is iteratively reinforced throughout socialisation practices expressed in terms of narrative discourse (Etherington 2006).

Not surprisingly, the evaluative strategies deployed in narrative performance appear also in everyday conversational narratives of personal experience, central to the everyday interactional discourse of Gun-nartpa people. In the next chapter I review some features of Aboriginal narrative and discuss some formal aspects of Gun-nartpa narratives. I apply the theoretical framework discussed in this chapter to the analysis of narrative episodes and discourse components across a number of different examples of narrative discourse from my Gun-nartpa corpus.

6. Features of Gun-nartpa narrative discourse

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I review features of Aboriginal narrative discussed by Walsh (in press), Clunies-Ross (1986) and Hoffmann (2015). In the light of key points made by these scholars I discuss a number of discourse features that commonly occur in Gun-nartpa narrative. Drawing from the models of narrative discussed in Chapter 5, I analyse a number of narrative extracts, identifying types of episode and the typical discourse components that express these. Discourse episodes are discerned through a transition from one predominant discourse component to another, often marked by bracketing devices such as discourse organising particles, global prosodic marking and quotative expressions (Blythe 2011). Brackets are commonly aligned with shifts in deictic footing, which can be significant or minor. Discourse components are formal realisations of episodes: they are clusters of linguistic and kinesic-visual signifiers. These signifiers include the linguistic representations of ‘events’ – verbs and constructions that combine with other linguistic material to express clauses, referential expressions and sentence-like grammatical units.¹⁰⁷ While Gun-nartpa grammar is not in focus throughout this discussion, cross-references from discussion of discourse components to the grammatical appendices make it possible for those who are interested to investigate the structures of discourse components more closely. In addition, each textual extract is presented with interlinear glossing in Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁷ That is, ‘event’ is a notion aligned with lexical and grammatical expression. I use a broad definition of ‘event’ that encompasses states, activities and a range of situation types, “a conceptual representation, as linguistically encoded, which can be assigned boundaries, and/or a ‘location’ in time” (Schultz-Berndt 2000:36).

6.2. Narrative discourse

6.2.1 Frames of reference in Aboriginal narrative

Walsh (in press) has identified certain discourse characteristics of Aboriginal narrative that differentiate it from ‘Anglo-Australian’ storytelling, writing that:

... there is at depth a difference which seems to be reflected in the delivery of narrative. To start with, Anglo Australians may find ‘traditional’ narratives boring, repetitive and pointless. This is despite the fact that a traditional Aboriginal audience will find exactly the same story entertaining and rewarding (Walsh in press).

I do not address all of the characteristics of narrative postulated by Walsh here, focusing on the prevalence of exophoric reference (tolerance of gapping and ellipsis), repetition and atemporality. In many respects Gun-nartpa narratives are typical of those that he discusses; that is, those that are told orally in a traditional Aboriginal language by narrators who live in the remote areas of the north of Australia (Walsh in press). I place a caveat on this claim though, as what I discuss here are highly ‘tellable’ (Ochs & Capps 2001) and generally monologic accounts of ancestral travels, personal history and recount narratives. As discussed in the previous chapter, narrative occurs frequently as part of everyday conversational interaction as well although such narrative moments in interactional discourse may not be recognised by Gun-nartpa people as valid instances of *janguṇy* ‘story’.

One important function of the ancestral narrative genre is to interpret the meanings of songs and non-verbal symbology. As Clunies-Ross (1986) comments:

The esoteric nature of most Aboriginal song has made the development of spoken texts which interpret the song to various audiences well-nigh inevitable ... The repertoire of recorded Aboriginal tales, in which we find many narratives of wandering creator beings and the sites they created, and tales of supernatural beings who have human as well as animal characteristics, corresponds to the repertoire of sacred song and dance, and almost certainly acts as a sort of Begleitprosa [ancillary prose text] to it

(Clunies-Ross 1986:241-42).

This parallels an important characteristic of Aboriginal narrative discussed by Walsh: the frequency of exophoric reference (Walsh in press). In terms of exophoric reference, Aboriginal narratives tend to be elliptical and tolerate the gapping of contextual information; narrating “episodic instances focusing on particular sub-events” (Hoffmann 2015). The interpretation of such elliptical fragments rests upon implicatures and mutual knowledge of the world ‘outside’ the storyworld. Narrative tokens are often nested within multiple retellings of stories, where more detail is revealed.

Understanding that genre has an indexical function within narrative practice, we can see that components of narrative discourse, songs and other symbolic forms stand in an indexical relationship to the cosmos and the social order ordained by it in religion: they invoke *relational frames of reference*. These are complex signifiers that point to aspects of knowledge and social identity; furthermore they are often ambiguous (Elliott 1991, 2015; Keen 1997; Taylor 1990). This knowledge may or may not be apparent, and the expression of this in narrative and non-narrative forms is linked to socialisation and pedagogical practices (Etherington 2006). Not all genres of narrative reference the cosmological order as such; however, the social order is always relevant, as narrative genres are, to a greater or lesser degree, emblematic of certain identity constructs and serve as markers of in-group reference (Clunies-Ross 1986; Hoffmann 2015). As discussed in §5.4, Gun-nartpa storyworlds invoke multiple relational frames of reference, where there are rich potentials for the interpretation of signifiers of belonging.

Walsh (in press) also notes the frequent absence of explicit temporal structure in Aboriginal narrative and in addressing this topic I now return to the discussion of temporal linearity commenced in §5.8. Atemporality is an aspect of narrative that diverges sharply from Anglo-Australian norms about formal narrative, particularly in relation to the interplay of temporal sequence with narrative arcs and resolutions (Hoffmann 2015). Many accounts of Aboriginal discourse on ancestral creation emphasise its atemporal character, in which the ancestral past is presented with a sense of immediacy that captures its immanence in the present (Keen 1990). Stanner used the idea of ‘everywhen’ – the apparent simultaneity of past, present and future – in his

discussion of the Dreaming, writing that “[O]ne can’t ‘fix’ The Dreaming in time: it was, and is, everywhen” (Stanner 2009 [1956]:58). The atemporal character of this ontology is not confined to its expressions through ancestral narratives. As discussed in §5.8, temporal encoding is generally absent even in instances when narrative events follow a sequence of chronological episodes. While Polanyi emphasises that narrative is “discourse organised around the passage of time” (Polanyi 1985), this perhaps reflects a cultural bias towards American middle-class narrative practice, rather than a necessary fact about narratives in more general terms (§5.8). From another perspective, and drawing from Goffman’s concept of footing, we know that all discourse invokes a participation framework, that provides a frame of reference for the interpretation of deictic signifiers and non-linguistic signifiers (such as body posture) in each “strip of behaviours” (Goffman 1981:128; §5.4). These frames of reference can be temporal, spatial or relational; and multiple frames of reference can apply simultaneously. I suggest that Gun-nartpa narrative is typical of Aboriginal narrative in that temporal frames of reference are less relevant than spatial and relational ones, to the point that they can be effaced entirely.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to temporal frames of reference, spatial frames of reference are highly significant. Hoffmann describes motion and spatial encodings as important means of structuring events and episodes in Jaminjung and Kriol narrative arguing that “these structural elements are replaced by the systematic usage of motion encodings and spatial rather than temporal ordering of events” (Hoffmann 2015:17). In Hoffman’s analysis of a Jaminjung narrative she demonstrates how events in narrative move forward and backwards in terms of their temporal framing, anchored by a key narrative event. The journey format is a “narrative structuring device, framing a series of static events” (Hoffman 2015: 26). In the Jaminjung example events are in fact spatially ordered, and this is indicated by the importance of terrain, named places, landmarks and other spatially anchored unfoldings of events. Rather than narratives unfolding in time,

¹⁰⁸ Glasgow (1964) noted the indeterminacy of temporal frames of reference for the interpretation of morphological tense marking in Burarra/Gun-nartpa as have other linguists in relation to the other members of the Maningridan language group (Eather 1990, 2005a; 1994; Green 1987, 1995; McKay 2000). See §G3.2.5.

they follow connections in landscape and motion events are central: “linguistic encodings of motion event descriptions often function as defining structuring devices” and “often also mark the start of new episodes within the narration” (Hoffmann 2015:33).

Hoffmann’s argument is consistent with the structure of Gun-nartpa ancestral travelling narratives, which are built around alternating travelling, action and interaction episodes, following the movement and activities of narrative actors through a spatially defined field that underpins the structural sequence of narratives (§6.3). Such episodes may reflect temporal sequencing to the extent that the ordering of discourse episodes commonly reflects sequences of events in the notional structure of a narrative in an iconic way (Longacre 1983) – however use of overt linguistic strategies that emphasise or subvert that progress is not prevalent in Gun-nartpa travelling narratives, nor in narrative discourse more generally in this society. Absence of information about temporal sequence does not necessarily affect the coherence of a narrative, supporting Hoffmann’s view that there are other, more important structuring principles in Aboriginal narratives.¹⁰⁹ Motion and spatial encodings functioning as linking devices between episodes are central to Gun-nartpa narrative structure and travelling episodes are also important. Narrative episodes also often unfold as logically related sequences of cause and consequence and these relations are also important structuring principles. Although not always presented in the idiom of ‘time passing’ temporal frames of reference are none-the-less of relevance in narrative discourse, even when this may only apply within a portion of a longer narrative (see §6.4.1).

¹⁰⁹ Gun-nartpa verbs express a nuanced range of temporal meanings through morphological tense marking. The Maningridan languages are noted for the Contemporary/Precontemporary tense framework (Eather 1990, 2005a; Glasgow 1964, 1994; Green 1987, 1995; McKay 2000). In essence this means that both distant and recent past events are marked by the Pre-contemporary suffixes, for those verbs that express the distinction in tense. Contemporary events, which include those currently in progress and those that happened in the recent but not immediate past (perhaps yesterday), are marked by the contemporary tense suffixes. For discussion see §G3.2.5. Alongside morphological tense marking Gun-nartpa utilises extensive verb serialisation, including the use of existential verbs marked for posture and motion verbs as aspectual auxiliaries. See §G4.5.

This brings the discussion back to the central importance of relational frames of reference in Gun-nartpa narrative. Ancestral travelling narratives refer to events construed in the ancestral past where spatial frames of reference take precedence over temporal ones, where the story propositions relate not to ‘when’ but ‘where’. The other question of course is ‘who’, given that ancestral dreaming narratives, as part of a living oral tradition, are always conceptualised in terms of present social realities. Hoffmann argues that the journey structure ancestral travelling narratives provide a form of template for narrative structure more broadly, writing that,

... it can be claimed that the very nature of the dreaming as a traveling ancestral being leaving behind traces is embodied within narrative structure; based on literal and metaphorical movement through space, though not necessarily time (Hoffmann 2015:16).

I argue that an important feature of narrative is missing from this characterisation – while spatial frames of reference are certainly key to the interpretations of narrative structure for ancestral narrative, relational frames of reference are also highly significant – enabling an interpretation of ‘who’ in terms of both signifiers of belonging and evaluations against the normative framework of social order that this entails. The various frames of reference discussed thus far all come into play in narratives that are not about the travels of ancestral beings, but still considered to be *janguny* ‘a story’.

In §6.2.2 I discuss a short narrative that provides a recount of events from the previous day and which unfolds as events in time. However, rather than episodes representing events as action predicates, much of the story’s development is driven by episodes of reported interactions between narrative agents, with changes of time and setting expressed by travelling episodes. These interaction episodes can be interpreted in terms of a relational frame of reference and this enables us to construe the actors in the story, including the storyteller, in terms of the evaluative meanings that it conveys.

6.2.2 *A narrative example*

The following recount narrative (6:1) was recorded from England Banggala at Gochan Jiny-jirra in November 1993. He told this story in response to my request, after he had mentioned certain events that had taken place on the previous weekend. Two young

men had been arrested by police at Gochan Jiny-jirra after drinking alcohol and fighting. Banggala went to Maningrida the following day, spoke to the police and retrieved them from the police cell. The stretch of discourse presented in 6:1 is clearly bracketed as a recording event: I had asked permission to record and the commencement is marked by Banggala and I negotiating the topic of our talk. The story emerges from conversation, as a request for a story (i) mixed in with some language instruction and pronunciation practice (ii). Banggala gives an explanatory comment in English (iii) then enters narrative discourse in Gun-nartpa, framing events in terms of a narrative summary (iv) and setting the stage for the episodes to follow (Longacre 1983). Banggala concludes the narrative with a directive to turn the recorder off (xix). Further discussion of features follows the text.

6:1 An encounter with the police

(MC has just turned on the tape recorder)

- | | | | |
|----|----|---|---|
| i | EB | <i>ya</i> \ | ok |
| | MC | That story about the two boys, the brothers. The policeman? | |
| | EB | <i>ma an policeman /
ya but -
they bin fight \</i> | ok, and the police
yes but
they were fighting |
| | | <i>awurrbachina gunanngiya ngaja \</i> | they were fighting over
something |
| | | <i>nganichi \ nganichi \</i> | alcohol, alcohol |
| ii | MC | <i>nganichi?</i> | |
| | | (this is a new word for MC) | |
| | EB | <i>ee \</i> | yes, |
| | | <i>mbibarra \</i> | they were drinking |
| | MC | <i>mbibarra</i>
(practicing pronunciation) | |
| | EB | <i>mbibarra \ mbibarra \</i> | they were drinking, drinking |
| | | (exemplifying pronunciation) | |
| | MC | <i>mbibarra</i>
(practicing) | |

iii	EB	<i>mm \</i> <i>they - they bin drinkimbat you know -</i> <i>here - gochaninyjirra \</i>	yes they were all drinking you know here, at Gochan Jiny-jirra
iv		<i>awurrbachina /</i> <i>an policeman bijirrimanga \</i> <i>policeman bijirrimanga /</i>	they fought and the policeman got them two the policeman got the two of them
v		<i>cell \</i> <i>gatp awurrini \</i> <i>might be from borlkjam /</i> <i>anajekarra /</i> <i>agaliyana janguny here \</i> <i>gochaninyjirra \</i>	the cells, that's where they were maybe from Borlkjam he was coming back, but he heard the story here at Gochan Jiny-jirra.
vi		<i>awurrwen apala \</i>	They all spoke to me:
vii		<i>- ay England \</i> <i>guwa - so and so \</i> <i>awurrijirrapa \</i> <i>cell awurnirra \</i>	hey England, come here, so and so the two of them they are in the cells
viii		<i>- yeya /</i> <i>ma - well -</i> <i>gurdarr barra nguwurrboy \</i>	Really? ok, well, we'll go tomorrow
ix		<i>gurdarr nyuwurrbona /</i> [coughs] <i>gurdarr nyuwurrbona /</i> <i>policeman nguwenggana -</i>	we went the next day I asked the policeman hey what's wrong? blood (i.e. injuries) - do they have any?
x		<i>ay - what wrong \</i> <i>maningan / mbirridimanga \</i>	well, the policeman said to me nothing I see yes
xi		<i>well policeman ayinang apala -</i>	so - no consequences?
xii		<i>- gunyagara \</i> <i>- aya \</i> <i>- ngaw \</i> <i>- wurra - borijipa ya \</i>	That's right one punched the other and the other man punched him back
xiii		<i>- ngaw \</i> <i>punchim ani nula -</i> <i>rrap nip punchim ani \</i>	and that's it there are no injuries good get them take them out then I will take them home
xiv		<i>an - ganapiya rrap,</i> <i>gala gunnga maningan \</i> <i>- manymak \</i> <i>bijirrima /</i> <i>bijirriwarrka \</i> <i>barra ngijirriga \</i> <i>gugapal \</i>	ok, that's the finish of it the policeman, I said to him I said to the policeman
xv		<i>- ma ganapiya \</i>	out
xvi		<i>policeman nguwena nula \</i> <i>nguwen:ula policema -</i>	
xvii		<i>- out \</i>	

nguwurr-boy ‘tomorrow all of us will go’. The shift in footing between the interaction episode (viii) and motion episode (ix) is indicated by the change in pronominal prefix on the repeated verb *boy* ‘go’ from an inclusive to exclusive form and tense, i.e. *nyuwurr-bona* ‘we all (not including you) went’ (§G1.3.7-9 Pronominal prefixes and clitics). These inflected predicate forms index several relational frames of reference with Banggala at the centre. He is the senior man that family members report the incident to within a family based frame of reference. He is also the person who interacts with the policeman on securing the release of the two men in an intercultural encounter with the arm of the law. Simultaneously, he is the teller, recounting this story to me, within the relational frame of storytelling interaction.

On one level this is a recount, a blow-by-blow of events as they happened, and possibly it could be argued that this lacks the status of *janguny* ‘story’, given its prosaic nature. Yet even within this simple retelling, the teller asserts aspects of a cultural schema relating to the role of senior people. Here the importance of senior men as advocates for their family group is foregrounded. The reported interactions between Banggala and the policeman demonstrate Banggala’s intercultural competence, as he portrays himself as capable and authoritative in the domain of the police station.¹¹⁰ This evaluation is given prominence at a narrative highpoint, the moment in which Banggala issues the directive to the policeman ‘out!’ (xvii). This is overtly marked by a code switch to English and Banggala’s agency is emphasised by the preceding quotative expression (xvi). The efficacy of this command is demonstrated in the story’s resolution in (xviii), with the motion predicate *awurri-bena* ‘two emerged’. Banggala’s directive to me, the audience, to turn the recorder off (xix) emphasises the finality of this conclusion. It can be said that Banggala’s agency and authority is in fact the notional climax of this story, which offers no evaluation of the conduct of either the two men or the police nor any critique on the circumstances in which the incident occurred.

¹¹⁰ Banggala quotes this interaction as having occurred primarily in Gun-nartpa, which is a rather unrealistic touch given the unlikelihood of the policeman having command of this code and Banggala’s proficiency in Aboriginal English. Possibly this choice was an accommodation to the fact that we were recording this story.

6.2.3 Reported speech

Reported speech is ubiquitous in Gun-nartpa conversation and in everyday narrative, delivered in a range of vocal styles and for various purposes (Ochs & Capps 2001). The same applies to more formal styles of narrative discourse such as political oratory (Clunies-Ross 1983) and narratively framed prescriptions of ethical conduct referred to as *joborr* (Gurrmanamana et al. 2002). Some storytellers prefer to dramatise events to provide rhetorical flourish and ‘doing the voices’ of characters in stories is one aspect of such performances. The text in 6:1 clearly shows the importance of interaction episodes in narrative. Interaction episodes are one means by which action is driven forward in narrative discourse, where events are enacted and framed by being expressed as reported speech.

Reported speech aligns with interactional episodes in discourse, where actors engage and interact. It is a form of drama and, as Longacre writes, “narrative and drama are two alternative ways of telling a story” (Longacre 1985:10). Drama is, in Longacre’s scheme, a highly vivid form of discourse.¹¹¹ One reason for this is that reported speech expresses the perspective of narrative actors on narrative events. For example, in 6:1 the fight between the two men is presented as part of an interaction episode, within a stretch of reported dialogue (*punchim a-ni nula, rrapa nipa punchim a-ni* ‘he punched him and the other one punched him back’). Reported speech, as a vivid rendering of notional structure (i.e. a narrative plot) is an important means of marking prominence in narrative and occurs commonly as an evaluative strategy within narrative discourse. The evaluative function of reported speech is discussed in relation to examples 6:3 and 6:4 below.

¹¹¹ Longacre distinguishes drama from reported speech on the basis that the latter usually features quotation sentences. Longacre states that ‘only in especially lively sections of narrative do we find the dialogue paragraphs approximating the form of drama’ (Longacre 1983:7). In contrast to Longacre’s position and consistent with the observations of Blythe (2009a, 2009b, 2011), reported speech in Gun-nartpa discourse commonly lacks quotative brackets and is marked by prosody that gives it the character of dramatised interaction.

Reported speech is generally dialogic, involving interactions between actors in a storyworld projected by the teller. It is integrated within discourse structures yet distinctively bracketed (see §G4.7.3); thus differentiated from surrounding discourse. Reported speech has its own prosodic character, exhibiting what Blythe describes for reported speech in Murrinhpatha¹¹², as “distinctive global prosodic (and/or paralinguistic) marking of passages of speech, making the talk audibly different from the surrounding non-reported talk” (Blythe 2009b:28). Blythe describes the phonetic detail of reported speech in Murrinhpatha, showing how global prosodic marking and other paralinguistic cues such as creaky voice, tempo and demarcated turn-taking all contribute to the distinct character of reported speech in narrative. While this study is limited in respect to how prosody is indicated, on an impressionistic level similar phenomena to those reported by Blythe are clearly discernable in Gun-nartpa reported speech.

Blythe proposes that there are three indexical cues for reported speech, one being global prosodic marking and another the presence of ‘ill-fitting vocatives’ that do not fit within the interactional frame of reference. He also identifies quotative expressions, verbs that identify who produced an utterance (Blythe 2009a, 2009b). Quotative expressions are also frequently associated with reported speech in Gun-nartpa and these include communication verbs such as *wengga* ‘to speak’, *ngurrja* ‘to explain’, *wenggana* ‘to ask, inquire’, *japurndiya* ‘to sing’ and *gornja* ‘to call out’ (in 6:1, see vi, ix, . Also important are the demonstrative verbs that are built upon the stem *yina* ‘to do thus’. These function as both referential and discourse organisational expressions that bracket reported speech, kinesic-visual gestures, mimesis and signs (§G1.5.12 Verbal demonstratives). In conversational interactions, quotative expressions are commonly used to flag the presence of reported speech and to identify who produced it (§G4.7.3 Quotative bracketing). Quotative expressions commonly co-occur with the attention-getters *alay* and *ajay*, which are specific to male and female addressees respectively (as in 6:1:iii, where the reported exchange occurs between female actors and is initiated by the female address form *ajay*). Where a quotative expression is omitted, the attention-

¹¹² Blythe uses the spelling Murriny Patha, one of a number of variations in the literature. I follow Mansfield (2016) in spelling it as Murrinhpatha.

getter still commonly initiates the stretch of reported speech: see 6:20:viii, where the reported speech occurs midway through an action episode and the actors are in referential focus.

6.2.4 Lists

I provide another narrative fragment to illustrate another kind of evaluation device commonly seen in narrative discourse. This is from Banggala's story about how the creation ancestor spirit Ji-japurn instructed the An-nguliny ancestors to place the Jin-gubardabiya pandanus mat spirit at Wangarr A-juwana, and placed restrictions on women entering this site (Banggala 2014b). Banggala commonly concluded such ancestral stories with assertions of ownership and lists of kin, as follows:

6:2 Excerpt of *Nipa Ji-japurn a-wena* 'This is what Ji-japurn said' (Banggala 2014b)

(Continuation from narrative about Ji-japurn restricting access to site)

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| i | <p><i>ngguna gochaninyjirra ngininyarra /</i>
 <i>from that place now -</i>
 <i>from gochaninyjirra wenga -</i>
 <i>for my dreaming where himin say /</i></p> <p><i>awena \</i>
 <i>anngayp dreaming \</i></p> | <p>I am here living at Gochan Jiny-jirra
 from that place now
 (I am) from Gochan Jiny-jirra.
 he (Ji-japurn) said this is my
 dreaming
 he said
 it's my dreaming</p> |
| ii | <p><i>anngaypa wurra nipa -</i>
 <i>ngunaworla::</i>
 <i>an ngunanya::</i>
 <i>rrap ngiyijela, my sister::</i>
 <i>ngujimununa:: awurrijuwanapa</i>
 <i>awurrilebana \</i>
 <i>ngaypa murla ngiyinaga \</i></p> <p><i>rrapa rdoyrdoy ngiyinaga -</i></p> <p><i>awurrwerrmiyana guga \</i>
 <i>gala mola aburrdigirrga,</i>
 <i>gala aninga aninya \</i>
 <i>gala aninga live - gunyagara \</i>
 <i>awurrjuwunap awurrni= ganapiy</i>
 <i>awurrlebana \</i></p> | <p>Mine, but also him
 my brother
 and my father
 and my sister
 my mother's mother, the ones that
 have all died and are finished
 the one that I call <i>murla</i> (older
 sibling)
 and the ones that I call <i>doydoy</i>
 (mother's brother)
 they have all got old and passed away
 they don't walk around any more,
 there are none of them
 none of them live, they are nothing
 They have all died, that's the finish,
 they've all finished</p> |

(end of recording)

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Preceding this extract, Banggala had already concluded a series of interaction episodes in which Ji-japurn gives various instructions to the An-nguliny clan ancestors (see §4.2 for discussion of this myth of inheritance). He then asserts his rights in relation to this ancestral inheritance and validates them in terms of the directives of the ancestral spirit (i). This is expressed in a mix of Aboriginal English and Gun-nartpa. Code-shifting is a bracketing device, and he moves back into Gun-nartpa (predominantly) to list his kin who also hold rights in this place (ii). This list is laden with affect – these are the deceased family members who socialised him into this knowledge and the practices associated with it. The assertions of rights and connections and listing of authentic signifiers of belonging is common practice in Gun-nartpa discourse. In this case the narrator lists kin; however, other iconic signifiers of social identity (such as clan designs and ancestor spirits) are often listed in evaluative and affective discourse episodes (see Clunies-Ross (1983) for similar points in relation to a Gu-jingarliya political oration). Listing prosody is distinctive; each item is prosodically separate, the pitch of list items is raised and the intonational contour is rising or maintained level across the prosodic unit. In affect-laden listing episodes people list items that are highly culturally valued and listing intonation can take on a distinctive rhythm and voice quality. Syllables are accented and a strong emphasis is placed on the final syllable of prosodic units. This emphasis can be realized by loudness, maintenance of high pitch or lengthening of the final syllable vowel.

The following example (6:3) shows examples of evaluative narrative expressed as both reported speech and lists. This is an excerpt from one of England Banggala's stories about foot patrols with Welfare Superintendent John Hunter, and recounts their reception on return from one patrol. Banggala was accorded status through his association with Hunter and his work as a patrol guide contributed much towards infrastructure development at Gochan Jiny-jirra (England et al. 2014:118).

6:3	Excerpt from <i>Marrka Arr-boy Raminging, Gartchi</i> ‘Let’s try to get to Raminging and Gartchi’ (Banggala 2014j)	
i	<i>alay, marrka nguwurrboy lay,</i>	hey why don’t we go?
ii	<i>awurryinagatpa \</i>	they said that
iii	<i>÷ nguwurrboy barra ngubina rla! \</i> <i>Mister Hunter, England, awurriwarrching awurriwarrchinga \ ÷</i>	let’s all go, let’s see it hey! Mr Hunter, England they are coming up, they are coming up
iv	<i>awurryurtchinga / gochilawa awurbena awurni, munartpa munanngiya gapala muwarrchinga xx \ gatpa awurrganana awurrji \</i>	they all ran they all arrived at the beach that something the boat came up (?) they all stood watching
v	<i>mbamana=</i>	it came up...
vi	<i>÷ bitipiya la bitipa awurrigun awurrigun awurriguna \ ÷</i>	them hey, it’s them, they’re here, they’re here, they’re here!
vii	<i>everybody!</i> <i>jinabona - awurgatpa nakara:: burarra::</i> <i>gunabiji:: ngayurrrpa-- guguna wenga wurlak::</i> <i>anbarra::</i> <i>big burarra::</i> <i>nakara pipul::</i> <i>guguna wenga ngayurrrpa gunartpa mugaba wenga rembarrnga::</i> <i>guninygu::</i>	everybody women came, all the Na-kara Burarra Kunibidji, all of us, from here the Wurlaki the Anbarra Big Burarra Na-kara people from here, all of us Gun-nartpa, from there, the Rembarrnga and Kuninjku
viii	<i>÷ bitipa ya bitipa ya awurbena \ ÷</i>	is it them? is it them? they’ve arrived!

(story continues)

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Reported speech is an evaluative device in 6:3, expressing the excitement among the many people who witnessed their return (i, iii, vi, viii). Listing also functions evaluatively, expressing the diversity of people who gathered, representing the many groups living in the settlement of Maningrida during the Welfare era of the 1960s (§3.4.4) (vii). Note also the use of English ‘everybody’ to introduce this listing sequence. These components are interspersed with motion and action episodes,

describing people running, watching and the boat coming onto the beach (iv, v). Each different kind of episode brackets the other, with the bracketing expressed as quotative expressions (ii), global prosodic marking and changes in referential agreement (verbs in reported speech), shifts from one prosodic style to another (as between reported speech back to narrative voice), and extension prosody (v), where an extended event brackets the responses of people standing watching on the beach (vi).

Listing is a key strategy for evaluation in Gun-nartpa narrative, a means of identifying the normative configuration of a situation or series of events in terms of the set of referents associated with it. In Chapter 2 I presented excerpts of Banggala's program for showing me his country, in which he concludes with the promise of a token of his ancestral rights to this country in the form of ochre. In making this promise he lists my kin, outlining the socially relational set that are salient to this promise. In other instances of listing, people name prototypical members of taxonomic groups (see example 5:6), or entities associated with certain activities, such as sources of food in a traditional diet (see 7:4) or kits of objects customarily associated with each other due to being used for a similar purpose (e.g. kits of weaponry carried by men).¹¹³

6.2.5 Expressions of affect

Expressions of affect have an important evaluative function in indexing the social order and the normative orientations of behavior (§5.9). I illustrate with some Gun-nartpa examples from the ancestral travelling genre. In such narratives, the protagonists move through the landscape, stopping at certain places to do things, and through those activities bring landscape and things related to it into being. The fragment presented in 6:4 is from the story *Murlurlu awurriny-jar* 'Two ancestral women', which tells of two women from Barlparrarra Swamp who travel south to Bayerremere¹¹⁴ (Banggala

¹¹³ It could be argued that listing is a product of the interactions between language consultant and linguist, occurring as an explicit teaching strategy, and it does indeed occur in this context. For example, see the discussion of fish names presented in example 5:6 (§5.6). However I have observed listing used by many Gun-nartpa speakers as a discourse strategy on many occasions, particularly as a marker of hortatory speech. For an example see the political oratory text analysed by Clunies-Ross (1983).

¹¹⁴ This is a Yirrichinga ceremony ground near Bulman.

2014e). Along the way they stop at Bamarrkorla and cook a barramundi, not knowing that it is sacred and taboo. This action causes the rock beneath them to grow suddenly, and when this happens they simultaneously see their country at Barlparnarra and realise that they can never return.

6:4 Excerpt of England Banggala's story of *Murlurlu Jiny-jar*

(Continuation from travelling episode)

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| i | <i>bamarrakorla,
awurrinyalpan awurrinyini \
awurrinyalpan jandarra guwarrching
guyurtching guyamana \
jandarra guwarrching gubono==
wana gini \
wana gini==</i> | at Bamarrakorla
they cooked it
as they cooked it the rock rose up
suddenly
The rock rose up and up
until it was big
as it became enormous |
| ii | <i>awurrinyjawurriyana guwurrinyana,</i> | the two women turned their heads
and saw (what was behind them) |
| iii | <i>- ajay /
an.guna moch ayalpun arrni \

- yina an.guna moch \
- guguna jichicha ayalpuna \
jichicha ayalpuna arrni \
- aya \
- ee \
wurra gun.gaba gip nyinach nyinirra \
gun.gab barlparnarra na /
barlparnarr aybawana,
gun.guna gunajinyjirri=
ya= gurrmajamaj, aybawuna \
gurrmajamaja anngardapa aybawan,
ananinyirra \
jinaninyirra ananinyirra gurrmajamaja
aybawuna \
ngarrip aninga arrbona gurda,
arrganyja \
ngarrip arrbamanurda,
ngardap ngata \
-aya \
hm -
ma \\

(pauses to light a cigarette)</i> | - hey lady!
this is a sacred being we just
cooked
- where is this sacred being?
- this fish we cooked here
this fish we were just cooking
- I see, hmm
- yes
can you see that place over there?
that place is Barlparnarra
we left it
there it is standing there...
aaaah we left our family group we
left the entire family group
they are all over there
all the women and all the men
our family group, we left them
- who brought us here?

- it was us two that came here
we acted independently.
- I see.
- yes
- ok |
| v | | |
| vi | | |
| vii | <i>awurrinybamana \
they went along</i> | |

guwurrinyinana awurrinyji= ganapiya they stood and looked, finish
*awurrinyjamana * they kept going

>*awurrina=<* they went along
*bridge guwurrinyjurrmurra * and put a bridge
bridge guwurrinyjurrmurra, they put a bridge
*close up langa - marrangka * close to Mataranka.

(travelling episode continues)

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The first episode in this fragment describes the women cooking the fish, and the rock grows underneath them (i). The narrator uses expressive language here to convey the sense of great height; in particular, extension prosody on the final vowel of the verb complex *jandarra gu-warrchinga gu-bonaaa* ‘the rock grew up suddenly’. In the next episode the women turn as the rock reaches full height and see their country behind them from their new vantage point (ii). Their realisation is expressed as reported speech (iii), and their conversation continues (iv) as they talk about the distance between themselves and Barlparnarra and the family they have left behind. The reported speech component drives the narrative forward, sharing the consequence of the previous event with the audience. It also is an expression of affect, conveying the sadness the women feel about being so far away from their family.

This expression of affect is couched in the interactional idiom of everyday narrative practice (Ochs & Capps 2001). It is a representation of how the women might deal with this scenario between themselves through the “dialogic activity through which different versions of experience are aired, judged, synthesized, or eliminated” (Ochs & Capps 2001:7). For example, one woman exclaims in grief and laments the loss of her family. While this is not represented in the example text, the narrator adopts a particular prosody in this stretch of reported speech (Blythe 2009a, 2009b). This is a performative representation of the prosody of dyadic speech and this differentiation through performance brackets these interactive episodes from surrounding discourse. However, this is reported speech that takes place within an interaction that belongs to the storyworld, and so it also represents an evaluative stance by the storyteller. In terms of

the core orientation of Gun-nartpa people to kin and country, this episode represents a scenario of loss and social dislocation.

As their conversation continues (v) one woman asks her sister how they came to be there and the sister responds *ngarripa arrbamana gurda, ngardapa ngata* ‘we two came here on our own’, an implication that this was a choice that they made as independent agents. This is an affectively oriented statement, and through this we also discern the evaluation of the narrator. The situation the women find themselves in does not conform to the norms of social conduct, which dictate that women stay within their family groups. Various levels of analysis can be applied to this; however, the main point to make here is that the protagonists express affect through the discourse component of reported speech, and overlaying this is an evaluative stance by the narrator, who frames their interaction in a way that draws attention to social norms. He frames the tabooed action and its consequence in terms of *joborr*, the laws around social etiquette and correct behavior, which in this society are expressed as dialogic interactions, and in the idiom of reported speech (Gurmanamana et al. 2002; also see §6.2.3).

This affective and evaluative episode is bracketed from the surrounding discourse; as it closes, one sister utters the activity organising interjection *ma* ‘time to do something, time to move on’ (Evans 1992b). In this discourse context the interjection carries a double function as a bracketing device: it signals both the sisters ending their interaction and a move to a new discourse episode, indeed perhaps here there is a blurring of identity – is the sister speaking, or the narrator? The narrator pauses briefly to light a cigarette (vi) and then commences a new narrative episode, a description of where the women go next on this journey, leading in with a motion predicate (vii).

6.2.6 *Sound symbolism and ideophones*

Sound symbolism is employed to represent sensory and experiential dimensions of events, and narrative discourse is particularly rich in this form of expression. Through sound symbolism, storytellers dramatise events through representations of natural sound such as the calls of animals, environmental sounds such as the movement of water, the sounds of ceremony and of groups of people. Ideophones are sound symbolic units codified as “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2016:655).

Dingemanse notes the markedness of ideophones – “they stand out from other words” by being phonologically and prosodically conspicuous. They display “certain liberties relative to other words” such as allowing more syllable structures, expanded morphological possibilities, tonal melodies and greater syntactic independence (Dingemanse 2016:655-6).

In Gun-nartpa, ideophones commonly function as preverbal adverbial modifiers (§G4.2 Preverb-verb structures). As mentioned above, Dingemanse notes their potential for syntactic independence, with a tendency to occur at the edges of clauses (Dingemanse 2016:656). For example, in example 6:8 (in §6.2.7) the ideophone *!jakurrurlurp!* collocates as an adverbial modifier of the verb *ga* ‘to take’, to express the action of a group undergoing ritual washing, i.e. *!jakurrurlurp! ga* ‘ritually wash’ (6:8 iv, v). This collocation is a conventional idiom for this stage of the *wanyjirr* ceremony. As Dingemanse notes (after Alpher 1994:70) “a very strong one to one collocational restriction of, say, verb and ideophone may make it possible to use the ideophone in a verbless context” (Dingemanse 2016:657). This potential is realised later in the same episode (6:8 vii, viii) where the ideophone occurs independently of the verb clause, to connote the same action. On a discourse level, the syntactic independence of ideophones enables them to function as proxies for clauses. That is, while they are not clauses in their own right in terms of predicate-argument structure, they commonly participate in interclausal structures. This is seen in the case of ideophones becoming ‘uncoupled’ from clausal predicates and occurring independently as discussed above.

In addition, there are interesting parallels between ‘clausal’ ideophones and reported speech, which reflects their “depictive-performative nature” (Dingemanse 2016:657). For example, see 6:5.

6:5 Excerpt from *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* ‘We went to war’ (Litchfield 2014a)

<i>ganapiya, nyuwurrgarlmarramana - waypa nyiburgaliyana / !arrrrrrrrrr!</i>	finish, the whole camp got up when we heard something !arrrrrrrr!
<i>aburryinagatp atila - andirra awena, andakal \</i>	it went like that to us they made the sound of spears the war party

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In this example the speaker uses an ideophone (*!arrrrrrrrrr!*) to create the sound of the warriors rattling their spears in preparation for an ambush. This sound is bracketed by a quotative expression, *aburr-yinagatpa* ‘they did that’ analogous to the bracketing of reported speech (§G4.7.3 Quotative bracketing). Another form of bracketing occurs with the verb *galiya* ‘to hear’, which introduces the sound of the warriors (§G4.7.2 Event brackets a new topic). Such interclausal patterns provide the affordance for ideophones to form paratactic relations with clauses within discourse components.

Storytellers use sound symbolism creatively, as a form of mimesis (Green 2014). Depictions of human vocalisations depict sensory imagery, yet are mimetic rather than ideophonic, functioning as a form of reported speech (see example 6:17 v). In most cases it is quite straightforward to distinguish ideophones from ad hoc sensory impressions conveyed through sound because the meanings of the Gun-nartpa ideophones used to depict sensory imagery are conventionalised and can be translated. Throughout the transcription of narratives for *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa*, Gun-nartpa consultants were able to offer specific meanings for most of them, either as independent words or in conventional phrasal collocations. A number of ideophones observed in Gun-nartpa utterances are presented in §G1.7.1 (Ideophones).

6.2.7 Repetition for coherence and rhythm

Walsh notes that repetition is common in Aboriginal narratives, with action predicates often repeated and events reprised in a cyclical manner throughout a narrative (Walsh in press). This is not a surprising observation, given the importance of repetition in oral literature from a wide range of traditions (Gray 1971). One wide-spread pattern of

repetition is labelled tail-head linkage – as observed for the languages of Papua New Guinea and the Amazon (Guillaume 2011). McKay (2000) describes such a pattern in Ndjébbana, whereby the main elements of a clause are repeated to provide a cohesive thread through a sequence of clauses (McKay 2000:282-83). McKay labels this ‘cohesive repetition’ and it is also a feature of Gun-nartpa narrative discourse (hence I retain his label). Cohesive repetition repeats clauses in inter-clausal constructions to express chronological and logical relations between clauses, to elaborate and modify. Within Gun-nartpa narrative, cohesive repetition expresses iteration in events, as in 6:5 (also see example 7:1 in §7.2). Cohesive repetition also brackets new episodes in narrative and this bracketing function is often marked prosodically. For example, 6:6 is the opening of a new narrative, in which Banggala describes the arrival of white ochre, a message that a war party is forming. He repeats the clause *rrakal gu-balikaja* ‘someone sent white ochre’ (ii) as a lead-in to the following motion clause (iii). He then repeats that clause with final rising intonation (iv) as a bracket for an interaction, expressed as reported speech (v).

6:6	Commencement of <i>Majabala gun-gunaga</i> ‘The message stick is here’ (Banggala 2014g)	
i	<i>rrakal gubalakija /</i>	someone sent white ochre
ii	<i>rrakal gubalakija /</i>	someone sent white ochre
iii	<i>guyurtching gini=</i> <i>gubena \</i>	it travelled some distance, it arrived
iv	<i>gubena /</i>	it arrived
v	- <i>anngay /</i> - <i>rrakal gun.gunaga -</i>	- what’s up? - this is white ochre right here

(story continues)

T14B-06: 2900- 15410

Rhythmic repetition is another kind of clausal repetition that expresses duration and iteration of events (cf. McKay 2000). It has important expressive functions and imparts rhythmic aesthetics to narrative. In many instances the function of rhythmic repetition is symbolic, as an iconic representation of the performance and extent of an action. This is a form of sound symbolism, in which the rhythmic isochrony of syllables with metrical beats expresses actions as iconic of their performance. Rhythmic repetition shares its

performative and depictive character with ideophones, as discussed in §6.2.6. This is illustrated by fragments of Jane and Harry Litchfield’s description of ritual performance during funerals. In 6:7 Jane Litchfield added a rhythmically repetitive description of women dancing as Harry Litchfield described the sequence of events:

6:7 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

+awurrinyalagiyana awurrinyjarl+	they danced quickly

T17A-02: 35580-38580

In 6:8 Harry describes *wanyjirr*, the ritual cleansing that takes place at the conclusion of a funeral (Hiatt & Clunies-Ross 1977). During *wanyjirr*, family members stand in a ground sculpture and water is poured over them while a member of the deceased person’s moiety invokes the sacred clan names; male dancers respond with vocalisations. The leader of this ritual is known as *dalkarra gu-rrimanga* ‘the one who holds the sacred names’.

6:8 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

i	<i>ma -</i>	ok
ii	<i>rrap anerranga anagornakuniya \</i> <i>rrapa gunerrang,</i> <i>awurrmurrparriyana,</i> <i>gunerranga \</i> <i>awurrjapurndiya,</i>	and one group came for a shower the first group gathered and another group they were singing
iii	- + ! <i>birikarr=!</i> - ! <i>yay!</i> +	- !calling names! - !dancers response!
iv	! <i>jakurrurlurp!</i> <i>awurrganyja \</i> <i>rrapa</i> + ! <i>birikarr=!</i> +	they poured water and !calling names!
v	<i>gunelang gurrimarra=</i> <i>!jakurrurlurp!</i> <i>awurrganyja \</i> <i>jiygornakuniyana, jiywarrchinga \</i> <i>rrapa -</i> <i>muwerranga awurrbupiyana rrapa</i> <i>\</i>	he held the names they poured water women showered and arose (out of the ground sculpture) and another group went into it and

vi	+ - !yay! - !birikarrbirikarr=! +	- !dancers response! - !calling names!
vii	!jakurrurlurlp! \ rrapa barrwa, >+!birikarrbirikarr!	!pouring water! and again !calling names!
viii	!jakurrurlurlp! \ murna aburrdimayana \ awurrwarrching \ 	!pouring water! they ‘stayed their hands’ (finished) everyone got up

T17A-02: 749071-780716

Harry uses a discourse organising particle *ma* ‘time to move on’ as a bracketing device for this narrative episode (i). He utilises the ideophone *!birikarr!*, which represents the sound of invocation, and represents the responses of the dancers with *!yay!* (iii, vi). Together these rhythmically cohere as a performative icon of the ritual itself. These rhythmic elements are bracketed as for reported speech, initially by a verb *awurr-japurndiya* ‘they all sang’ (ii), and subsequently by prosody and the conjunctions *rrapa* ‘and, then’ (v) and *barrwa* ‘again’ (vii). Along with the rhythmic elements he employs the ideophone *!jakurrurlurlp!* to express the sound of the water pouring over the participants (iv, vii, viii) (see §6.2.6 for discussion of this ideophone). Cohesive repetition is used to structure this event, as different groups of people enter and depart from the sand sculpture to take their turn at *wanyjirr*.

Rhythmic repetition is used iconically as a representation of the length of time taken by a sequence of actions, or their intrinsically repetitive nature. In 6:9 Harry Litchfield describes a man who has been attacked by a sorcerer, and is sickening. He uses a serial predicate construction *a-jarlpa a-bamana* ‘he went continuously for a long time’, rhythmically repeated, to describe how the man sleeps for a long time, over several periods of normal sleep time.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ In relation to aspectual serialisation in Gu-jingarliya, refer to Glasgow (1988); Green (1987:76-82) and §G4.5.

6:9 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

<i>agurrmiyana \</i>	he lay down
<i>ayup ajarl amana -</i>	he slept continuously
<i>gurderda wana mungoy,</i>	a big sickness first
<i>+ajarl paman, ajarl paman,</i>	he went continuously for a long time
<i>ajarl pamana+</i>	

T17A-02: 560371-566355

Another iconic use of rhythmic repetition is to indicate the spatial extent of entities or events, as in the following example (6:10) where the speaker is indicating several separate locations in a ceremony camp where food is cooking.

6.10 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

<i>balaja murronga,</i>	food cooking
<i>gaba=</i>	there
<i>+miji gaba, miji gaba, miji+</i>	standing there, standing there, standing

T17A-02: 56128-59320

To do justice to the rhythmic character of repetition, ideophones and the expressive use of prosody is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, these are features of narrative that incorporate sensory and experiential dimensions of events into narrative and enrich their spatial, temporal and interactional dynamics.

6.2.8 *Extension prosody*

Extension prosody is a discourse feature that expresses the duration and extent of events in time and space (§G3.7.2 Extension prosody). Extension prosody has both discourse organisational and rhetorical functions and, like sound symbolism and rhythmic repetition, is iconic of the experiential and sensory nature of events. (See 6:12 for an example of extension prosody employed to express distance and extent in a travelling narrative.)

Extension prosody combines with cohesive repetition to bracket new events in discourse, as in example 6:18 where the repeated clause (iv) reprises a narrative event

(ii) after an intervening discussion of who was involved (iii-v). In example 6:3 (v) a motion verb takes extension prosody and brackets an interactive episode, expressed as reported speech. Ideophones and rhythmic repetition frequently combine with extension prosody to enhance the sensory dimension of narrative experience, as shown in 6:11, where the sound of blood pouring into a billycan is repeated for six beats and then extended.

6:11 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

+ !jurlurlurlurlurlu===! +	glug-glug-glug-glug-glug-glug...
gungana mumeyana \	to the brim it got

T17A-02: 496723-499963

I turn now to outline some semiotic units of discourse in the following discussion of discourse episodes and components.

6.3 *Discourse episodes and components*

6.3.1 *Identification of discourse episodes and components*

Narrative discourse can be discussed in terms of its structural characteristics, as comprised of (more or less) logically and sequentially organised *discourse episodes*. Narrative discourse is linearly arranged as a flow of communicative moves (Enfield 2009) and can be segmented along the axis of time. One can think of an episode as a strip of communicative behavior that coheres in terms of its footing, and other properties (Goffman 1981). Polanyi presents episodes in similar terms, as parts of a narrative that cohere in terms of their “temporal, spatial or personal deictic anchoring” (Polanyi 1980). Adopting Hoffmann’s perspective on the centrality of both spatial and motion encodings, we can describe a narrative in simple terms as comprising a temporal and/or spatial sequence of episodes: actors commonly travel, do something, travel some more, do something else, and so on (Ochs & Capps 2001:158-61; Hoffmann 2015). While shifts in temporal and spatial frames of reference are relevant (for some tellers more than others), narrative is also structured within relationally configured frames of

reference. Deictic signifiers index referents, locations and events across each of these, anchored within narrative episodes of different types.

Thus episodes are differentiated in terms of other properties as well, including the predominant semantic type of predicate that occurs. Narratives in Gun-nartpa are comprised of arrangements of formally identifiable types of episode, which include *action*, *travelling* and *interaction* episodes. An action episode is identified as such because action events predominate and a travelling episode is dominated by motion events (Polanyi 1985:10).¹¹⁶ As discussed in §6.2.3, Gun-nartpa narrative almost always contains bracketed sequences of reported speech, which is prosodically and deictically marked. Interaction episodes are predominantly realised as reported speech, where narrative actors engage in dialogue. Clusters of such formal features are referred to throughout as *discourse components* (see Table 6.3). In accordance with the principle of semiotic compositionality (Enfield 2009), discourse components can overlap and nest within each other and this is commonly observed at narrative highpoints, where episodic structure is disrupted (Longacre 1983). Narrative highpoints form complex yet unitary episodes in themselves, in which multiple types of discourse component can occur or combine.¹¹⁷

I have also identified *existence* as a type of episode. These are episodes in which the existence, states and attributes of referents are asserted, their identity is specified, and where they are configured in locations (cf. Polanyi 1982:10). This kind of episode often

¹¹⁶ While using the notion of ‘episode’ it is important to note that these are not always clearly differentiated; for example, we often find that a narrative episode combines both action and travelling predicates. Furthermore, communication is multimodal, and the utterance units that comprise episodes are composite. This presents further complexity to the task of identifying semantic units within episodes (Green 2014).

¹¹⁷ Episodes and their typical configurations in terms of discourse components should be considered as prototypes; they represent a cluster of multiple possible realisations of complex signs that are compositionally similar. Furthermore, I do not intend these representations to be deterministic of their semiotic potential – given the ambiguity of signification and the nature of indexicality, the range of possible implicature and interpretation is wide, and situated in multiple contextual variations (Green 2014). Whichever interpretations are relevant for a given audience, setting and set of social facts will always be contingent on the interplay between signifier and context (Sperber & Wilson 1995).

contrasts with travel, action and interaction at a discourse sequencing level. Storytellers also express meanings related to experience and affect throughout narrative. Sensory and communicative experiences impinge upon the reality of a narrative participant: they may hear something or remember something. Importantly, experience episodes shift the narrative footing to the viewpoint of the participant undergoing the experience. While these are sometimes separable and independent episodes, often they overlay or nest within other episodes.

Brackets occur at the junctures between episodes and within them, where they mark nested episodes, and these are expressed by the choice of one or other discourse component over another. Discourse episodes are constituted of combinations of discourse components, such as *motion clauses/sequences*, *action clauses/sequences*, *experiential/attributive expressions*, *locational expressions*, *referential expressions*, *reported speech*, *lists*, *sound symbolism* and *kinesic-visual communication* (sign and gesture). A change of discourse component commonly marks the movement from one discourse episode to another, providing “a narrative structural boundary which indicates “movement” towards a new event within the story, both spatially and metaphorically” (Hoffmann 2015:23). Furthermore, there are also numerous bracketing devices that mark such transitions. In §6.5.6 I have already discussed the bracketing functions of extension prosody and repetition, which commonly combine to introduce new events and episodes. Activity organising particles such as *ma* ‘ok, time to move on’ (cf. Evans 1992b), *manymak* ‘good, ok, we agree’ and *ganapiya* ‘finish’ also often occur as markers of shifts between major episodes. In example 6:4 (v) the particle *ma* is uttered by a participant at the closure of a stretch of reported speech, simultaneously bracketing the next discourse episode where the story actors recommence travelling. *Ganapiya* also occurs within 6:1 (vii), where it follows an action clause (*guwurrinyi-nana awurriny-ji, ganapiya* ‘the two women stood looking ... then finished’). It marks the closure of that event and a shift into the next episode, expressed as a motion event (*awurriny-jamana* ‘the two women travelled’). *Ganapiya* functions as a marker of closure and transition in many levels of interaction, as a quasi-aspectual that marks the end of an event, as a bracketing device between discourse episodes, and as an activity organiser (‘that’s finished, let’s move on’).

In terms of discourse sequencing, the adverbial demonstrative *gata* ‘that identifiable place’ takes the individuation suffix *+pa* to yield *gatpa* ‘exactly that place’ (§G1.5). In combination with the postposition *wenga* ‘away’, *gatpa wenga* ‘after that’ functions as a discourse sequence marker, particularly in travelling and procedural narrative (see 6:12 iii). Other important bracketing markers are pauses (6:1 vi) and global prosodic marking (cf. Blythe 2009a). The occurrence of free pronouns and nominal demonstratives as switch reference and focus markers also frequently marks a shift in episode, as they are referential expressions which are used (sometimes in combination with referential nominals) to introduce actors or to refer to them anaphorically, cataphorically or exophorically (see 6:18 iv, v; 6:20 i).

As discussed in §5.8, evaluation is central to narrative, as tellers employ devices to “evaluate the key events most highly in order to distinguish them from the less important ... events” (Polanyi 1985:13). Sometimes evaluations occur at the discourse sequence level, aligning with a discourse episode expressed by a kind of discourse component. Examples of this are the evaluations expressed through reported speech that represents the affective state of participants, as discussed in §6.3.2. Polanyi identifies that non-event propositions are often highlighted (Polanyi 1985), and I add also the importance of certain referents, such as kin named as part of a list, as discussed in §6.2.4. Lists are existence episodes and frequently occur to convey evaluative prominence. At other times episodes are nested within or overlap with other narrative episodes, a means of expressing the evaluative prominence associated with narrative highlights.

Table 6.3 presents a summary of the discourse components and Table 6.4 the bracketing devices discussed in this chapter and the next. I provide examples of how discourse episodes and units combine in a fragment of a travelling narrative in §6.3.2.

Table 6.3: Summary of Gun-nartpa discourse components

Motion clauses
Action clauses
Referential expressions
Experiential/attributive expressions
Locational expressions
Inclusory constructions
Kinship terms and constructions
Reported speech
Cohesive repetition
Rhythmic repetition
Lists
Sound symbolism
Kinesic-visual (sign and gesture)

Table 6.4: Summary of Gun-nartpa bracketing devices

Shift from one discourse component to another
Repetition and extension prosody
Quotative expressions
Shift in deictic centre
Activity/discourse organising particles and conjunctions
Focus pronouns and nominal demonstratives
Code shift/code mix

6.3.2 Discourse episodes and components in travelling narratives

In general, travelling narratives are structured around action, travelling and interaction episodes, spatially grounded in landscape (Hoffman 2015). The prototypical travelling narrative is the ancestral creation story. These tell of the movements of ancestral creator beings as they traversed the landscape, leaving physical traces and intersecting and interacting with other ancestral beings. Banggala and others also told numerous other travelling narratives that were not ancestral narratives yet took a similar form. For example, Banggala told a number of stories about ‘footwalk’ – his term for travelling with John Hunter as a patrol guide on survey patrols through the district. He also told narratives about traditional life that involved people travelling from place to place, such as *Marrambay* ‘A love affair’ (Banggala 2014h). In travelling narratives, motion events

commonly bracket the commencement of the event of telling. Motion commencements are sometimes specified in terms of place and time of the day or season, as in 6:12 (ii).

6:12 Commencement of *Rrakal nyiburr-ngimiyana* ‘We painted ourselves with white clay’ (Litchfield 2014b)

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| i | <i>right nyurrgarimana /
giyinagatpa nyuwurrgarlmuna
mawurrk \</i> | right, we all got up to depart
it was like this when we went to
Mawurrk |
| ii | <i>yirrana gini giyinagatpa /
nyuwurrbamana andakal \</i> | it was late afternoon
when we went to war |

(narrative continues)

T60A-05

They may commence with a key event that sets other events in motion, as in 6:6, where the arrival of white ochre communicates the intention to form a war party. Sometimes they commence with an orientation to key locations, prior to the movement into the narrative, as in 6:13. In this example Banggala mentions the place called An-darrbaykarda Ana-ngarna ‘Lightning in his Mouth’, a place associated with the lightning spirit and close to a border between Yirrichinga and Jowunga estates (i). He talks about how there is a close connection between Nganyjuwa and the lightning site, due to interactions between Yirrichinga and Jowunga ancestral spirits (ii), before moving into descriptions of the travels of those spirits (iii, iv). In this instance the bracket is marked by the discourse sequencing expression *gatpa wenga* ‘from that place’ (iii). Locational descriptions also occur as parts of existence, travelling and action episodes throughout travelling narratives, identifying salient aspects of places and activities that occurred there in the ancestral past.

6.13 Commencement of *Murlurlu, Ji-japurn, Nabiyama* ‘Three ancestral spirits’ (Banggala 2014d)

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| i | <i>andarrbaykard anangarna, michpa /
arrwengga barra \</i>
<i>andarrbaykard anangarna -
nguwurwengga barra,
andarrbaykard anangarna arrwengga
barra=</i> | the lightning place, like
we will talk about it
the lightning place
we will all talk about it
we will talk about the lightning place |
|---|---|--|

	<i>a= giyirrichinga \</i>	ah, and the Yirrichinga place called
	<i>nganyjuwa \</i>	Nganyjuwa
	<i>nganyjuwa \</i>	Nganyjuwa
	<i>like - dreaming, andarrbaykarda /</i>	like there is a lightning dreaming
	<i>gugatpanga / ananngiy an.gaba /</i>	from that place, that something there
ii	<i>ananngiya - jinanngiya barnda \</i>	something, the long-necked turtle spirit
	<i>dreaming \</i>	
	<i>nganyjuwa \</i>	is at Nganyjuwa
	<i>nganyjuwa - dubela bin -</i>	Nganyjuwa, the two of them are
	<i>ananngiya, level</i>	complementary
	<i>awurrinybamana gurda, level \</i>	the two of them came together
	<i>yirrichinga / jowunga \</i>	Yirrichinga and Jowunga (spirits)
iii	<i>gatpanga /</i>	from there
iv	<i>awurrinyjamana gurda gatpanga nipa</i>	the two of them came here
	<i>an.gaba-- gun.gaba gunajinyjirra /</i>	from that place standing there

(travelling narrative continues)

T10B-06: 1819-40049

A storyteller may preface an ancestral narrative by referring to kin before moving into the narrative with a motion episode, as in 6:14. Referential expressions such as kinship nominals establish referents, relationships and social attributes. These also have evaluative prominence – for instance, the the kinship relationship expressed by the expression may validate the storyteller’s right to speak on this topic. The storyteller brackets the commencement of the story itself with the activity organising particle *ma* ‘ok, let’s do something’ (i), mentions the topic and his kinship relation to it (ii), and then moves into the narrative proper with a motion predicate (iii).

6:14 Commencement of *Murlurlu awurriny-jar* ‘Murlurlu, the two ancestral women’ (Bangala 2014e)

i	<i>ma \</i>	ok
ii	<i>murlurla /</i>	Murlurla
	<i>murlurla ngujama jinngaypa \</i>	Murlurlu is my mother
iii	<i>murlurla jinawamana -</i>	Murlurlu traveled

(story continues)

T12B-06: 524-10862

At other times movement into the narrative is bracketed by an interaction episode, as in 6:15. The story about two lovers running away from the woman's promised husband commences with a quotative expression (i), and then a lengthy section of reported speech. This establishes the two characters and their motive for leaving (ii), and the breach of customary law involved (iii), which is the key theme of this narrative. Through insistence (iv) and flirtation (v) the woman convinces her boyfriend to leave (iv), and their final agreement to do so is marked by the activity organising particle *ma* 'ok' (vi). This brackets a new episode, where the pair run away (vii).

6:15 Commencement of *Marrambay* 'A love affair' (Banggala 2014h)

(recording starts)

i	<i>ah jinyena nula -</i>	she said to him,
ii	<i>- alay / ngayp angab an.gora \</i> <i>anga-- an.gora ngubawa barra \</i> <i>- gala barrinybawa \</i> <i>- wurra /</i>	- hey! my man over there is no good he's bad, I'm going to leave him - you can't leave him - why?
iii	<i>- an.gatipiy nggulawa \</i>	- that man is for you (he's your promised husband)
iv	<i>- ngika, nginyip barra ngunama \</i> <i>nginyip barra ngunama /</i> <i>arrboy barra \</i> <i>arrboybarra \</i> <i>geka barra naw \</i> <i>gekwarra ngayp jal ngindrira nggula,</i> <i>arrboy barra</i> <i>ngayp mun.guna nguna \</i> <i>mun.guna bakap ngini /</i> <i>anngayp ngarndama /</i> <i>ngarndam anngaypa -</i> <i>rrapa - gerra gunngaypa nguma olot \</i> <i>- nyinmiy barra \</i> <i>- arrboypa \</i>	- no, you should get me you get me and let's go let's go today, right now today now I want you let's go give me that thing I will pack this up along with my grass skirt my grass skirt and I will get all my things - what are you going to do? - so we can leave!
v	<i>nyaype \</i> <i>nyaypa ngambalarrijirra \</i> <i>ngayp mari, gip: mungoyurr</i> <i>arrnachichiyana \</i> <i>- aya \</i> <i>- ee \</i>	you are mine you are mine, we are sweethearts I am trouble, already we have been looking at each other - I see - yes
vi	<i>- ma marrk arrboya \</i> <i>- ma \</i>	- ok, we should go - ok

- vii *barlay jinymenga, marrambay * he took her far, for illicit love
jinymeng bal he took her far
>arrinyjarlnyjamanu==< the two of them ran along way away
*buch awurrinybona * they went bush

(story continues)

T14B-07: 1250-57720

Cohesive repetition, as discussed in §6.2.7, is a key feature of travelling narratives in Gun-nartpa, in which the movements of actors are cyclically repeated as they move from place to place. These motion features are illustrated in 6:16, a fragment of a much longer narrative about the Jowunga creation ancestor women *Murlurlu awurriny-jar* ‘the two ancestral women’. The discussion that follows argues that, while motion is an essential structuring device, so is action, and these two kinds of episodes are tightly integrated. Furthermore, nested within and between motion and action episodes are interaction, existence and experience episodes. These are also intrinsic to this narrative genre, and embed complexity into the episodic structure.

6:16 Excerpt of England Banggala’s story *Murlurlu awurriny-jar* ‘Murlurlu, the two ancestral women’ (Banggala 2014e:38)

- (new action episode, after a travelling episode)
- i *ngunyuna awurrinyjaliyana /* they heard it
*guguna gochan jinyjirra * here at Gochan Jiny-jirra
jawak awena ani - the Eastern Koel was speaking
!jawak! !jawak! !jawak! !jawak! (calling its
own name)
- ii *- ajay - anguna jawak aweya anirra,* - hey! the Eastern Koel is
*yinda barra ayma * speaking, so where are we
going to ‘get’? (ie. ‘go’)
- yigaba arrijeka * - let’s go over that way
- iii *jonama gijirra guwurrinymenga,* the two women got ‘the
*awurrinybamana * back’¹¹⁸, and went along
awurrinyamana= they went along
*anbalakul awurrinyjarrana * and stood up the Carpentaria
palm
*awurrinyamana anbalakul awurrinyjarrana * they went along and stood up
the Carpentaria palm

¹¹⁸ That is, ‘went to the high ground’.

iv	<p>><i>awurrinyjarl awurrinyibamanam</i>=< - <i>ajay ngunyuna barra - ngunyuna</i> <i>ngubiyalpa nguwurrni</i> \</p>	<p>they went along quickly ... - hey! here we will do it, here's where we will cook.</p>
----	--	--

(continues with next action episode)

T12B-06: 476679- 504372

The extract commences with an action episode (i & ii), which is in two parts. The first is a description of the two women hearing the call of *jawak*, the Eastern Koel (i). This call itself is a sound symbolic discourse component: the onomatopoeic sound of the bird. It indicates that they are close to a Mardayin ceremony site, which they must avoid. This is an exophoric reference, as nowhere in the story does Banggala discuss the significance of *jawak*. This call however, occurs several times as a motif across the stretch of discourse, and indexes the centrality of *jawak* as a Mardayin spirit-being in the order of the cosmos. The second part of this episode is the women's response in a storyworld interaction between the two protagonists, expressed as reported speech (ii), and thus the storyteller enacts them deciding where to move to next. While part of an interaction episode that drives the narrative forward, the reported speech component also cues an evaluative implicature; that is, women must avoid Mardayin sites. As for the example discussed in 6:1, the normative perspective of the teller is enacted through the interactions between the participants within the narrative.

There is a shift into a travelling episode (iii), a motion sequence characterised by cohesive repetition of the verbs *bamba* 'to go along' and *garra* 'to place vertically'.¹¹⁹ External to this travelling episode, but within the discourse context, there is also repetition of *ma* 'to get', expressing the sense of 'go' and *jarl* 'to move quickly'. These movement predicates are spatially anchored with locative expressions, such as in this instance *jonama gu-jirra* 'the high ground' (<*jonama* 'back', *gu-jirra* 'it stands'),¹²⁰ the adverbial demonstrative *ngunyuna* 'here' and the local case marked nominal demonstrative *gu-guna* 'at this place' (LocIV-PROX, see §G2.4). Along with repetition,

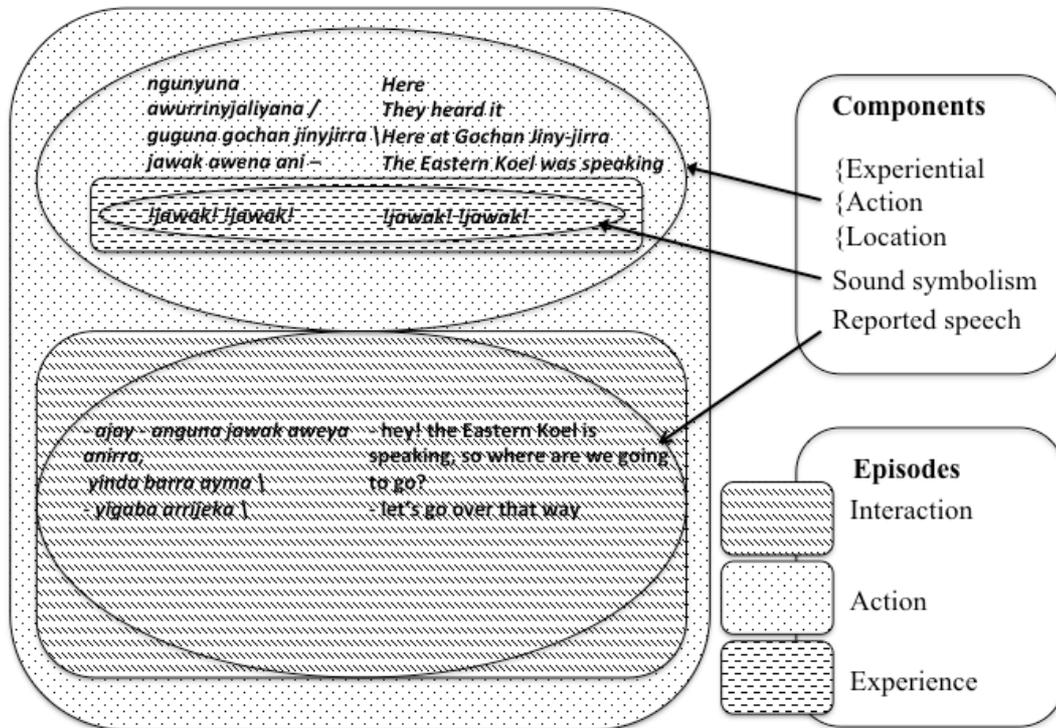
¹¹⁹ *garra* > *jarra* reflects assimilation of the root initial stop to the final nasal of the pronominal prefix.

¹²⁰ This morphologically verbal construction expresses body part possession, see §G2.5.5.

Banggala uses extension prosody to express duration (*awurriny-bamanaaaaa* ‘the two women went a loooong way’).

Discourse episodes frequently nest and overlap, as exemplified by the evaluatively prominent action episode in 6:16 (i) and (ii). The first part of the episode is expressed as declarative action and experiential predicates and locational expressions (here they listened to the Koel calling); however, there is also an episode of sensory experience here – the bird’s call itself. This is expressed through sound symbolism, an iconic representation of the bird itself and a powerful index of its spiritual significance. The action episode contains a nested interaction episode expressed as reported speech (where are we going to go?/let’s go this way). The reported speech component in (ii) dramatises action but also expresses an affective and moral orientation towards the landscape, where certain places are secret and restricted. These nestings and overlaps are diagrammed in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: A highpoint episode: inter-nesting of interaction, experience and action episodes and interaction with discourse components, based on extract 6:16



The subsequent interaction episode in (iv) (i.e. the two women decide to cook something) is expressed entirely as reported speech. This interaction is immediately consequent upon the women hearing the call of the koel, and thus nested within the complex action episode represented in Figure 6.1. Such nestings of discourse episodes often involve ellipsis, or the under-specification of episodes and characters. Under-specifications create the potential for implicatures that index relevant knowledge shared with the audience (Sperber & Wilson 1995) – what is required for the audience to retrieve these implicatures is the relevance of the various frames of reference invoked by the teller. This is the case in this instance, as the narrative represents a highly valued ancestral creation story. Everybody in this society, including young children, knows what happens to the sisters when they start cooking at this location. The reported speech cues an ‘uh-oh’ moment for the audience, who know that soon a brolga egg will burst,

drowning a group of people gathered for a ceremony (Banggala 2014d, 2014e). This sequence is so well established as common knowledge that the catastrophe itself is given little prominence in the narrative, occurring as a brief action episode (see Banggala 2014e:38). Instead, evaluative prominence is given to the choice that the ancestral sisters make, vividly dramatised as reported speech.

6.4. *Worlds within worlds*

6.4.1 *Non-linear narrative*

Through the episodic alternations of motion, action and interaction, narrated events are often enacted as unfolding in space and time in a more or less linear sequence – actors shift action from one location to another and these events unfurl in time (whether or not this is explicitly coded). Tellers who are attuned to audience expectations about narrative arcs demonstrate skill in layering and nesting interaction and experience episodes across an episodic structure that codes the relations of action–consequence and the persistence of the identity of participants (for example, see Banggala’s story about *Marrambay* ‘A love affair’ (Banggala 2014h), as discussed in §5.8). Sequentially structured narratives maintain temporal and or spatial frames of reference and encode shifts in these frames through bracketing devices as discussed in §6.3. Relational frames of reference index the social configuration of the narrated storyworld as it stands in relation to the world of interaction and the broader social context.

Some tellers give much greater prominence to non-linear episodes that rely on relational frames of reference than to linear episodes. For such tellers – particularly in relation to certain narrative topics – the temporal frame of reference is conceived of in terms of an ‘everywhen’ that collapses various temporal frames of reference into one that is indeterminate (Stanner 2009 [1956]). While action and motion episodes occur, their temporal coherence throughout the narrative as a whole is not overtly coded, indicating that the underlying schema for the narrative is not organised in terms of spatio-temporal sequence (Hoffmann 2015; Longacre 1970). Consequently, such stories may appear to lack narrative coherence because of the indeterminacy of their spatio-temporal frames of reference. In addition, a high degree of gapping (Walsh in press) may make it difficult to track the identity of referents in narratives where linearity is not given

prominence and where the ‘boundaries’ of the storyworld and world of interaction are not actively maintained. These are perhaps exemplars of the type of narrative that Walsh has in mind as those that may be judged ‘boring’ by an Anglo-Australian audience due to their lack of a narrative arc (Walsh in press).

Yet such judgements do not necessarily hold for everyone, especially those people who share beliefs and attitudes with the teller in relation to the events that are described in narrative performance. For example, Harry Gamarrang Litchfield’s tellings about *an-dakal* ‘warriors’ (< *rrakal* ‘white ochre’) and *an-muragalk* ‘sorcery murderers’ (< *ragalk* ‘sorcery spike’) were rated highly in tellership by the core Gun-nartpa project team when we were selecting stories for *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* (i.e. Patrick Muchana Litchfield, Crusoe Batara and Raymond Walanggay). They are stories relating to a locally identified historical era named An-dakal ‘warrior time’ in which the forebears of Gun-nartpa people were depicted as fierce and powerful warriors. Stories about traditional warfare cue powerful memories for older people (who are today now deceased) and play into a historicised identity construct for younger people who retain a high level of affective attachment to their forebears and their lifestyle (cf. §4.6).¹²¹ Furthermore, insiders in this society – drawing from their intimate knowledge of the social configurations of the narrated events and the story telling context – are positioned to interpret non-explicit reference to participants and events. Through the Gun-nartpa pronominal and demonstrative system tellers index story participants via their referential co-identity with others, no matter whether they are participants in the historical past or the present day. Referential co-identity is based in the relationality of kinship and draws on resources within the grammar and deictic systems that enable triangular and indirect reference to people by virtue of their kinship relationship with

¹²¹ During the period of transcription and translation work involved in preparing the set of stories for *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* ‘My Country’ we reviewed many stories from the full set of recordings I had made during the period 193-96. Of these, *An-muragalk* ‘traditional sorcerers’ and *An-dakal* ‘warfare’ were consistently identified as topics that should be included in the book. Both of these topics became the basis of book chapters – titled *Gun-guwarr* ‘the traditional past’ and *An-dakal* ‘traditional warfare’. The tellers of these stories were also significant, as closely related senior kin, however the corpus of stories contained multiple recordings from these same people which were deemed less significant for inclusion – for example, descriptions of plants and animals and procedural texts about food preparation.

others (Garde 2013). I take up discussion of social deixis in narrative in §6.4.3 – for now it suffices to say that socially deictic reference provides an example of atemporality (the ‘everywhen’) in narrative.

Through referential co-identity across the past and the present we witness the temporal co-existence of referents, by virtue of the salience of the relational frame of reference for these referential acts and the relative unimportance of a temporal one. For example, Harry Litchfield’s stories about traditional sorcerers and warfare are structured as a set of action and interactional tableaux that each follow a schematically predictable sequence. Within each tableau, episodes follow a structure of action – consequence, with the implied temporal structure that aligns with events and episodes following on from each other. As longer narratives however, these stories tend to be non-linear in terms of the relations between the tableaux, and narrative characters do not necessarily persist from one tableau to the next. Litchfield tended to riff on a theme, following a cyclical story format that would end only when the recording session was interrupted or when he tired. One example was this cycle: act of sorcery > death > mourning > blame > plans for retribution > act of sorcery > death, and so on (described in Litchfield & Litchfield 2014). Litchfield specialised in the dramatisation of scenarios that inspired both fear and admiration; for example, he brought the frightening actions of murderers and warriors to life with gruesome details of their attacks and the effects on their victims. I recorded Harry and his consociate¹²² Jane Litchfield’s *an-muragalk* ‘murderer’ and *an-dakal* ‘warrior’ stories in a text elicitation context, but I also observed how Harry would discourse at length about sorcerers and warriors to entertain and frighten children.¹²³ In such stories he and Jane invoked a storyworld of the traditional past, presenting hypothetical scenarios populated with prototypical characters. These prototypical characters and the dramas and scenarios were deeply familiar to everyone at Gochan Jiny-jirra. These stories followed conventions of genre

¹²² A consociate is ‘a knowledgeable participant who plays a lesser role in the storytelling’ (Blythe 2009:12fn).

¹²³ These kinds of stories are akin to the cautionary tales of *walkwalk* ‘devil spirits’ that have appeared in print (e.g. Fry & Pascoe 1988), consistent with child socialisation practices that emphasise the importance of staying close to relatives at all times.

that were consistent across a number of tellings, and their narrative components were well recognised by the project team when we transcribed and translated them nearly two decades later.

While the temporal linearity of Harry’s stories is often indeterminate, the stories focus on highly salient events that occur in bracketed episodes. Bracketing devices include transitions between action, motion and interaction episodes; prosody and discourse organising particles such as *ma* ‘ok, time to move on’. Action sequences are rich in sound symbolism, cohesive and rhythmic repetition that enables the backgrounding and foregrounding of participants and events. Reported speech enacts the interactive, expressive and evaluative impact of these events. Non-verbal signifiers are a discourse component that interacts with speech within episodes of various types and these often contribute to the expression of evaluations and affect in such narratives. See 6:17 (discussion follows).

6:17 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

i	<i>aburrjarlpa -</i>	they went immediately
ii	<i>juwurrinana,</i> <i>jinyjarramurra jinyu,</i> <i>gulach mbarrbuna \</i>	they saw her she was digging spike rush corms and putting them (into a dillybag)
	<i>+ mbarrbuna, mbarrbuna, mbarrbuna,</i> <i>mbarrbuna +</i>	putting them, putting them, putting them, putting them.
iii	<i>!rlurlurlurlu!</i> <i>ngunyjutpa !dol! aji \</i>	!crawling! close by, one stood up
iv	<i>mbarra \</i> <i>jinyjarrmarra jinyu,</i> <i>nipa abena arrkula -</i> <i>!lerrt! jindana, mobula jinyjirra -</i>	she was eating and digging away, he arrived shot her in the back of the neck
v	<i>!waaw!</i>	!waaw! (she screamed)

[consociate points to neck; makes clawhand ‘death’ sign]

T17A-02:HL:167718-182580

This extract is an action highpoint episode that opens with a motion event (i). It describes two murderers going towards, observing, creeping up on and attacking a woman (and subsequently proceeds to describe her murder). The episode is constructed

in cinematic style with the actions of the men foregrounded against ‘cutaways’ to the woman who is gathering spike rush corms, unaware of their presence, as they observe her (ii). In terms of discourse components, the events pertaining to the woman are expressed as action predicates (*jarrma* ‘to dig’ *bay* ‘to eat’, *barrba* ‘to put in a bag’). The progressive aspect of the digging action is conveyed through an aspectual auxiliary construction, in which *yu* ‘to lie’ functions as an aspectual.¹²⁴ Rhythmic repetition of the verbal predicate *m-barrbuna* (3:3III-put.PC ‘she put it’) expresses the continuity of this action and in this episode it forms a thematic background to the actions of the men. The next part of the action episode describes the men crawling up and confronting their victim (iii). This has an embedded experience episode expressed by sound symbolism (*!rlurlurlurlu!* IDEO:sound of crawling) that functions as a clause in this discourse component, although it lacks argument-predicate structure. The action of one man standing up (*!rdol! a-ji* IDEO 3I-stand.PC ‘he stood up suddenly’) involves an adverbial ideophone modifying a verb (see §G1.7.1 Ideophones; §G4.2 Preverb-Verb Structures).

The drama escalates as the participants – assailants and victim – come together (iv). This is achieved through cohesive repetition of an earlier clause (eating and digging), and a sequence of action predicates describing the attack. The third person singular free pronoun *nipa* functions to switch reference from the woman digging to the male attacker and emphasises his referential salience as the agent in this scenario.¹²⁵ One action predicate is an adverbial ideophone modifying a verb (*!lerrt! jin-dana* ‘he speared her’), which was translated as ‘spear in the neck’. Harry also mentions the body part *mobula jiny-jirra* ‘her neck’ as a locus for the action. This references a highly salient aspect of these murderers, who use a sharp wooden spike (*ragalk*) to pierce the neck of their victim, drawing blood from the neck as an act of sorcery, which eventually causes death (England et al. 2014:53-54). The impact of fear and pain on the victim is expressed as reported speech (v), an experience episode that takes the viewpoint of the

¹²⁴ As an aspectual auxiliary *yu* ‘to lie’ also contributes lexical meaning to this merged predicate. This is reflected in the nature of this action, digging along crouched on the ground, progressing through the swamp in a horizontal plane (§G4.5 Aspectual serial constructions)

¹²⁵ This switch is also expressed through a change in noun class agreement within the pronominal prefixes on the clausal predicates.

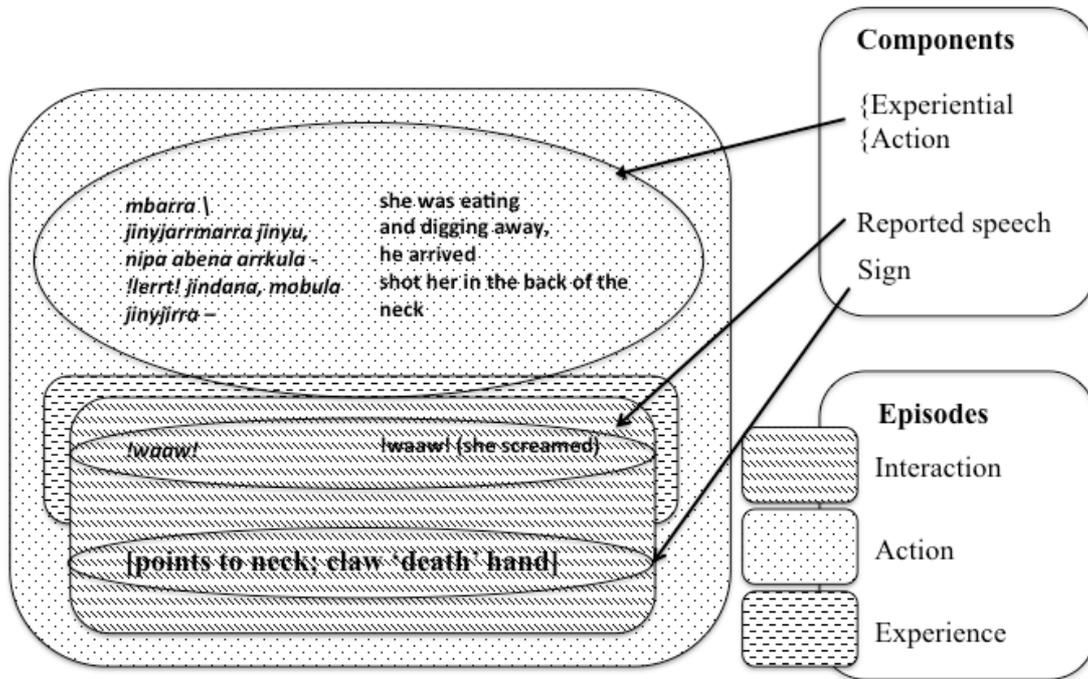
story participant nested within the action episode. Another layer can be applied here: the woman's scream is a reaction to the evil deeds of a wrong-doer, and thus functions as an evaluative stance upon the episode itself.

I noted Jane Litchfield's nonverbal communication while she and Harry told this story. When the story reached these cyclical highpoints, and the murderers attacked their victims in the neck, she would turn to me and make two signs. The first was a pointed index finger to the side of the neck, and the second was a claw like hand. The index finger to the neck signifies the act of sorcery and the claw-hand sign means 'death'¹²⁶ and the combination of the two means 'death by sorcery'. When we transcribed and translated these stories two decades later, people made the same signs. These are affective evaluations of the actions of *an-muragalk* 'sorcery murderers'¹²⁷ and stories about them contain many such evaluations of their actions. Such examples demonstrate how culturally salient evaluations combine in conventional ways with episodes and discourse components in the structure of narrative genres. In this instance the evaluation of sorcerers conforms to a conventional attitude and ideology, and the evaluation is expressed by the predictable discourse components of reported speech and non-verbal signifiers. The sequencing and nesting of episodes in the narrative highpoint of 6:17 is schematised in Figure 6.2.

¹²⁶ Used in nonverbal communication when discussing ghost spirits, including the *wangarra* 'ghost spirit' dance. People also use this sign when communicating news about a death. In many circumstances the combination of the claw hand, a kinship sign and a pointing gesture is enough to indicate a death has occurred and who the deceased person might be.

¹²⁷ These attitudes are still current today, as the threat of sorcery is real for many people (cf. James 2009:146-47)

Figure 6.2: Narrative highpoint – nesting of experience episode within an action episode; interaction with discourse components, based on extract 6:17



This narrative highpoint coheres as an action episode in itself; the murderers pounce upon the woman, stab her in the neck and she screams as the sorcery occurs. A cluster of evaluative features occur here. One of these is the collapse of experience, action and interaction episodes into one complex episode, similar to the collapse of time frames described by Polanyi for narrative highpoints in American personal narrative (Polanyi 1985:63). As schematised in Figure 6.2, the woman’s scream is an experiential episode nested within this action episode. This vivid dramatisation expresses the evaluation of this action; that is, ‘horror’. This evaluation is also marked by a kinesic-visual sign contributed by a consociate.

6.4.2 Gesture and deixis in narrative

Jane Litchfield's signs for sorcerer and death in 6:17 are instances of one type of kinesic-visual communication that occurs as a component of narrative discourse. Also important are deictic gestures that indicate and define the spatial extent of actions, and their directions in the storyworld space (cf. Haviland 1993). In addition, narrators use composite utterances to provide information about life stages, which in turn creates a temporal frame for a narrative. For examples, see 6:18.

6.18 Excerpt of *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* 'We went to war' (Litchfield 2014a)

	(action episode continues)	
i	<i>nyibiyalpuna,</i> <i>nyuwubarra nyuwurrbona= lika</i> <i>nyuburrgurmiyana -</i> <i>andakal abena gatpa</i> <i>nyiburrgurmiyana \</i> <i>nyiburrunya nyuwurramana=</i>	we cooked, we ate it all, then we slept the warriors arrived when we were sleeping we were all sleeping
ii	<i>agurmiyana abamani=</i> [lip pointing ...]	another group was also sleeping (a little way off)
iii	<i>gunartpa wupa \</i> <i>anmumoch, an.gapa ajuwuna \</i> <i>awurrlebiyana \</i> <i>an.gun anrra barrwa / barrwa</i> <i>gunartpa nyiburrweya nyiburrnirra,</i> <i>gipa muguyu an.ginda \</i>	just Gun-nartpa people those who are dead they are finished these people now, subsequent us people talking Gun-nartpa, they were our forebears
iv	<i>ngaypa / yang fela \</i> <i>yang boy michpa ng-yinang ngijarl \</i> [indicating height with hand]	I was a young fella, a young boy like so tall
	<i>ee - ngaypa \</i>	yes, that was me
v	<i>wurra awurrguna -</i> <i>banggala /</i> <i>rrapa nipapa, bangala andelipa</i> <i>anmurnangana -</i> <i>gunyagara gini \</i> <i>anigipa brother nula \</i> <i>rrapa= anngaypa, my brother \</i> <i>gunyagara gini gipa muguyu \</i>	but all of them here such as Banggala he, Banggala, the younger one and his older brother who has passed away his brother also, my brother he passed away before that

vi	<i>nyuwurryuny nyuwurrbamana=</i>	we all were sleeping...
	<i>nyiburrgarimana -</i>	we got up
	<i>nyuwurrurtchinga nyuwurramana \</i>	we were running along
	<i>munmardaguy nyiburrana ngunyuna=</i>	we made a straight line from here
	<i>michp gun.gatpa /</i>	to there

[pointing to indicate ‘from here to there’, the extent of the line of people]

(narrative continues into an action episode)

T15B-12: 87480-149673

Harry continues his description from of what the family groups were doing while the warriors were preparing to ambush (i, ii). While I did not record this at the time¹²⁸ Crusoe Batara was certain that Harry had made a pointing gesture to specify the locational reference for the clause in (ii), leading us to translate the segment to show that there were two groups of people sleeping, not one. The presence of the pointing gesture can also be discerned by the quality of the final vowel (*a > i*) and prosodic extension on the verb; this commonly accompanies lip-pointing gestures that express spatial deixis, with the vowel extension lasting throughout the pointing gesture. I analyse the relevant clauses with interlinear glossing in 6:19 (see §A1 for abbreviations):

6:19	<i>nyiburr-yunya nyuwurr-bamana</i>	<i>a-gurrmiyana</i>	<i>a-bamana</i>
	EXC.A-lie	EXC.A-go.along.PC	3I-lie.self.PC 3I-go.along.PC
	We were lying along, they were lying along.		

¹²⁸ At the time of recording I did not note the gestural component of narratives; however, during transcription and translation sessions these were important topics of discussion. In particular, Crusoe Batara would always check where we were sitting when we recorded. This information was available to us, given that most recordings took place at either my camp or at Jane and Harry’s camp. The settings for events were sometimes obvious to Crusoe and at other times he would ponder on where they may have been. Through this he would consider which direction Harry was facing, aiming to accurately reconstruct the meanings of deictic expressions contained within the narrative.

In the first clause¹²⁹, the pronominal prefix *nyiburr-* expresses a plural number of participants (i.e. ‘we, us’) involved in the action/posture of ‘lying down’. In the second clause, the verbs take the singular prefix *a-* (i.e. ‘he, it’). This deploys a contrast between reference to a multiple group in the first clause and generic singular reference in the second (with default male noun class agreement; see §G3.4). The group lying a bit further away is construed as a singularity, and the singular pronominal prefix expresses this. This subtle contrast makes sense within a composite utterance, with a gesture towards the location of the further-away group.

Another composite utterance in this extract is seen in (iv). This falls within an existence episode when Harry is identifying some of the people who were present at the events. Using the deictic expression *marr yina* ‘almost like this’ with a gestural indication of his height, he is able to represent himself as a young child and simultaneously frame the narrative historically, as something that happened during the 1930s.¹³⁰ Again, this is a ‘reconstructed gesture’ that Crusoe Batara was certain occurred at this point, and supported by my own observations of the function of that demonstrative expression. Harry also employed gesture within action and movement episodes. In (iv) he uses the demonstrative expressions *ngunyuna* ‘here’ and *gun-gatpa* ‘at that place’ to delimit the extent of the event *mun-mardaguya nyibu-rrana* ‘we made a line’. Crusoe suggested he pointed to the ground at his feet and then to a point in the distance to show how long the line of warriors was.

6.4.3 Social deixis in narrative

I now return to consider the matter of referential co-identity in narrative, through which a social relationship enables deictic reference to story actors. As mentioned above, Harry and Jane skillfully invoked a storyworld of the traditional past during storytelling sessions. These storyworlds comprised primarily relational frames of reference that were salient to them personally and to others within their close kinship network. In his stories about *an-dakal* ‘warfare’ Harry also spoke from personal experience, referring to

¹²⁹ These are merged predicates, each comprised of a main verb *yunya* ‘to lie’, *gurrmiya* ‘to lay self down’ and an aspectual auxiliary *bamba* ‘to go along’. See §G4.5.

¹³⁰ I estimate that Harry was aged 70 in 1994.

events that involved family members. His own brother was killed in a skirmish between warriors when he was a young boy living with his family at Mawurrk – Gurr-goni country to the south of Maningrida on Tompkinson River floodplain. The extract in 6:18 illustrates how Harry frequently bracketed storyworld episodes with references to people, by name, by gesture and by kinship terms (iii-v).

Harry’s shifts between identifying those who were involved in the events of his stories and his narrative voice are also reflected in subtle shifts of footing throughout his stories. These footing shifts involve social deixis, reference to people who are inside or outside the narrative frame, yet indexed in terms of their relationships to other referents. This includes people within the world of interaction where the narrative takes place, and within the setting more generally. Such referents can be either living or deceased, as illustrated in 6:20.

6:20 Extract of *Rrakal nyiburr-ngimiyana* ‘We painted ourselves with white clay’ (Litchfield 2014b)

(story continues from 6:12)

i	<i>andakal - wurra nipa --</i>	(I’m talking about) war, but in relation to him
	<i>mori an.gaba /</i>	the Yirrichinga man over there
	<i>gip: gunyagara gini \</i>	he has already passed away
	<i>gip: gunyagara gini -</i>	he has already passed away
ii	<i>Ngarrich \</i>	he was Ngarrich
	<i>anagorranga \</i>	your ‘spouse’
iii	<i>wurra beleny jinymenga /</i>	but someone got Beleny (his wife)
	<i>jinaguwula -</i>	your sister
	<i>agaypuna /</i>	someone stole her from him
	<i>anggaliy anngardap agaypuna -</i>	one man took her from him
iv	<i>ngik ngunyuna - mawurrk nyiburrni /</i>	not here, we were living at Mawurrk
	<i>nyuburrumiyan nyuwurrnirra,</i>	we were all gathered there
v	<i>nyuwurrgarlmun \</i>	then we all got up

(story continues)

T60A-05: 60-39880

This extract is part of the opening phase of the narrative and follows directly from the extract in 6:12. There is an action episode nested within this, describing how someone

stole a wife from another man (iii); this provides context to characters and locations in the story to come. Prior to this, Harry refers to the man involved in this action with a free pronoun (*nipa* 3NOM ‘he’), which functions as a referential focus marker (i). After a short pause, he refers to this man as *mori an-gaba* ‘that Yirrichinga man over there’, and qualifies this by saying that the referent is deceased (*gipa gun-nyagara gu-ni* ‘already there is nothing’). The demonstrative (*an-gaba* ‘over there’) was interpreted by Crusoe Batara as indicating the cemetery located just to the south of Gochan Jiny-jirra where this man is buried. This interpretation is consistent with a conventional way of referring to a deceased person in terms of where their grave is located and invokes a ‘the present’ as the temporal frame of reference. This existence episode represents a slight footing shift, bracketed by the focus pronoun and pause. The deictic centre is unchanged; however, the boundaries between the storyworld and the world of interaction are effaced, with the key participant cued in terms of his current day location. The confluence of the storyworld and world of interaction continues as Harry mentions the skin name of the deceased man (Ngarrich) and the altercentric kinship term *ana-gorranga* ‘your spouse’. This indexes this man in terms of the social configuration of the world of interaction; Harry introduces him into the story in terms of how I, Harry’s audience, stand in relation to him.¹³¹ He does this again in reference to the wife who was stolen in the backgrounding event (iii), referring to both her and me through the altercentric kinship term *jina-guwula* ‘your sister’. This enables reference to a deceased ancestor in circumspective terms, without naming him.

Another example demonstrates how Harry employed pronominal prefixing, focus pronouns, demonstratives and proper names to link the storyworld with the world of interaction, shown in 6:21.

¹³¹ Merlan applies the term ‘honorific’ to a similar use of inclusive kinship terms and pronominal forms by her Jawoyn consultants (Merlan 1998:84).

6:21 Extract of *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* ‘We went to war’
(Litchfield 2014a)

(story continues)

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| i | <i>lay /
andakal an.gun anabambarla \</i> | hey!
a war party is on its way here |
| | <i>nyuwurrboy barra nyiburrni -</i> | let’s all go! |
| ii | <i>anngardapa ayinagatpa -</i> | one man said that |
| iii | <i>anajarl nyirrnana aji -
ajekarra ajarl \</i> | when he came and saw us
he returned |
| iv | <i>anangiya nipa,
Burndamarrpa \</i> | someone, him,
Burndamarrpa |
| v | <i>an.gaba Derek
abirriwelangga Burndamarrpa,

delipa an.gaba,
nginyip marn.gi an.gaba /
Derek \</i> | that one Derek,
the two of them have the name
Burndamarrpa
that small boy over there
you know that one over there
Derek |
| | <i>wurra Burndamarrpa, bush name \</i> | but his bush name is Burndamarrpa |
| vi | | |
| MC | <i>oh yeah?</i> | oh yes? |
| HL | <i>ee \</i> | yes |
| vii | <i>xx-- bitipa awurriwelangga,
anajarl nyirrinana aji \</i> | (the one with) the name the two of
them have
he ran back and saw us |
| viii | <i>alay /
burrboy burrni /
andakal an.guna anabamburda \</i> | hey!
you all better go!
a war party is on its way here |
| | <i>nyirrirran aningin \</i> | it might spear all of you! |

(story continues)

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This extract begins as an interactional episode, expressed as reported speech (i), bracketed by the demonstrative verb *a-yinagatpa* ‘he did that’ (ii). This also marks an existence episode, in which Harry provides more information about the actor who uttered that reported speech (ii-vi). There is a nested action episode (iii) followed by reference to the man via a focus pronoun and personal name (iv). Harry then deictically links him to someone within the wider social frame, a young boy called Derek, who

shares the same bush name as the actor in the story (§1.6.3). In attributing this name, Harry employs the nominal descriptive form *-welangga* ‘name’, which inflects pronominally in agreement with its referent. Here, the referent is the pair that share the name, and the pronominal prefix form encodes the categories of third person unit-augmented, or ‘they two’ (i.e. dual, see §G1.3). In addition to this referential co-indexing between a story participant, a real person now deceased, and someone alive in the current day, Harry also clarifies reference to the latter person, by using a deictic expression (*delipa an-gaba* ‘the boy over there’) and appealing to my knowledge of this child (*nginyipa marn.gi an-gaba Derek* ‘you know Derek over there’). The existence episode is bracketed by my confirmation of this (vi), and Harry moves into an action episode, which represents a return to the storyworld (vii). He brackets this episode with a further mention of the two people who share a name (*bitipa awurri-welangga* ‘they two, their name’). This referential phrase functions as a restrictive qualifier in identifying the subsequent anaphoric mention of the senior man named Bundamarrpa (vii). This man is the individual referent of the following clause *ana-jarl nyirr-nana a-ji* ‘he ran back and saw us’. This line is a repeat of line (iii) and in turn brackets a resumption of the preceding interaction episode (viii).

Example 6:21 demonstrates how existence episodes in narrative involve shifts out of motion, action and travel to provide background and referential specificity to actors, including those who are now deceased and need to be referred to with circumspection. Storytellers employ the affordances of pronominal and deictic reference systems to referentially cross-stitch the storyworld and the world of interaction; uniting events and people from the past with people alive in the current day. Despite the apparent lack of temporal linearity in the narrative trajectory here we see one means by which storytellers provide narrative coherence and maintain the relevance of the story to its audience. This atemporality is comparable to the immediacy of the ancestral past in ancestral narratives, the ‘everywhen’ embedded in landscape and its social analogues (Stanner 2009). Indeed, stories such as those told by Harry and Jane Litchfield about the historical past invoke the ‘everywhen’ embodied in the signifiers of social belonging, foregrounding the unified identity of family members from the historical past with those living now.

While this chapter has not discussed pronominal reference in any detail, interested readers can follow this topic up in the grammatical appendices (§G1.3; §G2.2; §G3.3).

6.4.4 *Innovations in ancestral narrative*

Murlurlu Jiny-jar is a Gun-nartpa version of the story of the Djangkawu sisters, who travelled through north-eastern Arnhem Land creating the landscape and natural species as they danced with their digging sticks and sacred dilly bags. There is an important site for Djangkawu at Mewirnba, on the eastern side of the Blyth River. The Gun-nartpa Jowunga clans pick up this story from Mewirnba, and tell of how the two sisters travelled from there to Barlparrarra swamp, to the north of Gochan Jiny-jirra.

Gun-nartpa people who listened to this story in the 2010-13 period all agreed that the story of Murlurlu was an important one, and this was reflected in the decision to include two tellings of the story in the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* (Banggala 2014d, 2014e). All Gun-nartpa people know the story of Murlurlu's journey and usually couch this story in terms of her movement from Mewirnba to Barlparrarra, and her activities there. Terry Ngamandara, a Gurnimba clan owner, regularly painted topics from his country at Barlparrarra. He said little about Murlurlu herself, but he often included Murlurlu's *banaka* 'digging stick' and *burlupurr* 'dillybags' in combination with his central motif of *gulach* 'spike rush' (England et al. 2014:26). Ngamandara and Peter Bandjuljdul, a Mewirnba owner, painted complementary versions of Djangkawu and Murlurlu, and in conversations about their paintings made these connections explicit.¹³² These stories, embodied in their art and explained through their narrations about its meaning, describe the connections between related groups across a Dreaming track. These stories are important because they involve jointly held ritual property and shared rights to country (Bagshaw 1998; Clunies-Ross 1983).

¹³² Bandjuljdul and Ngamandara were related as *an-mari*, the executive roles prescribed through the kinship configuration of MMB. The importance of this relationship as a form of executive authority within ceremonial polity was discussed in Chapter 4, and also see Clunies-Ross (1983). Peter Bandjuljdul was an artist who produced work sold through Maningrida Arts and Culture, and my discussions with him and Ngamandara about the relationships between their artworks were conducted during my employment as a Cultural Research Officer at MAC in 1995.

No-one disputed Banggala's rights in relation to the story, given his seniority and relationship to Barlparnarra as *gun-ngaman*, his 'mother's country'. However, during a translation workshop in 2012 one person from the Borliny clan commented that certain events in the story were unfamiliar, changed from what she knew of it. In Banggala's version of *Murlurlu* the An-nguliny Mardayin emblem Jawak (Eastern Koel), Murlurlu/Djangkawu creation ancestors from the east and the regional Yirrichinga emblem Wukali (Goanna) all combine as co-actors and this mixed-moiety cohort travels south as far as Bayemerre. This narrative innovation in fact represents a mythological analogue of the An-nguliny connections to the Rembarrnga to the south of Gochan Jiny-jirra, and the concentration of that population in the Beswick region in the post-settlement era (§3.4.3). Banggala and his brothers had become associates with the Rembarrnga and were central players in extending the Yabadurrwa ceremony into north-central Arnhem Land along with the dance style of *bongalinybongaliny* (England et al. 2014:xxvii).

I interpret Banggala's version of the *Murlurlu* story as an act of political oratory that explains these connections by drawing explicit links between regional myth complexes. Significantly, one of the spirit companions – Wukali, the goanna – is a central motif of the Yabadurrwa ceremony, and Bayemerre is a Yabadurrwa ceremony ground where Banggala and other men travelled many times to participate (England et al. 2014:27-48). Banggala presents them together within the framework of the travelling narrative, an explanatory act that aligns with the explanation of *yakarrarra* 'clan lineages' within political oratory (Clunies-Ross 1983). This forms a parallel to the story of Ji-japurn discussed in Chapter 4, in which Banggala explains the origin of the An-nguliny clan in terms of Ji-japurn's directions to the An-nguliny clan ancestors. In this instance however, the myth is less concerned with the origin of clans and their socio-geographical specificity and is more an explanation of *bapurrurr* 'regional clan network'; in particular the emergence of new connections within this widening network of sociality. Thus we see that while ancestral travelling narratives present mythological agents in terms of an ideologically immutable relationship to country, acts of narration are socially and politically motivated (Morphy 1990). Innovations in such narratives reflect adaptations, extensions and reconfigurations of *bapurrurr*, simultaneously validating and consolidating these as social facts. These facts are expressed in the idiom

of the eternal and immutable acts of ancestral beings, as *janguny*. The status of senior people as authoritative and authentic storytellers is central to the acceptance of innovation in well-known *janguny*, and it is the strategic potentials of authentic ‘tellership’ that I turn to in Chapter 7.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed a range of narrative forms, situating narrative practice within a broader interactional model, after Ochs and Capps (2001). Utilising Goffman’s insights on the importance of footing within communicative acts (Goffman 1981) and Enfield’s framing of the principle of semiotic unity in semiotically complex units (Enfield 2009), I have focused on episodic structure and some discourse strategies for the bracketing of different kinds of episodes.

Narrative genres are highly recognisable configurations of episode types, and narrative episodes align with predictable discourse components such as action and motion clauses, reported speech, lists and sound symbolism. While narrated events take place within an imagined storyworld, frequently the boundaries between story and the world of interaction are effaced. The systems of noun classification, demonstratives and pronominal reference in Gun-nartpa, along with kinesic-visual gesture, sign and mimesis, provide cross-modal affordances for simultaneous reference between the storyworld, the world of interaction and the wider temporally, spatially and socially configured settings. In the next chapter I situate aspects of the narrative analysis presented so far within the social encounters involved in doing language research.

7. Narrative dynamics in intercultural encounters

7.1 Introduction

This chapter builds from the analysis of narrative discussed in chapters 5 and 6. It takes an ethnographic perspective, linking the analytical framework of ‘narrative in interaction’ to the Gun-nartpa concept of *janguny* ‘story’. I present a number of narrative fragments and reflect on them in terms of the themes outlined in earlier chapters. This enables an examination of the meaning and purpose of language research from a number of different perspectives, and how certain encounters that I had with the Gun-nartpa were framed in these terms. In particular I investigate narrative practices as ‘tactics of authenticity’ (Bucholtz 2003) within an intercultural space. Storytellers with personal experience of historical events are positioned as authoritative on these topics, and their tellership in relation to these narratives enables the expression of a historicised identity construct for others as well. Such others are kin who stand in certain relationships to the stories by virtue of their relationship to the teller. Certain narratives are themselves iconic within such interactions and are well known by others, to the extent that it is possible to discern a scripted quality to stories on particular topics. Others, usually family members, participate in storytelling events as consociates: prompting, supporting and supporting the authenticity of both the stories and their authoritative tellers. Such interactions are themselves situated socially, and both tellers and consociates employ narrative structures for social purposes, even undermining the authority of a storyteller for pragmatic effect on occasions. The first part of this chapter explores these points.

In the second section I return to the theme of mentoring and ethics in language research, circling back to a personal account of my relationship with England Banggala. As discussed in Chapter 2, Banggala inducted me into our joint research task through describing its purpose as a means for propagating his cultural authority and knowledge

more broadly. This sense of purpose was developed through iterations of a cycle of intercultural partnership between Gun-nartpa people and outsiders. These intercultural partnerships have always been dynamic, sometimes uncertain, some lasting longer than others (Curran 2013). Despite this, mentoring is always at the centre, as the development of knowledge can be guided through a relational dynamic between a senior person and an interested outsider (Memmott 2016). Intercultural mentoring overlaps with Gun-nartpa pedagogical theory and practice, which, as Etherington observes for Kunwinjku society, is built on a foundational principle: “pedagogy is a function of relationship” (Etherington 2006:9). The expression of this relational pedagogy is narrative.

For example, Banggala framed his agenda in terms of the stories of the ancestral creation of his country. He invoked his cultural authority to provide tokens of cultural property (the ochre left as a manifestation of a waterlily spirit) as part of a pedagogically framed intercultural relationship (see §2.1). Thus, in this chapter I segue from discussion of narrative genres in intercultural research encounters to consider the broader question of mentoring and knowledge exchange within intercultural relationships. I aim to show the continuity between a close examination of narrative structure and the broader social functions of narrative within the encounters and practices that we may label as research, language documentation, archiving and repatriation, collaboration and literature production.

For the Gun-nartpa, the role of the stories and their tellers within these encounters – and the artefacts that result – are construed in relational terms (Edwards 2006). They are evaluated in terms of criteria that derive from notions of authenticity, identity, and ethical ways of acting (Lambek 2010b). For a linguist, such stories usually play a different role. For example, they may play a part in generating research data and reveal facts about semantics, grammar and discourse. My aim is to show that such different perspectives are not necessarily incommensurable when we deliberately interrogate assumptions about the authenticity of artefacts such as stories and the various roles such artefacts play within the intercultural *practice* of language research (Bucholtz 2003).

7.2. *A prioritised discourse genre: the procedural narrative*

As I settled into daily routines at Gochan Jiny-jirra I found a range of ways to work. Some of this was through sitting with people and undertaking everyday tasks: hunting, caring for children, and gathering and processing plant materials for making woven bags and mats. Explicit teaching and learning sessions were situated within the interactions and tasks involved in everyday activities. These often followed the format of the first night of my visit, focusing on the competencies of everyday life such as giving and receiving food and tobacco, how to address kin, and actions such as eating, sleeping and washing.

England Banggala, Terry Ngamandara and Beryl M-bernama worked with me most days as I focused on learning ethnobiological vocabulary through discussion of photographs of plants and animals, from collected tokens of species, and from the animals and plants that people gathered for food and other purposes. Terry Ngamandara taught me the hand signs for animals and kin. Harry and Jane Litchfield helped with this work too and told several stories about traditional lifestyle. Tanya Brown, Patrick Muchana and Archin Djurunggala assisted as interpreters in my conversations with older people such as Jedda Gurnangaluk, Laurie Malabinbin and Rosie Wanggacha as they explained aspects of their everyday lives, such as the game they had caught or the baskets they were making. I had my tape recorder and notebook with me at all times and these became central props within my interactions with people, who would patiently wait as I wrote notes. The tape recorder accompanied most of my interactions and went with me on many hunting trips in the first few months of my time at Gochan Jiny-jirra.

For the Gun-nartpa the role of linguist is closely tied to the notion of *jurra* ‘paper’. Their interactions with linguist missionaries David and Kathy Glasgow involved *jurra*: the Glasgows wrote notes down on paper, created index cards, developed orthography, and worked with Gun-nartpa and Burarra people to develop literacy materials and translate the Bible into written Burarra (Glasgow 1980; D & K Glasgow personal communication). The Burarra and Ndjébbana bilingual programs involved literacy workers, teacher linguists and regional linguists who collaborated to develop hundreds of bilingual reading and teaching resources (Christie, Bow, Devlin & Simpson 2014;

Devlin 2011; England et al. 2014:141). These resources are called *jurra*, and Gun-nartpa people value them highly (§3.5). The prestige of *jurra* is linked to the reification of particular forms of cultural knowledge through its representations in material form. Throughout the history of language research in the Maningrida region the work of linguists and literacy workers has focused on the development of written materials that reflect the important cultural concepts that senior people wished to be taught in their schools and presented in story-books and dictionaries. As part of the development cycle of such materials, a well-established method emerged in which elders would provide a summary account of knowledge related to a particular topic, recorded by the linguist. There is a pre-eminent style of procedural narrative in this context. While many narrative theorists differentiate between procedural and narrative discourse (e.g. Longacre 1983), for the Gun-nartpa, procedural accounts of knowledge related to culturally valued topics are regarded as *janguny* ‘story’ (§5.6). Furthermore, both procedural and narrative (episodic texts) are framed and evaluated in terms of similar cultural proposals, such as the validation of traditional knowledge and the authentic role of senior people in discoursing on knowledge-related topics. I provide an example in 7:1, a transcript from Laurie Malabinbin describing how she and other women would harvest the long roots of *galawarn* ‘banyan fig’.

7:1. *Galawarn* ‘banyan fig’, by Laurie Malabinbin

i	<i>nyuwurbona gupaloparla \</i> <i>nyuwurrgapajinga / gijel \</i>	we all went to Gupaloparla we all dug in the ground
ii	<i>nyiburrgapajinga=</i> <i>nyiburrgapajinga=</i> <i>nyiburremarra \ nyibugorndunga \</i>	we dug we dug we hammered and cut
iii	<i>+ nyibugorndunga nyibugorndunga</i> <i>nyibugorndunga nyibugorndunga + -</i> <i>nyibugomagorndurndunga \</i>	we cut, cut cut, cut we cut all of them right through the middle
iv	<i>nayp anaguyinda \ rrapa galamang \</i> <i>nyibugomagorndunga -</i> <i>nyibiyalpuna - nyibiyalpuna \</i>	using a knife, and axe we cut it right through the middle we cooked it, we cooked it
v	<i>nyibiwirrkarra \</i> <i>nyibuwirrkarra= ganapiy \</i>	we scraped it we scraped it... until that was finished

vi	<i>nyuwubarra</i> \	we ate it
vii	<i>an.gubay</i> \ <i>galawarn</i> \	it's edible, the banyan tree (roots)

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The procedural narrative genre is structurally similar to travelling narratives that are often employed to describe the movements of ancestral creator beings, and the recounting of life experience within personal histories. It also reflects a combination of discourse structures that commonly occur in everyday narrative, as when people provide recounts of events. Procedural and recount narratives are structured around *action sequences*: strings of verbal clauses that express action semantics,¹³³ the temporal structure of events, and relations of consequence and causation between them. Action sequences predominantly comprise of verbal clauses, and temporal extent is expressed by repetition (iii-v) and extension prosody, particularly the lengthening of the clause final vowel (ii, iv, v).¹³⁴ The discourse particle *ganapiya* ‘that’s it’ is deployed to mark the transition from one part of the action sequence to the next, especially when these differ markedly in their temporal structure (v). In this instance the transition is from the extended action of peeling the skin off a large number of banyan roots to eating them, a temporally bounded (telic) action within this sequence. Such texts also feature the discourse strategy of ‘cohesive repetition’ (McKay 2000:282-83), in which an action mentioned in one superclausal unit is then repeated as background within a subsequent one, along with an elaborating or modifying element (ii). Frequently, evaluative episodes are included and these are often expressed as nominals (vii); in this instance, Laurie mentions a salient quality of the topic, that it is edible (*an-gubay* ‘edible male class thing’ < *bay* ‘to eat’), and indeed the whole point of the preceding procedural description.

Procedural narratives such as 7:1 occur as a particularly stylised, even formulaic, type of rhetorical discourse oriented towards the intercultural nexus of language

¹³³ The verb roots in this text are: *gapaja* ‘dig’, *rrema* ‘hammer’, *gornda* ‘cut’, *gomagornda* ‘cut in half’ (< *goma* ‘body’), *gomagorndurdunga* ‘cut into pieces’ (< partial reduplication), ‘cook’, *wirrka* ‘scrape, peel’, *bay* ‘eat’. See §G1.3 for pronominal forms, and §G3.2 for status/tense suffixes.

¹³⁴ Commonly also through aspectual verb serialisation, which does not occur in this simple text.

documentation and the recording of oral history. This can be discerned through an examination of the typical settings where such narratives are produced and the topics and themes that are expressed in this genre. I recorded the text above during an elicitation session about plants with Patrick Muchana. We were working through a plant book when Patrick decided to ask Laurie Malabinbin to join us. Patrick then mediated between myself and Laurie, who used the procedural discourse genre to describe the traditional uses of certain plants. I would show a picture of the plant, and Patrick would discuss this with Laurie, and then Laurie would provide a neat procedural description of the uses of that plant. Within this interaction Patrick deferred to Laurie as a senior person, but also as an authentic knowledge holder. Furthermore, they were a practised duo and had obviously done this kind of work before. My role, quite clearly, was to write and record this knowledge using *jurra*.

This example highlights the particular affordances provided by certain genres in discourse. Blommaert (2008) writes of both historical (i.e. diachronic) and synchronic affordances that come into play in the production of narrative genre. A synchronic affordance is the “capacity to create meaningful patterns and contrasts in the use of signs” and a diachronic affordance “anchors synchronic sign use in histories of use and evaluation” (Blommaert 2008:42). Laurie and Patrick’s skilful deployment of the procedural narrative in this setting is a demonstration of the historical affordances provided by the procedural discourse genre, which derive from (among other topics) descriptions of the travels of ancestral beings, performed as part of the practice (among others) of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* ‘explanations of clan connections’, as described in Chapter 4. What I am suggesting here is that procedural narrative has emerged relatively recently as an oral discourse genre, one that intersects with the more recent historical affordances of the practice of writing and the transformation of oral narrative to written forms within the various intercultural settings where this is a central practice (Bowman et al. 1999; Gale 1997).

In synchronic terms, the paradigm of discourse structures that make up everyday narrative practice provides the affordance for the production of narratives that are oriented towards written texts. The procedural genre appears within everyday narrative, as people recount events and activities. These share discourse features with more formal

narrative, and can be assessed in terms of the dimensions of narrative as framed by Ochs & Capps (2001). The procedural narrative genre puts a stretch of discourse into marked contrast against the varied, yet sometimes indeterminate, relief of everyday conversation. It is clearly bracketed by a prototypical cluster of features: one active teller, high tellability (employed to express a culturally salient topic), linearly presented in terms of time and consequence, detached from surrounding discourse, and expressing a consistent stance towards its topic. Moreover, procedural texts such as 7:1 are consistently identified as *janguny* ‘story’ by Gun-nartpa people – indeed this type of narrative cues particular sets of expectations in an audience, that the information contained within is has status as ‘knowledge’ on a particular topic.

7.3. *Procedural narrative and text production*

In this section I discuss the social dynamics around the procedural narrative genre in an interactional setting. The examples presented here demonstrate how Gun-nartpa people orient their narrative practice towards the production of written forms of knowledge.

By way of background, Beryl M-Bernama and her husband Terry Ngamandara had been regularly sitting with me, teaching me the names of various plants and artefacts and their uses in traditional life. One day Beryl asked her *babapa* (FZ) Rosie Jin-mujinggul to join us and discuss some of these topics.¹³⁵ I include some excerpts from a twenty-two minute-long recording session (T19),¹³⁶ during which Rosie mentions a number of

¹³⁵ Rosie Jin-mujinggul and her husband Charlie Mawundunga were knowledgeable about hunting, bushcraft and traditional life (England et al. 2014:xiv, see also Carew & Darcy 2014). Rosie in particular also had a widely recognised role as a language teacher and cultural adviser and was a strong advocate for bilingual education at Maningrida. She was one of David and Kathy Glasgow’s Gun-nartpa teachers in the early years of their time in Maningrida and worked as a consultant on the Burarra dictionary database from that time (D & K Glasgow, personal communication). On this occasion Rosie had been hunting for *rrugurrgurda* ‘mudcrab’ on the coast, and her party had stopped at Gochan Jiny-jirra to give some of the haul to family before returning to her home base at Ji-balbal.

¹³⁶ These text fragments are edited. There were five adults present and a number of children were playing around us. Throughout the session the adults frequently directed talk towards the children regarding food distribution, made comments on their play and gave them directives to not interfere with certain objects

canonical topics related to a traditional lifestyle: *gurlpura* ‘round hairy yam’ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), *mun-garra* ‘long yam’ (*Dioscorea transversa*), *wartpirricha* ‘small round yam’ (*Ipomoea graminea*), *yirronga* ‘plant with small tubers’ (*Sowerbaea alliacea*), *ngachu* ‘cycad’ (*Cycas arnhemica*), *ngukubura* ‘small yam’ (*Eriosema chinense*), *walangara* ‘fire lily’ (*Typhonium angustilobium*), *galamata* ‘plant with cheeky fruit’ (*Leea rubra*), *gunawurangga* ‘large cheeky yam’ (a *Dioscorea* species?)¹³⁷, *minga* ‘black currant’ (*Antidesma ghaesembilla*),¹³⁸ *ngurtka* ‘firedrill’, *gangarla*, *gurlwirri* ‘Arafura palm’ (*Corypha elata*)¹³⁹, and *golungolum* ‘paperbark water carrier’. In the following example I have just turned the tape recorder on, to record Rosie’s talk. Square brackets indicate speech that overlaps with that of the speaker in the preceding turn.

nor disrupt the recording session. These interactions are of interest in their own right, but for the purposes of this discussion I have omitted them.

¹³⁷ I didn’t succeed in collecting a sample of *gunawurangga* for independent identification through the Darwin Herbarium. People spoke of this as a very large round ‘cheeky’ yam, comparing it to a basketball, and the processing required to leach toxins was part of the procedural ‘script’ associated with it. My hunch is that *gunawurangga* is a large, old tuber of *Dioscorea bulifera* (or another *Dioscorea* species). Large tubers were once a valuable food source, but required more processing to make them edible than smaller, younger tubers. The latter are referred to as *gurlpura*, or *warlirla*, and also require processing to make them palatable (Williams 2012:85–93).

¹³⁸ *Antidesma ghaesembilla* is the species that most commonly is identified as *minga*, reflecting its importance as an opportunistic food source, especially for children. The fruiting of this plant is diagnostic of the turn from the late wet season to the early dry season, called *yeke*. It is described as a sweet, good fruit. Other plants with soft fruits are also sometimes identified as *minga*, including *Carallia brachiata*, *Antiaris toxicara*, *Antidesma parvifolium* and *Breynnia cernua*; however, these tend to be fruits eaten by animals rather than people and are often referred to as *gornabola an-buka* ‘wallaby guts’.

¹³⁹ People at Gochan Jiny-jirra tend to use *gurlwirri* to refer to the Arafura Palm, which grows on the floodplain at Nganyjuwa. *Gurlwirri* is also used by the Djinang to refer to the ‘cabbage palm’ (*Livistona humilis*), and this is an important topic in the Wurrkiganydjarr-Marrangu song repertoire (Borsboom, 1978; Elliott, 1991).

7:2 Excerpt 1 from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story about traditional lifestyle

i	RJ	<i>munerranga / munnga la= gurlpura -</i>	another one what (will I talk about) round yam
ii	MC	<i>gurlpura?</i>	round yam?
iii	RJ	<i>ngaw \ minypa - chip, mun.gab fish'n'chip, Hasty nyinachnyorkiya \ ay burdak muyinagata - nyibiyalpuna /</i>	yes like, chips, those fish and chips you always see at the Hasty yes they are like that we cooked it
iv	MA	<i>... wurlpa circle one \ [like football - basketbal]</i>	however it's a circular one it's like a football, or basketball
v	RJ	<i>[nyibijarlapuna / lika -]</i>	we would make it then...
vi	TN	[We get that snail ay, you know that shell] and just -] (to MC)	
vii	RJ	<i>nyuwurrngartngartchinga \ we grated it</i>	
viii	BB	<i>aburrngartngartchinga \ (carefully pronouncing)</i>	they grated it
ix	RJ	<i>nyiburrngartngartchinga \ (carefully pronouncing)</i>	we grated it
x	BB	<i>ma - nbarnja \ ok, put it!</i>	
xi	RJ	<i>ngika \ no!</i>	
xii	BB	<i>Gurdiya jay, burr-barnja barra! (to RJ)</i>	(pay attention to) this (book), she will put them! (words).
		<i>Aburr-ngartngartchinga. (to MC)</i>	they grated it
xiii	RJ	<i>[ma \ ma \] ok, ok</i>	
xiv	TN	<i>[ma, barnja] (To MC)</i>	ok, put it
xv	RJ	<i>gala nyirriwengga achila \ (To BB)</i>	haven't you said this one to her?

xvi MC *aburrngartngartchinga*

(Pronouncing while writing down this word)

(Rosie pauses while MC writes)

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Rosie opens by choosing a topic to discuss – a yam species (i) – describing it as being like chips available at the Hasty Tasty take-away shop in Maningrida (iii). This prepares for the commencement of a procedural narrative (v, vii). Others present speak simultaneously to me: Rosie’s son Matthew comments on the shape of the yam in mixed Gun-nartpa and English (iv) and Terry uses English to mention that a snail shell is used (vi). Beryl loudly repeats one of Rosie’s action verbs (viii) and directs me to write it down using an imperative (x). While the other comments have not interrupted Rosie’s narrative, this one does, and she contradicts Beryl’s directive (xi), apparently thinking that Beryl has offered this as the next step in the action sequence. Beryl then draws Rosie’s attention to me and my book, stating that I need to write these words down and repeating the pronunciation of the verb (xii). Terry confirms that I should write it down and Rosie’s narration pauses while I do so. As I do, Rosie checks with Beryl about whether she and Terry had already told me this word, implying that they should have (xv).

This extract illustrates a couple of points, one being that despite Rosie being the designated teller of the information, contributions from other speakers are acceptable. It is only when a contribution appears to flout the normative sequence of actions in the procedural script relating to the topic that Rosie asserts the authority of her role as teller (xi).¹⁴⁰ I return to the topic of tellership below, in §7.4. The other point is that people at

¹⁴⁰ Interestingly, while Beryl makes a show of directing me to write down the words, she and Terry had already discussed the processing of this yam with me, as had a number of other people, during several sessions when we identified plants from books and specimens and discussed their traditional uses. I had written the verb *ngartchartcha* ‘to grate a yam with a snail shell’, into my notebook within the first week of my time at Gochan Jiny-jirra (NB1), and as Rosie is using this verb (line 7) Terry appears to draw my attention to these earlier discussions (line 6). It seems that in this circumstance, Beryl was both deferring

Gochan Jiny-jirra saw writing as an important dimension of the task of language research. The emerging work routine I shared with Terry, Beryl and others had reinforced this and they accommodated my note taking in our sessions. As she progressed through a series of topics, Rosie frequently checked with Beryl about whether she had already taught me these names, which appears to equate with me having written them down, and they reject some of them as topics on this basis. See 7:3, another extract from the same recording as 7:2.

7.3 Excerpt 2 from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story about traditional lifestyle

i	MA	<i>ma, wengga achila</i> \	ok, talk to her
		(side comment omitted)	
ii	RJ	<i>munerranga wartpirricha - ee</i> \	another one is a large round yam (<i>Ipomoea graminea</i>), yes
iii	MC	[<i>wartpirricha</i>]	
iv	BB	<i>gip murrimanga murda</i> \	she already has that one
		<i>gip murrimanga</i> \	she already has it
v	RJ	<i>ayaya</i> \	I see I see
		<i>gipa nyukurdajing</i> \	you've already written it?
		<i>book miginda ya</i> \	
vi	BB	[<i>buk ginda muyurra</i> \]	it's in the book
vii	RJ	<i>ay / ngarla gunyagara jay /</i>	hey, she's not saying anything
		(To BB)	
viii	MC	<i>ngaw ngurrimanga</i>	yes, I have it
ix	BB	<i>murrimanga</i> \	she has it
		<i>gip jinyukurrjinga</i> \	she's already written it
x	RJ	<i>aya</i> \	I see
		<i>burdak - yirronga</i> \	wait, (I'll talk about) yirronga (<i>Sowerbaea alliacea</i>).
		<i>yirronga - gardapamba</i>	the yirronga plant, we would stack
		<i>nyibugarran, ayinagata -</i>	up pieces of termite mound, like that

to Rosie's cultural seniority and demonstrating her own proficiency as a language consultant, through drawing attention to the task of writing.

	<i>aji=</i>	it stood for a while ¹⁴¹
	<i>nyibuwepana, michpa wolawola</i>	we washed it like how nowadays we
	<i>soap ayweparda \</i>	wash things with soap
	<i>ngibuweparda -</i>	We always washed it till finished,
	<i>nyuwurrworkiyana, ganapiya</i>	then
	<i>lika -</i>	
	<i>nyiburrbona -</i>	then we went
	<i>nyuwurrkata -</i>	to where it was
	<i>wurajitchit nyiburremarra,</i>	we pounded it into a cake
	<i>nyibu-yolajinga -</i>	we roasted it
	<i>nyuwubarra nyiburrni \</i>	we all ate it
xi	<i>yirronga \ ee \</i>	(that's) <i>yirronga</i>
	<i>wukurrija \</i>	write it

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After Matthew refocuses the discussion onto the teaching/learning task (i), Rosie mentions another yam species (ii). I encourage Rosie to continue by repeating the plant name (iii) but Beryl dismisses this as one that has been already taught (iv), and when Rosie enquires about this from me (v) Beryl clarifies by saying that it is in the book (vi). Despite Rosie's questions I don't answer and she queries Beryl about my silence (vii). I agree that I do have it (viii) and Beryl asserts that, indeed, I have written it (ix). Rosie moves onto another topic and succeeds in delivering a complete procedural narrative (x), concluding with the directive to me to write it down (xi).

There are competing priorities and expectations at play in this scenario: as a linguist I was seeking rich language material, recorded as texts that display both cultural knowledge and grammatical structures. To me it wasn't important whether I had already discussed the narrative topics, I was interested in the grammar and semantics of the language used to express this knowledge. Rosie was proficient at explaining information about topics related to traditional life in a narrative style that was socially validated and she was interested in supporting me to develop this knowledge. Beryl demonstrated her support for the method I was using to work with people to record this information by facilitating me to put it into written form. This took place within a wider communicative frame of making arrangements for the distribution of food, evaluating

¹⁴¹ It's not clear to me how the pieces of termite mound are used in this processing sequence.

the actions of children and commenting on their play. Within this frame the procedural narratives were clearly bracketed from the other communicative acts taking place, through deployment of genre features and the postures and stances these generated. As we progressed through the recording session, Rosie oriented herself increasingly towards Beryl's expectations, producing contained procedural narratives, and providing opportunities for me to write down key words and phrases, *book mu-guyinda* 'in the book'.

7.4. Tellership as an authenticating strategy

Another aspect of the dynamics between the various roles and priorities in this scenario is linked to the evaluation of senior people as authoritative tellers of certain kinds of knowledge. In Ochs & Capps' model of narrative (2001), the dimension of 'tellership' refers to the degree of involvement of conversational partners in the creation of a narrative. At one end of the dimensional scale is a single speaker addressing an audience and at the other a group co-contributing information that progresses the narrative along (Ochs & Capps 2001:24-33). Monologic tellership is a common practice in a society where it is appropriate in many situations for people to speak without necessarily requiring a response from their interlocutors. Walsh (1997) characterises Aboriginal communication styles as communal, rather than dyadic, where "[t]alk is broadcast and need not be directed to a particular individual ... control is essentially in the hands of the hearer" (Walsh 1997:8). Walsh contrasts this with an 'Anglo' orientation towards dyadic communication, in which a speaker's focus is on their addressee, and the "flow of talk is essentially in the hands of the speaker" (Walsh 1997:7). Linking communally oriented modes of speech to monologic discourse style, public 'broadcasting' is a feature of some speech styles in Aboriginal societies, including political oratory (Clunies-Ross 1983). For example, senior *jungkays* 'ceremonial managers' often address gatherings of *bapurrurr* 'close kin' when people gather for a ceremony. While they are given the floor, there is support from others

through interjections and expressions of approval and solidarity.¹⁴² At other times, a person may broadcast a harangue, listing problems and grievances in the presence of a number of people, without addressing any one in particular. These are all occasions where there is an individual teller presenting a personal narrative monologically, within a communally oriented communication style (Walsh 1991, 1997).

For the telling of ‘display texts’ – those narratives deemed highly tellable within a given social context (Ochs & Capps 2001) – a particular person may be designated by others as the appropriate teller for a particular topic. For example, the interaction between Rosie Jin-mujinggul and myself discussed above also involved three other adults, and all of them made contributions. All contributors to the stretches of conversation presented in 6:2 and 6:3 are closely networked socially, and share an evaluative orientation towards the topics we discussed. Rosie was the designated cultural authority, and thus one of the best available tellers of information on these topics. This did not silence the others though, as they prompted her with topics, and made evaluative comments throughout the discussion. The interlocutors co-constructed the conversational moves of this communicative event (Enfield 2009), supporting the designation of Rosie as the primary teller. They enacted the purpose of the interaction – assisting the linguist to create written representations of knowledge – speaking from their different social positions within the interaction (which rest in turn upon their wider social positions).

As discussed in Chapter 4, in the 1990s people of Rosie Jin-mujinggul’s generation were, in some respects, iconic signifiers of a past way of life. Plants that formed part of the traditional diet, and items of material culture from the presettlement period assert a historicised identity construct in which the telling of narratives about ‘culture’ is a central authenticating practice. The positioning of Jin-mujinggul in this role, in this context, is an authenticating practice also. She herself draws this link explicitly during the recording session, as shown in the next excerpt from this recording.

¹⁴² Such situations are ripe with pragmatic possibilities. Garde (2008c:248–49) describes one such instance where such a teller’s authority was parodied by a well-timed insult from his joking partner.

7:4 Excerpt 3 from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story about traditional lifestyle

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|---|
| i | RJ | (continues procedural narrative) | |
| ii | | <i>guginda ngacha nyuwubichinga,
nyibuyolajing, murrong muyu \</i>
<i>gipa awena nggula, inglan \</i>
<i>buk miginda nyukurrjinga \</i> | we wrapped it up like that
we roasted it, it cooked for a while
did he already tell you, England?
did you write it in the book? |
| iii | MC | <i>ngaypa gala marn.gi</i> | I don't know about it |
| iv | RJ | <i>aya \</i>
<i>nipa an.gata anabengga,
awengga nggul aboy -</i>
<i>ngayp nggurkujinga \</i> | I see
that man when he gets back,
he will talk to you
I'm nervous (about that) |
| v | | <i>ganapiya \</i>
<i>old fashion mun.gunaga \</i>
<i>wartpirrichi:: ngukubura::</i>
<i>walangara:: munnga - mun.garra::</i>
<i>gun.gayata bush nyirribarra -</i>
<i>munjimurna,</i>
<i>nuwurra balanda arakiyana \</i> | let's move on
these are all old fashioned, ones
round yam, small yam, fire lily,
long yam
we ate them in the bush long ago
they were our bush foods
before the <i>balanda</i> settled |
| vi | | <i>gun.guna no -</i>
<i>house gun.guna \</i>
<i>bala gunyagara \</i>
<i>munarta nyirribarra \</i>
<i>munngayurpa bush tucker \</i>
<i>gurlpuru::</i>
<i>mun.garra::</i>
<i>wartpirricha::</i>
<i>ngukubura::</i>
<i>mun.gayarta nyirribarra \</i> | here
no houses
we ate those ones
our bush tucker
the round yam
the long yam
the small round yam
a small yam
we ate them back then |

(Narrative continues)

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In 7:4 Jin-mujinggul completes a procedural narrative about the processing of cycad (i), then queries me as to whether England Banggala and I had already discussed this topic (ii). My response is intended to express that I do not know about cycad (iii) and in (iv) Rosie comments that England will tell me when he returns to the outstation. In this utterance Rosie also makes an affective evaluation in relation to this proposition, saying that she is frightened; this is possibly an oblique reference to the relationship of avoidance relevant to siblings in this society (Warner 1937; Hiatt 1965; see §4.3). It

also indicates another aspect of the social dynamics around tellership in this context. While Rosie is authoritative on this topic, in socially hierarchical terms she is also subordinate to others, namely, the senior men whose status rests in their age, gender, land affiliation and ceremonial position.¹⁴³ I return to this point shortly. Rosie, perhaps as a repair strategy for this admission of uncertainty, changes footing (Goffman 1981) with the discourse transition particle *ganapiya* ‘finish’ (v), and returns to narrative discourse. Rather than an action episode she provides an existential episode, emphasising that the foods she is describing are ‘old-fashioned’ ones, that she and others once ate in the bush in the past. The temporal distance is also expressed through the deployment of the demonstrative form *-gayarta*, which conveys the semantics of ‘another place’ or ‘another time’.¹⁴⁴ Here Rosie employs a list, naming the iconic referents associated with the topic under discussion along with a characteristic listing prosody (§6.2.5), which marks these referents as positively evaluated;; they are authentically related to that topic. Rosie deliberately situates these foods, and their dietary importance, into an historical frame, by invoking the historical period when *balandas* (Europeans) settled and lifestyles changed accordingly. She fills more historical detail consolidating this time in terms of another salient fact, that it was before outstations were built (vi).

Rosie, who I estimate was born in the later years of the Second World War, is invoking the time of her childhood, when she lived on the floodplains of Yimambar, the area of country that lies within the confluence of the Blyth and Cadell rivers. Her connection to this time validates her social role as an authentic teller of the important cultural facts

¹⁴³ I have heard such evaluations made in English in terms of who is ‘top’. For example, a man once addressed a group of women to demand access to a vehicle designated as for women’s activities through a funded Women’s Centre program, justifying this by stating ‘I’m more topper than you’. ‘Top’ and ‘bottom’ are terms that express hierarchy, while ‘level’ signals both similarity and equal status. Gun-nartpa equivalents include the adverbial expressions: *waykin* ‘high’, *wupa* ‘low’, *rokrok* ‘equivalent’, *ngardapa* ‘as one’ (also ‘alone’).

¹⁴⁴ Glasgow (1994:907–08) presents this demonstrative form as *gawata* / *-gawata* but in my recordings the medial glide is more commonly [y]. Glasgow labels this in spatial terms as ‘another place’. I have only encountered in this usage, to refer to periods of time that are markedly discontinuous with the present.

about diet. These ‘diet stories’ are among a number of narratives that I heard on numerous occasions; others are the stories about Macassan visits, Japanese strafing raids over the floodplains and swamps surrounding Milingimbi, tribal war, the actions of sorcerers, traditional mortuary rituals, walking ‘overland’ to Darwin during the 1950s, and the establishment of the Cadell Gardens (England et al. 2014:xxiv-xxviii). These narratives were often performed in family settings; for example, younger people have described to me how they would listen to the ‘history stories’ of older people around the campfires during their childhoods. They are also performed in intercultural spaces, in interactions with outsiders who take an interest in such historical perspectives (e.g. Bond-Sharp 2014). Given their central place in the expression of social history and connection, I refer to these as *keystone narratives*. This term is modeled upon the ecological notion of keystone species: the plants and animals that play vital roles within an ecosystem, without which the ecosystem would be dramatically altered (Mills, Soule & Doak 1993). Within a system of signifiers of social belonging, these historical narratives are keystones in the construction of historicised social identities. These stories follow the procedural episodic structure and the discourse components (§6.3.1) of these episodes are predictable. As shown in §7.5 (example 7:6) they follow a script, and consociates can direct the primary teller according to that script, stage-managing the performance with prompts.

Among the cohort of senior people who were alive in the 1990s, those who were the authentic tellers of keystone narratives were clearly identified. For example, Harry Litchfield was the ‘go-to’ storyteller for descriptions of *An-dakal* ‘traditional war’, named as a phase of history before and after the Second World War period when there were frequent skirmishes between parties of warriors (Litchfield 2014a 2014b). Michael Burrurrbuma had a similar status in relation to the story of the salvage teams who came to retrieve planes that had crashed onto the floodplain during the Second World War. Jin-mujinggul was a plant, diet and hunting specialist who could also branch into other topics. When she did so however, she was quite circumspect about which stories she could tell and how much detail to provide. Her authority to tell stories about traditional cultural practices relied on her own observations of these as a young woman, and she explicitly differentiated between what she knew about and what she didn’t on this basis. She makes such differentiations in the following extract. As background: this recording

is from a storytelling session at Ji-balbal outstation with Michael Wamut Burrurbuma, Rosie, and her husband Charlie Mawundanga, in 1997. Wamut told the story *Balanda mun-ganyja michiyang* ‘The *balandas* brought a boat’ (Burrurbuma 2014). After Wamut had finished, I asked Rosie if she would like to record a story too. The previous year, Rosie, Charlie and Betty Warnduk had built a traditional bush shelter, incorporating two separate parts called *gorragorra* ‘platform’ and *belabila* ‘shelter’. We made a film about the process for Maningrida Arts and Culture, for community distribution (Carew & Darcy 2014). Rosie continued the narrative from where it had left off one year earlier (cf. Walsh, 1997:4), a segue from the building of the bush shelter to a discussion of its use in traditional funerary practices (Jin-mujinggul 2014). She commenced with a story about a person sickening and dying, then the family placing them onto the *gorragorra* platform, proceeding in the historical/procedural episode structure and realising these episodes as action sequence components (§6.3.1).

7:5 Excerpt from Rosie Jin-mujinggul’s story about traditional funeral practices

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| i | RJ | (new narrative episode) | |
| | | <i>rrapa - gunerranga /
awurmalpunapa awurri=</i> | and another thing
they looked after the body for
some time |
| | | <i>abijerrchinga aburri anjurrkurda \\\</i> | they removed the flesh |
| | | (pause) | |
| ii | MC | <i>aya like anmama</i> | I see, like, the bones? |
| iii | RJ | <i>anma--
abijerrchinga=
awubachkarrana,
arrong ayu=
arrong abamana=
abungorrching,
abibiching abibichinga,
lika awurwalagiya nula awurrbona,
bokaburt abena \</i> | bones (false start)
they removed the flesh
they roasted it
it lay cooking
it cooked for a while
they removed it from the fire
and wrapped it all up
then they all danced for him,
the <i>bokaburt</i> ceremony
arrived ¹⁴⁵ |

¹⁴⁵ *Bokubort* is a series of rituals acts involving the bones of a deceased person, part of a complex cycle of mortuary ritual in traditional life.

iv	MC	<i>bokaburt ya</i>	I see, <i>bokaburt</i>
v	RJ	<i>ee \ jinbena rrap abena \</i> <i>ee \</i> <i>rrapa gunerranga -</i> <i>gun.guna waypa cemetery</i> <i>awujurnimbard awurrworkiya \</i> <i>gun.guna baland arakiyana,</i> <i>wurra mungoyurra</i> <i>gorrogorra giginda \</i>	yes, the women and men flocked in, yes and now it's different these days they always bury in the cemetery this is since the balanda settled, but previously it was done in the shelter
vi	MC	that cemetery, <i>yi-rrawa gun-</i> <i>guyinda?</i>	the cemetery is recent?
	RJ	<i>ee, yirrawa gun.guna cemetery \</i>	yes the cemetery is recent
vii	MB	<i>bat mungoyurra / abalcha -</i>	but in the past, it hung--
viii	RJ	<i>abalch ayu, gorragorr --</i>	It lay up high on the platform -
ix	MC	<i>[nyinana?]</i>	you saw it?
x	RJ	<i>ngaw \ ngaype ngunana belabila \</i>	yes! I saw the shelter (burials)
xi	MC	<i>aya</i>	I see
xii	RJ	<i>ee \ ngaype belabila marn.gi,</i> <i>wurr andakal gala marn.gi \</i>	yes, I know about the shelter burials, but I don't know about warrior time
xiii	CM	<i>rrapa doldol dumach \</i>	and there were lots of maggots
xiv	RJ	<i>ya= gunyagara, biyalkija \</i>	yaaa, not that, he's tricking you!
xv	MC	<i>doldol ya?</i>	you mean maggots?
xvi	CM	<i>doldol \ rrapa gochilájirra -</i> <i>(laughs)</i> <i>gochilínyirra -</i> <i>!duff!</i>	maggots, and his stomach or her stomach !duff! (would explode).
xvii	MC	<i>ew</i>	
xviii	CM	<i>like a balloon \</i>	like a balloon
xix	MB	(inaudible comment)	

xx	RJ	<i>ngika, mun.guna mijurra mun.ginda mbima - abugurrmurra \</i>	Stop it! they (readers) might get this from the book, what they put
		(hoots and laughs; everyone laughs)	
xxi		<i>ganapiya \</i> <i>ngaypa gorrogorra wurpa - aa, belabila wurpa ngunana \</i> <i>rrapa - andakal gala ngunacherna \</i>	lets move on! I only saw the platform and shelter (burials) and I didn't ever see the warriors
		<i>rrapa war abachich-- abuchichiyen balanda \</i>	nor the war when the <i>balandas</i> were fighting (second world war)
xxii	MB	<i>ya - wana yerrcha rrapa alla kid \</i>	yes, all the adults and all the kids
xxiii	RJ	<i>ngaw \</i> <i>delip yerrcha rraw awumalapunap aburrni \</i> <i>delipa murna awurrbuyanapa arrburrwa -</i>	yes they kept all the children at home in mourning for a child they were ritually hitting themselves on behalf of us all
		(Narrative continues)	

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In 7:5 Rosie has already talked about a prototypical character sickening and dying and this new episode is about a subsequent stage in the narrative script; the ritual removal of flesh from the body of the deceased. Here she stops, perhaps uncertain about whether to delve into this topic, one that raises contention among some people (i).¹⁴⁶ I encourage Rosie to elaborate (ii) which she does, although hesitates on the word *an-mama* 'bones'

¹⁴⁶ This practice was documented by Warner (1937) and Thomson (2005) for people to the east of the Gun-nartpa, and also see Mirritji (1976). While Gun-nartpa people today adopt a historical perspective on such mortuary practices, some are less willing to talk about it than others. The story that Rosie recorded on this occasion was published in *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* in edited form (Jin-mujinggul 2014). When the project team discussed the translation for the passage about flesh removal we negotiated the translation 'they performed the burial rites' effacing the specific meanings of the verbs *jerrcha* 'scrape' and *an-jurkurda* 'raw flesh'. No-one suggested that we omit the story nor this specific passage, although we left out sections ix-xx.

– which I have offered as a prompt – it doesn't belong there as a scripted element. Instead she continues with an action sequence describing the next procedural phase (iii). When she mentions *bokabort*, the name of rituals involving the bones of a deceased person wrapped in paperbark, I repeat this word to indicate my understanding (iv). Rosie then mentions the ceremonial context for the practices she has described, and offers an evaluative comment, comparing the rite to current day practice, whereby deceased people are buried in a cemetery. As for the earlier example in 7:4, she situates this change in practice in historical terms, contemporaneous with the arrival of *balanda* (v). I encourage her to elaborate on this and she confirms (vi); however, Wamut prompts her to continue with the procedural script (vii). Here he states the time reference (*mu-ngoyurra* 'first, previously') and provides the first verb of an aspectual serial verb *balcha yu* 'to be up on top' (< *balcha* 'to be up high', *yu* 'to be lying/prone'). He utters this with the characteristic extension prosody for action sequences that are extended in time, while omitting the second verb of the serial predicate (§G4.5). Rosie reacts to the prompt, uttering the full action sequence (viii). I am interested in Rosie's own experience and so I interrupt her to ask if she herself saw this (ix). Here is a change in footing to an interpersonal interaction, which Rosie has so far resisted. She asserts that she did witness it, possibly challenging an unintended implication that she lacks authenticity as a teller (x). She follows this up with proof of her tellership for this story, noting that she doesn't know about *An-dakal* 'traditional war' (thus implying that she wouldn't presume to narrate on that topic) (xii). Charlie takes the opportunity of the change in conversational footing to insert a comment about maggots, (xiii) and elaborates on this theme (xvi, xviii). This phase in the interaction is 'hijacked' by Charlie as he takes advantage of the close relationship between himself and Rosie to exploit the pragmatic potential presented by this topic, jokingly destabilising Rosie's tellership. Rosie responds with mock horror, accusing Charlie of tricking me (xiv). While keeping the joke going, she reasserts her tellership in terms of the normative framing of the procedural narrative (xx), intended as it is, for writing down and being presented in a book. Rosie changes the footing again with the discourse transition particle *ganapiya* 'finish', and reasserts her authenticity as a teller in terms of what she witnessed of traditional life; that is, she saw traditional funerals, but not traditional warfare nor the Second World War. This is an evaluation episode (xxi). From there she

continues in the procedural genre (xxiii), after a script prompt from Wamut (xxii). For a wider audience Rosie presented an ‘official’ public narrative about funerals, couched in procedural terms, one which sanitised some of the practices from traditional life that were out of step with contemporary Christian beliefs. Within her own circle she was free to joke about what the old people did, as have other people with whom I have discussed these matters. Within an intercultural space, this example illustrates some of the tensions that exist between normative presentations of traditional culture and people’s memories of actual events. It also shows that tellership is an overt orientation towards the projection of these normative framings, and one that is strategically manipulated by tellers as they simultaneously negotiate other communicative acts that are playing out within the interactional setting.

7.5. Strategic moves by consociates

As discussed above, other conversational participants often support the authenticity of a primary teller in terms of their interculturally oriented social role. Narrative events are at times strategically managed through the well-timed conversational moves of someone not designated as the teller of a story. In 2013, as we were working on compiling stories for *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa*, I worked with An-nguliny men Crusoe Batara, Patrick Muchana and Raymond Walanggay to record a number of senior Gun-nartpa people. The men were eager to record more stories about family history, and the *yakarrarra* ‘clan connections’ linking people within this social network. It was important to them that none of the authoritative senior people were left out of the book we were writing. The storytellers were identified by the men, and they also discussed the recording sessions with these senior people prior to telling their stories. Through these preparatory conversations, the scope of the discussion was set. As we progressed on the project the An-nguliny men placed a emphasis on the practice of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* ‘explanations of clan connections’. They focused on the *bapurrurr* connections between An-nguliny and their allies among the Mu-golarra regional clan group. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Balngarra and Boborredi clans are close to the An-nguliny in this respect. Once the tellers began their stories they tended towards the formulaic procedural/recount narrative genre. These were mainly monologically structured; however, the men and other family members participated in the narrative events,

sometimes prompting lines or responding to questions from the teller. I illustrate with some examples from Daisy Ngurarraparlja's account of her early life.

7:6 Excerpt 1 from Daisy Ngurarraparlja's history story

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| i | <p>DNg <i>ngaypa - ngubalngarra \</i>
 <i>ee \</i>
 <i>ngubalngarra, ngaypa \</i>
 <i>my mother - ngurokich \</i>
 <i>ee, my mother \</i>
 <i>my mother a-- my mother -</i>
 ...
 <i>anngarripa, nyinya arrkula -</i>
 <i>yigab anaguyinda / jorrinyjurra \</i>
 <i>wurlpa married ngiji,</i>
 <i>yigaba ngubupiyana \</i></p> <p>[gestures towards the eastern coast]</p> <p><i>ee \</i>
 <i>ngininya \</i>
 <i>yigap: majuwa gurrenyjiya \</i>
 <i>ngininya \</i>
 <i>ngaw \</i>
 <i>ngininya= ngunawarrchinga /</i>
 <i>ngunyunaga \</i>
 <i>ya gungarda yerrcha</i>
 <i>awurrngarripa -</i>
 <i>a-- born aburrninya,</i>
 <i>aburrbona \</i></p> <p>[gestures towards the east]</p> <p><i>ee \</i></p> | <p>me, I'm Balngarra (clan)
 yes
 I'm Balngarra
 my mother was Ngurokich
 yes my mother</p> <p>our father
 is from over there, the high ground
 but when I got married
 I went down that way</p> <p>yes
 I stayed
 over there on the beach
 I stayed
 yes
 I stayed there for a long time, then
 came up
 to here
 yes, our children¹⁴⁷
 they were born
 they are gone now (grown up)</p> |
| ii | <p>RW <i>balngarra \</i></p> | <p>Balngarra clan</p> |
| iii | <p>DNg <i>a-- muma aburryinaga, balngarra \</i>

 <i>ee \</i>
 <i>yigaba - gunyjulkunyjul married</i>
 <i>ngiji /</i></p> | <p>oh, they all call Balngarra their
 mother
 yes
 over there, I got married into
 Gunyjulkunyjul</p> |

¹⁴⁷ Daisiy uses inclusive pronominal forms, indexing me, her audience/interviewer, as her classificatory sister.

- iv MC *gunyjulkunyjul?*
- DNg *ee, gunyjulkunyjul *
father burrwa - father burrwa -
*annga lay / boborredi * yes, Gunyjulkunyjul
their father
who is it? Boburredi
- v RW *boburredi * Boburredi clan

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In the first half of this excerpt (i) Daisy summarises how she shifted away from her father's country in the inland foothills of the Arnhem Land rock country to the coastal country of her Gunyjulkunyjul¹⁴⁸ husband. She mentions her later move to Maningrida where she currently lives and the birth of her children. This is a massively simplified account of her life trajectory that omits the many years she spent based at Gochan Jiny-jirra. She mentions her children in terms of her later residence in Maningrida, thus also omitting an important fact in terms of *yakarrarra* – her marriage as a young woman to a Gurr-goni man from the Boburredi clan. This man, her first husband, was the father of her children, now senior people in their own right with close *bapurrurr* connections to the An-nguliny through this patrilineal connection. Raymond reorients Daisy's narrative by mentioning, *sotto voce*, the Balngarra clan (ii). Daisy then emphasises her children's connection in the idiom of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* 'explanations of clan connections' (*muma awurr-yinaga* 'they conduct themselves towards it as their mother') and goes on to mention their Boburredi clan identity (iv), checking in with Raymond on this fact. Raymond's repetition of this clan name (v) confirms his participation as a co-creator of this narrative despite Daisy's designated role as primary teller.

Throughout the narrative, Raymond and others chime in at different times as they support Daisy's tellership. At certain points these interventions cue the normative style of procedural and historical narrative, employing action sequences and cohesive repetition of verbal clauses. As discussed above, another feature of the procedural and historical narrative genres is the listing of iconic referents associated with the topic

¹⁴⁸ Gunyjulkunyjul are a Na-kara group, from the coast to the north of Barlparrarra swamp.

under discussion, along with a characteristic listing prosody (§5.5.3). In this instance the use of listing prosody in a secondary teller's prompt provides the cue for Daisy to adopt this strategy herself as she continues with the telling of this story. The following excerpt picks up from where I notice an opening for a topic – life at Gochan Jiny-jirra when people were working at the Garden (i) – and ask Daisy to elaborate (ii).

7:7 Excerpt 2 from Daisy Ngurarraparlja's history story

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--|---|
| i | DNg | <i>gunagata jama nyiburri \</i>
<i>gun.gaba garden</i> | at that place we worked
at the garden there |
| | MC | <i>gunnga jama, garden?</i> | what work, gardening? |
| | DNg | <i>garden \</i> | garden |
| ii | MC | <i>aya, gun-mola nyurrija?</i> | I see, can you explain that? |
| iii | DNg | <i>ee - nyibugarrana -</i>
<i>nyiburrgapajinga, nyibugarrana,</i>
<i>line up muyu munanngiya -</i>
<i>munnga jachacha /</i> | yes, we planted
we dug and planted
they formed a row, something
what was it uncle? |
| iv | RW | <i>potato::</i> | potato |
| v | DNg | <i>potato::</i>
<i>rrapa munanngiya, banana::</i>
<i>nyibugarrana nyiburrbona \</i>
<i>nyiburrgarrana nyiburrbona,</i>
<i>line up \</i>
<i>mm \</i> | potato
and something, banana
we planted them
we planted them
in a line
yes |
| vi | MC | <i>munmardaguya?</i> | in a straight line? |
| vii | DNg | <i>munmardaguya nyibirrana \</i>
<i>line up miji \</i> | they formed a line
they were in a row |
| | | [gestures to show a line, like a planting row] | |
| | | <i>nyibugarrana \ jama nyiburri \</i>
<i>ee \</i> | we planted, we worked
yes |
| viii | RW | <i>pawpaw:: tomato::</i> | pawpaw, tomato |
| ix | DNg | <i>pawpaw:: tomato:: mango::</i> | pawpaw, tomato, mango |
| x | RW | <i>cucumber::</i> | cucumber |

xi DNg *cucumber nyibugarrana* | ee | we planted cucumber, yes
(narrative continues)

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Daisy responds to my request for a story about the garden (ii) and she transitions into the procedural genre, of action sequences relating to digging in the garden and planting vegetables. At this point she requests a prompt from Raymond (iii), who provides it, modelling the listing intonation (iv). Daisy accepts the referent ‘potato’ and reiterates the action sequence mentioning another prototypical list item ‘banana’ (v). I recruit myself as a co-narrator by suggesting a lexical replacement for ‘line up’ (vi).¹⁴⁹ Raymond’s further listing prompts (viii, x) support Daisy to integrate other iconic referents into the repeated action sequences of the narrative (xi). She subsequently moves on to describe other aspects of the lifestyle at Gochan Jiny-jirra during the time the market garden was in operation (Ngurarraparlja 2014).

The examples from Rosie and Daisy’s telling of stories have presented some of the rhetorical and genre features of monologic discourse produced in the context of collaborative language research. These show a preference for procedurally scripted elements, commonly action episodes, along with evaluations that affirm the cultural value of iconic referents and the importance of traditional knowledge taught by the old people. Stories from historical settings cue the time of the setting both in terms of these iconic referents and activities but also validate the authenticity of the storytellers themselves in terms of their own life experience within that historical frame.

The structure of the narrative genres prioritised within language research encounters also reveal the ideological framings of such intercultural encounters, particularly the

¹⁴⁹ The replacement I offer is *-mardaguya* a descriptive meaning ‘in a line’ used to refer to people forming single file, as when walking along a track or in a queue. The stem is built from *marda* ‘tail’ and *guya* ‘nose’. Daisy’s preference for ‘line up’ to describe the rows of plants indicates that *-mardaguya* is specific to lines of people, their orientations to each other as ‘nose to tail’, and not so relevant for describing lines of other kinds of entities.

role of senior people in projecting idealised versions of traditional knowledge. These are dynamically situated in that they are oriented towards the development of knowledge in intercultural relationships. All throughout, the Gun-nartpa kept an eye on the purpose of their investment in this relationship, their reason for taking the trouble to train an outsider. That is, while there is generosity and friendship involved, these are alliance relationships and through them people are pursuing pragmatic goals that will further the interests of their family group (Christen 2009). In the case of the Gun-nartpa at Gochan Jiny-jirra, the community perceived that there had been benefits to such alliances in the past, as through the stable period of schooling during the decade that Wallace Blackley was the Gochan Jiny-jirra schoolteacher, the success of the Gochan Jiny-jirra artists in the Australian and international art world, the development of literacy practices through the relationship with David and Kathy Glasgow, the development of the Cadell Gardens through alliances with Welfare Superintendant John Hunter, agronomist Bob Collins and garden manager Vainga Vaikoso, plus others. I have been one among many such allies for these experienced intercultural practitioners, who had no trouble finding a place for me and the work that I had come to pursue. This applies both in terms of my original visits in the 1990s and the subsequent period of work from 2010. These relationships are placed within mentoring relationships, and as I move towards the conclusion of this thesis, I reconsider how this played out for me, as I worked with England Banggala on documenting his stories.

7.6. Mentoring: a mode of ethical instruction

After I had been at Gochan Jiny-jirra for about six weeks an unexpected death occurred, that of a younger Gopamalija clan man who lived in the house opposite my camp. Following cultural practice after a death, many of the residents left, in particular those who lived in the same house as the deceased man. Throughout the remainder of the wet season until around April 1994 I worked mostly with England Banggala, who was settled in for a painting season. He produced a series of magnificent bark paintings through this period, cataloguing his clan estates and the ancestral spirits residing there. In particular he painted the pandanus mat Mardayin spirit Jin-gubardabiya (Banggala 2014c) and the creator being that he referred to as Ji-japurn, but also known as Ngurrurtpa (Banggala 2014b; Mirrikurl 2014; Green & Nimbajja 2015). When he wasn't

painting we walked through the country around Gochan Jiny-jirra and, as the floodwaters receded, we ventured further afield to other places: the An-nguliny sites that he represented in his art, downstream to places such as Gupaloparla and as far as Jowunga sites such as the Lightning Dreaming at Andarrbaykarda Ana-ngarna (lit. ‘lightning in his mouth’). Banggala painted to finance funerals and other ceremonial obligations but this also formed the ideal backdrop for our collaboration. I became his offsider – I helped harvest and prepare bark, occasionally filled in sections of *rarrk* ‘crosshatching’ on one painting while he worked on another, and sat and talked with him while he painted, recording *janguny*, the stories.

Banggala and other people from Gochan Jiny-jirra had enjoyed successful careers as artists, selling their work through Maningrida Arts and Culture from the early 1970s (Caruana 1989; Cooke 1983; Bond-Sharp 2013). Through this they came into contact with the wider scene of public art galleries, major exhibitions and private collectors. Telling the stories about the travels and activities of ancestral beings represented in such works was a well-established mode of communicating public stories about art works. Art documentation was mediated by ‘art advisers’, the term used for the role of remote Indigenous community art centre coordinators. Those carrying out this role have been key allies within an art practice-based livelihood (Altman & Taylor 1990; Cooke 1983; Wright 1999). Over many years and many *balanda* (as most of them have been) there was much opportunity to practice the telling of these stories. This is reminiscent of Campbell’s observation on recording oral histories with Warlpiri man Darby Jampijinpa Ross:

... I realised that Darby had been telling his stories to whitefellas for a long time. The stories were also remarkably similar to the ones he had told me. This explained his familiarity with the process and his confident, almost rehearsed, style of presentation (Campbell 2004:3).

I had a similar experience to Campbell as I commenced my work with Banggala. He had a suite of ancestral narratives at hand, and in the context of his artwork would recount the actions of creator beings, their travels and interactions. On occasions he elaborated on the ancestral travels of beings that he was related to through his mother. He told the stories of Murlurlu jin-jar, the local version of the widespread Djangkawu

myth of the Jowunga moiety and the ancestral hero Nabiyama/Nagorrko (cf. Elkin, 1961:172) who joined them on their travels (Banggala 2014d, 2014e). Banggala also told stories that dramatised events from traditional life, such as warriors ambushing another group (Banggala 2014g), and the punishment of a couple for breaking marriage rules (Banggala 2014h). As I learned more about the history of Gochan Jiny-jirra and the Maningrida region, I prompted Banggala to talk more about this. He then spoke about his patrol work with Welfare Superintendent John Hunter, who had been a great friend to the Gun-nartpa people as they established the Cadell Gardens at Gochan Jiny-jirra in the 1960s (Banggala 2014i, 2014j). He also described his roles as ceremonial leader in the Yirrichinga ceremony Yabadurrwa and as *jungkay* ‘ceremonial manager’ for the Jowunga ceremony Gunapi, which, along with Murlurlu, is associated with the complex of sites at Barlparnarra swamp, just to the north of Gochan Jiny-jirra (cf. Maddock, 1976:166).

Banggala also spoke at length about the normative kinship roles of the various actors in ceremonial contexts. This included the major regional ceremonies but also age-grading rituals such as *japi* ‘young man’s initiation’. Some of these narratives are similar in narrative style to the Joborr texts that Frank Gurrmanamana presented to Hiatt in the late 1950s. These formed a set of instructions about social norms in a range of settings: ‘[e]ach is in the form of a dialogue between imagined individuals, nearly all of them related to each other ... The word they use for correct behaviour, or etiquette, is *Joborr*’ (Gurrmanamana et al. 2002:xiii).

As discussed in Chapter 6, reported speech commonly expresses a speaker’s evaluative stance within narrative discourse through indexing meanings within a relational frame of reference. Through reporting their spoken interactions, a storyteller provides the listener with an enactment of how story actors negotiate understandings about the events that involve them. These reported evaluations overlay the speaker’s own evaluations of this conduct and index normative ideologies around ethical conduct in the wider social context. As discussed in Chapter 2, the role of senior people in instructing and mediating what constitutes ethical conduct is central. As Etherington describes pedagogy within Kunwinjku family groups, senior people employ an eclectic and complex curriculum, and storytelling is central within this (Etherington 2006). For

the Gun-nartpa, as for the Kunwinjku, the practised telling of narratives, and the interpolation within them of interactive scenarios, represents a way that senior people both enact and represent a “methodology of mutuality” in their approach to instruction in the “ideational and moral curriculum” (Etherington 2006:146). I provide an example of one of Banggala’s explanations of how families would negotiate and prepare for the initiation of a boy for *japi*, in 7:8. Here, Banggala speaks both hypothetically and from a personal perspective, and the *origo* for kin term reference shifts between himself and those of actors throughout (§G2.6 Kinship terms). According to this description, the role of identifying boys for initiation lies with the father, who must discuss the preparations for the ceremony with the boy’s kin. This is both to ensure that the father’s rights in relation to this ceremony are acknowledged and to notify other kin that it is time for them to also enact their roles in relation to the young man as he moves through the *japi* ceremony. Tied up in these negotiations are the various normative orientations between kin, such as the avoidance that pertains between men and their mothers-in-law, yet it is crucial that these kin be recruited to participate. A man’s mother-in-law stands in the relationship of *mununa/jerda* (MM/MMB) to his son, a relationship of care and senior ceremonial tutelage for young men. In these negotiations, a man’s wife and her brother play an important intermediary role, as explained by Banggala in text 7:8.

7:8 Excerpt from a description of kinship roles in relation to *japi* ‘young man’s initiation’

(story continues from a warm up discussion of *japi*)

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| i | <p>- lay /
 <i>an.gab wan anirrap -</i>
 <i>burray nyengga achila ya \</i>
 <i>burray nyenggachila -</i>
 <i>- ee burray nguwengga achila \</i>
 <i>- wurra - ngaypa jal nginirra -</i>
 <i>wana anirra \</i>
 <i>wana anirra, big boy anirra \</i>
 <i>gun.gama nggarra barra \</i></p> | <p>- hey!
 that boy is big now
 soon you will speak to her
 soon you will speak to her
 - yes, soon I will speak to her
 - but, this is what I want
 he is big
 he is a big boy</p> |
| ii | <p><i>him right man him father -</i>
 <i>awena \ awena \</i></p> | <p>I’m going to start a ceremony
 the right man, the father of the boy
 spoke, he spoke</p> |

	<i>agornja burrwa, ngunajerda::</i> <i>ngujimunun:: ngunajerda::</i> <i>ngunajaminya mamam </i> <i>mamam anngaypa </i> <i>awena burrwa </i> <i>awen abona, yirrana - awena achila,</i>	he called out to them, my MMB ¹⁵⁰ , my MM, my MMB my MF my MF he spoke to them he spoke in the evening, he said to her
iii	- jay / <i>an.guna wana anirra -</i> <i>an.guna wana anirra, yokayoka -</i> <i>gun.gama nggarra barra </i> <i>- ee, gunmolamola gunnginyipa </i>	- hey! that boy is big he is big, that baby I'm going to start a ceremony - yes, that's good, it's your right
iv	<i>jin.gumarrbipa jinyena jin.gumarrbipa </i> <i>him husband awena achila </i> <i>an.gumarrbipa awena achila </i>	his wife spoke, his wife when the husband spoke to her when the husband spoke to her (she said)
v	<i>ee gunnginyipa an-gunartpa </i> <i>walkur nggula annginyipa </i> <i>nginyipa nybokumiyana </i> <i>an.gata gunnginyipa </i>	yes, it's your right in relation to him he is your son you begat him
vi	<i>rrak muma </i> <i>awena achila </i>	that boy is yours and then to the mother he spoke
vii	<i>gunmola ngaw -</i> <i>jinamanya nyengga barra achila </i>	yes, that's good can you speak to my mother in law (your mother)
viii	<i>him cousin </i> <i>jongok </i> <i>jinyjornjinga achila, jinyena achila,</i>	his cousin his affine that he avoids she called out to her, she said to her
ix	<i>ama - guwa /</i> <i>anamany anirra -</i> <i>anamanya jaminya awengga arrkula </i>	mum, come here! your son in law your son in law will speak to us, including (my son's) MF
x	<i>jaminya awena birrinyjila ani </i>	he spoke to (the boy's) MF and his wife
	<i>jaminya awena abona=</i>	he spoke to the MF
xi	- alay / ajay / - annga	- hey man! hey woman! - what?

¹⁵⁰ The propositus of the kin terms in this stretch is the narrator (i.e. Banggala), not the soon-to-be initiand's father. I state this on the basis of the kin terms being presented as a list, this most commonly expresses the speaker's evaluative stance towards the narrative. This interpretation suggests that Banggala is on the one hand describing this event in hypothetical terms by referring to a generic 'father' and a description of his socially normative actions. On the other hand, the story is also situated within the frame of Banggala's earlier life, by his use of personal kin terms such as *ngujimununa* 'my MM'. He positions himself as the kin propositus, and thus a participant in these events.

	- wana anirra \	- he is big
	wal gun.gama nggarra barra \	well I'm going to start a ceremony
	gun.gaba nggarra,	over there I will set it up
	- ee \	- yes
	gunngayp ngika - nginyipa -	it's not my right, but yours,
	nyigubokuma \	you're the begetter
	nginyipa nyigubokuma /	you are the begetter
	ganapiy gunmolamola,	it doesn't need more discussion, it's
	gunnginyipa \	good, it's your right
	gunnginyipa, gip nyirriwena \	it's your right, we've already said
xii	anbawalapa -	This is the most senior man (the
		boy's mother's father)
	merndap an.gubay -	the one who will hold the boy (and
		the boy will bite his arm)
xiii	>xxx< - gip nyuwurrwena \	?, we already spoke
	gunnartpa, gun.gorrinyjipa nguweya	that one that's yours I'm talking
	nginirra \	about
	- ee, gunmolamola \	yes that's good
	gunart gunnginyipa \	that is yours
	ngardawa nginyiparra gun.gama nyjarra \	because you are the one who will
		start the ceremony
xiv	like - ananngiya, him son you know /	like something, it's his son you
		know?
	anigipa son \ awena ani \	it's his the son, he's the one who
		spoke
	awena abona \	he spoke
	ngaw \ awena abona= ganapiya,	yes, he spoke, till he was done
		(and everyone had said)
xv	gunmola \	that's fine
xvi	awurryu gunagepana /	they all slept and then the sun came
		up
	they bin catchim now \	they caught him then
	an.gatpa andelipa, yang boy \	that small one, the young boy

(story continues with details of the ceremonial preparation of the initiate, food and speech taboos and their subsequent release)

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Banggala's explanation is narratively structured, moving between episodes of interaction between kin (i, iii, v, vii, ix, xi, xiii, xv) and his narrative voice (ii, iv, vi, viii, x, xii, xiv, xvi). The reported interactions involve a man speaking to others about the readiness of the young boy, his son, and his intention to start a ceremony (*gun-gama ng-garra barra* 'I will start a ceremony'). The term *gun-gama* is a nominal derived

from the descriptive *-gama* ‘female’ (< *gama* ‘woman’) and refers to the intent and purpose of a ceremony. He also exhorts his wife to speak to her kin, referring to his wife’s mother with the reciprocal altercentric term *jina-manya* ‘your mother, my mother-in-law’ (vii). The man’s position is repeated as he moves from kin group to kin group. The responses of the kin express agreement and support the man’s rights to make these important arrangements. These affirmations also repeatedly mention the normative view that a father must take charge of his own son’s initiation, as the one who has begotten that child (*nginyipa nyi-gubokuma* ‘you are the begetter’ < *bokuma* ‘to beget’). These reported interactions have the flavor of political oratory, monologic discourse in which a man asserts his ritual responsibilities, and are supported by their audience (Clunies-Ross 1983). The interactions repeat the expressions of solidarity such as *gun-molamola* ‘it’s good, it’s fine’, *gun-nginyipa* ‘it’s your (right)’, and the activity organising particle *ganapiya* ‘finish, let’s move on’. The narrative voice provides explanatory commentary on the father’s negotiations, mentioning the various kin that he discusses the ceremony with, including the most senior man from the boy’s mother’s family (*an-bawalapa* ‘the biggest) who will help to grab the boy and hold the during the initiation procedure. Once this set of negotiations have completed, the narrative moves into a new episode, where the boy is caught, and the preparations start in earnest (xvi).

Banggala would situate his description of *joborr* within his own life experiences, and reflect on changes occurring in how age grading and other ceremonial scenarios are enacted. He applied the same ethical idiom of *joborr* as he described the role of women who prepare food for men of the opposite moiety during the secret phases of ceremonies, when only men can participate in the proceedings at a restricted site close to the ceremony camp. After a while I realised that Banggala was giving me instructions as to my correct conduct during these ceremonies. As a woman of the Jowunga moiety, if I attended a Yabadurrwa I would have a food preparation role circumscribed in terms of my relationship to him. Banggala envisaged that my role as linguist would extend to attending ceremonies; an extension of the same pattern of alliance that he had enacted with Wallace and other *balanda*. I didn’t attend a Yabadurrwa or Gunapipi before

England passed away;¹⁵¹ however, he made certain that if I had, I would have been ready to perform the social role that he required, as an ‘associate’ (Elkin, 1961:174). As Etherington writes about the Kunwinjku old people, Banggala’s intercultural teaching style was consistent with a pedagogy that was “both pastorally supportive and explicit as to desired learning outcomes and their benefit to the learner” (Etherington 2006:148).

Transposing this pedagogy to an intercultural space, Banggala’s pastoral and directive approach was embedded within a mentoring relationship. In such a relationship a researcher takes on a similar role to a neophyte, someone whose knowledge development is relationally situated and indeed, I played this role. As I did, I repeated the pattern of many outsiders who have also entered the margins of Indigenous socialities in order to learn and to build a research career, in many cases also hoping to be agents of change. Senior people acting as mentors play a central role in the development of a research career in such contexts, playing out through the intersection of intercultural relationships with the complex social, political and policy environment of Indigenous affairs and research (Memcott 2016).

7.7 Marn.gi ni ‘to be knowledgeable’

All throughout the time that I lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra, England visited my camp in the evenings. We would drink tea and smoke cigarettes and catch up with the day’s events. I would often ask him to tell a story, sometimes to elaborate on something he had mentioned during the day, and sometimes he embarked on a topic that occurred to him. Listening back years later to the full set of recordings, I hear primarily monologic discourse from these interactions. This discourse style was, of course, very different from the kind of conversational narrative that occurred around the campfire among family groups. Along with the everyday conversation that shaped our own interactions there were many questions and answers on a range of topics that I asked him about. However, the style of Banggala’s discourse in the recordings I made of him was centred

¹⁵¹ That is apart from a Yabadurrwa prelude event on a moonless night at Gochan Jiny-jirra in 1997, when the sacred objects were taken from storage prior to a ceremony held near Bulman. This was conducted by the men – I crouched under a blanket with a group of terrified and wailing women and children.

around him as a single teller. The tape recorder would be there, and when the time was right, Banggala would assent to me turning it on. Often this assent was implicit through the physical cues of a change in conversational footing (Goffman 1981). I would reach over to the tape recorder and position the notebook. His body posture would align with the shift: he would move his cup of tea closer, light a cigarette and talk. Banggala sometimes addressed me and I occasionally asked questions, but more often I was a silent audience. When I did ask questions, he would always respond, but these did not always form answers. After a while I accepted that I didn't understand much of what he said at the time, and gave him room to speak. I recorded his monologues and kept notes as well as I could. Occasionally he'd comment on our efforts to teach and learn together, with 7:9 a typical example:

7:9	<i>marn.gi nyini barra,</i> <i>nyinda</i> - <i>aya</i>	you will understand, and you'll say, yes, I see
-----	--	---

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It is worth considering what Banggala may have meant by such statements. The meaning of the word *marn.gi* aligns with senses of the English words 'knowledge' and 'understanding'. It is an evaluative term, used when people have already been appraised of a situation or news event, such as *gipa marn.gi ngaypa* 'I already know'. *Marn.gi* can also reference an observable (perhaps assessable) level of language knowledge, cultural competency or any other skill (e.g. *nipa marn.gi gun-gata* 'she or he knows about that thing'). Here it is used to evaluate the competency someone is able to demonstrate when, say, naming an animal or splitting pandanus leaves, having been taught these things. There is an implicit social dimension of *marn.gi*, the state of knowing and understanding that has been developed through mentoring, instruction and direct observation. This harks back to Rosie Jin-mujinggul's authentication of her tellership for stories about traditional funerals in 6:5:xii, where she states *ngaypa belabila marn.gi, wurra an-dakal gala marn.gi* 'I know the platform burials, but I don't know warfare'. This self-assessment is grounded in life experience and direct observation, and is also constitutive of one's status as an authentic commentator on certain topics.

To illustrate how ‘knowing’ can be constituted within an intercultural relationship, during my first week of living at Gochan Jiny-jirra I was invited to go hunting for *barnda* ‘long-necked turtles’ at Barlparnarra swamp. A large group went on the hunt, led by the senior women, the experts in the game. Over a long day of hunting in the swamp the women caught a large number of turtles. These were then prepared and roasted in a series of ground ovens beside the paperbarks fringing the swamp. It was a feast for many people. I found the heat and exertion challenging but also enjoyed the opportunity to learn the anatomy of turtles, the processing and culinary verbs and the names of plants used to line and flavour the ground ovens. I drew diagrams, recorded people talking about turtles and took notes on the social composition of the group. Since that day in 1993 people who were on that hunt with me still raise it as a conversational topic, recalling humorous details – how I dropped my camera in the water, how sunburnt I was, how I lost my hat, how my skirt caught alight on the campfire. One statement that is reprised is *nginyipa marn.gi barnda ya?* ‘You know about turtles don’t you?’ This is partly a joke, given my ineptitude on the day, but one mixed with recognition of the teaching and learning that happened as the old ladies demonstrated their hunting prowess.

Another feature of these conversations is the listing of the old ladies, who are now deceased. As discussed in 6.2.4, the listing of kin is a powerful evaluative strategy in Gun-nartpa narrative, one that invokes the matrix of relationality that underpins the Gun-nartpa lifeworld. Thus, the event is discussed in a way that is iconic of the social arrangements that framed it. Teaching me about *barnda* is, for the people who were children on that trip and now remember it fondly, part of those arrangements, and my understanding is referenced accordingly. This is an intercultural analogue of how Gun-nartpa people view the ways that young people are socialised into the knowledge that they need to live (cf. Etherington 2006). They refer to the senior people who raised them using the idiom of instruction: *bama ng-galiyarra* ‘my care-giver’ and *gelama-gelama an-gubay* ‘teacher, mentor, instructor’ (cf. Mirrikurl 2014:129). These terms are built upon the body part words which represent knowledge (*bama* ‘head’) and comprehension (*gelama* ‘ear’). To ‘listen with one’s head’ is to really learn, and to ‘eat someone’s ear’ is to socialise in the mode of instruction. Thus, *marn.gi ni* ‘to be knowledgeable’, is an evaluation of a person that not only refers to what they know, but

indexes how they came to know it; a function of the social relationships that formed the matrix for the development of that knowledge.

7.8 Conclusion

The sociality of intercultural encounters is framed by mentoring relationships, such as those that develop between ‘researchers’ and ‘consultants’. Few researchers can feasibly proceed without such mentoring, yet the presentation of the ‘knowledge’ that results from such engagements reveals the tensions between the often de-narrativised accounts that appear as peer-reviewed theses, journal articles and books, the pre-eminent genres that count towards an academic career. In this respect, my objective – to take full account of the diversity of communication practice and topics represented in my corpus of recordings – ran counter to the preferences of the Gun-nartpa. This points to ethical dimensions of criteria, judgement and action which framed our alliance. These all required a modulation of the expectations of the Western-trained linguist and more careful attention to local practices and priorities (Moran 2016). It was these local priorities that again came to bear upon my own expectations when I returned to the community in 2010 to repatriate the recordings I had made during that early period.

In the next, and final, chapter I discuss Gun-nartpa responses to these recordings. I contend that their significance gained potency when they were situated with photographic images. These configurations cued recognisable genres of text and narrative, such as history and biography, and ultimately led to the publication of a compilation of transcribed, translated and interpreted stories, derived from the recordings and accompanying photographs and artworks.

8. Returns

8.1 Introduction

Banggala passed away in 2001 and, around this time, so did many of the older Gun-nartpa people. I was based in Alice Springs raising my two daughters by that time. Occasionally I saw Matthew An-mungak when he visited Alice Springs for his studies at Batchelor Institute and through him I heard news about the Gun-nartpa families throughout the 2000s. In late 2009 I decided to approach them about repatriating the recordings, hoping to also recommence a study of their language as part of the *Gun-nartpa Recordings Repatriation and Archiving project*. I prepared a selection of recordings that I felt would be of interest to the family and that also could be developed as texts for linguistic analysis. This selection represented nearly all of the senior people whose voices I had recorded in 1993-96: Banggala, Harry Litchfield, Jane Litchfield, Rosie Jin-mujinggul, Charlie Mawundanga, Michael Burrurbuma, Terry Ngamandara, Beryl Mbernama, Jack Jack Dimangga, Mary Karlbirra and Jedda Gurnangaluk. Alongside these recordings I scanned photographs that I had taken at Gochan Jiny-jirra and made copies for family members.

This chapter describes the encounters I had with the Gun-nartpa when I returned to Maningrida in 2010, and offers some reflections on the meaning of the artefacts that I took back with me. The title is a nod to James Clifford's book of the same name, in which he discusses Indigenous survival and the dynamics of Indigenous identities in the era of globalisation (Clifford 2013). Clifford writes of the decentering of the Western academic paradigm and, as an anthropologist "being identified as a ... purveyor of partial truths ... a difficult but ultimately enriching experience" (Clifford 2013:2). In recounting the historical roots of his career in anthropology through the 1960s Clifford writes, "[m]ost academic writing, including my own, never questioned the liberal privilege of 'making space' for marginal perspectives" (Clifford 2013:3). I don't claim to have effaced this privilege in my own work; however, I mention this here as acknowledgement of the ongoing project of resolving the 'colonial art' of fieldwork-based academic research (Bell 2009) into a decentralised, equitable and creative

framework for collaborative research practice (Dickson 2015). Given that this project is emergent and contested, this is a placeholder while I attempt to represent the nature of the intercultural collaboration that has given shape to this work. This involves the management of resources and tasks across stages of a collaborative project – one that developed from an apparently simple repatriation exercise (§8.2) into the community publication project called *Gun-nartpa Stories* (§8.4). Central to this are the prosaic – yet complex – matters of project funding, payment for consultants and administrative responsibilities. I discuss some of these matters in §8.3. I conclude this chapter with a re-consideration of the research questions that emerged in the early stages of the Gun-nartpa Stories project and were introduced in §1.1.

8.2 Repatriation and response

Throughout the first half of 2010, as I set up digitising equipment, trialled digitising tapes and reconciled legacy metadata, I made contact with family members from Gochan Jiny-jirra, focusing these efforts on three key people: Dorothy Galaledba, Katy Balkurra Fry and Rose Ngardiny Darcy. My first visit to Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra was for one week in September 2010 and I took with me the full set of digitised recordings. I also had the selected clips on an iPod and some CDs with recordings copied on to them. I brought several sets of prints of the scanned photographs with me too.

Soon after arriving in Maningrida I walked to the White House at Side Camp to visit Dorothy Galaledba. Despite the long period of absence she greeted me warmly. She laid out a mat under the tree next to the house and we sat. She introduced me to some of the family. There was Germaine, the toddler she'd raised after her sister passed away in 1992 who was now grown to adulthood. Alongside him was his brother Jeremy; they approached smiling and we shook hands. There were several young women – teenage girls really – gathered around the tree too. Germaine and Jeremy remained at a distance. Dorothy told me she had received my letter, as had Rose and Katy, and the family had talked about my visit. The project could start; in fact, the family had already delegated Patrick Muchana and Katy to work with me. I asked Dorothy if she would like to listen to her father. She said *ngaw* 'yes', so I handed the iPod to her and scrolled to the

playlist of Banggala's clips, selecting the first one. Dorothy put the headphones on and listened for a while.¹⁵²

As Dorothy listened to the story I took in the group around me, especially the young women as they sat together, phones in hands, earbuds in ears. They were shifting their attention between each other, their phones and the wider view. The White House was a good vantage point to observe comings and goings, with clear lines of sight towards the football oval, the Town Hall, the access roads into Top Camp and the main road out of town. One of the young women moved over to look at the iPod screen, and Dorothy handed it to her. It moved through the group then, as the women took turns to briefly listen. The responses were muted: some of them smiled, others looked puzzled and there was some conversation with Dorothy as they asked who was speaking. They passed it among themselves, and as they did, resumed what they'd been doing, talking to each other, listening to their phones, occasionally calling out to others. These young women probably had only known Banggala as small children. He was their kin, yet someone who would be classed as *an-muwelamagapa* 'a male ancestor'. I didn't know anything about how this younger and more urban generation felt about people from the past, and to what extent they linked their identities with these old people.

I couldn't tell how the recordings affected Dorothy either. What could I read from her low-key response? Was I seeing respect for deceased kin? Did it cause her grief? Was she accommodating me? Sitting back and watching the family sitting together and sharing the iPod, I felt a sense of juxtaposition between the recordings on the iPod and whatever it was that the women were listening to on their phones. After months of preparation I was facing the test of my assumptions about the value of the recordings, and already in this first encounter I could see that the recordings weren't enough on their own. Feeling awkward, I fumbled in my bag, brought out the photographs and handed them to Dorothy. Some were in an envelope labelled *Gun-nyagara Gu-ni* 'deceased'. She pulled them out, riffled through them and found photographs of her

¹⁵² The story I selected for Dorothy to listen to that afternoon was discussed in Chapter 1, and eventually published as *Walkup barra nyirrinyi-ni, wangarr nyirri-ma barra* 'We will walk up to look at the Ancestral sites' (Banggala, 2014a).

parents and other members of the family. Her demeanour changed immediately. She called to Germaine and Jeremy with kin terms: *jaminya jaminya!* '(it's your) grandfather (MF)', *mununa mununa!* '(it's your) granny! (MM)'. Everyone gathered to look at the photos, calling others over. Soon there was a large crowd, and the young girls used their phones to take photos of the photos. The family laughed and teased Germaine about the photos of him as a baby, sitting with his bottle in his mouth next to his big brother Kelvin, and laughing with his *mununa* Mary Karlbirra as they posed for the camera.

This pattern of response was repeated during the week as I shared the recordings and the photos with other family members in Maningrida and at Gochan Jiny-jirra. Did the family want to listen to them? As the week went on, people said yes. However, no-one really spent much time listening to the recordings, everyone wanted to look at and talk about the photos. The family immediately connected with them. No-one felt that photos of the deceased should be hidden from view. People wanted copies and they used their phones to make their own. They sent them to other family members by Bluetooth. Throughout the week I encountered people who told me they had seen the photographs. But what about the recordings? These received little comment in those first encounters.

Later that week I visited Gochan Jiny-jirra and spent two days with Patrick Muchana and his elder brother, Crusoe Batara. They spent time recollecting the past – not only the members of their own family but other *balandas* who had lived and worked at the outstation. They took me to visit the graves of England Banggala, Mary Karlbirra, Jane Banyala Litchfield, Laurie Malabinbin and Jack John Dimangga. They lie close to the camp, just outside the circle of houses. They talked about the funerals for the old people who I had known, including Harry Ngamandara Litchfield, buried at Bolkdjam, Rosie Wanggacha, buried in Maningrida, and Rosie Jin-mujinggul and Charlie Mawundanga – both at Ji-balbal. Crusoe and Patrick showed me collections of photographs and letters that they kept at home. There was a collection of photographs from Wallace Blackley, who was the school teacher at Gochan Jiny-jirra during the 1980s, showing Harry, England, Jack John, Terry, Mary, Jane and others as their younger selves, and the current adult generation in the family as children. I had already seen some of these photos at Gochan Jiny-jirra in the 1990s. I remembered back to Jack John Dimangga's

house in 1993-94 and the Australian Labor Party campaign poster for Bob Collins that he kept on his wall. This was one of his most valued possessions, one that embodied the intercultural friendship between these men. Edwards writes on the significance of photographs as ‘relational objects’, and their power in accessing sensory modes that lie beyond the merely visual. Photographs of family members are ‘tactile, sensory things that exist in time and space, and thus in embodied cultural experience’ (Edwards 2006:28).

One evening Crusoe brought out his copy of Roslyn Poignant’s book *Encounter at Nagarralamba*, which she published following her repatriation of Alex Poignant’s photographs taken during a visit to the Liverpool River in 1952 (Poignant 1996). Crusoe and Patrick pored over Poignant’s book with me, naming people and places in detail. Crusoe talked also about Donald Thomson’s photographs he had seen in books, and the film *Ten Canoes* (Heer & Djigirr 2006), which presented cinematic imagery quoting photographs taken by Thomson in the Arafura Swamp in the 1930s (Thomson 2005; Wiseman 1996).¹⁵³ Ideas from these representations of early encounters filtered into our own discussions of the past, as we listened to the recordings of deceased family members, transcribing and translating these into written form.¹⁵⁴

Through these conversations we began to conceive the idea for our project. I had already outlined my plan with Patrick and Crusoe to archive the recordings for long-term preservation and to develop them as a language corpus. I had described how I wanted to keep going with learning and writing about the language. I had seen

¹⁵³ *Ten Canoes* was filmed near Ramingining, just to the east of Gochan Jiny-jirra, and involved family members as cast. It is also important to bear in mind that Gun-nartpa people had been involved in projects with de Heer’s collaborator David Gulpilil since the late 1960s. For example, Banggala and Karlbirra’s talented son Talbert Gajok Bamadjurra (†c. 1975) performed alongside Gulpilil at the launch of the Australia Council in 1973 (England et al. 2014). He and his brothers were well known as dancers and travelled the world with celebrated didjeridu player David Blanas and other well-known performers.

¹⁵⁴ The stories we listened to during that week included England Banggala’s program for documenting An-nguliny clan estates, the same recording I played for Dorothy at the White House in Maningrida (Banggala 2014), one of Harry Litchfield’s stories about An-dakal tribal war (Litchfield 2014a), an account of how funerals were conducted in the past by Rosie Jin-mujinggul (Jin-mujinggul 2014) and one of England Banggala’s descriptions of the creator being Ji-japurn (Banggala 2014b).

repatriation as a key step in this process, and had written in my research proposal that I aimed to do this in ‘real terms’ by making sure that family members had opportunities to listen to and engage with the recordings (see Appendix 3.4). The longer I spent at Gochan Jiny-jirra however, the more I saw the very real limits in the outstation context – as well as within the town of Maningrida itself – for people to easily access repatriated cultural material in digital form (Carew 2011).¹⁵⁵ Without a reliable digital access mode apparent, I wondered how we could achieve repatriation of the digital recordings ‘in real terms’ as I had conceived. As we alternated between listening to the recordings, looking at the books, talking about the past and dealing with a number of social and technical challenges along the way, I asked Patrick what he thought was the best way to bring the recordings back to the community. He said, ‘*Jurra* (paper) is best’ (Carew 2011). Patrick’s preference was a realistic one: books don’t need batteries or electricity, they age gracefully and keep working even when quite degraded by environmental conditions (First Languages Australia 2015). More importantly, a book is a familiar mode of representing knowledge, and holds the prestige associated with the history of the Burarra Bilingual Program at the school, the many artbooks and exhibition catalogues that celebrate the artists of the Maningrida region and the format of historical and biographical texts. A book with family photos and stories is, to repeat Edwards’ phrase, “a tactile, sensory thing” that extends the prestige of this format into the memorialisation of family members (Edwards 2006:28). For Crusoe, Patrick, Raymond and other Gun-nartpa people who joined in the project, this was powerful motivator for undertaking language research. It was work situated within the same set of expectations and practices that framed this intercultural alliance from the very outset.

¹⁵⁵ One example relates to two films made by Darwin based filmmaker Will Tinapple with the Gochan Jiny-jirra school and community in 2007 and 2008 (Tinapple 2007, 2008). Many people mentioned these films to me during my 2010 visit, including the fact that they had won the ‘film of the decade’ people’s choice prize at the 2009 Darwin *Fist full of Films* film festival (Australian Broadcasting Commission 2009). Despite the enthusiasm for these films no-one had a copy of the DVD. Crusoe Batara thought that there would be copies in the school but we were unable to locate them. I eventually located copies directly from the filmmaker.

8.3 Project resources and responsibilities

As I was preparing materials throughout 2009, I also applied for a small research grant through my employer, Batchelor Institute. This was for funding for me to travel to Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra, along with some money to pay consultants to work with me on reviewing the recordings and transcribing and translating a set of texts that I had selected. Subsequently our project received funding over two years from the Australian Government's Indigenous Language Support program (2012-2013) and a small grant from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (2012). This presented a different scenario from my original fieldwork period in 1993-94, when I had few means of paying language consultants and depended mainly on their generosity in teaching me. Back then, I had always felt that transcription and translation work was beyond the scope of generosity and I had not asked people to undertake this work without payment when I lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra.¹⁵⁶ By 2009 my employment at Batchelor Institute had both developed my capacity to work collaboratively with Indigenous people in remote communities and provided a conduit towards accessing government and benevolent funding as part of my employment role. These were factors in the design of the digitising and repatriation project of 2010-11 and the subsequent expansion of this as the Gun-nartpa Stories project in 2012-15. For each of these stages of the project, funds for consultants were built into budgets.

¹⁵⁶ I asked consultants to assist with transcriptions and translations on a few occasions while living at Gochan Jiny-jirra. These were mainly questions about word meaning that arose during my early transcription efforts. My main focus was taking notes and recording the topics and other metadata related to recorded material as session notes. The session notes were valuable during the later documentation phase and continue to be to this day. During my subsequent employment at Maningrida Arts and Culture between 1995-96 I undertook a more formal employment role within an environment where art was bought and sold and cultural documentation of the work was ascribed commercial value. There were resources available for transcription and translation of some texts from England Banggala and Terry Ngamandara on the topic of their artwork along with several texts about fibrearts and on oral history topics (West et al. 1995). I benefited from the knowledge of Peter Danaja who was employed at Aboriginal Heritage Officer at MAC at that time and who assisted greatly with transcription, translation and cultural interpretation. However, most of the transcription and translation work on the recordings I made in 1993-96 was done as part of the Gun-nartpa Stories project and funded by project grants.

In many respects, project planning and budgeting in relation to language consultant payments represents a shift in research practice, and this is especially the case where this intersects with community-oriented work. These shifts accompany the growing awareness of the ethical responsibilities of researchers that undertake fieldwork in relation to the rights of community stakeholders (AIATSIS 2012; Austin 2010b). The set of stakeholders in relation to a set of tape recordings clearly includes those who hold rights in the content of language recordings, such as family members and knowledge custodians. It also includes those who contribute their time to working alongside researchers in transcribing and translating recordings and adding value to them in various ways, such as by recording additional explanatory content. As Austin writes,

Even if speakers are extremely enthusiastic and want to come and sit with us for hours to teach us their language, they are usually doing so at a cost to themselves. Instead of sitting with the researcher, they could be out fishing, earning a livelihood, working in their fields or helping their aged relatives. There are complex issues with compensating people for their time and expertise, and sensitivity to local norms is required (Austin 2010b:40).

In terms of local norms in the Northern Territory context, payment is usually expected for time on task for language research work. There is also a normative orientation towards the (sometimes token) payment of custodial rights holders. For example, during a fieldwork period in 2013 I worked closely with Crusoe Batara and Raymond Walanggay in consulting widely on the draft manuscript of *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* 'My Country' as it existed at that time. Batara and Walanggay were keen to make sure that all senior members of the Gun-nartpa speaking kinship network had the opportunity to speak about their clan and country affiliations and in some cases to contribute additional historical detail to the project. Through this work we met with a number of senior people. Some recorded an oral account as audio or video and of these recordings some excerpts were included in the publication project (e.g. Mirrikurl 2014; Ngurarraparlija 2014; Wungkara 2014). Some of these people did not contribute material, but we paid them for their involvement with a small cash amount. They were also integrated into the book, either through their stories or with a photograph and short profile in the introductory section (England et al. 2014:xi-xx).

There is also an expectation of social exchange within the alliance-based relationships that underpin much intercultural collaboration in the Northern Territory context (Christen 2009). Such expectations can be that researchers will make themselves available to assist with various tasks and provide access to resources such as transport, food, filling in forms, advocacy with government departments, and so on. During my time at Gochan Jiny-jirra I had become used to this form of social exchange and I saw it as a way of compensating people for the time and effort they spent teaching me. It increased the amount of time I could spend with people learning language, cultural matters and general life skills. For example, while I lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra and subsequently while working for Maningrida Arts and Culture I got into the practice of assisting Mary Karlbirra and Rosie Wanggacha with collecting and processing pandanus. This assisted them to some degree and provided opportunities for sociable interaction. Along the way I learned much about their arts practice and the nomenclature around it (West et al. 1995).

While such opportunities meant that I could spend long periods of time with people in the 1993-96 period, my life had changed considerably by 2010. I had children of my own, had a range of work duties through my employment and lived a long way from Maningrida. Along with the contraction of my available time came an increase in material resources that I held personally or administered through my employment role as a language project manager. This shifted the balance in what I could contribute socially, and increased the financial and administrative responsibilities I held in relation to the work. While the various project grants provided for hourly payments, these funds were quite limited. I knew that I needed to use resources – including time – judiciously. Accordingly, I was careful throughout my early consultations about the project at the commencement of the two major funding stages, aiming for transparency in this consultations in relation to the amount of funding that was available and the range of project tasks. As I was preparing to approach the Gun-nartpa, especially the close family members of the people I had worked with, I also consciously adopted a stance towards the project that both recognised the value of the cultural material embodied in the recordings and the professional status of the tasks involved. According this work professional status is indeed a true reflection of the quite complex tasks involved in language documentation from both the perspective of a trained linguist and local

knowledge holders. As discussed in §3.5.3 and §4.2 local participation in language research aligns with socio-economic roles that have developed out of Bible translation and educational work; hence it was no accident that the Gun-nartpa delegated two key people in 2010 to lead the project. They were Patrick Muchana and Katy Fry – both experienced in Bible translation and literature production. Muchana and Fry undertook the formal component of the two main project consultations at the commencement of each new major stage of the project (Muchana in 2010 and Fry in 2012). Rose Ngardiny Darcy – qualified bilingual teacher and teacher-linguist – joined the project in 2013 and led the final consultation on the manuscript draft in May 2014, when the draft was shown to senior Gun-nartpa people and their family members. Appendix 3 includes plain language statements and transcriptions of recordings from the 2010 and 2012 consultation sessions.¹⁵⁷

Financial accountability and project administration that takes account of a diverse range of participants and their roles and rights – these are basic job roles for a community project (Yamada 2007). They are as essential as linguistic skills within the management of the complex series of tasks involved in community-oriented documentation project (Truscott 2014; Owalsky 2014). The dynamic and contingent nature of research and community collaborations also highlights the value of long term relationships between communities and researchers (Curran 2013; Treloyn & Emberly 2013). Through such extended alliances, community members have multiple opportunities to assess the capacity, sensitivity and trustworthiness of researchers through interactions and dialogue; as has been observed by others in comparable scenarios (see Barwick et al. 2005; Treloyn & Emberly 2013 for discussions). In simple terms, positive experiences of interactions between researchers and community stakeholders provide the basis for further collaboration and knowledge-sharing practices mediated through intercultural

¹⁵⁷ The 2010 consultation related only to the repatriation and archiving of the Gun-nartpa recordings from 1993-96 and Patrick Muchana was the family delegate involved in providing consent around archiving and access. Crusoe Batara was also present at this session. For the 2012 consultation I discussed the plain language statement for the Gun-nartpa Stories project with a number of family members both in Darwin and in Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra. However Katy Fry was delegated to provide the overall consent, due to her recognised status as a literacy practitioner.

relationships are often highly valued in the shared social spaces that emerge through such collaborations (Amagula & McCarthy 2015; Bowman et al. 1999; Disbray 2015b; Ford & Klesch 2003).

Value-laden discourses centred on intangible concepts such as ‘trust’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘respect’ are also interwoven through projects involving the archiving and repatriation of valued cultural property. These discourses reflect aspects of collaboration that may accrue through long-term alliances between researchers and community members yet which are subject to the contingencies brought by time and changes in life circumstances (Curran 2013). Such concepts also index ethically complex dimensions of intercultural collaboration that are locally nuanced and must, in many cases, be negotiated *in situ* (Treloyn & Emberly 2013). Treloyn and Amberley note the guidance provided by AIATSIS and other organisations in relation to the importance of collaborative relationships between institutions, researchers and communities, however write that, “[d]ifficulty lies in the fact that the relationships that are formed and grow between institutions, organizations and individuals in the context of repatriation projects are infinitely varied” (Treloyn & Emberly 2013:164). Given this variation, it is far to say that the locally situated qualitative assessments of the value of the collaborations are also highly varied and dynamic. Furthermore, within this variation lies a wide spectrum of risk for both community members and researchers. Treloyn & Emberly (2013) identify a number of risks involved in repatriation projects, such as the potential to do harm to the knowledge systems by supporting the reification of otherwise evanescent traditions, and the possibility of undermining or bypassing the control of local authorities over access to knowledge that has been recorded. In addition, consultation processes may “place onerous responsibility on individuals to make decisions that affect the community ... and can give rise to inequities within the community” (Treloyn & Emberly 2013:163).

Compounding such risks is the potential for miscommunication within the consultation process, and thus it is also important to foreground the cultural framing of the concepts deployed within these collaborative dialogues (Holcombe 2015; Wierzbicka 1992). The discussion of the meaning of such concepts, including the investigation of translation equivalents is one means of improving the efficacy of consultation discussions on such

matters as ‘informed consent’ and ‘access rights and restrictions’. I illustrate this point with an example from a consultation session about the Gun-nartpa Stories project with Katy Fry. I recorded part of our conversation about the project, following the script of the plain language statement developed for the project and approved by the Batchelor Institute Internal Research and Ethics Committee (see Appendix 3.3). Prior to starting the recording of the formal part of the session, we had already had a conversation about the objectives, funding and management of the project, as provided in the plain language statement. This was to ensure that the meaning of the terms used in this document were clear as I didn’t believe that the written English in the document aligned with either the lexicon or grammar of the variety of Aboriginal English used by people in the Maningrida region. The document contained words and phrases relating to complex ethically-configured notions such as ‘confidentiality’, ‘property’, ‘access restrictions’, ‘consultation’ and ‘agreement’ – all of which can be discussed in terms of related concepts within Gun-nartpa systems of knowledge and authority. Such concepts however, have culturally specific scope and do not always transfer easily into the context of repatriation, rights and access within a collaborative project of this type.

During the consultation session Fry offered Gun-nartpa phrasings of English terms as we discussed and elaborated on the meaning of key words and phrases. In the context of ‘informed consent’ I had asked Fry how to express the idea of ‘we fully understand’. KF supplied the expression, *marn.gi gu-gapa gu-guta*, literally ‘knowledge located way over there and just as far in the opposite direction’.¹⁵⁸ This expression covers the widest possible spatial extent - and could be translated as ‘everywhere’. It construes the state of shared understanding in spatial terms, which in turn invokes the spatial extent of a group of people gathered in one place, as for a meeting. This way of framing ‘we fully understand’ shifts the focus of meaning (as I had assumed it) away from an individual’s personal understanding of all the information required to make a decision about consent

¹⁵⁸ The expression *gu-gapa gu-guta* involves two demonstrative forms both inflected for local case to indicate their function as locations (in this instance in a metaphorically spatial field). *-gapa* is a distal spatial demonstrative and *-guta* encodes an oppositional meaning to an established reference point. See §G1.5.

(i.e. ‘informed consent’). Fry’s framing of the expression places the emphasis on social consensus rather than on an individual’s choice in making decisions.

These cross-cultural differences around the idea of ‘we fully understand’ have implications for the practice of gathering evidence of informed consent, often done through the signing of forms. While forms do serve a performative purpose within consultations, informed consent is best achieved through dialogue where information is explained and time is provided for consensus to be negotiated. The identification of differences in cultural assumptions around ethically framed concepts also highlights the responsibility placed upon community or family delegates such as Fry and Muchana. At critical points throughout our project they enacted an intercultural variation on the cultural authority invested in senior people, brokering decisions about access, archiving and publication of the cultural property represented by the Gun-nartpa recordings on behalf of other Gun-nartpa people. In turn, this represents a responsibility for researchers and institutional representatives who are involved in these intercultural decision making processes to ensure that collaborative decisions represent the best interests (as far as these can be gauged) of the wider set of community stakeholders involved in the project.

As an indication of how she viewed her role in the project, Fry stressed the relational character of the collaboration, using performative examples and reported speech to frame this interactionally (§6.2.3). 8:1 provides an example, in which she suggests that when we work together this will ensure that the project holds up under the scrutiny of others:

8:1	<i>like michpa, nyinda barra apala \</i> <i>like you talking for ngaypa ya \</i> <i>nyinda barra apala -</i> <i>- like wigipa barra jama arrji \</i> <i>and gun.gata michpa -</i> <i>- gala aburrynmiya -</i> <i>well nginyipa ngaypa arrnachichiya</i> <i>barra</i>	like, you say it like this to me as if you are talking to me, you say it like this to me let's work together and that thing (the possibility that people would say) they can't do that well you and I will watch each other
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Fry's description of collaboration emphasises the reality of wider social responsibility, including the possibility that others may question our decisions (by saying, *gala aburr-yinmiya* 'they can't do that'). She also brings the matter of scrutiny into the immediate interpersonal arena in which collaboration takes place and in which co-workers monitor each other (*arr-nachichiya barra* 'you and I will watch each other'). This construal evokes the way that Gun-nartpa people describe the situated process of teaching and learning, such as situations when a young girl is learning fibre crafts from her mother, by watching her example and practicing her skills (West et al. 1995).

This discussion has only touched on the ethical and practical complexities of intercultural collaboration in relation to cultural property (for fuller discussions see Barkan & Bush 2002; Dwyer 2006; Treloyn & Emberly 2013 *inter alia*). Speaking personally, as I proceeded with consultations in relation to the various parameters of collaboration relevant to the Gun-nartpa Stories project – participation, remuneration, rights, resources and permissions, selection of material etc. – I was constantly reminded of my own connection to the material. The Gun-nartpa team members openly expressed their respect for the fact that Banggala and others had spoken their words to me and this spirit has permeated the work we did together and the trust they placed in me to deal sensitively with their stories. In my mind, this reflects the shared respect that all of us – the Gun-nartpa and me – have for the 'old people'. This united purpose, the desire to put their words into the public domain and to celebrate the unique place they occupy in the history and culture of our shared intercultural world, was the essence of the 'ordinary ethics' that underpinned our project (Lambek 2010a).

8.4 *The Gun-nartpa Stories project*

The Gun-nartpa Stories project, and in particular the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* 'My Country', contributed to the construction of a Gun-nartpa cultural identity through the projection of iconic representations of traditional cultural forms. These are historicised through phases defined by contact with wider networks and their influences, and interpreted in terms of current social relations and knowledge practices. The honouring and remembering of elders is a key motif in how people practice continuity within

social identities based in *yakarrarra*, *rrawa* and *bapurrurr*. Indeed, *gapala yerrcha*, the old people talked about in the stories, as well as most of those who told the stories, are now gone, and on one level the book is a eulogy to them. In particular, the repatriation of the recordings links to family memorial practices relating to the storytellers themselves. These practices include traditionally oriented ways of commemorating the deceased through funeral rites and the bestowal of names, alongside of more contemporary practices such as displaying photographs, creating funeral booklets and adorning grave sites with brightly coloured plastic flowers and garlands in football team colours (England et al. 2014:50). From the earliest stages of bringing the recordings back to the community, the memorialisation of the storytellers became central to the project. This shaped the scope of the project, the way that the project team worked together and the form that the final publication took. The book builds upon the important social value placed on the role of old people projected through certain genres of storytelling, as stages for the performance of local identities focused on clan and country, framing these as resilient and continuing in the face of the rapidly changing intercultural landscape.

When Rose Ngardiny Darcy rose to speak about the book *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* at the launch in April 2015, she demonstrated that the meaning of the book, and the stories within it, must be interpreted in these terms:

It took many years before, for *gun-anngiya*; Margaret *jina-bona* in 1999, collecting the stories. *Gu-manga janguny burr-guta gu-manga* from elders, *awurr-ngaypa* tribe, Gun-nartpa people. Collecting *jinyini* stories, pictures *mu-manga*, then big break *jininya*. Big break *jininya* because we lost our elder. And *nipa arrburrwa michpa* landowner, and *mun-guna* in this photo *gipa a-jinyjirra* front. *Gun-ngaypa rrawa*, my country. And most of this book photos *mu-werranga aburr-yorrpuna*, they've gone, they've passed away, of our families. But it's good for our young generation, so grow up *aburr-ni barra gala barra* forget family. But *ngaypa* halfway *ng-guchkuchinga*, 2014. *Nguna-manga nyirri-bona mun-gata* last, finish *mu-ni m-bamana* this book. *Rrapa* I want to thank my brother Crusoe *rrapa* Raymond who worked with Margaret, spend time *aburr-ni* together. So

gurda rrapa thank you.

It took many years for this; Margaret came in 1999 [sic], collecting stories. She got stories from our elders, from my tribe, the Gun-nartpa people. She collected stories, and took pictures, then had a big break. She had a big break because we lost our elder. He was our landowner and his photo is here on the front. It is called *My country*. And most of the photos of the other people in this book, they are gone, they are our family who have passed away. But it's good for our young generation so when they grow up they won't forget family. I caught up half way in 2014. She got me last, and we went together as we finished the book. I want to thank my brother Crusoe and Raymond who worked with Margaret, spending time together. That's it, and thank you.

Rose Ngardiny Darcy's speech at *Gun-ngaypa Rrawa* 'My Country' book launch, 25 March 2015.¹⁵⁹

Indeed, the Gun-nartpa feel the loss of their old people very deeply. More and more, their passing is impacting on what it means to be Gun-nartpa, as newer forms of sociality are reflected in the changing signifiers of *bapurrurr*. Through the practice of *yakarrarra gun-gungurrja* 'the explanation of clan connections' the ancestral connection to country is still a central paradigm for identity, but it also draws from the history of residence in Maningrida, on outstations and further afield, where new connections between *yakarrarra* have emerged through wider social orbits. The wider networks of *bapurrurr* are affecting language identities as well. This can be seen in the effects of language contact in a multilingual society where notions of what it means to be 'the same' and what it means to be 'different' are in flux. Within this dynamic language ecology people manipulate complex multilingual repertoires as resources to index the shifting parameters of belonging (Singer & Harris in press; Vaughan & Carew 2015).

¹⁵⁹ Recorded by Jill Vaughan (20150325-launch-2-camera-compile-01).

Also entering this mix are more contemporary responses to change, where continuity is still a theme. New technologies are enabling different kinds of encounters with cultural material. Despite Mirrikurl's prediction that he might be the last of the Gun-nartpa group to sing the Yirrichinga clan songs there were songmen at his funeral (§4.5). Banggala's youngest son Allen Milyerr and the young Wurlaki singer Blake Carter stepped up to take over the role from Mirrikurl. This duo are following another of the available tracks in *jarlakarr gun-murra* 'the many pathways' consolidating the ancestral connection shared by the Yirrichinga Wurlaki/Djinang-speaking people from Gartji and the An-nguliny of Gochan Jiny-jirra. This is one that is a relationship between clan estates of *mariwartangu*, the connection between those related as mother's mother and her brother and, reciprocally, one's (sister's) daughters' children. This is an executive role, one in which men supervise the following of protocol by others who share the same polity (Clunies-Ross 1983). Carter's song repertoire has been bolstered through repeated listening to digitised copies of tape recordings of his *jungurda* 'father's father' George Barnbuma, who sang alongside Banggala and Mirrikurl at many ceremonies, when they were all alive and he was not even born. His mentor is Milyerr, who was an apprentice to the old songmen when they were alive. Carter is a new kind of digital scholar, taking advantage of the repatriation of archived recordings to extend his knowledge, using his mobile phone as a means of practising these songs by repeated listening.

Due to the rapid uptake of mobile phones as personal entertainment devices, media sharing is *de rigueur* among all age groups among the Gun-nartpa and others in Maningrida (Auld, Snyder & Henderson 2012), as indeed it is elsewhere in remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory (Carew, Green, Kral, Nordlinger & Singer 2015). Clips of songs such as the ones of Carter's *jungurda* live on in digital form via Bluetooth local wireless networks. People also constantly create new content, filming ceremonies, sharing audio files of *manakay* 'clan songs' and video clips of dancers. One day in 2015 I dropped in to visit some Gun-nartpa people at New Sub, the local name for a new housing development to the north of the Maningrida township. An Anbarra relative was visiting with them, and we had a quick chat. This was interrupted when his phone rang, ringing out in the form of *manakay*. As I caught the eye of someone else in the group, they gestured towards him with eyes and lips, saying *mun-*

nigipa manakay, murda ‘it’s his song, that one’. This is one small indication that *gungeka gun-maywa* ‘the new and the old’ continues as a dynamic orientation towards integrating the past with the contingencies of the present, always finding new ways to do that.

8.5 Challenges and prospects for collaborative language research in the Northern Territory context

Towards the end of writing this thesis, I read Paul Memmott’s reflections upon a career of intercultural practice in Indigenous affairs (Memmott 2016). He provides an account of the complexities faced by Indigenous leaders advocating for their rights; their persistence, consistency and patience in holding fast to what they value; and waiting for the right time, the right policy settings, to pursue their goals. Memmott draws on decades of service to native title research, cultural revitalisation and advocacy for the rights of Indigenous people within contexts shaped by the swinging pendula of government and settlement policies. He is one of a number of senior practice-led researchers who could be, perhaps, turned to for advice on the ethics of undertaking such work. Such advice might help a less experienced outsider find the balance between the colonialist orientations of bureaucracies and other mainstream interests, and the rights and interests of the Indigenous people that they work with. Memmott however concludes with the proposal that the ethical dilemma he faced in his early career remains unresolved. He asks “What is an ethically responsible role for outsiders to play in order that Aboriginal quality of life outcomes might emerge full of prospect, hope and meaning?” (Memmott 2016:101).

Memmott is not the only experienced researcher who has reflected on this dilemma in public discourse in recent years. Such reflections often perceive a failure of the potential for an improvement in the quality of life for Aboriginal people in remote Australia that was presented by the era of self-determination (e.g. Sutton 2005, 2009) and critique the short-term cycle of social policy in Indigenous affairs (Moran 2016). Closer to the Maningrida context, Altman has recently expressed the disappointment and frustration he feels about the swings in policy, economics and bureaucratic discourses that previously underwrote the hybrid economy of Mumeka, and the livelihoods of senior

Kuninjku artist John Mawurndjul and his kin. He writes:

What is undeniable is that after decades of engaging successfully with capitalism through their mediated arts practice of high domestic and global reputation, having fired their best entrepreneurial and individualistic shots, Kuninjku are again impoverished, as they were in the 1960s, and highly dependant on the state. Almost all lack Western education and norms – the supposed elixir for mainstream economic integration imagined by politicians, bureaucrats and others. And Kuninjku are unprepared for and uninterested in any precarious FIFO work that might be available in industries like mining or tourism on other people's country in Gove or Kakadu National Park (Altman 2016:296).

As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, participation in intercultural social networks based around shared tasks has provided historical affordances for language practice for a generation of Gun-nartpa people, along with those from other language groups in the Maningrida region. As a language practitioner and long-term employee of Batchelor Institute, an organisation nursed into being by bilingual education programs from the 1970s, I admit to feelings of frustration in relation to the abolition of the Burarra and Ndjébbana Bilingual Education programs in Maningrida. While the local aspirations for community controlled, first-language based instruction for children are evident, there is now an intensive focus on English literacy that dominates policy and implementational spaces (Disbray 2015b). There have also been consequent losses in opportunities for local adults to participate in training and livelihoods that are linked to locally empowered language research and development. In my hopeful moments, I wonder what could possibly come along in terms of a venue for applied language research and development where there are livelihoods for local people based on local knowledge. Indigenous Ranger Programs offer one such livelihood (Van Bueren, Worland, Svanberg & Lassen 2015) and in the Maningrida region the Djelk Ranger program provides much scope for optimism, as a local employer of people on country. One way that the Djelk program provides openings for the maintenance of local languages is by adopting 'culture' as an indicator category for assessing progress towards key targets (Ansell & Djelk Rangers 2015). Provided such valuable programs are sustained in the long term,

spaces for first-language-based literacy and learning practice will continue to exist at the community level. Like many areas of social service however, ranger programs are increasingly vulnerable to top-down policies and the vagaries of short-term funding (Altman 2016).

While family-based language socialisation practices remain strong, people living in the Maningrida region face increasing pressure from the mainstreaming and normalising discourses of governance, social service and educational programs. Alongside these pressures they have largely lost the livelihood base for outstation residence and the country-based intergenerational socialisation that this entails. This all has its impact upon language ecologies, and the meaning and significance of language research at the local level. These impacts present a set of complex challenges for the future of Indigenous people who live in the Maningrida region, and the cultural treasures that are their languages.

8.6 Coda

To conclude, I now reconsider the research questions that arose in the early stages of preparing this thesis and comment briefly on each.

What language research practices are relevant to people living in the remote Northern Territory context?

- For Gun-nartpa people, language research practice is normatively oriented towards the documentation of the knowledge of senior people, and framed in terms of teaching and learning.
- Language research is situated within local ideologies, relations and practices that frame the social meaning of narrative and other discourse styles.
- Specific people are recognised as authoritative on particular topics, and it is appropriate to consult with these people and the local organisations that represent them.
- Other research participants are linked socially to these experts, and by virtue of this, their knowledge base. For this reason, a good research method is to involve both younger adults and senior people in any language research activity.

- Language research is part of a knowledge economy where economic exchange is mandated. Where remuneration is not requested, appropriate or available other means of exchange should be negotiated.

In what ways do the diverse perspectives of collaborators influence the meaning, purpose and form of the outcomes produced through such practices?

- For linguists, an important perspective is the value placed on the collection of data for description and analysis within an academic framework, leading to scholarly articles, books and curated corpora.
- For local collaborators, language material and artefacts are commonly considered relational objects. Where deceased kin are recorded and represented within these artefacts, grieving and memorial practices are relevant to the purpose and form of outcomes from the research.
- Increasing recognition of diversity in perspectives is fostering diversity in the form of outputs. For example, hybrid outputs such as complementary academic and locally relevant publications (England et al. 2014) and cross-platform presentations (Auld 2002) are contributing to this diversity.
- There is a strong case for the creative transformation of language research practice, reflecting the creative and performative character of research encounters.

Given that the selection of material most ‘worthy’ of inclusion involves cultural and social values, how are such judgements framed, negotiated and reconciled?

- From commencement the recognition of formal protocols and respect for the guidance provided is essential (e.g. AIATSIS 2012).
- Research takes place in a relational context and so attention paid to the development of relationships is a worthy investment.
- Respect for cultural authority and local leadership along with a service model of language research provide opportunities for mutual benefits.

- Iterative practice in a relational context across multiple encounters and through an extended timeframe provides opportunities for communication and insight.

To what extent can analysis of situated practice in language documentation contribute to recognition of Indigenous knowledge holders' status in research?

- It contributes to a better understanding of the context of language documentation and the strategic stances of participants towards documentation activities and relationships in one set of circumstances.
- It provides both overt recognition and descriptive detail of the knowledge holders contribution to research and attributes authorship and rights to these contributions.

To what extent can this analysis contribute towards broadening the definition of research outputs produced from collaborative and empowered language research?

- This thesis takes an explicitly activist stance towards the recognition of the language research practices of Gun-nartpa people.
- It frames this work as an intercultural undertaking, a shared orientation towards knowledge, recording activities and the production of new knowledge; albeit from divergent cultural perspectives.
- It recognises the immense social benefits that accrue when Indigenous people and allied outsiders have the opportunity to work side by side on tasks that are relevant and meaningful to all parties.
- It proposes that there are alternative routes for research careers. Mine has followed a personal trajectory shaped by relationships and life circumstances, in which I have learned from senior Indigenous colleagues and Indigenist research, and integrated these perspectives with well-established research methods in language documentation, description, analysis and conservation. I have allowed for personal and socially mediated creative and relational processes to form and shape my research practice. This has enriched my understanding of the communication ecologies of

north-central Arnhem Land, and developed my capacity to interpret this knowledge for a range of audiences.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Abbreviations used for annotating and glossing language examples

-	In texts – level final pitch contour; indicates narrow pitch range over whole intonational phrase
	In interlinear glosses – stem level morpheme
	In standard orthography – prefix
--	Hesitation, truncation, false start
,	Prosodic edge marker within intonation unit
:	Subject acting on object (in transitive pronominal prefixes)
::	Listing intonation
!	emphatic speech
!...!	Marks an ideophone in transcribed speech
?	Fully rising final pitch contour (i.e. question intonation)
.	Marks separate semantic components of syncretic morphemes
[...]	Marks speech overlap
[...]	continuation of described gesture aligned with a speech utterance
/	Rising final pitch contour
\	Falling final pitch contour
+	Root level morpheme; marks the juncture between lexical nominal prefixes and their stems
+...+	Rhythmic repetition; speech form repeated as <i>beats</i>
÷...÷	Excited speech quality
<XX>	Inaudible, unclear
=	Extension prosody; clitic (in interlinear glosses)
=	Bound stem/clitic

>...<	Fast speech, a rush through
...	Agreement domain
1	First person (exclusive) ‘I’ not ‘you’
12	First person inclusive – ‘I and you’
2	Second person (exclusive) – ‘you’ not ‘I and you’
2 3	Second or third person (non-first person but indeterminate between ‘you’ and ‘he, she, it’)
3	Third person
A	Augmented number, alternative to marking as plural and used in categories where unit augmented and augmented oppositions exist
á	Prominent syllable in a prosodic phrase, outside default stress assignment
ADJ	Adjacent demonstrative form ‘in the adjacent space’
ADV	Prefix deriving an adverbial form (for prefix <i>burr-</i>)
ATT	Attention getter (eg. <i>ajay</i> ‘hey woman!’)
AV	Aversive suffix; aversive mood word <i>galaypa</i>
AW	Directional prefix on verb – away from deictic centre
C	Contemporary tense suffix/form
CAUSE	Verb stem formative, deriving a causative verb; + <i>gujima</i>
COMPL	Completive discourse particle (<i>ganapiya</i>)
CONJ	Conjunction (for <i>rrapa</i> ‘and’ and <i>rraka</i> ‘and so’)
CTF	Contrafactual suffix
DEM	Demonstrative (unspecified)
DER	Denominaliser/deverbaliser
DIST	Distal demonstrative – ‘far away; out of sight’
DU	dual, used to mark dual collective enclitic <i>yerrchapa</i> / <i>yerrnyjipa</i>
EC	Embedded clause
EMP	Emphasis (for suffixes <i>-ya</i> , and <i>-wa</i>)
EXC	First or second person exclusive – indeterminate between ‘I not you’

	and ‘you not I’
EXCL	Exclamation
f	Feminine (in free and bound pronominals)
FOC	Focus demonstrative ‘that thing we are talking about’
FUT	Future (glosses <i>barra</i> , future particle)
I, II, III, IV	Noun class, respectively male, female, edible and land
IDENT	Identificational demonstrative – ‘that which is identifiable’
IDEO	Ideophone in interlinear gloss
IMM	Immediate – glosses <i>guga</i> ‘suddenly, immediately’
IND	Individuation suffix/clitic <i>-pa</i>
INDET	Indeterminate
INT	Intransitive suffix
Loc	Local case (in combination with relevant noun class, ie. LocI, LocII, LocIII, LocIV)
M, F, S, Z, Sp	mother, father, son, sister, spouse – in glosses for kinship terms
N	Nominal word
NEG	Negative (negator/negative particle)
NOM	Free (‘nominative’) pronoun form
OBL	Oblique pronominal (expressing ‘dative’ and other non-core case roles)
OPP	Opposite demonstrative ‘position is opposed to deictic centre’
PC	Precontemporary tense suffix/form
pl	Plural number, an alternative to marking Augmented number in categories where there is no opposition between unit augmented and augmented oppositions
PL	plural, used to mark plural collective enclitic <i>yerrcha</i>
POSS	Possessive construction (used for body classifier possessive construction with pronominally inflected verb <i>-jirra</i> ; dependent forms of nominative pronouns)
PROX	Proximal demonstrative form ‘in the here space’

QU	Interrogative particle/tag
REC	Reciprocal suffix
REF	Dynamic demonstrative ‘oriented to an established reference point’
REL	Relational pronominal
REM	Remote demonstrative – ‘furthest extent in time or space’
RLS	Realis (marks tense for those verbal conjugations where no contemporary / precontemporary distinction is made)
sg	Singular
sp	species
SPEC	Specific to ... - glosses <i>waya</i> , an evidential modal operator
SUBJ	Subjunctive mood (used for mood words <i>minyja</i> and <i>yama</i>)
TO	Directional prefix on verb <i>-na-</i> : towards deictic centre
	Directional postposition <i>gurda</i> : towards deictic centre
UA	Unit augmented number
VBR	Verbaliser
X	Inaudible syllable

Appendix 2: Interlinearised texts

Chapter 2

2:2.	<i>walk up barra nyirrinyini / ngarlagijirra - nyirrinyjurrwa barra bridge / nyirrinyarrcha barra / jonamagijirra \</i>	we will walk up to Ngarla Gu-jirra we will cross the bridge we will go up onto the high ground we will go along... we will go along... we will walk up to Birduk Mu-yerrnyjiya ok
walkup walking nyirriny-jurrwa EXC.UAf-cross nyirriny-warrcha EXC.UAf-go.up nyirriny-bamba EXC.UAf-travel walkup walking manymak ok	barra FUT barra bridge EXC.UAf-cross FUT barra jonama gu-jirra EXC.UAf-go.up FUT <back 3IV-POSS:landscape> barra EXC.UAf-travel FUT barra nyirriny-ni birduk mu-yerrnyja+ya EXC.UAf-be <waterlily 3III-throw+INT:place>	Ngarla <tongue 3IV-POSS:place> barra bridge EXC.UAf-cross FUT barra jonama gu-jirra EXC.UAf-go.up FUT <back 3IV-POSS:landscape> barra EXC.UAf-travel FUT barra nyirriny-ni birduk mu-yerrnyja+ya EXC.UAf-be <waterlily 3III-throw+INT:place>

T06-04: 4880-20780

2:3. *guborlkanyjarri wangarr ama barra /* At Gu-borlanyjarri she will get the
*manymak * spirit
gatparra nyirrinyileba / ok
jurra abarnja barra / after we are finished
nyirrinyerrcha barra / after she puts it on paper
*ngart abanyjirra - two billabong * we will go up
to Ngart A-banyjirra, two
billabongs

Guborlkanyjarri	wangarr	a-ma	barra	manymak
<place>	spirit	3:3I-get	FUT	ok
gat+pa	barra	nyirrinyi-leba		
IDENT+IND	FUT	EXC.UAf:3-complete		
jurra	a-barnja	barra		
book	3:3I-put	FUT		
nyirrinyi-warrcha	barra			
EXC.UAf-go.up	FUT			
Ngart	a-banyja-rra	two	billabong	
<turtle	3I-submerged-PC:place>		waterhole	

T06-04: 48710-56580

2:4.	<i>jinyukurrjibarra / nguwu barra / next time muga barra jinyboy, yigapa \</i>	she will write it down I will give it she will take it when she goes there
	<i>when knockoff jinyini barra guguna wenga / muga barra jinyboy - jinybuyubuka barra - nipa muma jinyinaga:: muma jinyinaga::</i>	when she knocks off from here she will take it she will show it to her the one she calls mother her mother
	<i>jiny-wukurrja barra ngu-wu barra</i>	
	3II-write FUT 1:2 3-give FUT	
	next time mu-ga barra jiny-boy yi-gapa	
	3:3III-take FUT 3II-go TO-DIST	
	<i>jiny-buyubuka barra nipa muma jiny-yinaga</i>	
	3:3II-show FUT 3NOM mother 3-do.thus	
	<i>rrapa ninya \ ninyachila:: rrapa, jinigipa worlapacha \ worlapacha / rrapa, anurra \ worlapacha gigin \ worlapacha:: rrapa - anigipa / anigipa - anigipa an.gumarrbipa \ anigipa an.gumarrbipa -</i>	and her father her dad and her sister her sister and the male one her other sibling her sister and her... her husband her husband
	<i>rrapa ninya ninya=achila rrapa jin-yigapa worlapa=acha</i>	
	CONJ father father=3FOBL CONJ II-3POSS sibling=3fREL	
	<i>worlapa=acha rrapa an-wurra worlapa=acha gigin</i>	
	sibling=3fREL CONJ I-male sibling=3fREL another	
	<i>rrapa an-yigipa an-gu+marrba+pa¹⁶⁰</i>	
	CONJ I-3POSS <I-DER+take.care+IND: spouse>	

¹⁶⁰ The verb root for this derived nominal is *marrpa* ‘to take care’. There is a change in consonant length with the addition of the individuation suffix *+pa*, i.e. [p:] > [b]

<i>barra -</i>	then ...
<i>awurr-galiya rrapa mbina barra birduk,</i>	they will listen and see the
<i>like -</i>	waterlily, like
<i>ngaypa barra - munngaypa dreaming</i>	I will send my dreaming
<i>ngubalika barra \</i>	
<i>mun.gapa barra mbina \</i>	they will see it there in that far away place

barra	aburr-galiya	rrapa	mbi-na	barra	birduk
FUT	3A-listen	CONJ	3A:3III-see	FUT	waterlily
like	ngaypa	barra	mun-ngaypa	dreaming	
	1NOM	FUT	III-1POSS	ancestral.spirit	
ngu-balika	barra	mun-gapa	barra	mbi-na	
1:2 3-send	FUT	III-DIST	FUT	3A:see	

T06-04: 195610- 240440

Chapter 4

4:1	<i>an.guna burrguya</i> <i>agomarriya ajarl nguurrweya -</i> <i>nguwuma barra gaba ngubingurrja</i> <i>achila::</i> <i>an.ganak annga:: gomorla::</i> <i>gun.an.gaya an.ganak annga -</i> <i>like ama barra jinbenga ala \</i>	this one going around quickly as we talk anything we get we will explain to her, all different things, such as egret different things from whatever place like she will get it and she will ‘arrive’
-----	--	--

an-guna	burr-guya			
I-PROX	<ADV-nose: strongly>			
a-gomarriya	a-jarl	nguburr-weya		
3I-go.around	3I-go.quick	12A-speak.C		
ngubi-ma	barra gaba	ngubi-ngurrja=achila		
12A:3-get	FUT ADJ	12A:3-explain=3fOBL		
an-ganaka	an-nga gomorla			
I-kind	I-what egret			
gun-an+gaya	an-ganaka	an-nga		
IV-I+place	I-kind	I-what		
like	a-ma	barra jiny-benga ¹⁶¹	ala	
	3:3I-get	FUT	3II-arrive.INC	EMPH

¹⁶¹ I am not certain what this verb form represents - possibly the root is *bengga* ‘to arrive, emerge’ with an inceptive suffix *-nga*, but this has not been checked at this stage. The syllable *-la* is occasionally seen, possibly it is a discourse particle that provides emphasis. It is not attested as a verb suffix. This verb fits here semantically as ‘arrival’ is used in the context of learning, ie. ‘arriving’ at knowledge.

...	...
<i>rrapa jin.gunaga / im gotta properly im gettim \</i>	and this woman will get it properly
<i>like - guyina six month,</i>	In about six months
<i>jinyjeka barra gaba,</i>	she will return there
<i>rrapa mola gaba burrgorlk</i>	and then again come with her swag,
<i>rrapa marlaga jin-guyinda,</i>	and the woman she normally associates with ¹⁶²
<i>rrapa two him gonna livim here \</i>	and the two of them will live here

rrapa	jin-guna+ga		im	gotta	properly	im	gettim		
CONJ	II-PROX+EMPH								she will get it properly
like	gu-yina	six	month						
	3IV-do.thus	six	month						
jiny-jeka	barra	gaba							
3II-return	FUT	ADJ							
rrapa	mola	gaba	burr-gorlk	rrapa	marlaga	jin-guyinda			
CONJ	again	ADJ	ADV-swag	CONJ	group.place	II-kind			

T01A-08:27050-81201 - edited

4:2	<i>michpa rrapa Wallace, anykind nipa marn.gi</i>	Like Wallace as well, he knows everything
-----	---	--

michpa	rrapa	Wallace
like	CONJ	<name>
anykind	nipa	marn.gi
everything	3NOM	knowledge

T01A-08: 81556-86250

¹⁶² *Marlaga* is an clausal adverb that expresses the meaning of ‘part of an associated group’ when it modifies a predicate. In this instance it modifies the nominal indeterminate *jin-gu+yinda* ‘female type of thing’ (<*yinda* ‘do thus’) to express the meaning ‘her female associate’.

4:4 *ee like - birripa boborredi yerrcha::* yes, like, the Boborredi group
marradich:: the Marradich
*andirrijilaba still fit in aburnirra * the Andirrijilaba all fit in
arrburrwa annguliny rrapa to us, the An-nguliny and
*anagujalala * the Ana-gujalala
 ...

ee like birripa Boborredi=yerrcha Marradich
 yes 3ANOM <clan>=PL <clan>
 An+dirrijilaba still fit in aburr-ni-rra
 <I+clan> 3A-be-C
 arrburrwa An+nguliny rrapa Ana+gujalala
 1AOBL <I+clan> CONJ <LocI+clan>

like awurrbarrngumarra arrburrwa they joined in with us
*michpa rrawa ya * with respect to country
*gurrawa - burrbarrbuna * it (language?) put them on country
 ...
like - gunngardapa wengga like one language
awurrwena annguliny - gurrgoni / they spoke, the An-nguliny
 and Gurr-goni

aburr-barrnguma-rra arrburrwa michpa rrawa ya
 3A-enter-PC 1AOBL like country TAG
 gu-rrawa burr-barrba-na
 LocIV-country 3:2|3A-put-PC
 gun-ngardapa wengga aburr-wena
 IV-one language 3A-speak.PC
 An-nguliny Gurr-goni
 <clan> <language>

*gurrgoni rrapa gunartpa * Gurr-goni and Gun-nartpa
*rrapa ngaypa gunartpa nguweya * and I speak Gun-nartpa
*like anagujalala gunartpa awena * they Ana-gujalala spoke Gun-nartpa
*my father - anngaypa nyanyapa apa * my father (his clan)

Gurrgoni rrapa Gun-nartpa
 rrapa ngaypa Gun-nartpa ngu-weya

CONJ 1NOM <language> 1-speak.C
like Ana-gujalala Gun-nartpa a-wena
CONJ <clan> <language> 3I-speak.PC
my father an-ngaypa nyanyapa=apa
I-1POSS father=1REL

20130515-MM-02-02:190250-243140 (edited)

4:5

- MM *michpa - rrawa gun.gata -
nganyjuwa mulela \
jerda aburryinaga rrawa \
michpa rrawa gun.gata
CONJ country IV-IDENT
Nganyjuwa Mulela
<place> <place>
jerda aburr-yinaga rrawa
MMB 3A-do.thus country* like that place
Nganyjuwa and Mulela
they call that country *jerda*
(MMB)
- CB *yo -- gunngatipa jerda \
yo gun-ngatipa jerda
yes IV-EXC.UA.NOM MMB* Yes, it's our *jerda*
- MM *ngaypa same michpa gun.gata -
rrawa annguliny - jerda ngunanga \
rrawa \
but like - half ninya - rrapa half jerda \
like gun.gata, rrawa -
straight line gubupiya guboya \
gubupiyana nula right up \
gun.gapa end \
anbamburla nguwwumanga
nguwwurworkiya \
marn.gi \
michpa yianngiya -
like jechinawa jarlakarr \
jechinawa yigata - jarlakarr \
like jarlakarr jechinawa=
gochilawa \
gochilawa gun.gata nginyipa marn.gi -
mburla \
like gun.gata burrwa -
ananggiya agurrmurra rangga -
two rangga agurrmurra arrburra from -
jorrinyjurra rrapa gochilawa \
I'm the same with respect to
that,
I call the An-nguliny places
jerda (MMB)
but it's like half father and half
jerda, that country
there is a straight line going
down through those places
going right to the end
at that place where we always
collect mud mussels
do you know it?
to that place
it's a straight path,
a straight path to there
a straight path
down to the low ground
the low ground at that place
you know, called Mburla
at that place for them
he put religious items
he put two religious items for
them
at the high ground and the low
ground*

ngaypa same michpa gun-gata
 1NOM like IV-IDENT
 rrawa An-nguliny jerda ngu-nanga rrawa
 country <clan> MMB 1-do.C country
 bat like half ninya rrapa half jerda
 father CONJ MMB
 like gun.gata rrawa
 like IV-IDENT country
 straight line gu-bupiya gu-boya
 3IV-go.down.C 3IV-go.C
 gu-bupiyana=nula right up
 3IV-go.down =3OBL
 gun.gapa end
 IV-DIST
 an+bamburla ngubi-ma-nga nguburr-workiya
 I+mussel 1A:3-get-C 1A-do.always
 marn.gi michpa yi-anngiya
 knowledge like TO-something
 like jechinawa jarlakarr
 straight path
 jechinawa yi-gata jarlakarr
 straight TO-IDENT path
 gochilawa gun.gata nginyipa marn.gi Mburla
 low.ground IV-IDENT 2NOM knowledge <place>
 like gun.gata burrwa
 like IV-IDENT 3A.OBL
 an-anngiya a-gurrma-rra rangga
 I-something 3:3I-put-PC ceremonial.object
 two rangga a-gurrma-rra=arrburra from
 ceremonial.object 3:3I-put-PC=1A.OBL
 jorrinyjurra rrapa gochilawa
 high.ground CONJ lowground

...
like that's why ngayuripa / that's why all of us
like ngaypa nguyinanga burruwa / I always say to them,
nguworkiya -
*guwa * come here!

like	that's why	ngayuripa		
		1ANOM		
like	ngaypa	nguyina-nga =burruwa	ngu-workiya	guwa
	1NOM	1-do.thu-RLS=3AOBL	1-do.always	come.here

nyuwurrboypa and we all go together (when I say
 ... that)
jinngaypa mother jinang - jinyena my mother was Djinang, she spoke
*wurlak * Wurlaki
but - but
*anngaypa nyanyapa apa gunartpa * my father was Gun-nartpa

nyuburr-boy-pa	jin-ngaypa	mother
EXC.A-go-IND	II-1POSS	
Jinang	jiny-wena	Wurlak
<language>	3II-speak.PC	<language>
an-ngaypa	nyanyapa=apa	Gun-nartpa
I-1POSS	father=1REL	<language>

CB	<i>nipa bam agaliyarra \</i>	his father who raised him
	<i>gunartpa awaya \</i>	he spoke Gun-nartpa
nipa	bama a-galiya+rra ¹⁶³	Gun-nartpa a-weya
3NOM	<head 3I-listen+PC: caregiver>	<language> 3I-speak.C

¹⁶³ The past tense suffix is glossed as derivational here, as tense is invariable when this construction expresses this derived meaning.

4:6
DG

jinngardapa jinmanga,
*jiyganyja aybamana *
jinaganyj anajekarra, ngunyuna -
*annguliny trayb \ jinyininya *
jinyini /
*jinbapurrurr guwechana, yigatiya *
...
rrapa mala nyirrbun achila,
*ngayurra *

he got one woman
and took her away
he brought her here, she returned
she stayed with the An-nguliny
tribe
she looked for female relatives
there
and she linked to our clan,
all of us

jin-ngardapa	jiny-ma-nga	ji-y-ga-nyja	a-y-bamana
II-one	3:3II-get-PC	3:3II-AW-take-RLS	3I-AW-travel.PC
ji-na-ga-nyja	a-na-jeka-rra	ngunyuna	
3:3II-TO-take-RLS	3II-TO-return-PC	PROX	
An-nguliny	trayb	jinyi-ninya	jinyi-ni
<clan>	tribe	3II-be.PC	3II-be.PC
jin-bapurrurr	gu-wecha-na	yi-gata-ya	
II-kinship	3:3IV-search-PC	TO-IDENT-EMPH	

CB

awurrinybarrgakiyana michpa ngaypa
*bama nggaliyarra *

the two women integrated, (she
and) my own mother

aburriny-barrgakiya-na	michpa
3UAf-integrate-PC	like
ngaypa	bama ng-galiya+rra
1NOM	<head 1-listen+PC:caregiver>

20130517-DG-01: 105920-132360

4:8	<i>rembarrnga people and - ngalkbon:: buwan:: aa - jawoyn:: kuninjku:: nakara:: anbarra:: gunarda:: there now - gun.guna ngunyuna gun.ginda marngi \ gunyuna gun.ginda whole lot \ gun.guna - gun.guna this place - gunngaypa gapal gun.guna \ </i>	Rembarrnga people, and Ngalkbon, Buwan (Dalabon), Jawoyn Kunijku, Na-kara, An-barra, Gun-narda. there now, they all knew this place. they all were here this place here my country right here
-----	--	---

Rembarrnga people and	Ngalkbon	Buwan	Jawoyn
<language names>			
Kuninjku	Na-kara	An-barra	Gun-narda
<language names>			
there now	gun-guna	ngunyuna	gun-gu+yinda
	IV-PROX	PROX	IV-DER+do.thus
marngi	gunyuna	gun-gu+yinda	whole lot
knowledge	PROX	IV-DER+do.thus	
gun-guna	gun-guna	this place	
IV-PROX			
gun-ngaypa	gapal	gun-guna	
IV-1POSS	country	IV-PROX	

T60A-11:180-35296

4:9

DG

*ngika-- ngunyuna Maningrida,
yigap jinyjanyja abona *
awurribon -
jibalbal area,
awurrinybona -
right up jiyganyja aybamana,
*gochilawa side *
*gun.gaba - jiny-janyja *
*yurrwi awurrinybaman, yigapa *

not here at Maningrida,
over there he took her,
they all went
to the Ji-balbal area
the two of them went
right up he took her
to the sea on the other side
over there he took her
to Yurrwi, right over there

[pointing to the various locations as she names them]

ngika ngunyuna Maningrida

NEG PROX <place>

yi-gapa jiny-ja-nyja a-bona

TO-DIST 3:3II-take-RLS 3I-go.PC

aburr-bona Ji-balbal area abirriny-bona

3A-go.PC <place> 3UAf-go.PC

right up ji-y-ga-nyja a-y-bamana

3:3II-AW-take-RLS 3I-AW-travel.PC

gochilawa side

low.ground

gun-gaba jiny-ga-nyja

IV-ADJ 3:3II-take-RLS

Yurrwi abirriny-bamana yi-gapa

<place> 3UAf-travel.PC AW-DIST

CB

*second world war, nyborrwuja *

You know the Second World War?

Second World War ny-borrwa-ja

2-think-C

RW

in that area

in that area

MI

together

together

DG	<i>then awurribamana= gapa \</i>	then they went a long way, to there
	then awurr-bamana gapa 3A-travel.PC DIST	
CB	<i>aburrinyinanga / minyja na - jin.guna bulaybulay wenga jinabamana / old lady / jinybamana - join jinyini jinngayp - marn.gi? ngaypa mother \</i>	they did that try look, that woman came from a long way, that old lady when she came she joined with my mother, you know her?
	aburriny-yinanga minyja na 3UAf-do.thus.RLS SUBJ see jin-guna bulaybulay wenga ji-na-bamana old lady II-PROX far.REDUP from 3II-TO-travel.PC jiny-bamana join jinyi-ni jinngaypa marn.gi 3II-travel.PC 3II-be.PC II-1POSS knowledge ngaypa mother 1NOM mother	
MI	<i>jin.gochila jinbarrgakiya \</i> <i>jin.gurnimba \ gurnimba \</i>	she integrated with our mother group, the Gurnimba clan
	jin-gochila <II+belly: mother group> jin-Gurnimba Gurnimba II-<clan> <clan>	<i>jiny-barrgakiya</i> 3II-integrate
CB	<i>gurnimba \ nginyipa marn.gi? join aburrninya, nyiburrninya \</i> <i>birripa - birripa aburrnirra muma \</i> <i>mirwi \</i> <i>ny-borruwaja?</i>	you know the Gurnimba clan? they all joined we are all together (with) them they are the ones that are mother (to us), the Mirwi, you know?
	Gurnimba nginyipa marn.gi? <clan> 2NOM knowledge join aburr-ninya nyiburr-ninya 3A-be.PC EXC.A-be	

	birripa	aburr-ni-rra	muma	
	3ANOM	3A-be-C	mother	
	Mirwi	ny-borrwa-ja		
	<clan>	2-think-C		
DG	<i>mirwi</i>			the Mirwi clan
CB	<i>bat - nyirrbubitimanga / old man nyuwubitimanga \</i>			but, we all follow them
	<i>nyborrwuja - father side \</i>			we follow the old man
	<i>nginyipa marn.gi \</i>			you know, (her) father's side
				you know
	nyirrbu-bitima-nga	old man		nyibu-bitima-nga
	EXCpl:EXCpl-follow-C			EXC.A:3-follow-C
	ny-borrwa-ja	father side	nginyipa	marn.gi
	2-think-C	patrilineal	2NOM	knowledge
MI	<i>so ngayurrrpa yigatiya wenga, we bin mixed to us mob, we in one clan now \</i>			so us, from that, we are all mixed together in one clan now
	so	ngayurrrpa	yi-gata-ya	wenga
		1ANOM	TO-IDENT-EMPH	from
				we bin mixed to us mob, we in one clan now
				we are all mixed together as one clan now
CB	<i>gun.gaba we join nyiburrrnyiburrrni michpa \</i>			we have all joined together
	gun.gaba	we join	nyiburrrnyiburrrni	michpa
	IV-ADJ		EXC.A.REDUP-be	like
DG	<i>one clan gun.guni rrapa - Buluhkardaru clan nyiburrr-yunya \</i>			we are one clan, including Buluhkardaru, the clan that stay there
	one clan	gun-guna	rrapa	
		IV-PROX	CONJ	
	Buluhkardaru clan	nyiburrr-yunya		
	<place>		EXC.A-lie	

Chapter 5

- 5:1 *gunerranga janguny arrwenga,* we say different words
and burdak barrwa nuwurra nyjeka, then wait for later when you go back
*gapa nyjarlapa nyini ya * you'll fix it up there, won't you

gun-werranga janguny arr-wenga
 IV-different story 12-speak
 and burdak barrwa nuwurra ny-jeka
 wait again later 2-return
 gapa ny-jarlapa nyi-ni ya
 DIST 2-make 2-be QU
 20110726-MN-03-01

- 5:2 *gu-janguny burr-yolka-ja* with a story, someone tricked them
 LocIV-story 3:3A-trick-C

Glasgow:BD:*janguny*

- 5:3 *janguny gubarrjekarra nula,* The story went back about him,
aburr-galiyana wurra gama gorlk, the people heard
mari gumenga that he had trouble.

janguny gu-barrjeka-rra=nula
 story 3IV-go.back-PC=3OBL
 aburr-galiya-na wurra gama gorlk
 3A-hear-PC <man woman swag: everyone>
 mari gu-menga
 trouble 3:3IV- get.PC

Glasgow:BD:*barrjeka*

5:4 *ngarlanga - ngarlanga - ngarlanga* \ child, child, child
 michpa ja, jinnginyipa daughter - like hey, your daughter
 michpa - nguyinda nggula \ like, I'll demonstrate for you
 ngarlanga - ngarlanga - ajay / my daughter, my daughter, hey!

ngarlanga ngarlanga ngarlanga

child

michpa ja jin-nginyipa daughter

like ATT II-2POSS

michpa ngu-yinda=nggula

like 1-do.thus=2OBL

ngarlanga ngarlanga ajay

child ATT

20110726-MN-03-01:88961-10313

5:5 *like jichicha - ngardap--* they are fish
 ngardapngardapa / they are separate
 anelangga / in their names
 but an.gatpa, jichicha whole lot \ but they are all fish, the whole lot

like jichicha ngardapa ngardapngardapa

fish one <one.REDUP: separate>

an-welangga but an-gatpa jichicha whole lot

3I-name I-IDENT fish

T58B-07:EB: 189810-195733

5:6

EB *warralmuma:: annga * bony bream,
*morrgorl:: nachirrka:: worrngga * gudgeon, perchlet, rainbowfish,
*an.guna level \ whole lot * the whole lot of them are ‘level’¹⁶⁴
*an.gunaga * this one
*ngardapa, ngardapa * they are separate
*nachirrka, ngardapa * the perchlet is separate
rrapa worrngga - dubela level now, and rainbow fish they are level
*ananngiya, nachirrka * something, perchlet
*two * there are two

warralmuma	an-nga	morrgorl	nachirrka	worrngga
bream	I-what	gudgeon	perchlet	rainbow.fish
an-guna	level	whole lot	an-gunaga	ngardapa
I-PROX	similar		I-PROX.EMPH	one
nachirrka	ngardapa	rrapa	worrngga	
perchlet	one	CONJ	rainbow.fish	
dubela level now	an-anngiya	nachirrka	two	
the two are similar	I-something	perchlet		

MC *awurrjirrapa janguny?* are there two stories?

abirri-jirra+pa janguny
3UA-stand.C+IND story

EB *ngika, gunngardapiya * no, just one

MC *aya* I see

ngika gun-ngardapa-ya
no IV-one-EMPH

EB *mm \ gunngardapa janguny * yes, one story for
*worrngga:: rrapa nachirrka * rainbow fish and perchlet
rrapa, binyjamach:: and bony bream
al level awurrboy awurrworkiya, they all go level all the time
binyjamach:: bony bream
*rrapa - ananngiya - jubalarra * and something, longtom
jubularr rrapa ananngiya longtom and something
an.gunaga nyalknyalk this one ox-eye herring
*mm that mob now, alla friend * they are all friends

¹⁶⁴ ‘Level’ means ‘equivalent, equal in status, complementary’

gun-ngardapa janguny
 IV-one story
 worrngga rrapa nachirrka rrapa binyjamach
 rainbow.fish CONJ perchlet CONJ bream
 all level aburr-boy aburr-workiya binyjamach
 all similar 3A-go 3A-do.always bream
 rrapa an-anngiya jubalarra
 CONJ I-something long.tom
 jubularr rrapa an-anngiya an-gunaga nyalknyalk
 longtom CONJ I-something I-PROX.EMPH ox-eye.herring
 mm that mob now alla friend
 they are all friends

- MC *all friend ay?* all friends are they?
- EB *ee friend, awurrгатpa \
 ngayp rrapa mungoyurra
 ngungurrjinga nachirrka::
 worrngga::
 an.ganaka annga::
 ananngiya / him ayngurrjing
 arrorkiya borndolk / himself \
 ngardapa nuya \
 ngardapa nuya,
 nginyipa marn.gi \
 ngardap an.guboy \
 ngardapa dreaming agurmiyana \
 rrapa an.gaba burdak,
 ngungurrjinga, an.gatp rrapa,
 ngardapa dreaming everywhere * yes, those ones are all friends
 I already
 explained the perchlet
 rainbow fish
 all the different kinds
 the one we always call
 cardinalfish, he is himself
 he is by himself
 he is by himself,
 you know
 one that goes separately
 he put himself as an ancestral spirit
 while that one over there (the other
 fish)
 that I just explained
 they have one dreaming everywhere

ee friend awurrгатpa
 yes 3A-IDENT+IND
 ngayp rrapa mu+ngoyurra ngu-ngurrja-nga
 1NOM CONJ <LocIII+nose:previous> 1-explain-RLS
 nachirrka worrngga an-ganaka an-nga
 perchlet rainbow.fish <I-kind I-what: different kinds>
 an-anngiya im ay-ngurrja-nga arr-workiya borndolk
 I-something it 12:3-explain-RLS 12-do.always cardinal.fish

ngardapa=nuya	nginyipa	marn.gi	ngardapa	an-gu+boy
one=3REL	2NOM	knowledge	one	I-DER+go
ngardapa	dreaming	a-gurrma+ya-na		
one	spirit	3I-put+INT-PC		
rrapa	an-gaba	burdak		
CONJ	I-ADJ	wait		
ngu-ngurrja-nga	an-gatpa	rrapa		
1-explain-RLS	I-IDENT	CONJ		
ngardapa	dreaming	everywhere		
one	spirit			

T58B-07:EB: 27266-110660

5:7	<i>ngika,</i>	no
	<i>borijipa awurrweya,</i>	they are speaking purposelessly
	<i>awurryopajinga</i>	they are gossiping

ngika	borijipa	aburr-weya	aburr-yopaja-nga
no	purposelessly	3A-speak.C	3A-gossip-RLS

T42A-14: annotation notes

5:8 *bambay! bambay jay! awurgaba* lady, lady hey! all of them over there
burrna awurrwalagiya barra, you will see them dancing
*wangarra * the ghost spirit
minyja burrna, yigaba / you will see them over there
*belabila guyinangawa * the bough shade is where this takes
... place
*wangarra! * the ghost spirit!
*anburda, rrap abijarrkarr abima * the corpse, when they lift it up

bambay	bambay	jay	aburr-gaba	burr-na
woman	woman	ATT	3A-ADJ	2 3:3A-see
aburr-walagiya	barra	wangarra		
3A-dance	FUT	ghost.spirit		
minyja	burr-na	yi-gaba		
SUBJ	2 3:3A-see	TO-ADJ		
belabila	gu-yinanga-wa			
shelter	IV-do.thus.RLS-EMPH			
wangarra	an+burda	rrapa	abi-jarrkarra	abi-ma
ghost.spirit	<I+power: corpse>	CONJ	3A:3I-lift	3A:3I-get

T42A-14:47515-85835

5:9 *ayurtchinga, him run,* He's going quickly, running,
anjerrkirkirr he's fast.
sometimes he go slow, Sometimes he goes slowly,
gujorlcha aboya, like he's stalking prey
sometimes anmugularrbarrbarr, sometimes he's ?hidden
mannga an.guyinda he's from the jungle

a-yurtcha-nga	him run	anjerrkirkirr	sometimes he go slow
3I-run-RLS		I-quick	
gu-jorlcha	a-boya	sometimes	an-mu+gularrbarrbarr
LocIV-stalking	3I-go.C		I-DER+?hidden
mannga	an-gu+yinda		
jungle	I-DER+do.thus		

T42A-20:annotation notes

5:10	<i>mun.guna / munelangga miyurramboy, bambay yunoweya / minyja galiya / munelangga miyurra mboya / mun.gatpa - munyakarrarra murrimanga \ bunggul \ everywhere \ rrapa - munelangga miyurra / mun.gatpiya - wangarr munaganyja \ whole lot mun.gunaga - bunggul \ rrap jinyalagiya rrap awalagiya barra - burdak nuwurra nyina \ </i>	this all of these different names lady do you know why? Try to listen! All of the different names they hold the clan connections, songs are everywhere! All of the names these ones were brought by the ancestral spirits, all of these songs right here all the women and men will dance, you'll see them soon.
------	--	--

mun.guna	mun-welangga	mu-yu-rra	m-boya
III-PROX	III-name	3III-lie-C	3III-go.C
bambay	yunoweya	minyja	galiya
woman	you know why	SUBJ	listen
mun-welangga	mu-yu-rra	m-boya	
III-name	3III-lie-C	3III-go.C	
mun-gatpa	mun-yakarrarra	mu-rrima-nga	
III-IDENT	III-clan	3:3III-hold-RLS	
bunggul	everywhere	rrapa	mun-welangga mu-yu-rra
song	everywhere	CONJ	III-name 3III-lie-C
mun-gatpiya	wangarr	mu-na-ga-nyja	
III-IDENT.EMPH	spirit	3III-TO-take-RLS	
whole lot	mun-gunaga	bunggul	
	III-PROX	song	
rrapa	jiny-walagiya	rrapa	a-walagiya
CONJ	3II-dance	CONJ	3I-dance
barra	burdak	nuwurra	nyi-na
FUT	still	later	2-see
	T42A-31		

Chapter 6

6:1 (MC has just turned on the tape recorder)

- i EB *ya* \ ok
- MC That story about the two boys, the brothers. The policeman?
- EB *ma an policeman /
ya but -
they bin fight* \ ok, and the police
yes but
they were fighting
- awurbachina gunanngiya ngaja* \ they were fighting over
something
- nganichi* \ *nganichi* \ grog, grog
- aburr-bacha-na gun-anngiya ngaja nganichi
3A-fight-PC IV-something EMPH.f alcohol
- ii MC *nganichi?*
(this is a new word for MC)
- EB *ee* \ yes,
mbibarra \ they were drinking
- mbi-barra
3A:3III-consume.PC
- MC *mbibarra*
(practicing pronunciation)
- EB *mbibarra* \ *mbibarra* \ they were drinking, drinking
(exemplifying pronunciation)
- MC *mbibarra*
(practicing)
- iii EB *mm* \ yes
they - they bin drinkimbat you know - they were all drinking you know
here - gochaninyjirra \ here, at Gochan Jiny-jirra
- iv *awurbachina /* they fought
and policeman bijirrimanga \ and the policeman got them two
policeman bijirrimanga / the policeman got the two of
them

	<i>cell \</i>			the cells,
	<i>gatp awurrini \</i>			that's where they were
	aburr-bacha-na	and	policeman	bijirri-ma-nga
	3A-fight-PC			3:3UA-get-PC
	cell gatpa		abirri-ni	
	IDENT		3UA-be.PC	
v	<i>might be from borlkjam /</i>			maybe from Borlkjam
	<i>anajekarra /</i>			he was coming back,
	<i>agaliyana janguny here \</i>			but he heard the story here
	<i>gochaninyjirra \</i>			at Gochan Jiny-jirra.
vi	<i>awurrwen apala \</i>			They all spoke to me:
	maytbi	from	Borlkjam	a-na-jeka-rra
	maybe	from	<place>	3I-TO-return-PC
	a-galiya-na	janguny	here	Gochan Jiny-jirra
	3I-hear-PC	story		<place>
	aburr-wena=apala			
	3A-speak.PC=1OBL			
vii	<i>- ay England \</i>			hey England,
	<i>guwa -</i>			come here
	<i>so and so \</i>			(this is about) so and so
	<i>awurrijirrapa \</i>			two of them
	<i>cell awurrinirra \</i>			they are in the cells
	ay	England	guwa so and so	abirri-ji-rra-pa
	hey	<name>	come	<3UA-stand-C-IND: two>
	jelp	abirri-ni-rra		
	cell	3UA-be-C		
viii	<i>- yeah /</i>			Really?
	<i>ma - well -</i>			ok, well,
	<i>gurdarr barr nguwurrboy \</i>			we'll go tomorrow
	ma	well	gurdarr barra	nguburr-boy
	OK	tomorrow	FUT	1A-go

ix	<i>gurdarr nyuwurbona /</i> [coughs] <i>gurdarr nyuwurbona /</i> <i>policeman nguwengganana -</i>		we went the next day we went the next day I asked the policeman
	gurdarr tomorrow	nyiburr-bona 1A.EXC-go.PC	policeman ngu-wenggana-na 1-ask-PC
x	<i>ay - what wrong \</i> <i>maningan / mbirridimanga \</i>		hey what's wrong? blood (ie. injuries) - do they have any?
	maningan blood	mbirri-rrima-nga 3UA:3III-hold-RLS	
xi	<i>well policeman ayinang apala -</i>		well, the policeman said to me
	wal well	policeman a-yinanga=apala 3I-do.thus.PC=1OBL	
xii	<i>- gunyagara \</i>		nothing
	gun-yagara IV-nothing		
	<i>- aya \</i>		I see
	<i>- ngaw \</i>		yes
	<i>- wurra - borijipa ya \</i>		so - no consequences?
	wurra instead	borijipa purposeless	ya QU
xiii	<i>- ngaw \</i> <i>punchim ani nula -</i> <i>rrap nip punchim ani \</i> <i>and - ganapiya rrap,</i> <i>gala gunnga maningan \</i>		That's right one punched one and the other man punched him back and that's it there are no injuries
	ngaw yes	punchim ani=nula 3I-be.PC=3OBL	rrap CONJ

	nipa	punchim	ani		
	3NOM		3I-be.PC		
	and	ganapiya	rrapa	gala	gun-nga
		finish	CONJ	NEG	IV-thing
					maningan
					blood
xiv		- manymak \			good
		bijirrima /			get them
		bijirriwarrka \			take them out
		barra ngijirriga \			then I will take them
		gugapal \			home
	manymak	bijirri-ma	bijirri-warrka		
	ok	2:3UA-get	2:3UA-take.out		
	barra	ngijirri-ga	gu-gapal		
	FUT	1:3UA-take	Loc.IV-home		
xv		- ma ganapiya \			ok, that's the finish of it
xvi		policeman nguwena nula \			the policeman, I said to him
		nguwen:ula policeman -			I said to the policeman
		ngu-wena=nula	policeman		
		1-speak.PC=3OBL	policeman		
xvii		- out \			out
xviii		awurribena \			they came out
		abirri-bena			
		3UA-emerge.PC			
xix	MC	Finish?			
	EB	shutim up \			shut him up
		(MC turns off the tape recorder).			
		T03-02			

6:2 Excerpt of *Nipa Ji-japurn a-wena* ‘This is what Ji-japurn said’ (Banggala 2014b)

(Continuation from narrative about Ji-japurn restricting access to site)

- i *ngguna gochaninyjirra ngininyarra /* I am here living at Gochan Jiny-jirra
from that place now - from that place now
from gochaninyjirra wenga - (I am) from Gochan Jiny-jirra.
for my dreaming where himin say / he (Ji-japurn) said this is my dreaming
*awena * he said
*anngayp dreaming * it’s my dreaming

ng-guna Gochan Jiny-jirra ngu-ninya-rra
 1-PROX <place> 1-be-C
 from that place now from Gochan Jiny-jirra wenga
 for my dreaming where himin say a-wena
 for my dreaming where he said 3I-speak.PC
 an-ngaypa dreaming
 I-1POSS dreaming

- ii *anngaypa wurra nipa -* Mine, but also him
ngunaworla:: my brother
and ngunanya:: and my father
rrap ngiyijela, my sister:: and my sister
ngujimununa:: awurrijuwanapa my mother’s mother, the ones that have
*awurrilebana * all died and are finished
*ngaypa murla ngiyinaga * the one that I call *murla* (older sibling)
rrapa rdoyrdoy ngiyinaga - and the ones that I call *doydoy* (MB)

an-ngaypa wurra nipa ngunaworla and ngunanya
 I-1POSS but 3NOM my.brother my.father
 rrapa ngujijela my sister ngujimununa
 CONJ my.sister my.MM
 aburr-juwa-na-pa aburr-leba-na
 3A-die-PC-IND 3A-finish-PC
 ngaypa murla ngu-yinaga rrapa rdoyrdoy ngu-yinaga
 1NOM older.sibling 1-do CONJ MB 1-do

*awurrwerrmiyana guga * they have all got old and passed away
gala mola aburrdigirrga, they don’t walk around any more,
*gala aninga aninya * there are none of them
*gala aninga live - gunyagara * none of them live, they are nothing

*awurrjuwunap awurrni=
ganapiy awurrlebana *

They have all died,
the end, they've all finished

aburr-werrmiya-na =guga	gala	mola	aburr-rrigirrga
3A-waste.away=IMM	NEG	still	3A-walk.around
gala ana-nga	a-ninya	gala ana-nga	live gun-yagara
NEG I-someone	3I-be	NEG I-someone	IV-nothing
aburr-juwa-na-pa	aburr-ni	ganapiya	aburr-leba-na
3A-die-PC-IND	3A-be.PC	finish	3A-finish-PC

(end of recording)

T07-29:253630-298530

- 6:3 Excerpt from *Marrka Arr-boy Ramingining, Gartchi* ‘Let’s try to get to Ramingining and Gartchi’ (Banggala 2014j)
- i *alay, marrka nguurrboy lay,* hey why don’t we go?
ii *awurryinagatpa * they said that
- alay marrka nguburr-boy lay aburr-yinagatpa
ATT.m try 1A-go ATT.m3A-do.IDENT
- iii *÷ nguurrboy barra ngubina rla * let’s all go, let’s see it hey!
Mister Hunter:: England:: Mr Hunter, England
awurriwarrching they are coming up,
awurriwarrchinga \ ÷ they are coming up
- nguburr-boy barra ngubi-na rla Mr Hunter England
1A-go FUT 1A:3-see ATT.m <name> <name>
- abirri-warrcha-nga
3UA-come.up-RLS
- iv *awurryurtchinga /* they all ran
gochilawa awurrbena awurnni, they all arrived at the beach
munartpa munanngiya gapala that something the boat
*muwarrchinga xx * came up (?)
*gatpa awurrganana awurriji * they all stood watching
- v *mbamana=* it came up...
- aburr-yurtcha-nga gochilawa aburr-bena aburr-ni
3A-run-RLS beach 3A-emerge 3A-be.PC
- mun-nartpa mun-anngiya gapala mu-warrcha-nga
III-IDENT III-something boat 3III-come.up-RLS
- gatpa aburr-gana-na aburr-ji m-bamana
IDENT3A-stare-PC 3A-stand.PC 3III-travel.PC

vi ÷ *bitipiya la bitipa awurrigun* them hey, it's them, they're
 awurrigun awurriguna \ ÷ here, they're here, they're
 here!

bitipa-ya	la	bitipa	abirri-guna
3UANOM-EMPH	ATT.m	3UANOM	3UA-PROX

vii *everybody* \ everybody
 jinabona - awurrgatpa nakara:: women came, all the Na-kara
 burarra:: Burarra
 gunibiji:: ngayurrrpa-- guguna wenga Kunibidji, all of us, from here the
 wurlak:: Wurlaki
 anbarra:: the Anbarra
 big burarra:: Big Burarra
 nakara people:: Na-kara people
 guguna wenga ngayurrrpa gunartpa from here, all of us Gun-nartpa,
 gugaba wenga rembarrnga:: from over there, the Rembarrnga
 guninygu:: and Kuninjku

everybody	jina-bona	aburr-gatpa	Na-kara	Burarra
	3II.TO-go.PC	3A-IDENT	<name>	<name>
Kunibídji	ngayurrrpa	gu-guna	wenga Wurlak	An-barra
<name>	3ANOM	Loc.IV-PROX	from <name>	<name>
big Burarra	Na-kara	people		
big <name>	<name>			
gu-guna	wenga ngayurrrpa	Gun-nartpa	gu-gaba	wenga
Loc.IV-PROX	from 1ANOM	<name>	Loc.IV-MED	from
Rembarrnga	Kuninjku			
<name>	<name>			

viii ÷ *bitipa ya bitipa ya* is it them? is it them?
 awurrbena \ ÷ they've arrived!

bitipa	ya	bitipa	ya	aburr-bena
3ANOM	QU	3ANOM	QU	3A-emerge.PC

(story continues)

T37B-03: 10-38791

6:4 Excerpt of England Banggala's story of Murlurlu Jiny-jar

(Continuation from travelling episode)

- i *bamarrakorla,* at Bamarrakorla
*awurrinyalpan awurrinyini * they cooked it
awurrinyalpan jandarra guwarrching as they cooked it the rock rose up
*guyurtching guyamana * suddenly
jandarra guwarrching gubono== The rock rose up and up
*wana gini * until it was big

Bamarrakorla	awurriny-yalpa-na	awurrinyi-ni	awurriny-yalpana
<place>	3Uaf-cook-PC	3Uaf-be	3Uaf-cook-PC
jandarra	gu-warrcha-nga	gu-yurtcha-nga	gu-bamana
rock	3IV-go.up-RLS	3IV-run-RLS	3IV-travel.PC
jandarra	gu-warrcha-nga	gu-bona	
rock	3IV-go.up-RLS	3IV-go.PC	
wana	gu-ni		
big	3IV-be.PC		

- ii *wana gini==* as it became enormous
awurrinyjawurriyana guwurrinyana, the two women turned their heads
and saw (what was behind them)

wana	gu-ni		
big	3IV-be.PC		
abirriny-jawurriya-na	gubirriny-na-na		
3Uaf-turn.head-PC		3Uaf:3IV-see-PC	

- iii - *ajay /* - hey lady!
*an.guna moch ayalpun arrni * this is a sacred being we just
cooked
- *yina an.guna moch * - where is this sacred being?
- *guguna jichicha ayalpuna * - this fish we cooked here
*jichicha ayalpuna arrni * this fish we were just cooking
- *aya * - I see, hmm
- *ee * - yes

ajay	an-guna	moch	ay-yalpa-na	arr-ni
ATT	I-PROX	spirit	12:3-cook-PC	12-be.PC
yina	an-guna	moch		
where	I-PROX	spirit		

gu-guna	jichicha	ay-yalpa-na
LocIV-PROX	fish	12:3:cook-PC
jichicha	ay-yalpuna	arr-ni
fish	12:3:cook-PC	12-be-PC

- iv *wurra gun.gaba gip nyinach nyinirra * can you see that place over there?
gun.gab barlparnarra na / that place is Barlparnarra
barlparnarr aybawana, we left it
gun.guna gunajinyjirri= there it is standing there...
*ya= gurrmajamaj, aybawuna * aaaah we left our family group we
gurrmajamaja anngardapa aybawan, left the entire family group
*ananinyirra * they are all over there
jinaninyirra ananinyirra gurrmajamaja all the women and all the men
*aybawuna * our family group, we left them

wurra	gun-gaba	gipa	nyi-na-cha	nyi-ni-rra
CONJ	IV-ADJ	already	2-see-C	2-be-C
gun.gaba	Barlparnarra	na		
IV-PROX	<place>	see		
Barlparnarra	ay-bawa-na	gun-guna	gu-na-jinyja-rra	
<place>	12:3-leave-PC	IV-PROX	3IV-TO-stand-C	
gurr-majamaja	ay-bawa-na			
ADV-together	12:3-leave-PC			
gurr-majamaja	an-ngardapa	ay-bawa-na	a-na-ninya-rra	
ADV-together	I-one	12:3-leave-PC	3I-TO-be-PC	
ji-na-ninya-rra	a-na-ninya-rra	gurrmajamaja	ay-bawa-na	
3II-TO-be-C	3I-TO-be-C	ADV-together	12:3-leave-PC	

- v *ngarrip aninga arrbona gurda,* - who brought us here?
 *arrganyja *
 ngarrip arrbamanurda, - it was us two that came here
 *ngardap ngata * we acted independently.
 *-aya * - I see.
 hm - - yes
 *ma * - ok

ngarripa	ana-nga	arr-bona	gurda	arr-ga-nyja
12NOM	I-who	12-go.PC	TO	3:12-take-RLS
ngarripa	arr-bamana	gurda	ngardapa	ngata
12NOM	12-travel.PC	TO	alone	12REL

vi (pauses to light a cigarette)

- vii *awurrinybamana * they went along
 guwurrinyinana awurrinyji= ganapiya they stood and looked, finish
 *awurrinyjamana * they kept going
 >awurrina=< they went along
 *bridge guwurrinyjurrmurra * and put a bridge
 bridge guwurrinyjurrmurra, they put a bridge
 *close up langa - marrangka * close to Mataranka.

abirriny-bamana			
3UAf-travel.PC			
gubirrinyi-na-na	abirriny-ji	ganapiya	abirriny-bamana
3UAf:3IV-see-PC	3UAf-stand.PC	finish	3UAf-travel.PC
abirriny-bamana			
3UAf-travel.PC			
bridge	gubirriny-gurrma-rra	close up langa	Marrangka
bridge	3UAf-put-PC	close to	<place: Mataranka>

(travelling episode continues)

T14A-02: 299470-373310

6:5 Excerpt from *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* ‘We went to war’ (Litchfield 2014a)

ganapiya, nyuwurrgarlmarramana - finish, the whole camp got up
waypa nyiburr-galiyana / when we heard something;
!arrrrrrrrrr! !arrrrrrrr!

ganapiya nyiburr-garlma-na nyiburr-bamana
finish 1A.EXC-arise-PC 1A.EXC-travel.PC
waypa nyiburr-galiya-na !arrrrrrrrrr!
<SPEC+IND:when> 1A.EXC-hear-PC <IDEO >

aburryinagatp atila - it went like that to us
andirra awena, they made the sound of spears
*andakal * the war party

aburr-yinagatpa=atila an+rrirra a-wena
3A-do.IDENT=1UA.EXC.OBL <I+tooth: spears> 3I-speak.PC
an+rrakal
<I+white.ochre: warriors>

T15B-12: 60785-74478

6:6 Commencement of *Majabala gun-gunaga* ‘The message stick is here’
(Banggala 2014g)

i	<i>rrakal gubalakija /</i>	someone sent white ochre
ii	<i>rrakal gubalakija /</i>	someone sent white ochre
iii	<i>guyurtching gini=</i>	it traveled some distance,
	<i>gubena \</i>	it arrived
iv	<i>gubena /</i>	it arrived

rrakal	gu-balika-ja	gu-yurtcha-nga	gu-ni
white.ochre	3:3IV-send-C	3IV-run-RLS	3IV-be.PC
gu-bena			
3IV-emerge.PC			

v	- <i>anngay /</i>	- what’s up?
	- <i>rrakal gun.gunaga -</i>	- this is white ochre right here

an-nga-ya	rrakal	gun-gunaga
I-what-EMPH	white.ochre	IV-PROX.EMPH

(story continues)

T14B-06: 2900- 15410

6:7 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

<i>+awurrinyalagiyana awurrinyjarl+</i>	they danced quickly

abirriny-walagiyana	abirriny-jarl
3UAf-dance-PC	3UAf-move.quickly

T17A-02: 35580-38580

6:8 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

i *ma* - ok
 ii *rrap anerranga anagornakuniya * and one group came for a shower
rrapa gunerrang, awurrmurrparriyana, the first group gathered
*gunerranga * and another group
awurrjapurndiya, they sang

ma rrapa an-werranga a-na-gornakuna+ya

ok CONJ I-another 3I-TO-shower+INT

rrapa gun-werranga aburr-murrparriya-na

CONJ IV-another 3IV-gather-PC

aburr-japurndiya

3A-sing

iii - + *!birikarr=!* - !calling names!
 - *!yay!* + - !dancers response!

iv *!jakurrurlurlp! awurrganyja * they poured water
rrapa and
 + *!birikarr=!* + !calling names!

!jakurrurlurlp! aburr-ganyja rrapa *!birikarr!*

<IDEO> 3A-take.RLS CONJ <IDEO>

v *gunelang gurrimarra=* he held the names
*!jakurrurlurlp! awurrganyja * they poured water
*jiygornakuniyana, jiywarrchinga * women showered and arose (out
 of the ground sculpture)
rrapa - and
*muwerranga awurrbupiyana rrapa * another group went into it

gun-welangga gu-rrima-rra *!jakurrurlurlp!* aburr-ganyja

IV-name 3:3IV-hold-C <IDEO> 3A-take.RLS

jiy-gornakuna+ya-na jiy-warrcha-nga rrapa

3II.AW-shower+INT-PC 3II.AW-go.up-RLS CONJ

mu-werranga aburr-bupiya-na rrapa

3III-another 3A-go.down-PC CONJ

vi	+ - !yay! - !birikarrbirikarr=! +	- !dancers response! - !calling names!
vii	!jakurrurlurp! \ rrapa barrwa, >+!birikarrbirikarr!	!pouring water! and again !calling names!
viii	!jakurrurlurp! \ murna aburrdimayana \ awurrwarrching \ murna aburr-rima+ya-na hand 3A-hold+INT-PC	!pouring water! they 'stayed their hands' (finished) everyone got up aburr-warrcha-nga 3A-go.up-RLS

T17A-02: 749071-780716

6:9 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

<i>agurmiyana \</i>	he lay down
<i>ayup ajarl amana -</i>	he slept continuously
<i>gurderda wana mungoy,</i>	a big sickness first
<i>+ajarl paman, ajarlpaman,</i>	he went continuously for a long
<i>ajarl pamana+</i>	time

a-gurrma+ya-na	a-yu-pa	a-jarl	a-bamana	
3I-put+INT-PC	3I-lie.PC-IND	3I-go.quick	3I-travel.PC	
gurderda	wana	mu+ngoy	a-jarl-pa	a-bamana
sickness	big	<3III+nose: first>	3I-go.quick-IND	3I-travel.PC

T17A-02: 560371-566355

6:10 Excerpt from *An-muragalk* ‘Sorcery murderer’ (Litchfield & Litchfield 2014)

<i>balaja murronga,</i>	food cooking			
<i>gaba=</i>	there			
<i>+miji gaba, miji gaba, miji+</i>	standing there, standing there,			
	standing			
balaja	mu-rro-nga	gaba	mu-ji	gaba
food	3III-burn-PC	MED	3III-stand.PC	MED

T17A-02: 56128-59320

6:13 Commencement of *Murlurlu, Ji-japurn, Nabiyama* ‘Three ancestral spirits’
(Banggala 2014d)

- i *andarrbaykard anangarna, michpa /
arrwengga barra * the lightning place, like
andarrbaykard anangarna - we will talk about it
nguwurrwengga barra, the lightning place
andarrbaykard anangarna arrwengga we will all talk about it
barra= we will talk about the lightning
*a= giyirrichinga \ nganyjuwa * place
*nganyjuwa * ah, and the Yirrichinga place
like - dreaming, andarrbaykarda / called Nganyjuwa
gugatpanga / ananngiy an.gaba / Nganyjuwa
like there is a lightning dreaming
from that place, that something
there

An-darrbaykarda	Ana-ngana	michpa	arr-wengga	barra
<Lightning ancestral place>		like	12-speak	FUT
An-darrbaykarda	Ana-ngana	nguburr-wengga	barra	
<Lightning ancestral place>		1A-speak	FUT	
An-darrbaykarda	Ana-ngana	arr-wengga	barra	
<Lightning ancestral place>		12-speak	FUT	
gu-yirrichinga	Nganyjuwa	like	dreaming	an+darrbaykarda
Loc.IV-<moiety>	<place>	like	dreaming	I+lightning
gu-gatpa	wenga	an-anngiya	an-gaba	
Loc.IV-IDENT	from	I-something	I-MED	

- ii *ananngiya - jinanngiya barnda \ dreaming * something, the long-necked
*nganyjuwa * turtle spirit is at Nganyjuwa
nganyjuwa - dubela bin - Nganyjuwa, the two of them are
ananngiya, level complementary
*awurrinybamana gurda, level * the two of them came together
*yirrichinga / jowunga * Yirrichinga and Jowunga
(spirits)

an-anngiya	jin-anngiya	barnda	dreaming	Nganyjuwa
I-something	II-something	long.necked.turtle	dreaming	<place>
Nganyjuwa	dubela bin	an-anngiya	level	
<place>	two of them did	I-something	complementary	

	abirriny-bamana	gurda	level	Yirrichinga	Jowunga \
	3UAf-travel.PC	TO	complementary	<moiety>	<moiety>
iii	<i>gatpanga /</i>			from there	
iv	<i>awurrinyjamana gurda gatpanga nipa</i>			the two of them came here	
	<i>an.gaba-- gun.gaba gunajinyjirra /</i>			from that place standing there	
	gatpa	wenga	abirriny-bamana	gurda	
	IDENT	AW	3UA.F-travel.PC	TO	
	gatpa	wenga	nipa an.gaba	gun-gaba	guna-jinyja-rra
	IDENT	AW	3NOM I-ADJ	IV-ADJ	3IV.TO-stand-C

(traveling narrative continues)

T10B-06: 1819-40049

6:14 Commencement of *Murlurlu awurriny-jar* ‘Murlurlu, the two ancestral women’ (Banggala 2014e)

i	<i>ma</i> \	ok		
ii	<i>murlurla /</i>	Murlurla		
	<i>murlurla ngujama jinngaypa \</i>	Murlurlu is my mother		
iii	<i>murlurla jinawamana -</i>	Murlurlu traveled		
	ma	Murlurla	ngujama	jin-ngaypa
	ok	<Ancestral spirit>	1.mother	II-1POSS
	Murlurla	jina-bamana		
	< Ancestral spirit >	3II.TO-travel.PC		

(story continues)

T12B-06: 524-10862

6:15 Commencement of *Marrambay* ‘A love affair’ (Banggala 2014h)

(recording starts)

- i *ah jinyena nula* - she said to him,
 ii - *alay / ngayp angab an.gora * - hey! my man over there is no good
*anga-- an.gora ngubawa barra * he’s bad, I’m going to leave him
 - *gala barrinybawa * - you can’t leave him
 - *wurra /* - why?

jiny-wena	nula	alay	ngaypa	an-gaba	an-gora
3II-speak.PC	3OBL	ATT.m	1NOM	I-ADJ	I-bad
an-gora	ngu-bawa	barra			
I-bad	1-leave	FUT			
gala	barra	ny-bawa	wurra		
NEG	FUT	2-leave	why.not		

- iii - *an.gatipiy nggulawa * - that man is for you indeed (he’s your promised husband)

an-gata-pa-ya	nggula-wa
I-IDENT-IND-EMPH	2OBL-EMPH

- iv - *ngika, nginyip barra ngunama * - no, you should get me
nginyip barra ngunama / you get me and
*arrboy barra * let’s go
*arrboybarra * let’s go
*geka barra naw * today, right now
gekwarra ngayp jal ngindrira today now I want you
nggula, arrboy barra let’s go
*ngayp mun.guna nguna * give me that thing
mun.guna bakap ngini / I will pack this up
anngayp ngarndama / along with my grass skirt
ngarndam anngaypa - my grass skirt
rrapa - gerra gunngaypa nguma and I will get all my things
*olot *
 - *nyinmiy barra * - what are you going to do?
 - *arrboy pa * - so we can leave!

ngika	nginyipa	barra	nguna-ma	arr-boy	barra
NEG	2NOM	FUT	2:1-get	12-go	FUT
geka	barra	now	geka	barra	ngaypa jal
today	FUT		today	FUT	1NOM desire 1-be-C=2OBL
arr-boy	barra	ngaypa	mun-guna	nguna	
12-go	FUT	1NOM	III-PROX	give.me	
mun.guna	bakap		ngu-ni	an-ngaypa	ngarndama
III-PROX	pack.up		1-be	I-IPOSS	grass.skirt
ngarndama	an-ngaypa				
grass.skirt	I-1POSS				
rrapa	gerra	gun-ngaypa	ngu-ma	whole	lot
CONJ	stuff	IV-1POSS	1-get		
ny-yinmiya		barra	arr-boy-pa		
2-do.something		FUT	12-go-IND		

v	<i>nyaype \</i>	you are mine
	<i>nyaypa ngambalarrijirra \</i>	you are mine, we are sweethearts
	<i>ngayp mari, gip: mungoyurr</i>	I am trouble, already we have been
	<i>arrnachichiyana \</i>	looking at each other
	<i>- aya \</i>	- I see
	<i>- ee \</i>	- yes

ny-ngaypa	ngambal	arr-jirra
2-1POSS	<eyeball	12-POSS: sweetheart>
ngaypa	mari gipa	mu+ngoyurra
1NOM	trouble already	<Loc.III+nose: previous>
arr-na+chichi+ya-na	aya	ee
12-see+RECIP+INT-PC	I.see	yes

vi	<i>- ma marrk arrboya \</i>	- ok, we should go
	<i>- ma \</i>	- ok

ma	marrk	arr-boya
ok	try	12-go.C

vii	<i>barlay jinymenga, marrambay \</i> <i>jinymeng bal</i> <i>>arrinyjarlnyjamanu==<</i> <i>bush awurrinybona \</i>	he took her far, for illicit love he took her far the two of them ran along way away they went bush
-----	--	--

barlay	jiny-ma-nga	marrambay	
far	3:3II-get-PC	<whistle.duck: illicit love>	
jiny-ma-nga	barlay	abirriny-jarl	abirriny-bamana
3:3II-get-PC	far	3UAf-move.quick	3UAf-travel.PC
bush	abirriny-bona		
	3UAf-go.PC		

(story continues)
 T14B-07: 1250-57720

6:18 Extract of *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* ‘We went to war’ (Litchfield 2014a)

(action episode continues)

- i *nyibiyalpuna,* we cooked,
nyuwubarra nyuwurrbona= lika we ate it all, then
nyuburrgurmiyana - we slept
andakal abena gatpa the warriors arrived when
*nyiburrgurmiyana * we were sleeping
nyiburrunya nyuwurramana= we were all sleeping
- ii *agurmiyana abamani=* another group was also sleeping

 [lip pointing ...] (a little way off)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>nyibu-yalpa-na</i> | <i>nyubi-barra</i> | <i>nyiburr-bona</i> | | |
| 1A.EXC:3-cook-PC | 1A.EXC:3-eat.PC | 1A.EXC-go.PC | | |
| <i>lika</i> | <i>nyiburr-gurrma+ya-na</i> | <i>an+rrakal</i> | | |
| CONJ | 1A.EXC-put+INT-PC | <I+white.ochre: warriors> | | |
| <i>a-bena</i> | <i>gatpa</i> | <i>nyiburr-gurrma+ya-na</i> | | |
| 3I-emerge.PC | IDENT | 1A.EXC-put+INT-PC | | |
| <i>nyiburr-yunya</i> | <i>nyiburr-bamana</i> | <i>a- gurrma+ya-na</i> | <i>a-bamana</i> | |
| 1A.EXC-lie.PC | 1A.EXC-travel.PC | 3I- put+INT-PC | 3I-travel.PC | |
- iii *gunartpa wurpa * (they were) Gun-nartpa people
 however
*anmumoch, an.gapa ajuwuna * those who are dead
*awurrlebiyana * they are finished
an.gun anrra barrwa / barrwa these people now, subsequent
gunartpa nyiburrweya nyiburnirra, us people talking Gun-nartpa,
*gipa muguyu an.ginda * they were our forebears
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Gun-nartpa</i> | <i>wurpa</i> | <i>an-mu+moch</i> | | |
| <IV-DEM: language.name> | only | <I-DER+ancestor: deceased kin> | | |
| <i>an-gapa</i> | <i>a-juwa-na</i> | <i>aburr-leba+ya-na</i> | | |
| I-DIST | 3I-die-PC | 3A-finish+INTR-PC | | |
| <i>an-guna</i> | <i>a-ni-rra</i> | <i>barrwa</i> | <i>Gun-nartpa</i> | |
| I-PROX | 3I-be-C | subsequent | <language> | |
| <i>nyiburr-weya</i> | <i>nyiburr-ni-rra</i> | <i>gipa</i> | | |
| 1EXC.A-speak.C | 1EXC.A-be-C | already | | |

	mu+guyu		an-gu+yinda	
	<Loc.III+nose: before>		<I-DER+do.thus: kind>	
iv	<i>ngaypa / young fella \</i> <i>young boy michpa ngi-yinang ngijarl \</i>		I was a young fella, a young boy like so tall	
	[gesture: indicating height with hand]			
	<i>ee - ngaypa \</i>		yes, that was me	
	ngaypa	young fella		
	1NOM	young fellow		
	young boy	michpa ngu-yinanga	ngu-jarl	
		like	1-do.how	1-go.steadily
	ee	ngaypa		
	yes	1NOM		
v	<i>wurra awurguna -</i> <i>banggala /</i> <i>rrapa nipapa, banggala andelipa</i> <i>anmurnangana -</i> <i>gunyagara gini \</i> <i>anigipa brother nula \</i> <i>rrapa= anngaypa, my brother \</i> <i>gunyagara gini gipa muguyu \</i>		but all of them here such as Banggala he, Banggala, the younger one and his older brother who has passed away his brother also, my brother he passed away before that	
	wurra	aburr-guna	Banggala	
	but	3A-PROX	<name>	
	rrapa	nipa-pa	Banggala	an-delipa
	CONJ	3NOM-IND	<name>	I-small
	gun-yagara	gu-ni	an-yigapa	brother=nula
	rrapa	an-ngaypa	my brother	brother=3OBL
	gun-yagara	gu-ni	gipa	mu+guyu
	IV-nothing	3IV-be.PC	already	<LocIII+nose: previous>

iv *nyuwurryuny nyuwurrbamana=* we all were sleeping...
 nyiburrgarlmana - we got up
 *nyuwurrurtchinga nyuwurramana * we were running along
 munmardaguy nyiburrana ngunyuna= we made a straight line from here
 michp gun.gatpa / to there

[pointing to indicate ‘from here to there’, the extent of the line of people]

<i>nyiburr-yunya</i>	<i>nyiburr-bamana</i>	<i>nyiburr-garlma-na</i>
1EXC.A-lie.PC	1EXC.A-travel.PC	1EXC.A-arise-PC
<i>nyiburr-yurtcha-nga</i>	<i>nyiburr-bamana</i>	
1EXC.A-run-RLS	1EXC.A-travel.PC	
<i>mun-mardaguya</i>	<i>nyibu-rra-na</i>	<i>ngunyuna</i>
III-straight.line	1A.EXC:3-spear-PC	PROX
<i>michpa gun-gatpa</i>		
like	IV-IDENT	

(narrative continues into an action episode)

T15B-12: 87480-149673

6:21 Extract of *Nyuwurr-bona An-dakal* ‘We went to war’
(Litchfield 2014a)

(story continues)

i	<i>lay / andakal an.gun anabambarla \ nyuwurrboy barra nyiburrni -</i>	hey! a war party is on its way here let’s all go!
	lay an+rrakal an-guna a-na-bamba-rla ¹⁶⁶ ATT.m I+white.ochre: war> I-PROX 3I-TO-travel-C nyiburr-boy barra nyiburr-ni 1EXC.A-go FUT 1EXC.A-be	
ii	<i>anngardapa ayinagatpa -</i>	one man said that
iii	<i>anajarl nyirrnana aji -</i>	when he came and saw us
iv	<i>ajekarra ajarl \ ananngiya nipa, Burndamarrpa \ an.gaba Derek abirriwelangga Burndamarrpa,</i>	he returned someone, him, Burndamarrpa that one Derek, the two of them have the name Burndamarrpa
v	<i>delipa an.gaba, nginyip marn.gi an.gaba / Derek \ wurra Burndamarrpa, bush name \ an-ngardapa a-yinagatpa a-na-jarl I-one 3I-do.thus.IDENT 3I-TO-move.steadily nyirr-nana a-ji a-jekarra a-jarl 3:1EXC.A-see-PC 3I-stand.PC 3I-return-PC 3I-TO-move.steadily an-anngiya nipa Burndamarrpa an-gaba Derek I-something 3NOM <name> I-ADJ <name> abirri-welangga Burndamarrpa delipa an-gaba 3UA-name <name> child I-ADJ nginyipa marn.gi an-gaba Derek 2NOM knowledge I-ADJ <name></i>	that small boy over there you know that one over there Derek but his bush name is Burndamarrpa

¹⁶⁶ The *-rla* suffix in this form is an occasional variant of *-rda* Contemporary tense.

Chapter 7

7:1 Galawurn ‘banyan fig’, by Laurie Malabinbin

- i *nyuwurbona gupaloparla * we all went to Gupaloparla we
*nyuwurrgapajinga / gijel * all dug in the ground
- nyiburr-bona Gupaloparla nyiburr-gapaja-nga gu-jel
 1EXC.A-go.PC <place> 1EXC.A-dig-RLS LocIV-ground
- ii *nyiburrgapajinga=* we dug
nyiburrgapajinga= we dug
*nyiburremarra \ nyibugorndunga * we hammered and cut
- nyiburr-gapaja-nga nyibu-rrema-rra nyibu-gornda-nga
 1EXC.A-dig-RLS 1EXC.A:3-pound-PC 1EXC.A:3-cut-RLS
- iii + *nyibugorndunga nyibugorndunga* we cut, cut
nyibugorndunga nyibugorndunga + - cut, cut
*nyibugomagorndurndunga * we cut all of them right
 through the middle
*knife anaguyinda \ rrapa galamang * using a knife, and axe
- nyibu-gornda-nga nyibu-goma+gorndurnda-nga
 1EXC.A:3-cut-RLS 1EXC.A:3-body+cut.REDUP-RLS
- knife ana-gu+yinda rrapa galamang
 LocI-DER+do.thus CONJ axe
- iv *nyibugomagorndunga -* we cut it right through the
 middle
nyibiyalpuna - we cooked it
*nyibiyalpuna * we cooked it
- v *nyibiwirrkarra * we scraped it
*nyibuwirrkarra= ganapiy * we scraped it... until that was
 finished
- vi *nyuwubarra * we ate it
- vii *an.gubay \ galawarn * it's edible, the banyan tree
 (roots)

- vi TN [We get that snail ay, you know that shell] and just -]
(to MC)
- vii RJ *nyuwurrngartngartchinga* \ we grated it
- viii BB *aburrngartngartchinga* \
(carefully pronouncing) they grated it
- ix RJ *nyiburrngartngartchinga* \
(carefully pronouncing) we grated it
- nyiburr-ngartngartcha-nga
1EXC.A-grate.with.shell-RLS
- x BB *ma - barnja* \ ok, put it!
- ma barnja
ok put
- xi RJ *ngika* \ no!
- ngika
NEG
- xii BB *gurdiya jay,*
burrbarnja barra!
(to RJ) (pay attention to) this (book),
aburrngartngartchinga \ she will put them! (words)
(to MC) they grated it
- gurdiya jay burr-barnja barra
IV.FOC.EMPH ATT.f 3:3A-put FUT
aburr-ngartngartcha-nga
3A-grate.with.shell-RLS
- xiii RJ [*ma* \ *ma* \] ok, ok
- xiv TN [*ma, barnja*]
(To MC) ok, put it
- xv RJ *gala nyirriwengga achila* \
(To BB) haven't you said this one to her?

gala nyirri-wengga=achila

NEG 1EXC.A-speak=3OBL

xvi MC *aburrngartngartchinga*
(Pronouncing while writing down this word)

(Rosie pauses while MC writes)

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7:3 Excerpt 2 from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story
about traditional lifestyle

- i MA *ma, wengga achila *
(side comment omitted) ok, talk to her
- ma wengga=achila
ok speak=3OBL
- ii RJ *munerranga wartpirricha - ee * another one is a large round
yam (*Ipomoea graminea*), yes
- mun-werranga wartpirricha ee
III-different yam.sp yes
- iii MC [*wartpirricha*]
- iv BB *gip murrimanga murda * she already has that one
*gip murrimanga * she already has it
- gipa mu-rrima-nga murda
already 3III-hold-RLS III.FOC
- v RJ *ayaya * I see I see
*gipa nyukurrjing * you've already written it?
*buk miginda ya *
- ayaya gipa nyi-wukurrja-nga book mu-gu+yinda ya
ok already 2-write-RLS LocIII-DER+do.thus QU
- vi BB [*book ginda muyurra *] it's in the book
- book gu-gu+yinda mu-yu-rra
LocIV-DER+do.thus 3III-lie-C
- vii RJ *ay / ngarla gunyagara jay /* hey, she's not saying anything
(To BB)
- ay ngarla gun-nyagara jay
ATT tongue IV-nothing ATT.f

viii	MC	<i>ngaw ngurrimanga</i>		yes, I have it
		ngaw ngu-rrima-nga		
		yes 1-hold-RLS		
ix	BB	<i>murrimanga \</i> <i>gip jinyukurrjinga \</i>		she has it she's already written it
		mu-rrima-nga	gipa	jiny-wukurrja-nga
		3:3III-hold-RLS	already	3II-write-RLS
x	RJ	<i>aya \</i> <i>burdak - yirronga \</i>		I see wait, (I'll talk about) yirronga (<i>Sowerbaea alliacea</i>).
		<i>yirronga - gardapamba nyibugarran,</i> <i>ayinagata -</i>		the yirronga plant, we would stack up pieces of termite mound, like that
		<i>aji=</i> <i>nyibuwepana, michpa wolawola soap</i> <i>ayweparda \</i>		it stood for a while ¹⁶⁸ we washed it like how nowadays we wash things with soap
		<i>nyibuweparda - nyuwurrworkiyana,</i> <i>ganapiya lika -</i> <i>nyiburrbona -</i> <i>nyuwurrigata -</i> <i>wurajitchit nyiburremarra,</i> <i>nyibuyolajinga -</i> <i>nyuwubarra nyiburrni \</i>		We always washed it once ready, then we went to where it was we pounded it into a cake we roasted it we all ate it

¹⁶⁸ It's not clear to me how the pieces of termite mound are used in this processing sequence.

7:5. Excerpt 3 from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story
about traditional lifestyle

i RJ (continues procedural narrative) we wrapped it up like that

guginda ngacha nyuwubichinga, we roasted it
*nyibuyolajing, murrong muyu * it cooked for a while

gu-gu+yinda=ngacha nyibu-bicha-nga
LocIV-DER+do.thus=3REL 1EXC.A:3-tie-RLS
nyibu-yolaja-nga mu-rro-nga mu-yu
1EXC.A:3-roast-RLS 3III-burn-RLS 3III-lie.PC

ii *gipa awena nggula, England * did he already tell you,
*book miginda nyukurrjinga * England?
did you write it in the book?

gipa a-wena=nggula England
already 3I-speak.PC=2OBL <name>
book mu-gu+yinda nyi-wukurrja-nga
3III-DER+do.thus 2-write-RLS

iii MC *ngaypa gala marn.gi* I don't know about it

ngaypa gala marn.gi
1NOM NEG knowledge

iv RJ *aya * I see
nipa an.gata anabengga, that man when he gets back,
awengga nggul aboy - he will talk to you
*ngayp nggurkujinga * I'm nervous

aya nipa an-gata a-na-bengga
ok 3NOM 1-IDENT 3I-TO-arrive
a-wengga=nggula a-boy ngaypa ng-gurkuja-nga
3I-speak=2OBL 3I-go 1NOM 1-fear-RLS

gun-guna	no	house	gun-guna	bala	gun-nyagara
IV-PROX	NEG		IV-PROX	house	IV-nothing
mun-narta	nyirri-barra		mun-ngayurra		bush tucker
III-FOC	1EXC.A-eat.PC		III-1APOSS		bush.food
gurlpuru	mun-garra	wartpirricha	ngukubura		
<four yam species>					
mun-gayarta	nyirri-barra				
III-REM	1EXC.A-eat.PC				

(Narrative continues)

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7:5 Excerpt from Rosie Jin-mujinggul's story about traditional funeral practices

i RJ (new narrative episode)

<i>rrapa - gunerranga /</i>	and another thing
<i>awurrmalapunapa awurrni=</i>	they looked after the body for some time
<i>abijerrchinga aburrni anjurrkurda \\\</i>	they removed the flesh

(pause)

rrapa	gun-werranga	aburr-mala-na-pa	aburr-ni
CONJ	IV-other	3A-attend-PC-IND	3A-be.PC
abi-jerrcha-nga	aburr-ni	an-jurrkurda	
3A:3I-scrape-RLS	3A-be.PC	I-raw	

ii MC *aya like anmama* I see, like, the bones?

aya	like	an-mama
ok		I-bone

iii	RJ	<i>anma--</i>	bones (false start)
		<i>abijerrchinga=</i>	they removed the flesh
		<i>awubachkarrana,</i>	they roasted it
		<i>arrong ayu=</i>	it lay cooking
		<i>arrong abamana=</i>	it cooked for a while
		<i>abungorrching,</i>	they removed it from the fire
		<i>abibiching abibichinga,</i>	and wrapped it all up

lika awurrwalagiya nula awurrbona, then they all danced for him,
*bokaburt abena * the *bokaburt* ceremony
 arrived¹⁶⁹

	abu-jerrcha-nga	abu-bachkarra-na	a-rro-nga	a-yu
	3A:3I-scrape-RLS	3A:3I-roast-PC	3I-burn-PC	3I-lie.PC
	a-rro-nga	a-bamana	abu-ngorrcha-nga	
	3I-burn-PC	3I-travel.PC	3A:3I-take.from.fire-RLS	
	abu-bicha-nga	lika	aburr-walagiya=nula	aburr-bona
	3A:3-wrap-RLS	then	3A-dance=3OBL	3A-go.PC
	bokaburt	a-bena		
	bone.parcel	3I-arrive.PC		
iv	MC	<i>bokaburt ya</i>		I see, <i>bokaburt</i>
v	RJ	<i>ee \ jinbena rrap abena \</i> <i>ee \</i> <i>rrapa gunerranga -</i> <i>gun.guna waypa cemetery</i> <i>awujurnumbard awurrworkiya \</i> <i>gun.guna baland arakiyana,</i> <i>wurra mungoyurra</i> <i>gorrogorra giginda \</i>		yes, the women and men flocked in, yes and now it's different these days they always bury in the cemetery this is since the balanda settled, but previously it was done in the shelter
	ee	jiny-bena	rrapa a-bena	ee rrapa gun-werranga
	yes	3II-arrive.PC	CONJ 3I-arrive.PC	yes CONJ IV-other
	gun-guna	way+pa	cemetery	abu-jurnumba-rda
	IV-PROX	<SPEC+IND:when>		3A:3I-bury-C
	aburr-workiya	gun.guna	balanda	a-raka+ya-na
	3A-do.always.C	IV-PROX	European	3I-sit.down+INT-PC
	wurra	mu+ngoyurra	gorrogorra	gu-gu+yinda
	but	<LocIII+nose: previous>	platform	LocIV-DER+do.thus
vi	MC	that cemetery, <i>yi-rrawa gun-guyinda?</i>		the cemetery is recent?

¹⁶⁹ *Bokubort* is a series of ritual acts involving the bones of a deceased person; part of a elaborate cycle of mortuary ritual in traditional life.

	RJ	<i>ee, yirrawa gun.guna jemetri \</i>		yes the cemetery is recent
	ee	yi+rrawa	gun-guna	jemetri
	yes	<AW+home:yesterday>	IV-PROX	cemetery
vii	MB	<i>but mungoyurra / abalcha -</i>		but in the past, it hung--
	bat	mu+ngoyurra	a-balcha	
	but	<LocIII-nose: first>	3I-be.high.PC	
viii	RJ	<i>abalch ayu, gorragorr--</i>		It lay up high on the platform -
	a-balcha	a-yu	gorragorra	
	3I-be.high.PC	3I-lie.PC	platform	
xi	MC	<i>[nyinana?]</i>		you saw it?
		nyi-na-na		
		2-see-PC		
x	RJ	<i>ngaw \ ngaype ngunana belabila \</i>		yes! I saw the shelter (burials)
	ngaw	ngaypa	ngu-na-na	belabila
	yes	1NOM	1-see-PC	shelter
xi	MC	<i>aya</i>		I see
xii		<i>ee \ ngaypa belabila marn.gi,</i>		yes, I know about the shelter
		<i>wurr andakal gala marn.gi \</i>		burials,
				but I don't know about warrior
	ee	ngaype	belabila	time
	yes	1NOM	shelter	knowledge
	wurra	an+rrakal	gala	marn.gi
	but	<I+white.ochre: war>	NEG	knowledge
xiii	CM	<i>rrapa doldol dumach \</i>		and there were lots of maggots
	rrapa	doldol	dumach	
	CONJ	maggot	too.much	

- xiv RJ *ya= gunyagara, biyalkija * yaaa, not that, he's tricking
you!
gun-nyagara bi-yalka-ja
IV-nothing 3:2-trick-C
- xv MC *doldol ya?* you mean maggots?
- xvi CM *doldol \ rrapa gochilájirra -* maggots, and his stomach
(laughs)
gochilínyjirra - or her stomach
!duff! !duff! (would explode).
- doldol rrapa gochila a-jirra
maggot CONJ belly 3I-POSS
gochila jiny-jirra !duff!
belly 3II-POSS <IDEO: sudden.impact>
- xvii MC *ew*
- xviii CM *like a balloon *
- xix MB (inaudible comment)
- xx RJ *ngika,* Stop it!
mun.guna mijurra mun.ginda mbima - they (readers) might get this
*abugurrmurra * from the book,
what they put
(hoots and laughs; everyone laughs)
- ngika mun-guna mu-jurra mun-gu+yinda mbi-ma
NEG III-PROX LocIII-book III-DER+do.thus 3A:3III-get
abu-gurra-murra
3A:3I-put-PC

7:6. Excerpt 1 from Daisy Ngurarraparlja's history story

i	DNg	<i>ngaypa - ngubalngarra \</i> <i>ee \</i> <i>ngubalngarra, ngaypa \</i> <i>my mother - ngurokich \</i> <i>ee, my mother \</i> <i>my mother a-- my mother -</i> ... <i>anngarripa, nyinya arrkula -</i> <i>yigab anaguyinda / jorrinyjurra \</i> <i>wurlpa married ngiji,</i> <i>yigaba ngubupiyana \</i>	me, I'm Balngarra (clan) yes I'm Balngarra my mother was Ngurokich yes my mother our father is from over there, the high ground but when I got married I went down that way
---	-----	---	---

[gestures towards the eastern coast]

ngaypa	ngu-Balngarra ee	ngu-Balngarra, ngaypa
1NOM	1-<clan> yes	
my mother	Ngurokich ee	my mother
	<clan> yes	
an-ngarripa	nyinya=arrkula	
I-12POSS	father=12OBL	
yi-gaba	ana-guyinda	jorrinyjurra
TO-ADJ	LocI-DER+do.thus	high.ground
wurlpa	married	ngu-ji
however		1-stand.PC
		TO-ADJ
		1-descend-PC

<i>ee \</i> <i>ngininya \</i> <i>yigap: majuwa gurrenyjiya \</i> <i>ngininya \</i> <i>ngaw \</i> <i>ngininya= ngunawarrchinga /</i> <i>ngunyunaga \</i> <i>ya gungarda yerrcha</i> <i>awurrngarripa -</i>	yes I stayed over there on the beach I stayed yes I stayed there for a long time, then came up to here yes, our children ¹⁷⁰
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¹⁷⁰ Daisy uses inclusive pronominal forms, indexing me, her audience/interviewer, as her classificatory sister.

iv MC *gunyjulkunyjul?*

DNg *ee, gunyjulkunyjul *
father burrwa - father burrwa -
*annga lay / boborredi * yes, Gunyjulkunyjul
their father is who?
Boborredi

ee Gunyjulkunyjul father=burrwa
yes <clan> father=3AOBL
father =burrwa an-nga lay Boborredi
father=3AOBL I-what ATT.m <clan>

v RW *boborredi* Boborredi clan

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7:7 Excerpt 2 from Daisy Ngurarraparlja's history story

- i DNg *gunagata jama nyiburrji * at that place we worked
gun.gaba garden at the garden there
- guna-gata jama nyiburr-ji
 LocIV-IDENT work 1EXC.A-stand.PC
 gun-gaba garden
 IV-ADJ
- MC *gunnga jama, garden?* what work, gardening?
- DNg *garden *
- ii MC *aya, gun-mola nyurrja?* I see, can you explain that?
- iii DNg *ee - nyibugarrana -* yes, we planted
nyiburrgapajinga, nyibugarrana, we dug and planted
line up muyu munanngiya - they formed a row, something
munnga jachacha / what was it uncle?
- ee nyibu-garra-na nyiburr-gapaja-nga nyibu-garra-na
 yes 1EXC.A:3-erect-PC 1EXC.A-dig-RLS 1EXC.A:3-erect-PC
 line up mu-yu mun-anngiya mun-nga jachacha
 3III-lie.PC III-something III-what uncle
- iv RW *potato::* potato
- v DNg *potato::* potato
rrapa munanngiya, banana:: and something, banana
*nyibugarrana nyiburrbona * we planted them
nyibugarrana nyiburrbona, we planted them
*line up * in a line
*mm *
- potato rrapa mun-anngiya banana
 CONJ III-something
 nyibu-garra-na nyiburr-bona
 1EXC.A:3-erect-PC 1EXC.A-go.PC
 nyibu-garra-na nyiburr-bona line up
 1EXC.A:3-erect-PC 1EXC.A-go.PC

- vi MC *munmardaguya?* in a straight line?
- vii *munmardaguya nyibirrana * they formed a line
*line up miji * they were in a row
- [gestures to show a line, like a planting row]
- nyibugarrana \ jama nyiburrji * we planted, we worked
*ee * yes
- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------|---------------|
| mun-mardaguya | nyibu-rra-na | line up | mu-ji |
| III-in.a.line | nyibu-spear-PC | | 3III-stand.PC |
| nyibu-garra-na | jama nyiburr-ji | ee | |
| 1EXC.A:3-erect-PC | work 1EXC.A-stand.PC | yes | |
- viii RW *pawpaw:: tomato::* pawpaw, tomato
- ix DNg *pawpaw:: tomato:: mango::* pawpaw, tomato, mango
- x RW *cucumber::* cucumber
- xi DNg *cucumber nyibugarrana \ ee * we planted cucumber, yes

(story continues)
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7:8 Extract from a description of kinship roles in relation to *japi* ‘young man’s initiation’

(story continues from a warm up discussion of *japi*)

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|--|-------------|-------------------|-------------|--|--|-------|-------|-----|-------------|--|--|---------|-------------------|----|---------|-------------------|--|-------|----------------|----|-------|----------------|--|----|---------|-------------------|--|--|--|-----|-------|----------------|--|--|--|-------|--------|-----|------------|------|----------|-----|------|--------|--------|-----|---------|------|----------|---------|----------|--|--|-----|---------|--|---------|--|--|----------|--|-----------|-------|--|--|----------------------|--|---------|-----|--|--|--|
| i | <p>- lay /
 <i>an.gab wan anirrap -</i>
 <i>burray nyengga achila ya \</i>
 <i>burray nyenggachila -</i>
 <i>- ee burray nguwengga achila \</i>
 <i>- wurra - ngaypa jal nginirra -</i>
 <i>wana anirra \</i>
 <i>wana anirra, big boy anirra \</i>
 <i>gun.gama nggarra barra \</i></p> | <p>- hey!
 that boy is big now
 soon you will speak to her
 soon you will speak to her
 - yes, soon I will speak to her
 - but, this is what I want
 he is big
 he is a big boy
 I’m going to start a ceremony</p> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>lay</td> <td>an-gaba</td> <td>wana</td> <td>a-ni-rra-pa</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ATT.m</td> <td>I-ADJ</td> <td>big</td> <td>3I-be-C-IND</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>burraya</td> <td>nyi-wengga=achila</td> <td>ya</td> <td>burraya</td> <td>nyi-wengga=achila</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>later</td> <td>2-speak=3f.OBL</td> <td>QU</td> <td>later</td> <td>2-speak=3f.OBL</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ee</td> <td>burraya</td> <td>ngu-wengga=achila</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>yes</td> <td>later</td> <td>1-speak=3f.OBL</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>wurra</td> <td>ngaypa</td> <td>jal</td> <td>ngu-ni-rra</td> <td>wana</td> <td>a-ni-rra</td> </tr> <tr> <td>but</td> <td>1NOM</td> <td>desire</td> <td>1-be-C</td> <td>big</td> <td>3I-be-C</td> </tr> <tr> <td>wana</td> <td>a-ni-rra</td> <td>big boy</td> <td>a-ni-rra</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>big</td> <td>3I-be-C</td> <td></td> <td>3I-be-C</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>gun+gama</td> <td></td> <td>ngu-garra</td> <td>barra</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><IV-woman: ceremony></td> <td></td> <td>1-erect</td> <td>FUT</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | lay | an-gaba | wana | a-ni-rra-pa | | | ATT.m | I-ADJ | big | 3I-be-C-IND | | | burraya | nyi-wengga=achila | ya | burraya | nyi-wengga=achila | | later | 2-speak=3f.OBL | QU | later | 2-speak=3f.OBL | | ee | burraya | ngu-wengga=achila | | | | yes | later | 1-speak=3f.OBL | | | | wurra | ngaypa | jal | ngu-ni-rra | wana | a-ni-rra | but | 1NOM | desire | 1-be-C | big | 3I-be-C | wana | a-ni-rra | big boy | a-ni-rra | | | big | 3I-be-C | | 3I-be-C | | | gun+gama | | ngu-garra | barra | | | <IV-woman: ceremony> | | 1-erect | FUT | | | |
| lay | an-gaba | wana | a-ni-rra-pa | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ATT.m | I-ADJ | big | 3I-be-C-IND | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| burraya | nyi-wengga=achila | ya | burraya | nyi-wengga=achila | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| later | 2-speak=3f.OBL | QU | later | 2-speak=3f.OBL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ee | burraya | ngu-wengga=achila | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| yes | later | 1-speak=3f.OBL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| wurra | ngaypa | jal | ngu-ni-rra | wana | a-ni-rra | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| but | 1NOM | desire | 1-be-C | big | 3I-be-C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| wana | a-ni-rra | big boy | a-ni-rra | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| big | 3I-be-C | | 3I-be-C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| gun+gama | | ngu-garra | barra | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <IV-woman: ceremony> | | 1-erect | FUT | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ii | <p><i>him right man him father -</i>
 <i>awena \ awena \</i>
 <i>agornja burrwa, ngunajerda::</i>
 <i>ngujimunun:: ngunajerda::</i>
 <i>ngunajaminya \ mamam \</i>
 <i>mamam anngaypa \</i>
 <i>awena burrwa \</i>
 <i>awen abona, yirrana - awena achila,</i></p> | <p>the right man, the father of the boy
 spoke, he spoke
 he would call out to them, my MMB,
 my MM, my MMB
 my MF
 my MF
 he spoke to them
 he spoke in the evening, he said to her</p> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

	ee	gun-nginyipa	an-gun+nartpa	
	yes	IV-2POSS	I-IV+FOC	
	walkur=nggula	an=nginyipa	nginyipa	ny-bokuma+ya-na
	child=2OBL	I-2POSS	2NOM	2-beget+INT-PC
	an-gata	gun-nginyipa		
	I-IDENT	IV-2POSS		
vi	<i>rrak muma \</i> <i>awena achila \</i>			and then to the mother he spoke
	rraka muma	a-wena=achila		
	CONJ mother	3I-speak.PC=3f.OBL		
vii	<i>gunmola ngaw -</i> <i>jinajanya nyengga barra achila \</i>			yes, that's good can you speak to my mother in law (your mother)
	gun-mola	ngaw		
	IV-good	yes		
	jina-manyanya	ny-wengga	barra achila	
	3II.KIN-affine	2-speak	FUT 3f.OBL	
viii	<i>him cousin \</i> <i>jongok \</i> <i>jinyjornjinga achila, jinyena achila,</i>			his cousin his affine that he avoids she called out to her, she said to her
	him cousin	jongok		
	his cousin	affinal.relative		
	jiny-jornja-nga=achila	jiny-wena=achila		
	3II-call.out-RLS=3f.OBL	3II-speak.PC=3f.OBL		
ix	<i>ama - guwa /</i> <i>anamany anirra -</i> <i>anamanya jaminya awengga</i> <i>arrkula \</i>			mum, come here! your son in law your son in law will speak to us, including (my son's) MF

	ama	guwa	ana-manya	a-ni-rra	
	mum	come	I-affine	3I-be-C	
	ana-manya	jaminya		a-wengga=arrkula	
	3I-affine	MF		3I-speak=12OBL	
x	<i>jaminya awena birrinyjila ani \</i>			he spoke to (the boy's) MF and his wife	
	<i>jaminya awena abona=</i>			he spoke to the MF	
	jaminya	a-wena=birrinyjila		a-ni	
	MF	3-speak.PC=3Uaf.OBL		3I-be.PC	
	jaminya	a-wena	a-bona		
	MF	3-speak.PC	3I-go.PC		
xi	<i>- alay / ajay /</i>			- hey man! hey woman!	
	<i>- annga \</i>			- what?	
	<i>- wana anirra \</i>			- he is big	
	<i>wal gun.gama nggarra barra \</i>			well I'm going to start a ceremony	
	<i>gun.gaba nggarra,</i>			over there I will set it up	
	<i>- ee \</i>			- yes	
	<i>gunngaypa ngika - nginyipa -</i>			it's not my right, but yours, you're	
	<i>nyigubokuma \</i>			the begetter	
	<i>nginyipa nyigubokuma /</i>			you are the begetter	
	<i>ganapiy gunmolamola,</i>			it doesn't need more discussion, it's	
	<i>gunnginyipa \</i>			good, it's your right	
	<i>gunnginyipa, gip nyirriwena \</i>			it's your right, we've already said	
	alay	ajay	an-nga		
	ATT.m	ATT.f	I-what		
	wana	a-ni-rra	well	gun+gama	
	big	3I-be-C		<IV+woman: ceremony>	
	ngu-garra	barra	gun-gaba	ngu-garra	
	1-erect	FUT	IV-ADJ	1-erect	
	ee	gun-ngaypa	ngika	nginyipa	nyi-gu+bokuma
	yes	IV-1POSS	NEG	2NOM	2-DER+beget
	ganapiya	gun-molamola		gun-nginyipa	
	finish	IV-good.REDUP		IV-2POSS	
	gun-nginyipa	gipa		nyirri-wena	
	IV-2POSS	already		1EXC-speak.PC	

xii	<i>anbawalapa -</i> <i>merndap an.gubay -</i>	This is the most senior man (the boy's mother's father) the one who will hold the boy (and the boy will bite his arm)
	an-bawalapa mernda-pa an-gu+bay I-biggest arm-IND I-DER+eat	
xiii	<i>>xxx< - gip nyuwurrwena \</i> <i>gunartpa, gun.gorrinyjipa nguweya</i> <i>nginirra \</i> <i>- ee, gunmolamola \</i> <i>gunart gunnginyipa \</i> <i>ngardawa nginyiparra gun.gama</i> <i>nyjarra \</i>	?, we already spoke that one that's yours I'm talking about yes that's good that is yours because you are the one who will start the ceremony
	gipa nyiburr-wena gun-nartpa already 1A.EXC-speak.PC IV-FOC gun-gorrinyjipa ngu-weya ngu-ni-rra IV-2UAPoss 1-speak.C 1-be-C ee gun-molamola gun-narta gun-nginyipa yes IV-good.REDUP IV-FOC IV-2POSS ngardawa nginyipa barra gun+gama ny-garra because 2NOM FUT <IV+woman: ceremony> 2-erect	
xiv	<i>like - ananngiya, him son you know /</i> <i>anigipa jan \ awena ani \</i> <i>awena abona \ \</i> <i>ngaw \ awena abona= ganapiya,</i>	like something, it's his son you know? his son, he's the one who spoke (ie. the father) he spoke yes, he spoke, till he was done (and everyone had said)
xv	<i>gunmola \</i>	that's fine

Appendix 3: Consultations

3.1: Project description - Gun-nartpa Recordings Repatriation and Archiving Project 2010

My name is Margaret Carew. I lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra for a while in 1993 and 1994. While I was there I was learning the Gun-nartpa language, and made a lot of recordings on tape. Later I lived in Maningrida and worked for Maningrida Arts and Culture until 1996. While I was there I also recorded a lot of stories from people, mostly Gun-nartpa and some Burarra speakers.

All together there are 75 tapes. Many of the people on the tapes have passed away. A lot of the stories are very interesting and valuable. There is a lot of information about places and dreamings at Gochan Jiny-jirra, mostly recorded from one old Ngarrich (EB). There are a lot of recordings of Ngarrich talking about his bark paintings. There are also stories about history, such as An-dakal, and traditional lifestyle.

This project wants to ask these questions:

- Do people at Gochan Jiny-jirra want to listen to the recordings?
- Do they want copies of the recordings?
- Would they like the recordings to go into an archive?
- Would they like someone to write down some of the stories and translate them into English?

If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then I offer my help to make this happen. I am able to put the recordings onto computer, and with the help of Gun-nartpa people I can put together some information about the recordings. This will make it possible for us to archive them so that they can be kept for future generations in a safe place.

I can make copies for family so that they can keep the recordings on CD, on ipods or phones, or on computers. I can write some of the stories down and translate them, if people are happy for this to happen. If the community is willing I would like to write something about the stories, to describe what is in them, and how the language works.

Batchelor Institute is able to support this work. They have provided some money to pay for me to travel to Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra to work with people. There is also

some money to pay language consultants to work with me, transcribing and translating the recordings.

Ganapiya.

3.2: Transcription of recorded verbal consent Patrick Muchana and Crusoe Batara 7

October 2010

log \hdr 20101007_verbal_consent_Patrick_Muchana_Crusoe_Baterra \sp PM \sp
CE \sp MC \status updated 20/May/2015 \sum This is a recording of a conversation
between Margaret Carew (MC) and Patrick Muchana (PM). Crusoe Batarra was also
present. The purpose of making this recording was to record information and agreement
about archiving of and access to a set of recordings that MC had made at Gochan Jiny-
jirra in 1993-95. The three participants had discussed the project over several days, and
this had involved listening to a number of the stories and doing some transcription and
translation on them. The project had a plain English statement, and Margaret speaks to
this through the session. Patrick and Crusoe both gave their consent to archiving and
also there was consent to doing further work on documentation and description.

TC 00:00:00.450 - 00:00:06.580

prosodic@MC You know when we do this kind of work, like putting things into
archives and that sort of thing We always make sure we get permission, proper
permission

TC 00:00:25.496 - 00:00:38.130

prosodic@PM Ngaw (yes).

TC 00:00:36.325 - 00:00:37.605

prosodic@MC So that it's clear that, like if I go and talk to people in Canberra They
might say 'well how do we know that people at Gochan Jiny-jirra they give permission
for this to happen?' Like maybe I just went and did it by myself?

TC 00:00:38.130 - 00:00:55.013

prosodic@PM Aya, I know what you mean. Ngaw, ngaw, ngaw (yes yes yes).

TC 00:00:46.516 - 00:00:56.296

prosodic@MC It's important that we make sure that we're doing it properly and they
call that like, following the right protocols, so what I'd like to do Gojok, is just say who
we are today and then I'll just talk this one through. Like I showed you yesterday and if
you can just say something that, what you think about that, I'm not gonna tell you what
you think but just um, what your opinion is.

TC 00:00:55.753 - 00:01:25.641

prosodic@PM Hmm.

TC 00:01:24.970 - 00:01:26.040

prosodic@MC Okay so what we're doing today, my name is Margaret Carew. Today is
the 6th of October 2010 and this is a project about Gun-nartpa recordings

TC 00:01:25.641 - 00:01:40.658

prosodic@PM Hm-m.

TC 00:01:39.605 - 00:01:40.985

prosodic@MC And the idea is we want to repatriate the recordings that means bring them back here, and archive them as well, which means put them in an archive, maybe Canberra or there's another one based in Sydney.

TC 00:01:40.690 - 00:01:57.260

prosodic@PM ee (Yes).

TC 00:01:55.706 - 00:01:57.460

prosodic@MC The one in Canberra's called AIATSI, you probably know that one, and there's another one called PARADISEC, which is based in Sydney, and that's got lots of languages, language recordings from Australia and around the Pacific as well.

TC 00:01:57.260 - 00:02:12.060

prosodic@PM Ngaw (Yes).

TC 00:02:10.766 - 00:02:12.383

prosodic@MC Ok? So my name's Margaret Carew. I lived at Gochan Jiny-jirra for a while in 1993-94, and also in Maningrida for, till about 96. And I was recording a lot of stories from people while I was there, mostly Gun-nartpa people. Also some Burarra people, but today we're just talking about the Gun-nartpa recordings from Gochan Jiny-jirra. There's about 75 tapes and a lot of people who have spoken on the tapes have passed away. A lot of the stories are valuable and interesting historical material about old lifestyle,

TC 00:02:12.060 - 00:02:54.270

prosodic@PM Yo lifestyle ngaw (yes).

TC 00:02:52.700 - 00:02:55.733

prosodic@MC And knowledge about plants and animals and knowledge about different kinds of things that people talked about. There's a lot of information about rrawa (country), places and like wangarr (Ancestral Spirits) at Gochan Jiny-jirra, nothing is private information Only outside (public) stories.

TC 00:02:54.490 - 00:03:15.870

prosodic@PM Gun-nyagara (nothing). Only outside stories.

TC 00:03:10.780 - 00:03:17.131

prosodic@MC And there are, a lot of them are recorded from one old Ngarrich (subsection name), who's the father of you Patrick. A lot of recordings about his bark paintings.

TC 00:03:17.850 - 00:03:31.830

prosodic@PM Ngaw (yes).

TC 00:03:31.100 - 00:03:32.818

prosodic@MC When we sat down here he was painting all through the wet season and everytime he would talk that story and I would record it. Ok so the main questions I'm asking here is do people at Gochan Jiny-jirra want to listen to the recordings?

TC 00:03:31.830 - 00:03:49.065

prosodic@PM Yes, yes.

TC 00:03:48.800 - 00:03:51.780

prosodic@MC You do want to listen to the recordings? Do you want copies of the recordings?

TC 00:03:49.400 - 00:03:55.105

prosodic@PM Yes.

TC 00:03:54.640 - 00:03:55.901

prosodic@MC Yes, and would you like the recordings to go into an archive?

TC 00:03:55.390 - 00:03:59.470

prosodic@PM Yes.

TC 00:03:59.170 - 00:04:00.466

prosodic@MC And would you like someone to write the stories down and translate them into English?

TC 00:04:01.090 - 00:04:06.208

prosodic@PM Yes.

TC 00:04:05.890 - 00:04:07.151

prosodic@MC Yes, and one other thing is that I have some funding from Batchelor Institute, and that means there's some work there for, I just want to say that it's not me doing it by myself (laughs).

TC 00:04:06.230 - 00:04:20.180

prosodic@PM Gipa marn.gi (I know).

TC 00:04:18.880 - 00:04:20.638

prosodic@MC Alright so, if you say yes to those questions, then I offer my help to make this happen I can put the recordings onto a computer and with the help of Gun-nartpa people such as yourself Patrick I can put together some information about the recordings, and this will make it possible for us to archive them so they can be kept for future generations in a safe place. And I can make copies for family, so you mob can keep the recordings on CD, some people can put them on ipods or phones or computers. Not everyone wants that 'cause not everyone uses ipods or phones but we can put CDs in the school, at least they're there.

TC 00:04:20.180 - 00:05:05.471

prosodic@PM CDs.

TC 00:05:03.230 - 00:05:05.100

prosodic@MC And also, I think it's good to use jurra (paper) because everyone here keeps copies of photos and that sort of thing so we can write them down on jurra and translate them into English as well.

TC 00:05:05.700 - 00:05:20.130

prosodic@PM Ngaw, gun-narda (yes, that). Ngaw (yes).

TC 00:05:12.780 - 00:05:20.280

prosodic@MC So, we talked about this earlier but maybe what we'll do is we'll edit some of the stories just make sort of short ones because sometimes those old people talked for a long time and you know, sometimes it just, we can take out the little bits where there's kids crying and dogs barking and that kind of thing, we'll just chop that out of it.

TC 00:05:20.130 - 00:05:39.950

prosodic@PM Ngaw (yes).

TC 00:05:36.060 - 00:05:38.250

prosodic@MC But in the archive we'll put the whole lot, all of the noise, all of the background everything

TC 00:05:39.950 - 00:05:47.018

prosodic@PM Aya.

TC 00:05:45.490 - 00:05:47.205

prosodic@MC And also, if you're willing, I'd like to write something about the stories and to describe what's in them and how the language works. So maybe that means I might write an article in a journal. Just talking a little bit about the language and anything like that I'd send back to you, that I do. Alright.

TC 00:05:48.346 - 00:06:09.018

prosodic@PM Ma, ganapiya (Ok, that's agreed).

TC 00:06:06.490 - 00:06:08.790

prosodic@MC So Batchelor Institute is able to support this work. Batchelor has provided some money to pay for me, that's Margaret, to travel to Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra to work with people, and there is also some money to pay language consultants to work with me transcribing and translating the recordings. So this week I've been here and I've worked with you Patrick Muchana and Crusoe Batarra England and it's been really fantastic, we got lots of work done and I really appreciate that, so if it's ok would you maybe both of you or one of you just say something that means that you're happy for that to happen?

TC 00:06:09.018 - 00:06:54.106

prosodic@PM Um, ngu-yinmiya barra ngu-ni lay? (what am I going to say man? - addressing CE).

TC 00:06:54.290 - 00:06:57.638

prosodic@CE Ay?
TC 00:06:57.060 - 00:06:58.803

prosodic@PM Ya we're happy to put our, gun-anngiya guna (whats-its-name here)
like, stories through Canberra archives, ya.
TC 00:06:57.880 - 00:07:13.900

prosodic@CE Ngaw, ma (Yes, ok.)
TC 00:07:14.080 - 00:07:15.940

prosodic@PM Ma (Ok).
TC 00:07:15.650 - 00:07:16.660

prosodic@MC Ok? And you're happy for me to do what I described?
TC 00:07:15.700 - 00:07:21.076

prosodic@PM Ngaw (yes).
TC 00:07:20.620 - 00:07:21.671

prosodic@MC Just, and all of that will be working with you guys, even if it's just I
ring up and say 'ay I've done this or whatever'.
TC 00:07:21.200 - 00:07:29.360

prosodic@MC Ok so thank you for that, that's good, that's just...
TC 00:07:29.360 - 00:07:32.063

3.3: Transcription of consultation session between Katy Fry and Margaret Carew for Gun-nartpa Stories project 2012

20120822-GN-02

Speakers Katy Fry (KF) and Margaret Carew (MC)

Katy Fry (KF) and Margaret Carew (MC) recorded in Darwin for the Gun-nartpa stories project. Here Margaret describes the project to Katy and she expresses her agreement to being recorded for the project. We discuss the key points of the project's plain language statement, and this constitutes Katy's informed consent for participating in this phase of the project. This conversation is held mostly in English with the occasional switch to Gun-nartpa words and phrases. KF speaks longer stretches of Gun-nartpa several times. For convenience of reading I have provided English equivalents of the Gun-nartpa content within the main transcript tier rather than provide a translation tier. These translations are placed in parentheses, as are several comments on meaning. Time codes are provided, these indicate that the speech utterances are overlapping, however this text doesn't intend to analyse these structural aspects. Several backchannelling agreement forms (ie. Hm-hm) have been omitted.

KF and MC had already had a conversation prior to the recording about the outcome objectives, funding and management details of the project, which were provided in the written plain English statement prepared for the project. In the context of full disclosure MC asked KF how to express the idea of 'we fully understand'. KF supplied the expression, *marn.gi gu-gapa gu-guta*, literally 'knowledge located way over there and right here where we are'. This expression refers to the widest possible spatial extent - and could be translated as 'everywhere'. In this recording KF and MC appear to reach a point where there is agreement that we have achieved this aim of full disclosure.

TC 00:00:00.000 - 00:00:02.260

prosodic@MC Alright, so, like just - Thank you Belenyjan. What we'll do, if you want to do some recording, tell the stories that would be good.

TC 00:00:02.430 - 00:00:14.581

prosodic@KF Yeah, I can do it.

TC 00:00:14.581 - 00:00:17.880

prosodic@MC But first of all I just want to talk on the tape, just saying what we are doing, just so anyone listening can know, and describe this project, is that alright, we'll just do this first?

TC 00:00:15.461 - 00:00:32.310

prosodic@KF Yeah alright then. Yeah it's alright.

TC 00:00:30.395 - 00:00:34.453

prosodic@MC Ok because you know when we do research we have to get permission, so you agree.

TC 00:00:34.016 - 00:00:43.175

prosodic@KF Ngaw gipa marn.gi jela (Yes I already know sister).

TC 00:00:37.335 - 00:00:40.336

prosodic@KF Alright

TC 00:00:43.046 - 00:00:45.231

prosodic@MC So we're not doing the wrong thing, or

TC 00:00:43.995 - 00:00:46.588

prosodic@KF Ngaw gipa marn.gi jela (Yes I already know sister).

TC 00:00:46.588 - 00:00:49.573

prosodic@MC We don't want to be doing it secretly or anything like tha. Ok because it's a, we're collaborating, working together. Like jama arr-jirra (we are working).

TC 00:00:46.640 - 00:00:56.786

prosodic@KF Like michpa, ny-yinda barra apala. Like you talking for ngaypa ya, ny-yinda barra apala: 'Like wigipa barra jama arr-ji'. And gun-gata michpa 'gala aburr-yinmiya', well nginyipa ngaypa arr-nachichiya barra'. (Like, you say it like this to me: As if you are talking to me, you say it like this to me: 'Let's work together.' And that thing (as if people would say), 'They can't do that', well you and I are watching each (can see what the other is doing).)

TC 00:00:52.936 - 00:01:20.540

prosodic@MC Ngaw, gun-burrarl (Yes that's true). So, can I just look at this? This is like, we call it the plain language statement.

TC 00:01:20.645 - 00:01:30.125

prosodic@KF Ngaw ngaw (yes yes).

TC 00:01:30.050 - 00:01:31.726

prosodic@MC Just story about the project, what we're doing. So I'm not going to read everything, I'll just say the main thing we're doing is this: Ok, so we want to work with a language team, Gun-nartpa people.

TC 00:01:30.125 - 00:01:43.366

prosodic@KF Aya

TC 00:01:41.718 - 00:01:43.070

prosodic@MC So ngaypa, nginyinpa (me and you), maybe Crusoe, Patrick, anyone who wants to, from Gun-nartpa mob, Gun-nartpa side.

TC 00:01:43.366 - 00:01:52.051

prosodic@KF Hmm

TC 00:01:52.051 - 00:01:53.370

prosodic@MC And the idea is we'll listen to recordings of old people, some people have passed away.

TC 00:01:53.370 - 00:02:00.073

prosodic@KF Ngika (no) I've got one jela (sister), I got one. But when she gave me everything in my mind I got it.

TC 00:02:00.073 - 00:02:18.258

prosodic@MC Oh ok, ok good, but what I'm talking about is you know, wola (previously) I recorded old Ngarrich (ie. England Banggala, here referred to by his subsection name).

TC 00:02:17.960 - 00:02:28.641

prosodic@KF Like Ngarrich, rrapa Bulany (these are two subsection names). Yeah but they been passed away, long time ago yeah.

TC 00:02:28.331 - 00:02:42.785

prosodic@MC I'll show you what I mean with those old recordings too, later on we might listen to some, ok.

TC 00:02:42.631 - 00:02:49.398

prosodic@KF Ngaw ngaw, yeah yeah.

TC 00:02:45.770 - 00:02:49.833

prosodic@MC So we're gonna, choose the best ones, best stories and write them down and translate them, but write them in Gun-nartpa first, ok?

TC 00:02:49.540 - 00:02:58.800

prosodic@KF Yeah yeah.

TC 00:02:57.310 - 00:02:58.946

prosodic@MC And we're gonna make a book about Gochan Jiny-jirra, like history and dreaming stories, that kind. Nothing secret, just outside (public) ones.

TC 00:02:59.000 - 00:03:08.275

prosodic@KF Ngaw gipa marn.gi, hmm (Yes I already know). Ngika, just outside one (no, just the public ones).

TC 00:03:03.950 - 00:03:13.666

prosodic@MC Ok and the other thing we wanna do is make some new recordings from nginyipa (you).

TC 00:03:13.521 - 00:03:19.680

prosodic@KF Alright then.

TC 00:03:17.810 - 00:03:20.971

prosodic@MC And maybe some other people, because -
TC 00:03:19.825 - 00:03:21.665

prosodic@KF Ngika (no) from my side I can give you, from my side, and then Gochan
Jiny-jirra one first, and then ngaypa (me) then -
TC 00:03:21.415 - 00:03:39.270

prosodic@MC Yeah, maybe we should make it for Ji-balbal too, because you're from
Ji-balbal ay?
TC 00:03:38.966 - 00:03:44.856

prosodic@KF I'm from Mewirnba but I can still give you mine side, but first Gochan
Jiny-jirra mob.
TC 00:03:44.856 - 00:04:02.316

prosodic@MC Alright, yeah so we'll just follow the right way.
TC 00:04:02.200 - 00:04:05.291

prosodic@KF Like excuse me jela (sister), like, from Yirrichinga side and then after
my side, Jowunga side, like you and me. (Yirrichinga and Jowunga are two moieties).
TC 00:04:04.291 - 00:04:24.150

prosodic@MC Alright, well that's a good way to do it. Yeah alright, so we want to do
some new recordings. Words sentences and stories. Because you know this one's makes
really nice clear recordings - some of those old ones are a little bit hard to listen to, bit
quiet. This one's nice and clear so, I'll play you later so you can listen. Ok, so we're
going to use that because I want to learn more about Gun-nartpa and write down a bit of
a story of Gun-nartpa.
TC 00:04:22.940 - 00:04:57.695

prosodic@KF Like jela, can I talk to you? Like to my side, like this one not - like not
brolga side. Wurra (but) - like my side which is um - like michpa, what do you call this
one? She always sting us you know?
TC 00:04:55.225 - 00:05:34.853

prosodic@MC Mosquito? girnimirringa? Winyinwinyin (sandfly)?
TC 00:05:35.520 - 00:05:41.563

prosodic@KF Ngika girnimirringa. Rrirra a-jirra. Rrirra a-jirra. (Not mosquito. 'His
tooth'. 'His tooth'.)
TC 00:05:35.638 - 00:05:43.643

prosodic@MC Rrirra a-jirra. Burracha? (His tooth. Is it a bird? - Note - I ask this
because there is a bird species named girnimirringa, same as mosquito.)
TC 00:05:42.876 - 00:05:45.440

prosodic@KF Like that one when we walk, and she's standing there. Burdak nuwurra
ngiy-gurdagurdarra barra (Wait, I'll point it out to you later).

TC 00:05:48.991 - 00:06:06.635

prosodic@MC Ok. Yeah well that's great, I like that. Ok so we're just going to write, I'm going to be writing down some, how, a bit more about the language ok, and maybe we'll make some more language resources, books or recordings, that kind of thing

TC 00:06:05.920 - 00:06:21.835

prosodic@KF Hm hm. Ngu-mola. (I'm fine).

TC 00:06:16.950 - 00:06:24.223

prosodic@MC And another important thing is, jela (sister), we want to put all the recordings and the stories into an archive, you know what an archive is?

TC 00:06:23.981 - 00:06:35.240

prosodic@KF Aya ngaw, ngaw ngaw, gipa marn.gi jela (Ok, yes yes yes, I already know sister).

TC 00:06:33.210 - 00:06:38.235

prosodic@MC It's in London, long way, and they look after recordings from languages all around the world.

TC 00:06:37.921 - 00:06:44.375

prosodic@KF Ngaw gipa marn.gi jela (Yes I already know sister).

TC 00:06:44.255 - 00:06:46.750

prosodic@MC Ok, and maybe you mob might want to say - who can listen, like maybe anybody, maybe keep some of it private or whatever you like to say, that's ok. But they still keep it safe. Even if you say 'no that one's secret, don't play it for anyone'.

TC 00:06:45.430 - 00:07:05.576

prosodic@KF Ngika

TC 00:07:05.396 - 00:07:07.340

prosodic@MC Wurra any kind, you can say that's alright, keep it for anyone to listen to, but the main thing is it's there for future generations. Especially Gun-nartpa people, like young mob.

TC 00:07:06.510 - 00:07:18.470

prosodic@KF Ngaw gipa marn.gi jela. Ngaw ngaw, gipa marn.gi (Yes I already know sister. Yes yes I already know).

TC 00:07:10.051 - 00:07:19.851

prosodic@MC Especially if that language changes and the old people pass away, it's really important. Ok so, we already did some work on that. I worked with Patrick and Crusoe, and they're happy for that to keep going. So ah, let's just see what else - I just want to check with you that you agree, you're happy to join in, participate in this project. I'll tell you a little bit more about it... We're going to make a book and I got funding for the project from Australian Government.

TC 00:07:18.470 - 00:07:57.370

prosodic@KF Hm-hm

TC 00:07:57.370 - 00:07:58.100

prosodic@MC And from that archive, so we've got seventy thousand dollars. Some of that money's going to pay me for working, some of it's going to pay you and anyone else who works. So I look after that money. And we're going to pay someone to make that book. Is that alright?

TC 00:07:57.930 - 00:08:16.596

prosodic@KF Yeah gun-mola (Yes that's good).

TC 00:08:16.866 - 00:08:18.843

prosodic@MC Yeah? Ok, it's a lot of work. But if you want to know more about that you can ask me, alright? And I'm going to look after all of the recordings and everything until we put it in the archive.

TC 00:08:18.870 - 00:08:31.285

prosodic@KF Ngaw, gipa marn.gi jela (yes, I already know that sister).

TC 00:08:28.580 - 00:08:31.156

prosodic@MC Ok so if you have any problems with the project you tell me, or if you worry about me or anything I do, if I do anything wrong then you can contact Batchelor. Ring up Batchelor and say -

TC 00:08:31.285 - 00:08:44.545

prosodic@KF Ngu-mola, jela ngu-mola everything. Because I been working in Batchelor too but ngaypa jal ngi-nirra, if nginyipa jal nyi-ni apala I can help you, to like, michpa jama arr-jinyja, and lingo burr-guta, I can help you. Like michpa translate nyi-ni nggula. (I'm fine sister, I'm fine with everything. Because I have worked with Batchelor also. But this is what I want, if you want me I can help you. Like we can work together, and language and so on, I can help you. Like, I can translate for you.)

TC 00:08:42.435 - 00:09:16.211

prosodic@MC Yeah, that'd be great. Because I know what a good translator you are.

TC 00:09:15.870 - 00:09:21.200

prosodic@KF Hm, ngaw (yes).

TC 00:09:18.026 - 00:09:21.970

prosodic@MC Alright well that's the main thing. I just needed to tell you that because I want to make sure it's all clear and out in the open and you know - marn.gi gu-gapa gu-guta (full understanding - literally this expression means: understanding from way over there to right here where we are).

TC 00:09:21.970 - 00:09:36.860

prosodic@KF Gu-guta (at here where you and I are).

TC 00:09:35.056 - 00:09:36.686

prosodic@MC We understand each other (laughter).

TC 00:09:36.876 - 00:09:41.481

prosodic@KF (laughter)

TC 00:09:38.556 - 00:09:41.575

prosodic@MC Alright, I'm just going to have a listen to this now, it's nice and clear.

TC 00:09:41.505 - 00:09:50.853

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT

Name of the project	Gun-nartpa Stories
Researcher's names	Margaret Carew (Project Linguist)
Aims of the project	<p>This project asks a language team made of Gun-nartpa people to listen to recordings of old people, some who have passed away. They will choose some of these stories, write them down and translate them into English. These stories will go into a book about Gochan Jiny-jirra dreamings and history.</p> <p>The project also asks participants to make some new recordings in Gun-nartpa and other Burarra dialects (words, sentences and stories. These recordings will be used by the researcher and the language team to document more about the Gun-nartpa/Burarra language, culture and history.</p> <p>The linguist will use this information to write a description of the Gun-nartpa/Burarra language, and will use it to develop more language resources for the Gun-nartpa/Burarra community.</p> <p>All of the recordings, transcriptions and translations will be archived at ELAR (the Endangered Languages Archive), with access restrictions set by the project team.</p> <p>The linguist has already talked about old recordings from 1993-1996 with Patrick Muchana and Crusoe Batara England from Gochan Jiny-jirra in 2010. These recordings have been archived at PARADISEC already, following an agreement made in 2010.</p> <p>The old recordings and the new recordings that are created in this project will be also archived at another archive, called the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) which is part of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project. The project can put access restrictions on the archive. This means that if language speakers or their families want to keep some of the recordings private they are able to say this in the access restrictions.</p> <p>All the old recordings are the property of the person who is recorded. If the person has passed away, the recording is the property of their close family.</p> <p>The project will choose the best stories for publication in a book. The stories will be chosen by the Gun-nartpa team working on the stories, in consultation with the project linguist.</p> <p>Some recordings may need to be kept confidential. All recorded material will be reviewed at different stages of the project. If speakers wish it, recordings will be deleted. Some recordings will be kept without being transcribed (written down) or translated into English.</p> <p>Language material will be recorded on digital SD card and the linguist will also keep notes in a notebook. The language recordings will be listened to and documented using a computer program called ELAN. The</p>
Intellectual Property & Copyright	
Publication of data	
How the data will be kept confidential	
Data gathering techniques and how the data will be kept confidential	

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Responsible Officer: Research Coordinator

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT

	<p>linguist and language team will use ELAN to make notes on recordings, such as who is speaking, when an where the recording was made, and what the recording is about.</p> <p>For some recordings, the linguist and language team will use ELAN to transcribe (write down) what has been said, and translate it into English. This work will be done in partnership, and the linguist will check with the language team about which recordings can be transcribed in this way.</p> <p>The recordings and the transcriptions will be kept on a hard drive and backed up by the linguist. The recordings will be archived, and the access restrictions for the archive will be discussed by the participants and the language team.</p> <p>The project team will produce a published book of stories.</p> <p>All participants will receive copies of their recordings.</p>
<p>Post research obligations</p>	
<p>Project budgets and employment</p>	<p>The project has a budget of \$70,000 between August 2012 and December 2013. The money will be spent on these things: paying the language team to record, review, select, transcribe and translate stories; paying the linguist to work with the language team and to co-ordinate the project; travel expenses for the linguist and the language team; and publishing.</p>
<p>Security and confidentiality of records</p>	<p>Please contact the project linguist if you would like to view the budget and/or financial records from the project (margaret.carew@batchelor.edu.au; 0422 418 559)</p> <p>The linguist will keep all recordings and other project material on a hard drive and two separate backup drives in secure locations in Alice Springs. This material will also be archived at ELAR and PARADISEC. There will be access restrictions placed on recorded material in accordance with the wishes of the language team.</p>
<p>Procedures for consent</p>	<p>The project team will discuss the project with all participants, in relation to new recordings, archiving and publication. All participants will provide consent either orally or in writing. If orally, the linguist and language team will record a discussion about the project, if in writing, the participant will sign a written consent form. Participants can withdraw from the project at any time, or join the project at any time.</p>
<p>The possible risks to the individual, the community and/or the environment, even if unlikely, and any inconvenience or discomfort which may be experienced</p>	<p>The main risk in this project is that people might be recording saying or doing something that they don't want to be seen by anyone. We will manage this by making sure that we review all recordings after we make them. We won't record without being clear about when the recording gear is switched on and off. The project team will review all recordings and note down any access restrictions that might be needed. If participants change their mind about their recordings, we can delete them from the project. It is unlikely that anyone will find the research process for this project distressing or disturbing given its collaborative and participatory nature. However, there is always the potential for disagreements and conflict and in cross-cultural teams these can be hard to negotiate, given that people from different cultural backgrounds handle disputes in different ways. From the researcher's side, Batchelor Institute provides a code of conduct for research that is embedded within a commitment to both ways education and research,</p>

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PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT

	and this will be adhered to at all times. The linguist also has a long term commitment to learning Gun-nartp language and is positioned as a learner within this community, taking guidance and cultural leadership from the Gun-nartpa language team.
Who to contact if you have concerns about the research	If you have any concerns or problems about the research, please contact privacy.office@batchelor.edu.au or phone (08) 8939 7111.
Advise when the research is likely to be completed and how the participants will be informed of the results	The research is likely to be completed by December 2013. This is when the book will be ready and when the recordings and annotations will be archived. However the researcher is interested in continuing to do work on documenting Gun-nartpa after then, and will discuss this with the project team and other Gun-nartpa speakers as the project continues.
How the participants are kept informed about the progress of the research	The participants will be kept informed about the progress of the research when the project linguist visits and through letters and phone calls. During visits, the researcher will work with the team to review and transcribe recordings, and also will bring drafts of the Gun-nartpa Stories book for the team to look at and comment on.
If the research involves children or persons with an intellectual disability, the consent must include information on the following	
Parent or Guardian consent for the child or person with an intellectual disability to participate in the research	We are not working with children on this project.
Reasonable precautions to minimise risk of abuse (physical, emotional, sexual and spiritual)	The linguist undertakes to do all work in collaboration with senior members of the Gun-nartpa language group. She will be guided by them in all matters related to the project.
Provision of counselling for anyone who becomes disturbed as a result of participation in the research (if relevant)	Batchelor Institute has a grievance policy and procedures, which will be followed if any grievances arise. Counselling services can be arranged either through Batchelor Institute or externally as part of dealing with any grievance arising from this project.

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